Dialect change in the L2-English used by L1-Afrikaans emigrants to North Dakota, USA

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ABSTRACT

Research is lacking in the field of second dialect acquisition, especially in adults. Even more limited is research on the second dialect acquisition of a second language in adults. This study identified a relatively new and developing contact situation of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans who have emigrated to North Dakota, USA. This study investigates particular sound changes in their second language, English. More particularly, this study aimed to, firstly, investigate the levels of dialect change of Afrikaans-English (AfrE) speakers toward the North American English variety, with a focus on three linguistic variables: the loss of the South African English (SAfE) and/or AfrE TRAP-BATH split to the NAmE [æː] variant, the loss of the SAfE or AfrE intervocalic voiceless [t] to the NAmE intervocalic voiced [d] or flapped [ɾ] and, finally, the acquisition of NAmE *-in/-ing* variation. Secondly, the study investigated the levels of identity integration of the subjects as they adjust to the host community; and the influence of such integration on second dialect learning. Furthermore, the study considered the influence of other social variables such as age, gender, and length-of-residence on the levels of dialect change and identity integration taking place. A total of twelve participants were recorded reading a wordlist that incorporated words that contain the variables in question. In addition, semi-structured 'naturalistic' interviews were conducted with all the participants and were also recorded. These interviews were viewed as the basis for what was, in effect, twelve case studies on the dialect change and identity integration of Afrikaans-English speakers to North Dakota, USA.

The results of the impressionistic phonetic analysis of the casual and careful speech data showed that the loss of the TRAP-BATH split to the NAmE [æː] variant and the adoption of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or flapped [ɾ] was observable in 10 of the 12 participants in this study. In contrast, the NAmE *-in* variant was present in only one participant's speech. The findings of the interview data alongside the dialect change results showed that second dialect acquisition and identity integration are ultimately separate processes and are only correlated when *positive regard* (i.e. positive attitude and motivation) is present in both processes. This means that the participants who had a positive attitude/motivation toward both NAmE and the host community showed both high levels of dialect learning and high levels of identity integration.

The age of arrival, in adulthood, has very little effect on the levels of SDA. However the younger participants did show higher percentages of identity integration compared to those in older age. While there are complex reasons for the variation between the participants and their level of

identity integration, the findings show that identity integration slightly decreases as individuals approach their early 30s. The results and findings, pertaining to the length-of-residence, show a positive relationship between dialect change and identity integration with increased time spent in the community. The role of gender was seen in the differences between attitude/motivation across males and females. Females showed higher levels of SDA because of their motivation to learn the dialect, while the male participants often displayed comparatively low motivation, and most did not see a need to learn the new dialect. On the other hand, males had higher levels of identity integration because of their positive attitude and involvement in the community, whereas the females often had difficulty in integrating because of emigration visa restrictions on employment . Ultimately , this study adds to the field of (adult) second dialect acquisition within the context of a new contact situation and for dialect change in a second language.

KEYWORDS: *Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA), Afrikaans English (AfrE), North American English (NAmE), South African English (SAfE), Emigration, Social Variables, Identity Integration, Positive Regard, Attitude and Motivation*

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Aims and Overview

The emigration of individuals from one country to another provides an opportunity for language and/or dialect contact and identity integration to take place. Pauwels (2016:17) highlights that "long-term contact between people is much more likely to have a linguistic effect." In other words, a major life change such as a permanent relocation from one country to another can result in the shift towards another language or dialect. Studies such as Munro, Derwing, and Flege (1999), Foreman (2003), and Sprowls (2014) have investigated various aspects of dialect change in individuals who have relocated from one country to another. These studies, however, focused solely on dialect changes in the first language, which happened to be English. This dissertation has a somewhat different focus from the above-mentioned second dialect acquisition studies. The South African emigrants in this study already speak two different languages (Afrikaans and English), with dialect changes taking place in their second language (i.e. English). The specific English dialect spoken by the participants is categorised and labelled as Afrikaans-English (AfrE). This study aims to contribute to the literature and research on second dialect acquisition, focusing mainly on the dialect change and identity integration of white Afrikaans-English speaking South Africans who have emigrated to North Dakota, USA. The new and developing emigration situation in North Dakota provides an opportunity for dialect change and social identity integration to be investigated in a new context.

1.2 Background and significance of the study

Most of the research in the field of second dialect acquisition deals with children (Payne 1980; Trudgill, 1986; Chambers, 1992; Tagliamonte & Molfenter, 2007). Recent studies have shifted

toward adults, and this research concludes that adults often learn features of a second dialect. Studies such as Munro *et al*, (1999), Foreman, (2003), and Sprowls (2014) investigated the second dialect acquisition of adults who have emigrated to different locations. With respect to the participants in these studies, the dialect change occurs in the dialect of their first language (English), for example Americans relocating to Australia and learning the Australian English dialect in addition to their already establish first dialect (i.e. American English). As mentioned in the overview section, this study focuses on a different topic and one which has received limited attention. The study investigates the dialect change happening in the second language English of white South African emigrants to North Dakota. In addition, the dialect contact situation between Afrikaans-English South Africans and their host community in North Dakota is a relatively 'new' and developing contact situation. It provides an opportunity to conduct research within the early stages of dialect contact and identity integration within a new and developing contact situation. In addition, phonetic studies of contact between an American community and a South African community, have not been conducted. Therefore, this study can contribute and provide insight to the small body of already existing research regarding (adult) second dialect acquisition studies.

In its approach, this study follows to some extent the PhD thesis of Howie (2018), the latter having investigated the dialect change of adult (L1) Afrikaans speaking South Africans who have emigrated to New Zealand. Howie (2018) also considers the influence of different influencing factors such as age, gender and length-of-residence and concludes that self-identity is the major driving factor behind the dialect change of the emigrants. Similarly, therefore, this study considers the influence of social variables on the dialect change of the participants in this contact situation. To illustrate, this study specifically considers gender, length-of-residence, and the age of arrival in the host community. In addition, identity receives specific attention in this study, as it has been established as a driving factor in second dialect acquisition, post-emigration (Foreman, 2003; Howie, 2018). Identity has many facets, and this dissertation reviews some of the key facets relevant to integration and dialect change such as social identity (Ellemers, 2020) motivation, and attitude (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Peterson, 2020; Preston, 2011; Nycz, 2013). In order to investigate the identity integration of the participants the dissertation draws on the model of Social Identity Integration provided by Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry and Smith

(2007). This model is used to understand the complexities behind social identity integration after a major life change such as emigration. The social variables and their influence on the identity integration of each participant is thus also considered as part of this study. With the above stated, the following research questions are presented:

1.3 Research questions and methodology

The study has two research questions:

(1) firstly, to what extent has the Afrikaans-English dialect of the emigrants changed towards the North American English dialect, with specific focus on: (a) the loss of the SAfE and/ or AfrE TRAP-BATH split to the NAmE [æː] variant, (b) the loss of the SAfE or AfrE voiceless [t] to the NAmE intervocalic [d] or flapped [ɾ] (Trudgill and Hannah, 2008) and (c) the acquisition of NAmE *-in/-ing* variation (Tagliamonte, 2012:29)?

(2) Secondly, which social factors - with a specific focus on social identity integration, but also age, gender, length-of-residence and motivation - influence the dialect acquisition and identity integration process?

The mixed-methods research design is employed in this study in order to answer these research questions. The mixed-methods research design allows the researcher to collect and analyse quantitative and qualitative data to answer complex research questions (Maree, 2016). The data was collected by means of conducting 30 to 60 minute interviews with twelve Afrikaans-English speaking participants who have emigrated to North Dakota, USA. The first research question is answered by conducting an impressionistic analysis of the phonetic data collected through the interviews. The participants read a wordlist following a casual conversation, guided by open-ended questions. The open conversation allowed the researcher to collect the quantitative casual speech data as well as the qualitative findings. The wordlist provided the careful speech (quantitative) data. The second research question was answered, in part, by means of conducting a three-phase content analysis on the interview (qualitative) data. Phase one entailed transcribing the data, phase two involved identifying the units of meaning in the data, and phase three categorised the units of meaning into relevant themes: namely, reasons for emigration,

advantages of living in America, emigration and adjustment challenges, coping strategies; identity changes post-emigration and dialect awareness and change.

The qualitative findings and quantitative results were at first analysed separately but then integrated and presented as part of an overall analysis of the influences of the social variables on the discovered dialect changes. The results and findings are presented in six separate case studies. Each case study is presented in a narrative fashion with an introduction to each couple, followed by the synthesis of the qualitative findings. Each case study then discusses the speech analysis data for each couple. In essence, a sociolinguistic profile is provided for each couple. Finally, a conclusive interpretation of the overall findings and results, interpreted in the context of the relevant literature established in the field of second dialect acquisition, is provided as part of this study (Siegel 2010; Ellis, 2015; Foreman, 2003; Sprowls, 2014; Howie, 2018). Hence, this dissertation contributes to our understanding of the second dialect acquisition of a second language and the dynamics of identity integration post-emigration.

1.4 Layout of the dissertation

The first chapter introduced the study. It included the overview and aims of this study, the background and significance of the study, the research questions and, in this section, an outline of the dissertation. This dissertation continues with Chapter 2, which provides a theoretical background and literature review of second dialect acquisition with a focus on research within emigration contexts. It clarifies the uniqueness of the emigration context of this study, specifically white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans who have emigrated to North Dakota, USA. The chapter also reviews the Social Identity Integration Model outlined by Amiot; de la Sablonnière; Terry and Smith (2007), which is utilised to interpret the identity integration of participants in this study. Chapter 3 is divided into two parts. Part one, provides a detailed discussion of Afrikaner identity, Afrikaner emigration and a brief contextualisation of the host community, North Dakota. Part two provides information on the South African and Afrikaans English and North American English dialects and highlights some of the main phonetic differences between them, focusing specifically on the variables chosen for this study. Chapter 4 then describes the methodology used in this study, outlining how the data was collected during

the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as how the data was analysed and presented. Chapter 5 presents the findings and results by means of a case study for each couple. There are a total of six case studies and twelve participants. The qualitative data (i.e. the interview findings) is presented first, followed by the quantitative data (i.e. the results pertaining to the impressionistic analysis of the speech data). Chapter 6 delivers an interpretation of the qualitative and quantitative data alongside each other, synthesising the findings and results in their entirety in order to create a new comprehensive understanding of the complexities of second language dialect change and identity integration post-emigration. The study finds that dialect acquisition occurred for most participants for at least one of the phonetic variants in question but with high inter-speaker variation with respect to the degree of dialect learning. The study shows that positive attitude and motivation or a *positive regard* (encompassing both a positive attitude and motivation) facilitates dialect change in this emigration context, which extends on the findings outlined in Howie (2018). Furthermore, the qualitative findings show that a *positive regard* toward the host community facilitates the motivation to integrate into the community. In this study extrinsic factors play a role in explaining variation across gender when it comes to levels of identity integration, similar to the study by Foreman (2003). Chapter 6 ends with a conclusion and highlights the limitations of the study and provides recommendations for future studies to be conducted in similar emigration contexts.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical background and Literature review

This dissertation draws upon two main fields of study: second language acquisition (2.1) and second-dialect acquisition (2.2). This chapter discusses previous research conducted within these two fields, with a specific focus on second dialect acquisition. It further details the influence of social variables (2.3) such as age, gender and length-of-residence on dialect acquisition. The role and influence of identity and motivation on dialect change is separately discussed in section 2.5. The chapter specifically addresses the role of identity integration because of its relevance within the context of immigration. The Social Identity Integration Model (abbreviated as SIIM) outlined by Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry and Smith (2007) is discussed in detail and utilised for the interpretation of the findings in Chapter 5 and 6.

2.1. Second Language Acquisition Studies

One effect that emigration or immigration[1], in general, could have on an individual's linguistic repertoire is the acquisition of another language. Within sociolinguistic studies, this subject field is referred to as second language acquisition (henceforth abbreviated to SLA). SLA "refers to the learning of another language in a context in which the language is used as a means of wider communication" (Ellis, 2015:18). The subject field of SLA examines how individuals who already speak a first language (L1) acquire or learn a second or additional language (L2/L3 and so forth) (Ortega 2013:2). There are two processes through which an individual can learn or acquire a new language, called learning vs acquiring.

The content of this study is not concerned with learning versus acquisition. Therefore, without going into the complexities and theories of different linguists regarding these two processes, a simple distinction will suffice. In essence, acquisition refers to the incidental process whereby

[1] Immigration refers to the act of moving into or entering another country and emigration refers to moving from or leaving your country (Merriam Webster, 2022). These terms are often used interchangeably since they are similarly related in meaning (Merriam Webster, 2022). These terms are used interchangeably throughout this dissertation without stressing the specific meaning of entering or leaving a country.

learners pick up a language without making any conscious effort to master it, whereas learning involves some form of intentional effort to study and learn a language (Ellis, 2015:19). The definitions of these two terms give a clear distinction between the processes of how a dialect or language can be learned. For this dissertation, the terms, and their relevant variations (e.g., acquisition, acquired/ing, learn/ing) are used interchangeably. The study is not concerned with the processes of how the dialectal features are learned or acquired, but more with describing the dynamics of dialect change and the influencing social variables in the context of emigration to another, new country.

There is an ongoing debate between cognitive and social approaches to SLA. Cognitive SLA focuses on the universal aspects of L2 acquisition and priority is given to linguistic competence, whereas social SLA focuses on the social interactions of learners and how the micro and macro habits of language are learned (Ellis, 2015:231). Within the social SLA field, interaction is perceived as a means by which learners are socialised into the L2 culture. Cognitive SLA, on the other hand, merely views interaction as a source of input and opportunity for output (Ellis, 2015:231). These two approaches have mostly been kept separate. However, according to Ellis (2015:231), the distinction is not clear-cut, and some approaches can be interpreted as socio-cognitive SLA, for example, or socio-cultural SLA. Sociocultural SLA researcher, Lev Vygotsky (1986), argues that learning arises when a teacher (or an expert) of a language interacts with or teaches a learner (or novice), which Vygotsky coined as the zone of proximal development (Ellis, 2015:233). Socio-cultural SLA research has focused on the learning of a language as a process instead of learning as a product. This focus has led to the development of a theory known as social-cultural theory (within SLA). The social-cultural theory highlights that learning another language is initially accomplished in social interaction and "in-flight" - which means that the learning takes place spontaneously within social interaction (Ellis, 2015:31). Thereafter, language development takes place later when the learner internalises the new language form, which means that the learner has now succeeded in so-called self-regulation[2] (Ellis, 2015:31). In

[2] Self-regulation is the ability to "monitor one's learning and to make changes to the strategies that one employs" and the ability to "exercise control over one's attitude/ motivational state and to engage in self-critical reflection of one's actions and underlying belief systems" (Ellis, 2015:351).

other words, the learner is now able to use the new language form freely without any assistance from another individual. In addition to research into the SLA process in general, researchers have also investigated more particular factors that influence SLA.

One such factor is one's native or first language. Research has shown that an individual's first language can influence the learning of another language. There is a substantial amount of research conducted on this topic which can be summarised by the following statement: "The habits of the L1 interfere with the development of the L2 habits" (Ellis, 2015:129). One hypothesis, the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, claims that L2 errors are a result of the difference between the L1 and the L2. To elaborate, the hypothesis makes two claims that are essentially similar. Firstly, all L2 errors can be predicted by identifying the differences between the L2 and the L1. The contrastive analysis approach, secondly, claims that it is able to identify which L2 errors were the result of L1 interference (Ellis, 2015:129). The second claim is highly controversial, because the term 'interference' has been rejected and a more plausible notion of 'transfer' is now accepted.

Language transfer draws from the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis and simply states that linguistic features of an individual's L1 can influence their L2 (Ellis, 2015:131). This is commonly illustrated through pronunciation. For example, an L1 French speaker will usually have an accent when speaking English, which means the pronunciation of the French language influences the pronunciation of an individual's L2. Similarly, the participants in this study are L1 Afrikaans speakers, but also L2 English speakers. Their Afrikaans pronunciation influences their English pronunciation, resulting in a distinct dialect labelled 'Afrikaans English' (see Chapter 3, section 3.7). Important to mention is that language transfer can be observed in other linguistic domains as well, such as vocabulary, grammar, semantics and so forth. In addition, learning of a second language also impacts the L1 of the speaker (i.e., in some cases a loss of an L1 can occur) (Ellis, 2015:131).

Another factor derived from the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis is the concept of learning difficulty. The hypothesis highlights that large differences between the learner's L1 and the target language can cause learning difficulty (Ellis, 2015:134). This means that the L2 speaker may

produce ‘errors’ when speaking the L2 or L3. One might assume that these ‘errors’ are mostly due to large differences between the native and the target language. However, some research shows that learners find it more difficult to learn sounds that are *similar* to their native language compared to sounds that are different (Ellis, 2015:134). In other words, a close correlation between two different languages might not result in a reduced difficulty in learning the target linguistic variable, and that ‘new’ features might not produce the level of learning difficulty that one would expect.

SLA is a large research field, and the above discussion only touches on some of the key findings. Importantly, the above key findings can be applied to another linguistic field, specifically second dialect acquisition (henceforth SDA). According to Siegel (2010:2), very little research has been conducted on SDA, and the research that has been done is not widely known. The proposed study attempts to contribute to SDA research in its entirety. The following section focuses on SDA studies.

2.2. Second Dialect Acquisition Studies

The field of Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA) is a subtype of SLA. Siegal (2010), however, explores this phenomenon as a field on its own even though most of its aspects overlap and relate to SLA. The study of SDA examines how individuals who already speak one dialect (D1) of a specific language, acquire or learn a different dialect[3] (D2) of what they or their community perceive to be the same language (Siegal 2010:1).

Previous research in the field of SDA focuses on two types of learning in two contexts, namely, naturalistic and educational. Relevant in the context of this dissertation is naturalistic SDA which “refers to learning a new dialect (a D2) without any formal teaching” (Siegal 2010:4). This occurs when individuals emigrate from one country to another or even migrate to different areas within the same country. The proposed study focuses on SDA within a naturalistic context, specifically South Africans who have relocated to North Dakota, USA. One difference between the learning of a D2 compared to a L2 post-migration is that SDA can be unintentional (Siegel,

[3] A dialect develops when a single homogeneous language tends to split into different regional varieties for example British English, South African English or American English (Trask, 1994:51).

2010:6). Some might not want to or feel the need to learn the D2, as they are able to communicate in their D1. However, studies have shown that speakers often do acquire D2 features post-emigration regardless of any resistance in this regard.

Most research on SDA has dealt with child SDA, examining the phonetic variability among children who learn a second dialect. To illustrate, a study conducted by Payne (1980), analysed the SDA of children who had relocated to Philadelphia from another dialect area in America. Payne's study (1980) focuses on the glide fronting of /uw/ and /ow/ and proves that no consistent patterns of D2 learning occur, even though the children are the same age and have a similar length of residence in the host community. In other words, they learned the D2, but with significant inter-speaker variation. In addition, another study of seven-year-old British twins who relocated to Australia shows the learning of different dialect features between the twins (Trudgill, 1986). One of the twins learned two phonetic variants within five months of post-relocation, while the other had not learned those same variants (Trudgill, 1986). This, again, illustrates the variability in SDA within a naturalistic context.

Another SDA study conducted by Chambers (1992) found similar results of variability in Canadian children who relocated to England. With the results of his study as well as previous research, Chambers (1992) outlined a set of principles that describes the process of SDA (i.e., the learning of more dialects). Firstly, lexical features are acquired before phonological features. Secondly, simple phonological rules are acquired before complex ones, and lastly, D1 transfer or the influence of the D1 causes variability in the early stages of D2 learning (Chambers 1992). It can be assumed, with regards to the second principle, that simple versus complex phonological rules might be relative to other variables such as individual, age, gender and so forth. The influence of social variables in SDA is discussed in section 2.3 and is also considered in the research context of this dissertation.

An SDA study of Canadian children living in New York was conducted by Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007) and considered the influence of social variables on the SDA of children. This study illustrates again that variation is common. However, it is difficult to determine what motivates it, specifically whether it is socially or developmentally motivated (Tagliamonte &

Molfenter, 2007). Despite this acknowledgement, Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007) generally claim that "children can successfully acquire a D2 of their native language." Even though this statement has proven to hold true, certain criteria still influence the success of SDA. Specifically,children who arrive in the host community before the age of five have a higher potential for native-like D2 than children who arrive at the age of eight or older (Payne 1980; Trudgill 1986). Little to no investigation has been conducted into the learning of a D2 of the second language in children. Similarly, not enough research has been done on adults and the learning of a D2 of their second language. This dissertation aims to contribute to this research gap for adults. We now focus on studies of SDA in adults.

As mentioned earlier, recent studies in SDA have shifted to adults. However, there is not a large body of research in this area. The studies that have been conducted indicate that adults often learn features of a D2. Munro *et al* (1999) conducted a perceptual study on Canadian adults who have relocated to Alabama. With a specific focus on the phonetic variables – the pronunciation of /ai/ in both areas – the glide of the diphthong in Alabama English is weakened. According to Munro *et al* (1999), the Canadian speakers were consistently rated by local Alabama residents as producing an Alabama-like /ai/ variant. In contrast to the claim that only children can acquire native-like pronunciation of a D2, this study suggests that this is possible for adults as well. It is important to mention that the Munro *et al* (1999) study is solely based on the perceptual ratings of native speakers. There was no acoustic analysis done on the variants to further prove that native-like D2 was learned. Nonetheless, the study shows learning of a D2 in adults is possible.

As the study discussed above, most studies in SDA focus on the transition from one L1 variety to another. Another example is a study done by Foreman (2003), which investigated the dialect changes of Americans who had relocated to Australia and proved to have learned Australian English (D2) in addition to their (D1) American English. Additionally, a study conducted by Sprowls (2014:1) explored and illustrated the learning of phonological features of Pittsburgh English (a regional dialect of American English) by speakers of various other regional American English dialects. It is important to note that the studies discussed above studies focus on L1 as

the D1 – in both studies the D1 is American English (and also the native language), focusing on the learning of another dialect of English (i.e. Australian and Pittsburgh English).

The proposed study has a somewhat different focus from the above SDA studies. It takes on a slightly new approach, an approach that has received minimal attention. The context of the proposed study provides an opportunity for a new perspective on SDA research, since the emigrants in this study already speak two different languages (Afrikaans and English), with SDA taking place in their L2 (i.e. English). In essence, the D1 of this group is a second language variety and not a first language variety as in the case of the studies by Munro *et al* (1999), Foreman (2003), and Sprowls (2014). The focus is on a group of South African emigrants whose L1 is Afrikaans and who already have an established L2 English variety: Afrikaans English. Thus, their D1 is an L2 variety, and changes in their D1 will presumably result in the process of learning a D2 (North American English). The speakers might lose aspects of their D1 and replace it with features of the D2, and/or they might retain features of their D1 as well as learn features of the D2; or even use them interchangeably. In addition, interference from their L1 (Afrikaans) may or may not remain in place in the process of learning the D2. However, this study is not concerned solely with how the dialects are used, but also with how the dialect of the migrators changes as part of their integration process (i.e. identity integration and change). In addition to identity and integration, the study considers the influence of other social variables, namely age, gender and length-of-residence (discussed in section 2.3).

A similar study to the proposed study is the PhD of Dr Grant Howie (Howie, 2018). Howie (2018) sheds light on the L2-English pronunciation of a group of emigrants (South Africans) post-relocation to a new linguistic environment (New Zealand) and examines their identity change to their new environment and its contribution to pronunciation changes (Howie, 2018). Essentially, the study was conducted with an emphasis on SLA and SDA, but does rely more on previous research and theories of SLA research. Similar to the previously discussed SDA studies, the study conducted by Howie (2018) focuses on various phonetic variables including vowels and consonants but also investigates the factors influencing the change. The study briefly reflects on age and length-of-residence as influencing factors, but it highlights social-identity as the

major driving factor behind the changes. Even though the proposed study might be similar in practice, the context and some methodological aspects differ. This study attempts to contribute to the field of SDA alongside existing research such as that conducted by Howie (2018), Munro et al. (1999), Foreman, (2003) and Sprowls, (2014).

2.3. Social Variables

Social variables are factors lying 'outside' dialects that can influence the second dialect acquisition process. These variables relate to the characteristics of the emigrants, such as age, gender, length of residence (LoR), and identity.

As mentioned previously, most SLA studies focus on the L2 learning of children versus adult learners. The general hypothesis is that those who start learning a second language during childhood, in the long run, generally achieve higher levels of proficiency than those who start learning later in life (Ellis, 2015:37). Similar results were found with regards to SDA studies. The age of acquisition (or the age of arrival) is an important factor in the degree of success in SDA (Siegel, 2010:83). Both fields agree that the younger the age of arrival, the higher the native-like pronunciation will be. The study conducted by Howie (2018), however, highlighted that adult speakers can change their already established dialect, at least to some extent, even if they have relocated at a later age. In addition, the Howie (2018) study shows that learning a D2 in adults is possible, even if the D1 is a second language. The main reasons for the dialect change were increased exposure to New Zealand English and decreased exposure to South African English and Afrikaans (Howie, 2018:303). The study by Foreman (2013:226) – as a study of SDA - also indicated that the adult participants had changed their dialect in such a manner as to include features of Australian English. Furthermore, Sprowls (2014:31) examined the SDA of adults over the age of 40 years, and the results illustrated that the learning of D2 variables is possible in adulthood. Important to mention is that in both the studies of Foreman (2003) and Sprowls (2014), the participants who were interviewed as adults arrived in the country at much younger ages, between ten and thirteen years old. Overall, though, the findings of these studies indicate that dialect change is certainly possible for adults, even though they are considered to be

at a disadvantage in terms of learning 'perfect' pronunciation in the D2. The interest then shifts to finding what factors predict the degree and direction of change.

Both SLA and SDA studies have examined the role of gender. In SLA, gender is rarely considered to be a prominent variable affecting attainment of the second language (Siegel, 2010:110). However, in sociolinguistics, it has been shown that females are forerunners in linguistic variation and change (Labov, 2010). According to Siegel (2010:110), several SDA studies have found no significant difference between results for males and females. However, the results of the study by Foreman (2003:207) show that twelve of the female participants used more Australian English features than the male participants. All twelve of these participants arrived in Australia at a young age, specifically between the ages ten and thirteen. Siegel (2010:110), suggests that if there is a gender differentiation, it is typically the result of other influencing factors such as age of acquisition or length of residence. In other words, Siegel (2010) suggests that the gender differentiation that some SDA studies show is not due to intrinsic differences between males and females.

To illustrate, the study conducted by Sprowls (2014:1) provided evidence to suggest that the presence of a particular variant of a D2 phonetic variable (i.e. monophthongal /aw/) correlates with gender. The study had five male participants and four female participants, and the results indicate that the relevant phonetic variant was only present in the speech of the male participants. Different to the study by Foreman (2003), both the male and the female participants were in the same age range and arrived in the new area ten or more years before the time of the investigation, but were still adults upon arrival. According to Sprowls (2014:98), the phonetic variant in question is a local form and mostly associated with working-class males, hence, stating that the "males [in this study] were more amenable to local forms than [the] females". This finding agrees with the general claims reviewed above that differentiation in terms of gender is not due to intrinsic differences between males and females, but due to extrinsic differences such as working environments.

The study by Howie (2018:224) – as a L2 SDA study - indicated that males and females both move toward New Zealand English articulations, but females tend to move closer to the New

Zealand pronunciation of certain sounds than males; but he does highlight that more analysis is required in this regard. In addition, the females mentioned specific reasons contributing to changes in their self-identity and ultimately in their dialect. “The female participants… experienced some form of discrimination at the hands of New Zealanders. The participants may have chosen to change their identity in response to reduce the chances of being discriminated against…” (Howie, 2018:306). These findings speak to changes related to a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic differences between the males and females of this study, which highlights the complexities surrounding dialect changes between genders. This dissertation has both male and female participants of roughly the same age, with some of them having a similar length of residence. Thus, gender as a possible influencing factor will be examined in this context.

Length-of-residence (LoR) refers to how long an individual has been residing in the host community (Siegal, 2010:101). It is safe to assume that length of exposure to another language or dialect (whether in formal instructional or in a naturalistic context) contributes in some way to SLA and SDA. The study conducted by Foreman (2003) had adult participants, and the results show a positive correlation between LoR and the use of Australian English linguistic features. The results indicate that the longer the LoR, the greater the tendency to move towards an Australian English pronunciation (Foreman, 2003:208). However, the LoR could be confounded with the age of learning, since the participants in the study were interviewed as adults, but they arrived in the country at a younger age, as mentioned before.

The context of the study by Sprowls (2014) indicates that LoR does not have a significant influence on the acquisition of the specific phonetic variable in question. To illustrate, all the participants arrived in the new area as adults and have been residing in the host community for more than ten years (Sprowls, 2014:31). This finding indicates that LoR and age was not an influencing factor in the acquisition of the monophthongal /aw/. The prominent influencing factors were extrinsic ones related to gender which led to the following thought: maybe after a certain number of years, the LoR becomes unimportant, and level of dialect change results more from the influence of other factors such as gender, motivation and so forth. This dissertation

investigates how LoR affects the dialect learning of the participants, who are all in different years of residency.

Most of the participants in the study conducted by Howie (2018:142) had a LoR range of ten or more years within the New Zealand community and all the participants showed a change in dialect toward New Zealand English. Thus, the positive correlation in this study supports the assumption that dialect changes are possible in adulthood and that the LoR is an influencing factor in this regard. In this dissertation the participants are in various years of residence in the host community. An investigation of the LoR in the context of this study will hopefully show a difference between the new and the old emigrants, or it might show to have little influence, as in the case of the study by Sprowls (2014). The age of learning itself should not have a significant impact on the dialect changes in this context, as it did in the Foreman (2003) study, because all participants have emigrated as adults, specifically, between the ages of 23 and 33 years[4]. This variable will, however, be tested just in case, especially in conjunction with identity integration.

2.4. Identity and Language/Dialect change

Every individual has a social identity that forms part of who they are and how they perceive themselves. According to Ellis (2015:248), social identities do not "constitute fixed traits, but rather exist in a state of flux as they are discursively constructed through participation in interactions with different people in different contexts". In simple terms, social identity is the part of a person's self-image that is based on the characteristics and attitudes of the social group or groups to which an individual belongs or aspires to belong to (Siegal, 2010:106). Most recent views on social identity indicate that individuals have multiple and changing social identities. Within the context of emigration to another country, Social Identity Theory (SIT) is worth considering.

According to this theory, an individual's social identity can be defined as an individual's knowledge of belonging to specific social groups, together with the "emotional and valuational significance of that group membership" (Ellemers, 2020). To elaborate, personal identity is concerned with one's self-knowledge associated with unique attributes, whereas social identity is

[4] See Chapter 4 Methodology, section 4.3 for full description of the participants.

centred upon the group/s one belongs to. SIT aims to explain how individuals create and define their place in society by means of three processes, namely social categorisation, social comparison, and social identification (Ellemers, 2020). Social categorisation occurs when individuals perceive themselves or others as part of various social categories, for example female, gymnast, and emigrant (Ellemers, 2020). Social comparison refers to the fact that when certain groups are valued or ranked according to some standard, and social identification refers to how individual relate to other individuals and groups around them (Ellemers, 2020). Individuals do not typically observe social situations as detached observers, but they perceive and interpret them according to their own sense of who they are. Norton (2000:40-49), explains that in the case of emigration, many language learners find themselves in a power relationship with their target language or dialect users; for example, they see themselves as emigrants and language learners and their other social identities are ignored. However, these learners have agency which means they can change this by focussing on a social identity that redresses the struggle or power imbalance, and by doing this, an individual creates 'learning opportunities' (Ellis, 2015:255). This means that language can be seen as a tool of social integration into a new community.

Howie (2018:77) stresses that language cannot be considered as separate from the identity of those who speak it. In other words, language forms part of an individual's social identity together with all other aspects of the self. Thus, if individuals choose to emigrate to another country, the potential is there for their social identity to change as part of adjusting to the host speech community. In the case of this dissertation, the emigrants may start adapting and identifying with the D2 and/or the host community, or –

> [the emigrants] may continue to use features of their D1 rather than those of the D2 not because of factors related to their learning capacity but because of factors related to their social identity, i.e. maintenance of the identity they associate with their D1 or avoidance of the identity of D2.
>
> (Siegal, 2010: 107-108)

Existing SDA studies have investigated the role of social identity and dialect learning. The study conducted by Foreman (2003) examined the role of changing identity in each participant and its

contribution to the learning of the Australian English dialect. The results indicated that it was an important but complicated factor for many of the subjects, since some still identified as Canadian or American, while others identified as being Australian (Foreman, 2003:234-235). Furthermore, it was noted that some of the participants in the study were "unsure of their identity and uncomfortable with the topic" (Foreman, 2003:235). According to Foreman's analysis of the data, there are three reasons that explain this complexity. Firstly, many participants were not fully committed to staying in Australia and said they might return to America or Canada; secondly, others were fully committed to the host community but still felt different, and lastly, others considered themselves as partly Australian and partly Canadian or American (Foreman, 2003:236). Ultimately, the results indicated that a change in identity as part of integrating into the new community contributes in some way to the D2 learning of most of the participants. To illustrate, eight out of the twelve participants who learned the Australian English dialect reported having an at least partly Australian identity (Foreman, 2003:244). Again, it is important to keep in mind that most of the participants moved to Australia at a relatively young age.

SLA research has drawn much upon research done by Norton, more specifically her social identity approach. According to Norton (1997:420), social identity is the relationship between the individual and the larger social world as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services, and law courts. Furthermore, it is argued that social identity is related to but also distinct from cultural identity[5] and ethnic identity.[6] Norton's notion of social identity can be summarised as a construction affected by an individual's past, present and future possibilities. To illustrate; "social identities of learners need to be understood in the context of their already established identity, and their imagined communities and the identities they envisage for their future lives" (Norton and Mckinney, 2011:76).

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[5] Cultural identity is the relationship between individuals and members of a group who share a common history, a common language (Norton, 1997:420).

[6] Ethnic identity is the relationship between individuals and members of the race to which the learner belongs (Norton, 1997:420).

An important part of Norton's theory of social identity and SLA is the concept of investment. Norton (1995) argued that, if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will, in turn, increase the value of their cultural capital. Bourdieu (1991:14) used the term "cultural capital" to reference the "knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications". To illustrate, Howie (2018:304) emphasised that some cultures exhibit great loyalty to their first languages, which plays a large role in the maintenance of identities, as was the case with his South African-based Afrikaans participants and their Afrikaner identity. However, post-relocation to New Zealand these participants forfeited most of their symbolic and material resources, including their language, and this loss caused insecurity and unfamiliarity which, in turn, impelled them to adapt and integrate into their new context (Howie, 2018:305), initiating a gradual identity transformation from Afrikaner to Kiwi.

Essentially, most of the participants identified as Kiwi post-relocation to New Zealand. However, four of the AfrE participants identified as both Kiwi and South African, which means these individuals still considered themselves as part of several categories or ethnic identities (Howie, 2018:274-275). It is evident that both studies – Foreman 2003 and Howie 2018 – show results where social identity integration along with other factors, contribute to a change in pronunciation. Most interesting were the few participants in each study who had adapted or identified as having both identities (i.e. a hybrid identity approach). Regarding the proposed study, it has already been observed by the researcher that the emigrants who have been in the host community for several years exhibit a type of hybrid identity. These emigrants often display this by having, for example, a South African as well as an American flag in or outside their homes. An investigation into the identity change or integration into the host community of L1 Afrikaans (L2 Afrikaans-English) speakers is being done to shed light on the influence of a possible hybrid identity on the learning of a D2.

Moving on, the concept of investment is closely related to motivation and SLA. Motivation in socio-psychological studies of SLA is defined as the inclination to put in the effort to achieve a

desired goal (Siegel, 2010:116). In studies of SLA, psychological models are used to investigate motivation. Most psychological models distinguish between two types of orientation affecting motivation: instrumental and integrative orientations. Instrumental orientation relates to the communicative value of the L2 and the benefits of learning it, such as getting a job or achieving an educational requirement, whereas integrative orientation is concerned with identifying with the L2 speech community and is associated with positive attitudes towards this community (Gardner & Lambert 1972:268). Ultimately, the greater the motivation, the higher the attainment. The study conducted by Howie (2018:315), as a study of SDA and SLA, found that the participants had positive attitudes toward New Zealand in general, which affected their change in identity as well as their attainment of New Zealand English. The positive attitudes and the change in identity imply not only an integrative motivation among these participants, but also an instrumental motivation, since the participants expressed the view that bettering themselves in their English brings advantages in various areas, such as work in their new life in New Zealand.

Siegel (2010:116) highlights that motivation in SDA might be different to that in SLA, in the sense that acquiring a second dialect has little communicative value, except for a few vocabulary or pronunciation differences that might lead to misunderstandings. However, research has shown that different dialects of the same language can elicit different language attitudes. Language attitudes refer to the beliefs or judgements individuals have about certain social styles of language, features of a language or varieties of language (Peterson, 2020:8). Language, or in the case of this study, dialect attitude, is closely linked to an individual's awareness of the dialect. To explain, Nycz (2013:352) highlights that it is not just awareness of a dialect, but also whether the dialect and its features are viewed positively or negatively that influences its use amongst speakers. This means that in some instances an awareness, along with the attitude toward a certain dialect of a language, can increase or even decrease an individual's chances of being hired or accepted in certain groups, and so forth. Peterson (2020:46), claims that individuals are judged according to how they talk or even which language they speak. To illustrate, such attitudes exist among speakers of different dialects of American English. A study conducted by Preston (2011:12), draws on cultural knowledge about English and how it interacts with geography, referred to as *language regard*. In the study conducted by Preston (2011:28),

American English respondents from Michigan were asked to rank the US map according to perceived characteristics associated with English spoken in that specific region (see Figure 2.4.1).

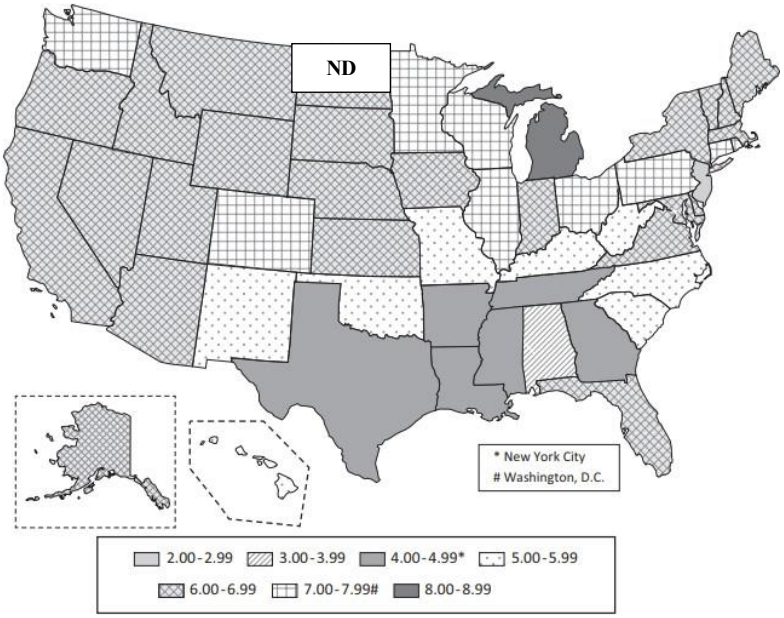

Figure 4.2.1 *Mapping attitudes about US dialects (Preston, 2011:46).*

The results indicate that firstly, many Americans consider their own speech to be "normal", and secondly, the participants agree that the "worst" English is spoken in the South (Preston 2011:20-30). Lastly, the "best" American English is widely regarded as spoken in the Midwest region (Preston, 2011:28). North Dakota is part of the Midwest region and thus among the high- rank speakers of English. Nycz (2013:351), argues that a shift towards a D2 can be dependent on a single known feature of the dialect and that speakers avoid using stigmatised (or negatively viewed) features; furthermore, "if people see the feature as being associated with some identity that they view positively, then they might more quickly adopt it". As mentioned previously, the focus of the dissertation is on emigrants from South Africa to North Dakota. Given that English in North Dakota is among those ranked highly in the USA, it is likely that the D1 Afrikaans- English speakers from South Africa will develop a *positive regard* for the American English dialect spoken in this area, thus leading to learning a D2 of English.

Therefore, motivations such as instrumental orientation along with *positive regard* can be highly relevant in the learning of a dialect as a requirement of employment, while integrative orientation can also be relevant in the context of individuals who have moved to a new dialect area (Siegel, 2010:116). Though the study by Foreman (2003) did not investigate motivation explicitly, the results indicate that the participants had an integrative motivation, since most of them displayed a change in identity as part of learning the new dialect. In addition, Howie's (2018:21-24) study also suggests that both the motivation orientations are relevant in SDA, even though few SDA studies have examined motivation or attitudes toward the D2 or D2 community as a factor (Siegel 2010:117). To illustrate, the participants had positive attitudes toward the host community (integrative orientation), and the participants mentioned employment opportunities as one of the main reasons for relocation (Howie, 2018:238), which implies an instrumental motivation. This dissertation aims to consider *positive regard* (inclusive of motivation and attitude) as part of its investigation into the identity integration of the emigrants, contributing to SLA and SDA research in this area.

Sprowls (2014:100) examined the attitudes of the participants, and the results indicated that females view the local monophthongal /aw/ negatively, whereas the male speakers favour this feature. It can be implied that the males favoured this feature, since it is a feature associated with the male working class – meaning that the males have instrumental motivation (i.e., acquiring it for reasons related to employment opportunities). However, it could also be intrinsically motivated, because the men adopted this feature in order to identify with the working-class group. Given the complexity of identity development or identity change, The Social Identity Integration Model (SIIM) is used to interpret and analyse identity changes as it happens in real- time, which can contribute to the understanding of identity change post-emigration.

2.5. The Social Identity Integration Model

Social change is almost unavoidable in today's world, and it can occur unexpectedly, and, at other times, it is planned. An example of a major social change is emigration from one country to another. Emigrants strive to adapt or adjust to a new community, and successful adjustment inevitably leads to some sort of social and/or identity integration into the host community. This

integration process is different for each emigrant. Each emigrant goes through their own processes and experiences unique to them, meaning that this process is often relative. There are, however, enough commonalities to construct a model. To explain the process of integration into a new community, the Social Identity Integration Model (SIIM) is adopted and outlined by Amiot *et al* (2007) in order to help interpret the integration process of each individual in real-time (i.e. as it is occurring)[7]. The SIIM recognises that "social changes such as emigration, organisational change, and political change trigger deep intra-individual changes in social identities over time" (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:364). In these contexts, "changes in social identities are likely to be profound and require the reorganisation of the entire self-concept to integrate these new social identities" (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:364). Within a social change context such as emigration, the emigrant experiences multiple substantial life changes all at once. Amiot *et al.,* (2007:365) highlight that changes "in the social context can have an important impact on different aspects of social identity". In other words, the social identities of these individuals change and develop as they are exposed to the host community, and then it becomes part of a person's 'new' identity[8] over time. For the emigrant to achieve some sort of acceptance or integration, they have to successfully adjust to multiple changes and successfully integrate their identity into the new host community. This integration process is certainly possible, but not without its challenges.

One individual can belong to or adopt more than one social identity or relation, and each can become equally important to the individual's self-concept or identity (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:366). For example, it is possible that the emigrants in this study can adopt both the American and Afrikaner (or a broad South African) identity in the new context and adjust to some sort of hybrid identity, such as in the case of some of the participants in the study by Foreman (2003), or

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[7] This is discussed further in chapter 4 section 4.7 as part of the Methodology section.

[8] The new identity becomes "[p]art of the individual's self-concept which derives from his or her knowledge of membership to a social group (or groups) together with the value and the emotional significance attached to it. Because the same individual can belong to a wide variety of groups, one's overall self-concept is composed of multiple social identities" (Amiot *et al* 2007:365). This links with Norton's definition previously discussed in section 2.4.

participants might keep these identities segregated and identify with one more than the other. In a study conducted by Barkhuizen (2020:11), the participant named Mia, for example, showed signs that she keeps her identities separate in that she is a New Zealander, but knows that she is an outsider (South African), thus indicating a restricted level of integration (discussed later).

Barkhuizen (2020:12) noted the following important factor: the stages of the SIIM are not distinct and entirely stable, which means they inevitably fluctuate over time. To illustrate this, in some cases an individual might be overlapping across two or more stages, or in other cases the participant might be in one stage and then move back to the previous stage. It all depends on small social changes taking place within the overall context, such as positive or negative experiences in the host community.

The four-stage SIIM relies on the neo-Piagetian developmental approach. The neo-Piagetian approach accounts for the developmental changes that occur in the self over time (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:370), specifically how the self develops by becoming more complex from childhood to adulthood. For an individual to adjust and integrate, two key cognitive aspects are crucial. Firstly, "establish interconnections (i.e., cognitive links) among different self-components (social identities)", and secondly, "create meaningful higher order self-representations which bind the different self-components" (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:370). Furthermore, an overlap or various similarities between past and new social identities assist the integration process. The overlap between one's existing identity and the new identity could determine the extent to which the new identity will be easy to integrate (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:370). In other words, if the individual emigrates to a country with some similar aspects (e.g., familiar cultural activities), the integration process might be a little easier than if there were no similarities. Amiot *et al.* (2007:370), state that if the overlap or similarity between the two social contexts is non-existent, it will be challenging for the individual to relate and integrate within the new social context.

Some of the challenges that emigrants face are considered in the integration model. These challenges influence the extent to which emigrants (or any other individual experiencing a social change) move from one developmental stage to the next. The challenges can work to either inhibit the social integration or adjustment process or to facilitate it. The next few sections

provide a discussion of the four developmental stages (i.e. anticipatory categorisation, categorisation, compartmentalisation, and integration) followed by an overview of the challenging factors that individuals face when relating and integrating into their new social context.

2.5.1. Anticipatory categorisation:

The first stage initiates the process of identity integration of the self and starts as soon as an individual anticipates a change in their life, even before the actual change (in this context, the emigration) occurs and before the individual starts engaging with the new social group (i.e., the members of the new host community) (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:372). During this stage the individual may start to visualise or speculate how living in the new host community will be and how the members of the new community will react towards and with the emigrants (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:372). However, after the change has occurred, some emigrants realise that the ideas initially visualised were far from realistic. During this stage, the emigrant will establish the valid characteristics and dynamics of the new host community. To illustrate, a study focused on one emigrant and their identity integration into New Zealand showed this emigrant speculating about her new host community and how her life might be after she has moved. The emigrant visualises herself as in a state of 'floating', while in the process of integrating into the 'new' community (Barkhuizen, 2020:7-8). Furthermore, she acknowledges that she needs to adapt to the 'norm' of the new context and thus acknowledges the requirement to anchor herself in her new life in New Zealand (Barkhuizen, 2020:8).

2. Categorisation:

During this stage, an individual is confronted with an actual change and the person encounters the new social group (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:373). In an emigration context, the emigrant enters this phase after the actual move has taken place. At this stage "distinct social identities are recognized, and differences (in terms of values, norms) among social identities become highly salient…" (Amiot et al., 2007:373). The differences between the individual (i.e. emigrant) and the new host community members are highly differentiated, and the integration process is thus only beginning. This means that the emigrant will not consider the new group's characteristics as

being part of the self (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:373). Furthermore, there is no intra-individual conflict between different identities within the self of the emigrant. The reasons being that the emigrant "identifies predominantly with his or her original culture" and the emigrant still has a lack of knowledge[9] regarding the host community required to establish connections between the two identities (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:373). During this phase it is safe to assume that individuals experience some type of culture shock after they moved to the host community. Culture shock refers to a "sense of confusion and uncertainty sometimes, with feelings of anxiety that may affect people exposed to an alien culture or environment without adequate preparation" (Merriam Webster, 2022). This dissertation tracks the emigration process of individuals who are within different timeframes of their emigration – duration of stay – which can help determine how long or when integration accelerates (i.e. speeds up) or becomes possible.

3. Compartmentalisation

During this developmental stage, the individual (i.e. emigrant) engages and increasingly interacts with the new host community in various contexts such as work, social, stores, church, and so forth. As the individual engages with members of the host community, he or she increasingly identifies with some aspects of the host community or country culture (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:374). As the interaction increases, the emigrant starts to identify with different social groups in the host community and starts to "realise that he or she belongs to these groups" (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:374). The increased contact and interaction lead to the establishment of further interconnections and cognitive links between the self-components relating to the old and new host community (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:374). This means that although the emigrant could consider him or herself as part of the new host community the identities remain segregated and highly dependent on context. The construction of a simultaneous (or hybrid) identity is not yet possible (Amiot *et al.,* 2007: 374). For example, the emigrant recognises the differences between the social identities, starts to establish overlaps or connections (similarities) between the two, and relates these aspects to the

[9] "The developmental task at this stage is to deal with the novelty and uncertainty brought about by the changing situation, doing so allows the individual to derive order from the situation and to become more aware of the characteristics pertaining to the different social identities involved" (Amiot *et al*, 2007:374).

group or social identity they belong to. The social identities remain separate and distinct and relate to different contexts. An emigrant from Russia to Canada does not perceive her identity as Canadian and remains identifying herself as distinctly Russian in certain contexts (for example when interacting with her family members) (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). Fundamental to this development stage is that multiple social identities remain compartmentalised and thus remain distinct and separate; but still important to one's "self" (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). To explain, some of the participants in the study conducted by Foreman, (2003:236) considered themselves as partly Australian and partly Canadian or American. For example, participant Carrie's feelings about her national identity also changed depending on the situation. During an interview she stated:

> CIOO: yeah, so do you feel more like an Australian now or more like you're American?
>
> C: probably since I've been married and had children I feel more Australian, than American but, um I find like with the Olympic games and things it's very difficult because I don't know who I wanna go for {laughter} so I sort of tend to avoid you know international things like that um and if I only could choose one nationality I would stay American um but I suppose wherever my family is home so if they moved to the States I suppose you know what I mean? (Foreman, 2003:236)

Foreman (2003:238) suggested that the reason for the uncertainty and the distortion of 'home' is due to the fact that most of the participants were still thinking about returning to their native countries, whether North America or Australia. However, these participants still showed changes in the dialect. In essence, Foreman (2003:44), claims that

> accepting an Australian identity did not guarantee a fully Australian [dialect] for the subjects in this study, nor did the maintenance of a North American identity necessarily guarantee the maintenance of that [dialect], but out of the twelve subjects who did acquire some AusE phones, eight had at least a partly Australian identity.

The above statement brings us to the next phase of the SIIM.

4. Integration

During this stage, the previous context-dependent identities (in phase 3) become more integrated and are now both important to an individual's sense of who they are. In essence, the "[emigrant] come[s] to recognise that multiple and distinct social identities are simultaneously important to

their self" (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). Because the emigrant acknowledges the differences and the similarities between the different identities, the self feels coherent rather than conflicted. The result of this phase is the recognition that the different components constituting one's self "are no longer context dependent and that multiple social identities can contribute to the overall self- concept in a distinct and positive manner" (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). For example, as the Russian emigrant interacts in the Canadian host community, the two identities become simultaneously important to her (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:376). The emigrant develops and utilises different cognitive strategies to overcome or cope with any cultural and identity conflict that he or she experiences. One of these strategies is *acculturation orientation*, which involves adopting a new cultural identity while maintaining one's own cultural heritage (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:376). Another strategy is *bicultural identity integration,* which is defined as the "degree to which bi-culturals perceive their mainstream and ethnic identities as compatible rather than oppositional and difficult to integrate" (Amiot et al., 2007:376). In essence, both these cognitive strategies are similar in terms of allowing individuals to develop the ability to be competent in two cultures without losing their cultural identity or having to choose one identity over another. The *acculturation orientation* concept is used in the studies conducted by Foreman (2003) and Howie (2018). Research has confirmed positive correlations between bicultural identity integration and the length of time spent in one's new country (Amiot et al., 2007:376). As mentioned previously, eight participants displayed an identity integration in the study conducted by Foreman (2003:244). These participants have been living in Australia between the lengths of 6 years up to 25 years (Foreman, 2003:132). In addition, in the study conducted by Howie (2018:266), most of the participants had acquired at least some features of the New Zealand English dialect, even though they still had some AfrE features as well. Nevertheless, most of these subjects had identified themselves as either Kiwi or as New Zealander, showing evidence of the acculturation process. Furthermore, these participants had have been living in New Zealand for ten years or more (Howie, 2018:23). This illustrates the positive correlation between level of social identity integration[10] and length of residence. Acculturation or bicultural identity integration can also be

[10] The dissertation uses social identity integration, identity integration and/or integration as referring to the integration process explained by the Social Identity Integration Model.

perceived as the development of a hybrid identity. An example of this would be a South African emigrant who would identify him or herself as a South African American, illustrating for the most part the non-conflicting adoption and integration of both social identities within the self.

2.6. Factors facilitating and inhibiting identity integration

There are a few factors outlined by Amiot *et al* (2007:377) that influence the integration process either by inhibiting the process or facilitating it. The integration process, post-emigration, is a difficult and effortful task. It requires the use of active coping and adaptation strategies. Two factors inhibit the identity integration process: feelings of threat and status and power asymmetries (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:378). Feelings of threat in the host community slow down the developmental and integration process and decrease the emigrants' identification with the host community (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:378). The perceptions of threat in the host community are relative to each emigrant and play an important role in slowing or inhibiting the process of identity integration.

Status and power asymmetries involve the role that intergroup structure plays and whether one culture or group is dominant over another in the host community (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:378). An example of this would be when an individual feels there is inequality and high differentiation of their own culture within the new host community. However, when groups share similar power and status, this will facilitate the integration process. For example, a highly multi-cultural host community should facilitate the identity integration of the emigrant into the host community, since multiple cultures are the fundamental basis of - and are welcomed into - the host community. To illustrate, some of the South African participants, in the study by Howie (2018:244), explained that they have experienced some sort of discrimination from some New Zealanders. Some of the participants who experienced discrimination often assumed that it was due to the negative connotations of Apartheid in South African history and others said it was due to their accent but not necessarily because they are 'South African'. Some of the participants may have been the victims of defamatory remarks made by New Zealanders in attempts by the offenders to distance themselves from South Africa and its history of racism, by creating an out- group situation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

On the other hand, such feelings of threat or power asymmetries can in some cases facilitate or encourage the identity integration process. To illustrate, Howie (2018: 246-247) explains:

> [within the host community], the participants… may already be struggling with their self-identity through the impact of culture shock (Philipp & Ho, 2010; Winbush & Selby, 2015), and reeling at the loss of the Afrikaans speech community in South Africa which had supported their identity and their language (Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006; Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005). These individuals may strive, to anchor their struggling self-identities, to acculturate to the New Zealand identity and accept all things Kiwi, especially in the face of discrimination and overt lessening of their self-worth.

There are two other factors outlined by Amiot *et al* (2007:379) that facilitate the identity integration process namely, coping and adaptation, and social support. Coping is defined as the ability of an individual to manage the internal and external demands of a troubled or stressful environmental situation (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:379). Coping efforts are developmental mechanisms used to assist in self-development and adaptation to a new and challenging environment. It is proposed by Amiot *et al.,* (2007:379) that coping efforts are the strategies by which individuals meet the demands of their changing environment and concretely deal with them, and they could represent mechanisms that facilitate the integration of new social identities. Coping mechanisms operate in various life-changing contexts such as parenthood, career transitions, residential relocation and acculturation as in the case of emigration and organisational mergers.

In the context of emigration, research suggests that there are two different types of coping strategies used by emigrants: active coping strategies and avoidance coping strategies (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:379). Active coping strategies lead to positive feelings about one's new cultural group ,whereas avoidance leads to negative feelings (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:380). It can be assumed that active coping strategies facilitate the integration process, while avoidance would delay the integration process. To illustrate, the participant Mia, who emigrated from South Africa to New Zealand, utilises her high standard of English as a tool in her engagement with the host community (Barkhuizen, 2020:11). Her English is used as an active coping mechanism that facilitates her integration into the host community – hence an active coping strategy is used.

Social support not only from the host community, but also from one's previous community is essential in facilitating the identity integration process. Social interaction assists in the development of one's social identity (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:380). Interaction with members of the host community assists the individual in establishing cognitive links between the pre-existing knowledge and new knowledge of the old and new host community. Furthermore, support from members of one's new social group (assuming one can be authentic in the group context) and establishing meaningful relations with these group members should facilitate the identity integration process (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:380). Research suggests that social support from one's own family members assists in the maintenance of one's own cultural identity and the development of one's new social identity (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:380). Social support is also a factor that stimulates the development of coping mechanisms; thus, the lack thereof can assumingly inhibit the identity integration process. In the context of this dissertation, the various emigration challenges and coping strategies of the emigrants are explored through lengthy interviews with each emigrant.

Summary

The chapter started with a brief outline of the main theories and research in second-language acquisition. Thereafter a detailed literature review was provided on the main field relevant to this study, namely second-dialect acquisition. The literature identified and discussed the influence of age, gender and length-of-residence on dialect acquisition and identity integration. The chapter provided a detailed discussion concerning the complexities of social identity and motivation and the role thereof in second-dialect acquisition. The Social Identity Integration Model or the SIIM was outlined and discussed in detail as providing insight on how identity integration occurs post-emigration. Chapter 2 ended with the factors that could facilitate or inhibit identity integration. The next chapter contextualises the emigration context: white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in North Dakota.

CHAPTER 3

PART I: Afrikaner identity, Afrikaner Emigration and a brief contextualisation of North Dakota, USA

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part I begins the literature review of Afrikaner identity and its development from 1902 to post-Apartheid 1994, including the most recent studies on the development of this particular identity. Thereafter, the chapter provides emigration facts and reasons for the emigration of South Africans to popular destinations such as the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia amongst others. This chapter also briefly highlights the emigration routes through which the participants in this study have immigrated to North Dakota, USA. Part I of this chapter ends with a brief contextualisation of the host community to which the participants have immigrated and settled into, namely, North Dakota in the United States of America.

Part II introduces the languages and varieties relevant to this study. These are the Afrikaans language, South African English (SAfE), Afrikaans English (AfrE) and North American English (NAmE). Emphasis is placed on the Afrikaans language and its importance to the Afrikaner identity, as well as its decline in post-Apartheid South Africa. Thereafter, a contextualisation of the development of SAfE is provided as discussed by most recent researchers (Lass, 2004; Mesthrie, 2004; and Bekker, 2012). Next a brief introduction of the development of AfrE is given, followed by a brief discussion of the linguistic variables of SAfE, AfrE and NAmE, with a specific focus on the linguistic variables applicable to the impressionistic analysis that formed a part of this study.

3.1. The Afrikaner

The Afrikaner people are not solely descended from a Dutch heritage. The first French emigrants landed and settled in the Cape of Good Hope in 1688 after they had fled from religious persecution in France (Bryer & Theron, 1987:54). These emigrants eventually integrated into the Afrikaans population because of similar religious beliefs (Bryer & Theron, 1987:56-68) ,and their integration can still be seen today from common Afrikaner surnames such as Du Toit, De

Villiers, Le Roux, and so forth. Immigrants from Germany and Malaysia also integrated into the Afrikaner population, with Malay influence still present in the Afrikaans language today (Worden, Van Heyningen & Brickford-Smith, 2012:61-84). To illustrate, the word *piesang* ,meaning 'banana', and the word *baie* meaning 'very' or 'a lot' are examples of the influence of the Malay language.

Afrikaans became the language spoken by the Afrikaner people, and soon diversity amongst (at least white) emigrants was overcome by a shared language, and later shared political orientations. As time passed, a cohesive social group was formed, and the Afrikaner identity grew. It is important to mention that the individuals that are part of the Afrikaner identity discussed here are mostly so-called 'white' Afrikaans speakers. Although the Afrikaner identity is by no means the only (Afrikaans) cultural identity in South Africa, it is the focus of this dissertation. This Afrikaner identity can be perceived as a strong and separate identity when placed in comparison to other social groups in South Africa. To illustrate, white South African L1-English speakers are a relatively undefined and disjointed group, and studies show that they prefer to define themselves as not Afrikaners or not Blacks (i.e., negatively) (Sennett & Foster, 1996; Salusbury & Foster, 2004). Generally, many white South African English speakers seemingly, therefore, do not have a particularly cohesive identity. This is because these individuals often retain many connections to their European heritage and thus have a sense of global belonging (Steyn, 2005). As a result, they do not require a belonging or involved identity with each other. In contrast, the Afrikaans identity is comparatively rooted in the country of South Africa and in the Afrikaans language (Howie, 2018:46), which is explained next.

The First Stage: 1902-1947

The development of the Afrikaner identity is complex and entails much more detail and attention than this dissertation can provide. This dissertation presents a brief outline of the growth of the white Afrikaner identity according to the three separate stages outlined by Louw (2004). The first stage runs between 1902-1947. A recurring trend during this stage was that of the development of Afrikaans identity in opposition to Anglo cultural imperialism (Louw 2004:44), or in other words, the colonialism of the British Empire. This stage does not mark the first time that the

Afrikaner identity had been present. The Afrikaner identity was present before 1902, and can be seen, arguably, as early as before the Great Trek, with the writings of Hendrik Biebouw (also referred to as Biebualt), the first man who referred to himself as an Afrikaner by stating "Ik ben een Africaander" in 1707 (Prinsloo, 1994:7-9).

