

LANGUAGE SHIFT IN DISTRICT SIX: SNAPSHOTS AND FRAMES

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1. Cape Town's District Six was a large inner-city neighbourhood, first settled in the 1840s and, by the implementation of a series of apartheid laws, depopulated and almost entirely razed during the 1970s¹. English and Afrikaans each have a history of having been both lingua franca and home language in that area. As lingua francas, the two languages were used instrumentally by large numbers of people who had little or no concern with the promotion and preservation of the standard dialects of the languages as a part of maintaining their own identity in the multilingual, multicultural context of the city. The effects of this can be seen in contemporary vernacular English and Afrikaans which differ markedly from the standard dialects, and, it can be argued, show linguistic signs of this long period of language contact. That this claim cannot yet be fully substantiated with respect to local English I have argued elsewhere (McCormick 1989a and b).

The striking feature of tape-recorded data from District Six is the degree of convergence between the non-standard dialects of English and Afrikaans especially as spoken by the younger members of this working-class speech community. This convergence raises fundamental questions about the principles on which decisions should be made about the classification of utterances (or parts of them) as belonging to one language rather than the other.² It seems that a system-oriented approach needs to be complemented by a speaker-oriented one, and that even then, challenging anomalies remain. For example, speakers of the local dialect of Afrikaans use many English loanwords. Often they know that they are loanwords

¹ A more detailed account of the speech community, its history, contemporary attitudes and language use is contained in McCormick 1989a. Funding for this project was given by the University of Cape Town and the Human Sciences Research Council, to whom my thanks are due.

² There are also implications for the viability of common practices in the examination of code-switched utterances for the operation of grammatical constraints: the data suggest the necessity for a fundamental reassessment of the possibility of identifying switch-points and of pursuing analysis which depends on that identification. The theoretical and metatheoretical issues are discussed in McCormick 1989a and b.

but they don't know what the standard Afrikaans equivalents are. One resident who described herself as Afrikaans-speaking said, "When I speak Afrikaans I use English words most of the time."

In the course of my doctoral research on the speech community of District Six I gathered tape-recorded data of interviews (conducted by trained interviewers who were able to use the local vernacular, or by myself); of children talking and playing; of families at home; and of adults in meetings. My initial impression, on the basis of this evidence, was that the local dialect of English in its most distinctive form is found among young children, and is likely to be a transitional variety, unlike the local dialect of Afrikaans which seems to be more stable both in its social position within the speech community and in its morpho-syntactic structures. The morpho-syntactic structures of the local dialect of English appear to have been heavily influenced by contact with Afrikaans (though the origin of these structures could lie elsewhere, as I shall show later). Contrastive analysis of the English and Afrikaans spoken by the older and younger members of the speech community reveals in the speech of young children greater convergence between the local dialects than is to be found among older speakers. I think this can be explained in terms of the language shift that is taking place on a large scale within the community. Many parents who regard themselves as Afrikaans speaking speak only English - and it is not standard English - to their children. The children are thus acquiring an L2 variety as their mother tongue. I do not expect the process of convergence between English and Afrikaans to continue, however, because the local variety of English has no social value whereas standard English does, even though adults would not speak it to one another in the neighbourhood - it would be regarded as very snobbish to do so. At this point it might be useful to have a picture of the contemporary linguistic repertoire in the small area of District Six that was not depopulated. One could see the repertoire as a spectrum with standard English at one end and standard Afrikaans at the other. Few adults command the full range of codes. Sharing most of the features of standard Afrikaans syntax, but drawing heavily on English for vocabulary, is the non-standard dialect of Afrikaans known as *kombuistaal* [kitchen language] or Kaaps [Cape]. Overlapping extensively with standard English, particularly in its lexicon, but differing in several morpho-syntactic rules, is the local dialect of English often described by its speakers as 'broken English'. In the speech community, both code-switching and the mixing that characterises non-standard Afrikaans are subsumed under one term, *kombuistaal*. I prefer not to use that term for two reasons: its use by an outsider can be offensive, and secondly, as a single term, it hides a distinction which sometimes needs to be made between the mixed code and the practice of code-switching.³ I use the term 'vernacular' to cover the non-standard dialects of both languages and the switching between them.

³ I use the term "code switching" to refer to the alternation of a string of words in one language with a string of words in the other language. "Code-mixing" refers to the insertion of single items from one language into a construction in the other language.

