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**The Standard in South African English
and its Social History**

second edition

by L.W. Lanham and C.A. Macdonald



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PREFACE

This study of a variety of 'Commonwealth English' is an exercise in the sociology of language conducted mainly within the conceptual framework and methodology created by William Labov (see Labov, 1966, and other references). It accepts that social process and social structure are reflected in patterns of covariation involving linguistic and social variables, and in attitudes to different varieties of speech within the community. In one of two main emphases in this inquiry we pursue this premise in its historical implications: linguistic evidence in present-day speech patterns of earlier states of the society and of the social, political and cultural changes that have brought about the present state. The second main focus in this study is directed at the concept of 'standard variety', i.e. the social attributes and functions of a formal speech pattern for which the status of standard might be claimed. The particular point of interest here is that two such patterns exist in the speech community and this leads to closer inquiry into the social meaning and function of a standard variety and how co-existing standards arise. The particular context for our inquiries is, of course, the social system prevailing in present and former states of white, English-speaking, South African society.

The 'explanation' we offer of formal speech behaviour in present-day South African English is based on empirical and circumstantial evidence. Empirically we have sought to demonstrate that:

- (i) distinct accent types exist in the speech community definable in terms of characterizing phonologic variables and their patterns of co-occurrence;
- (ii) these accents correlate with the major social variables of region, social type (with implications of social class), age, sex;
- (iii) in social evaluation two accent types have the social meaning of 'standard variety' clearly distinguished from the stigmatized non-standard;

(iv) the standard of more recent origin (the 'provincial' standard) is advancing quite rapidly in present-day society.

We readily accept the need for more data to provide firmer empirical support. Data on the speech of children, for example, are quantitatively inadequate; the subdivision of adult samples has, in some cases, left a number too small for validity to be claimed for it.

The case for present-day sociolinguistic patterns as products of social history is a hypothesis testable only with data still accessible in the population from which strong inferences can be drawn. In this connection future research might, in the assessment of social attitudes to speech, explore them within the full matrix of social groups and 'perceived' varieties of SAE, and, in more sophisticated and refined inquiry, seek for confirmation and fuller explication of the competing value systems we have postulated. These we see as major determinants of speech behaviour in formal situations. As integral to the belief systems transmitted in the society, social values are products of social history over comparatively long periods. A programme of future work conducted on the basis of our hypothesis is urgent; the speed of social change in SA society in recent years threatens such irretrievable evidence as that relating to social attitudes to speech varieties, ideal social types and their attributes, etc.

The data on which this study is based were collated, analysed and augmented in 1976 during the senior author's tenure of the Hugh le May Fellowship in Rhodes University, Grahamstown. I am grateful to the University for the facilities made available to me and my special thanks go to Professors F.G. Butler, W.R.G. Branford (and colleagues in the Department of Linguistics and English Language), W.A. Maxwell; and to Dr Jean Branford and the staff of the office of the Dictionary of South African English. The Human Sciences Research Council assisted me financially (Grant No. R/4/191) and provided the means of conducting inquiries in depth into speech and attitude in Settler communities, the subjects concerned are located among the 'long-resident' and 'old-aged' in our total sample

shown in table 1 [p.23] below. My special thanks in this regard are due to Dr K.P. Prinsloo of the Division for Sociolinguistics. The many long-resident and old-aged subjects who assisted me greatly with memories reaching back into the last century must regretfully remain unnamed.

