Regionality in White South African English: an acoustic dialectometric investigation

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Abstract

There is general consensus in the literature that White South African English (SAE hereafter) historically had a number of regional dialects; but the regional component to this variety was levelled in the mid-20th century. As a result, most speakers of SAE born after roughly 1930 no longer index regional affiliations through their speech habits. However, the topic of regionality has been gaining in consideration over the past decade or so.

Literature on SAE is surveyed to frame the development of the variety from a historical perspective. Moreover, key points in its history are correlated to Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model by way of accounting for the development of SAE. In his model, Schneider outlines five phases; a given variety of English may proceed through each until it achieves the fifth – and final – phase. A re-proliferation of regional variation is *the* defining feature of the final phase. Accordingly, the hypothesis this dissertation seeks to test may be articulated in two components: regionality is increasing in SAE – which evidences the entry of the variety into phase 5 of the Dynamic Model.

To test this hypothesis, standard Labovian sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with participants from three Anglophone urban centres in South Africa: Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg. The interviews were digitally recorded and subsequently analysed with the FAVE program suite (Rosenfelder et al., 2011). Results obtained from this analysis were subjected to traditional vowel-by-vowel analysis to determine whether individual vowels vary from one region to the next in terms of quality, duration, or differential behaviour with regard to style shifting. Additionally, data have been analysed with the Gabmap toolkit for dialectometry (Nerbonne et al., 2011). This latter analysis is novel in two respects: dialectometry has neither been applied to SAE directly nor has it been incorporated into a study which proceeds from a Schneiderian perspective. The inclusion of dialectometry is motivated by its explanatory power for drawing divisions between varieties that differ significantly from each other.

Following data analysis, a brief profile of variation in the vowels of SAE is adduced to demonstrate the entry of the variety into the final phase of the Dynamic Model. That is, results as obtain in both vowel-by-vowel and dialectometric analysis support the hypothesis that speech habits pattern in a way that correlates to region in the SAE speech community. Moreover, the vowel-by-vowel analysis supports earlier accounts of nascent regionality in the variety as well as certain diachronic changes in the indexical value of variants (as proposed by Mesthrie et al., 2015; Wileman, 2011).

Finally, it emerges that the so-called Standard Model of the Formation of SAE is supported by present data. Results obtained by Wileman (2011) are replicated for Cape Town and Durban:

Durban favours centralised variants for the KIT vowel and monophthongal articulations for the PRICE vowel. Results obtained by Chevalier (2015) for the front vowel pull chain, which involves the TRAP, DRESS, and KIT vowels, are also replicated – with the addition of possible involvement from the STRUT vowel. Novel findings include a preference in Johannesburg for 'hyper-diphthongs', i.e., glide-strengthening, a trend for males to lead most of the innovations which promote regionalisation, and a change in the former indexical value of the GOAT and MOUTH vowels – particularly in Durban.

Key words: acoustic analysis, acoustic phonetics, dialectometry, Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes, English accents, English pronunciation, General South African English, indexicality, reallocation, regionality, sociophonetics, South African English, vowels, White South African English.

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All my gratitude goes to our Heavenly Father for endowing me with Language as a tool to sound our human condition – and for affording me the opportunity to do just that. *Soli Deo Gloria*.

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, who gave me my Mother Tongue.

Al sou ek die tale van mense en engele spreek, en ek het nie die liefde nie, dan het ek ’n klinkende metaal of ’n luidende simbaal geword.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextualisation

South African English (SAE hereafter) is notoriously difficult to correlate to models of the development of New Englishes in general, and to Schneider's (2003; 2007) Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes (Dynamic Model hereafter) in particular (Bekker, 2009; Schneider: 2007:173f).[1] As a result, there remains considerable uncertainty as to whether the Dynamic Model, in its current form, is, in fact, applicable to SAE; and, if so, where the variety would fit into the model (Schneider, 2014; Van Rooy, 2014). The matter is complicated further, especially, by the use of sociolinguistic methodologies which are characterised by (at least a measure of) subjectivity and which may easily lead to conflicting interpretations of the relevant data.

In point of fact, the concept of *dialect* is one that has been, and remains, difficult to circumscribe conclusively. Dialects are not discrete: they form continua, and there are no a priori guidelines for segmenting a dialect continuum into its respective dialects. Therefore, subjectivity often becomes a necessary evil in dialect measurement and classification methods and we are left to rely on the competent, though fallible, impressions of trained observers. This statement applies to (White) SAE, as to many other varieties, as perceived by Bekker (2009:1ff). There is a disparity between conceptions of the historical development of SAE, of its synchronic behaviour, and of how its developmental history may inform its contemporary status.

1.1.1 Models of the development of SAE

The Dynamic Model details five phases from the foundation of a new variety during phase 1 onward. Subsequently, the New English goes through a process of it 'coming into its own' during phase 2 and phase 3. This process culminates in phase 4, when variation – regional and otherwise – largely dissipates from the New English (Schneider, 2003; 2007). Finally, the Dynamic Model predicts that the New English will achieve a re-proliferation of variation, particularly along regional parameters, during phase 5.

Schneider (2007:173-188) has proposed an application of the Dynamic Model to SAE which Bekker (2012a:134) observes 'explicitly adopts the standard model'. In fact, the so-called Standard Model of the Formation of SAE (Standard Model hereafter) has constituted the popular consensus in the literature – with slight differences depending on the author – for at least half a century (Bekker, 2012a:128). Both the Standard Model (e.g. Lanham & Macdonald, 1979) and Schneider (2007:174) thus put the foundation of SAE as we know it at the early-19th century, follow its development from that point until roughly the mid-20th century, and advance the position that SAE has achieved a point of no significant regional variation, i.e., phase 4.

[1] Schneider (2003:234): 'It is noteworthy that the plural form *Englishes*, meaning "varieties of…", has established itself as an unmarked term'.

1.1.2 Regionality in SAE

A particular claim of the Standard Model thus receives direct attention in this dissertation: that regional variation – or regionality – has long been absent from SAE. This position is illustrated most precisely by Lanham's (1964:33) categorical statement that 'English in South Africa has no clearly marked regional dialects'. Hence, since the mid-20th century, an absence of regionality has been ascribed to SAE. Lanham and Macdonald (1979:21) do note that regionality existed in SAE previously, but that it was levelled in the mid-20th century (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:22), which is in line with phase 4 of Schneider's (2003; 2007) Dynamic Model. This development in the variety has been identified in such canonical work as Lanham (1964; 1967; 1978; etc.), Lanham and Macdonald (1979), Lanham and Traill (1962), and Lass (2002).

This absence of regionality has been treated as the status quo, remaining implicit – and often explicit – to most sociolinguistic inquiry since (e.g. Bekker, 2009:122; Da Silva, 2008:76). Indeed, this remains in step with phase 4 of Schneider's (2003; 2007) Dynamic Model; when a New English reaches the point in its life cycle where it undergoes a process whereby regionality is 'rubbed off'. Da Silva (2008:76) comments on such formerly uncontested conceptions of the variety, saying 'much of the research was not focused on regional varieties […] but rather on dialects according to ethnicity and other social variables, such as gender'. Overall, South African English of the 20th century and onward has been studied to the near-complete exclusion of regionality – a modus operandi that might overlook its emergence.

Such circumstances illustrate how a researcher's bias – in the form of subjective assumptions – may preclude relevant data from informing our theoretical paradigms. Subjective methodology has pervaded in accounts of SAE (cf. Bekker, 2009:1ff). We need to augment such subjective approaches with those which are more objective to gain a clearer and more accurate view on SAE. This is the primary motivation for the inclusion of dialectometry in the present study, which is a (more) objective approach and which receives attention below.

Regionality in SAE has not been dismissed entirely, though, and recent consideration of the matter is increasing. For example, Bekker (2007), Bekker and Eley (2007), Bowerman (2004), Lass (1990a), Mesthrie et al. (2015), O'Grady and Bekker (2011), and Wileman (2011) have contributed some way toward a body of literature on re-emerging regionality in the variety. Most pertinently to the present study, phase 5 of the Dynamic Model predicts the eventual re-proliferation of variation in the New English – and regionality is *the* defining aspect of this process (Schneider, 2003:253; 2007:54).

1.2 Formal problem statement

There is general consensus in the literature that White South African English (SAE hereafter) historically had a number of regional dialects; but the regional component to this variety was levelled in the mid-20th century. As a result, most speakers of SAE born after roughly 1930 no longer index regional affiliations

through their speech habits. However, the topic of regionality has been gaining in prominence over the past decade or so. In short, three research problems emerge from the discussion thus far:

1. There is no consensus, as yet, as to the current status of regionality in SAE;
2. nor has the Dynamic Model, in an unchanged form, been shown to apply unproblematically to SAE.
3. Both points (1) and (2) are conceivably related to a lack of methodological rigour i.e. the prevalence of methodologies which allow for the operation of subjective assumptions over the available data.

1.3 Hypothesis

The central hypothesis of the present study may be formalised in two components: (1) Regionality is re-emerging in South African English; which (2) evidences the variety's entry into phase 5 of the Dynamic Model.

1.4 Research goals

The research goals, as informed by the central hypothesis, may be formalised as follows:

1. Foremost, to provide convincing evidence that regionality is in the process of re-emerging in SAE;
2. and that this development is accounted for by the Dynamic Model – in it being the result of phase 5 coming to bear on SAE.

Ancillary goals include the following:

1. To demonstrate that both the Standard Model and the Dynamic Model adequately account for the development of SAE, from its foundation until present; moreover,
2. that dialectometry can effectively be used to describe South African English; and
3. dialectometry can productively be included in the Dynamic Model.
4. Finally, the present study forms part of a larger, NRF-funded research project on The Development of South African English (grant number: 78795; grant holder: Bertus van Rooy). As such, its primary concern remains with contemporary developments or innovations in the variety; however, I do attempt to situate it within the broader developmental history of the past two odd centuries.

1.5 Methodology

By way of investigating the research hypotheses, I select various methodological frameworks: all of which are amenable to the 'detection' of innovative regionality in SAE, as epitomises phase 5 of the Dynamic Model.

1.5.1 Data collection

I primarily use standard sociolinguistic methodology as developed by Labov (1972 and elsewhere). This methodology is the mainstay of sociolinguistics and should promote comparability to earlier work on SAE, because Lanham and Macdonald (1979), Wileman (2011), and many other authors besides have used it to scrutinise speech habits in SAE.

Thus, I have conducted standard Labovian sociolinguistic interviews with participants from three Anglophone urban centres in South Africa: Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg. The sample comprises young, upper-middle class speakers of standard General SAE.

1.5.2 Data analysis

I suggest that the uncertainty which persists in regard to the presence of regionality in SAE owes to the difficulty in 'segmenting' dialects and determining which variants index regional affiliations and which are simply spurious or not robust enough to be assigned the interpretation of 'significant regional variant'. In the interest of incorporating a technique which may surmount this challenge, I opt for dialectometry, in addition to the standard sociolinguistic methodology already mentioned.

The interviews have been digitally recorded and subsequently analysed with the Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction (FAVE; Rosenfelder et al., 2011) Toolkit. Results obtained are subjected to traditional vowel-by-vowel analysis to determine whether individual vowels vary from one region to the next in terms of quality, duration, or differential behaviour with regard to style shifting. Additionally, data are analysed with the Gabmap toolkit for dialectometry (Nerbonne et al., 2011). This latter analysis is novel in two respects: dialectometry has neither been applied to SAE directly nor has it been incorporated into a study which proceeds from a Schneiderian perspective. The inclusion of dialectometry is motivated by its explanatory power in drawing divisions between varieties that differ significantly from each other.

Dialectometry is both objective and produces replicable, verifiable results (Heeringa, 2004:24); it also has the particularly attractive ability to statistically correct 'automatically' for such factors as idiolectal variation, while determining aggregates for linguistic data. I apply it in the present study to reach a more objective view on the current state of regionality in SAE.

The present study thus draws from the methodology of Heeringa and Gooskens (2003) and Heeringa et al. (2009), performing an acoustic analysis of vowels of SAE, whose formants are measured in Praat. Nerbonne and Heeringa (1997:11) further argue that a measure such as the Levenshtein metric may have broad application to issues in sociolinguistics and historical linguistics, 'e.g. the significance of political boundaries, the effect of media, etc.' This statement is demonstrated in the final interpretation of data, which is done within the framework of the Dynamic Model, to suggest progression along the path it projects.

1.6 Dissertation outline

Clearly, it becomes necessary to select a theoretical paradigm to inform the development of SAE – to gain a clearer view of the variety. Once greater clarity is achieved in this regard, we may proceed to fit contemporary, synchronic variation in SAE into the broader context of its historical origins. Specifically, I propose that regionality has begun to re-emerge in SAE. This development is interesting in itself, as a synchronic aspect of SAE, but also points toward a phasal shift in terms of the Dynamic Model.

To this end, I introduce various theoretical preliminaries in chapter 2, particularly those traditions which inform the Dynamic Model, to frame the model more generally and to motivate its assumptions. I therefore consider sociolinguistic theory as formalised by Eckert (2000) and Labov (1972; 2010; etc.) in section 2.1; social identity as exposited by Eckert (2000) in section 2.2; the ecological or evolutionary approach to language as developed by Mufwene (2001) in section 2.3; language contact and World Englishes in general in section 2.4; and conclude with a brief outline of the Dynamic Model itself and Schneider's (2007) application of it to SAE in section 2.5.

The purpose of chapter 3 is manifold: to provide a general overview of the SAE literature, to put forward a defence of the Standard Model, to demonstrate the utility of the Dynamic Model for SAE, and to defend the Dynamic Model in the context of SAE. Chapter 3 thus offers a literature review of SAE, with particular attention to its development in terms of the Standard Model and a reworked application of the Dynamic Model to the Standard Model. As should become clear throughout chapter 3, the Dynamic Model has remarkable explanatory power for the development of New Englishes – and the body of literature on SAE, as epitomised by the Standard Model, supports its claims nearly to the letter. I therefore reiterate the central hypothesis in this dissertation: that SAE has achieved a state of re-emerging regionality, following phase 4, and that the variety has resultantly entered into phase 5.

The (re-) emergence of regionality is the defining characteristic of phase 5 (Schneider, 2003:253; 2007:54) and follows on the comparatively homogeneous sociolinguistic practice of phase 4, which I argue in section 3.4 is identified in respect to SAE particularly by Lanham and Macdonald (1979) and may be situated in the mid-20th century. Specifically, I present an application of the Dynamic Model to the Standard Model in chapter 3 which differs in certain respects (which I detail there) from the one originally provided by Schneider (2007) and which provides strong support for the hypothesis that SAE has reached phase 4 of the Dynamic Model, as suggested by Schneider (2007), Van Rooy (2014), and others. Recent research on regionality in the variety (e.g. Bekker 2007; Bekker & Eley, 2007; Bowerman, 2004; Lass, 1990a; Mesthrie et al., 2015; O'Grady & Bekker, 2011; Wileman, 2011) provides tentative support for the entry of the variety into the fifth and final phase of the Dynamic Model. These sources are dealt with in section 3.5.

Methodology is detailed in chapter 4: including issues such as participant selection and control procedures used to ensure a homogeneous sample, followed by details of the sociolinguistic interview and data analysis procedures. General statistical techniques are also treated in this chapter. Dialectometry forms the final methodological approach which receives direct attention in chapter 4.

Chapter 5 deals with the results of the study. Variation in the sample is first treated in terms of a 'traditional' vowel-by-vowel analysis; whereafter the vowel system of SAE is placed in its social context. Both these treatments are based on Lass's (1990a) description of the vowels of standard SAE. Moreover, variation is considered in terms of differences in absolute vowel quality, vowel duration, and differences in style shifting. Thereafter, a section dealing with results obtained from dialectometric inspection follows: both as an independent proof of regionality in contemporary White SAE and as support for the proposition that the vowel-by-vowel analysis demonstrates significant variation in the variety in terms of regional alignments. Finally, a brief discussion of the overall results concludes chapter 5.

Chapter 6 summarises findings of the present study and situates them within the broader context of the development of SAE. As such, historical developments in SAE are offered as the source of various contemporary innovations – by way of their reallocation to new indexical purposes. Results are framed particularly in light of the Dynamic Model and I offer possible refinements to the Dynamic Model. A final word is offered to demonstrate the value of dialectometric methodology in studies of SAE, and the degree to which it is amenable to the Dynamic Model; in turn, I argue that the Dynamic Model is amenable to SAE; and I conclude that both the Standard Model and the Dynamic Model offer accurate explanations of the diachronic progression of SAE – which is underpinned by the more objective approach offered by dialectometry.

2 THEORY

> [I]t's precisely because people are different from others that they're able to create their own independent selves (Murakami, 2009:19).

This chapter aims to address some of the rudiments of our understanding of language variation and change before applying them elsewhere. As such, a brief introduction to important paradigms and theories follows. The present study is particularly informed by the Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2003; 2007). It puts forward the position that phase 5 of the model has come to bear on White SAE, as should be made evident from a demonstration of the presence of regional variation in SAE. That is, Schneider (2003:253; 2007:54) espouses the view that the re-emergence of regional variation is *the* defining feature of phase 5, following a comparatively – though not absolutely! – homogeneous sociolinguistic practice during phase 4. The Dynamic Model per se is the focus of section 2.5; while an outline of SAE and its relation to the Dynamic Model are treated in chapter 3. Schneider (2011a:346) summarises the aims of the Dynamic Model as follows:

> [The Dynamic Model] suggests that the linguistic evolution of English in colonial and post-colonial contexts reflects the sociolinguistic interaction between the two main parties involved in a colonization process, the immigrant settlers and the erstwhile indigenous population, assuming that in the course of time, with increasing distance of the settlers from the "mother country" before and after independence and decreasing segregation between the two parties, the ensuing process of nation-building causes increasingly shared and innovative linguistic behavior, that is, the growth of new national varieties and new dialects of English.

From this quotation, several theoretical frameworks and traditions may be identified which inform the Dynamic Model: (1) sociolinguistics, (2) social identity, (3) language evolution, and (4) language contact (Schneider, 2003:234; 2014:11). Each of these four contributing traditions thus receives some consideration below to contextualise the Dynamic Model.

2.1 Sociolinguistics

There are two main vantage points from which to approach sociolinguistic phenomena. The first – arguably the more traditional in sociolinguistic research – considers broader patterns as they manifest in speech communities through time and space. This is what Eckert (2000:3) calls the *theory of variation as structure*, which proceeds from the premise that social categories are constructs that exist ab origine. The theory of variation as structure is considered below especially in light of the seminal work of William Labov. This approach is empirically robust, but fails to account, theoretically, for the origins of the social categories which it considers – which are not its concern, in any event. The second, the *theory of variation as practice*, is concerned with variation as it manifests at the level of individual speakers. In this approach, speakers constitute, rather than represent, broad social categories – that is, speakers *both* construct the social interpretation of variation *and* respond to that interpretation (Eckert, 2000:3). As such, this approach aims to answer the question of where social categories, as expressed through

linguistic practice, originate, or: how do social structures and their accompanying sociolinguistic evaluations arise?[2] Below, the theory of variation as practice is framed especially in light of Penelope Eckert's work. In essence, the theory of variation as structure follows a top-down approach, working from the categories toward the speakers; while the theory of variation as practice follows a bottom-up approach, working from the speakers toward the categories. Intrinsically, these two theories are the head and the tail of the same coin: they are complementary, and not necessarily opposing. The second is a more recent approach whose aim is to answer the most pervasive questions of the first – which Labov (1972:1) articulates as follows:

1. Where do variation and change originate?
2. How do such changes spread or how are they propagated?
3. How can these changes present with such a high level of regularity?

In section 2.1, I spend some time considering these three questions to frame the social variation of language more generally. This should also serve to contextualise the arguments for the reasons behind the emergence or development of regionality in a variety that did not previously vary according to regional parameters. That is, the Dynamic Model predicts that, at its final phase, social variation will come to include regionality – linguistic usage which sociolinguistically signals regional alignments in social identity.

Importantly, Schneider (2011a:343) argues that all aspects of the study of language that may be sorted into the rubric of *World Englishes* are inherently sociolinguistic in nature – and resultantly lend themselves to sociolinguistic inquiry. However, he suggests, the value of sociolinguistic methodology and theory has not been utilised to the full; with studies often focusing on macro-sociolinguistic – instead of micro-sociolinguistic – issues (Schneider, 2011a:343). Moreover, Schneider (2011a:343) proposes, those studies that have had a micro-sociolinguistic bent have tended to consider issues that relate more closely to typology, rather than 'social conditions of usage or frequencies of occurrence'.[3] Schneider (2011a:336; 348f) additionally proposes that 'applications of a post-Labovian "language variation and change" approach to "World Englishes," are still rare – although I am convinced that in many contexts such an approach would be extremely fruitful and promising'. This statement appeals directly to the incorporation of Eckertian paradigms into studies of World Englishes in general – and, specifically, to the 'fruitful and promising' contributions such paradigms may make when incorporated into an application of the Dynamic Model. Besides, it is more sensible to proceed from a theoretical framework that incorporates the changing, over time, not just of speech habits, but of the communities that engage in these speech

[2] Of course, practices that are not necessarily linguistic in nature may correlate to social categories, but the interest of the linguist necessarily focuses on linguistic practice. However, I do spend some time in section 2.5 and chapter 3 on certain non-linguistic practices which Schneider (2007) proposes are relevant to his model.

[3] Thus, the focus would lie in describing the structural features of a variety of English, without situating those features within their relevant social contexts.

habits: this is the cornerstone of the Dynamic Model. This line of argument therefore serves as an instructive motivation for the incorporation of Eckert's (2000) work, in addition to Labov's, into the present study.

2.1.1 Origins of linguistic change

Most linguistic 'variations occur only once, and are extinguished as quickly as they arise' (Labov, 1972:2). That is, any linguistic variant that does not attain social significance cannot spread. Innovative linguistic variants may be induced through assimilation, differentiation, analogy, borrowing, fusion, contamination, random variation, or any other aspect that interacts with or affects the physiological or psychological characteristics of a given speaker (Labov, 1972:1f; also argued, implicitly for SAE, by Lanham, 1964:3). This definition, as provided by Labov, logically includes all sources of innovative variation: contact-induced, or exogenous, endogenous, and any other possibly relevant source. Schneider (2003:239) reinforces this notion, stating that the Dynamic Model assumes a process constrained by 'sociocultural and psycholinguistic realities'.

For any given variant to attain continued relevance in an accent it has to contrast with another variant, hence coming into competition with that variant, and (at least partially, in certain subsets of the speech community, or in certain phonological contexts) win out over it, thus coming to constitute a change (Labov, 1972:2). In this regard, Labov (1972:2) recommends that we should appeal first to internal, structural forces (those that arise from the sounds, grammatical forms, intonation features, words, and the like which are at hand in the language, and interactions among them) as our primary explanatory instrument for the spread of change. Yet, Labov (1972:2) does stress that while such structural forces usually account for the physical occurrence of initial variation, *they cannot always account for its spread*, thus rendering it necessary to consider additional forces, such as those which are purely social. '*Even the most systematic chain shift* occurs with a specificity of time and place that demands an explanation' in terms of social considerations (Labov, 1972:2; emphasis added). I would stress that this is an often-overlooked assertion of Labov's and has led to most of the subsequent, putative dissonance between his and Eckert's (2000) respective positions.

2.1.2 Spread of linguistic change

Labov (1972:2) asserts that 'no change takes place in a social vacuum', a sentiment which is echoed almost verbatim by Eckert (2000:2), who observes that '[n]o community lives in a vacuum'. Ultimately, there needs to be some catalyst among individuals to set the process going of any variant coming to constitute a true change. In this process, the concept of *negotiation* is central. Negotiation in this sense should not be understood literally, as the usual and deliberate negotiation that may occur between speakers, 'with discussions and mutual decisions about changes' (Thomason, 2001:142). Thomason (2001:142) stresses that speakers are not generally aware of most changes in which the mechanism of negotiation is involved; it is operative when speakers of one language (variety – or even idiolect) alter

their usage in certain ways so that the result approximates the structure, patterns, or some other feature of another language (variety or idiolect) with whose speaker(s) they are in contact.

In this regard, the ultimate origin of variation lies at the level of the individual speaker, who is the agent in the negotiation of his or her social status (Eckert, 2000:4; Mendoza-Denton, 2008) – 'linguistic change is speaker-based' (Milroy, 1997:311) – and as such comprises the 'basic unit' of social variation (Eckert, 2000: Ch. 1; Labov, 2010:189). Gupta (1997) has applied this paradigm, which places the individual at the centre of linguistic variation, directly to World Englishes and I follow suit in this study. Therefore, linguistic contact takes place first and foremost in the mind of the speaker (Mufwene, 2001:14; Weinreich, 1953). That is, inasmuch as variation bears social meaning, the 'social meaning of variation lies in its value in the negotiation of social membership' – for individuals (Labov, 2010:189). Put differently, the catalyst in the process of change is the unconscious assigning of social significance to an innovative variant (a phonetic variant for our purposes): the 'day-to-day use and transformation of linguistic resources for local stylistic purposes' (Eckert, 2000:2). I reiterate the value of Eckert's (2000) variation as practice for the Dynamic Model: local stylistic purposes in any given (post-) colonial setting will necessarily differ from those in the metropole[4] – I return to this matter in section 3.3 below.

Labov (2010:186-187) thus underscores that, in the pursuit of 'the effect of social forces on language', we should turn our attention to smaller units: the points of origin for sustained linguistic change lie within *social networks* (Moreno, 1953) and *communities of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Differences in linguistic practice appear not to invoke strong social evaluations *within* group boundaries, that is, speakers tend to not evaluate their own speech. Instead, differences *across* group boundaries, when different groups – social networks or communities of practice – come into contact with one another, impart perceptually significant levels of social evaluation to differing linguistic practices (Labov, 2010:375). Eckert (2000:16) reinforces this notion, stating that even early (childhood) orientations to such factors as social class are oppositional; though children would seldom be able to articulate the nature of such oppositions.

To motivate our selection of the criteria that may distinguish one group from another, Lave and Wenger (1991; Wenger, 2000) develop the concept *community of practice* as the basis of a social theory of learning (Eckert, 2006:683). A community of practice is a collection of individuals who participate on a continuous basis in a common enterprise, e.g. bowling teams, book clubs, a group of friends, a crack house, a nuclear family, a church congregation (Eckert, 2000:35; 2006:683). The value of communities of practice as a construct resides in the emphasis it lays on the mutually constitutive nature of categories such as the individual, the group, activities, and related meanings (Eckert, 2000:35).[5]

[4] In line with standard practice in postcolonial discourse, I use the term 'metropole' to refer to the colonial power generically – in the context of SAE, this would of course be Great Britain.

[5] Interestingly, Lanham (1964:4) speaks to the concept of a community of practice, in his consideration of change starting from a trendsetter, spreading to the in-group, or community of practice, and from there, through society at large; though I must admit the turn of phrase here is anachronistic in reference to Lanham (1964) and he does not specifically assign any terminology to process he describes.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992a; 1992b) first introduced this concept into sociolinguistics in furtherance of responsibly correlating broad categories to 'on-the-ground social and linguistic practices' (Eckert, 2006:638) – that is, to bridge the gap between the smaller and the larger frames of variation, between variation as practice and variation as structure. Moreover, whenever individual members belong to multiple, significantly overlapping communities, the resulting structure may be termed a *multiplex cluster of communities of practice* (Eckert, 2000:36). In this sense, the definition of a community of practice corresponds closely to that of a *social network*, as a set of actors, i.e. individuals or social groups, and the various types of relationships among them, viz.: friendship, kinship, status, sexual, business, or political (Boccaletti et al., 2006:264; Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Put differently, social networks are concerned with relationships that exist among social entities as well as the patterns and implications that arise from such relationships (Wasserman & Faust, 1994:3), while communities of practice focus on co-participation in activities.

Labov (2010:368) correlates communities of practice to his broader categories, stating that 'some of the most important social factors invoke broad cultural patterns, which transcend small group behaviour', further illustrating the need (as perceived by Eckert, 2006:638) to bridge the gap between what we might term the broader and the narrower parameters of sociolinguistic variation. The 'individual leaders' or trendsetters of linguistic change, who are crucial at the micro-level, seem to diminish in importance 'as we raise the scope of our inquiry to larger domains' (Labov, 2010:375). In Eckert's (2000:2) phrasing, the 'global significance' of linguistic resources (here, phonetic variants) is rooted in the articulation between local purposes and 'larger patterns of ways of being in the world' – local values gain significance if and when they are contrasted to global values (Eckert, 2000:24). Phrased differently, the opposition between what is relevant to a particular region and what is relevant beyond that region imparts significance to both. For example, the values present in the Martha's Vineyard speech community did not achieve any real perceptual significance until they came into opposition with the values of the American speech community at large (Labov, 1972). I return to the concept of opposition in section 2.2.2.

The nature of linguistic exposure which is at point here is 'subtle and elusive' and influences, on a large scale, patterns in linguistic usage that the average speaker 'perceives as a purely personal choice' (Labov, 2010:369). To paraphrase Labov (2010:369): significant propagation of focused changes through the speech community at large functions within categories that are broader than the individual and his or her associated social networks and communities of practice – though these remain the ultimate origin of change.

The forces that may drive the continuation, acceleration, or completion of change involve by some means or another the correlation of certain social variables on the one hand with, on the other, linguistic variables – a correlation that imparts to any of the competing variants a certain probability of success (Labov, 1972:3; 23; 2010:368). Mufwene (2001; §2.3 below) has likened this probability to succeed to the processes that operate in evolutionary biology, such as natural selection. Labov (2010:175; parentheses added) reinforces this notion of probability to succeed, arguing that in such cases one might

posit that 'the possibilities for either member in the pair [of variants] fulfilling [the role of victor in the competition] are equal, and it is a matter of chance which one was realized. But these choices are not equiprobable'. Schneider (2003:240) incorporates this idea into the Dynamic Model, stating that changes which result from such choices are 'neither random nor idiosyncratic'.

Eckert (2000:4) suggests that the social meaning that is assigned to variation and that propagates change is local – it relates to concrete places, people, styles, and issues. Such social variables may include the well-established 'Labovian' categories of social class, age, gender, ethnicity, and region; but also those of local identity (i.e., regionality; itself not entirely 'un-Labovian'; see §2.2) and membership in communities of practice (Eckert, 2000:4; Labov, 2010:368). Furthermore, the concrete, local factors to which variation correlates come to constitute such broader categories as class, gender, region, etc. (Eckert, 2000:4). In step with variation as practice, Labov (2010:368) remarks that the linguistic expression of local sensibilities is evidenced most clearly (though not exclusively) in face-to face interaction – the point at which speakers negotiate individual and communal practice – as in Labov's (1972) seminal study on Martha's Vineyard and Eckert's (2000) more recent work on Belten High.[6]

Regarding the social value that is assigned to variants, one specific issue arises from the theory of variation as structure, as considered in the introduction to this chapter. This issue is arguably the only, minor criticism of Labov, viz. the treatment of the standard as the singular source of conscious norms throughout the entire speech community (Romaine, 1982). That is, the standard is the source of overt prestige norms, or change from above, while the vernacular is the source of covert prestige norms, or change from below (Labov, 1972). Thus, ostensibly, anything but absolute attention to speech will result in something other-than-standard. Authors such as Eckert (2000:18) and Milroy (1980:101ff) have found this conceptualisation problematic: they have admonished that such an approach presents us with a single set – or a single cline – of linguistic dynamics (Eckert, 2000:17; Milroy, 2001:533). Such a one-dimensional approach can cause 'some confusion and inconsistency in interpretation' (Milroy, 2001:533). As a resolution, Eckert (2000:17) and Milroy (2001:533) have proposed – rather than the continuum operating on either convergence toward or avoidance of the standard, determined by attention to speech – that the standard and the vernacular are at opposite ends of the linguistic spectrum and individual linguistic usage reflects the degree to which speakers are engaged at either extreme (Eckert, 2000:17; Milroy, 2001:533). Complete engagement in the vernacular evidences maximal involvement in locally based communities; complete engagement in the standard evidences maximal involvement in institutionally-based networks – the latter being a 'locus of resistance to change' (Eckert, 2000:17). Consequently, Eckert (2000:31) extends the position that 'speech communities can involve multiple and competing norms'. Therefore, maximal engagement in the speech norms of either end of the spectrum often requires a (near-) conscious effort to align with those norms; or, as Kroch (1978) and Eckert (2000:17) would infer, and as is evidenced by Labov (1972:28), maximal avoidance of the opposite

[6] 'Belten High' is the alias Eckert (2000) assigns to the high school in Detroit, Michigan where she conducted the research for her (2000) monograph.

norms. Formal (standard) styles do involve greater attention to speech (as contended in the theory of variation as structure); but most likely the same level of attention is required for vernacular styles (Eckert, 2000:18). Therefore, effort motivated by discrepant and even conflicting orientations determines maximal engagement at either end of the spectrum (Eckert, 2000:18; Labov, 1972:34).

Moreover, linguistic norms define normal behaviour and each speaker's normal behaviour is situationally determined (Eckert, 2000:31). Speakers adjust production and style-shift in different situations to achieve different goals. For this reason it is useful to consider norms as situated, or socially stratified; community norms may include norms of recognition or of interpretation (Hymes, 1972), viz. those norms which assign value to different ways of speaking (Eckert, 2000:31). As Labov (1972:44; 2010:369) contends, social stratification and its accompanying sociolinguistic stratification are the results of social differentiation and social evaluation. These assigned values would promote the achievement of speaker goals in relevant situations. Relating to such speaker goals, and as Eckert (2000:21) contends, the relevant factor in Labov's (1972) Martha's Vineyard study was not simply the *co-presence* of speakers on the island (then their speech would have been uniform, which it was not) but *co-participation* in a community united in its interests, activities, and points of view.

That being the case, the negotiation of norms for the promotion of individual goals in the speech community is underpinned by social factors that are not often apparent to overt inspection. The mechanisms that drive change in any language variety have been and remain a major theoretical challenge; Labov (2010:185) quotes Meillet (1921:16f) to demonstrate the only variable that seems to remain constant in linguistic change: 'The only variable to which we can turn to account for linguistic change is social change, of which linguistic variations are only consequences'. In this respect, both Labov (2010:185) and Meillet (1920:16-17) speak directly to Schneider's (2003:239; 2014:10f) assertion that changing social structures or alignments are essential to his Dynamic Model. Eckert (2000:34) expands on this idea: insofar as linguistic change is related to the construction of social meaning, it is to be found in groupings of people who are mutually engaged in the construction of new meaning (similarly argued in the context of the Dynamic Model by Schneider, 2003:239; 2014:10f). Speakers effect such construction of new meaning by way of developing a 'meaningful framework for solving the problems of their day-to-day existence' (Eckert, 2000:34). Resultantly, the spread of linguistic change is a side-effect of the negotiations between individual speakers and groups of speakers – the interaction between communities of practice. Labov (2010:170) notes as example, and in line with Bloomfield's *principle of density*, that a sharp, unexpected boundary between neighbouring communities 'is a natural product of discontinuities in the network of communication'. He continues by illustrating the principle of density, citing Bloomfield (1933:426):

> The inhabitants of a settlement, village, or town [...] talk much more to each other than to persons who live elsewhere. When any innovation in the way of speaking spreads over a district, the limit of this spread is sure to be along some lines of weakness in the network of oral communication, and these lines of weakness, in so far as they are topographical lines, are the boundaries between towns, villages, and settlements.

The principle of density is therefore an early formulation of the concept of social networks. This concept has been attested to empirically by authors such as Milroy and Milroy (Milroy, 1980; Milroy & Milroy, 1978) and, especially, Eckert (2000), whose study Labov (2010:188) lauds as 'the most thorough study of change in social networks'. In essence, Eckert (2000) assigns the driving force behind any sound change to its adoption by and accompanying association with a given community of practice (Labov, 2010:188). Moreover, Labov (2010:244) remarks that 'we must be alert to the possibility that ideology is a driving force behind change, as well as a barrier to its further expansion'. I return to this point in section 2.2 and re-emphasise that Labov's approach to variation as structure and Eckert's approach to variation as practice are complementary.

2.1.3 Regularity in linguistic change

Pressure to negotiate and maintain membership in a community of practice promotes the continuous development of sound change (Labov, 2010:189). That which is local is defined in terms of both speakers' shared location and their shared belief as to what constitutes 'belonging' to that location – as well as what the relation is between that local meaning and their broader position in the world (Eckert, 2000:22). Both the local and the global are, as Eckert (2000:35) asserts, mutually constitutive. According to Eckert (2000:24f), this mutual constitutiveness centres on a conflict around the nature of power: first, there is power as defined within the finite parameters of the speakers of one variety, for example, where certain speakers within the community of practice emerge as leaders or trendsetters; and second, there is power as imposed upon this group or community of practice by other groups, as in the well-known example of the overt prestige that the standard may exert on the vernacular. This tension represents the articulation between local and global values: a contrast through which variants gain significance at both the regional and the institutional levels (Eckert, 2000:24).

Eckert (2000:26) illustrates this tension by means of the standard interpretation of the Labovian distribution (Labov, 1972:52; 65), where (especially female) lower middle class speakers are at the flashpoint of linguistic change: they act as the 'buffer' between the standard and the vernacular and therefore command a 'particularly wide stylistic range' (Eckert, 2000:29), since their liminal position in society affords them 'an extreme sensitivity to the norms of an exterior reference group' (Labov, 1972:52). Stylistic variation (as exhibited in particular, but not exclusively, in the lower middle class) is the 'terrain for negotiation of social meaning, and identity' and helps orient one person with regard to others socially (Eckert, 2000:41). This negotiation therefore stands at the centre of sociolinguistic interactions and, accordingly, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) contend that social factors can override linguistic constraints, negating the effect of any structural factors (Labov, 2010:310). For example, the standard and the vernacular do not reside at opposite ends of the socioeconomic continuum – i.e. upper class and lower class – but at the extreme points of participation in mainstream culture (as introduced in §2.1.2; Eckert, 2000:25). Yet, loyalties to different groups or communities of practice in a stratified society do not preclude the common recognition of the place where loyalties other than one's own fit into

the global picture (Eckert, 2000:31). In accordance, Eckert (2000:31) maintains that 'norms of recognition' imply social meaning, even though they do not constitute social meaning. Such 'norms of recognition' are, for example, the fact that upper class individuals might evaluate their own speech as 'proper' or 'correct', while they might evaluate the speech of lower class individuals as 'improper', 'incorrect', or 'uncouth'. Conversely, lower class individuals might evaluate their own speech as 'correct' or 'normal', while they might evaluate the speech of upper class individuals as 'affected' or 'snobbistic'. The precise evaluations will differ, but individuals from either end will nonetheless be able to identify speakers who are either situated toward their own end of the sociolinguistic continuum or speakers toward the opposite end of the sociolinguistic continuum. Individual perceptions of the precise meaning of certain variants may differ; but the common factor is that speakers are able to coordinate their behaviour and reliably make sense of each other (Eckert, 2000:31). Eckert (2000:34) summarises the overall argument of the preceding two paragraphs as follows: 'It is not enough to describe a speech community as an isolated unit, for no community is isolable; the description of a speech community is most importantly an account of that community's linguistic place in the wider society'. Lanham (1978:146) is remarkably prescient of Eckert's (2000) position in his interpretation of SAE, and appeals directly to the idea that speakers would situate their speech on a cline from standard to non-standard speech as the circumstances may require.[7]

This consideration of speaker-interpretation of social variation leads into the concept of salience. As should be evident from the discussion until now, reification of membership in a community of practice is often 'tacit rather than explicit knowledge' (Labov, 2010:188). Nonetheless, speakers do require signals to convey this knowledge, whether consciously and intentionally or, more frequently, unconsciously and non-intentionally. Along this vein, Labov (1972) first proposed three categories of linguistic variables to be applied in sociolinguistics, according to the salience of the variable in question, giving *indicator*, *marker*, and *stereotype* as the three.[8] A brief description follows below (adapted from Labov, 1972:178-180):

1. **Indicator**

   Indicators are those variants which do not vary stylistically in users' speech, and which affect all items in the relevant word classes. Speakers are unaware of the variant; that is, it has a low level of salience. The variant is 'defined as a function of group membership', or, as its use spreads in subsequent generations, of group membership and age (Labov, 1972:178).

2. **Marker**

   Markers are variants that correlate to style, that is, speakers use different variants in different contexts – and each variant indexes another socially meaningful distinction (Labov, 1972:179).

[7] Refer to the discussion of the distinction between the *South African tradition* and the *British liberal/international Anglo-Saxon tradition* in §3.3 and §3.4 below

[8] Authors such as Silverstein (2003) have developed similar frameworks with an anthropological bent.

However, speakers are not necessarily aware of such social meaning or, in fact, the variables themselves, hence markers present with mid-level salience.

3. **Stereotype**

Variants that are subject to overt social comment and are highly salient are termed stereotypes (Labov, 1972:180). Such variants may become increasingly removed from forms that are in actual, regular use. The form may eventually disappear from vernacular usage altogether.

2.2 Social identity

In the previous section we saw that social networks and communities of practice are central to the maintenance and propagation of sound change. We now consider a construct which interacts closely with these two: *identity* (Eckert, 2000; Jenkins, 1996; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Schneider, 2000; and sources cited there). Identity constructs may assume various different expressions, but of especial interest to this study are identity writings that correspond to different regional affiliations. Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (2003:315) articulate the relationship between communities of practice and identity as follows: 'within communities of practice, the continual modification of common ways of speaking provides a touchstone for the construction of forms of group identity – of the meaning of belonging to a group (as a certain kind of member)'. They thus draw up a causal relationship between identity and communities of practice. Eckert (2000:41) paraphrases this relationship into a definition of identity, stating that identity is 'one's "meaning in the world." A person's place in relation to other people, a person's perspective on the rest of the world', which aligns with Jenkins's (1996:4) similar definition. In the present study, this means that certain speakers will assign significance to their own regional provenance as compared to others' regional provenance. Moreover, an individual's identity is not constructed autonomously – it is co-constructed with group identities (Eckert, 2000:42); that is, few – if any – people would want to or even be able to develop an identity which is stand-alone; identities of individuals usually slot into the identities of groups. Of course, such meaning is continuously renegotiated as the time or the circumstances may require – and such reworking of identity is essential to the Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2003:239).

2.2.1 Identity and accommodation

Labov (2010:370) observes that innovative variants (those that are involved in a change-in-progress) convey information about the identity of the speakers who utilise them. As Eckert (2000:18) remarks, language is important in the 'production of the self' and, as Wagner et al. (2013:1) maintain, this extends the communicative function of language, signalling information beyond propositional content. Human nature contains a component whereby, ultimately, individuals are just that: individuals. Therefore, Gupta (1997) appeals specifically to the consideration of individuals in the study of world Englishes, rather than swallowing them up in whole varieties. In consequence, members in a community of practice accommodate to each other to conform to the identity developed in and by that community of practice. All authors agree fundamentally on the importance of accommodation in face-to face interaction as a

primary tenet in sociolinguistics or in new-dialect formation (Coupland, 2008:267; Giles, 1973; Labov, 2010; Mufwene, 2008:256; Schneider, 2008:263; 2014:15; Trudgill, 1986; 2004:89; 2008a). And Lanham (1964:2-3) has (implicitly) argued that peer accommodation is precisely and inevitably the case for SAE.

From Tuten (2008:261) two relevant issues emerge: firstly, that identity is mostly not something speakers deliberately premeditate and, secondly, that the negotiation of identity and accommodation among speakers are co-dependent processes. When we consider the first issue, we must bear in mind that people seldom spend time deliberating with themselves as to which identity constructs would be most beneficial for the goals they wish to achieve, nor do they invest in inter-speaker caucuses to negotiate such constructs with each other (Lanham, 1964:3) – even though the term *negotiate* would seem to imply as much (Thomason, 2001:142). Likewise, Eckert (2000:216) emphasises that speakers do not generally strategise overtly about their pronunciation. Even though certain features of linguistic styles are consciously negotiated and rehearsed (Eckert, 2000:216), they remain confined in number and prevalence, such as the most prescriptive aspects of standard varieties. Schneider (2008:263) is equally dismissive about identity exerting deliberate and conscious effects.

Turning to the second issue, information about the speaker's identity remains inaccessible if not placed in context. The context is developed from the acts of communities of practice: individuals within communities of practice negotiate the meaning of those acts and associated speech habits and accommodate to one another accordingly (Eckert, 2000:42). Hereby, they communicate the interpretation of variants, usually unconsciously, and hence render them intelligible. This is an important consideration, since individuals are both representative and constituent of the group, as well as the meanings expressed by the group, and the accompanying identity (Eckert, 2000:44). The meaning thus imparted to variants enables them to 'mark or reify […] the special nature of community activity' (Eckert, 2000:42; Wenger, 1998). Coupland (2008:267-268) supports this idea, stating that 'identity is likely to be as much a consequence as a cause of sociolinguistic practice'.

Furthermore, the causal relationship between identity and communities of practice, as emerges in the previous paragraph, leads Labov (2010:186; 193) to consider the possibility that acts of identity, as performed in social networks and communities of practice, can relate to linguistic variants which lie 'well below the horizon of conscious awareness'. The idea that linguistic agency is not necessarily always conscious was introduced in section 2.1 and we must remain cognizant, throughout, that many factors that can significantly signal identity do not lie at the level of absolute, conscious awareness. Thus, the level of awareness speakers have of their own acts of accommodation – and their motivating factors – needs not be (and seldom is) such that speakers can articulate it. Moreover, though it might seem desirable to think that language change is the work of active agency – a conscious bid to maximise the social benefits we can gain from the manipulation of sociolinguistic variants – active agency seldom if ever achieves its intention (Labov, 2010:47).

Fletcher and Doebeli (2009) theorise that the costs attached to cooperation (i.e. behavioural accommodation) have to be offset by the benefits conveyed by such cooperation in order for it to

(continue to) occur successfully (see also Bourdieu, 1982:59; Foulkes et al., 2010). That is, at some sub-conscious level speakers measure both the real, material and perceived, immaterial benefits they might gain from accommodation and the efforts they would have to expend to achieve such benefits; if a benefit, to the (subconscious) mind of the speaker, might not result from such effort, accommodation will mostly not proceed. This relates to the salience assigned to variants à la Labov (1972; or their indexical value à la Silverstein, 2003). As Cohen and Haun (2013:234) observe, accent bias may be set up – even at an early age – in accordance with locally-relevant societal parameters; but once the cost to self becomes too great, adherence to these parameters collapses. '[H]umans do not coordinate indiscriminately with others' – they are sensitive to various cues, as communicated through salience, that relate to cooperative potential (Cohen & Haun, 2013:230). Eckert (2000:3) affirms that speakers construct and respond to (and, if necessary, collapse) the identities signalled by variation – as proposed by Labov (1972) – through their acts of construction and responses, these speakers and their identities come to constitute broad social categories. Again, this is an important concept in the Dynamic Model, as when speakers collapse identities during phase 4 (Schneider, 2003:251; 2007:51; 2014:12). This position is also reliant on the argument (introduced in §2.1.1 above and developed further in §2.2.2 below) that speakers draw meaning from oppositions (Eckert, 2000:3).

2.2.2 Identity and oppositional relationships

Work on patterns of variation in children has mostly abstracted away from social aspects; focusing, instead, on age limits for the acquisition of new dialects or the development of internal constraints on variation (Eckert, 2000:8f). Yet, a sensitivity to the social significance of standard (and by extension nonstandard) speech is set up in the minds of children early in their development (Eckert, 2000:13), because it is 'built into linguistic competence from the earliest stages' (Eckert, 2000:9). Eckert (2000:10) asserts that children are able to detect linguistic patterns that relate to their own social possibilities and employ these patterns in the development of peer norms as considered by authors such as Labov (1972:304-307). Indeed, children's early speech reflects many properties of the primary caregiver's accent (Wagner et al., 2013:2; Labov, 2010) and this (home) accent serves as a springboard for a child's subsequent sociolinguistic acquisition. It is important to note that, since children are not mindless worker bees conforming to whatever is the most widespread in the community at large, they do participate, themselves, in the communication of norms among themselves, especially when they enter their teenage years (Eckert, 2000:10).The initial or home accent of a child stands in oppositional relationships with other accents that the child is exposed to and, with time, the nature and understanding of these relationships become more robust (Docherty et al., 2006; Roberts & Labov, 1995; Sadis & Roberts, 2006; Smith et al., 2007; 2009).

Eckert (2000:9) claims that patterns of variation that are exhibited in the speech of adults are similarly reflected in the speech of children in the same speech community (Labov, 1998; Roberts & Labov, 1992). Naturally, class is not necessarily what children respond to initially (Eckert, 2000:14) –

which speaks to the pervasiveness of oppositionality in accommodation in general, and in linguistic usage in particular: it is the home or familiar, versus the unfamiliar. That is, 'an early orientation to class [i]s oppositional'; the initial response is to oppositions, which are then assigned meaning later, as children mature (Eckert, 2000:16). This meaning may then signal class, ethnicity, region, etc. This position is supported by recent empirical study. As Foulkes et al., (2010) contend, changes operate because communities are heterogeneous – and because speakers evaluate forms that are in competition, which are perceived even in infancy (cf. Butler et al., 2011; Kinzler et al., 2007).

Kinzler and DeJesus (2013:1154) and Wagner et al. (2013:19) suggest that children have gradient dialect representations, where the home accent forms the 'core set of children's experience' and other accents are identified in terms of their relation to (or distance from) that core; resultantly, 'accent guides children's early developing social preferences' (Cohen & Haun, 2013:234). The effects of these gradient representations are so strong that young children even express attitudes toward the accents of their respective communities which conform to those of adult speakers – these trends remain unaffected across Western and non-Western groups and have a more significant perceptual effect than race or ethnicity, as cued by non-linguistic means (Cohen & Haun, 2013:231; Kinzler et al., 2009; Kinzler & DeJesus, 2013:1149; 1154). Furthermore, children's gradient dialect representations may include such robust dimensions as to be 'sensitive to linguistically marked status differences' (Cohen and Haun, 2013:231) or to prefer that which is local over that which is non-local (Kinzler & DeJesus, 2013:1151; similarly demonstrated by Cohen & Haun, 2013; Kinzler et al., 2009; Wagner et al., 2013; etc.), or, in fact, any variable that is diagnostically significant in the community.

Children show evidence of sensitivity to the general, society-wide evaluation of different dialects and accents very early in their development (Kinzler & DeJesus, 2013). Importantly, this sensitivity is drawn from oppositionality and sociophonetic differences are progressively assigned more perceptual value as children mature. Resultantly, the process does not require that differences between the home and other-than home accents be assigned clear diagnostic values in the minds of children. Moreover, Cohen and Haun (2013:234) find that children from sites with a homogeneous accent profile show no accent-based bias; however, children from sites that have heterogeneous accent profiles reliably and significantly prefer other speakers who share their home accent. This implies that situations of heightened linguistic contact (with greater and more apparent oppositionality) specifically condition for and/or promote accent-based preferences, from an early age. Schneider (2008:264) calls this the '"us vs. them" construct of human alignments'.

The considerations detailed above lead Labov (2010:154; 172) to the question: by which mechanism do oppositions between two neighbouring communities achieve perceptual significance? The answer to this question is the crux of the current study. When one inspects incipient linguistic divergence it is prudent to proceed from the point at which change could originate. These points are among communities of practice, at the flashpoint where identity – and its expression through language – is negotiated (cf. Mufwene, 2001:147). The oppositional relations among communities of practice –

instances of resistance to another speech community's speech habits – brings Eckert (2000:17) to consider the concept of the *linguistic market*, as first introduced to the study of variation by Sankoff and Laberge (1978). This market is even accessible to a child acquiring speech (Eckert, 2000:13), that is, children can select from the options available to them to negotiate a set of peer norms, in much the same way as one would select produce at a market. As children age, and come into greater and more lasting contact with one another, they increasingly start to negotiate a set of their own norms, which may differ from that of their parents in both qualitative and quantitative ways. This approach to the development of norms among children aligns with Mufwene's concept of language ecology, discussed in section 2.3.

Eckert (2000:3) considers how, even within one locality, people can signal contrasting identities through differing linguistic usage – based on differences in goals and orientations, and especially ideology. This is the main feature of Eckert's (2000) study, where speakers who are similar in all fields – except ideology and perhaps class – have opposing linguistic norms. Namely, the so-called 'jocks' align to an institutional, corporate culture (which transcends immediately local considerations) whereas so-called 'burnouts' align to a personal and locally oriented culture (Eckert, 2000:3). (A similar opposition between institutional culture and local culture is essentially what motivates the distinction between General SAE and Broad SAE; see §3.4 below.) The opposition that arises from these different attitudes is so pervasive that even people who actively avoid either end of the spectrum are defined by it: they are known as 'in-betweens', i.e., they fall between the two extremes (Eckert, 2000:3). Eckert (2000:3) concludes that lines between opposing ideologies, norms, trajectories, and various kinds of practices that relate to class are often reflected in divisions in the use of certain sociolinguistic variants.

These oppositional relationships among speakers at various points in the spectrum lead to varying interpretations of social variation by the speech communities who engage in that variation. Eckert (2000:31) considers how members of communities of practice with, respectively, higher and lower social standing are 'united in their recognition of how people in different kinds of jobs are likely to speak'. Likewise, Labov (2010:369) attests to the fact that members of speech communities can reliably employ variants to 'place speakers on scales of social distance and social power'. Yet, speakers at different points on the continuum still have different interpretations of the causal relationship between speech and job status – and thus differ with respect to the ways of speaking which they would evaluate positively (Eckert, 2000:31f; this was introduced under §2.1.3 and examples are provided there). Hence, interpreting the relations between structural categories (class, gender, ethnicity) and the variation that accompanies them requires moving beyond the categories themselves to the practices that assign meaning to categorisation (Eckert, 2000:3). Put otherwise, the assignment of meaning lies in practices that result from or centre on that interaction: the oppositions between different practices construct, in the minds of speakers, a set of norms. Finally, oppositional relationships do not bear any meaning unless there are, in fact, meaningful oppositions in the speakers' environment, as between the upper and lower class, between conservatives and liberals, between what is local and what is national – and such oppositions can remain intact for a long time and have far-reaching effects (Labov, 2010:208).

2.2.3 Identity and locality

Above, we considered how identity may be negotiated in speech communities and now turn to the negotiation of a specific form of identity: local identity. Local identity is indicative of the oppositional relationship between local meaning and the place of that meaning in society at large (Eckert, 2000:22). Such local identity, as established by Eckert (2000), Labov (1972), and others, is analogous to the territorial functions expressed through bird song and other animal communication systems (Labov, 2010:370). In this sense, locally-focused sociolinguistic practice is a way to stake one's claim to an area, of expressing the idea of 'belonging' to that area, of associating with communities of practice that are similarly involved in 'local' concerns. As Eckert (2000:22) contends, the local 'is defined simultaneously in terms of shared location and a shared belief about what it means to be from that location'. Thus Labov (2010:244) puts it that 'there is no doubt that language change may be local and reflect an immediate social motivation to reinforce local identity'.

Eckert (2000:22) asserts that local identity is 'the cornerstone of Labov's study of Martha's Vineyard'. As should be clear from the studies considered briefly in section 2.2.2 above and Labov's (1972) itself, local identity, like any other driving force for sociolinguistic change, has to be assigned diagnostic value. For example, in the speech communities considered by Cohen and Haun (2013), diagnostic value was imparted to the speech habits of different communities that were internally diverse (hence, differing interests of different groups were represented in that area) resulting in different, oppositional identity constructs; and in Labov's (1972) study diagnostic value was imparted to the speech habits of the Islanders by a (real or perceived) incursion of Mainlanders into Martha's Vineyard. Oppositions are necessary for this value to play a role and, indeed, to exist. As Eckert (2000:23) – in resonance with Mufwene (2001) – puts it:

> localness is not generic, but stands in opposition to other locals […] This is also illustrated in the data from Labov's Martha's Vineyard Study, in which it emerges that centralization is associated with a particular *kind* of local identity – one of several somewhat distinct and even competing local identities.

Along this line of thought, Labov (2010:186; parenthesis added) observes that the conclusion that local identity was operative as a driving force in his (1972) Martha's Vineyard study is widely accepted because of the 'existence of contrast [i.e. oppositionality] within the community'. Even speakers who could be categorised as socially similar differed in the degree to which their speech contained centralised values – a difference which correlated with the level to which they differed in their orientation to Martha's Vineyard, their local site – effectively opposing 'expanded' (or, in Eckert's, 2000 parlance, *global*) identity to local identity (Labov, 2010:186). As Eckert (2000:22; parenthesis added) maintains – for local identity in general and Martha's Vineyard in particular – co-presence (literally: people who happen to live in the same area) is not a sufficient factor for promoting local identity – there is a requirement of 'co-participation in a community [of practice] united by interest, activity, and point of view'.

Speakers can ‘mix and match variables’ to construct a local meaning (Eckert, 2000:215). The mixing of linguistic resources yields various styles (Eckert, 2000:215), similar to Labov’s styles, which vary in the degree and the ratios to which they combine more or less formal features. This is, before anything else, a collaborative process – speakers develop styles within communities of practice in an effort to construct meaning (Eckert, 2000:215). The effect that this process has on the sociolinguistic landscape at large is incumbent upon other speakers’ willingness to engage with those meanings – either by participating themselves or by acknowledging the meanings in their relevant contexts (Eckert, 2000:215). Furthermore, speakers can exploit oppositions at hand between the local and the global to construct an individual identity that expresses a measure of hybridity. Thus, Eckert (2000:214) considers how one may include local or vernacular features into ‘otherwise fairly standard English’ to convey an identity that is ‘in tune with, but not limited to vernacular culture’.

2.3 Language evolution

Linguistic development as constrained by sociolinguistic considerations and identity constructs, considered thus far, infers a process that resembles those described in evolutionary biology. Hence, interdisciplinary approaches to linguistics that draw from evolutionary theory are by no means novel – in fact, the touching points are as old as the theory of evolution itself. Schleicher (1869) developed a theory espousing evolution in languages; in response to which Müller (1870:257) developed an alternative in which words, not whole languages, evolve; which was adopted by Darwin (1872:58) himself and which led him to theorise that linguistic change is governed by what Zipf (1935) would later term the *principle of least effort*, that is, a linguistic form achieves greater (evolutionary) fitness when it requires less time or energy to produce, or as ease of articulation increases (Labov, 2010:371).

It has emerged, however, that the process cannot be as simple as that. The primary objection to Darwin, Müller, and Zipf’s stance is that unchecked phonetic simplification would cause human language to devolve to a state where it becomes generally unintelligible, with insufficient contrast between different lexical items (cf. Labov, 2010). In any case, this has proven not to be true: ease of articulation often decreases along with linguistic change. Labov (2010:6; parenthesis added) thus formulates the so-called *Darwinian paradox*: ‘The evolution of species and the evolution of language are identical in form, although the fundamental mechanism of the former [i.e. natural selection] is absent in the latter’. This paradox highlights the importance of accounting by some means for the continued impetus behind linguistic change (which may as well be termed linguistic evolution) – despite no immediately apparent or satisfactory explanation for such change. Following Mufwene (2001:2), it is clear that, though evolutionary theory can prove very instructive for our understanding of linguistic phenomena, linguistic species should not be conceptualised as exact analogues for biological species. Simply: they are similar, though not identical. Mufwene (2001:11) therefore proposes a framework in which he pertinently uses the term *evolution* ‘without suggesting progress of any kind from a less satisfactory state to a more satisfactory one […], nor necessarily from a simpler to a more complex system or vice versa’.

2.3.1 The ecological approach to language variation and change

Often, when evolutionary or biological approaches have been applied to the study of language, any individual language or dialect has been conceptualised as an organism (as is the case with Schleicher, 1869), but Mufwene (2001:80) argues that it should more appropriately be regarded as a species (which is more akin to Müller's, 1870 position). This is because the boundaries between languages and dialects as organisms are fuzzy, whereas boundaries between organisms as idiolects are more delineable (Mufwene, 2001:149). Likewise, Croft (2000) proposes that the items in linguistic systems are the components that are involved in linguistic evolution. This approach presents us with a sophisticated solution to the Darwinian paradox and is especially instructive because it effectively brings ecological paradigms to bear on language variation and change. Mufwene (2001:153) thus develops his theory of (language) ecology: an umbrella term for diverse factors which may be internal or external to a linguistic species and which are pertinent to its evolution. Mufwene (2001:30) resultantly describes *species-internal ecology* as the coexistence of linguistic features within a language variety. S*pecies-external ecology* is defined as contact between one linguistic system (such as an accent, dialect, register, or the like) and another linguistic system, as well as the general ethnographic context in which it is used (Mufwene, 2001:30). Therefore, it should be emphasised that Mufwene (2001) includes under ecology both language varieties and the general sociological circumstances in which those language varieties are used: both these considerations comprise the ecology that comes to bear on language change and contact, especially because the sociological conditions determine what types of contact may – and do – take place. In this sense, spatial-ecological subdivisions, i.e., differentiation along regional parameters, constitute the primary ecological factor considered in this study.

Mufwene (2001) proposes the term *feature pool* in language ecology as the cognate of *gene pool* in biological ecology. Thus, the feature pool is the total linguistic inventory that is available to speakers within a speech community (similarly argued by Thomason, 2001:86-89). Features may be transferred, like genes, either vertically (on the parent-to-offspring model) or horizontally, through speakers' interaction with and accommodation to members of the same social network or community of practice; horizontal feature transfer is most common (Mufwene, 2001:150).[9] Mufwene (2001:150) proposes that individuals with mobility between different social networks or communities of practice (which results in multiplex cluster of communities of practice, cf. Eckert, 2000:36; §2.1.1 above) are cognate to 'dispersing individuals between habitat patches', i.e. individuals that move between different areas and, as such, can facilitate the spread of genes (linguistic features) and/or introduce genes into different – possibly more favourable – ecological conditions. Features that coexist in the feature pool come into competition with one another (Mufwene, 2001:31), which is an important motivating factor for inter-speaker accommodation (Mufwene, 2001:150). This is the case since speakers then select, by means of

[9] Horizontal gene transfer is not common in the macroscopic examples that typically come to mind; however, it is very common among microscopic organisms, such as bacteria. For example, one bacterium may 'appropriate' a gene from another to alter its own genetic makeup.

accommodation, more favourable features – particularly those preferred by individuals with whom they want to associate. This argument is qualitatively similar to Eckert's (2000:17) use of competing linguistic markets, as considered in section 2.2.2, and Labov's (1972) consideration of the competition that exists among different variants.

Mufwene (2001:31) asserts that the coexistence of and resulting competition between features provide an essential basis for evolutionary processes that occur in linguistic contact: the prevailing ecological conditions may impart a certain selective advantage to one feature over another, and this advantage drives the selection of variants. This is also the mechanism operative in the oppositional relationships that were considered in section 2.1.2 This competition does not necessarily mean that one feature will prevail to the exclusion of all others: stable variation demonstrates instances where different variants have endured alongside each other (Mufwene, 2001:32). In contact situations, contributing varieties' features are collapsed into a larger pool, which adjusts the overall ecology and thus the competition among features (Mufwene, 2001:56).

2.3.2 Founder principle

The Doctrine of First Effective Settlement was introduced into the study of cultural geography by Zelinsky (1992) and Sankoff (1980) has developed a similar premise, viz. the *first past the post principle*. Labov (2010:345), Mufwene (2001), and others have attested to this notion and applied it to their own work. The doctrine may be articulated as follows (Zelinsky, 1992:13-14):

> Whenever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance to the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been […] in terms of lasting impact, the activities of a few hundred, or even a few score, initial colonizers can mean more for the cultural geography of a place than the contributions of tens of thousands of new immigrants generations later.

Mufwene (2001), in particular, incorporates this notion into the study of linguistic contact; however, he has been 'inspired almost exclusively by biology rather than cultural geography' and therefore prefers cognate terms appropriated from biology: *founder principle* and *founder effect*. For this reason, Mufwene's (2001) treatment of the notion differs in certain respects from Zelinsky's (1992), though these do not receive special attention here. Mufwene (2001:28f) borrows from Harrison et al.'s (1988) formulation of the founder principle to explain how structural features of language varieties born from contact situations have been 'predetermined to a large extent (though not exclusively!)' by features that were present in the usage of the founding populations. Regularity of variants, their semantic transparency, and their perceptual salience continue to bear upon their fitness and evolutionary processes overall (Mufwene, 2001:32). The important consideration here is that the speech habits of the founding population provide the building materials, or *matériaux de construction* (cf. Chaudenson, 1979; 1989; 1992; Mufwene, 2001), from which the new variety is initially constructed. Trudgill (2004:24) offers South African English (or Cape English and Natal English, respectively, should one wish to separate them

out), Australian English, New Zealand English, and Falkland Islands English as examples of varieties where the founder effect would have prevented subsequent immigrants from having a great effect on the linguistic system. Mufwene (2008b:257) does, however, postulate that:

> The Founder Principle also suggests that the composition of the feature pool is likely to vary at different stages of the development of a colony, as every wave of immigrants is likely to contribute its share of variants, native or xenolectal, to the colonial feature pool.

Thus, the essence of this argument is that the founding population produces what Nettle (1999:15) terms 'amplifiers of variation' (Mufwene, 2001:29), that is, variation that they contribute to the feature pool achieves a selective advantage over other variants. The founder principle does not, however, preclude later, altered ethnographic circumstances from contributing to new variety formation – features of the founding populations simply have a selective advantage over latecomers (Mufwene, 2001:76; Trudgill, 2004:164). Subsequent contact is partially reliant on the ecology under founding circumstances (that is, the makeup of the founding system) and partially reliant on new alternatives brought by consecutive waves of immigration (Mufwene, 2001:32).

This position is in resonance with Lass's (1990b) concept of *swamping*, which he proposes to explain the preponderance of variables in SAE that originated in the South-East of England. Lass (1990b:269) formulates his law of swamping as follows: firstly, in contact situations where there is mixed input into a koiné, regardless of demographics, the overall result will more closely resemble South-Eastern features than whatever else may have been on hand; secondly, whatever the proportional contribution of non-Southern input, it will not result in *systematic* variation, i.e., it will only provide 'odd lexical items, idioms, or minor constructions' and structural features , such as phonemic oppositions, will not generally be affected on a large scale. He proposes that colonial speakers in South Africa consistently selected these South-Eastern forms when they were faced with a variety of alternatives, which he then offers as an especially robust example of swamping (Lass, 1990b:269). This may be due to normative attitudes set up by the founding population, an influx of subsequent immigrants who strengthened such norms, or – very likely – a combination of both. This stands to reason if, in addition to whatever vernacular styles the founder population may bring with them, they also transport the normative attitudes of the metropole with them, thereby imparting a selective advantage to the variants of the metropolitan standard. The founder effect has the influence it does due to it being more cost-effective for subsequent generations of immigrants to acquire the local vernacular rather than developing entirely novel use (Mufwene, 2001:40). Especially children are apt at acquiring the local vernacular 'with only minimal deviations, if these were significant at all' (Mufwene, 2001:63). For this reason, Mufwene (2001:63) proposes that the children of incoming populations will do more to stabilise the developing variety than to restructure it under the influence of their home or ancestral languages. Ethnographic factors may bear on the system and influence which variants are most successful; these include, but are not limited to: the demographic proportion of any newcomers relative to the pre-existent populations; their attitudes toward

one another; and their social status relative to one another (Mufwene, 2001:32). To reiterate, evidence for the founder principle rests on two parts: ethnography and linguistic structure (Mufwene, 2001:62).

Of course, features that are selected into a variety – i.e. *matériaux de construction* in the sense intended by Chaudenson (1979; 1989; 1992) – need not persist with their original forms or functions intact (Chaudenson, 1979; 1989; 1992; Mufwene, 2001:76f). *Matériaux de construction* may be altered (or *exapted*, in biological terminology) to meet new communicative needs that may arise in the developing variety (Chaudenson, 1979; 1989; 1992; Mufwene, 2001), which is exactly the position Trudgill (2004) expounds through his concept of *reallocation* and which Schneider (2007) extends. Systems are not transferred intact from one speaker to the next (Mufwene, 2001:147). Speakers accommodate to one another – a process which of itself may, but need not necessarily, introduce change at the communal level – and innovate through exaptation to meet various communicative needs (Mufwene, 2001:147). This underlines the importance of individual speakers in language ecology, though Mufwene (2001:147) warns that the exaptations effected by speakers are not necessarily conscious (on the part of the speaker).