The period between 1902 and 1947 was, however, an important time, as the Afrikaner identity had begun to accelerate in its actual development and around a more cohesive social group with one language, namely Afrikaans. After the Second Boer War (1892-1902), the Afrikaner middle- class was left in acute poverty and the Afrikaners saw the British establish English as the official language of commerce, industry, and state – leaving Afrikaans banned from all education facilities (Louw, 2004:45). The depression of the early 1930s forced many Afrikaners to relocate to the new and competitive urban areas, where 40% of urbanised males worked in low-paid manual labour positions such as mine workers, railway workers and bricklayers (Grundlingh, 2012). Poverty was not restricted in the urban areas, but it was also prominent in the Northern Cape and the Bushveld area of the Transvaal, where small scale farmers were struggling. As another example, in the southern areas of the Cape, independent woodcutters were challenged by "greedy wood merchants" (Grundlingh, 2012). It was clear that the Afrikaner people needed a different outcome. Thus, Afrikaner nationalism began to rise within this context of urbanisation and industrialisation in South Africa (Grundlingh, 2012). The building blocks of this organisation was the promotion of the Afrikaans language and an emphasis on what was a perceived to be a common past and shared religion. Afrikaner nationalism was directed toward (and promoted by) middle-class Afrikaners such as ministers of religion, academics, journalists, farmers, and so forth (Grundlingh, 2012). Many members that were leading the Afrikaner middle-class belonged to a secret organisation called the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (i.e., Afrikaner group of Brothers). This organisation had been growing behind the scenes since before the time of the Great Trek. The *Afrikaner Broederbond* refers to an "ethnic affiliation based on innate characteristics of people and families of their culture" (Keegan, 1988:148). The purpose of the organisation was to promote the exclusive interests of the "true" Afrikaners and to reunite rural people with urban people, rich and poor, political idealists and pragmatists under the banner of Afrikaner nationalism (Grundlingh, 2012). Through this group affiliation and co-operation, it was hoped

that the position of Afrikaans speakers could be improved. The growing resentment toward the British grew and over time, increasing inequality between the majority of Afrikaners and a minority of English speakers provided an opportunity for the Afrikaner Nationalist Party (NP) to win the 1948 elections (Davies, 2009:25), which ends stage one of the Afrikaner identity development.

The Second Stage: 1948-1994.

During this stage, the new government (i.e. the Afrikaner Nationalist Party) had initiated a form of nation-building referred to as 'Apartheid'. Some of the most used definitions of the term read as follows:

> Apartheid means total segregation of the African people and all non-Europeans in the country, permanent denial of human rights, permanent *baasskap*, master race, and inferiority for anything non-white. That . . . is the meaning of Apartheid' (Mokgatle, 1971: 271).
>
> It is something much deeper and much more appalling. In a word, it is 'white supremacy, now and always'. . . . It is not white self-preservation that is considered a sufficient motive force today; it is white supremacy, that and nothing less (Huddleston, 1956: 252–3).

During the first few years, the Nationalist Party quickly enforced legislation to separate races and initiate the Apartheid ideals that the party had in mind (Clark & Worger, 2013:49). In essence, South African residents would have different rights and privileges based on their race. According to Zegeye, Liebenberg & Houston (2000:154), the most significant legislation during the Apartheid era was the Population Registration Act of 1950. This Act classified the South African population into four racial groups specifically, white, black, Indian, and coloured. A white individual was viewed as a person who "in appearance obviously is a white person and who is not generally accepted as a coloured person…" (Zegeye *et al.,* 2000:154). A black individual was perceived as "generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe" and a coloured person was a person "who is not a white person or a black" and inclusive of the Malay, Griqua (Griekwa) and Chinese (Sjinese) groups.

In addition to separating races, Apartheid ensured that the white minority would be able to define the borders of a national territory where the nationalist state could develop and function (Howie,

2018:27). Black individuals were forced to live in *homelands,* which generally were rural areas with few opportunities for employment. These *homelands* were the answer to the Afrikaners' sense of minority-ness in comparison to the majority of black individuals (Louw, 2004:44). In essence, the aim was to "separate-out" the different groups and for Afrikaners to have their own "national space" (Cronje, 1945:39-40). The *homelands* furthermore acted as migratory reserves for the black South African workforce, which allowed for low wages on top of low-quality working conditions (Zegeye *et al.,* 2000:154-155).

During this phase the Afrikaans language increased its status and was developed as the significant and primary language spoken by the Afrikaner people and state. By this time, the Afrikaans language had become a cornerstone of Afrikaner identity and served to entrench the Afrikaner identity even further (Zegeye *et al.,* 2000:156). To illustrate, Apartheid had constructed separate regional spaces for nine different black ethnic groups based on their *eiesoortigheid* or their "own-ness", and part of this was an attempt to help 'promote' their different languages (nine black languages), but Afrikaans was encouraged with much more urgency (Louw, 2004:45). The Afrikaner nationalists enforced the use of Afrikaans throughout South Africa with the aim of making it at least equal to English. Thus, the Afrikaans language was actively promoted in Afrikaans medium schools, universities, colleges and in literature such as newspapers, books, dictionaries, and magazines (Louw, 2004:45). Furthermore, electronic media were also used to promote Afrikaans. National radio and television broadcast Afrikaans advertisements, various programmes, films, and theatre along with English ones (Louw, 2004:45). This all enhanced the status and the use of Afrikaans as a significant language in South Africa and assisted the promotion of the nationalists' agenda. As Bourdieu (1991:164) points out, language is a vital resource that contains symbolic capital which provides access to opportunities and networks and can, in addition, increase a government's ability to sustain inequalities.

According to Du Preez (1983:73), teachers were important in promoting the nationalist agenda of developing the Afrikaner identity. The relevant textbooks and teaching methods were used to teach children about the history of the Afrikaner people, their struggles and pride. Some of the beliefs and values that were taught include that authority is not to be questioned, white people

are superior, South Africa is an agricultural country, and the Afrikaner people are farmers, South Africa belongs to the Afrikaner, the Afrikaner is threatened, and the Afrikaner has a special relationship with God (Du Preez, 1983:73; Zegege *et al.,* 2000:156). The repetition of these principles facilitated and reinforced a common identity among the Afrikaner people and this identity was built upon a shared culture, traditions, beliefs and one language.

The Afrikaner identity was and is further linked to a particular set of Christian beliefs. As mentioned, the individuals that are part of the Afrikaner people often regard themselves as having a special relationship with God. To illustrate, the Afrikaner people have compared themselves and their Great Trek journey to the history of how God led the Israelites out of Egypt (Cloete, 1992). Furthermore, the Afrikaner people had also made a pact with God, celebrated on the Day of the Vow on December 16th (now referred to as the Day of Reconciliation), which is similar to the pact Moses and his people made with God[11] (Cloete, 1992:43-44).

Along with implementing this special God-given status, the government also used different projects and campaigns to facilitate the development of the Afrikaner Nationalist identity, mostly aimed at a pliable middle-class. Thus, the development of such an Afrikaner middle-class was the aim of initiatives such as the establishment of the Rand Afrikaans University, and scholarships for poor Afrikaners (Cronje, 1945). Other initiatives included the development and encoding of the new Afrikaans language; creating an Afrikaans education system to facilitate an Afrikaans-literate public; promoting the Afrikaans identity as separate from European (Dutch and English) influence; organising an Afrikaner 'cultural space' (with a geographic location) in order to separate the Afrikaner identity from Anglo-South Africans; and increasing the Afrikaans- based infrastructure such as newspapers, schools, magazines, radio and television through which the Afrikaner identity could be fostered (Howie, 2018:30-31; Louw, 2004:48-49; Louw-Potgieter & Giles, 1987:268-270). Essentially, "the Afrikaans language became the cornerstone of Afrikaner identity" (Zegege *et al.,* 2000:156).

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[11] In Exodus 3:1-15, God calls Moses to lead the people to freedom and toward a land filled with milk and honey. Through Moses' action, God will fulfil the promise made to Abraham that his descendants will live in a fruitful land that is given to him and his descendants.

By the 1970s the Afrikaner identity had become self-sustaining and dynamic, based upon shared beliefs and an established language. The Afrikaner people could place and relate to a sense of "group-ness", tied to a geographical boundary, along with their in-group solidarity, cultural practices, beliefs, and discourses which separated them from 'other' South Africans (Louw, 2004:53). As the 1970's progressed into the 1980s more Afrikaners found themselves comfortably placed in the middle class of the population during a period of industrialisation and urbanisation which had been planned and laid out by the Apartheid government (Louw, 2004:53). According to Blaser (2012), this increase in middle-class Afrikaners began to unravel the Nationalist Party regime from within. The middle-class Afrikaner began to shift toward a more individualised identity as a reaction to their newfound independence, consumerism, and new investment within the global economy (Davies, 2009:33-35). Amongst other factors such as demographic and economic change, this shift in identity and political beliefs facilitated the downfall of the regime (Blaser, 2012:15-18), which brings the Afrikaner identity into the third phase.

The Third Stage: Post-Apartheid and the decline of Afrikaans and Afrikaner identity

The Apartheid government (National Party) ran from 1948 to 1994, and its membership and support consisted mainly of Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans (Davies, 2009:37). In the 1994 elections, the first black government was democratically voted into parliament, and the Afrikaans community suddenly found themselves to be one of the minority groups of South Africa once again (Louw, 2004:55). Van Zyl-Hermann (2018:3-4) explains that post-apartheid South Africa confronted the white Afrikaner people with "assertive Africanism" and new government policies that "favoured the previously disadvantaged population". The new government was fuelled by resentment from the Apartheid era and was on the move towards "Black empowerment" (Howie, 2018:32). The new government established a new language policy, which stipulated the equalisation of 11 official languages. In practice, Afrikaans was also replaced by English as the main language of the state, which facilitated the sharp decline of Afrikaans (Louw, 2004:54), discussed later in section 3.5.

The old nationalist project (the approach of promoting one ethnicity and culture over another) was replaced "with the Atlantic Charter model of nation building" (Louw, 2004:54). The Atlantic Charter promotes a vision of "national" political participation that transforms Anglo-derived governance, value systems and economic processes into a "pan-human Universalism" (Greenfield, 1993:446). Howie (2018:33) explains that this charter is of great importance, because it is rooted in the United States' nation-building model. There are of course important differences, but the current dissertation is not concerned with going into detail by discussing different models of nation-building. In essence, the Atlantic Charter model promoted a more unified South African population and pushed toward more multicultural norms with English as the mainstream language. South Africa now has 11 official languages, with English as the dominant language in government, commerce and education and the language of progress and development (Barkhuizen, 2002:501; Kamwangamalu, 2000:52-53).

With English as the mainstream language and focus on the increased use use of African languages in high status domains such as university education, Afrikaans started to significantly decline in various domains. To illustrate, prominent Afrikaans acronyms for state-owned institutions were translated into or in some cases back into English, for example the *Suid- Afrikaanse Uitsaaikorporasie* (SAUK) was translated back to *South African Broadcasting Service* (SABC) and the *Suid-Afrikaanse Lugdiens* (SAL) was changed back to *South African Airways* (SAA) (Du Plooy & Grobler, 2002:8-10). Furthermore, the use of Afrikaans in higher education and academic publishing has been and is increasingly being replaced by English and by the utilising of resources to increase the use of African languages in higher education. Afrikaans-medium institutes are required to offer English medium classes for these institutes to become more accessible to non-Afrikaners. More recently, political protests by students motivated by government to dismantle the apartheid higher education system contributed to mergers between Afrikaans and English educational institutes, resulting in English as the main medium of the combined institution (Louw, 2004:55).

Essentially, phase three (the decline of the Afrikaner identity) starts with the decline of the Afrikaans language and the type of Afrikaner unity that was built in phase two. Howie (2018:35)

highlights that, along with a loss of government and security, came hostility directed at the Afrikaner culture and language. A situation such as this can, of course, lead an individual, in this case, an Afrikaner, to question or re-evaluate their personal identity. Breakwell (1986) explains that when an individual moves into a new social matrix (in this case a significant change in government, rules, and legislation), they will often be required to re-evaluate their personal identity. This change or re-evaluation could be voluntary, or it can be forced or necessary when social circumstances surrounding an individual change. Howie (2018:38), explains as part of the results of his study, that some of the Afrikaans-speaking white South African emigrants in his study revised their identity and some of these Afrikaners came to identify themselves as simply South African, whereas other individuals' Afrikaner identity became stronger in the face of adversity.

After the 1994 elections and in response to the decline of the Afrikaans language in the country, some attempts were made to preserve the language and strengthen the Afrikaner identity. To illustrate, the Afrikaans language is celebrated through festivals, the continued publication of Afrikaans literature and the production of Afrikaans music (Alsheh & Elliker, 2015:234-238). Songs such as "De La Rey", released in 2007, were controversial and appealed to many Afrikaners who were feeling nostalgic and needed a symbol to celebrate their identity and heritage (Van der Waal & Robins, 2011:765-769). Since then, more songs have been released such as "Sing Afrikaner Sing, and "Harde Kole Brand", which illustrates possible growth points and restored pride in the Afrikaner identity. Even though the Afrikaner identity is celebrated, and efforts are made to preserve it, it has still, overall, declined since 1994 and could continue to do so in the future.

"Afrikanerdom" can be defined as "the systematic expression of an exclusively Afrikaans-speaking political, cultural and social movement, committed to preserving its uniqueness by establishing its hegemony over the whole country" (Legum & Legum, 1964:17). When Apartheid was abolished, this solid sub-structure of Afrikaner identity collapsed, leaving the Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans at a much lower status, clearly challenging the continuity of the Afrikaner identity (Korf & Malan, 2002:151-153). The aftermath of the 1994

elections, along with the decline of the Afrikaner identity and diminished use of the Afrikaans language, left many Afrikaners with increased feelings of disenchantment (Howie, 2018:35), resulting in many families leaving the country. Most of these families were highly educated, professionally skilled, white, and often Afrikaans- speaking South Africans (Van der Waal, 2015:196-7). This population movement has been referred to as "the new Great Trek" (Van Rooyen, 2000:11-12), the "brain drain", the "slip or stay issue" or "the chicken run" (Brand, 2003).

As mentioned previously, some of the Afrikaans-speaking emigrants in the study conducted by Howie (2018:37), have shifted their identities to a more inclusive South African identity, distancing themselves from Apartheid history. In other instances, researchers found that some feel downhearted due to the loss of their privileged status (Blaser, 2012), while others acknowledge that their identity is a personal choice (Davies, 2009:72), in other words that they choose who they want to identify with, and it is not necessarily the Afrikaner identity of the past. According to Davies (2009:72), "Afrikaners are more connected to the globalised political economy" in this day and age. As a result of this, along with other reasons such as crime, political and economic insecurity, and loss of identity, more and more Afrikaners have decided to leave the country (Howie, 2018:228; Barkhuizen 2004:106; Louw, 2004:51). According to Firsing (2015) white South Africans are predominantly emigrating to Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States, all English-speaking countries.

3.2. Post-1994 Afrikaner Emigration Reasons

The Afrikaans South African emigrants in the study conducted by Howie (2018) highlighted several reasons to justify their decision to emigrate. The economic downtrend and the sinking value of the South African Rand are the two main reasons (Howie, 2018:232). Furthermore, the concern for safety was also among the top reasons, since some of the participants had personal experiences with crime, and in some cases had faced life-threatening situations (Howie, 2018:228). Other sentiments included a feeling of discrimination and lack of opportunity in South Africa. The emigrants mentioned reasons related to experiences of discrimination because

of government policies such as Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment[12] (Howie, 2018:238). In addition, after the election of the African National Congress in 1994, English became more popular as the dominant language in mainstream areas, whereas Afrikaans has seen a continuous decline in various communities and contexts where it had previously thrived. As a result, there is a significant feeling of loss amongst the Afrikaner population which, in turn, contributes to their experience of trauma and identity dislocation (Louw, 2004:51). A study conducted by Barkhuizen (2004:106) showed that the South African emigrants (Afrikaners) in New Zealand, "have noted with resignation, sadness or annoyance that their mother tongue is declining rapidly and losing ground to English." All of the participants in Barkhuizen's study (2004:106) recognised the increased use of English in work environments, and thus linguistic issues have contributed to a sense of detachment from South Africa and have motivated their decision to move to another country (Barkhuizen, 2004:106). This dissertation intends to investigate, among other things, the reasons the participants in this study made the decision to establish a new life in North Dakota, in the United States of America.

3.3. South African Emigration Facts

The emigration of white South Africans to other countries continues to be high. According to the *Statistics South Africa Report* released in July 2015, a total number of 95 158 of the 4.53 million white South Africans has left the country since the year 2011 (Stats SA, 2015: 7). In the years prior, specifically from 1986 to 2011, a total number of 549 940 white South Africans have emigrated (see Table 1).

[12] These policies seek to increase the numbers of black Africans, and other minority groups such as Coloureds, Indians, and women in the workplace (Howie, 2018:238).

	African	Indian/Asian	White
1986–2000	828 750	14 476	-304 112
2001–2006	561 398	23 335	-133 782
2006–2011	673 706	34 689	-112 046
2011–2016	779 593	40 929	-95 158

Table 1: *International migration assumptions (Stats SA, 2015:4)*

Even though it is evident that the emigration of the white population has decreased (as per the table) over the years, the total number of emigrants remains high and continues to significantly decrease the white population of South Africa. When investigating the migration assumptions, the white column shows a negative number, which indicates the number of white individuals who have migrated out of the country. The columns for black and Indian show a positive number, which illustrates migration into South Africa. It is important to mention that the figures in these tables are only extrapolations and predictions made every year, hence explaining why the numbers differ every year (from table to table). Tables 2 and 3 show more recent statistics on international emigration, specifically those provided in 2019 and 2020. As can be seen for the period 2011 to 2016, estimates of white South African emigration increased to over 100 000 in 2019 and 2020 (Stats SA, 2019:3). However, the (Stats SA, 2020:3) Table 3 extrapolations show a decrease in emigration between 2016 to 2021 from 115 906 to 86 520 (Stats SA, 2019 & 2020) i.e. in comparison to the 2019 Table 2's extrapolation. The reason for the decrease in numbers in 2020 is mostly due to the Covid-19 global pandemic. In March of 2020, the world encountered an outbreak of the Coronavirus disease referred to as Covid-19. The pandemic affected the international emigration for the period of April 2020 to June 2021, reflective of the South African lockdown regulations (Stats SA, 2020:2).

	Black African	Indian/Asian	White	Net international migration
1985–2000	588 847	36 908	-202 868	422 887
2001–2006	546 993	25 310	-99 574	472 729
2006–2011	809 780	43 222	-106 787	746 215
2011–2016	972 995	54 697	-111 346	916 346
2016–2021	1 094 864	60 791	-115 906	1 039 749

Note: The estimate refers the flow figure from 30th June of the first year in the period to 1st July of the last year of the period.

Table 2: *International Migration assumptions (Stats SA, 2019:3)*

	Black African	Indian/Asian	White	Net international migration
1985–2000	632 633	36 908	-202 868	466 673
2001–2006	565 916	25 310	-99 574	491 652
2006–2011	815 780	43 222	-106 787	752 215
2011–2016	972 995	54 697	-111 346	916 346
2016–2021	867 860	44 921	-86 520	826 261

Note: The estimate refers the flow figure from 30th June of the first year in the period to 1st July of the last year of the period.

Table 3: *International Migration assumptions (Stats SA, 2020:3)*

There are five main destinations to which white South Africans are emigrating to, namely: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. According to Firsing (2015), roughly 2 300 South Africans entered Australia between July 2014 and May 2015, with the intention to settle permanently. The Canadian Immigration Statistics illustrate a consistent pattern of South Africans emigrating to Canada (Firsing, 2015). Statistics from 2005 to 2014 display those fluctuations as between 900 to 1300 South Africans emigrating to Canada each year (Firsing, 2015). The number of South African emigrants to New Zealand has increased from 1 191 in 2013 to 1 519 in 2014 and 2 036 in 2015 (Firsing, 2015). Generally, white South Africans emigrate to the United Kingdom by means of ancestry and dual citizenship. Emigration to the United Kingdom shows a high number of 9 385 in 2004, which had, however, dropped to 3 213 in 2014. Although the numbers have dropped over the years, emigration to the United Kingdom is still high compared to the other countries previously mentioned.

The United States is currently the third most popular destination for South African emigration, after behind the United Kingdom and Australia. However, New Zealand is growing in popularity as a South African emigration destination (Visa Place, 2020). Emigration to the United States

displays long-term growth over many years. To illustrate, 15 505 South Africans emigrated between 1980 and 1989 (Firsing, 2015), while the number of emigrants increased to 21 964 between 1990 to 1999 and 32 221 between 2000 and 2009, and in recent years, emigrations have remained high with 2 700 to 3 000 South Africans moving annually to the United States between 2010 and 2013 (Firsing, 2015). These emigrants are settling in different States in North America. According to an article published by the *Pew Research Centre* in the United States, Africans (black and white) make up a small number of the immigration population in the United States of America (Anderson, 2017). There were 2.1 million African emigrants living in the United States in 2015, and they come from all over the continent, but the most popular countries of origin are Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Ghana, and Kenya (Anderson, 2017). South African emigrants are in sixth place on the top African countries list of immigrants to the USA, with a total number of 92 000 calculated as living in the US in 2015 (Anderson, 2017).

As mentioned previously, African emigrants are settling in various states in the USA. According to Anderson (2017), there are at least 100 000 foreign-born Africans found in Texas, New York, California, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Virginia. In addition, African emigrants make up roughly 15% of South Dakota's foreign-born population, as well as a substantial number of the immigration population in other areas such as Maryland, Vermont, Washington D.C and North Dakota (Anderson, 2017). Anderson (2017) does not, however, provide explicit immigration statistics on South African emigrants. Unfortunately, the researcher was unable to find data that included facts regarding emigrants from South Africa, but the researcher was able to find information on South Africans working in the United States and the routes that could be utilised to emigrate to the United States.

The ways in which South Africans have and are emigrating is through employment opportunities such as agricultural employment. The United States *Department of Labour* has seen a decline in the number of US-born farmworkers in rural areas. According to a report published in the *Wall Street Journal* in August 2015, agricultural products (fruit and vegetables) declined by more than 3 billion dollars annually as a result of a shortage of farmworkers (Murray, 2016). This shortage

of farm labour has several obvious disadvantages, including rotting crops, cutting of operating hours, and the inability of farmers to take full advantage of their resources (Murray, 2016).

The United States *Department of Labor* had reported that 7.9 million Americans were unemployed in 2016, but still the number of Americans available for farm work remained low (Murray, 2016). There are numerous reasons for the shortage of Americans working in the agricultural sector. To name a few: an unwillingness to engage in the hard labour associated with farming, the uncertainty that comes with seasonal or contract-based employment, reluctance to relocate to the remote rural areas, where most farms are located, and an aging agricultural community, where children of farmers are leaving in order to establish a life elsewhere (Murray, 2016).

For these reasons, a number of agricultural agencies have responded by recruiting hundreds of temporary farmworkers, mostly non-USA citizens, to the United States (Murray, 2016). One major agency, among many others, is *USA Farm Labor Inc*. The temporary foreign workers are provided with H-2A visas linked to seasonal, agricultural contract work within the United States (Pales, 2020). Most of the workers recruited by this particular agency are South Africans and recruitment is focused on the major agricultural areas such as North Dakota, Florida, Georgia, Washington, California, and Texas (Pales, 2020).

According to an article published by the *Great Falls Tribune* (Pales, 2020), H-2A visa holders (i.e. agricultural workers) were 11% of the total number of foreign workers across the country. It comes to a total number of 260 000 in the 2019 fiscal year, with the biggest category being general farm work. The general farm workers account for 12.4% of the overall number of agricultural workers, followed by other more specific farm categories, i.e. those specifically for berry, tobacco, fruit, and vegetable farm workers (Pales, 2020).

The South African H-2A visa holders are agricultural workers who were either established farmers in South Africa or are aspiring farmers going abroad in order to gain experience. Others feel forced to seek employment outside the borders of South Africa due to economic factors (Van Rooyen, 2000). Another agency, namely *Marketing Works International*, placed 220 South Africans in the US within one year, with employment contracts ranging from six to ten months

(Van Rooyen, 2000). In addition to the employment opportunities that South African farmers receive from the United States agricultural industry, some also receive the opportunity to apply for a green-card (also called a permanent resident card) which is sponsored by a farm employer. Through this process the employer (or in the case of a green-card application the employer is referred to as the sponsor) is required to file an immigrant petition for the potential immigrant farmworker (U.S Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2020). It is a lengthy and complicated process, and it requires the help of immigration lawyers. The following section provides brief information on the employment-based emigration process.

EMPLOYMENT-BASED EMIGRATION

There are several ways in which an individual (and their family) could immigrate to the United States. To illustrate, the United States provides immigrant visas based on family ties, employment, adoption, and special immigrant categories (Travel.State.Gov, 2021). The participants in this dissertation all utilised the Employment-based emigration approach. The Employment-based immigration approach has five different routes through which an employee can immigrate into the USA. These routes are named as follows: employment first preference (E1) for priority workers; employment second preference (E2) for professionals holding advanced degrees and persons of exceptional ability; employment third preference (E3) for skilled workers, professionals and unskilled (other) workers; employment fourth preference (E4) for certain special immigrants, and finally employment fifth preference (E5) for immigrant investors (Travel.state.gov, 2021).

This study focuses for the most part on E3 skilled workers, more specifically those skilled in the all-round knowledge of farming, whether it be crops or livestock. Some of the emigrants in this study have already received green-card status, but with some still in the process of obtaining their green-card status. The *United States Citizenship and Immigration Services* (2021) states that a green-card or Permanent Resident Card allows an individual to live and work permanently in the United States. The steps that an individual takes to apply for a green-card vary according to each individual situation (USCIS, 2021).

In order to successfully immigrate or receive your green-card, an E3 applicant must submit an *Immigrant Petition for an Alien worker (i.e., Form I-140)* which then has to be approved by the United States *Department of Labor*. This petition is filed by the worker's prospective employer or sponsor. After this petition is approved, the E3 applicant receives a Labour Certificate which is used to file for a Permanent Resident or green-card (Travel.State.Gov, 2021).

It is necessary to mention that one participant and his family in this study are E4 special immigrants. An E4 special immigrant needs be a beneficiary of an approved *Petition for an American Worker*, *Widow(er)*, or *Special Immigrant (i.e., Form I-130)* instead of an *Immigrant Petition for Alien worker*, and does not require a certificate from the *Department of Labor* to apply for a green-card (TravelState.Gov, 2021). Unfortunately, not all who receive a seasonal contract are able to immigrate permanently. Through observation of the participants, the researcher has gathered that it takes time to build a relationship between an employer and a worker before the employer is willing to take the green-card route, and it remains a lengthy and tedious process, taking up to a minimum of three years to finally receive your green-card.

In North Dakota, the H-2A agricultural workers have increased from 1 500 in 2017 to 1 700 in 2019, according to the *North Dakota Public of Commerce* (Pales, 2020). The *American Immigration Council* (2020) states that North Dakota has a small growing community of emigrants, with roughly 5% foreign-born residents. These emigrants are vital to North Dakota's labour force, with a total of 13% accounting for "the state's production employees" and "11% working in the manufacturing industry" (American Immigration Council, 2020). The report only focuses on the top 5 countries of origin, and this top 5 does not include South Africa. The largest immigrant groups in North Dakota come from the Philippines (8%), Bhutan (8%), Nepal (8%), Canada (6%) and Liberia (6%) (American Immigration Council, 2020). It can be assumed that South Africa has a lower percentage of immigrants in North Dakota, not worth mentioning in the article. The South African participants in this study are living and working in different geographic locations in North Dakota (discussed and illustrated in Chapter 4, section 4.3).

3.4. North Dakota: a brief contextualisation

"Dakota is considered to be the image of [the] American West, of proud Americans gazing out upon vast open spaces, of cowboys on horseback who wear denim and high boots for durability and protection rather than style, on the search for a better life as immigrants move westward."

(Anderson, 1990:6)

The name 'Dakota' is derived from the Sioux Native American individuals who inhabited the plains before the Europeans arrived in the 18th Century (O'Kelly, Robinson, & Munski, 2021). In short, these Native American groups were hunters and farmers, and later North Dakota became popular for fur-trading posts and settlements, but regardless the area remained rich in farmland and ranches as it is to this present day (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). North Dakota was originally part of the Minnesota and Nebraska territories, until they were re-organised to include two Dakota territories; North and South Dakota (History editors, 2018). Before the arrival of railroads in the late 1800s the area was sparsely populated, but finally became a state in 1889 (History editors, 2018). The state is popular for its scenic "Badlands", part of the *Theodore Roosevelt National Park*. President Theodore Roosevelt "fostered a legacy of resource conservation" which led to the creation of the Park, covering more than 70 000 acres in the Western part of North Dakota (History editors, 2018).

North Dakota was admitted to the unity of the United States of America as the 39th State on the 2nd of November 1889 (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). It is a north-central state, bordering on the Canadian provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba to the north, with the U.S states of Montana to the West, Minnesota to the east and South Dakota to the South (i.e., see map below) (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). Bismarck is the capital and is in the centre of North Dakota.

Map 1: *Cities of North Dakota*

The north-central location of North Dakota contributes to its climate of extreme temperatures. The temperatures have surged above 94 degrees Fahrenheit (about 34 degrees Celsius) in the summer (June, July and August) and during winters the temperature drops to the -60s degrees Fahrenheit (about -51 degrees Celsius) range (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). However, the temperatures vary in different parts of North Dakota. During the winter in the northeast regions, temperatures drop to 0 degrees Fahrenheit (-18 degrees Celsius) and as low as 20 degrees Fahrenheit (-6 degrees Celsius) in the southwest part (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). During the summer, temperatures on average vary from the lower 80s degrees Fahrenheit (28 degrees Celsius) range in the northwest to the upper 80s (about 31 degrees Celsius) in the southwest regions (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). Due to the varying temperatures of the state, the farming season in North Dakota varies considerably, "from 134 days at Williston, in the northwest, to 104 days at Langdon, in the northeast." In South Africa, the farming season is all year round. The winter temperatures do not drop nearly as low as in North Dakota, hence the reason why the South African farmworkers in

North Dakota are on season-based contracts as discussed previously. North Dakota is rich in the agriculture division. It is the leading industry in this state and employed nearly 24% of the state's residents in 2010 (History editors, 2018). Furthermore, North Dakota supplied 90% of the nation's canola and 95% of its flaxseed in 2010 (History editors, 2018).

The population of North Dakota is comprised of emigrants of European descent, native Americans, and later emigrants from other areas and continents such as Africa, the Philippines and Asia. A large number of European settlers arrived in North Dakota during the mid-1700s (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). The fur trade attracted settlers from countries such as France, Scotland, England, Canada along with South Americans to North Dakota (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). From this group of settlers, a new "culture group" emerged called the *Métis*. These included people from European and Native American ancestry, and they "cultivated a distinct way of life, their culture, clothing, artwork, music, and dance can be characterised as colourful and unique" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017). In addition, other early settlers include Germans and Norwegians. By 1890, North Dakota had two-fifths of its population as foreign-born and by 1920 the number had increased to two-thirds of the population (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021).

In the early 21st century, the Native Americans were the largest minority group in the state, specifically about 5% of the total population, many of them living on Indian reservations (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). More than nine-tenths of North Dakota's population remains of European ancestry with the remainder of the population comprised of Native Americans, Asians, Hispanics, Africans and individuals from eastern Europe (O'Kelly *et al.,* 2021). According to Munski, Robinson, & O'Kelly (2021), North Dakota has a spirit of self-reliance and cooperation, which is reflected in the cultural life of the state. The state does not have a large metropolitan centre, but towns and cities are the centres of cultural life. Art associations, performance arenas and theatre groups are located in college or university towns. For example, the *Medora Musical*[13] takes place every summer in the *Burning Hills Amphitheater* at Medora (Munski *et al.,* 2021). Furthermore, Native American cultural traditions have been widely preserved in North Dakota. To illustrate, various artifacts and items (beadwork, pottery, and other crafts) are sold throughout

[13] https://medora.com/do/entertainment/

the state and events such as the "Powwows" are highly popular within and outside the Native reservations (Munski *et al.,* 2021).

In addition to Native American culture, Scandinavian cultural traditions remain strong in the state. To illustrate, the Norwegian culture is celebrated on a special date, May 17th, and is called *Norwegian Constitution Day* (Munski *et al.,* 2021). In addition, an annual *Host-Fest*[14] is held in Minot as an international celebration of Scandinavian heritage which draws thousands of tourists to the area (Munski *et al.,* 2021). There are North Dakotans that are of German, Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, and Icelandic ancestry who retain some of their ethnic customs, and some of these families still speak their ancestral languages (Munksi *et al.,* 2021). Even though various cultures are preserved and celebrated in North Dakota, 94% of households in the state indicate that they speak "only English" at home (Cicha, 2016). The remaining 6% have another home language. According to the *North Dakota Census Office*, the two most common foreign languages spoken in North Dakota are German and Spanish, followed by Norwegian (Cicha, 2016). The English spoken in North Dakota is categorised under the North Central Region dialect of North American English as outlined by Labov, Ash & Boberg (2006:141). This is discussed in Part II of Chapter 3 (section 3.8). As mentioned, this dissertation investigates the dialect change of Afrikaans-English speakers who have emigrated to North Dakota, with a specific focus on three linguistic variables of North American English. These linguistic variables are discussed in part II of this chapter.

PART II: Brief contextualisation of Afrikaans, South African English, Afrikaans English and North American English

[14] "Norsk Høstfest is held annually in the fall in the N.D. State Fair Center on the North Dakota State Fairgrounds in Minot, N.D., USA. The festival features world-class entertainment, authentic Scandinavian cuisine, Scandinavian culture on display, and handcrafted Norsk merchandise" (https://hostfest.com/about/).

3.5. The Afrikaans Language

The first Germanic (and Indo-European) language widely spoken in South Africa was Dutch and it is still spoken today, but has evolved into what is now called Afrikaans. Dutch East-India Company workers and settlers brought this language to the country in 1652 (Lass, 2004:108). Its origins can be found in the South Holland dialect[15] from the province with the same name (Heeringa, De Wet & Van Huyssteen, 2015:15).

It is uncertain when Afrikaans became distinct from the Dutch dialects, but it is assumed to have separated during the 18th Century as the term "Kitchen Dutch" or "Kombuistaal" – directly translatable as 'Kitchen Language' -- indicates. Presently, this is a highly controversial term and an obsolete view of Afrikaans. During its early period, the Dutch spoken by the East-India Company settlers and workers was influenced by contact with various languages spoken by other settlers and indigenous populations in the area. To illustrate, German, Portuguese, Malay and French as well as indigenous Khoisan and Bantu languages were spoken in and around the Cape of Good Hope (Niesler, Louw & Roux, 2005:464-470). The influence of English came later.

The Afrikaans vocabulary is still 90-95% Dutch even though it has borrowed various linguistic features from other languages. It has been considered a daughter language of 17th century Dutch (Niesler, Louw & Roux, 2005:461- 462). Modern scholarship states that Afrikaans is derived from Dutch dialects, but is now regarded as a separate language, and the recent consensus is that Afrikaans shows definite features of creolisation (Van der Waal, 2012:195-7). During the 1870s, the practice of writing Afrikaans gained momentum under the guidance and direction of the *Fellowship of True Afrikaners*, which was established in Paarl, outside Cape Town (Mesthrie, 2004:17).

When the British took over the Cape and when the British settlers arrived at Cape Agulhas in 1820, they enforced new colonial laws as well as the English language on the Afrikaners. According to Barthorp (1987:10), the Boers frowned upon this British interference, especially

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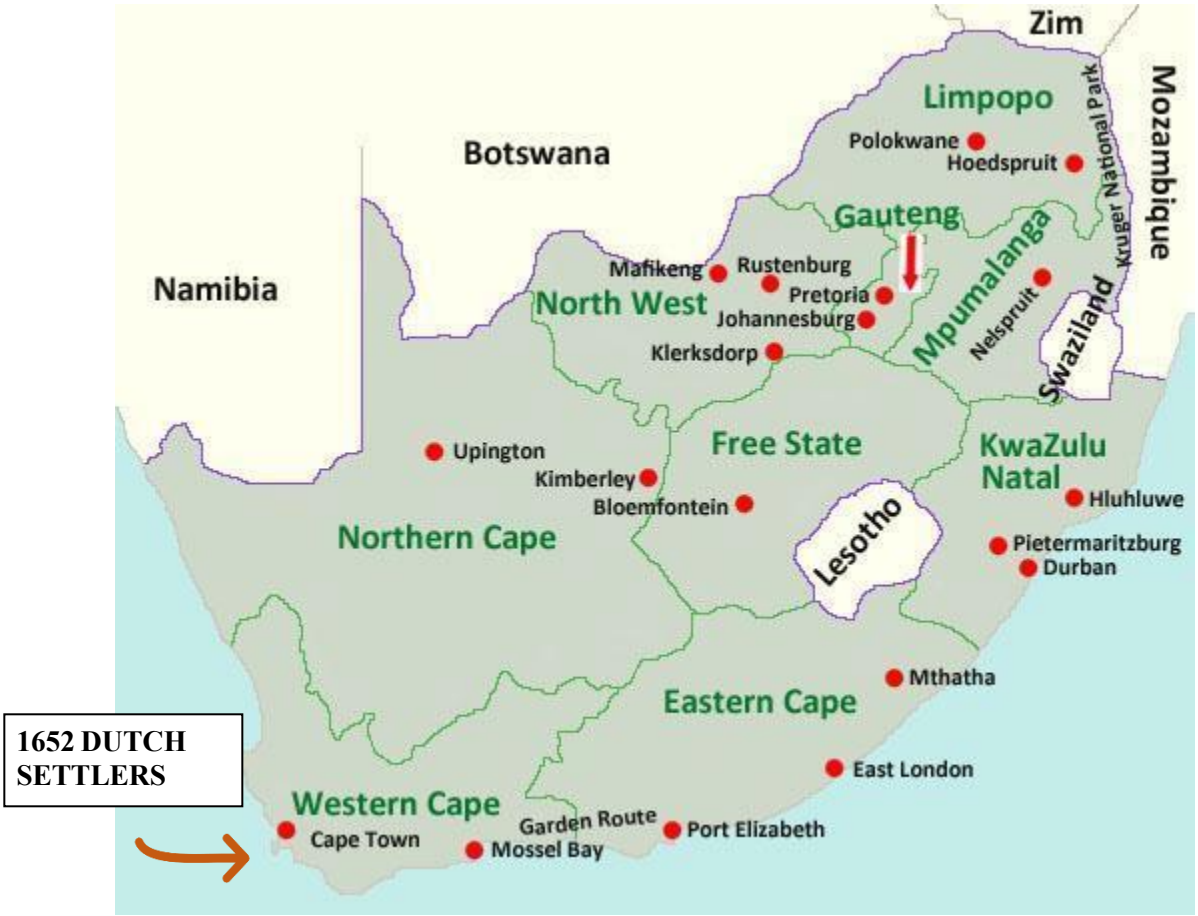
[15] Studies have shown that the Dutch- speaking population at the Cape of Good Hope reflected a variety of dialectal backgrounds such as Utrecht, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, and the Eastern Provinces of the Netherlands (Roberge,

2004:80).

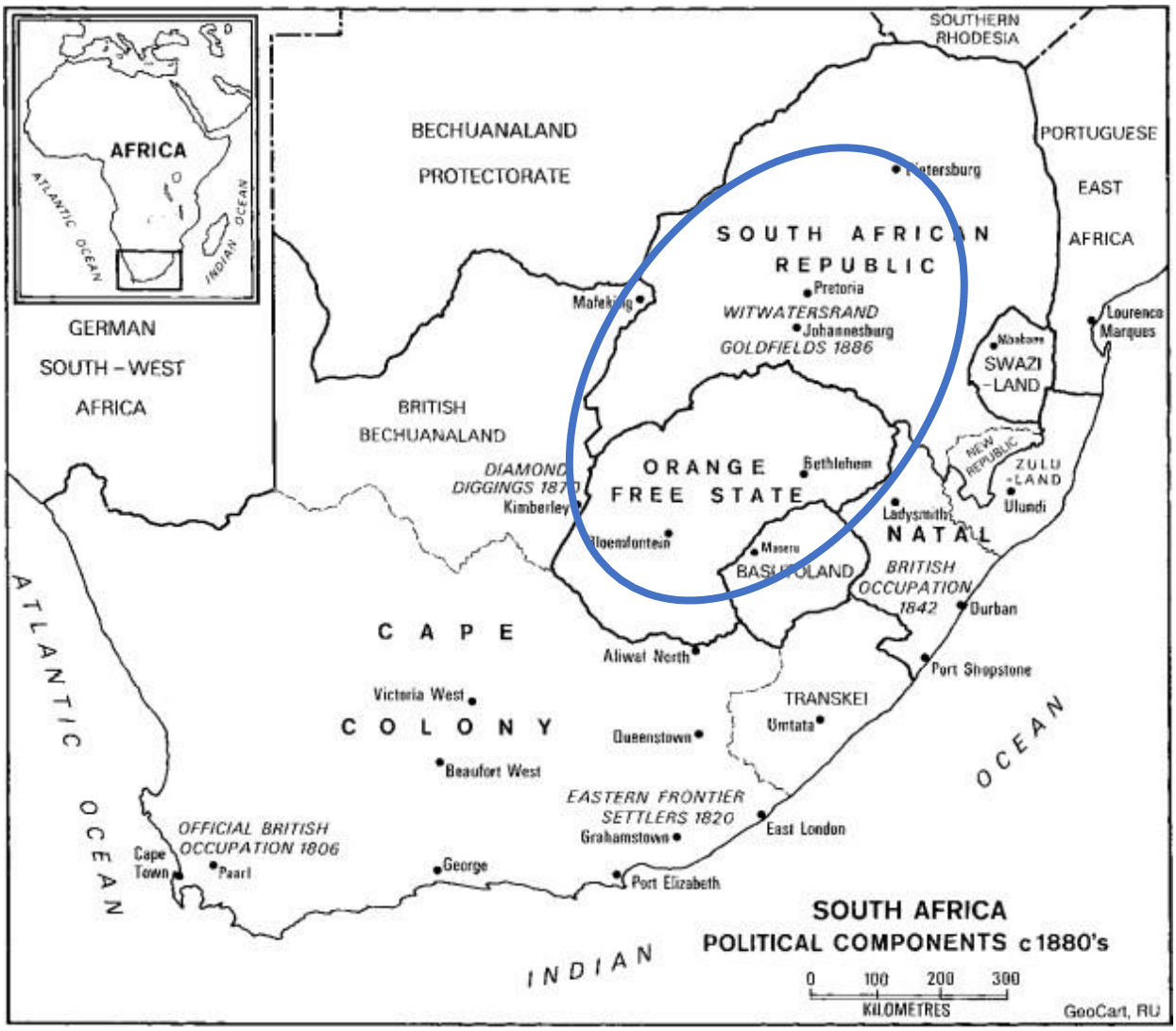
after the abolition of slavery in 1834 which led the Afrikaners to move inland – an event called "The Great Trek" ("Die Groot Trek"). The Great Trek included around 12 000 men, women, and children (i.e. Voortrekkers) who journeyed northward, following Piet Retief and others into the inland of the country (Erasmus, 1995:1-4). Over time, the Afrikaners spread and moved into [16], Orange Free State, the Transvaal and the Natalia Republic (Barthorp, 1987:11). However, British settlers took Port Natal to prevent the Afrikaners from trading goods inland, which led the Voortrekkers to settle in the Orange Free State and Transvaal. The Afrikaans language was then largely removed from Port Natal. The following map shows where the first Dutch settlers settled.



Map 3.1.1 Dutch Settlers to the Cape (Hagan, 2019)

[16] These names are older names of current provinces.

The nineteenth-century map below shows exactly how the country was divided in the 19th- century and where the Afrikaners settled after The Great Trek. The blue circle highlights the location of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal) area.



Map 3.1.2 Nineteenth century map of South Africa (Mesthrie, 2004:12)

The second Anglo Boer War between the British and the Afrikaners began in 1899 and lasted three years (Howie, 2018:21). The Afrikaner or Boer leaders surrendered to the British, and an act of Parliament established between 1909 and 1910 created the Union of South Africa under the British (Barthorp, 1987:161-170). According to Davies (2009:25), "forceful strategies of cultural assertion focussing on the Afrikaans language" were used, leading to the establishment of Afrikaans as an official language, alongside English in 1925. The election of 1948 resulted in

victory for the National Party (the Afrikaner party) and the establishment of racial segregation (i.e., Apartheid). The Afrikaans language thrived under the National Party establishment and continued to grow (De Klerk & Barkhuizen, 2004:3). It, however, would eventually decline as English became the lingua franca and the language of freedom after the democratic election of the African National Congress in 1994, as discussed in detail previously in section 3.1.

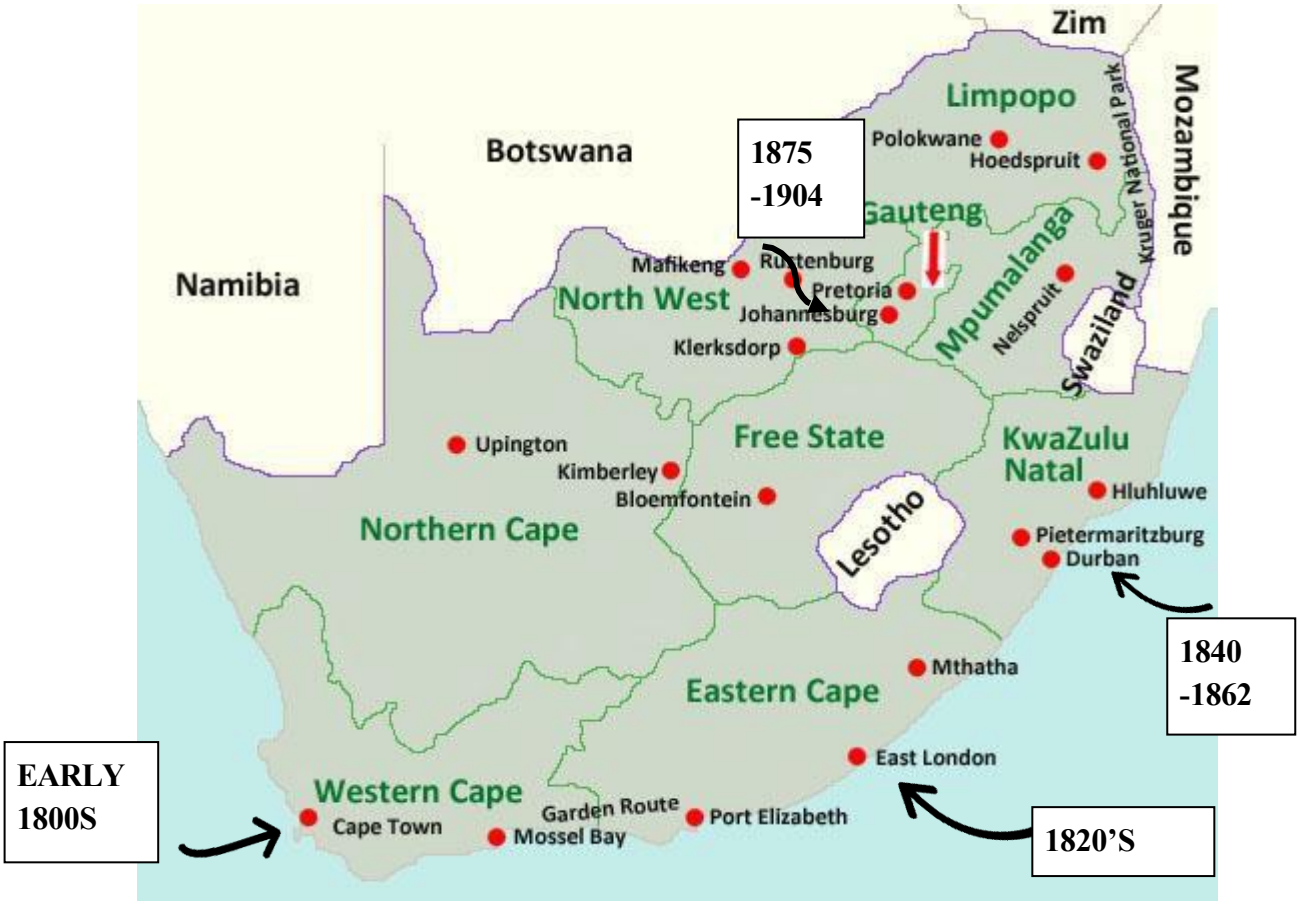
In 1994, South Africa elected Nelson Mandela – of the African National Congress (ANC), a political party - as the President of South Africa, and with the new constitution came the establishment of eleven official languages (Davies, 2009:1). This establishment came with several ramifications for the future of Afrikaans. Webb (2010:106) highlights that Afrikaans has declined as a public language not only in state administration, the economy, politics and social life, but also in education specifically, especially in secondary and tertiary education. English has increased in popularity and is considered a 'world' language - it dominates as the main medium of instruction, in the media and the economic sphere (Mutasa, 1999:90). It seems that Afrikaans and other languages in South Africa are increasingly being valued less than English in these domains. Although English enjoys much greater prestige and is favoured for purely pragmatic, instrumental reasons, Afrikaans (and other languages), is still frequently used as a language of commerce and daily life (Howie, 2018:19). As a result of language contact in the South African context, various dialects of English have developed, including the L2 dialect spoken by the participants in this study, specifically called Afrikaans-English. The following section gives an overview of the linguistic features of South African English (SAfE) and Afrikaans-English (AfrE) followed by a description of North American English (NAmE), the language variety spoken in the host community of North Dakota.

3.6. South African English (SAfE)

English first arrived in South Africa in 1795, when Britain secured the Cape of Good Hope (i.e., Cape Town) to protect its trade and commerce interests in India from the French (Lass, 2004:108). This early British settlement was mostly comprised of military or government personnel and their families. A later, more permanent settlement occurred in 1820 in the Eastern Cape. Bekker (2012:9) notes that the composition of these more permanent settlers did not only

include military personnel and government officials but also individuals from working and lower middle class origin mainly from "London and the Home counties, with accents characteristic of this segment of English society" (Mesthrie 2004:26). Lass (2004: 371) adds that there were, in addition, "sizeable contingents from the West Country and Yorkshire, and some from Scotland and Wales". This influx was sufficient to impose English as an official language and the influx contributed to the development of a new variety of English (Lass, 2004:109). Following these events, came a policy called *Anglicisation,* which was intended to create "a colony that was British in character as well as in name" (Warwick & Spies, 1980:12). In addition, this policy required that English be the language of administration in all official documents, education and in the courts of law (Mesthrie, 2004:15).

The following map (Map 3.2.1) shows the geography of South Africa as it is presently, but the arrows are used to indicate when and where these settlers settled.



Map 3.2.1 British Settlers to the Cape and elsewhere (Hagan, 2019)

Later, in 1840 to 1862, a group of settlers came into South Africa and settled in Natal (see Map 3.2.1 above). They were largely standard speakers of English and of middle to upper class stature (Bekker, 2012:130). Their social characteristics included retired military personnel and financially hard-pressed aristocrats (Lass, 2004:109). The social network of the early British settlers often included Afrikaans-speaking individuals, settlers of the Eastern Cape and later those residing in the Johannesburg area, discussed next.

The final major influx of English-speaking settlers was between 1875 and 1904 because of the discovery of gold on the Rand in Witwatersrand and diamonds in Kimberley. This influx was the most dialectally diverse, and arguably had a major effect on South African English as a distinct variety (Lass, 2004:109). As the individuals integrated, the language evolved into various subtypes or dialects of English, including the Afrikaans-English variety.

Presently, the label "South African English" (henceforth SAfE) is broad and is, for one, often divided into three sociolects, together called the Great Trichotomy (Lass, 2004:111). It, however, includes various dialects of English; some are first language English (L1) and some second language English (L2). As mentioned, SAfE is often sub-divided into three sociolects, namely Cultivated, General and Broad SAfE (Lass, 2002:110). The Cultivated SAfE sociolect was for some time especially common around news readers, anchor-persons and teachers (especially English teachers), and this dialect was also used among the first family settlers in the urban areas such as Cape Town (Lass, 2004:111). In essence, this dialect is spoken by an increasingly diminishing number of middle to upper-class individuals. The General SAfE dialect is seen as the local standard of English spoken by a wide variety of white English speakers, for example university lecturers, teachers, physicians, accountants, lawyers, and so forth (Lass, 2004:111). In other words, it seems the General SAfE category is made up of comparatively educated individuals.

Broad SAfE is generally spoken by individuals with a "relatively low socio-economic status, lack of education, and less skilled or non-professional work" (Lass, 2004: 111). The Broad variety often includes speakers of Afrikaans descent and often corresponds closely to the L2

Afrikaans English (abbreviated as AfrE) variety (Lass, 2004:112-114). The social classes with their dialects are currently no longer as clear-cut as presented here, but nonetheless provides a broad outline of the English dialects in South Africa. This dissertation is particularly focused on AfrE speakers, thus the following section contextualises the development of Afrikaans-English.

3.7. Afrikaans-English (AfrE)

The Afrikaans-English (AfrE) variety, as used by the L1-Afrikaans-speaking community of South Africa, shares many similarities with the Broad L1 varieties of English in South Africa (Bowerman 2004; Lass, 2002; Lass 2004). According to Watermeyer (1996:99), AfrE is seen to be a small part of the continuum of South African English. Even so, AfrE "should be regarded as a separate, if small variety of a World English" (Watermeyer, 1996:99). Afrikaans English, as a distinct variety, is omitted from *A Handbook of Varieties of English: Phonology* (Kortmann & Schneider 2008), which contains articles about South African Indian English, Cape Flats English and Black South African English. The omission of AfrE suggests that this dialect is often seen as simply close to Broad SAfE, and seemingly does not require further discussion. However, there are important differences between these two dialects. Some of the unique AfrE phonetic characteristics are discussed later.

The Apartheid state segregated South Africans by race and on the basis of home languages as in Canada and Belgium. To illustrate, Afrikaans students were taught in Afrikaans schools and English students were taught in English medium schools. There were dual-medium schools or bilingual schools, but classes were generally separated by language, especially during the primary (i.e., elementary) school years. The government required that each language group learn the other official language throughout their twelve years of school. According to Watermeyer (1996:104), authentic communication was not always important during language education: thus many students had little opportunity to integrate themselves into the other speech community outside the classroom. In rural areas, where Afrikaans was dominant, the language teachers were often L2 speakers of English themselves, with little fluency, thus leaning on features of their own variety of English in their teaching of English to their students (Watermeyer, 1996:105-106). Nonetheless, in many parts of South Africa, white individuals are fluent in both

Afrikaans and English, similar to black individuals who are often fluent in three or more languages, of which one is either Afrikaans or English (Howie, 2018:42).

A factor discussed in the literature review of this dissertation (i.e., Chapter 2, section 2.1), is the concept of language transfer ,which is, of course, relevant to the AfrE of L1-Afrikaans speakers. AfrE often has specific phonological and morphological features which are present in L1-Afrikaans and can be considered as language transfer or language interference (Ellis, 2015:131-134). Without providing extensive detail, there are two main processes that influence the development of L2 varieties of English. They are so-called hypercorrection and overgeneralisation. The former refers to the "movement of a linguistic form beyond the point set by the variety of language that a speaker has as a target" and the latter refers to "the use of a grammatical feature to contexts beyond those found in the [standard] language" (Crystal, 2011:167-245). These two processes are present in the speech of Afrikaans English speakers. According to Watermeyer (1996:105), the characteristics of AfrE have in the past, mostly, been attributed to interference from Afrikaans L1.

An article by Lanham (1967:103) defines AfrE as distinguishable by a heavy Afrikaans accent and showing several phonological features transferred from their L1 Afrikaans into their English. In addition, AfrE is not the speech of upper-class, competent bilinguals, most of whom speak SAfE (Lanham 1967:103). However, according to Watermeyer (1996:106), some educated bilinguals may present characteristics of AfrE and may speak with a heavy Afrikaans accent. As mentioned in the literature review section, language and identity are intertwined, as was illustrated in Part I of this chapter with the discussion of the Afrikaans identity as outlined by Louw (2004) and other authors. The following section outlines features of SAfE, AFrE and North American English (NAmE) alongside each other to contribute, to the understanding of the differences between them.

3.8. Linguistic variables of SAfE, AfrE & NAmE

As mentioned previously, the Broad category of SAfE includes the working class and/or speakers of Afrikaans descent, and often corresponds closely to the L2 Afrikaans-English (abbreviated as AfrE) variety (Lass, 2002:112-114). As mentioned before, many features of the L2 AfrE variety

are attributed to or transferred from the Afrikaans language, thus speakers have a distinct Afrikaans accent. In addition, other features are derivable from SAfE, which is the English that Afrikaans L1 speakers are in constant contact with, and it is the English dialect that Afrikaners in South Africa attempt to learn. This dissertation is not concerned with explaining in detail all the features that constitute the AfrE variety, whether attributable to SAfE or the Afrikaans language. However, the following section will highlight a few prominent phonetic features and one morphophonological feature as the focus of this study. The AfrE variety is the variety spoken by the emigrants (i.e. those participating in this study). The chosen features are discussed alongside features of North American English (NAmE), which will contribute to understanding the differences between the dialects.

The English varieties spoken on the North American continent are clustered together as North American English and referred to as NAmE in this paper (Boberg, 2015:230). A sub-variety of this broad label is called Standard North American English (SNAE). This variety is labelled by Boberg (2015:230) as the prestige variety that second-language speakers of English, such as immigrants, often aspire to acquire, because of the perceived prestige (among other reasons) attached to it. The proposed study is focused on the geographic state of North Dakota (ND). According to Labov *et al.,* (2006:141), this area falls under the North Central Region dialect of NAmE. The following shows the North Central region in green, and it includes for the most part the state of North Dakota.

Map 3.4.1 An overview of North American English dialects (Labov et al., 2006:140)

This region ranges from Montana to Michigan along the US-Canadian border and includes communities such as Bismarck (ND), Minot (ND), Fargo (ND), Duluth and Marquette (Labov *et al.,* 2006:141). The North Central Region is characterised by Labov as the region that does not participate in any current sound changes in progress, apart from what is called the low back merger (Labov *et al.,* 2006:141). This refers to the merging of the THOUGHT (i.e. [oh]) and LOT (i.e. [o]) vowel class to sound like the PALM vowel class or [ɑ] (Labov et al., 2006:120). This unconditioned merger is "the largest single phonological change taking place in American English" (Labov 1994: 316). Thus, this dialect has characteristics of 'traditional' NAmE in general, without (most of) the recent sound changes described in Labov's (2006) study. Recent sound changes in American English are thus not the focus of this study; however, the characteristics of the general NAmE[17] dialect are.

[17] Wells (1982:248) labels it as General American English.

Two discrete phonetic variables that distinguish the NAmE and AfrE dialects, and which were chosen for investigation at the beginning of the study, are the pronunciation of the BATH[18] vowel (e.g. in words such as *dance* and *can't*) and the pronunciation of /t/ in intervocalic position (e.g., as [t] in SAfE and AfrE and as [d] or [ɾ] in NAmE in words such as *later* or *butter*)[19]. SAfE, including AfrE, has a TRAP-BATH split which means words such as *dance, laugh, bath, grass* are pronounced with an [ɑː]. The [ɑː] vowel in these words is thus pronounced the same as in the words *bar* or *far* (Lass, 2002:115; and Trudgill & Hannah, 2008:34). In contrast, NAmE has an [æ(ː)] rather than an [ɑː] in words such as *dance*, *laugh*, *grass* and *bath* (Trudgill & Hannah, 2008:44). This means that words such as *dance* and *laugh* are pronounced with the vowel used in words such as *rat* or *trap*.

Other relevant AfrE features are the value of the long monophthongal THOUGHT lexical set and the LOT lexical set[20]. The THOUGHT vowel in SAfE has a half-close [oː] (Lass, 2004:116). In certain words where the vowel is followed by a voiceless fricative, the words may have either the (long) THOUGHT or (short) LOT vowel (Lass, 2004:116) e.g. in the words *off* and *Austria*. LOT in SAfE is "a short, rather open and usually weakly rounded back vowel" (Lass, 2004:115). It is often centralised, but typically presents as [ɒ]. Examples of words that have the THOUGHT vowel include *call*, *daughter*, *walk*, *laundry* and so forth, and words with the LOT vowel include *job*, *shop*, *not* etc. In AfrE (and SAfE) THOUGHT and LOT 'have' their own separate phonemes. In contrast, NAmE often does not have a separate THOUGHT or LOT vowel phoneme. Thus often the same value as PALM (i.e. the [ɑ] phonetic variant) is used in NAmE. This means that in words such as *job, shop, not, call, daughter, walk* and so forth, [ɑ] is used (Trudgill & Hannah, 2008:42). Note that the relevant value is not written with the lengthening [ː], as it is often shorter

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[18] The Standard lexical system outlined by Wells (1982:123) is used to illustrate the vowel sounds (e.g., the BATH and TRAP, along with THOUGHT and LOT vowels).