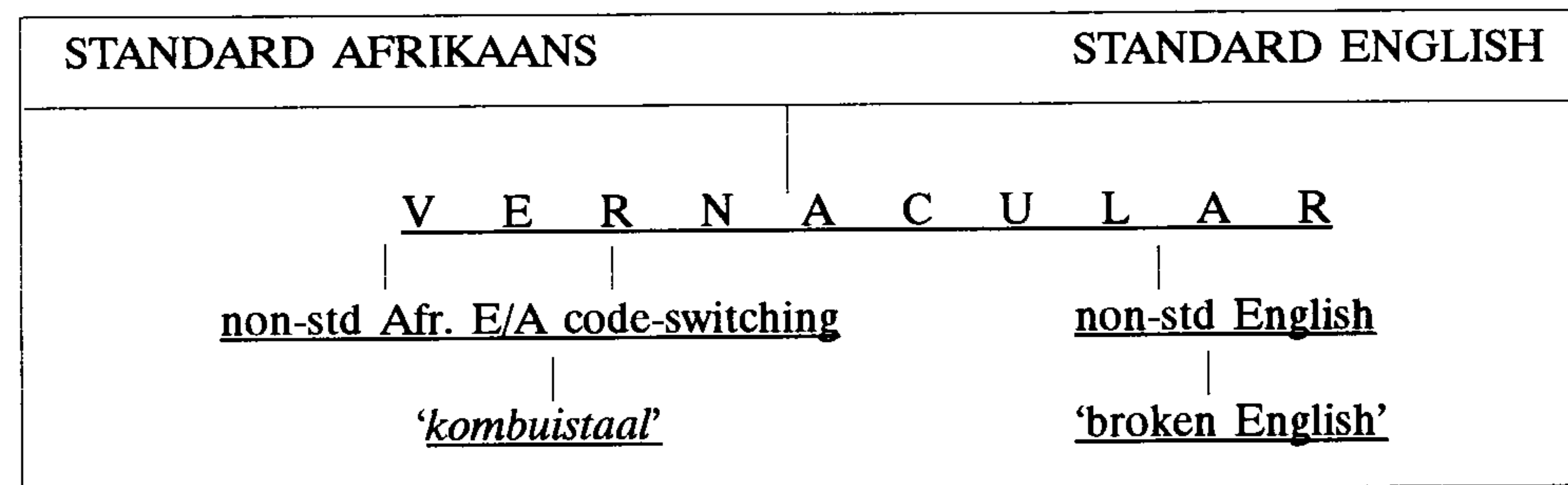


Fig. 1 Schematic representation of the codes in the linguistic repertoire of District Six

The case for considering vernacular Afrikaans as a mixed code is strong because the English origin of part of its lexicon is clear. Until more is known about the origins of English-speaking settlers in District Six, the claim that local English is a mixed code cannot be properly assessed because the origin of its non-standard morpho-syntactic rules is not clear: some do have exact parallels in Afrikaans but they are also found in other dialects of English and thus may be residual traces of dialects spoken by British and Irish immigrants who settled in District Six. The relationships between the two local dialects and their standard counterparts can be expressed diagrammatically thus:

	STD AND NON-STD ENGLISH	STD AND NON-STD AFRIKAANS
LEXICONS	very similar	many differences
MPRPHO-SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES	several differences	very similar

Fig. 2 Schematic representation of the relationship between standard and non-standard dialects of English and Afrikaans

In terms of the locus of their most distinctive features, non-standard Afrikaans (nsA) and non-standard English (nsE) are mirror images of each other: nsE is distinguished from the standard dialect primarily by differences in morphology and syntax - the lexicons are similar, whereas nsA is distinguished from its standard counterpart primarily in the lexicon - morphology and syntax are similar in the two dialects. (I have not studied the phonology of either dialect.)

This paper attempts to give "snapshots" of the current language shift, using illustrative data from a few individuals "framed" in such a way as to show why and how it takes place, and to present the linguistic features of the English of older and younger speakers. The research project out of which it grows was not designed as a study of language shift, but as a descriptive study of a speech community's history, language attitudes and use of language in different domains. Nevertheless, in the data there is interesting evidence of language shift. The evi-

dence is of various kinds⁴ of which two will be used here: narrative, which is dealt with in Part 2 of this paper, and linguistic, which is the subject of Part 3.