2.3.3 The idiolectal basis of language

Individual speakers are the agents for the selection processes invoked in the preceding two sections (Mufwene, 2001:32) and as such are the agents of language evolution (cf. Eckert, 2000; Mufwene, 2001:147; 149). The reality, therefore, remains that the primary actions relating to *competition* and *selection*, as invoked by Mufwene's (2001:33) formulation of language ecology, take place in the minds of individual speakers – who thus act as the ultimate locus of linguistic contact and change (Mufwene, 2001:14; 149f; Weinreich, 1953); likewise, Milroy (1997:311) contends that 'linguistic change is speaker-based'. This position is, of course, consonant with that of Eckert (2000), as outlined in section 2.1. Nettle (1999:5) espouses this same argument (cf. Mufwene, 2001:78): 'Languages are not phylogenetically homogeneous units; instead their traits often derive from multiple sources in a way that depends on the origin and cultural affiliation of their speakers'. And Gupta (1997) argues strongly that, though we can abstract from speakers to varieties, we cannot abstract from varieties to speakers. Branford (1994:472) applies this paradigm specifically to SAE (this concept is developed further in §3.5). Therefore, communal language is not something monolithic. The similarities across a speech community are at the best of times abstracted from shared or similar idiolectal features (Mufwene, 2001:147). Phrased differently: perceived similarities across the speech community should more appropriately be conceived of as the result of shared social perceptions which assign variants – that are subject to various inter-speaker differences – the same indexical or perceptual value. Idiolects, aggregated into a communal language, can more correctly be said to be similar than they are identical (Mufwene, 2001:147).

Coupland (2008:267) supports this refinement: that not only dialects, but specifically individual speakers, and hence their idiolects, are in contact, stating that 'interpersonal and intersubjective dimensions of language use are where explanations for change must lie'. Restructuring of language is

facilitated through the spontaneous communicative acts of individual speakers (Mufwene, 2001:26). Mufwene (2001:27) purposes *restructuring* to be understood here 'in the sense of "system reorganization," comparable to "genetic recombination" in biology'. In this sense, language is a 'complex adaptive system', which is 'undone and redone several times' (Mufwene, 2001:25). Mufwene (2001:32) explains this position: 'It is through their [i.e., individual speakers'] communicative acts that selective advantage [is] conferred on some structural features over competing alternatives'. That is, changes begin to take place at the level of individual interaction, where different features are brought into competition with each other (Mufwene, 2001:150). Group selection cannot take place in the absence of individual selections (Mufwene, 2001:147). Hence, Mufwene (2001:26) stresses, resonant with section 2.1.2, the role of social networks as the source from which changes spread and, resonant with section 2.2.1, that the entire process of language change begins with individual speakers and thus the role of mutual accommodations in spoken communicative interaction cannot be overlooked. Naturally, contact at the communal level provides the circumstances under which the actual contact – in the minds of individual speakers – proceeds (Mufwene, 2001:27). Linguistic contact is ubiquitous: it starts at the idiolectal level and the coexistence of idiolects supports Mufwene's (2001:146) advocacy for incorporating natural selection into his theoretical framework, because these idiolects lead to competition when they come into contact. Through contact, new features may be added to a language variety; other features may be discarded; competing variants may be weighted differently, or their conditioning factors may come to differ; or two different varieties may distinguish themselves simply by virtue of the differing statistical distribution of the same features within their systems (Mufwene, 2001:25; 150; Eckert, 2000:213). I would like to stress this last point, because Mufwene (2001:150) avers that this process applies particularly to the development of different social and regional dialects – and regionality is the primary consideration of this study.

Mufwene (2001:3) posits that it is when cumulative differences in structure or ideology start to become too great, that two genetically related varieties become distinct from each other, viz. *linguistic speciation*. This implies an *event horizon* at which varieties become distinct. This event horizon remains somewhat tenuous; the term *horizon* is an instructive analogy as it does not imply a single point, but rather a continuum of possibly relevant points, which nevertheless remain empirically constrained, i.e., there *is* a demonstrable threshold. Mufwene's argument thus rests on a similar rationale as the dialectometric approach: one which measures cumulative variation in anticipation of the event horizon. (As introduced in chapter 1, dialectometry is a primary methodological instrument in this study; it also receives attention in chapter 4.)

2.4 Language contact

> Wherever two different languages are placed cheek by jowl within a society it is inevitable that to a greater or lesser extent they will mutually influence each other (Lanham, 1964:5).

Trudgill (2004:7f) notes that some scholars have denied the importance of dialect contact in the development of new varieties; but discounts such theories and maintains that we can assume dialect mixture to have been operative since the start of any colony – rather than a simple 'wholesale transplanting' of a dialect or accent from one territory to another (Trudgill, 2004:2). Schneider (2008:262) similarly finds monogenetic accounts of colonial dialect formation 'unconvincing' and believes that 'this should be largely uncontested in present-day scholarship' (see also Trudgill, 2004:11). I submit that observers such as Eckert (2000) or Mufwene (2001) would even argue that contact and mixture are integral to *any* instance of linguistic change – in it being a process of contact among idiolects. In this same spirit, Branford (1994:487) advances the position that SAE resulted from dialect contact and mixture – especially those from London, Ireland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Scotland; dialect contact and mixture is similarly posited by Lass (1997); and Lanham (1964:16; 1967:104) contends that STL strand SAE is derived from contact between 20-25 regional dialects. Correspondingly, Trudgill (2004:20) specifically states that SAE (like the respective Englishes of Australia, the Falkland Islands, and New Zealand) is derived from dialect contact and mixture.

2.4.1 New-dialect formation

It becomes prudent to spend some time considering the mechanisms whereby language (dialect) contact and mixture may proceed. Trudgill (2004:84-89) proposes six processes which he puts at the centre of new-dialect formation, which I provide directly. He considers the first five processes as constitutive of *koinéisation* and, taken together, they should be understood as its definition; koinéisation plus the sixth process, *focusing*, constitute new-dialect formation (Trudgill, 2004:89).

1. **Mixing** is the process that occurs when, in a given area, people come into contact who are speakers of different dialects which all belong to the same language, or of different languages which present with a high level of ready, mutual intelligibility (Trudgill, 2004:84).
2. **Levelling** comprises the loss of variants that index the identity of a demographic minority (Trudgill, 2004:85). At the very beginning, many and diverse variants will occur in the mixture; but progressively, these will be reduced in their raw numbers and/or in the frequency at which they occur. This does not mean that one entire dialect supplants all other dialects, but rather that a given variant of one dialect (or which is shared between several dialects) wins out over other variants (Trudgill, 2004:85).
3. **Unmarking** operates in such a way that unmarked or more regular forms may persist even if they are not majority forms; Trudgill (2004:85) regards this as a subtype of levelling.

4. Trudgill (2004:86) defines **interdialect development** as forms (i.e. variants) that were absent from contributing dialects, but which develop from the interaction between input dialects. There may be three types of interdialect development: first is forms that are simpler or more regular by comparison to those which are present in the contributing varieties; second is forms that are intermediate between two forms in the contributing varieties – phonetic variants are usually involved in this case; finally, hyperadaptation, of which the best-known example is hypercorrection, as when the variant of one variety is targeted, but speakers 'overshoot' the mark and achieve something more advanced than the target (Trudgill, 2004:86-87).

5. Even post-levelling, some competing variants may remain, i.e., two (or more) variant in competition may have persisted, without either one achieving a clear victory over the other (Trudgill, 2004:87; 124). **Reallocation** (which Schneider, 2007 refers to as *reanalysis*) is the case where such variants that might have indexed regional affiliations in the contributing dialects come to index social class, style, or, in the case of phonology, are reallocated as allophones in the emerging variety (Trudgill, 1986:15ff; 2004:87f; 124). Along the same vein, Mufwene (2001:31) contends that features that would have distinguished geographically distant, metropolitan dialects would have come into competition in the contact situation and would have formed a larger feature pool in the locus of dialect contact. This competition may be seen as a *triggering event*, the resulting instability of which Labov (2010:156) contends may be resolved in two or more 'seemingly equiprobable ways'. Incidentally, these resolutions may lead to divergence between neighbouring or phylogenetically related varieties, if two varieties select different resolutions (Labov, 2010:156), which is essentially the point Trudgill (2004:109f) argues for: Australian English selected a higher value for the KIT vowel; New Zealand English selected a more centralised value; and South African English retained both in allophonic distribution, conditioned by the phonologic environment (cf. Trudgill, 1986:161).

6. **Focusing** is defined by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:116) as greater regularity in the linguistic code: less variability, which results from 'focusing' around a set of linguistic norms. Trudgill (2004:88f) contends that, although focusing does imply levelling, levelling does not necessarily imply focusing, because a reduction in the number of variants available to speakers does not necessarily lead to stability and shared norms. This does not, however, imply total eradication of regional or social variation – simply that the variation that does exist might not be very robust and would certainly have been levelled substantially (Trudgill, 2004:22).

These six processes may differ in the details of their specific ecological circumstances – among different regions and even within a single region. Naturally, the ecology will affect the outcome greatly and we require some framework to account for these differences (Trudgill, 2004:2). Gupta (1997), Mufwene (2001:204-206), and Thomason (2001:17-21) therefore provide surveys of types of contact onsets. Gupta (1997:51) proposes that the three major types of contact onsets are: (1) the migration of

ancestral (British Isles) English-speaking populations into new territories (see also Thomason, 2001:17-18); (2) situations where people were obliged to learn English, as through slavery or indentured labour (see also Thomason, 2001:19-20); and (3) through the establishment of schools that taught English to children who were not native speakers (see also Thomason, 2001:20-21).

These different contact onsets give rise to certain pervasive and persistent patterns in English-speaking countries which determine the regularity and kinds of contacts, the stratification of power, the amount of integration versus segregation between the parties involved, and so on (Gupta, 1997:56 Mufwene, 2001:204-206) – that is, the extent and nature of opportunities for interaction. Mufwene (2001:39) observes that an 'incorrect assumption emerging from the literature' is that some contact onsets 'developed overnight' – while, in fact, it was usually a far more gradual process. Additionally, Gupta (1997:56) cautions that even territories with similar contact onsets may differ in their end results, due to matters of demographics and deliberate political decisions, which speaks to the importance of accounting for all ecological variables.

2.4.2 World Englishes in brief

With a view to developing such an ecologically-inclusive account, Strang (1970) initially proposed a three-way distinction between countries where English functions as a native language (ENL), countries where English functions as a second language (ESL), and countries where English functions as a foreign language (EFL). Kachru (1985) subsequently developed a categorisation of Englishes which has become well-known in the field of world Englishes, the *three circles model*. First is the *inner circle*, which contains countries that have traditionally been home to a majority of ancestral English speakers (Kachru, 1985; Strang's, 1970 ENL countries). Inner circle countries would typically have originated from the first type of contact onset (1) as proposed by Gupta (1997:51) above. Second is the *outer circle,* where a large group of speakers have command of English as a second or additional language; most speakers in such countries are not ancestral speakers of English and the language was often introduced into these areas through some form of colonisation (Kachru, 1985; Strang's, 1970 ESL countries). Outer circle countries generally develop from the second type of contact onset (2) Gupta (1997:51) proposes. Third is the *expanding circle*; these are countries which have neither a significant group of ancestral English speakers, nor have these countries traditionally belonged to the outer circle (Kachru, 1985). Speakers in these countries often learn English, where traditionally few or no speakers would have a command of it, for its utility in international communication (Strang's, 1970 EFL countries) and as such usually have the third type of contact onset (3), as provided by Gupta (1997:51), as their origin.

These categories are only generalisations and Gupta (1997:52) argues that few countries were limited to only one contact onset throughout their histories. Moreover, as Kachru (1992:3) concedes, and as observed by Gupta (1997), this distinction cannot be applied to all countries. South Africa is notoriously difficult in this regard, because some speakers may be said to belong to the inner circle while others could more accurately be said to belong to the outer circle. For example, White, first language (L1)

SAE sorts, to a fashion, into the inner circle or ENL category (Lanham, 1964:15), while many other groups in South Africa, such as Afrikaners or speakers of various Bantu languages, could sort into the outer circle or ESL category, by the same token. In fact, South Africa is often perceived as atypical or exceptional in terms of categorisations that are applied to postcolonial Englishes, as observed, inter alia, by Schneider (2007:185-188) and Van Rooy (2014:32). Importantly, Van Rooy (2014:32) proposes that an approach which centres on local considerations resolves the seemingly atypical nature of SAE. Such an approach is supported particularly by the broader theoretical paradigms contained in the work of Eckert (2000), Gupta (1997), and Mufwene (2001), in that the role of the individual in determining the linguistic ecology is placed at the centre: individuals respond to the ecology in various ways while also constituting a component of it themselves. I have outlined this position throughout this chapter, and especially in section 2.3.3; Lass (1990a:272) directly supports such an approach for SAE.

Gupta (1997:53-56) therefore provides a revision of her own, where there are five types of countries. These are: (1) monolingual ancestral English countries, which are countries where the majority of speakers are ancestral native speakers of English, such as the UK or the US; (2) monolingual contact variety countries, which are those countries where the majority of speakers speak a non-ancestral, contact-induced variety derived from a period when their forebears forcibly had to learn English, e.g. Jamaica; (3) multilingual scholastic English countries, which are countries where few people command English as an L1, but where a majority learns English through formal schooling, such as India or Pakistan; (4) multilingual contact variety countries, which are a combination of (2) and (3), where a majority can speak English, but often learn it through formal schooling, however, there are some native speakers present, e.g. Singapore or Nigeria; and (5) multilingual ancestral English countries, where there is a significant presence of ancestral L1 speakers, but, for whatever reason (demographic or political), they do not assimilate the other groups present, who maintain their own ancestral languages, such as Canada or South Africa.

Schneider (2003; 2007) attempts to overcome much of the difficulty that persists with respect to these various types of contact onsets and the types of linguistic situations to which they give rise. He intends to do so by postulating a model which attempts to account equally well for the development of New Englishes right across the spectrum (Van Rooy, 2014:21-22), though, admittedly, it remains unclear whether the model is applicable to expanding circle/EFL countries (Schneider, 2014:10). His motivation behind this effort is articulated by Gupta (1997:48), when she says that 'we would benefit from a diversity-oriented model of varieties'. The Dynamic Model has been widely discussed and applied in recent years (Schneider, 2014:10). It has also been the subject of some criticism, which has come to centre on differences between the Dynamic Model and Trudgill's (2004) deterministic model of new-dialect formation (for which see Bauer, 2008; Coupland, 2008; Holmes & Kerswill, 2008; Mufwene, 2008; Schneider, 2008; 2014; Trudgill, 2008a; 2008b; Tuten, 2008; and sources cited there). Notwithstanding the fact that this contest is important to contemporary scholarly conceptions of contact linguistics, it is orthogonal to the present study. Trudgill's (2004) model does not extend beyond new-

dialect formation – roughly phase 1 of the Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2014:15) – and as such is not appropriate in a synchronic study, viz. one that considers contemporary developments in SAE, which has at the very least entered into phase 3 (Bekker, 2009:86). Resultantly, it does not receive much attention here – though Trudgillian concepts that are pertinent to the present discussion do receive attention where appropriate.

2.5 The Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes

Schneider first proposed the Dynamic Model in 2001 to account for the development of postcolonial Englishes; it was subsequently published as the *Dynamic Model of the evolution of New Englishes* (Schneider, 2003), and later expanded into a more exhaustive treatment (Schneider, 2007), with the slightly altered name of the *Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes* (Schneider, 2014:12; Van Rooy, 2014:22). The central position expounded in the Dynamic Model is that a fairly uniform process constrains the development of postcolonial Englishes (Schneider, 2014:10; Van Rooy, 2014:22) where the onset of one phase of linguistic development precedes the next. This links to a broader theme in linguistics, as articulated by Labov (2010:90): 'there are bends in the chain of causality at which the triggering events are located […] Around the bend there are further chains of causality'. Schneider (2014:12) states that the model relates to and draws from the fields of world Englishes (Schneider, 2010; Schneider, 2014), sociolinguistics (Schneider, 2011b), the history of English (Schneider, 2012), and language contact (Schneider, 2013). For further examples of applications, defences, and critiques of the Dynamic Model, refer to Schneider (2014) and sources cited there.

In terms of contact onsets, Bright (1976:213) considers two broad types: one whose emphasis is on the indigenous culture and one whose emphasis lies with the incoming culture (Moag, 1992:235). These types take form in Schneider's (2003; 2007) distinction between the IDG strand and the STL strand. Thus, the original model (Schneider, 2003) describes two groups whose speech varieties variously contribute to new-dialect formation and subsequent developments; Schneider adds a third group to the reworked (2007) version. The first group is the colonising population: the settlers who transport their language, English, to the new territory and whose language forms the superstrate; Schneider (2003:242; 2007:33; 2014:11) terms this the settler or *STL strand*. The second group is the population who are colonised: the indigenous groups whose languages form the substrate, or *IDG strand* (Schneider, 2003:242; 2007:33; 2014:11). Schneider (2007:58-60) adds the adstrate population, who are neither indigenous to the territory nor do they form part of the colonising group and whose variety he terms the *ADS strand*. In South, Africa the STL community is represented by White native speakers of English, descended from the original British colonists in the 19th century – though members of many other European groups have been assimilated into the STL community over time (Garson, N.G., 1976:17). South Africa is somewhat exceptional in that it has at least three distinct IDG communities: Afrikaner

(Schneider, 2007:58; 176), Black (Schneider, 2007:176), and Coloured[10] (Van Rooy, 2014; hinted at by Schneider, 2007:177). It may seem counterintuitive to include Afrikaners as an IDG community, but, as Schneider (2007:58) observes, both they and the Acadians in Canada should function as IDG strand communities in terms of the Dynamic Model, despite both these groups being of predominantly European descent themselves. This is because Afrikaners had been 'thoroughly Africanized culturally and linguistically' prior to British imperial rule being imposed on them (Schneider, 2007:176), a position which Branford (1994:430) also supports. By this same logic, the Coloured community should also be included as an IDG community, which is the stance Van Rooy (2014:28-29) explicitly takes. Finally, the South African Indian community represents the ADS strand in South Africa (Schneider, 2007:179). Schneider (2007:174) explicitly includes all five these ethnic groups in his consideration of SAE in terms of the Dynamic Model.

The STL, IDG, and ADS populations participate, to different degrees, in five phases that are variously dependent on both intra- and extralinguistic factors – or both internal and external ecology (Mufwene, 2001:153; as discussed in §2.3.1): (1) foundation, (2) exonormative stabilisation, (3) nativisation, (4) endonormative stabilisation, and (5) differentiation. The construct of Schneider's (2003:235) five phases thus draws from a 'cyclic line of thinking', in the sense that languages or dialects may be seen to have life cycles in the same sense as biological entities: they may have a beginning, a period of maturation, and an end. This cyclic approach has been applied to the study of pidgin languages by authors such as Hall (1962) and Mühlhäusler (1986) and to New Englishes by the likes of Moag (1992) and Thomason (2001). The cyclic framework of the Dynamic Model relies not so much on the historical details of ties to Britain as on 'the type of contact situation caused by these historical circumstances' (Schneider, 2003:235). I briefly survey these five phases below and provide Schneider's (2007:173-188) application of the Dynamic Model to SAE by way of illustration.

Schneider's (2007) application of his model to the South African context proceeds from a pan-South African consideration in that he includes all ethnic varieties. In chapter 3, I present a narrower application of the model which proceeds specifically from a consideration of the STL strand of SAE vis-à-vis the Afrikaner IDG stream. In this regard, Bekker (2009:86f) has suggested that different (sub-) varieties may be conceived to proceed through the Dynamic Model at their own rates – and that it would therefore not be necessary for all varieties to be at the same phase at the same time, which is similarly argued by Schneider (2007:174f). Moreover, Van Rooy (2014:22; 34) contends that the developments of the Dynamic Model apply 'to local settings within a country in the first instance, rather than to an entire country', which is an important refinement to the model, because for a long period of time the conditions in South Africa were such that, nationally, there were many ethnic groups present; whereas, locally, the opportunities for contact among them were minimal. This interpretation is of course resonant with

[10] The use of the term 'Coloured' as an ethnonym in the South African context is often perceived as problematic, not least because of its associations with apartheid-style racial classification. However, the concept remains an instructive ethnic demarcation and, for lack of a better term, I use it throughout.

Gupta's (1997) position, as touched on in section 2.3.3 above, viz. that we cannot apply a monolithic, national interpretation to all role players who happen to be present in the same country. In fact, as observed by Van Rooy (2014:22), Schneider (2007:251-254) already proposes such a refinement in his discussion of American English. I proceed from the same paradigm in this study and motivate my restriction to the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream on these grounds. I should note that Schneider (2007:188) has proposed that SAE has made 'deep inroads into phase 4'. I concur inasmuch as this statement applies to a pan-SAE perspective; however, I propose that certain varieties may have progressed even further: in particular, that the STL strand has achieved phase 5 in respect to the Afrikaner IDG stream, as is evidenced most pertinently by the proliferation of regional variation in the variety; which I demonstrate in chapter 5.

Thus, equally, it is not necessary for every hallmark of the phases that the Dynamic Model describes to apply invariably, though many will apply (Schneider, 2003:254). Boundaries between phases as well their chronological progression may be hazy, with considerable overlap, because, as Schneider (2003:254) observes, a country or territory may not advance at an equal rate or in perfect order through all relevant domains. This is similarly argued by Bokamba (1992), Kachru (1983), and Moag (1992:234), who explicitly appeal to the fact that the stages will not be discrete and should be *expected* to overlap (cf. Schneider, 2014:11). Bokamba's (1992), Kachru's (1983), and Moag's (1992) phases of development are, of course, not identical to the phases of the Dynamic Model, but I stress that they inform the phases of the Dynamic Model. Notwithstanding this caveat, such cyclical models of dialects do infer a chronological progression, or a type of contingency, where the onset of one phase will precede the onset of the following phase. That considered, Schneider (2003:239; 2014:10f) emphasises that the continuous, diachronic reworking of *social identity* (as expounded in §2.2) between the STL strand, the IDG strand, and the ADS strand (if present) is central to the Dynamic Model and that resulting 'changes [are] neither random nor idiosyncratic' (Schneider, 2003:240; discussed under §2.1.2 above).

In this sense, the readiest way for any individual or collective to signal their developing identity is by means of the linguistic variants they use (Schneider, 2003:240), which is Schneider's (2003; 2007) primary concern, and which Lanham (1964:12) also observes. This is, however, not the only means by which people can – and do – choose to signal identity: many other acts may be adapted to convey developing identities. As identities change along the path projected by the Dynamic Model, they will therefore find expression in both linguistic and extra- or metalinguistic fields (cf. Lanham, 1964:11f; 1967:109). Such changes will usually coincide with each other given that they rely on the same, changing identity constructs. As these significations, proposed by Schneider (2003; 2007), do coincide, I highlight them in the discussion below to inform the progression of the phases both on linguistic grounds and otherwise.

2.5.1 Phase 1: Foundation

A significant group of settlers brings the English language to a territory where it was not previously spoken – as a result the use of English becomes frequent in that region (Moag, 1992:234; Schneider, 2003:244; 2007:33; 2014:11). According to Schneider (2003:242; 2007:33-34) the settler and indigenous groups, respectively, see themselves as distinct from the 'other'. Members of the settler population view themselves as full members of the source society, while indigenous populations view themselves as the rightful residents of the territory (Schneider, 2003:242; 2007:34). In the default case the settler population is of predominantly British origin and the indigenous population of non-European or aboriginal origin (Schneider, 2003:242; 2007:34), though this is not entirely the case in South Africa, with Afrikaners descended primarily and Coloureds descended partially from other European settlers.

Schneider (2003:244; 2007:34) posits two forms of linguistic contact during this earliest phase of his model, which constitute two different language ecologies (as conceived by Mufwene, 2001). Firstly – strictly within the settler strand – different dialects from Britain come into contact with each other (Schneider, 2003:244; 2007:34). As Schneider (2003:244; 2007:35; 2014:11) explains, this may lead to koinéisation, where a 'middle-of-the-road' variety forms, as described in section 2.4.1 above. Secondly, interaction between settlers and the indigenous populations leads to *language* contact (Moag, 1992:234; Schneider, 2003:244; 2007:34; 2014:11). The latter of these two, however, is generally restricted and groups continue to function separately (Hall, 1962:153). Likewise, Mufwene (2001:205) proposes that access to English at the onset of contact is usually restricted to the local elite – in order that they may act as a buffer between the colonisers and the locals – and access to the vernacular usage of native speakers is restricted (Hall, 1962:153). This corresponds to *casual contact* on Thomason's (2001:70) borrowing scale or Moag's (1992:234) *transportation*. Toponymic borrowing (assimilation of IDG strand place names into the STL strand) is typical of this phase (Schneider, 2003:245; 2007:35; 2014:11; Thomason, 2001:70).

2.5.1.1. Phase 1 in South African English

Schneider (2007:175) sets phase 1 in the period 1806/1822-1870s. STL groups in the Cape and Natal, respectively, remained distinct from each other for some time, leading Schneider (2007:175) to propose that it is useful to distinguish Cape English and Natal English as two separate 'streams' of the STL strand. Schneider (2007:176) maintains that a distinct founder effect is noticeable for both these streams and that this was not negated by the large numbers of subsequent immigrants, particularly during the establishment of Johannesburg. Cape English would later be reanalysed into Broad South African English, while Natal English would be reanalysed into General South African English (Schneider, 2007:175f) – this development is expanded upon in the following chapter.

South Africa is somewhat exceptional among territories where New Englishes have come into being in that the British settlers encountered more than one IDG group – Schneider (2007:176) considers both the Afrikaners and the Black populations to be constitutive of two, distinct IDG populations. Socio-

political debates about the 'endogeny' of Afrikaners to South Africa aside, it is prudent to assign them the role of an IDG community because, within the framework of the Dynamic Model, both Black and Afrikaans English 'act' as IDG strands – this position has recently been supported by Van Rooy (2014:26). Moreover, the Coloured population most likely represents a third IDG community, by this same logic (Van Rooy, 2014:28-29). Although little changed for the Black IDG community during the crossover from Dutch to British colonial rule (Schneider, 2007:176) and they largely remained marginalised, as is typical for IDG communities during phase 1, Schneider (2007:177) observes that the relations between the Afrikaner IDG community and the STL community were remarkably intimate during phase 1, by comparison to STL-IDG relations at this phase elsewhere. Yet, the Afrikaner IDG community was still more prone to learn English than the STL community was to learn Afrikaans (Branford, 1996:39; Schneider, 2007:177).

2.5.2 Phase 2: Exonormative stabilisation

According to Schneider (2003:245; 2007:36; 2014:11) STL communities tend to stabilise politically at this stage; the use of English firmly establishes itself and it is spoken regularly in most formal spheres. The STL community acquires a 'British-plus' identity: an identity writing that remains undoubtedly British, but one that is increasingly enriched by elements of the 'colonial experience' (Moag, 1992:235; Schneider, 2003:245-246; 2007:37). The number of individuals from the IDG population who speak the language increases, swelling the ranks of the IDG strand, with many IDG community members becoming bilingual (Hall, 1962:154; Schneider, 2003:246; 2007:38; 2014:11), Thomason's (2001:70) *slightly more intense contact*. Access to English 'opens their eyes' to a European worldview so that they come to appropriate, to varying degrees, an IDG *and* STL identity – what Schneider (2007:38) calls 'British-cum-local'. Such individuals often gain high social status (Moag, 1992:236).

Speakers usually look toward written and spoken British English, as used by educated speakers, for their (external) linguistic norms (Hall, 1962:154; Moag, 1992:236; Schneider, 2007:38; 2014:11). This norm orientation is, however, rarely representative of local realities. In accord with Thomason (2001:142-146) Schneider (2003:246; 2007:39) emphasises that *negotiation* (in the sense also intended by Eckert, 2000 and others) between groups at ground level is the most important factor during this phase; where greater contact leads to greater and more lasting contact-induced change. Bearing in mind this interplay between persistent exonormative orientations and local innovations, I would like to draw particular attention to Schneider's (2003:247) statement that 'structural innovations at this stage are likely to go largely unnoticed'. It follows, then, that one would not see much literature or public discourse along the lines of the so-called 'complaint tradition' (see §2.5.3 below) during this phase.

Local vocabulary is likely to develop in this phase, especially *-isms*, e.g. South Africanisms; names for local fauna and flora and cultural items are often incorporated from the IDG strand; and early phonological and syntactic transfer phenomena increasingly occur (Hall, 1962:155; Moag, 1992:236f; Schneider, 2007:37; 2014:11; Thomason, 2001:70). Importantly, this is the 'kick-off phase' (Schneider,

2003:246; 2014:11) for structural nativisation in the IDG strand, which Schneider (2007:39, parenthesis added) deems 'linguistically the most important and interesting [phase]'.

2.5.2.1. Phase 2 in South African English

Schneider (2007:178) proposes that phase 2 lasted from 1822/1870s-1910. Anglicisation was promoted in the Cape and Natal by means of deliberate political moves to institutionalise the language: teachers and clergymen were 'imported' from Britain (Schneider, 2007:178). English spread further geographically, especially through bilingualism in the Afrikaner IDG stream and because of its general utility for matters such as trade (Schneider, 2007:178). Nonetheless, Schneider (2007:179) observes that the Afrikaner IDG stream strove to maintain a separate and independent identity; in the Black IDG stream, the use of English increasingly became a 'necessary evil' (De Klerk, 1999:312). English – certainly any proficient usage among non-native speakers – continued to be restricted, by and large, to the local elite, in both IDG streams (Schneider, 2007:179).

In the STL streams, a British-plus identity prevailed; with the British component being felt more strongly in Natal than in the 'harsh rural conditions of the Cape' (Schneider, 2007:179). In the 1860s, Indian contract labourers entered into the mix – many of whom came on five- to ten-year contracts, but remained after these had expired, coming to constitute the ADS strand (Schneider, 2007:179). Schneider (2007:179) notes that bilingualism gradually increased among the South African Indian population – and that it did so more rapidly in the ADS strand than in the Black IDG strand.

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold on the Witwatersrand drastically changed the social landscape in South Africa – converting it from a cluster of rural societies to one society based on industry and also drawing many immigrants (Schneider, 2007:178-179). In this new, industrial society, status was signalled, among other things, by linguistic means and the speech of the British upper class served both to signal prestige and to illustrate the exonormative orientation typical of this period (Schneider, 2007:180). Formerly regional accents also came to be associated with social status, with Cape English being associated with the lower classes and Natal English forging a narrower relationship with the upper classes (Schneider, 2007:180). The ADS strand was exposed mostly to Natal English and hence it was the variety that the ADS population targeted most actively (Schneider, 2007:180).

The respective IDG streams also participated in these developments, but to a lesser extent than the STL streams themselves (Schneider, 2007:180). English spread through the Black IDG community more rapidly and more extensively than in the previous phase, but remained restricted; among Afrikaners, proficiency in English declined somewhat and their accents were stigmatised (Lanham, 1982:329; Schneider, 2007:180f).

2.5.3 Phase 3: Nativisation

Moag and Moag (1977:3) have proposed the term *indigenisation* for this phase; Schneider follows Kachru (1977) in using *nativisation* as the term for the same process. Schneider (2003:247; 2007:40-41; 2014:11)

describes phase 3 as one during which the relevant colony becomes increasingly independent politically – or at least strives for greater independence – and STL groups start to dissociate themselves from their former or ancestral homeland (as proposed by Moag, 1992:235). This independence has often found a 'conventional political expression' in the British Commonwealth of Nations (Schneider, 2003:247; 2007:41).

STL and IDG communities begin to bridge the identity gap; pre-existing differences are not obliterated all at once, but they are reduced in importance (Hall, 1962:154; Moag, 1992:239; Schneider, 2007:41; 2014:11). Schneider (2003:247; 2007:44) consequently stresses the importance of identity and its renegotiation in this phase, citing Kachru (in Prendergast, 1998:227): 'The "acts of identity" […] are not only a matter of perception, but they have a formal realization in lexicalization, in syntax, and in discourse, styles, and genres' (see also Schneider, 2014:11; Thomason, 2001:70). Thus, phase 3 implies the greatest effects in the restructuring of the emerging New English (Moag, 1992:235; Schneider, 2003:248; 2007:44; 2014:11), which aligns with the *more intense contact* component of Thomason's (2001:70-71) borrowing scale (see also Moag, 1992:235; Weinreich, 1951:85). All parties need to accommodate to a certain extent to facilitate effective communication, but most accommodation still occurs in the IDG community (Moag, 1992:236; 240; Schneider, 2007:42). However, especially lower status individuals from the STL community are prone to transferring features of the IDG strand into the STL strand (Schneider, 2007:42). Mufwene (2001:64) points out that the level of difference between the STL and IDG strands decreases as the intimacy between the two communities increases (similarly argued by Thomason, 2001:70). The inverse is also true: the difference increases with decreased intimacy and this should be especially evident in the rigid maintenance of ethnic boundaries in territories such as South Africa.

A widening rift within the STL strand is observable during this phase, with conservative norms and rejection of local adjustments prevailing at one side and innovative local norms prevailing on the other (Moag, 1992:239-240; Schneider, 2003:248; 2007:43; 2014:11). Schneider (2003:248; 2007:43) observes that this normative contempt for local innovation is likely to find expression in a so-called *complaint tradition*[11] (cf. Milroy and Milroy, 1985), i.e.: 'the stereotypical statement by conservative language observers that linguistic usage keeps deteriorating, that in the new country "corrupt" usage can be heard which should be avoided'. This is most apparent in relation to the vocabulary, which is widely used and frequently remarked upon (Moag, 1992:235; 236; Schneider, 2003:248; 2007:44).

As complement to the growing divide within the STL strand, the gap between the STL and IDG strands closes, coming to signal class or social differences (Hall, 1962:154; Schneider, 2007:45; 2014:11). IDG strand speakers would be expected to have consistently local accents during this phase (Hall,

[11] I offer Schneider's (2003:248) qualification as one that is pertinent here: 'Certainly "complaint traditions" are not only characteristic of this developmental phase but symptomatic of the tension between spoken and written norms in literate societies in general. Such issues are typically raised among the educated echelons of a society, and it is doubtful whether they affect vernacular speech forms at all. The characteristic occurrence of such statements in the phase under discussion reflects a hightened [sic] awareness among some upper-class members of a society of the increasing alienation of their own orientations and linguistic behavior from that of their grassroots compatriots'.

1962:154; Schneider, 2003:248; 2007:44). Mutual negotiation ultimately produces varieties that are a second language for some and a first language with former second language (L2) transfer features for others (Schneider, 2007:45). This feature has proven especially powerful in the Coloured and South African Indian speech communities. It is, arguably, applicable to the Broad SAE-Afrikaans English continuum as well. Hall (1962:155) proposes that the lifetime of new varieties is dependent on their subsequent adoption by and association with a speech community – which introduces the theme of the following phase – the emerging vernacular(s) can 'reach the status of a 'normal' language […] by becoming one of the psychological pillars of its speakers' personalities' (Hall, 1962:155f). This is especially resonant with Labov's (1972) and Eckert's (2001) contention that linguistic change does not proceed in a 'social vacuum'.

Mixed codes are also common at this stage, often arising in indigenous varieties because of limited access to English in the face of its continued prestige (Hall, 1962:155; Moag, 1992:236; Schneider, 2007:47-48). Within the IDG strand there is a wide range of variation: proximity to STL usage is directly correlated with 'status, education, and frequency of interaction' with STL speakers; even this variation is subject to gradual regularisation (Schneider, 2007:44).

Schneider (2003:249; 2007:44) also considers the S-curve pattern of language change (cf. Bailey, 1973; Weinreich et al., 1968) to be especially applicable to nativisation:

> Indigenous usage starts as preferences, variant forms used by some while a majority of the rest will stick to the old patterns; then it will develop into a habit, used most of the time and by a rapidly increasing number of speakers, until in the end it has turned into a rule, constitutive of the new variety and adopted by the vast majority of language users, with a few exceptions still tolerated and likely to end up as archaisms or irregularities.

This S-curve progression proceeds throughout phase 3, rubbing off many variants that remained from the previous phases, and is clearly an important contributing factor to the regularisation and homogenisation that are characteristic of the following phase, endonormative stabilisation.

2.5.3.1. Phase 3 in South African English

According to Schneider (2007:180), nativisation extended from 1910 to 1994. Following various wars, such as the Anglo-Boer War (now more commonly called the South African War), the two former British colonies of Cape and Natal and the two former Boer republics of the Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal) geographically formed the current South Africa in the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Schneider, 2007:181). This new territory enjoyed greater political independence, though it remained very British in cultural orientation (Schneider, 2007:181) – the distanciation from Britain did mean that nativisation could proceed (Schneider, 2007:182).

The rift between the Afrikaner IDG stream and the STL strand grew, reaching a head in the National Party, composed mostly of Afrikaners, coming to power in the elections of 1948 (Schneider, 2007:182). South Africa became formally independent in 1961, though Schneider (2007:182) maintains

that this did not notably change the country's history. By the mid-20th century the shift toward English in the ADS strand reached critical mass, as English as L1 became more commonplace in the South African Indian community than Indic languages (Schneider, 2007:182). Likewise, English grew in the Black IDG stream, though not nearly as dramatically, being made more attractive for being the alternative to Afrikaans; however, because of racial segregation, English could not develop as freely in the Black IDG stream as it would have otherwise (Schneider, 2007:182).

The major ethnic groups mostly retained their ancestral languages, but also developed distinctive ethnic varieties of English (Schneider, 2007:183), nativising English at the levels of phonology, lexicon, and syntax. Schneider (2007:183) observes that bilingualism and multilingualism were at the order of the day and many accents of English came to bear special social meanings. Schneider (2007:183) explicitly appeals to a reanalysis of Natal English into General SAE and Afrikaans/Cape English into Broad SAE as being illustrative of phase 3 in SAE. This process of reanalysis was not wholesale as, for example, Natal English in toto is not equal to General SAE in toto – the former simply provided the primary linguistic inventory to the latter. To repeat a statement from above: As complement to the growing divide within the STL strand, the gap between the STL and IDG strands closes, coming to signal class or social differences (Hall, 1962:154; Schneider, 2007:45; 2014:11).[12] The Afrikaner IDG stream has merged nearly entirely with Broad SAE and to a lesser extent with Coloured SAE (Schneider, 2007:183). These various varieties show strong evidence of the phenomena that are typical of newly emerging postcolonial Englishes (see Schneider, 2007:184; and sources cited there). Schneider (2007:183) cites lexical and lexico-grammatical innovations as typical here – Lanham (1964:6) also observes that lexical items are the one feature that is borrowed most readily from other languages.

2.5.4 Phase 4: Endonormative stabilisation

The gradual acceptance of local linguistic norms typifies this phase (Schneider, 2003:249). A new identity is constructed after political separation and independence (Schneider, 2007:48): this phase can necessarily only develop from the former. Endonormative stabilisation generally follows on and presupposes political independence (Schneider, 2003:250; 2007:48; 2014:12). As Eckert (2000:15) deliberates, 'the only legitimate way to have a sense of autonomy is to elevate the peer community and culture as an independent form of membership and participation'. Thus, once the emerging variety has reached the point of expansion in use and status, it can proceed as any standard language would – and may likely become the 'object of national pride and cultivation' (Hall, 1962:156). The precise beginning of this phase cannot be pinpointed (Moag, 1992:241). It can proceed gradually from the time that independence is achieved – which is often by phase 3 – or abruptly, requiring as catalyst 'some

[12] As I will demonstrate in the following chapter, this aligns precisely with Lanham and Macdonald's (1979) observations in this regard. Their study is remarkably prescient of the major positions of the Dynamic Model – though they (and I) situate this development in a slightly earlier time frame than Schneider.

exceptional, quasi-catastrophic political event', what Schneider (2003:250; 2007:48-49; 2014:12) calls *Event X*.

While traces of the previous phase will remain, seeing as not all groups adapt equally rapidly to change, the reverence for the metropolitan standard that marked the previous phases is little more than a residualism now, though I emphasise that it remains present (Schneider, 2003:250; 2007:50; 2014:12). Trudgill (2004:24; parenthesis added) similarly contends that the 'speed of development [of New Englishes] would have differed from community to community'. Gupta (1997) further reinforces this interpretation, arguing as she does that we overemphasise whole varieties instead of individual speakers, who are ultimately the real seat of variation and who need not necessarily conform to what may be true for a variety as a whole, especially at national level (I have made this same argument in my defence of the idiolectal nature of language at various points in the preceding sections; particularly in §2.3.3). The hallmark of this phase is therefore a new, local norm to express identity and which levels many of the differences between the STL and IDG strands; this new variety has also lost its former stigma (Hall, 1962:156; Moag, 1992:241ff; Schneider, 2003:250-251; 2007:49; 2014:12). The relative lack of variation *within* this new, homogeneous variety makes it a social and political equaliser (Moag, 1992:239). The new norm may include certain traits of the IDG strand – surely vocabulary and, more hesitantly, structural features (Schneider, 2007:50; Thomason, 2001:71); endonormative stabilisation is illustrative of Thomason's (2001:70f) *intense contact*.

As Schneider (2003:250) observes, and I should stress, though, ethnic boundaries will probably not collapse and convergence with the STL strand will be most pronounced among the elite of the IDG strand, with the lower social strata retaining substantial variation *by comparison* (Gupta, 1997; Schneider, 2003:251; 2007:49). The prominence of ethnic divisions will also depend on the colonisation type and amount of remaining segregation (Schneider, 2007:49). Thus, differences between the STL and IDG strands may remain during this phase, especially along the parameters of ethnicity or social class; they are simply downplayed or ignored (Schneider, 2003:251-252; 2007:51; 2014:12). That is, the new variety is thought to be 'remarkably homogeneous' (Schneider, 2003:251; 2007:51; 2014:12), a viewpoint which is frequently stressed, though it often reflects a political desire rather than a sociolinguistic reality.

Moreover, regional variation would present only marginally or not at all. Certainly, speakers would not be sensitive to any regionality that might persist, and regional variation is therefore also subjected to levelling, resulting in regional homogeneity. Thus, Van Rooy (2014:22) observes that 'the pool of shared features increases and remaining differences tend to be either less conspicuous or downplayed' – 'pool of features', of course, in the sense intended by Mufwene (discussed in §2.3).

If the complaint tradition may be said to be typical of nativisation then Schneider (2003:252-253) considers three further developments that are typical of endonormative stabilisation:

1. Codification – discernible especially from the publication of reference works such as dictionaries (Schneider, 2003:252; 2007:52; 2014:12).

Codification can additionally be observed in an increasing number of local English teachers (and teachers who use English as medium-of-instruction) entering the arena, following which locals need look less and less toward metropolitan territories for education (Moag, 1992:242). This both contributes to the standardisation of the local variety and produces more speakers who are proficient in the local standard (Moag, 1992:242). Likewise, the local media holds much sway in legitimising the local standard (Moag, 1992:242). Local forms of English are used in broadcast and print media, bringing audiences under the impression that the local variety is sufficient for 'higher' language functions (Moag, 1992:242f).

2. Schneider (2003:253; 2007:50) believes that the New English in question would be symbolically emancipated at this time; whereas during phase 3 it would have been labelled *English in X*, as in *English in South Africa*, during phase 4 it would come to be known as *X English*, as in *South African English*.
3. A concept that Schneider (2003:253; 2007:50; 2014:12) borrows from Kingsley Bolton, viz. 'literary creativity in English'. Likewise, Görlach (1991:22-23), Kachru (1992), Kachru (1994:528-533), and Moag (1992:241) hold that literary expression in English (a popular epithet for this phenomenon is *postcolonial literature*) is an important feature in the genesis of New Englishes. The concept is dealt with extensively by Platt et al. (1984:ch. 11). An important function of these local literary works is that they provide a model of local norms to strive toward, hence promoting the institutional role of the local variety (Moag, 1992:241f).

2.5.4.1. Phase 4 in South African English

Schneider (2007:185) proposes that the crossover to full democracy in 1994 is, for South Africa, Event X – a spectacular, quasi-catastrophic change of direction; as such phase 4 extends from that period onward. Schneider (2007:185) maintains that the most important aspect of this change was that it shifted the emphasis from identity based on ethnicities to identity based on membership in a newly-democratic society. Moreover, the emphasis that is laid on unity, on the 'rainbow nation', demonstrates a deliberate attempt to draw on similarities rather than differences (Schneider, 2007:185).

Schneider (2007:185) does admit, though, that no individual variety has come to epitomise this new identity. English serves a central role for utilitarian purposes and, especially, in interethnic communication, making it very popular in general (Schneider, 2007:186). This central role of English does, however, lead to it being unpopular in some circles: since it is the language of access and upward social mobility, those who do not command it well are excluded from such access or social mobility (Schneider, 2007:186f). Hence, there exists no 'homogeneous' variety of SAE: if one is on its way, we remain some generations away from its appearance; this leads Schneider (2007:187) to infer that endonormativity is on the rise, but the (perceived) homogeneity typical of this phase is not forthcoming. This position is reiterated, specifically in the context of SAE, by Van Rooy (2014:22).

Schneider (2007:188) notes a rise in the Black IDG stream both as a symbol of prestige and as an L1 for an increasingly large segment of the population. In this sense it may serve to unify diverse ethnic groups within the Black population (Schneider, 2007:188), but it is doubtful that it would be embraced as a standard by other groups. Schneider (2007:188) also notes that the literary output in SAE and the codification of the language are representative of this phase. Overall, Schneider (2007:188) contends that SAE has 'made deep inroads into phase 4'; homogeneity seems possible among the middle classes, but most likely not in society as a whole; and many of the idiosyncrasies apparent in SAE result from the multilingualism in South Africa, which should persist for the foreseeable future. In support of this analysis, Van Rooy and Terblanche (2010:407) attempt to determine whether SAE (in general, i.e. not just one ethnolect) has progressed into phase 4. Based on empirical considerations they conclude that there is 'clear evidence' for this being the case (Van Rooy & Terblanche, 2010:420).

2.5.5 Phase 5: Differentiation

Whereas phase 4 centres around the construction of an identity that is separate from that of the mother country, Schneider (2003:253-254; 2007:53; 2014:12) describes differentiation as a phase of new or increased internal differentiation which bears sociolinguistic meaning. The emergence of the new variety recedes into memory as both it and its associated territory have already affirmed their autonomy (Schneider, 2003:253; 2007:52). In this sense, Labov (2010:186) proposes that enhanced awareness among speakers may stabilise dialects and safeguard them against dialect levelling and its effects. With the increased awareness of identity that was developed during phase 4, phase 5 is one that is focused on the construction of internal identities within the nation and sociolinguistically meaningful diversification (Schneider, 2003:254; 2007:54). The homogeneity – real or perceived – of the previous phase is ultimately foregone in favour of variation that highlights subdivisions in national identity (Schneider, 2003:253; 2007:53). Importantly, phase 4 provided the breeding ground for such subdivisions: increased internal variation proceeds especially through the development of informal varieties or styles, which are not subject to so much exonormative pressure as before and may become necessary as the endonormative standard acquires continued status as a true standard – and thus will not be deemed appropriate for vernacular use anymore (Moag, 1992:239). This speaks directly to Eckert's (2000:214) assertion, as considered in section 2.2.3 above, that speakers may include local or vernacular features into 'otherwise fairly standard English' to convey an identity that is 'in tune with, but not limited to vernacular culture'. And this is precisely why we may expect phase 5 regionality, even in standard speakers.

Schneider (2003:253; 2007:54) believes that Trudgill's (1986:152-153) concept of *reallocation* is especially operative during this phase, where features that were originally from different varieties are assigned new sociolinguistic meaning (also argued by Mufwene, 2001:26-27; Nettle, 1999:17). Earlier differences between STL and IDG strands will likely resurface during this phase and come to signal ethnic varieties – Schneider (2003:254; 2007:54) also remarks that this would especially be the case for SAE (cf. De Klerk, 1996). Although Bekker (2009:88) argues for keeping original regionalisms separate

from ‘putative’ (recent) innovations; it should follow that it is unnecessary for features that come to the fore during phase 5 to be innovations of that phase – it is more likely that they would be residualisms, archaisms, or minority features that are reassigned (reallocated to) a certain social relevance. As Schneider (2008:265) enquires, ‘which socially diagnostic linguistic variable (certainly, phonetic variable) was ever created afresh?’ And, as Mufwene (2001:29) contends, it is more likely for an ‘old’ variant to be assigned new value, than for one to be manufactured entirely anew.

Monolingualism is not requisite for this – or any – phase of the Dynamic Model and Schneider (2003:254; 2007:55) makes provision for multilingualism operating during phase 5:

> such dialect differences may be reinforced or may actually develop afresh as markers of ethnic pride, or they may be relatively inconspicuous, even barely perceptible […] In multilingual countries like Canada, Singapore, or South Africa, the IDG strand appears as either ethnic dialects or L2-varieties of English.

Schneider (2003:253; 2007:54) proposes that especially regional differentiation, over social variation, would be typical of phase 5, seeing as social class distinctions would most likely have persisted up until now. In contrast, regional variation would either not have been diagnostically necessary in a newly settled area up until phase 5 or the period prior to phase 5 would not have a sufficient depth of time for regionality to have developed (Schneider, 2003:253). Schneider (2007:54) does admit that ‘in practically all cases we simply do not have the evidence to tell when regional diversification may have started, so it may have been around earlier than we suspect’. But increased regionality does remain the primary hallmark of phase 5 differentiation.

I do not offer Schneider’s (2007) application of phase 5 to SAE for the simple reason that he does not provide one. However, refer to section 3.5 below for my own application of this phase to the STL strand vis-à-vis the Afrikaner IDG stream.

3 SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH

> [R]e sena puo epè e re e tlhōmamisañ. Ha rra motho a le seleme, ñwana oa gagwè le ène o tla a itshimololela puo e sele mo go ea ga rragwè; ekete oa ipopa loleme lo e señ loa go rragwè (Motlhoka-leina, 1883:3).[13]

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: to provide an overview of literature on South African English and to construct an argument, from the literature, for the progression of *STL stream General SAE vis-à-vis IDG stream Afrikaans English* through each phase of the Dynamic Model, as outlined in section 2.5 above. The primary hypothesis in this study is that STL strand White SAE has already reached phase 5 of the Dynamic Model; this should be evident from the results section, but it is also my intention to support this point from a review of the extant literature. *I cannot overemphasise the fact that the phases of the Dynamic Model can and do overlap*. This is implied by the use of the word *dynamic* in the name and should be apparent after a moment's consideration – in any speech community where there is linguistic change, that change will progress stepwise through age groups; some speakers in the youngest generation will be very conservative while others will be very innovative in their speech habits; and older generations with older speech norms do not die all-at-once. As noted in section 2.5.3, Schneider (2003:249; 2007:44) specifically incorporates the S-curve pattern of language change (cf. Bailey, 1973; Weinreich et al., 1968) into the Dynamic Model. This means that at the end of one phase, a small group of individuals will start using innovative variants, there will be a peak at the time of crossover, and a small group will persist into the subsequent phase who still adhere to the sociolinguistic practice of the previous phase. In any case, and as argued by Gupta (1997; §2.3.3) and Van Rooy (2014; §2.5), national varieties are at best an abstraction from the speakers and individual speakers may vary considerably by comparison. As such, many points of the discussion that follows could sort into one subsection just as easily as another. My primary goal, however, is to keep to the chronology as closely as possible and to relate the relevant literature on SAE cogently to the phases of the Dynamic Model.

It is prudent to frame SAE before interpreting it in terms of the Dynamic Model. According to the national census conducted in 2011, 9.6% of the South African population indicated English as their L1 (Statistics South Africa, 2012:27); this amounts to some 4.9 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2012:26). Some statistics that relate to English as L1 among the majority ethnic groups in South Africa are presented in Table 3.1 below (adapted from Statistics South Africa; 2012:26-27):

[13] [W]e have no fixed language. If some father lisped, his child would also be that way. Or, perhaps that child could make for himself some other language, creating a tongue other than that of his father (Mgadla & Volz, 2006:9 [translation of Motlhoka-leina, 1883:3]).

Table 3.1: Distribution of English as an L1 among ethnic/racial groups in South Africa

Ethnic/racial group	Number	Percentage of English-speakers	Percentage of racial/ethnic group
White	1 603 575	32.7	35.9
Black	1 167 913	23.9	2.9
Indian	1 094 317	22.4	86.1
Coloured	945 847	19.3	20.8

Values that were either not specified or indicated as 'not applicable' have been excluded from the calculations for Table 3.1 (Statistics South Africa, 2012:26-27). In the first column, the majority (i.e., most numerous) ethnic/racial groups in South Africa are provided; in the following column, the raw amount of L1 speakers of English from each ethnic/racial group has been provided; in the third column the percentage that speakers of each ethnic/racial group contributes to the total number of L1 English speakers has been provided; in the final column the percentage value of individuals from each ethnic group who claim English as their L1 has been provided (Statistics South Africa, 2012:26-27). Afrikaans remains the most common L1 for individuals who are White or Coloured; English is the majority L1 for SA Indian individuals; and ancestral, Bantu languages are by far in the majority among Black individuals (Statistics South Africa, 2012:26-27). However, within the L1 English community, White, STL strand speakers remain in the majority; while Black speakers are rapidly increasing in number and have already outstripped Coloured and SA Indian speakers to become the second largest racial group of native English speakers (Statistics South Africa, 2012:26).

Thus, as Lass (1990a:272; 2002:111) deliberates, linguistic variation in SAE is complicated by the existence of ethnic varieties. This internal delineation is often *perceived as* notably South African (though it is really just especially conspicuous in South Africa); namely, the sociolinguistic situation is crosscut by the political past of the country (Lass, 2002:111). Even though the continued use of ethnolectal categorisations may seem politically incorrect, delineations along racial lines mostly remain apt because of the inheritance of the particular socio-political history of South Africa (Bowerman, 2004:935; Mesthrie, 2010:5). In any case, though ethnolinguistic division may be especially conspicuous in SAE, it is not so exceptional for such divisions to exist. As noted in section 2.5.4, Schneider (2003:250-251; 2007:49, 51) proposes that it is mostly unlikely for ethnic boundaries to collapse altogether and they often do remain (at least partially) intact, even in phase 4 and beyond. Of course, 'one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs' (Labov, 1972:3). Da Silva (2008:67), likewise, notes the emphasis laid on ethnicity as a social variable since the start of sociolinguistic studies – highlighting its particular relevance to the South African context.

During apartheid, SAE varieties were categorised into five macro-groups according to speakers' mother tongue and ethnicity. Note that certain varieties may be either L1 or L2, which conforms to Schneider's (2007:45; discussed in §2.5.3 above) observations. Of course, these classifications cannot imply strictly homogenous sociolinguistic groups (Bowerman, 2004:935; Branford, 1994:451; De Klerk, 1996; Gupta, 1997), which leads authors such as Bekker (2009:68) and Da Silva (2007:2) to voice doubts

about the continued 'aptness' of the original categories and their rigid application to a situation that is inherently and undeniably changing. Da Silva (2008:2) states that 'one is no longer able to determine a variety on the basis of ethnicity alone'. This may hold true, depending on the individual or speech (sub) community involved: in this regard Eckert (2008a:454) stresses the importance of not confusing 'demographic correlations' with 'social meaning', which is in consonance with Gupta's (1997:47; §2.4 above) appeal to consider individuals rather than whole varieties, as is also argued explicitly for SAE by Branford (1994:472). As this study is not aimed at contesting extant terminology, I will follow Bekker (2009:68) and not attempt to propose any revisions of my own. However, it is prudent to remain mindful of differences between 'demographic correlations' and 'social meaning', as misgivings that relate to ethnolects are rooted in a South African tendency to conflate the two. Such conflation may not accurately reflect the linguistic reality: as Schneider (2003:239, from personal correspondence) quotes Kachru, 'some scholars doubt whether any language description can be devoid of ideological baggage'. I believe that the issue at point is exactly such 'ideological baggage'. Ultimately, racial categorisations generally persist in current use; these are (as taken from Lanham, 1967:102-103; 1976:281; Mesthrie, 2010:5; Schlemmer, 1976:94):

1. White South African English, which is the original L1 English variety of South Africa, an offshoot of mainly Southern British English – the **STL strand**.
2. South African Indian English, which may be either an L1 or an L2 variety, depending on the speaker(s) in question – the **ADS strand**. This variety is similar in many respects though not identical to the Indian English of India itself (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:17; Mesthrie, 2002:341).
3. Coloured English, which may, again, be either an L1 or an L2 variety – the **Coloured IDG stream**. Coloured English derives from the 'extreme forms' of Afrikaans English and, as such, Bowerman (2004:935) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:17) argue that it may overlap with Afrikaans English and/or Broad SAE. Subsequent developments may arguably have led to Bowerman's (2004:935) and Lanham and Macdonald's (1979:17) statements not applying as fully as they may have before.
4. Black South African English, which is traditionally an L2 variety, though Bowerman (2004:934; 941) has ventured that Black SAE may increasingly become an L1 variety for some speakers, which is corroborated by Van Rooy (2004:943). Data from the 2011 census, provided in Table 3.1, confirm this view: Black SAE can act similarly to Coloured English and SA Indian English in that it can be either an L1 or an L2 variety – the **Black IDG stream**.
5. Afrikaans English, an L2 variety spoken by Afrikaners – the **Afrikaner IDG stream**.[14]

[14] Lanham (e.g. 1978:141) has, however, proposed that some Afrikaners, particularly those from the higher social classes, may command (STL strand) SAE *instead of* (IDG strand) Afrikaans English. This again speaks to the importance of not over-generalising sociolinguistic realities.

Moreover, there is variation within SAE along the parameters of socioeconomic class, age, and gender (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:3; Lass, 2002:111). The three 'traditional' L1s, viz. Coloured English, SA Indian English, and White SAE, are subject to the usual varietal stratification of any native variety; likewise, L2 varieties, such as Afrikaans English and Black SAE (and Coloured SAE or SA Indian English, where applicable) tend toward the usual features of non-native varieties: some speakers may come very close to – and even reach – their target, while others' speech may be heavily influenced by L1 transfer or interference phenomena. Importantly, Lass (2002:105) argues that *all* varieties of SAE – even the most stigmatised L2 varieties – are 'autonomous dialects of English', meaning that they have a legitimate status as varieties of English, as is also held by the Kachruvian tradition. Of course, a development that should not be ignored is the addition of acrolectal and/or L1 Black SAE to these extant categories. SA Indian and Coloured communities – the 'traditional' non-White L1 SAE communities – have their own internal varietal stratification (Bowerman, 2004:935; Lass, 1990a:272; 2002:111). A likely reconfiguration therefore, given the increasing number of L1 Black SAE speakers, would be for Black SAE to develop greater internal varietal stratification itself, as did Coloured English and SA Indian English – and indeed, as do all language varieties, eventually, provided that they persist. The existence or emergence of acrolectal BSAE, which has, roughly, General SAE as its target variety, thus seems incontestable (cf. Mesthrie, 2010).

Moreover, South African English may be said to be a Southern Hemisphere English in that it shows similarities to the English spoken in South-Eastern England and, by the same token, the Englishes of Australia, the Falkland Islands, and New Zealand (Bowerman, 2004:941; Lanham, 1964:15; Lass, 1990a:273; 2002:105; Trudgill, 2004:20). This is due to ecological factors that saw strong input from South-Eastern England in all these territories, making them all phylogenetically related (Lass, 2002:105; Trudgill, 2004:20) and, quite possibly, because of swamping (Lass, 1990b; 2002:124; refer to §2.3.2 above). The Englishes of the Southern Hemisphere have typically developed three varietal types, which Lass (1990a:272; 2002:109) terms the *great trichotomy*. These varietal types are perceived on a hierarchical scale by speakers and are, as adapted from Lanham and Macdonald (1979) and Lass (1990a:272f; 2002:109), the following:

1. Type 1, which is external (or *exonormative*) in its focus; as such it corresponds closely to the metropolitan English standard (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:4; Lass, 2002:110). Its norms are determined via reference to (a perception of) the Southern British standard, especially Received Pronunciation (Lass, 2002:110).
2. Type 2, which is the local, or 'provincial', standard (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:4; Lass, 2002:110). Lass (2002:110) observes that this type shares various characteristics in common with Type 1, especially prestige; but it is conspicuously local (or *endonormative*). As such, it has often been subject to some stigmatisation by older and more normative speakers of Type 1 (Hooper, 1945; Lass, 2002:110).

3. Type 3 is a grouping of vernaculars that are stigmatised by speakers of both the aforementioned varieties; it is stereotyped and often subject to deliberate 'correction' through education; it is most different, especially phonetically, from Types 1 and 2 (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:3; Lass, 2002:110).

Speakers of the second type assiduously avoid 'sounding like' speakers of the third; however, they certainly do not sound like speakers of Type 1 either, despite many possibly believing that they do or wishing that they did (Lass, 2002:110). Lass (2002:110) nevertheless confirms that speakers of Type 2 tend to attain to the same social niche as those of Type 1, in that they achieve similar levels of status, excel at similar careers, and the like.

Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) were the first to describe this trichotomy-pattern, in Australian English; they termed Type 1 *Cultivated*, Type 2 *General*, and Type 3 *Broad* (Lass, 2002:110). Toward the same end, Lanham and Traill (1962) identify what they call *South African Received Pronunciation*, or *SARP*. They differentiate (Lanham & Traill, 1962:171-193) two SARP sub-varieties: initial SARP and a more recent SARP that tends toward more uniquely SAE qualities. The initial variety is what Lanham (1964:22) later calls *near-British English* and later still (Lanham, 1967:61; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979) *Conservative SAE*. The 'more recent' variety is what he later terms *Respectable SAE* (Lanham, 1967; Lanham, 1978; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979). Lanham (1964) initially seems to conflate Type 2 Respectable SAE with Type 3, at times referring to it as *extreme SAE*, the name he later proposes for a third variety (Lanham, 1978). In Lanham (1967:63), for example, he makes a distinction by designating Type 2 *less extreme SAE* and Type 3 *more extreme SAE*. The third variety, Type 3, as identified by Lanham (1967) consequently added immensely to earlier work on SAE, rounding out the trichotomy. Lass (2002:110) consequently claims that Lanham (1967; 1978) first described this trichotomy pattern in SAE – remaining cognizant, though, that the trichotomy was first identified by Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) in Australian English – and it is treated in some detail by Lanham and Macdonald (1979). Lanham and Macdonald (1979:34) do make explicit reference to Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) and correlate the trichotomy they identify in Australian English to their own, proposed for SAE – which Lass (1990a:272) also does.

Lanham and Macdonald (1979) do propose somewhat different terminology from Mitchell and Delbridge (1965), Type 1 being *Conservative*, whereas Types 2 and 3 are – somewhat infelicitously, as Lass (2002:110) observes – *Respectable* and *Extreme*. It has become fairly common practice (e.g. Bekker, 2009; Bowerman, 2004; etc.) to substitute the terms proposed by Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) for the three types, even when referring to South African English. In the interest of a standard, international terminology to refer to the trichotomy-pattern of Southern Hemisphere Englishes, and in a bid to employ more felicitous terminology, I follow suit.

Like most varieties of English, SAE has a sociolinguistic continuum, ranging from the most standard to the least standard or most vernacular: the trichotomy is this continuum (Lass, 2002:105; 110-

112). As Bekker (2009:81) admonishes, the fact that 'these three sociolects in fact imply a continuum, with considerable overlap, should also be emphasized'. As discussed in section 2.1.2, Eckert (2000:17) proposes that a cline runs from the most standard to the most vernacular speech, and divisions we may make along the cline are not discrete; Lanham (1967:76-77) makes this exact same argument for SAE. As such, Cultivated SAE is, or has been, situated toward the most prestigious end of the continuum; it closely resembles the Southern English standard and correlates with upper class speakers in South Africa who also have close, recent ties to Britain (Lanham, 1978:143; Lass, 1990a:272; 2002:110). The main social variable which correlates to General SAE is middle class (Lass, 2002:110). Broad SAE relates to class too; though in this case, it is the lower class; moreover, the 'broadest' varieties of SAE are near-indistinguishable from Afrikaans English (Bowerman, 2004:935; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:34; Lass, 2002:110-111). It has been argued, however, that there is stronger involvement from ideology in the distinction between General and Broad SAE (Jeffery, 1982; Schultz, 2013; the discussion of phases 3 and 4 in §3.3 and §3.4 below). In fact, I propose that much of the difficulty in the description of SAE arises from a misinterpretation of this ideological component in SAE society; I therefore highlight the ideological component in SAE at various points in the discussion that follows, where it becomes pertinent.

As the exonormative standard, Cultivated SAE has been in recession for some time (Lass, 2002:110); in Lanham and Macdonald's (1979) sample it enjoyed representation nearly exclusively among people who were, then, over 45 years of age (that is, born in the pre-Second World War period) and mostly among females. As the endonormative standard, General SAE has benefited from an increase in number of speakers (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:4; 48), it has been the *exclusive* prestige variety of younger speakers since the Second World War (Lanham, 1967:62; 106), and it is arguably the uncontested standard at present (Bekker, 2009:78). Both these developments, which constitute a shift from Cultivated to General SAE as standard – one which is accounted for by the Dynamic Model – receive consideration under phases 3 and 4 below (§3.3 and §3.4).

To summarise, there are five major ethnic varieties of SAE: (1) the STL strand of White speakers, (2) the ADS strand of SA Indian speakers, (3) the IDG stream of Coloured speakers, (4) the IDG stream of Black speakers, (5) and the IDG stream of Afrikaners. I introduced the argument, and the reasons behind it, for positing three IDG streams in SAE in section 2.5; moreover, Schneider (2007:174) states that all five these ethnic groups have variously participated in the development of SAE – as informed by the Dynamic Model. The STL strand may be subdivided into three streams: the Cultivated stream, the General stream, and the Broad stream. STL stream General SAE serves as the local standard and conveys high prestige. Traditionally, this variety was restricted entirely to White speakers; however, it is gaining in speakers from other ethnicities.

The preponderance of perceived Jewish accents – such as the so-called *Kugel* stereotype in Johannesburg (cf. Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:57) – is suggestive that one may also be able to distinguish a Jewish ADS stream, although, any Jewish ADS stream would be very close to the

endonormative standard expressed in General SAE (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:64) and, as such, may more accurately be said to be (or have become) a subtype of the STL strand rather than a wholly separate ADS stream. As Garson, N.G. (1976:19) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:79) observe, the Jewish population in South Africa has made great efforts to assimilate into the White population at large and their social contact is not restricted to the in-group. Indeed, it is my impression that the implicit stance in the literature has been that the Jewish community in South Africa speaks a sub-variety of the STL strand.

The Dynamic Model as applied to SAE

> [W]e should think of the English-speaking community not as having become fully established at a certain point, but as one that has constantly been in the making (Garson, N.G., 1976:20).

Schneider (2007:173-188) has proposed a projection of SAE along the parameters of the Dynamic Model – which was briefly considered in the previous chapter. I propose that this application is mostly accurate insofar as it relates to SAE *in general*, or across all racial groups, as has also been supported on empirical grounds by Van Rooy and Terblanche (2010).

However, different groups can and do progress through the various phases of the Dynamic Model at different rates (Schneider, 2015; Van Rooy, 2014). I thus propose that Coloured and SA Indian English have progressed the furthest along the model, since they exhibit the most robust linguistic differentiation in terms of region (Mesthrie, 2010; 2012; Mesthrie et al., 2015:26). Van Rooy (2014:33) specifically interprets Mesthrie's (2010) findings to the effect that Coloured English and SA Indian English have reached at least phase 4, albeit in a somewhat atypical fashion, which relates more closely to 'covert' than to 'overt' endonormativity – a similar implication is made by Lanham and Macdonald (1979:18; 64f) with regard to General SAE in the early years of its life cycle, viz. that it was a standard with 'covert' rather than the usual 'overt' prestige. Apart from White SAE, these two are the only 'traditional' L1 Englishes in South Africa, and they were subject to considerably less prescriptive pressures than White varieties (Lanham, 1967:110; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:18); these factors must have contributed to these varieties following the path projected by the Dynamic Model at a faster rate than the other varieties.