[19] Another well-known American feature is rhoticity, and this feature was excluded mainly because Afrikaans is rhotic, and thus AfrE also has a tendency to use 'r' post-vocalically (albeit a different kind of 'r'). The likelihood of rhoticity in AfrE was a clear basis for the exclusion of this feature from further investigation.

[20] These features were not variables originally decided upon for investigation; they were, however, variables that were clearly apparent in the speech of some of the subjects, and so a review of the basic facts is included here.

in NAmE than in SAfE of AfrE. Thus, according to Trudgill and Hannah (2008:43), NAmE does not have a distinction between words such as *bomb* and *balm* (Trudgill & Hannah, 2008:43) and words such as *daughter* have a vowel identical to words such as *father*.

The intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] is a characteristic of many varieties of English, including NAmE. What is meant by this description, is that the intervocalic /t/, as in the words *better, atom* and *waiting*, is normally pronounced as a [d] (Trudgill and Hannah, 2008:45) or the flap [ɾ] (Wells, 1982:248) instead of the canonical [t]. According to Wells (1982:248), it is usually a rapid tap rather than a deliberate plosive, making the description [d] an oversimplification of the tapping that occurs in NAmE. The intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] is consistently used in NAmE in short words such as *latter* and *city* by most speakers, but less in words with an *-ity* suffix (*electricity*) and words with *-nt* such as *plenty* and *twenty* (Trudgill and Hannah, 2008:45). To explain further, the tapping in NAmE generally occurs between two vowels when the preceding vowel is stressed, and the following vowel is unstressed. For example, *better*, *latter* and *city* are pronounced with a [d] or [ɾ] and sound like *bedder*, *ladder*, and *cidy.* According to Trudgill & Hannah (2008:5), SAfE, and even more so the AfrE variety, do not have this widespread and consistent phonetic characteristic[21].

In addition to the phonetic variables, one morphophonological variable was chosen for investigation at the beginning of the study. This is the use of the suffix *-in* instead of *-ing*. According to Labov as cited by Tagliamonte (2012:29), this variable is seen as a clear-cut linguistic marker in NAmE. Linguistic variables are markers when they show both class and stylistic stratification (Tagliamonte, 2012:29). Such variables are thought to be more highly developed features in the speech community and speakers are more consciously aware of this

[21] However, according to Wells (1982: 618) so-called T-voicing is quite common in South African English and this is certainly true for L1-speakers in the experience of the researcher and her supervisor. It presents, however, with no indexical value in SAfE (with none of the possibilities being associated with prestige) and is far more unlikely among L2-speakers of AfrE, for whom the canonical value remains [t]. Thus, even if present to a small degree in the AfrE of the participants pre-emigration, its 'value' in NAmE is clearly different. A 'movement' towards NAmE among any subject should therefore correlate with a dramatic increase in the use of T-voicing and a clear preference for using T-voicing in a more formal register such as a wordlist (see the Chapter 4, Methodology chapter for more).

variation (Labov 1969:237). The NAmE speakers in the relevant community tend to pronounce words ending with /-*ing*/ as [-in] (Tagliamonte, 2012:29). For example, "[w]e used to go fishin'" (Tagliamonte, 2012:29). According to Wells (1982), SAfE and AfrE speakers do not have this feature in their dialect.

Another prominent NAmE characteristic is the tensing, raising and fronting of so-called short a in words in which the vowel occurs (Labov, Ash & Boberg, 2006:176)[22]. It is a characteristic of the Northern Cities Shift and a defining feature of the Inland North dialect, while it has been observed in Midland areas as well (Labov *et al.,* 2006:176). It is not so common in the north central region, which is where North Dakota is located (see Map 3.4.1). Essentially, the short-a class develops an in-glide and is especially fronter and higher before nasal consonants, for example in words such as *man, ham, hang, and* etc. (Labov et al., 2006:176). To illustrate, the short-a vowel normally presenting as [æ] now presents as [æh] (Labov *et al.,* 2006:176). This means that the short-a vowel in these words is being pronounced with a vowel that sounds like the vowel often used in words such as *n**ea**r* i.e. as having an in-gliding [ɪə]-like quality.

Summary

This chapter was divided into two parts. The first part introduced and contextualised the Afrikaner identity from 1902 up until the most recent research on its decline and/or maintenance. Thereafter, the emigration assumptions and facts of South Africans leaving the country were discussed. The most common reasons for emigration such as high crime and financial hardship were highlighted. The discussion then moved to discuss the routes that emigrants could take to emigrate to the United States of America with specific emphasis on employment-based emigration. The first part concluded with a contextualisation of the host community.

The second part contextualised the development of the Afrikaans language and its importance in the development of the Afrikaner identity throughout history. Thereafter the development of SAfE and AfrE was discussed. Part two concluded with a discussion of the main relevant phonetic differences between SAfE, AfrE and NAmE. This contrasting discussion highlighted

[22] Like THOUGHT and LOT this feature of short-a raising was not chosen up front; it became apparent as part of the investigation.

the linguistic variables that were identified and analysed in the speech data of each participant (i.e., Chapter 5).

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the SDA methodologies specifically centred on studies conducted within emigration contexts, followed by a discussion of the methodology used in this study. Next, the twelve Afrikaans-speaking participants or emigrants are introduced. Thereafter the data collection process, the interview analysis approach, and the speech data-analysis approach are explained. The chapter ends with an explanation of how the data is presented.

4.1. Overview of SDA methodologies

As mentioned throughout the previous chapters, this study intends to investigate the SDA of second-language Afrikaans-English South Africans who have permanently relocated to North Dakota, USA. In addition, the study investigates the changing (through integration) social identity of these emigrants, along with other social variables, and how they contribute to or inhibit the learning of a second English dialect (specifically NAmE). The dissertation is characterised by two relatively novel features. Firstly, it investigates the SDA of *second* language speakers and secondly, it investigates SDA among adults.

The sociolinguistic interviews seek to elicit casual speech (naturally occurring speech) by means of conversation cues or open-ended questions, whereas wordlists and reading passages are used to elicit careful speech (Labov, 1984:32-40). These two methods are used for different reasons, in that they elicit different styles of speech (i.e. the pronunciations can differ between the two styles). Wordlists and reading passages repeat targeted sounds, and in some cases, participants often become aware of their pronunciation; therefore, these methods will "produce the most conservative[23] pronunciations in their linguistic system" (Eberhardt, 2009:81). Generally, researchers suggest either limiting a study to one style or analysing each style separately and keeping the results separate (Trudgill, 1972). It has been indicated that while the pronunciations between the two styles differ, the results are highly consistent *within* a single style (Trudgill,

[23] Researchers suggest that careful speech tends to be more conservative than casual speech (Sprowls, 2014:27).

1972; Labov, 1972). Due to the consistency in each style, this dissertation gathered casual speech data as well as careful speech data and analysed the two kinds of data separately.

As highlighted in Chapter 2, there are more second dialect acquisition studies of a D2 of a first language compared to D2 of an L2, but both types of studies use similar methodological approaches. This chapter provides an overview of the methodologies used by Chambers (1992), Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007), Foreman (2003), Sprowls (2014), and Howie (2018). While in the study conducted by Chambers (1992), the author does not explain the study methodology explicitly, it is evident from the article that a mixed-method approach was used. To illustrate, Chambers (1992:676) interviewed his participants and interpreted the data qualitatively in terms of eight principles of dialect acquisition, and quantitatively by means of statistically showing the acquisition of certain linguistic variants.

Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007:657), relied solely on casual speech data in their longitudinal study of Canadian children in England. Most of the casual speech data were elicited through conversation cues (i.e., questions) between a participant and the researchers. The data collection method used in the above-mentioned study is notable in that the children were equipped with collar microphones and then recorded while they went on with their daily lives, never having explicit conversations with the researchers as in the traditional interview method (Tagliamonte & Molfenter, 2007:675). This study also used a mixed-method approach; it analyses the data quantitatively (i.e., counting and analysing phonetic tokens, such as T-voicing, and presenting the phonetic changes over time), and qualitatively by analysing and presenting the factors that contributed to these changes (Tagliamonte & Molfenter, 2007:671-675).

The study conducted by Foreman (2003:108) focuses on careful speech data. Two researchers conducted the interviews. One was an Australian English speaker and the other was Foreman herself (a Canadian English speaker). Moreover, the interviews involved subjects describing a wordless picture, book and thereafter the researcher would pretend not to understand certain words, so that subjects would repeat them and explain them (Foreman, 2003:108). The Canadian English researcher focussed on the following words: *accordion*, *motorcycle*, *snow*, *kiss/es/ed*, *steal,* and the Australian English researcher prompted the words *church*, *boat*, *fix*, and *feel*

(Foreman, 2003:108). All these words are integral to the story line presented in the wordless picture book. Foreman (2003:108) explains the methodology of this study as a pilot study, meaning that it mainly employed the qualitative approach. Even though this study does lean more towards a qualitative research approach (i.e., focusing on analysing social variables such as length-of-residence, social class, home dialect and social dialect), it still incorporates elements of quantitative research in that it analyses eight phonetic variables (Foreman, 2003:108). A mixed- method approach was thus also used to conduct this study.

Sprowls (2014) also conducted her study by means of the mixed-method approach – in that both casual and careful speech data were collected and analysed separately and subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The careful speech data (i.e., the targeted wordlist and passage reading) was used for the acoustic analysis of various phonetic variables by means of the PRAAT[24] program (Sprowls, 2014:32), whereas the casual speech data was not used for acoustic analysis, but to probe the awareness and attitudes toward *Pittsburgese* or Pittsburgh English (Sprowls, 2014:33).

Finally, the thesis by Howie (2018) explicitly explains its mixed-method approach as the most suitable, since using one paradigm is "not sufficient to provide a complete analysis of the data needed to thoroughly answer the researcher's questions" (Howie, 2018:123). To illustrate, Howie (2018:124) uses a quantitative approach to gather careful speech data to analyse the L2-English dialect change of L1-Afrikaans speakers post-relocation to New Zealand (i.e., acoustic analysis). Furthermore, the qualitative approach is used to collect casual speech data through open-ended interview questions - which is used to probe reasons that motivate the dialect change amongst the participants (Howie, 2018:130-132). Even though it is a mixed-method approach, Howie (2018:132) does acknowledge that the study is given a quantitative weighting, because "the qualitative data informs the results of the quantitative data."

In summary, the mixed-method approach allows the researcher to merge the best of both the quantitative and qualitative methods, and researchers are therefore increasingly turning to this

[24] More information on this program can be found by following this link https://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/download_win.html.

approach to answer complex research questions. Following the above researchers, specifically Chambers (1992), Tagliamonte & Molfenter (2007), Foreman (2003), Sprowls (2014) and Howie (2018), this research incorporates the mixed-method approach, with some particular methodological 'tweaks' best suited to answer the particular research questions of this study.

4.2. Research design

This dissertation is centred around the concept of social identity integration (i.e., change) and its effect on SDA/learning. When investigating the identity integration of emigrants, the most appropriate and practical methodological design would be a longitudinal design and in "real time", as mentioned before. A longitudinal study measures the characteristics of some individuals on at least two, but ideally on more occasions over time, in order to directly address the topic of individual change and variation (Hewson, 2014:347). According to Amiot *et al.* (2007:382), such a design is better able to capture the developmental processes occurring in the self and better able to monitor individuals' identification processes as they cope with an important change that requires the integration of a new social identity (e.g., organisation merger, immigration, becoming a member of a new community). Doing so would also allow one to capture the full identity changes occurring over time. It is sufficient to assert that a longitudinal approach would be most appropriate for this investigation, which was the initial intention of this study. However, the periodical restrictions that came with the Covid-19 pandemic complicated the data-gathering process. The participants were therefore only interviewed once, but were often clearly at different stages of integration from each other (see section 4.3 for further discussion).

The previously discussed literature characterises identity as complex and changing. Although the investigation could not utilise a longitudinal design, as emphasised above the mixed-method research design is increasingly used to answer complex research questions. A quantitative paradigm alone, relying on static and measurable variables will thus not be appropriate to investigate the complexity of changing identities (Norton & McKinney, 2011:82). For these reasons, researchers often use qualitative methods to investigate identity. However, linguistic analysis requires a quantitative element as well. This dissertation employs the mixed-method

research design, following other linguistic researchers such as Foreman (2003) Sprowls (2014) and Howie (2018).

4.2.1. Mixed-Methods Research Design

Mixed-methods research is defined as a procedure for collecting, analysing and combining both quantitative and qualitative data in order to understand the research problem and findings more completely (Maree, 2016:313). In this approach, the researcher collects quantitative data (numeric information) as well as qualitative data (text information, interviews) to answer the study's research questions (Maree, 2016:313-314). Ultimately, the data will be mixed or brought together in some way within the study. Howie (2018:128) highlights that:

> MMR encapsulates the individuality of research by allowing the researchers to choose which methods they intend to mix, which research tools they will employ and which way they intend to do the mixing. Mixing quantitative and qualitative methods is what is essential in MMR.

The mixed-methods research design has three set characteristics, namely intent, timing and mixing or integration (Maree, 2016:322). These characteristics can be used in a variety of ways according to the researcher's preference. The intent refers to the overall purpose of using the design (Maree, 2016:322). For this dissertation, the convergent parallel design was adopted. The purpose of this design is to combine the analysis of trends and personal perspectives, with quantitative data, to develop complete and valid conclusions (Maree, 2016:322). The study collected both quantitative and qualitative data at the same time. This was done via recorded interviews, more specifically interviews with open-ended questions and the reading of a wordlist. These open interviews allowed each participant to speak freely and explain their answers as they chose to. This dissertation focuses on casual speech *and* careful speech data to answer its research questions. The open conversation or dialogue allowed the researcher to collect the quantitative data (i.e. the dialect changes) in a natural communication context. The careful speech data then revealed what the speaker considers to be the correct pronunciation, which could confirm a dialect change even further. In addition, the interview approach was focused on eliciting narratively the factors influencing the dialect changes with an emphasis on the social- identity integration of the participants. The questions probed different themes, such as

advantages of living in America, emigration reasons, emigration challenges, copings strategies, identity integration, and dialect awareness and change. Essentially, both the interview and the wordlist data were used to answer both research questions (see Chapter 1.3).

The second characteristic of mixed-methods research is timing. Timing is concerned with the order of collecting and analysing quantitative and qualitative data in a study (Maree, 2016:322). As mentioned previously, the researcher collected both the quantitative and qualitative data at the same time. However, the analysis was done in different strands (i.e., strand QUAN and strand QUAL). The QUAL analysis was performed first, as listening to and qualitatively analysing the interview answers, familiarised the researcher with all possible dialect changes which, in turn, assisted the QUAN analysis process.

The last characteristic of the mixed-method research design is mixing or integration. This refers to the way the quantitative and qualitative data and results are mixed or integrated during the research process (Maree, 2016:322). The study collected both the quantitative and qualitative data through interviews. The two forms of data were, however, first analysed separately whereupon they were integrated as part of an overall analysis of the effects of social variables on the discovered dialect changes. Every couple is, in essence, presented as a case study. Each case study (or couple) is explained similar to the outline of a story; moving from introducing the couple to discussing the prominent themes in the interviews and then ending with the results pertaining to the dialect changes of each participant. Finally, each "story" ends with a comparison of the members of each particular couple. The presentation of results is discussed further in section 4.4.

4.3. Participants

There are a total of twelve white South African participants who have relocated to North Dakota, USA. All the participants are first-language Afrikaans speakers, and all already have an established second language English dialect, specifically AfrE. Furthermore, the study is limited to adults, as dialect learning in children (of both languages and dialects) has been thoroughly studied and requires a different analytic approach. SDA among adults, especially in the case of learning a second dialect of a second language, has not been investigated enough. In addition,

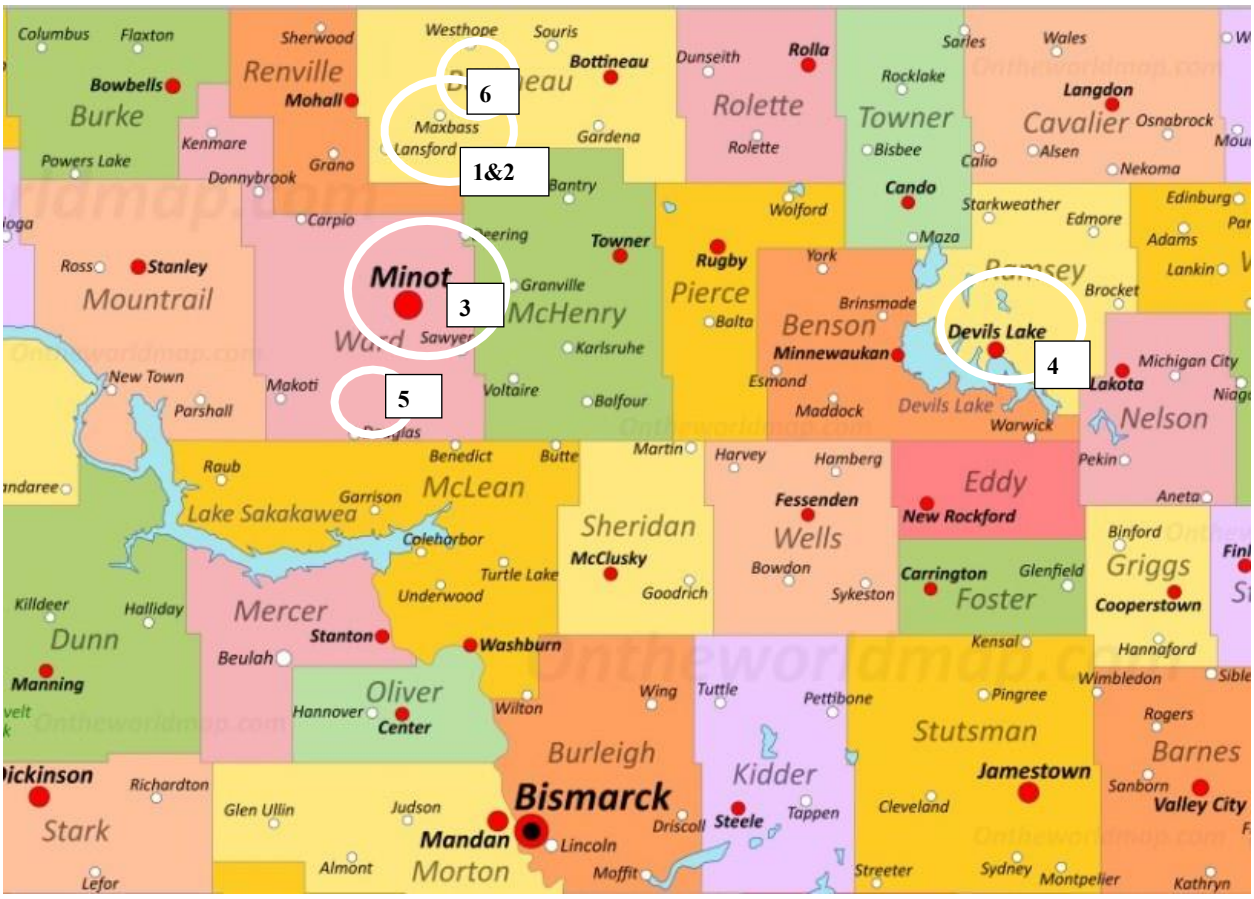
this study excludes adults who have moved to the area as children, thus ruling out the effect of early-stage developmental learning. By focusing on adults, this study thus aims to fill a gap in the literature on the SDA of adults. All the participants are from various geographic locations in South Africa and are between the ages of 25 and 41 years old. All the participants were assigned a unique number in order to ensure anonymity. The table below illustrates the basic demographic information of each participant.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS						
PARTICIPANT NUMBER	**GENDER**	**AGE**	**FROM**	**LOCATION (USA)**	**YEARS IN ND**	**#**
AEP 1.1	F	35	Springs, Gauteng	Lansford, ND	5	Couple / Case Study 1
AEP 1.2	M	41	Vryheid, KwaZulu Natal	Lansford, ND	6	
AEP 2.1	F	29	Kimberley, Northern Cape	Lansford, ND	5	Couple / Case Study 2
AEP 2.2	M	38	Kimberley, Northern Cape	Lansford, ND	5	
AEP 3.1	F	37	Pretoria, Gauteng	Surrey, ND	1.5	Couple / Case Study 3
AEP 3.2	M	38	Pretoria, Gauteng	Surrey, ND	1.5	
AEP 4.1	F	28	Nigel, Gauteng	Lakota, ND	1	Couple / Case Study 4
AEP 4.2	M	27	Nigel, Gauteng	Lakota, ND	1	
AEP 5.1	F	24	Ventersdorp, Northwest	Plaza, ND	3	Couple / Case Study 5
AEP 5.2	M	28	Ventersdorp, Northwest	Plaza, ND	4	
AEP 6.1	F	26	Brackenfell, Western Cape	Antler, ND	2	Couple / Case Study 6
AEP 6.2	M	25	Bonnievale/ Western Cape	Antler, ND	4	

The following map (4.3.1) shows the counties, cities and towns of North Dakota. The larger cities have larger circles and the smaller, still populated urban areas, have small to medium-sized

red dots. Map 4.3.2 zooms in on the areas where the participants are residing in North Dakota. Most of the couples reside in and around Minot, with one couple residing in Ramsey County, Devils Lake. The white circles illustrate the area of residence of the couples.

Map 4.3.1: North Dakota (Ontheworldmap.com, 2020)



Map 4.3.2: Location of participants residing in North Dakota (Ontheworldmap.com, 2020)

According to a news article published in the *Bismarck Tribune*, South African male farmworkers had increased from 1 500 in 2017 to 1 700 in 2018 in North Dakota (Dura, 2019). It is unclear how many South African families or couples have emigrated to North Dakota since then. The researcher could not find any statistical information in this regard. However, from the time of searching for participants for this study in 2020 and conducting the interviews in 2021, the researcher has personally met at least five more couples that have emigrated. They also reside around Bismarck, Minot and in the Devils Lake area. These new couples were not interviewed for this study due to the size and time constraints of the dissertation. The seasonal South African farmworkers in North Dakota (those that the researcher has met) are increasingly looking to emigrate through the employment-based route. There are also Facebook groups such as "*H2A*

workers in America" and "*SAWITU (South African women in the USA & Canada)*" where opportunities and employment requests are posted.

4.4. Data collection

For the purpose of this study, both casual speech and careful speech data were gathered through recorded conversations between participants and the researcher. For each of the twelve participants, only one interview was collected. The data collection for this study took place during the Covid-19 pandemic. The Coronavirus pandemic led to mass lockdowns of major towns and cities, as well as regular quarantining of individuals who had Covid-19 or who came into contact with someone with the Coronavirus. Initially, all the interviews would have been conducted through video conversations in order to comply with Covid-19 rules and regulations. However, as time progressed and the pandemic had come to some degree of stability in the smaller towns and cities of North Dakota, all twelve participants explicitly agreed to (and indicated a clear preference for) in-person interviews. The members of each couple were interviewed separately (male and female), but consecutively on the days of the scheduled visits to save time. Interviews took place in closed (but ventilated) spaces in order to minimise background noises. The closed spaces were mostly bedrooms, offices or one of their children's bedrooms. The participants did not wear a mask during the interviews, but the researcher did wear a mask when the participants required the researcher to do so. The interviews were all 30 to
60 minutes long. The interviews elicited conversations about their emigration experiences through open-ended questions. Essentially, the interview conversations can be considered as mini-case studies on each couple, and they are analysed as such. Each interview ended with the reading of a wordlist that was prepared in advance. The words were chosen specifically to relate to the linguistic variables that are the focus of this study i.e., the possible loss of the TRAP-BATH split, *-in/ing* variation and T-Voicing.

As mentioned previously, the interviews were recorded using a high-quality voice recorder, specifically a WohlmanV93 digital voice recorder. The sound quality in all the recordings was excellent, clear, and sufficient for this study. The researcher chose to record in .wav format, because the .wav format is considered standard in linguistic fieldwork, as it is not a compressed

format; with mp3s and other compressed files, it is unknown what is lost, for the very reason that these sounds *are* compressed (Ashby and Maidment, 2008:10). The fact that the chosen variables were discreet and easy to perceive also meant that the research could rely on impressionistic instead of acoustic analysis.

The Observer's Paradox refers to the concept whereby the observation of an event or experiment is influenced by the presence of the observer or researcher (Labov 1972:113). In this particular case, it means that participants will alter their speech if they believe their speech is the object of study. In an attempt to manage this limitation, the researcher decided not to disclose at the beginning of the interview any information about the study regarding language or dialect. The avoidance was done in two ways, firstly the researcher had each participant sign a consent form (see Appendix A) before the interview that only broadly stated what the study would be about. After the interview and reading of the wordlist were done, the researcher provided each participant with a more detailed consent form to be signed (see Appendix B). The second consent form revealed the topic of the study in detail. Secondly, the researcher left the interview question on dialect (see below) until the end of the interview to avoid any indication about the details of the study, and in turn to avoid any possible pronunciation alternations. Initially, the researcher had planned to take along an American friend to the interviews, but due to the Covid-19 regulations, this was not possible at that point in time.

The dissertation drew on the interview questions used by Howie (2018) as well as other questions relevant to this context. The interviews were semi-structured, and the questions are a series of open-ended questions designed to open the conversation and to prompt the participant to share his or her emigration story. The interview questions used are as follows.

1. Tell me the story of how you came to immigrate?
2. Why did you decide to immigrate?
3. How did you experience the immigration and adjustment process?
4. What do you miss about South Africa?
5. What do you enjoy about your new community?
6. Have you had any uncomfortable experiences since living in your new country/ community?

7. What are the pros and cons of living in the United States?
8. Do you identify as an American or explain your feelings around how you see yourself in this country?
9. What coping strategies have you adopted that help you deal with this adjustment or change in your life?
10. What differences or similarities have you noticed about your culture and the American culture?
11. Have you made any American friends? And do you socialise more with other South African immigrants than with American friends? How frequently?
12. What have you noticed about your own English vs American English?
13. What about your Afrikaans[25]?

After the interview, each participant was asked to read a wordlist. The wordlist consists of 30 words in total. The words are focused on the linguistic variables under investigation and the wordlist also included some other random, distractor words in between. The words that were designed to elicit the TRAP-BATH variable are *bath, laugh, dance, path* and *ask*. The words that were designed to test '*-ing*/*-in*' variation are *wishing, fishing, getting* and *filling*; and, lastly, T-Voicing was tested using the following words: *better, latter, city, getting, otter, fatter, water* and *tomato*. The random distractor words were added to the wordlist to avoid potentially revealing the topic of the study and thus to avoid the possibility of the participants altering their pronunciation deliberately. The table below shows the list of the words that were used.

1. Play	11. Wishing	21. Path
2. Type	12. Trap	22. Let
3. Sprint	13. Latter	23. Ask
4. Bath	14. Love	24. Fatter
5. Twist	15. Fishing	25. Neither
6. Laugh	16. For	26. Filling
7. Fuzzy	17. Funny	27. Rat
8. Dance	18. Getting	28. Water

[25] This question was added to probe on the first language use in the household of each couple. The intention behind adding this question is to prepare for another study that the researcher intends to do after the completion of the current study.

9. Get	19. City	29. Tomato
10. Better	20. Otter	30. Funny

4.5 Interview analysis approach

For the interview analysis, the researcher decided to stay close to the qualitative research guidance of Henning (2004). The interview recordings were transcribed by the researcher to represent the exact words as they were spoken during the interview. Henning (2004:105) suggests that a novice researcher should be responsible for their own transcriptions, because during the slow process of transcribing the data (typing while listening) the researcher becomes familiar with the data. Therefore, no transcription software was used. The transcriptions were firstly typed with double-spacing to leave room for the coding process discussed later. The transcriptions started from when the researcher asked the first questions and ends after the reading of the wordlist. In the figure below there is an extract from AEP 4.2.'s interview, showing how the recordings were transcribed.

> **Researcher:** How did the…did they approach you with the green-card or did they ask?
>
> AEP 4.2: What happened was when I started looking for a job last year, I wanted to bring my wife over with me and I was looking to get a green-card cause that's what I want to do for the rest of my life.
>
> **Researcher:** So, you asked him?
>
> AEP 4.2: Yeah, and he approved it and last year he told me, around August or September, I spoke to him again and he said, 'Yeah we can go ahead with the green-card' and we started the process.
>
> **Researcher:** Okay and uhm what was your… what is your main duties on the farm?
>
> AEP 4.2: I am a Farm manager.

After the recordings were transcribed, the typed data was analysed using the content analysis approach. Content analysis is characterised as "chunking the data and synthesising the chunks again to create a new whole" (Henning, 2004:109). This analysis process was performed in three phases. The first phase follows immediately on the transcription of the interviews. During this phase, the researcher is essentially at the beginning stages of "working the data" (Henning, 2004:104). The open-coding procedure occurs in this phase, and it involves reading through the entire transcription of the interview to get an overall impression of the context (Henning,

2004:104). During this phase, the researcher observes some themes, but the only coding that takes place is the placing of main ideas or units of meaning into square brackets. This was done by hand after the transcriptions were printed. Two interviews were done at the same time (i.e., one couple, two participants, counts as one unit of data) and therefore there were a total of 6 full units of data analysed.

It is important to have a "good sense of the overall context of the data before starting the coding process " (Henning, 2004:104), which bring us to phase two of analysis. During the second phase, the units of meaning are identified and coded. The coding can be done using colour markers and pens to label each unit of meaning and in order to group them into relevant categories later (Henning, 2004:105). The researcher used different colour markers to outline units of meaning and used corresponding pens to label each unit of meaning. The coding and labelling were done while keeping in mind the research questions of the study and the literature and theory that have been discussed in previous chapters. The researcher also made notes about units of meaning that were of particular relevance, especially in terms of linkages with previous research and in terms of answering the research questions of this dissertation, particularly those pertaining to identity integration and change. The illustration below presents an example of the interview-coding process.

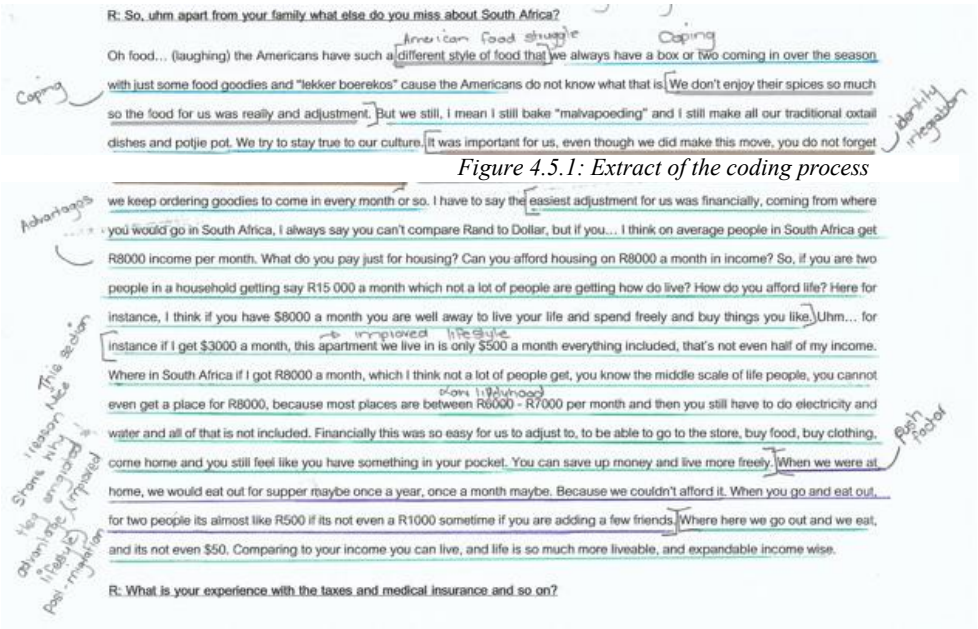


Figure 4.5.1: Extract of the coding process

The third and final phase of the QUAL analysis involves placing the codes into categories (Henning, 2004:105). These categories would constitute themes as constructed from the data (Henning, 2004:105). Figure 4.5.2 below shows an example of how the units of meaning went from being coded to categorised and then themed.

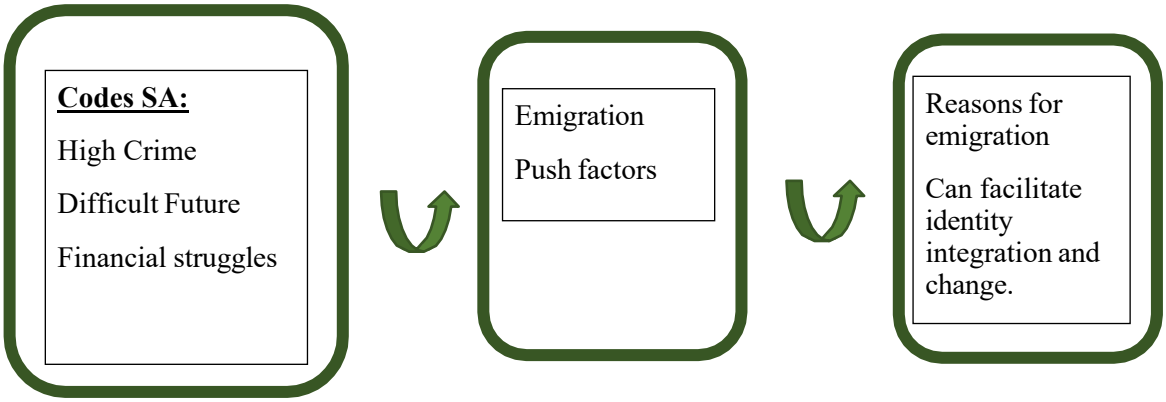


Figure 4.5.2: Coding process

The last phase, therefore, involved finding anything that might have been overlooked and chunking categories into their relevant themes in preparation for presenting and ultimately synthesising the data as a new 'whole'. The entire coding process ensures that the researcher presents detailed findings by extracting the most out of the interview data. Henning (2004:106) suggests that any researcher "makes use of an independent coder" or an outsider who has been part of the research and who has sufficient knowledge about the field and research" to assist the final stages of the coding. In the case of this study, the supervising professor of this study assisted the researcher in labelling the themes correctly. Finally, when all full units of data were coded, categorised and themed the researcher could "[see] the whole'" and presented each couple or case study in the form of a comprehensive account of factors relevant to the overall topic of this dissertation.

4.6. Speech data-analysis approach

The speech analysis of each recording was performed in three phases. The QUAN analysis was done after the QUAL analysis. This was to ensure that the researcher had already established a substantial sense of familiarity with each recording as it was listened to and worked through multiple times for the extraction of the QUAL data. The phases of speech analysis looked somewhat different as they entailed quantitative data. The study adopted a similar approach to that of Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007), in that it uses counting and coding of tokens where

these tokens refer to linguistic variables. Essentially, it also involves a content-analysis approach as it entails the coding and counting of tokens, but in this case "phonetic units of meaning" instead of actual words and phrases are coded and counted. Step one involved the heavier or more in-depth investigation of phonetic and other linguistic data from the causal-speech component of each interview. Step two focused only on the wordlist that was read by each participant and step three involved gathering the data together to create a linguistic portrait of each couple by using MS Excel.

Firstly, tokens of the main linguistic variables in question were counted and underlined by pencil, using the transcribed interview. All possibilities where the [ɑː] vowel is normally used in SAfE and AfrE for the BATH lexical set, but [æ(ː)] for NAmE, were counted and coded as "bath". Thereafter, all possibilities where the intervocalic -d or flapped -r of NAmE (for /t/) could occur were counted and noted. As discussed in Chapter 3 part II, the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] is consistently used in NAmE in short words such as *latter* and *city* by most speakers, but less in words with an *-ity* suffix (*electricity*) and words with *-nt* such as *plenty* and *twenty* (Trudgill and Hannah, 2008:45). Even though Trudgill and Hannah (2008) state that this variant is used less in longer words in NAmE, such tokens were still counted as the researcher had noticed that some of the participants had indeed learned and adopted this variable in longer words in addition to shorter words. These words were counted and coded using "-t/-d". Next, the *-ing/-in* variation possibilities were underlined, coded as "-ing/-in" and counted. The words that were pronounced in characteristic NAmE fashion were highlighted yellow. Finally, the researcher went in and noted any other possible phonetic changes. The one phonetic change common in multiple interviews was the replacement of [oː] and [ɒ ~ o][26] for THOUGHT and LOT words with the NAmE [ɑ(ː)] (Trudgill & Hannah, 2008:42). In this instance, all possibilities of THOUGHT or LOT in SAfE or AfrE were underlined, coded as "-th" or "lot" and counted. Those tokens that were pronounced with the NAmE variant were again highlighted yellow. A final run-through was done noting any other linguistic features of interest while listening to the recording. These extra

[26] The first value is the canonical L1-SAfE value while the second variant is the typical AfrE value.

features were simply underlined and coded as “other”. The illustration below shows an example of the use of the coding notations.

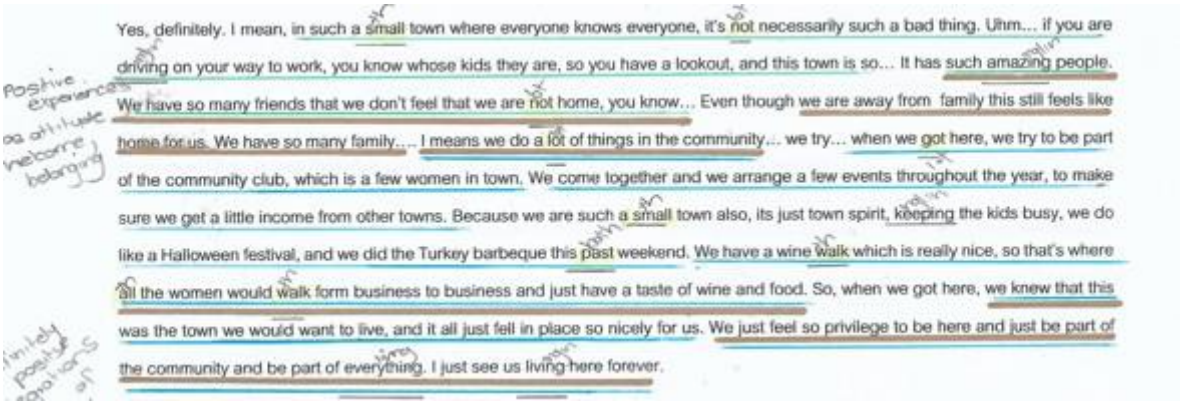


Figure 4.5.3 Extract of coding notations

Step two focused on the wordlist data. The researcher used the following codes for the wordlist: “bath”, “-t-d” and “-in/-ing”. The other phonetic variables included in the above analysis were not analysed during this phase. The wordlist only focused on the three main linguistic variables mentioned in the original research questions of this dissertation. The wordlist reading from each recording was listened to again and each word containing a NAmE pronunciation was highlighted yellow.

Linguistic Analysis

Code Name	Casual Speech						Other Notations					Word List					
	Trap - Bath Split		ing/in variation		T/D voicing		Lot or Thought Vowel in AfrE			Rhoticity		Notes	Trap - Bath Sping/in variation			T/D voicing	
	Trap	Bath	Ing	In	Voiceless T	Voiced D or 'r	Bath	Lot	Thought	r'	Lost post vocallic 'r'		Trap	Bath	Ing	In	Voiceless T	Voiced D or r'
												words that have the th sound between vowels sounds like it is						
AEP 3.2	asking		asking		safety		got	not	calling				bath	wishing		latter		better
	after		calling		safety			not	calling				laugh	fishing		city		water
	example		calling		opportunity			not	calling				dance	getting		otter		
	can't		calling		making			got	call				path	filling		fatter		
	asking		underlying		something			got (bath)	because				ask					
		rather	immigrating		opportunities			lot	also									
			beginning		better	better		not	thought									
			beginning		better	better		not	because									
			asking															
			writing															
			writing															
			losing															
			writing															
	7	7	32	32	17	17	21	21	17				5	4		6		6
	6	1	32	0	13	4	1	20	17				5	4		4		2

Figure 4.5.4 Extract of MS Excel sheet

Step three involved creating a spreadsheet, using MS Excel, for each couple, to illustrate and hold the QUAN data in an organised and comprehensive manner. Each linguistic variable/feature that was noted during phase one (i.e., during the analysis of the casual speech component), had its own column. The wordlist data also had its own column with the data relating to the three mainlinguistic variables presented accordingly. Each column presented the total number of possibilities, a count of the number of words pronounced in either the SAfE/AfrE or NAmE accents and then what these words were. In addition, one more column was added to the spreadsheet and labelled as "notes" where any other remarks were added about any other linguistic features that might be important to mention when presenting the results. The illustration above shows a completed excel spreadsheet for AEP 3.2.

4.7. Presentation of data

In the following chapter, each couple is effectively presented as a separate case study and is assigned a case-study number, as seen in section 4.3 of this chapter. Each case study is presented and discussed separately. The case studies are presented in a narrative fashion. This means that every case study opens with an introduction to the couple. The introduction provides information on the demographics of the couple, their emigration route, what town they live in, their family dynamics and any other information that is essential to understanding the social background of the relevant couple, while of course still ensuring anonymity.

The second part of the case study presents the QUAL data as a new whole. The data is presented with a focus on six themes. These themes include *Reasons for emigrations*; *Advantages of living in America*; *Emigration and Adjustment challenges*; *Coping strategies*; *Identity changes post-migration*; and *Dialect awareness and change*. Each theme is discussed for every couple, and each member is compared to the other (i.e., spouse with spouse) while all claims are substantiated with extracts from the interview data. Throughout the discussion of each theme, relevant links to the literature reviewed in previous chapters are made, with a specific focus on the levels of identity integration and change, as well as the factors that facilitate or inhibit identity integration and change.

The third section of each case study presents the linguistic details of dialect change for each member of the relevant couple. The dialect changes (or QUAN analysis) captured in MS Excel as discussed previously are now illustrated in tables and discussed according to whether and to what extent SDA or learning has taken place for each member of the respective couple. In essence a dialect-change portrait is created for each couple to provide a comprehensive overview of their level of SDA and how this links to the various social variables outlined earlier. Each case study ends with a brief interpretation and overview of the dialect-analysis results alongside the interview findings.

After the sociolinguistic profile of each case study has been presented, the dissertation moves, in the final chapter, to a conclusive interpretation of the overall findings, interpreted in the light of the respective theories and literature reviewed in previous chapters. In essence, Chapter 6 presents a merger, integration and interpretation of the QUAL findings and the QUAN results across all case studies in light of previous research. This is done to present conclusive findings that ultimately lead towards answering the research questions of this study.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the SDA methodologies previously used within emigration contexts. The studies that were reviewed all adopted the mixed-methods research design, which is the approach that this study adopted as well. The mixed-methods research design involves collecting and analysing both qualitative and quantitative data to answer specific research questions. There are a total of twelve Afrikaans-English participants in this study (i.e., 6 couples) who have emigrated from South Africa to North Dakota, USA. The careful speech and casual speech data were collected through recorded conversations with each participant. The casual speech data were collected through semi-structured interviews. The careful speech data was collected through reading a wordlist. Both the qualitative data and the quantitative data were analysed using the content analysis approach. The findings and results of the analyses of each couple are presented as separate case studies or sociolinguistic profiles, each consisting of an introduction, followed by the main themes of the QUAL analysis, and ending with the results of the QUAN or speech analysis.

CHAPTER 5

Presenting the Results

This chapter has six sections. Each section is devoted to one of the Afrikaans-English speaking couples who have emigrated from South Africa to North Dakota, USA. Each section presents a case study that begins with a short introduction, and follows with a discussion of the interview findings. Each case study ends with the results of the speech analysis, more specifically the extent of dialect change for each member of the couple.

5.1. Case study #1: Couple AEPS 1.1 and 1.2

Case Study #1 consists of Afrikaans-English participants (henceforth abbreviated as AEP) 1.1 and 1.2. AEP 1.1 is female, and 35 years old and AEP 1.2 is male and 41 years old. They are married and they emigrated to North Dakota, USA. AEP 1.1 has been living in the host community for 5 years and AEP 1.2 has been working and residing in the host community for 6 years. They currently reside in Lansford, North Dakota. The husband first came over alone in 2015 for one season of agricultural work. After that year was over, his employer provided him with a second contract. AEP 1.2 said that he, at the time, asked his employer if he would later sponsor him and his family for a green-card, and the employer agreed after discussing it for some time. By the end of January 2016, the family had decided to take the opportunity to emigrate. Much thought went into this decision, as it was a life-altering decision. The husband said that he knew it would be difficult for his wife, because she is "family orientated" and "...very close to her mom, and her dad, and her brothers, and everything like that." The many factors that contributed to their decision to emigrate are explored in the next section, along with other themes such as the advantages of living in the United States, emigration challenges, coping strategies, identity change, and dialect awareness and change.

5.1.1. Case study #1: Interview Findings

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

Each member of the couple had similar reasons for deciding to emigrate. Both AEP 1.1 and 1.2 said that they felt that South Africa has limited opportunities for their children in terms of creating a comfortable livelihood for themselves.

i. AEP 1.1: …to give our children better opportunity because of BEE[27] and all the rules and laws in South Africa. There's no chances of our children going to university.

ii. AEP 1.2: ... I don't see a good future for my children… they are gonna have a good future, or good job. They will be able to afford their own stuff, their own home and to care for their own families. I just didn't see that in South Africa.

In addition, both highlighted that the high crime in South Africa is a concern for them. AEP 1.1 explained they had been victims of multiple instances of crime.

iii. AEP 1.1: ...between 2009 and 2014 we were targeted 9 times with crime, burglaries, attempted hijacking, uhm stolen wheels off our vehicles, uhm just the crime overall was just becoming unimaginable. It's just rough. And it was more for the safety of our children too. The safety of ourselves…

iv. AEP 1.2: …I was afraid for their safety…

AEP 1.2 explained that he was the breadwinner of their household in South Africa, and his trade as a cabinet maker is seen as a low-grade skill, therefore his salary is very low. He explains that he worked with his hands for most of his life and that it is unfair that his skills are unrecognised. He acknowledged that his work is only seen as "cheap labour". With that being said, the salary that he earned was not enough to cover all their expenses. His wife explained that they needed a higher salary to "survive". Thus, earning a higher income was also a reason why this couple decided to emigrate.

v. AEP 1.2 …the thing is my opinion, when you work with your hands, like most of South African guys do, is not a lot of… the whole world goes around money… so there's not a lot of money into it because it's just…. I feel it's just cheap labour and I have worked my whole life with my hands, and I just felt, it's not fair…

vi. AEP 1.1 …look for a job to but because he's the breadwinner of the household, he needed to earn at least R20 000 to have both kids in school, to have a medical aid, have a vehicle, pay rent, pay electricity, and just his salary of R7000. That's not gonna work because some places you pay more than R5000 just for medical

[27] Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is a policy brought into law by the post-apartheid South African government. The policy was directed towards providing non-white individuals who suffered during the Apartheid period, a chance to participate fully in the economy (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2022).

aid, and we needed medical aid for [their son], 'cause you know how government hospitals are in South Africa… Not a liveable wage…

ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN AMERICA

Both AEP 1.1 and AEP 1.2 mentioned several advantages of living in the United States. When they explain these advantages, they used their experiences in South Africa as references to elaborate on their arguments. The wife explained the advantages for her children in school. Her son, who she says has "minor disabilities", has received free learning assistance at school and the medical treatment that her son has received was, according to her, "amazing". She says that in South Africa her son would not have received this special assistance, especially not at no cost.

vii. AEP 1.1 …but the health care overall is amazing. Just looking at what my son has received, even in the school system, some of the treatments he has received the government pays for that. In South Africa, I would have to gotten someone to do it separately and then privately paid for. So, all that is covered like uhm, his speech therapist, his physical therapist, there's an occupational therapist and then he has another therapist that comes in to just do evaluation, uhm… when he gets frustrated in the classroom, she will remove him from his situation and go swing him for 5 minutes so he can calm down and bring him back. I don't think South Africa's schools, offers these things for mild disabilities or ADHD or ADD. Uhm… usually they have to go to special schools or no school at all. Where here they take in any child, and they can send them in mainstream schools so that they can be like a normal child, they don't feel left out just because they have a disability. Like I said I have had surgeries here, I am very pleased of the service that was given.

AEP 1.2 explained that being the breadwinner for his family in the United States has been more satisfactory than back in South Africa. He explains that he is able to provide for his family's needs sufficiently and also has extra finances to save for other purposes. While back in South Africa he feels that he was constantly struggling for his family to survive as they were living pay-check to pay-check.

viii. AEP 1.2. I'm the only breadwinner in our family…and we can afford to have medical insurance, yes, it's helped… by subsidies… but I've got a medical insurance, I can afford uh, a car payment with insurance. If my children need clothes or anything, I can… we get along, we get by with my income at the moment. Uhm where in South Africa, it was always, "make a plan". Ja, make a plan, that's uhm… the kids need new clothes, oh boy now I must make a plan. Where here it's always, you've always got that little bit…. Where in South Africa you never had a savings, you live day to day. Here at least I've got a little bit of money in my savings account, so if there is an emergency or something, I know I have a little bit of a nest egg that's…. it's there…. It's not a lot… but it's there… Like I said, it's not that feeling of day-to-day.

AEP 1.2 works on a farm in North Dakota. He grew up on a farm in South Africa. He explains that an advantage of farm work in America is that everything is made simpler or "easier". This means that his employer ensures that farm procedures are not complicated and are manageable enough that he only needs two workers to do work that would normally require ten workers to do. He does generalise to say that everything in America is made easier, but only uses his work environment as an example.

ix. AEP 1.2 … in general in America everything is made easy, where in… For instance, I always use this example, we farm about five and a half thousand acres, so if you convert that back in hectares, that's about two and a half thousand hectares. Now, that size of a farm in South Africa, there's about 10 guys working on a farm, where in America we are two guys, and the farmer makes it…. Well... I am saying farmer… especially my employer, he makes it as easy as possible for two guys to run…. And it's not big, that is an average size farm in North Dakota. So, we've got equipment that makes it very easy to run two guys, that size of a farm. That's what I enjoy about America, everything, is made easy. You don't have… you don't need… ten guys. You can do that with two guys.

Lastly, both participants highlighted some of the other reasons they emigrated, specifically the sense of safety, security and freedom in the community that they live in. In addition, the ample opportunities that they both have after they became permanent residents of America were also highlighted.

x. AEP 1.2 Then in North Dakota, I just like the peace and quiet and the sense of security. The last time we locked our house was in 2018, when we went back to South Africa. We've never since locked anything, not our house, not our garage

xi. AEP 1.2… we go away for weeks at a time or days at [a] time and our house is open. We've never had any problems. My kids' bicycles are outside, and everything is outside, our camper is never locked, everything is still there, so that's… I think, that's what I like about North Dakota is that security, you know, I feel safe.

xii. AEP 1.1 It's very safe…

xiii. AEP 1.1 if we become permanent residents [then] we have the opportunity to go back to college to get a degree, you can walk in into any job, and there is a lot of jobs available. So, it's not a country where unemployment is high especially if you are willing to work. Uhm yeah, I think, I wouldn't say the American dream is all what they say it is, but it's definitely better than South Africa.

While all these reasons were provided for why these participants have emigrated and what advantages come with living in the United States, the emigration and adjustment process was not without its challenges.

EMIGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT CHALLENGES

The entire emigration process is a long, stressful and tedious process. Regardless of what emigration route is taken, there is what seems like endless paperwork to be filed, with interviews and medical examinations. This can turn out to be very expensive and most of the time requires the help of emigration lawyers. Couple #1 emigrated using the employment-based (E3) route, and AEP 1.2 explains that he feels the government makes it considerably complicated to emigrate legally.

xiv. AEP 1.2…the American government is making it… they're trying to make it as difficult as possible for good people to become citizens, that's my opinion of negativity. Because I've been here six years now and uhm I do everything according to book, just like a normal American. I pay my taxes, I stick to the rules, and still, we are on our second attempt for our green-cards, and we still don't have an answer. It's been… it's been like four years, on our second attempt so I think that's a very negative thing. They could at least make it easier, for especially for H2A guys because we are a big benefit for a company in America. I think they should change the legislation so after 5 years you automatically get your green-card or citizenship, I think because 5 years is long enough to prove yourself. So, I think that that's one thing they should change or think about changing or just make it easier for us than to apply for a green-card or anything like that.

In addition, AEP 1.1 expresses how difficult the emigration process is "physical, emotionally and financially."

xv. AEP 1.1 …then the whole immigration process itself is hard. It's taking long, it's stressful, uhm all the paperwork that goes into it, all the money that goes into it. It's not that easy. It's definitely not. Physically and emotionally and financially it's not that easy.

Along with a complicated emigration process, both participants also expressed their personal struggles with adjusting to their new lives in the United States. AEP 1.1 explained that after the "vacation phase" she became very lonely in her community. She is not able to enter the workforce, because she is on a spouse-visa while going through the emigration process and she was used to working and having more freedom while she lived in South Africa. This restriction added to her feeling of loneliness and isolation and makes her feel that she lacks meaning in her life. AEP 1.1 explains that being a stay-at-home mom and doing daily house chores makes her feel like she is not living her life, that she is only "existing".

xvi. AEP 1.1 The first year was like vacation, everything was new, there was a lot to explore, new things to learn, new culture. But I think the year after that when we started settling in, and the house is done, and the kids are in school. I think for me, personally, it was harder because …I'm home most of the time and because we live in such a small town, and there's mostly older people in the community…

xvii. AEP 1.1…it feels like you are not living you are just existing because you are here now, and you constantly remind yourself why you came…

xviii. AEP 1.1 With me, I wake up and it's just either laundry, dishes, cleaning and then taking care of the kids after school. And for 365 days of a year. It becomes a lot…

Along with the emotional turmoil she's experiencing she also feels that she longs for what is familiar to her. She longs for South Africa and the familiarity of being where she lived most of her life. She misses her family and her friends, and she complained that it takes time to make friends in a new country. AEP 1.2 also became tearful when he expressed that of all the things in South Africa, he longs for his family the most.

xix. AEP 1.1: And then that longing for what's familiar to you back in South Africa. You kinda tend to wanna get it back. You want that back! You want your family, you want your shops, you want your lifestyle, and I think that is the hardest, is to adjust to being at home, by yourself, have no one to talk to, no friends, all of that comes with time, it just doesn't happen overnight.

xx. AEP 1.2: Definitely family, I think uhm…. That's the most thing I miss… I miss family, my parents, my in-laws, my brother, my grandparents, I think of them every day, and uh that's it…

Along with longing for familiarity, comes dealing with the unfamiliarity of living in a new country. Both participants explained that learning new rules and the ways of the new country, from small things such as buying groceries and foods to more complex things such as banking was and is still challenging sometimes.

xxi. AEP 1.1: Like when you walk into a shop [in South Africa], you know exactly what you want off the shelf. Being in the United States it takes twice as long because they have so much to choose from because you don't really know what you are buying.

xxii. AEP 1.2: Don't get me going on the banks. That's one thing, I'm…. South Africa is way ahead of America. I was used to my internet banking, and I was used to my cell phone banking, and always knew what was going on in my account, because if you make a purchase at Pick 'n Pay you had a purchase at Pick 'n Pay for this amount, your balance in your account is this. Now it's like I have to go in my account…. Eventually I got my cell phone banking activated here but I still have to go into my account at least once a day just to see what is going on in your account. I just think South Africa's banking is…. Because here they still write cheques, they still use cheques… In South Africa, that's long gone, no one uses it anymore. I think that…. South Africa is ahead or it's just better.

The last factor that is a struggle for both participants, specifically with living in North Dakota, is the cold weather. AEP 1.1 explains that the winter is a struggle for her, because it causes her to feel unmotivated and lethargic. She says that she "feel[s] like in the mornings [she doesn't] want to get up because it's too cold to be outside… So, you are mainly indoors. I've never been this

much indoors ever in my life, and I think that is an adjustment too." AEP 1.2 explained that he longs for South African weather and the activities that one can do whether it is winter or summer. He misses being able to go "to the beach, to the coast, because… we love to go camping, and go to the coast… I miss that…"

COPING STRATEGIES

This couple has different strategies that they have adopted in order to cope with their different emigration struggles. AEP 1.1 has emotional and mental difficulties with the fact that she is not able to work on the visa that she is on. She explained that she feels her life lacks meaning with only being occupied with herself, house chores and their children. She has incorporated self-care rituals to help release emotional distress. These self-care strategies include "taking long baths", "…make phone calls and text…if there is days that I miss home" and "pray[er]". Furthermore, she says she has made female South African friends, because more H-2A workers came with their families to the area in recent years.

xxiii. AEP 1.1: Well, I've made some South African friends. Uhm… It's been at least two years now that there's more South African wives that came with their husbands, that I can start to uhm have friends.

In addition, she says that she has incorporated an exercise routine recently and this has helped her emotionally, mentally and physically.

xxiv. AEP 1.1: I recently start[ed] working out and I said to [my husband] the other night, I said to him, at least this whole week, one day did not feel like eternity. I said although I get up in the morning to go work out, I felt I did something, I accomplished something. It didn't make me money. It didn't improve anything in my household, but it helped me, mentally and physically 'cause I knew I did it for myself, I feel I am worth something. Uhm… (crying)… at least I did something not just laundry, dishes, bedding or cleaning the house. I did something for myself…. (Pause) And at least my husband is supportive over that.

AEP 1.2 has incorporated hobbies that help him deal with the adjustment of life in the new country. He says that he is not a very social person and that he would rather spend time by himself while taking on projects where he can work with his hands.

xxv. AEP 1.2: I keep to myself; I keep busy with myself. Like I said I'm… I like working with my hands… I am busy with a project now; I bought an old pick-up and that's what I do. I go to a workshop [and] work on a [my] pick-up (i.e., *bakkie*) and I keep busy. I am not a very social person, I don't have a lot of friends, I don't go to the bar. Sometimes people…. misinterpreted that because I'm just… and it's not like that.

When people start knowing me, they'll know I just keep to myself… I just do my own thing… and that's it.

AEP 1.2 also provided advice for other South African farmworkers coming to work in the United States. He explains that sometimes South African farmworkers can be very stubborn, and this can cause much conflict between them and their employer. He says it is best to submit to the ways of the employer and build a relationship before attempting to run the farm or do farm processes the way South African farmers do.

xxvi. AEP 1.2: So, if I can give… let's say a first time H2A farmworker will come to North Dakota, especially North Dakota, because like I said I haven't been, I didn't work any other states before, is try and respect you're your employer and… and listen and see what he does and then… you will start to learn your employer when you can give your suggestions and when not. I know some South Africans, they're also very hard-headed and they wanted to do everything their way, you are working for someone else and it's their farm and unfortunately you have to give in and do it their way… uhhh… otherwise you're gonna have conflict the whole time.

The couple has had challenges while adjusting after emigration, but they have also adopted strategies to help them cope and get through these challenges. With that being said, now comes the question of how they perceive their identity post-emigration.

IDENTITY CHANGES POST-EMIGRATION

Throughout the interview, both participants kept referring to South Africa as "home" or "back home", showing their anchored sense of self in South Africa. AEP 1.1 explains that she will always be South African, but her daily living is American. She still listens to Afrikaans music and watches Afrikaans TV shows and reads Afrikaans magazines regularly.

xxvii. AEP 1.1: …moving here, you still remember where your roots are, where you were born, and your history of your own country

xxviii. AEP 1.1: I still do watch some of my South African programs and enjoy to read magazines from there, so I think its half-half. Your daily living is American 'cause you are here, but in your heart and in your mind, I still do things that's very South African. I listen to my South African radio station on Alexa in the morning, uh… we listen to our native language music, uh I make food the way I was taught in the house to cook food. Yes, I think daily living [is American], I mean, I am born and bred South African.