2. The narrative material is a linguistic biography of five generations of one family, and a resident's account of change that she has witnessed over three generations in the neighbourhood.

The biography emerged in two interviews, the first (done by a research assistant) with AC, a woman aged 24, and the second (which I did) with her paternal grandmother, TC, who lived next-door and was 81 at the time of the interview. The first interview opened thus:

Int. What is your home language?

AC English.

Int. Tell me now, did you have a choice, when you started school of being in the English or the Afrikaans class or did your Mom just put you in the English class?

AC Well you see, I was just - from baby I spoke English. When I started speaking it was English and then when I got to to age of six I just then, you know, went to an English class

Int. Do you know perhaps if your grandparents - what language they spoke?

AC Afrikaans

Int. Afrikaans. Was is predominantly Afrikaans or did they have code-switching?⁵

AC No, Afrikaans all the way.

Int. Does your brother and sisters speak English or Afrikaans?

AC My brother speaks Afrikaans.

Int. Mhm, and his children?

AC English

Int. Tell me, why is it that your brother speaks Afrikaans and you English?

AC Well I, I don't really - (nervous laugh)

AC's mother, who was in the room and participated in the rest of the exchange, did not offer any explanation. Then the daughter continued after a pause:

You see he - on school he was in Afrikaans, you know, so I suppose he just...

Int. So he just kept on going with the Afrikaans

AC With the Afrikaans, uh huh. But if he speaks to me he'll speak English to me, you know, seeing that I'm English-speaking.

Mother and daughter contributed this description when asked what they spoke when the whole family (including aunts and cousins) got together:

AC Afrikaans then. I will say the, the elderly -

⁴ Evidence comes from records kept by schools and religious centres, from accounts of the effects of statutes, from interviews and from other tape-recorded speech.

⁵ Before starting each interview, interviewers explained what the term "code-switching" meant.

JC She will now speak English and, and they will all speak English but like we, like - I'm now her mother, and, and when my sisters come here then we speak Afrikaans you know? But now when the cousins speak, then they speak English.

AC Ja, I would say the younger ones all speak English.

JC English.

AC The elderly people, they Afrikaans again.

From the interview with TC (AC's grandmother), we gather that only Afrikaans was spoken in her childhood home and this was the language of her first few years at school. The rest of her schooling was through the medium of English. Her husband's father was from Jamaica. As he was white and his surname was an English one, Mr C1⁶ was probably English-speaking. His wife came from the island of St Helena. It is likely that she was English-speaking. TC (Ms C2) did not say what language she herself had spoken to her husband⁷ but reported speaking only Afrikaans to her six children. She did not say whether her husband spoke English to them. They all went to the local state school which, at that time, was English-medium only.

Using the material from the two interviews we arrive at Figure 3.

In this speech community, nothing in the Cs' linguistic biography is unusual. Some background information will help to show why. Mr C2's parents were immigrants. Cape Town was a thriving port city, a calling place for ships plying between East and West. District Six, the residential area closest to the harbour and city centre, was often the place where immigrants made their first homes. At the turn of the century it had many boarding-houses and there were also relatively cheap houses and rooms to rent. Employment of all kinds could be found on the borders of or within the District - it was not a purely residential area. The lingua franca of Cape Town, a cosmopolitan colonial town, was English and those of District Six's residents whose work brought them into contact with people from outside the area needed English in varying degrees in the work-place.

Ms C2 spoke only Afrikaans at home as a child and learned English at school. She started school in Afrikaans, at one of the two schools run by German missionaries. Both of these schools were Afrikaans-medium. When the family moved to another part of District Six, she went to the school run by Anglican missionaries. There the medium of instruction was English. Fourteen of the twenty schools operating in District Six before 1950 taught only through the medium of English, though in the first part of the 20th Century the home language of the pupils was at least as likely to be Afrikaans or Yiddish as English. Her formal education ended before

⁶ To indicate generations, a number has been placed after the initial representing the surname. So, for example, Mr C3 is a member of the third generation.

⁷ In the interview TC's narrative style frequently involves apparent quotation of her husband's words but I have not regarded that as an indicator of the language he spoke, as he had been dead for nearly 50 years, and as quotation in this speech community often involves a code-switch for the stylistic purpose of foregrounding the quotation.