Conservative varieties are more resistant to change – and this would especially be the case for General SAE, due to its status as standard (Eckert, 2000:17; §2.2.3 above). In contrast, many basilectal varieties across the ethnic spectrum, but especially those spoken as an L2 or further additional language by Black speakers who have had poor access to education, might only now be entering into the nativisation phase; or might be participating in a protracted process of nativisation that is subject to considerable ebb and flow.

White SAE – a subset of which, General SAE, is the focus of this study – seems to be at phase 5; making it more advanced in terms of the Dynamic Model vis-à-vis currently-nativising varieties and possibly slightly less advanced than Coloured or SA Indian English (cf. Mesthrie et al., 2015). Overall, one must bear in mind that South Africa has eleven official languages and a plethora of minority

languages, which again motivates a position that does not afford too much primacy to whole, national varieties, as proposed by Gupta (1997) and in section 2.3.3 above. In addition, not all speakers within a given language group have equal access to English and the native speakers of one language may, on average, have different levels of access and different attitudes to English, as compared to native speakers of another language. Our greatest mistake, as ever, in the application of the Dynamic Model to SAE is seeing SAE as a single entity, whereas it is better conceived of as a commonwealth of varieties. As Garson, N.G. (1976:35; parenthesis added) eloquently phrases it: 'No assessment of the English-speaking [i.e., White, STL strand] community can escape the challenge of delineating its place relative to the plural and multiracial character of South African society', a sentiment with which Branford (1994:431) goes in accord. As Schneider (2007:188; parenthesis added) himself admonishes, in reference to SAE 'it is not justified to talk of a single [cross-ethnic], stabilized variety'.

In the spirit of an application of the Dynamic Model that offers refinements to the one Schneider (2007) has proposed, Schneider (2014:13f) notes two novel applications of the concept of Event X to SAE. First is Spencer's (2011a:267) discussion of the 'symbolic power of sport'. Spencer (2011a) treats the 1995 Rugby World Cup and the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup as co-instances of Event X, prompting realignment of identities (Schneider, 2014:13f). Second, Spencer (2011b) also observes that White teachers – both from the STL strand and the Afrikaner IDG stream – are increasingly accepting of the use of Black IDG stream features in the classroom, signalling phase 4 (Schneider, 2014:14). Note the strong implication of such sporting events and teacher attitudes contributing to ethnically Black SAE being drawn into the sphere of phase 4 vis-à-vis ethnically White SAE. Since the STL strand and the Afrikaner IDG stream already reached phase 4 with regard to each other some time ago (and therefore share a set of evaluative norms – for which, refer to §3.4 below), both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans respond similarly to increasingly-frequent use of Black features in the classroom. They share a common set of norms and attitudes, as were developed in phase 3 and propagated in phase 4, and the current ecological circumstances apply across the board, leading to a similar process of re-evaluation of the former norms and attitudes.

Turning to my own application of the Dynamic Model to SAE, I fit the Dynamic Model onto the so-called Standard Model (as noted in the introductory chapter) which, as Bekker (2012a:128) notes, is 'contained in most of the extant literature on the history of SAfE'. As Bekker (2012a:134) observes, Schneider (2007:176) 'explicitly adopts the standard model'. Since the present study is based foremost on Schneider's Dynamic Model, I follow suit. Notably, Bekker (2012a and elsewhere) proposes a substantial revision to the formation of SAE, to the effect that the Standard Model is near-wholly inaccurate, which I consider briefly in section 3.3 below. However, I maintain the Standard Model – and the motivations for this choice will emerge in the sections that follow. As a reminder, my own application differs from Schneider's (2007) in that I do not intend to propose a pan-South African application of the Dynamic Model to SAE, which includes all racial and ethnic groups; but delimit my application to the White varieties, i.e. the STL strand and the Afrikaner IDG stream.

Indeed, due to historical and political reasons, the focus of the Standard Model has always been on the White varieties. Bekker (2009:86f), Bowerman (2004:935), and Van Rooy (2014:27), for example, speak directly to this traditional restriction of SAE to the White varieties. Lanham (1978:138) observes that most sociolinguistic work at the time was directed at four issues, two of which are the coexistence of English and Afrikaans in society, and 'English and Afrikaans interpenetration and mutual influence', while the other two relate to pedagogy and L2 varieties (other than Afrikaans English). These research interests evidence a strong bias toward the relationship between English and Afrikaans. There is undoubtedly a strong political hand in this bias, but I propose that such research interests were nonetheless also directed by what simply was the most fruitful field of inquiry. Most individuals from other racial groups had minimal access to the authentic speech of White speakers, which occasioned minimal diversity in terms of linguistic contact in those populations. In this regard, Lanham (1964:7f) contends that languages other-than-Afrikaans, in particular the Bantu languages, have had a comparatively small effect on (STL strand) SAE, due to the lack of a sufficiently large group of speakers who are bilingual (and proficient) in those languages and English (Branford, 1994:487). Moreover, Lanham (1967:110) supports this interpretation by observing that L1 SAE speech habits should not be expected to converge with L2 varieties, with the exception of Afrikaans English.

In summary, I follow Van Rooy (2014) – and, indeed, Schneider (2007:188; 2015) – in proposing an approach that does not require all strands that are present in a given territory to be 'equally involved' in the phases of the Dynamic Model, nor is it even requisite for them to be at the same phase at the same time. In this regard, Lass (1990a:272) has appealed directly to an approach which considers the local nature of SAE (in the sense proposed in §2.4). I do, however, differ from Van Rooy (2014) in that I propose the STL strand has progressed further through the Dynamic Model with regard to the Afrikaner IDG stream than has previously been argued. Importantly, the Standard Model, and earlier observations about various periods in its development, complements the Dynamic Model remarkably well.[15] In broad strokes, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:80) distinguish 'three significant stages in the social history of the SAE community', which amount to a broadly adhered-to interpretation of the standard model,[16] and which are as follows:

1. A colonial society which persisted until the 1870s – which corresponds to **phases 1 and 2** of the Dynamic Model.
2. The new, industrial society that developed from the late-19th century mining boom and provided the social norms that have spread throughout and persisted in South African society thereafter. This stage demonstrates the nativising and restructuring features of **phase 3**.

[15] In fact, Schneider (2015) seems to agree with my own application of his model to the Standard Model.
[16] Lass and allied authors tend to differ from Lanham and his allied authors in respect to certain nuances; these two 'camps' (Lanham vs. Lass) constitute the two major interpretations of the Standard Model.

3. A third stage, during which ties to Great Britain were severed and its influence resultantly diminished and finally disappeared. This stage, set at the early- to mid-20th century, corresponds to **phase 4** of the Dynamic Model, where the exonormative was ultimately shunned in favour of the endonormative and an authentically South African community came into its own, setting up a corresponding sociolinguistic practice.

In sections 3.1-3.4 below, I review extant literature to frame the progression of White SAE, as narrowly conceived, through phases 1-4 of the Dynamic Model. At the end of the discussion of the linguistic issues present during each phase, I will grant some consideration to other social or political practices that Schneider (2003; 2007) proposes may also serve to mark or signal the respective phases, as I have discussed in section 2.5, and which should be illustrative of Mufwene's (2001) *external ecology*. Lanham (1964:11f) directly considers such cultural or political aspects of social practice in South Africa and brings them in relation to sociolinguistic practice in SAE. He does state, though, that the 'most powerful' way for people to express their identity is through their speech habits (Lanham, 1964:12) and linguistic developments therefore remain central in the discussion that follows. There is rarely any literature – scholarly or otherwise – on the emerging variety *during* phase 1 and phase *2*. While much happens on ground level, and people would surely have some intuition of a difference between the New English and metropolitan varieties, Schneider (2003; 2007) argues that no one would commit their hand to paper on the matter. Only from phase 3 onwards do people tend to comment outright on the new variety; the discussion below thus centres particularly on the latter phases of the Dynamic Model.

3.1 The period prior to phase 1 (16th century-1790s/1806) and phase 1 (1790s/1806-c. 1870)

> Considering the tract of country over which these border inhabitants [Afrikaners] are dispersed, the rude and uncultivated state in which they live, and the wild notions of independence which prevail among them, I am afraid any attempts to introduce civilisation and a strict administration of justice will be slow in their progress, and likely, if not proceeded upon with caution and management, rather to create a spirit of resistance, or to occasion them to emigrate still further from the seat of government, than answer the beneficent views with which they might be undertaken. (William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland, in a despatch from July 1800, quoted in Worsfield, 1906:9; parenthesis added.)

Schneider (2007:175) situates the foundation phase for SAE in the timeframe 1806/1822-1870s; my own application of extant literature on the variety and the Standard Model to the Dynamic Model is roughly equivalent to his, setting this phase in the period 1790s/1806-c. 1870.

According to Silva (1978:61), the earliest appearance of South African words in an English context date to 1580 and resulted from ships of the English East India Company visiting the Cape. From that point until the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries 'South African English' was not a variety proper, nor one in the making; but rather some other variety of English that was spoken at the time, spiced with localisms to provide readers with an 'African' context (Silva, 1978:61). Europeans permanently settled in South

Africa in 1652, with the installation of a refreshment station at Cape Town by the Dutch East India Company (Branford, 1994:432; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:9; Lass, 2002:108). The settlers were of predominantly Dutch extraction, but there was a constant influx of other European groups, notably French and German; most of whom would amalgamate into the Afrikaners. Bowerman (2004:931) observes that British ships often stopped over at the Cape in the 18th century and Branford (1994:433) states that by the end of the century there was 'already a considerable body of writings in English on the Cape'.

Great Britain took over administration of the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch in 1795 (Bowerman, 2004:931; Lass, 2002:108) in a bid to prevent it falling into the hands of the French, who had invaded the Dutch Republic. Moreover, Silva (1978:61) postulates an initial foundation for an SAE dialect (perhaps a 'proto-SAE') during this first British occupation of the Cape: to this effect she cites lexical borrowings from Cape Dutch administrative and military language and, culinary terms in particular, from the Cape Malay vernacular. This is illustrative of the borrowing of lexical inventory from the IDG strand(s) into the STL strand, which Schneider (2003:245; 2007:35; 37; 2014:11) describes as a feature of phases 1 and 2 (refer also to §2.5.1 above). During phase 1, the STL strand would typically borrow little more than place names from the IDG strand. However, and as will emerge throughout this discussion, the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream enjoyed remarkably close ties, by comparison to other contact settings, from phase 1 onward (Schneider, 2007:177).

Britain ceded the Cape back to the Dutch in 1803 (Branford, 1994:433; Lass, 2002:108). However, the Cape was a strategically important area – especially since Britain had vested interests in Australia and India – which motivated the British to recapture the territory in 1806 (Bowerman, 2004:931; Branford, 1994:433; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:9; Lass, 2002:108). Their official presence in South Africa would last from that time until 1961, with South Africa's egress from the Commonwealth (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:9; Lass, 2002:108).

3.1.1 Foundation of SAE

Lanham and Macdonald (1979:9) contend that English gained a firmer foothold in Africa as a result of the organised settlement of British subjects in the Eastern Cape in 1820: the so-called 1820 Settlers. Any events that relate to English prior to the arrival of the 1820 Settlers in the Eastern Cape is generally dismissed as having no lasting effect on SAE (Garson, N.G., 1976:18). That is, the arrival of the 1820 Settlers is offered as the event that provided the initial input to SAE (Lass, 2002; see also Lanham, 1967:103), or which constituted *foundation*, as described by Schneider (2003:244; 2007:33; 2014:11) and treated in section 2.5.1. It is, however, worth noting that the colonial authorities of the time saw it as an outright failure (Garson, N.G., 1976:18) – despite the importance assigned to this settlement endeavour after the fact. Still, the primacy of the 1820 Settlement has come to constitute a tacit consensus, because English-speakers who resided in Southern African territory prior to the 1820s were often highly transient (Lanham, 1964:18; 1982:324; Lass, 2002:108). For example, colonial administrators or military officers would come, for a short time which often spanned only a few years, and then depart again for Britain or

elsewhere in the Empire. Thus, it has been argued that SAE only formed from the time that the 1820 Settlers established themselves permanently, and in the time thereafter. I personally view this as a highly STL-centric argument, in that it requires the sustained and physical presence of *individual*, ancestral English speakers in a territory for the development of a New English to proceed, without any articulated constraints on how long they need to be 'resident', how great their numbers should be, or the like – nor does it afford members of the IDG or ADS strand(s) much agency in the development of SAE. Resultantly, whereas significant presence of an STL population may be requisite for an STL strand to develop, I propose that it is surely not requisite for IDG and ADS strands. This statement may be overly simplistic, particularly if one considers the fact that the IDG or ADS strand(s) would need some form of input; however, colonial administration by way of English could provide some input in this regard, even if the governor, officials, military personnel and the like rotated every few years. Such input would simply not be as 'stable' as it may be under different circumstances.

On all accounts, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:71f) also seem sceptical with regard to the primacy afforded the 1820 Settlers in the formation of SAE, even as regards the STL strand, citing a 'socially significant British presence' in the form of individual immigrants – i.e., not government-organised waves of immigration – who concentrated in Cape Town and environs and who together with military and administrative personnel developed a permanent colonial society (Lass, 2002:108). Garson, N.G. (1976:18) upholds a matching analysis and claims that the permanent English-speaking population in the Western Cape *before* 1820 numbered nearly as much as the 1820 Settlers. Branford (1994:433; 435) further supports this argument, appealing specifically to the population of the Western Cape as one that existed separate from other English-speaking communities in South Africa. Watts (1976:41) also puts the date at the earlier 1806. Notably, Lanham (1978:149) proposes that Cape English originated from the 'working and lower-middle class speech of London and the Home Counties at the turn of the 18th century', which implies a foundation date prior to 1820. Lanham and Macdonald (1979:22f) consequently describe the speech community of the Western Cape as singular in South Africa in that it was the first to feel British presence, while it is also the most longstanding urban society which was furthest removed – geographically and culturally – from the later developments on the Witwatersrand.

Moreover, English certainly made its presence felt prior to 1820. Much of the groundwork that relates to phase 1 IDG strand developments was done in the period between the 1790s and 1820, as Silva's (1978) observations evidence. The initial founder effect, from the period prior to 1820, is evident in the pervasiveness of English among the IDG populations early in 19th century. In the 1830s, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:10) remark, there were frequent references to high levels of English proficiency among the Afrikaner IDG population. Many of these Afrikaner IDG stream speakers had a 'virtual mother-tongue control of English', which was only betrayed by Afrikaans phonetic patterns (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:10). This owed, in part, to aggressive language policies implemented by the British colonial administration aimed at the Anglicisation of South Africa – especially of other populations of European descent (Branford, 1994:436; Lass, 2002:108). Schneider (2007:178) proposes that these

policies can be gleaned from historical facts such as the deliberate Anglicisation of schools and the church: Lanham and Macdonald (1979:10) observe that, by the time that the Great Trek started in 1836, *half* of the clergymen in the Dutch Reformed Church were Scottish. Thus, although it is common for members of the IDG strand elite to achieve high levels of proficiency from phase 1 onwards and this may be proffered as an explanation for any comments of high levels of bilingualism at the time, the permeation of English in the Afrikaner IDG community certainly extended further than just the elite. Moreover, British schoolmasters and clergymen made a sizeable impact on the Afrikaner community in the first two decades of the 19th century – so that the English-Afrikaans bilingual 'Kaapenaar' soon became a mainstay of early Cape society (Branford, 1994:435; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:23). However, it is hard to imagine that the policy of Anglicisation could have been so successful as to engender 'virtual mother-tongue control of English' among an appreciably large group of Afrikaners within the space of 10-20 years. This means that when large groups of English-speakers did come to settle permanently, as was the case with the 1820 Settlers, they encountered IDG strand individuals (at the very least in the Afrikaner IDG stream) who had already progressed some way *toward* – if not yet *into* – phase 2 on the one hand and IDG strand linguistic materials that had already been appropriated into English on the other hand.

Wells (1982:611) also makes a claim for a comparatively earlier start to SAE, proposing that the first English speaking community in Southern Africa sprouted from the 1806 British occupation of the Cape and was 'inoculated' when the 1820 Settlers arrived – Silva (1978:62), Wells (1982:611), and others do still appreciate the importance of the 1820 Settlers. It seems likely that there might have been a 'quasi-founder population' at the Cape in the period between 1795 and 1820, which was partially overwhelmed by Eastern Cape – and later Natal – settlers whose speech habits came to constitute the primary input into SAE – Wells's (1982:611) 'inoculation'. The important consideration here is, though, that this quasi-founder population initiated phase 1 among the IDG communities and provided some, marginal input into later, true STL strands, if only by way of lexical borrowings from Cape Dutch or Coloured vernaculars. Overall, it might be imprudent to claim that this early period conformed wholly to the archetypal foundation phase of the Dynamic Model. In this respect, Schneider (2007:175) situates the onset of phase 1 in the period between 1806 and 1822 in his original application of the Dynamic Model to SAE, which speaks to the possibility of a protracted foundation. A sensible solution to this matter – one which Wassermann (2014) also offers – might therefore be to postulate an extended phase 1, spanning from the 1790s until some time after the settlement of Natal.

Either way, the foundation phase for English in South Africa proceeded in earnest when the 1820 Settlers arrived at Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape during April through June 1820 (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:9; Lass, 2002:107; Van Rooy, 2014:26). Even though this settlement endeavour was organised by the British colonial authorities (Bowerman, 2004:931), subsequent immigration by private individuals continued on a smaller scale (Garson, L.W., 1976; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:9; Lass, 2002:108). Some 30 years later, a second organised settlement colony was set up in Natal (Bowerman,

2004:932; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:9; Lass, 2002:107; 109). Bowerman (2004:932), Lanham (1964:16; 1967:104; 1982:325), and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:72) claim that a focused variety of Cape English formed within a generation or two, by 1860 – as attested to by anecdotal evidence from speakers born in the area in the 1870s. These speakers would correspond more or less to the second South African-born generation, confirming Schneider's (2007) and, more directly, Trudgill's (2004:23; 129) predictions regarding the timeframe necessary for new-dialect formation to reach completion – 1870 should then signal the end of phase 1.

3.1.2 The founder effect in SAE

Commenting on this foundational period, Lanham (1964:15) considers how 'many of the peculiar features that distinguish South African English today began to emerge shortly after the 1820 Settlers had arrived' (reiterated by Lanham, 1967:105). Watts (1976:47) similarly appeals directly to the fact that social characteristics that were set up within the colonising populations persisted in subsequent generations. Note the strong support for the founder effect – as championed by Mufwene (2001; see also §2.3.2 above), Schneider (2003; 2007), and Trudgill (2004) – inherent in these statements. In fact, I would argue that the founder effect (though not articulated so directly) has been fundamental to the interpretation of the Standard Model since its inception. Schneider (2007:176) therefore observes that two distinct founder effects resulted in the Cape and Natal, respectively. The position that two, separate founder effects occurred in the Eastern Cape and Natal is supported by the fact that they did develop separate varieties (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:22). Lanham and Macdonald (1979:71) state that the Eastern Cape and Natal settlements were 'self-contained, permanently resident microcosms of British society which absorbed and moulded socially any later immigration into these areas' until the 1870s. This stands to reason: both began as separate colonies; their ecological circumstances differed in many respects. The apparently absolute nature of these 'microcosms of British society' should, however, not be overstated and one should not overlook the possibility that some speakers who provided input into the Natal founder population did in fact come from the Eastern Cape. Lanham (1967:105) does state that the founder population in Natal had 'a preponderance of Settler descendants from the Eastern Province'.

Along this vein, Lass (2002:109) contends that the most important input into SAE was from Cape English – more so than Natal English or any subsequent demographic development, which is a key point on which he differs from Lanham and Macdonald (1979) in terms of the Standard Model. He proposes that the most important contribution Natal English made to the SAE speech community lay in its cultural attitudes, which served to entrench a colonial mindset, in the form of reverence for British norms (Lass, 2002:109). Due to the fact that the White population in Natal was a considerably smaller minority, by comparison to other groups, than the Cape population, Natal relied more heavily on 'imperial government' for their safety (Garson, N.G., 1976:26), which should account for their particular affinity for the British Empire. Thus, Natal English would eventually serve an important role in the negotiation of the standard in South Africa (Lass, 2002:109; see §3.3 and §3.4 below). Moreover, immigrants to the

Eastern Cape have traditionally been viewed as more provincial, and as having brought less-prestigious or non-standard metropolitan (especially South-East of England) varieties with them (Bowerman, 2004:931); whereas immigrants to Natal were seen to be of higher social standing, from further north in England, and resultantly have been perceived to speak varieties that approximated the metropolitan standard more closely (Branford, 1994:434; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:72; Lass, 2002:109).

The (exclusively) lower class status of the 1820 Settlers has not remained uncontested, though, and Branford (1994:436) does note that at least a third of the immigrants to the Eastern Cape would have belonged to the higher social classes; Lanham (1964:16) notes that the 1820 Settlers came from 'manor house as well as peasant's cottage'; and Lanham (1967:104) reinforces this notion. Moreover, Lanham (1978:158) simply remarks that the representation of higher social classes was 'proportionately stronger' in Natal than in the Eastern Cape (Bowerman, 2004:932). Therefore, though arguing for a preponderance in Cape English of non-standard features that originated from the South-East of England, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:72) observe that the most stigmatised features that would have been present in Settler input, such as H-dropping and -IN (described by Wells, 253ff; 262f), were selected against at an early stage in the development of the new variety. This leads them to posit 'continuing allegiance to the overt social values of the mother society' among the original Settlers *and* subsequent generations (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:73), which is similarly argued by Lanham (1978:156). This position speaks directly to Lass's (1990b) notion of swamping, as rendered in §2.3.2. That is, South-East of England variants were preferred by the founding population and this preference was reinforced by subsequent immigrants, leading to their selective advantage (as discussed in §2.3.1) over other variants. To this effect, it is worth noting, as Watts (1976:48; 87) does, that colonial South Africa had an uncannily low influx of unskilled White immigrants by comparison to other colonies; since the Black population (here I would add Cape colonial slaves who remained workers after emancipation and indentured labourers from Indian in Natal) always provided ample unskilled labour. Most White immigrants resultantly did possess some skill, and therefore many were likely to be from higher social classes or, at least, upwardly mobile.

Such upper class sentiments may well have been imparted to the Eastern Cape group at large by that one third of the original settlers who Branford (1994:436) and Lanham (1964:16-17) observe were from the higher social classes, by way of them contributing their own speech attitudes to the Eastern Cape population. Branford (1994:487) notes that this is a possible origin of SAE – as does even Trudgill (1986:127-162), in standardisation being encouraged by formal education. Lanham (1967:104) does infer that this was precisely the case: he claims that 'Social class divisions, so deeply ingrained in English society at that time, were certainly present in this intrepid group of pioneers', and therefore the metropolitan standard of the time did exert a powerful influence. He qualifies this statement further, noting that 'the form of English which emerged was nearer to the Standard Southern British of the time than to any distinct regional dialect' (Lanham, 1967:104). Moreover, Lanham (1978:156) proposes that at least some residue of 'genteelness in language use' and 'Victorian grandiloquence' persisted among the descendants of the 1820 Settlers throughout the 19th century.

3.1.3 Input into SAE

Trudgill (2004:13) has proposed that contact in South Africa (as in Australia, the Falklands, and New Zealand) occurred near-exclusively among British English varieties, as purportedly proposed by Lass (2002) or Lass and Wright (1986). Such an argument speaks to the first form of linguistic contact that Schneider (2003:244; 2007: 34-35; 177; 2014:11) proposes for this phase: one of koinéisation that proceeds strictly within the STL strand (see §2.5.1 above). Trudgill's (2004:13) restriction of contact to speakers *within* the STL strand may be somewhat accurate for Natal (Bowerman, 2004:932), but seems unlikely in the case of the Eastern Cape, where the great numbers of Afrikaners necessarily had close contact with the settlers (Bowerman, 2004:931f; Branford, 1994:487; Garson, N.G., 1976:26; Lanham, 1964:7; Van Rooy, 2014:26; Watts, 1976:77) and certainly effected certain changes in their speech habits. Nonetheless, koinéisation *did* of course occur among the 1820 Settlers; it simply was not the *exclusive* form of contact (Lanham, 1964:16). Branford (1994:431) therefore admonishes that South Africa is qualitatively different from Australia or New Zealand through the involvement of a 'cluster of systems', which contains many non-native/ancestral English attributes – which is similarly attested to by Lanham (1964:7; 15). This involvement of Afrikaans in SAE from early on in its development is an especially striking example of the second type of linguistic contact, between IDG and STL populations, that Schneider (2003:244; 2007:34; 2014:11; discussed in §2.5.1 above; see also Moag, 1992:234; Van Rooy, 2014:26) postulates for this phase. This statement does, however, require qualification, since the role of Afrikaans English in the koinéisation of Cape English has been met with some controversy, as noted by Branford (1994:431), and that qualification follows below.

Hopwood (1970:12-75) constructs an argument for input from Northern England, Cockney, and Afrikaans English variants into SAE. In citing both Cockney and Afrikaans influences, Hopwood (1970) poses both poles of a later debate. That debate deals with the issue of where some of the 'more idiosyncratic' elements of SAE had their origin. Wells (1982:611) comments on the influence of Afrikaans on the Cape English variety that developed among the 1820 Settlers and their descendants. He seemingly provides an argument against the position that Afrikaans English made any 'lasting contributions' to the variety, though, stating that the absence of Afrikaans influence on the Natal English variety that developed among the Natal settlers of the 1850s negated the influence of Afrikaans English on SAE (Wells, 1982:611). Similarly, Lass (2002:108) ventures his explanation for the features of SAE that are perceived as Afrikaans influenced, and which certainly originated in Cape English. He namely considers most 'Afrikaans-like' features of SAE to be endogenous developments that have been carried over from linguistic elements present in the varieties of the Home Counties (Lass, 2002).[17] Unlike Wells, Lass (2002:109) does not subscribe to the view that Natal English had a significant influence on the eventual development of SAE. However, the literature does not often go in accord with a view that eschews a role for Natal English altogether: Wells (1982:611) argues that the settlement of the Witwatersrand toward the close of the nineteenth century saw a confluence of Cape English and Natal

[17] Incidentally, Lanham (1965) makes the same claim.

English characteristics, as do Lanham and Macdonald (1979). Under such circumstances, Afrikaans English variants would likely have been 're-added' to SAE, on all accounts, by way of phase 3 reanalysis (see §3.3 below).

It would seem Lanham (1978) provides a solution, albeit somewhat nondescript, in considering typical SAE variants as the product of influence from *both* the Home Counties *and* Afrikaans English. (He implicitly makes the same argument in Lanham, 1964.) Even though he does alter his position (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979) and later describes those variants as exclusively Afrikaans English-influenced, his (1978) position seems to still warrant consideration. That seems all the more to be the case when considering that Hopwood (1970) also proposed such a development. Branford (1994:431) further supports this analysis: 'South African English […] appears to reflect the interpenetration between L1 and L2 varieties'. Bekker (2009:77) also considers contemporary SAE likely to be a confluence of 'non-prestigious British dialects as well as the L2 varieties used by Afrikaans speakers' and other elements. Moreover, it is worth observing that, in their consideration of Lass (2002) and Lass and Wright (1986), some commentators have construed their position as one that entirely rejects a role for Afrikaans (or Afrikaans English) in the formation of SAE, particularly as pertains to the more typically SAE features that originated from Cape English. However, this may be a slight misinterpretation. In fact, Lass (2002:108) simply remarks that the 1820 Settlers provided the 'primary input' to SAE – not the *exclusive* input. Branford (1994:487) notes specifically that Lass and Wright (1986) do not exclude contact with Cape Dutch/Afrikaans as a possible contributing factor to the formation of SAE. In fact, they propose that many variants of SAE were present, though overlooked, in the founder populations and they were reinforced by the presence of similar variants in Cape Dutch/Afrikaans (Lass & Wright, 1986:202-203). This interpretation is a brilliant example of Mufwene's language ecology, as discussed in section 2.3, in that these variants would have achieved a selective advantage over alternatives due to ecological factors that reinforced them both in the process of koinéisation and in that of language contact – a type of two-way ecological advantage.

In summation, the close ties between the Afrikaner IDG stream and the 1820 Settler stream provided the opportunity for Afrikaans English features to be included in the koinéisation process that operated there – and Cape English is somewhat exceptional in this regard (Schneider, 2007:177). Schreier (2008) does propose, in general, that L2 features may enter into the koinéisation process and, in particular, that they did so in South Africa, resulting in such features being carried over from the Afrikaner IDG community into the nascent South African koiné (Schreier, 2008:63ff).

3.2 Phase 2 (c. 1850-1910)

> For there, with Africa's contrariness […] There, near Spitzkop, we looked down upon the promised land; there, stood upon the outmost edge, as a diver on his board, and paused and looked and breathed before we took the plunge. (FitzPatrick, 1907:18.)

Schneider (2007:178) has proposed that the phase of endonormative stabilisation extended from 1822/the 1870s until 1910; as is the case with the foundation phase, the present application of the Standard Model to the Dynamic Model corresponds roughly to this period. However, a slightly 'harder' date for the onset of this phase in the mid-19th century seems more prudent. The reasoning behind this is that, in either event considered in section 3.1 (either the arrival of the 1820 Settlers was the real genesis of SAE or it had been planted some two decades earlier), a date of 1822 would in all likelihood not be an accurate time at which SAE would have been mature – that is, focused – enough to engage in true exonormative stabilisation. Thus, phase 2 extended from c. 1850 until 1910.

Note that this phase should see considerable overlap with phase 3, since it is the 'kick-off phase' for structural nativisation (Schneider, 2003:246; 2014:11). Nonetheless, and in consonance with Schneider (2007:178), I have selected 1910 as the putative end to the phase of exonormative stabilisation – Branford (1994:434) also identifies this year as an important crossover. I stress that this choice is intended to be symbolic of a shift in social attitudes and ground-level linguistic usage; not a set-in-stone cut-off point. Admittedly, exonormative attitudes persisted well into the 20th century, especially among older and more conservative speakers. I should therefore emphasise that phase 2 is not the phase of *exonormativity*: it is the phase during which *stabilisation* occurs in reference to *external norms*, i.e. *exonormatively*. However, *exonormativity* per se is typical of all phases of the Dynamic Model up until – and even into – phase 4. Resultantly, exonormative attitudes or perceptions regarding the standard, as overtly recognised by society, only truly diminish after phase 4 *stabilisation* occurs in reference to *internal norms*, i.e. *endonormatively* (refer to §3.4 below). The reason I have selected 1910 is that this is the year the Union of South Africa was formed and, therefore, the year that nominal independence was granted to the territory; independence often being achieved at phase 3 (Schneider, 2003:245; 2007:36; 2014:11; as discussed in §2.5.3 above). Colonisation proceeded mostly in the form of rural and small town settlement, which endured until the 1870s, when the social structure and settlement patterns of Southern Africa were drastically altered (Branford, 1994:433-434; Lanham, 1964:19; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:9; see §3.3 below).

Garson, N.G. (1976:17) remarks that applying the demonym 'English-speaking South African(s)' to refer to 19th century individuals or groups is anachronistic; at the time, there was no talk of bona fide South Africans who were also English-speakers, only some version of 'South African British' or 'British South Africans'. Such phraseology points directly toward the as-yet British identity writings of English-speaking South Africans, an identity writing that is typical of phase 2 (Schneider, 2003:245; 2007:37). They still belonged to and identified with the source society. All the same, formerly British populations did become cumulatively more 'South African' as time wore on, as expressed in the British-plus identity writing discussed in section 2.5.2 above. Thus, Lanham (1978:157) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:73) propose that the society that developed among descendants of the 1820 Settlers became 'progressively less a product of its history and more of its environment'. Afrikaner IDG influence did not undo the British identity of the Settler community, but 'contributed towards modifying their social values

toward frontier values' (Lanham, 1978:157). It follows that intermarriages and general social contact with Afrikaners did not remove the British identity in the Eastern Cape, but certainly helped mould Settler values and lifestyle so as to better suit the requirements of the frontier (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:73). The British-plus identity construct that developed in the Eastern Cape resultantly comprised a comparatively high emphasis on the *-plus* component (cf. Schneider, 2003:245-246; 2007:37; 179). A similar process would have operated in Natal; even so, the British component of the British-plus identity writing was felt more strongly in Natal than in the Eastern Cape (Lanham, 1978:158; Schneider, 2007:179).

As complement to the British-plus identity among the Cape STL population, aspects of a British-cum-local identity, as discussed in section 2.5.2, among the 19th century Afrikaner IDG stream may be seen in what Bowerman (2004:932), Lanham, (1982:325), Lanham and Macdonald (1979:9-18), and Lass (2002:109) describe as the prominence of English among Afrikaners and the status it afforded Afrikaners who were proficient in it, owing to its status as a language of *geleerdheid* (learnedness; good education). It therefore played an essential role especially among the Afrikaner elite, as predicted for phase 2 by Schneider (2007:179; see §2.5.2). For example, Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (affectionately known by Afrikaners as *Onze Jan*), who was an ardent proponent of the Dutch – over English – language and culture at the Cape, ironically admitted to drafting his writing in English and later translating it into Dutch (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:10f; similar observations are made by Brink, 1976). Even after the Great Trek, the English language still enjoyed considerable prestige in the Boer republics and served an important function in commercial and business spheres (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:11; Lass, 2002:109). The importance of English in formal spheres and its growing representation in the Afrikaner IDG stream, even beyond the elite, are typical of phase 2 (Hall, 1962:154; Schneider, 2003:245-246; 2007:36; 38; 2014:11) and Afrikaners aided in the geographic spread of English (Schneider, 2007:178). Moreover, Broad SAE has close ties with Afrikaans English; the more Afrikaner heritage an English speaker has, the greater the probability that he/she will conform to Broad SAE speech patterns (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:26). This evidences the close contact between Cape (i.e., 'proto-Broad') English speakers and Afrikaners at this time, as is proposed by Schneider (Schneider, 2007:177; §3.1 in this chapter). The change at *grass-root level* from the foreign toward the local (Schneider, 2003:246; 2007:39; §3.2 in the previous chapter) that is typical of phase 2 was therefore already well underway from the mid- to late-19th century.

3.3 Phase 3 (1870-1961)

> Mainly on the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg and its environs) was the SAE community's heterogeneous past woven into the more homogeneous present; it was here that the different ethnic, descent and settlement groups became socially integrated more than they had ever been before. (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:71.)

According to Schneider (2007:180), nativisation in SAE occurred between 1910 and 1994, as detailed in section 2.5.3. This is the first instance where my own temporal situation of a phase differs acutely from that proposed by Schneider (2007). That is, I place this phase between 1870 and 1961. There are various reasons for this difference; mostly, Schneider (2007) has overlooked the desire for independence which developed in South Africa *prior to* its union and concurrent, nominal independence in 1910. Many South Africans (at the time, denizens of the Cape, Free State, Natal, and South African Republic or Transvaal) strove toward the ideal of a united and (semi-) autonomous South Africa since at least the 1870s – and this is an important requirement for nativisation. Thus, the period between 1870 and 1961 in South Africa's history does satisfy the criteria of phase 3, and I develop this argument below.

3.3.1 The theoretical context of nativisation in SAE

From the 1870s onward the makeup of South African society changed extensively, with the advent of industrialisation, urbanisation, and large numbers of immigrants from Britain and elsewhere (Branford, 1994:434; Lanham, 1964:19; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:9; Lass, 2002:107; Schneider, 2007:178-179) following the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold on the Witwatersrand (Bowerman, 2004:932; Lanham, 1967:105; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:9; Lass, 2002:109; Garson, N.G., 1976:18). This constituted the 'final major wave' of immigration (Lass, 2002:109). In response to ecological factors coming to bear more narrowly on each other in Johannesburg and surrounds than they did before, a new society developed, with its own social values, attitudes, and lifestyle (Lanham, 1967:106; 1978:159); which subsequently dispersed throughout South Africa (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:22; 71). Lanham and Macdonald (1979:71) call the emergence of the mining-industrial city and its attendant social evaluations, attitudes, and culture the 'event of greatest significance' in SAE, which is prophetic of Schneider's (2007:39, parenthesis added) sentiment that the ecological developments of the nativisation phase likewise make it 'linguistically the most important and interesting [phase]' (see also Schneider, 2014:11).

Bekker (2013a:2) also speaks to the primacy of this period in the formation of SAE when he says that 'the important role played by this period is, wrongly I believe, generally disregarded in the standard literature' (echoed in Bekker, 2012a; 2012b; 2013b). Bekker, (2012a), however, proposes that the settlement of Johannesburg constituted a third founder effect (in addition to those of the Eastern Cape and Natal), which in a sense 'rebooted' the process of new dialect formation in South Africa; he calls this the *Three-stage Koinéization Model of the formation of SAfE* (Bekker, 2009; 2012a:128; 2012b; 2013a; 2013b; etc.).

Bekker's (2009; etc.) model has achieved some visibility in the field and poses several new challenges, if for no reason other than its acute rebuttal of earlier historical descriptions of SAE. For example, it assigns a position of far-lesser importance to the original varieties that resulted from the settlements of the Eastern Cape and Natal, it rejects most developments which took place from the original foundation of SAE in 1806/1820 and in the intervening years until 1901, and it implicitly aims to

render undone much of the work of Hopwood (1928), Hooper (1944; 1945; 1946), Lanham (in various publications; most notably Lanham & Macdonald, 1979), Lass (1990a; 2002; and elsewhere), and many other authors who have contributed to research on the variety over the course of the past century – most of whom have either directly contributed to the formulation of the Standard Model, or explicitly ascribed to it. Essentially, Bekker's (2009; etc.) model ambitiously seeks to rewrite the entire history of SAE.

Thus, the primary position Bekker (2009; 2012a; 2012b; 2013a; 2013b; etc.) intends to advance is that the mass settlement of the Witwatersrand constituted a third founder effect, which would then culminate in the formation of SAE as it stands at present. Certainly two separate founder effects had operated in the Cape and Natal; but it is unlikely that a third founder effect was initiated on the Witwatersrand. If Johannesburg did, as Bekker (2009; etc.) proposes, constitute a third tabula rasa environment – one which could occasion a third founder effect, in addition to those of the Eastern Cape and Natal – the overriding question would be what the nature of that founder effect might be: was it qualitatively identical to those of the Eastern Cape and Natal?

Even though large geographic separation may be a *necessary* condition for a tabula rasa context (and for a new founder effect to be initiated), I am not convinced that it is a *sufficient* condition: it does not seem, to me, that geography, in and of itself, can account for tabula rasa developments. Telling in this regard is that California (and other states in the Western US) was settled by Anglophone America in what would have been, in terms of the East Coast at least, phase 3 (Schneider, 2007:254; 284). Yet, no one has ever contested the status of Californian English as 'American', nor has anyone proposed that Californian English has by some means overwhelmed the varieties on the Eastern Seaboard, despite California being, in many respects, the economic centre of the US – as is the case for Johannesburg and surrounds in South Africa. In fact, Schneider (2007:253) proposes that, in its westward expansion across the North American continent, English drew from the original developments set up by the East Coast founding populations. Therefore, although many territories in the Midwest and West only saw phase 1 by the start of the 19th century, by the end of that century they 'had made up the east coast's head start to achieve a relative unity from coast to coast in cultural and linguistic terms' (Schneider, 2007:253). Importantly, Midwestern and Western varieties approximated the older and better-established varieties of the East Coast – not the other way round! A similar argument can be made for Canada or Australia.

Van Rooy (2014) has proposed that American English and SAE respond similarly in terms of the Dynamic Model and discusses this possibility at length. Thus, drawing from the American precedent, I propose that the same applies to the Eastern Cape, Natal, and the Witwatersrand; that is, even if a new foundation phase were set up on the Witwatersrand, that gap, phasally, between the Witwatersrand and earlier foundations was closed very soon thereafter.[18]

[18] I therefore reiterate (1) that I maintain the Standard Model in this dissertation, as described in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter, and propose that questions of the type posed by Bekker (2009; etc.) do not arise from an application of the Standard Model – the Dynamic Model accounts adequately for the relevant developments – and (2) that I do not employ Trudgillian theory to this study as pertains to the deterministic nature of his (2004) model.

Furthermore, the wide geographical reach of the original (Eastern Cape and Natal) founder effects can be gleaned from the fact that even Rhodesian (i.e., White Zimbabwean) English derives from SAE (Bowerman, 2004:931; Lass, 2002:107). Lanham (1967:105) provides precisely this analysis, viz. that 'In the opening up of the hinterland, including Rhodesia, Settler descendants played a prominent role and carried their dialect into English speaking communities established in the mid- 19th century in other parts of the country'.

While a third founder effect might, ostensibly, have been possible – especially when considering the massive influx of foreigners (i.e., people who did not originate from Southern African territories) – most children on the diamond- and goldfields in the late 19th century were of (Cape and Natal) colonial heritage, because fortune seekers from elsewhere were typically bachelors (Lanham, 1978:162; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:87). Thus, even if the respective founder effects from the Cape and Natal colonies *could* have been overwhelmed by the newcomers, they were not. Most children still spoke home dialects that, by that time, were undeniably South African and any subsequent accommodation to their peers would simply have served to enforce and redistribute certain SAE features (as noted in §2.3.2, this is precisely the type of development Mufwene, 2001:63 envisions). Besides, their efforts to accommodate to 'local' peers would arguably have constituted an important mechanism in the reallocation of the SAE variants on hand – and the resulting reanalysis of Cape English into Broad SAE and Natal English into General SAE.

Even if one were to assume a Trudgillian (2004) approach to the development of SAE, Lanham (1978:140) states that the influx of foreign-born speakers during the mining-industrial rush totalled 'more than double' the pre-existing White population in South Africa. Therefore, slightly less than a third of the resulting mix would have been 'local', by all accounts: Lanham (1978:158f) quotes the Transvaal Publishing Co. (1905) to the effect that it could 'be said of Johannesburg in the 1890s (not entirely accurately) that the "greater part of the population consisted of colonials from the Cape and Natal"'. Considering the diversity of the mining-industrial immigrants, I therefore propose that the locally-born South African population constituted the largest, single group or majority – the Transvaal Publishing Co. (1905) quotation certainly suggests that this was the impression among people on the Witwatersrand at the time – and therefore, even within the Trudgillian (2004) paradigm, and even if Johannesburg *were* a third tabula rasa context, Cape and Natal speech habits would have had a selective advantage over that of the newcomers.

Van Rooy (2014:26) notes that both Cape and Natal English provided linguistic inventory toward the developments on the Witwatersrand, even if theirs was not the sole linguistic inventory available and even though they did not persist in an unaltered form, which, again, is the point of phase 3. Similarly, Branford (1994:488) proposes that there 'was thus in Hopwood's time a recognisable SAEP', i.e., South African English pronunciation – and that this was the diachronic precursor to contemporary SAE. Surely this could not have been the case if, as Bekker (2015) has proposed, SAE only developed after the South African War, a mere generation earlier.

Despite overwhelming numbers of foreigners, the foundations for a perceptually less-prestigious variety (Broad SAE) and perceptually more-prestigious variety (General SAE) had already been laid and were transported from the Eastern Cape and Natal further afield to Johannesburg, Kimberley, and even Rhodesia (the present Zimbabwe), a position which is supported by Lanham (1964:20), who claims that the influence of this final wave of immigration was different from that of the former waves (in the Eastern Cape and Natal). Namely, the new wave of immigrants helped set up a more stratified society in which earlier norms came to be reanalysed (Lanham, 1964:20), but koinéisation did not result from it *de novo*.

By all accounts, assimilation of incoming immigrants into the STL stream has been a feature of this population throughout its history (Garson, N.G., 1976:19). Therefore, Lanham (1967:109) contends that the varieties brought by foreigners during the mining-industrial phase 'all died out with the first generation of immigrants', to be 'replaced by typical SAE, the well-rooted, indigenous dialect which maintained a continuous infiltration of the "new society" in the form of descendants of the Settler groups in the Eastern Province and Natal'. As an example of this effect, Hopwood (1970:31) identifies H-dropping in SAE of the time, though my impression is that it was not a very significant feature in the variety, since Hopwood spends barely four lines on it. Notably, Branford (1994:487) speaks directly to the valuable, synchronic nature of much of Hopwood's (1970) work. I propose, as Lanham and Macdonald (1979:72) have argued, and as noted in section 3.1, that H-Dropping was selected against early in the Anglophone settlement of South Africa, even though it would have been well-represented in the input varieties. It was reintroduced into the variety by immigrants to the goldfields, and I suspect it is in *their* speech that Hopwood identified this feature; however, it did not extend much further (if at all) beyond that first generation of immigrants, as proposed by Lanham (1967:107), which accounts for its presumably marginal representation as perceived by Hopwood (1970). Branford (1994:486) also observes that the feature is all but absent in SAE.

I therefore submit that Bekker's model is nothing if not a novel interpretation of the period which constituted phase 3 in SAE – though it does differ appreciably in many details from the assumptions of the Dynamic Model. Overall, the nativisation phase holds a place of particular importance in the Dynamic Model; one of the reasons for which is articulated by Van Rooy (2014:21), viz. that this should be the phase during which the effects of language contact should be strongest. Bowerman (2004:932) appeals directly to the fact that this period led to increased contact between the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream. It should be observed, however, that if Afrikaans English did provide input into the original Eastern Cape koiné, as I have proposed was the case in sections 3.1 and 3.2, SAE would be somewhat exceptional with regard to the Dynamic Model in that language contact played a comparatively greater role since earlier on in the development of the variety.

Lanham (1967:105f) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:19) propose that the new society which developed in response to the mining boom in the late 19th century set the stage for the re-negotiation of the standard in South Africa. Therefore, it should be clear that this period in the history of South Africa should be conceived of as the nativisation phase – during which reanalysis takes place. This new society

drew from British urban industrial society and appropriated many of its norms (Bowerman, 2004:933; Lanham, 1964:21f; 1967:106; 1978:159; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:71; 81) since individuals who were perceived to exhibit British norms were held in high esteem (Lanham, 1964:22; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:77; Schneider, 2007:180).

3.3.2 The sociolinguistic context of nativisation

As discussed earlier, in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter, we may distinguish three varieties of STL strand SAE, three types, that broadly correspond to social class: two, Cultivated and General SAE, that serve the social function of standard and one, Broad SAE, that is stigmatised, vernacular, or non-standard (Lass, 1990a:272f). Of the two standard varieties, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:4) define the one, which is of more recent origin, as the 'provincial [i.e. local] standard', viz. Type 2, STL stream General SAE, as considered above.

Natal was the region to harbour pro-British (or colonial) sentiment for the longest period of time (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:74; 75). Natal English – through its speech habits and the attitudes and influence of its speakers, which approximated most closely elements of the 'British tradition' – was instrumental in the negotiation of this standard in South African English (Bowerman, 2004:933; Lanham, 1964:22; 1978:162; Lass, 2002:109; as noted in §3.1). Thus, Natalians assimilated into the Anglophile, upper echelons of society most readily (Bowerman, 2004:933; Lanham, 1978:160). Likewise, Natalians were accepted as the analogues of metropolitan Englishmen 'by suitably motivated Cape colonials' and the Eastern European Jewry (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:84). Resultantly, especially upwardly mobile females of Cape colonial and Jewish heritage were insensitive to the distinction between Natal (or, subsequently, General South African) English and the authentic metropolitan standard, as expressed in Standard Southern British English, or its closest correlate, Cultivated SAE (Bowerman, 2004:933; Lanham, 1978:158; 162; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:85). In the process of Cape colonial and Jewish individuals ascending the social ladder, Natal English was reanalysed[19] into endonormative General SAE and set on par, in terms of social evaluation, with exonormative Cultivated SAE and/or the authentic British Standard. It is important to note that during phase 3, the mining-industrial boom, individuals of Eastern European Jewish or Cape colonial extraction did not accommodate to Natal English with a conscious view to constructing an endonormative standard – though their actions *ultimately* contributed toward that result – but because they (erroneously) evaluated Natal English as the authentic, exonormative standard (Lanham, 1978:162; Lanham and Macdonald, 1979:85). Thus, in the late 19th century, there was as yet no evidence for the pro-endonormative attitudes that mark phase 4 – but the groundwork was being laid! I should therefore point out at this time that I ascribe to the interpretation of

[19] Schneider (2007) uses the term *reanalysis*, while Trudgill (2004) uses *reallocation* and Mufwene (2001) would describe the same process as one of *mutation*. In all these instances, what is meant is the redistribution of a sociolinguistic variant – or of several variants – from one social function to another. Here, from regional (Cape vs. Natal) and/or ethnolectal (IDG stream Afrikaans English vs. STL strand English) markers to sociolectal markers. I stress that entire dialects would not be reanalysed wholesale, but they could provide primary sociolinguistic inventory.

the Standard Model which grants an important role to Natal English in the ultimate formation of SAE, as proposed by Lanham and Macdonald (1979) and others.

Likewise, the mining-industrial society assigned the same social image to speakers of Afrikaans English as to speakers of Cape English (Bowerman, 2004:933; Lanham, 1967:109; 1978:150; 158; 160; 1982:327; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:77f; Van Rooy, 2014:27) – evidence for which is provided by Macdonald (1975). Of course, Schneider (2007:41; 2014:11; see also §2.5.3 in the previous chapter) specifically assigns the assimilation of the IDG strand into the lower class segment of the STL strand to phase 3. This contributed toward the reanalysis of Cape-cum-Afrikaans English into Broad SAE (Bowerman, 2004:933; Lanham, 1978:150; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:73). During phase 3, Cape English, with its narrower ties to Afrikaner (or local) culture, was reanalysed into Broad SAE, with the lowest scores for prestige (Lanham, 1978:157; 160; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:56; 72). Lanham and Macdonald (1979:92) appeal to this interpretation; they argue explicitly that the influence of Afrikaans English converted 'Settler English into Ext [i.e. Broad] SAE as the society recognizes it today' (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:73; parenthesis added). Jeffery (1982:252) remarks that Cape English has been 'uprooted' (i.e. reanalysed) to become Broad SAE; Lanham (1978:156) articulates this development as follows: 'Ext [Broad] SAE has its origins primarily in the vernacular developed […] [by] children of the 1820 Settlers'. The 1820 Settlers soon adopted the attitudes of their Afrikaner compatriots; these attitudes have persisted (Jeffery, 1982:253). Branford (1994:430) similarly argues that SAE has drawn many of its characteristics from the Cape Dutch/Afrikaner IDG stream. Thus, the disposition of both the Broad SAE and Afrikaner communities propound a 'South African tradition' (Jeffery, 1982:253; Lanham, 1978:140; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:25). The reanalysis of Cape English transpired in this way since Cape Settler-Afrikaner associations set up in the colonial Eastern Cape persisted and were reinforced on the industrial Witwatersrand (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:78). Once again, there is ample evidence for the original founder effect, as discussed in section 2.3.2 above, persisting into and even beyond the developments on the Witwatersrand.

Resultantly, Afrikaner descent in the STL strand corresponds more specifically to the Broad STL stream – and arguably the most important factor in this correspondence is an orientation that favours the values, attitudes, loyalties, and lifestyle of the archetypal Afrikaner: the legacy of the 19th century Eastern Cape frontiersmen (Lanham, 1978:141; 150; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:27). The South African tradition – or Afrikaner cultural affinity – finds expression in such practices and attitudes as a concern for aspects of the physical self-image, like toughness and manliness; a strong appreciation of and admiration for sport and sportsmen; a sociable and unselective demeanour within the in-group; rigid conformation to the norms and attitudes of the in-group; insensitivity to or disdain of the distinction between what is 'English' and what is 'un-English'; strong local loyalties; and patriotism (Lanham, 1978:150; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:27; 83). To individuals outside of the in-group, the social evaluation indexes low social class, a lack of sophistication, a lack of leadership qualities, etc. (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:83;

Macdonald, 1975; Penn & Stafford, 1971).[20] Moreover, whatever features might differentiate Afrikaans English from Broad SAE, the SAE speech community is insensitive to such differences (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:54) and Broad SAE and Afrikaans English both index the same social attributes (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:55). This argument again appeals explicitly to Schneider's (2007:42; discussed in §2.5.3) proposition that lower-class STL strand speakers and IDG strand speakers are prone to approximating each other socially – and that this process of approximation would achieve its zenith during phase 3.

While Natal English, with narrower ties to the British tradition, was reanalysed into General SAE, a prestigious, endonormative standard (Lanham, 1978:158; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:57), Cape and Afrikaans English were reanalysed into Broad SAE, a stigmatised variety associated with the lower class (Lanham, 1978:160). This was not a wholesale reallocation of the respective varieties from the social function of indexing region to that of indexing social class (or ideology – see the following paragraph); but, instead, they provided the primary sociolinguistic inventory for these sociolinguistic varieties. In consonance with this position, Lanham (1978:148-150; 158) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:35) maintain that the most salient variants that originated from Cape English are similarly the most salient and most stigmatised in Broad SAE; the most salient variants that originated from Natal English are also the most salient markers of General SAE and enjoy the highest social approbation. Lanham (1978:164; 1982) additionally proposes explicitly that when Cape English and Natal English came into prolonged contact in Johannesburg they 'morphed' into sociolects, that is, neither was an entirely regional dialect anymore – once again, an assertion that speaks directly to the developments outlined in the Dynamic Model and detailed in section 2.5.3. Therefore, and as I demonstrate below, this period satisfies the criteria for phase 3 of the Dynamic Model: nativisation. Ultimately, the erstwhile regional varieties of the Eastern Cape and Natal would give way to these new sociolects (Lanham, 1978:164; §3.4).

3.3.3 The ideological context of nativisation

From the preceding discussion we may discern two poles within phase 3 White, English-speaking South African society: one with greater affinity for Britain and one with greater affinity for South Africa. The cline that runs from Broad SAE, through General SAE, to Cultivated SAE has often been ascribed to class – because it certainly interacts with some form of social prestige (Lanham, 1978:142). However, Lanham (1964:34f; 1967:108) proposes that typically Broad SAE speech habits may be observed among upper class individuals; more recently, Schultz (2013) has found that even highly educated individuals, who have high-status careers, with a high income, can and do speak Broad SAE, despite its supposed association with the lower classes. In fact, Schlemmer (1976:113; 130) maintains that subdivisions within the English-Speaking South African community rely more heavily on '"cultural" and life-style cleavages' than strictly on matters of socioeconomic class.

[20] Also refer to later paragraphs in this section and §3.4 on phase 4 below for a discussion of the ideological component in the opposition between General and Broad SAE

In fact, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:92), too, argue that the two 'main traditions' which are situated at opposite ends of the sociolectal continuum hinge on 'belief and attitude' and are 'counter-forces stronger than any class-derived opposition in overt and covert social values'. Jeffery (1982:252) reinforces this notion, observing that there is a bifurcate pattern, where Cape English corresponds more closely to a less prestigious evaluation and Natal English corresponds more closely to a more prestigious evaluation in terms of ideology – he particularly emphasises the ideological component of these value systems. The same opposition has been described by Macdonald (1975) and Penn and Stafford (1971).

Lanham and Macdonald (1979:88) describe this distinction as one between 'competing nationalisms', viz. South African nationalism vs. British nationalism. This leads them to posit 'competing value systems' that operate in the SAE speech community and which constrain the differentiation of social varieties (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:4). Jeffery (1982:254) proposes the terms *South African tradition* and *British tradition* for the two ideological systems which correlate with Broad SAE for the former and with Cultivated SAE for the latter. Likewise, Garson, N.G. (1976:28) draws up a distinction – among both Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans – between concerns that align to the prevailing interests of Britain of the day and those that stereotypically (though not absolutely) align to those of Afrikaners: an ideological distinction which is not necessarily tied to native language (Afrikaans vs. English).

Jeffery (1982) therefore makes a strong appeal for these two value systems corresponding to local concerns in the one instance and to an institutional orientation that transcends immediately local concerns on the other. This is illustrative of the oppositional tension that exists between institutional culture (and corresponding linguistic usage) and local culture (and corresponding linguistic usage) that Eckert (2000:3) identifies and which is considered under section 2.2.2 above.

In this regard, the Witwatersrand is not the ultimate origin of speech habits and the evaluations they are assigned (Lanham, 1978:164; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:50), though it served as the crucible in which these habits and attitudes became more robust and whence they spread throughout the SAE speech community – Lanham (1978:160) proposes that the mining-industrial revolution emphasised this opposition. This happened particularly because the Witwatersrand, during phase 3, united several diverse aspects that have amalgamated into SAE (Lanham, 1978:163f). The opposition would have formed as a result of the phase 3 ecological developments in the 19th century mining-industrial centres; which pitted the British and the South African traditions against each other; which brought Cape and Natal English into close quarters. Additionally, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:82f) submit that the Anglo-Boer (or South African) War cemented this ideological opposition in South African society.

As a result, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:18) aver that the standard, as overtly recognised by White South Africans, as well as the norms and attitudes that correspond to it, are mostly the product of negotiation (in the sense intended by Thomason, 2001; defined in §2.1.1) achieved by the original British settlers in the Cape and Natal. The Afrikaner IDG population has contributed to this process in two important ways: first, by adding their own Afrikaner IDG English features to the ecology of SAE or by

reinforcing other features already on hand from STL input and second, by being instrumental in the process of negotiating social types and the social evaluations which they are assigned (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:18). It emerges that Afrikaans L1s and English L1s in South Africa share the same evaluation of the opposition (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:54-55) and, as such, members of the Afrikaner IDG stream share a set of evaluative norms with speakers from the STL strand and both these parties have in the past – and continue to – co-participate in the negotiation of sociolinguistic norms and evaluations (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:18). This corresponds to Eckert's (2000:31) requirement for a speech community, as considered in section 2.1.3, viz. that speakers share a set of norms even if they differ in the precise interpretation of those norms. This shared set of norms, as identified by Lanham and Macdonald (1979:18; 54-55) provides strong evidence that SAE was strongly nativised at this time, in that the Afrikaner IDG stream and STL strands had come to satisfy this requirement for speech communities.

3.3.4 Reanalysis during nativisation

A theme that is central to the Dynamic Model emerges from our discussion of the nativisation phase thus far: local sociolinguistic resources – variants and their associated evaluations – which had their origins in the foundation phase, were reanalysed to serve new sociolinguistic purposes. In this regard, Lass (2002:109) argues that the final wave of immigration, primarily to Johannesburg, contributed very diverse possible input and that it therefore did not do much to supersede previous dialect-formation (to negate the earlier founder effects). Obviously, it did contribute toward SAE as we know it currently, though, because it altered the ecology of the speech community at that time and subsequently – which is the point of phase 3. The major – or most influential – linguistic inventory that contributed toward the developments on the Witwatersrand came from the established varieties of the Eastern Cape and Natal (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:22). Similarly, Lanham (1964:22) categorically states that the developments on the Witwatersrand 'had little influence on the character of South African English' (aside from reinforcing a certain normative tradition).

All told, Lanham and Macdonald (1979) do assign a position of primacy to the developments on the Witwatersrand and the lasting effects they would have on SAE, as does Schneider (2007), especially if – as I propose – this does indeed represent phase 3 in SAE, as regards the STL strand and the Afrikaner IDG stream, to the exclusion of other ethnic varieties. But that primacy lay in its phase 3, nativising and reanalysing effects – not in the creation, anew, of SAE. Therefore, Lanham (1967:105) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979), speaking from social history, argue that former sociolinguistic configuration(s) in South Africa were rewritten during this time, as does Schneider (2007). Bekker's (2009; etc.) claims remain within this same dialogue: one which puts the Witwatersrand at the heart of what we have come to know as SAE; and I believe that his 'new koiné' is simply reanalysed, phase 3 SAE.

Throughout the 19th century, there was little doubt of the 'British connection' that applied to the STL community in South Africa (Garson, N.G., 1976:28). But this situation changed: in the period of crossover – the years preceding and following the formation of the Union – English-speaking South

Africans were in two minds; often unsure whether to side with the British Empire or the newly united South Africa; and often vacillating between the two positions (Garson, N.G., 1976:30). Much of this uncertainty centred on the standard: what variety serves this purpose; what is its precise status; what are its origins – local or foreign? And this uncertainty is rooted in the reanalysis that typifies nativisation (cf. §2.5.3 in the previous chapter). Namely, reanalysed Natal English, in the form of General SAE, had attained to the same sociolinguistic position as Cultivated SAE and the resulting competition had not yet been resolved. This competition, in the sense defined by Labov (1972; §2.1.1), resulted from the changing linguistic-ecological conditions (Mufwene, 2001; §2.3) of phase 3. The outcome of the competition was not yet apparent to speakers at large; but as Labov (2010:175) claims for language change in general, and Schneider (2003:240) claims specifically in terms of the Dynamic Model, the outcome had already been determined by the obtaining ecological conditions, as discussed in section 2.1.2. Lanham and Macdonald (1979:70) summarise the phase 3 South African condition:

> [I]n a society with co-existing standards, we note the strong implication of competition or conflict (with suggestions of social change) […] of competing standards being in an interim state of social change.

SAE therefore had two 'standard types' during the late 19th and early 20th centuries: General SAE which is home-grown, proudly South African, and Cultivated SAE which looks to Southern England for its norms (Lass, 1990a:272f; 2002:105). Garson, N.G. (1976:32) proposes that such an ambivalent identity writing was – owing to the particular history of the English-speaking population in South Africa – 'an entirely natural and legitimate phenomenon'. And it was not 'unique [to South Africa], being found also in […] other dominions' (Garson, N.G., 1976:32). This observation has strong resonance with the Dynamic Model: similar processes constrain the development of geographically and/or temporally separated postcolonial Englishes.

Toward the end of the 19th century, at the local level, people were becoming more estranged from the 'British connection', as is typical up to phase 3 (discussed in §2.5.3 above), but were left with no recourse to an authentic, saliently local alternative as yet (Garson, N.G., 1976:22); however 'localized South African loyalties were certainly growing stronger' (Garson, N.G., 1976:29). This in-between position accounts for much of the sociolinguistic uncertainty that is to be observed at this time; it also illustrates the friction between the outgoing exonormative orientation of phase 3 and the incoming endonormative orientation of phase 4. The entry of speakers of reanalysed Natal English – the beginnings of General SAE – into the highest social spheres was still fairly recent (Lanham, 1978:158; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:52) and, as such, the future of an endonormative standard continued to seem tenuous in the early years (Hooper, 1945).

Ultimately phase 3 saw the gradual re-evaluation of norms following the upheaval caused by mass-scale urbanisation and industrialisation. This re-evaluation comprised two components, the first of which typified the earlier half of the phase while the second typified the later half: (1) an attempt at making sense of earlier Southern African colonial configurations when the ecologies that had supported those

configurations were uprooted – a development which necessitated the mutation (reanalysis) of extant linguistic inventory to better suit the new ecological conditions of the mining-industrial city, in keeping with Mufwenean theory as exposited in section 2.3, and (2) uncertainty whether to prefer exonormative or endonormative linguistic practices – particularly because an authentically local alternative to Received Pronunciation/Cultivated SAE had emerged in environments usually restricted to the standard – while an increasing segment of the population grew to identify more with South Africa and less with Britain – this development is explicitly predicted by the Dynamic Model, as detailed in section 2.5.3 above.

As has emerged in the discussion of phase 3 in SAE, and as explicitly stated by Bowerman (2004:933), Natal English was reanalysed during this period into General SAE while Cape-cum-Afrikaans English was reanalysed into Broad SAE. Ultimately, by the 1960s, the death knell was tolling for Received Pronunciation and/or Cultivated SAE in South Africa, in spite of the ever-shrinking segment of society that desired otherwise (Lanham, 1964:21).

3.3.5 Non-linguistic hallmarks of nativisation

> [T]he English of South Africa will not be quite the English of England […] It is an interesting enquiry to note, if we can, how far already the English spoken in the Colony has been affected by its environment. (Legg, 1890:94.)

Schneider (2003; 2007) proposes that especially political developments and the so-called complaint tradition are prominent features of phase 3, as detailed in section 2.5.3. Below, I first discuss the political developments, turning to the complaint tradition thereafter. A political factor that Schneider (2003; 2007) considers an important signal of the crossover from phase 3 to phase 4, is the attainment of political independence, as is usually achieved by Phase 3 (Schneider, 2003:247; 2007:40-41), prerequisite for Phase 4 (Schneider, 2003:250; 2007:48), and has often found a 'conventional political expression' in the Commonwealth (Schneider, 2003:247; 2007:41). In this regard, several matters of history pertain to South Africa, which are considered directly.

3.3.5.1. The political environment

The (British) ideal of a unified South Africa gained much ground in the closing decades of the 19th century; Bowerman (2004:933) proposes the 1870s as the start date for this period of a 'unitary' South Africa. The South African territory achieved this ideal when it was granted nominal independence (Garson, N.G., 1976:35 calls this 'self-determination') on 31 May 1910 – with the formation of the Union of South Africa (Bowerman, 2004:933). Moreover, in 1931, it was one of the founding members of the Commonwealth of Nations (Commonwealth, 2014a),[21] which was, at the time, known as the 'British Commonwealth of Nations', a term coined in 1917 by none other than Jan Smuts (Crafford, 2005:142).

[21] Note that this date corresponds closely to the cut-off point for the social shift away from Cultivated SAE as the exonormative standard in favour or General SAE as the endonormative standard, as proposed by Lanham and Macdonald (considered under §3.4 below).

Note that it is strikingly illustrative of the strengthening bonds between the STL and IDG strands that Smuts, an Afrikaner, was proficient enough in English to produce neologistic phrases in the language and that the British (even those beyond South Africa) felt sufficiently affable toward him to admit this phrase as the replacement for the then long-entrenched 'British Empire'. Indeed, in 1921, the term 'British Commonwealth of Nations' was substituted for 'British Empire' in the Anglo-Irish Treaty (Parkenham, 1972). It subsequently replaced the term 'British Empire' in most official proceedings. The elite of the IDG strand – to which Smuts certainly belonged – may achieve a high level of proficiency in English at any point in the Dynamic Model, even phase 1, but this is illustrative of the IDG strand approaching the STL strand. The example above illustrates the STL strand – and even the metropole itself! – approaching the IDG strand, which could only happen during the latter phases of the Dynamic Model.

Indeed, Garson, N.G. (1976:31) proposes that English-speaking South Africans realised at this time that they had to commit to closer ties with – at least some – Afrikaners to try and advance their own agenda. There was even strong support for the 'one [united, Afrikaner-English/White, South African] nation ideal of Botha and Smuts against the two-stream ideal of Hertzog' (Garson, N.G., 1976:31f; 34; parenthesis added). Many English-speaking South Africans might have been loath to do this, but they did recognise that the coming-together of the two populations was necessary, fuelling the approaching homogeneity of phase 4. Besides, Garson, N.G. (1976:32) proposes that any actual conflict between the interests of the Commonwealth and those of South Africa would result in the SA English-speaking population supporting those of South Africa – which evidences the coming local, patriotic, and endonormative attitudes among English-speaking South Africans at large.

3.3.5.2. The complaint tradition

Such local attitudes are evidenced by an increasing linguistic inventory that is specialised to local experiences; Lentzner (1891:101-102) compiled a brief list of 'South African slang', which contains neologistic English terms, Cape Dutch/Afrikaans lexical items, and items derived from Zulu and African creoles. To my knowledge, Lentzner's (1891:101-102) contribution is the first to consider SAE in an academic context; albeit quite cursory – his primary concern lay with Australian English. Many of the entries for SAE he provides are, more than a century later, quite dated; but those that have survived in current usage would not pass unambiguously as 'slang' at present. For example, Lentzner (1891:101) provides *ndaba*, which would presently be rendered *indaba*, and *trek* (1891:102), which are representative of Black IDG stream influence in the former case and of Afrikaner IDG stream influence in the latter. These words might have a somewhat specialised usage, but they certainly are not 'slang'. Therefore, Lentzner's (1891:101-102) contribution still corresponds to a type of complaint tradition – at least paradigmatically – in it implying a prescriptive stance toward uniquely South African material, by way of his use of the word 'slang'.