Even though AEP 1.1 emigrated 5 years ago, she seems to still be in the Categorisation phase of identity integration (i.e., second stage). This phase comes right after the move has occurred. As discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.4.1, during this phase the differences between the individual (i.e., emigrant) and the new host community members are highly differentiated. This means that the emigrant will not consider the new group's characteristics as being part of the self (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:373). The emigrant "identifies predominantly with his or her original culture" and the emigrant still has a lack of that knowledge regarding the host community which is required to establish connections between the two identities (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:373). AEP 1.1 does not, however, have a lack of knowledge of the host community. She has identified many differences between her South African culture and the American culture. She explicitly explains the differences by portraying some American characteristics in a negative light, while her own culture is painted in a positive light. These differences are of course seen from her own perspective.

xxix. AEP 1.1: Small things like children are not allowed to climb trees, children are not allowed to be barefoot. Boys specifically are not allowed, when it's hot outside, to wear no shirts. Once again it comes to the culture, if you've grown up all your life, that that is normal. But here that's not normal, then you ask but why not?

xxx. AEP 1.1: Americans overall, the way they dress. They don't really hide their bodies. They wear really skimpy clothes, for the size of their bodies, where to us… that… we as South Africans are taught to be proud of your body but there's certain clothes that go with certain things.

xxxi. AEP 1.1: Like overall what they eat, how they prepare their food. It's totally different to what we grew up to eating. Like they don't know what boerewors, and vetkoek and all those meals are. They don't even know it. Even here they think jerky is the same as biltong, or they eat chilli with sweet cinnamon rolls. And it's just to use, we don't eat like that. Uhm... they have things like Sloppy Jo's. The first time, I was like, what in the world is a sloppy Jo, and they said oh it's just like hamburger meat on a bun not a patty it's the mince. And I'm like okey. And a tatter-tot hotdish, what is a tatter-tot hot dish, then it's these potato bites with vegetables, and it just does not look nice at all. So…

xxxii. AEP 1.1: I do think that South Africans have a way bigger sense of humour, uhm what we find funny they do not, what they find funny, I don't think it's funny. So, they have a weird sense of humour, I think they also swear more than we do. Uhm… that also puts you in an uncomfortable situation… And I don't feel like they feel warm-hearted towards other people, maybe to their own people or their family members, but not if you are from somewhere else…

These claims show that AEP 1.1 is in the Categorisation phase, since she is still clinging to her South African identity and heritage and only enjoying what "the American[s] have to offer". She keeps the two identities separate, and ultimately describes herself as a South African only living

in America. Thus, little of the American identity has been incorporated into her sense of self. The reason might be that she is having a difficult time adjusting to the small community life and also living in North Dakota overall. She explains that she relates more to Americans who are in the military and who have experienced the world outside of North Dakota, and she states that traveling more in the south of the USA showed her that other Americans are more open toward foreigners and might be more like her in a certain sense [i.e., being more outgoing and adventurous].

xxxiii. AEP 1.1: I enjoy what America has to offer, like we do not have these nice museums, and zoos and water parks, in South Africa.

xxxiv. AEP 1.1: 'Cause I tend to notice that if I speak to people that work in the military, that I can relate more to them because they know what is outside of the United States. I've never had anyone in the military ask me "but where's South Africa?"

xxxv. AEP 1.1: [W]e have travelled to different states and I've definitely experienced….[that] and they are more outgoing people and I think it's more so of the weather I think they enjoy life more uhm… I think because there's so much more to do if it was bigger [a bigger town].

In contrast to his wife's identity integration, AEP 1.2 views America and his new community in a more positive light. He highlighted most of the advantages of living in the United States and in his community, while his wife highlighted many negatives. AEP 1.2 describes himself as "pretty integrated" and he sees himself as a South African American, but with an emphasis on South African. He is very proud of where he comes from, and it is not something he will ever disregard in terms of his identity.

xxxvi. AEP 1.2: I see myself as a South African American, and '*klem*' on South African first because I will never be [solely] American,

xxxvii. AEP 1.2: I am not a very patriotic South African that's one thing because my family is actually from Germany, so they only arrived in South Africa in the late 1800's so uhm I don't see myself as a real Boer South African because my family only came to South Africa in the late 1800's. But still, I am a South African, I was born there, I was raised there, I speak the language and one of the native languages as well, which I'm very proud of and uhm '*ja*'… I'll always be a South African and then maybe later a South African American.

AEP 1.2 did not elaborate any further on his identity, but the above statements along with the positive differences that he highlighted earlier, illustrate that he is in the Compartmentalisation phase of the SIIM. Amiot *et al* (2007:374), state that in this phase the emigrant considers himself

as part of the host community, but the identities remain segregated, and a hybrid identity is not yet possible. This phase comes after the Categorisation phase, which means his identity is more integrated than his wife's, according to the SIIM. This makes sense, since he has been in the country for one year longer than his wife. It might be that the LoR (i.e., length of residence) plays a role here, as well as environmental factors such as working vs. staying home, having a sense of purpose vs "existing". This does require more investigation, however, with regards to establishing exactly to what extent the environment plays a role in the extent of integration. What is interesting, though, is that the linguistic trajectories of each member of this couple seem to be completely opposite to their levels of identity integration. This will be discussed shortly. Both of them are highly aware of the language and dialect differences between the SAfE/AfrE and NAmE dialects.

DIALECT AWARENESS AND DIALECT CHANGE

Throughout the interview, the researcher became aware that both these participants are fully aware of dialectal differences between their English and NAmE. AEP 1.2 said that his English and American English are not the same, and working on the farm with other American workers has made him aware that he had to change some of the terminology that he is used to.

xxxviii. AEP 1.2: our English and American English is not the same. I always joke with the Americans, we speak the Queen's English, and uhm then they…. I always say… you speak American because it's definitely not the same. And I'm sure all the H2A guys went through the same thing, you still speak about a spanner instead of a wrench, …glove box, a hood, and uh… a wrench, and pipe wrench…

In addition, AEP 1.1 also mentioned early in the interview that Americans have a different accent and that they use different terminology as well. She later mentioned many examples of phonetic differences and different terminology between her English and NAmE.

xxxix. AEP 1.1: …they have a different accent, they have different terminologies too…

xl. AEP 1.1: …I mean can give a few examples like they don't call it a manual vehicle, it's either clutch or stick drive, they call it ketchup, we call it tomato sauce, they call it curb, we call it pavement, uhm… we would say tar road, they would say asphalt, we say bulbar they say grill cart, we say towbar they say hitch.

xli. AEP 1.1: …I mean it's like ask [BATH] and ask [TRAP], daughter [THOUGHT] daughter [BATH], walk [THOUGHT] walk [BATH], talk [THOUGHT] talk [BATH]; water [THOUGHT + voiceless 't'] wader [BATH + voiced 'd' or tapped-'r']. The 'r's, the 't's, 'd's" the sounds they make sounds different.

Even though both participants are fully aware of various linguistic differences between their English and NAmE, they both have made opposite claims about changing their own dialects. The wife, who has been here for five years and who has integrated less on other levels, admitted that she has "changed [her] accent". She claims that she changed it, because it is "frustrating to constantly repeat [herself]" in conversations, and also to avoid miscommunication. She said that she changed it for "Americans to understand [her]." In addition, she explained that she changed her accent to help her children to adjust as well. But she quickly highlights that the main reason was to improve communication.

xlii. AEP 1.1 …but I changed my accent so I can help my children cause when they get off school, they think it's funny if I speak funny, uhm… to help them. But mainly it's so that the Americans can understand what you need or what you want, so you can communicate better.

In contrast, the husband who has been here 6 years and has integrated more on other levels, claimed that he knows his accent is different, but he does not want to change it, because he is not an American. In the statement below, he says that he has learned much of the new terminology, but specifically mentions that he has not changed his accent, because he does not want to.

xliii. AEP 1.2: …I still got a bad accent, although my English is not bad, but I still got that South African accent, and it won't change because… I don't want to change it because I'm not an American uhm…

xliv. AEP 1.2: says that the Americans find it difficult to understand his accent …

Furthermore, he admits that miscommunication does occur between him and Americans, but that those who know him understand him. He seems not to mind being misunderstood sometimes. He does say that he does not speak through a two-way radio with his employer, because his employer does not understand him when he uses the radio. He would rather speak to his employer on a phone call.

xlv. AEP 1.2: there's still some miscommunication, it's just the way they say something and the way I understand it. There is always a miscommunication.

xlvi. AEP 1.2: For instance, we've got two-way radios on all our farm equipment. I don't use it because he can't understand me. I'll rather phone him and talk to him over the phone than try and talk to him over two-way radio because…. Like I said… my employer, he... he… he's known me quite a bit… he can figure it out. There's some people that just don't understand my accent over… it's just… I don't know… there is still that communication problem sometimes.

Before moving on to the linguistic analysis, one issue needs to be highlighted. It has been argued, with evidence from the interviews, that AEP 1.1 has had much difficulty integrating into the new community. She is in the second phase of identity adjustment, whereas her husband has moved along in his identity integration. He seems to have adjusted better and is in the third phase of the SIIM. However, his accent has not changed, but hers has. In the analysis below too, it is evident that the wife has significantly changed her accent, whereas her husband has not, which questions whether identity is always a viable driving force behind new dialect learning. It is not the case for Couple #1.

5.1.2. Case study #1: Linguistic Analysis Results

AEP 1.1	Female	LOR: 5years	35 years old

The phonetic analysis of this participant shows intriguing results. In comparison to her husband (discussed later), she shows significant utilization of more than one North American English phonetic variable. The three main variables that are the focus of this study are discussed first, namely the TRAP-BATH split, *-ing*/*-in* variation and the voiced [d] or tapped 'r' instead of the voiceless [t].

The table below summarises AEP 1.1's TRAP vs. BATH variation. During the casual speech component, she consistently used the NAmE [æː] variant with words that are usually pronounced with the SAfE and AfrE [ɑː] variant. During the reading of the wordlist, AEP 1.1 pronounced all 28 of the possible tokens with a NAmE [æː] variant instead of the SAfE and AfrE [ɑː] variant. As discussed in Chapter 4 section 4.4, when an individual reads a text or a wordlist, they become more conscious of their pronunciation, and as a result they attempt to use the pronunciation that they perceive as correct. The phonetic data gathered from the wordlist and the casual speech clearly shows that AEP 1.1 has discarded her use of the SAfE and AfrE [ɑː] variant. She has, instead, learned to use the NAmE variant.

AEP 1.1 [æː] vs [ɑː] in BATH		
VARIATION	**[æː]**	**[ɑː]**

% used in casual speech	100%	0%
Casual Speech Words	chances; after; ask (x7); class; cl**a**ssroom (x2); **a**fterwards; half-half; **a**nswer; past; tr**a**nsferred; asked; tr**a**nslate; crafts; baths; ex**a**mples	
% used in wordlist	100%	0%
Words in wordlist	bath; laugh; dance; path; ask	

The *-in* instead of *-ing* phonetic variation is understood to be more common in the Southern states of America and is not as popular in North Dakota (see Chapter 3 section 3.8). Even though it is variation that occurs in NAmE, it did not occur once in the 105 possible tokens counted during the casual conversation component. Similarly, no instances of the *-in* variant occurred during the reading of the wordlist.

The last variable is the use of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]. AEP 1.1 used the NAmE variant in 45 of the 58 tokens counted. Short and longer words were included and counted as possibilities. To illustrate, the table below shows the use of words with a voiced [d] or flapped [ɾ] in both casual speech and in the wordlist.

AEP 1.1 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] VARIANT		
VARIATION	**Voiced [d] or [ɾ]**	**Voiceless [t]**
% used in Casual speech	78%	23%

Words in Casual speech	opportuni**t**y (x3); be**tt**er (x6); disabili**t**ies; ci**t**y; electrici**t**y; hospi**t**als; targe**t**ed; universi**t**y; communi**t**y (x4); si**tt**ing; responsibili**t**y; defini**t**ely (x5); ma**tt**er; trea**t**ed (x2); ea**t**ing; ta**tt**er-tot-hotdish; pota**t**o; opportuni**t**ies; go**tt**en; separa**t**ely; priva**t**ely; frustra**t**ed (x2); disabili**t**y; wa**t**er;	safe**t**y (x2); unfortuna**t**ely; comple**t**ely; pa**tt**y; bi**t**es; vege**t**ables; opportuni**t**y; defini**t**ely; ge**tt**ing (x2); eterni**t**y; communica**t**ing
% used in Wordlist	100%	0%
Words in Wordlist	be**tt**er; la**tt**er; ci**t**y; o**tt**er; fa**tt**er; wa**t**er; toma**t**o; ge**tt**ing	

It is evident that AEP 1.1 has learned many of the phonetic variants of NAmE. In addition to the loss of the TRAP-BATH split and the use of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant, this participant has also learned other phonetic features of NAmE. The researcher noted that the participant uses the NAmE [ɑː] variant in words where SAfE and AfrE have [ɒ] and [oː] for, respectively, the LOT and THOUGHT vowel classes. The table below further illustrates this feature of her speech.

CASUAL SPEECH: OTHER NOTATIONS		
AEP 1.1	[ɑː] instead of [oː]	[ɑː] instead of [ɒ]
% used in casual speech	76%	56%
Words	over**a**ll (x3); laws; talk (x3); all (x5); **a**lways; also (x5); fall; walk (x3); taught (x3); law (x2); **a**lthough (x2); **a**lmost (x2); calls (x7); l**au**ndry; t**a**lking (x2); talks	not (x36); job (x3); shops (x2); a lot (x2); shop (x2); top; jobs; lost

The last phonetic observation that was made is centred around the Northern Cities Shift and, in particular, of the TRAP vowel as explained by Labov *et al.,* (2006:176) in the Atlas of North

American English (see Chapter 3 p.II). This participant seemed to have specifically adapted the relevant pronunciation of the word "and". She pronounces the vowel in this word in such a way that it sounds like the vowel in the word 'near' in a non-rhotic accent like SAfE i.e., with an in-gliding [ɪə]-like quality.

The above arguments and illustrations show that AEP1.1 has learned phonetic features of NAmE. The analysis shows that she is using the newly learned D2 in her casual speech. Furthermore, two out of the three NAmE phonetic variants that are the focus of this study are also used while she reads her wordlist, further illustrating her learning of the D2.

AEP 1.2	**Male**	**LOR: 6 years**	**41 years old**

In contrast to AEP 1.1, the husband AEP 1.2 does not show significant changes in his Afrikaans English dialect. This is strange, as he had been living and working in North Dakota for 6 years, that is, one year longer than his wife. The following section discusses the results of the phonetic analysis, with specific focus on the three variables pertaining to this study.

The table below starts with the results of the investigation of the TRAP-BATH split. During the casual speech conversation, AEP 1.2 used the SAfE and AfrE [ɑː] variant in all except one of the 18 tokens counted. There occurred one exception. The word 'nasty' was pronounced with a NAmE [æː] variant and not with the SAfE and AfrE [ɑː] variant. During the reading of the wordlist, AEP 1.2 made use of NAmE [æː] variant instead of [ɑː] in only two of the five possibilities. To illustrate, *dance* and *ask* were pronounced with a NAmE [æː], and *bath, laugh* and *path* were pronounced with an [ɑː] vowel. As mentioned earlier, the wordlist shows which pronunciations a speaker would think is correct. The evidence of the results of the wordlist might indicate that the participant is leaning towards a NAmE pronunciation, but has not fully applied it in his speech.

AEP 1.2 [æː] vs [ɑː]		
AEP 1.2	[æː]	[ɑː]

% used in casual speech	6%	94%
Casual Speech words	n**a**sty	chance; pass; last (x2); example; half (x5); **a**nswer; after; past; can't (x3), asks; rather
% in wordlist	40%	60%
Words in wordlist	dance; ask	bath; laugh; path

Similar to his wife, AEP 1.2 used the *-ing* variant in all possibilities counted in the casual speech component as well as the wordlist component. This indicated that the NAmE *-in* variant has not been learned by the couple.

The last main variable is the use of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] as opposed to [t]. Again, it was mainly used in short words such as *better* or *latter*. AEP 1.2 only pronounced all occurrences of the word *better* (during the casual speech conversation and the wordlist) with a voiced [d] or flapped [ɾ]. The table below illustrates the words pronounced with a voiceless [t], and the one exception, which was the words 'better', pronounced as 'bedder'.

AEP 1.2 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] VARIANT		
AEP 1.1	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t]
% used in casual speech	25%	75%
Casual Speech words	be**tt**er (x7)	opportuni**t**y (x3); safe**t**y; limi**t**ed (x2); priva**t**ely; activa**t**ed; defini**t**ely (x2); securi**t**y (x2); posi**t**ives; ma**tt**er; negativi**t**y; nega**t**ive; la**t**er; wha**t**ever (x2)
% used in wordlist	13%	87%
Words in wordlist	be**tt**er	la**tt**er; fa**tt**er; ge**tt**ing; ci**t**y; o**tt**er; wa**t**er; toma**t**o

The above results indicate that AEP 1.2 has not learned much of the NAmE dialect. That which he has learned, he does apply sometimes, especially when reading the wordlist, but there is not

enough evidence to confirm that he has successfully integrated the D2. In addition, the researcher also examined his THOUGHT and LOT vowels after noting this feature in his wife's speech. However, he did not show any indication of change in these vowels towards the NAmE [ɑː] variant. There was a total of 67 possibilities counted for LOT and 50 possibilities for THOUGHT, but no indication of change to the NAmE pronunciation.

It is evident that this married couple shows significant differences between each other in the learning of a new dialect. AEP 1.1, the wife, shows that she has progressed further in learning the NAmE dialect, and comfortably uses it to answer and explain herself in addition to when reading the wordlist. In contrast, the husband shows few phonetic instances of NAmE, specifically in relation to the phonetic variables in question. Remarkably, the couple displays the opposite in terms of identity integration. AEP 1.2 has moved further in his identity integration, specifically to the third phase of the SIIM, whereas AEP 1.1 is still in the second phase. It seems that the motivation to avoid miscommunication is the facilitator of dialect learning for AEP 1.1, but the attitude toward the host community might be the inhibitor. Motivation and attitude seem to be the facilitator of identity integration for AEP 1.2, but there are inhibitors toward dialect learning, as he stated he does not want to speak American English. Further interpretation of these results is provided in more detail in Chapter 6.

To summarise, AEP 1.1 shows a decreased usage of the TRAP-BATH split and incorporating the voiceless [d] or tapped-'r' in her dialect. Furthermore, she has also adopted a NAmE [ɑː]-like quality for the THOUGHT and LOT vowels, in addition to learning one feature of the Northern Cities Shift. In contrast, the husband has kept most, if not all, of his AfrE or SAfE phonetic dialect, with only a couple of NAmE phonetic variants appearing in the wordlist and, to an even lesser degree, in the casual speech component.

5.2. Case study #2: Couple AEPS 2.1 and 2.2

Case Study #2 consists of participants AEP 2.1 and AEP 2.2. AEP 2.1 is female and 29 years old ,while AEP 2.1 is male and 39 years old. They are married and they emigrated to the USA 5 years ago (from the time of writing in 2022). The couple initially lived and worked in Texas and then moved to Kansas. After that, they worked in Nebraska for a short while. In 2018 they

relocated to North Dakota, where they currently reside in a small town called Lansford. The couple both applied for agricultural visas in 2016, but only the husband's visa was approved. The wife reapplied for the visa, and she joined him about "4 to 5 months later". The couple did not have a green-card opportunity until the end of 2017. The husband had worked for his current employer for a non-specified period when he finally approached his employer and asked whether he would be his green-card sponsor. According to AEP 2.2, the employer was impressed with his work, and he agreed immediately. The husband had two children from his previous marriage that joined them in North Dakota after he received full custody of them in 2018. This personal matter was not discussed in much detail. The decision to migrate came after the couple had spent some time visiting and working in the United States. AEP 2.2 said "I got this opportunity to earn some good money for a while and it just turn[ed] out to be the future." The factors that contributed to the decision will be explored along with related themes, namely advantages of living in the United States, emigration challenges, coping strategies, identity change, and dialect awareness and change.

5.2.1. Case study #2: Interview Findings

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

The couple had similar reasons to each other as to why they decided to immigrate. Initially, they had taken the employment opportunity in the USA for financial reasons. The husband explained that he was fighting a custody battle for his children, and he could not afford a proper lawyer, and his wife explained that his job as a truck driver and mechanic in South Africa was not providing enough financial support for her and his children.

i. AEP 2.1: He just had to do something else. In South Africa it wasn't working… uhm... he was a truck driver and a mechanic and there wasn't really jobs that he felt was suited for him so… and he couldn't find a good-enough job in South Africa to support me, him and the kids.

ii. AEP 2.2: I had an issue with custody, and I couldn't afford the lawyers that we needed to get. So… I came over to try and get money to get… to be able to afford a proper lawyer

In addition, both mentioned the high crime rate in South Africa as another reason to seek life elsewhere. They said that even the 'good areas' in South Africa were deteriorating, and they no longer felt safe doing basic activities such as going to work or buying groceries. Both provided examples of experiences where they realised how unsafe it was becoming. AEP 2.1 had an encounter with violent riots while on her way to work one morning, and AEP 2.2 said that he worked in the security industry for some time, and he felt that the regard for human life was increasingly declining.

iii. AEP 2.1: Kimberley is not one of the safest places. When I was teaching, I would go to school, and they would be toyi-toyiing[28], being mad about something and they would throw rocks at my car while I was driving to school. So, I could go not go to work every day and it's just, things were deteriorating in South Africa. If you could see that why not make a move… If you could see something is not right, you need to change it. If you don't change it, it's not going to happen by itself.

iv. AEP 2.2: stuff changed so drastically and so bad… You can barely go shopping without a good chance of getting robbed or shot at or… you know… I just had enough of that…. I was in the security business for a couple of years and uhm… there's just no value to life over there. And I was in a high-end area… you know… I was in the Garden Route [29] which is probably the safest part of the whole South Africa and it started getting tight there as well. [My parents] live on a little piece of paradise on the West Coast and it's just all goin' to shit. Fast…

ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN AMERICA

The couple highlighted that the security and safety of the community in which they live is a significant advantage for them. AEP 2.2 explained that the environment provides them with "space and freedom." The couple can allow their children to engage in outdoor activities by themselves without feeling anxious about it. AEP 2.2 said that living in North Dakota made him think of his own childhood, when South Africa was safer.

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[28] Toy-toying is a "high-kneed, food-stomping dance, rhythmically punctuated by exhaled chants and call and response." (Daley, 2021) The act is commonly observed when protesting takes place in South Africa and Zimbabwe. In South Africa, individuals toyi-toyi in protest against university fees or to increase wage or salary rates, or to object to the presence of "foreigners" (Daley, 2021).

[29] The Garden Route is situated at the southwest tip of the Western Cape in South Africa (Storm, 2022). The Garden Route has beautiful scenery with diverse vegetation and wildlife, several lagoons, lakes, mountains forests and beaches (Storm, 2022). The towns along the Garden Route are considered as some of the safest towns to reside in, in that region (Storm, 2022).

v. AEP 2.1: No crime, the kids can leave their bicycles outside. No one will take them.

vi. AEP 2.2: And I'll tell you the easiest way to say it is North Dakota is what I remembered my childhood was like… you know… kids could ride their bikes and it's not possible in South Africa. You might as well sell your kids if you let them ride their bicycle by themselves. Uhm… I can send my kids to the shop…you know… and I really, really don't worry about their safety.

In addition to safety and security, AEP 2.1 highlighted that she knows that there are better opportunities for their children in America.

vii. AEP 2.1: The kids have really good opportunities to go to school, to go to university.

AEP 2.2 said that he is happy to pay taxes and give donations to community fundraisers, because he can see where the finances are utilised. He uses the example of the new fire station that they built in town; he explains that he recently donated some money to help the community, and then they updated the community fire station. He compares it to South Africa by stating that there you never know where your money is going.

viii. AEP 2.2: When there is raffles, I always buy the raffles, you know. I support the ambulance services… uhm… yeah… I always try and do a little bit even if it's a 10- or 20-dollar donation. I don't mind. If everyone puts in a little bit… look at this nice fire station… they are still busy building this…. This is our new fire station and if you look across that crappy building is the old fire station, so you know… and everyone had to tuck in to get the deposit down and they are raising the taxes of our county for ten years to pay for that. Yeah, and that's another thing, that's something I love… I know that… Back home no one know what is going on with anything… Everything is a dark mystery everyone wonders where the money has gone. Yeah, it's… I'm just sick of that.

Some of the other positive aspects that the couple mentioned are more related to the theme of coping with emigration, therefore those advantages will be discussed under that theme.

EMIGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT CHALLENGES

Both members of the couple had different opinions about and views of their emigration challenges. Some of what they mentioned does overlap, but for the most part, there is a lot of differentiation between the husband and the wife. AEP 2.2's challenges include some everyday challenges, such as food and medication. He explained that adjusting to the food was a challenge, and that some food items that they want are sometimes hard to find. In addition to food

challenges, he revealed that he has chronic asthma, and his required inhaler is "ridiculous[ly]" expensive in the United States. He generalises by saying that he knows a lot of people who travel to Mexico or Canada just to pick up chronic medication to save some money.

ix. AEP 2.2: I think the biggest transformation or in that line was the food. There's couple of food stuffs that's hard to come by you don't get it all. Yeah, differences… the whole corn syrup thing. We use cane sugar in our food and whatever…

x. AEP 2.2: I have chronic asthma medication that… the medication thing… problem in the US is ridiculous… it is not even out of proportion… It is just crazy. That red inhaler cost three hundred and something bucks. Back home its 17 dollars. It's the same thing.

xi. AEP 2.2: People literally, hundreds of people go ever to Mexico or Canada, just to pick up their Meds. They will literally get their prescription and go pick it up over there. It's the same prices that we pay in South Africa for it. I know there is a guy that… he used to get his insulin… he used to go to Canada twice a year just to go pick up medicine, his insulin because it's…. And it worked out something like 9000 dollars a year cheaper. That's for one person yeah… it's just ridiculous…

AEP 2.2 also expressed some work-related challenges. He said that he generally enjoys farm work, but he is getting older, and the hard labour is taking its toll on his body.

xii. AEP 2.2: No… I am pretty happy with the farm life. ,

xiii. AEP 2.2: It's hard work. Good lord, you know… the last two weeks I slept an average of 2 to 5 hours and I'm fourty years old. I'm not a kid anymore.

The last challenge that AEP 2.2 mentioned was the language. For him, the language barrier was his biggest challenge, and he generalises by saying that it is the "biggest obstacle in America." The other views that he highlighted about his own language will be discussed under the dialect awareness theme later.

xiv. AEP 2.2: I think the language is the biggest barrier... Just the language barrier and that heavy accent from wherever you are, I think that is the biggest obstacle in America. In general, and obviously some places more than others.

AEP 2.1 mentioned some general challenges similar to what her husband explained above, and then some more personal adjustment challenges. The couple is also emigrating through the E3 employment-based route. She said that obtaining a green-card is generally expensive, but that this employment-based route is the 'easiest' route for them.

xv. AEP 2.1: that was easier to get a green-card than to buy a green-card. I mean you don't really have money to buy a business and to buy your green-card that way. And [the employer] said its fine he'll sponsor us for a green-card. So that was just the easy way, and [the employer] said its fine he will help us with that.

Even though this employment-based green-card route is the easiest financially, AEP 2.1 revealed that she sometimes feels mistreated by the employer's wife (discussed next), but here it is important to mention that AEP 2.1 feels obligated to do everything the employer's wife asks, even if its outside of work hours, just because she fears that there would be implications for their green-card otherwise. In other words, she does anything that the employer's wife asks of her in order to keep the peace between everyone. This does make the employment-based sponsorship challenging for her.

xvi. AEP 2.1: … when she goes to Bismarck, she will invite me with and I feel forced to go with, because my husband works for her husband… and I don't like saying no because then she gets mad, and she'll complain to her husband and that will make it uncomfortable for all of us. So, I just kind of do whatever she tells me to do… and that keeps the peace and the green-card. You do things you have to not things you want to.

AEP 2.1 mentioned that she does feel like an outsider in her community among the American people. Some experiences she had has led her to feel unaccepted and alone. In one instance, she felt that her employer's wife sees her as of lower status, reflected by the fact that she asks her to do all kinds of unpleasant chores and by referring to her as the 'farm hand's wife'.

xvii. AEP 2.1: We will never be accepted as Americans, which we are not. That's fine but… you're kind of seen as you're below them, you will always be lower than they are.

xviii. AEP 2.1: The employer's wife would ask me to help her do things and that's fine. I don't mind doing that. And it's like 'yucky' stuff that she wants me to do sometimes, and it makes me feel like really? Am I really here just to clean up your mess? I would go to the farm on a Monday, and I would walk in the kitchen, and I would shake my head. There is stuff everywhere, on the counters, on the sink on the floor, and she expects me to clean it. That's fine. When she talks to people she would say 'this is our farm-hand's wife'. So, it makes you kind of… it's like… really? You can just say this is so and so. You don't have to tell them I am the farm hand's wife, why do you say that? To make people think you are rich, and you are superior to me? I need to bow down to everything you say. It's just small things… It's the way people look at you the way people talk to you. It's just different… I would never do that… I mean I am not even their cleaning lady I am just helping them.

As mentioned, she has not felt included in her community. She says that a small town has groups where you should have a certain surname or last name in order to be included in events. She

explained that sometimes her stepchildren are excluded from sports events because of this small town '*clickyness*'.

xix. AEP 2.1: If you do not have a certain surname, you're not important enough to do things and take part in things.

xx. AEP 2.1: So… school is hard, don't send them to small schools, rather go to big town school where there is a bigger variety of kids. If there's more kids, I mean you get your sporty kids, you get your kids who are acting or playing video games. In a small school, everyone does the same thing. If you can't play basketball like this one does, then you['re] not good enough. It's a click thing in a small town, this group does this, this group does this.

She also noticed that her teenage stepdaughter has suffered discrimination in the small-town school where she has been bullied for various reasons, such as being from South Africa, speaking another language and just for being herself. AEP 2.1 says that her stepdaughter has shared with her that she feels like she is pretending most of the time, because she is not allowed to be herself at school. AEP 2.1 explains that seeing her stepdaughter struggle, hinders her own adjustment to the new life.

xxi. AEP 2.1: She is being bullied and things are being said because we are from South Africa.

xxii. AEP 2.1: Because they can speak another language, that's an issue too. She wasn't allowed to talk to her brother in her own language, that was an issue too.

xxiii. AEP 2.1: She said she is pretending all the time. She doesn't dare be herself. She needs to pretend because that what they want her to be… and that's where it's messed up. She's trying to be someone else and then the lines get blurred and then she's turning into that person she's trying to be and then I don't know who to deal with at home.

xxiv. AEP 2.1: I mean you are a grown you kind of know that things aren't the same, rules aren't the same, people are different. But with kids it's difficult. They don't understand that, and to have them adjust to it, makes it hard on you too. Because you need to support them, but you also need to support yourself with the stuff you are doing. Or trying to….

Another challenge that is completely different between AEP 2.1 and AEP 2.2 is the fact that she expresses that she longs for her family and "the ocean". She says that she longs for the feeling of home, which implies that she does not yet regard the new country as her home, whereas AEP 2.2 does not long for South Africa at all. When he was asked what he misses about South Africa, he simply said "nothing". He said that he has a dislike for South Africa and will not go to visit if he does not have to. He does have his brother working nearby, so he does have family close to him, but his wife does not.

xxv. AEP 2.1:I miss my people, I miss home… I miss the feeling of home. I mean it's not home anymore. I don't have anything left there, just my parents and my brothers and a big thing I miss is the ocean. I love the ocean and we live really far from it now. So, to go there now is close to impossible. It's expensive to go, and if you go you need to stay there, you need to eat. So… I just miss my people and the ocean.

xxvi. AEP 2.2: I cannot think of anything… You know… people have asked me… I will say this. Maybe 20 years ago, there was stuff that I would say yeah that was awesome or there was freedom… you could pull on the side of the road and camp. That's the thing that I would be missing which you just can't do anymore. So, there's really nothing.

xxvii. AEP 2.2: My mom is still there, but I wouldn't go visit her. If she goes to another country, I'll do that. I almost kind of have a dislike in South Africa.

COPING STRATEGIES

With the couple's members different emigration struggles, one would expect different coping strategies as well. In some instances that is the case, but with regard to one aspect it is not. Both AEP 2.1 and 2.2 expressed that they do not have social personalities. This quality helps them to cope in the small-town community, where not so many events take place. AEP 2.2 said that he knows the slow pace of the community is tough for some individuals, but the quiet community is exactly why he is able to adjust so well.

xxviii. AEP 2.2: We aren't very social. The only events that we really pay attention to is where the kids are involved. It's at the club house. That's just not our thing yeah… We don't really, because we are so… our social life is so low… we don't really get to mingle but mostly uhm… It's people that we… deal with like the mail people, or the café…. I visit the café quite often. And that's about as social as it gets. Uhm is probably why we like the small town and the whole quietness. My brother is the biggest pressure as far as social activities go (laughing) but uhm yeah… I think that's why we like it. I know couple people you know… it's too quiet for them, nothing happening and that's exactly why we love it. So… It kind of matches our personality and I think that's why it was such an easy transformation. Pretty much…

AEP 2.1 does not remark on the small community, but she does mention that she is not a social person and that she prefers being alone. Being alone for a while (before the children joined them in 2018) was better for her as it gave her time to deal with her own adjustment. Her coping with the adjustment very much relied on her taking time alone to adjust to the new life in North Dakota.

xxix. AEP 2.1: …when we were living in [another area] when [my husband] worked for [another employer] I was home a lot, I didn't talk to anyone, I didn't go nowhere. It was just my way of adjusting to what is happening. We would go to town and get the groceries and I didn't see a lot of people. I mean the employer's wife took me to town sometimes and took me to the lake… in that way I got out. But to me it was good to just be on my own, to adjust slowly into this new life we had.

AEP 2.1 and 2.2 have decided to move their children to another, larger school in an attempt to improve their daughter's integration process. AEP 2.1 explains that placing them in larger schools with more diversity would help them adjust better. She gives this advice to all parents who are emigrating with teenage children:

xxx. AEP 2.1: we are moving [our daughter] to Glenburn [North Dakota] because she is not coping in Mohall [North Dakota].

xxxi. AEP 2.1: So… school is hard, don't send them to small schools, rather go to big town school where there is a bigger variety of kids. If there's more kids…

Furthermore, AEP 2.1 attempts to guide her daughter with advice that could help her to be wiser in her own behaviour at school. She says her daughter needs to observe the environment first and not trust anyone right away. She hopes that this advice and the lesson they had learned in the previous school will help her to cope better in the new school.

xxxii. AEP 2.1: …if you get a teenager in school here, you need to tell them watch the space first. Don't do anything don't say anything, be quiet and look… see what's happening… I mean I tell [my daughter] you can judge people by the way the way they talk about other, if you hear this person talk about that one and that one. If you are their friend, they are gonna talk about you too. She learned it the hard way. If you get here. Don't just jump in a friend group and try to be friends. Just look out for things happening around you first before you just jump into something. I mean with [my son], he's only ten and it was way easier for him to fit in. Uhm… I think the older the kids are the more difficult it is for them to fit in school. Because they are different. Their backgrounds are different. It's acceptable to do things in South Africa where here it isn't. You cannot say things and they take things out of context. You need to be careful of what you say, you need to watch your mouth the whole time.

In addition, AEP 2.1 says that she receives immense support from her family back in South Africa. She can call her parents with any problems, and they will provide her with any support in the best way that they can.

xxxiii. AEP 1.2: I have a really good relationship with my mom and dad so I would call them and be like "I don't know how I'm gonna do this" and they would try to help from their side.

AEP 2.2 illustrates a positive attitude toward the enormous change that comes with emigration to a new country. He expresses that he has not had any unwelcoming experiences and he believes that the whole adjustment process depends on your own attitude as well.

xxxiv. AEP 2.2: …it depends if you walk around with a chip on your shoulder. I know there's people [other South Africans or Americans] who have been outcasted, but they are really just hassles themselves…. They want to do things their way you know… and screw everyone else… A lot of things depend on your own attitude.

> You can make things hard for yourself wherever you go, and a lot of people do that but no complaints [with me].

In general, the statement he made above illustrates his open and positive attitude toward this new venture. It can also be implied from the advice that AEP 2.2 provides to anyone who is in the emigration process or thinking of taking this step, i.e., have an open attitude to the new environment and do not make the adjustment harder for yourself.

IDENTITY CHANGES POST-EMIGRATION

It is evident from the discussion thus far that AEPS 2.1 and 2.2 have had different emigration challenges and have to a degree been coping differently as well. Some of the coping strategies have facilitated their integration process, and with that their identity integration. However, they both are clearly in a different stage of the SIIM. To illustrate, AEP 2.2 made various negative remarks about South Africa, as discussed under the 'emigration reasons' subsection above. Furthermore, he has asserted that he has "almost" developed a "dislike" for South Africa, showing that he has established negative connotations with South Africa.

xxxv. AEP 2.2: My mom is still there [in South Africa], but I wouldn't go visit her. If she goes to another country, I'll do that. I almost kind of have a dislike in South Africa.

Furthermore, he confirmed that he sees himself as an American and himself and his family as "American middle-class". He also added that he has the "old South African flag" on the back of his pick-up (i.e., *bakkie*), with a United States flag right under it. He says the flag is a great conversation starter when someone recognises it. Interestingly, he adds that he limits his socialisation with other South Africans because of their behaviour after alcohol use.

xxxvi. AEP 2.2: Ja… I honestly see myself as an American you know. And it's all in your mind I suppose… I don't even associate with… To be honest a lot of the South Africans drink so much… It just drives me up the walls. I have nothin' against someone having a glass of wine or a bottle if you can handle it and don't become a douche... Ja, I have no issue with that, but you know… Some of these guys… I don't know… I just... Yeah…. I think we associate ourselves with American middle class and that's about it.

xxxvii. AEP 2.2: Like I have my old South African flag on the back of my pickup underneath the US flag. I have it there, so if someone sees it and recognises it you know, it's a good conversation starter, they will see that. So, if you don't know the flag you will not even notice it.

This can all be interpreted as AEP 2.2 being in the Integration phase of the SIIM. During this phase, the individual realises that multiple cultural identities can be part of their sense of self and can contribute to their self-concept in a positive manner (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). AEP 2.2 has clearly accepted his new environment, based on the positive associations he made between it and the South Africa he grew up in. He explained that the transformation was not uncomfortable at all, because the quiet life is what he grew up with in South Africa and the only challenging aspect was adjusting to the different foods. In addition, he emphasised that he and his wife focus on keeping the Afrikaans language in their household. This shows that he keeps positive aspects of South Africa in his identity and, at the same time, has kept an open and positive attitude to his new environment, all of which has facilitated his integration process.

AEP 2.1 did not elaborate on how she perceives herself. She did confirm that they plan to apply for citizenship in the USA. Furthermore, she said that she will "always" perceive herself as a South African American, implying that she will never be an American only, even after obtaining citizenship. She says that the cultural difference that she perceives between herself and the Americans will not disappear. She knows that she will always be different, and she has accepted that: she had to adapt to achieve "peace of mind" with the adjustment and integration process. She highlights the extensive time it takes to eventually feel comfortable in the new environment.

xxxviii. AEP 2.1: I think you will always be a South African – American. The longer you stay in the United States the better you will get to know the people, the way they act, the way they do things. I think you'll… in good time you will maybe feel better about it… you feel more like at home… more like them…

xxxix. AEP 2.1: There's a big separation and I think it's only with time that it will get better… but I don't think it will ever go away. Because you will always be different, you think different, you'll feel different, you'll just adapt because that is the only way you will get peace of mind. You will have to adapt; they are not going to adapt.

It is evident from these statements that AEP 2.1 is entering the Integration phase of the SIIM. Even though she has elaborated on multiple adjustment challenges, she has in fact strong coping strategies, such as relying on social support and her ability to take her alone time and use it to adjust to her new life in the United States. These coping strategies are factors that facilitate the integration process (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:379).

The linguistic trajectories of each member of this couple seem to be in line with their levels of identity integration. This will be discussed shortly. Similar to the previous couple, both of them are highly aware of the language and dialect differences between the SAfE/AfrE and NAmE dialects.

DIALECT AWARENESS AND DIALECT CHANGE

At the end of the interview, the researcher asked about the differences between their English and American English. Both expressed that they are fully aware that their English is very different from American English. Both AEP 2.1 and 2.2 highlighted that they speak "British English", and that American English is not similar to what they had been taught in schools in South Africa.

xl. AEP 2.1: Yes… we in South Africa we use British English and over here they don't. So, we… there's different words for things… like in South Africa it's a *trolley* and over here it's a *cart*. It's different.

xli. AEP 2.2: …. As far as I'm concerned Americans don't speak English, they speak American, because this is not English. The way they pronounce words… you know… it's not the Webster's dictionary is not the Oxford dictionary and that is just. It is what it is… We got all Oxford English that we got taught in South Africa and its proper English cause that's the way the English do it… So, this is kind of a… they got a little from Mexico and they got a little bit of Norwegian accent and that is why they talk the way they do.

AEP 2.1 said that there are different terms used in American English that she had to learn. Even though she is aware of some of the dialect differences, she feels that her own accent has not changed that much, even though her family thinks it has changed. She says that she has made some changes in order to improve communication between her and Americans.

xlii. AEP 2.1: [My brother][30] says my accent has changed and the way I say words changed. So… there's obviously… I spoke it and the way I speak it now. I don't really see a difference, there's not as much…. To make it easier for them to understand you, you kind of have to talk the way they talk.

AEP 2.2 said that the language barrier may be the biggest adjustment challenge, but he says that if you have a good understanding of English and good communication skills in English, you will manage in the new environment. Learning the new dialect will aid the integration and adjustment process.

[30] The square brackets in the transcriptions are used to show that names of subjects are replaced.

xliii. AEP 2.2: I think language is the biggest thing. If you have a good grip of English, I don't think it's a big deal. I've always had good English…

xliv. AEP 2.2: Furthermore, he says that learning the new dialect would help one adjust …

xlv. AEP 2.2: you have to learn to kind of use the accent as best you can. You know…. it takes a while and eventually you don't even notice it… that's the big thing that you need to do. I've had so much laughter people back home think oh you are trying to be American but really if you don't do that, they are not gonna understand that. You have to learn the accent uhm… it is what it is…

Even though he claimed that he has good English, he admitted that he still had to make some changes to his dialect and accent. The researcher asked him if two years was enough time for his dialect to develop sufficiently to avoid miscommunication, and he confirmed that after two years, his current employer still sometimes misunderstood him, so he decided to make more of an effort to make changes. He highlighted that the most important change that South Africans can make in their dialect is to speak more slowly, especially in North Dakota.

xlvi. AEP 2.2: I think that is a good time, you can probably do it faster if you really put your head on it… which I didn't and I think only after he told me that oh it's still difficult for him to understand me and I started making an effort to…. Sometimes I would say something and just start over the word a little. Whoever… when I talk to anyone, I take it slow, speak slow and try and get the accent. Sorry what. And that's the thing… it's not English… it takes time to adapt to… it's a big difference… it's a different world.

Lastly, both participants said that they are not losing their Afrikaans, but they did mention that they both mix it up with English sometimes. AEP 2.2 said that he sometimes forgets an Afrikaans word for something, and it sometimes takes him a couple of hours or days to remember the words. They both mentioned that their children are losing their Afrikaans. AEP 2.1 said that their children's Afrikaans is "deteriorating" and AEP 2.2 said that their Afrikaans is "terrible."

xlvii. AEP 2.1: I try not to [mix it up] … I mean it happens sometimes. And I get mad at the kids when they mix it up. I will tell them no, it's not that in Afrikaans it's this. But I think with time they'll speak English than Afrikaans, but at home they'll speak Afrikaans.

xlviii. AEP 2.2: And I just know the English and I can't remember the word sometimes. But it's very rare. It does happen that I feel stupid about it. But you know… you don't speak… work stuff in Afrikaans. You do tend to kind of half erase it… it's just funny when that happens… like I saw a badger… I have never seen a badger in the States and that got me. I know this animal and it is a 'ratel' and I knew this because I rode in one of those military vehicles that is called a ratel and I couldn't remember it. I was just dumbstruck at myself; I was just thinking is this that thing…

xlix. AEP 2.2: You should hear them try and speak Afrikaans. Their Afrikaans is terrible

l. AEP 2.1: Yeah, I think [my son] speaks way better English than he does Afrikaans. Because he was only eight when he came here. So, he picked it up fairly fast. Uhm… They kind of… their Afrikaans deteriorates… [My son's] Afrikaans I mean he can't read it anymore… [My daughter] can read it and still

> speak it… but like if I ask her what's a 'photo frame' she would say '*fotofraam*'. They translate directly now.

Similar to the previous case study we now move to the linguistic analysis, but first, we need to highlight that it has been argued that couple AEP 2.1 and 2.2 are both in the Integration phase of the SIIM. AEP 2.1 is not quite at the same level of integration as her husband, but she is on her way to it. She has accepted the new environment along with its challenges, as she continues to face each challenge by using her coping mechanisms. We will see below that AEP 2.2 [the husband] shows more linguistic changes than his wife [AEP 2.1]. This directly reflects their different levels of integration within the Integration phase (i.e., fourth phase) of the SIIM. During this phase, the emigrant acknowledges the differences between the two cultural or social identities but the self is not conflicted or confused about these identities (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). The identities contribute to the overall self-concept in a positive manner (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). In this particular case, there is a definitive link between the level of integration and the extent of linguistic change.

5.2.2. Case study #2: Linguistic Analysis Results

AEP 2.1	Female	LOR: 5 Years	29 years old

The phonetic analysis of AEP 2.1 shows that she has learned more than one phonetic variant of NAmE, even though she feels that her "accent has not changed that much". To recap, the focus is mainly on three variables of NAmE, which are discussed in the following order: the TRAP-BATH split, *-ing*/*-in* variation and the voiced [d] or tapped 'r' instead of the voiceless [t] in words such as *butter* and *later*. The first table below shows AEP 2.1's [æː] vs. [ɑː] variation vis-à-vis the quality of BATH vowel class words, such as *bath* and *dance*. During the interview, she used the NAmE [æː]-quality for BATH words in 16 of the 19 total tokens counted, as opposed to the SAfE [ɑː] variant. Furthermore, when reading her wordlist, she continued to use the [æː]-quality, where applicable, in NAmE. The data gathered illustrates that AEP 2.1 has for most of her casual and controlled speech discarded the TRAP-BATH Split from her English, and has instead learned to use

the NAmE variant. She utilised it in both the casual conversation and the wordlist, which means that she has adopted this variant as the 'correct' variant to use in the D2 of her L2.

AEP 2.1 [æː] vs. [ɑː] IN BATH		
VARIATION	[æː]	[ɑː]
% used in casual speech	84%	16%
Casual Speech Words	**a**fter (x2); **a**sked (x2); half; can't (x4); ask (x2); d**a**ncing; **a**nswer; **a**sking; fast; tr**a**nslate	r**a**ther (x2); ask
% used in wordlist	100%	0%
Words in wordlist	b**a**th; l**au**gh; d**a**nce; p**a**th; **a**sk	

The *-in* /*-ing* variation was not evident in the speech couple AEPS 1.1 and 1.2., as analysed in the previous section. In the case of couple AEPS 2.1 and 2.2, however, while the wife has not adopted the *-in* variant in her speech, the husband in fact has. The wife used the *-ing* variant categorically in all 81 possible tokens counted during the casual speech interview. Similarly, the *-ing* variant was used in all four possibilities that occur in the wordlist. Her husband shows variation across *-in*/*-ing* in his speech (discussed later).

As highlighted before, the intervocalic variant [d] or [ɾ] is commonly used in NAmE. It is used by both AEPS 2.1 and 2.2, in both their casual speech and their wordlists. AEP 2.1 used it in both short and longer words during her casual conversation. When she read the wordlist, she used the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] in most of the words, apart from the word *city*. This shows that this NAmE variant is being adopted into the D2 of her L2, and that this is increasingly becoming the correct pronunciation for her. The table below shows those words presenting with a voiced [d] or flapped [ɾ].

AEP 2.1 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] VARIANT		
VARIATION	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t]
% used in casual speech	69%	31%

Words in casual speech	deteriorating; safety; opportunities (x5); better (x5); negative (x4); variety; university; positive; familiarity; negatives; whatever; British; irritated	suited; fitting; getting; treated; positives
% used in wordlist	83%	17%
Words in wordlist	better; latter; getting; otter; water; tomato; fatter	city

It is evident from the data shown that AEP 2.1 has learned and adopted two out of the three variables that are the focus of this study. The researcher noticed, however, that AEP 2.1 had taken on board other phonetic changes as well. For example. AEP 2.1 used [ɑː] in 18 of the 59 possibilities counted for LOT, and only four of the 39 possibilities counted for THOUGHT vowel class words, which normally have [ɒ] and [oː] respectively in SAfE or AfrE. The table below shows this feature in her speech.

CASUAL SPEECH: OTHER NOTATIONS		
AEP 2.1	[ɑː] instead of [oː]	[ɑː] instead of [ɒ]
Percentage used	10%	32%
Casual speech words	talk (x2); talking (x2)	job (x4); not (x10); lot (x4)

This shows that she is starting to learn more features of NAmE and adopting them into the D2 of her L2. She also mentioned that she uses the various American terms that she was not initially used to, for example, *trolley* vs *cart*. She confirmed that she no longer uses *trolly* in her vocabulary because it causes confusion during conversations. In summary, the arguments and illustrations show that AEP 2.1 is using features of a newly learned D2 in both casual and controlled speech.

AEP 2.2	Male	LOR: 5 years	31 years old

In comparison with AEP 2.1, AEP 2.2 (the husband) has learned and adopted all three of the phonetic variants that are the focus of this study. He claimed that he has always had "good English", but that he has made an effort in terms of changing features of his English dialect in order to be understood better by his employer and others. The first table below shows that AEP 2.2 utilises the [æː]-quality categorically for his BATH words in both his casual speech and his wordlist. He no longer has the TRAP-BATH Split in his dialect. Similarly, to his wife, the NAmE variant is now the correct variant, as it is even used while reading.

AEP 2.2 [æː] vs. [ɑː] in BATH		
VARIATION	[æː]	[ɑː]
% used in casual speech	97%	3%
Casual Speech Words	l**a**st (x6); **a**sked (x3); tr**a**nsformation (x3); p**a**th; c**a**n't (x3); ch**a**nce; **a**ss; outc**a**sted; h**a**lf (x3); gl**a**ss; cl**a**ss; r**a**ther; n**a**sty; f**a**st; f**a**ster; **a**fter	l**au**ghter
% used in wordlist	80%	20%
Words in wordlist	b**a**th; l**au**gh; d**a**nce; p**a**th;	**a**sk

As highlighted previously, the husband has in fact learned to adopt the NAmE *-in* variant, and it was present in his casual speech conversation. While reading the wordlist, he only used the *-in* variant once, while the rest of the words were pronounced with the *-ing* variant. As mentioned previously, when reading a wordlist or passage, a speaker will generally pronounce the words the way he or she thinks is correct. Seeing that AEP 2.2 is using the *-ing* variant in his wordlist more, it is probably still the case that he assumes this as the correct pronunciation. He pronounced the *-in* variant in 58% of the applicable words used during the casual conversation, and only 20% in the wordlist.

CASUAL SPEECH *-ing*/*-in* VARIANT		
AEP 2.2	*-in*	*-ing*
% used in casual speech	24%	76%

Casual speech words	havi**n**' (x3); nothi**n**' (x2); getti**n**'; bei**n**'; somethi**n**'; goi**n**'; lookin'; thinki**n**'; worki**n**'	interesting (x3); visiting; going (x3); working; doing (x2); coming; happening; anything (x4); missing; nothing (x4); shopping; getting (x2); holding; everything (x3); combining ; something (x7); regarding; buying; saying; according; beginning (x2); amazing; thanksgiving; trying; building (x2); raising; riding; making
% used in wordlist	25%	75%
Wordlist speech used	fishi**n'**	wishi**ng;** fill**ing;** gett**ing**;

Similar to AEP 2.1, AEP 2.2 also used the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] in 27 of the 45 possible tokens counted during the casual speech component. In addition, he pronounced all of the relevant words in the wordlist with this NAmE variant, whereas his wife had one word that was exempted from this pronunciation. An interesting feature was that the word *forty,* where the -t occurs between two consonants (or one consonant and one vowel in the case of this word) instead of two vowels, was also pronounced with a [d] sounding like *for[d]y*. This shows that the NAmE variant of intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] has been adopted into his new D2 along with the NAmE use of [æː] for BATH words, as well as *-in*/*-ing* variation. The table below shows the use of words with a voiced [d] or flapped [ɾ] instead of [t], in both casual speech and in the wordlist.

AEP 2.2 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] variant		
VARIATION	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t])
% used in casual speech	60%	40%
Words in casual speech	opportuni**t**y (x2); pre**tt**y (x9); Dako**t**a; communi**t**y (x3); wha**t**ever (x2); activi**t**ies; personali**t**y; skyrocke**t**ed; go**tt**en; irrita**t**ed; ma**tt**er; be**tt**er; la**t**er	visi**t**ing; absolu**t**ely (x5); safe**t**y; ge**tt**ing (x3); securi**t**y; atti**t**ude; posi**t**ives; nega**t**ives (x2); similari**t**ies;

Other notation	four**t**y	
% used in wordlist	100%	0%
Words in wordlist	be**tt**er, la**tt**er, ge**tt**ing, o**tt**er, wa**t**er, ci**t**y, fa**tt**er**,** toma**t**o	

In contrast to his wife, AEP 2.2 has not, however, begun to use a [ɑː] vowel-quality with the THOUGHT or LOT lexical sets, except in one instance: AEP 2.2 pronounced *aunt* with [ɑː] instead of [ɒ] (SAfE).

One last observation that was made was that AEP 2.2 pronounced the number *twenty* without a realised /t/. The word sounded like '*tweny*'. In summary, AEP 2.2 has learned all three NAmE variants that are the focus of this study, and he is in the last phase of the SIIM, namely the Integration phase. It can be argued that, in the case of AEP 2.1 and 2.2, identity integration along with other factors such as motivation and attitude are clear factors in determining the extent of new-dialect learning. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

5.3. Case study #3: Couple AEPS 3.1 and 3.2

Case Study #3 consists of participants AEP 3.1 and AEP 3.2. AEP 3.1 is female and 37 years old, while AEP 3.2 is male and 38 years old. They are married and they emigrated to the USA 1.5 years before the time of conducting their interview (i.e., 2022). The couple had followed a different emigration route from the other participants interviewed in this study. This couple and their family had emigrated by means of the E4 special immigrant route. As mentioned before, an E4 special immigrant needs to be a beneficiary of an approved *Petition for an American Worker*, *Widow(er)*, or *Special Immigrant (i.e., Form I-130),* instead of an *Immigrant Petition for Alien worker*, and does not require a certificate from the *Department of Labor* to apply for a Green- card (TravelState.Gov, 2021). In other words, they need an approved petition from a 'sponsor' to apply for a green-card, also referred to as the Permanent Residence Card. The timeframe of completion is also about three years. However, with the global pandemic, some participants who

are approaching the end of the documentation of their emigration process have complained that the process has become even more delayed than usual[31].

The couple in question lives in Minot, North Dakota. They have two children, a teenage girl and a younger boy. AEP 3.2 is employed at a Seventh Day Adventist Church as the lead pastor, and his wife is a homemaker and occasionally assists at the church with event organisation and other administrative duties. AEP 3.2 said that the Church he worked for in South Africa was part of the broader church organisation called *The Dakota Conference in Bismarck North Dakota*. He said that he received an email from *The Dakota Conference* organisation, asking him if he would "position here at their conference in North Dakota and [he] accepted the position". Both he and his wife felt that it was "a calling from God" to emigrate to North Dakota. AEP 3.2 said that before he received the email, he and his family were open to emigration, but that they did not have a specific country in mind. The following section presents the interview results in accordance with similar themes highlighted with respect to the previous two couples, namely reasons for emigration, advantages of living in the new country, emigration challenges, coping strategies, identity integration, and dialect awareness and change. It is important to mention that AEP 3.1's interview was comparatively short, seeing that the participant had trouble explaining herself and speaking in her second language (i.e., English).

5.3.1. Case study #3: Interview Findings

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

The couple had the same reason as to why they had thought about emigration. Both explained that the high crime rate in South Africa had become a concern for them, especially living in Pretoria. AEP 3.1 explained that they had been residing in a high-security complex where everything was locked, but that she still did not feel safe; and she feared for her children:

i. AEP 3.1: Uhm at that moment we was staying in a complex…a security complex and we must lock everything up and it was… uhm… and we was living in Pretoria, and it was really not uhm at that moment really safe for our children as well to stay there.

[31] These conversations about Covid-19 struggles were not recorded. It was mentioned after the interviews during casual visitations with the participants.

AEP 3.2 said explicitly that the primary reason why they had considered emigration was because of the crime rate and violence in South Africa. He was concerned about the safety of his wife and his children, especially because his job duties included leaving home during late afternoons and evenings. He admitted that when he received the email from the *Dakota Conference*, he immediately Googled the crime rate in North Dakota.

ii. AEP 3.2: … first reason why we were into immigrating was the crime rate in South Africa, the violence and the safety for my children and my wife, and uhm... so when I got the call to come and work for them, I did some research, and the crime rate were very low over here. It seemed to be much safer over here for my family, because in my line of work I usually work at night so I'm out of the house late at night… uhm then you worry about your family and their safety.

This was also the only reason for emigration that they mentioned. AEP 3.2 said that they only realised the other benefits of their decision after they relocated. These benefits relate more to the advantages of living in the United States and North Dakota, discussed next.

ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN AMERICA

The safety and low crime rate in the USA are definite advantages for this couple: it was their main reason for accepting the employment and emigration opportunity. AEP 3.2 said that they did not realise all the other benefits of emigration at the time, but that as time went on, they noted many advantages. He emphasised that they are pleased with their decision. AEP 3.2 said that North Dakota, or the United States overall, has ample opportunities for his children, including opportunities to further their education and to make a successful life for themselves. His wife, AEP 3.1, also feels that, as parents, they are able to provide their children with more opportunities than what they could in South Africa. She mentioned that her daughter would like to be a travelling nurse and, given the mentioned safety levels and the opportunities, this is something that she can pursue living in North Dakota or in the US in general.

iii. AEP 3.2: …we discovered when we got here that there is a lot more opportunity for them, you know study-wise and making something of their life, and uhm… opportunities for them to make use of.

iv. AEP 3.1: Yes, for their future. To go to university and more opportunities.

v. AEP 3.2: She wants to be a traveling nurse… So, the opportunities here is better…

Furthermore, AEP 3.1 mentioned that they are now able to improve their lifestyle. She said that their "lifestyle is different", but better, because of the salary that her husband receives. This coupled with the low cost of living, contributes to an improved lifestyle. AEP 3.2 agreed with this when he mentioned during his interview that the cost of living is low in Minot. In addition, he complained that in South Africa he was unable to make it through the month. He said that many times he had had to go into debt during the last week of the month, before receiving his next paycheque, to provide for his family's basic needs. Now, he can provide for his family sufficiently, as well as save money every month, whereas in South Africa this was an advantage he never had.

vi. AEP 3.1: … the work opportunity and the salary is better; the lifestyle is a bit different here as well. But uhm… for our kids it is better.

vii. AEP 3.2: …the cost of living as well, here in Minot specifically, its low cost of living so…

viii. AEP 3.2: …it is actually possible to save money where in South Africa you cannot save money. The last week of the month we actually had to make debt just to survive and get through the month. So uhm… at the end of the year you use your bonus just to pay off that debt. So over here, every month I can actually save money so…

Another advantage mentioned by both AEP 3.1 and 3.2 was the improved services they received from businesses and other organisations. AEP 3.1 mentioned that the postal services are safe and secure, and they work. They actually receive their mail and any packages that they order. AEP 3.2 mentioned that services overall, even from the government, are "pretty good".

ix. AEP 3.1: … the post office is not safe in South Africa, and it is not safe to receive your postal deliveries at home. In South Africa they would steal it, but here it is safe.

x. AEP 3.2: …the service you get in some places, even in the government offices and the hospital… you know… You get pretty good service, which you did not always get in South Africa.

In addition, both AEP 3.1 and AEP 3.2 feel that the community is generally very friendly and welcoming. AEP 3.2 feels that the community, the city, or America (he is not sure if it is everywhere), is extremely child orientated. He said that in South Africa he felt that individuals were somehow more against "child-friendliness". He mentioned this as an advantage for him.

xi. AEP 3.2: …some people say they have experienced something different, but I did not really experience it yet… but the people to me were friendly so far, and very helpful…

xii. AEP 3.1: …people are very friendly; they help you where they can.

xiii. AEP 3.2: … it seems to me that they are more child-orientated and friendly, community people. I don't know if it's just the city or the state or America in general, but everything is much more child friendly. Where in South Africa there was almost a tendency to be against child-friendliness… so uhm… that's what I also like.

Another factor mentioned by AEP 3.2 is that he and his family enjoy the summers in North Dakota. He says that with daylight savings time in the summer, he is able to be more productive. He feels that he accomplishes more in the summer than during the winter. In addition, AEP 3.1 said that she enjoys the nearby lake, and that there are plenty of activities for them to engage in, and that it is safe to do so.

xiv. AEP 3.2 Well we enjoy the summers and the fact that the sun stays up so late, because I actually get a lot more work done during the summer than during the winter…

xv. AEP 3.1: I think here where we live is the safety. We can come and go, and not lock our doors, and uhm… I think it is like the countryside, it's beautiful here, we can go to the lake. There is lots of things to do here as well.

EMIGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT CHALLENGES

Both participants mentioned emigration and adjustment challenges that they had to deal with and are still dealing with. Most of the challenges have been mediated by effective coping strategies that they have employed for themselves. These strategies will be discussed shortly. Both participants mentioned the challenge that comes with longing for their loved ones and other aspects, like the food and the scenery back in South Africa.

xvi. AEP 3.1: We miss our family. Me and my husband, we both have family over there… sometimes we miss the food as well…

xvii. AEP 3.2: The food, the variety of culture and the different foods of course and uhm… the Western Cape and that scenery and the people uhm… so… and my friends… mostly church friends. I have one good friend that I still speak with, and the rest is not… Actually, it's just that one friend I really miss.

When the researcher asked about their adjustment process, they had opposite answers. AEP 3.1 said that her first year in the new environment was a challenge for her. She said that the weather was challenging, along with all the other new and different aspects she had to adapt to. In contrast, AEP 3.2 said that the adjustment for him went much better than he had thought it

would. He feels that there are many similarities between the American culture and his own culture. He said that the adjustment was harder for his wife than for him.

xviii. AEP 3.1: For me the first year… last year… was difficult, because the weather is a bit challenging

xix. AEP 3.1: …to adapt… new food, clothes, and the shopping centres is different, different language and to work in South Africa we work with Rand and here it is in dollar, so the rand change to dollars. It was a bit difficult to accept as well.

xx. AEP 3.2: Much better than I thought. In the beginning I thought it might be hard, but it seems that their culture is not much different than ours. / … I would say it is worse for my wife than for me. I would say it is way easier for me to adapt here… uhm… we do miss family and friends though.

Even though AEP 3.2 said that the initial adjustment was not that difficult for him, he did elaborate on several practical challenges that he faced. The first was that medical insurance was a challenge. He found it difficult to choose the correct medical insurance for his family. He said that the medical insurance he has chosen has fewer benefits than the one he had in South Africa, but that he is able to overcome the challenge because of his improved livelihood.

xxi. AEP 3.2: …it is bit different because over here before you seek medical aid, for example, medical insurance, and you seek medical aid from a doctor or so, you have to go and look and see if they are covered by your medical insurance. That is quite a frustration sometimes and it is a bit more expensive the medical insurance. The benefits is not as good as the medical aid I had in South Africa, although because of the strength of the dollar it does not have that big impact [on your salary]. We were still able to pay all the medical bills we had so far. But [yes] the biggest struggle is if you need medical help you have to go look and sometimes it is a struggle to find out whether somebody is covered or not. You get some surprises as well where you find that it wasn't covered, and you have to pay the full bill.

He also mentioned financial struggles in terms of learning how to invest, save and grow your money in America. He mentioned that banks in South Africa offer many investment options and when you place money in a savings account, you do receive some interest on it. However, in the experience of AEP 3.2, the banks in America do not provide investment opportunities or an interest rate on savings accounts. He says that you have to make some effort to teach yourself how to invest in America.

xxii. AEP 3.2: I think one of the big challenges is in South Africa you have a lot of options to go to a bank, you have investment options at the bank itself. Even if you put money in a savings account in a bank in South Africa you have a much higher interest rate than you have over here. Over here you actually don't have an interest rate, you have to have knowledge of investing your money over here in America. How to invest… that is a bit different, but I believe if you get a hang of it, you will actually do much better than you would in South Africa.

COPING STRATEGIES

The couple adopted effective coping strategies that helped them deal with the emigration struggles that they had faced or might still be facing. AEP 3.2 said that he does the best he can to make sure he is covered before seeking medical aid from a health-care professional. As soon as he receives an unforeseen medical bill, he pays it with money that he has been able to save for this specific purpose.

xxiii. AEP 3.2: …well I am just saving every month, I save a certain amount of money for some medical incidents, which we had then I fall back on that saving money for in case there is anything I need to pay.

xxiv. AEP 3.2: …it is actually possible to save money where in South Africa you cannot save money…

Furthermore, AEP 3.2 displayed a positive attitude toward his challenges. He confirmed that his overall adjustment to his environment went "much better than [he] thought" and that he perceives the new culture (i.e., speaking about North Dakota) as "not much different than ours". In addition, he said that it is not impossible to learn how investment in America works: if you manage to educate yourself properly, you can definitely grow your finances through investment.

xxv. AEP 3.2: …but I believe if you get a hang of [investing in America] you will actually do much better than you would in South Africa.

His positive attitude toward his new environment is shown in his comments about the aspects of North Dakota that he enjoys, such as the summer season and the landscape.

xxvi. AEP 3.2: Well, we enjoy the summers…

xxvii. AEP 3.2: …I love the landscape…

AEP 3.2 mentioned that the dialectal differences between his English and American English, specifically the meanings and use of words, had been a challenge for him. He attempted to overcome this challenge by watching YouTube videos. These videos taught him characteristics of the North American dialect. He claimed to have adopted some of these characteristics into his own dialect to improve his communication skills.

xxviii. AEP 3.2: I most definitely watched YouTube videos on English pronunciation of American English words, so I got extra practice in that…

Both participants mentioned that even though they long for their family and friends, they have made friends in America, which has made it easier for them to adjust to the new environment.

xxix. AEP 3.2: But yes, we've made some new friends here…

AEP 3.1 explained that her strategy to overcome the challenges that came with a lack of knowledge about the new community was to learn and explore all she could about it. She said that she went out to the shopping centres to familiarise herself with the different products and procedures relating to goods and services. In addition, she also educated herself by reading about the general history of America.

xxx. AEP 3.1: I was reading more books, and I was learning about the history of America and learning more about where the native Americans came from and once a week would go out to shops and explore… learn the things that they have…

Many of these coping behaviours are good examples of active coping and adaptive strategies that facilitate the integration and adaptation processes. As discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2, coping efforts are developmental mechanisms used to assist in self-development and adaptation to a new and challenging environment (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:379). It can thus be argued that the coping efforts adopted by this couple are active coping strategies which have facilitated their integration. This is discussed in much more detail in Chapter 6, where the interpretation of the results is presented. For now, we first explore how these subjects perceive themselves within the new environment.

IDENTITY CHANGES POST-EMIGRATION

AEP 3.1 and 3.2 have relatively similar views about their identity. Nonetheless, it can be argued that they are in different stages of the SIIM. As mentioned previously, AEP 3.1 had trouble elaborating and explaining herself in English, thus her answers were mostly short and did not have much detail. The researcher asked her if she perceived herself as separate from Americans,

and she responded in the affirmative: she feels she is still separate, because adapting fully to the American way of life would take more time. In response to the researcher asking her how she perceives herself in terms of the future, she responded by stating that as she and her family become more English, they will begin to accept their identity as American as well.

xxxi. AEP 3.1: I think still separate, because to adapt to their lifestyle and all the things they do… it will take another few years to consider myself American living and how they live and stuff so [yes]… I think I'm still separate.

xxxii. AEP 3.2: I think because our children is English, everything is English, so I think we will change later on, so yes to see ourselves as American as well so…

This illustrates and implies that she considers the English language to be an important factor in her identity integration i.e., that as she becomes more comfortable with the English language and the American lifestyle, so will her identity integrate and adjust along with it. Seeing that she, at the time of the interview, considers herself as "separate", it can be argued that she is in the early stages of the Categorisation (i.e., second) phase of the SIIM. As discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.2, during this phase the emigrant will not consider the new group's characteristics as being part of the self (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:373). The second phase is also characterised by a "lack of knowledge" regarding the host community (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:373), and AEP 3.1 does perceive herself as not quite fully knowledgeable about the new host community, even though she has engaged in activities such as reading and exploring to gain knowledge and experience. There are, however, clear indications that she is open to integration and adaptation, which will move her into the Compartmentalisation phase and possibly through to full Integration (i.e., phase four).

In comparison, AEP 3.2 elaborated more on his identity integration and how he perceives himself. Some of his comments indicate that he is happy and satisfied with the decision to emigrate to North Dakota. When asked if there are any negatives of living in the new country, he said he cannot think of anything negative, and that "so far, [he has] had a really good time here." When the researcher asked how he perceived himself in the new community and if he perceives himself as having integrated into the new community, he responded by stating that he intended to maintain his South African heritage, because it would be difficult to let go of his roots. However,

he confirmed that, at the same time, he intended to embrace the new community in "certain ways".

xxxiii. AEP 3.2: The cons… is uhm… so far… I would have to think hard about the cons. So far, I have had a really good time here.

xxxiv. AEP3.2: I definitely want to keep my South Africa identity, that is my roots, that is where I come from. In a way I think it will be difficult to get rid of it but embracing the community in certain ways.

On this basis of the analysis, it can be argued that AEP 3.2 is in the Compartmentalisation (i.e., third) phase of the SIIM. During this phase, the individual engages with members of the host community, and he or she increasingly identifies with some aspects of the host community or country culture (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:374). At the beginning of the interview, AEP 3.2 said that his adjustment went better than he anticipated, because after he moved, he realised that his Afrikaans/South African culture is not that much different from the American culture. He provided examples of this statement near the end of the interview:

xxxv. AEP 3.2: … well I always thought that in terms of a barbeque that they would barbeque just patties, but I found that is not the case, they actually have a wide variety of meat that they barbeque, which is actually the same thing we do. My neighbour had a barbeque this weekend and you could see it was not patties. They do it the same way we do it. Their food is mostly the same like pizza, hamburgers…

During the Compartmentalisation phase the emigrant starts to interact and identify with different social groups in the host community, and then comes to the realisation that he or she belongs to these groups (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:374). Participant AEP 3.2 admitted that he mostly communicates with and visits individuals from the same church environment, which contributed to the perception of similarities between his old and new community. These similarities that he perceived have clearly facilitated his integration process and further illustrate that he is in the Compartmentalisation phase of the SIIM.

xxxvi. AEP 3.2: …because I deal with people, it tends like their culture is actually a lot the same. I guess that is why I am able to adapt so quickly, because I work with people in the church and they have the same mindset, the way they think and…. There's not actually much different than ours.

During the interview, it was not clear whether AEP 3.2 is on his way towards a bicultural orientation or the Integration phase of the SIIM. A noteworthy indication that he may be close to

being in the Integration phase is the fact that he said that it would be difficult for him to return permanently to South Africa, after the researcher asked if he would apply for American citizenship.

xxxvii. AEP 3.2: I think so yes… I think so, it would be difficult to go back to South Africa.

This statement was not further elaborated upon. This statement could be read to imply that he is moving or will soon move to the Integration phase.

DIALECT AWARENESS AND DIALECT CHANGE

Both participants, as briefly mentioned previously, are highly aware of the differences between their own dialect (Afrikaans English) and North American English. AEP 3.1 said that the accent is different, as well as the meanings of words, but that she should adapt to the "new" meaning of words.

xxxviii. AEP 3.1: The accent is different… (laughing) and they [are] using like different meanings of words, we would have one word and it is not the same meaning of the word that we would have. They use it differently. It means something else. We must just adapt and learn with what they mean with the same words.

AEP 3.2 said that his dialect is more British, and that it is different from American English. He gave some examples e.g., stating the word *cart* is used instead of *trolley*. In addition, he mentioned that he had experienced communication challenges, especially when speaking on the phone or when ordering food at a speaker box at fast-food establishments. He elaborated by stating that he realised that people had difficulty understanding him, and that this motivated him to change his dialect. He says that he feels his American English has improved and that more adults understand him now. It is only the younger children that may still have trouble understanding him.

xxxix. AEP 3.2: More British… My own English was more British than American English.

xl. AEP 3.2: … one of the struggles was that when I would order food or talk to people over the phone or personally, they would not be able to understand me even though I speak English. They did not understand what I was saying so I realised I need to adapt the way I talk English. It is much better now. It seems like the younger children, like my daughters still has some difficulty understanding me, but amongst the adults and older people, I don't see any challenge anymore. They know what I am asking or saying. So, but I tend

> to find that with children, they struggle but when they get to know me, they seem to catch on quick and understand me.

Essentially, both admitted to adapting and changing their dialects. Furthermore, both participants show signs of identity change and integration. AEP 3.1 admitted that learning (more) English would assist in her identity-integration process, which highlights the question, in the case of this couple, whether the dialect learning is in fact facilitating the identity integration process, or if the identity integration is facilitating the dialect learning. Similarly, AEP 3.2 made it clear that he teaches himself North American English by means of YouTube videos as a means of increasing his level of integration. The extent of the linguistic change shown by each member of this couple is the focus of the next section.

5.3.2. Case study #3: Linguistic Analysis Results

AEP 3.1	Female	LOR: 1.5 Years	37 years old

The phonetic analysis of AEP 3.1 shows very little evidence of the adoption of the North American English variants that are the focus of this study. She expressed a willingness to change her dialect and hopes that when her English improves, she will feel less like an outsider living in America. However, the linguistic analysis results indicate minimal phonetic change. The first table below shows AEP 3.1's [æː] vs [ɑː] variation. From the four possibilities counted during the casual speech component of the interview, AEP 3.1 used the NAmE [æː] variant twice out of the four possibilities counted. The other two occurrences contained the SAfE variant [ɑː]. However, when reading her wordlist, she used the [æː]-quality in all five possible tokens. It could be stated that she is in the process of adopting the NAmE [æː]-quality into her casual speech, however the data counted was not sufficient to confidently make the statement. As mentioned earlier, her interview was significantly shorter than the other participants' interviews. When she read the wordlist, she pronounced the words with what she thought was the 'correct' pronunciation. The researcher did comment on this briefly after the interview, and the interviewee added that she home-schools her son and tries to teach him the correct American pronunciations when reading with him. This brief discussion was, however, not recorded.

AEP 3.1 [æː] vs [ɑː] in BATH		
VARIATION	[æː]	[ɑː]
% used in casual speech	50%	50%
Casual Speech Words	**pa**stor; last	can't; ask
% used in wordlist	100%	0%
Words in wordlist	**ba**th; l**au**gh; d**a**nce; p**a**th; **a**sk	

Possible *-in* /*-ing* variation was not evident in the casual speech of AEP 3.1, nor was it evident in the wordlist component. There were 19 relevant tokens in the casual-conversation component of the interview; and there was categorical use of *–ing*. Similarly, no instances of *-in* were used during the reading of the wordlist. Additionally, intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] was not used once for the 17 possibilities during casual conversation or during the reading of the wordlist. As mentioned earlier, the interview with AEP 3.1 was short, approximately 25 minutes long. She explained that her "English is not very good" at the time of the interview. This could be the reason for the minimal changes in her dialect. Another reason could be the comparatively short length of residence (LoR), 1.5 years; however, her husband had been living in the new host community for the same amount of time and shows substantially more phonetic change in his dialect.

AEP 3.2	Male	LoR: 1.5 years	38 years old

The phonetic analysis indicates that AEP 3.2 has almost fully adopted at least one of the three NAmE variants that are the focus of this study. Another variant appears to be in the process of being learned and adopted into his English; and the last variant was non-existent in his speech at the time of the interview. This participant has admitted that he tried to learn features of NAmE by watching YouTube videos, after he realised that local individuals had trouble understanding him. He said the miscommunication that had previously occurred has been significantly reduced, and that adults have no trouble understanding him now. The first table below shows that AEP 3.2 utilises the [æː]-quality almost categorically for his BATH words in both his casual and formal speech. There were nine possibilities counted in the interview and eight of these words were pronounced with the NAmE variant. Furthermore, all the possibilities in the wordlist were used

with the NAmE [æː] variant. This illustrates the successful learning and adoption of the [æː] variant as the "correct" variant in his dialect: the TRAP-BATH split is in the process of dissapearing from his dialect.

AEP 3.2 [æː] vs. [ɑː] in BATH		
VARIATION	[æː]	[ɑː]
% used in casual speech	89%	11%
Casual Speech Words	**a**sking (x2); **a**fter**;** ex**a**mple**;** l**a**st; **a**sk (x2); c**a**n't	r**a**ther
% used in wordlist	100%	0%
Words in wordlist	b**a**th; l**a**ugh; d**a**nce; p**a**th; **a**sk	

Similar to his wife, one NAmE variant did not occur at the time of the interview i.e., the *–in* variant. There were 32 possible tokens during the casual-conversation component, and it did not occur once, nor in the four relevant tokens during the reading of the wordlist. In contrast to his wife, however, the phonetic analysis showed that AEP 3.2 is in the process of learning and adopting the use of intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]: It appeared occasionally during the casual conversation and during the reading of the wordlist, and mostly in short, monosyllabic words. During the casual part of the interview, the words *better, pretty* and *Dakota* were pronounced with an intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]. The other 26 possibilities were pronounced with a voiceless [t]. During the reading of the wordlist, two of the eight possibilities were pronounced with an intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]. The consistency in percentages across the casual conversation and the wordlist data shows that AEP 3.2 is possibly in the process of learning and adopting, on a word- by-word basis, this NAmE variant into his dialect.

AEP 3.2 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] variant		
VARIATION	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t]
% used in casual speech	25%	75%

Words in casual speech	Dako**t**a (x3); be**tt**er (x4); pre**tt**y (x2)	safe**t**y (x3); opportuni**t**y (x2); opportuni**t**ies (x2); varie**t**y; hospi**t**al; defini**t**ely (x5); identi**t**y; communi**t**y (x2); orienta**t**ed; ci**t**y; pa**tt**ies (x2); varie**t**y; se**tt**ing; Bri**t**ish (x2)
% used in wordlist	33%	67%
Words in wordlist	be**tt**er; wa**t**er	la**tt**er; ci**t**y; o**tt**er; fa**tt**er**;** toma**t**o**;** ge**tt**ing

There were no other notations or worthy mentions for AEP 3.1. However, in the instance of the word *otherwise* used by AEP 3.2, the *-th* was replaced with an intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]. This happened once when this word was used at 6.53 minutes into the recording. It might have been a slip of the tongue, or illustrative of the continued influence of his L1 Afrikaans.

In summary, it can be observed from this case study that factors such as motivation and attitude have a clear role to play in levels of new dialect learning for both participants. The results show that AEP 3.1 and 3.2 are in different phases of the SIIM, and their level of dialect learning directly reflects their level of integration. Even though they have a similar LoR in the host community, it seems that their attitude and motivation toward the host community are facilitating their identity integration. Furthermore, the dialect learning seems to be facilitated by the attitude and motivation as well. It is uncertain if the D2 learning is, in turn, assisting the participants to integrate successfully. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. For now, the dissertation moves to present the findings of case study 4.

5.4. Case study #4: Couple AEPS 4.1 and 4.2

This case study consists of participants AEP 4.1 and AEP 4.2. To remain consistent, the female is assigned as AEP 4.1 and the male is AEP 4.2. AEP 4.1 is 25 years old, and AEP 4.2 is 27 years old. Both had been living in North Dakota for one year at the time of the interview. However, AEP 4.2 had worked for one farm season in Minnesota before he moved to North Dakota in the year 2020. The couple was still in the process of completing their green-card process. Due to the

lockdown of large cities and states in the United States of America during the Covid pandemic, the USCIS[32] had massive backlogs of green-card applicants which caused delays in processing green-card applications in a timely manner. "The United States had about 1.4 million employment-based immigration cases winding their way through its permanent residence process in 2021. The backlog of cases is nearly ten times the total number of green-cards generally made available for employment-based immigrants in most years" (Bier, 2022).

The couple in question lives in a town called Lakota near the city Devil's Lake in North Dakota. They do not have children and both work on a farm for the same employer. There are no other South African workers employed on this farm. AEP 4.2 said that one of his friends had been working on the farm and they had needed a fourth worker; and then AEP 4.2 applied for the position, and he was accepted. AEP 4.1 said that they explained to the employer that their goal was to obtain a green-card and immigrate permanently "around August or September [2020]". AEP 4.2 approached his employer later again with the green-card in mind and his employer said "[y]eah, we can go ahead with the green-card." Both participants had immigration in mind when the husband had initially sought employment outside of South Africa. This couple is young compared to the previously discussed participants, and their interview showed that they have integrated quite successfully, considering that they had only been living in the host community for a year at the time of the interview. The next section presents interview findings in accordance with similar themes highlighted in the previous case studies. The themes are as follows: reasons for emigration, advantages of living in the new country, emigration challenges, coping strategies, identity; and dialect awareness and change.

5.4.1. Case study #4: Interview Findings

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

AEP 4.1 and 4.2 had similar reasons as to why they decided to immigrate. Both explained that the high crime rate, specifically farm attacks, contributed significantly to their decision. AEP 4.1 added that the failing economy of South Africa placed immense pressure on farmers to succeed

[32] United States Citizenship and Immigration Services.

and to grow their businesses. She explained that South Africa, in her opinion, is "small minded in exceeding and expanding" and individuals in South Africa struggle to create a quality life for themselves. All these combined factors motivated them to seek a better life outside the borders of South Africa.

i. AEP 4.1: [B]ecause of all the farm attacks and the economy putting so much pressure on the farmers to succeed and be able to make a living, we decided that there is not a real future for us in it and that if we wanted to have a future we should look beyond the border of South Africa. South Africa is so small-minded in exceeding and expanding and reaching out and all of that and the economy is just too much for the people to survive. So, that is when we decided that we will look into the idea of maybe moving to another country or getting situated somewhere else to have a better future and a better life.

ii. AEP 4.2: There was a couple of farm attacks on farmers, and I just decided I can't let that happen to my wife, and I had to seek a better future for us.

iii. AEP 4.2: Yeah, and the safety of my wife. I can't let something happen to her while I'm working.

AEP 4.2 shared his experience in a dangerous event that occurred while living in South Africa. He felt that if anything went differently the outcome could have been tragic for him and his wife. He said that there is a constant fear that something dangerous could happen to you or your loved ones in South Africa.

iv. AEP 4.2: Yeah, one night I think there was something about to happen on the farm and [my wife] woke up and she caught it in time but…. Then I shot through the window a couple of shots but other than that not… It was scary… but we knew what was happening. You know every night you go to bed in South Africa, you know it might be your last day.

In addition, AEP 4.1 also shared an experience she had when she worked as a teacher at an elementary school. She explained that her car was parked on school grounds but when she approached her vehicle, she saw her "window was smashed open"… and "[her] car got broken into." Her life was not in danger, but the incident left her concerned, specifically regarding the fact that nowhere is safe. These experiences created a sense of insecurity in both participants. This factor, combined with (and because of) the high crime rate in South Africa increased their motivation to immigrate to the United States.

Both mentioned that they attempted to start their own small farm when they were still residing in South Africa, by buying livestock and renting land from the farmer where they worked. AEP 4.1 elaborated and said that farming back in South Africa is highly competitive, and as a result, the

chances of making a success were slim. She said that it is easier for a farm to be successful when it has been passed on from generation to generation, but it is hard and almost impossible to start from nothing. They could not manage to make their farm a success due to all these factors.

v. AEP 4.1: So uhm well farming for the farmer that he worked for, we had our own cattle, and we were trying to get our own livestock going to see if we could maybe get that evolved to the position where we could start buying land or renting land, and in our area is just so overcompetitive with the farmers that does have the financial back-up that we just couldn't get a chance to get somewhere.

vi. AEP 4.1: We don't have parents that own a farm, and it's not that easy than when a farm just gets passed on from generation to generation. We had to work for it, and we just couldn't make it work.

In addition to the above reasons, both participants of this case study had concerns about the future of their children if they continued living in South Africa. As mentioned in the introduction, they do not have children yet, but they do want to start a family as soon as their immigration process is completed. AEP 4.1 said that life had become so expensive in South Africa that she was concerned about the quality of life her children would have when they grow up. AEP 4.2 simply stated that he would like to create a better future for his children and for his wife.

vii. AEP 4.1: But as things are drastically going backwards in South Africa, what life is it for your kids one day? How would they survive? How would they work? How would they be able to do stuff in life if things are just going backwards every day. I mean if you look at the fact that, I can remember when I was a child going to school like in preschool, I would take R5 with me to school and it would buy me quite a few sweets and candies where today you see people giving their kids almost like a R20 or R30 to school to be able just to buy a drink and a snack. So, how in that small time frame it's gone backwards. What would it be one day sending your kids to school? Is it gonna be a R100 for just you know…? That was a big point for us, that before we start having kids, we would wanna be situated here because our kids would not have that quality of life that we might have still gotten back in South Africa, but we don't see our kids getting that quality of life.

viii. AEP 4.2: I guess for our children, if you have children one day, a better future for them. I don't think there is much of a future for our children back home.

In summary, both highlighted that safety and an improved quality of life were their main reasons as to why they decided to seek life in another country. AEP 4.2 said that when he started working in the United States, he fell in love with the way of life (working on the farms), and he saw the way their life could be. Thus, we move to discussing the advantages of living in the new country, that both members of this case study highlighted.

ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN AMERICA

When the researcher probed on their experiences in their new community, it was not surprising that both elaborated on the safety and the improved quality of life that they now have. They explained the advantages by comparing their current livelihood with their lifestyle pre-immigration in South Africa. AEP 4.1 said the move was easy for them financially, since they now have an improved quality of life in comparison to the life they had back in South Africa. She explained that even with earning an average monthly income, one is able to afford the basic necessities such as food, housing and utilities, while having enough finances left to enjoy your life and save money. She compared this to what was possible in South Africa when someone earns an average salary of R8000. AEP 4.2 confirmed that their standard of living has improved in the new country.

ix. AEP 4.1: I have to say the easiest adjustment for us was financially, coming from where you would go in South Africa, I always say you can't compare Rand to Dollar, but if you… I think on average, people in South Africa get R8000 income per month. What do you pay just for housing? Can you afford housing on R8000 a month in income? So, if you are two people in a household getting say R15 000 a month which not a lot of people are getting, how do you live? How do you afford life? Here for instance, I think if you have $8000 a month you are well away to live your life and spend freely and buy things you like. Uhm… for instance if I get $3000 a month, this apartment we live in is only $500 a month everything included, that's not even half of my income. Where in South Africa if I got R8000 a month, which I think not a lot of people get, you know the middle scale of life people, you cannot even get a place for R8000, because most places are between R6000 - R7000 per month and then you still have to do electricity and water and all of that is not included. Financially this was so easy for us to adjust to, to be able to go to the store, buy food, buy clothing, come home and you still feel like you have something in your pocket. You can save up money and live more freely. When we were at home, we would eat out for supper maybe once a year, once a month maybe. Because we couldn't afford it. When you go and eat out, for two people it's almost like R500 if it's not even a R1000 sometime if you are adding a few friends. Where here we go out and we eat, and it's not even $50. Comparing to your income you can live, and life is so much more liveable, and expandable income wise.

x. AEP 4.2: No, I didn't really have a good living [in South Africa], out here you can enjoy life and it feels like you are achieving something.

In addition, both mentioned that the safety and security that they experience living in the United States is a definite advantage for them. AEP 4.1 explained that living in a small town is a positive factor for them, because in their community the members look after each other. She said that if you see a child walking in the street, then you would know whose child it is, and so your children are safe. Furthermore, she elaborated on the sense of safety she has. She used the example that in the area where they live, the houses have no fences around them, they leave their apartment unlocked and they often leave their keys in their pick-up (i.e., bakkie); whereas in South Africa, this is something that you would never do.

xi. AEP 4.1: I mean, in such a small town where everyone knows everyone, it's not necessarily such a bad thing. Uhm… if you are driving on your way to work, you know whose kids they are, so you have a lookout, and this town is so… It has such amazing people.

xii. people here don't have fences from one house to the other, so crime wise, people in America never understand fully the impact of crime that we have. For instance, we tell them that if we were at home, we walk with a gun 24/7 for protection. They think we are crazy.

xiii. AEP 4.1: I mean here at night, last night I didn't even lock my door of the house. I forgot and we were okey. And I didn't think that someone would walk into here at all. We leave this apartment 3 months a year and people don't even peek through the window. You cannot compare that to South Africa. If we would have left the house in South Africa, full of furniture and things for three months, when you get back, you're most like gonna be coming back to a house that is going to be broken into.

xiv. AEP 4.2: …at night I don't even lock our car. Our car just stands there. Uhm our farmer has a vacation home, so they leave their house for months at a time, winter especially. They leave their house unlocked through the whole winter. If you'd drive to our farm now, you will find every single vehicle with a car key in the car and unlocked. That's how they leave it and then go on vacation. You cannot even hardly try that in South Africa. I mean just this week; I got a phone call from my mom where my brother was… they had an attempted high-jack on him. The crime is one of the biggest points to point out to, when you're looking at the difference between South Africa and here.

AEP 4.2 expressed that in the new community he has a sense of relief and a sense of safety, because he feels that his wife is safe, and she can live and go about freely. He expressed that he likes the sense of freedom that comes with little to no crime around, combined with more financial freedom.

xv. AEP 4.2: It's just… everything is just like the safety, you can leave everything out here and you don't have to lock anything, and you just feel the freedom and you just live, and enjoy life and you… Back home for the same job you can't do everything you do over here. You get a lot more living, and you do a lot more stuff. Your money, you can do stuff that you can't do back home.

AEP 4.1 made an interesting observation about her community that is related to the sense of security and safety that the community has. She said that in South Africa dogs are usually trained to be territorial, on high alert and to bark at strangers and at other dogs. Furthermore, if her dogs would get out into the street, and see other dogs, the dogs would attack each other. But here she noticed dogs getting out of the house, playing with other dogs in the street. The dogs do not attack each other or bark aggressively. This illustrates the sense of safety and the calm atmosphere that individuals in the community live in and which is reflected in the behaviour of the dogs.

xvi. AEP 4.1: [W]e had a conversation with our parents the other day thinking that our dogs for instance… something that I never thought about… Our dogs at home, if they get out of the yard and the neighbour's dog gets out of the yard… they fight. They would… One would almost kill the other because they are so

territorial and guarding what's theirs. Where here sometimes people that live three blocks from here, their dogs would be around our apartment at night playing with the other dogs that got out on the other side three blocks away…. So, if you just look at that small thing of animal behaviour, wouldn't that tell you a lot about the behaviours of people. So that small, minded thing struck me so hard when I realised if that was my dog getting out and trying to play with someone else's dog in town they would eat each other up. These dogs are nice to each other, are friendly. It's hardly that you hear people's dogs attacking each other in town and shouldn't that tell you so much of how the people like the owners of the dogs are. Something so small struck me so hard thinking about it.

EMIGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT CHALLENGES

Both members of this case study mentioned some emigration challenges they had to deal with. However, they both illustrated positive attitudes toward these challenges, indicating effective coping strategies. These challenges, like in the other case studies, are for the most part related to culture shock. As mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.4.1, culture shock refers to the confusion experienced when moving to a new culture or environment without pre-existing knowledge and experience of with the culture or environment (Merriam Webster, 2022). AEP 4.1 explained that she noticed many differences between her cultural mannerisms and the way the American people live: however, she did not explicitly say that she struggled with it. She found these differences to be amusing. This positive attitude about these differences will be discussed shortly under the section dealing with coping strategies.

xvii. AEP 4.1: (Chuckle)… So, at first, I thought it's so funny that the Americans has such a different style of housing and living and to adjust to it… I mean when you walk into a house you have to take your shoes off, nobody wants their carpets or their floors dirty. Where in South Africa I would put my shoes on my bed even. It was really funny to get here and to see how people here live so much differently than by us.

She also added that she longs for South African foods. She laughingly said that the Americans "have a different style of food" and that "the food was really an adjustment" for her. In addition, she mentioned some practical challenges related to medical expenses and medical insurance. She said that because she did not grow up in the host community, she does not quite understand how the health system in their host community works yet. It is a hard challenge for her to learn the procedures, and she knows that it will take time.

xviii. AEP 4.1: We haven't really worked with the health system yet. We don't have a medical insurance yet, we have started looking around, if you don't have the right knowledge, you don't know where the right places is to look at. Getting more information from other people you try to learn but Uhm… for instance I got sick, and I went to the clinic. I did not see the doctor I just saw the nurse practitioner and for that it cost me

a $170 for the appointment which is really expensive when you think about going to the doctor in South Africa. It's like R250 and for an appointment and sometimes you can go to a local doctor with his own dispensary and your medicine is sometimes included. Medical wise, I think it does hit harder here if you don't have the right knowledge though. I would say we are not really on the path yet when it comes to medical insurance, but we have seen so far that if you don't have the right knowledge you didn't grow up here, you don't know how things always work, it does make it harder to do more homework before you start getting into medical insurance and things like that.

AEP 4.2 did not mention any significant differences or practical challenges. Both expressed challenges related to the first year AEP 4.2 came to work in the United States without his wife. AEP 4.1 said that the first challenge came with the fact that her husband had to leave South Africa by himself at first and she had to stay behind. She said that it was hard for her to return to live with her parents while they attempted to save money for their new life in the United States. Not only was it hard for her to be separated from her spouse, but it was also challenging to keep their marriage in a good condition. It was challenging to communicate and to have important conversations, because of the time-zone difference and because of her husband's work schedule. On the rare occasion that they could find time to speak, they would converse about urgent factors like finances or other current and future responsibilities before they could speak about other marital or personal interests or issues.

xix. AEP 4.1: It was very hard, and it was very sudden that the job opportunity came on, so you know, it was like in two or three days that [my husband] needed to pack his bags and leave from us getting to the point of just applying for the visa and it was really hard at first. I had to readjust moving back to my parents' house, which is a little bit awkward when you have been living alone with your husband for quite a few years… (laughing). So, it was really a hard adjustment moving back to my parents and then sharing my privacy with them, you know… I would almost say that you are so comfortable living around your spouse that once they are not there, you almost don't know where you belong or what you should do, and I mean the time-zone difference made a very big impact on it. Cause I had to be awake at midnight to be able to have a conversation with him. I mean time-zone wise I was up, and he was asleep. If I had a chance in the day to talk to him, he was busy working and could not be on his phone. It was really hard, there was not a lot of communication, if there is communication it is two- or three-hour conversations just to try and get everything covered. Financially, it was really hard for the fact that the first year he came over here without sending any money home. We tried to just get that bag of money here and then I survive back in South Africa on my own to see if we could have a head start financially putting money together the first year.

AEP 4.2 shared his perspective, saying that he was lonely during that time. He went through a traumatic experience while working for his first farmer. The farmer had left him in his tractor in a field for over 24 hours without food or water. This experience left him devastated, and he questioned whether he made the right decision to come to the United States. He said he almost

decided to go back to South Africa, but then applied for another employment opportunity which worked out well for him and his wife in the end.

xx. AEP 4.2: In 2019 we were working for a farm out in Minnesota, and we were seeding in Wisconsin for him, and I called him twice the evening of the day and I told him twice that the field is wet I am going to get stuck, and he said I should continue, and I continued and I think it was half past four the afternoon I got stuck and I called him. An hour later he called and said that the wrecker will be there the next day half past 11. I asked him what should I do? And he said you are gonna sleep in the tractor. And we weren't close to a town so I couldn't really do anything so yeah... I slept in a tractor. The tractor came the next day half past 11 and they pulled me out and I had to finish the field and when I got to the next field I had to seed, I asked the people can I get some water… Because I haven't had any… I only had for one day not for a night and a next day so yeah. And he deducted $1500 from my pay-check to pay for the wrecker. So yeah, it wasn't easy, and I told [my wife] I quit my job. I told her that if I don't get another job within a week then I am going back home then I'm done with America. Then I got on the harvesting crew and yeah, I fell in love with the country.

xxi. AEP 4.2: Yeah, when it just happened and everything, I was like devastated and I wanted to go back home because there were no people, you are on your own. You don't have family friends where you can go and visits. It was all alone, and it was tough. I'm not gonna deny that I was about to throw in the towel and go back if I didn't find a job, so I was at the point of just saying let's call it quits. We tried it and it didn't work but luckily through the grace of God, He gave me an opportunity and I grabbed on with both hands and look where we are now.

The last challenge that needs to be mentioned is the longing for family and friends back in South Africa. AEP 4.1 had lost her father in December 2019 just after her husband had returned from working in the United States. She expressed, very emotionally, that you have to realise that saying goodbye to one's family and friends might mean seeing them for the last time, especially when you do not know how soon you will be able to go back to visit in South Africa. AEP 4.2 briefly mentioned that he longs for the scenery and his family back South Africa, but he acknowledges that these sacrifices are unavoidable when you seek a better future in another country.

xxii. AEP 4.1: I do think harder for me than for my husband though, leaving your family behind is always a hard one. So, in 2019 [my husband] went over for his first year and he came home on the 14th of December and on the 15th of December my father passed. So, when you get onto an airplane in the beginning of a season you always have to be aware and ready to make sure that when you are greeting everyone and your family and your friends you make sure that it was worth greeting. Cause you don't know if when you go back if they would still be there. So, I think family-wise it's hard (tearing up).

xxiii. AEP 4.2: Family, you do and the nature. That is… that is really South Africa and you [got to] sacrifice that to get somewhere.

COPING STRATEGIES

The couple mentioned several emigration challenges, but throughout the interview both displayed an open-minded and a positive attitude towards the immense change and toward the emigration experience. AEP 4.2 said that they regularly order boxes of South African food items, which helps them to mediate their challenge with American food.

xxiv. AEP 4.1: [W]e always have a box or two coming in over the season with just some food goodies and "lekker boerekos" cause the Americans do not know what that is… / …I mean I still bake "malvapoeding" and I still make all our traditional oxtail dishes and potjie pot. We try to stay true to our culture. It was important for us, even though we did make this move, you do not forget your culture and where you come from, your roots.

Furthermore, AEP 4.1 said that they value socialising with friends and that they have built good quality friendships with people in town. She says that they both try to be part of the 'community club', where they assist with arranging events for the town. Other instances where her positivity is shown will be discussed as part of the identity integration theme (see the next section).

xxv. AEP 4.1: We would be in and out of the house if it's a weekday, if it's a weekend. We do so much after work, if you turn your back from work, we are like friends' mode. I mean… and not just American friends. We have so many South Africans living not even more than hours' drive from us. So, we have such a great community of American people and South African people and really just having good times.

xxvi. AEP 4.1: I mean we do a lot of things in the community… we try… when we got here, we try to be part of the community club, which is a few women in town. We come together and we arrange a few events throughout the year, to make sure we get a little income from other towns. Because we are such a small town also, it's just town spirit, keeping the kids busy, we do like a Halloween festival, and we did the Turkey barbeque this past weekend. We have a wine walk which is really nice, so that's where all the women would walk from business to business and just have a taste of wine and food.

AEP 4.2 confirmed that they socialise with their American friends quite regularly, and he plans on joining the fire department as a volunteer in the future.

xxvii. AEP 4.2: Yes. I'll say at least once a week, I guess. We'll go out to eat, or barbeque, or we'll go eat at them.

xxviii. I would like help with the fire department.

The act of socialising and building relationships, along with seeking ways to mediate food challenges, are again examples of adaptive and active coping strategies (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:379). Chapter 6 will provide more elaboration and interpretation in this regard. This couple's positive and open attitude is illustrated further in the next section.

IDENTITY CHANGES POST-EMIGRATION

AEP 4.1 and 4.2 have similar views about their identity. It can thus be argued that they are in the same stage of the SIIM. When the researcher asked AEP 4.1 about her emigration experience, she said that she and her husband had adjusted fairly well, and she feels that their young age has made their adjustment process easier. She believes that if they were older, it might have been more challenging.

xxix. AEP 4.1: I mean if you are young and you are still developing what you like in life and what your styles are, home wise, it's so easy to adjust right now than to adjust in ten years or in 'tweny' years so I think if you are a lot younger the faster you get this process going and it's a lot easier but for us.

AEP 4.1 elaborated by saying they have many friends and they feel "at home". She said that "they are away from family, but it still feels like home for [them]". She elaborated again by saying that they "have so many family" and that "[they] feel so privileged to be here and just be part of the community and to be part of everything. I just see us living here forever". These comments illustrate that their integration has evolved to the state where they feel a sense of belonging to their host community.

The researcher asked AEP 4.2 if he feels that he is integrating well into the community and his response was affirmative in that he feels he is learning and adopting the American way of life.

xxx. AEP 4.2: Yeah, I feel like I'm getting more towards the US and starting to learn [about] stuff and doing things their way, than the way we do stuff back home… [I am] starting to think more their way, I guess.

In addition to the open-minded and positive attitude regarding their integration, the couple illustrated further integration into the host community by sharing their future plans with the researcher. AEP 4.1 said that after they receive their green-cards, the goal is to ultimately apply for citizenship. She said that they plan to immediately start the application process after receipt of their green-cards. AEP 4.2 shared his plans on starting his own farm business soon. He would like to rent his own farmland and farm for himself in the future. It appears that he already has a business plan of sorts in mind.

xxxi. AEP 4.1: Because after the green-card. I mean that's the goal, if you live here and you apply for a green- card then the goal is to apply for citizenship. So of course, after we've gone through the process, we almost immediately wanna start with the citizenship process too.

xxxii. AEP 4.2: I would like to farm; my main goal is to farm for myself one day. That is my plan. I am starting to look at if there comes land available to start and rent but there is not land available yet. I'll use the boss's equipment and stuff. He'll do everything and I'll just pay him back for it.

The above discussion clearly illustrates that both AEP 4.1 and AEP 4.2 are in the last phase of the SIIM (i.e., the integration phase). During this phase, the emigrant/s realise that both their previous social identity and their new social identity are equally important to the sense of who they are or who they are becoming (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). This means that their South African identity and their new American identity are both important to them. So far, not much evidence has been shown regarding their South African identity, apart from the food that they often order. But AEP 4.1 shared something important which sheds more light on this matter. She said that they intend on keeping certain aspects of their culture that are important to them, such as music, food and their language.

xxxiii. AEP 4.1: So yes… I do feel that… you know… yes, our hearts… when we sit around a bonfire, we still listen to our Afrikaans music and I mean there's so many artists like Appel, Robbie Wessels music, I mean that hits hard when it comes to home. We still listen to that, we still eat our South African food, but yes, we do somehow see ourselves as being Americans. More than 50% of the year we are living here, you consider this your home, because this is where you live most of your life if you look at a year's time. So yes, we do see ourselves as being American. We love the American traditions; we are starting to learn that and adapt to that without forgetting our own culture for sure.

xxxiv. AEP 4.1: I still want my kids to understand when I talk to them in my mother language. That is super important to me. Uhm remembering your culture, as I have said before, is important.

The researcher has taken this comment to apply to both AEP 4.1 and AEP 4.2 even though it was expressed only by the former. AEP 4.2 did not elaborate on anything else regarding his integration apart from what has already been stated. The researcher was able to take a picture of a flag that hung in the dining area of the couple's apartment. It was a flag that had the "old South African flag", blended on top of a United States flag. This further illustrates their integration and acceptance of their new home country, but they definitely hold their South African heritage as important to who they are.

Figure 5.4.1: Photograph taken in the apartment of AEP 4.1 and 4.2

Ultimately, both recognise the differences between their two social identities, but they do not feel conflicted, but coherent.

DIALECT AWARENESS AND DIALECT CHANGE

The participants in this case study are both aware of the dialect differences between their AfrE/ SAfE dialect and the NAmE dialect. AEP 4.1 said that she knows she grew up learning "UK English" in South Africa, but in the host community it is different. She explained that there are some words that are different, but they have the same meaning. AEP 4.2 said that his English is so different from the English spoken in the United States and that his employer had trouble understanding him, especially over a two-way radio. In addition to pronunciation difficulties, he said that he also had trouble understanding the manner in which directions are provided in the host community.

xxxv. AEP 4.1: …growing up in South Africa with the UK English makes it harder because I mean… I told somebody can I please get something off the shelf because it's too high for me the shelf… And they were like do you mean the rack…. I'm like yeah, it's the same thing though but okay.

xxxvi. AEP 4.2: There was a big difference. The UK English is different than the US English the names of stuff are so different from UK to US English.

xxxvii. AEP 4.2: So, in the beginning it was like… make sure. It was kind of hard over the two-way radio. And especially with directions was the worst when you first get here. Back home you will say take a right here and a left there, here it is taking a south here and east there and then a west and I don't know… what the

hell, we didn't talk this language back home. That was the worst part for me is getting to know the directions and stuff. You got to know where you are at. So, you get used to it.

Even though they did have some challenges with the language, AEP 4.2 feels that both she and her husband have adapted and adjusted quite easily to the dialect. She said their employer's children had the most difficulty in understanding their dialect, which in turn motivated them to learn the new dialect. She said that it is not a difficult dialect to learn, and they "evolved" fast in order to communicate successfully.

xxxviii. AEP 4.2: I think I adjusted so easily to the American way of speaking. Uhm… when we got here our farmer's kids are not very good with the South African English accent, so we had to switch over very fast for them to be able to you know... just have a conversation with us. They would always come up to us and ask us so many questions about South Africa. I know their son is, he likes the Big 5 [animals] of South Africa, the buffalo and the lion and the elephant… So, they would always come and ask us questions, so we had to evolve fast. And the style of English to be able to communicate properly.

Both feel that their dialect has changed. AEP 4.1 said that her dialect has changed to the extent that other South Africans do not recognise her dialect as South African, but American. Her husband said that his family back in South Africa had told him he speaks with an accent.

xxxix. AEP 4.1: You kind of hear that accent a lot, so when you get here you are like totally invested into speaking correct English. I think we adjusted really good. Sometimes I would walk into Walmart and my husband is not with me and I pass South Africans and they don't know me, they won't even know that I am South African. If I would talk on the phone to someone else and speak, some people don't even think that I can be from South Africa. I think that we have adjusted so easily. It is not a hard accent to learn. It kind of comes easily when you are starting to talk 90% of the day American English. So, it's not that hard.

xl. AEP 4.2: …they said there was an accent. They just said my English… I talk with an accent. Something like that.

The discussion above shows ample evidence that the couple has intentionally invested time in learning the NAmE dialect spoken in the host community. Furthermore, the couple shows signs that they are in the last phase of the SIIM, which means they have achieved successful integration and a new social identity. AEP 4.1 said that the adjustment process came easily for her and her husband. It seems that their main goal for learning their new dialect at first was to improve communication, but it can be argued that many factors such as their young age, their open-minded and positive attitude, and their motivation to improve their life for themselves and

their future children, facilitated integration, and in turn the new dialect learning process. The next section illustrates the extent of the linguistic change.

5.4.2. Case study #4: Linguistic Analysis Results

AEP 4.1	Female	LoR: 2 Years	25 years old

The phonetic analysis of AEP 4.1 shows ample evidence of the adoption of the North American English variants. She confirmed that she had learned the dialect sufficiently to the extent that other South Africans do not recognise her accent to be similar to their own. The first table below shows AEP 4.1's [æː] vs [ɑː] variation. From the 28 BATH words counted during the casual speech component of the interview, AEP 4.1 used the NAmE [æː] in all instances. Furthermore, when reading her wordlist, she also used the NAmE [æː] across all five possibilities. This shows that she has fully adopted the use of [æː] in casual conversation and also when reading the wordlist.

AEP 4.1 [æː] vs [ɑː] in BATH		
VARIATION	[æː]	[ɑː]
% used in casual speech	100%	0%
Casual Speech Words	**a**fterwards, ch**a**nce (x2), gr**a**sp, **a**sking, **a**sked (x2), p**a**ssed, c**a**n't (x4), h**a**lf, l**a**st (x3), p**a**th, p**a**st (x2), cl**a**ss, **a**sk (x3), **a**fter, f**a**st, p**a**ss	
% used in wordlist	100%	0%
Words in wordlist	b**a**th; l**a**ugh; d**a**nce; p**a**th; **a**sk	

Possible *-in* /*-ing* variation was not evident in the casual speech of AEP 4.1 nor was it evident in the wordlist component. There were 115 relevant tokens in the casual conversation component of the interview, and there was categorical use of *–ing*. Similarly, no instances of *-in* occurred during the reading of the wordlist.

The intervocalic variant [d] or [ɾ] for /t/ is commonly used in NAmE, as previously discussed. AEP 4.1 has not adopted this variant categorically, but she is approaching full adoption. During the interview component, a total of 16 possibilities occurred, with 7 of them being pronounced with intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]. In her wordlist component, she pronounced all possibilities with the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] of NAmE. There was one instance where she mispronounced *otter* as *other*. This word was then not counted as part of the total possibilities, because she may have glanced at the word thinking it was indeed *other*.

All of this shows that this NAmE variant has been incorporated into her dialect and is possibly becoming the 'correct' pronunciation for her. The table below shows those words presenting with a voiced [d] or flapped [ɾ].

AEP 4.1 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] variation		
VARIATION	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t]
% used in casual speech	50%	50%
Words in casual speech	ge**tt**ing; be**tt**er (x2); electrici**t**y; wa**t**er; si**tt**ing; communi**t**y; go**tt**en	opportuni**t**y; ge**tt**ing (x7); si**tt**ing
% used in wordlist	100%	0%
Words in wordlist	be**tt**er, la**tt**er, ge**tt**ing, wa**t**er, fa**tt**er, ci**t**y, toma**t**o	mispronounced 'otter' for 'other'

It is evident from the data shown above that AEP 4.1 has learned and adopted two out of the three variants that are the focus of this study. The researcher noticed, however, that AEP 4.1 had taken on board other phonetic changes as well. To illustrate, AEP 4.1 uses the NAmE [ɑː] vowel in LOT and THOUGHT words which normally have [ɒ] and [oː], respectively in SAfE or AfrE. There were 49 THOUGHT tokens in her speech and 63 LOT tokens counted during the analysis of the casual speech component. The table below shows the data of this finding.

CASUAL SPEECH: OTHER NOTATIONS		
AEP 4.1	[*ɑ*ː] instead of [oː]	[*ɑ*ː] instead of [ɒ]

Percentage used	100%	100%
Casual speech words	sm**a**ll (x6); b**ou**ght; d**a**ughter; **a**wkward (x2); **a**lmost (x9); c**au**se; th**ou**ght (x2); w**a**lk (x4); s**a**w; sm**a**ller (x2); w**a**lking; all (x2); w**a**lked; w**a**lks; t**a**lk (x4); **a**lways	n**o**t (x31); j**o**b; l**o**t (x11); g**o**t (x5); g**o**tten; cann**o**t; l**o**cked; t**o**p

This shows that AEP 4.1 has successfully learned even more features of NAmE. The researcher also noticed that there were a couple of instances where AEP 4.1 seemed to have specifically adapted the NAmE pronunciation of *and*. She pronounces the vowel in this word in such a way that it sounds like the vowel in the word *near* in a non-rhotic accent like SAfE i.e., with an in-gliding [ɪə]-like quality. This speaks to the Northern Cities Shift as discussed in Chapter 3, part II. This variant has only been noticed in the pronunciation of one other participant, specifically AEP 1.1 in case study 1.

Another example is the word *process*, which in SAfE or AfrE is pronounced with the GOAT vowel. This word occurred 4 times in the interview component. AEP 4.1 pronounced the first syllable of the word with a NAmE [ɑ:] instead of the GOAT vowel. Ultimately the above analysis shows that AEP 4.1 has in fact adopted several features of the NAmE dialect. She said that she learned the dialect fast and that it was not challenging for her to learn. The researcher argues that her motivation to integrate probably facilitated the level of her dialect learning. AEP 4.2 has been in the host community for one year longer, but shows fewer dialect changes than his wife.

AEP 4.2	**Male**	**LoR: 3 years**	**27 years old**

Similar to his wife, the phonetic analysis indicates that AEP 4.2 has almost fully adopted two out of the three NAmE variants that are the focus of this study. AEP 4.2 said that after being in the United States for almost three years at the time of the interview, "you start learning the new English". He said that it helps if you "[j]ust listen to it, listen to what people say, and the names of stuff are so different from UK to US English". One variant, specifically the NAmE [æ:]

variant for BATH, is used by this subject 16 times out of the total 21 tokens counted during the casual-conversation component. The other 5 tokens are of the word *can't*. This is the only word that was pronounced with the SAfE or AfrE [ɑː]. During the reading of the wordlist, AEP 4.2 pronounced all five possibilities with the NAmE [æː]. This shows that he is in the process of discarding the TRAP-BATH split characteristic of the SAfE and AfrE dialect.

AEP 4.2 [æː] vs. [ɑː] in BATH		
VARIATION	[æː]	[ɑː]
% used in casual speech	80%	20%
Casual speech words	l**a**st (x5); h**a**lf (x3); p**a**st (x5); **a**fternoon; **a**sked (x2)	can't (5)
% used in wordlist	100%	0%
Words in wordlist	b**a**th; l**au**gh; d**a**nce; p**a**th; **a**sk	

Similar to his wife and several of the previous participants, the NAmE *-in* variant did not occur in the speech of AEP 4.2 at the time of the interview. There were 35 possibilities during the casual-conversation component, and it did not occur once, nor during the four relevant tokens in the wordlist. Similar to AEP 4.1, AEP 4.2 is also adopting the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] into his dialect. While AEP 4.1 had used this variant occasionally, AEP 4.2 has fully adopted it into his dialect. This is shown in the analysis of the interview component and the reading of the wordlist. The interview component showed a total of nine tokens and a combination of mono- and multisyllabic words, with all of them pronounced with the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]. Similar findings are shown in the eight tokens which are part of the wordlist.

AEP 4.2 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] variation		
VARIATION	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t]
% used in casual speech	100%	0%
Words in casual speech	be**tt**er (x4); wa**t**er; opportuni**t**ies; ge**tt**ing (x2); opportuni**t**y	
% used in wordlist	100%	0%

Words in wordlist	be**tt**er; wa**t**er; la**tt**er; ci**t**y; o**tt**er; fa**tt**er; toma**t**o; ge**tt**ing	

In contrast to his wife, however, AEP 4.2 is still in the process of adopting both of the additional variables noted in the speech of AEP 4.1. AEP 4.2 occasionally used the NAmE [ɑː] variant in places where SAfE or AfrE speakers use [ɒ] (LOT) and [oː] (THOUGHT). During the interview component, 24 LOT tokens occurred but AEP 4.2 pronounced only 11 with the NAmE variant, while there were 11 THOUGHT tokens but only three were pronounced with the NAmE pronunciation. It is thus evident that he is in the process of learning these variants and possibly with time will come to a point of categorical adoption. The table below presents the words that were in fact pronounced with the NAmE [ɑː] variant.

CASUAL SPEECH: OTHER NOTATIONS		
AEP 4.2	[ɑː] instead of [oː]	[ɑː] instead of [ɒ]
Percentage used	30%	46%
Casual speech words	c**au**ght, t**a**lk(x2)	j**o**b (x6), g**o**t (x2), lives**to**ck, l**o**ck, n**o**t

The NAmE pronunciation of the word *process* was noted in AEP 4.1's speech and it was noted in AEP 4.2's speech as well. The word only occurred once during his interview, and it was pronounced in this manner: pr[ɑː]cess.

To summarise, the findings of this case study show that social variables such as motivation, attitude and possibly age, all contribute to the level of identity integration. Their level of identity integration clearly, in turn, reflects their level of dialect learning. A question in this case, as in the other cases, is whether the dialect learning actually facilitates and eases the identity-integration process as opposed to the other way around. Learning the dialect seems to provide a means of building relationships and relating to and establishing themselves in the community. Without sufficient communication integration can be delayed. Chapter 6 is devoted to the further interpretation of the results and findings.

5.5. Case study #5: Couple AEP 5.1 and 5.2

AEP 5.1 is female and was 24 years old at the time of the interview, while AEP 5.2 is male and was 28 years old. The husband had been working in America for 8 years. He came to work for his current employer in 2013 and only worked seasonally, that is 9 months at a time, before he started his green-card process in 2017. He has not visited South Africa since then. His wife had been living and working in the host community for three years. She came over with him in 2017. They were not married when she joined him, they were only dating. She had come as a foreign agricultural worker on an H-2A-visa[33] for the 2017 season, and before she was supposed to return, she realised that she was pregnant. AEP 5.2 notified his immigration lawyer and the lawyer suggested that they legalise their relationship by getting married in order for her to apply for a green-card under his employment-based petition.

AEP 5.2 has been working for the same employer since 2013. He said that he and his employer had "clicked right away" and built a quality relationship since then. A proposal regarding AEP 5.2 getting a green-card was made by the employer, after the latter was diagnosed with stage 4 brain cancer. The employer's son was only 22 years old at the time and still in college. The employer needed someone reliable and qualified to manage the farm for him. AEP 5.2 said that the employer approached him and said, "I'll sponsor your green-card if you would run the farm for our family", and AEP 5.2 accepted the opportunity. The couple received their green-cards in October 2020, and they currently reside in Plaza, ND. AEP 5.1 is currently working at the day-care centre that her daughter is attending, and AEP 5.2 still runs the family farm for his employer. Similar to Case Study 4, the couple is quite young. They have, however, been residing in the host community for a longer time compared to the previous couple. Similar to all previous case studies, the next section presents interview findings in accordance with the following themes: reasons for emigration, advantages of living in the new country, emigration challenges, coping strategies, identity; and dialect awareness and change.

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[33] "The H-2A program allows U.S. employers or U.S. agents who meet specific regulatory requirements to bring foreign nationals to the United States to fill temporary agricultural jobs" (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2022).

5.5.1. Case study 5: Interview Findings

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

AEP 5.1 and 5.2 had different perspectives on their emigration. AEP 5.1 said that she had always thought that she would leave South Africa. Her plan was always to au pair and start a new life in another country.

i. AEP 5.1: I always thought that I wouldn't stay in South Africa. I would always plan long term, I would always tell everybody, my grandmother, that I am not going to stay back in South Africa. My plan was to go au pair and start over.

AEP 5.2 explained that he has a family farm that he managed with his father and brother back in South Africa. He never planned to emigrate, but when the opportunity presented itself, he felt that "[he] could not say no." AEP 5.2 said that he explained to his father and the rest of his family that he did not want to live in fear for the rest of his life.

ii. AEP 5.2: I told my dad and everybody that I didn't see a future back there and I didn't want to live in fear for the rest of my life too, and that kind of helped me… motivate[d] to move…

Both mentioned that the high crime rate and lack of opportunities in South Africa were a central concern and motivator behind their decision to emigrate. AEP 5.1 was concerned about child safety. She said that she did not want children then, because she felt that they would not have a future in South Africa. She has realised now that living in the new host community, her children would be safe. AEP 5.2 mentioned his concerns regarding the statistics of farm attacks in South Africa. He came to the realisation that his future family would not have a quality life in South Africa.

iii. AEP 5.1: Because it is so bad back in South Africa, I never wanted kids. My own kids, or have kids grow up in that situation. So, I wanted a better life for kids and for my future, so that was the main…

iv. AEP 5.1: You can Walmart and just relax with your kid there, nobody is going to grab them.

v. AEP 5.2: Like living on the farm, you are afraid of the farm murder statistics, and you never hear of stuff like that over here…

vi. AEP 5.2: I just got to a point where I didn't see a future for a family in South Africa. Not with the crime rate and everything that is going on there

ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN AMERICA

Both AEP 5.1 and 5.2 emphasised during their interviews that they are less anxious about safety in the host community. AEP 5.1 said that she has a sense of freedom and less anxiety, because she no longer fears for her safety as often as she did back in South Africa. AEP 5.2 also elaborated on his new sense of freedom and that he feels less stressed about going about daily life and performing his farm-related duties, because there are no farm attacks in the host community.

vii. AEP 5.1: The freedom I mean you don't have to stress as much about people breaking into your house and locking your doors, where we are at. I mean that's a big thing, your child's safety, I mean you don't have to worry about someone grabbing your kid anywhere.

viii. AEP 5.2: it's always been, you never lock the doors, you have a little more freedom for me anyway... And I just said, "well with the kind of conditions I live in here; I can't say no to it". Comparing to back home where you have to, like being a cattle farm you have to go out every so often and go check for cattle theft and… Like living on the farm, you are afraid of the farm murder statistics, and you never hear of stuff like that over here and its…

In addition to the advantage of there being a low crime rate, the couple also perceives the host community as having ample opportunities for themselves and for their children. AEP 5.1 said that her children would have more opportunities to pursue further education, since children attend school for free from grade one to twelve. She said that this makes it possible for parents to save money for their children's future education endeavours. Moreover, she feels that her children will receive equal opportunities in the host community.

ix. AEP 5.1: Education, I mean if you take what we have to pay…. Okay in South Africa, you have to pay from grade 1 to grade 12 you have to pay, here you don't so you can save up money for your kids for a better education, here you don't have the money, that you can do that. Better education, and here if you have like an education, it is worth something here, there if you have it somebody else can be picked over you just because of their [skin] colour.

AEP 5.2 elaborated on the opportunities to succeed in life in the host community. He feels that in South Africa it is much more difficult to establish a quality life for yourself. He highlights that you still need to work hard but the probability of success is much higher than back in South Africa, because of people's willingness to take risks.

x. AEP 5.2: You are safe up here. Your family will be safe. You can make a living. It is tough to start out with but if you build up over the years you can make it work…

xi. AEP 5.2: You have more opportunity to succeed if that makes sense, here in America than back home. Cause back home, I mean the employers there they're not gonna be as willing as the ones up here that's what I have noticed. I cannot really… I don't wanna bad talk employers in South Africa 'cause I haven't worked for one, so I matriculated and came to the United States. So, I've always been here, I never worked for… unless my dad or neighbour or something which was just a couple months, when you go home for a few weeks or couple of months, but yeah you have more opportunity to succeed up here.