DESCENDANTS TREE C
5 generations from Mr C1 (E)

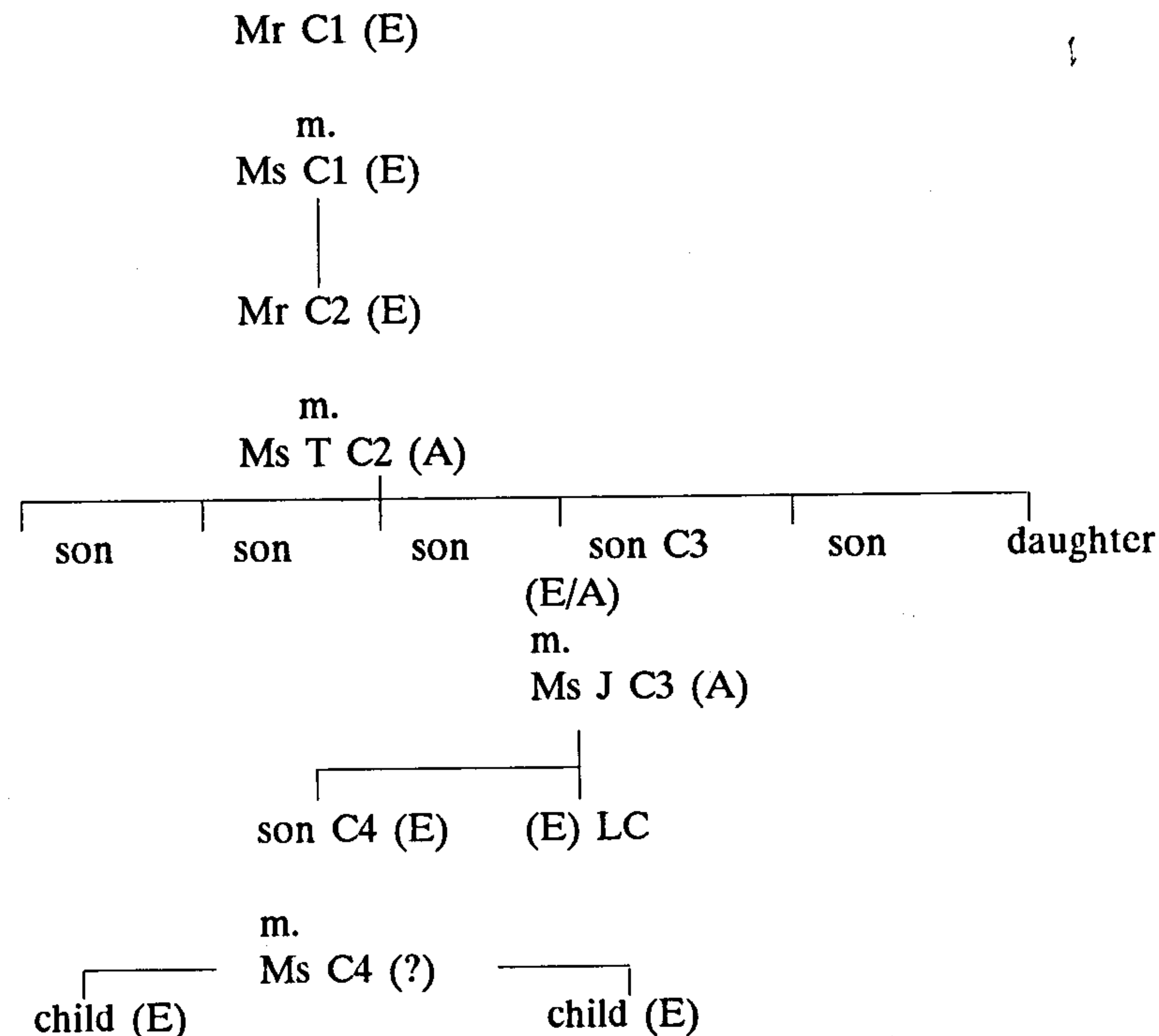


Fig. 3. The Cs' Family Tree.

(The generations are numbered 1-5. Bracketed E and A indicate first language.)

high-school and she went to work two blocks from her home in a big sweet factory where she would have had occasion to use English, so the language acquired at school was not forgotten. That her motive for maintaining her skill in English was not assimilative is suggested by the fact that, though her husband came from an English-speaking home, she remembers herself as speaking only Afrikaans to her six children. She saw no problem in sending them to an English-medium school, however. In this she is not unusual. The old people whom I interviewed expressed no strong feelings about either language and gave the impression that their learning and subsequent use of a language other than the one their parents spoke had arisen out of immediate practical circumstances, rather than ideological position or strong feeling.