Some twenty years later, Pettman (1913) compiled a survey of *Africanderisms*, a term which was intended to denote *South Africanisms*, though it might seem to the modern reader to imply *Afrikanerisms*.

In terms of the Dynamic Model, such *-isms* would have accrued during phase 2 (refer to the discussion under §2.5.2), only to be commented on outright during phase 3 (Schneider, 2007:37; 2014:11). In the same year, Clarke (1913) wrote a pedagogical article on the *Pronunciation of English in South Africa*. Note the turn of phrase here, which conforms to Schneider's (2003:253; 2007:50; discussed in §2.5.3) *English in X* formula, which is typical of phase 3; also that the concerns here are mainly pedagogical in nature. The same formula is evident from Swanepoel's (1925; 1928) consideration of the phonetics of *English in South Africa*.

As considered in section 2.1.1, Eckert (2000:24) proposes that local values gain significance if and when they are contrasted to global values. Her use of these terms is intended in a more abstracted, broader sense than here, but the statement applies all the same. Thus, an important characteristic of phase 3 is that it brings what is local – South African – into the public consciousness, effectively bringing it into opposition (as defined in §2.2.2) with the exonormative standard and imparting perceptual significance to what is local. As such, it sets the process going of negotiating a new linguistic practice. For example, the *-isms* referred to in the previous paragraph would have remained below the level of salience in the population at large until phase 3 – only then becoming the subject of much public debate by way of the complaint tradition.

The now-defunct *Cape Monthly Magazine* printed articles dealing with 'Cape English' (read: *South African English*) in the 1870s. This symbolises a crossover into public awareness of South African English as something distinctive, an entity in its own right. I consider two contributions to the magazine below, from September and October 1872 respectively, and occasionally add to these a later contribution by Legg (1890) to the *Cape Illustrated Magazine*. Incidentally, 1872 is also the year the Cape achieved self-government (Garson, N.G., 1976:25) and lies at the start of Bowerman's (2004:933) 'unitary' South African period. I take all three these contributions to be illustrative of a strong complaint tradition in the Cape. As argued in section 2.5.3, this should make them typical of phase 3.

Remarkably, neither contribution to the *Cape Monthly Magazine* evidences a wholly hostile attitude to the nativising effects operative at the time – and the same may be said of Legg's (1890), though he is more cautious about the nativising process underway at the time than the other two. Both *Cape Monthly Magazine* contributions were published anonymously; for ease of reference I refer to the author of the earlier contribution (Y, 1978:279-281 [1872:182-183]) as Y and to the author of the later contribution (Z, 1978:281-286 [1872:228-233]) as Z, in keeping with the labelling applied to them in the original (Y, 1872; Z, 1872) and the respective reprinted versions (Lewin Robinson, 1978:279-281; 281-286).

Y (1978:279) observes that South African English of the time (i.e., the 1870s) contained various idiosyncrasies that signalled it as a local invention. Accordingly, the average English of the time was not '"the pure well of English undefiled" that many fancy it to be' (Y, 1978:279). Legg (1890:94) is in accord with Y, stating that South African English was noticeably local. Y (1978:279f) particularly assigns these

idiosyncrasies to the influence of (Cape) Dutch and summarises the status quo of the time as follows (1978:280):

> This un-English phraseology forms the every-day speech of those who are gradually attaining to the foremost places among us. They are, it may be, not yet in our written tongue; but one cannot open a newspaper without seeing, especially in the correspondence columns, many an idiom which smacks of something else than the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

This quotation implies that there had not occurred any standardisation in SAE at the time to offset it formally from the British norm – as well there would not have been until phase 4 – but that the reality at grass-roots level had certainly shifted toward a narrower relationship between the STL strand and the Afrikaner IDG stream and a resulting prevalence of conspicuously South African norms in frequent use – both Lanham and Macdonald (1979) and Schneider (2007) make this argument, and it is detailed in the first half of this subsection. Consequently, English usage contained many Afrikaans terms or expressions despite many of these having sufficient English cognates (Y, 1978:280). Y (1978:280) even remarks that English-speaking South Africans had become so accustomed to this 'colonial phraseology' that many of them had difficulty communicating events or ideas to metropolitan Britons without reverting to such phraseology.

In this regard, Z (1978:281), whose contribution is intended as a response to Y's, lays much emphasis on the fact that the local realities of a colony would transform a language, altering it to better suit local functions or requirements. This position resonates particularly with Eckert's (2000:2; emphasis added), viz. that linguistic change is driven by the 'day-to-day use and transformation of linguistic resources for *local* stylistic purposes' (cf. §2.1.1). Legg (1890:94) shares this view, saying that 'Affected it must be by its surroundings'. The sentiment that Legg and Z express also speaks beautifully to Mufwene's (2001) concept of language ecology, as discussed in section 2.3; espousing, as it does, that a different ecology would redirect the evolutionary trajectory of a language. Z (1978:286) contends that '"natural selection" will be busy for some time to come' with regard to the relationship between English and Afrikaans in Southern Africa. Similarly, Legg (1890:94) emphasises the pre-eminence of the complaint tradition (in which he participated himself) in the public mind during the late-19th century, noting several social issues that would need to be resolved and claiming that 'none surely presents more interest, or admits of being discussed with less acrimony than the future language of South Africa'.[22]

To the effect that the local ecology necessitates changes in the English language, Z (1978:281) furnishes the example of a 'Karroo famer' who would not benefit from idioms such as 'a man's prospects being clouded over', 'basking in the sunshine of prosperity', or 'laying by for a rainy day'. Likewise, Z (1978:281) proposes that local English-speakers would not be able to fully appreciate words like *snug* or *cosy*, due to their lack of experience of the comparatively worse cold of the British Isles; nor would

[22] It is worth noting that he did use the term 'South Africa', expressing the notion of it being a single entity, even though this would only officially be achieved in 1910.

expressions that pertain to the aristocracy, such as ‘a genuine aristocrat’ or ‘a lordly bearing’, have quite the same effect.

Y and Z’s lay observations are formalised by Mufwene (2009:353; parentheses added), who describes the phenomenon as ‘additive, substitutive, and subtractive alterations in response to the cultures of its [i.e. English’s] new users as determined by the fauna, flora, and other geographical conditions they deal with [in the new environment]’ – the groundwork for which would be laid during phase 1, but which comes consistently more into its own as the phases of the Dynamic Model play out. This sentiment is expressed most clearly in Z’s (1978:282) observation that ‘[n]ew features will present themselves; but as long as the organic structure and substantial framework of the language remain, there need be no degeneracy’, or in Y’s (1978:281) observation that:

> It is one of the marks of a *living* language, that it assimilates to itself new and strange words, drawn from many opposite quarters. Let us see to it that we hand down the heritage of the language, at any rate not debased, but rather enriched by the alterations it may receive at our hands in the using.

Moreover, it is instructive, as Hopwood (1970:v-vii) already did in 1928, to observe that the complaint tradition centred on ‘erroneous pronunciations’ that originated in English itself *and* under the influence of Afrikaans/Dutch. This speaks directly to my proposition, provided in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, that the Standard Model is an interpretation of the development of SAE as regards the STL strand in relation to the Afrikaner IDG stream.

Thus, Y and Z seem to express an attitude that is moderately – though certainly not entirely – approving of the overall linguistic circumstances in the Cape at the time. Legg (1890:95) agrees that many, but not all, nativised Afrikaner IDG stream contributions to SAE are valuable because ‘they supply a want’. Y and Z both acknowledge that, in practice, the uniquely South African habits of the period pervade, with only moderate reservations that SAE may suffer from the nativising influence of Afrikaans; while welcoming the addition of such words as *outspan* or *inspan*, which ‘include by one expression what an English groom would need two or three orders to perform’ (Y, 1978:280) or wondering if ‘veldt were taken away from us, where shall we graze our oxen?’ (Z, 1978:282). Both these examples – and others – are also considered valuable contributions to the language by Legg (1890:96), who observes that many had even been admitted to ‘Queen’s English’ – the metropolitan standard – though he does show more concern for English being denigrated due to other effects, than either Y or Z do (Legg, 1890). For example, and quite interestingly, Legg (1890:95) notes as one of the characteristics of SAE that the ‘raising of the voice at the end of a sentence will be noticed by every new comer’. He seems here to be talking about the phenomenon that is currently known as *uptalk*, *upspeak*, *high rising terminal*, or by various other appellations (Ladd, 1996:123). More than a generation later, in 1927, Black (quoted in Hopwood, 1970:vii) commented on the ‘rising inflection’ that typifies SAE. It seems that uptalk might have been straddling the fence between salience and non-salience in SAE for much longer than has been thought. Dorrington and Bekker (2010) have claimed that it is a recent innovation, which is highly

doubtful in light of Legg's (1890) and Black's (as quoted in Hopwood, 1970) comments – as is the suggestion that it is a transfer feature from American English (e.g. Dorrington & Bekker, 2010).

However, Z (1978:284-285) expresses more concern over influence from other sources than from Afrikaans, claiming, for example, that the (Afrikaans-influenced) *dam* is preferable to the 'Frenchified and pretentious' *reservoir* (Z, 1978:283). Moreover, Z (1978:284) asks, 'Could any adopted Dutch be half so offensive as some of our Cockney vulgarisms?' He comes to the conclusion that the danger of linguistic degeneration from *inside* the English-speaking world is more formidable than that posed by Afrikaans influence, a position which he acrimoniously articulates as follows (Z, 1978:285; footnote and parenthesis added):

> we should issue an ukase[23] that every English immigrant into the Colony should be examined colloquially by the Board of Examiners, and that any one that was found to bear the mark of the Beast [the 'Beast' being Cockney speech habits] in the slightest degree should be offered the option of returning home again at his own expense, or of learning Dutch with the obligation of speaking it ever after.

3.4 Phase 4 (1930-1994)

> In one set of circumstances – in England – standard English with the English modifications of cultured speakers is correct. In another set of circumstances – in America – another standard with the American modifications of cultured speakers is correct. And in still another set of circumstances – in South Africa – still another standard with the modifications of cultured speakers is correct. (Hooper, 1946:49.)

My interpretation of the Standard Model in terms of endonormative stabilisation differs most conspicuously from that provided by Schneider (2007). Schneider (2007:185) suggests that endonormative stabilisation proceeded from 1994 onward, to the effect that the advent of the new, democratic dispensation in South Africa constitutes Event X for SAE. I agree that the crossover to democracy constituted Event X for the STL strand vis-à-vis *certain* other strands – perhaps most notably in relation to the Black IDG stream. However, I propose that the STL strand vis-à-vis the Afrikaner IDG stream, as typically considered in the Standard Model, achieved endonormative stabilisation at a much earlier date, largely because the STL population and the Afrikaner IDG population were at greater liberty to interact with each other – certainly more than other populations who were deliberately segregated, by all accounts. Thus, phase 4 extended from 1930 until 1994 for the STL strand in relation to the Afrikaner IDG stream.

3.4.1 Impetus toward endonormative stabilisation

In response to ecological factors coming to bear more narrowly on each other than they did before during nativisation in Johannesburg and surrounds, a new society developed, with its own social values,

[23] The Oxford English Dictionary (2015) defines the now-archaic *ukase* as '[a]ny proclamation or decree an order or regulation of a final or arbitrary nature'.

attitudes, and lifestyle; which subsequently dispersed throughout South Africa (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:22; 71). This spread across South Africa is the event that effectuated phase 4. As Hooper (1946:49) argues, in a way that is prescient of the Dynamic Model and at a time I propose lies toward the beginning of phase 4, 'the development of different varieties of English in America and the Dominions should be admitted and recognised, and our old attitudes to language readjusted in the light of new evidence'. In this sense, phase 4 is a period during which resolutions are sought to the dissonance that arises from perceptions which still recognise the exonormative standard, while endonormative practice has been steadily increasing throughout phases 1-3. Put differently, it is the negotiation of a new set of norms after the local (or the endonormative) has come into public consciousness and hence been opposed to the foreign (or exonormative), hence being assigned a particular social evaluation, in the process proposed by Eckert (2000) and detailed in section 2.1.1.

At this point, it is prudent to state that I propose that the Standard Model, in terms of its progression along the Dynamic Model, did not require an Event X, but followed primarily from a greater desire for independence and the real, societal conditions present in South Africa. In their nature, these conditions would be of the kind that belongs to Mufwene's external ecology, as considered in section 2.3.1. The Dynamic Model makes provision for such external ecology effectuating a variety's entry into phase 4 – therefore, either Event X or such a gradual progression could conceivably be relevant to a given variety – and I describe Schneider's position in this regard in section 2.5.4. Therefore, it is worth observing that certain commentators, e.g., Bekker (2009:85), have interpreted Event X as a *necessary* condition for a variety's entry into phase 4 – it is not! With regard to Event X in SAE, I propose furthermore that it would only really become relevant at the end of apartheid, and with regard to White varieties and the varieties of *other* racial groups, viz. not for the STL strand vis-à-vis the Afrikaner IDG stream, but certainly for the STL strand vis-à-vis the Black IDG stream, Coloured IDG stream, or SA Indian ADS strand. Nonetheless, two events in particular provided momentum toward endonormative stabilisation: the disappearance of authentic, metropolitan British individuals from the spheres of power (Garson, N.G., 1976:36; §3.3 above; Lanham, 1964:20; 1978:143; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:28f; 79; 85) and the conspicuous and somewhat dramatic exit of South Africa from the Commonwealth (Lanham, 1978:163). Even though a large group within the STL strand was strongly against this latter event, it nevertheless forced them to capitulate on certain matters.

3.4.2 The crossover to endonormative stabilisation

Lanham and Macdonald (1979) make a specific appeal to speakers' age – being born either prior to or after 1930 – to account for observable differences in the STL strand speech community (and as I deliberate in §3.4.6 below, this same temporal division applies to the Afrikaner IDG stream). Namely, the speech of older speakers (born before 1930) still exhibited exonormative attitudes and/or regional affiliations, depending on the social class of the speaker in question; whereas younger speakers (born after 1930) embraced General SAE as the endonormative standard, while regional and, to a lesser extent,

class differences were levelled (Lanham, 1964:21; 34; 1967:61; 107; 1978:143; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:29). Lanham (1978:163) explicitly appeals to the operation of such levelling being particularly strong in the 1970s. To this effect Cultivated SAE was a nominal standard in SAE for a long time, but General SAE achieved the status of de facto (if not overtly recognised, or nominal; see the discussion under §2.5.4) standard some time before being acknowledged as such – gaining this status through the effects of phase 3 reanalysis in the new, mining-industrial society. To this effect, Lanham (1967:108; emphasis added) proposes that exonormative attitudes were still 'strongly held by *individuals'*, but that the acceptance of endonormative attitudes was virtually the norm at that time. Moreover, Lanham (1967:78-80; 108; 1978:148) observes how even exonormatively-minded language teachers, intent on 'correcting' their pupils' speech through deliberate instruction, failed to 'rectify' many SAE speech habits which therefore persisted even among highly educated members of that niche in society that would traditionally have spoken Cultivated SAE.

As noted in section 3.3, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:70) explicitly contend that the coexistence of standards in a society implies social change, which speaks directly to the social change the Dynamic Model envisions. They postulate, in accord with Fishman (1972:25), that there is 'the likelihood of competing standards being an interim state associated with social change'. That is, Fishman (1972:25) proposes that 'hitherto nonstandard varieties may themselves undergo standardization whereas hitherto standardized varieties may undergo destandardization'. This argument is prescient of and appeals directly to the hallmarks of phases 3 and 4 of the Dynamic Model, viz. the crossover from an exonormative to an endonormative standard in phase 4 and the preceding uncertainty in society vis-à-vis standard norms during the process of reanalysis that typifies phase 3.

Thus, the status of General SAE was unsure toward the end of phase 3 and the start of phase 4; but it ultimately came to serve the function of local, provincial, or endonormative standard (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:88 Lanham & Traill, 1962:207; Lass, 2002:110; Wells, 1982:611), which levelled regional and social differences in the STL strand vis-à-vis the Afrikaner IDG stream (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:86).[24]

At the time that the shift from exonormative Cultivated SAE to endonormative General SAE would have been most conspicuous, Hopwood (1970:8) predicts that the next generation of English-speaking South Africans (i.e., those born roughly in the 1930s and the 1940s) would use typically South African phonetic features at a greater frequency than in his 1920s sample. That is, this next generation would be the children of the speakers whose speech Hopwood (1970:8) drew from for his study (I specifically mean that segment of his sample who belonged to the higher social classes) and who were the archetypal speakers of Cultivated SAE, but whose speech already evidenced strong influence from endonormativity. Again, Labov's (2010:175) assertion for language change in general and Schneider's (2003:240)

[24] Lanham and Macdonald (1979:34) suggest that the qualitative differences among distinguishable varieties of SAE were greater than those of Australian English at the time. Again, the homogeneity of phase 4 was by no means monolithic and categorical – it simply presented as conspicuously less diverse than the previous phases and was perceived as such.

specifically for the Dynamic Model are relevant here: the outcome had already been determined by the ecological conditions, as discussed in section 2.1.2, that were present in the SAE speech community. Despite uncertainty among the lay populace, General SAE had achieved a selective advantage over Cultivated SAE – and Hopwood (1970) was astute enough to recognise this fact.

In line with predictions from the Dynamic Model (cf. Schneider, 2003:250; 2007:50; 2014:12; discussed in §2.5.4), the residue of exonormative attitudes remained evident in the SAE speech community for some time – especially among Natalians, who retained an affinity for Britain longer than any other SAE sub-community (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:63).[25] As Hooper (1945:479-480) observes, especially upper class speakers of this period were still wary of General SAE since 'its status still [seemed] uncertain'. Particularly the earlier half of the 20th century was marked by the persistence of exonormativity, though the exonormative norm was, by this time, 'ill-defined' (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:89). I reiterate my statement of section 3.2, viz. that exonormativity is not the 'defining feature' of phase 2, nor is it restricted to phase 2. As such, my use of the term *exonormative* here should not be construed to be in any way associated with phase 2.

In the early years, Johannesburg was observed to be very amenable to British values and orientations in general (Cohen, 1924:304; Lanham, 1964:19; 1967:106; Lanham, 1978:159; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:76). In this regard, upper class females with recent ties to Britain were the most obstinate custodians of the exonormative standard, in the form of Cultivated SAE (Lanham, 1967:107; 1978:143; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:29). Women born in Great Britain often chastised their children with the phrase 'You little colonial' (Lanham, 1978:162; Lanham & Macdonald, 1978:76); though Lanham and Macdonald (1979:76) observe that this practice was waning in the 1930s. It is worthwhile to note that the presence and prevalence of this 'colonial' stereotype implies that broad segments of the SAE speech community had undergone nativisation and these nativised speech habits had persisted for long enough to be assigned an indexical value that could be drawn from to express a given stereotype. This is precisely the analysis that Lanham (1978:162) provides. Moreover, it is highly doubtful that these 'little colonials' were speaking anything other than General SAE, since they would have belonged to the upper classes and therefore would not have been afforded much opportunity to approximate the speech norms of Broad SAE.

Lanham (1967:108; 1978:143; 159) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:28) thus propose that the Southern British standard – or, more accurately, Cultivated SAE – was transmitted with remarkable efficacy among these older speakers, especially in elite private schools, until the period prior to the Second World War. However, after this period it went into rapid decline as a result of growing phase 4 endonormativity – and even during this period, Cultivated SAE was becoming increasingly rare, already

[25] I also do not make the claim that phase 4 homogeneity erased *all* exonormative attitudes – it did not, nor is such absolute erasure required by the Dynamic Model. The homogeneity would lie, more appropriately, in the norms of the mining society on the Witwatersrand spreading throughout the SAE speech community and providing for shared interpretations of speech habits across the board.

giving way to General SAE (Bowerman, 2004:933; Branford, 1994:472; Hooper, 1945; Lanham, 1964:21; 34; 1967:61; 106; 1978:143; 159; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:28).

The last significant cohort of Cultivated SAE speakers comprised females who were born in the years preceding 1930 and who had maintained close ties to Britain – they were usually related no more than two generations away to bona fide Britons (Lanham, 1967:107; 1978:143; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:30). However, after the Second World War, ties to Great Britain were mostly severed (Bowerman, 2004:933; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:79) in all but name: Lanham and Macdonald (1979:30) maintain that the presence of Cultivated SAE was negligible in demographic groups subsequent to this period, with its features restricted nearly entirely to the position of archaisms or residualisms. Lanham (1967:62) explicitly states that any appreciable proficiency in Cultivated SAE 'is confined mainly to older South Africans; the majority who have grown up since the Second World War use more or less "extreme" forms of SAE productively' – that is, they use features closer to General SAE for more formalistic speech production and features closer to Broad SAE for more colloquial speech production. This was particularly the case because authentic speakers of the metropolitan standard-proper (Received Pronunciation) were no longer available as references (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:36; 82) and resultantly the social evaluation of the exonormative as standard was 'no longer viable' in practice (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:85).

In Lanham and Macdonald's (1979:83) sample, speakers over the age of 45 in 1975 (i.e., born prior to 1930) exhibited a greater adherence to Cultivated SAE as the exonormative standard, while individuals born after 1930 lacked the constant influx of authentically metropolitan individuals and thus could not target their speech (see also Lanham, 1978:143). Those among the younger generation who did show evidence of Cultivated SAE speech forms were almost invariably from families that maintained the 'British tradition' and even among them there was evidence for a gradual shift away from these speech norms as they matured and accommodated to the speech norms of their peers (Lanham, 1978:143; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:65). Such children were often identified by their parents as speakers of 'two dialects' (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:65), i.e., Cultivated SAE at home or as native dialect and General SAE as peer dialect (see also Lanham, 1967:61). Resultantly, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:83) specifically designate 1930 as the point of crossover from regionally-aligned and exonormatively-aligned varieties to a more South African-oriented, homogeneous sociolinguistic practice, that is, from phase 3 into phase 4. As Hooper (1944:25; emphasis added) phrases it:

> there has already evolved in South Africa a pronunciation different from the Standard English of England, and *that pronunciation can be heard in the speech of all South African-born speakers* of English.

3.4.3 A case study of the crossover to endonormative stabilisation

As a case study in support of the analysis I propose above, I now consider Hooper (1945), who analyses the speech habits of various, White, English-speaking South African schoolchildren – these children would arguably be the 'next generation' that Hopwood (1970:8) refers to. Hooper (1945:478-479)

considers the speech of female speakers from two girls' high schools in Johannesburg (assigned letters for the sake of anonymity): H, which catered to upper class pupils and where all teachers were appointed from England and L, which catered to upper-middle class pupils and where a greater number of teachers were local. Both schools were attended by pupils from the higher social classes; accordingly attention was paid to girls' pronunciation at both schools by means of formal instruction, though H was slightly 'more' upper class than L. A difference is observable between the speech of girls at H as compared to girls at L – in that girls from H kept more closely to the standard English pronunciation of England, in the form of Cultivated SAE, while authentically South African pronunciation, as General SAE, was favoured comparatively more at L (Hooper, 1945:478-479). Differences between the two in terms of the lexical items *out*, *boy*, *gate*, *can't*, and *swim* are illustrated in Table 3.2 below (as adapted from Hooper, 1945:478-479):

Table 3.2: Spread of South African features in the speech of upper-middle-to-upper class Johannesburg school girls, c. 1940s

	Lexical item	**Standard**	**Non-standard**	**Advanced non-standard**
	out		Partially raised diphthong-onset	Fully raised diphthong-onset
H		100%	0%	0%
L		67%	13%	20%
	boy		Partially raised diphthong-onset	Fully raised diphthong-onset
H		67%	33%	0%
L		23%	23%	54%
	gate		Centralised diphthong-onset	
H		91%	9%	
L		64%	36%	
	can't		Raised vowel	Backed vowel
H		58%	42%	0%
L		30%	50%	20%
	swim		Centralised vowel	
H		88%	12%	
L		40%	60%	

It should be emphasised that prestigious (Cultivated SAE) variants would have a synthetically high incidence in Hooper's (1945) sample, because he drew his data exclusively from word list style. Therefore, Cultivated SAE variants would have had an even lower frequency in casual speech – in normal, everyday conversation – at this time. In the cases of both *out* and *boy*, raising is involved; in the cases of *gate* and *swim*, centralisation is operative in the non-standard forms; for *can't*, two phenomena were at work, first, raising and, second, backing. There was clearly an appreciable difference between the speech of these two groups, despite them being situated very close to each other on the socioeconomic scale. Hooper (1945:479) assigns the difference to the fact that girls at H belonged to a 'privileged group' that had recent ties to England (i.e., they corresponded to the group that would typically speak Cultivated SAE). Lanham and Macdonald (1979:52) propose that the speech habits these speakers were correcting for were specifically those that may be said to be part of the Broad SAE speech pattern. Thus, any move away from General SAE was not so much the end that normative speakers were trying to achieve as it

was a side-effect of the avoidance of Broad SAE. Additional motivation would be present in the fact that people were still uncertain about the future of General SAE, during the beginning of phase 4 – that is, whether it could pose a viable alternative to Cultivated SAE (Hooper, 1945); while the social evaluation of Broad SAE was unambiguous: it was to be avoided by educated speakers (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:53).

Hooper (1945:482) also compares girls to boys from Johannesburg high schools – predictably, the results in this instance are even more striking. In terms of the lexical items *gate*, *can't*, and *boy*, none of the high school boys employ a standard pronunciation, while only 25% percent use a standard pronunciation for *out* (Hooper, 1945:482). Moreover, linguistic usage proved prone to 'correction' with age and a greater number of both girls *and* boys produced standard pronunciations as they came closer to exiting high school (Hooper, 1945:483).

In terms of seemingly regional variation, Hooper (1945:483) concludes that children in large English-speaking cities (such as Johannesburg) tend to adopt an accent that more closely resembles Cultivated SAE more frequently than children from smaller settlements do. However, this is not so much an effect of regionality-proper as it is of class-related issues – urban populations generally attain greater economic success and higher levels of education by comparison to rural populations (Hooper, 1945:482).

3.4.4 The sociolinguistic context of endonormative stabilisation

The formerly important ties to Great Britain, especially during phase 3, allowed for greater representation of reanalysed Natal English (General SAE) as the standard (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:81); individuals who were unable to achieve Cultivated SAE could now also scale the social hierarchy by means of General SAE. Social approbation of General SAE reached the same level as that for Cultivated SAE a decade or two later: some time around the mid-20th century – Lanham and Macdonald (1979:64f) describe how members of the SAE speech community at times even had difficulty deciding whether General SAE is 'British' or 'South African'! Lanham and Macdonald (1979:64) propose that this conflation owes to the opposition of both Cultivated and General SAE – in the social function of standard – to Broad SAE, which was always unambiguously vernacular.

Speakers born prior to the 1930s-transition period were also more likely to speak the regional varieties of Cape English or Natal English – if either was the speaker's region of provenance (Lanham, 1964:34; 1967:60; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:30). This owes to the fact that phase 4 homogeneity had not yet levelled regional variation. However, among those born after 1930, socioeconomic class was more prominent than regional affiliations – a version of Natal English, reanalysed into General SAE during phase 3, corresponded to the higher classes and a version of Cape English, reanalysed into Broad SAE during phase 3, corresponded to the lower socioeconomic classes (Lanham, 1964; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:35; 72). This levelling of former regional varieties (and their reanalysis into sociolects) is nothing other than phase 4 at work.

In support of the notion that General SAE is reanalysed Natal English, note that Lanham and Macdonald (1979:48) argue not only that General (or Respectable, in their parlance) SAE was advancing, but that it was an instrument for the spread of variants, throughout South African society, that originated in Natal English. Ironically, variants of Natal English were more prevalent on the East Rand than in Natal itself (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:50), a fact which should dispel any doubt that Natal did, in fact, provide major linguistic inventory toward the phase 3 process of reanalysis that proceeded in Johannesburg. As in sections 2.5.3 and 3.3, I stress that an exact, one-to-one correlation of Cape English to Broad SAE and of Natal English to General SAE is an oversimplification: as Bekker (2009:77) states, such 'a simplistic equation […] needs to be avoided'. Moreover, the supposedly absolute nature of phase 4 homogeneity should not be overstated: Van Rooy (2014:22) explicitly proposes that, depending on the ecological makeup of any given territory, a New English need not demonstrate *total* convergence during phase 4.

The identity of the Cape colonial had been subject to social stigma throughout much of the 19th and some of the 20th centuries, even in the social awareness of Cape English speakers themselves (Lanham, 1978:159; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:63). Lanham and Macdonald (1979:63f) propose that this stigma was reinforced in and by the mining-industrial society of the Witwatersrand. Within this society, the Natal colonial and his speech habits enjoyed greater overt prestige and the Cape colonial even endorsed this evaluation himself (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:64). These associations have persisted into modern-day society (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:83; Macdonald, 1975), which, again, motivates the identification with Broad SAE as reanalysed Cape English, and the wide reach of the founder effect (§2.3.2).

As recently as the 1970s there was still a correlation between Eastern Cape provenance and Broad SAE elsewhere in the country (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:21f). Nonetheless, Lass (2002:111) observes that this correlation no longer holds. In this regard I would like to point out two issues. First, this development is supportive of phase 4 homogeneity, in that SAE for the generations born roughly from the 1930s onward varied only according to social class, ethnicity, gender, and age. Second, those speakers in Lanham and Macdonald's (1979:22) sample in whose speech habits Eastern Cape descent did correlate to Broad SAE were already comparatively old, viz. over 45; the correlation did not survive into the younger generation in their sample. Among the younger speakers, Broad SAE speech habits correlated most closely with the East Rand, which implies the involvement of social class and/or ideology (Jeffery, 1982:255; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979).[26]

[26] Incidentally, Schultz (in preparation) is conducting a study which also has, broadly, a regional component. That is, her study investigates the speech of males from the East Rand and the Eastern Cape who were born prior to 1950. These individuals would speak, roughly, the Cape English/Broad SAE of that time. Additionally, any possible differences between these two groups which Schultz (in preparation) may identify would likely owe to the fact that Cape English did not exclusively provide linguistic inventory toward Broad SAE, and similarities would owe to the fact that it did provide the primary inventory toward Broad SAE. In regard to my own study, it is regrettable that Schultz (in preparation) has been unable to sample speech from speakers who were born exclusively prior to 1930 – who would then sort into the phase 3 cohort of SAE; while those born in the 20 years between that time and her 1950 cut-off date would probably belong more appropriately to the 'vanguard' generation of phase 4. (As a fact of life, most people born prior to 1930 are unfortunately no longer available for interviews.)

The same was broadly true for Natal, where regional speech habits were present among speakers born before 1930, but negligibly so among younger speakers (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:22).[27] Natalians were prone to shifting away from local pronunciations in formal speech (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:50). In Lanham and Macdonald's (1979:63) sample, older females from Natal showed low levels of approbation for all Natal English variants, and achieved some success in suppressing them. Their daughters and granddaughters, however, could not suppress these variants effectively – at least not those which were shared in common with General SAE – and their speech habits remained in step with the broader patterns manifested in South African society, *despite* professing the same exonormative attitudes as their forebears (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:63). As Lanham and Macdonald (1979:89; parenthesis added) observe, 'with few exceptions it is only the older South African who [is …] able to resist the pressure of local norms'. This dissonance arose because the *theory* of colonial admiration for Britain was still imparted to the younger generation, while the *practice* of local norms made its presence felt in Natal as elsewhere in South Africa (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:63).

Hooper (1944; 1945; 1946) made the frequent claim that South Africans need not be ashamed of an authentically local accent. Hooper (1945:476) remarks that the prevalent opinion had assumed 'quite unjustifiably it seems' that the standard accent of England was the best and only correct accent in South Africa. As Lanham and Macdonald (1979:64) confirm, Cultivated SAE persisted as the exonormative standard in the social mind for some time, even after it had effectively been replaced by endonormative General SAE (see also Lanham, 1978:147). Moreover, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:20) contend that the speech variety that the SAE community had overtly perceived as standard, viz. Cultivated SAE, did not correspond to the variety that the speech community propagated, and responded to, as the standard in practice. However, and importantly, Hooper (1945:481) contends that the attempt to preserve Cultivated SAE as the exonormative standard of South Africa was at that time already futile.

3.4.5 The ideological context of endonormative stabilisation

The major motivation behind the Broad vs. General distinction in SAE draws from oppositions set up by the founder populations – as such, they are not derived exclusively from oppositions in socioeconomic class, but draw more-heavily still from political-ideological and cultural factors (Lanham, 1978:140; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:92). Importantly, Lanham (1978:143; 161) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:88) are careful to observe that the aspect of British nationalism, as discussed in section 3.3, is no longer present in the formerly-British liberal aspect. Lanham (1978:146) therefore asserts that they 'still exercise their influence in modified ways': currently, it might be more prudent to term this ideological inclination something like 'international Anglo-Saxon' since it corresponds (mostly, though not exactly) to the proclivities of the globalised society in general and of the Anglophone component of globalised society in particular: Schlemmer (1976:108) calls this 'international Anglo-Saxon culture'. Indeed,

[27] Of course, those features of General SAE that derived from Natal English were quite secure at this time – in Natal as elsewhere.

Schneider (2011a:342) observes that such an alignment to international attitudes manifests most strongly in formal or official contexts and usually correlates with urbanity, advanced education, and attitudes that that tend to be prevalent among the higher social classes. I propose that these correlations account for the conflation of the international Anglo-Saxon identity writing (as expressed linguistically through General SAE) to higher social classes, and the complementary conflation of local identity writings (expressed linguistically by means of Broad SAE) to lower social classes. Of course, such correlation does not necessarily imply causation and, inasmuch as class and ideology co-vary, it is a correlation of mutually independent variables.

Garson, N.G. (1976:29) motivates the reason behind this displacement of the British aspect in favour of a South African interpretation of the international Anglo-Saxon configuration: 'by 1907 the cause of British South Africanism had sustained defeat and disillusionment', that is, the majority of English-speaking South Africans had reconciled themselves to the truth that South Africa could not exist as an organ of Great Britain indefinitely. Following this defeat and disillusionment, many English-speaking South Africans were 'little interested in promoting the British cause' (Garson, N.G., 1976:29). Along these same lines, Lanham (1964:34) explicitly comments on a change in social attitudes which promoted a greater affinity for that which is South African over that which is British. Of course, this development removed Cultivated SAE from the function of indexing the speech of people with an international Anglo-Saxon identity writing and left General SAE to perform this function uncontested. Gupta (1997:49) formulates a definition of standard English which complements the interpretation I have provided in this paragraph, viz. that those speakers of SAE who support an international Anglo-Saxon identity writing would speak the standard, or General SAE; I render her definition below:

> A variety that exists world-wide in forms that differ only slightly (mainly in a small number of lexical and orthographic features, and in different distribution of perfective and progressive verbs). […] StE is the variety taught in schools and seen as usual in most writing and formal speech throughout the English speaking world.

Van Rooy (2014:34) proposes that SAE has not reached a fully endonormative status because 'non-standard grammatical features' are not accepted. This is true, but in light of Gupta's (1997:49) definition of a standard, as rendered above, I submit that no standard variety (endonormative or otherwise) would be very accommodating to overly non-standard grammar. The new varieties of English all deviate only slightly in terms of the standard, whereas vernacular speech will necessarily differ more substantially in terms of grammar. Telling in this regard is Van Rooy's (2014:34) own observation that 'British and American English […] are still mutually intelligible, and many of the differences are proportional differences between variants rather than absolute'. The differences in endonormative standards are therefore more reliant on variation in pronunciation and lexis, which Branford (1994:494) and Van Rooy (2014:34) propose have achieved general acceptance in SAE, as demonstrated by Coetzee-Van Rooy and Van Rooy (2005) and Van Rooy and Terblanche (2010).

The English-speaking South African has throughout the 20th century differed on a spectrum from 'near lunatic manifestations of jingoism and racism on the extreme right, through a more or less orthodox and conservative centre to liberal, radical and communist views on the left' (Garson, N.G., 1976:36). Of course, the 'near lunatic' aspects on the one side and the 'radical' aspects on the other are extremes, but this cline illustrates the opposition of the 'international Anglo-Saxon tradition' to the 'South African tradition'. Schlemmer (1976:105) appeals explicitly to the idea that English-speaking South Africans would identify with other English-speaking South Africans *within* their own ideological group; but would see English-speaking South Africans with a different ideological configuration outside of their in-group; which is similarly argued by Lanham (1978:140).

Likewise, Lanham (1978:140) describes how L1, STL strand individuals who conform more to the South African tradition will 'probably tend to Extreme [Broad] SAE, even Afrikaans English', while members of the Afrikaner IDG stream with greater sympathies for the international Anglo-Saxon tradition will be a 'completely competent bilingual using a version of [STL strand] SAE, not Afrikaans English' (Lanham, 1978:141; 151). To this effect, Lanham (1978:140f) cites Van der Merwe (1974) who identifies the 'disintegrative force' of this ideological distinction in the Afrikaner community, by way of its polarising effects, which effect greater social cohesion between Afrikaners and likeminded English-speaking South Africans than between Afrikaners (Lanham, 1978:161).

Within the framework of the Dynamic Model, we should deal cautiously with this ideological distinction. Despite the South African vs. international Anglo-Saxon opposition, Lanham (1967:61) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:91) nonetheless support phase 4 levelling, observing that 'Ext [Broad] SAE […] has […] receded, not only in formal, but also in informal speech behaviour'. Furthermore, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:4) state outright that General SAE advanced 'rapidly' through South African society during this period – throughout the White population, i.e., regardless of region (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:19) – and that it did so at the expense of both Cultivated SAE and Broad SAE. In fact, I propose that the 1970s were the zenith of phase 4, and Lanham (1967:61) contends that one of *the* defining features of SAE (at the time) was the speed and efficacy with which General SAE was overtaking the other varieties – 'at all levels of society'.

Lanham (1978:161) proposes that after the 1930 watershed into phase 4, the international Anglo-Saxon/South African opposition was less important – linguistically and perceptually – than it was previously, though it was not erased entirely. Therefore the ideological opposition was not strong enough to entirely negate the homogenising effects of the endonormative stabilisation phase, though it did aid in the maintenance of barriers between (perceived) social class. As should be expected under such circumstances, there was strong age-grading in the Witwatersrand in the 1970s for that group of former Natal variants which were incorporated into reanalysed General SAE; showing a dramatic increase in each successive generation (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:58).

3.4.6 The homogeneity of endonormative stabilisation

Younger speakers' speech habits evidenced, most frequently, a mixture of formerly Cape English variants, formerly Natal English variants and 'Gen SAE' variants;[28] except in Natal, where Cape English was significantly less prevalent (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:48). Lanham and Macdonald (1979:24) make a categorical claim for the levelling of regional dialects at this time in favour of the speech norms of the mining society. This shift was indicative of a move toward a more 'broadly South African' speech variety (Lanham, 1964:21; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:48). Moreover, General SAE constituted the prestigious, standard variety of SAE toward which shifts in speech, as directed by overt prestige, were made (Lanham, 1964:21; 1978:147; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:52).

In the early 20th century, when the death pangs of the nativisation phase were starting, prominent Afrikaner leaders like Botha, Hertzog, and Smuts strove toward a single White South African nation; Hertzog even expressed approbation of many English-speaking South Africans, calling them 'English-speaking Afrikaners' (Garson, N.G., 1976:24). Of course, these lofty ideals suffered a sizeable blow from the 1948 National Party victory and the policies that the party implemented subsequent to that date. Lanham (1976:294) describes the effects of this blow when considering the decline of English among Afrikaners during the early 20th century. Attitudes toward the English language among *some* Afrikaners were often hostile; but, it is important to note that Lanham (1976:294f) by and large restricts this hostility to rural areas, where the social influence of English had diminished or disappeared. Perhaps even more pertinently, Lanham (1976:295) cautions that he has 'obviously over-generalized in comments on Afrikaans English'; that is, the apparent divide between the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream which resulted from apartheid policies was not quite as great as a superficial reading of the relevant historical events might imply.

Indeed, the gap between the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream was closing further, along with the spread of General SAE, and Lanham (1967:107) proposes that this development *epitomised* the mid-20th century. This can be seen from the steady increase in English-Afrikaans bilingualism among Whites, throughout the 20th century, that Branford (1994:438) describes: in 1918, 42% percent were bilingual, whereas in 1980, this number had grown to 80%. Thus, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:13) observe that young, affluent Afrikaners often attained a near-native proficiency in SAE: at the time, decidedly Afrikaans English pronunciation was predicted more reliably by the variables of 'L1 Afrikaans' *and* 'over 50 years of age' than by 'L1 Afrikaans' alone (see also Lanham, 1976:295). 25% of Afrikaners aged 18 to 24 professed a desire to be 'taken as English' by native speakers of SAE and 58% believed that the ability to speak English (well) was prestigious (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:13). The view of younger

[28] Lanham and Macdonald (1979:35f) also identify variables that belong to *General (or Gen) SAE* – which is not to be confused with General (Respectable) SAE as I apply the term here – these are variables that would doubtless mark an accent as 'South African' to a foreigner, but which do not have special indexical value within the SAE speech community – certainly no particular regional connotation. They propose that 'Gen SAE' features are more pervasive in the SAE speech community (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:36), which also speaks to notions of homogeneity.

Afrikaners therefore stood in stark contrast to that of older the older generations: *only* 7.5% of Afrikaners aged over 55 would want to be taken as native English speakers (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:13).

Especially urbanised Afrikaners participated in this shift in perception of English (Bowerman, 2004:933; Lanham, 1964:23; 1967:107 1976:295; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:13; Watermeyer, 1996:103) – it was, therefore, the pervading attitude in South Africa's cities. Lanham (1964:23) also proposes a date around 1930 for a period of increased social proximity between the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream in the cities. That is, the date of appreciable spread of General SAE corresponds to that of a definitive rapprochement between urban STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream populations. Moreover, Lanham (1967:103) makes an explicit distinction between speakers of Afrikaans English and speakers of (White) SAE whose L1 happens to be Afrikaans, whose variety he later terms Afrikaans SAE (still opposed to Afrikaans English; Lanham, 1978:151). That is, Lanham (1967:103; parenthesis added) proposes that a sufficiently large group of Afrikaner IDG stream members had progressed sufficiently far into phase 4 that they spoke Broad SAE or General SAE; therefore Afrikaans English 'is not the speech of many competent Afrikaans-English bilinguals (who usually speak SAE), and is also not identical with extreme [i.e., Broad] SAE although it shares certain of its characteristic features'. Lanham (1967:109) therefore directly asserts that Afrikaners (those who maintain Afrikaans as an L1, as opposed to those who are assimilated entirely into the L1 SAE community, but who also achieve a high-level of proficiency in SAE) 'have also swelled the ranks of the English-speaking community at all class-levels' (see also Lanham, 1978:151).

Thus, engagement in the SAE speech community among members of the Afrikaner IDG stream during phase 4 owed more to ideology (their alignment to an international Anglo-Saxon identity writing *instead of* the South African identity writing) than to L1, which is likewise proposed by Lanham (1976:295; 1978:140f; 150). This development would have been motivated, particularly, by the dominance of English in fields that relate most closely to the international Anglo-Saxon identity writing (Bowerman, 2004:934). I develop this argument further in section 3.4.7.3, under the discussion of *literary creativity* in SAE.

Van Rooy (2014:28) does propose that STL strand SAE and the Afrikaner IDG stream achieved similarities, but that these similarities owe to contact 'without forming a coherent group'. However, this apparent incongruence or absence of group identity among White South Africans is not present only between members of the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream: Branford (1994:472) states outright that there 'are no single-style speakers' of STL strand SAE. That is, speakers neither conform to an entire variety (as the abstracted dialect of a group, in terms of variation as structure) in their speech, nor can they be said to conform, wholly or partially, to one (idiolectal) variety exclusively and always – which is in line with variation as practice (variation as structure vs. variation as practice are discussed in §2.1).

Moreover, inasmuch as linguistic practice is reflective of social practice (and ideology), this disparity implies that there is no single ideological framework that may be said to be typical of the White community. This interpretation supports the primacy of the idiolect in sociolinguistic inquiries, as both

Eckert (2000) and Gupta (1997) have championed, as treated in section 2.3.3 and elsewhere. Lanham (1967; 1978) also shows specific support for an approach which gives due consideration to idiolectal matters in SAE.

Indeed, as I have argued in section 3.3, the STL strand and the Afrikaner IDG stream had achieved a coherent speech community, in terms of Eckert's (2000:31; as treated in §2.1.3) definition thereof: their norms are similar to the extent that they could reliably make sense of where an individual fits into the social makeup of the SAE speech community (cf. Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:18; 54-55). For example, and as detailed in section 3.3, Lanham (1978:150), Lanham and Macdonald (1979:27; 83), Macdonald (1975), and Penn and Stafford (1971) propose that the evaluation of Broad (or Afrikaans) SAE would be favourable in the in-group, while it would be less so outside of the in-group. Even though this, *apparently*, suggests a disjunction in social norms, the fact remains that a speaker of Broad SAE or Afrikaans English would reliably be assigned that designation by the entire speech community, even if they differ in their interpretation of what it means to speak Broad SAE/Afrikaans English. And that is the hallmark of a single speech community with shared norms (cf. Eckert, 2000:31; §2.1.3; §3.3) or, in Van Rooy's (2014:28) parlance, 'a coherent group'.

Therefore, distance between the Afrikaner IDG stream and the STL strand during the mid-20th century should not be overestimated out of hand. The matter is more one of an opposition between international Anglo-Saxon culture and the (White) South African tradition, as considered in section 3.4.5 above, and members of both the Afrikaner IDG stream and the STL strand could align – to a greater or lesser extent – to either of these ideologies (Lanham, 1978:150).

Lanham (1976:295) provides support for this analysis, noting that many Afrikaners in the cities achieved high proficiency in English, while their numbers were increasing, and that this owed to a 'new set of attitudes' among them. I propose, in light of the fact that the international Anglo-Saxon identity writing is best-represented in urban populations internationally, and in light of Lanham's (1976:295) assertion that this sub-group within the Afrikaner IDG community was responding to 'the utility and value of English in a shrinking world', that the 'new set of attitudes' Lanham (1976:295) postulates is, in fact, the international Anglo-Saxon identity writing. Thus, the 'time has passed when English and Afrikaans exist in antagonism or in isolation' (Brink, 1976:46). And the Afrikaner IDG community came to speak to the world through a South Africanised English, phase 4 SAE.

Conversely, ethnocentrism was low among many segments of English-speaking South Africa during this time, with high approbation for Afrikaners (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:31; Schlemmer, 1976:106). Interestingly – perhaps even surprisingly – Lanham (1967:107) observes that it was 'not unusual' for the last significant cohort of Cultivated SAE speakers to show more favourable attitudes to Afrikaans English than to Broad SAE. Z (1978) evidences more or less this sentiment in his remonstration of Cockney speech habits and his (1978:284) question: 'Could any adopted Dutch be half so offensive as some of our Cockney vulgarisms?' as considered in section 3.3.5.2 above. The closing of the gap may also be gleaned from Lanham and Macdonald's observation (1979:79f) that General SAE no longer

correlated to the higher social classes and Broad SAE and Afrikaans English no longer correlated to the lower social classes as rigidly as they did before. Garson, N.G. (1976:37) notes how the divisions between English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners were closing as well – and this was the perception at the time (the 1970s endonormative sub-phase; cf. Lanham, 1976).

Finally, from the crucible of the mining-industrial society on the Witwatersrand, reanalysed General SAE emerged as the subject of considerable approbation and spread throughout South African society (Lanham, 1967: 109; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:75). Lanham and Traill (1962:207) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979:88) support this notion and describe the definite recession of British norms in favour of more South African norms as the standard. Lanham (1967:108) states unequivocally that the majority (some 80%) of L1 speakers of SAE under 40 years of age could, at the time of writing, 'be placed in the middle range of the conservative-extreme scale', that is, at the midpoint between Cultivated SAE and Broad SAE, viz. General SAE. This illustrates, quite strongly, the phase 4 levelling effects of General SAE, the endonormative standard (see also Lanham, 1978:161). Moreover, Lanham (1978:147) and Lass (2002:110-111) describe General SAE as the local standard, which is therefore popular among most of the upper and middle class. He further indicates the increasing role of GenSAE as a *reference or prestige variety* in SAE, describing the decreasing population of CulSAE in deference to GenSAE (Lass, 2002:110).

Concomitant to the formation of the Republic of South Africa in 1961, the country withdrew from the Commonwealth (Commonwealth, 2014b). This is arguably one of the strongest and most visible severances of ties with the metropole made by any territory that has produced a New English. As such, it was not Event X-proper (for the simple reason that SAE had already entered into phase 4 some 30 years earlier), but it did provide further impetus toward the endonormative stabilisation that had been operative in the country since the 1930s. Notwithstanding, the fact remains that this severance of ties to the metropole was a sore point among many English-speaking South Africans (at least more so than among Afrikaners), but by the 1970s most of English-speaking South Africa had committed itself to this 'irrevocable' change (Garson, N.G., 1976:31). Other countries that formed part of the Commonwealth at the time, such as Australia, Canada, or New Zealand, still have the British monarch as their nominal head of state at present, whereas this has not been the case in South Africa for over half a century. Additionally, Garson, N.G. (1976:33) contends that South Africans have not been 'excessively British-minded' by comparison to Australians and New Zealanders.

Van Rooy (2014:27) observes that '[t]here is no evidence of a significant alignment of identity between the White STL strand and IDG strands prior to 1994'. Even though this is definitely the case for the STL strand in regard to the Black and Coloured IDG streams and SA Indian ADS strand, I am not convinced this statement is borne out in terms of the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream; nor do commentators' (commenting both at the specific times in question and retrospectively) observations in regard to the relationship between the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream always seem to bear out Van Rooy's (2014:27) assertion.

In Johannesburg during the 1960s, English-speaking South Africans had a higher affinity for Afrikaners than for either Black South Africans or foreigners and Afrikaners similarly had a high level of affinity for English-speaking South Africans (Schlemmer, 1976:103). Interestingly, this ethnic 'closeness' was strongest in the middle class, i.e., both English- and Afrikaans-speaking White South Africans felt a greater social proximity to the other if they belonged to the middle income group (Schlemmer, 1976:103; 105). The same pattern is repeating in phase 4 of IDG stream acrolectal Black SAE vis-à-vis STL stream General SAE, as proposed by Mesthrie (2008; 2010) and Van Rooy (2004:943; 2014:33). My inclination is to think that this owes, largely but not exclusively, to the fact that the international Anglo-Saxon identity writing often enjoys the greatest representation in the middle class – and, as I have argued, among speakers of General SAE – this also accounts for the disparaging label of 'coconut' which is sometimes applied to Black members of this group. This also speaks to the importance of the middle classes in the latter phases of the Dynamic Model, a hitherto neglected refinement to the model, which I take up again in the results section and conclusion.

Garson, N.G. (1976:23) observes, moreover, a still-growing willingness among Afrikaners to admit English-speaking South Africans within the fold of 'fellow South African[s]' during the 1970s. And Schlemmer (1976:100) notes that older speakers (roughly born prior to 1920) of the SAE community preferred to 'qualify' their identity as 'English-speaking South Africans', while younger speakers (born after 1920) preferred, by comparison, simply to identify as 'South African'. Moreover, a concern for 'maintenance of English-language group identity' was, in the 1970s, most prominent among older people (Schlemmer, 1976:102). These developments are generally indicative of rapprochement between the Afrikaner IDG stream and the STL strand – a move toward homogeneity in identity writings – where speakers from either side were simply South African, as opposed to English- or Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

In the 1970s, 46% of English-speaking South Africans described their 'own culture and outlook' as 'specifically South African'; 20% and 19% as 'of the English-speaking world in general' or 'of the modern Western world', respectively; and only 6% as 'specifically British (or British and American)' (Schlemmer, 1976:111). The rubric 'specifically South African' is self-explanatory, and probably corresponds to the 'South African tradition' (discussed under phase 3 above), while the rubrics 'of the English-speaking world in general' and 'of the modern Western world' can profitably be grouped under 'international Anglo-Saxon' identity (see section 3.3 and the further discussion of the ideological opposition under section 3.4 above). It should be clear that identity writings at this time had shifted securely from 'British' and exonormative toward something more South African and endonormative. Note, although the involvement of the 'international Anglo-Saxon' identity writing might seem problematic – through its possible interpretation as 'exonormative' – such an analysis is neither necessary nor productive. Most Western societies today would align to an identity similar to this, even the United States, which has undeniably achieved endonormativity. Anyway, the fact remains intact that only a small

minority of English-speaking South Africans identified as 'British' during this time, which is the ultimate point that needs to be stressed in regard to the Dynamic Model.

Thus, the 'time for divisions between English and Afrikaans-speaking Whites is past' as articulated by a question posed to a representative sample of English-speaking South Africans by Schlemmer (1976:109). Roughly 73% of respondents in the sample *agreed completely* with this statement; 14% agreed partially and only about 13% disagreed (Schlemmer, 1976:109). When asked whether English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners were approaching each other socially or not, 60% believed that they were, some 20% claimed not to see any particular trend, and a mere 20% believed that the social distance between the two groups was growing greater (Schlemmer, 1976:110f). Younger people tended more toward self-identifying as 'South African' or 'White South African', whereas older people preferred the label 'English-speaking South African', which is indicative of a coming-together of the Afrikaner and English South African communities in terms of overt self-identification by way of levelling internal distinctions (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:31; Schlemmer, 1976:100).

In the wake of this new standard of phase 4, regionality was all but levelled: Lanham (1964:34) explicitly contends that speakers of the mid-20th who claim to be able to identify someone's regional provenance more often than not fail when put to the test, barring those speakers born before 1930. Bekker (2009:78) summarises the status quo as follows: 'Respectable (General) SAE has become virtually the *only* standard, expressing *both* social prestige and correctness'. The endonormative standard – which General SAE certainly is – could only achieve this status through the effects of phase 4; which leads Lanham and Macdonald (1979:80) to conclude categorically that 'English identity, in fact, is now defined in local terms'.

3.4.7 Non-linguistic hallmarks of endonormative stabilisation

> We are wasting our time trying to teach South African children a Standard English pronunciation. What we need to do is to establish a South African Standard of our own, based on the pronunciations which we find in practice (by phonetic test) are acceptable among cultured South African speakers. (Hooper, 1944:25.)

Garson, N.G. (1976:17) identifies the formation of the Union as a watershed: before which people who spoke English identified more with Britain while, thereafter, they grew more to self-identify and to be identified as English-speaking *South Africans*. For many English-speaking South Africans all this marked the beginning of a painful process of political adjustment. They had to learn to accept the permanence of their minority status within the White community (Garson, N.G., 1976:29). In fact, authors such as Hooper (1946:49) urged South Africans to make the necessary adjustments, particularly with regard to their perceptions, stating that 'our standards of judgment concerning language, especially in South Africa, are out of date and need to be re-examined'.

Comments such as those of Lass (1995:92), that South Africans remain more interested than citizens of the US in the well and woes of the British royal family, may be proffered as a rebuttal of this

point. However, we must bear in mind that the US is ahead of South Africa in terms of the Dynamic Model – and that there are important differences between their respective ecologies. For example, the US Revolution centred on a rejection of the aristocracy, while South Africa never specifically denounced the nobility – there are Afrikaners who are, and remain to this day, members of the British nobility (De Grendel Wines, 2006), and there are several hereditary chieftains and monarchs in the Black and Khoisan communities who retain certain executive powers and whose status is enshrined in the constitution (South Africa, 1996).

As discussed in section 2.5.4 above, Schneider proposes three signals that are typical of phase 4: (1) codification, as is evident from the production of dictionaries, a rise in the number of local (as opposed to foreign) teachers of English, and an increased presence of the local variety in print and broadcast media; (2) the instance of the *X English* appellation supplanting *English in X*; and (3) literary creativity in English.

3.4.7.1. Codification

With respect to codification, Swart (1934) produced a supplement to Pettman's (1913) glossary and also contributed an article on the influence of Afrikaans on South African English; while Sabbagha (1946) considers especially South African English vocabulary. I propose that Swart's (1934) and Sabbagha's (1946) efforts are indicative of preliminary attempts to effect codification of the emerging, endonormative standard (General SAE).

The 1970s saw much work on SAE dictionaries come to fruition, such as Branford (1976), Branford (1978), etc. This substantiates my proposition that the 1970s constituted the zenith of phase 4 in SAE. Branford (1994:439-443) discusses some dictionary work, e.g., *Dictionary of South African English* (Branford, 1978), and, in fact, the entire first half of his (1994) work centres on lexicographic concerns. In this regard, and in support of the STL strand-Afrikaner IDG stream approach I have adopted in this study (and as I have argued is maintained by the Standard Model), Branford (1994:443-445) and Lass (1990a:280f) highlight the fact that Afrikaans has contributed the most inventory to that group of lexical items that may be said to be specifically 'South African'. Interestingly, Branford (1994:469-470) singles out a lexical field that deals with the *lekker lewe*, which he translates *as living it up*, and which he describes as a cultural orientation which is derived from 'the free and easy life of the frontier' (cf. Silva & Walker, 1976:532). Therefore, even Broad SAE, with its historical ties to the Eastern Cape frontier and Afrikaner culture (cf. Lanham, 1978:150) had become sufficiently well-represented in SAE to warrant its own lexical field.

Additionally, Clarke (1913), the Department of Public Education (1923; undated), and Swanepoel (1925) all produced publications aimed at the instruction of English specifically in the South African context, which speaks to a rise in the numbers of local teachers of English. Moreover, Lanham (1967:108; 1978:147) observes an insuppressible increase of General and Broad SAE (over Cultivated SAE) 'on stage, the radio and in the English classroom', which illustrates the rise of SAE in broadcast media.

Finally, Branford (1994:494) speaks of 'the obvious delight of the popular press in the expressive potential of South African English', which demonstrates the permeation of the variety in print media.

Thus, Hooper (1944:25) appeals explicitly to the goal of enregistering a local, South African standard in English pronunciation, which speaks again to codification. Hooper (1944:25) continues by sharing the endearing anecdote of his own son who, until the age of two, spoke standard (British) English, but gradually appropriated his peers' South African norms more and came to question, outright, his father's standard British pronunciation (Hooper Sr. was born and raised in England), which he perceived as aberrant or foreign. Hooper (1944:25) uses this anecdote to illustrate the point that one accommodates to one's closest social networks and that such accommodation has an overriding effect on external norms, as detailed in section 2.2.1.[29]

Importantly, and as implied in the quotation I have rendered at the start of this section, Hooper (1944; 1946) advocated, quite strongly, that there was, at the time of his writing, already a satisfactory, functional, and appropriate South African standard of English – which merely needed to be identified formally (by way of sociophonetic inquiry; in the speech of educated – or in his parlance 'cultured' – speakers) and recognised as the standard. Hooper (1946:93; emphasis added) expresses this notion most strongly when he states that

> *there is a received standard South African speech already*. A form of English recognisably South African in pronunciation is being used here and now and accepted by cultured speakers […] it is only a matter of recognising and granting respectability to a standard that is already accepted in practice among cultured speakers.

The earlier Hopwood (1970:vii; emphasis added) already made this same claim in 1928, viz. that a variety 'employed by an increasing *majority* of English speakers here, especially young people, [is] definitely classifiable and denominated South African English Pronunciation'. Note that, already at this time, Hopwood claims that SAE (and he means something other-than Cultivated SAE) was spoken by a *majority*. Hopwood (1970:vii) also quotes one Mr. Stephen Black from the popular press (*Cape Argus*, 24 December 1927) in this regard: 'South Africa is developing an accent that is entirely national – an accent that is not purely Anglo-Dutch, as it used to be'. Therefore, even in the public mind, SAE had become something real in the first decades of the 20th century – and it was something more authentic than 'purely Anglo-Dutch'. Thus, as detailed in section 2.5.4, Schneider asserts that the endonormative standard will achieve the function of standard in a (post-) colonial society *before* it is openly and widely acknowledged as such, which clearly was the case for General SAE in the earlier decades of the 20th century. I particularly assert that the discussion here refers to General SAE, as was emerging into public awareness at the time, because the 'Anglo-Dutch' alternative which Black (quoted in Hopwood, 1970) implicates would likely be (proto-) Broad SAE.

[29] The terminology here is admittedly anachronistic, but the statement holds. In the original Hooper (1944:25) says 'the speaker pays a social penalty in not conforming to what is usual in the group he finds himself in'.

3.4.7.2. X English

As regards the *X English* appellation, this construction emerged and became frequent during the early 20th century. Hopwood (1970) wrote *South African English Pronunciation*. I would like to draw special attention to his choice of title for this monograph: as exposited in section 2.5.4, Schneider (2003:253) sees the move from *English in X* to *X English* as a symbolic emancipation of the variety and as a characteristic of Phase 4. Hopwood's (1970) monograph originally appeared (in 1928) shortly before the formal creation of the Commonwealth, whose existence conferred de facto independence on South Africa. Note, again, that the date of 1928 is close to the 1930 date for crossover from exonormative orientations to endonormative orientations, as proposed by Lanham and Macdonald (1979). Moreover, Hooper (1944; 1945; 1946; in both scholarly and popular publications) advocated that 'There's nothing wrong with the South African accent' (again, the *X English* formula).

This signals a final departure from the complaint tradition in an attempt to ratify the emerging variety: to signal, symbolically, the young independence of the South African territory. Hooper (1944:25) considers many of the disparaging descriptions that were – or had been – assigned to SAE; he asks rhetorically of these 'Who calls it [i.e. the South African accent] all these names?' and responds that 'as far as I can tell, the people who do so are almost entirely English-born, that is, they are a very small minority of the English speakers in South Africa' (Hooper, 1944:25). He continues, somewhat acrimoniously, to express his indignation that people 'who are […] newcomers, have the nerve to come to a new country and tell the inhabitants that they don't know how to speak their own language' (Hooper, 1944:25; reiterated in Hooper, 1946:91). Hooper (1946:91) adds two more groups, beyond such English-born, naturalised South Africans: first, South African-born, but foreign-educated individuals, whose attempts at maintaining the British standard he calls 'misguided'; and, second, elocution teachers (whether local or foreign) whose ideas of the British standard, Hooper (1946:91) proposes, were constructed only in reference to their own speech and which (Hooper seems to imply) they defended in a bid to protect their own occupation. Hooper (1944:25) also proposes that English-born individuals had only been able to enforce this attitude because they were well-represented in the spheres of power (which aligns with Lanham's, 1967:108 and Lanham & Macdonald's, 1979:28 claims, as considered in §3.3 above).

3.4.7.3. Literary creativity

Branford (1994:494) has (presumably independently) observed the strong, local character of English literature produced mid-century in South Africa, which introduces the involvement of literary creativity in English (Görlach, 1991:22-23; Kachru, 1992; Kachru; 1994:528-533; Moag, 1992:241), as is typical of phase 4 (Schneider, 2003:253; 2007:50; 2014:12; discussed in §2.5.4 above). Kidd (1910) already contributed a piece on the English language and literature in South Africa to the *South African Journal of Science* in the year of South Africa's nominal independence (i.e., 1910). Even though the surveyed literature is timid by comparison to the prolific and celebrated writers South Africa has produced since, it

is telling that already at this early stage South African English and literature produced in it had become prominent enough to warrant mention.

Some decades later, Brink (1976), himself a member of the Afrikaner IDG stream, spoke to these subsequent developments in an appraisal of the relationship between Afrikaans and English as literary languages – while also providing a retrospective to investigate the development of this relationship. He categorically states that 'English has always fulfilled an important function in the world of the Afrikaans writer', even proposing that some of the earliest written examples of Afrikaans (as opposed to some variety of Dutch) were, in fact, produced by English-speaking – i.e., STL strand – writers (Brink, 1976:35). Therefore, 'the importance of English for the Afrikaans writer […] can be established without any problem' (Brink, 1976:38). Moreover, Brink (1976:35) proposes that Afrikaans had historically been more at odds with Dutch than with English and English offered the Afrikaans writer a 'linguistic window on the world', to which Lanham (1976:294) also attests. Brink (1976:35-36) goes on to recount how several Afrikaans writers of the 20th century either drafted their work in English or produced the majority of their work in English, and observes that the influence of English literature was evident even in the work of authors who published exclusively in Afrikaans.

Brink (1976:36) also observes that during the 1930s, in the writing of the so-called *Dertigers*, 'it happened for the first time that an Afrikaans writer started writing, with equal facility and equal felicity, in both Afrikaans and English'.[30] He proposes that the same could be said of many STL strand writers – who he calls 'indigenous English writers' – after the Second World War (Brink, 1976:38). This, again, points toward a 1930 crossover date into phase 4, in that the gap between the Afrikaner IDG stream and the STL strand had been bridged to the extent that writers from either side could alternate between the two languages with ease.

This development culminated in a 'dual exploration [i.e., from the view of the STL strand and from that of the Afrikaner IDG stream] of a single experience – that of living in (South) Africa' (Brink, 1976:39; parenthesis added). Brink (1976:41) proposes that Afrikaans was an offshoot of Dutch which became specialised, due to the requirements of its environment, to express this African experience – a proposition which resonates strongly with both Mufwene and Schneider (detailed in §2.3.2 and §2.5). And he states that (South African) English achieved this same metamorphosis in the 1930s; Brink (1976:42) eloquently articulates this idea, saying that:

> During the Thirties a remarkable reconnaisance [sic] of the country started, expressed in a language more sincerely shaped to the needs of the situation. And out of that venture, via the great contribution of Herman Charles Bosman, Alan Paton and others, emerged a vital and viable new literature bearing the paradoxical stamp of art in being both utterly local and utterly universal in its exploration of man in space and time.

[30] He speaks here of the 'Afrikaans writer' in a generic sense. As always, I caution that this statement cannot be applied universally, since there were elements at the opposite end of the Afrikaans community who Brink (1976:36) describes as puritanical, in that they undertook a 'witch-hunt to eradicate all anglicisms from the language', i.e., from Afrikaans.

Branford (1994:494) also comments on these literary developments, and describes them as illustrative of a 'striking change of attitude'. This development, Brink (1976:43) argues, put Afrikaans and English on the same footing; whereas Afrikaans literature had previously been 'more or less untranslatable into English', the two were now both 'sufficiently africanized' that ideas could be transferred from one to the other with little difficulty – a development which he puts down to 'what surrounds the language[s]' – again, note the implication of language ecology here.

Moreover, Afrikaans writers could now – and often did – use English as a medium to 'castigate their people' and to 'attack the establishment' (Brink, 1976:40), effectively 'using English as a form of escape' from the confines of the establishment, necessitated by and large by the harsh censure placed on Afrikaans by the apartheid government (Brink, 1976:39; 44). This is an important observation: the perception is usually that, during the mid-20th century heyday of apartheid, relations between English and Afrikaans communities became tenser and, resultantly, more distant, as proposed by Van Rooy (2014:27f). However, these tensions were more accurately between the apartheid government, or establishment, and liberal individuals or organisations in the country – and a one-to-one conflation of Afrikaans to the establishment and of English to liberalism is overly simplistic. There were Afrikaners who were vehemently anti-establishment, in various ways, as observed by Brink (1976:40), and there certainly were English-speaking South Africans (perhaps, especially, though not exclusively, in the Broad SAE STL stream) who were more than happy to mandate the establishment of the time. Branford (1994:432) also cautions against such an oversimplification, and makes an argument for a more holistic view on the matter – one that does not rely exclusively on L1.