Lastly, AEP 5.1 shared that she has started studying in the host community. On completion of her studies, she will be able to start her own day-care business, which is what she intends to do. This further exemplifies the opportunities that are available in the host community.

xii. AEP 5.1: I am also busy with my studies. I have been studying weekends just to get my exams done, because I have CPR classes, a North Dakota class, I have to do a health class next week, so…

xiii. AEP 5.1: I can open my own day-care yes. That is the benefits about that, but yes getting all that behind me. So that's the big thing.

EMIGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT CHALLENGES

It is evident so far that this couple has had a different story from many of the previous case studies. Their relationship was in its developing stages when they emigrated, and they were dealing with different struggles during this time. To illustrate, AEP 5.1 shared her emotional and mental struggles. She was dealing with her first pregnancy while adjusting to her new life in the host community. She mentioned that the pregnancy changed her life instantly and that this was difficult for her. She was used to enjoying her time with her spouse and exploring the host community with him, but after she fell pregnant, her mood changed and she did not feel like doing these activities anymore. She said that her mood improved after her child was born.

xiv. AEP 5.1: Hmm… well, when I was pregnant it was very hard for me, because I was so used to being… I mean I was what… I just started partying with [my husband], going out with him. I mean… then I found out I was pregnant… and it was so hard because I didn't want to go out, and he was always going out and that was frustrating. But after I had her I was just… I think was more hormonal, so I just calmed down. But yeah, that was very dramatic for me…

AEP 5.2 was dealing with immense grief due to the loss of his employer to cancer. He expressed his struggle to see his employer battling with his illness before he passed on is something he never wishes to experience again.

xv. AEP 5.2: And then the one uncomfortable experience for me was when my employer passed away that was, he was second, I mean by the end he was in a nursing home where they had to change his diapers for

him, he couldn't talk, he couldn't lift his hands, he was basically sleeping all the time… Yeah, that is something I don't want to go through again, he was like family to me.

Both shared their perspective on dealing with the documentation of the immigration process. AEP 5.1 said that she had felt anxious and fearful that her visa status would run out before she had to give birth. She highlighted that the documentation for their immigration process had many delays due to the fact that they had to wait for documentation from South Africa for her husband. She said that the waiting and not knowing how long it would take was a heavy burden to bear while dealing with her pregnancy.

xvi. AEP 5.1: That we did. That was okay. I didn't do all the tests, but I had to do my shots over because my immunisation card wasn't up to date and…. Like I know with my birth certificate was fine but with my husband's it wasn't. So, he had to wait back from South Africa just to get back to them about it, and that take a long time too. The worst part where I felt very, very anxious was, when you go for your fingerprints between your work permit and fingerprints, so my visa expired December and I was waiting. So, I sent my fingerprints, and I was waiting for them and it's like been almost three months and I was waiting, and I am almost going into labour. That was so stressful because I was telling my husband that I felt illegal here and he's like "we haven't heard anything just wait, just wait." But eventually when that came back, I was just so relieved. It was very stressful for me, fearing that they were going to send me back. So that was very stressful. I think we had her and then we got the paperwork back the 5th of March. So yeah, that was very, very stressful.

AEP 5.2 highlighted that the immigration process was a "headache." He said that as a result of his employer and the employer's family dealing with his illness, AEP 5.2 had to complete the paperwork by himself. He said that he made several mistakes because he did not understand everything that was asked. This was a huge challenge for him. Furthermore, he said that waiting for paperwork from South Africa created even more delays in their immigration process.

xvii. AEP 5.2: It's a headache… (laughing)… Uhm. I never, 'cause I got thrown in the deep end of it, uhm when we started my boss got real sick and he kind of got like Alzheimer's, so he didn't know what was going on so the all of the sudden you get an email from the lawyer saying you need to fill in this paperwork and uhm I'm not sure what we really need to fill in. This is the first time that we [have] seen this papers and numbers and questions and everything and it was in English too. It was tough for me to learn to do this, because I was under the impression, they can do the paper side of it, and I can… I just need to fill in what I have to. But it got to the point where I was doing my own paperwork 'cause there was nobody else helping me. It was tough for me. There was a few mistakes we made and that every mistake you made, delayed the process.

xviii. AEP 5.2: I had to wait a year for my unabridged birth certificate from South Africa. 'Cause that took so long to get issued, even if we tried expediting it, everything we could not get an unabridged birth certificate out of South Africa.

In addition, both confirmed how expensive the immigration process is. AEP 5.1 mentioned that if your documentation from South Africa is not in order and correct, it will cost you even more to have it completed and corrected. AEP 5.2 said that he never paid taxes in the USA since he started working in 2013, and as a result when he started his green-card process, he received a "back taxed" bill for 9 years which he said that he was still paying off at the time of the interview. He said that if an H-2A agricultural worker plans to start his immigration process, that he should start paying taxes as soon as he can to avoid being back-taxed by the Internal Revenue Service (i.e., IRS).

xix. AEP 5.2: If you do your green-card and you start paying your taxes and all that, like when I started on an H2A visa, I never knew about all the taxes and stuff until I started the green-card processing, so I had over 9 years of back taxes to pay back, and that is a lot of money. And I'm still paying that back now, and I probably still will be for a few years.

xx. AEP 5.2: If they were working with previous employers before, they can only do their taxes from that employer onwards and get away with it but I was from 2013 here so that one employer to go back to where other guys go through 5-6 employers before they settle down so. So that's tough, so there are some that get away with it and there's some of us that gets thrown in the deep end. But you just have to pay it and make it work and keep your head above water. It's all you can do.

One last emotional challenge that both expressed was their longing for family back in South Africa. AEP 5.1 said that her homesickness is no longer as great as it was during the first year of her emigration. AEP 5.2 expressed that he "mostly [misses] his family" when the researcher asked what he misses about South Africa.

xxi. AEP 5.1: And missing my family a little bit, but I am not as much homesick as what I was in the beginning…

AEP 5.1 also then expressed some other practical challenges that she had faced. She said that she had had trouble finding a church, a church environment that they could relate to. She also said that she had found American money challenging. She explained laughingly that she still does not know the coins and how to calculate them fast; so she would give a dollar bill and wait for change. In addition, she initially had trouble purchasing anything, because she keeps converting the amounts back into South African rand. She feels that an item is too expensive when she converts it.

xxii. AEP 5.1: … And like we haven't been really to a church yet; I just told my husband we have to start with that, but we don't know yet where we fit in or where to go so…

xxiii. AEP 5.1: In the beginning, it was still hard even now, pennies is still hard. I'll just give them a dollar and they can give me the change. But uhm, in the beginning… it was difficult for me to spend money because I was always transferring it back to our money. So, I was like oh this is too expensive, I can't buy this, I can't buy this.

AEP 5.2 explained his work-related challenges. He said that farming in South Africa is different from farming in the host community. He said that there are several aspects that need to be taken into consideration, such as the climate and the soil composition in the host community. These aspects were a challenge for him to learn and understand in the early stages of his work experience.

xxiv. AEP 5.2: …when I started it was pretty tough 'cause we farm back home too, so the way how they do it was tough to learn.

xxv. AEP 5.2: There is a lot of differences I would say especially with the soil. I mean I can go all into that if you want but you got soil conditions and all that. Even the climate of here and back home is different, so there is a lot of obstacles and a lot of ways to do that but that's just because of the climate and the area that you are in. The area where we are in now is different from Minot and it's only 45 miles (80 kilometres), and it's just a different area of climate so you've different stuff in that area. And I mean it's a half hour drive.

AEP 5.1 and 5.2 said that they have had some trouble with other South Africans in the area. They said that some South African farm workers come to the host community and engage in inappropriate behaviour, resulting in a poor reputation for all South Africans.

xxvi. AEP 5.1: But I mean with my husband I know there was a couple of times where they felt, because some other South Africans do stuff that they are not supposed to like sleeping with other women, with married women and they put us all under the same roof as all our South Africans that I know.

xxvii. AEP 5.2: … I don't want to make my name bad or the South Africans in this area or the employer that I work for. 'Cause it's gonna be "oh that guy that works for them family did you see what he did… then they'll be like oh but it's a South African guy that did it", so you have to…. And I always try that way to not make our South African name bad. There is a lot of guys that… me and [my wife] would sit at a restaurant and the way they talk and stuff they have no respect and that makes me angry, cause it's not just me sitting there but everybody else in that restaurant with say to damn that's those South Africans and it's not the one it's them... There's one bad apple, and it's the same with an employer, there's one bad apple its gonna come down to all South African and not to one specific guy.

COPING STRATEGIES

The couple both mentioned some effective coping strategies to deal with their emigration challenges. Both mentioned that working is, in itself, a coping strategy for them. AEP 5.1 said that she did not initially have a lot of farm experience, but that she started learning the basic activities first, which helped her cope with the new life: working in general and being around her husband eased the adjustment process. AEP 5.2 highlighted that he had always been a hard worker and that working long hours is what he is used to, allowing him to take his mind off the challenges he is facing. In essence, both feel that having a sense of work-related responsibility aided their adjustment process:

xxviii. AEP 5.1: So, that was how it started, I was mowing grass, I was cleaning shop, cleaning the trucks, the vehicles, and in between he was teaching me to drive the trucks, the bobcat and stuff. So, that is how I started at first.

xxix. AEP 5.1: uhm worked… 'Cause then I was still working as an H2A worker, but yeah, I worked. And being around [my husband] and talking our own language, that helped a lot.

xxx. AEP 5.2: But that and work, I mean we work a lot here, sun-up to sundown. I mean sun-up is just after 5 am, and sundown is 11 pm. So, you don't get Sundays off.

xxxi. AEP 5.2: …so you gotta do your job and 'cause you do it now, you will always have something to go back to, spray or combine or work field, there is always something.

AEP 5.1 and 5.2 said they were engaging in and enjoying cultural activities, which eased the challenges that came with culture shock and helped them deal with their adjustment process. AEP 5.1 said that she speaks to her parents and her grandmother on a regular basis. She also enjoys visiting with other South Africans around a bonfire, similar to how they would do with friends and family back in South Africa. In one of the above comments, she said that communicating in her own language with her husband is comforting to her.

xxxii. AEP 5.1: …always wanted to go back home in the beginning, but after… especially between January and March when all the South Africans came back, just that reality went home and…. I want to go home too. But now it's like… I'm fine with it… I mean I call my parents, my grandmother a lot so…

xxxiii. AEP 5.1: Basically, just called my family…

xxxiv. AEP 5.1: Yeah, and South Africans comes together, that helps a lot, having like a bonfire, coming together and just feels back to normal so yeah.

AEP 5.2 shared that he enjoys making his own South African dishes such as *boerewors* (i.e., South African sausage), *sosaties* (i.e., South African skewers), *biltong* and *droëwors* (i.e., South African jerky and dried sausage). He said that if he had a craving for a dish, he would buy the

South African ingredients and teach himself how to prepare the dish. He also mentioned that he regularly speaks to family and friends on various social media platforms.

xxxv. AEP 5.2: Mostly the family, *ja*. Since day one I always make my own *boerewors*, *sosaties* and stuff. I make everything myself, *biltong*, *droëwors*, I set up for that. I get a sheep out here now. I have South Africa right here. If I get a craving for something I go on Amazon, and bought a spice, watch a few YouTube videos, and see how you do it, add a little bit of knowledge and that's it.

xxxvi. AEP 5.2: Yeah… At least you have WhatsApp and Facebook to keep contact with families. The hardest thing now with [my daughter] being born is that our parents wanna be up here but now with Corona and everything. There's nothing we can do about it, it's out of our hands, you just have to deal with it on a daily basis and figure it out.

Important to notice in the above comment is that AEP 5.2 displays an open and positive attitude regarding their emigration challenges. He acknowledges that life occurrences are out of their control, and all he can do is "deal with it on a daily basis and figure it out." Furthermore, both are open to learning more. AEP 5.2 makes the effort to teach himself to prepare traditional South African foods, and AEP 5.1 mentioned that she keeps "busy with [her] studies." She also elaborated that she acknowledges that she needs to change her perspective on certain matters, specifically in terms of restricting her spending. She said that her husband provided her with a new perspective by sharing with her that you cannot focus on the South African Rand when your life is now in the host community. She said that she realised she needed to change this behaviour.

xxxvii. AEP 5.1: So, I was like oh this is too expensive, I can't buy this, I can't buy this. And eventually my husband was like, you are going to have to eventually shut that out of your head, you are going to need this so just buy it and get over it. And that's how I slowly…. Okay I need this, so I got that out of my mind… I didn't even want to buy a sweatshirt or anything because it was too expensive, I didn't want to pay $30 for a sweatshirt.

These comments illustrate their willingness to learn more, a willingness which, in turn, helped them deal with their adjustment.

One last coping strategy that both mentioned is socialising and building quality relationships in the host community. AEP 5.2 said that he had had a quality relationship with his employer from the start of his H-2A agricultural work experience (i.e., before he started the immigration process). He said that his employer introduced him to his own family and friend group, and that he was accepted and welcomed instantly. Years later, he loves socialising in the community. AEP

5.1 added that being invited to social events and being included in the lives of their American friends helps her deal with the adjustment, even if it took her some time to make friends.

xxxviii. AEP 5.1: I mean last weekend we did and this morning we went for a roast, they made some roast and stuff and so yeah it just took me a lot of time to make friends…

xxxix. AEP 5.2: when I started in 2013 up here, I was the only South African. And my boss back then made sure I had friends, so he introduced me to the farmers and their kids, my age people. So, I always had American friends from day one and they still are good friends of mine today.

xl. AEP 5.2: Socialising helped me. I go out a lot and go grab a beer with friends in a bar, it can be one Saturday afternoon, you see someone in their driveway, and I know everybody in the area and in Plaza. I could drive by and just stop and be ending by drinking a beer, I will pull in and start chatting with him and the next thing you know it's a couple hours later and then you realise you still got stuff to do (laughing). But that and work.

As mentioned before, socialising, building quality relationships and motivation to learn are all examples of adaptive and active coping strategies (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:379). These active coping strategies help to facilitate the integration process. The next section explores the couple's level of integration.

IDENTITY CHANGES POST-EMIGRATION

It is clear from the discussion above that this couple is somewhat different from the other couples regarding their emigration. They had somewhat different challenges and perspectives but somewhat similar coping strategies. It is evident, though, that AEP 5.1 and 5.2 are at different levels of identity integration. AEP 5.1 did not elaborate in detail on her identity, but the researcher could identify from the comments that she is in the Compartmentalisation phase (the third phase) of the SIIM. During this phase, the individual increasingly interacts and identifies with the host community in various contexts such as work, social groups, church and so forth (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:374). As the interaction increases, the individual will start to establish connections between the previous and new cultural identity, which will then lead to successful integration (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:374). This means that although the emigrant will consider him or herself to be part of the new host community, the two identities remain segregated and highly dependent on context.

AEP 5.1 acknowledged that she considers herself as being part of the host community although she is still in the process of finding her place in various contexts. To illustrate, she mentioned that they are still looking for their church community. This was not mentioned by the husband, implying that a church community is important for AEP 5.1.

xli. AEP 5.1: … And like we haven't been really to a church yet; I just told my husband we have to start with that, but we don't know yet where we fit in or where to go so…

AEP 5.1 has, in fact, established herself in a work environment. She enjoys working at the day-care and she has even started studying in the hope of starting her own day-care business in the future.

xlii. AEP 5.1: Uhm… I work at the day-care as a teacher for three-year-olds, so I basically take care of them, give them class, learn them how colours work, how to cut and draw. Things like that.

xliii. AEP 5.1: I can open my own day-care yes. That is the benefits about that, but yes getting all that behind me. So that's the big thing.

In addition, she does feel that she has found her place within her new community. She said that she is welcomed and accepted, and mentioned that they socialise with their friends in the host community regularly. AEP 5.1 confirmed that they will be applying for citizenship within a few years.

xliv. AEP 5.1: Well, I already feel part of the community, I mean they are such friendly people. I mean if you step into a town, they welcome you with open arms. I have never really experienced that in South Africa. So, I already feel like I am part of them because they are so open to you in that way. I mean from Plaza's perspective; I have never been so welcomed then what I have experienced here. So yeah, I feel I am part of the community, and they always invite me to everything.

The comment that further reveals that she is in the Compartmentalisation phase is that her being around the bonfire with South Africans feels like home to her, and it feels like it is back to normality for a moment.

xlv. AEP 5.1: Yeah, and South Africans comes together that helps a lot, having like a bonfire, coming together and just feels back to normal so yeah.

This shows that her old identity and her new identity remain segregated and highly context-dependent. She has not yet established cognitive links and interconnections between the two identities. This requires more time in her case.

In contrast, AEP 5.2 has been, periodically, in the host community for 5 years, and then another 3 years, without returning to South Africa. His comments and statements suggest that he has reached successful integration, the fourth phase of the SIIM. During this phase, the new and old identities become integrated into the self. As quoted previously, "[the emigrant] come[s] to recognise that multiple and distinct social identities are simultaneously important to their self" (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). During this phase, the individual becomes competent in both cultures and communities without viewing one as more important than the other.

AEP 5.2 explained that he is part of the community socially and is, in addition, respected by other farmers in the surrounding areas. He mentioned that he perceives himself to be part of his employer's family and that they have become his family as well. As previously mentioned, he experienced immense grief when his employer passed away.

xlvi. AEP 5.2: It doesn't matter what their family is doing, you are always invited, so you kind of feel like family to them and to their family. Till today we still do the same thing if their family does something we get included in it. And that's the family I work for, since day one they always took care of us. Me and [my wife] … before [my wife] came up here, if you needed something doesn't matter what it was, emotionally they were always there for you.

Furthermore, in the next comment, he perceives himself to be well-integrated and well-known in his community. He also has future plans of starting his own farming business. He shared that he has done research on the financial aspects of starting his own business. He had already started investing in certain aspects of his business by buying his own livestock.

xlvii. AEP 5.2: I am definitely part of the community in this area. I would say the last 5 years I've been. 'Cause my employer, when we would go around visiting people, I was always with him, the neighbours would still call me and be like "hey, how do you guys do that again?". So, I get a lot of phone calls about my job, but them they are friends too, so I'll get a call from them and they're like "hey, do wanna go drink beer this afternoon?" And I'm like yeah where at? So, I'm part of this community and it is all ages, I mean some of my best friends are in their 60s, and me and [my wife] would go down there and stay in their cabin with them and we go out boating and fishing and they invite us to their family deals, and we've got friends with their kids. We actually started, me and an old guy started being friends and then he met [my wife] and he was like "well my wife is gonna like you." And then we started, we met their kids, and we are all a big friend group now. We don't see each other as much as we like to, because the hours are crazy for farmers up here, but that's just one example. I've got plenty of examples of people that just call you over, "hey, we

are doing dinner tonight, join us" or just some random stuff and, so would say we are definitely part of the community.

xlviii. AEP 5.2: Yeah, I would like to do my own thing, start my own farm business but with the prices of machines and stuff up here, I know that 'cause I do the business side of the farm.

xlix. AEP 5.2: I mean, they're pretty free to give loans out so we bought a camper and bought sheep and stuff. I wanna do my own thing too, I don't want to be stuck at work so, we got sheep and chickens and everything out here. We can provide food for ourselves …

The final statement he made further illustrates his integration in and investment into the host community. He acknowledges that he will remain South African, and he still enjoys traditional South African foods (as previously discussed), and he is aware that South Africa is embedded in his roots, but he feels that he will never return to live in South Africa again. He admitted that he will apply for citizenship as soon as he can, but he will remain who he is while embracing American life.

l. AEP 5.2: I am a South African in America, but I will not go live in South Africa anymore. If I would have the opportunity to do naturalization to be an American citizen, I'll grab it with both hands and do it. But your root system is in South Africa, you would always have that culture in you, still today you get you walk around in your shorts in America… but that's our tradition and I will wear my short shorts (laughing)…

DIALECT AWARENESS AND DIALECT CHANGE

Both AEP 5.1 and 5.2 expressed their awareness that their English and American English are different. However, they had different perspectives on this. AEP 5.1 said she is aware that the local accent is different from hers, but she only used examples of differences in vocabulary. She added that the Americans have told her that her accent is "really rough". She admitted that people had trouble understanding her, especially when she would speak over the two-way radio while working on the farm. She explained that she gets discouraged when they do not understand her or when she could not find the right words, to the point where she would quit speaking.

li. AEP 5.1: Well, the accent is a big thing. There is here and there words that are different from us… like first time I heard … what's a *nook*? And then I heard it is a dummy like a pacifier. There was another word *paddling* which means "*skinder*" [i.e. gossiping]. So, there are word differences, and the accent, they always tell me my accent is really rough…

lii. AEP 5.1: I would be on the radio with [my husband] and I would be like, what is this in English and this and so at the end I would just stop talking because I couldn't get the right words out.

In the above statement, AEP 5.1 said that the Americans consider her to have an Australian accent. Similarly, AEP 5.2 said that his accent gets mistaken for an Australian accent as well. He admitted that his accent is still noticeable, because some do ask him where his accent "is from"; and he would say it is from South Africa. He explained that during his earlier years of work in the host community, the Americans had trouble understanding him because of his accent. He said that over time he taught himself to speak slower. He feels that currently, the South Africans that work with him do not notice he is from South Africa from his accent only. Thus, this shows that over time his accent had changed to the point where it is not recognised by fellow South Africans anymore.

liii. AEP 5.2: Usually, the Americans would think now that I'm Australian. But they can tell there is an accent and then they ask where the accent is from and then I'll say from South Africa.

liv. AEP 5.2: When I got here my accent for Afrikaans was a lot in so, the Americans would have a tough time understanding me so it would take a month or two to adjust to where they can understand me. So, every time I go home, and came back, my employer would say slow down you are talking too fast. Afrikaans is a pretty fast language, and you learn to speak fast, and you get up here, and you just need to slow down, and they will understand you. I know it's something that I've learned over here is I need to pace myself. Just so everybody can understand you, but uhm I've talked to a few South Africans before and they would have no idea that I'm a South African 'cause they'll call me and say we need to bring chemicals and I'll say, "okay dis reg". And they'll be like oh, you are South African. I can hear it in their accent right away, but they cannot hear it in mine, 'cause I've been so many years in the same area you kind of adapt to…

Furthermore, 5.2 shared that when he worked seasonally and he returned to South Africa, his family and friends would notice his vocabulary had changed and they would not understand him. He provided the following example:

lv. AEP 5.2: I kind of forgot it all by now. I, you speak English in South Africa, I did it one time, with my mom and a friend, we went to Spur[34], and the waitress started speaking English and I started speaking English and my mom was like: "what did you just say". Cause a doggy bag back home, you know it by now if you say that in America, they would be like "what", but here they call it a *to-go box*. So, I said in Spur "can I get a to-go box" and they're like "huh".

Lastly, both said that they speak Afrikaans in their household. They speak Afrikaans to their daughter as well, while at the day-care or around other Americans they would speak English.

[34] Spur is a South African and abroad restaurant (https://www.spursteakranches.com/za).

AEP 5.1 says that her daughter is learning both languages at a fast pace. AEP 5.1 also shared that she sometimes notices herself thinking in English. She also mixes her Afrikaans with English more frequently.

lvi. AEP 5.1: In the house we talk Afrikaans, and at the day-care they speak English to her, and she understands them so. We talk both languages. If we are at home, we will talk Afrikaans but if we are with other people, we will talk English. She is picking that up very fast so.

lvii. AEP 5.1: Not really… But I would say that there is sometimes that I would think in Afrikaans… but then sometimes I would catch myself thinking in English. Or what I would do, I mix my Afrikaans with my English so…

lviii. AEP 5.2: So, what we do now is Afrikaans, we speak that in our house all the time and then when we are around South Africans we speak Afrikaans, but once we hang out in public or with our American friends, we will speak English. And she is in an English day-care, but Afrikaans will always be the house language.

AEP 5.2 said that before his wife came to live with him in the host community, he would be alone most of the time (without other South Africans around). As a result, he would only speak English, and this affected his dialect to the extent that he would unwittingly switch to speaking English while speaking to his parents. However, now that he speaks Afrikaans with his wife, that issue no longer occurs.

lix. AEP 5.2: Not really, I would sometimes catch myself when I talk to my parents to somebody, I would switch over to English without even noticing it. It's better now. I have done it with [my wife] when speaking Afrikaans. But when I was single and lived by myself in a house and I was the only South African on the farm, you do speak only English. And it wasn't until 2019 when [my wife] came up where there are some South Africans. I used to be the only South African in this area and now there is about 5-6 guys living in town now in Plaza.

The above discussion shows that this couple is aware of the dialectal differences. They did not elaborate as much as the other couples on if and how they changed their accents willingly. The next section presents the results of the investigation into their dialect changes.

5.5.2. Case study #5: Linguistic Analysis Results

AEP 5.1	Female	LoR: 3 Years	24 years old

The phonetic analysis of AEP 5.1 shows that the participant has learned some NAmE variants. During her interview, she did not elaborate on the changes in her own dialect, except for the comment regarding her accent being mistaken for Australian. The evidence below suggests that her accent has changed, and with time will change more. The first table shows AEP 5.1's [æ:] vs

[ɑː] variation during the interview and wordlist reading. A total of 20 possibilities occurred in the interview where the participant could use the SAfE or AfrE [ɑː] vowel, but 12 of those possibilities were pronounced with the NAmE [æː] variant. Moreover, she used the NAmE [æː] variant three out of five times in the wordlist. This shows that she is in the process of learning the new dialect in casual conversation and learning it as the 'correct' pronunciation as suggested from the wordlist data.

AEP 5.1 [æː] vs [ɑː] in BATH		
VARIATION	[æː]	[ɑː]
% used in casual speech	60%	40%
Casual Speech Words	cl**a**ss (x4); h**a**lf; **a**sked; **a**sk; gr**a**ss; cl**a**sses (x2); f**a**st (x2)	cl**a**ss; l**a**st (x4); ch**a**nce; tr**a**nsferring; **a**fter
% used in wordlist	60%	40%
Words in wordlist	b**a**th; d**a**nce; p**a**th	**a**sk, l**au**gh

Possible *-in* /*-ing* variation was not evident in the casual speech of AEP 5.1, nor was it evident in the wordlist component. There were 91 relevant tokens in the casual-conversation component of the interview; and there was categorical use of *–ing*. Similarly, no instances of *-in* were present during the wordlist.

To recap, the intervocalic variant [d] or [ɾ] for /t/ is commonly used in NAmE. AEP 5.1 did not show a 100% adoption of this variant into her accent. There were instances where she used the NAmE variant and tokens where she used the SAfE or AfrE voiceless [t] variant. The interview component contained a total of 12 possible tokens. The participant pronounced 8 of these tokens with the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant. One token, *community*, was pronounced in one instance with a voiceless [t] and in another was pronounced with the NAmE intervocalic [d] variant. During the reading of the wordlist, she pronounced four of the eight possibilities with the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant. This evidence suggests that she is in the process of learning the NAmE variant. She might indeed go on to categorically adopt the new variant with longer time spent in the host community.

AEP 5.1 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] variant		
VARIATION	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t]
% used in casual speech	67%	33%
Words in casual speech	getting; better; community; waiting (x3); exited; latest	better; community; sexuality; getting
% used in wordlist	50%	50%
Words in wordlist	better, latter, water, tomato	getting; city; otter; fatter

It is evident from the evidence shown that AEP 5.1 is in the process of learning two out of the three NAmE linguistic variants that are the focus of this study. In addition, and similar to some of the previously discussed participants, AEP 5.1's speech also showed that she is in the process of learning the NAmE [ɑ:] variant in places where SAfE and AfrE have [ɒ] or [o:]. There were 10 out of the 20 possible tokens where the NAmE [ɑ:] instead of [o:] was used and 10 out of the 41 possibilities where the NAmE [ɑ:] instead of [ɒ] was used. The table below illustrates the evidence for this finding.

CASUAL SPEECH: OTHER NOTATIONS		
AEP 5.1	[ɑ:] instead of [o:]	[ɑ:] instead of [ɒ]
Percentage used	25%	50%
Casual speech words	draw; thought; talk (x8)	stop; got (x2); shop; a lot (x5);

In addition to the above, the researcher noticed a few other features that show that she is learning the NAmE dialect. The researcher noticed that the token *started* occurred a total of eight times during the interview. Trudgill and Hannah (2008:45) stated that the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant normally occurs in-between two vowels and, in this case, it occurred between a vowel and a consonant. The middle -t (between a consonant and a vowel) was pronounced twice with a NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant, while on two other occasions the -t was completely omitted from the pronunciation. To illustrate, the token sounded as *starred* or [stɑɹəd]. The reason could be that during some of AEP 5.1's explanations, she spoke fast and possibly rushed the

pronunciation in these instances. In addition, the token *wanted* occurred twice and in one instance the -t was omitted as well. The token then sounded like '*wanned*' or [wɑnəd]. Lastly, the word *process* occurred twice in the interview, and in one occurrence the SAfE GOAT vowel was replaced with a NAmE [ɑ:] variant.

In summary, the results indicate that AEP 5.1 has learned and adopted several features of the NAmE dialect as her own. The evidence overall indicates that AEP 5.1 is in the process of learning NAmE features, and with more time these features will be increasingly used in her dialect. It can be argued that her level of dialect learning reflects her level of identity integration. AEP 5.2 has been in the host community for five years longer and accordingly shows more features of NAmE in his dialect.

AEP 5.2	**Male**	**LoR: 8 years**	**28 years old**

AEP 5.2 had been in the host community 5 years longer than his wife, even if this was not always ongoing, but sometimes seasonally, according to his agricultural contract work. AEP 5.2 said that being in the same area for "…so many years you kind of adapt to [the dialect]". Accordingly, the results of the linguistic analysis show that AEP 5.2 has learned two of the three variants that are the focus of the study. During the casual conversation component, there were a total of 25 possibilities counted where the SAfE or AfrE [ɑ:] vowel is usually used. However, in all instances, the NAmE [æ:] was used in his speech. Similarly, the wordlist shows that AEP 5.2 used the NAmE [æ:] variant in the reading of all 5 possibilities. This shows that AEP 5.2 no longer has the TRAP-BATH Split characteristic of the SAfE and AfrE dialects.

AEP 5.2 [æ:] vs. [ɑ:] in BATH		
VARIATION	[æ:]	[ɑ:]
% used in casual speech	100%	0%
Casual Speech Words	pl**a**nting; l**a**st (x6); cl**a**ss; p**a**ssed (x4); h**a**lf (x2); **a**fternoon (x2); ex**a**mple (x2); **a**fter; f**a**st (x3); c**a**n't; **a**sk	
% used in wordlist	100%	0%

Words in wordlist	b**a**th; l**au**gh; d**a**nce; p**a**th; **a**sk	

AEP 5.2 did not show one instance of the NAmE *-in* variant from the 91 possibilities that were counted. Correspondingly, the variant did not occur during the reading of the wordlist.

As discussed above, AEP 5.1 is in the process of adopting the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] into her dialect. AEP 5.2 shows that he has nearly categorically incorporated this NAmE variant. During the casual conversation component, the researcher counted 34 tokens where the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] could have occurred. A total of 32 tokens were pronounced with the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant. Only the words *opportuni**t**y* and *expedi**t**ing* were pronounced with a voiceless [t] in the relevant position. During the reading of the wordlist, AEP 5.2 used the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant in all eight possibilities. The table below summarises these findings.

AEP 5.2 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] variant		
VARIATION	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t]
% used in casual speech	94%	6%
Words in casual speech	universi**t**y; ca**tt**le; ea**t**ing; mee**t**ing; ma**tt**er; invi**t**ed; wha**t**ever; be**tt**er (x2); pre**tt**y (x2); electrici**t**y; wa**t**er (x2); si**tt**ing (x2); opportuni**t**y (x2), defini**t**ely (x2); communi**t**y (x3); visi**t**ing; boa**t**ing; cha**tt**ing; negativi**t**y; bi**t**ing; lo**tt**ery; no**t**icing	opportuni**t**y; expedi**t**ing
added notations	bro**th**er (casual conversation); nei**th**er (wordlist reading)	
% used in wordlist	100%	0%
Words in wordlist	be**tt**er, wa**t**er, la**tt**er, ci**t**y, o**tt**er, fa**tt**er, toma**t**o, ge**tt**ing	

Similar to AEP 5.1, AEP 5.2's speech showed the use of the NAmE [ɑ:] variant in places where the SAfE and AfrE have [ɒ] and [o:]. In comparison to his wife, AEP 5.2 shows more occurrences of this feature. During the casual-conversation component, 68 possibilities for [ɒ] (i.e., the LOT vowel class) occur, and 37 of these possible tokens were pronounced with the NAmE [ɑ:] variant. The NAmE tokens therefore account for more than 50% of the data. In addition, there were 35 possible [o:] tokens (i.e., the THOUGHT vowel class), with nine of these tokens being pronounced with the NAmE [ɑ:] variant. The table below summarizes the evidence:

CASUAL SPEECH: OTHER NOTATIONS		
AEP 5.2	[ɑ:] instead of [o:]	[ɑ:] instead of [ɒ]
Percentage used	22%	54%
Casual speech words	**Au**gust (x3); talk (x3); bought (x3)	boss (x2); got (x6); lot (x11); not (x14); shop; cost; job (x2)

In addition to the above, there were other observations made. Similar to AEP 5.1, AEP 5.2 used the NAmE intervocalic [d] in the word *started*. During the casual conversation component, there were 20 occurrences of the token *started*, and during all these occurrences AEP 5.2 use the NAmE intervocalic [d] in the relevant position.

In addition, the word *process* occurred five times in the casual conversation component, and in all the tokens AEP 5.2 replaced the GOAT vowel with a NAmE [ɑ:] variant in the applicable position. Lastly, the *-th* sounds in all occurrences of the two words *everything(x9)* and *something (x9)* were pronounced with an *-f* sound which is, however, likely to be an influence of his Afrikaans L1.

In summary, the evidence illustrates that AEP 5.2 is in the Integration Phase of the SIIM. His level of dialect learning reflects this phase, as he has successfully adopted at least two of the NAmE variants as presented in the above discussion, and he is in the process of learning more

variants. The findings of the QUAL analysis show that social variables such as LoR, motivation and attitude are possible facilitators of identity integration in this case study. The question, as stated in the previous case study, is whether dialect change in these cases is in fact an added tool that facilitates identity integration. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. The dissertation now moves to present the findings of the last case study.

5.6. Case study #6: Couple AEP 6.1 and 6.2

AEP 6.1 and AEP 6.2 are both from Cape Town, South Africa. The couple now resides and works in Antler, North Dakota[35]. AEP 6.1 is female and was 26-years old at the time of the interview. AEP 6.2 is male and was 25-years old at the time of the interview. AEP 6.1 had been residing in the host community for 2 years, while her husband had been residing and working in the host community for four years when the interview took place. AEP 6.2 said that in his first year he worked alone in the host community. During the second year, he received a green-card opportunity and sometime after this, his wife joined him. AEP 6.1 related that she had "always wanted to immigrate and leave South Africa", and when her husband received the opportunity she instantly agreed. At the time he received the opportunity, they were not married yet but only dating. After he received the opportunity, they made the decision to marry and then went ahead to establish a new life in North Dakota, US. AEP 6.2 did not at first think about immigration, but after working for his employer for a year, he asked her if she would be willing to sponsor his green-card and the farmer agreed. His wife said that her husband is a "hard-working guy, a very unique person and there [was] a lot of people who wanted him." The employer most likely saw him as an asset on her farm and therefore agreed to be his green-card sponsor. The couple had, however, not yet received their green-cards by the time of the interview. They were still waiting for the approval of their labour certificate, which means they were relatively early in the immigration process. AEP 6.1 was not employed at the time of the interview, as she was still on an H4 spousal visa. Her inability to work was a key component of her emigration challenges. This theme, along with the five other themes - i.e., emigration reasons, advantages of living in the new country, coping strategies, identity and dialect awareness and change - is discussed next.

[35] See Map 4.3.2 in the Methodology Chapter where couple number 6 is located.

5.6.1. Case study #6: Interview Findings

REASONS FOR EMIGRATION

As to why they decided to emigrate to the United States, this couple had some similar reasons to other subjects, mostly related to crime and politics. AEP 6.1 explained that her perception of South Africa is that it is a racist country, and her experiences related to this topic had led her to resentment toward her country, almost to the degree that she sometimes wanted to disassociate herself from South Africa. AEP 6.2 shared an experience that he had while still in college, when there was a heated uprising about the Afrikaans language in the college. This uprising lead to fighting on campus, and it was an unpleasant experience for him. Both expressed the opinion that these sorts of issues contribute to the level of crime in South Africa. They both are concerned about their safety in South Africa.

i. AEP 6.1: …. It feels like you cannot… on the aeroplane and you are greeted with so much hatred that's how I felt. This is my country and I miss it but then I go back and I'm like even your own people, well not your own people were … I'm just gonna say this straightforward. We live in this really racist world and I'm not a racist but even your own race treats you like really bad in your own country. So, it comes to a point where you just don't feel like you are part of anything anymore. So, for me I don't feel like I should associate myself as South African…

ii. AEP 6.2: Yes… stuff that happened on the college. There was a thing… There was a language barrier thing, between everybody. We were Afrikaans and English mixed college like that and then the other people they wanted to push the Afrikaans out of the whole system and just have English and isiXhosa or Zulu or stuff like that. It was a big thing on the news and everything. They wanted to push that out of there and then there was a whole lot of uprising and stuff at the college, and everybody was just fighting, and it wasn't pleasant, and it didn't cross my mind to move over here but after a while it's like 'shit I can't hang on to our country that's going to nothing'. We are just going down the bad side of the road. We need to go to a different country and so we moved.

iii. AEP 6.2: It's not safe in South Africa anymore.

AEP 6.1 added that it is unsafe to drive in South Africa and that you are constantly filled with fear and anxiety because of the high crime rate.

iv. AEP 6.1: …because you're always in South Africa are stressed and anxious and you are constantly watching over your shoulder. It's unsafe to drive… I remember in South Africa trying to sleep but you can't because you are so anxious and you're so stressed…

v. AEP 6.1: Uhm my parents did jobs where they were out in dangerous areas all the time so that's stressed me out…

In addition to the above reasons, AEP 6.1 said that the failing economy of South Africa was another reason that she wanted to leave South Africa. She said that it is challenging for young adults to create a quality lifestyle in South Africa. She explained that even though her husband had gone to college, he could not secure employment with a sufficient salary. She said that at one point they had a company in South Africa, and in order to keep the company successful they had to work excessively long hours every day to keep the company from failing.

vi. AEP 6.1: …where in South Africa a young couple trying to make a living is almost impossible. I mean I know so many people my age… that you know, work your butt off, but you can't afford your own place, or you basically want to live on your own, but all your money just goes to rent and a little bit of food. You can't have a life you can't go forward…

vii. AEP 6.1: Well firstly, if you just look at the economy, just how people are suffering, how difficult it is to get a job. I mean in South Africa my husband; he couldn't get a job and get a good salary. We had our own company in South Africa, but we decided that it just make sense to stop everything and come this way 'cause we had to work so hard… We both worked full time at the company, and we basically worked 7 days a week for four years straight, without taking a break and it just got to a point where it was like… If this is how it has to go in this country and you can't even take a break, it just doesn't make sense.

ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN AMERICA

Both AEP 6.1 and 6.2 emphasised the safety and sense of security that they now experience in the host community. AEP 6.1 said that she feels that an enormous burden has been lifted because of the fact that crime does not exist to the extent that it does in South Africa. AEP 6.2 said that he enjoys the community, because it is safe and that he experiences a sense of freedom in the host community.

viii. AEP 6.1: The crime is amazing, no crime…once you climb off of the aeroplane, the first thing that you feel is that [a] heavy burden is taken from your shoulders…

ix. AEP 6.1: then coming here… It's like crime doesn't exist… I mean it does but not to the same extent to what we have and experienced.

x. AEP 6.2: I enjoy I because you don't have to even… you are safe over here. You can sleep with your doors open. You can leave your car open. It's just way… [safer] over here than anywhere else. I would think 'cause, the stories that I have heard of different States…

AEP 6.1 said that their livelihood improved since they moved to the host community. She said that even though her husband received the minimum wage, they can go forward and improve their life. AEP 6.2 said that everything is affordable when you live and work in the host community.

xi. AEP 6.1: Economically you can actually go forward in life…

xii. AEP 6.1: …and here you definitely have a higher lifestyle even though you receive the minimum wage. I mean it's not always great. I mean there's a lot of times that I feel like, I wish I can do this, this and this… Then I have to like measure it up and be like if I go back to South Africa, I might not have that…

xiii. AEP 6.2: …everything is way cheaper. It doesn't seem like it some[times]…, but it is actually. If you work this side, it is fairly cheap…

One of the challenges about South Africa that both participants expressed was the challenge of racism and conflict between the people in South Africa. Accordingly, both expressed their pleasant experiences in the host community. AEP 6.1 said that the other individuals in their community support them and have included them as part of the community. AEP 6.2 said that the people in the community are 'amazing'.

xiv. AEP 6.1: Well, the community that we live in… they're such amazing people, if someone is in trouble, everyone jumps in and helps, and they definitely have welcomed [my husband] and myself into the community.

xv. AEP 6.1: …they don't isolate us because we are foreigners. They see us as part of them, and they see who we are, and they want to learn from us. But we also want to learn from them.

xvi. AEP 6.2: … everybody says that the people are not nice, but the people are amazing, really they are nice people. Everywhere you go everyone is smiling, everybody is saying hey it's really nice.

EMIGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT CHALLENGES

The couple expressed their different perspectives on the emigration challenges they had undergone. AEP 6.1 shared many emotional challenges specifically related to her not being able to pursue employment and participate economically in the community and to financially contribute to their marriage. She said that, as a result of this restriction, she felt she lacks a sense of purpose and that it keeps her from being her own person; she confirmed that she is unable to earn her own money and spend it how she pleases.

xvii. AEP 6.1: You are not allowed to work… You're not allowed to do anything and everything you do depends on your husband. And that's just horrible. So, it sort of feels like you are not your own person, you are just here dragging along. And our visa is seen as probably the most not…. the least important visa in the world. I don't know how you feel about it but that's just how I feel. Sometimes I feel… It's not fun. We are not important. That's been hard for me adjusting in that way.

xviii. AEP 6.1: Yeah, cause everything you do now… I wouldn't say ask for permission but it's like sort of the same thing. This is just how I feel. It's not my money, even though my husband feels that way… I feel like that… He works for it, I can't just do whatever I want, not that I would but it just gets… it builds on your frustrations. For example, trying to make your house pretty, you can't just spend money so it's like ok one room per year maybe and that also makes you depressed.

Moreover, AEP 6.1 explained that she is a highly social and adventurous person. She would go on adventures and social activities regularly when she stayed in Brackenfell, Cape Town. She said she longs for the social activities that she used to engage in in the past. The host community is in a rural area, and there are significantly fewer social activities available, compared to the city life that she is used to.

xix. AEP 6.1: So, I come from Cape Town, and Cape Town has a very social vibe about it. I don't mean like party social I just mean like we are very social people. We love talking and doing stuff, where here people are like… "I'll go to town… let's go… do stuff… get food…. Go home.". I miss South Africa in that sense, because we have cafés everywhere and if I just want to sit and chat and have a coffee I can sit for hours and chat you can do that, or there is always something to do, where here I mean it might not be like that in the entire USA but definitely here. There's not a lot to do and it drives me insane.

xx. AEP 6.2: The cons is definitely the social life… you understand when I say that the fact that you can't just go out and do stuff. The distance you have to drive just to do something and that sometimes bothers me. Even though I did grow up in the countryside I lived in the city too long… I got curious and now I am back in the country and now I'm like "urg an hour just to do something and even then, it's like what is there to do?" I know that the rest of America is not the same.

Both AEP 6.1 and 6.2 expressed their longing for their family in South Africa, as well as South African food. AEP 6.1 added that she does not like American food and that she longs for the Cape Town scenery. She said that the North Dakota winters, especially the white and grey scenery of it, are a challenge for her and if she could move out of North Dakota, she would.

xxi. AEP 6.1: I do miss my family. I do miss activities quite a lot… I do miss South African food, I miss hiking, mountains, the ocean, uhm… being able to go and get on my walking shoes and go hike today or I'm going to a wine valley and just drink wine… I do love wine so… *ja* all that South African foods. I don't like foods here in the US as much. I don't like eating out because it all tastes the same. The menus are all the same, there's no diversity it's just…. pancakes and whatever.

xxii. AEP 6.1: I mean the winter… I wouldn't say it's that bad. I mean the cold doesn't bother me but what does get to me is the very white scenery and grey, and makes you depressed… All you see is white and grey and then there's these heaters and to me that is difficult too. Cause I don't like artificial heat. It makes me claustrophobic, so I don't mind the winter but then I don't like it either. I don't know how to explain that. I don't mind it; I'll live with it and deal with it. I wouldn't probably deal with this forever, if I could move out of North Dakota I would.

Similarly, AEP 6.2 expressed his longing for South African food and family. Both also expressed a longing for their own language (i.e., Afrikaans). This illustrates that both miss various aspects of their own culture.

xxiii. AEP 6.1: …it's like you miss your culture you miss speaking your language…

xxiv. AEP 6.2: The food. The people. Family is a big part and everything that's just Afrikaans. That I miss a lot.

xxv. AEP 6.2: I still miss my people.

AEP 6.1 elaborated on her language challenges, especially during her first year of emigration. She explained that speaking mostly English was overwhelming for her. She gave an example of where she felt regularly misunderstood at the church where she volunteers. This incident occurred earlier in the year the interview took place. Thus, even after her first year of emigration, the language had remained a challenge.

xxvi. AEP 6.1: I came to a point uhm… like last year I was so overwhelmed with just speaking English the whole time, and people don't necessarily understand because you think in Afrikaans, but you speak in English and even though English is a home language to me as well it just get overwhelmed because of course Afrikaans is my first language so it's like…. I think that was very hard for me to adjust to…

xxvii. AEP 6.1 This year's 'cause I am so involved in the church and stuff I have found myself frustrated in meetings because people don't understand me… uhm and so I have to not just think in English… well try and speak English while thinking in Afrikaans, I have to also think American English so it is extremely exhausting and I bent myself over backwards, and at one point I said to them it feels like you never ever just try and say okay [she] is trying very hard so let's try as well and say ok you are saying this, we are not understanding you what do you mean instead of just jumping down my throat because they'll do that. They'll assume what I am saying, just because it means this to you doesn't mean that that's what it means to me because we have different definitions of things. So that has definitely taken [its toll] ... It's been hard… But you try and you get knocked down and you just climb back up again and try again.

One final challenge that both participants mentioned was relating to other South Africans in the area. AEP 6.1 said that the South Africans in the area had treated her poorly. She did not elaborate further. AEP 6.2 also mentioned that the South Africans in their area are arrogant and that they do not get along with them.

xxviii. AEP 6.1: So, for me I don't feel like I should associate myself as South African and then you come to US and South Africans treat you bad anyway…

xxix. AEP 6.2: …but South Africans are really arrogant over here. They don't know where the hell they come from if they're over here. They think they are the cat's meow.

Thus, both expressed some similar and some different challenges from each other. AEP 6.1 highlighted and elaborated more about her emotional challenges regarding her adjustment, while AEP 6.2 emphasised the practical challenges he had faced. These challenges reflect the level of identity integration of each participant in this case study. This is discussed shortly.

COPING STRATEGIES

On the one hand, the couple was experiencing various emigration challenges. On the other hand, through similar experiences, they were learning how to mediate these challenges by becoming involved in the community and by learning from their own behavioural mistakes. AEP 6.1 said she had volunteered at a local church and at the time of the interview, she was the head of the youth ministry. She enjoyed this responsibility, since it had provided her with some sense of purpose. She added that being involved in the church gave her an opportunity to build relationships with the children and their parents.

xxx. AEP 6.1: I'm actively involved in the church and in the community and I do everything that I can…. I run the youth as well as the family ministry in our church and I love it. For me that makes my life so much better, but just how people treat me, it's like they want me there.

xxxi. AEP 6.1: …the youth and some of the younger kids that's coming into the youth you build some really great relationships with them but also the parents, because you work with them, and you get them involved so…

AEP 6.1 said that she realised some South Africans have an arrogant attitude toward the American people, and she realised that this attitude does not lead to positive outcomes. She advised any emigrant to have an open and humble attitude toward the host community, and to be willing to learn and embrace new aspects of the host community. In addition, AEP 6.2 explained that South Africans should consider that they are representing South Africa in another country and take this as a serious responsibility.

xxxii. AEP 6.1: But we also want to learn from them. We are not like… "urg we are South Africans, please" cause a lot of South Africans unfortunately have that attitude which I struggle with sometimes. If you embrace them, they'll embrace you and then enjoy that. I love that they always wanna learn they wanna see some of our culture uhm…. But also, do not push it on them… Like if you want to give them some of your South African food, like I've learned that you shouldn't feel offended but they're not necessarily gonna be like woohoo… new food.

xxxiii. AEP 6.1 :… And the thing is… which I have also learned about these Americans is that if you close yourself off uhm, cause you get some South Africans that go "urg these Americans they['re] never nice" then I'm like well you are very rude, you step into a building and you already assume that everyone is like this and you don't wanna learn from them and you [are] always comparing and they get tired so then they don't want to associate with you but if you are open and you open yourself to them you'll see that they just want to pull you in 'cause that's what they are, 'cause they feel you are snobby. They see you as snobby and you see them as snobby and it's just a very messy situation. So, when you come here, just kind of humble yourself and be like "I'm starting from scratch I'm learning something new", it's gonna be hard… there's gonna be a time where I'll feel like urgh these people, but you need to embrace what you are learning otherwise you are gonna be miserable…

xxxiv. AEP 6.2: Don't drag the South African name through the mud. Do not do that. That is not the way to go. Show them and work hard like we are. We are always working hard that's how we grew up as South Africans. Work hard, play hard but look after yourself. You are in a different country, and you are representing South Africa.

She presented the following explanation for the mistakes that she and her husband made during their early phase of immigration. She explained that at first, they would constantly compare everything to South Africa, and then quickly realised that it was tiring; and it had exhausted their American friends as well. She then re-emphasised the importance of embracing the host community and being willing to learn from the host community.

xxxv. AEP 6.1: The first 8 months of being here, [my husband] and I would walk around, and we'll compare everything to South Africa and how it is in South Africa and what it is that South Africans did, and after a while we just got so exhausted and we also realised that we exhausted people around us, our friends, uhm. Then I realised if you are constantly searching for South African here, you are never gonna be happy, 'cause you're always just gonna be "uh no I'm not finding it" because you are never going to find it … come here and know that South Africa isn't here unfortunately. Try and learn from this country. Embrace where you are and learn from their culture. Then you will find happiness, because it is something new and it is something to learn. We sometimes, we don't want to learn something new, we are so stuck in our ways and in our mindset and if we are going to be like that, we are just going to be alone and sad, and you are gonna feel like you have no friends…

Both AEP 6.1 and 6.2 said that they have built quality friendships with Americans. AEP 6.1 said that they try to socialise as often as they can. AEP 6.2 said that they socialise frequently and that they enjoy attending social events such as rodeos.

xxxvi. AEP 6.1: Too much I would say (laughing). We are a small group of 6 and they are Americans, and we are South Africans, but we see each other probably like four-five times a week. When harvest comes it kind of gets slower, but the females will always just…. We'll see each other.

xxxvii. AEP 6.2: Over here more American friendships…A lot… Uhm when there's a thing to do, we go do it like we were at the Ribfest[36] the other day, we go do that, we do rodeo's… We love rodeos.

AEP 6.2 asserted that the overall adjustment was easy for him: he is fairly easy-going with change. His only significant challenge was learning about the farm-related equipment. However, he explained that it is possible to learn the equipment by yourself by using Google and YouTube.

xxxviii. AEP 6.2: It is… For me it is really easy. I adjust easy…

xxxix. AEP 6.2: …the stuff over here isn't that hard to run 'cause everything has GPS. All you need to learn is how to drive it and what to do on it and the boss just needs to leave you alone and you can go on your own and that's how it is. But it is a different thing 'cause I come from Cape Town and that's not… they don't have that size equipment like we have over here but it isn't hard to learn anything. If you don't understand just go Google, YouTube or whatever.

[36] The *Minot Ribfest* where you come to taste barbequed ribs by the best "Ribbers" (i.e., individuals who are considered as skilled in barbequing ribs) in the region. More information can be found on www.minotribfest.com.

It has been highlighted above that socialising, building quality relationships and motivation to learn are all examples of adaptative and active coping strategies (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:379). These active coping strategies help to facilitate the integration process. The next section explores the couple's level of integration.

IDENTITY CHANGES POST-EMIGRATION

It is argued, with support from the evidence provided in this section, that AEP 6.1 and AEP 6.2 are at different levels of identity integration. AEP 6.1 expressed many challenges that reflect her being in the Categorisation phase (i.e., the second phase). During this phase, the emigrant becomes highly aware of the differences between themselves and the host community (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:373). The emigrant will not consider membership in the new group as being part of the self (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:373). AEP 6.1 stated that there is a lot of cultural diversity in South Africa, and that she does not experience the same "exciting" diversity in the host community. Her inability to participate in society by working frustrated her. Both these factors affected her ability to integrate easily.

xl. AEP 6.1: I think that was very hard for me to adjust to… And it's a bit of culture shock, I mean you are used to a lot of diversity and then when you come here people are like I don't know… I don't wanna be rude… they're just not as exciting as South Africans. That's mean… [laughing] I don't mean that rude at all, but it is different and then I…. For me adjusting was hard because I had to leave… I am a career-driven person and uhm… family orientated and then I had to leave all of that and come here and then it's just… you are faced with reality ok… You are not allowed to work… You're not allowed to do anything and everything you do depends on your husband. And that's just horrible.

As previously stated, AEP 6.1 confirmed that she is a very social person. She shared examples of her social activities when she lived in Brackenfell, Cape Town. She then said that it frustrates her that she is unable to have that same level of social life in the host community. She stated that she sometimes feels frustrated to the extent that she wishes that she could go back to South Africa.

xli. AEP 6.1: you never get to do stuff, you never get to go out as a couple or as a family so for me, that sometimes makes me very negative, and I wish I could back to South Africa…

During her interview, she provided many statements that seemed, on the surface, contradictory. On the one hand, she expressed the core frustrations mentioned above and that she sometimes

questions her decision to emigrate. On the other hand, she explained that she questions whether she should even identify herself as South African, because of the negative experiences that she has had with people from South Africa. She admitted that she is adapting, but that it will take time to adjust fully. She said that she is aware that if she does not embrace her new community and its various facets, it's likely that she will have trouble being content and happy in her host community.

xlii. AEP 6.1: I feel like we already feel like this is our country, not 100% 'cause you are still adapting. It's gonna take a while for us to get to the full point. But we try to embrace that this is our new life and I try not to think about my country as who I am anymore, and in a way feel like if you go back to South Africa, like I was there last year for my sister's wedding, you're not really a person in your own country anymore. I don't know…. It feels like you cannot, the aeroplane and you are greeted with so much hatred that's how I felt. This is my country and I miss it but then I go back and I'm like even your own people, well not your own people were … I'm just gonna say this straightforward. We live in this really racist world and I'm not a racist but even your own race treats you like really bad in your own country. So, it comes to a point where you just don't feel like you are part of anything anymore. So, for me I don't feel like I should associate myself as South African and then you come to US and South Africans treat you bad anyway so it's like am I a South African or am I an American? So, for me to say I am American would be easier, but I mean you are never gonna let go of that, you're always gonna have that hope in the back of your mind that… But there's so much disappointment…. Anyways if you're not going to embrace where you are you are never gonna be happy. If you are gonna constantly search for South African America, you're never gonna be happy, 'cause you are not gonna find South Africa here. It's America.

As indicated above, she is involved in the church in their area, and this assists her to cope with the challenges that she is having. The responsibility and respect she has gained in the church community have helped her gain a sense of purpose, as mentioned previously. This involvement and other coping strategies mentioned previously could help facilitate her identity integration, and with time, she could move along in her integration journey.

xliii. AEP 6.1: I mean you are actively involved, and you get a voice in the community, but I do I have a voice there and they care about my opinion, but they do pull me in and ask my opinion. And being part of that makes you feel like you mean something, so you don't feel so worthless, or you don't struggle as much.

AEP 6.2 did not elaborate much when probed on his integration and adjustment. He did explain that he feels 'mixed' between the South African and American identities. He said that he will always be South African, and he intends to teach his children his South African heritage, but also to embrace the American culture.

xliv. AEP 6.2: Mixed (laughing), well there is some of their culture that I like but I'm still South African by heart. And our culture is just one in a million, you can't get a better culture than South African. That's how

I grew up. I would like to teach my children how to be a South African one day. But also, be an American, because you need to respect where you are and where you come… you come from.

He also said that he feels that Americans are similar to South Africans in terms of religion. This shows that he is in the process of establishing interconnections between the two cultural identities.

xlv. AEP 6.2: Uh…. I can't think of anything right now… Maybe a little bit of how we are like how we are Christian-wise, they are…. We are Christians… They are Christians… It's how you praise the Lord, makes the same anywhere you go…

Furthermore, his future plan in the host community is to have his own farm. He does not want to continue in grain farming but move more toward fruit farming. He would like to move to another state in the United States to pursue this goal.

xlvi. AEP 6.2: I want to have my own farm one day. But I don't want to farm with grain, I want to farm with what I know, which is fruit. One day I would like to go to Tennessee, 'cause we were there one day… or North Carolina… Oh my so beautiful. It's like Stellenbosch… Have you ever been? It's beautiful. That's becoming a wine country now, so I would like to go to North Carolina.

These statements, along with the evidence shown of AEP 6.2's open and unruffled attitude, suggest that he is in the Compartmentalisation (i.e., the third phase) of the SIIM. During this phase, the immigrant interacts more in various contexts such as work, church and social events and starts to establish interconnections between the old and the new identity (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:374). It is evident that their degree of engagement on various social levels along with their perception of the host community facilitates and/or inhibits the social integration of each member of this couple.

DIALECT AWARENESS AND DIALECT CHANGE

Both AEP 6.1 and 6.2 expressed their awareness of the differences between their English and American English. Not only did they highlight some differences between the two, but they also had some negative opinions about American English. AEP 6.1 said she perceives American English to be a "lazy English" (without disrespect), because the speakers of the language do not enunciate their words fully. She said that her American friends do understand her when she

enunciates her words, but strangers in the community have trouble understanding her and this leads to frustration and conflict. She provided an example which was discussed among other emigration challenges.

xlvii. AEP 6.1: 'Cause we come from a different English background, we have more of a British English… that is how we were taught in South Africa, and then you come here and there are… I would say a lazy English… I don't mean that with disrespect but definitely a lazier English. Also, they don't enunciate their words and it's very frustrating. When I first came here, they would ask me "well what would you like?" And I'll say like "water" … and they're like "what?" So, I have learned that don't say water say wadaaaa…. If I enunciate people don't understand me so you start to not enunciate, which is terrible, 'cause its such lazy English, but some of my close friends understand when I enunciate, but random people they won't take the time of day to try and understand you…

AEP 6.2 said laughingly that they really need to teach proper English in American schools.

xlviii. AEP 6.2: Uh…. They really need to teach their children how to speak English at school. It's just real[ly] different than, the rest of the world.

Both participants gave examples of different meanings of words and different vocabulary that they had to adjust to. AEP 6.1 said that she repeatedly used the word 'damn' in church and she never knew that it was considered a swear word in the host community. Only after she had used it many times did someone confront her about it. AEP 6.2 explained the various words for meats, such as *sausage* vs. *patties* and *hamburger* vs. *mincemeat*.

xlix. AEP 6.1: The other day I learned that 'damn' is a swear word and I never knew that because we say it in Afrikaans for everything, so I was like saying it in Afrikaans for everything, So I was like "damn, damn, and dammit" in church and this guy is like "aaaahhhh". And I'm like "what what?" And he's like "you are saying a swear word", and I never realised. I'm 27. It has happened so many times where you say something in Afrikaans or South African English even and you say it, and they're like "how dare you say that" and you're like "it doesn't mean what you think it means it means something completely different".

l. AEP 6.2…we call it 'patties', and they call it 'sausage'. Like that doesn't make sense, it doesn't mean the same thing. Or we call it 'mincemeat' and they call it 'hamburger'. Hamburger is a hamburger…. And sausage you put it in your mouth and eat… That's one of the examples…

AEP 6.1 did not state whether or not her dialect has changed, or if she herself has attempted to change it to avoid being misunderstood. She only said that it is exhausting for her to think in Afrikaans and then translate it into the (South African) English dialect that she knows, and then to keep in mind she is speaking to speakers of the American English dialect.

li. AEP 6.1: …well try and speak English while thinking in Afrikaans, I have to also think American English, so it is extremely exhausting, and I bent myself over backwards…

In contrast, AEP 6.2 explained that his American friends had told him during his second year that his accent has changed and that he is speaking more American. He said he was shocked to hear this because he does not want to speak American English.

lii. AEP 6.2: …my second year I think one of my American friends said you are starting to talk different; you are starting you talk more like Americans and that was a little bit of a shock like… why am I sounding like you guys… I'm not even like you guys at all. I speak English not American English. I try to like 'those and them' [37]like stuff like that but it doesn't make sense to me to talk like that. I don't do… It's just different.