Younger people, JC and AC's peers, do have strong feelings about English and Afrikaans. These younger generations grew up strongly associating the Afrikaans language with the National Party regime and its apartheid policies which, in their lifetime, destroyed the greater part of District Six - approximately 30,000 people

were evicted, and their homes bulldozed in preparation for turning this prime land into a residential area for people classified as "white". The vast majority of the 30,000 had been classified as "coloured". Many of them had Afrikaans as their home language, but perceived the dialect they spoke as very different from that used by white Afrikaner nationalists. Among people of the apartheid generations that difference is emphasized: it is very common to claim, as did both AC and her mother, that the standard dialect, referred to as *suiwer Afrikaans* [pure Afrikaans], is not understood - this in spite of the fact that it is an obligatory subject throughout a pupil's school years. Not only is it enforced as a subject (as is English) but, after the Nationalists came to power in 1948, regulations about education through the medium of the mother-tongue (which had been on the statute books since the 1920s) were enforced. Thus, for example, the local Muslim school which had been English medium since its foundation in 1913 was forced to use Afrikaans as the only medium of instruction. Most Muslim families were Afrikaans-speaking at home, but had been happy to send their children to the English-medium Muslim school. In the speech community English is perceived as the language of upward mobility, the language of the wider world and the language of opposition to apartheid. After the mother-tongue policy was enforced numbers at the school dropped dramatically (by approximately 75%) over a period of three decades, until the school reversed the policy in 1987. Since then the numbers have risen sharply, and as the population of the "feeder area" has not grown, the increase in numbers must be attributed to preference for English medium of instruction. In the 1950s several other schools in the area had either to change language medium or to become parallel medium, teaching one set of pupils through the medium of English and the other set through the medium of Afrikaans. However, it was not uncommon for school principals who resented the interference in the running of their schools to turn a blind eye to infringements of the mother-tongue law. If Afrikaans-speaking parents put a child in the English class (as AC's brother chose to do) and the child coped, parents' wishes were respected, but if the child's academic progress was impeded by language difficulty parents were advised to let him or her go into the Afrikaans class. This latitude accounts for siblings not necessarily having the same medium of instruction - the case of AC and her brother.

The change in language-medium policy has had important effects on the English of District Six. Most of today's older residents who learned English at school learned it not only as a subject: it was the medium of instruction for all subjects, and the language of school administration, informal activities and socialising at school. Thus, before 1950, scholars whose home language was Afrikaans had the opportunity to develop a first-language level of competence in English. This opportunity was not available for many Afrikaans speakers who had their schooling after 1950. They learned English as a subject only, the medium of instruction for other subjects being Afrikaans, the school administration was bilingual and socialising at school seems to have been confined to those from the same language stream. (The two streams were seen as socially, and sometimes academically unequal, as many interviewees testify.) The result is that English remained a second

language for these people, who include the parents of today's pre-schoolers. The English that they speak exclusively to their children is, therefore, an L2 variety which is functioning as an L1 variety for the children.

In this community schooling in English and Afrikaans are not perceived as "separate but equal" (a phrase sometimes used to sell apartheid-divided institutions). There was and still is a very strong belief that children in the English classes are educationally privileged in a number of ways both at school and in tertiary education and also in the economic and social opportunities that arise post-school. This belief would account for the pattern that MO, aged 63, reports:⁸

- MO *Nee daar's baie mense hier wat Engels praat en Afrikaans, and baie hierso praat Afrikaans. Hoekom praat hulle Engels hierso is hulle dink nou van die kinders se schooling you know* No there are many people here who speak Afrikaans, and many here speak English. (The reason) why they speak English here is (that) they are thinking now about the children's schooling, you know.
- Int. Mm, mm.
- MO *Ja nou daarom is 'it. Toe sou mense sit vir kinders in Afrikaanse klasse en nou mense sit vir kinders in Engelse klasse. So is dit.* Yes, that's why it is - Before, people would put children in Afrikaans classes and now they put them in English classes. That's how it is.
- Int. Mm I see. *Maar dink MO nie die mense praat nou meer Engels as Afrikaans? Of nie?...* But don't you think that people talk more English than Afrikaans nowadays?
- MO *Hier praat hulle meer Afrikaans.* Here they speak more Afrikaans.
- Int. *Afrikaans.* Afrikaans
- MO *Ja, Afrikaans, ja.* Yes, Afrikaans, yes.
- Int. *Maar ek het hier skool gegaan by T-----.* But I went to school here at T-----.
- MO Oo!
- Int. *En ek kan nog onthou baie, baie Afrikaans.* And I still remember a lot of Afrikaans.
- MO *Baie Afrikaans, ja. Ek dink dit is maar nou eers wat die mense kon in die mode van Engels hier.* (...)A lot of Afrikaans, yes. I think it's really only now that people have come into the fashion of English here.