3.5 Phase 5 (1994-)

As a result of the homogenising effects of phase 4, Da Silva (2008:76) observes that SAE regionality did not enjoy much interest in the sociolinguistic community – which stands to reason, since something that is simply not present would not inspire much interest. This absence of regional variation in SAE was articulated some time earlier, perhaps most emphatically in Lanham's (1964:33) direct assertion that 'English in South Africa has no clearly marked regional dialects'. The same sentiment is expressed by Branford (1994:472). In the opposing camp of the Standard Model, Lass (2002:110f) has also stated explicitly that the regional component, which had been quite conspicuous in the Broad/General SAE (or, Cape/Natal) distinction previously, had been removed. However, there has recently been growing consideration of regionality in the literature, which speaks to a growing impression, among sociolinguists and possibly the lay public (Lass, 1990a:283), that regionality is re-emerging. Notably, Bekker (2007), Bekker and Eley (2007), Bowerman (2004), Lass (1990a), Mesthrie et al. (2015), O'Grady and Bekker (2011), and Wileman (2011) have commented on the possibility of regionality re-emerging in SAE in the period after Lanham's (1964; 1967; 1978) and Lanham and Macdonald's (1979) findings that it had been

levelled, especially among younger speakers.[31] Each of these sources receives attention in the remainder of this section. It is worth noting that some of these studies have aimed to investigate *regionality*, without the explicit appeal to *re-emerging regionality*, nor were they conducted within the framework of the Dynamic Model; though I do attempt to situate them within the developments projected by the Dynamic Model. I reiterate, as exposited throughout chapter 2, and especially in section 2.5.5, that Schneider (2003:253; 2007:54) proposes *regionality is the single-most pertinent characteristic of phase 5 differentiation*.

The primary focus of Lanham and Macdonald's (1979) study is, of course, to demonstrate that General SAE was, already at that time, a true standard variety – and one that swept across the country with great efficacy. In its spread, and that of Broad SAE, across South Africa, many – if not all – regional speech habits were levelled, to the extent that White, STL strand SAE in respect to Afrikaner IDG stream SAE could no longer be said to have regional varieties. I have argued in section 3.4 that this period, which lasted for quite a few decades in the mid-20th century, constituted phase 4 in STL strand SAE and therefore submit that any subsequent regionality in the variety should serve as strong evidence for the variety's progression into phase 5.

I therefore survey some recent literature in this regard below. Since regionality is the most prominent characteristic of phase 5, it should emerge even in the speech of standard speakers. While this claim seems contrary to sociolinguistic common sense, it is a real possibility. I introduced the reasons that one may expect this possibility in section 2.3.3, namely that it would be an indicator of sociolinguistic 'hybridity'. As proposed by Eckert (2000:214), speakers of the standard may include vernacular (here: regional) features into their speech and, in so doing, convey an identity writing that is 'in tune with, but not limited to vernacular culture'. This speaks directly to a development originally articulated by Moag (1992:239) and incorporated, in respect to phase 5, into the Dynamic Model by Schneider (2003:253; 2007:53), viz. that the phase 4-establishment of the new, endogenous standard (which I have argued is made manifest in General SAE in South Africa) and its growing status as a 'true' standard render it 'unsuitable' for vernacular contexts, as perceived by speakers during phase 5 (also refer to §2.5.5). As a result, even standard speakers may require non-standard elements in their speech to negotiate vernacular styles.

Bowerman (2004:935) briefly states that one may distinguish '(Western) Cape, Natal, and Transvaal (Gauteng) English, and recognisable Namibian and Zimbabwean varieties', however, he does not qualify this distinction, nor does he cite any references in this regard, making this statement somewhat tenuous. Lass (1990a:272; 283) proposes even more fine-grained regional variation in the speech of standard speakers of SAE, which may present even within a single city. That is, he notes how 'folk

[31] Lanham (1967:60) proposes that there is regional difference between the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape, although he restricts this difference to speakers who were, at the time, over 50 years of age, who would therefore correspond to the group I have argued in §3.4 was the last to express regional variation in speech – prior to phase 4 homogeneity. It is quite tantalising, though, to consider the possibility of pre-phase 4 regionality in the Cape along an East-West gloss, because this possibility has received little to no attention from a historical perspective.

linguistics' suggests that there are 'Atlantic' and 'False Bay' (Western vs. Eastern) varieties in Cape Town; as well as a Northern vs. Southern Suburbs distinction (though, like the East-Rand vs. Northern Suburbs distinction in Johannesburg, I propose that this division would more precisely be conditioned by a social class/ideological opposition); and finer-still distinctions, such as 'Atlantic Jewish' in Sea Point and 'False Bay Jewish' in Muizenberg (Lass, 1990a:283). (Note the implicit support in these observations for the existence of a Jewish ADS stream.) Da Silva (2008:36) and Mesthrie et al. (2000:77) also speak to such finer divisions in regional speech habits. Lass (1990a:283) therefore proposes that such varieties may 'correspond to genuine natural kinds', but does concede that this possibility would need to be tested. Altogether, Bowerman (2004) and Lass (1990a) provide impressionistic support for re-emerging regionality in SAE, but neither substantiates this possibility.

Bekker (2007) therefore seems to be the first source to consider re-emerging regional variation in SAE on empirical grounds – as present in a single, consonantal variable. He investigates the degree of fronting (or dentalisation) of the phoneme /s/ in the speech of two, all-female groups: one which is comprised of speakers from the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg and another which comprises speakers from elsewhere in South Africa (Bekker, 2007). He concludes that there is an appreciably higher degree of fronting in the Johannesburg subsample than among the other group, and therefore proposes that regionality is present in General SAE with regard to the variable /s/ (Bekker, 2007).

O'Grady and Bekker (2011) draw from Bekker's (2007) study; delimiting their own to the other coronal consonants that may potentially be fronted (or dentalised) in SAE, i.e., /z/, /d/, and /t/. They again select a group of females from Johannesburg, similar to the original in Bekker's (2007), while the other group comprises comparable females from Cape Town (O'Grady & Bekker, 2011). O'Grady and Bekker's (2011) results support the conclusion that /z/ is fronted in Johannesburg – that is, as is the case with /s/, /z/ varies regionally in General SAE – but the results for /d/ and /t/ do not support a similar conclusion.[32]

Bekker and Eley (2007) also consider regional variation, but in terms of certain vowels. Their results provide evidence for a regional distinction between East London and Johannesburg – again, specifically the Northern Suburbs of the latter are considered (Bekker & Eley, 2007:113). Bekker and Eley (2007:113) conclude that the TRAP vowel significantly distinguishes Johannesburg English from East London English, by way of the Johannesburg variant being lowered in comparison to the East London variant. This effectively results in a near-homophony in the variants of the TRAP and STRUT vowels in Johannesburg (Bekker & Eley, 2007:113). Importantly, Bekker (2007), Bekker and Eley (2007), and O'Grady and Bekker (2011) solicited data from native speakers of General SAE; therefore,

[32] As an aside, it is my impression that some, though certainly not all males (as opposed to females) I interviewed in Johannesburg, in addition to others I have dealt with outside of interview conditions, do have fronted articulations for /d/ and /t/. I suspect that, if this is the case, fronted variants of /d/ and /t/ may index a certain social subtype or ideological preference; though I do concede that the socially diagnostic presence in General SAE of such variants at all remains highly speculative.

these studies serve as precedents for the involvement of regionality even in the standard of SAE, which is the focus of the present study.

Wileman (2011:22) has also studied regional variation in General SAE; he considers the speech of Capetonians and Durbanites, and of both genders. As such, his study is likely the most pertinent to my own, since it focuses on two of the three cities I consider here and on both genders. Wileman (2011:21) focuses on three vowels to determine their involvement (or lack thereof) in regional variation between the two sites: the KIT, NURSE, and PRICE vowels. He concludes that glide-weakening of the PRICE vowel is the most robust regional variant; it is much more common in Durban than in Cape Town (Wileman, 2011:118). The female subsample demonstrates this feature most clearly; while, in the male subsample, participants from Durban have a fronter offset (glide) than participants from Cape Town (Wileman, 2011:87; 118). Wileman (2011:218) explicitly appeals to the possibility that this development may signal a 'change in the indexical value of the PRICE vowel' and, therefore, that it 'may be a relatively recent phenomenon'. His comments here speak directly to the phase 5 reallocation that Schneider (2003:253; 2007:54), *pace* Trudgill (1986:152-153), champions; in fact, Wileman (2011:219) appeals directly to a sort of 'revival' of older regionalisms, and I address this possibility directly below.

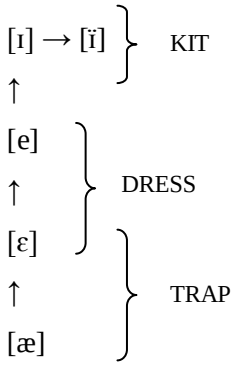
Regionality is also evident from Wileman's (2011:41-74) data for the KIT vowel. Durbanites tend to centralise this vowel (more precisely, its KIN allophone) appreciably more frequently than Capetonians, and this difference is most conspicuous in the speech of males (Wileman, 2011:49; 218). Wileman (2011:218) observes that a predilection for centralisation of the KIT vowel in Durban (or KwaZulu-Natal), as opposed to elsewhere in South Africa, has been documented in older literature, but that the involvement of gender, with males showing a higher incidence of the phenomenon than females, has not been documented previously. Nor, for that matter, has it been documented to persist in the region to a significant degree subsequent to the levelling of phase 4: Lass (1990a:275) makes no distinction between the behaviour of this vowel in Natal as compared to elsewhere in the country. Wileman (2011:218; 219) therefore suggests that this development, too, may be owed to a reallocation of the centralised KIT vowel from that of a regional marker to that of a regional-cum-gender marker.

The NURSE vowel shows no regional variation (Wileman, 2011:75-81); none of the other variables Wileman (2011:218) considers, e.g. the onset (or nucleus) of the PRICE vowel (Wileman, 2011:81), reaches appreciable levels of variation between Cape Town and Durban, either. Wileman (2011:218f) concludes that, possibly, 'certain older regionalisms may have decreased in prominence as regional markers, whereas others […] may have increased in prominence as regional markers'.

At least Wileman's research has therefore pointed toward a development in SAE which is accounted for by the Dynamic Model. That is, as outlined in section 2.5.5, Schneider (2003:253; 2007:54) proposes that the Trudgillian (1986:152-153) concept of reallocation should be integral to the development of phase 5 differentiation. Bekker (2009:88) has advocated the separation of original regionalisms from 'putative' (recent) innovations; contra Bekker, Schneider (2008:265) and Mufwene (2001:29) have made a strong case for such reallocation during phase 5, as considered, again, in section

2.5.5 above. A sterling example of phase 5 reallocation of older variants is furnished by Mesthrie et al. (2015:26), who conclude that a backed value for the START lexical set no longer conveys the stigma it did before. This stigma lay in its interpretation as a working class variant, as identified by Lanham and Macdonald (1979:153) in the period I have argued in section 3.4 was the pinnacle of phase 4 in SAE. That is, Mesthrie et al. (2015:26) determine that in contemporary White SAE the backed variant of the START vowel indexes primarily (though not exclusively) gender, being typically preferred by males. Even though reallocation is not unique to phase 5, it is telling that Lanham and Macdonald (1979) dismiss regionality in the speech of the youth at the time, while slightly less than two generations later, at least one variant has been reallocated from the function of a social marker to that of a gender marker, with at least some involvement from regionality (Mesthrie et al., 2015). Read with the Dynamic Model in mind, such results point directly toward a phasal shift and, resultantly, a greater representation of the characteristics of the differentiation phase in SAE.

Furthermore, Chevalier (2015) has identified certain changes in SAE which are not regional upon first glance, but which I propose are. That is, Lass (1990a:276f) and, more directly, Lass and Wright (1985) originally identified a 19th century SAE chain shift, whereby the TRAP and DRESS vowels were raised and the KIT vowel was centralised. Lass (1990a:276) infers that the original 19th century chain shift which favoured raising resulted from a push-chain, where the raising of the TRAP vowel acted as the triggering event, which led to the raising of the DRESS vowel and subsequently the centralisation of the KIT vowel in a '"spacing out" of vowel qualities'. This chain shift is illustrated diagrammatically below.



Chevalier (2015) has identified a reversal of the front vowel push chain shift in contemporary SAE. Her sample is limited to Cape Town and, while similar results are achieved in the present sample, the results chapter (§5) details important refinements to our view of this reverse chain shift – particularly in terms of region.

It may be remarked, in ostensible contrast to my discussion in section 3.4 of the growing ties between the STL strand and the Afrikaner IDG stream, that many English-speaking South Africans have *distanced* themselves from Afrikaners in the latter years of apartheid and following its demise – especially in terms of their differing orientations to apartheid (cf. Bowerman, 2004:934; Van Rooy, 2014:27). Some participants who contributed to the data sample in the current study seem to share this

impression – though this attitude is best-represented in the Durban subsample, substantially less in the Johannesburg subsample, and not at all in the Cape Town subsample. Indeed, Bekker (2015) proposes that apartheid negated the phase 4 convergence effects that would have been operative in SAE (I deal with the counter-argument extensively in section 3.4 above). Apartheid was a highly divisive political policy, but political policies are seldom (if ever!) not. It is not justified to assign a monolithic status to the divisive power of apartheid between the *White* (STL strand SAE and Afrikaner IDG stream) communities simply because it is more conspicuous than many other political systems.

Besides, any Afrikaner who held particularly ethnocentric views had recourse to Afrikaans and, as such, could withdraw from any participation in the SAE speech community. Furthermore, Bekker (2015) argues that the divergence due to apartheid – as perceived by him – provides support to the hypothesis that differentiation is not restricted to phase 5, but that it is a tendency which may be expressed at any point in the Dynamic Model. This is a simplistic interpretation of the Dynamic Model. Phase 5 does not simply entail a process of emphasising extant variation between different groups – it is the development of *new* variation which was not previously present in the variety. A division has existed between the Afrikaner IDG stream and the STL strand since phase 1; it has been swelling and contracting for two centuries, and it should be expected to continue this rhythm for the foreseeable future.

As indicated in section 3.4, I believe the issue is related more narrowly to ideology (i.e., international Anglo-Saxon vs. South African) than to L1 (English vs. Afrikaans). Instructive in this regard is Schlemmer's (1976:131) contention that White, English-speaking identity in South Africa is composite, in that there is no singular, coherent, pervasive group-consciousness that identifies itself as 'English South African' (see also Garson, N.G., 1976:37; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:31), i.e., it may, in gross terms, be either 'South African' (Broad) or international Anglo-Saxon (General). In fact, apartheid may have served to strengthen, rather than damage, ties between the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream. The liberal members of both communities would be loath to associate with their less liberal contemporaries, despite sharing an L1 – and vice versa. Therefore, apartheid arguably strengthened ties between the General SAE STL stream and the liberal elements in the Afrikaner IDG stream, while likewise strengthening the ties between the Broad SAE STL stream and the less liberal elements in the Afrikaner IDG stream. Both Alexander (1990:139) and Branford (1994:432) support this analysis – and it becomes prudent to observe that this situation once again highlights the importance of Eckert's (2000) and Gupta's (1997) positions, as discussed throughout chapter 2, viz. that we cannot abstract from the group (or entire dialect) to the individual (or idiolect), which is similarly argued, explicitly for SAE, by Branford (1994:472).

In Bekker's (2015) assessment, I suggest he proceeds from a paradigm in which broad social categories can be transferred to individuals in a one-to-one fashion. That is, his interpretation of the Dynamic Model implies a requirement that all speakers be at the same exact point in the model at the same exact time – as would be evidenced by identical speech habits. I have argued throughout this chapter that this is neither a necessary requirement of the Dynamic Model, nor is it something that would

be achievable (this point also informs my separation of the White varieties of SAE from the other IDG and ADS streams in my own treatment of the Dynamic Model). As noted in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter, Gupta (1997; discussed in §2.3.3) and Van Rooy (2014; discussed in §2.5) propose that a national variety is at best an abstraction from idiolects, one which identifies broad trends – but individual speakers *can* and *do* vary considerably from the 'norm'. Thus, Schneider (2003:251; 2007:51; 2014:12) cautions that the *perceived* homogeneity of phase 4 is not categorical; the homogeneity of this phase is more an expression of a political desire than of absolute sociolinguistic reality. Bekker's (2015) position would therefore benefit from the incorporation of the work of authors such as Eckert (2000), Gupta (1997), or Mufwene (2001), particularly from the emphasis they lay on idiolects as the source of language variation and change.

Finally, Bekker's (2015) position essentially aims to discredit the Dynamic Model – at least as far as SAE is concerned. A particular claim he makes in this regard is that the British Empire was 'generally accommodationist', in that it favoured the integration of its colonies to itself (presumably by comparison to other colonial powers), but that this 'pull to the metropole' was a 'historical accident' (Bekker, 2015). This is a moot point since Schneider designed the Dynamic Model to account for the development of postcolonial *Englishes* – whether or not the model is applicable to other languages, it is intended for contact situations where Britain would typically be involved. Besides, the point of the Dynamic Model is that colonial Englishes come into their own – throw off the 'British hegemony' Bekker (2015) envisions – as time wears on. Bekker (2015) also critiques the 'uni-directional' nature of the Dynamic Model inasmuch as it describes 'evolution towards a pre-determined end or goal'. It is true that Schneider (2003:240) claims the outcomes of sociolinguistic negotiation in terms of the Dynamic Model are 'neither random nor idiosyncratic', but it is equally true that this principle is common to sociolinguistics and ascribed to by, inter alia, Labov (2010:175) – I address this issue in sections 2.1.2 and 3.3 above.

To spend a moment on other *possible* phase 5 developments in SAE, i.e., differentiation along parameters other than the regional, I offer the following examples – though these are very tentative observations and I must stress that I include them here as an aside only. If certain Black speakers *are* crossing over to traditionally White, L1 varieties, such as General SAE, as has been proposed by observers like Mesthrie (2010) and Van Rooy (2004), these speakers may be involved in an accelerated phasal shift – or even a phasal 'leap'. That is, they progress from phase 3 directly into phase 5 without 'participating in' phase 4 themselves. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:35) have proposed precisely such a possibility. A precedent for this kind of development exists in the various other groups who have assimilated into the STL strand (either General SAE or Broad SAE) subsequent to the foundation phase, which, as I have noted in section 3.3, Garson, N.G. (1976:19) describes as an enduring feature of the STL strand. With the entry into the SAE speech community of these non-ancestral English speakers – or with their children's entry – they 'picked up' wherever the variety happened to be in terms of the Dynamic Model at that time, without the need to complete the preceding stages 'themselves'. Lanham (1978:163) proposes that this is exactly the case for many speakers of Eastern European Jewish heritage. This is

accounted for by the founder effect, discussed in section 2.3.2, and by all accounts is a likely result of accommodation, as discussed in section 2.2.1.

4 METHODOLOGY

As discussed throughout the preceding chapters, the purpose of this study is to investigate the possibility of re-emerging regional variation in contemporary SAE. The investigation is restricted to segmental phonetic variables – and, more precisely, to vowels. Thus, all stressed vowels of SAE are subjected to instrumental, acoustic analysis.

As pointed out in section 2.1., the present study is informed by the quantitative sociolinguistic tradition as developed by Labov (1972) and expanded on in various publications since, most notably his magnum opus, *Principles of Linguistic Change* (in three volumes; Labov, 1994; 2001; 2010). Schneider (2011a:348f) explicitly appeals to the use of such quantitative sociolinguistic methodology in the study of World Englishes. Labovian methodology was also employed by Lanham and Macdonald (1979), whose work forms the baseline of the SAE chapter (§3), and this methodology requires little introduction in the discipline of sociolinguistics besides. Moreover, standard Labovian methods support the main purpose of this dissertation: to correlate phonetic variables to regional variables.

I provide an overview of the standard Labovian methodology for data collection, as applied in this study, in section 4.1 below. Section 4.1.1 centres on the participants: criteria and materials used to solicit volunteers, their general social profile, and, particularly, their social class. As I have argued in section 3.4, the upper-middle-to-upper class should be the most likely group to speak the standard, therefore special attention has been afforded to participants' occupation, income, education, locality, and housing, which have been developed by Trudgill (1974) as gauges of social class. Thereafter, section 4.1.2 provides details of the interview schedule and the conditions under which interviews were conducted.

Methodology used for data analysis is the focus of section 4.2 – particularly general mathematical and statistical techniques. Variation may present in different forms: in differences in the frequency of certain variants (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979), differences in style shifting, as when one region shifts more from one style to the next by comparison to another (Labov, 2010:59), and absolute differences in vowel quality. Thus, methods of data analysis have been selected to make sufficient provision for these different forms of possible variation.

Individual variables were not specifically pre-selected for the purposes of this study; instead, dialectometry is used as a complementary methodological paradigm to identify significant variables. This was deemed a more satisfactory approach, since pre-selection of variables may possibly impart a researcher's bias to the data and exclude significant variables from analysis on the basis that they are not perceptually salient (to the researcher in question and/or the speech community at large), as when variables are indicators or markers (as discussed in §2.1) yet to be 'discovered' through scholarly efforts. Thus, section 4.3 provides a brief overview of instrumental acoustic methods and dialectometry.

The methodology chapter therefore presents broadly three components: first, an overview of Labovian methodology as applied to this study; second, an overview of general mathematical and

statistical methods; and, finally, an overview of instrumental acoustic and dialectometric techniques employed in the course of data analysis.

I stress that dialectometry is here incorporated into the Schneiderian paradigm with a view to both informing each other. As Szmrecsanyi (2011; parenthesis added) argues, deeper engagement with dialectometry should assay to correlate dialectometry to a broader analytical and theoretical context, such as 'literature on dialect genesis, dialect formation, and historical dialect variability' – which is precisely the aim of this dissertation.

4.1 Data collection

Data in this study are intended to provide unbiased and accurate insights into the current speech habits of a segment of the SAE speech community. Therefore, data have been collected in such a way that they should evidence regionality and that extraneous variables are controlled for. Methodology used for this purpose is detailed below.

4.1.1 The participants

For the purposes of this study individuals were selected who are native speakers of the standard in SAE, viz. General SAE. To ensure that they do in fact command General SAE as their L1 and/or vernacular style, speakers were selected who belong to the upper-middle class, since this is the demographic that would be most prone to speaking General SAE as their native variety. That is, and as considered above under sections 3.4.3 and 3.4.4, the higher social classes and people with higher levels of education would be those most prone to speaking General SAE as a native variety, a statement that holds true for most standard varieties of English worldwide.

The approach of selecting speakers of the standard when attempting to sample regional variation may seem counter-intuitive at first. Indeed, Eckert (2000:20) argues that, '[i]n keeping with its cosmopolitan status, standard language eschews features identified with specific localities'. Thus, the standard is the most resistant to the introduction of regionality. However, it is not impossible for regional affiliations to be reflected in the speech of standard speakers to express a measure of 'hybridity' (Eckert, 2000:214; as considered under §2.3.3 above); Schneider (2011a:343) also proposes that usage that is intermediate on the cline between fully local and fully standard is increasingly the norm in current, globalised use of English. Well-known examples are present in Standard American English (formerly called General American English; cf. Wells, 1982:§6) and Received Pronunciation (Wells, 1982:§4.1). The standard would simply be the last variety to participate in regional differentiation – and vary to a lesser extent along regional parameters than non-standard varieties.

With regard to the Dynamic Model, the possible involvement of standard speech in phase 5 infers a very strong argument *for* phase 5 in SAE, in that it would be one of the last varieties to progress to this point. It also speaks to the possibility that less standard speech varieties would have progressed even further with regard to the differentiation that is typical of this phase. This statement may seem to imply

that regionality is an innovation that originates in the lower social classes and spreads upward into standard speech (i.e., change-from- below). While this *may* be the case, I do not intend to imply that it necessarily *is* the case. My assertion is simply that, since standard varieties are usually the most conservative and unyielding with respect to regional variation, evidence of regionality in the standard should be suggestive of robust regionality throughout the speech community.

Six volunteers of each gender were sought from each of the three main Anglophone cities in South Africa: Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg. The selection of these cities was informed by Lanham and Macdonald (1979), who sampled data from the four 'English cities' (Jeffery, 1982:252), viz. the abovementioned three and Port Elizabeth. Their reasoning behind the selection of these cities was that they had English-speaking (over Afrikaans-speaking) majorities in the White population (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979). Port Elizabeth has been excluded from the present sample, because demographic changes since the time of Lanham and Macdonald's (1979) writing mean that Port Elizabeth would now be an 'Afrikaans' city, with a 40.19% majority against a smaller 33.25% English-speaking population (Firth, 2015). There are other cities that may be called 'English' – either historically or at present – however, these have been excluded from sampling. For example, although Kimberley was arguably an important Anglophone centre in the past, its character has become decidedly Afrikaans, as is evident from census results that put its English population at 15.56% compared to a 55.48% Afrikaans majority (Firth, 2015). These cities are illustrated in Figure 4.1 below.

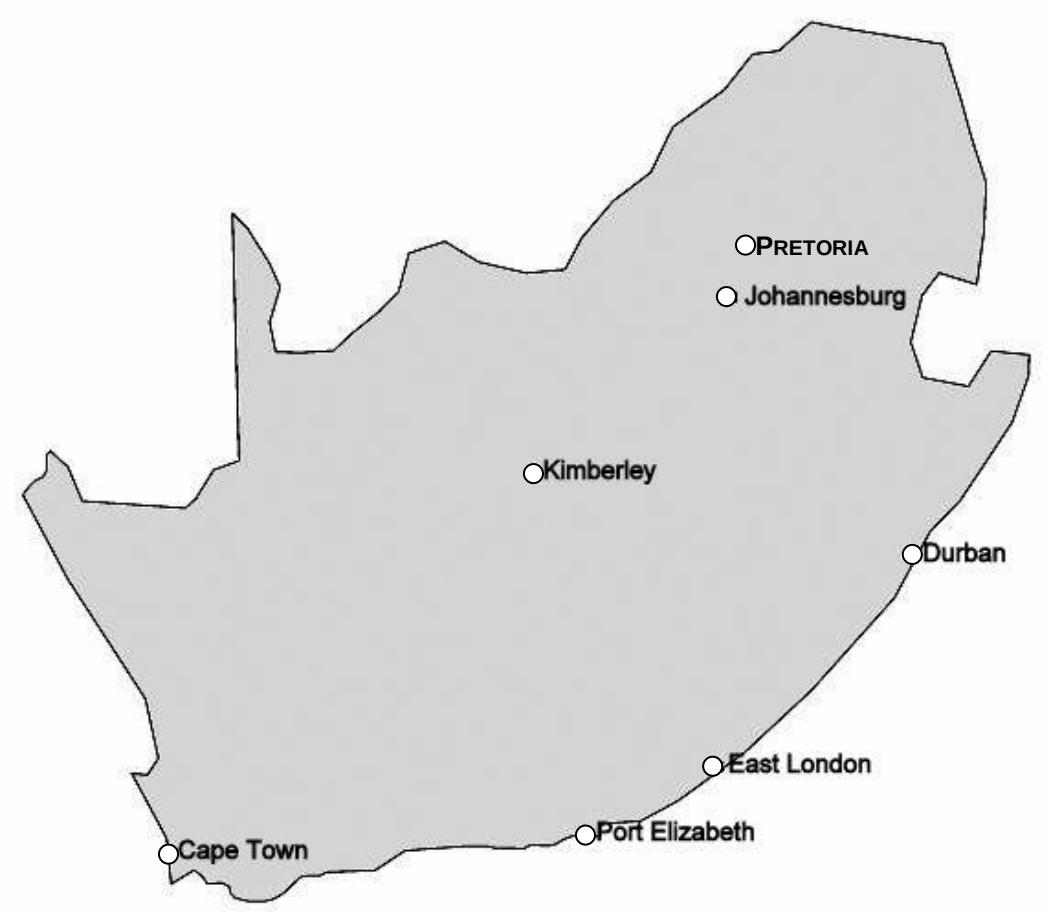


Figure 4.1: South Africa with major urban centres

Regrettably, an interview with one female from Cape Town was spoilt and could not be included in the analysis. Thus, N=35 in the final sample, with a male-to-female ratio of 6:5 in Cape Town and 1:1 in Durban and Johannesburg. Volunteers were solicited through on-campus group email services and posters; the respective linguistics departments at the University of Cape Town, the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and the University of the Witwatersrand were of invaluable help in this regard. Importantly, this modus operandi imparted randomness to the sample since any person who fit the criteria and saw the email or poster could volunteer equiprobably – resultantly, the reliability of the sample is improved because the likelihood of some form of selective bias being contained in the sample is reduced.

All interviews were on a *strictly voluntary* basis, volunteers were allowed to withdraw from the interview at any time, and were not required to provide a reason for this choice. Volunteers were invited to contact me either through email or by phone and, after a short screening process, arrangements were made with volunteers who fit the criteria to be interviewed. Screening was necessary to control for irrelevant social variables. Thus, in the course of data collection, care was given to various control measures to ensure that the volunteers do correspond to a single, cohesive sociolinguistic speech sub-community in all respects except regional provenance; criteria used for selection of participants are detailed below.

Participants are all White; born and raised in South Africa; long resident in their city of provenance, i.e., Cape Town, Durban, or Johannesburg, respectively; aged between 18 and 30 years at the time of the interviews; upper-middle class; and speakers of standard, General SAE. Each of these rubrics receives attention directly.

The primary gauge for the category 'White' is that participants self-identified as White (STL strand) English-speaking South Africans (ESSA). Additionally, participants were polled on their family heritage, for which the responses are provided in appendix A below. In the interest of protecting participants' anonymity, they have been assigned letters A through L; preceded by the first letter of their city of provenance. The majority of parents are ESSA, uncontroversially members of the STL strand. Note that for the purposes of appendix A, I have also labelled parents from Zimbabwe whose L1 is English as ESSA, since their L1 variety would be an offshoot of SAE (Bowerman, 2004:931; Lass, 2002:107; considered under §3.3 above). Others who were born elsewhere or with non-ESSA ethnicities have assimilated into the SAE speech community and it is the primary community in which they conduct social interactions. Speakers with Jewish heritage were excluded from the sample to control for possible interference from Jewish ADS strands – notably the Kugel stereotype in Johannesburg.

The criterion of being born and raised in South Africa is self-explanatory, and necessary to control for accent features that have their origin on foreign soil. To qualify as being long-resident in their city of provenance, participants were required to have received at least most of their schooling in the city in question. This is an important consideration because speakers tend to achieve and stabilise their speech habits during adolescence in reference to the norms of their peers (Labov, 1972:304-307; 2010) – and cross-regional contamination is possible in the case of highly mobile individuals. By this measure, there is

a single speaker whose regional provenance may be doubted, a male from the Durban subsample, participant DG. Participant DG spent five years in Durban prior to the interview; data sampled from him were retained since those five years fortuitously correspond to his entire high school career and this is the time during which he would have accommodated to his peers and when his accent would have stabilised. Data from participants whose regional provenance may be doubted were excluded from the final sample.

The age group 18-30 was selected so volunteers would be young enough that their speech would be indicative of recent developments in SAE, while not so young that their speech varieties may not already have stabilised. A near-identical age cohort was selected by Wileman (2011:25); his participants were 18-29 with a mean age of 21; present results should therefore be highly comparable to those he achieved. Appendix B details participants' age, in years, at the time of the interviews and the amount of time, again in years, they spent in their respective cities of provenance prior to the interview. Median and mean values are provided at the bottom of each city and are rounded to the nearest decimal.

All speakers indicated that English is their home language and the primary language in which they have conducted social interactions throughout their lives. Even speakers who claimed some proficiency in ancestral languages (e.g. Afrikaans, Greek, or Serbian) intimated that they were not as proficient in those languages as in English – and the use of those languages was often restricted, as when they have simple conversations with grandparents or other family members. Appendix C provides the languages participants claimed to speak, divided into their native or home language (English throughout), non-native languages in which they are fluent or of which they have a working command, and languages in which they only have basic proficiency.

In Cape Town, all participants claimed to have at least a working knowledge of Afrikaans, likely owing to the comparatively strong presence of the language in the city and in the Western Cape in general. Durban is the city where the fewest participants claimed fluency or a working knowledge of a language besides English. This likely owes to the fact that a language such as Afrikaans, though a popular lingua franca elsewhere in the country, is virtually absent from Durban. Additionally, several participants claimed that they had 'lost' whatever ability they had had to speak Zulu after leaving school, since their perception is that native speakers of Zulu are cautious or suspicious of White people who speak Zulu, leaving little opportunity to practise the language. These are the impressions offered by the participants themselves, and they necessarily cannot be taken at face value. Additionally, there is no way of knowing what level of proficiency these speakers had acquired prior to 'losing' it… Johannesburg falls somewhere in-between Cape Town and Durban with regard to additional languages besides English, though there are still few speakers who claimed fluency in any language other than English.

Wileman's (2011:24) data draw from a judgment sample; this measure is also used in the present study. This methodology is especially prominent with regard to the component of ideology, which is important in terms of General SAE, as discussed under section 3.4. That is, the danger of death question, as detailed under section 4.1.2, serves as an environment to test participants' ideological inclinations, and this aspect is treated further there. However, in a bid to control further-still for the involvement of

varieties other-than-General SAE, social indices have additionally been used to be doubly sure that there is minimal interference from other varieties in the present sample.

As observed in sections 3.3 and 3.4, membership in the upper-middle class increases the likelihood that speakers would have standard SAE, as expressed in General SAE, as their native variety: their parents would be more likely to speak this variety at home, as would their peers, and any remaining non-standard features would probably be rubbed off by a rigorous education.[33] As such, social class and the measures used in this study to control for it are considered below in more detail than the preceding control measures.

Trudgill (1974:38-41) has proposed five measures to gauge the socioeconomic class of participants in a sociolinguistic study, viz. (1) occupation, (2) income, (3) education, (4) locality, and (5) housing. Some adaptations are made to his original application of these measures to better suit the present sample and research design.[34]

4.1.1.1. Occupation

Occupation is a largely self-explanatory category; occupations relate to one's income, social status, opportunity to form certain social networks, and the like. As Eckert (2000:21) puts it: 'current qualification for, and engagement in, a specific workplace is directly related to one's current use of standard language'. As such, it is an important indicator of class. Trudgill (1974:38) used both participants' own occupation and that of their fathers; for unmarried females and students he reduplicated the father's occupation (i.e. counting it both as the father's occupation and the participant's for the purposes of the social index); married females were classed under their spouse's occupation, unless their own was ranked higher (Chambers, 2003:50). However, parents' occupations were selected over participants' occupations throughout in the present study because most participants were still students at the time of the interviews and therefore did not have full-time employment – and a similar methodological refinement was used by Wileman (2011:24).

The parent with the highest-ranked occupation was preferred throughout – these were usually participants' fathers, but sometimes their mothers. Parents' occupations also provide insight into the opportunities that would have been available to participants growing up – in terms of education and otherwise – therefore, also the likelihood that General SAE would be their native variety. Moreover, it is an important factor in the social class index to ensure a homogenous speaker profile across the sample.

The South African Standard Classification of Occupations (SASCO; Statistics South Africa, 2001) was used to classify parents' occupations. SASCO offers a national framework for the classification of occupations, tailored to the South African context, but also comparable to international classification

[33] As I have argued in section 3.4, and as expressly articulated by Bekker (2007:78), General SAE is the only standard in SAE subsequent to phase 4. Thus, involvement from Cultivated SAE is not a concern in the present study.

[34] An aside worth noting is that, while ethnicity or race may be involved in social class, as when one group is heir to historic privilege, it is not included as a control measure of *class* in the present study, since the sample is ethnically homogenous.

systems – as such, it is based on the United Nations' International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88; Statistics South Africa, 2001:3; 5). SASCO classifies occupations into ten major groups, 1-9 and 0. Major group 1 is classified as legislators, senior officials and managers, including senior government officers, corporate directors, and general managers; more exhaustive details are available in the SASCO document (Statistics South Africa, 2001:10f). Major group 2 includes professionals working in physical, mathematical, and engineering sciences, such as computer engineers or architects; life and health sciences, such as physicians; teaching, such as university professors; and other professionals, such as religious leaders or businesspeople (Statistics South Africa, 2001:11-12). By way of comparison, major group 5, for example, comprises service workers and shop and market sales workers, such as housekeepers/domestic workers or fortune-tellers (Statistics South Africa, 2001:16), while 'elementary occupations' (such as street vendors, agricultural labourers, or beggars) belong to major group 9 (Statistics South Africa, 2001:22f)

In the sample, participants' parents have occupations in upper management at national companies; professional fields, such as doctors, attorneys, or accountants; finance, such as stock brokers or bankers; privately owned businesses, such as manufacturers of industrial safety products or private educational institutions; or traditional high-status fields, such as university professors, principals of prestigious private schools, or religious ministers. As such, all occupations sort into major groups 1 and 2, the groups associated with the most status and highest incomes. Resultantly, the other eight major groups are not treated here, though refer to Statistics South Africa (2001) for further details. Precise occupations are not provided here since many participants' parents are in high-profile careers which may compromise participants' anonymity if divulged. In Cape Town, five participants have parents whose careers fall into major group 1, while six parents sort into major group 2. In Durban, four parents' occupations belong to major group 1 and eight to major group 2; the distribution of occupational classifications is the same for Johannesburg as for Durban.

4.1.1.2. Income

For income, a slightly altered approach has been followed in the present study: participants would not necessarily have exact knowledge of their parents' income: a concern noted by Trudgill (1974:39). Wileman (2011:24) has similarly attempted to overcome this methodological issue, specifically in SAE. Besides, income has been found to be a deceptive indicator of class in the South African context (SAARF, 2012). For this reason, the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF) living standards measure (LSM) has been substituted for income proper. The SAARF (2012) describes the LSM on their website, stating that it

> has become the most widely used marketing research tool in Southern Africa. It divides the population into 10 LSM groups, 10 (highest) to 1 (lowest) […] The SAARF LSM is a unique means of segmenting the South African market. It cuts across race and other outmoded techniques of categorising people, and instead groups people according to their living standards using criteria such as degree of urbanisation and ownership of cars and major appliances.

Social class is notoriously difficult to determine in the South African context, but the LSM has proven itself as one of the most reliable measures and has therefore gained in favour across different disciplines (SAARF, 2012). All participants are ranked LSM10 – the highest value possible. In LSM 10, there is a male bias (effected by gender inequality), most members of this group have matric as their minimum highest qualification, though they typically have higher qualifications, and there is an urban bias (SAARF, 2014:8). The average household income per month for this group is R35 919 (though it is my impression that this amount would be higher for the sampled group – particularly due to the high fees at the schools they attended – see section 4.1.3), they have regular access to internet and other, traditional print and broadcast media, participate in various leisure activities, make frequent use of services – financial and otherwise – and have full ownership of durable items, such as television sets, washing machines, and the like, i.e., they do not, for example, rent such items or have outstanding debt on them (SAARF, 2014:8).

4.1.1.3. Education

Two primary measures were used to control for education, the first relating to the level of education (highest qualification obtained or obtaining) and the second to the kind of education (the quality of education; e.g. private vs. public) participants received. First, all volunteers were required to have completed a degree at a tertiary institution prior to the interview or to be studying toward a degree at a tertiary institution at the time of the interview. The motivation behind this requirement is that fees to attend tertiary institutions (universities, private universities or colleges, and the like) are so high that they are often prohibitive to many prospective students – a control measure also used by Wileman (2011:24). Moreover, the level of education that an individual achieves has traditionally been regarded – and continues to function – as a strong indicator of future life possibilities and financial success. In Cape Town and Johannesburg two participants were at postgraduate level, while nine in Cape Town and ten in Johannesburg were at undergraduate level. In Durban, three were at postgraduate level while nine were undergraduate students.

Second, the fees of schools at which volunteers matriculated were taken as a gauge of: their parents' financial means, the quality of academic and extramural offerings participants have benefited from, the likelihood that their teachers and peers would evidence a preference for standard speech, and their opportunity, generally, to target standard speech. Four of the 20 most expensive and prestigious private schools in the country number among those that were attended by participants. In Cape Town the average amount paid toward school fees across the subsample is R49 501.80 per annum; in Durban this number is R43 168.30; and in Johannesburg it is R85 700 annually.[35] Note that these figures do not

[35] Since participants did not attend school at the same time, the fees for each respective school in the 2015 school year were used by way of rendering results more uniform and comparable. Fees are the 'standard' amounts payable per year, i.e., the total of monthly instalments during grade 12 – many schools offer discounts for early payment or based on other criteria. All fees are as available from the websites of the schools in question; in a few cases, 2014 school fees were the most recent published on the websites and as a matter of practicality these were then used in the

include application or registration fees, so-called entrance or securing fees (required to secure an offer of admission – and often in the region of R20 000, non-refundable), boarding fees (which are sometimes greater than tuition fees), development levy (compulsory for all pupils at many private or prestigious public schools, often up to R6 000, and applied toward the maintenance and improvement of school facilities), or any additional fees that pertain to contingencies, school transport, school meals, extramural activities, or the like.

South Africa's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita at the time of writing was roughly R81 789 (IMF, 2015).[36] Even more strikingly, the mean per capita income in South Africa is R24 409 (Leibbrandt & Levinsohn, 2011:7). A moment's consideration should convince anyone that the average school fees paid by participants' parents are indicative of prestigious, private education. In Cape Town and Durban, annual school fees were in excess of half the GDP per capita, while in Johannesburg, school fees exceeded the GDP per capita; in all three cases school fees far exceeded the mean annual income per capita. Most participants did attend private schools; moreover, those schools (attended by participants) which are not officially private schools, charge school fees that are sufficient to put them roughly on par with private schools in terms of prestige, quality of education, and extramural offerings.

4.1.1.4. Locality

Locality or neighbourhood type can serve to distinguish individuals who are otherwise socially identical (Trudgill, 1974:40) and this is especially apparent from the Sandton/Kugel vs. other-Northern Suburbs distinction in Johannesburg (at which I have hinted in the previous chapter; I expand on the distinction the chapter 5). This control measure has also been applied by Wileman (2011:24f). Since all participants reside in three of the country's major metropolitan areas, they may all be categorised as unequivocally urban. This is an important consideration because urban real estate tends to be more expensive than comparable, but more rural, real estate. Participants live in suburbs that are traditionally predominantly English, seen as desirable areas to live in, well-serviced, with good amenities, which are perceived as a signal of being situated toward the upper social classes, and the like. In Cape Town, these are the so-called Southern Suburbs: Constantia, Pinelands, Rondebosch, etc. In Durban, these areas are located in or around the north of Durban and other prestigious areas, such as Durban North, La Lucia, or Morningside. In Johannesburg, similar suburbs are to the north of the city and often known as the Northern Suburbs: Blairgowrie, Craighall Park, and Houghton. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that these are the

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calculation of average school fees per city, which might lower the averages slightly; a small number of schools participants matriculated from do not make their fee schedules available online and these were discounted from the average. Note that the average fee for Durban is the lowest while the average fee for Johannesburg is the highest. I propose that this is due to comparative differences in cost of living across the three cities: Johannesburg is the most expensive, while Cape Town has a slightly lower cost of living, and Durban has the lowest cost of living among the three. If these effects were controlled for, average school fees in the sample would, I submit, have been even more consistent across the three cities.

[36] This value is based on the GDP per capita as available from the International Monetary Fund (IMF; 2015). The precise value provided on the IMF website is USD5 902.406, which on 1 October 2015 was equal to some ZAR81 789.66 (USD1=ZAR13.86; XE Currency Converter, 2015).

suburbs participants are currently resident in, in their capacity as students, and the suburbs their parents live in and where the participants grew up are often higher-still in the measures that make areas desirable in terms of status. (Most participants were no longer living with their parents.)

4.1.1.5. Housing

Trudgill (1974:40) used three criteria to gauge housing: ownership, the age of the dwelling, and the type of dwelling. As with occupation, above, I use parents' housing arrangements over those of the participants themselves, since most participants live in rented dwellings (paid for by their parents) and tend to still view their parents' houses as their own 'homes'. All parents own their primary residences: either detached homes in the suburbs discussed above or townhouses in security complexes.

A measure that may be especially pertinent in the South African context, where high levels of violent crime prevail (cf. South African Police Service, 2015), is the level of security in participants' housing. All houses are gated, equipped with burglar bars, have alarm systems with armed response, etc. In fact, many participants indicated in the course of the danger of death question (see §4.2. below) that they often were unaware of how serious crime is in South Africa prior to attending university, having grown up in such sheltered environments. Naturally, this level of security implies large amounts of disposable income available for safety.

4.1.2 The interview

All interviews were conducted either in a venue on-campus – again, graciously provided by the aforementioned three universities – or in participants' homes, whichever the participant in question preferred. This approach should arguably have provided an environment conducive to the elicitation of more naturalistic speech, since participants were at liberty to choose the venue in which they would be most comfortable. Naturally, every effort was made for these venues to be quiet for the duration of the interview with a view to sampling high-quality audio. All interviews were digitally recorded for subsequent instrumental analysis.

The interview schedule comprises four components designed to elicit four speech styles: a word list, two reading passages (*The North Wind and the Sun*, *Two cats were having a conversation*), a biographical questionnaire, and Labov's *danger of death* question. As the names imply, the word list presented volunteers with a list of words to read out, while the reading passages were also read aloud. An interesting point worth noting is Labov's (2010:50) observation that even in the very formal environment of the word list, with a high degree of attention to speech, regional variation may be sampled under interview conditions. Hence, the formalistic character of a speech style will not necessarily negate the effects of regionality. The biographical questionnaire served the purpose of collecting volunteers' biographical information and offering an environment to elicit connected speech. The word list and reading passages were adapted from those of Lass (1990a) by way of rendering present results comparable to his; with the exception that interview materials Lass (1990a) used to elicit data for

Afrikaans loanwords were excluded. The word list is available as appendix D, *The North Wind and the Sun* as appendix E, *Two cats were having a conversation* as appendix F, and the biographical questionnaire as appendix G, respectively.

Bearing in mind the sociological circumstances in South Africa, the danger of death question was slightly altered to poll respondents on their experiences of crime instead of recollections of times they had nearly died – this methodological adjustment has been used frequently, importantly by Wileman (2011:26). Even this modus operandi proved less-than-satisfactory as regards the aims of the danger of death question: to sample the nearest-to-casual speech style in the interview environment. I propose that violent crime has become so commonplace in the mind of South African society that many people have become somewhat blasé to the matter. That is, many regard it as a simple matter of fact of life in South Africa instead of something that is both abhorrent and external to a healthy society and its mores. Many respondents did in fact express a sentiment roughly to this effect. In an attempt to overcome this obstacle they were quizzed on the issues they believe cause or contribute to the high levels of violent crime in South Africa.

Respondents had strong and varying opinions in this regard: they became highly involved, animated, and at times emotional – which is the aim of the danger of death question. Moreover, participants were encouraged to digress from the set interview schedule in whatever way they desired. I propose that this approach succeeded more in reaching a speech style that would be fairly close to participants' vernacular usage. Note in this regard that many participants indicated after the interview had run its course that they had in fact enjoyed the danger of death component – despite its serious content. I find this encouraging, since it suggests that they were not very self-conscious and would, in fact, have produced speech very near to their vernacular styles. Furthermore, I suggest that many participants may have regarded me as a member of their peer group and were, resultantly, more comfortable about shifting toward casual speech during the interview. As to why they might have viewed me as a member of their peer group, I offer the following explanations: I am a White South African myself, fall in the same age cohort as the participants (I was in my early-to-mid-twenties at the time of the interviews), and my idiolect corresponds closely to General SAE. Telling in relation to the possibility of perceived social proximity are the following examples: I was greeted by some male speakers prior to the interview with the familiar phrase 'Hey, bro' and some of the participants invited me to join them for social or charitable activities they participate in.

The danger of death style holds the additional benefit of offering a view into participants' ideological inclinations, as alluded to in section 4.1.1.1. None of the participants exhibited the characteristics typical of the South African tradition, as proposed by Lanham (1978:150) or Lanham and Macdonald (1979:27; 83) and detailed in section 3.3, such as concern for the physical self-image, an unselective demeanour within the in-group, or rigid conformation to the norms and attitudes of the in-group. In fact, the in-group is and its norms are fairly fluid: it crosses racial and ethnic boundaries; it is often confined to the middle class, but not all members of the middle class are included; and an over-

arching determinant of who participants may view as other members of their in-group seems to be an ideological configuration which espouses tolerance and humanism as broadly conceived, which I take to be typical of international Anglo-Saxon culture, as defined in section 3.4. Importantly, as observed by Schlemmer (1976:105) and Lanham (1978:140) and treated in section 3.4 above, English-speaking South Africans do define their in-group in terms of ideological alignments – and these alignments supersede other possible divisions, such as L1 or even race.

The four speech styles of course imply a continuum, and as such the cut-off point between the more careful and the more casual points on the continuum is arbitrary. However, following fairly standard sociolinguistic practice (e.g. Labov, 1972), I frequently sort speech elicited in the word list and reading passages under the heading of *careful speech*, while using *casual speech* as the umbrella term for speech elicited in the questionnaire and danger of death environments. Naturally, neither of these categories should be understood to be necessarily wholly careful or wholly casual; they simply represent the nearest-to-careful and nearest-to-casual speech styles solicited in the course of interviews.

4.2 Data analysis

Interviews were digitally recorded in WAV format and subsequently analysed with the Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction (FAVE; Rosenfelder et al., 2011) Toolkit, which is on the cutting edge of automatic vowel extraction internationally; an earlier iteration of the program was first applied to SAE by Toefy (2014) to great effect. As such, transcription conventions of the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus have been used throughout (these have been developed to complement FAVE). In keeping with these conventions, word list style is abbreviated WL, the reading passages as RP, the questionnaire as R, and danger of death (or narrative) style as N; I use these abbreviations for the relevant speech styles hereafter. Since General SAE is phonologically identical to Received Pronunciation, a modified version of the British English Example Pronouncing dictionary was substituted for the native FAVE pronunciation dictionary, which is tailored to American English and therefore not suited to SAE; Chevalier (2015) follows the same practice.

4.2.1 Automated vowel analysis

The Forced Alignment component of FAVE automatically aligns orthographic transcriptions to digital recordings using the architecture of Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2013) as a basis, and segments the acoustic signal into its relevant phonological environments; after which the Vowel Extraction component extracts formant values (and various other data such as vowel duration) from the data files. Formants are the bands of amplified overtones which are produced in the vocal tract in response to change in the size and shape of the vocal tract (for example by moving the position of the tongue, lips, or jaw) – since formants are constrained by physiological factors, individual vowels have characteristic formant values (Ladefoged, 2006). Formant values may be expressed in terms of Hertz (i.e., their frequency); moreover, various formants comprise a single vowel, such that one may discern the first formant (F_1), second

formant (F_2), third formant (F_3), etc. for any given vowel (Ladefoged, 2006). In the present study, I only consider F_1 and F_2; using these formant values, one can plot vowel qualities in the vowel space in a way that is comparable – though not identical – to the traditional vowel plot (Ladefoged, 2006). That is, higher values for F_1 express lower (or opener) qualities in terms of the traditional vowel space; while higher values for F_2 express fronter articulations; the inverse is true in both cases (Ladefoged, 2006).

Since formants are highly dependent on physiological factors, there is variation in their absolute values along the parameters of gender and age, in addition to considerable variation between individual speakers – even though these differences are not typically perceptually relevant. For this reason it is preferable to normalise 'raw' formant data to render them comparable across individuals – in so doing, only significant sociolinguistic variation is expressed in the final results. An additional advantage of the FAVE Toolkit is therefore that it performs Lobanov (1971) normalisation on the extracted formant values as one of its native operations (Rosenfelder, 2013), which renders data comparable across speakers and genders. Thereafter, FAVE re-scales these normalised values to Hertz values (Rosenfelder, 2013); these re-scaled Hertz values are used throughout, that is, unless specified, all values provided in this dissertation are those obtained from the present sample *after* normalisation and re-scaling.

The Lobanov (1971) method was deemed the most appropriate normalisation technique in the present study for a few reasons besides the fact that FAVE outputs it regardless, which I offer directly. It effectively factors out the physiological influences from data (Adank et al., 2004), while retaining sociolinguistic variation fairly well; it also produces attractive vowel plots which resemble the traditional vowel space closely. A primary disadvantage is that the vowel space may be skewed if all phonemic environments are not included – an issue which is easily resolved through the inclusion of all vowels in the analyses performed by FAVE.

The normalised formant data were subsequently extracted from the FAVE output files and subjected to statistical inspection; only stressed vowel tokens are included in this process. It seldom happened that ambient noise made formant readings unclear; however, these are typically excluded by FAVE and those that did 'evade' FAVE's exclusion process were removed all the same. All phonemic environments were analysed as contained in the FAVE output files, with the exception of the KIT vowel, which was separated into its KIN and PIN allophones, and the LOT vowel, which had to be separated out from the BATH vowel since these vowel classes are merged in American English and, as such, are not treated differently by FAVE. FAVE assigned few vowel tokens to the wrong lexical set besides (for example, as when FAVE assigned a SQUARE word to the DRESS lexical set – presumably due to the lack of a SQUARE vowel in American English due to rhoticity) and these were manually transferred to the correct files.[37]

[37] I use Wells's (1982) lexical sets throughout. These are designed to offer a shorthand reference to the vowels of English, so, for example, the KIT lexical set refers roughly to the phoneme /ɪ/ which is the vowel nucleus in words like *will*, *fin*, *dish*, and the like; while the DRESS lexical set refers to the phoneme /e/ in words like *fell*, *stress*, or *bed*.

4.2.2 General mathematical and statistical techniques

A student's t-test (commonly just t-test) is perhaps one of the best-known statistical operations one may perform on data, particularly in fields within the humanities. It therefore requires little exposition here; it is generally used to determine whether two data sets vary significantly from each other. In the present study it is used to determine significant differences between male speech and female speech, and between different regions, in terms of F_1, F_2, and vowel duration, respectively. The p-value is a function (or statistic) of observed sample results, and as such it may be an output of a t-test. A threshold or significance level is required to interpret p-values and here the traditional value of 5% ($p = 0.050$) has been chosen. Therefore, a p-value that is equal to or smaller than the significance level ($p \leq 0.050$) suggests that there is a significant difference between the two compared data sets.

The treatment of data described in the previous paragraph is unidimensional, in that only one aspect of a variable is considered at a time. While these measures are useful for questions that relate to backing vs. fronting between two vowels (F_2) or raising vs. lowering (F_1), there are questions for which a more holistic view of the data is required. The canonical example is the standard representation of the vowel space itself, which is a two-dimensional representation of vowels, expressing both F_1 and F_2 for any given vowel simultaneously, and which is modelled along a Cartesian plane. The treatment of the vowel space as a Cartesian plane permits us to determine the distance between two given vowels or two vowel variants, which may then be treated as a measure of difference between the two, in terms of F_1 and F_2 simultaneously. In the treatment of the vowel space as a Cartesian plane, F_1 and F_2 are defined such that $F_2 = x$ and $F_1 = y$. An example of the method is illustrated below in Figure 4.2:

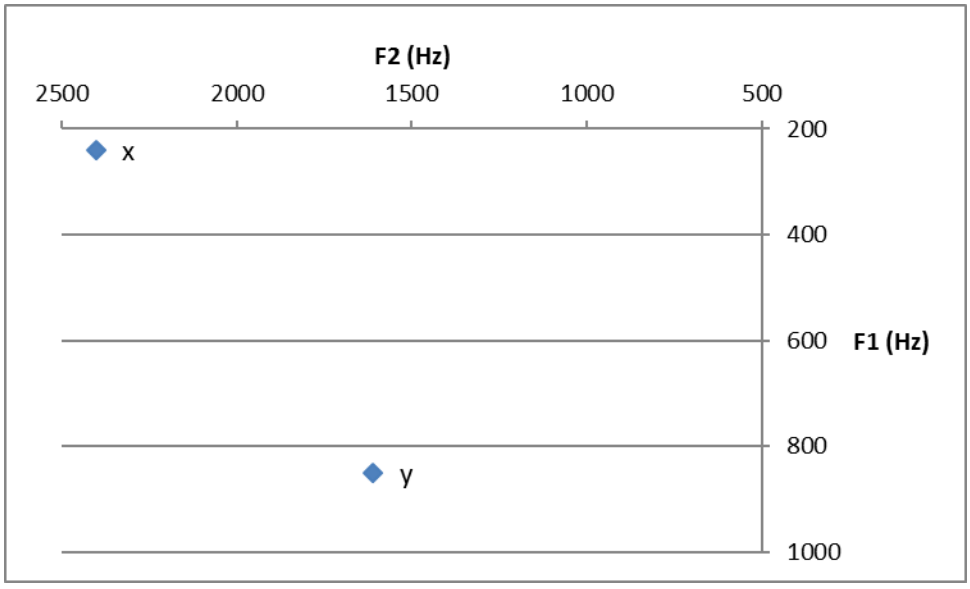


Figure 4.2: The vowel space treated as a Cartesian plane

In Figure 4.2, two vowels *x* and *y* are plotted, with F_1 represented on the vertical (y-axis) and F_2 represented on the horizontal (x-axis) with all values provided in Hertz; *x* is the point (2400, 240) and *y* is the point (1610, 850). Vowel *x* would correspond roughly to /i/ in most varieties of English while *y* would

correspond roughly to /a/, though these vowels should be regarded as hypothetical, and the specifics are not important to the example. Given these data, the distance between vowels (or points) *x* and *y* may be calculated using the following formula:

$$d(x,y) = \sqrt{(x_1 - y_1)^2 + (x_2 - y_2)^2}$$

where *d(x,y)* is the distance between the points *x* and *y*; x_1 is the x-/F_2-value of point *x*, y_1 is the x-/F_2-value of point *y*, x_2 is the y-/F_1-value of point *x*, and y_2 is the x-/F_1-value of point *y*. Substituting in the relevant values provides the answer *d(x,y)* = 998.1, that is, the distance between vowels *x* and *y* is 998.1 units. This standard application of Euclidean distance measures to the vowel space (e.g. Fabricius, 2007; Kerswill, 2006) should be familiar to most with a background in vowel-comparison. Additionally, I use the Euclidean distance in the vowel-by-vowel analysis to determine the difference between the vowel nucleus (or onset) and glide (or offset) of diphthongs: if one sample site has a significantly smaller average Euclidean distance between these two morae than another sample site, it is taken to prefer glide-weakening and/or monophthongisation by comparison. Moreover, I use Euclidean distances as primary input format for dialectometric inspection in Gabmap (Nerbonne et al., 2011); I provide additional details in section 4.4 below.

4.2.3 Analysis of small data sets

The law of large numbers is a principle of probability which holds that, as a sample size grows, its mean approaches the average across the population; a sample size of 30 or over is therefore used as a rule-of-thumb cut-off point for a sample size which should achieve a mean value that approximates the corresponding value across the population closely (Rice, 2007). For example, a t-test performed on a sample of which the size is below 30 may be considered *indicative* of certain trends throughout the population, but it cannot be said to be a *statistically significant* representation of those trends in the *population* (Rice, 2007).[38] Due to constraints on time, resources, and the like, standard sociolinguistic methodology often does not attempt to sample large enough groups of the population for the resulting statistical inspection to be statistically significant – this has been the case in the work of, among others, Labov (1972) and Wileman (2011). Indeed, in the present study, the total sample size would have had to be 180: 30 participants from each of the two genders, and from each of the three sampled cities.

Nonetheless, one may statistically predict the probability that given trends may present significantly in the population – or at least in a representative sample. One method by which such a prediction may be made is binomial distribution. In practice, binomial distribution is often used in 'pilot studies' of sorts, where researchers suspect that a given variable or trend may be significant in a

[38] For this reason, p-values provided in this dissertation are not significant in terms of the SAE speech community, but they are significant in terms of the sampled segment of that speech community, which nonetheless speaks to the possible significant presence of variables in SAE at large.

population, but are uncertain whether it truly is (Rice, 2007:38-40). A small (10 or less) sample is selected and the prevalence in that sample of the variable or trend under inspection is determined (Rice, 2007:38). In the event that the result is favourable, subsequent investigations may be undertaken in a representative sample – with a greater amount of certainty as to the outcome. I briefly outline binomial distribution below.

A binomial experiment has a given number of repeated trials, where each trial has one of two possible outcomes – either a success or a failure (Rice, 2007:38). Rice (2007:38) notes that individual trials are independent, such that the outcome of one does not affect the outcome of another. Consider the following scenario. We flip a coin twice, thus, the number of repeated trials is two. We may select which outcome constitutes a success (Rice, 2007:38); I assign a success to those outcomes where the coin lands on heads; tails is a failure. The probability for a success remains constant for all trials – there is always a one-in-two chance that the coin will land on heads – so the probability is 0.5 (or 50%) for each trial. Finally, each trial is independent, because if the coin lands on heads for the first trial it has no bearing on the outcome of the second trial (Rice, 2007:38). The probability that certain outcomes will be achieved, that is, the binomial distribution, is provided in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Binomial distribution for two-trial coin flip experiment

Number of successes (heads)	Probability
0	0.25
1	0.50
2	0.25

The probability that both trials will result in failures (the number of successes is zero) is 0.25, or 25%; the same is true for two successes; while the probability than one trial will result in a success and one in a failure is 0.5, or 50 %.

For two vowels (those of the NEAR and CURE lexical sets) there are insufficient tokens in the sample to warrant the usual statistical analysis. It is my impression – though I cannot make this statement definitively – that the NEAR vowel does not vary significantly by region. However, there is some interesting variation for the CURE vowel. I therefore use binomial distribution to analyse variation with regard to the CURE vowel in the present sample, which I discuss in section 5.1.4 below.

4.3 Dialectometry

Eckert's (2000) and Mufwene's (2001) emphasis on idiolects logically leads to the conclusion that speech communities are simply groupings of idiolects that are sufficiently similar that we may sort them together for our own purposes. Indeed, the concept of *dialect* is one that has been – and remains – difficult to

circumscribe conclusively. Dialects are not binary: they form continua and there are no a priori guidelines for segmenting a dialect continuum into its respective dialects.

Traditional techniques in phonetic research, i.e., those which are based on the informed judgments of trained phoneticians (Bekker, 2009:19), are at least *partially* impressionistic and subjective (Bekker, 2009:19; Bekker & Eley, 2007:107; Ladefoged, 1967:50-142), which renders their results unyielding to justification. Foulkes and Docherty (1999:23) argue that replication of results is necessary for the sake of accountability and that this is not feasible in impressionistic methodology, unless the *same* researcher is involved (Bekker, 2009:9). Moreover, an impressionistic approach might impart a measure of bias (by way of researchers' expectations) to descriptions of sociophonetic variation (Bekker, 2009:2; Szmrecsanyi, 2011:47), therefore, the need for the selection of dialect measurement and classification methods that are more objective becomes apparent (Foulkes & Docherty, 1999).

Most earlier literature on SAE relies heavily on the impressions of individuals, with a marked absence of instrumental acoustic techniques applied directly to this variety (Bekker, 2009:1; Bekker & Eley, 2007:107). Much of extant literature on the variety therefore does not yield easily to inspection, particularly by way of replication. Resultantly, there is 'lack of consistency in the available literature' as regards regionality in SAE (Bekker, 2009:88). The situation has been improved through the more recent efforts of scholars such as Bekker (2009), Bekker and Eley (2007), Mesthrie (2010), Mesthrie et al. (2015), Toefy (2014), Webb (1983), and the like. The improvement has been effected by more objective measures – measures whose results are more amenable to inspection and replication – along the lines of what Ohala (1990:156) calls 'recent advances in the study of speech […] as a different, a "scientific" phonetics'.

Further developments in the fields of computing, statistics, and the like show great promise as regards the advancement of the study of linguistic variation. Especially computational methods have been gaining favour in recent work (Bekker, 2009:7; Greenhill, 2011:690; Heeringa et al., 2009:167; Labov, 1994:25) as there has 'always been a perceived need for techniques which can deal with large amounts of data in a controlled way i.e. computational techniques' (Nerbonne & Kretzschmar, 2003:245). Nerbonne (2008:366) shares Bekker and Eley's (2007) stance on the matter and, drawing from a point made by Kretzschmar (2006:400), avers that many researchers are so familiar with the data that they interpret those data intuitively. Nerbonne (2008:366) believes that this popular approach of 'relying on informed intuition rather than analytic technique […] provide[s] no foundation for more abstract questions'.

An 'atomistic' consideration of individual variables is more than sufficient when those variables are the particular concern of a study. The disadvantage inherent in the pre-selection of variables based on deductions from extant literature or on impressionistic (at least in terms of the isolation of entire *dialects*) grounds is demonstrated, for example, in Wileman's (2011) dissertation, where three vocalic variables were selected and one (the NURSE vowel) did not achieve a positive result in terms of regionality. As demonstrated in the results chapter (chapter 5) below, this methodology has excluded various vocalic variables that do achieve significant differentiation between regions. That said, Wileman's (2011)

intentions were not to gauge regionality *in toto* and his proof of the null hypothesis (that, contrary to impressions, the NURSE vowel does not vary regionally) remains a valuable contribution. However, we cannot conclude anything more from his findings than that those individual variables behave in the way he describes, and we certainly cannot construct an argument for regional dialects based on his findings alone.

Indeed, 'multidimensional objects, such as dialects, call for aggregate analysis techniques' (Szmrecsanyi, 2011:47; 67) and, hence, the growing need for greater objectivity has given rise to computational, aggregate dialectometry (Goebl, 1984; Nerbonne et al., 1999; Séguy 1971). Szmrecsanyi (2011:45) defines dialectometry as 'the branch of geolinguistics concerned with measuring, visualising and analysing aggregate dialect similarities or distances'. Nerbonne (2008:366) claims that such 'aggregation is the key methodological step needed to enable analytical progress'. To justify whatever groupings we do decide on, it is instructive to incorporate replicable aggregate operations to delimit (and group) similar idiolects. So, Szmrecsanyi (2011:45f; 2013:440) summarizes the pervading goal in dialectometry – both broadly and as pertains to its application in the current study; viz. obtaining the most accurate description of relations among *varieties*.

Since this study is quantitative in nature, the choice of computational methods is further motivated; within computational dialectometry the Levenshtein algorithm uses data most exhaustively (Heeringa, 2004:25-26). Moreover, because dialectometry is a frequency-based approach (as opposed to the categorical data which one would traditionally find in dialect corpora), it offers a less biased view on varieties and buffers results against the kind of artefacts that result from a biased sample (Szmrecsanyi, 2011:48). Put differently, 'non-geographic and/or random variability will cancel out in the aggregate view' (Szmrecsanyi, 2011:52; 67).

Dialectometry has over the course of the past decade or two become virtually the state of the art in the computational study of dialects in many parts of the world – and in different languages (Heeringa, 2004:25f). In contrast to older dialectology, *dialectometry* considers the 'forest', that is, the general structure extrapolated from a larger amount of features, instead of the 'tree', or individual phenomena, one feature at a time (Szmrecsanyi, 2013:433). Dialectometry therefore places various features in relation to each other, providing a more global description of the features that are realised in a given dialect (as compared to traditional dialectology), as well as how they interact with one another.

Studies of this nature are under-represented in the body of linguistic research that has been conducted in South Africa; notable exceptions include: Heeringa and De Wet (2009), Zulu and Barnard (2006), and Zulu et al. (2008). Heeringa and De Wet (2009) investigate the origin of Afrikaans pronunciation on an acoustic basis; Zulu and Barnard (2006) investigate the distance – orthographically and in terms of phonetic transcriptions – between varieties of Norwegian; Zulu et al. (2008) focus on orthographic distances between the eleven official South African languages. Note that it is particularly illustrative of the paucity of dialectometric investigations in South Africa that Zulu and Barnard (2006) do not contribute to 'South African dialectometry' in the most pertinent sense; instead, replicating and

extending the earlier study of Heeringa and Gooskens (2003). It should be clear that the use of dialectometry – especially applied to South African English – is virgin territory; one which offers tremendous potential for growth. Dialectometric methodology is applied to the current data set in an effort to investigate nascent regionality in (White) General SAE.

The Groningen school of dialectometry uses the Levenshtein distance to determine the linguistic distance between sampled sites. The Levenshtein metric is a string-edit procedure which calculates the least expensive set of operations necessary to change one string into another (Heeringa & Gooskens, 2003:303; Heeringa, 2004:23; Gooskens, 2007:455; Beijering et al., 2008:13; etc.). The three possible operations are: insertions, deletions (which together are known as *indels*), and substitutions. Here, a *string* is a sequence of phonemes or, specifically, the phonetic realisation of the phonemes which represent various lexical items.