Lastly, both related that the constant use of English has influenced their use of Afrikaans negatively. AEP 6.1 said that she is increasingly having trouble typing and spelling in Afrikaans. This is a concern for her, as she intends to teach her future children their heritage language. Similarly, AEP 6.2 expressed that he mixes his Afrikaans with English more frequently.

liii. AEP 6.1: I struggle… I can't even spell anymore when I type. When I talk to my family, they just laugh at me and they're like what are you saying, or I make up my own words... My mom always laughs at me and says, "that's not a word" and I'm like "well now it is" (laughing). But yeah, it's definitely going, it's not good. I get very sad because one day when I wanna have children, we of course want to teach them Afrikaans and I would want to teach them proper Afrikaans, but if I cannot even speak my own language properly anymore, then how am I going to teach that to them and teach them about culture.

liv. AEP 6.2: Yeah, I think I've lost some of my South African words like I can't say a lot of… think more a little bit of more English right now… like I would say *lawyer* instead of '*prokureer'.* There [are] some words that I've lost when I talk too much English.

It is evident from the above discussion that both AEP 6.1 and AEP 6.2 view American English as a negative light. The next section presents the results of whether their dialect has, in fact, changed.

5.6.2. Case study #6: Linguistic Analysis Results

AEP 6.1	Female	LoR: 2 Years	26 years old

The phonetic analysis of AEP 6.1 shows very little evidence of her learning the NAmE dialect. The participant did not have any trouble speaking in English during her interview, but she did

[37] AEP 6.2 is attempting to provide an example of the 'slang' used in the host community. The researcher failed to ask more about the example during the interview.

state that she perceives American English to be a 'lazy English'. This negative perception of the dialect could have contributed to an intentional reluctance to learn features of the dialect. The table below illustrates results pertaining to the potential loss of the SAfE or AfrE TRAP-BATH Split. The results of the casual conversation component show that AEP 6.1 had pronounced only seven of the 30 possibilities with the NAmE [æː] variant. She did not express any awareness about whether her own accent had changed, which indicates that this learning possibly occurred unconsciously. During the reading of the wordlist, she pronounced three of the five possibilities with the NAmE [æː] variant. This could suggest that she is in the process of (perhaps reluctantly) learning and accepting the NAmE [æː] variant as the correct pronunciation.

AEP 6.1 [æː] vs [ɑː] in BATH		
VARIATION	[æː]	[ɑː]
% used in casual speech	23%	77%
Casual Speech Words	chance; last (x2); **ans**wers; ask (x2); **ask**ing	**ask**ed (x2); can't (x15); **last**ed; ex**a**mple; last; **aft**erwards; laugh
% used in wordlist	60%	40%
Words in wordlist	bath; dance; path	ask, laugh

The NAmE *-in* variant was not evident in the casual component, nor was it evident in the wordlist component. There were 100 relevant tokens in the casual-conversation component, and the *-in* variant did not occur in any of the tokens. Furthermore, no instances of *-in* were present during the wordlist reading.

Similar to the results pertaining to the NAmE [æː] variant, AEP 6.1 presented the use of the NAmE intervocalic variant [d] or [ɾ] in only 6 of the 30 possibilities that occurred. During the reading of the wordlist, AEP 6.1 pronounced only one word with the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]. It is important to mention that she pronounced the relevant word, *latter*, twice; first with the voiceless [-t] and then with the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant. This indicates that she was unsure of her pronunciation at first. The evidence again could possibly indicate that she is in the process of beginning to learn the new dialect.

AEP 6.1 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] variant		
VARIATION	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t]
% used in casual speech	20%	80%
Words in casual speech	da**t**ing; la**t**er (x2); ea**t**ing; be**tt**er; sensi**t**ive	opportuni**t**y (x2); reali**t**y (x2); diversi**t**y (x2); exci**t**ing (x2); communi**t**y (x6); sensi**t**ive; ci**t**y; wa**t**er
% used in wordlist	12.5%	87.5%
Words in wordlist	la**tt**er	ge**tt**ing; ci**t**y; o**tt**er; fa**tt**er; wa**t**er; toma**t**o; be**tt**er

Her negative perception of American English could be the main reason for the minimal changes in her dialect. Another reason could be the length-of-residence (LoR). However, her husband, who expressed a similar negative attitude toward American English, was living and working in the host community for two years longer and his results indicate even less evidence of learning the NAmE dialect.

AEP 6.2	Male	LoR: 4 years	25 years old

AEP 6.2 had been in the host community for 4 years at the time of the interview. During the first year, he went back to South Africa after his seasonal contract had expired. Afterwards, he had been in the host community for three years consecutively. As discussed previously, AEP 6.2 stated that he did not want to learn American English and that he speaks *his* English. The results pertaining to the TRAP-BATH split show little loss of this variant. During the casual conversation component, there were a total of 10 possibilities counted, and none of these possibilities illustrated the use of the NAmE [æː] variant. He used the SAfE or AfrE [ɑː] vowel in all tokens. During the reading of the wordlist, the participant pronounced only one token, specifically *path*, with the NAmE [æː] variant. This word was repeated twice during reading as if the participant had trouble reading it. The results thus show little to no evidence of dialect learning with respect to this variant.

AEP 6.2 [æː] vs. [ɑː] in BATH		
VARIATION	[æː]	[ɑː]
% used in casual speech	0%	100%
casual speech Words		b**a**th; **a**sked; c**a**n't; **a**fter; ex**a**mple (x2)
% used in wordlist	20%	80%
Words in wordlist	p**a**th	b**a**th; l**au**gh; d**a**nce; **a**sk

AEP 6.2 did not show any use of the NAmE *-in* variant during the casual component, nor during the reading of the wordlist.

The researcher counted only four possibilities for voiceless [-t] vs intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variance during the casual conversation component. Of these four possibilities, two were pronounced with the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]. The possibilities are quite low, because AEP 6.2's interview was only 19 mins long and as mentioned previously, when asked questions, he only replied with short answers and did not elaborate much during the interview. During the reading of the wordlist, the participant pronounced four of the eight possibilities with the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant. This would suggest that he is in the process of adopting this variant as the 'correct' pronunciation. The table below illustrated the results pertaining to this variable.

AEP 6.2 [t]; [d] or flapped [ɾ] variant		
VARIATION	Voiced [d] or [ɾ]	Voiceless [t]
% used in casual speech	50%	50%
Words in casual speech	be**tt**er; pre**tt**y	be**tt**er; pa**tt**ies
% used in wordlist	50%	50%
Words in wordlist	be**tt**er, ci**t**y, toma**t**o, ge**tt**ing	wa**t**er, la**tt**er, o**tt**er, fa**tt**er

There were no other notations made for the couple during the analysis of the interview component. Overall, dialect learning seems to be influenced by the motivation and attitudes of this couple. AEP 6.1's level of integration (the second level) reflects her level of dialect learning.

However, AEP 6.2's level of integration does not. He shows indication of being in the third level (i.e., the Compartmentalisation phase) but does not show significant dialect learning. These results suggest that dialect learning might not necessarily be a facilitator of identity integration, nor is identity integration necessarily a factor in dialect learning.

Summary

This chapter was divided into six sections or six sociolinguistic profiles (i.e., case studies). Each sociolinguistic profile is dedicated to a couple. Each section briefly introduced each couple, whereafter the interview findings were provided with the main themes constructed from the data; reasons for emigration, advantages of living in America, emigration and adjustment struggles, advantages of living in America, emigration and adjustment struggles, coping strategies, identity changes post-emigration and dialect awareness and change. Each section ended with the results of the quantitative analysis of each couple, more specifically, the extent of dialect change of each couple was presented in tables and discussed accordingly. A full interpretation of the results and findings with regard to case studies one through six, is provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Interpretation of Case-Study Results, Conclusion, Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Previous studies on SDA in children, specifically as discussed in Chapter 2 (Payne, 1980; Chambers, 1992; and Tagliamonte and Molfenter, 2007), showed that children can easily learn a second dialect, but then high inter-speaker variation occurs in terms of the level of learning. Furthermore, the factors that facilitate such learning have not clearly been established. Extensive SDA research in adults is lacking, specifically in the case of learning a second dialect of a second language. The few research studies that do exist, such as Munro *et al.* (1999), Foreman (2003) and Sprowls (2014), show that adults are often capable of effectively learning a second dialect of their first language. However, as highlighted previously, this study focuses on the learning of a second dialect (i.e. NAmE) of a *second* language (i.e. the already established D1 referred to as SAfE-based AfrE). The PhD thesis conducted by Howie (2018) relates to this topic, as it explored the dialect changes of South Africans who relocated to New Zealand and found self-identity to be a major driving factor behind the dialect changes that were present. This dissertation is, in turn, focused on exploring the dialect-learning process of AfrE South Africans who have emigrated to the United States, North Dakota as part of their identity-integration journey. Furthermore, it considers the influence of social variables such as motivation, age, gender and length-of-residence (LoR) on dialect learning and identity integration. It conducted a much smaller but more in-depth study of the relevant emigrants than Howie (2018). Thus, the results ultimately display the complexities of identity integration and dialect change post- emigration. The interpretation in this chapter commences with the theme of identity integration in order to provide a meaningful context for the linguistic findings.

6.1. Identity Integration of South African Emigrants to North Dakota

In Chapter 2, section 3.1 it was shown that SLA can be explained in terms of social-cultural theory (Ellis, 2015:31). This theory claims that the learning of another language occurs "in- flight": it is a spontaneous kind of learning that occurs within social interaction (Ellis, 2015:31).

Moreover, language development occurs when the learner internalises the new language, and with that internalisation, self-regulation is achieved (Ellis, 2015:31). To recap, self-regulation refers to the ability of an individual to monitor their own learning processes and to change their learning strategies as the learning progresses or develops. Furthermore, it involves the ability to control one's own attitude and motivational state and to engage in "critical self-reflection of one's own actions and belief systems" (Ellis, 2015:351).

Social-cultural theory is certainly relevant in the context of this study, since the learning of the second dialect in all cases took place 'in-flight', or in a naturalistic context (Siegal, 2010:4). This does not, however, mean that the learning of the second dialect occurred without effort; it was clear that in many cases there was, on the contrary, an effortful task of integration into a new country and thus, in some cases, a deliberate effort to 'sound more like' members of the host community. To explain this development or self-regulation - in the context of emigration – as highlighted by social-cultural theory, this dissertation makes explicit use of the SIIM as outlined by Amiot *et al.* (2007).

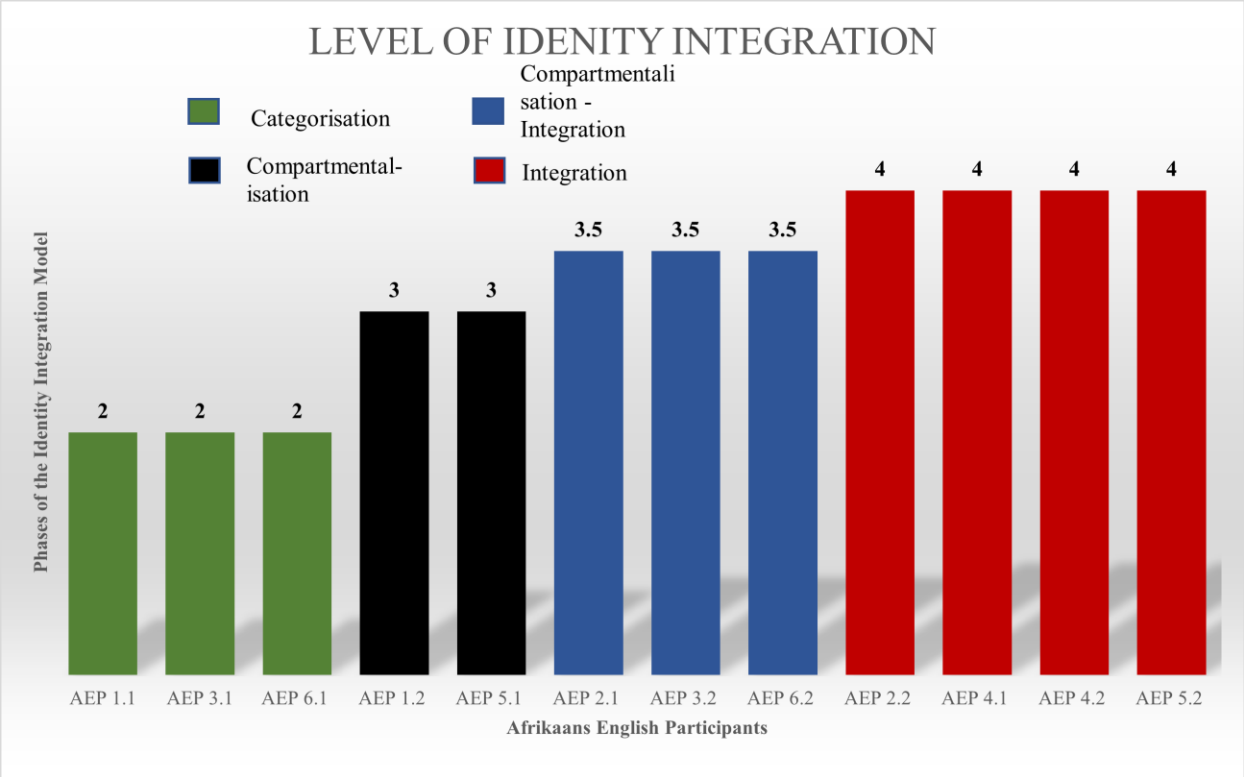
Before we move to the SIIM, however, there is a need to briefly re-address Social Identity Theory (SIT)[38] and its relation to this context. A person's social identity is the part of an individual's self-image that is based on the characteristics and attitude of the social group or groups to which an individual belongs (Siegel, 2010:106). SIT aims to explain how individuals create and define their place in society by means of three processes, namely: social categorisation, social comparison and social identification (Ellemers, 2020). These processes can be situated within the four phases of the SIIM. Overall, these processes contribute to the understanding of what happens during these phases of identity integration and within the context of a major social change such as emigration, where many social changes take place all at once. The social identities of emigrants change and develop as they are exposed to the host community, and then eventually when successful integration is achieved (Amiot *et al.*, 2007:365).

Most emigrants strive to adapt and adjust to their host community, and each emigrant's experience and integration process is unique to them. The SIIM will be used to show the

[38] This was discussed in detail in Chapter 2, section 2.1.

commonalities that are relevant to all individuals in the context of many social changes; but in this case it will also be used to specifically understand the processes of adjustment in an emigration context. Keep in mind that the stages of the SIIM are not distinct, nor entirely stable, which essentially means that an individual can be 'in' two or more stages, or can even move back and forth between stages depending on other small social changes taking place, such as positive or negative experiences in the host community (Barkhuizen, 2020:11). As highlighted previously, for the emigrant to achieve some sort of acceptance or integration, they should successfully adjust to multiple changes and successfully integrate their identity into the new host community. This is possible, but not without challenges. The development and internalisation processes[39], especially in the context of emigration, are perceived, in all six case studies in this dissertation, to take immense physical, mental and emotional effort. The following column graph, Graph 6.1.1, shows the level of integration relevant to each participant. The graph is used as a point of reference for the discussion and interpretation that follows it.

[39] These terms are used to refer to the psychological processes mentioned earlier, specifically self-regulation (Ellis, 2015), social categorisation, social comparison, and social identification (Ellemers, 2020.; Norton, 2000). These processes were discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.1 and 2.4.



Graph 6.1.1: Level of identity integration of white SA emigrants to North Dakota

The following few sections will, in effect, interpret the QUAL findings (see Chapter 4, section 4.5) in terms of the four phases of the SIIM.

1. Phase 1: Anticipatory Categorisation - and reasons for emigration

The first phase takes effect before the actual change has taken place. It comes into effect as soon as an individual anticipates that a change is going to take place, in other words even before the actual move to another country has occurred (Amiot *et al.*, 2007:372). During this stage, the individuals start to visualise or speculate about how they will live and interact in their new community (Amiot *et al.* 2007:372). In all six of the case studies, none of the participants were asked about their expectations of the host community, given that all were interviewed at least a year after the actual move had taken place. Thus, the subjects of this study were all past the Anticipatory Categorisation phase at the time the interviews were conducted.

Even though the participants were all past the Anticipatory Categorisation phase, the interviews did reveal some factors that could relate to this phase of emigration. These are the reasons given as to why the participants decided to emigrate. It is safe to assume that before an individual decides to move to another country he or she contemplates why the change is necessary for him or her. During the interviews the participants were asked why they decided to emigrate, and the following reasons were provided: First of all, the participants all highlighted and elaborated on the high crime-rate and lack of safety in South Africa, which contributed to their decision to emigrate. All of the participants expressed their frustration with living in fear and anxiety in South Africa, constantly anticipating when something tragic would happen. Secondly, the failing economy of South Africa was of high concern to all. Most, if not all of them, expressed a perception that South Africa has a lack of opportunities for themselves and their current or future children. Case study #4's participants highlighted that it had become increasingly difficult for young adults to build a quality life for themselves in South Africa. A different factor highlighted by the participants of Case study #6 was their concern with racism and in some cases discrimination from their own culture group in South Africa. Both AEP 6.1 and 6.2 stressed that their experiences related to racism and discrimination while pursuing higher education. These findings relating to reasons for emigration are similar to the findings in Howie (2018:227-233), more specifically under his themes of safety, opportunity and discrimination, politics and economy. While the participants in North Dakota did not elaborate much on politics in this investigation, one of the participants did express nostalgic feelings toward the 'old South Africa' when the researcher probed. This is discussed later under section 6.1.4, phase 4 (i.e., Integration) in this chapter.

2. Phase 2: Categorisation – advantages and challenges post-emigration

During this phase the individual is confronted with the consequences of his or her actual move to the host community. The emigrants become highly aware of the differences between themselves and their old community in South Africa, on the one hand, and their host community and its members on the other (Amiot *et al.*, 2007:373). The integration process is only beginning, and the emigrant will not consider the host community's characteristics as part of the self (Amiot *et*

al., 2007:373). The reason is that the emigrant still predominantly identifies with his or her own culture, and the emigrant still has a lack of knowledge of the host community (Amiot *et al.*, 2007:373). As highlighted previously, one process identified by SIT is social categorisation. This process is concerned with how the individual perceives him or herself as part of various social categories (Ellemers, 2020). This process relates to this phase of the SIIM as it speaks to the increased awareness of differences between the social identities of oneself and members of the host community. To illustrate this increased awareness, the participants expressed various advantages and challenges of living in the host community, which in some instances revealed their perceptions of cultural and behavioural differences between themselves (i.e., South Africans) and Americans. These perceptions can be divided into two categories, namely (i) cultural and identity integration challenges and (ii) practical advantages and challenges.

2.1. Cultural and identity integration challenges

The participants expressed various personal challenges, some of which were unique to each participant, while some were shared across participants. All of the participants expressed a longing for their family and friends back in South Africa. The participants in Case studies #2, #3 and #6 added that they long for other aspects of South Africa such as food and scenery. The women in Case studies #4 and #6 were the only participants who expressed a longing for the Afrikaans language and the South African, culture more broadly. These findings correspond to some of the findings in Howie (2018). Howie (2018:248 & 253) also highlighted several themes as "consequences" of moving, and two of these consequences were a "loss of family" and a "loss of roots". The latter refers to a general feeling of loss of culture, language or history, while the former refers to participants who expressed concern about missing their family post-relocation to New Zealand (Howie, 2018: 248 & 253).

AEP 5.2 was the only male who elaborated on another personal challenge. He explained that he dealt with immense grief when his employer passed away from cancer. This was emotionally and mentally challenging for him. The women in case studies #1, #2, #5 and #6 were the ones who expressed other personal challenges. All the women in these four case studies said that sometime

after the "vacation phase" post-emigration they started to feel lonely and isolated[40] in their host community. AEP 1.1 said that she has yet to find a sense of meaning and purpose in the host community, mainly because she is unable to work because of her immigration status. AEP 2.1 said that she sometimes felt like an outsider in the community as a result of negative experiences in the host community. For example, she shared the fact that the employer's wife treats her as if she is of a "lower status" and that her teenage daughter has been bullied by other teenagers in school. This contributed to the emotional and mental challenges she faced. AEP 5.1 said that she became pregnant with her first child shortly after they started with their green-card process. This increased her loneliness, which in turn increased the emotional and mental challenges she faced, as she was dealing with her first pregnancy as well. AEP 6.1 said that she has a sombre and negative attitude toward the host community, because she perceives it to be mentally unstimulating because of its lack of diversity. She said that while she is a socially active and outdoors person, the host community (i.e., the rural area where she lives in and around Antler,
North Dakota)[41] does not have many activities for her to engage in. She was also unable to participate economically in the host community, because she was still waiting for her employment authorisation at the time of the interview. This contributed to her frustrations, as she explained that she is a career-driven person.

2.2. Practical advantages and challenges

All the participants across all six case studies highlighted the newfound sense of safety and security that they experience in the host community. All of the participants expressed that they have less fear and anxiety about the safety of their current and future children. Every participant also expressed, in some way, that the host community provides ample opportunities for them and their current and future children. The participants all confirmed that they have an improved quality of life in the host community. The participants of case studies #3, #4 and #6 elaborated on this aspect by stating that even though they receive a low to average income, they are still able to

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[40]Similarly, the findings in the study conducted by Howie (2018:255) revealed that some of the participants experienced a sense of isolation and displacement during their search for their place in the new host community.

[41] See map 4.3.2 in Chapter 4, section 4.3.

live a better life compared to what would be possible if they received a low to average income in South Africa. AEP 2.2 added that another advantage for him was that the government in the host community used the finances derived from tax to improve the community. He said that he pays his taxes with a contented heart, because he can see the improvements being made in the host community, whereas in South Africa it is often unclear how exactly tax revenue is being used by the government. Both participants of case study #3 mentioned that government services are better than in South Africa. The postal services in the host community run safely and successfully and were highlighted as an example of improved government services.

There are several practical challenges highlighted by the participants in the case studies. The participants of case studies #1, #3 and #4 highlighted challenges such as buying groceries in the new community, banking in the new community and dealing with the climate of North Dakota. AEP 3.2 and 4.1 shared challenges they had had with understanding medical insurance and dealing with medical expenses; however, both said that these challenges were easily mediated by gaining knowledge about the subject.

Participants of case studies #1, #2, #4 and #5 all highlighted the practical challenges related to the emigration process. AEP 1.1 complained that the green-card process is a long and tedious one, and it is "physically, emotionally and financially challenging". AEP 1.2 also complained that the "[e]migration process itself is hard." The participants in Case study #2 both explained that the green-card process is financially challenging for them. AEP 4.2 shared the challenges he had had with his first employer, which speaks to the challenge of finding the right employer who is willing to be a green-card sponsor. AEP 5.1 and 5.2 both expressed challenges relating to the documentation required for the green-card process. They experienced delays when waiting for documents from South Africa, and this was emotionally and mentally challenging for both participants in Case study #5. Furthermore, AEP 5.2 explained that the process was financially challenging for him as well, because he was unaware that he had to pay taxes while being a seasonal worker, and as a result, he was "back-taxed" for several years of work in the host community. Ultimately, he described the process as a headache.

Many of the advantages and/or challenges highlighted could also be interpreted as part of phase one of the identity integration process (see the previous section) i.e., as linked to the intended emigrant pondering whether the decision to emigrate is prudent. However, many of these advantages and challenges could not have been known before the participants moved and thus these factors relate more to a heightened awareness of differences between the original and the host community, characteristic of the second phase of the SIIM.

2.3. Characteristics of participants in the second phase

Notice, as shown in Graph 6.1.1, that the women who expressed most of the integration challenges discussed in 6.1.2.1, specifically AEP 1.1 and 6.1, are still in the second phase of the SIIM. AEP 3.1 is also in the second phase of the SIIM, but not due to facing immense integration challenges, but because of a lack of knowledge of the host community, discussed shortly. AEP 1.1 and 6.1 not only shared their integration challenges, but also showed relatively negative attitudes toward the host community. While perceived advantages can act as facilitators of integration, it is evident that post-emigration adjustment challenges, along with a negative attitude toward the host community[42], can inhibit the identity-integration process. This seems to have been the case for AEP 1.1 and 6.1. It therefore seems clear that these participants are in the Categorisation phase of the SIIM. AEP 1.1 highlighted several points that reflect her negative attitude toward the host community, specifically North Dakota. She confirmed that she identifies predominantly as South African, and she is "only enjoying what Americans have to offer… and [she] will never be like them". She views her South African culture in a much more positive light. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, AEP 6.1 views the host community (specifically where she lives) ultimately as unstimulating. Her inability to work at the time of the interview

[42] This relates to more general factors that could inhibit the identity integration process, specifically status and power asymmetries which refer to the role that intergroup structure plays and whether one culture or group is dominant over another in the host community (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:378). An example of this would be when an individual feels there is inequality and high differentiation of their own culture vis-à-vis that of the new host community. However, when groups share similar power and status, this will facilitate the integration process (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.2). As is explained in detail in case study #1 and #6, both these female participants perceive a substantial difference between their own culture and the culture in the host community, facilitating a negative perception about the host community, which, in turn, inhibits the identity integration process.

because of her immigration status contributed to her frustrations. These mental and emotional challenges often cause doubts about whether she made the right decision to immigrate. She is evidently in the early stages of engagement with the community: She stated at the time of the interview that she had *recently* started volunteering and helping at the church in their community. AEP 3.1 is also in the Categorisation phase, but this is due to the fact that she still lacked knowledge about the host community. She confirmed that she feels separated and isolated from the American community, and she acknowledged that it will "take a few more years" in the host community for her to feel more integrated. AEP 3.1's statements indicated, however, that while she is only early in her immigration process, with more time "[she will] eventually see [herself] as American".

All three of these women adopted different coping strategies. AEP 1.1, for one, adopted self-care coping strategies, specifically taking long baths, prayer and exercise. While not completely denying their effectiveness, when compared to the participants who have moved along in their integration (discussed next), it seems that self-care strategies alone are likely to delay the integration process. Self-care strategies can therefore be an example of avoidance coping strategies, which are types of coping strategy that delay the integration process (Amiot *et al.*, 2007:380). Ultimately, the most effective coping strategies, as seen with the participants who are in phases three and four, are engaging in the community by volunteering or working, building relationships, and being willing to learn about the community. These active coping strategies, create positive associations about the host community and facilitate integration. Females AEP 3.1 and 6.1 have adopted or are in the process of adopting all three of these active coping strategies and it can be assumed that in time they will move along in their integration process. The following section provides more details about these various coping strategies as part of the third phase of the SIIM.

3. Phase 3: Compartmentalisation - coping strategies needed for integration

During this phase, the emigrant increasingly engages and interacts with the new host community;in various contexts such as work, stores, church and so forth. Through these

increased interactions the emigrant starts to identify with groups or identity/ies related to the host community (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:374). Essentially, the emigrant starts to relate him- or herself to new groups, all of which clearly links to the social comparison process of the SIT as well (see Chapter 2, section 2.1). The emigrant now starts to attach value to the new groups he or she identifies with, creating a sense of establishing both in-group and out-group connections (Ellemers, 2020). In the context of this study, the emigrants already have an established cultural identity linked to South Africa, a shared history and a common language (Norton, 1997:420). Thus, in this context, while many of the South African emigrants have established links connecting themselves to their own culture and the social identities of their old community, their interaction in the new community increases the chances of the South African emigrant now establishing new social identities and potentially a new cultural identity as they integrate into the new culture. This can obviously have linguistic consequences as well.

For the emigrants to establish interconnections and relate themselves to new (host) groups and identities, they need to increase their interactions and involvement in the host community. This involvement becomes one of the key active coping strategies that facilitate integration. As discussed before, coping strategies are utilised by individuals to meet the demands of their changing environment (Amiot *et al.*, 2007:379). In this context, immigration is the changing environment. Within the context of immigration, two types of strategies are used by immigrants: active coping and avoidance coping strategies. Active coping facilitates integration and leads to positive feelings about the new cultural group, whereas avoidance strategies (such as self-care rituals, highlighted earlier) lead to negative feelings and delay the integration process (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:380). Throughout the case studies, participants highlighted various active coping strategies that assisted them in mediating the change and the challenges that came with their decision to move to North Dakota. These active coping strategies are interpreted as part of phase three, because this is where integration really commences. Incorporating active coping strategies facilitates eventual successful Integration (i.e., phase 4). The following discussion provides a summary of the coping strategies adopted by the emigrants in this study.

The participants in case studies #3, #4, #5 and #6 all shared some similar active coping strategies. One of these active coping strategies was the establishment of quality relationships with members of the host community. AEP 3.1 and 3.2 confirmed that they both have created quality relationships with individuals in their church. AEP 4.1 and 4.2 explained that they are both socially active and that they have made several friends in the host community with whom they socialise on a regular basis. Similarly, AEP 5.1 and 5.2 have made friends with whom they socialise regularly. Finally, AEP 6.1 and 6.2 explained that the church they recently started attending, helped them to make friends with whom they now socialise often. Another related active coping strategy shared by these participants is being actively involved in the host community in some manner. AEP 3.2 serves as a lead pastor in his church and his wife regularly assists the church with organising events. AEP 4.1 and 4.2 both confirmed that they are actively involved in the host community. AEP 4.1 works on a farm, and she is part of the community club in their town. Her husband, AEP 4.2, also works and he volunteers at the fire station in their town. The participants of case study #5 shared that involvement in their work-related responsibilities is an active coping strategy for both of them. AEP 5.1 said that working on the farm and learning how to run the equipment eased her adjustment process. At the time of the interview, she had recently accepted a position at the day care in their town and she was in the process of furthering her education. AEP 5.2 said that he enjoys farm work and working long hours, and being interactive with other farmers keeps his mind positive.

Another important active coping strategy that is seemingly crucial to the achievement of successful integration in the host community is an open and embracing attitude toward the host community[43]. AEP 2.2 of case study #2 said that, for him, adjustment and integration is highly dependent on one's attitude. AEP 2.1 and 2.2 displayed a positive attitude toward their small- town communities. Both agreed that they are not socially active individuals, and that is exactly why they love the slow pace, small-town community life. For them, interestingly enough, being alone and taking the time to adjust seemed to have led them to establish positive associations

[43] These findings agree with that of Howie (2018:315), who found that the participants who had positive attitudes toward New Zealand showed a change in their identity *toward* New Zealand.

with their host community. Thus, both displayed an open and positive attitude, even though they faced several practical and personal challenges.

The participants of case study #3 displayed an open and embracing attitude toward the host community. AEP 3.1 explained that she decided to learn more about the history of the host community and AEP 3.2 finds that the adjustment process "went much better than [he] thought". Furthermore, AEP 3.2 perceives the culture as "not much different than [his] own". The couple in case study #4 explained that they regularly order South African food items to cope with their longing for South African food, and they both displayed an open and positive attitude toward their host community as well as toward the challenges that they faced. Furthermore, both members of case study #5 illustrated an open and embracing attitude toward the host community and their post-emigration challenges. AEP 5.2 said that he was motivated to teach himself how to prepare any South African dish that he might long for, which shows his willingness to learn to try and 'solve' practical challenges they faced. Lastly, the participants of case study #6 said that it is important to have an open and positive attitude toward the host community. They stressed that it is important to be willing to learn and embrace new aspects of the host community. AEP 6.1 said that they used to compare everything to South Africa, but that this is something that they are attempting to quit doing. These various core active coping strategies, as highlighted above, are important facilitators in integration as explained in the next section as well as in the section thereafter.

3.1. Characteristics of participants in the third phase

Graph 6.1.1 shows that AEP 1.2 and 5.1 are in the Compartmentalisation phase of the SIIM. AEP 1.2 displayed a positive attitude toward the host community. He highlighted many advantages of the host community, whereas his wife highlighted most of the challenges in the host community. He said that he views himself as "pretty integrated", but added that "I'll always be South African and then maybe later a South African American". He explained that his South African identity will always be important to him. This evidence shows that the identities are still separate and context-dependent. Unfortunately, AEP 1.2 did not elaborate much on his coping strategies, apart from engaging in his hobbies and illustrating a more open positive attitude toward the host

community compared to his wife. AEP 5.1 considers herself part of the host community, but she is still exploring and finding her place in various contexts. She explained that when she sits around the bonfire with other South Africans, it feels like a moment of "home". This shows that her identities are still context-dependent. Her active coping strategies of interacting in the community by volunteering in the community club and working led to the establishment of quality relationships with members of the host community. Furthermore, she is willing and open to learning about the practicalities of living in the host community, but acknowledges that this will take time.

Graph 6.1.1 illustrates that AEP 2.1, 3.2 and 6.2 are categorised as being in-between phases three (i.e. Compartmentalisation) and four (i.e. Integration). The reason is that there was not enough evidence to confidently claim that they have reached the Integration phase, but enough to substantiate that they are on their way to successful integration. AEP 2.1 said that she will always be a South African American, not ever only American. She explained that she will always be different from the Americans, but she would nonetheless like to apply for citizenship in the future. She acknowledged that while, in time, the host community would feel more like home, at the time she still occasionally felt lonely in the community. AEP 3.2 also displayed a positive attitude toward the adjustment challenges by stating that he had adjusted better than he had anticipated. He perceived the South African and American cultures to not be that different from each other, especially when he interacts with members of his church. These cognitive links illustrate that he is on his way to Integration. He did not stipulate how he perceives himself in the host community in terms of being both South African and American, but he did acknowledge that he would have difficulty in adjusting to living in South Africa again. He intends to maintain his South African heritage *and* plans to embrace the new community in "certain ways". His adoption of active coping strategies (openness to learning, engaging in the community, establishing quality relationships and a positive attitude) have all led to positive associations with the host community which could facilitate his integration further, with time. AEP 6.2 did not elaborate much on his identity. He only said that he does feel "mixed" between South African and American identities. He highlighted that Americans are similar to South Africans in terms of religion. This shows that he is starting to establish links between the old and the new identities,

and is, hence, on his way to the Integration Phase. AEP 6.2's interview revealed that he has established quality relationships and displays a positive attitude toward the host community, all of which should further facilitate his integration.

4. Phase 4: Integration – identity change

During this phase, the context-dependent identities that were created in phase three, become more integrated and important to one's sense of who one is – the identities become simultaneously important (Amiot *et al.*, 2007:375). The "multiple social identities can now contribute to the overall self-concept in a distinctly positive manner" (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:375). The social identification process of SIT is of particular relevance to this phase, as it refers to how the emigrant relates to others and the groups around them (Ellemers, 2020). During this phase, the identities that were separate in phase three are now linked and equally important to the emigrants' sense of who they are. There are two cognitive strategies utilised in this phase: (1) acculturation orientation and (2) bicultural identity integration. These strategies are essentially similar, in that they both assist the immigrant to be competent in two or more cultures without losing their own cultural identity or choosing one over the other (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:376). Ultimately the emigrant develops a non-conflicting type of hybrid identity, for example, a South African American identity. Before we move on to discuss the characteristics of the participants who have achieved successful integration, it is important to account in this subsection for the influences of an already established cultural identity on identity integration especially in the context of emigration.

4.1. The role of an already established cultural identity post-emigration

It was highlighted in Chapter 3, section 3.1, that some Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans had for a long time distinguished themselves as "Afrikaners" - an identity that was generally formed on a common history, shared religion, shared Afrikaans language, and a white ethnicity (Louw, 2004; Cloete, 1992; Zegege *et al.,* 2000). It was also mentioned that this identity has been declining since the abolishment of Apartheid in 1994 (Davies, 2009). The decline of the status of the Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaans language has proven to be one of the main

reasons why many white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans left the country post-1994 (Van der Waal, 2015). Many Afrikaans-speaking South Africans have come to view identity as a personal choice and, as a result, have chosen to distance themselves from the Afrikaner identity of the past (Davies, 2009:72). It seemed that this finding is relevant to the context of this study in two ways: None of the participants described themselves as an "Afrikaner", but referred to their previous or "old" identity as generally "South African" and, secondly, some participants mentioned that they feel conflicted in characterising themselves as South African[44] because of negative experiences in the country of South Africa, some related to Apartheid (pre-1994) and some to the post- Apartheid era.

To illustrate with the most explicit examples: AEP 1.2 said that he does not consider himself as a "real Boer South African…" and he does not consider himself as a "very patriotic South African", but he knows he is, nonetheless, "South African". This shows that there is a distinction between the identity of Afrikaner and being a South African generally; this participant identifies himself as "being South African and maybe later South African American". AEP 2.2 said that he will "keep [his] South African identity", because that is "where [he] come[s] from" while "embracing the [American] community in certain ways". AEP 5.1 said that the host community is friendly and welcoming toward her, and that this was not her "experience [in] South Africa". This shows that she has developed negative connotations associated with South Africa because of negative experiences which could have led to her distancing herself from her old identity and allowing herself to integrate more easily into the new community. However, she still enjoys aspects of her South African identity, such as sitting around the bonfire and visiting with other South Africans. AEP 5.2 simply stated that he is a "South African in America", and even though he acknowledged that South African culture will always be part of him, he will "not go live in South Africa [again]." AEP 6.1 said that because of the racism and unpleasant experiences of her South African past, she sometimes doubted if she should think of herself as a South African. She stated that:

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[44] Keep in mind the participants are all white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, even though they only referred to themselves as 'South African'.

> "[w]e live in a really racist world and I'm not a racist but even your own race treats you really bad in your own country. So, it comes to a point where you don't feel like you are part of something anymore."

This shows that AEP 6.1 is distancing herself from her South African identity and that she especially does not identify with the pre-Apartheid Afrikaner identity. Furthermore, it shows that she is experiencing a sense of identity dislocation because of the negative associations with being South African[45].

Similarly, it seemed that AEP 2.2 has distanced himself from South Africa, because of the loss of the general pre-1994 "Afrikaner" identity[46]. He mentioned that he has the "old South African flag" (which shows he still identifies with that identity) together with the American flag under it. He has developed negative connotations toward the new South Africa, especially since crime has increased so drastically post-1994 (Howie, 2018:232). In addition, AEP 4.1 and 4.2 had an "old South African" flag[47] merged into an American flag on the wall of their dining area. These participants did not mention anything explicitly about the pre-Apartheid "Afrikaner" identity. AEP 4.1 only stated that her heritage is highly important to her, especially Afrikaans music, South African foods and her Afrikaans language. AEP 4.2 did not elaborate on his South African identity apart from longing for South African food and his family. He mentioned that he is increasingly integrating into and accepting the American way of life. Regardless, the flag remains as a strong signal of the "Afrikaner" identity as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.1.

The above discussion has shown that while some of the participants have stayed close to perceived positive aspects of their already-established cultural identity, others highlighted the negative aspects of this identity. Nonetheless, the negative and the positive aspects can both help to facilitate integration into a new community.

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[45] This adds to the findings by Louw (2004:51) and Barkhuizen (2004:106) who found that the participants in his study had experienced a sense of loss and identity dislocation because of other negative experiences, specifically the decline of the Afrikaans language and the Afrikaner identity.

[46] This relates to footnote 8.

[47] See Figure 5.4.1 in Chapter 5, case study 4.

4.2. Characteristics of participants in phase four (Integration)

As will become quite evident in what follows, it appears that successful integration occurs when emigrants choose to stay close to the positive aspects of their old identity, because positive aspects of one's previous identity are essential to establishing positive connections between the "old" and the new cultural identity during the Integration phase. Along with holding the positive aspects of one's already established cultural identity, one needs to utilise active coping strategies, such as adopting a positive and open attitude toward the host community, and also choose to participate in and add value to the new community - through volunteering or working; and then finally be open to identifying aspects where the identities could overlap, which leads to the formation of a hybrid identity. These are all characteristics of the participants who have achieved successful integration.

The participants who have reached integration acknowledged that identity is a personal choice, and that being open to embracing a new culture and a new "home" leads to adjusting to and integrating successfully in a new country. Figure 6.1.1 shows that AEP 2.2, 4.1, 4.2 and 5.2 have achieved successful integration. AEP 2.2, as previously discussed, has distanced himself from the new South Africa (post-1994) because everything "changed so drastically and so bad". However, he said that the host community reminds him of the old South Africa, specifically during the Apartheid era when, according to him it was still safe for children to "ride their bikes". In addition, as mentioned before, he has the "old South African [Union] flag" – which represents the Apartheid era (Mettler, 2019) - on his vehicle under his American flag. This means that he has found similarities between his previous identity - in this case seemingly the Afrikaner identity – and his American identity. It seems that he is clinging to the positive aspects of his Afrikaner identity, but for the most part he is accepting and embracing the American identity. He said that he identifies himself as "American middle-class". Regardless of the label, it is evident that he has established similarities between the old and the new, still holding on to the old and embracing the new; he has clearly integrated successfully. His open and positive view of the host community as an active coping strategy is facilitating the integration process.

The couple of case study #4 have also both achieved successful integration. Both AEP 4.1 and 4.2 confirmed that they feel "at home" in their host community, especially due to the relationships that they have built. Furthermore, they still retain positive aspects of their old identity[48], such as an appreciation for the Afrikaans language, music and South African food. This shows that both identities have become important to them. AEP 4.1 said that she feels "privileged to be part of [the community]" and "[she] sees them as living [t]here, forever". AEP
4.2 has achieved successful integration as he regarded himself as "South African in America". He has developed quality relationships and he feels respected and valued in his host community. He has an open and positive attitude toward the host community, as shown in his case-study interview results. Both plan on applying for American citizenship as soon as they can.

AEP 5.2 of case study #5 has achieved successful integration. During his interview, he explained that he had been in the host community for 5 years periodically and another 3 years consecutively until the time of the interview. He explained that he is part of the community and respected by other farmers in the area. He has built a quality relationship with his late employer and his employer's family throughout the past 8 years. He said that the employer's family considers him to be part of their family. He perceives himself overall as well-integrated and well- known in the community. He plans on keeping the positive aspects of South Africa, as South Africa will remain part of his roots. He said that "I am a South African in America, but I will not go live in South Africa anymore". He admitted that he will apply for American citizenship as soon as he can. Ultimately, he will remain who he is, while embracing American life. This shows that his two identities are coherent and not conflicted. He has made use of four core active coping strategies needed for successful integration, namely involvement in the host community, building quality relationships, being open and positive toward the host community and embracing the positive aspects associated with being South African.

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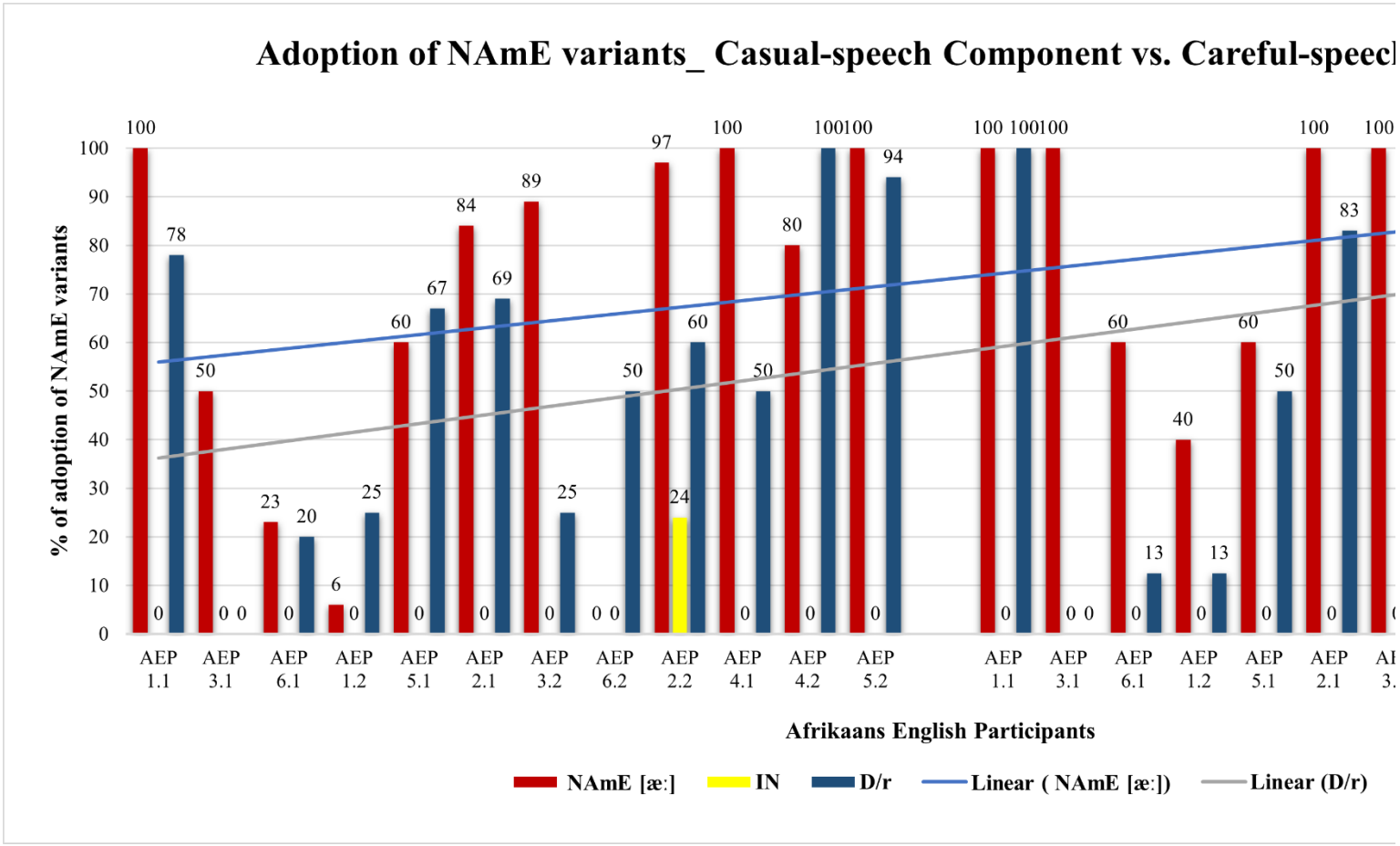
[48] This 'old identity' could refer to the Afrikaner identity, which is more plausible because of the significance of the old South African flag which they have present in their dining area, or it could refer to a general South African identity. Unfortunately, this issue was not probed during the interview.

The above discussion provided a detailed interpretation of the levels of identity integration of the participants in this study. As mentioned previously, this is the main focus of the second research question: which social factors – focusing specifically on identity integration – but also age, gender and length of residence, influence the dialect learning process? Before we continue to answer the rest of the second research question, it is important that the discussion first moves to the interpretation of the results and findings related to the first research question.

6.2. Dialect changes among Afrikaans emigrants to North Dakota, USA.

The first research question of this study is: To what extent has the SAfE-based AfrE dialect of the emigrants changed toward the NAmE dialect, and with a specific focus on three linguistic variables, namely the loss of the TRAP-BATH Split to the NAmE [æː] variant, the adoption of the *-in* variant and the learning of the NAmE voiced [d] or [ɾ] versus the voiceless [t] for /t/ before an unstressed syllable. The results show that all of the participants have adopted at least one of the three American variants into their casual and careful speech. Furthermore, it seems that the NAmE [æː] variant and the NAmE voiced [d] or flapped [ɾ] are essentially learned together by most participants, with only slight percentage discrepancies. Graph 6.2.1 shows the percentage adoption of each of the three NAmE variants mentioned, with the casual speech component (i.e. interview) on the left and the careful speech component (i.e. wordlist) on the right. The graph is again the reference point for the discussion and interpretation of the results that follow it. First and foremost, note that the numbering on the x-axis follows the same ordering as graph 6.1.1 in section 6.1. This is done to show that, as the degree of integration increases so does the degree of the second-dialect learning.



Graph 6.2.1: The adoption of NAmE variants in casual vs careful-speech (i.e. interview vs. wordlist).

The left half of Graph 6.2.1 shows the adoption of the NAmE variants, thus the higher the percentage, the higher the adoption of the NAmE variant in casual conversation. As shown in Graph 6.2.1, all the participants are in the process of adopting or have adopted at least one NAmE variant of the three variables that are the focus of this dissertation. The SAfE or AfrE TRAP-BATH Split has been or is in the process of being discarded by all participants, apart from AEP 1.2 and 6.2. In addition, all the participants, apart from AEP 3.1, displayed the use of the NAmE voiced [d] or flapped [ɾ]. AEP 1.2 and 6.1 were the only two participants who showed a below forty percent use of the NAmE voiced [d] or flapped [ɾ]. The use of the *-in* variant was only noted in the casual speech of AEP 2.2. As mentioned previously, it seems that the NAmE [æː] variant and the NAmE voiced [d] or [ɾ] are essentially adopted together. The results show that learning the two variants seems to run together in the dialects of most of the participants. AEP 6.2 and 3.1 were the only participants who showed learning of only one of these two variants.

The graph the careful speech data on the right side shows similar data, but of the reading of the wordlist. The wordlist was used to incorporate a careful speech component. The wordlist allows the researcher to investigate the 'conservative' pronunciation of each participant (Eberhardt, 2009:81). This means that the participant would most likely pronounce the words in the manner in which they think is the 'correct' pronunciation. As shown in the graph, all the participants had at least adopted one of the three American variants into their careful speech. The trendlines on Graph 6.2.1. illustrate that percentages are higher in the careful speech component than in the casual speech component, which seems to suggest, in turn, that most participants are trying to adopt features of this new accent.

AEP 2.2 was again the only participant who had adopted the *-in* variant in his careful speech. AEP 1.2, 3.1 and 6.1 were the only ones with low percentages for the use of the NAmE voiced [d] or [ɾ] variant for /t/. The TRAP-BATH Split has either been, or is in the process of being discarded in the careful speech or reading of most of the participants, the two exceptions being 1.2. and 6.2. In both these cases, however, the percentage use of the NAmE [æː] variant instead

of the SAfE or AfrE [ɑː] vowel is higher compared to the casual conversation component, where the percentages showed zero to less than 10% usage.

This means that AEP 1.2 and 6.2 are also, albeit more slowly, in the process of discarding the TRAP-BATH Split and adopting the NAmE [æː] variant. Similarly, the right panel of Graph 6.2.1 shows that the NAmE [æː] variant and the NAmE voiced [d] or [ɾ] are, in most cases, learned together. AEP 3.1's dialect change showed consistency in that she showed the adoption of only one of the two variants (NAmE [æː]) in both casual and careful speech.

The variation across participants in terms of their learning of the NAmE variants is likely to be the result of other influencing factors, such as attitude and motivation, age, gender and LoR. These influencing factors are discussed later in this chapter. First, the QUAL findings pertaining to dialect awareness and change need to be interpreted alongside the above QUAN results[49]. Before we move to the next section, we have to highlight that by comparing Graph 6.1.1 and 6.2.1 we see that the level of dialect learning seems to be related to the level of identity integration. While this is not proven with ample [50], the graphs do provide strong evidence in this direction. Findings in support of this claim are further highlighted in the following discussions.

6.2.1. The role of awareness, motivation and attitude in SDA

The participants across all case studies expressed an awareness of the differences between their own English dialect and the NAmE dialect. Each provided various examples of such differences; some provided pronunciation differences and some illustrated vocabulary differences. In Barkhuizen (2006:10-11) and Howie (2018), the South Africans who had emigrated to New Zealand generally showed a similar awareness of the dialectal differences between the different dialects of English. The various studies, including this one, therefore agree in this regard. This awareness appears, however, not so much to affect dialect change directly, but is rather linked to

[49] As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.5 and 4.5, QUAL findings are the findings related to the themes explored in the analysis of the interviews, while the QUAN results pertains to the analysis of speech sounds.

[50] The aim of this study was never to achieve statistically significant evidence - but to explore how social identity is related to SDA of the L2 in this context among these Afrikaans-English participants.

whether the dialect and its features are viewed positively or negatively [51], which in turn influences the motivation to learn it (Nycz, 2013:352). Therefore, a positive regard towards the NAmE dialect spoken in the area would motivate the participants to learn it. This is certainly relevant in the context of this study.

The participants of case study #1 were both aware of the differences between their own dialect and the dialect spoken in the host community, and shared similar views about their own dialect change. AEP 1.1 explained that she only changed it to avoid the miscommunication[52] that occurs between her and the American individuals in the host community. Furthermore, she said she only changed her accent to assist her children with their language adjustment. This shows that even a negative attitude towards a communication situation could lead to successful adoption of another dialect and it seems that instrumental motivation was used to learn the new dialect, meaning she simply learned it for its communicative value (Gardner & Lambert, 1972:268). In Graph 6.2.1 we see that AEP 1.1 has discarded the TRAP-BATH Split in both casual conversation and careful speech, with a 100% score in the use of the NAmE [æː] variant. She also showed a 78% score in casual speech and 100% score in careful speech of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ], thus showing the adoption of this variant. The husband (AEP 1.2) is aware that his accent is different from NAmE. He explained that he does use the NAmE terminology, but he refuses to change his dialect, because he is not an American. As per both graphs, AEP 1.2 showed comparatively low percentages of the use of the NAmE variants, the highest being a 40% usage of the NAmE [æː] variant in the careful speech component. It could be that he is indeed in the process of discarding the TRAP-BATH Split, but considering his low motivation to change his dialect, this might not happen or will take more time than other participants. An interesting observation is that his identity integration has moved along further than one would expect, given the extent of his

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[51] Preston (2011:28) found that speakers of American English rank the English spoken in the Midwest region as the "best" spoken English (see Chapter 2, section 2.4), and the Midwest region includes the state of North Dakota.

[52] It is important to note that as illustrated by AEP 1.1, even a negative attitude towards the communication situation related to accent could lead to the successful adoption of the accent. The mother and wife is clearly frustrated by the host community for not understanding her SAfE accent and therefore adopt the NAmE as best as she can to avoid the irritation of miscommunication.

dialect learning. The previous QUAL evidence proved that he is in phase three of the SIIM, but the ratio of NAmE variants are comparatively low (with a 6% score in casual speech and 40% score in careful speech of the NAmE [æː] variant, and a 25% score in casual speech and 13% score in careful speech of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant). This issue is explored later in section 6.3.

The participants of case study #2 were also fully aware of their own dialect of English being different from NAmE. AEP 2.1 said that she does not think her accent has changed drastically, but that she has made some changes to her dialect for the purpose of improving communication, which can imply both an instrumental and integrative motivation, seeing that she is on her way to the Integration phase of the SIIM (see Graph 6.1.1.). She added that her family has commented on her accent, stating that it *has* changed. Graphs 6.2.1 show high percentages for the use of two of the NAmE variants that are the focus of this study (a score of 84% in causal speech and 100% in careful speech of the use of the NAmE [æː] variant in BATH words, and scores of 69% and 83% for the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant). The husband (AEP 2.2.) explained that he considers himself to speak "good English". He said that the dialects are different, but it is an obstacle that could be easily overcome if a person has a good grasp of the English language overall. Even though he considers his English as good, he still had to make changes to his dialect to avoid miscommunication and ease the adjustment process. Similar to his wife, he, in all likelihood has both an instrumental and integrative motivation, the latter referring to the motivation to learn a second dialect to identify with the host community as a result of positive associations with this community (Gardner & Lambert, 1972:269). The same graph (6.2.1) above show a relatively high percentage usage of two of the NAmE variants for AEP 2.2 (a 97% and 80% score for the NAmE [æː] variant, and 60% in casual speech and 100% in careful speech for the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant). AEP 2.2 was the only participant in the study who has or is in the process of adopting the use of *-in*. The reason could be a result of agricultural work he has done in the southern states of America, namely Texas and Kansas, where this variant is more frequently used (Labov *et al.,* 2006:237). Note that his ratio of dialect learning reflects his level of identity integration. He is in the fourth phase of the SIIM (i.e. Integration), and he shows high percentage

of use of the NAmE variants apart from the *-in* variant, which is only 24% in casual speech and 25% in careful speech. Nonetheless, all three variants are present in his speech.

Case study #3's findings revealed that both participants were, again, highly aware of the differences between the two dialects in question. AEP 3.1 expressed during her interview that her English "is not very good". Nonetheless, she knows that there are differences, and she has adapted to them. Graph 6.2.1 shows that at the time of the interview she was in the process of discarding the TRAP-BATH Split. In her careful speech or wordlist reading she showed 100% pronunciation of the NAmE [æː] variant, and also showed significant usage of the NAmE [æː] variant in BATH words during the casual conversation. She explained that she home-schools her son and she helps him with NAmE pronunciation while reading. This was, however, the only variant that she showed adoption of (she scored 0% with the use of NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variants in both speech components), which reflects her level of integration as well. She is in the second phase of the SIIM as shown in Graph 6.1.1. AEP 3.2 is the lead pastor in their church. He said that he noticed that people had difficulty understanding him, and this motivated him to change his dialect. He used YouTube videos to teach himself features of the NAmE dialect. Graph 6.2.1 show that he has adopted or is in the process of adopting, two of the three relevant NAmE variants. He has a high-to-100% usage of the NAmE [æː] variant in BATH words in both speech components but low percentage use of the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variants, 25% in casual speech and 33% in careful speech. Even though these later percentages are low compared to some of the other participants, it still shows that he is in the process of adopting this variant. As shown before, he is in-between the Compartmentalisation and Integration phase of the SIIM; thus he is on his way to successful integration, and he has learned/is learning two of the NAmE variants in question. At the time of the interview, he stated that his NAmE had improved and that adults in the host community have no trouble understanding him anymore. Both subjects show instrumental and integrative motivation, as they have positive views about the host community, and they have the motivation to change their dialects to ease communication, assist their children, and integrate into their work and other environments.

Case study #4's findings proved that both show a high level of dialect change. Both explained that the dialect differences at first presented difficulties in communication between them and the American individuals in the host community. AEP 4.1 feels that both her and her husband have adjusted to the new dialect fairly well and that it was not a difficult dialect to learn. Graph 6.2.1 shows that AEP 4.1 has a high percentage usage of the NAmE [æː] variant (a 100% score in casual and careful speech components), and 50% score in casual speech and 100% score in careful speech for the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant. Similarly, AEP 4.2 (the husband) also showed high usage for both these variants (an 80% score in casual speech and 100% score in careful speech for the NAmE [æː] variant, and 100% scores in both speech components for the use of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant). Both participants said that South Africans in their own area and abroad no longer recognise their accents as being SAfE or AfrE. Both participants are in the Integration phase of the SIIM, which corresponds with their degree of dialect learning. They both showed both an integrative and instrumental motivation to change their dialects.

The participants in case study #5 shared the communication difficulties that came with the different dialects. AEP 5.1 explained that she would become frustrated with the miscommunication, to the extent that she would quit speaking. She did not confirm that she changed her dialect apart from learning some new terminology. Graph 6.2.1 show that she has learned two of the three NAmE variants. She showed 60% use of the NAmE [æː] variant in both casual and careful speech components, and a 67% use (in-casual speech) and 50% use (in careful speech) of the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant. These percentages are lower than her husband, which could be the influence of LoR in this case (discussed later in section 6.5). Her level of dialect learning reflects her level of identity integration, as she is in the third phase of the SIIM (i.e. Compartmentalisation). The husband's results show 94 - 100% use of the same two NAmE variants (i.e. the [æː] variant and the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ]). AEP 5.2 explained that in the early years of working in the host community, the Americans had trouble understanding him, and that it took some time for him to change his dialect and accent in order to ease communication. He said that over time his accent indeed did change to the extent that other South African farm workers do not recognise his English dialect as SAfE or AfrE. AEP 5.2 has achieved successful

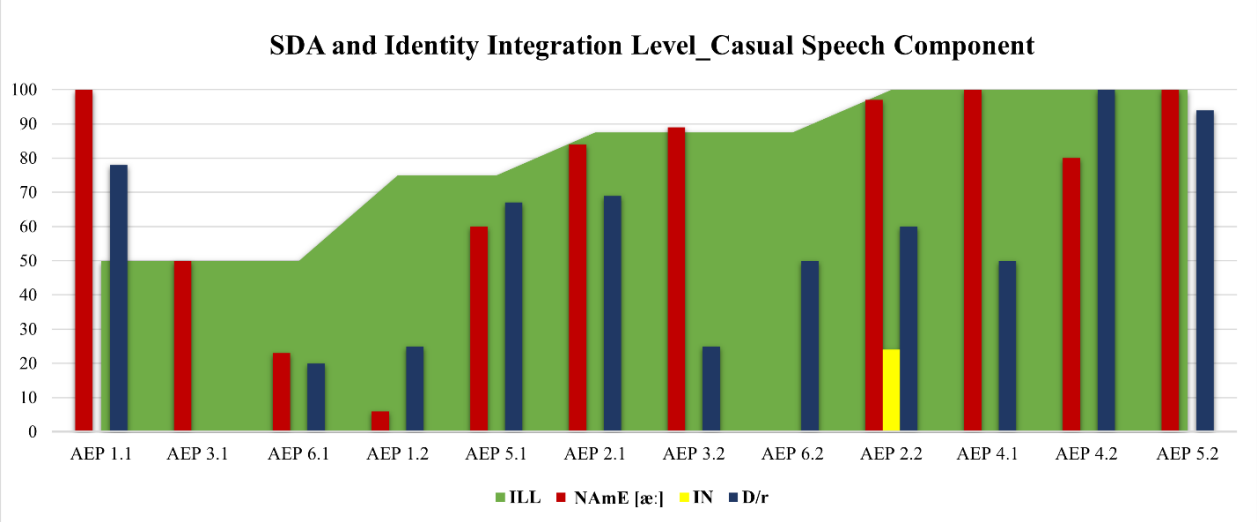
integration, which is reflected in his degree of dialect learning. It seems that, with both subjects, both integrative and instrumental motivation is at play, since both subjects have positive attitudes toward the host community, and they have found it necessary to improve communication between them and members of the host community.