Want daar is baie kinders wat - Kyk, die kinders was nou klein gewees en het altyd Afrikaans gepraat maar later toe hulle nou groot word, toe gaan hulle mos nou skool. Toe sien ek nou hoe die kinders praat nog maar eers Engels.

Because there are many pupils who -- (...) Look, the children were small and they always spoke Afrikaans, but later when they got bigger they went to school. And now I see how the children now prefer to talk in English/talk English for the first time.

(...)

MO *En die ouers en die pa's hulle het almal Afrikaans gepraat, want ons het nou saam by hulle gespeel.*

And the parents and the fathers - (used to) talk Afrikaans, because we used to play with them.

There may be conflict between narrative and linguistic evidence of whether a person is English speaking or Afrikaans speaking as is indicated by the responses to the interviewer's question to MO's grandchildren:

- Int. *Mm en wat praat julle? (to children) Engels of Afrikaans?* And what do you speak English or Afrikaans?
- Ch.1 *Engels.* English.
- Ch.2 *Engels.* English.
- MO *Nee, Afrikaans.* No, Afrikaans.

Something similar arose in the case of the C family. AC reports (and her mother does not contradict her) that her grandparents spoke Afrikaans, and did not code-switch. On my way to interview A's grandmother, I asked the person from the community centre who was to introduce us, what language TC spoke. She replied, with emphasis, "Very mixed." This is TC's response to the question about which language she preferred for listening to the radio:

The wireless (laughs) -. To be honest with you lady *die wireless speel daar (pointing to TV) dan sien ek nou net prentjies en ek kan nie verstaan nie.* Then I - sometime I said to my daughter "Kyk net, wat sé hulle nou?" *Want it gets - uh - moeilik. Dan sé sy, "Wag na, ek will eers kyk: ". Want sy wil nou eers lees er er die storie of wat. Nou sal sy my vertel.* But many night I get fed up like that. *As jy nou wil kyk wat aan of luister en ek interrupt jou -. Then I go to my room. Then I go lay down (laughs) because ek interrupt her. Ek wil ook tog graag weet wat die storie is en wat is daar. And so I don't worry, you see? But*

The wireless - (laughs). To be honest with you, lady, the wireless plays there (pointing to TV) then I only see pictures and I can't understand. Then I - sometimes I said to my daughter "Just look what are they saying now?" Because it gets - uh - difficult. Then she says, "Wait Mom, I want to watch first". Because she wants to read the story or whatever first and then she'll tell me. But many a time at night then I get fed up like that. If you want to watch something or listen and I interrupt you - Then I go to my room. Then I go lay down. I also want to know what the story is and what is going

⁸ Italics have been used to indicate Afrikaans. Translation is provided in the right-hand column.

I rather maar go to - because I just see pictures *en ek weet nie wat gaan die praterie nie want* - you see what the children are today - *hulle word so impatience vir ons. En dan gaan ek maar kamer toe.* Then I go to lay down otherwise then we get into trouble.

on. And I don't worry, you see, but I rather just to, to - because I just see pictures and I don't know what's going on with the talking. Because - you see what the children are today - they become so impatient with us. And then I just go to my room. Then I go lay down otherwise then we get into trouble.

The density of MC's mixing and switching is unusual, but the phenomena are very common. In fact mixing and switching characterise the code that is socially endorsed for friendly neighbourhood interaction even when speakers are capable of using the standard dialects.