The rudiments of the technique are illustrated below using the pronunciations of *afternoon* from Savannah, Georgia [ˈæəftəˌnʉːn] and Lancaster, Pennsylvania [ˌæftərˈnuːn], respectively (example taken from Heeringa, 2004; dialect data are taken from LAMSAS; note that diacritics have been omitted for the sake of simplicity):

æ	ə	f	t	ə		n	ʉ	n
æ		f	t	ə	r	n	u	n
0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0

In this example, /æ/ is identical across both sites, and therefore the operation to transform the Savannah segment into the Lancaster segment is weighted zero (no operation is required per se); /ə/ is deleted from the Savannah string to produce the cognate segment in the Lancaster stream – conversely, it is inserted into the Lancaster string to produce the Savannah segment – this operation is weighted 1; /f/, /t/, and / ə/ are all weighted zero, because they remain the same in both strings; /r/ is inserted into the Savannah string to produce the cognate segment in the Lancaster stream – alternatively, it is deleted from the Lancaster string to produce the Savannah segment – and the operation is again weighted 1; both cases of the phoneme /n/ are identical across the strings and are therefore weighted zero; finally, /ʉ/ is substituted for /u/ and this operation is weighted 1. The total weight, or string edit distance, is therefore 3: this is the simplest application of the Levenshtein metric, which assigns the same weights to all operations. However, there is a clear qualitative difference between the indel of /ə/ or /r/ and the substitution of /ʉ/ for /u/. That is, these indels constitute the insertion or deletion of an entire phoneme, whereas substitution typically involves a change in vowel quality. Therefore, substitutions may more profitably be assigned a weight of 0.5, so as not to exaggerate differences, which then results in a string edit distance of 2.5.

From inspection of individual words on these grounds one may calculate the aggregate distance between sites as a measure of similarity (or dissimilarity, or phylogenetic relatedness): this is

dialectometry. Dialectometry can necessarily be specified for syntax, morphology, segmental phonetics, or any other relevant class of variables (Szmrecsanyi, 2011:49). Software for so-called 'Groningen school' dialectometry is freely available via Gabmap (Nerbonne et al., 2011), an online, front-end interface hosted by the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam. All data in the present sample were entered into this application for dialectometric inspection. Dialect data may be entered into Gabmap in a number of formats: the string edit distance of orthographic transcriptions (as rendered above); numeric data, e.g., the Euclidean distance; a binary comparison (two variants are either similar or they are not); or difference data, such as the p-values of different data sets. The simplest version of the Levenshtein distance thus relies on binary distinctions (Heeringa & De Wet, 2009:3). That is, strings of transcribed phones are compared and alignment slots (corresponding phonetic symbols) are either equal or not (Heeringa, 2004:3). However, the application of the Levenshtein metric to frequency values from acoustic data reveals more nuanced accounts of variation, or 'gradual weights' (Auer et al., 2011; Heeringa et al., 2009:177; Leinonen, 2008). Therefore, I have opted to use numeric data in the form of the Euclidean distance between instrumentally sampled variants in this study, following Heeringa and Gooskens (2003) and as explicitly advocated by Szmrecsanyi (2011:54).

Heeringa et al. (2009:177) have used traditional and perceptual classifications to verify results for the Levenshtein distance. This approach will not be used in the proposed study, however, as their work has already proven the accuracy of the Levenshtein metric for current purposes. Moreover, the research aims to re-evaluate traditional classifications, rendering their use as a validity procedure superfluous; in addition, perceptual classifications have proven unreliable in the case of South African English (cf. Vorster & Proctor, 1976).

5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The procedures employed in this study for obtaining and subsequently analysing data are detailed in the previous chapter; in this chapter we turn to the results of data analysis. This chapter therefore focuses on the sociophonetic variation in the sample which achieves between-region significance. Analysis shows various vowels to achieve significant levels of variation in the sample. Moreover, I stress that all results presented below are as obtained from the present sample. I therefore concede that, given the 'small' sample size (albeit standard, in terms of sociolinguistic methodology), these results will have to be subjected to replication in future to gauge their absolute accuracy. However, it is my belief that results obtained do in fact offer a view into trends that are at present operative in the Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg speech communities at large.

5.1 Variation in the sample by lexical set

Various, though certainly not all, vowels in the present sample achieve significant variation by region. In my own discussion of this variation, I follow Lass's (1990a) division of the vowels of General SAE. I have decided on this framework – over, say, that of Wells (1982:168-178) – for two reasons. First, it is tailored to General SAE, which is the variety sampled in this study. Second, Lass's (1990a) division should, for that reason, be most instructive. I also use Lass's (1990a) description of standard SAE vowel qualities as a primary gauge against which to compare diachronic variation in General SAE – his account deals with a variety that is a generation older than the present sample.

Appendix H provides the precise number of tokens sampled for each participant, divided according to lexical set. Totals are provided at the bottom of each city. Labels are participants' aliases as considered in §4. Appendix I provides the total per lexical set, divided by region, and also gives averages and the standard deviation.

The average, Lobanov-normalised F_1 and F_2 values, as well as vowel duration and the degree of monophthongisation vs. diphthongisation (where applicable) are compared in different contexts to determine whether they differ significantly: by style (while keeping gender and region constant), by gender (while keeping style and region constant), and by region (while keeping style and gender constant). Only significant results are explicitly reported below.

Before launching into the 'vowel-by-vowel' results, I expend a brief word on what I term the 'surfer sound'. In the course of interviews, many participants (particularly males) articulated the impression that people from Cape Town and Durban 'sound more like surfers' than those from Johannesburg or, alternatively, that people from Johannesburg sound more like they actively take part in the 'rat race'. These are speaker impressions which are conditioned by various factors – not necessarily exclusively by speech variation – and might possibly not correlate to actual speech habits. However, it is my impression that they do, in fact, correlate to speech variants which may index this 'surfer sound'. Wherever there is variation that could, conceivably, make speakers from the coastal cities 'sound more

laid-back' than those from Johannesburg, I signal them as such below. (I caution that I have not performed outright perceptual tests on these data and they therefore remain to be tested thoroughly.)

5.1.1 The short vowels

KIT

The behaviour of the KIT vowel is one of the most characteristic features of SAE (Lass & Wright, 1986:207); Lass (1990a:275) notes how the South African dialect is the only variety of English in which the lexical items *it* and *sit* do not rhyme. Therefore, the so-called 'KIT Split' or 'KIN-PIN Split' has virtually become the standard interpretation of this vowel's phonetic behaviour in SAE (Bekker, 2014:113; Wells, 1982:612-613). In this view, the KIT lexical set has split in two, with (1) KIN being the formalisation of one subset resulting from the split and (2) PIN the other. Specific phonological environments are assigned to each subset, which I provide below.

(1) The KIN subset may be rendered [ɪ] in terms of the IPA and occurs word-initially, as in *it*; after /h/, as in *hit*; before or after velars, as in *sick*, *kiss*, *sing*; and usually before palato-alveolars, as in *fish*, *vision*; but rarely thereafter, i.e., not in *shin* or *chin* (Lass, 1990a:275).

(2) The PIN subset may be rendered [ɨ ~ ə]; it is more centralised than the KIN subset at [ɨ] and may centralise further-still to [ə], particularly in the vicinity of labials, as in *limb*, *miss*, and after /r/ or /l/ (Lass, 1990a:275). Lass (1990a:275) observes that most other lexical items traditionally in the province of the KIT vowel (i.e., those that remain after KIN words have been separated out) correspond to the PIN vowel in SAE. A third quality which is often interpreted as a variant within the PIN subset also exists. Lass (1990a:275) proposes that this variant may retract even further to [ɤ̆] and its conditioning environments are before /l/ in syllable codas, as in *fill*; after /w/, as in *win*; or before /x/ in Afrikaans loans, as in *verlig*, etc. Due to the involvement of substantial vowel-retraction before /l/, this final variant has been excluded from the present sample.

I use KIT as the label for the vowel generally, but also KIN and PIN for the relevant allophones, since different realisations of either the KIN or PIN lexical subsets have proven to be diagnostically relevant in the context of SAE, both diachronically (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979) and synchronically (Wileman, 2011).

Results obtained for the KIT vowel by Wileman (2011) are largely replicated in the present sample. That is, Wileman (2011:74) concludes that the KIT vowel is significantly more centralised for males in Durban than in Cape Town, both word-initially and preceding or following a velar. He also suggests that the environments following /h/ (Wileman, 2011:43) and preceding a palato-alveolar consonant (Wileman, 2011:48) may tend more toward centralisation in Durban as compared to Cape Town, though this statement is based on a trend, not a statistically significant body of data. His study therefore provides evidence that there is a difference between male speakers in Cape Town and Durban in terms of the KIN allophone specifically – all the environments considered directly above constitute this lexical subset. Thus, Wileman (2011) delimits more conditioning environments than I do, as is evident from his

separation of the word-initial context from the pre- or post-velar context, for example; whereas I treat all the examples rendered above as instances of the KIN lexical subset, following Lass (1990a) and Lass and Wright (1985). This caveat should therefore be borne in mind when comparing my own results to those obtained by Wileman (2011).

There is evidence of style shifting in the sample, which is most robust in the male subsample; regional differences in vowel quality also achieve significance most in the male subsample. Variation is most robust in the KIN lexical subset, while variation in terms of the PIN lexical subset does not achieve significance – as should be clear from Figure 5.1 below.

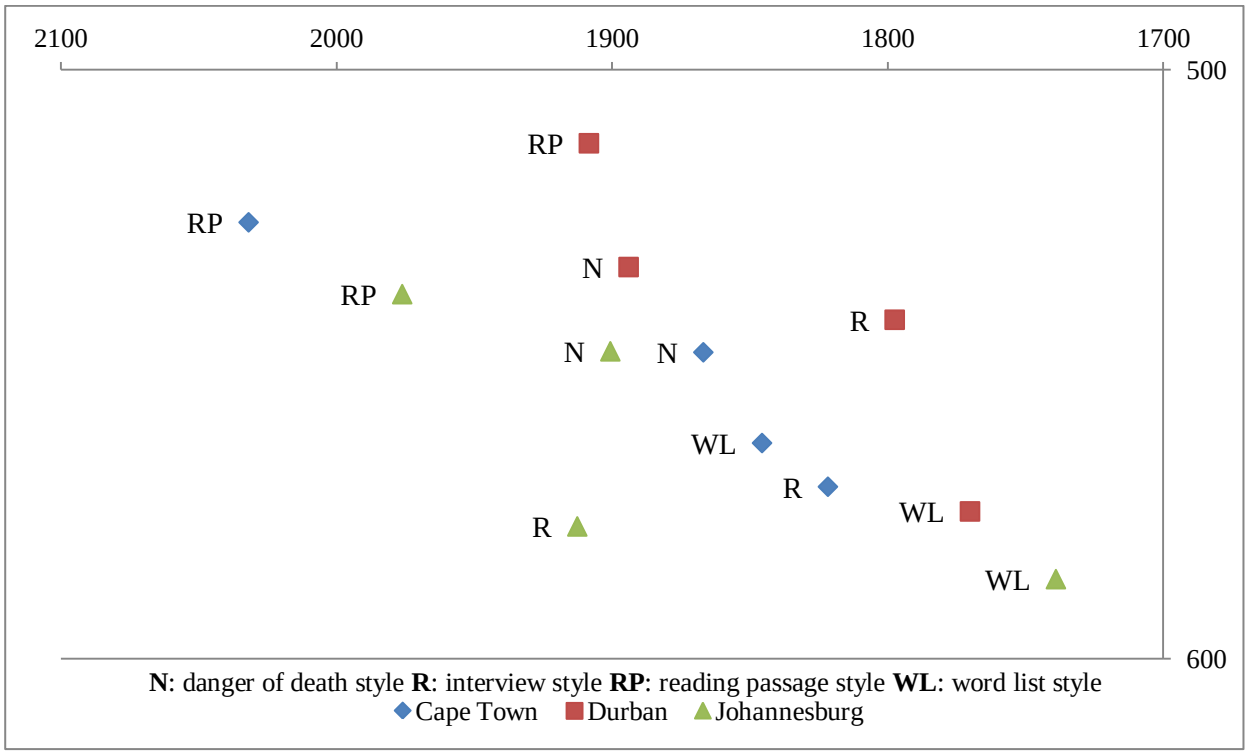


Figure 5.1: The PIN allophone in the male subsample

Table 5.1 shows the average values across the KIT vowel in the sample, separated by style and city.

Table 5.1: Average F_1 and F_2 values for the KIT vowel overall

	CPT		DBN		JHB	
	F_1	**F_2**	**F_1**	**F_2**	**F_1**	**F_2**
N	548	1890	551	1887	557	1923
R	560	1877	563	1842	573	1871
RP	539	1957	543	1883	567	1912
WL	561	1959	582	1852	574	1882

Figure 5.2 below is a cross-section of the vowel space, illustrating the average, normalised values per speech style obtained for only the KIN allophone in the male subsample. Differences may, therefore,

seem exaggerated. However, note that there is a difference of some 100 Hz between the highest and lowest tokens (reading passage style in Cape Town and interview style in Johannesburg) and a difference close to 300 Hz between the most fronted and most backed tokens (word list style in Cape Town and interview style in Durban); that is, though visually exaggerated here, these phonetic differences do achieve significance, acoustically and statistically.

The red oval includes the highly centralised values that typify Durban, particularly in the more casual styles; while the blue oval highlights the fronted and raised values of Cape Town, especially in the more careful styles.

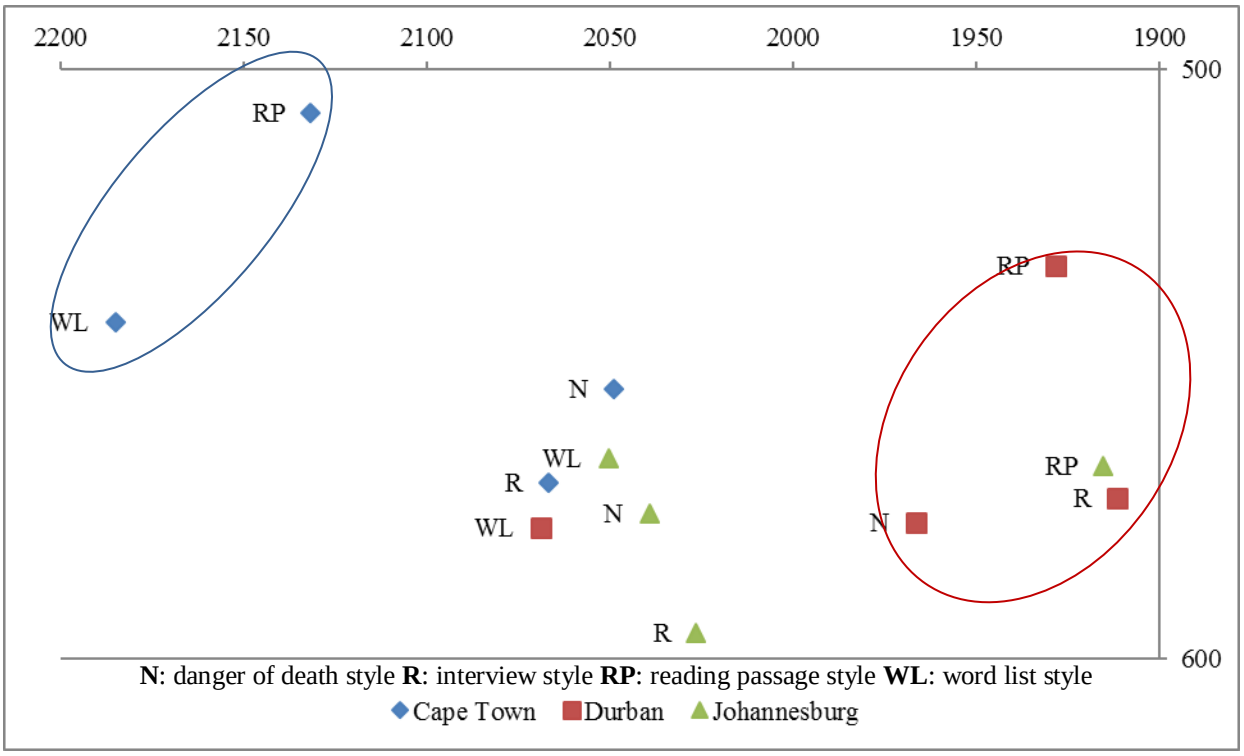


Figure 5.2: The KIN allophone in the male subsample

By way of illustrating the significance of these differences, Table 5.2 below provides the p-values between cities. Differences that achieve significance are signalled as such by rendering the p-value in bold-italic, differences that achieve significance are rendered in normal text, while differences that do not achieve significance have been excluded entirely from Table 5.2. The relevant speech style in which values were obtained is provided along the leftmost column; p-values that relate to F_1 are provided to the left of the table, and those that relate to F_2 are to the right. Relevant p-values may be found by matching the rows and columns marked with the city names.

Both Figure 5.2 and Table 5.2 should make it clear that differences in the degree of fronting versus backing (regional variation in terms of F_2) most consistently achieve significance, particularly between Cape Town and Durban, while the degree of raising versus lowering (regional variation in terms of F_1) also does, but to a lesser extent. Both these findings corroborate those of Wileman (2011:74). Cape Town

clearly tends toward higher and fronter values, overall, than do either Durban or Johannesburg, which provides evidence for two hypotheses. First, results bear out Wileman's (2011:218f) suggestion that former regional markers may be increasing in prominence, in that centralisation of the KIT vowel is historically a Natalian feature which receded in phase 4 but is now increasing again in phase 5. As I have argued in section 3.5, I would contend that this 're-proliferation' of formerly-regional variants is a direct result of phase 5 differentiation. Second, the dialects of Durban and Johannesburg are closest to each other, as is illustrated visually in Figure 5.2 and corroborated in Table 5.2: differences between these two regions seldom achieve significance.

Table 5.2: Regional variation in the KIN allophone in the male subsample

N style		**F_1**			**F_2**		
		CPT	DBN	JHB	CPT	DBN	JHB
	CPT		***p = 0.011***			***p = 0.000***	
	DBN	***p = 0.011***			***p = 0.000***		p = 0.062
	JHB					p = 0.062	
R style	CPT					***p = 0.000***	
	DBN				***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.009***
	JHB					***p = 0.009***	
RP style	CPT			***p = 0.004***		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.002***
	DBN			p = 0.070	***p = 0.000***		
	JHB	***p = 0.004***	p = 0.070		***p = 0.002***		
WL style	CPT		***p = 0.002***	p = 0.0819		***p = 0.048***	***p = 0.026***
	DBN	***p = 0.002***			***p = 0.048***		
	JHB	p = 0.0819			***p = 0.026***		

However, and as should be expected of any two varieties, the linguistic distance seems to be increasing over time and in response to phase 5 differentiation. Namely, both the Durban and the Johannesburg subsamples evidence less systematic style shifting than Cape Town in terms of the KIN lexical subset, which I take to be suggestive that there is a change-in-progress underway in these two regions. For example, in both Durban and Johannesburg, word list (the most careful) style is closest phonetically to danger of death (the most casual) style, which should not be expected for a stable variant, unless there is no or negligible style shifting. In contrast, the KIN allophone in Cape Town seems to be stable: it tends toward higher and fronter values in the more careful (reading passage and word list) styles, while the more casual (danger of death and interview) styles tend toward more centralised articulations. This is illustrated in Figure 5.2 above and Tables 5.3 and 5.4 below.

Thus, for Cape Town, different variants of the KIN allophone cluster reliably and predictably near variants from other, but similar speech styles on the continuum. Particularly in comparison to the stable KIN allophone of Cape Town, I therefore propose that the KIN allophone of both Durban and

Johannesburg is involved in a change-in-progress at present. By brief inspection of Table 5.2, one may conclude that Durban tends toward higher values while Johannesburg tends toward lower values; however, this remains a trend at present and differences between these two areas seldom achieve significance.

In contrast to the male subsample, variation in the KIN lexical subset seldom achieves significance in the female subsample, which again accords with Wileman's (2011:74) findings. However, there is a trend for Durban to have more centralised articulations, even though it seldom achieves significance. The one exception is female word list style, in which values from Durban are significantly more backed than those from Cape Town ($p = 0.002$) and those from Johannesburg ($p = 0.004$). Since this is the most careful speech style in the sample, it is my impression that female speakers are responding to the KIT vowel's historical and/or re-emerging status as a marker of (KwaZulu-) Natal English and may have affected it somewhat in careful speech. Centralisation of the KIT vowel is certainly a very salient marker of English in KwaZulu-Natal and many participants did articulate this impression in the course of the interviews.

Even though regional variation does not achieve much significance in the female subsample, I would like to point out that fully centralised KIN tokens were certainly not absent from female Durbanites' speech. For example, in danger of death style, one female participant used the expression *quick fix* which she pronounced something to the effect of [kwɪk fəks]; I take this example to be qualitatively identical to Labov's (1972) seminal 'fourth floor'. The average values, across the female subsample, for KIN words elicited in danger of death style in Durban are, roughly, $F_1 = 551$ Hz and $F_2 = 1882$ Hz, while the token in this participant's articulation of *fix* was at $F_1 = 610$ Hz and $F_2 = 1538$ Hz. This is definitely a significant difference ($p = 0.001$ for F_1 and $p = 0.000$ for F_2) and the aural effect was striking, to say the least. Overall, I propose it would be rash to claim female speech in Durban does not contain centralised articulations of the KIN lexical subset at all – despite it not presenting with much statistical significance. If this allophone is involved in a change-in-progress, it may be that males are leading the trend; otherwise, a centralised pronunciation of the KIN allophone may index something different for females than for males.

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 below follow roughly the same format as Table 5.2 above. The differences are that the respective cities are provided along the leftmost column, while the speech styles are provided in the body of the tables. Table 5.3 shows p-values across styles with regard to the KIN lexical subset, by region, in the male subsample, while Table 5.4 provides the same data in terms of the female subsample.

It should be clear from Tables 5.3 and 5.4 that style shifting is most robust in Cape Town, and progressively less so through Durban, until it reaches its lowest levels of significance in Johannesburg – in both genders. That is, the highest p-values are achieved, and they achieve significance most frequently, in Cape Town, then in Durban, and lastly in Johannesburg. These results provide support for the analysis that the KIN allophone is more stable in Cape Town as compared to the other two cities; that is, variation as presents between styles, in both Durban and Johannesburg and across both males and females, is so

random that it neither presents with a clearly discernible pattern, nor does it achieve significance as often. Durban does achieve slightly more patterning than Johannesburg in this regard, though, and I propose that this results from the Durban speakers drawing from the earlier regional connotations of centralised KIN vowels.

Table 5.3: Style shifting for the KIN allophone in the male subsample

CPT		F_1				F_2			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style			***p = 0.005***					***p = 0.002***
	R style			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.047***				***p = 0.012***
	RP style	***p = 0.005***	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.031***				
	WL style		***p = 0.047***	***p = 0.031***		***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.012***		
DBN	N style			***p = 0.002***					***p = 0.047***
	R style			***p = 0.008***					***p = 0.006***
	RP style	***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.008***		***p = 0.003***				***p = 0.017***
	WL style			***p = 0.003***		***p = 0.047***	***p = 0.006***	***p = 0.017***	
JHB	N style							***p = 0.038***	
	R style							p = 0.058	
	RP style					***p = 0.038***	p = 0.058		***p = 0.049***
	WL style							***p = 0.049***	

Table 5.4: Style shifting for the KIN allophone in the female subsample

CPT		F_1				F_2			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style		***p = 0.006***		p = 0.087				***p = 0.000***
	R style	***p = 0.006***							***p = 0.000***
	RP style								***p = 0.007***
	WL style	p = 0.087				***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.007***	
DBN	N style		***p = 0.000***	p = 0.095	***p = 0.005***				
	R style	***p = 0.000***							
	RP style	p = 0.095							
	WL style	***p = 0.005***							
JHB	N style								p = 0.053
	R style								***p = 0.017***
	RP style								
	WL style					p = 0.053	***p = 0.017***		

Finally, variation in terms of the PIN lexical subset does not seem to present with a significant pattern. Similarly Wileman (2011:74) concludes that the PIN allophone only *approaches* significance in his male subsample, but remains insignificant in the female subsample. It therefore seems that, overall, the KIT vowel does achieve significant variation between regions, with its KIN allophone contributing most of this significance, while the PIN allophone does not pattern significantly (cf. Figure 5.1).

DRESS

Lass (1990a:276) provides [e] as the IPA transcription of the DRESS vowel in SAE. However, the DRESS vowel never achieves such a high articulation in the present sample. Word list style differs most with regard to other styles, in both the male and female subsamples: it is decidedly lower and fronter than the other styles. This trend follows the typical pattern of a change-from-above, where the most careful speech styles lead. Moreover, and perhaps surprisingly, males seem to be in the lead of the trend.

Overall, it seems that the DRESS vowel may be lowering in SAE – and that it has certainly lowered since the time of Lass's (1990a) writing. In fact, Chevalier (2015) has determined that the DRESS vowel is also involved in a change-in-progress. That is, current results corroborate Chevalier's (2015) findings that the DRESS vowel is lowering in SAE; especially in terms of the Cape Town subsample. Table 5.5 below provides the mean F_1 and F_2 values for the DRESS vowel across the sample. I should also point out that significant variation has been somewhat levelled in these values, particularly because the speech of females does not vary as substantially as that of males.

Table 5.5: Average F_1 and F_2 values for the DRESS vowel overall

	CPT		DBN		JHB	
	F_1	**F_2**	**F_1**	**F_2**	**F_1**	**F_2**
N	613	1948	598	1986	617	1960
R	609	1926	596	1981	611	1960
RP	615	1948	601	1974	612	1925
WL	655	2048	632	2063	638	2010

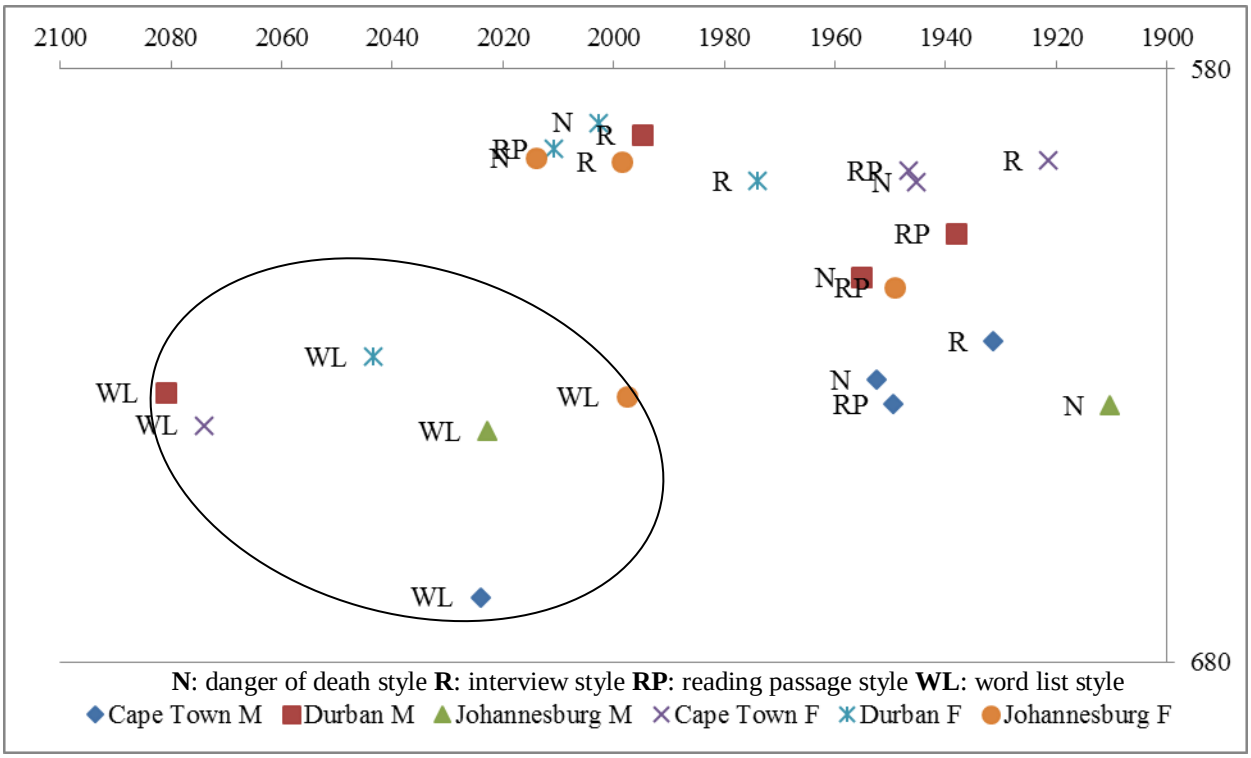


Figure 5.3: The DRESS vowel across the sample

Figure 5.3 above plots average values, per style, for the DRESS vowel separated by gender – M for males and F for females. Note that the DRESS vowel is consistently realised with the lowest and frontest quality in word list style, which is delimited by the oval; also that Cape Town favours lower articulations for this vowel, while Durban favours higher articulations by comparison.

The behaviour of the DRESS vowel, in terms of style shifting, suggests that it has achieved a more stable point than the KIN vowel of either Durban or Johannesburg, primarily because it is not quite so 'erratic'. This trend should be evident from Figure 5.3 and, wherever it achieves significance, it is indicated below in Table 5.6 for females and Table 5.7 for males.

Table 5.6: Style shifting for the DRESS vowel in the female subsample

CPT		**F_1**				**F_2**			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style				***p = 0.001***				***p = 0.006***
	R style				***p = 0.000***				***p = 0.002***
	RP style				***p = 0.001***				***p = 0.008***
	WL style	***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.001***		***p = 0.006***	***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.008***	
DBN	N style				***p = 0.011***				
	R style				p = 0.074				
	RP style				***p = 0.049***				
	WL style	***p = 0.011***	p = 0.074	***p = 0.049***					
JHB	N style			***p = 0.023***	p = 0.057			***p = 0.018***	
	R style			***p = 0.028***	p = 0.058			p = 0.058	
	RP style	***p = 0.023***	***p = 0.028***			***p = 0.018***	p = 0.058		
	WL style	p = 0.057	p = 0.058						

Table 5.7: Style shifting for the DRESS vowel in the male subsample

CPT		**F_1**				**F_2**			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style				***p = 0.000***				
	R style				***p = 0.000***				
	RP style				***p = 0.020***				
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.020***					
DBN	N style		***p = 0.048***						***p = 0.001***
	R style	***p = 0.048***			***p = 0.013***				***p = 0.045***
	RP style								***p = 0.001***
	WL style		***p = 0.013***			***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.045***	***p = 0.001***	
JHB	N style								***p = 0.009***
	R style								***p = 0.004***
	RP style								***p = 0.013***
	WL style					***p = 0.009***	***p = 0.004***	***p = 0.013***	

In the female subsample, the DRESS lexical set achieves significant variation along regional parameters; in danger of death style the DRESS vowel is backer in Cape Town than Durban ($p = 0.009$) and Johannesburg ($p = 0.012$), in interview style it is backer in Cape Town than Johannesburg ($p = 0.012$), in reading passage style the retracted quality in Cape Town approaches significance in comparison to Durban ($p = 0.085$) and Johannesburg ($p = 0.062$), and in word list style variation does not achieve significance. In the male subsample, Cape Town tends toward a lower vowel quality, while Durban tends toward a higher quality. Cape Town approaches a significantly higher F_1 value by comparison to Durban in danger of death style ($p = 0.088$) and reading passage style ($p = 0.055$), while it approaches significance in word list style by comparison to both Durban ($p = 0.065$) and Johannesburg ($p = 0.089$). In interview style, the DRESS vowel is higher in Durban than Cape Town ($p = 0.002$) and Johannesburg ($p = 0.019$).

TRAP

By way of introduction, Table 5.8 below tabulates the mean F_1 and F_2 values in Hertz for the TRAP vowel overall. Note that Cape Town typically achieves more lowered articulations (higher F_1) than either Durban or Johannesburg.

Table 5.8: Average F_1 and F_2 values for the TRAP vowel overall

	CPT		DBN		JHB	
	F_1	**F_2**	**F_1**	**F_2**	**F_1**	**F_2**
N	781	1703	774	1733	773	1709
R	786	1713	764	1697	760	1705
RP	762	1716	750	1747	762	1752
WL	844	1717	842	1790	824	1777

Lass (1990a:276) renders the IPA transcription for the TRAP vowel as [a̟], however, a transcription in the 'vicinity' of [æ] may be more accurate at present. Once again, the TRAP vowel presents with more stable behaviour than the KIN allophone – and even slightly more so than the DRESS vowel – it has the lowest articulations in the more careful styles while the more casual styles do not typically show much style shifting. These trends should be immediately apparent from Figure 5.4 which plots the average values per speech style across the sample, separated by gender.

Overall, the TRAP vowel seems to be involved in a change which favours its lowering and backing – and which achieves the furthest progress in this regard in the most careful speech, as indicated by the oval in Figure 5.4 below. In this sense, its behaviour is similar to that of the KIT and DRESS vowels. This again corresponds to Chevalier's (2015) findings. That is, and similar to the DRESS vowel, the TRAP vowel achieves the highest F1 values in word list style, with the male subsample in Johannesburg being the only exception: word list style is significantly lowered by comparison to the other speech styles ($p =$

0.000) in all environments, except for the Johannesburg male subsample, where word list style has nearly the same F_1 value as danger of death style – though it is significantly fronter (p = 0.047).

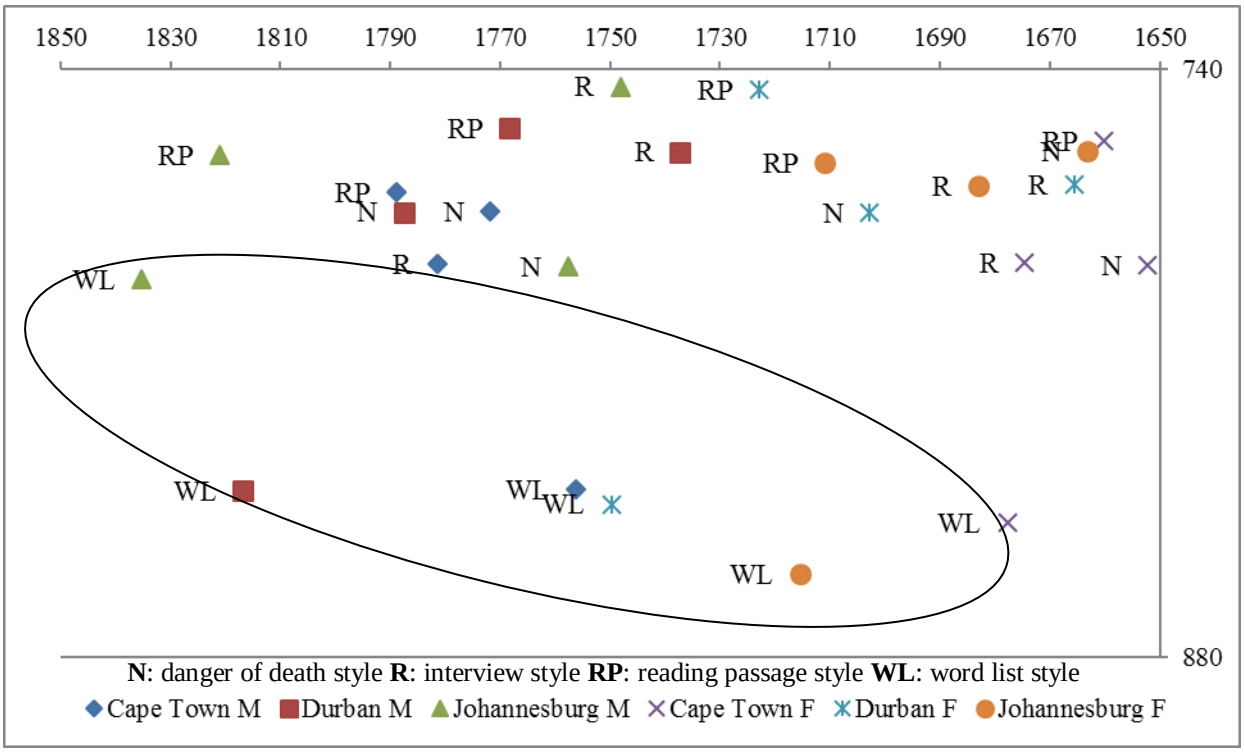


Figure 5.4: The TRAP vowel across the sample

The trend that emerges for the TRAP vowel, namely that the more careful styles achieve higher F_1 values by comparison to other speech styles, achieves significance, is illustrated below in Table 5.9 for females and in Table 5.10 for males.

Table 5.9: Style shifting for the TRAP vowel in the female subsample

CPT		F_1				F_2			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style			***p = 0.009***	***p = 0.000***		p = 0.094		
	R style			***p = 0.024***	***p = 0.000***	p = 0.094			
	RP style	***p = 0.009***	***p = 0.024***		***p = 0.000***				
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***					
DBN	N style			***p = 0.015***	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.015***		***p = 0.010***
	R style				***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.015***		***p = 0.026***	***p = 0.000***
	RP style	***p = 0.015***			***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.026***		
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.010***	***p = 0.000***		
JHB	N style				***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.014***	***p = 0.003***
	R style				***p = 0.000***				
	RP style				***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.014***			
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.003***			

Table 5.10: Style shifting for the TRAP vowel in the male subsample

CPT		F_1				F_2			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style				***p = 0.000***				
	R style				***p = 0.000***				
	RP style				***p = 0.000***				
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***					
DBN	N style				***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.010***	p = 0.060	
	R style				***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.010***			***p = 0.000***
	RP style				***p = 0.000***	p = 0.060			***p = 0.060***
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.060***	
JHB	N style		***p = 0.006***	***p = 0.048***					***p = 0.047***
	R style	***p = 0.006***			***p = 0.002***				***p = 0.049***
	RP style	***p = 0.048***			***p = 0.019***				
	WL style		***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.019***		***p = 0.047***	***p = 0.049***		

Word list style is clearly the speech style which favours lowering the most and often achieves a very high level of significance (p = 0.000). As already noted, the single exception is the Johannesburg male subsample, where danger of death style does not vary significantly from word list style – though interview and reading passage styles still do. Fronting co-occurs with lowering in word list style, except in Cape Town, where fronting only approaches significance with regard to interview style (R = 0.094) for females, while there is no significant difference in terms of F_2 for males.

Moreover, in SAE the TRAP vowel is under the influence of what Lass (1990a:276) calls *Lengthening II*, i.e., it is lengthened preceding voiced stops and nasals, excluding /ŋ/. This leads to a length distinction in the nuclei of such lexical items as *hat* /hæt/ and *had* /hæːd/ – and I use *hat* and *had*, respectively, as a shorthand for these two environments. In the female subsample, the distinction is maintained; moreover, the duration of the TRAP vowel does not vary significantly by region, though it does predictably tend to be longer in more careful speech. In the male subsample, there is some interesting variation in the duration of this vowel, though. Durban achieves the longest duration for both the *hat* and *had* environments, while Johannesburg achieves the shortest duration. Duration in seconds, by city, as obtained in word list style for the *hat* and *had* environments are provided in Table 5.11 below; while relevant p-values are provided in Table 5.12.

Table 5.11: Duration of the TRAP vowel in the male subsample

	hat	***had***
JHB	0.13175 s	0.22566 s
CPT	0.16851 s	0.29128 s
DBN	0.18413 s	0.36144 s

Overall, it is clear that there is variation in the male subsample in terms of the duration of the TRAP vowel. Possibly, the longer duration of both coastal cities by comparison to Johannesburg may be

partially involved in the 'surfer sound' which makes speakers from the coastal cities sound more laid-back than those from Johannesburg. Note that this feature is significant in the male subsample and, as noted in the introduction to the 'surfer sound' at the beginning of this chapter, that males most frequently expressed some sort of awareness of this sound.

Table 5.12: Significance of differences in the duration of the TRAP vowel in the male subsample

	hat			***had***		
	CPT	DBN	JHB	CPT	DBN	JHB
CPT			***p = 0.002***		p = 0.059	***p = 0.002***
DBN			***p = 0.007***	p = 0.059		***p = 0.000***
JHB	***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.007***		***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.000***	

Moreover, speakers from Durban, especially in the male subsample and less frequently in the female subsample, often violated the phonological constraint which conditions Lengthening II. For example, they would typically pronounce *ham* as [hæm] and often – though not categorically – altered or 'corrected' this pronunciation to [hæːm] in word list style. This corresponds to Bailey's (1984:11) observation that the *hat-had* distinction does not apply categorically in SAE – and that words such as *ham* specifically are 'most often short'. In this regard it is worth noting that Bailey was writing from the (then) University of Durban Westville and, although he intended his comments to apply to SAE in general, it would seem that the phenomenon was likely confined to the English of Durban (or Natal more generally). Indeed, the speech of *no* participants outside Durban exhibits this phenomenon. Since no procedures were employed in the study to investigate this phenomenon directly, it remains unclear whether the duration of the TRAP vowel corresponds to Bailey's (1984) account or whether it has possibly progressed further as a current change. However, it is clear that the non-observance of Lengthening II is confined to the Durban subsample.

LOT

The LOT vowel does not vary significantly from one region to the next; its quality corresponds to earlier descriptions for this vowel in General SAE (e.g. Lass, 1990a:277). That is, it is a low back vowel [ɒ̟]. Interestingly, it is not necessarily the lowest, backest vowel: as already noted, the TRAP vowel consistently achieves the highest F1 value in word list style; also see the discussion of the BATH vowel under section 5.1.2. I have not considered F_3 in my analysis, so I cannot definitively comment on the level of rounding involved in the pronunciation of the LOT vowel, but my impression is that it is certainly rounded, which again aligns with earlier accounts.

Some style shifting is observable, in all three cities, in both the male and the female subsamples. word list style is typically most dissimilar to other styles – reading passage style is also involved in some cases. However, it is my impression that this difference results from a tendency to emphasise phonetic contrast in more careful styles, which results in a greater dispersion of phonetic realisations throughout

the vowel space, which may imply that the difference does not result from style shifting proper – which again aligns to Lass's (1990a:277) description. This aspect of the data receives some consideration in section 5.2 below. Variation intra-regionally, between genders is negligible.

STRUT

Lass (1990a:277) remarks that [ɐ] is likely the most appropriate transcription for the STRUT vowel in SAE, and it seems that this remains largely true. Mean values for the STRUT vowel across the sample (both genders combined) are provided in Table 5.13 below. Note that Cape Town tends toward more backed articulations than the other two cities overall – especially in reading passage and word list styles.

Table 5.13: Average F_1 and F_2 values for the STRUT vowel overall

	CPT		DBN		JHB	
	F_1	F_2	F_1	F_2	F_1	F_2
N	762	1535	751	1554	722	1534
R	749	1514	759	1533	731	1548
RP	737	1486	742	1530	737	1559
WL	796	1461	806	1524	789	1508

Splitting the sample by gender, the higher degree of backing in the Cape Town subsample by comparison to the other two cities remains intact throughout. This result was anticipated by Chevalier (2015), though her data did not support such a conclusion. In all likelihood, the inclusion of the two other cities makes the trend more apparent – Chevalier's (2015) sample comprises only data elicited from Capetonian speakers. However, I should point out (and similar to the vowels considered thus far) that the trend is most significant in the male subsample. That is, it may be that the females have yet to 'catch up' with their male counterparts – males do tend to lead in terms of phase 5 regionalisation, as apparent from the present sample.[39]

Average values for the male subsample, by style, are plotted in Figure 5.5 below. In the male subsample, Cape Town and Durban mostly cluster together, as indicated by the oval in Figure 5.5. In fact, Cape Town and Durban never achieve significant STRUT vowel variation by comparison to each other in male speech except in terms of F_2 in word list style – see Table 5.14. Word list style achieves the most retraction in Cape Town, as indicated by the blue arrow, and the lowest articulatory point in Durban, as indicated by the red arrow in Figure 5.5. Johannesburg tends toward higher, fronter articulations by comparison to both other cities, as indicated by the green arrow.

Figure 5.5 demonstrates that all three cities in the male subsample favour retraction as the cline runs toward careful speech. These backed articulations in Cape Town and Durban (at least by comparison to Johannesburg) are interesting in the present sample: a secondary aim of Chevalier's (2015) research

[39] There is an additional issue which may be at play here, by way of the possible co-involvement with the TRAP vowel, which I consider under section 5.4.2 below.

was to identify this same trend; and her data did bear out that conclusion. Table 5.14 provides relevant p-values for regional differences that achieve significance in the male subsample – especially note values for F_2.

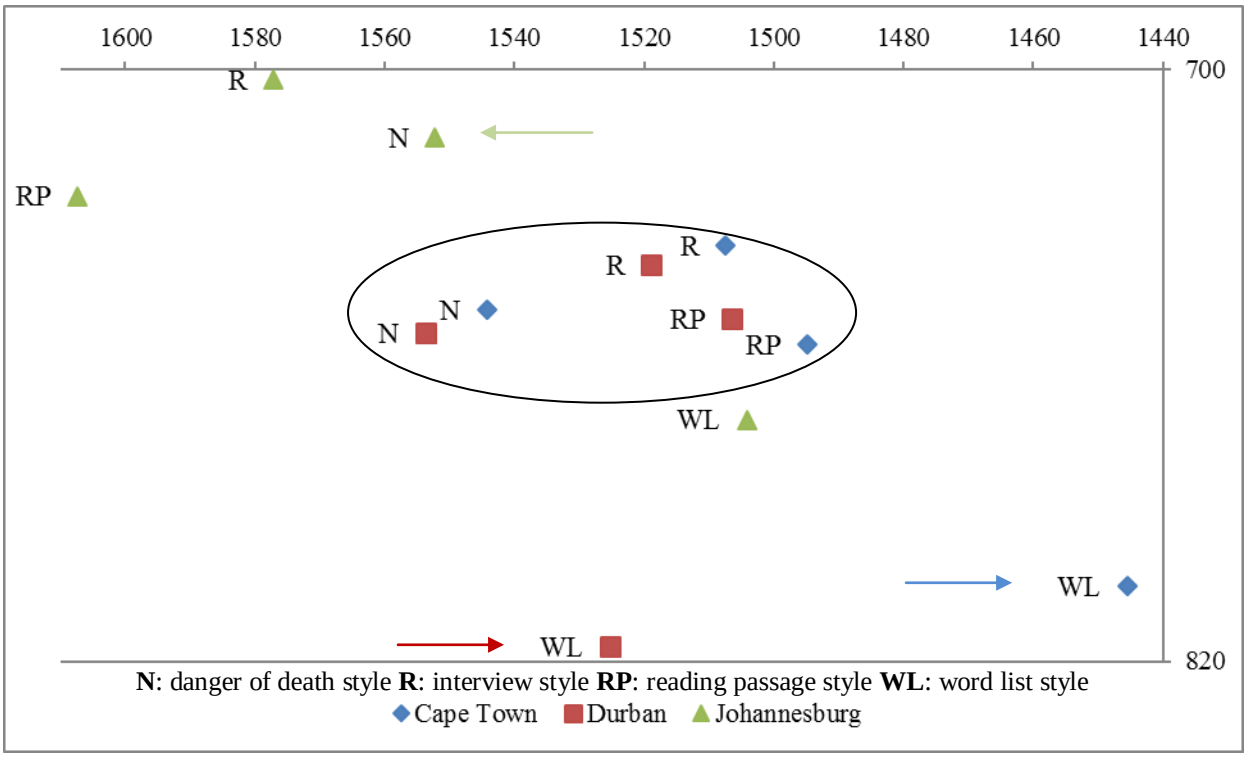


Figure 5.5: The STRUT vowel in the male subsample

Table 5.14: Regional variation in the STRUT vowel in the male subsample

N style		**F_1**			**F_2**		
		CPT	DBN	JHB	CPT	DBN	JHB
	CPT			***p = 0.004***			
	DBN			***p = 0.002***			
	JHB	***p = 0.004***	***p = 0.002***				
R style	CPT			***p = 0.014***			***p = 0.003***
	DBN			***p = 0.016***			***p = 0.019***
	JHB	***p = 0.014***	***p = 0.016***		***p = 0.003***	***p = 0.019***	
RP style	CPT						***p = 0.041***
	DBN						p = 0.074
	JHB				***p = 0.041***	p = 0.074	
WL style	CPT			p = 0.071		***p = 0.038***	
	DBN			***p = 0.005***	***p = 0.038***		
	JHB	p = 0.071	***p = 0.005***				

As alluded to previously, the regional trend for Cape Town to have the most backed qualities for the STRUT vowel seldom achieves significance in the female subsample. Values for the female subsample, by style, are plotted in Figure 5.6 below. As is the case for the previous figures, Figure 5.6 is a cross-section of the vowel space, therefore differences may seem exaggerated. Note that the largest difference in terms of F_2 (between reading passage style in Durban and word list style in Cape Town) is barely more than 80 Hz and therefore would most likely not constitute a perceptually significant opposition. I suggest that the trend for females from Cape Town to have the most backed realisations may be indicative, though not significant as yet, that females are beginning to participate in the same change-in progress as males.

In the female subsample, Cape Town achieves the most retracted realisations for the STRUT vowel, while those of Durban are most fronted, and Johannesburg occupies the intermediate position. In danger of death style, Cape Town is significantly lower than in Durban ($p = 0.006$) and Johannesburg ($p = 0.003$), while the articulation in Durban is significantly fronter than in either Cape Town ($p = 0.017$) or Johannesburg ($p = 0.006$). In interview style, the comparatively higher articulation of Johannesburg approaches significance with regard to Cape Town ($p = 0.052$), while no other inter-regional differences achieve significance in the female subsample.

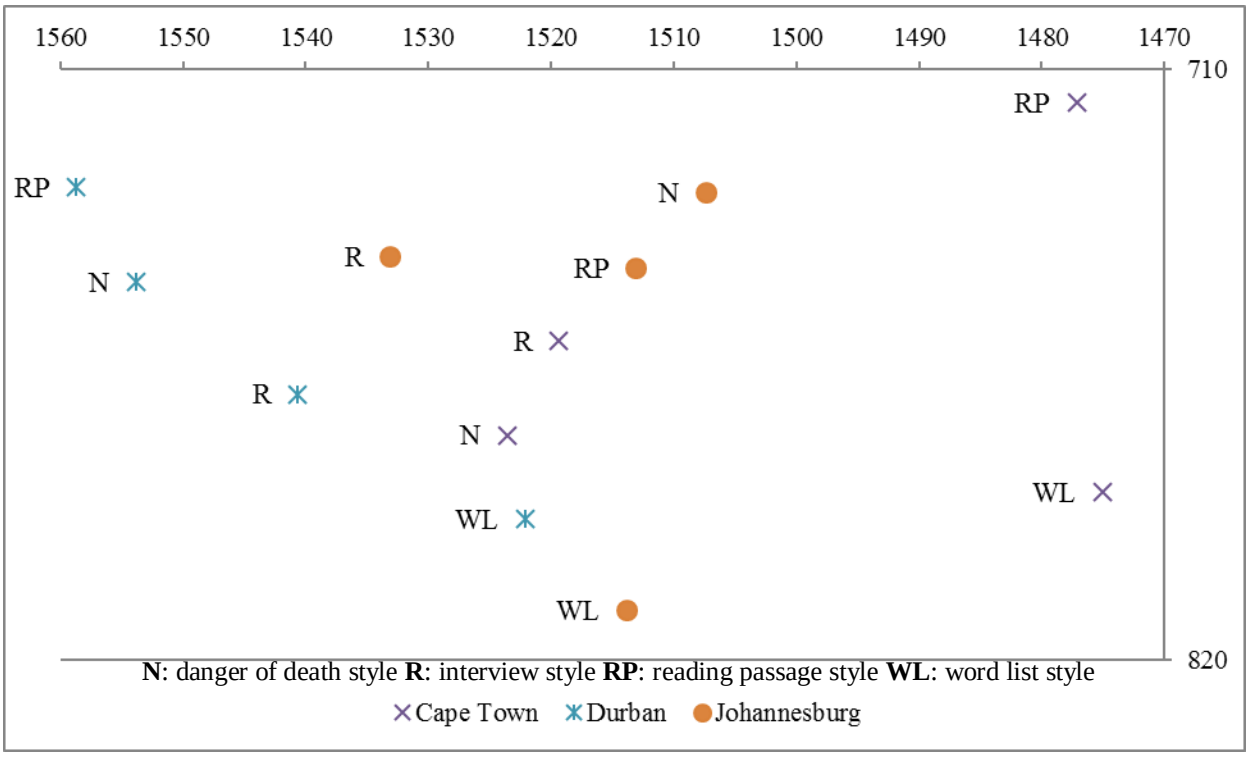


Figure 5.6: The STRUT vowel in the female subsample

Style shifting across sample typically achieves significance in terms of F_1, with word list style significantly lower than the other styles. Reading passage style is also frequently involved in the female subsample. In terms of F_2, word list style is exclusively involved. Differences in style shifting which achieve significance are provided for females in Table 5.15 and for males in Table 5.16.

Table 5.15: Style shifting for the STRUT vowel in the female subsample

CPT		F_1				F_2			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style			***p = 0.003***					***p = 0.017***
	R style			***p = 0.032***	***p = 0.066***				***p = 0.030***
	RP style	***p = 0.003***	***p = 0.032***		***p = 0.001***				
	WL style		***p = 0.066***	***p = 0.001***		***p = 0.017***	***p = 0.030***		
DBN	N style				***p = 0.015***				
	R style			***p = 0.044***					
	RP style		***p = 0.044***		***p = 0.010***				
	WL style	***p = 0.015***		***p = 0.010***					
JHB	N style				***p = 0.000***				
	R style				***p = 0.000***				
	RP style				***p = 0.003***				
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.003***					

Table 5.16: Style shifting for the STRUT vowel in the male subsample

CPT		F_1				F_2			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style				***p = 0.000***				***p = 0.006***
	R style				***p = 0.000***				p = 0.085
	RP style				***p = 0.005***				
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.005***		***p = 0.006***	p = 0.085		
DBN	N style				***p = 0.000***				
	R style				***p = 0.000***				
	RP style				***p = 0.001***				
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.001***					
JHB	N style				***p = 0.001***				
	R style				***p = 0.000***				p = 0.067
	RP style				p = 0.087				
	WL style	***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.000***	p = 0.087			p = 0.067		

FOOT

Regional variation in the phonetic realisation of the FOOT vowel does not achieve significance; nor do intra-regional differences between genders. Style shifting does, sometimes, achieve significance, but once again word list style is typically the only speech style that varies significantly by comparison to other styles, by way of backing. The quality of this vowel corresponds to the /ö/ offered by Lass (1990a:277).

5.1.2 The long monophthongs

FLEECE

Figure 5.7 plots the average values per style for both the male and the female subsample. Note that the values achieved in the male subsample in Durban (indicated by red arrows) tend toward more fronting

than those from either Cape Town or Johannesburg (in the ovals) across styles. Table 5.17 below details the average F_1 and F_2 values, by style, achieved in the sample overall.

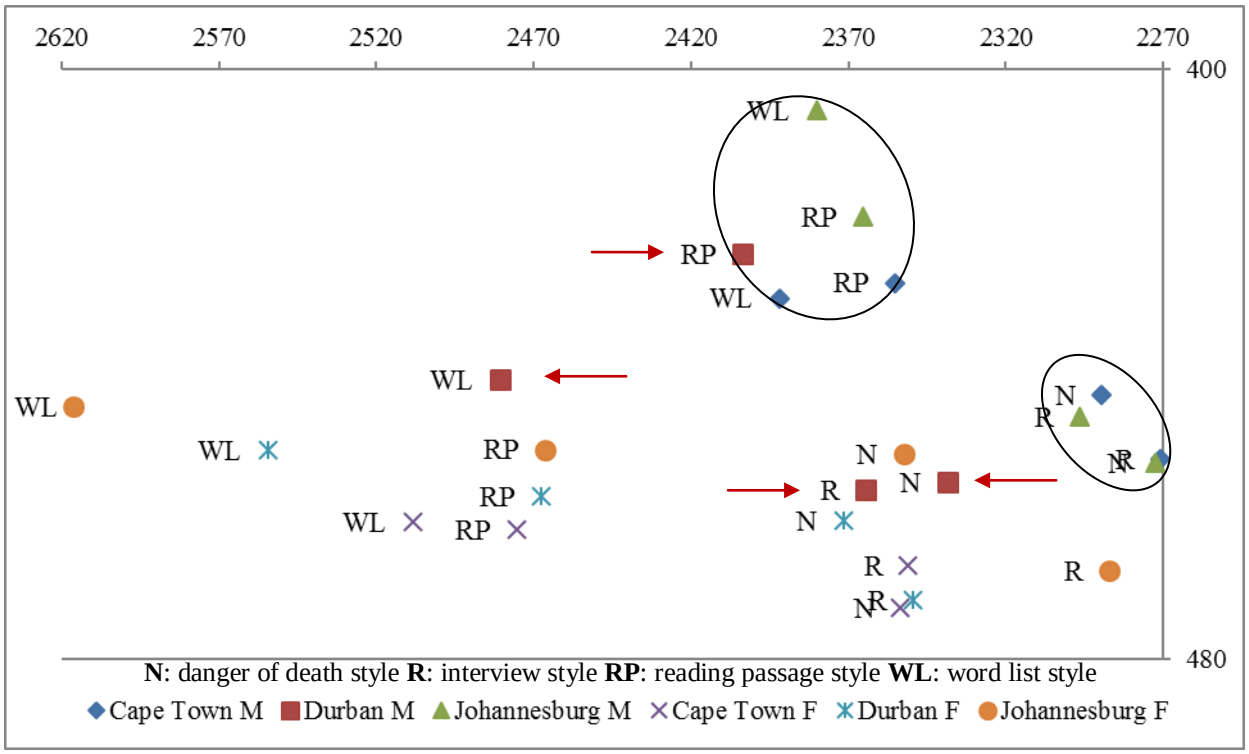


Figure 5.7: The FLEECE vowel across the sample

Table 5.17: Average F_1 and F_2 values for the FLEECE vowel overall

	CPT		DBN		JHB	
	F_1	**F_2**	**F_1**	**F_2**	**F_1**	**F_2**
N	460	2325	460	2361	453	2311
R	462	2319	466	2356	462	2290
RP	447	2418	441	2436	436	2418
WL	442	2433	447	2518	429	2517

There does not seem to be a significant pattern in terms or regional variation for the FLEECE vowel in the female subsample, though in danger of death style, Cape Town is significantly lower than either Durban or Johannesburg ($p = 0.000$) and the comparatively lower quality of Durban approaches significance by comparison to Johannesburg ($p = 0.070$). As such, some significant variation in the sample appears levelled in Table 5.17 through the inclusion of data from the female subsample.

Once again, the male subsample presents with a stronger case for a pattern of regional differentiation, which particularly sees involvement from F_2. Moreover, Durban seems to be the city 'responsible' for this difference, because the other two tend not to differ significantly from each other, while Durban is significantly fronted by comparison. Wherever the trend for fronter articulations in the

Durban male subsample, illustrated in Figure 5.6, attains significance the relevant p-values are supplied in Table 5.18 below.

Table 5.18: Regional variation in the FLEECE vowel in the male subsample

N style		F_1			F_2		
		CPT	DBN	JHB	CPT	DBN	JHB
	CPT		***p = 0.049***			***p = 0.003***	
	DBN	***p = 0.049***			***p = 0.003***		***p = 0.001***
	JHB					***p = 0.001***	
R style	CPT					***p = 0.000***	
	DBN				***p = 0.000***		p = 0.058
	JHB					p = 0.058	
RP style	CPT					***p = 0.045***	
	DBN				***p = 0.045***		
	JHB						
WL style	CPT					***p = 0.038***	
	DBN			***p = 0.008***	***p = 0.038***		***p = 0.018***
	JHB		***p = 0.008***			***p = 0.018***	

Interestingly, the tendency of the Durban males to front the FLEECE vowel, in combination with the behaviour of the KIT vowel as outlined above, produces a greater phonetic contrast between the FLEECE and KIT vowels in Durban as compared to the other two cities – and I take up this point again in section 5.4.2.

Style shifting achieves the same pattern in both the male and the female subsamples. Articulations become increasingly higher and/or fronter as the cline runs from casual to careful speech. Moreover, it emerges that the three cities do not differ significantly with regard to one another in terms of style shifting, with all three shifting substantially from one style to the next. Both F_1 and F_2 are typically involved in style shifting. Table 5.19 below provides the p-values for females in this regard while Table 5.20 provides the same information for males.

Table 5.19: Style shifting for the FLEECE vowel in the female subsample

CPT		F_1				F_2			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style		p = 0.089	***p = 0.013***				***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.006***
	R style	p = 0.089						***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.006***
	RP style	***p = 0.013***				***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***		
	WL style					***p = 0.006***	***p = 0.006***		

Table 5.19: Style shifting for the FLEECE vowel in the female subsample (continued)

DBN	N style		***p = 0.036***					***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.000***
	R style	***p = 0.036***		***p = 0.044***	***p = 0.038***			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***
	RP style		***p = 0.044***			***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.000***		p = 0.052
	WL style		***p = 0.038***			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	p = 0.052	
JHB	N style		***p = 0.016***				***p = 0.020***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***
	R style	***p = 0.016***		***p = 0.022***	***p = 0.030***	***p = 0.020***		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***
	RP style		***p = 0.022***			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.004***
	WL style		***p = 0.030***			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.004***	

Table 5.20: Style shifting for the FLEECE vowel in the male subsample

CPT		**F_1**				**F_2**			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style			***p = 0.035***	p = 0.099			***p = 0.004***	***p =0.002***
	R style			***p = 0.011***	***p = 0.029***			***p = 0.002***	***p =0.001***
	RP style	***p = 0.035***	***p = 0.011***			***p = 0.004***	***p = 0.002***		
	WL style	p = 0.099	***p = 0.029***			***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.001***		
DBN	N style			***p = 0.000***	p = 0.072			***p = 0.001***	p = 0.066
	R style			***p = 0.000***	p = 0.064			p = 0.078	
	RP style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.001***	p = 0.078		
	WL style	p = 0.072	p = 0.064			p = 0.066			
JHB	N style			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.043***
	R style			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***			p = 0.064	
	RP style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.001***	p = 0.064		
	WL style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.043***			

SQUARE

The SQUARE vowel does not present with much regional variation; regionality is negligible in the female subsample; but it does achieve some significance in the male subsample. In reading passage style, Cape Town males have a significantly lower articulation than those from either Durban (p = 0.014) or Johannesburg (p = 0.032), while the SQUARE vowel is also significantly more retracted in Cape Town than Durban (p = 0.009) and approaches significance by comparison to Johannesburg (p = 0.064). In word list style, the trend for Capetonian males to have the lowest quality for the SQUARE vowel is continued, though it only achieves significance with regard to Durban (p = 0.003).

Overall, the SQUARE vowel corresponds closely in both its behaviour (in terms of style shifting) and quality to the DRESS vowel, as described above, which corresponds to Lass's (1990a:277) description of this vowel in SAE, with the exception that it, too, has lowered to a quality in the 'vicinity' of [ɛ̝ː].

NURSE

In line with Wileman's (2011:75-81) findings, the NURSE vowel does not vary regionally. It is a rounded, centralised vowel in the vicinity of [ɵː]; it tends to be close in quality to the PIN vowel, though it is typically lower and more retracted by comparison. It therefore seems to correspond diachronically to the quality provided by Lass (1990a:278). There is a trend toward lowering and/or fronting in the more careful speech styles, but style shifting seldom achieves significance.

Some participants realised the NURSE vowel with rhoticity, viz. /ɜ˞/, in addition to other possibly rhotic environments (such as the SQUARE, NEAR, NORTH/FORCE lexical sets, etc.); however, these tokens occur very seldom in the sample, at a frequency well below 1%. Du Plessis and Bekker (2014; originally presented in Du Plessis, 2012; considered in Bekker, 2012b:146) have determined that there is a rise of rhoticity in White General SAE, particularly in the context of the NURSE vowel. Rhotacised tokens in that sample amounted to some 9.3% of all possibly-rhotic environments (Du Plessis & Bekker, 2014:30).

This discrepancy therefore requires some explanation, which I propose is simply the following. There is a slight class difference between the participants who contributed to the present sample and those who contributed to the sample of Du Plessis and Bekker (2014), in that the former were drawn from the upper-middle class, while the latter were drawn from the lower-middle to middle class – and were upwardly mobile. In line with the standard Labovian distribution, the group in Du Plessis and Bekker (2014) would therefore be more sensitive to incoming prestige variants – and speakers who contributed to the present sample may be expected to be, in a sense, 'immune' to overt prestige since they belong to that segment of society which is its source. Moreover, all participants in Du Plessis and Bekker (2014) were town-dwellers, while present participants are necessarily all urban.

GOOSE

The GOOSE vowel does not pattern significantly in terms of style shifting or gender, nor in terms of regional variation; qualitatively it is [ʉː ~ ʊ̟ː], as described by Lass (1990a:278). Note that this is a comparatively 'conservative' quality for this vowel, and never the fronted [yː ~ ÿː] which has become one of the canonical features of Sandton/Kugel English. I return to this matter in section 5.4.

THOUGHT

Note that I include the NORTH and FORCE lexical sets under this heading, since these classes are merged in SAE under the First FORCE Merger (Wells, 1982:234-237) and resultantly these three vowels have the same quality (Lass, 1990a:278). For the male subsample, the quality of the THOUGHT vowel does not pattern significantly by region. There is a trend for females from Cape Town to have higher articulations for this vowel, which achieves significance in interview style with regard to Durban ($p = 0.020$), in reading passage style with regard to Durban ($p = 0.004$) and Johannesburg ($p = 0.000$), and again with regard to Johannesburg in word list style ($p = 0.034$). Style shifting is not significant in either the male or the female subsample. The quality therefore corresponds to Lass's (1990a:278) [oː] throughout.

BATH

The BATH vowel, under which I include the PALM and START vowels (following Lass, 1990a:278), does not vary significantly by region. There is a trend for Johannesburg males to have the highest articulations for this vowel and for Durban females to have the lowest articulations; all tokens are decidedly backed. This result agrees with recent work by Mesthrie et al. (2015). That is, backing of the BATH vowel was previously typical of vernacular usage (Lass, 1990a:278), but its evaluation has shifted and it is presently more favourable – being 'permissible' even in the speech of standard speakers and even in word list style (Mesthrie et al., 2015:26). However, the gender difference in the realisation of this vowel does not emerge from the present results as from Mesthrie et al.'s (2015). Higher articulations are more frequent in casual speech styles, while the more careful speech styles tend toward lower articulations, for both the male and the female subsamples.

Moreover, the BATH vowel is backer than the LOT vowel in both reading passage and word list styles; this is indicated in Figure 5.8 below, where the oval highlights these two speech styles. Whereas Lass (1990a:278) proposes [ɑː] for this vowel, presently it should more appropriately be transcribed as a more retracted vowel than that.