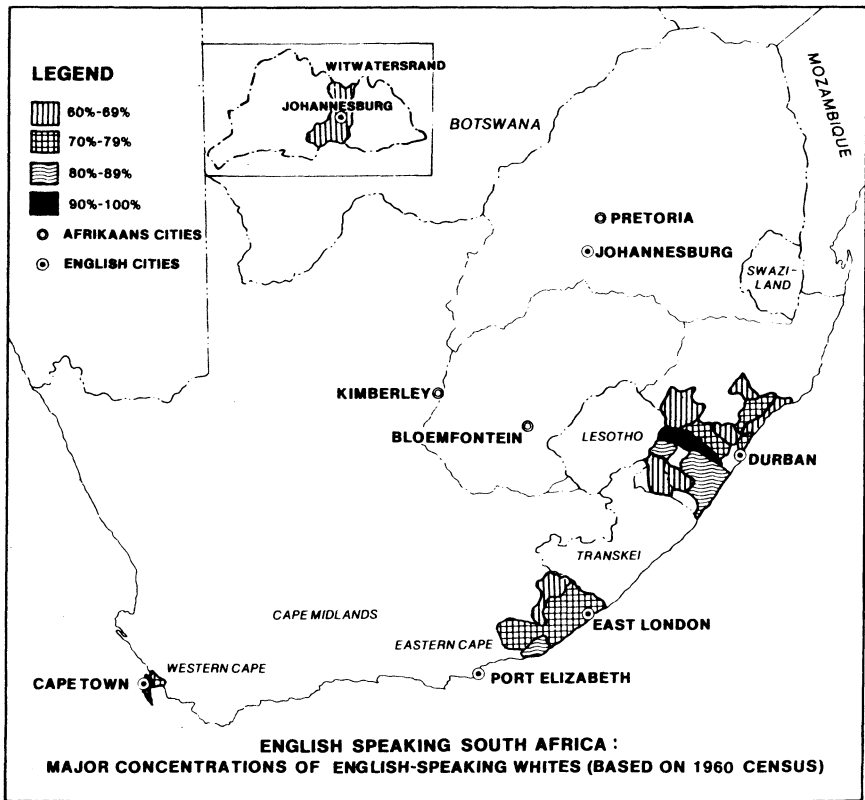
My thanks are also due to my co-author who contributed as an empathic and tireless interviewer of many subjects in the selected samples and the analyser of scores of hours of tape recordings. I acknowledge too her particular contribution to the design and conduct of the experiment which elicited attitudes to the 'provincial standard' [see para.14 below] and the interpretation of the results of this experiment.

In compliance with the request of the Human Sciences Research Council, I affirm that opinions and conclusions herein are my own and are not to be taken as reflections of the opinions or findings of the Council.

The broad canvas of English in the total society having a history in South Africa through all but 20 years of two centuries, is provided in the Introduction, as background to the much narrower focus on the standard variety of SA English. Readers with a particular interest in the history of the society, can proceed to section VII, p.71, which is specifically concerned with the social history of the 'SAE community', i.e. white mother-tongue speakers of English in SA. Social history provides evidence needed to explain present-day speech norms and attitudes and therefore receives separate consideration.

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University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg,
December, 1978.



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ABBREVIATIONS

AfrE	Afrikaans English
Aust E	Australian English
CE	Cape English
Cons SAE	Conservative South African English
Ext SAE	Extreme South African English
Gen SAE	General South African English
HSRC LS	Human Sciences Research Council, Languages Survey (1973)
NE	Natal English
Ob r	Obstruent /r/
Resp SAE	Respectable South African English
RP	Received Pronunciation
SSB	Southern Standard British English

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND: THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Dutch spoken by colonists from Holland arriving at the Cape in 1652 was the first European language to become indigenous to southern Africa in the sense of being the mother tongue of a sizeable population permanently settled in Africa. Its strategic importance brought Britain to invade the Cape in 1806 thereby establishing the British presence in South Africa which continued until 1961. In that year last links with Britain were broken with the declaration of an independent Republic of South Africa by the ruling Nationalist Party drawing most of its support from South Africans of Dutch descent.