3. Let us look now at the nsE spoken by members of the oldest and youngest generations of the speech community. The data base on which I am drawing here is not equally weighted for the two age groups: I have six and a half hours of tape-recorded speech from people aged 60-80, and twenty-six hours from pre-school children. The discrepancy would have to be corrected by more recording of the speech of old people before strong generalizations could be made. What I have chosen to do below is discuss the operation of optional dialect rules in the speech of four old people and four pre-schoolers.⁹ Three of the old people had Afrikaans as their home language and one grew up in an English-speaking home. Two of the pre-schoolers are being brought up as English speaking. One is being brought up as bilingual, while the parents of the fourth child speak Afrikaans to her but she seems to prefer to speak English, even when with peers who are Afrikaans speaking or competent bilinguals.

What is interesting is that regardless of home language "policy" in their families, the English spoken by the four children is very similar, sharing the same nsE rules. Their speech manifests more of the local nsE optional rules than does that of the older generation. Possible reasons for this will be given in the closing section of the paper.¹⁰

⁹ For ascertaining the non-standard syntactic features of local English as a whole, my method was to start by examining the taped speech of pre-school children. I listed, by category with examples, all of the non-standard features that occurred, noting whether the speaker was said by teachers to be English-dominant, Afrikaans-dominant or a balanced bilingual. Knowing that some of the features would be age-related, I checked whether these features occurred in the language of primary school children at each grade level. This was done by asking teachers at the two primary schools to fill in a questionnaire, designed to track the occurrence of these features. High school teachers were taken through the same questionnaire orally.

¹⁰ By combining the different kinds of information obtained on children's language, I was able to "sift out" those non-standard features which seemed not to be merely an indication of a stage of language acquisition. I drew up a check list of these more permanent features for use in my analysis of adult speech. (For the study of morpho-syntactic features of vernacular English and Afrikaans, 52 hours of taped speech from 143 speakers were examined.)

What follows is a list of nsE structures with examples taken from speakers of all ages. The prevalence of each structure in the speech of the four pre-schoolers compared with that of the four 60-80-year-olds is indicated.

As I suggested above, evidence on the extent to which local nsE should be regarded as a mixed code is not clear. In the following list and discussion of distinctively non-standard morpho-syntactic features, those constructions that occur in other dialects of English are marked with a +OE and those that occur in standard Afrikaans are marked with a +A.

Verb-related features

a. Person-marking

Among the four older speakers the most common non-standard constructions are those involving SV concord, but they are optional, for example:

(1) they **drink** and they **makes** a lot of noise.

and, compared with the children, they use them relatively rarely. (In twenty minutes of speech one of the old people produced 142 SV constructions of which only 13.9% - were non-standard.) Among pre-schoolers, the proportion of non-standard to standard SV constructions is about equal. The types of nsE SV constructions are listed below.

- (i) The verb *to be* as both auxiliary and main verb usually has the same form for third person singular and plural. It is the sE third person singular form *is/was*. This is more predictable where the subject is not a pronoun. (+A +OE)
- (2) the minutes **was** proposed
 (3) my hands **isn't** dirty
 (4) **is** the tickets available

There are no instances in any of my data of the use of the 3rd person plural of the verb *to be* with a singular subject. (ii) The case of the verb *to have* as main verb and auxiliary is somewhat different in that there is a reversal of sE forms: the sE third person singular form is used for the nsE third person plural and vice versa as in:

- (5) he **haven't** got no hair
 (6) your parents **has** paid
- (iii) Other verbs tend to follow the pattern of (ii) and have the sE singular form with a plural subject and the sE plural form with a singular subject. +OE
- (7) my brother **also swear**
 (8) the books **gets** dirty

As Afrikaans verbs are not marked for person, attention is drawn to person-marking in English when Afrikaans speakers are learning English. My

hunch is that it is likely that they over-generalize the plural-marking rule for nouns (word-final *s*) and put the word-final *-s* on to verbs with plural subjects.

b. Tense, aspect and modal marking

- (i) Past tense is frequently indicated by using the unemphatic dummy verb *do*. (+OE) This is the most common way of indicating tense in the group of young speakers. There are no examples of it in the older group.

- (9) he **did** eat his food
 (10) look what I **did** make

It is possible that this is done by analogy with Afrikaans which does not use a dummy verb in the past tense but which almost always has two words to mark the past tense: the participle *het* and the MV prefixed by *ge-*.