Different from all the other case studies, the participants in the last case study (i.e. #6) expressed negative views about the NAmE dialect. AEP 6.1 explained that she perceives NAmE to be "lazy English", because the words are not pronounced "fully". In the same way, AEP 6.2 expressed a dislike toward the NAmE dialect; he expressed shock and disbelief in response to his friends who told him that he sounds American. He confirmed that he does not want to speak NAmE. Graph 6.2.1 show that AEP 6.1 has a 23% use (in casual speech) but, interestingly enough a high 60% use (in careful speech) of the NAmE [æː] variant. This shows that she is intentionally adopting the [æː] variant, despite her negative perspective about NAmE being a "lazy English". However, her negative perspective does in fact reflect her low adoption of the intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant, specifically 20% in casual speech and only 13% in careful speech. Furthermore, her degree of dialect change does reflect her level of identity integration, seeing that she is in the Categorisation (i.e. second) phase of the SIIM. AEP 6.2 shows a similarly low level of variant adoption. While there is a 50% usage of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] in both speech components – no doubt an unconscious change, seeing that he did not admit to changing his dialect – there were no instances of the NAmE [æː] variant in BATH words during the casual conversation component, and only a comparatively low 20% use of this variant in the careful speech component. This finding corresponds with the general claim that the general attitude towards the dialect spoken in the host community influences the motivation to learn it.

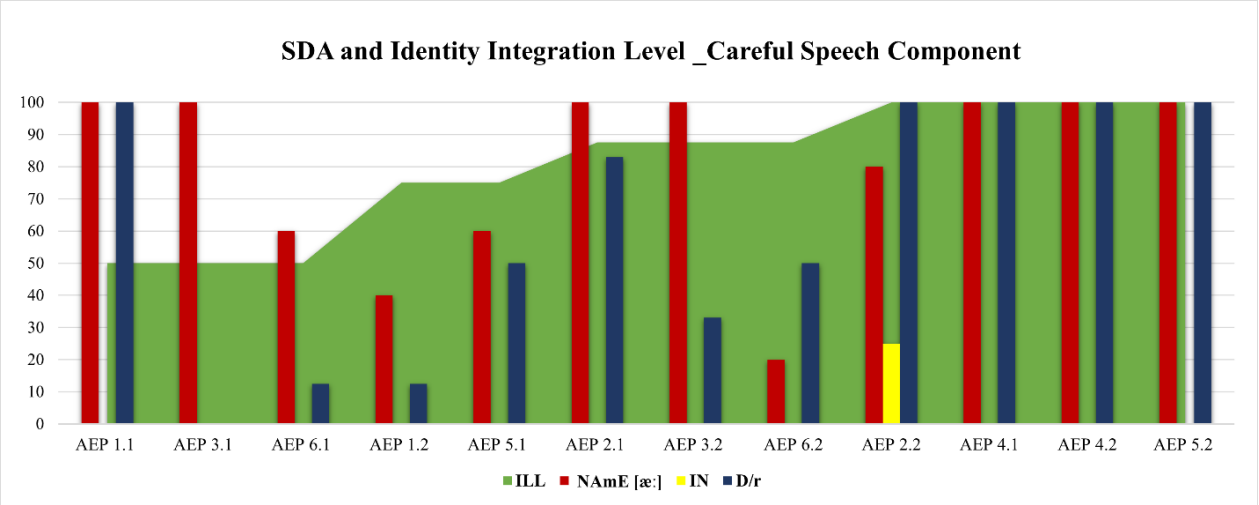
The in-depth qualitative research shows the complexities and differentiation between different participants in terms of their degree of dialect change. These differences in the degree of dialect change should now be interpreted and explained alongside possible influencing factors that have been considered as part of this study.

6.3. Positive attitude and motivation fuelling identity integration *and* SDA

The second research question focused on the influence of identity integration on dialect change. The graphs below (6.3.1 and 6.3.2) summarise the results of the adoption of the NAmE variants with the level of identity integration, shown with a green stacked area on the graph. The level of identity integration has been converted to a realistic but token percentage value. At first glance it is evident that for most participants, the level of identity integration is reflected by the changes occurring in their pronunciation. However, by investigating the results of the four outliers AEP 1.1, 1.2, AEP 6.1 and 6.2, it becomes clear that two processes, identity integration and dialect change, might in fact be separate occurrences and that they are separately fuelled by a positive attitude and motivation. The following section explores this hypothesis.



Graph 6.3.1: Percentage of dialect change alongside identity integration level of each participant (interview)



Graph 6.3.2: Percentage of dialect change alongside identity integration level of each participant (wordlist)

AEP 1.1 has a low level of identity integration (i.e. second phase, therefore 50% integration) but high percentages vis-à-vis two of the NAmE variants. She showed high usage of the NAmE [æː] variant, with a 100% score in the casual and careful speech. Furthermore, a score of 100% for the use of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] in careful speech and 78% in casual speech was obtained.

As discussed previously, AEP 1.1 had experienced several emotional and mental challenges in the host community. At the time of the interview, she had not established quality relationships with members of the host community and she felt a lack of meaning and purpose because she did not participate in the host community by working or by volunteering in some way. Furthermore, she portrayed her experiences of the host community as essentially negative compared to her experiences in South Africa, which were described as positive (apart from those linked to the reasons for emigration). Overall, the above can be subsumed under avoidance coping strategies, which lead to negative feelings toward the host community (Amiot *et al.,* 2007:380). These factors decreased her motivation to integrate and contributed to her negative attitude toward the host community. However, even though she had a low motivation to integrate - facilitated by her avoidance coping strategies – she clearly had the motivation to change her dialect. As discussed previously, she changed her dialect to ease communication and to help her children learn the dialect as well (i.e. instrumental motivation). It was unclear if she had positive views about the

NAmE dialect *per se,* as this question was never asked and nothing was mentioned in the interview to support or reject this possibility.

In contrast to AEP 1.1, AEP 1.2, 6.1 and 6.2 had high levels of identity integration, but showed low levels of dialect change in terms of the two relevant variables. As mentioned previously, all three of these participants expressed a negative attitude toward the NAmE dialect and had little motivation to learn it. However, AEP 1.2 had a positive attitude toward the host community. AEP 6.1 had conflicting perspectives throughout her interview – she expressed her frustrations with the host community where she resides, but later her perspective changed to a positive outlook when she shared about her involvement in the church community. All three participants, at the time of the interview, were actively involved in the host community through work and/or church. AEP 6.2 had a positive attitude toward his host community, but a negative perspective on the NAmE dialect spoken in the area, which is reflected by his low scores of SDA. AEP 6.2 had a 0% use of the NAmE [æː] variant in casual speech and a 20% score in careful speech, and 50% use of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] in both the casual and careful speech component. In comparison, his identity integration has a score of 87.5% (i.e. level 3.5), all of which shows that SDA and identity integration are to some degree independent factors.

The rest of the participants, who show a clear correspondence between the level of dialect change and level of identity integration, have two shared characteristics: (i) they all have instrumental and/or integrative motivation to learn NAmE and to integrate into the community, and (ii) they have a positive and open attitude toward the NAmE dialect *and* the host community. Three other participants, AEP 1.1, AEP 1.2 and AEP 6.2 had positive attitudes towards either the dialect or the community. The real outlier is AEP 6.1 who demonstrated a negative attitude toward NAmE *and* toward the host community at the time of the interview, while her SDA results (i.e. 23% use of the NAmE [æː] variant in casual speech and 60% score in careful speech 20% use of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] in casual speech and a 13% score in the careful speech component) showed that she is adopting features of the dialect. It should be noted again, however, that by the end of the interview it was revealed that she is in the process of adopting a key active coping strategy which is involvement and participation in the community. Therefore,

there is some evidence for the conclusion that her attitude and motivation are improving along with the increase in the uptake of NAmE variants, as indicated by the careful speech score of 60% for the NAmE [æː] variant.

In general terms, the analysis above agrees with the findings of Howie (2018:315), who also concluded that positive attitudes facilitate identity integration and positively affect the uptake of New Zealand English variants. However, this study reveals that, although it is clear that positive attitudes and a motivation to learn and integrate are key factors in influencing dialect change and identity integration post-emigration, these processes might actually be separate from each other. To illustrate this, Figure 6.3.1 below shows dialect change and identity integration as separate in the context of this study, but also that they can merge through the main facilitator of attitudes and motivation; and it is only when positive attitudes and motivation towards *both* dialect change and integration are present, that they overlap and reflect each other. Basically, the figure shows that one can have a positive attitude to the dialect and a negative attitude towards its speakers and/or the host community (and vice versa), and each are affected by one's attitude. Essentially, identity integration and dialect change are separate occurrences, but connected by the main social factors in the context of this study, i.e. positive attitudes and motivation respectively. These social factors can be captured in one term, namely *positive regard*. This term was derived from previous research in language attitudes. Language attitudes refer to people's beliefs and perspectives on styles, features and varieties of language (Peterson, 2020:8). Similarly, individuals are aware of different dialects, but it depends on whether these dialects and their features are viewed positively or negatively, and this influences the use amongst speakers (Nycz, 2013:352). Reflecting on the notion of *positive regard*[53] discussed in section 6.2.1, one can make the assumption that a positive attitude and motivation can be captured as referring to a *positive regard,* not only for a specific dialect and its features but also for a host community post- emigration. *Positive regard* therefore influences the adoption of the dialect spoken in the area and facilitates identity integration into the host community. As stated previously, if a *positive*

[53] Chapter 2, section 2.4, discussed the psychological factors of attitude and motivation under the role of identity and language change. In this section, the notion of *language regard* is introduced and discussed as part of language attitudes (Preston, 2011:12; Peterson,2020:46; Nycz, 2013:352).

regard for either the dialect or the host community is not present, the SDA and the integration into the community is separated (as in the case for the outliers AEP 1.1, 1.2, 6.1 and 6.2).

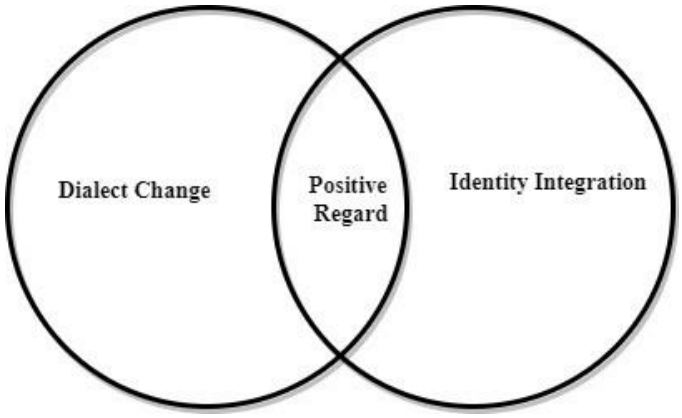


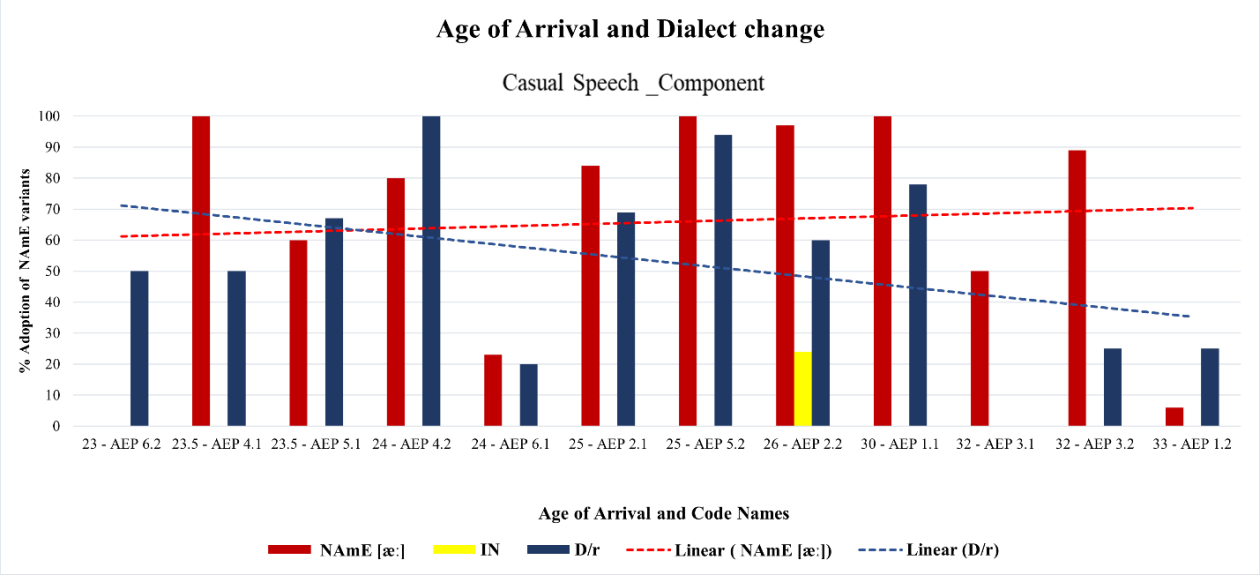
Figure 6.3.1: Positive Regard post-emigration

To summarise, a *positive regard* (post-emigration) for the new host community *and* the English dialect spoken in the area facilitates dialect change *and* identity integration. Without it, the processes of dialect learning and/or identity integration are delayed and/or separated. It is also clear that while *positive regard* towards the host community is often accompanied by *positive regard* for its dialect, this is not always the case.

The above discussion illustrates the influence of attitudes and motivation on facilitating and/or inhibiting dialect change and identity integration. The first research question has been answered, and the second research question has been broken into two parts, dealing with the influence of identity integration and motivation on dialect change separately. The social or, in this case, psychological variables, motivation and attitude have been captured under the notion of a *positive regard* and deemed as a vital force in facilitating and/or inhibiting both SDA *and* identity integration. There are, however, other social factors to be considered as part of the second research question, which is the focus of the next few sections.

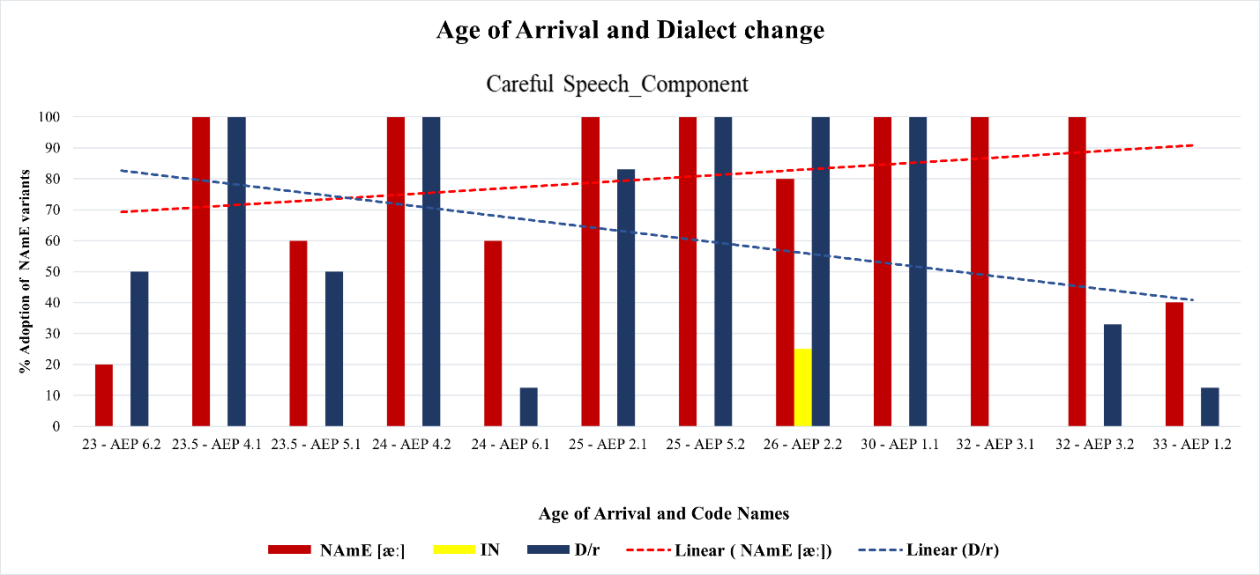
6.4. The role of age (of arrival) in SDA and Identity Integration

Graphs 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 below show the age of arrival[54] of all participants on the x-axis. The participants were all in their early 20s to early 30s at the time of arrival in the host community. The oldest participant was 33 at the time of arrival, but it cannot be stated with certainty that his age had an influence in delaying his degree of dialect change. Thus, as suggested by the trendline of the NAmE [æː] variant, the adoption of this variant increases with age, while the adoption of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant decreases with age. The evidence suggests no reason as to why this variation occurs; any suggestions would only be speculative. However, similar to Sprowls (2014) and Howie (2018), this study clearly showed that dialect learning is possible in adulthood.



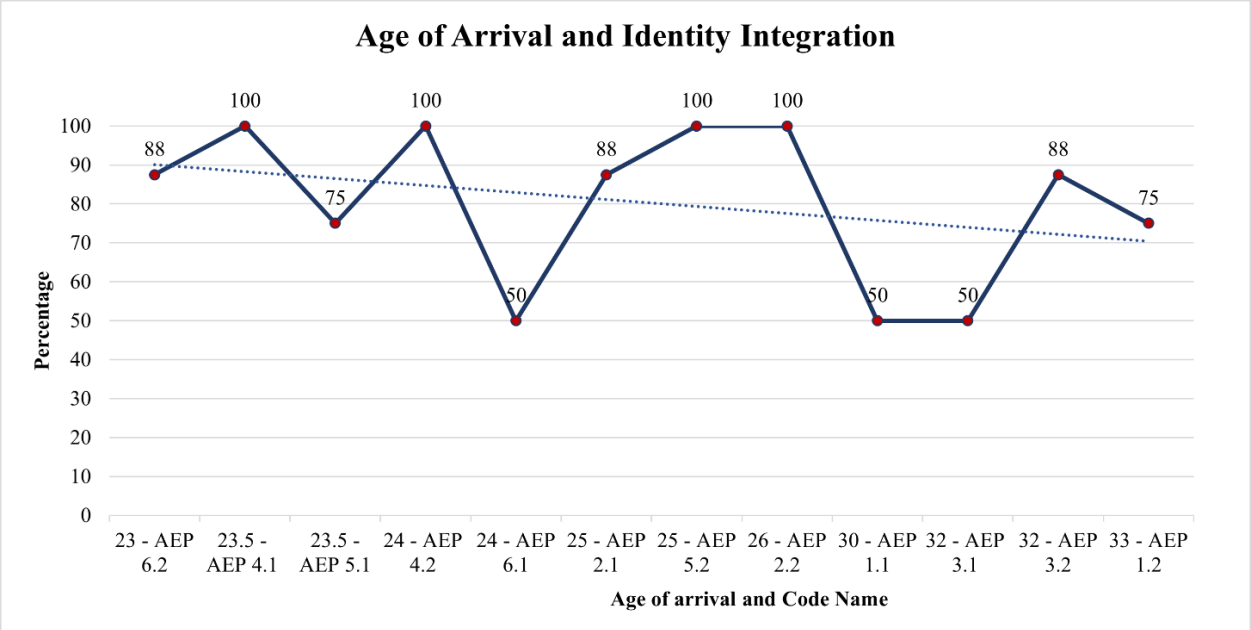
Graph 6.4.1 Casual Speech: Age of arrival and the degree of dialect change

[54] The age of arrival was calculated by deducting the number of years spent in the host community from the age of each participant at the time of the interview. This is done to show that all the participants had emigrated as adults. Furthermore, it provides a perspective on the influence of the age of arrival on dialect change as opposed to the age at the time of the interview.



Graph 6.4.2 Careful Speech: Age of arrival and the degree of dialect change

The following graph (6.4.3) shows the influence of age of arrival on the level of identity integration. The trend line shows a slight decline in the level of identity integration as the participants approach their 30s.



Graph 6.4.3: Age of arrival and level of identity integration

There seems to be a suggestive pattern relating age of arrival and level of identity integration, seeing that the level of identity integration decreases as participants approach their 30s. It is clear that there is much differentiation between the participants in this case, which indicates that other factors, such as attitude, motivation, gender and possibly LoR also influence the level of identity integration. However, it cannot be dismissed that identity integration is influenced by the age of arrival into the host community. The younger on arrival, the higher the level of identity integration, with older participants showing lower levels of identity integration.

Thus, almost all participants between the ages of 23 and 26 years scored relatively high levels of identity integration, with AEP 6.1 at 24 years old being the only exception. As discussed previously, AEP 6.1 experienced mental and emotional challenges during her adjustment to the rural host community. Furthermore, she also expressed negative associations toward South Africa as a result of the racism and discrimination that she perceived in her previous country. These inner conflicts contributed, no doubt, to her low identity integration score. Ultimately, therefore, there does seem to be tentative evidence to show that age of arrival is an influencing factor, in that the younger the age, the more open and willing the subject is likely to be in relation to a new environment. However, negative associations, views, or experiences in and/or toward the host community will overrule the influence that comparatively young age can have on the level of identity integration, and thus presumably also on dialect change. More research – particularly of a quantitative nature – will have to be conducted to confirm this qualitative impression.

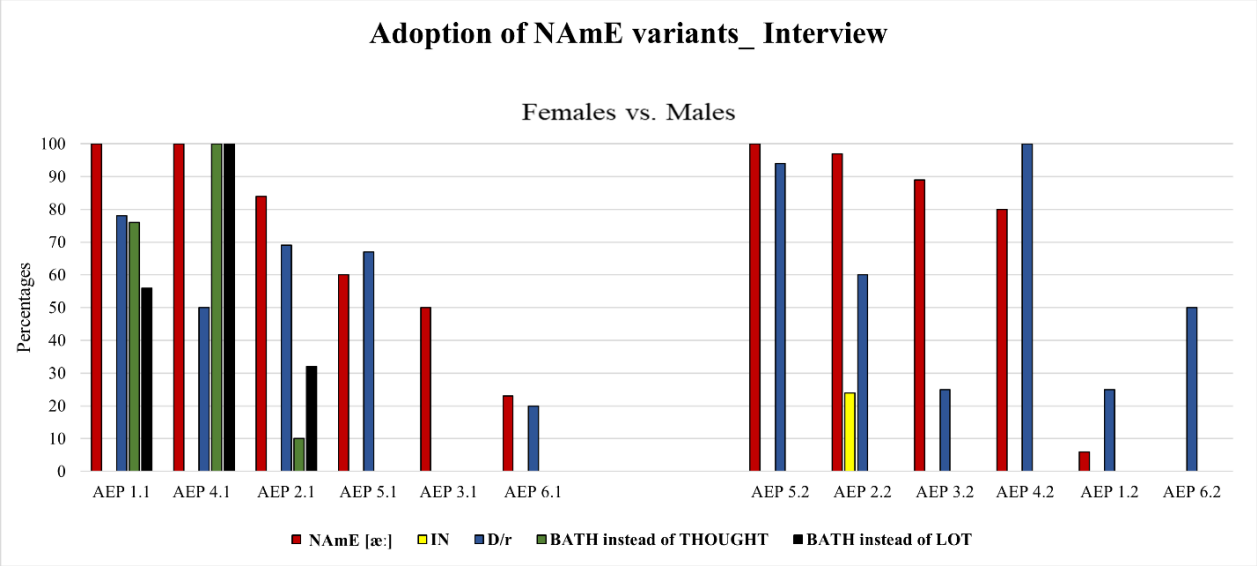
6.5. The role of gender in SDA and identity integration

Sociolinguistic research shows females are the forerunners in language change (Labov, 2010). However, Siegel (2010:110) claims that several SDA studies have found no significant difference between males and females when it comes to learning a D2. Studies that show differentiation found that the variation between males and females is due to factors outside of simply being male or female. An example is a study conducted by Foreman (2003), who showed that all twelve female participants showed more features of the D2 than their male counterparts. However, these were the participants who arrived at a younger age. Similarly, Sprowls (2014:1)

found that males produced one specific variant more than females, only due to their association with other working-class males in the specific working environment. These findings are thus consistent with the claim that if there is a differentiation between males and females it is in all likelihood due to other influencing factors such as age, LoR, or extrinsic factors such as the working environment. It is not the result of intrinsic differences between males and females, in terms of SDA (Siegel, 2010:110).

The results of this study show that both males and females have a relatively high attainment of the NAmE [æː] variant in BATH words and the NAmE voiced [d] or [ɾ] variant. This seems thus to conflict with the general consensus that females are forerunners in language change (Labov, 2010). On the other hand, it needs to be noted that most of the male participants had a longer LoR in the host community compared to most of the females at the time of the interviews[55]. Another interesting result – in support of the general consensus mentioned above – is shown in Graph 6.5.1. which shows scores for the adoption of NAmE variants (in casual speech) with females on the left and males on the right side. In short, all the participants who adopted the NAmE [ɑː] variant in places where the SAfE and AfrE have [ɒ] or [oː] (i.e. words like *lot* and *thought*) were all female, specifically AEP 1.1., AEP 4.1 and 2.1. These changes were noted in their casual conversation component only, as the wordlist did not include words that have the SAfE and AfrE [ɒ] or [oː] sounds. All three of these females mentioned, during the interview, that they had changed their accents to improve communication between themselves and individuals in the host community.

[55] Generally, the men would come to work on the H-2A agricultural program without their families. Later, the wives and children would join them when a green-card opportunity was presented. This is discussed in section 6.5 as well.



Graph 6.5.1: Gender and Dialect Change_ Casual speech

Graph 6.5.2 below shows gender variation in careful speech. Upon first glance it might seem that the results between males and females are similar, but when calculating the average scores of the two main NAmE variants, it appears that the females have a comparatively higher percentage adoption of the NAmE [æː] variant - with an average of 87% whereas the males scored an average of 73%. However, the males appear to have a higher average score of 66% for the adoption of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or [ɾ] variant whereas the females scored an average of 58% (see graphs 6.5.3 and 6.5.4 for the average scores). Keep in mind that most of the males have had a longer length of residence than the females. Therefore, even though the females have less time spent in the host community, they, at least in terms of one variant, show higher scores of adoption than the males who have spent more time in the host community.

We note in Graph 6.5.2 that some of the males, specifically AEP 3.2, 1.2 and 6.2 have quite low percentages with respect to one or both NAmE pronunciations. This seems to at least suggest that more males are still in the process of adopting these variants as the new "norms" and that the females are leading in terms of dialect change in the context of this study. As discussed previously, however, AEP 2.2 (a male) was the only participant who showed the *-in* variant in his dialect. This was, however, likely due to an extrinsic factor (i.e. the areas he had worked in during his early years of participating in the H2-A agricultural program).

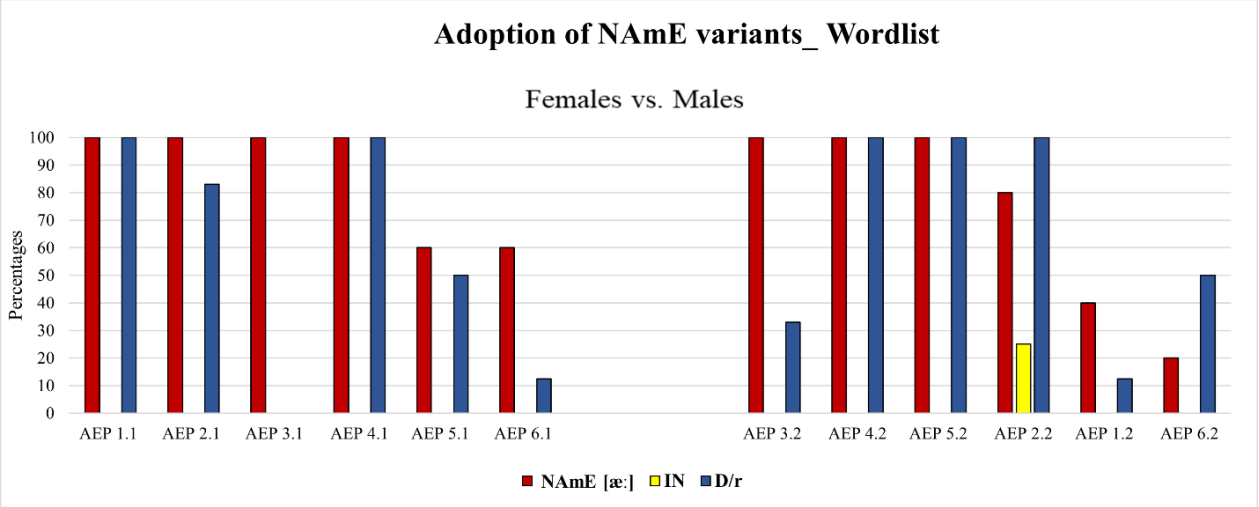
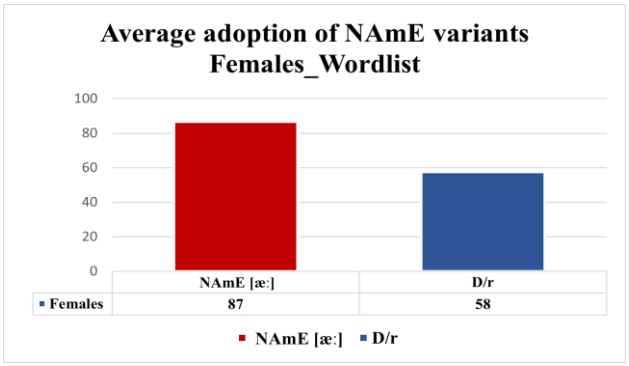
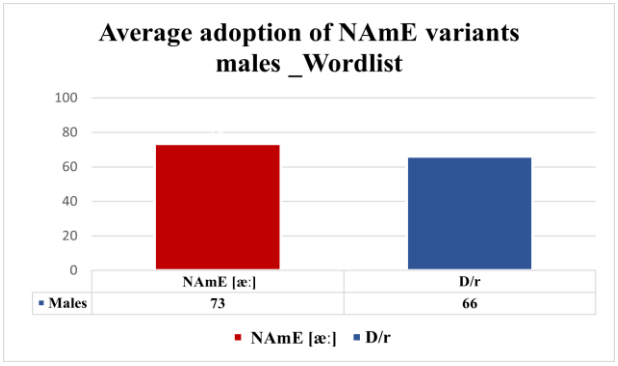


Figure 6.5.2: Gender and Dialect Change_Careful Speech



Graph 6.5.3: Average SDA of females in careful-speech

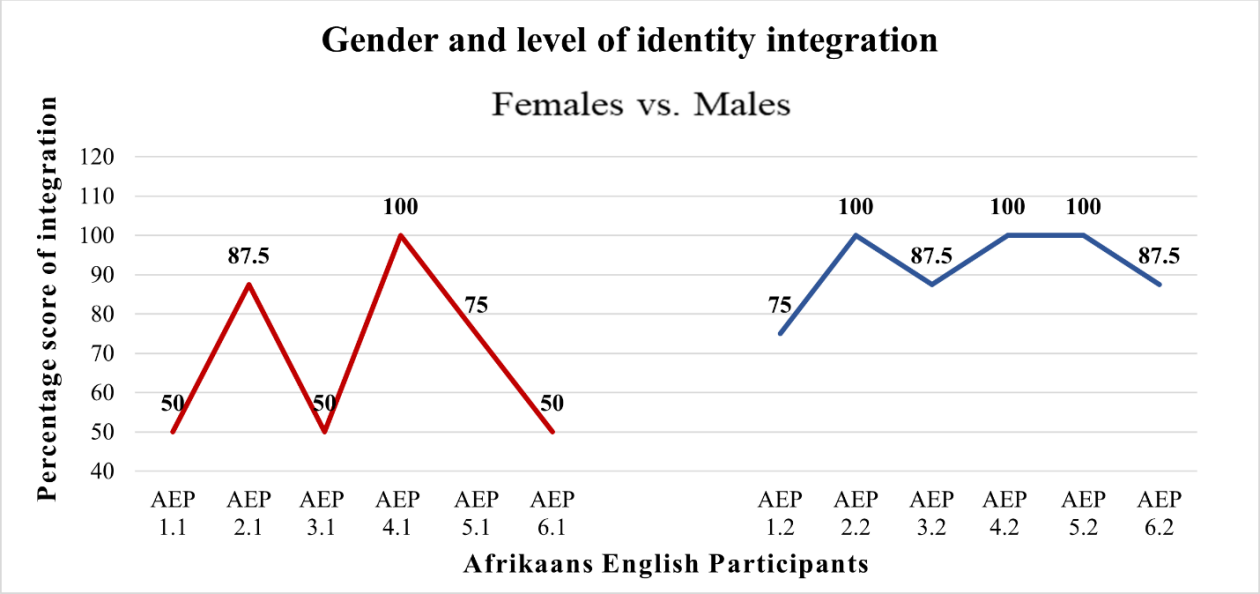


Graph 6.5.4: Average SDA of males in careful-speech

It is of course important to stress that the patterns noted here (or perhaps the lack of any definitive pattern) are only suggestive, since this study is qualitatively weighted and does not have enough quantitative results to confidently establish patterns and differences. However, with qualitative results, the in-depth complexities can be explored. Howie (2018) showed that the females in his study had moved closer to the native-like New Zealand pronunciation than the males. The motivation behind it seemed to be their desire to reduce the discrimination that they experienced in the host community (Howie, 2018:306). This seems to dovetail at least somewhat with the qualitative findings of this dissertation, seeing that most female participants revealed that they had deliberately changed their dialect in order to improve communication between themselves and the members of the host community. Some of the males, however, specifically

AEP 1.2 and AEP 6.2, were deliberately against changing their dialect. AEP 1.2 revealed that he is aware that he "still [has] that South African accent and that it will not change because [he does] not want to change it, because [he is] not an American". AEP 6.2 said that he "speak[s] English, not American English. [He] tried to say stuff like those and them but it doesn't make sense to [him] to talk like that".

The following graph (6.5.5) shows the level of identity integration of females and males respectively. The results clearly show that the females have a lower level of identity integration compared to their male counterparts. This could, of course, again be due to the fact that many of the males have a longer LoR than some of the females (discussed in section 6.6). However, the in-depth analysis discussed in detail in section 6.3, seems to suggest that it is rather the differences in attitude and motivation that accounts for the differences between the genders in terms of the level of identity integration.



Graph 6.5.5: Gender and Identity Integration

The qualitative findings revealed that each gender confronted its own challenges during the emigration process. As revealed, the male participants in this study are all primary green-card applicants because of work-related skills. The females are limited in terms of their visa-status as they wait for the green-card process to run its course. Most of the females highlighted their experience with mental and emotional challenges because of the emigration. AEP 1.1, 3.1 and

6.1 all explained that they were dealing with a lack of meaning and purpose in the host community. This is because of the fact that they are unable to work while waiting for the completion of their permanent residency (i.e., green-card). AEP 5.1 was also dealing with her first pregnancy during the emigration process, and this was tough on her, as she faced many first experiences alone while her husband worked long hours. These visa-related restrictions caused many frustrations for the females and, as a result, influenced their motivation to integrate (and opportunities for integration), as well as their attitude toward the host community. The females who had obtained a work-related visa were under fewer restrictions. Specifically, AEP 2.1 and
4.1 had a more positive attitude toward the host community and toward their integration overall, even though they still had some emotional and mental challenges that they were dealing with. The fact that they had essentially more freedom in the host community to explore and find a sense of purpose facilitated their integration process.

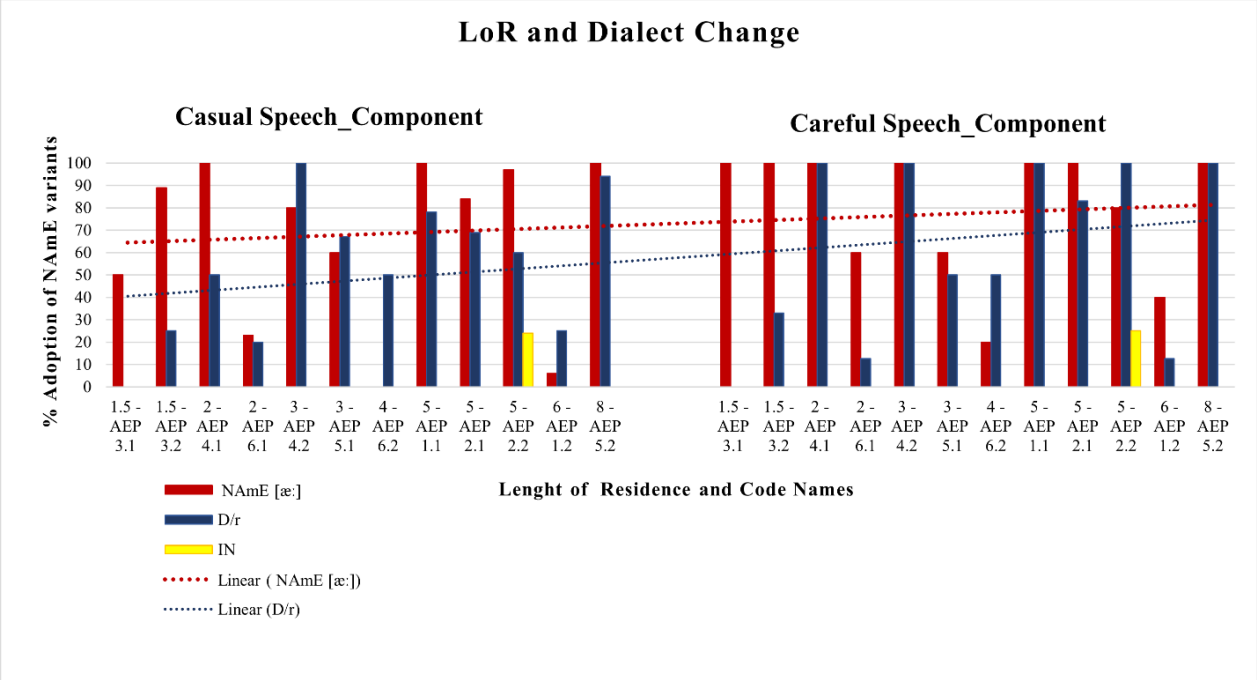
The males all had high levels of integration. They generally displayed high motivation and had a *positive regard* toward the host community, as discussed in section 6.2. They listed many of the practical life challenges that came with emigration, such as work-related challenges, paperwork delays, medical insurance challenges, taxation challenges, food and cultural challenges and so forth. AEP 5.2 was the only male participant who shared an emotional challenge (i.e. when his employer passed away). These findings show that while the level of integration and gender appear to correspond, this has little to do with any putative biological factors, but more to do with different social roles that men and women are likely to have to adopt during the emigration process. In this study, extrinsic factors play a role in gender variation across levels of identity integration, similar to the study by Foreman (2003).

6.6. The role of length-of-residence in SDA and identity integration

The study by Foreman (2003:208) showed that the longer the length-of-residence (or LoR) the greater the tendency to move toward the Australian English pronunciation. However, the participants in Foreman's (2003) study arrived in the host community between the ages of 10 and 13 and were therefore children, unlike the adults in this study. The adult participants in the study of Howie (2018) had been living in the host community for ten years or more. The results

showed a correspondence between LoR and dialect change, but variation in terms of gender and intrinsic factors such as motivation were also present.

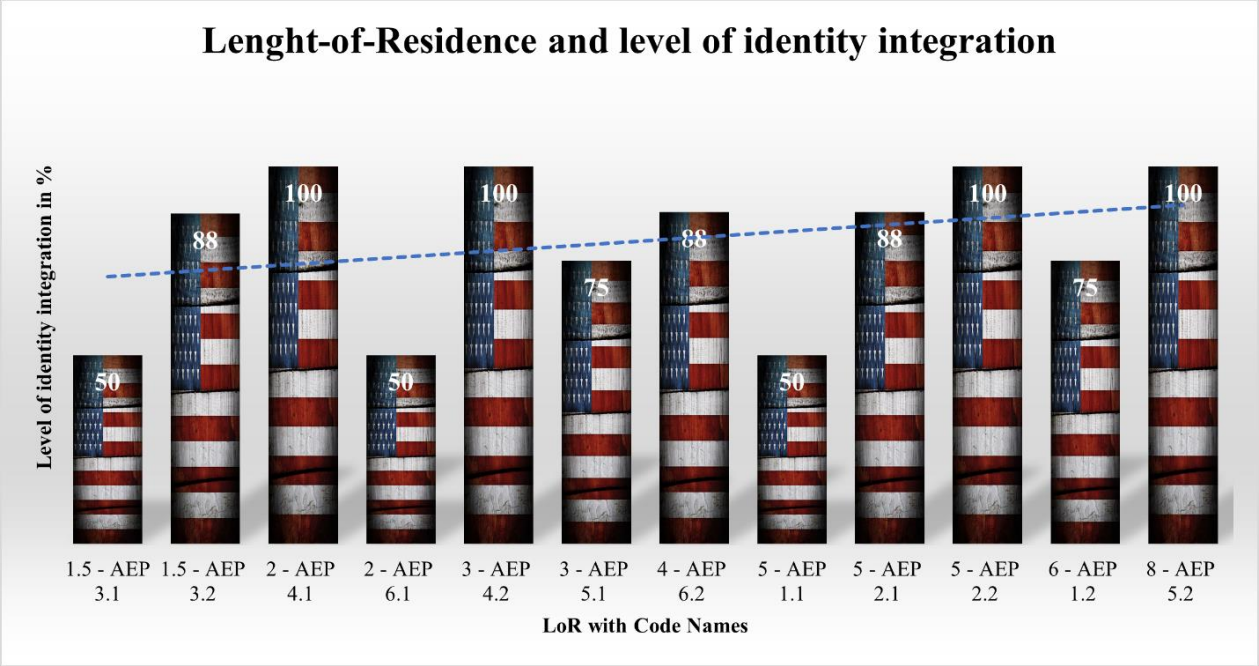
The results of this study show only a suggestive pattern, because the study was conducted with only twelve participants, with a focus on a qualitative and in-depth look into the dialect change and identity integration of each participant. However, in light of previous research conducted, it is safe to assume that the length of exposure to another dialect contributes in some manner to the level of SDA. Graph 6.6.1 below shows the LoR with the code name sorted from shortest time to longest time spent in the host community on the x-axis and the percentage scores of NAmE variants on the y-axis. The graph shows a slight increase in dialect change with increased time spent in the host community. The results suggest that dialect change increases from the second year onwards in the host community. However, more quantitative data is needed to establish this relationship more firmly.



Graph 6.6.1: Length of residence and adoption of NAmE variants

Graph 6.6.2 below summarises the results related to the LoR and the level of identity integration. The results suggest an accordance with the study conducted by Howie (2018:23), who found a positive relationship between the LoR and the integration of his participants in New Zealand. The

findings of this study, however, present a suggestive relationship between LoR and level of identity integration. To illustrate, AEP 3.1 and 3.2 had been residing in the host community for 1.5 years at the time the data was gathered, but AEP 3.2 showed a higher percentage of integration (i.e., 80%) compared to his wife with only 50%. Similarly, AEP 4.1 and AEP 6.1 have been in the host community for 2 years but show a substantial differences in their level of integration (100% and 50% respectively). This suggests that the link between integration and LoR is only one of various influences on the level of identity integration. It is important to keep in mind that this study is a quantitively small but a qualitatively in-depth study. More investigation with a larger participant group is required to confirm any clear existing correspondences.



Graph 6.6.2: LoR and level of identity integration

As revealed in section 6.3, the major influencing factor for identity integration is a *positive regard* for the host community. A positive regard speaks to a *positive attitude* and motivation to integrate into the host community, and *positive regard* is facilitated by successful coping strategies, as discussed previously. This means that, in the context of this study, the amount of time spent in the host community has some influence on SDA and some on identity integration; however, one might argue that it all has more to do with what one chooses to do with that time in

the host community (e.g. cultivating a positive attitude in the face of the major life change that constitutes emigration to another country).

Summary

The above discussion sections provided a detailed interpretation of the results and findings of each case study discussed in Chapter 5. Firstly, the level of identity integration was interpreted and discussed in terms of the SIIM outlined by Amiot *et al.* (2007). Thereafter, the percentage scores of the adoption of the three NAmE variants across casual and careful speech were provided, discussed and interpreted. It was established that SDA and identity integration are essentially separate but related processes, facilitated by a *positive regard* (i.e. positive attitude and motivation) for either one or both of these phenomena (NAmE and the host community). Sections 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 then interpreted the role of age, gender and LoR in SDA and identity integration alongside relevant existing literature. This chapter ends with the conclusion, limitations and considerations for future research as follows.

CONCLUSION

The first research question was regarding the extent to which the Afrikaans-English dialect of the South African emigrants has changed towards the North American English dialect, with a specific focus on: (a) the loss of the SAfE and/or AfrE TRAP-BATH split to the NAmE [æː] variant, (b) the loss of the SAfE or AfrE voiceless [t] to the NAmE intervocalic [d] or flapped [ɾ] NAmE (Trudgill and Hannah, 2008), and (c) the acquisition of the NAmE *-in* variant (Tagliamonte, 2012:29). It was answered by conducting an impressionistic analysis of the phonetic data. The results indicated that participants have in some cases fully adopted or, in most cases, are in the process of adopting at least one of the three NAmE linguistic variants. The loss of the TRAP-BATH split to the NAmE [æː] variant and the adoption of the NAmE intervocalic [d] or flapped [ɾ] was observed in 10 of the 12 participants in this study. In contrast, the NAmE *-in* variant was present in only one participant's speech. The dissertation investigated the identity integration and various emigration experiences of the emigrants, and interpreted the findings in terms of the SIIM (Amiot *et al.*, 2007). The identity integration of the participants was then interpreted alongside the SDA scores of the emigrants, showing that SDA and identity are

ultimately separate processes and are only related when a *positive regard* (i.e. positive attitude and motivation) is present in both processes. To clarify, the participants who either had a positive attitude and/or a motivation to learn NAmE showed high percentages of dialect change, and those who had a positive and open attitude to the host community had a high level of identity integration. Fundamentally, those who had a positive attitude/motivation toward both NAmE and the host community showed both high levels of dialect learning and high degrees of identity integration. The high level of correspondence relates simply to the fact that a *positive regard* toward a community usually translates into *positive regard* for its way of speaking; but not always. Furthermore, three active coping strategies were identified as facilitating identity integration namely, participating in the host community by volunteering or working, establishing quality relationships in the host community and being open and positive toward the new environment. The dissertation also considered the influence of age, gender and LoR and interpreted the results alongside relevant existing literature in SDA (Siegel 2010; Ellis, 2015; Foreman, 2003; Sprowls, 2014; Howie, 2018). The findings and results show that while age of arrival does seem to influence identity integration, in that the younger the age the more open toward change, the effect of young age can, however, be overruled by a negative attitude and little motivation to integrate.

The results showed that age (in adulthood) has very little effect on levels of SDA. Gender was seen to play a role in terms of differences in attitude and motivation between males and females in the emigration context. To illustrate, females showed higher levels of SDA, because most of them had the motivation to learn the dialect in order to ease communication, whereas some of the male participants did not see it as necessary to learn the NAmE dialect and/or were actively against this. The males, on the other hand, showed higher levels of identity integration, mainly because of their positive attitude and involvement in the community. Keep in mind that some of the females in this study were restricted by their emigration-visa status, which also affected their ability to participate economically, and this contributed to some degree to their negative views of the host community. Therefore, extrinsic factors appear to play a role in variable levels of identity integration across gender, similar to the study by Sprowls (2014). There was some

evidence to support the notion that length of residence has some influence on SDA. However, if the time is not used to embrace and learn about the host community, its influence declines.

Ultimately, this study finds that dialect acquisition occurred for most participants for at least one of the NAmE phonetic variants in question and that high interspeaker variation occurs in terms of the level of second-dialect learning. The study shows that a positive attitude and motivation facilitate dialect change as well as integration into the community. The investigation of the influence of other variables, namely, age, gender and LoR, has shown some suggestive trends and highlighted the complexity and multivariant nature of both SDA and identity integration.

LIMITATIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This dissertation was a small-scale, but in-depth investigation of Afrikaans-speaking emigrants who have relocated to North Dakota, USA. Initially, the researcher intended to perform an acoustic analysis of the speech of the participants, but with the Covid-19 restrictions, the researcher was unsure if participants would be able to be interviewed in-person and whether or not on-line interviews would allow for acoustic analysis. It was therefore decided to settle on variables that would allow for relatively unambiguous impressionistic analysis. Only after the proposal was accepted and the Covid-19 restrictions eased, did the participants agree to in-person interviews, and it was then too late to change the scope of this study. Thus, the researcher hopes to perform an acoustic analysis of the data in a possible future study.

The next limitation is that the study only had 12 participants, and thus certain patterns identified in the data could not be confirmed with certainty. One goal for future research would therefore be to expand the investigation on a quantitative basis, i.e. to not conduct in-depth research but to rather focus on gathering information from enough participants so as to conduct statistical analyses, and thus hopefully confirm (or disprove) the role played by the various social factors on both SDA and identity integration.

Lastly, the study did not discuss the findings related to the last interview question, which probed the use of Afrikaans post-emigration, the reasons being to keep to the length requirements of the study, and because the researcher probed to determine a topic for a potential future study.

Therefore, the notions of language maintenance, language shift and code-switching within the context of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to North America can fruitfully be explored as part of a future study, similar to the study of Oliver and Kotzé (2014), who investigated this phenomenon with L1-Afrikaans emigrants to various other countries, not including North America. Another possible future study could be to explore whether the North Americans in the host community view the changed dialect of the South African emigrants as sounding native-like or as a foreign accent (see footnote 16 in Chapter 6, section 6.4).

CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE SOUTH AFRICAN EMIGRANTS

To a future fellow SAFFA (South African far from Africa),

I am writing to you in hopes that what I say here may prepare you for your journey to another country. Like a mature tree you have grown and rooted yourself into the soil of your home country. You know the rain, you know the sun, you know the beauty and the tragedies that come with the night. Now you are being uprooted, and planted in new soil, with new water and a new environment. Other trees will be looking at you, inspecting you and seeing if you are worthy to be there. You, yourself will question why you came, wondering if you could grow leaves here. Confidently, I encourage you that you can. Some of your leaves and branches may wither away but in time and with good spirit new ones will grow, even stronger and bigger than before.

As you explore the new environment, be slow to compare and criticise but open and eager to learn. Embrace the new wind and be willing to speak differently. It does not mean you are fake; it means you are growing and evolving. Remember the good aspects of where you used to grow and share those good aspects with others. In no time you will look down and you will see how tall you've grown; how strong and how resilient you are. Then look up and don't forget to thank God for shadowing and empowering you with His spirit. Please take this to heart and consider the advice carefully as it may assist you on your journey to your new home.

Sincerely, a SAFFA

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APPENDIX A:

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28 November 2022

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

INFORMATION LETTER TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

Welcome!

Participation in this project is entirely voluntary. I am a current Masters student at the North West University, studying linguistics. I'm collecting speech data and information on self-perceptions of identity post relocation to North Dakota, USA. I am looking at reasons why Afrikaans-speakers change their English dialect upon their relocation to the United States. I will be recording the interviews so that I can hear how the dialects of each participant has changed. The recorded data will be destroyed once the analysis is complete. The transcriptions will be kept for 5 years. Your name will never be revealed to anyone other than my supervisor and myself. I will ask about your identity and your experiences of immigration. You are welcome to contact me afterwards if you want to change any of the information you gave me or if you need more details. You are welcome to ask me or my supervisor or additional information. You are also welcome to contact me in a few months if you would like the transcription of your interview to check my accuracy. My email address is charlenelyons01@gmail.com. I will try and make the interview as easy and comfortable for you as possible and, if at any time you feel you can't answer a question, please feel free to say so. If you would like to stop answering all questions, please feel free to say that too.

THANK YOU FOR AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE!

Charlene Janse Van Rensburg
NWU Masters student
NWU, VTC

Contact number: +1 701 737 9468
E-mail address: charlenelyons01@gmail.com

CONSENT FORM

Your signature below indicates that you have decided to volunteer as a research participant in this study, and that you have read and understood the information provided above.

I hereby agree to participate in the study. I agree that my data could be published anonymously in academic assignments, articles or presented at academic conferences by the researcher and/or her lecturers:

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B:

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

PO Box 1174, Vanderbijlpark
South Africa, 1900

Web: http://www.nwu.ac.za

06/12/2020

ECLM Authorization

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LEAFLET AND CONSENT FORM

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT:

Dialect change in the L2-English used by L1-Afrikaans emigrants to North Dakota, USA.

REFERENCE NUMBERS:

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Charlene Janse van Rensburg

ADDRESS: 205 Garfield Avenue, Underwood, North Dakota 58576, USA

CONTACT NUMBER: 701 737 9468

You are being invited to take part in a research project that forms part of my study focused on the adjustment and integration process of L1-Afrikaans speakers post-relocation to North Dakota, USA. Please take some time to read the information presented here, which will explain the details of this project. Please ask the researcher any questions about any part of this project that you do not fully understand. It is very important that you are fully satisfied that you clearly understand what this research is about and how you could be involved. Also, your participation is **entirely voluntary,** and you are free to decline to participate. If you say no, this will not affect you negatively in any way whatsoever. You are also free to withdraw from the study at any point, even if you do agree to take part. Prior to publication of the study's results (or the point that publication is in process), you may also withdraw the data you generate.

This study has been approved by the **Ethics Committee for Language Matters (ECLM) of the Faculty of Humanities of the North-West University (NWU Vaal Campus)** and will be conducted according to the ethical guidelines and principles of the international Singapore Statement on Research Integrity (2010) and the ethical guidelines of the National Health Research Ethics Council. It might be necessary for the research ethics committee members or relevant authorities to inspect the research records to make sure that we (the researchers) are conducting research in an ethical manner.

What is this research study all about?

- ➢ *This study will be conducted by means of the mixed method research approach and will involve 30minute to 1hour video recorded interviews guided by open ended questions.*
- ➢ *Approximately 12 participants will be included in this study.*
- ➢ *The objectives of this research are:*

  - *To investigate the dialect change of second language Afrikaans-English speakers, post-emigration to North Dakota.*

  - *To explore and examine the identity change or integration of these South African immigrants into the North American community along with its contribution to changes in the dialect of the participants.*

Why have you been invited to participate?

- ➢ *You have been invited to participate because you are a first language Afrikaans speaking emigrant and your participation will add valuable research findings.*
- ➢ *You have also complied with the following inclusion criteria: You are between the age range of 25 and 38 years and you are either within the emigration process or have already emigrated with an established life in North Dakota, USA.*
- ➢ *You will be excluded if you were not emigrating and/or not a first language Afrikaans speaker.*

What will your responsibilities be?

- ➢ *You will be expected to attend a video call through Skype and participate in an interview that will be between 30min and 1 hour in length as well as sign a consent form that confirms your agreement to participate and your understanding of your rights and the research procedures.*

Will you benefit from taking part in this research?

- ➢ *The direct benefits for you as a participant will probably be a gift as token of appreciation you will receive from the researcher.*
- ➢ *The indirect benefit will probably be your valuable emigration experience and (explicit and implicit) information revealed through the interview will contribute to and assist future researchers (including myself) regarding emigration and second dialect acquisition studies.*

Are there risks involved in your taking part in this research and how will these be managed?

- ➢ *The risks in this study, and how these will be managed, are summarised in the table below:*

Probable/possible risks/discomforts	***Strategies to minimize risk/discomfort***
It is possible that some interview questions might be too personal to share.	You will not be coerced to answer questions that you are not comfortable with. You may ask to skip the question.
The researcher will ask questions regarding the challenges that you faced during or within your emigration or integration process, which may lead to thoughts about difficult times in your life. This could make you feel uncomfortable.	The researcher has a registered counsellor who is able and willing to counsel through video call session. (45 min per session) Again, you are welcome to stop the interview process or to skip a question when you feel uncomfortable.
Etc.	

- ➢ *However, we do believe that the benefits to you and to research (as noted in the previous section) outweigh the risks we have listed. If you disagree, then please feel free not to participate in this study. We will respect your decision.*

- ➢ *Should we learn, in the course of the research, that someone is harming you, or that you are intending to harm someone, then we must tell someone who can help you/warn the person you are intending to harm.*

Who will have access to the data?

- ➢ *Anonymity (that is, in no way will your results be linked to your identity) will be upheld throughout the entire research process. Your identity will never be revealed or disclosed to anyone. Confidentiality (that is, I/we assure you that we will protect the information we have about you) will be ensured by the researcher and her supervising Professor. Reporting of findings will be anonymous by all measures and outcomes.*
- ➢ *Only the researcher and the supervising professor will have access to the recorded Skype videos. The transcribed data will be kept safe and secure by locking hard copies in locked cupboards in the researcher's office and the electronic data will be password protected.*
- ➢ *Audio-recorded data will be transcribed by the researcher and the researcher will not discuss the data with anyone other than the Supervising Professor. As soon as the researcher has successfully completed her research, the videos and transcribed data will be deleted and discarded.*
- ➢ *Data will be stored for a maximum of one year.*

What will happen to the data?

The data from this study will be reported in the following ways: The data will be analysed and academically presented and formally discussed in a MA Dissertation. Throughout the entire writing process, you will not be personally identified. This means that the reporting will not include your name or details that will help others to know that you participated (e.g., your name or contact details). This is a once-off study, so the data will not be re-used.

Will you be paid/compensated to take part in this study and are there any costs involved?

Yes, you will be compensated to take part in the study by means of a gift of appreciation. If you have any Skype costs, then these costs will be paid by the researcher. There will thus be no costs involved for you.

How will you know about the findings?

- ➢ *You are welcome to request your transcribed interview in order to see whether the researcher has correctly reflected your every word in the transcription.*
- ➢ *The finished dissertation will also be sent to you if you wish to read it.*

Is there anything else that you should know or do?

- ➢ *You can contact (researcher) Charlene Janse van Rensburg at 701 737 9468 if you have any further queries or encounter any problems.*
- ➢ *You can contact the chair of the Ethics Committee for Language Matters (Prof C van Eeden) at 016 910 3442 or chrizanne.vaneeden@nwu.ac.za if you have any concerns or complaints that have not been adequately addressed by the researcher.*
- ➢ *You will receive a copy of this information and consent form for your own records.*

Declaration by participant

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

I declare that:

- I have read and understood this information and consent form and it is written in a language with which I am fluent and comfortable.
- I have had a chance to ask questions to both the person obtaining consent, as well as the researcher (if this is a different person), and all my questions have been adequately answered.
- I understand that taking part in this study is **voluntary** and I have not been pressurised to take part.
- I understand that what I contribute (what I report/say/write/draw/produce visually) could be reproduced publicly and/or quoted, but without reference to my personal identity.
- I may choose to leave the study at any time and will not be penalised or prejudiced in any way.
- I may be asked to leave the study before it has finished, if the researcher feels it is in my best interests, or if I do not follow the study plan, as agreed to.

Signed at (*place*) .....….....…….. on (*date*) ……....…….. 20....

....

Signature of participant **Signature of witness**

- You may contact me again **Yes No**
- I would like a summary of the findings of this research **Yes No**
- I would like feedback on my functioning/wellbeing as reflected in the questionnaires I completed **Yes No**

The best way to reach me is:

Name & Surname: _____

Postal Address: _____

Email: _____

Phone Number: _____

Cell Phone Number: _____

In case the above details change, please contact the following person who knows me well and who does not live with me and who will help you to contact me:
Name & Surname:

_____

Phone/ Cell Phone Number /Email:

_____

Declaration by person obtaining consent

I *(name)* ..... declare that:

- I explained the information in this document to ……..
- I encouraged him/her to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them.
- I am satisfied that he/she adequately understands all aspects of the research, as discussed above
- I did/did not use a interpreter.

Signed at (*place*) .....…..…….. on (*date*) ……...…….. 20....

....

Signature of person obtaining consent **Signature of witness**

Declaration by researcher

I *(name)* ..... declare that:

- I explained the information in this document to ……..
- I encouraged him/her to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them.
- I am satisfied that he/she adequately understands all aspects of the research, as discussed above
- I did/did not use a interpreter.

Signed at (*place*) .....…..…….. on (*date*) ……...…….. 20....

. ..... **Signature of researcher**

..... **Signature of witness**