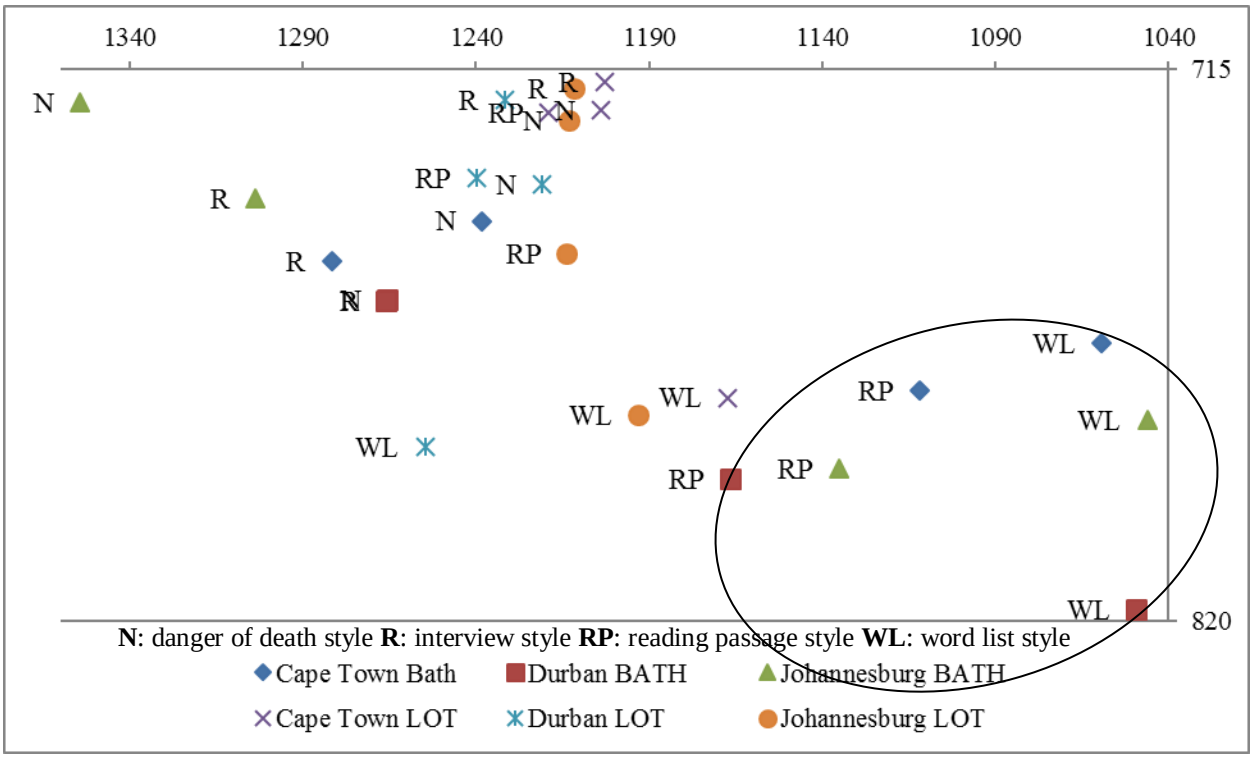


Figure 5.8: Comparison of the BATH and LOT vowels across the sample

5.1.3 The front-gliding diphthongs

FACE

The FACE vowel does not pattern significantly in terms of the degree of monophthongisation vs. diphthongisation; it remains a clear diphthong across the sample; though, as Lass (1990a:278f) observes,

some variants may 'give nearly the effect of monophthongal [eː]'. It is my impression that this effect is most pronounced in the female subsample and in Cape Town – speakers there and in Johannesburg tend toward 'narrow variants' (Lass, 1990a:278). This effect is achieved in the following way: the F_1 value for the glide does not typically vary across regions, however, the nuclei of Cape Town and Johannesburg tend to be higher by comparison to Durban, which leads to a narrower acoustic effect. Wherever this effect achieves significance, it is illustrated in Table 5.21 below.

Table 5.21: Significance of narrow articulations for the FACE vowel in the female subsample

N style	F_1 (nucleus/onset)			
		CPT	DBN	JHB
	CPT		***p = 0.000***	p = 0.079
	DBN	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.003***
	JHB	p = 0.079	***p = 0.003***	
R style	CPT		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.003***
	DBN	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.008***
	JHB	***p = 0.003***	***p = 0.008***	
RP style	CPT		***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.001***
	DBN	***p = 0.001***		
	JHB	***p = 0.001***		
WL style	CPT			***p = 0.005***
	DBN			***p = 0.027***
	JHB	***p = 0.005***	***p = 0.027***	

In line with Lass's (1990a:279) observations, the narrower variant [eˑẹ] is typical of female speech. Lass's (1990a:279) observation is again true of the males, viz. that they have opener diphthongs. Once again, the more careful speech styles achieve lower articulations; the Cape Town subsample tends toward the lowest articulations, with a nucleus at roughly cardinal [ɛ]. Overall, the FACE vowel does not present with much diachronic variation: it corresponds to Lass's (1990a:278) [eɪ].

PRICE

The PRICE vowel has been implicated in regional variation in SAE both historically and synchronically. Historically, it has varied by way of the Eastern Cape, East Rand, Natal, and Sandton[40] tending toward monophthongal articulations for this vowel; though a qualitative difference is also involved, with the first two preferring backed variants and the last two preferring fronted variants (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979).

[40] For context: refer to Figure 4.1 under chapter 4. The Eastern Cape lies around East London and Port Elizabeth (the latter being its capital); the East Rand lies along the east of the Witwatersrand (i.e., Johannesburg), while Sandton lies toward its north; Natal (the historical name, roughly equivalent to the present province of KwaZulu-Natal) extends some way north and south from Durban, and some way inland.

Synchronically, Wileman (2011) has identified a regional difference between Cape Town and Durban, with the latter preferring monophthongal variants while the former remains diphthongal.

Likewise, in the present sample, Durban is decidedly more monophthongal than either Cape Town or Johannesburg. The Euclidean distance between the nucleus and glide of the PRICE vowel is significantly shorter in Durban than in the other two cities, across the sample. Table 5.22 below illustrates the environments where this difference achieves significance across the sample; Table 5.23 provides the precise Euclidean distances, again across the sample.

Table 5.22: Difference in the degree of monophthongisation for the PRICE vowel across the sample

		Female subsample			**Male subsample**		
N style		**Euclidean distance**					
		CPT	DBN	JHB	CPT	DBN	JHB
	CPT		***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***
	DBN	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.000***
	JHB		***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	
R style	CPT		***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.023***	
	DBN	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.023***		***p = 0.004***
	JHB		***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.004***	
RP style	CPT		***p = 0.050***	p = 0.065		***p = 0.003***	
	DBN	***p = 0.050***		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.003***		***p = 0.000***
	JHB	p = 0.065	***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.000***	
WL style	CPT		p = 0.071			***p = 0.025***	
	DBN	p = 0.071		***p = 0.005***	***p = 0.025***		***p = 0.016***
	JHB		***p = 0.005***			***p = 0.016***	

Table 5.23: Euclidean distances between the nucleus and glide of the PRICE vowel across the sample

		Female subsample	**Male subsample**
N style	CPT	272	246
	DBN	176	174
	JHB	287	353
R style	CPT	311	253
	DBN	187	207
	JHB	257	280
RP style	CPT	294	262
	DBN	228	173
	JHB	356	315
WL style	CPT	341	541
	DBN	130	230
	JHB	481	517

A smaller Euclidean distance between the nucleus and glide implies a higher degree of monophthongisation. I draw particular attention to the fact that Durban *consistently* achieves the smallest Euclidean distance – hence, the highest degree of monophthongisation, which always achieves significance in the female subsample, except in word list style, where it only *approaches* significance with regard to Cape Town. In the male subsample, Durban achieves significantly monophthongal articulations by comparison to the other two areas throughout.

Wileman (2011) has concluded that the nucleus of the PRICE vowel does not vary significantly between Cape Town and Durban. Present results bear out this conclusion; it does not vary significantly between either of these two cities, or Johannesburg either, in the female subsample. However, in the male subsample, there is significant variation between Durban and Johannesburg – and often between Cape Town and Johannesburg, too – and in all speech styles except word list style. Johannesburg achieves this variation primarily through a fronter and higher nucleus, particularly in the more casual (danger of death and interview) styles. Its glide is also typically higher and fronter than those of the other two cities, which leads to stronger diphthongs, especially in the more careful (reading passage and word list) styles, where its nucleus tends to be backer and lower – hence, more similar to the other two cities, while its glide remains higher and fronter. These trends are illustrated in Figure 5.9; note that the Johannesburg subsample consistently achieves the highest and frontest glides (inside the oval). In Figure 5.9, uppercase abbreviations of speech styles indicate nuclei, while lowercase abbreviations indicate glides. Wherever the trends considered for the PRICE vowel thus far achieve significance, it is signalled in Table 5.24, which follows.

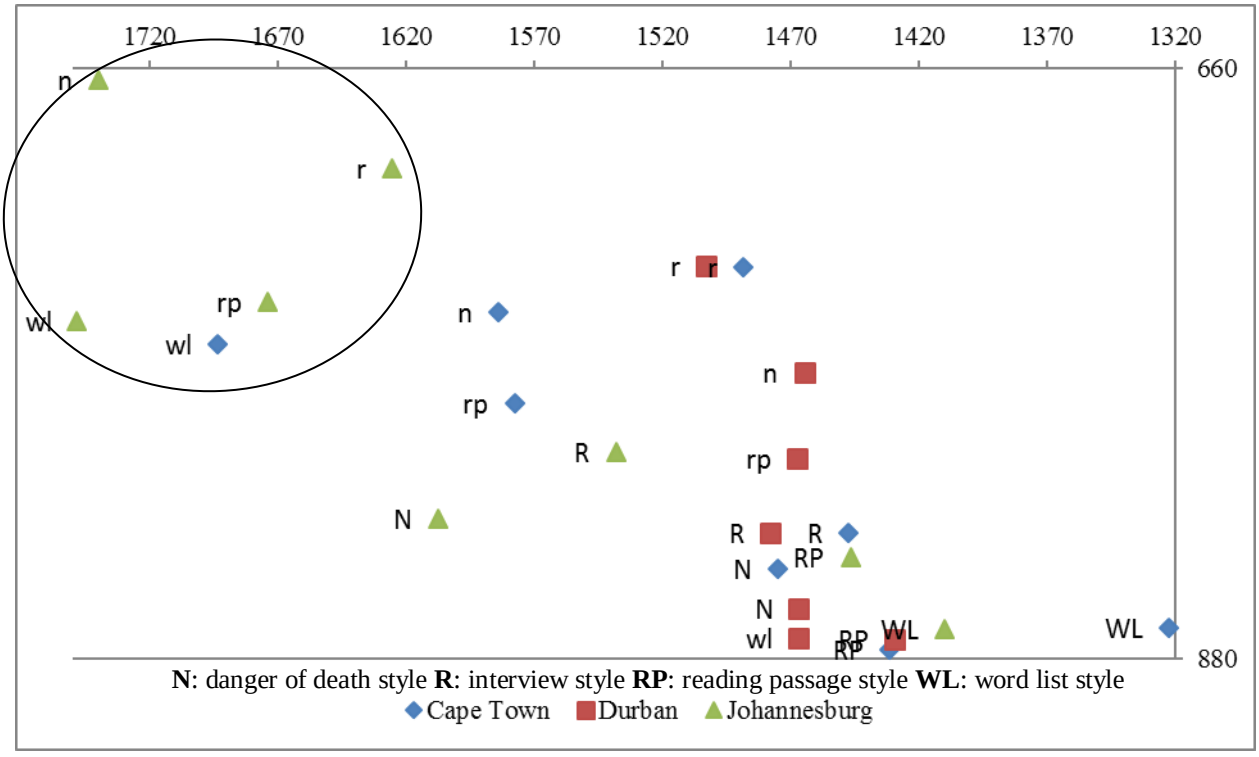


Figure 5.9: The PRICE vowel in the male subsample

Table 5.24: Regionality in terms of the nucleus of the PRICE vowel in the male subsample

N style		**F_1**			**F_2**		
		CPT	DBN	JHB	CPT	DBN	JHB
	CPT		p = 0.068				***p = 0.000***
	DBN	p = 0.068		***p = 0.007***			***p = 0.000***
	JHB		***p = 0.007***		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***	
R style	CPT			***p = 0.030***			***p = 0.000***
	DBN			***p = 0.026***			***p = 0.014***
	JHB	***p = 0.030***	***p = 0.026***		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.014***	
RP style	CPT						
	DBN			***p = 0.040***			
	JHB		***p = 0.040***				
WL style	CPT		p = 0.082				
	DBN	p = 0.082					
	JHB						

In the female subsample, style shifting is most apparent in the Johannesburg group, followed by Cape Town; while style shifting is minimal in Durban. Both Cape Town and Johannesburg have marginally more monophthongal articulations in casual speech, due to the nature of that speech style – whereas Durban remains comparatively monophthongal throughout. This is illustrated in Table 5.25 below.

Table 5.25: Style shifting for the PRICE vowel in the female subsample

Nucleus									
CPT		**F_1**				**F_2**			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style			***p = 0.028***	p = 0.077			***p = 0.039***	
	R style			***p = 0.010***	p = 0.056			***p = 0.004***	p = 0.070
	RP style	***p = 0.028***	***p = 0.010***			***p = 0.039***	***p = 0.004***		
	WL style	p = 0.077	p = 0.056				p = 0.070		
DBN	N style			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.021***				
	R style			***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.023***				
	RP style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.001***						
	WL style	***p = 0.021***	***p = 0.023***						
JHB	N style			***p = 0.008***					***p = 0.047***
	R style			***p = 0.000***	p = 0.082				***p = 0.004***
	RP style	***p = 0.008***	***p = 0.000***						
	WL style			p = 0.082		***p = 0.047***	***p = 0.004***		

Table 5.25: Style shifting for the PRICE vowel in the female subsample (continued)

Glide									
CPT		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style			***p = 0.007***					
	R style			***p = 0.001***					
	RP style	***p = 0.007***	***p = 0.001***						
	WL style								
DBN	N style			***p = 0.003***	***p = 0.034***				
	R style			***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.030***				
	RP style	***p = 0.003***	***p = 0.002***						
	WL style	***p = 0.034***	***p = 0.030***						
JHB	N style			***p = 0.010***				***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.042***
	R style			***p = 0.015***				***p = 0.000***	
	RP style	***p = 0.010***	***p = 0.015***			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.048***
	WL style					***p = 0.042***		***p = 0.048***	

Similarly, there is an appreciable amount of style shifting in the male subsample; with certain differences by comparison to the female subsample. In Cape Town, style shifting is minimal for males, with diphthongal articulations throughout. In Durban, style shifting is more pronounced; the preference for monophthongal articulations remains intact, but the nearest-to-diphthongal qualities are in word list style. Johannesburg evidences the most style shifting in the male subsample. As described above, this subsample achieves progressively more-diphthongal articulations as the cline runs toward careful speech, achieving 'hyper-diphthongs' in word list style. This implies a definite avoidance in Johannesburg of monophthongal articulations for the PRICE vowel. These trends are illustrated in Table 5.26 below.

Table 5.26: Style shifting for the PRICE vowel in the male subsample

Nucleus									
CPT		**F_1**				**F_2**			
		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style								
	R style			***p = 0.025***	***p = 0.046***				
	RP style		***p = 0.025***						
	WL style		***p = 0.046***						
DBN	N style		***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.023***				***p = 0.029***
	R style	***p = 0.002***		***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.002***			***p = 0.032***	***p = 0.021***
	RP style	***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.001***		p = 0.071		***p = 0.032***		p = 0.084
	WL style	***p = 0.023***	***p = 0.002***	p = 0.071		***p = 0.029***	***p = 0.021***	p = 0.084	
JHB	N style						***p = 0.011***	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.004***
	R style			***p = 0.019***	p = 0.077	***p = 0.011***		***p = 0.002***	***p = 0.030***
	RP style		***p = 0.019***			***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.002***		
	WL style		p = 0.077			***p = 0.004***	***p = 0.030***		

Table 5.26: Style shifting for the PRICE vowel in the male subsample (continued)

		Glide							
CPT		N style	R style	RP style	WL style	N style	R style	RP style	WL style
	N style			***p = 0.005***			***p = 0.001***		
	R style			***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.001***		***p = 0.026***	
	RP style	***p = 0.005***	***p = 0.000***				***p = 0.026***		
	WL style								
DBN	N style		***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.017***				
	R style	***p = 0.000***		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.004***				
	RP style		***p = 0.000***		p = 0.069				
	WL style	***p = 0.017***	***p = 0.004***	p = 0.069					
JHB	N style		p = 0.051	***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.001***		
	R style	p = 0.051		***p = 0.023***		***p = 0.001***			
	RP style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.023***						
	WL style								

Overall, data suggest that Durban shows a preference for monophthongal articulations of the PRICE vowel, while in both Cape Town and Johannesburg this vowel tends to be diphthongal. Johannesburg shows the greatest shift toward a diphtongal articulation as speech becomes more careful, which speaks to the deliberate avoidance of a monophthongised PRICE vowel in the Johannesburg subsample. This implies an avoidance of the monophthongal quality that typifies 'Kugel' speech – I take up this matter again in section 5.4 below.

CHOICE

The CHOICE vowel does not vary significantly by region, speech style, or gender. Lass's (1990a:279) transcription for this vowel as [ɔɪ] seems to remain accurate – although the nucleus may have raised to [o].

5.1.4 The centre-gliding diphthongs

Both the centre-gliding diphthongs, viz. the NEAR and CURE vowels, have a low incidence in speech in general for the simple reason that comparatively few lexical items contain these vowels. As a result, the sample unfortunately contains too few tokens of these vowels to treat them in the same manner as the other vowels.

However, the CURE vowel does merit some comment. In Durban, three participants pronounced CURE words in word list style with the quality [oː], that is, exactly the same quality as in THOUGHT, NORTH, and FORCE words (see Wells, 1982:234-237 on the Second FORCE Merger). I propose that this pronunciation corresponds to what these participants believe is 'most correct' in that speech style: due to the very careful nature of speech in this style, they were definitely aware of their pronunciations and could have 'corrected' their pronunciation if they felt it was somehow anomalous. Moreover, the word list was constructed in such a way that words which are under the possible influence of the Second FORCE

Merger immediately follow each other – the words in question are *pour*, *poor*, and *paw*. For these three speakers the three words are homophonous and they did, in fact, laugh at themselves when they realised they had pronounced three homophones – again, I stress that they were aware of their pronunciations and if they believed their pronunciations were incorrect, they would have altered them. By contrast, there were *no* instances *at all* in either Cape Town or Johannesburg of speakers using variants that evidence the Second FORCE Merger.

Since a standard t-test would obviously not be suitable for these CURE vowel data, I performed a binomial distribution test on the incidence of the Second FORCE Merger as present in the sample to determine the likelihood that its presence is some type of anomaly or statistical artefact.[41] In terms of binomial distribution, there were 35 trials, viz. 35 interviews with 35 speakers that could, conceivably, show evidence of the Second FORCE Merger. If we assign a 'success' to the presence of the Second FORCE Merger, that amounts to three successes.

When performing a binomial distribution test on these data, the likelihood that the presence of the Second FORCE Merger in Durban and not in the other two cities is a spurious result is 0.000%. Thus, there is marginal evidence that the Second FORCE Merger has progressed further in Durban than in Cape Town or Johannesburg. Unfortunately, it remains unclear at this time whether the Durban CURE vowel is participating in the Second FORCE Merger synchronically (as a *current*, phase 5 change-in-progress) or whether it simply progressed further in Durban than in the other two cities before it was arrested (Lass, 1990a). However, it remains an interesting regional variant.

5.1.5 The back-gliding diphthongs

GOAT

Across the sample, the GOAT vowel does not present with style shifting. In Durban there is no difference between genders, however, there is in both Cape Town and Johannesburg. Females in Cape Town and Johannesburg tend to realise this vowel with a higher nucleus than their male counterparts in all speech styles, except word list style in which the difference does not achieve significance. This is illustrated in Table 5.27 below. Thereafter, Table 5.28 below provides the average values, by speech style, for females (F) and males (M) in Cape Town and Johannesburg, respectively. Aside from the statistical significance detailed in Table 5.28, these differences often are so great that they would have a definite aural effect.

There is little evidence for a difference in the degree of monophthongisation vs. diphthongisation between regions; monophthongal realisations, as considered by Lass (1990a:280), are not represented in the present sample. However, the Johannesburg subsample has the most pronounced diphthongs, with the greatest Euclidean distance between the nucleus and the glide. Therefore, as with its other diphthongs, the Johannesburg subsample seems to favour what I am terming 'hyper-diphthongs', or glide-strengthening.

[41] I have outlined the rudiments of binomial distribution in section 4.2.3. Even though it is an entirely different procedure from those typically used in sociolinguistics (or the social sciences generally), it does provide insight into the likelihood that some result achieved in a small (statistically insignificant) data set is a statistical artefact, as opposed to a feature which may achieve significance in a representative, significant sample of the population.

Moreover, Cape Town has the most 'conservative' articulations (in reference to Lass, 1990a:280). The GOAT vowel in Cape Town achieves roughly [œö], which Lass (1990a:280) describes as a prestige-marker, whereas Durban and Johannesburg have articulations around [ɤ̈ö] – with the nucleus of Durban some 50Hz higher than that of Johannesburg – these backer articulations correspond more closely to Lass's (1990a:280) non-prestigious variant, which implies a reallocation of this variant from the function of social marker to that of regional marker, similar to the shift in social evaluation identified for the BATH vowel by Mesthrie et al. (2015).

Table 5.27: Gender differences for the GOAT vowel in the Cape Town and Johannesburg subsamples

	Gender difference (p-value)	
	Cape Town	**Johannesburg**
N style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.001***
R style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.047***
RP style	***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.001***
WL style	p = 0.866	p = 0.180

Table 5.28: Average F_1 values for the GOAT vowel in the Cape Town and Johannesburg subsamples

	Cape Town		**Johannesburg**	
	F	**M**	**F**	**M**
N	626	688	616	661
R	604	670	639	676
RP	618	679	640	673
WL	778	760	658	756

Table 5.29: Regionality in terms of the GOAT vowel nucleus in the female subsample

N style	**F_1**				**F_2**		
		CPT	DBN	JHB	CPT	DBN	JHB
	CPT		***p = 0.026***			***p = 0.026***	***p = 0.021***
	DBN	***p = 0.026***		***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.026***		
	JHB		***p = 0.001***		***p = 0.021***		
R style	CPT		***p = 0.007***	***p = 0.041***			
	DBN	***p = 0.007***					
	JHB	***p = 0.041***					
RP style	CPT		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.009***			
	DBN	***p = 0.000***		p = 0.060			
	JHB	***p = 0.009***	p = 0.060				
WL style	CPT						
	DBN						
	JHB						

Regional variation presents primarily, though not exclusively, in terms of the degree of raising vs. lowering of the nucleus. I therefore present significant regional differences in terms of F_1 and F_2 in the female subsample in Table 5.29 above; the same data for the male subsample follow below in Table 5.30. However, despite achieving significant variation by speech style, no real 'pattern' or 'trend' is immediately apparent for these differences.

Table 5.30: Regionality in terms of the GOAT vowel nucleus in the male subsample

N style		F_1			F_2		
		CPT	DBN	JHB	CPT	DBN	JHB
	CPT		***p = 0.000***	***p = 0.035***		***p = 0.013***	***p = 0.013***
	DBN	***p = 0.000***			***p = 0.013***		
	JHB	***p = 0.035***			***p = 0.013***		
R style	CPT		***p = 0.037***				***p = 0.011***
	DBN	***p = 0.037***		***p = 0.010***			p = 0.057
	JHB		***p = 0.010***		***p = 0.011***	p = 0.057	
RP style	CPT		***p = 0.003***				
	DBN	***p = 0.003***		***p = 0.031***			
	JHB		***p = 0.031***				
WL style	CPT		p = 0.071			***p = 0.030***	
	DBN	p = 0.071			***p = 0.030***		
	JHB						

MOUTH

The MOUTH vowel does not achieve much regional variation. The nucleus of this vowel is around /a/ in all three cities. The offset for Durban results in a near-monophthong, Cape Town has a backer glide, while Johannesburg realises the glide nearly as far back as the BATH vowel. Johannesburg therefore continues its trend to favour 'hyper-diphthongs' by comparison to the other two sample sites. These trends are illustrated in Figure 5.10 below.

The trend which is apparent from Figure 5.10 is, as with many other vowels in the sample, most conspicuous (and significant) in the male subsample, p-values for which are provided in Table 5.31 below. It therefore seems that the MOUTH vowel, like the BATH and GOAT vowels, has undergone reallocation from a social marker to some other indexical function. That is, Lass (1990a:280) states that a front nucleus for this vowel was stigmatised at the time of writing; this no longer seems to be the case, though, as all three cities realise the nucleus at that position, even in the most formal styles. Moreover, Lass (1990a) specifically implicates the MOUTH and PRICE vowels in this stigmatised interpretation – nonetheless, both these vowels have advanced so far that they are near-homophonous in contemporary Durban English. This is illustrated in Table 5.32 below.

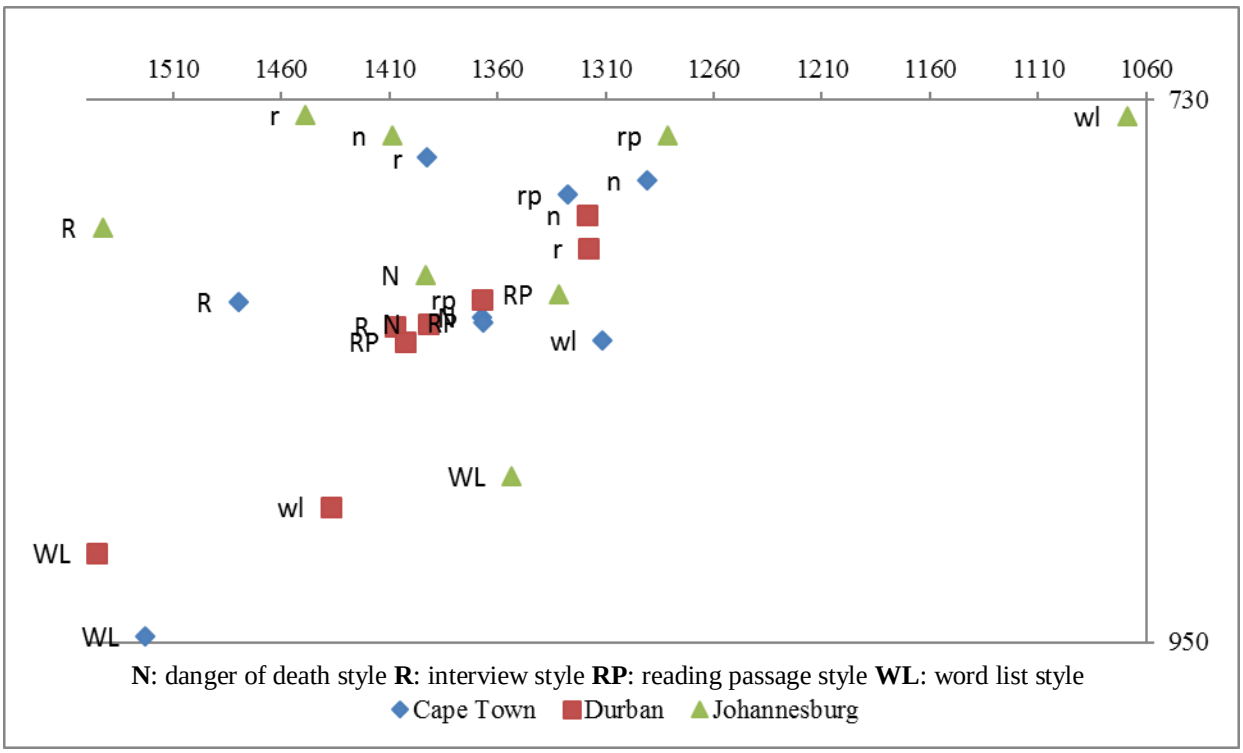


Figure 5.10: The MOUTH vowel across the sample

Table 5.31: Regionality in terms of the MOUTH vowel nucleus in the male subsample

N style		**F_1**			**F_2**		
		CPT	DBN	JHB	CPT	DBN	JHB
	CPT			p = 0.060		***p = 0.003***	
	DBN			***p = 0.020***	***p = 0.003***		
	JHB	p = 0.060	***p = 0.020***				
R style	CPT						
	DBN			***p = 0.005***			***p = 0.032***
	JHB		***p = 0.005***			***p = 0.032***	
RP style	CPT			***p = 0.001***			
	DBN			***p = 0.001***			
	JHB	***p = 0.001***	***p = 0.001***				
WL style	CPT			***p = 0.039***			
	DBN						
	JHB	***p = 0.039***					

Table 5.32 provides differences between the MOUTH and PRICE vowels in Durban in the male subsample: first for the nucleus and then for the glide. The leftmost column provides the relevant speech styles. Under F_1 and F_2, respectively, the differences are provided in Hertz, while the p-value is provided under the heading 'Significance'. Note that even where differences achieve statistical significance, it

would be improbable in most cases that the acoustic difference will be perceptually available to speakers: for example, the F_2 difference in the nuclei of the two vowels in interview (R) style is a mere 83 Hz.

Table 5.32: Acoustic differences between the MOUTH and PRICE vowels among Durban males

	Nucleus				Glide			
	F_1	**Significance**	**F_2**	**Significance**	**F_1**	**Significance**	**F_2**	**Significance**
N	35	***p = 0.002***	27	NO	20	NO	60	NO
R	17	NO	83	***p = 0.032***	50	***p = 0.003***	145	***p = 0.002***
RP	41	***p = 0.000***	72	***p = 0.02***	33	NO	61	NO
WL	8	NO	328	NO	55	NO	31	NO

5.1.6 Peripheral observations

I now offer some impressionistic observations. Since these impressions do not relate to vocalic variables and have not been subjected to direct scrutiny, I include them here solely for interest's sake.

An interesting non-vocalic variable which emerged in the course of data collection is the orthographic cluster *thr-*, or /θr/ phonologically. For speakers in both Cape Town and Johannesburg, this environment may often (though not categorically) condition a (partially) tapped /r/, e.g. [θɾiː] for the lexical item *three*, as opposed to [θɹiː]; while speakers from Durban categorically realise the item as [θɹiː]. The (partially) tapped variant was first identified in contemporary SAE by Du Plessis and Bekker (2014:34). I propose it only presents in Cape Town and Johannesburg because of Afrikaans influence – particularly, though not exclusively, because of the comparatively high number of Afrikaner IDG stream and Coloured IDG stream speakers in Cape Town and Johannesburg, by comparison to Durban. This also implies that these two IDG streams remain involved in the development of STL strand SAE, despite the widespread perception that the ties between the Afrikaner IDG stream and the STL strand have become strained or even severed.

Indeed, Lanham (1978:151) identifies the cluster /θr/ as one that may condition 'obstruent /r/' in SAE; Branford (1994:484) similarly observes that this variant may be realised in SAE – and that it has been present in (older forms of) Received Pronunciation (cf. Gimson, 1962:201). Hopwood (1970:29) has traced this feature back to input from Scottish, Irish, and Afrikaans English. Branford (1994:485) supports Hopwood's (1970) analysis and claims that the variant derives from 'convergent influences' – arising from Scottish and Irish input and 'reinforced by accommodation to Afrikaans' (and I would add: more dated varieties of Received Pronunciation). Thus, earlier literature and present results support Mufwene's (2001; §2.3) ecological approach to the life cycle of languages – and the effect of language ecology on SAE is apparent.

In Durban most speakers have a frequent – if variable – merger of the word-initial clusters /tr/ with /tʃ/ and /dr/ with /dʒ/, respectively; this results in lexical items such as *drama* being realised as something to the effect of [dʒaːmə]. This same feature never occurs in either Cape Town or Johannesburg. Wells (1982:565) observes that a similar, variable merger is present in Jamaican English, where *train* may then

become homophonous with *chain*. However, there are certain differences between the occurrence in Jamaica and that in Durban, particularly through the involvement of TH Stopping, whereby *thrill* may become homophonous with *chill* in Jamaica (Wells, 1982:565), while the two remain categorically distinct in Durban. It should be clear that this is of course not a transfer feature from Jamaican English – and it is not my intention to make that claim – but it does seem that there exists a certain phonological probability that this merger may occur (presumably due to ease of articulation) and that this probability has conditioned the merger both in Jamaican English and in the Durban STL stream.

Finally, as a speaker who has spent most of his life in and around the Gauteng Province, it is my impression (said with apology, and for lack of a better term) that many speakers in Durban speak with a mumble – the 'Durban mumble'. I believe this 'mumble' effect is largely due to a greater tendency in Durban than elsewhere in the country to assimilate successive speech sounds, which may render them less intelligible – or more difficult to 'decode' – to speakers unfamiliar with this feature. The merger of /tr/ with / ʧ/ and /dr/ with /ʤ/ does serve as an instructive example in this regard. Moreover, it is my impression that the 'Durban mumble' may index a particular expressive style, since it certainly is not realised overly frequently and very often in the present sample it accompanied a tone of sarcasm, condescension, or self-mocking.

5.2 The General SAE vowel system in perspective

In the previous section, we determined that General SAE does vary along regional parameters in terms of a traditional, vowel-by-vowel analysis. In this section, I attempt to provide an overall sketch of the regional vowel systems of contemporary General SAE. Figure 5.11 below illustrates the monophthongs of all three sample sites in word list style, which has emerged in section 5.1 as the speech style which sees most of the significant variation. Figure 5.12 follows immediately thereafter and plots the diphthongs of SAE in word list style – to the exclusion of the near and cure vowels, which I have indicated in section 5.1.4 were not prevalent enough in the sample for rigorous statistical inspection. In Figure 5.12, uppercase renderings of Wells's (1982) lexical sets denote the vowel nuclei, and lowercase renderings mark the glides.

Note the cline for the KIN allophone in Figure 5.11, of which the quality is most '/ɪ/-like' in Cape Town and most '/ə/-like' in Durban. The DRESS, SQUARE, and TRAP vowels are visibly lower in Cape Town than the other two sites. The FLEECE vowel shows some variation, primarily by way of its fronted realisations in Durban and Johannesburg by comparison to Cape Town. Finally, the BATH vowel is considerably toward the back of the vowel space. The fact that it appears to be fully backed in the speech of a sample of upper-middle class speakers in word list style provides very strong evidence that this variant has been reallocated to a new sociolinguistic function, as proposed by Mesthrie et al. (2015).

In Figure 5.12, note the tendency, as observed in the previous section, of Johannesburg English to realise the most pronounced diphthongs, which I term 'hyper-diphthongs'. The FACE vowel has the narrowest realisation in Cape Town, followed by Durban, and is most clearly a diphthong in

Johannesburg. As Lass (1990a:278f) has noted, the articulations of Cape Town and Durban may produce a perceptually-monophthongal effect; this is not the case in Johannesburg. The PRICE vowel varies most significantly in terms of the degree of monophthongisation: in Durban it is either a monophthong or a near-monophthong; in neither Cape Town nor Johannesburg does it reach similar levels of monophthongisation. The CHOICE vowel does not vary significantly in synchronic terms, but it has been raised and fronted since the time of Lass's (1990:279) writing. Finally, the GOAT vowel is never monophthongised in the present sample; however, Cape Town favours the traditional, front, prestige nucleus in the 'vicinity' of /œ̈/ as described by Lass (1990a:280); while both Durban and Johannesburg tend toward the formerly-stigmatised, backed /ɤ̈/.

These results are summarised in terms of the IPA in Table 5.33 below. These transcriptions are based on my own impressions in reference to Figures 5.11 and 5.12. Note that the centre-gliding diphthongs are assigned their older qualities, as described by Lass (1990a:279f), with the exception of the CURE vowel in Durban, where I have included the variable Second FORCE Merger.

Table 5.33: The vowels of General SAE across the sample sites

	CPT	DBN	JHB		CPT	DBN	JHB
Short monophthongs				**Long monophthongs**			
KIT	[ɪ ~ ə]	[ɪ̈ ~ ə]	[ɪ ~ ə]	**FLEECE**	[i̱ː]	[i]	
DRESS	[ɛ̝]	[ɛ̞]	[ɛ̞]	**SQUARE**	[ɛ̝ː]	[ɛ̞ː]	[ɛ̞ː]
TRAP		[æ]		**NURSE**		[ɵ̈ː]	
LOT		[ɒ̈]		**GOOSE**		[ʉː ~ ʉ̟ː]	
STRUT		[ɐ]		**THOUGHT**		[oː]	
FOOT		[ö]		**BATH**		[ɑː]	
Front-gliding diphthongs				**Centre-gliding diphthongs**			
FACE	[ɛ̝e]	[ɛ̝ɪ]	[ɛ̝ɪ̯]	**NEAR**		[ɪə]	
PRICE	[ɑ̟ɜ]	[aː]	[aë]	**CURE**	[öə]	[öə ~ oː]	[öə]
CHOICE		[öɪ]					
Back-gliding diphthongs							
GOAT	[œ̈ö]	[ɤ̟ö]	[ɤ̈ö]				
MOUTH	[aä]	[äɑ̟]	[ɑ̟ɑ]				

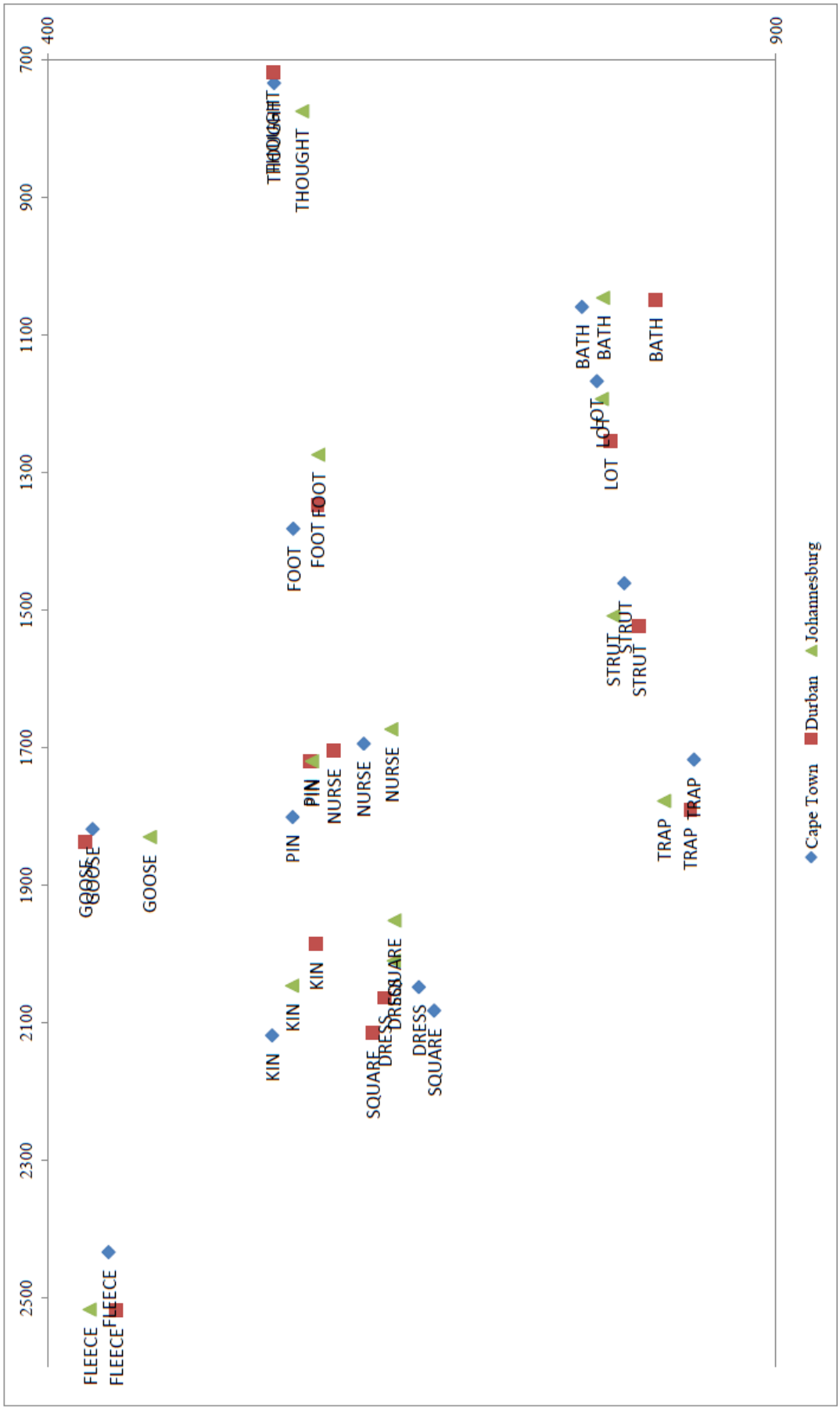


Figure 5.11: The monophthongs of General SAE in word list style

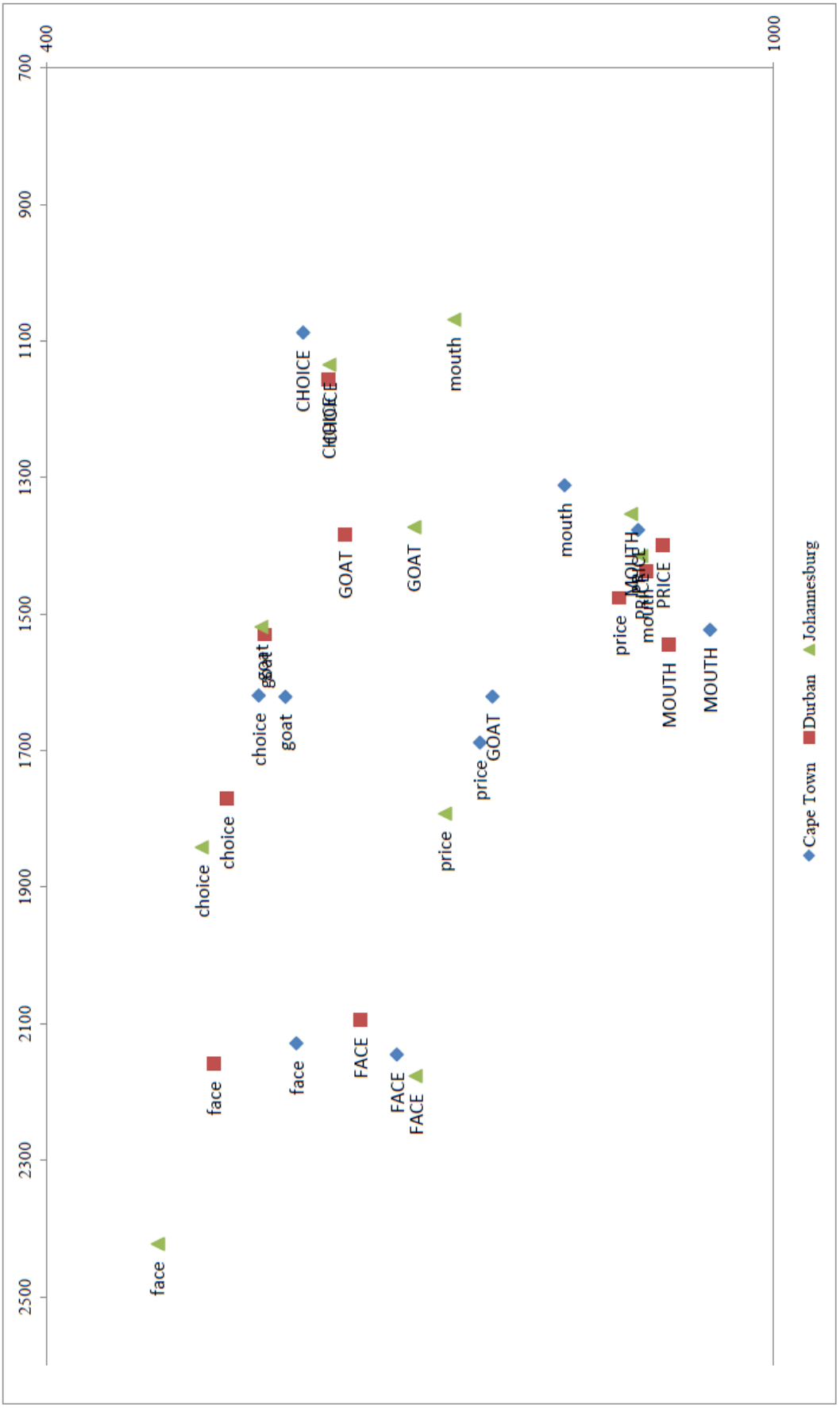


Figure 5.12: The diphthongs of General SAE in word list style

5.3 Regional variation as measured against dialectometry

In the vowel-by-vowel analysis of SAE offered in sections 5.1 and 5.2 above, various trends have been identified as manifest in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg – and those trends do seem to favour regionalisation. In a bid to objectively determine whether results *do* correspond to different dialects which significantly correspond to region – rather than some idiosyncratic features that are not sufficient unto themselves to separate out whole dialects – data are now subjected to dialectometric inspection.

Dialectometric inspection of the data reveals that the three sample sites do vary significantly from one another. Capetonian English is linguistically closer (more phylogenetically related) to Johannesburg English than to the dialect of Durban; however, Johannesburg and Durban English are linguistically closest (most phylogenetically related) to one another. This is illustrated in Figure 5.13 below, which is a probabilistic dendrogram, outputted by Gabmap (Nerbonne et al., 2011). This and the subsequent dendrograms show the results after data have been subjected to multidimensional scaling, which is a statistical technique to transform a higher-dimensional dataset to a lower-dimensional representation which can be visualised more easily (Szmrecsanyi, 2011:59). Statistical jargon aside, Figure 5.13 illustrates the clusters (or dialect groups) in the data set and shows the relative certainty of those clusters.

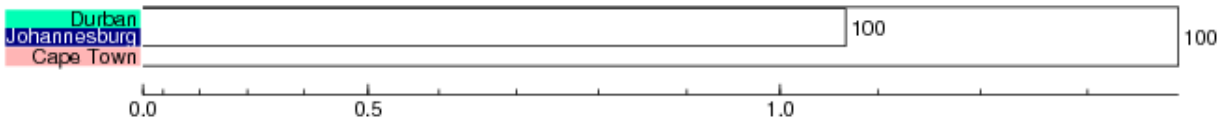


Figure 5.13: Probabilistic dendrogram of the dialect clusters in the current data set

Figure 5.13 shows three prongs, with Cape Town separate from the other two and Johannesburg splitting off from the Durban prong. The relative certainty of this clustering achieves 100% throughout (the values to the right of the 'prongs'). The linguistic distance between the three cities is provided on the horizontal. The figure may rendered alternatively, although far less precisely, as in Figure 5.14. The topmost circle represents a 'proto-SAE', viz. some STL strand constellation of speech habits which developmentally preceded all modern varieties. In overly simplistic language, this proto-SAE 'split in two', where Cape Town was the natural heir to one strand while Durban and Johannesburg belong more appropriately to the other (cf. Szmrecsanyi, 2011).

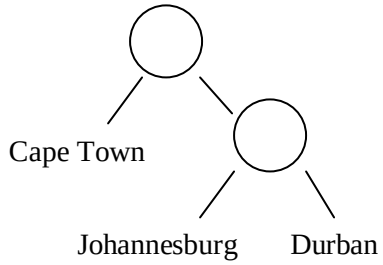


Figure 5.14: Phylogenetic relation ('family tree') for the sampled cities

If we treat such linguistic relatedness in a way similar to family trees, as familiar in the field of genealogy, we may say that Durban is related more closely to Johannesburg than to Cape Town in the same way one is related more closely to one's sibling than to one's cousin. In a return to the specificity that dialectometry offers, such 'relational distance' may be quantified – Table 5.34 below shows the precise linguistic distance between each of the three cities (as on the horizontal in Figure 5.13).

Table 5.34: Acoustic-linguistic distance between Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg English

	Cape Town	**Durban**	**Johannesburg**
Cape Town	0	1.443	1.281
Durban	1.443	0	1.048
Johannesburg	1.281	1.048	0

The distances above are as attained from acoustic data – therefore, they point toward a regional profile in the speech habits of South Africa with minimal researcher's bias. Smaller linguistic distance implies greater phylogenetic relatedness. The high level of implied phylogenetic relatedness between Durban and Johannesburg supports the traditional interpretation that Natal English was reanalysed to General SAE in Johannesburg as described by the Standard Model, as considered throughout chapter 3. Cape Town is most dissimilar from the other two since it has traditionally been stand-offish to Johannesburg (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:22f); it is also geographically the most distant from the other two and presumably the spread of General SAE was not felt as strongly in Cape Town as elsewhere. By way of illustration of this point, a comical interpretation of Capetonians' attitude to the rest of South Africa, Johannesburg in particular, is rendered in Figure 5.15 below.

Figure 5.15, 'South Africa according to Capetonians', is taken from Travelstart (2014) and is intended to illustrate how the stereotypical Capetonian views the rest of South Africa, in particular Johannesburg. The figure serves to demonstrate the Capetonian stance toward the rest of the country – in the past and at present. Note the satirical elements: Cape Town, Langebaan, and Hermanus have their proper names and are situated (more or less) accurately on the map, which implies familiarity within the green area; however, there is a hard, physical barrier, the 'Pretty Mountains', that divides the familiar green from the unfamiliar red, the rest of South Africa. Johannesburg stands big and menacingly, in black, in what really should be the Kingdom of Lesotho. Therefore, the map implies that Johannesburg is both foreign and unknown to Capetonians. This aligns with Eckert's (2000:41) definition of identity as considered in section 2.2, it being 'one's "meaning in the world." A person's place in relation to other people, a person's perspective on the rest of the world'. Here, it is clear that there is a regional meaning, that speakers' 'place […] in the world', as perceived by themselves, relates to a regional alignment in identities.

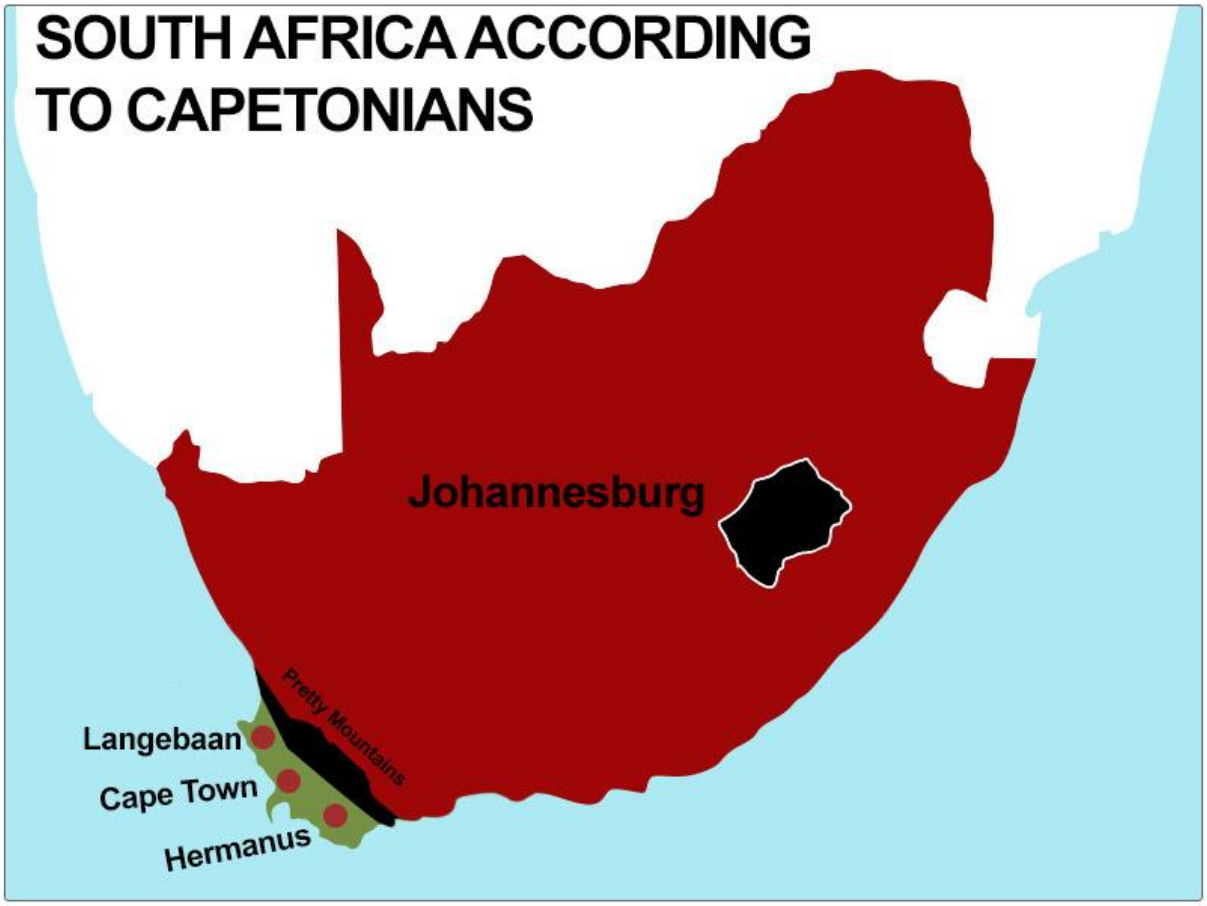


Figure 5.15: A comical illustration of 'South Africa according to Capetonians'

Still, the fact that the Cape Town dialect is closer to Johannesburg than to Durban does support the idea that General SAE spread outward from Johannesburg across the country (as a reflex of phase 3 reanalysis of older varieties – cf. §3.3) and that it was not a wholesale reanalysis of Natal English – if it were a wholesale reanalysis, Cape Town would presumably have been more similar to Durban, and Durban and Johannesburg would have been near-identical. Therefore, read in the light of much of the existing literature on South African English (as surveyed in chapter 3), the present results achieved through dialectometry support the claim of the Dynamic Model that formerly-ethnic or regional dialects were reanalysed into sociolects during phase 3. This interpretation accounts for the dynamics of (implied) phylogenetic relatedness between the three regions in the present data, in any event.

As mentioned, these are the combined results across regions, with both genders included. However, data for genders were also separated from each other and then subjected to comparison within the respective subsamples. Figure 5.16 illustrates the clustering achieved for the female subsample.

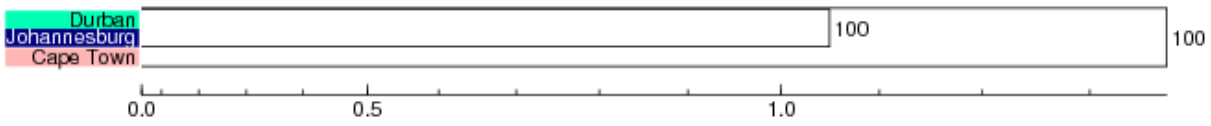


Figure 5.16: Probabilistic dendrogram of the dialect clusters in the female subsample

It should be clear that same trend remains unaltered. The clustering once again achieves 100% certainty. Durban and Johannesburg retain the smallest linguistic distance while Johannesburg is linguistically closer to Cape Town than Durban is. Predictably, there are slight differences in the precise values of the respective linguistic distances; these are provided in Table 5.35 below:

Table 5.35: Linguistic distance between females in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg

	Cape Town	Durban	Johannesburg
Cape Town	0	1.452	1.244
Durban	1.452	0	1.029
Johannesburg	1.244	1.029	0

The linguistic distance between Cape Town and Durban is slightly greater in the female subsample than in the sample overall. The other linguistic distances, i.e., those between Cape Town and Johannesburg and between Durban and Johannesburg, are smaller in the female subsample than in the sample overall. Figure 5.17 below illustrates the same information as obtained from the male subsample in isolation:

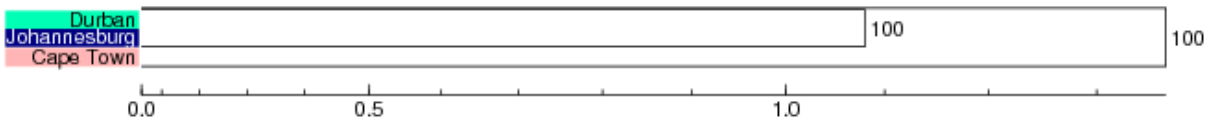


Figure 5.17: Probabilistic dendrogram of the dialect clusters in the male subsample

Once again, the same trend holds true, that is, the cline of linguistic distance (and implied phylogenetic relatedness) runs in descending order as follows: Durban > Johannesburg > Cape Town. All distances in the male subsample are greater than those in the female subsample, with the exception of the distance between Cape Town and Durban, which is smaller for males by comparison to females. Bear in mind that the differences are nonetheless greatest in the male subsample, overall, as determined in section 5.1.Inasmuch as the differences between Cape Town and Durban are smaller in the male subsample than the female subsample, Johannesburg males still make up the difference. There are three cities and not each of those three varies as much by comparison to the other two (across the sample and/or split by gender). The value of dialectometry is that it places variation – of different degrees – in context. The precise linguistic distances obtained for males between the respective cities are detailed in Table 5.36:

Table 5.36: Linguistic distance between males in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg

	Cape Town	Durban	Johannesburg
Cape Town	0	1.417	1.271
Durban	1.417	0	1.063
Johannesburg	1.271	1.063	0

Foremost, there is a real presence of differentiation along regional parameters in the sample – rather than some spurious effect which affects one (sub) sample and not another. That is, Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg constitute three different dialect regions within General SAE. Among the three, Durban and Johannesburg are phonetically most similar, while Cape Town and Durban are most dissimilar, and Johannesburg acts as a link between the other two. Additionally, the male subsample evidences slightly more robust regional variation than the female subsample, as is evident in the larger distance between the male than the female groups (compare Tables 5.35 and 5.36). Clustering achieves 100% certainty throughout; moreover, Gabmap outputs a value for Cronbach's alpha as an estimate of reliability of the data. For the sample as a whole, Cronbach's alpha is 0.79, for the female subsample it is 0.80, and for the male subsample it is 0.73.[42] Thus, in all three instances, there is good internal consistency (refer to footnote 37); suffice it to say, clustering as achieved in the present sample is reliable.

Furthermore, the closer proximity of Durban to Johannesburg (by comparison to Cape Town) furnishes evidence for two hypotheses. Firstly, the appreciable linguistic distance between these two demonstrates phase 5 differentiation, providing greater legitimacy to the claim for phase 5 differentiation in General SAE. Secondly, their closer proximity to each other than to Cape Town must owe to Natal English being reanalysed into General SAE in Johannesburg during phase 3 (argued in §3.3). During the subsequent homogeneity of phase 4, regionality was perceptually absent – and, as Lanham and Macdonald (1979) have observed, it was phonetically absent at the time which I propose constituted phase 4 in SAE (cf. § 3.4). Whatever distance remains between the Durban and Johannesburg currently may well owe to the possible retention in Durban of some regional features as archaisms or minority features, well below the level of salience or significance, in addition to phase 5 differentiation which is operative at present. In this case, many phase 5 features derive from the fact that the phase 3 reanalysis was not wholesale. That is, subsequent to phase 4 homogeneity, phase 5 regional differentiation as applies specifically to Durban and Johannesburg is characterised by a 're-proliferation' of certain older variants, as predicted in terms of the Dynamic Model (cf. Schneider, 2003:253; 2007:54; 2008:265) and which Schneider (2003:253; 2007:54) proposes should be particularly relevant to the South African context (see also De Klerk, 1996). This possibility is similarly attested to by various theoretical paradigms more broadly (cf. Chaudenson, 1979; 1989; 1992; Mufwene, 2001:26f; 29; Nettle, 1999:17; Trudgill, 1986:152f; 2004; etc.); it has been suggested on empirical grounds for contemporary General SAE by Wileman (2011:118f); and I appeal directly to this possibility in sections 2.3.2 and 2.5.5 above.

Finally, Cape Town has been all but overlooked in terms of the Standard Model, despite Lanham and Macdonald's (1979:22f) assertion that the Western Cape had developed a character separate from the Eastern Cape (and by implication elsewhere in South Africa) in the 19th century. Present data offer some (albeit tangential) evidence that there was some process of new variety genesis which operated in Cape Town and surrounds and which was not qualitatively identical to the new-dialect formation that

[42] Cronbach's alpha is a coefficient of reliability and not a statistical test like, say, a p-value. By convention, researchers aim for Cronbach's alpha values of 0.7 or higher (Heeringa, 2004:173; Szmrecsanyi, 2011:53).

proceeded in the Eastern Cape and Natal. That is, Cape Town is most dissimilar in terms of the other two. This may owe particularly to Cape Town's geographic 'isolation' from other Anglophone centres in the country. A clearer view on possible developments in 19th century Cape Town would surely serve to inform present results.

5.4 Results in context

The primary conclusion to be drawn from the present results, both in terms of 'traditional' vowel-by-vowel analysis and dialectometric inspection, is that STL stream General SAE varies according to region. This statement applies directly to the three major Anglophone metropolitan areas in South Africa: Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg. Moreover, present findings speak to the possibility that trends identified here may attain significance in a fully representative sample of these regions. Therefore, drawing from these results, we would be remiss not to grant serious consideration to the possibility that General SAE has achieved phase 5 differentiation, as considered in section 3.5. Additionally, since General SAE is the contemporary standard in SAE and standard language is often the last variety to participate in regional diversification (argued in §3), we should expect phase 5 differentiation to present in other South African sub-varieties as well (as argued in §4.1). Indeed, even more fine-grained variation seems to exist, which receives some attention below.

5.4.1 The social aspect of regionality

Admittedly, it may be simplistic to assign the social meaning of 'regional identity' to the variants that have been found to reach significance between the three cities in this study. Further research is required to determine whether they do, in fact, index regional affiliation or, instead, some other social variable. However, as detailed in section 2.1, Labov (1972:2) proposes that a linguistic variant which indexes a certain social type has to come into competition with another linguistic variant which signals another social type, otherwise it cannot persist in the speech community. The fact that variants do persist in terms of region suggests that the indexical value these variants hold does in fact relate to region. Moreover, some participants made explicit recourse in the course of interviews to phonetic variants to demonstrate different social types which correspond to region and which they do perceive: these include the so-called 'surfer sound' considered under section 5.1; a definite sensitivity to the accent of Durban, for example referencing the slang term *kiff* pronounced as [kəf] as typical of Durban (i.e., KIN centralisation); and a strong awareness among Johannesburgers of the differences between the East Rand, Sandton, and Johannesburg more generically. Moreover, these differences do seem to be achieving some popular recognition: in a radio broadcast, DJ Stephanie B (2015), a born Capetonian, made specific mention of [fəʃ] for the lexical item *fish*, [haːs] for *house*, and [praːs] for *price* as typical of Durban – and of the latter two being typical of Johannesburg, too. Indeed, all three these variants are represented in the Durban subsample and have been discussed under section 5.1 – while I propose that the latter two are more typical of Sandton and/or the East Rand than of Johannesburg in toto – I return to this issue directly.

As considered in section 2.1.3, Eckert (2000:22) proposes that local identity is constructed between social networks and communities of practice that are similarly present in a given area, have a similar view of what constitutes 'belonging' to that area, and the ways in which that identity writing interacts with the rest of the speech community – that is, beyond the local level. I therefore propose that, in line with phase 5 of the Dynamic Model, South Africans are engaging in the process of negotiating regional identity. Of course, as Schneider (2007:54) admonishes, we cannot pinpoint the precise start of this process, but it does become conspicuous in phase 5. Furthermore, it seems that this process has advanced sufficiently for relevant variants to no longer be mere indicators, but that they are achieving the sociophonetic function of markers or stereotypes (cf. §1.1.1), as evidenced by the fact that they have even become the subject of overt comment in broadcast media.

Even if variables identified here do not index regionality, the fact that they vary regionally speaks to some form of regional differentiation, in that different regions select to signal the same social variable (such as gender, ideological orientations, or the like) differently, or that the respective regions choose to signal different things through their speech habits. Besides, whether the precise motivation behind these sound changes is regional or relates to some other social variable, either possibility speaks to phase 5 differentiation and the argument for the progression of SAE into phase 5 of the Dynamic Model does not suffer if either is proven to be the case.

Important to stress is that regionality typically does, empirically, co-vary with other social variables in SAE, regardless of what the underlying indexical motivations might be. For example, the distinction between the varieties of the East Rand and the Northern Suburbs in Johannesburg has been ascribed to regional variation (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979); but there is definitely also involvement from – at least – social class and (as I have argued in §3.5) ideology, which evidences co-varying variables. I have proposed in section 3.5 that the same may be said of the Northern/Southern Suburb distinction in Cape Town described by Lass (1990a:283). And Lass (1990a:283) implicates the involvement of yet another social variable which co-varies with region in Cape Town: ethnicity. Likewise, the so-called Kugel accent that is typical of Sandton originated from the speech of Jewish females – even if other speakers may have crossed over into this variety (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979). Thus, there seems to be clear evidence for the co-involvement of a Jewish ADS stream in terms of regionality within and across South Africa's urban centres.

Importantly, none of the traditional vocalic characteristics of Kugel/Sandton speech are significantly represented in the sample (having excluded consonants from the present study, I do not comment on them). Perhaps most strikingly, Johannesburg tends toward 'hyper-diphthongs' and this remains true even for the PRICE vowel, as discussed under section 5.1.3, a vowel whose monophthongisation is virtually canonical of Kugel English. In fact, it is my impression that participants from Johannesburg, though living in close geographic and social proximity to speakers of Kugel English, avoid its speech habits. This may be due to either a disfluency between STL stream General SAE and Jewish ADS stream Kugel English, or through the possible interpretation of Kugel English as the variety

of the nouveau riche – or even both. Bekker (2009:175) appeals directly to an interpretation of Kugel English as the variety of the nouveau riche, and Wileman (2011:115) has proposed that this may result in an unfavourable evaluation of Kugel speech habits.

A single female in Johannesburg shifted her pronunciation toward Kugel norms in danger of death style, particularly by way of GOOSE fronting and PRICE monophthongisation; no one else in the entire sample did. Also, no one evidenced Kugel speech habits in the more careful styles, which speaks to the possibility that participants do not consider such speech habits as standard or otherwise illustrative of their in-group. Thus, there is definite evidence for a regional difference *within* the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg with co-involvement of a distinction between Gentile STL stream and Jewish ADS stream speech varieties. This possibility, of distinctions between the (upper-) middle class STL and ADS streams, albeit in Cape Town, has been appealed to directly by Lass (1990a:283).

5.4.2 Driving forces behind General SAE differentiation

Some results obtained in this study are somewhat surprising or contrary to what one may have expected and therefore warrant consideration. Foremost, the research goals of this study were designed to 'find' regional differentiation. These goals, if achieved, would imply simply that the different cities surveyed would vary synchronically with regard to one another. Moreover, the findings of various previous studies are replicated in the present results, which speaks explicitly to the possibility that those and the current studies have succeeded in sampling real variation 'out there' – instead of some anomalous features. That is, present results indicate that the reversal of the 19th century front vowel push chain, as identified by Chevalier (2015), is proceeding in SAE. Similarly, results obtained by Wileman (2011) with regard to the KIT and PRICE vowels are replicated, as are Mesthrie et al.'s (2015) findings regarding the shift in social evaluation of backed variants of the BATH vowel.

5.4.2.1. The front vowel pull chain

As detailed in section 5.1.1, the KIT, DRESS, and TRAP vowels are involved in definite shifting; their phase 4 qualities would be, roughly, [ï], [e], and [ɐ̯] (Lass, 1990a). However, they are reverting toward [ɪ], [ɛ̯], and [æ], which I propose is a phase 5 development. It seems probable that the lowering of the TRAP vowel has, again, triggered the chain shift, in which case this is a pull-chain in contemporary SAE. I propose that this is the case because TRAP lowering was identified in SAE some time ago (e.g. Bekker, 2009; Bekker & Eley, 2007), while the accompanying shift in the quality of the KIT and DRESS vowels has only recently been identified as an innovation in SAE – by Chevalier (2015).

However, the picture is not quite *so* simple. Foremost, Chevalier's (2015) results are replicated in the Capetonian subsample, which stands to reason because that is the city from which she drew her own sample, while the relevant vowels in Durban and, to a lesser extent, Johannesburg do not fully conform to this profile. That is, the TRAP vowel is most similar across all three sites, at /æ/, which provides additional support to the hypothesis that the qualitative change of the TRAP vowel has again acted as the triggering

event for this vowel shift. However, the DRESS vowel differs appreciably across the sample. This vowel achieves the lowest articulation, precisely midway between cardinal /e/ and cardinal /ɛ/, in Cape Town; while they are the highest – somewhat nearer to the traditional SAE value of /e/ – in Durban, and Johannesburg occupies an intermediate position in terms of F_1. Finally, the fronting and raising of the KIN allophone is most pronounced in Cape Town, where it achieves /ɪ/, followed by Johannesburg, but Durban retains the 'traditional' value of /ï/.