- (ii) Tense, aspect and modal auxiliaries are frequently deleted (+OE). Where sE can contract the following, nsE can delete them: *are, will, would, has, have*. Young children sometimes delete *am*, but adults do not. There are no examples of non-standard contracted forms or of deletions of auxiliaries in the speech of the four old people. *is* is often contracted but never deleted. In this, local nsE differs from some Caribbean and American BEV dialects which can both contract and delete the third person singular, present tense form of the copula (see Labov 1978:226-230.)

- (11) now we going
 (12) I sing it (Context indicates future)
 (13) I rather spend the afternoon helping in the hall
 (14) he got a Marina (Context indicates reference to continued possession of car, not just to moment of purchase)
 (15) because we grown up in Africa
 (16) I going to school next year

- (iii) The past tense morpheme *-ed* can be deleted. (+OE)

17. when I'm finish working

The deletion of *-ed* and of the contractible *are* could, in many environments, be phonologically motivated. It is not always easy to hear whether these morphemes are absent so I cannot reliably compare the children's and adults' data.

Deletions

- a. Serial markers *and* and *to* may be deleted, creating serial verb constructions that are not common in standard South African English. (+A +OE). There are no examples of this among the four older speakers.

- (18) we did go sleep there

- (19) we went to go fetch my mommy

Most of the examples I have, have *go* as part of the serial. The Afrikaans equivalent, *gaan*, is used in the same way, so this could be a case of an Afrikaans influenced construction, though the principle of serial verbs is shared by other dialects of English.

- b. The suffix *-ly* may be deleted from adverbs, but as (7.47) indicates, this is optional (+OE). This occurs fairly commonly in the four children's speech, but, although adults do use it, there are no examples in the speech of the four older people.

- (20) it's very **tight** fastened
 (21) some of them spoke **beautiful**
 (22) she can write properly but I can't write **nice**

Placing of adverbials

- a. The adverbial may fall in the penultimate position where in sE this would not be possible (+A +OE):

- (23) I'm going to make **now** a snake
 (24) I cut this piece of head **also** off

- b. Adverbs of time precede those of place instead of the reverse which is the sE order (+A +OE):

- (25) she's going **now** home

This is much more common among the pre-schoolers. Among the four older speakers **now** is found in this position but is often clearly used for emphasis rather than as a time indicator.

Non-standard use of prepositions

This is as common among the older people as among pre-schoolers.

- a. *by* is used where sE would have *at* (+A +OE)

- (26) he work **by** the shops

- b. *with* the is used where sE would have *by* (+A)

- (27) we went **with** the car

Double marking of the negative (+A +OE)

This is an optional rule for both young and old speakers. It is particularly likely to occur when the sentence has a slot for *any, anything, anyone*.

- (28) he haven't got **no** hair
 (29) don't bring **nothing** to eat

- (30) once you have your club jersey on you can't smoke cigarettes or **noth-**
ing you can't smoke

Pronoun and demonstrative adjective concord (+A)

One form, *that*, tends to be favoured for use in both singular and plural constructions, where sE would use *that* for the singular only and *those* for the plural. This economy of form is similar to that of sA in that sA doesn't have singular and plural forms for non-personal pronouns or demonstrative adjectives.

- (31) **that** is other people's constitutions

- (32) he must take from **that** reserves

This is seldom found in the speech of old people but frequently in that of the pre-schoolers.

4. In sum, then, we see that the use of non-standard variants is more common among the pre-schoolers than among the oldest members of the community and yet most of the latter group have English as their second language while in the case of the children it is their L1. The 60-80-year-olds learned it at school, where it was the language of teaching and administration, and they also used it at times in their work environment. Their teachers were often native-speakers of English. The pre-schoolers, on the other hand, are learning English from their Afrikaans-dominant parents, so their English is an L2 variety.

Interviews with teachers and questionnaires completed by them indicate that most of the non-standard forms are eradicated by the time children are about half-way through high school. Those that persist are the ones that are currently found in the speech of the older members of the speech community. Thus, by the time these children complete their schooling, their English will probably be very close to standard. Local non-standard English has no social function in the speech community whereas standard English is highly valued (even if not used in informal neighbourhood interaction). There is thus no reason for the community to wish to preserve the non-standard dialect. On these grounds, I would predict that the community's shift towards English will continue, but that non-standard English in its most distinctive form, that currently spoken by pre-schoolers as their first language, will not survive. The process of convergence between the non-standard dialects of English and Afrikaans will thus be halted, if not reversed.

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