As a language of Africa English became firmly established with the first organised settlement of between four and five thousand '1820 Settlers' who landed on the beaches of Port Elizabeth in April, May and June of that year. High hopes of a new life in Africa were carried to small farms and villages of the hinterland but for many these were dashed by the hostile and unfamiliar environment and thirty years of frontier warfare with the Xhosa. British settlers as individuals, families and groups continued to arrive in South Africa dispersing through the Western and Eastern Cape and the Cape Midlands. Another organized settlement of note similar in nature to that of 1820, took place in Natal with the first settlers arriving some 30 years later following on Britain's seizure of Port Natal from the Boers. ('Dutch, Boer, Afrikaner' are successive phases in name, and in attitude, by which those of British descent have known their fellow white settlers in Africa.) The pattern of rural and small-town settlement continued until the 1870's when British (and non-British) immigrants in far larger numbers and with very different motivation streamed into South Africa. This influx provided the main agents of social and economic change in South Africa coinciding with the mineral-industrial revolution; out of it emerged a new society very different in life-style and values from that of the 'old colonials'. (We return to the 'new society' below.)

The expressed policy of the early British administration of the Cape was to anglicize their Dutch-speaking subjects. With the exception of a few influential Dutch families of the Cape who became English in everything but name, Dutch colonists firmly maintained their identity resisting all efforts to merge them into the numerically smaller English-speaking community. In fact, throughout the century neither Dutch nor English colonist was prepared to yield his identity to the other and in consequence the two European languages co-existed in bilinguals in a divided white society. The first significant event in the history of English in the Dutch (Afrikaner) community was the proclamation of 1822 issued by Lord Charles Somerset, the governor of the Cape, making English the only official language of the Colony, Somerset's intention of 'facilitating the acquirement of the English language in all classes of society' was effected by recruiting schoolmasters from Britain for the rural schools of the Cape, and Scottish clergymen to fill the empty ranks of the priesthood in the Dutch Reformed Church of the Colony. (By the time of the Great Trek in 1836 half the parsons of the Church were Scotsmen.) Andrew Murray, the most distinguished of these, who later became Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, identified totally with the Dutch community and later generations in his family spoke their language as mother-tongue. The majority of parsons and schoolmasters, however, did not integrate in similar fashion, but played a major role in the dissemination of English (as second language) in the Dutch community. Except for remote dorps and farms, Dutch soon yielded to English in the public life of the Cape including law, education and entertainment; but it resisted stubbornly in religious life and in the home. References to high levels of competence in English among young bilingual members of the Dutch community appear in the records of the time, but it is clear that in the matter of pronunciation a Dutch (Afrikaans) speech pattern was maintained often in the presence of virtual mother-tongue control of English. (Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, a protagonist of Dutch identity and aspirations at the Cape, as editor of *De Volksvriend* admitted

to drafting his leader articles in English and translating them later into Dutch.) Dutch families valued English for education and as a means of entering public life, but jealously guarded their mother-tongue as a cherished symbol of a tight-knit, fiercely independent society of frontiersmen conscious of their past, but totally committed to Africa as their future.

After the Great Trek of 1836, attitudes towards the English language in the Boer Republics of the north remained favourable and English was promoted in education, by for example, Brebner, a Scot who was for some years Director of Education in the Free State Republic. An incident which took place in 1872 is revealing: President Burgers of the independent Transvaal Republic addressing on invitation the mainly Dutch community of Paarl (near Cape Town) chose to speak in English at an official reception - and was prepared to defend his choice of language when challenged. Growing animosity towards Imperial Britain later in the century did not initially bring drastic change in attitude towards English which retained its social meaning of *geleerdheid* (good education) and its function as the medium for commercial transactions and business life.

Language played the major role in the Afrikaner's growing awareness of his African identity independent of his Dutch origins. Afrikaner nationalism and growing sense of nationhood in the last quarter of the 19th century found in the distinctiveness of Afrikaans, the Afrikaner's spoken language for generations, a symbol of this identity and of his struggle against British domination. Hostile attitudes towards English which posed such a threat to Afrikaans wherever there was a mingling of communities, were inevitable. From the turn of the century English declined in education and its use in Afrikaner society in schools becomingly openly identified as the "language of the enemy".