As outlined in section 5.1.1, all three cities have reached /æ/ for the TRAP vowel and its behaviour in terms of style shifting is the most stable of any link in the reverse front vowel push chain. Style shifting in terms of the DRESS vowel, the next link in the chain, though less stable than the TRAP vowel, is nonetheless more stable than the next link still: KIT. Moreover, Cape Town is most advanced in terms of DRESS lowering, whereas Durban is only barely below cardinal /e/ at present. Finally, Cape Town is most advanced in terms of KIN fronting and raising, while Durban does not seem to participate in this qualitative change. These trends have been detailed in section 5.1.1. In fact, as indicated under section 5.1.2, the phonetic contrast between the FLEECE and KIT vowels is greatest in Durban. This might imply one of two things. First, that there is currently a trend toward KIT (particularly KIN) centralisation at work in Durban, viz., a shift in phonetic quality in the opposite direction, *away* from the innovative quality of the reverse front vowel push chain and *toward* the traditional, centralised value of Natal. Second, that the traditional, centralised quality of the KIT vowel is so entrenched (and salient) in KwaZulu-Natalian English that speakers are offering robust resistance to its inclusion in the reverse front vowel push chain.

To illustrate this effect, Figure 5.18 below shows style shifting for the KIN lexical subset in the speech of participant DE (the female who articulated *quick fix* as [kwɪk fəks]). Note that the labels are the same as used throughout this dissertation; interview (R) and danger of death (N) styles are more backed (centralised), while reading passage (RP) and word list (WL) styles are decidedly more fronted.

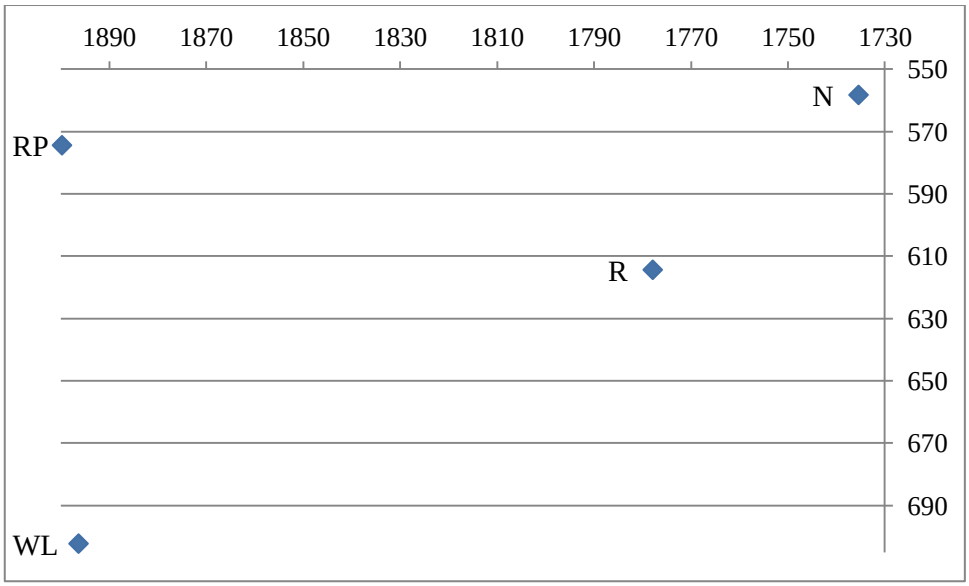


Figure 5.18: Style shifting of participant DE for the KIN vowel

Additionally, the STRUT vowel achieves its most backed articulations in Cape Town, which is most obvious in the male subsample in interview, reading passage, and word list styles (cf. Table 5.16). I propose that this is a reflex to the lowered TRAP vowel having 'intruded on its space' for a sufficiently long time that a 'spacing out' of vowel qualities has resulted, to borrow Lass's (1990a:276) turn of phrase. Chevalier (2015) anticipated a similar result, viz. that the STRUT vowel would be retracting at present. Her data support this conclusion; the present sample is likewise suggestive in this regard: both Cape Town and Durban present with very similar articulations for this vowel, while any 'backness' only becomes apparent in reference to Johannesburg – as illustrated in Figure 5.5 above. As an aside, Bekker and Eley (2007:113) determined that Johannesburg has near-homophonous articulations for the TRAP and STRUT vowels, which they ascribe to TRAP lowering. Compared to Cape Town and Durban, this seems likely to be the case. These trends are illustrated graphically in Figure 5.19 below.

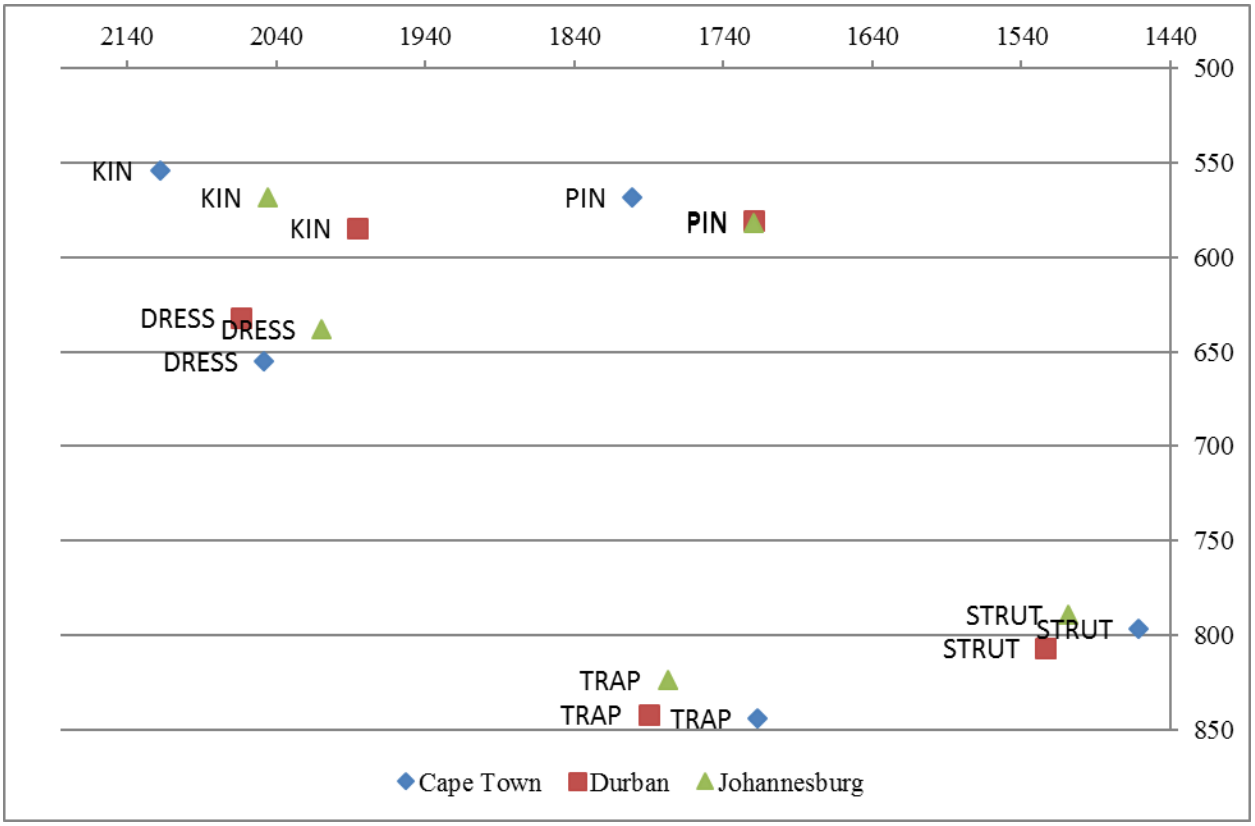


Figure 5.19: The front vowel pull chain across the sample

As is evident from Figure 5.19, Cape Town achieves the most lowered and the most retracted articulations for the TRAP vowel (whose lowering I have argued triggered the pull chain); the most lowered articulations for the DRESS vowel; the most fronted and the most raised articulations for the KIN and PIN allophones; and the most retracted articulations for the STRUT vowel. It should therefore be clear that Cape Town has progressed further than either the other two cities in terms of the front vowel pull chain. Thus, Cape Town seems either to be the geographical origin of this shift in SAE or it has progressed through the shift at a faster rate than the other two cities. Johannesburg also seems to be

participating in the pull chain, though I doubt its effects are felt so strongly in Durban. That is, either the KIN vowel retains an older quality than the other two cities because it would be the last vowel to come under the influence of the pull chain – and Durban entered into this shift last – or it is being centralised as a regional feature. In the latter case, it would be a matter of the reallocation of former regional markers, as proposed by Wileman (2011) and considered in section 3.5 – and resultantly fronter and higher articulations conditioned by the pull chain may be resisted.

Overall, my assertion that this reverse push chain shift or pull chain is an innovation of the differentiation phase may seem ill-placed, particularly because all three cities seem to be involved in the shift to a greater or a lesser extent. However, their behaviour with regard to the chain shift varies considerably. The Cape Town male subsample evidences the furthest progression in terms of this shift with regard to all relevant vowels, i.e., the TRAP, DRESS, and KIT vowels, by way of the most advanced pronunciations having been sampled there. That is, the first two achieve the most lowered pronunciations in Cape Town, while the third achieves the most raised and fronted pronunciations; additionally, the STRUT vowel is also most retracted in Cape Town, likely in response to the lowered TRAP vowel. This implies an earlier onset time for the reverse-chain shift in Cape Town by comparison to the other two cities – and that males are the leaders in the trend.

5.4.2.2. The Jewish ADS stream

Results obtained both from traditional vowel-by-vowel analysis and Levenshtein dialectometry bear out the hypothesis put forward by the Standard Model that Natal English was reanalysed into General SAE in Johannesburg, whence it spread outward across the country, as considered in chapter 3. Importantly, the linguistic distance obtained from dialectometric inspection implies a high level of phylogenetic relatedness between Durban and Johannesburg – certainly that there is a closer relatedness between these two than between either and Cape Town.

The result that therefore seems most apt to scrutiny appears to be that of the PRICE vowel as realised in Johannesburg, viz. that it is strongly diphthongal as opposed to monophthongal; that it differs so significantly from Durban. (This aspect of the data has in fact explicitly been questioned at conferences where I presented some preliminary results of this study.) Frankly, I expected that the PRICE vowel of Johannesburg would tend toward a monophthongal quality myself – prior to conducting the interviews. Indeed, the impression among South African sociolinguists and interested laypeople seems to be that Johannesburg's PRICE vowel 'should' be monophthongal across the board, since the all the literature to date on that area, broadly, has identified PRICE monophthongisation as typical of its speech habits. That is, this impression is likely a product of extensive literature that has identified monophthongal PRICE as typical of both the East Rand and of Sandton – or the Kugel stereotype – though there may be a difference in quality, with the East Rand realising the PRICE vowel backer and Sandton preferring a fronter articulation (e.g. Bekker, 2009; Lanham & Macdonald, 1979). Additionally, this conclusion stands to reason if one accepts that Natal English, which does have a monophthongal PRICE vowel historically and

at present, was reanalysed into General SAE in Johannesburg. However, there is *no* literature that identifies a monophthongal pronunciation as typical of Johannesburg *in general*. Moreover, the East Rand is a traditional hub of Broad SAE, which is not the concern of this study nor are speakers of this variety represented in the sample; Sandton, though being perceived as the seat of prestigious varieties of SAE, could surely not be said to be illustrative of the *standard* – particularly due to the associations there with the Kugel stereotype, which I have argued in section 5.4.1 above is an example of the Jewish ADS stream in South Africa. Participants in this sample were selected with one goal in mind: that they should be speakers of the standard variety of STL strand SAE. In fact, Bekker (2009:82), based on his reading of Lanham (1978) and Lanham and Macdonald (1979), has extended the view that fronted, monophthongal articulations of the PRICE vowel should be typical of standard (General) SAE. It seems, however, that there has since been a split between the standard along the lines of an ADS stream version and an STL version, respectively.

Overall, it emerges from the results that the PRICE vowel in Johannesburg is involved in a general trend for STL stream General SAE speakers in Johannesburg to realise what I term 'hyper-diphthongs' by comparison to both the other cities. Such hyper-diphthongs are achieved by virtue of a large Euclidean (hence articulatory or acoustic) distance between the vowel nucleus and glide, or glide-strengthening, which results in strong diphthongs. Results offered in section 5.1.3 indicate that the PRICE vowel in Johannesburg achieves this status in all but word list style for males, while the CHOICE vowel variably achieves such status, depending on the speech style in question. I reserve comment on the centre-gliding diphthongs detailed in section 5.1.4, due to treating those vowels differently than others in the sample. It is worth noting, though, that Johannesburg English is predictably more diphthongal than the /oː/ quality which is variably realised for the CURE vowel in Durban. Finally, the GOAT vowel is categorically a hyper-diphthong in Johannesburg as compared to the other two cities, as outlined in section 5.1.5. There are no further significant differences in terms of the degree of diphthongisation vs. monophthongisation in the present sample, apart from a tendency in Durban to monophthongise the MOUTH vowel. Additionally, and as considered under section 5.1.2, the GOOSE vowel, though definitely fronted from the traditional value of [uː], does not achieve [yː] – it is not advanced further than [ʉː], neither in Johannesburg nor elsewhere. Overall, no *specifically-Kugel* variants achieve significant presence in the (non-ADS stream) Johannesburg subsample.

The differential realisation of the PRICE vowel in the (Kugel) Jewish ADS stream as compared to Northern Suburbs Gentile STL stream in Johannesburg nevertheless provides support both for the process of reanalysis as contained in the Dynamic Model and the development of General SAE as propounded by the Standard Model.[43] That is, Kugel English is closer to Durban English – at least in terms of fronted, monophthongal articulations of the PRICE vowel. I propose that this is a residual effect of upwardly

[43] Since most literature on the vocalic qualities of Kugel English is somewhat dated, it is of course possible that speakers of that variety are also participating in the shift away from the canonical Kugel variants. More research directly on Kugel English would be necessary to gain a clearer view on this change.

mobile Jewish ADS stream speakers targeting Natal English, as described by Lanham and Macdonald (1979:84; discussed in §3.3 above). Thus, the phylogentic 'closeness' between the Jewish ADS stream and the Natal STL stream provides some contemporary support for the hypothesis that Jewish ADS stream speakers were especially instrumental in the reanalysis of Natal English into General SAE during phase 3, as proposed by Lanham and Macdonald (1979) and considered in section 3.3. Moreover, the fact that the speech habits of Gentiles in Johannesburg do not correspond exactly to those of Jewish ADS stream speakers in this regard demonstrates that varieties are not reanalysed wholesale. Put differently, STL stream General SAE 'took onboard' many variants which had been reanalysed in the Jewish ADS stream, but did not do so without exception.

Finally, as argued in the introductory paragraphs of chapter 3 (and by Branford, 1994:431; Garson, N.G., 1976:35; Schneider, 2007:188) we must not underestimate the complexity and diversity involved in SAE: in general, as a national cover-all for various ethnic, social, and other varieties; nor in specific varieties, here, the STL strand-cum-Jewish ADS stream. Moreover, a description of one variety cannot be entirely complete without consideration of other varieties that bear on it – which is a strong motivation for the use of the Dynamic Model in SAE.

5.4.2.3. Reallocation of older linguistic variants to new indexical functions

As detailed in section 2.5.5, the reallocation of older phonetic variants to new social functions is an important feature of phase 5 (cf. Schneider, 2003:253; 2007:54; Trudgill, 1986:152-153). Within Mufwene's (2001; §2.3) ecological approach to language, this is nothing other than the mutation (or exaptation) of variants to meet a new linguistic-ecological function. In section 3.5, I appeal directly to the involvement of reallocation in SAE differentiation; Mesthrie et al. (2015) and Wileman (2011) have concluded that it is, in fact, operative in SAE.

So, for example, Lanham and Macdonald (1979:153) previously identified working class associations for a backed quality for the BATH (merged with PALM and START) vowel. More recently, Mesthrie et al. (2015:26) determine that in contemporary General SAE the backed variant of the BATH vowel indexes primarily (though not exclusively) gender, being typically preferred by males. Thus, they propose that this vowel's associations with the working class have been removed and it now is a gender marker – with some involvement from regionality. Present results considered under section 5.1.2 bear out this conclusion, though the involvement of the gender component is not as apparent. Nonetheless, the fact that it has been reallocated to a new indexical value remains clear.

Similarly, both the back-gliding diphthongs, GOAT and MOUTH, have undergone reallocation. Lass (1990a:280) states that backed values [ɐ̈] for the nucleus of the GOAT vowel are indicative of the speech habits of 'Extreme varieties', i.e., Broad SAE, and are therefore avoided by speakers of the standard. However, as outlined in section 5.1.5, both Durban and Johannesburg do favour articulations which puts the nucleus in this vicinity – even in word list style. Likewise, Lass (1990a:280) claims that a fronted nucleus for the MOUTH vowel indexes highly vernacular styles – and that even male speakers of General

SAE seldom achieved a nucleus as front as [ä], while females never did. Again, this has changed in diachronic terms, and all three sample sites do, in fact, have fully fronted nuclei – the nucleus in the Cape Town subsample even achieves, roughly, cardinal /a/. Interestingly, Durban tends toward monophthongisation of the MOUTH vowel, which produces a near-homophony between it and the PRICE vowel, as illustrated in Figure 5.10. Thus, all the back-gliding diphthongs have been reallocated from their phase 4 function of indexing social class; particularly in the case of the GOAT vowel, the new, phase 5 function relates to regional identity.

Moreover, Wileman (2011:218) proposes that the indexical value of the PRICE vowel has changed. Present results bear out this conclusion. The Johannesburg subsample evidences a clear avoidance of monophthongised variants of this vowel, while in Durban it is realised near-categorically monophthongal. Even though the diphthongal quality in Cape Town is not as extreme as that of Johannesburg, Cape Town does realise a categorically diphthongal PRICE articulation. Likewise, the KIT vowel has gone from a non-variable phase 4 feature to a reallocated regional marker. Namely, Lanham and Macdonald dismiss regionality in the speech of phase 4 South African youths at the pinnacle of phase 4 (I have argued in §3.4 that the 1970s constituted this point in SAE). Prior to this period, PRICE monophthongisation and KIT centralisation would have been markers of Natal English; at the time of Lanham and Macdonald's (1979) writing, this social function had decayed. For example, KIT centralisation was identified by them as a prestige feature in all of South Africa (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979), while the present data provide evidence that the three regions do not share this interpretation anymore. Therefore, and in accord with Wileman (2011), both the PRICE and the KIT variables are involved in a phase 5 're-proliferation' of erstwhile regional markers. Broadly, it is a case of the indexical value of phase 3 regional markers being levelled out in phase 4, before being reallocated to that original function of regional markers in phase 5. I have argued in section 2.2.3 that a precedent exists for the instance where such a nascent opposition between local and expanded (or regional and national in the language of phase 5 in the Dynamic Model) identity conditions the re-proliferation of former regional markers: Labov's (1972) study on Martha's Vineyard.

5.4.2.4. The apparent role of males in the Dynamic Model

Results provide strong evidence that males are ahead of females in regionalisation. In section 5.1.1, I have detailed how the KIT vowel varies most robustly in the male subsample; they are most advanced in terms of DRESS lowering; and the differences in vowel duration for the TRAP vowel are similarly most robust among males. They are therefore in the lead of the reverse front vowel push chain. Results from section 5.1.2 indicate that males lead the curve in terms of changes in the SQUARE vowel and the FLEECE vowel only achieves regional involvement in the male subsample. Finally, regional variation in terms of the PRICE vowel also achieves the greatest difference in the male subsample, at least in terms of the vowel nucleus, as detailed in section 5.1.3. These results are reaffirmed by dialectometric inspection of the data

provided in section 5.3: the male subsample varies more by region than the female subsample does, in all but the linguistic distance between Cape Town and Durban.

This may seem surprising in light of the standard Labovian distribution where females are typically the trendsetters. However, I reiterate that the Labovian distribution applies to a cross-section of the entire speech community – which includes all social classes – while only the upper-middle class is represented in the present sample. Thus, it does not conflict with the Labovian model that males would be the leaders in regionalisation. Indeed, Hooper (1945; §3.4 above) determined that upper-middle class males were in the lead in the phase 4 shift away from exonormative speech habits toward endonormative habits; it seems that, again, upper-middle class males are the leaders (at least compared to upper-middle class females) in the shift away from the national (in a loose sense, 'exonormative' itself) toward the regional (again, in a sense, 'endonormative'). I propose that this is an important refinement to the Dynamic Model, viz. that upper (middle) class males play an important role in phasal shifts. This seems all the more likely when one bears in mind that the Dynamic Model applies to New Englishes, which means that, aside from the English language itself, Anglophone social structures would have been transplanted (a factor of the external ecology which is all-too-often overlooked). This transplanted societal structure would entail, among other things, that upper-middle-to-upper class males would hold the most sway in society overall. I therefore propose that it is an interesting line of inquiry to determine the precise role of males with the necessary social capital (status, command of English, wealth, possibly race, etc.) in the progression of the Dynamic Model.

These observations apply to the STL strand, but it is my impression that they may apply equally well to the other strands. As I have observed in section 3.3, Jan Smuts played an important role in IDG-STL relations. Upper-middle-to-upper class males from the IDG strand, like Smuts, likely play an important role in the rapprochement between the two populations: they demonstrate that IDG strand individuals can achieve a good command of English and/or an affiliation to international Anglo-Saxon ideology, without foregoing their IDG identity – Schneider's (2007:38; §2.5.2) British-cum-local identity writing. They also demonstrate that such an identity writing can aid individuals in attaining to desirable social niches. This supports the rapprochement between the two strands because it demonstrates to the IDG population that the STL strand and its speakers are not as 'alien' or 'other', while conversely demonstrating the same to members of the STL population in regard to the IDG strand. Arguably, the same may be said of other IDG streams: a figure such as the late Nelson Mandela is famous precisely because he managed to be undeniably international while remaining quintessentially African. Therefore, he acted as a figurehead of the British-cum-local identity writing in the Black IDG stream and achieved much the same as I have just detailed for Smuts – the rapprochement he effected between the Black IDG stream and STL strand is indubitable and culminated in what was likely Event X for the STL strand vis-à-vis the Black IDG stream. Indeed, the crossover to a democratic dispensation in South Africa has been offered by Schneider (2007) as Event X – and Mandela was an important agent in this crossover, as well as its most notable 'poster boy'. Hereby I do not mean to imply that the respective populations would

slavishly follow these figureheads, politically, socially, linguistically, or otherwise; but that they would lay important foundations for subsequent rapprochement.

While I have not considered IDG stream Afrikaner English directly in this dissertation, it does want for some comment – not least because of my contention is that it is co-involved with the STL strand in phase 5. Impressionistically, I am certain that there is a pattern of regional variation in Afrikaans English. In urban centres, many (if not all) White L1 Afrikaans speakers have speech habits which seldom betray them as specifically Afrikaans – by way of their achieving either General SAE or Broad SAE as a target variety. Those features in idiolectal usage which may 'betray' some native speakers of Afrikaans are typically the 'broadest' features of Broad SAE and are seldom those which may be said to be 'exclusively Afrikaans'. The most obvious shibboleths relate to non-native syntactic, lexical, or pragmatic usage. In more rural areas, where there is less opportunity for contact with STL strand speakers, L1 transfer phenomena occur more frequently. Moreover, there are important dialect pockets, as between the Northern Cape and the four northern provinces (roughly the former Transvaal), and the Western Cape. Namibia also has a discernible dialect – or cluster of dialects – of Afrikaans English. Presumably, many of these differences owe to the fact that different dialects of L1 Afrikaans are spoken in these areas, which would occasion different L1 features to be transferred into L2 Afrikaans English. However, the fact that different L1 features have fossilised along regional parameters in Afrikaans English is a strong indicator of phase 5 differentiating behaviour in the Afrikaner IDG stream. This, however, is quite speculative and requires further research.

6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I summarise the major arguments, contents, and findings of the preceding chapters. I evaluate the hypothesis of the present study, viz. that regionality is re-emerging in South African English and that this re-emergence evidences the variety's entry into phase 5 of the Dynamic Model.

6.1 Summary of the literature review

The hypothesis provided in chapter 1 informs the research goals: that White SAE is differentiating in terms of regional variation and that the variety is therefore entering into phase 5 of the Dynamic Model. I have sought to achieve the goal of supporting these two components of the hypothesis throughout the preceding five chapters.

Ancillary goals have been to provide evidence that both the Standard Model and the Dynamic Model adequately account for the development of SAE, from its foundation until present, that dialectometry can effectively be used to describe SAE, and that dialectometry therefore can be productively included in the Dynamic Model. Finally, a view on the contemporary status of SAE can contribute toward our understanding of its progression – at present and in the past – through the phases of the Dynamic Model.

I briefly summarise efforts made to achieve the ancillary research goals below – and expend special effort on the main research goals, to buttress both components of the central hypothesis.

6.1.1 The Dynamic Model in context

Chapter 2 has served to frame the Dynamic Model generally. It should be unnecessary to state that any theoretical model, approach, or paradigm should be read in light of other works which inform it. Yet, most of the putative flaws that have been articulated in regard to the Dynamic Model originate from inaccurate interpretations of earlier work from which it draws. In section 2.1, I treat sociolinguistic preliminaries which should be familiar to anyone in the field; Schneider (2011a:343) suggests that all aspects of World Englishes are inherently sociolinguistic in nature. As such, we are remiss if we do not afford sociolinguistic paradigms and methodology sufficient attention in respect to the Dynamic Model. Indeed, Schneider (2011a:343) explicitly contends that the value of sociolinguistic methodology and theory has not been utilised to the full. He further observes that 'applications of a post-Labovian "language variation and change" approach to "World Englishes"' remain underrepresented (Schneider, 2011a:336; 348f). In an attempt to remedy the matter, I have included Eckert's (2000) theory of variation as practice in the present study.

A central component to Eckert's (2000) theory is identity: the ways in which individuals construct personal meaning and situate that meaning in the broader society. Identity – its nature, precise definition, and the ways in which it may affect linguistic practice – has emerged as one of the greatest bones of contention in the context of the Dynamic Model (cf. Bauer, 2008; Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2014; Coupland,

2008; Holmes & Kerswill, 2008; Mufwene, 2008; Schneider, 2008; 2014; Trudgill, 2008a; 2008b; Tuten, 2008). As it so happens, Eckert's (2000) treatment of social identity – as exposited in section 2.2 – is highly amenable to the Dynamic Model. The way in which Eckert (2000) and Schneider (2003; 2007) conceive of identity *may* include such broad parameters as national identity; but they both caution that individuals always lie at the heart of identity constructs. Thus, the idiolects produced by individual speakers cannot be overlooked when one intends to undertake a responsible study of linguistic practice.

In fact, Gupta (1997) and Mufwene (2001) make especial recourse to idiolects. Mufwene (2001), for example, rejects the notion that languages are analogous to organisms and argues, instead, that they resemble entire species. That is, languages and species both have explanatory power as aggregating constructs – but inherently, they comprise idiolects or organisms which may differ considerably among each other or by comparison to whatever construct we have abstracted from them. The primacy of idiolectal variation in sociolinguistic practice is therefore directly considered in section 2.3. I propose that its oversight has led to much misinterpretation of the Dynamic Model. The ecological approach to language developed by Mufwene (2001) therefore underpins all of the claims set out in the Dynamic Model and we must remain cognizant that there is a diverse linguistic ecology that impacts on language variation and change. Certain trends may be identified, but they cannot apply categorically.

Thus, section 2.4 formalises many of the ecological factors, broadly, that can impact on new-dialect genesis: the rudiments of the theory of language contact. These are demonstrated to align well to the Dynamic Model – and the chapter concludes in section 2.5 with a summary of the Dynamic Model as expounded by Schneider (2007) and particularly in reference to SAE.

6.1.2 The Dynamic Model and the Standard Model

From the review of the literature on SAE I offer in chapter 3, it is clear that the Dynamic Model can profitably be applied to the Standard Model to account for the development of White SAE. In resonance with the position propounded by Schneider (2007), and more directly by Van Rooy (2014), the Dynamic Model can more expediently be delimited to certain varieties: here, I have restricted its application to the 'White' varieties, viz. STL strand SAE and Afrikaner IDG stream SAE. This consideration is particularly amenable to the Standard Model, since it, too – for reasons political *and* sociolinguistic – has traditionally focused on the White varieties (cf. Bekker, 2009:86f; Bowerman, 2004:935; Van Rooy, 2014:27). Extant literature shows a clear progression of the variety through each of the first four phases, while some recent research suggests the entry of the variety into phase 5. That is, the progression of SAE, as explicitly articulated by Lanham and Macdonald (1979:80), drew from:

1. a colonial society which persisted until the 1870s, or phases 1 and 2;
2. a new industrial society which supervened upon the former, resulting in a re-evaluation of former norms, or phase 3; which unfolded into

3. a period of growing internal cohesion and severance of ties to Great Britain situated at the mid-20th century, or phase 4.

Ultimately, key points in the life cycle of SAE can be related to each point in the Dynamic Model, in terms of the typological and sociolinguistic behaviour of the variety and the pervading social and political conditions, speaker attitudes, and external ecology in general. I consider these extensively throughout chapter 3 and recapitulate them directly.

In section 3.1, I have argued that the foundation phase was somewhat protracted in SAE in comparison to other postcolonial Englishes, lasting from the 1790s/1806 until 1870, for which there are two reasons. First, because the Anglophone settlement of the Eastern Cape and Natal, respectively, occurred roughly a generation apart and, second, because a British presence was felt in South Africa – particularly in Cape Town and its environs – a generation *earlier-still* than in the Eastern Cape. Silva (1978:61), for example, speaks to a initial foundation set up in 1795, by way of lexical borrowing from the Afrikaner and Coloured (more precisely: Cape Malay)[44] IDG streams into a proto-STL strand, which Schneider (2003:245; 2007:35; 37; 2014:11; and discussed in §2.5.1) explicitly proffers as a feature of phase 1. I have proposed that this development, at the very least, initiated the foundation phase among certain – but not all – IDG streams and that it did some of the preliminary footwork in appropriating IDG strand material into the STL strand, which would remain available to subsequent members of the STL population. Moreover, SAE is 'atypical' in terms of the Dynamic Model because of the relatively close ties of at least one IDG stream – that of Afrikaners – to the STL strand essentially from the very beginning. This social proximity proceeded from the arrival of the 1820 British Settlers in the Eastern Cape; no traditional interpretation of SAE admits a later onset for the foundation phase. Ultimately, I propose it is unnecessary to postulate any later date, because the *point* of the founder effect, as provided in section 2.3, is precisely that subsequent demographic developments, even large-scale immigration of new groups, would not negate the linguistic features which dispersed from the founder population. The variants contributed by the founder population would retain a selective advantage throughout the life cycle of the New English.

During exonormative stabilisation, the STL population grew to be 'progressively less a product of its history and more of its environment' (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979:73); I consider the relevant period (c. 1850-1910) in section 2.2. Thus, they developed a British-plus identity writing: in the Eastern Cape the *-plus* component was remarkably strong due to close ties to the Afrikaner IDG stream, while the *British-* component was comparatively stronger in Natal. Supplementary to this British-plus identity, the Afrikaner IDG stream developed a British-cum-local identity writing, particularly by way of the importance English played as a language of commerce, education, and status among Afrikaners.

[44] It definitely is an oversight to exclude Koesan or Christian Coloured influences here, but Silva's (1978) original was limited to the Cape Malay population.

Throughout this period, typically South African speech habits accrued in the emerging English variety of South Africa – and these would become the topic of much public interest in the following phase.

Nativisation stretched roughly from 1870 until 1961 in South African English: I treat this phase in section 3.3. Schneider (2007:39) has proposed that nativisation is the most interesting phase in the Dynamic Model; Lanham and Macdonald (1979:71) explicitly state that this period is the most important in the development of SAE; and Bekker (2009 and elsewhere) has proposed that this period saw the most important developments that contributed to SAE. However, Bekker (2009; etc.) does propose that the importance of this time in the history of South Africa lay in its re-initiation of a founder effect which would supersede the earlier founder effects. I have argued throughout this dissertation and particularly in section 3.3 that it is unnecessary to pose a third founder effect for SAE and that the effects which Bekker (2009; etc.) identifies are more appropriately the result of the sociolinguistic reanalysis which typifies phase 3. The important development phase 3 contributed toward SAE was its reinforcement of a particular normative tradition, viz. one which looked to Southern Britain and its society for its norms (again, I stress that exonormativity has never been restricted to phase 2, which is the phase of exonormative *stabilisation*).

With the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold on the Witwatersrand, a major influx of immigrants came to South Africa. These newcomers did not undo the earlier colonial configurations of South Africa, though they did contribute to their reanalysis. That is, they reinforced a reverence of metropolitan norms, which led to Natal English achieving a more favourable evaluation – through its comparative proximity to authentic metropolitan norms – while Cape English was relegated to the unambiguous status of the vernacular. Moreover, this set the process going of Natal English being reanalysed into General SAE, which would subsequently achieve the status of endonormative standard; Broad SAE, in conjunction with Afrikaans English, would become the vernacular. The co-reanalysis of Cape English *and* Afrikaans English into Broad SAE demonstrates an important feature of this phase: the induction of IDG strand speech habits into the STL strand, particularly at the lower end of the sociolinguistic continuum. Thus, the processes that had been running in SAE were not subverted by the influx of new immigrants, as Bekker (2009 and elsewhere) has proposed, and the effects of phase 3 may in fact have been augmented considerably in SAE by comparison to other New Englishes through the contribution of these new immigrants.

The complaint tradition is the most conspicuous feature of the external ecology which typifies phase three; it manifested in SAE from the 1870s onwards: I have considered the contributions of Legg (1890), Lentzner (1891), Y (1872), and Z (1872) in this regard. Interestingly, the complaint tradition in SAE presented as not wholly-disapproving of phase 3 nativisation effects. In particular, all commentators observe the useful contributions drawn from the IDG strand *and* show more concern for negative linguistic influence from *within* the Anglosphere (especially from Cockney English). Additionally, the growing distance between the metropole and South Africa is illustrated by the Cape attaining autonomous governance in 1872 and by the formation of the Union of South Africa, which achieved that same status,

in 1910. The formation of the Commonwealth underlined the separation of South Africa from the metropole; Jan Smuts, a member of the Afrikaner IDG stream, was instrumental in the formation of the Commonwealth, illustrating the growing ties between the STL and IDG strands. South Africa's independent, local status was finally ratified through the exit of the country from the Commonwealth in 1961.

Endonormative stabilisation took place from 1930 onward – roughly until 1994 – and I have argued in section 3.4 that it achieved its zenith in the 1970s. The last significant cohort of Cultivated SAE speakers were born prior to 1930, as was the last significant groups of speakers of either Cape or Natal English. Thus, both the exonormative standard and earlier regional varieties of SAE went into rapid decline in the mid-20th century, with younger generations of SAE speakers opting for a different variety: General SAE. Hence, General SAE overtook these aforementioned varieties *and* Broad SAE, coming to constitute the most prevalent speech variety across the board. Even significant numbers of the Afrikaner IDG stream – particularly urban Afrikaners, who I have argued often adopted an international Anglo-Saxon identity ideology – crossed over to General SAE and participated in its spread and development.

Additionally, various aspects of the external ecology signalled, at this time, the endonormative attitudes of phase 4. Early in this period, the variety came to be designated South African English, rather than English in South Africa, which Schneider (2003:253; 2007:50) deems a symbolic emancipation of the variety. The formation of the Commonwealth conferred de facto independence on the young South African territory. Codification took place in terms of standard reference works, like dictionaries, in the increased presence of local pedagogues, and in the increased presence of wholly endonormative SAE in the print and broadcast media. Finally, a diverse and virile literature was produced in SAE: both the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream participated in this process.

Despite the apparent rift between the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream, this period did conform to phase 4. That is, I have argued that the rift was not between language (L1) groups, but between ideological configurations, viz. between the South African tradition and the international Anglo-Saxon tradition. Members from either the STL strand or Afrikaner IDG stream could – and did – align to either of these configurations. Resultantly, members of the Broad SAE STL population aligned more to Afrikaners who were similarly engaged in the South African tradition; while Afrikaners with greater sympathies for the international Anglo-Saxon tradition opted to align to the General SAE STL stream. In this regard, the new, endonormative standard which General SAE offered made it possible for both the General SAE STL population *and* the liberal component of the Afrikaner IDG stream to speak to the world in a language which at once signalled their ties to South Africa *and* their broader involvement in international Anglo-Saxon concerns, such as equality (notably racial equality) and the humanitarian cause in general.

In overview, I have argued in section 3.1-3.4 that the Standard Model remains an accurate account of the development of SAE. The Dynamic Model complements the Standard Model well and accounts for its developments. I reiterate the caveat that the Dynamic Model – as the name conveys – incorporates

dynamicity; its dynamic character must be borne in mind when it is applied. There remains putative dissonance between the tenets of the Dynamic Model and its possible applications to SAE, but these arise primarily from an approach which does not allow for the dynamicity which typifies all linguistic variation and change.

Finally, there are some putative indications of re-emerging regionality which are apparent from recent literature. These are Bekker (2007), Bekker and Eley (2007), Bowerman (2004), Lass (1990a), Mesthrie et al. (2015), O'Grady and Bekker (2011), and Wileman (2011), and have been considered in section 3.5. They corroborate present findings, which are provided immediately below in section 6.4.

6.1.3 Dialectometry in the Dynamic Model

Various individual vowels achieve variation across regions; but it remains unclear whether these, collectively, constitute true dialects or whether they are simply 'interesting cases', such as archaisms or residualisms. Thus, although these results contribute to a convincing case that there is phase 5 differentiation in SAE, it remains unclear whether true regional dialects are emerging – and the argument for this possibility may suffer from the blunt rebuttal that the variation that presents among individual vowels is simply not yet robust enough to be assigned to anything other than random variation. This line of argument is the precise motivation for the inclusion of dialectometry in a study of contemporary sociophonetic variation: it can delimit significant variation in terms of whole varieties and discard that which is insignificant.

As described in chapter 4 above, dialectometry considers the 'forest'; its value lies in its ability to show whether whole varieties are significantly different or not. Once we determine whether varieties are significantly different, we may account for these differences in terms of social variables: here, regional provenance. Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg do vary significantly from one another on the dialect level, in terms of acoustic realisations of their vowels. The pattern remains intact across the sample as a whole, as well as in the male and female subsamples.

6.2 Conclusion of results

In this section, I summarise the findings of the present study. Results are very encouraging, particularly as regards the research goals of demonstrating that regionality in SAE is re-emerging as a reflex of phase 5 differentiation.

Speakers do perceive different social types which are associated to region, as discussed in section 5.4.1, and their speech habits seem to provide support for this interpretation.

6.2.1 Regionality as measured by dialectometry

The varieties of Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg achieve the same dialectometric clustering throughout. That is, Cape Town splits off from the other two and Johannesburg splits off from Durban; Johannesburg is most similar to Durban, while it is more similar to Cape Town than Durban is; clustering

consistently achieves 100% certainty. This pattern implies phylogenetic relatedness which runs along the following cline: Durban > Johannesburg > Cape Town. This is roughly illustrated in Figure 6.1 below.

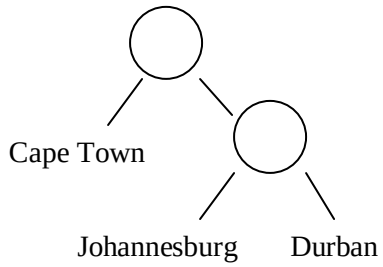


Figure 6.1: The phylogenetic relationship between the three sample sites

Males are typically in the lead of variation between regions; their speech varies more from one region to the next than that of females in all cases except Cape Town vs. Durban. Foremost, this pattern provides support for the Standard Model, particularly in terms of its claim that Natal English was reanalysed into General SAE in Johannesburg. This is the case because Durban and Johannesburg clearly have the highest level of phylogenetic relatedness, which speaks to their being the most similar at some point in the recent past, whereafter they split in two – importantly, this split occurred *after* the split from Cape Town. Additionally, Cape Town would then be more similar to Johannesburg than to Durban because General SAE spread outward from Johannesburg and, although Natal English provided the primary linguistic inventory for the endonormative standard in SAE, viz. General SAE, this was not the sole linguistic inventory! Moreover, the higher degree of variation in the male subsample as compared to the female subsample speaks to the real possibility that (upper) middle class males lead phasal shifts in the Dynamic Model, as discussed under section 5.4.2.4.

6.2.2 The Standard Model of the Formation of SAE

Throughout chapter 3, I have attempted to correlate the Dynamic Model to the Standard Model; I summarise the major arguments in section 6.1.2 above. It emerges that the Dynamic Model is especially amenable to the Standard Model. There is one caveat, however, in that this statement applies to the 'White varieties' – STL strand SAE and the Afrikaner IDG stream. This stands to reason, since other ethnic groups could not participate fully in social life (as in the development of the endonormative standard in SAE) until the 1990s.

My own application of the Dynamic Model to SAE therefore bears out Van Rooy's (2014) assertion that we must remain sensitive to the specificities of the development of New Englishes, when interpreting their development in terms of the Dynamic Model – particularly, different sub-varieties (streams or strands) can progress through the phases of the Dynamic Model at different rates.

I submit that (based solely on a literature review) the Dynamic Model may effectively be applied to the Standard Model up to phase 4, which was at its height during the 1970s. Lanham and Macdonald

(1979), though providing an overview of the preceding periods (i.e., phases) of the life cycle of SAE, focus their attention particularly on this period. This is especially true of their close treatment of the endonormative standard, General (or Respectable) SAE as the reanalysed successor to Natal English, with Broad (or Extreme) SAE as reanalysed Cape English. Cultivated (or Conservative) SAE was the exonormative standard and went into rapid decline in the earlier half of the 20th century. These developments are discussed in sections 3.3 and 3.4 and summarised in section 6.1.2 above.

Results from dialectometric inspection, as summarised directly above, similarly support the Standard Model well. As noted, the higher degree of phylogenetic relatedness between Durban and Johannesburg implies that Natal English was, indeed, reanalysed into General SAE in Johannesburg (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979; §3.3).

Proceeding from the position that SAE (at least as restricted to the STL strand and Afrikaner IDG stream) has already achieved phase 4, present results contribute to the existing literature in three ways: (1) they demonstrate that SAE is differentiating along regional parameters, whereby (2) it may be said that the variety has entered into phase 5 of the Dynamic Model, which in turn (3) provides support to the argument that the Dynamic Model is applicable to SAE – each phase of the model has been demonstrated to apply to this variety.

Results which support the above claims are summarised briefly below.

6.2.3 The front vowel pull chain

The front vowel pull chain (cf. Chevalier, 2015), which involves the TRAP, DRESS, and KIT vowels, is a prominent innovation introduced by the present data. This innovation involves a shift away from the 'traditional' SAE values of [a̟], [e], and [ï] for these vowels, respectively, toward [æ], [ɛ], and [ɪ].

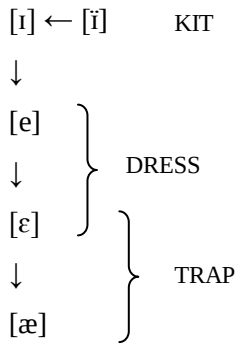
I have argued in section 5.4.2.1 that it is a pull chain (as opposed to a reversal of the earlier push chain, i.e., a reverse push chain) for two reasons. Firstly, data suggest a cline that runs through the three links in the chain: the TRAP vowel has advanced most toward the cardinal vowel [æ] which is presumably the final quality toward it is shifting – it does often achieve articulations in that 'area'. The TRAP vowel is also the earliest-identified link in this chain, by way of its lowering (Bekker, 2009; Bekker & Eley, 2007), which suggests that its lowering chronologically preceded the other links in the chain; it has definitely lowered across all three regions. I therefore propose that TRAP lowering has acted as the triggering event of this shift, which seems primed to reverse the 19th century front vowel push chain shift; the 19th century raising of the TRAP vowel acted as the 'triggering event' then (Lass, 1990a). Secondly, its behaviour in terms of style shifting is the most stable of the three vowels, which speaks to the possibility of a completed change as regards this vowel specifically.

An additional variable, which is not part and parcel of the front vowel pull chain per se, but which does affect one of its links, the TRAP vowel, is the non-observance of Lengthening II (described in §5.1.1), as originally described by Bailey (1984), which results in words such *ham* being pronounced as [hæm] instead of [hæːm]. This variant is restricted to the Durban subsample.

The next link, the DRESS vowel, is comparatively advanced in terms of this shift, though it presents with less regular style shifting than the TRAP vowel and it has not advanced as far toward the cardinal vowel [ɛ] toward which it is presumably shifting. It does, nonetheless, appear to be lowering from the traditional SAE value of [e] toward [ɛ]. In terms of gender, males are in the lead of this innovation; regionally, Cape Town is the most advanced. Johannesburg trails behind Cape Town in this regard and Durban evidences minimal shift from the traditional quality.

The final link, of course, is the KIT vowel. While the PIN lexical subset does not present with significant variation in the present sample, there is substantial variation in the KIN lexical subset. Males are in the lead of this trend. The KIN allophone achieves the highest level of centralisation among male Durbanites, while it is most fronted and raised among Capetonian males; Johannesburg is intermediate between the two. This distribution supports Wileman's (2011) findings that the traditionally centralised quality of the KIN allophone in Natal is re-emerging in that region. Present results also support his conclusion that there has been a shift in this variant's indexical value – from one that is purely regional to one which sees at least some involvement from gender. This does not, however, preclude females from participation in the phonetic change which favours KIN-centralisation in Durban and they do participate in it, albeit to a lesser extent than males. Overall, the KIN vowel in Cape Town achieves the more canonical value (at least prior to the 19th century SAE push chain shift) of [ɪ], while Durban, as suggested by Wileman (2011), favours the more traditional, centralised articulations that originated in that area.

Overall, data provide evidence for the conclusion that Cape Town is the regional origin of this change, and that males lead in terms of gender. The front vowel pull chain is illustrated below.



There is some evidence that the STRUT vowel is retracting as a reflex to the lowered TRAP vowel, a trend which is again led by Capetonian males. Chevalier (2015) anticipated this result, but her data failed to support it. However, in all but word list style, the Capetonian variant does not seem to differ appreciably from that of Durban. I therefore suggest that both Cape Town and Durban are retracting the STRUT vowel, while Johannesburg's non-participation in this reflexive change has led to the near-homophony between the TRAP and STRUT vowels in that area, as identified by Bekker and Eley (2007:113). These results are all treated under section 5.1.1 above.

6.2.4 The phase 5 reallocation of older variants

Throughout chapters 2 and 3 I have discussed the importance of reallocation of older variants to new indexical functions during phase 5, which Schneider (2003:253; 2007:54) regards as one of the foremost mechanisms which may effect phase 5 differentiation. Mufwene (2001; §2.3.2) also appeals specifically to this type of development, one which he terms 'exaptation'. Present results support Wileman's (2011) assertion that older social variants are being reallocated to new indexical functions. This is true for the KIT and the PRICE vowels, as described by Wileman (2011). Mesthrie et al.'s (2015) finding that the BATH vowel no longer indexes lower class as exclusively as it did before is also supported by present data.

That is, KIT centralisation, a traditional feature of Natal English, is significantly more common in Durban than in the other two cities (cf. §5.1.1). While the indexical value of this variant previously was exclusively regional (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979), it now sees greater involvement from gender, being preferred by males. However, females are not entirely excluded from participation in the change and do realise centralised articulations for the KIN allophone. Thus, it seems that Durban-based KIT centralisation may have been reallocated to some indexical or expressive function which is favoured by – though not exclusive to – males.

Moreover, the FLEECE vowel achieves its highest and frontest articulations in the Durban subsample – and again, among males (cf. §5.1.2). I have proposed in section 5.1.2 that this results in Durban having the strongest acoustic contrast between the FLEECE and KIT vowels, which I take to be suggestive of Durban centralising the KIT (specifically: KIN) vowel at present, in much the same way – but definitely not for precisely the same reasons or in precisely the same phonological contexts – as the centralisation described in Labov's (1972) Martha's Vineyard study. That is, I submit that this provides additional support to the idea that this vowel is being centralised at present.

Wileman's (2011) results for the PRICE vowel are also borne out (cf. §5.1.3). Durban has decidedly more monophthongal articulations than Cape Town; although there is no significant difference in the quality of the vowel nuclei of these two regions. The PRICE vowel of Johannesburg is subject to glide-strengthening, which results in 'hyper-diphthongs'. Therefore, it seems that the Natal English variant of this vowel – one which is fronted and glide-weakened – is not as prevalent in contemporary General SAE as has been surmised (Bekker, 2009; Wileman, 2011), particularly since it is only present in Durban (KwaZulu-Natal) in the present sample. Wileman (2011:115) asserts that the PRICE vowel has undergone an indexical shift, in that the nucleus was formerly the major component of this vowel which varied regionally (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979); however, the degree of glide-weakening (or strengthening) is the most notable regional variant at present, as is likewise apparent from the present sample.

Similar to Wileman's (2011) results, those of Mesthrie et al (2015) in terms of the reallocation of the BATH vowel are replicated (cf. §5.1.2). Whereas backed variants of this vowel previously indexed lower class (Lass, 1990a), middle and upper class individuals now also use it (Mesthrie et al., 2015). However, the present data do not suggest equally strong involvement from gender as those obtained by

Mesthrie et al. (2015). That is, gender differences do not pattern in any significant way in the present sample.

One variant whose interpretation is unclear, but which seems likely to be involved in some process of reallocation, is that of the Second FORCE Merger, which sees the realisation of CURE words as [oː] instead of [ʊə]. This merger has been arrested in SAE (Lass, 1990a), remaining restricted to certain lexical items, such as *sure* (often only in certain contexts). However, it is marginally better represented in the Durban subsample than in the other two (cf. §5.1.4).

Finally, the GOAT and MOUTH vowels seem to have undergone a process of reallocation similar to that of the BATH vowel, in that they have changed from indicators of social class to indicators of region (cf. §5.1.5). Both Durban and Johannesburg have a GOAT nucleus in the 'vicinity' of [ɐ̈], which was formerly restricted to the broadest varieties of SAE (Lass, 1990a), while Cape Town retains a nucleic quality closer to the earlier prestige variant [œ] (Lass, 1990a). Similarly, Durban is prone to monophthongal variants of the MOUTH vowel (which is often homophonous with monophthongised PRICE there), even though this is a variant which was previously reserved for the lower class (Lass, 1990a).

6.2.5 The possible Jewish ADS stream

There seems to be evidence – both from the extant literature and, impressionistically, from present results – that there exists in SAE a Jewish ADS stream. Such a conclusion is particularly borne out by present data which see 'hyper-diphthongs', or glide strengthening, in the Johannesburg subsample. This leads, for example, to the PRICE vowel never being monophthongised in that subsample, despite its original function as a stereotype (as outlined in §2.1.1) of so-called Kugel (i.e. Jewish) English in the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg.

Additionally, fully fronted articulations of the GOOSE vowel are entirely absent from the present sample (in Johannesburg and elsewhere), despite this variant, too, being typical of Kugel English.

Indeed, Wileman (2011:115) has appealed directly to the possibility that Kugel English variants may be evaluated negatively (though he intends this comment to apply to the Capetonian evaluation of Kugel speech habits).

6.3 Recommendations

Further research should be conducted to probe the progress of phase 5 in SAE further. Different varieties may be included, such as Black SAE, Broad SAE, Coloured English, or SA Indian English; more regions may also be sampled. Such research would provide for a clearer view of regionality in SAE and the complex ways in which the different strands (STL, IDG, and ADS) interact.

I believe that the present study has demonstrated the utility of dialectometric methodology both in terms of SAE and in terms of a study which proceeds from a Schneiderian paradigm; I hope further research will be conducted in South Africa which employs dialectometry, and that the methodology will be included in future studies of the Dynamic Model. I also hope that the insight it has provided into the

Standard Model may be carried forward – especially in light of the recent competitor it has gained from Bekker's (2009) Three-stage Koinéisation Model.

Some further research may be required to determine the precise nature of regional differentiation in SAE. The front vowel pull chain provides for an excellent subject of inquiry in this regard: it raises various questions, of which I offer two here: (1) is the KIN vowel more centralised at present in Durban (as opposed to Cape Town and Johannesburg) due to the fact that it has yet to be drawn within the influence of the pull chain or, (2) will it remain 'outside' the influence of the chain shift by way of its continued centralisation as a reflex to the historically centralised quality it has had in Durban. Moreover, albeit a highly theoretical distinction, it may be fruitful to determine whether the chain shift underway in SAE is a current innovation, in itself, or a reversal of the earlier push chain. Either way, this matter demonstrates the potential for SAE to contribute toward the existing body of literature on chain shifts – such as the Northern Cities Vowel Shift (Labov, 2010) or the California Vowel Shift (Eckert, 2008b) which operate in the US.

Read in the light of the earlier work of Mesthrie et al. (2015) and Wileman (2011), the present study contributes to a growing literature on the reallocation of older SAE variants to novel indexical functions. Further study in this regard, too, promises to contribute more to an international body of literature, particularly in terms of how phase 5 reallocation proceeds in any variety which demonstrates this aspect of the Dynamic Model.

Ultimately, there is a glaring absence of research on the possible presence (or absence) of a Jewish ADS strand in SAE; similarly, Cape Town has been consistently overlooked as an area where the development of SAE may have differed in certain respects to those regions (particularly the Eastern Cape, Natal, and the Witwatersrand) which are already described in the Standard Model and elsewhere. We would no doubt be able to construct a more accurate view of the development of SAE by addressing these omissions.

Finally, I conclude with a word on narrowing down the scope of the Dynamic Model from the national to the local. There will likely never be linguistic homogeneity in South Africa, in that no one language will have supremacy in all spheres – we will not be a monolingual society. (Or at least, that seems to be the case for the foreseeable future.) This means that there will always be people who are not L1 speakers of SAE; there will always be individuals for whom SAE is a second or further language – individuals who form communities of practice – communities of practice that form multiplex cluster communities of practice. And these multiplex communities will continue to defy (and define) the dynamicity of the linguistic situation in South Africa.

This does not negate the value or adequacy of the Dynamic Model as a descriptive tool – in general or as applied SAE – it simply serves to demonstrate that language is organic, an entire ecosystem, which often evades our own understanding – even if we ourselves are the substrate for that ecosystem. That should not discourage the enterprising linguist; as Schneider (2011a:353) phrases it: 'For sociolinguists of World Englishes, a world to win is waiting out there'.

Appendices

Appendix A: National and ethnic origins of participants' parents

CPT				
Participant	**Father's place of birth**	**Father's ethnicity**	**Mother's place of birth**	**Mother's ethnicity**
CA	Springbok	ESSA	Namibia	Afrikaner
CB	Durban	ESSA	King William's Town	ESSA
CC	Sandton	Greek	Sandton	ESSA
CD	Johannesburg	ESSA	Cape Town	ESSA
CE	Eastern Cape	ESSA	England	British
CF	Cape Town	ESSA	Cape Town	ESSA
CG	Kimberley	ESSA	Kimberley	ESSA
CH	Johannesburg	ESSA	Johannesburg	ESSA
CI	France	French	France	French
CJ	Cape Town	Afrikaner	Cape Town	ESSA
CK	Seychelles	White	Zimbabwe	Afrikaner
DBN				
DA	Durban	ESSA	Durban	ESSA
DB	Durban	ESSA	Durban	ESSA
DC	England	British	Zimbabwe	ESSA
DD	Newcastle	ESSA	Pietersburg	Afrikaner
DE	Zimbabwe	ESSA	East London	ESSA
DF	Durban	ESSA	Durban	ESSA
DG	Johannesburg	ESSA	Johannesburg	ESSA
DH	N/A	ESSA	Durban	ESSA
DI	Eshowe	ESSA	England	British
DJ	Zimbabwe	ESSA	George	ESSA
DK	Johannesburg	ESSA	Johannesburg	ESSA
DL	Durban	ESSA	Durban	ESSA
JHB				
JA	Zambia	White	Johannesburg	ESSA
JB	Swaziland	White	Johannesburg	ESSA
JC	Zimbabwe	ESSA	England	British
JD	Cape Town	ESSA	Free State	Afrikaner
JE	Johannesburg	ESSA	Tanzania	Italian
JF	Russia	Russian	Russia	Russian
JG	Zimbabwe	ESSA	Zambia	White
JH	England	British	South Africa	ESSA
JI	Iraq	Iraqi	Serbia	Serbian
JJ	England	British	South Africa	ESSA
JK	Johannesburg	ESSA	Cape Town	ESSA
JL	Australia	White	Johannesburg	ESSA

Appendix B: Participants' age and time resident in their city of provenance

CPT			DBN			JHB		
Participant	**Age**	**Time in city**	**Participant**	**Age**	**Time in city**	**Participant**	**Age**	**Time in city**
CA	24	24	**DA**	28	28	**JA**	24	24
CB	22	22	**DB**	24	24	**JB**	18	18
CC	19	18	**DC**	27	27	**JC**	19	17
CD	19	19	**DD**	18	12	**JD**	21	17
CE	19	12	**DE**	19	19	**JE**	19	19
CF	27	27	**DF**	18	18	**JF**	19	19
CG	30	30	**DG**	19	5	**JG**	18	18
CH	19	15	**DH**	20	16	**JH**	21	16
CI	18	10	**DI**	18	18	**JI**	21	21
CJ	29	29	**DJ**	18	12	**JJ**	18	18
CK	18	18	**DK**	19	19	**JK**	20	20
			DL	18	12	**JL**	22	22
Median	19.0	19.0		19.0	18.0		19.5	18.5
Mean	22.2	20.4		20.5	17.5		20.0	19.1

Appendix C: Participants' linguistic repertoire

CPT			
Participant	**Native/ home**	**Fluent to working**	**Basic**
CA	English	Afrikaans	French, Xhosa
CB	English	Afrikaans, Xhosa	
CC	English	Afrikaans	French, Greek
CD	English	Afrikaans	
CE	English	Afrikaans	
CF	English	Afrikaans	
CG	English	Afrikaans	
CH	English	Afrikaans	
CI	English	Afrikaans, French	Spanish
CJ	English	Afrikaans	
CK	English	Afrikaans	
DBN			
DA	English		Afrikaans, Zulu
DB	English		Afrikaans
DC	English		
DD	English		Afrikaans
DE	English	Afrikaans	
DF	English		
DG	English	Afrikaans	Zulu
DH	English		Afrikaans
DI	English		Afrikaans
DJ	English		Afrikaans
DK	English		Afrikaans
DL	English		Afrikaans
JHB			
JA	English		Afrikaans
JB	English		Afrikaans, Zulu
JC	English		Afrikaans, French, Spanish
JD	English	Afrikaans	Spanish, Zulu
JE	English		Afrikaans, Italian
JF	English	Afrikaans, Russian	
JG	English		Afrikaans
JH	English		Afrikaans, French, Zulu
JI	English	Serbian	
JJ	English		
JK	English		Afrikaans, Portuguese
JL	English	Afrikaans, German	

Appendix D: word list

BIT	FISH
BET	BAT
BAT	BAD
FOOT	VAN
BUT	BACK
POT	BAG
BEAT	BANG
BOOT	HAT
BOUGHT	HAD
PALM	MAD
HURT	HAM
BITE	PECK
MATE	BECK
BOY	SPECK
OUT	TUCK
OAT	DUCK
CUTE	STUCK
HERE	COT
FAIR	GOT
POUR	SCOTT
POOR	LIP
PAW	PILL
CITY	SILLY
COMMA	LAP

TAXES	PAL
WOUNDED	SALLY
MOTHER	LET
TAXIS	TELL
HIT	TELLY
IT	LOOK
SIT	PULL
KIT	PULLEY
SING	SUCK
LIMP	SKULK
RIM	CUT
FILL	PUP

Appendix E: The North Wind and the Sun

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which of them was stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveller take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other.

Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew, the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt.

Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

Appendix F: Two cats were having a conversation

Two cats were having a conversation. “How can I hoist this load of bricks to the top of the building?” said one. “Use mice,” said the other. “But where can I find mice?” asked the first cat. “Look, you should try over there at the construction site,” said the second one. “They use them as cheap labour.” A third cat joined the party: “I saw a programme about them on TV. The idea is, they work for their keep, and their food is only peanuts. And the beauty of it is that when the job is finished you can eat them.”

Appendix G: biographical questionnaire

Interview

Please count from 1 to 10 so I can see the recorder is working…

Demography

How old are you?

Where do you live now?

Were you born there?

(If not) Where were you born?

Where did you grow up?

What do you study?

Do you work as well?

(If yes) What do you do?

Do you have brothers and sisters?

(If yes) How many?

Do they live/work in [sample site]?

Do any other relatives of yours live in [sample site]?

Where were your parents born, or raised?

What does your father do?

Your mother?

Language Background

What language(s) do you speak?

With your parents?

With your brothers and sisters?

Anything else with other relatives?

When do you speak [any languages other than English]?

What do think people speak most in [sample site]?

Educational Background

What primary school did you go to?

Where is that?

What secondary school did you attend?

Where is that?

Did you enjoy it at school?

What were your favourite subjects?

Did you participate in extracurricular activities?

What subjects didn’t you like?

Do you think the school you went to is different from the schools your parents attended?

Do you think things have changed? How?

Did you learn any other languages at school?

Appendix H: Vowel tokens collected per participant

CAPE TOWN												
		CA	**CB**	**CC**	**CD**	**CE**	**CF**	**CG**	**CH**	**CI**	**CJ**	**CK**
Short monophthongs	**KIT**	197	106	90	146	144		23	86	54	94	140
	DRESS	128	48	37	81	66		25	87	47	37	82
	TRAP	202	86	80	150	103		43	91	54	83	147
	LOT	118	36	42	62	52		14	60	19	47	79
	STRUT	252	120	193	172	139		52	147	80	150	106
	FOOT	14	7	12	10	4		5	6	4	7	6
Long monophthongs	**FLEECE**	252	82	81	143	124		36	114	58	113	200
	SQUARE	12	13	9	17	19		5	10	3	7	18
	NURSE	25	8	16	12	4		3	20	8	11	24
	GOOSE	71	38	91	43	39		21	55	29	48	84
	THOUGHT	83	34	53	32	51		15	47	27	64	64
	BATH	89	50	47	59	34		12	38	41	54	62
Diphthongs	**FACE**	97	37	65	89	56		20	53	25	62	117
	PRICE	201	93	56	156	96		17	89	61	136	126
	CHOICE	6	2	4	5	5		3	5	5	10	10
	NEAR					Negligible						
	CURE					Negligible						
	GOAT	62	28	69	42	37		15	42	36	42	57
	MOUTH	40	18	17	40	19		10	24	11	19	44
	TOTAL	**1849**	**806**	**962**	**1259**	**992**		**319**	**974**	**562**	**984**	**1366**

DURBAN													
		DA	**DB**	**DC**	**DD**	**DE**	**DF**	**DG**	**DH**	**DI**	**DJ**	**DK**	**DL**
Short monophthongs	**KIT**	60	106	231	87	103	54	59	115	95	56	83	43
	DRESS	38	60	125	63	57	32	31	58	43	27	60	26
	TRAP	62	129	246	98	99	57	83	100	80	56	114	56
	LOT	23	51	102	54	70	21	26	40	43	38	53	19
	STRUT	97	239	269	165	172	65	102	188	124	87	95	82
	FOOT	8	15	13	11	15	5	7	13	5	6	10	4
Long monophthongs	**FLEECE**	68	119	277	124	146	54	77	112	117	66	123	72
	SQUARE	9	11	35	20	8	5	9	13	16	9	18	8
	NURSE	9	29	37	30	18	12	7	16	5	9	12	10
	GOOSE	24	51	108	53	62	19	36	61	35	27	33	38
	THOUGHT	28	49	84	58	58	23	38	47	39	27	38	27
	BATH	32	41	110	45	68	11	29	50	36	26	41	26
Diphthongs	**FACE**	27	75	194	53	81	27	49	66	65	42	60	39
	PRICE	58	121	263	137	141	46	70	103	116	60	105	94
	CHOICE	3	6	6	3	8	1	3	6	3	3	3	4
	NEAR						Negligible						
	CURE						Negligible						
	GOAT	29	71	97	60	47	30	23	39	25	38	25	27
	MOUTH	17	21	52	25	22	15	15	26	27	9	21	16
	TOTAL	**592**	**1194**	**2249**	**1086**	**1175**	**477**	**664**	**1053**	**874**	**586**	**894**	**591**

Appendix H: Vowel tokens collected per speaker (continued)

		JOHANNESBURG											
		JA	**JB**	**JC**	**JD**	**JE**	**JF**	**JG**	**JH**	**JI**	**JJ**	**JK**	**JL**
Short monophthongs	**KIT**	38	151	168	88	124	99	29	69	90	55	88	91
	DRESS	28	94	86	50	69	49	15	41	65	37	48	54
	TRAP	50	165	166	89	124	80	41	71	85	55	98	101
	LOT	17	84	69	48	66	36	13	27	51	28	50	49
	STRUT	58	245	194	179	172	102	51	120	135	83	122	94
	FOOT	5	14	10	11	12	4	3	9	5	5	8	5
Long monophthongs	**FLEECE**	45	185	179	102	144	89	38	74	115	62	118	136
	SQUARE	5	11	24	14	12	12	4	9	13	6	12	13
	NURSE	7	27	22	23	15	8	3	9	12	8	11	17
	GOOSE	20	61	73	72	52	29	18	41	45	28	40	61
	THOUGHT	19	66	59	55	45	37	19	31	43	27	51	45
	BATH	11	65	80	46	63	22	14	31	37	33	47	44
Diphthongs	**FACE**	23	86	115	59	85	41	24	43	59	33	61	78
	PRICE	31	161	178	96	148	71	35	60	102	60	120	110
	CHOICE	2	6	4	3	6	3	2	4	4	4	6	7
	NEAR	Negligible											
	CURE	Negligible											
	GOAT	22	66	62	64	44	33	11	27	33	37	33	42
	MOUTH	12	30	35	21	31	17	7	18	25	10	20	30
	TOTAL	**393**	**1517**	**1524**	**1020**	**1212**	**732**	**327**	**684**	**919**	**571**	**933**	**977**

Appendix I: Vowel tokens collected per lexical set

		CAPE TOWN			DURBAN			JOHANNESBURG		
		Average	**Standard deviation**	**TOTAL**	**Average**	**Standard deviation**	**TOTAL**	**Average**	**Standard deviation**	**TOTAL**
Short monophthongs	**KIT**	108.0	50.400	**1080**	91.0	50.023	**1092**	90.8	41.706	**1090**
	DRESS	63.8	31.200	**638**	51. 7	27.063	**620**	53.0	22.744	**636**
	TRAP	103.9	48.600	**1039**	98.3	52.379	**1180**	93.8	40.772	**1125**
	LOT	52.9	30.100	**529**	45.0	23.7984	**540**	44.8	21.586	**538**
	STRUT	141.1	57.200	**1411**	140.4	65.896	**1685**	129.6	58.299	**1555**
	FOOT	7.5	3.400	**75**	9.3	4.030	**112**	7.583	3.579	**91**
Long monophthongs	**FLEECE**	120.3	65.300	**1203**	112.9	59.506	**1355**	107.3	48.364	**1287**
	SQUARE	11.3	5.519	**113**	13.4	8.152	**161**	11.3	5.242	**135**
	NURSE	13.1	7.880	**131**	16.2	10.347	**194**	13.5	7.392	**162**
	GOOSE	51.9	23.254	**519**	45.9	24.168	**547**	45.0	19.103	**540**
	THOUGHT	47.0	20.396	**470**	43	17.545	**516**	41.4	15.252	**497**
	BATH	48.6	20.211	**486**	42.9	25.482	**515**	41.1	20.935	**493**
Diphthongs	**FACE**	62.1	31.381	**621**	64.8	44.226	**778**	58.9	28.095	**707**
	PRICE	103.1	53.484	**1031**	109.5	57.590	**1314**	97.7	48.233	**1172**
	CHOICE	5.5	2.6352	**55**	4.1	1.975	**49**	4.25	1.658	**51**
	NEAR	Negligible								
	CURE	Negligible								
	GOAT	43.0	16.090	**430**	42.6	22.789	**511**	39.5	17.170	**474**
	MOUTH	24.2	12.524	**242**	22.2	10.786	**266**	21.3	9.029	**256**
TOTAL		**10 073**	**423.869**	**10 073**	**952.9**	**479.635**	**11 435**	**900.8**	**388.199**	**10 809**

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