Paradoxically, hostility towards the English language, across the widening and deepening gulf of language loyalty which has divided white South African society for nearly two centuries, developed at a time when political and economic

factors were drawing the Afrikaner reluctantly but inexorably into more intimate contact with English-dominated urban-industrial society. The Afrikaner's move to the cities reached major proportions in the late 1920's and early 30's when drought and economic depression impoverished, even rendered destitute, some 300 thousand Afrikaners. Johannesburg, a typically English industrial city, and thorn in the side to Kruger's Transvaal Republic, was the Mecca for many forced to find a living in town and city. (Van Jaarsveld, 1972.) Small wonder that church and political leaders have seen urbanization as a major threat to the Afrikaner nation. In 1896 only seven thousand of the 50 thousand white inhabitants of Johannesburg were Afrikaner; in 1946 35% of the Witwatersrand population (Johannesburg and satellite mining towns) was Afrikaans-speaking, these making up 50% of the urbanized Afrikaners in South Africa. In 1951, for the first time, the cities of SA had more Afrikaners than English-speaking inhabitants. The following table showing Afrikaners in SA cities indicates the pace and scale of urbanization.

1911	200 thousand	= 29% of Afrikaners
1926	391	41%
1936	535	50%
1960	1369	75%

(From van Jaarsveld, 1972.)

These conditions gave point and purpose to the *taalstryd* (language struggle) proclaimed by church and political groups and the campaigns they launched effectively thrust English out of the daily lives of many younger Afrikaners. In consequence English declined in quality and quantity in the Afrikaner community. In 1953 the Public Service Commission reported a grave decline in the standards of English revealed in the Public Service entrance examinations - with standards in Afrikaans remaining unchanged. Census returns until 1950 showed Afrikaners as more bilingual than English-speaking South Africans; in that year 11% and 15% respectively could not speak the other language. The 1960 Census, however, showed the position reversed: 18% of Afrikaners and 15% of English South Africans indicated no ability to use the other language. Roused by a growing sense of political helplessness

English-speaking South Africans have risen to the defence, if not the promotion, of English and a main target of their ire is the aberrant Afrikaans-English of officialdom, politicians and government-controlled media. Not, however, due to their efforts, but more to pressures on white South Africans in a changing, shrinking world, has there been a change in the state of English in Afrikaans-speaking society. A mollification in attitudes to English has taken place at least in Afrikaner society in the cities, who now have a degree of social and economic control in addition to the political power they have wielded for 30 years. A complex of factors of this nature has worked to restore high levels of competence in English among the influential and better-educated Afrikaners. Of interest is an accent change in many of the younger, competent Afrikaner bilinguals. Afrikaans-English pronunciation is today predicted more by an age over 50 than among those younger and a South African English accent (i.e. a variety of SAE - the speech of mother-tongue English speakers in SA) is not uncommon amongst younger speakers. Empirical evidence of changing attitudes to English on the part of younger Afrikaners comes from Hauptfleisch (vol 3 in the series *Language loyalty in South Africa*, in press - see references) analysing data from the Human Sciences Research Council's Languages Survey (HSRC LS) of 1973: 25% of the 18-24 age-group of Afrikaners would like to be taken as English in the company of English speakers and 58% feel that the ability to speak English is prestigious. The 55+ age-group, on the contrary, largely shows opposite attitudes; only 7.5% wish to be taken as English speakers.

Black English is, with negligible exception, a second language to the Bantu mother tongue for some 32% of 15 million Black South Africans who claim competence in English (a calculation by Dr E.G. Malherbe based on the 1960 Census). The tradition of English in the black community in Southern Africa was set in the great mission institutions of the Cape, particularly the Eastern Cape - later in Natal and much later in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The oldest of these missions were founded in an age of missionary zeal by

teachers and preachers who came with the early British settlers. Residential mission schools provided an authentic cultural context for the learning of English, which countered the threat to the norms of international English posed by total displacement in an entirely African environment - with consequences as seen today in certain varieties of West African English. Contact with English-speaking whites was greatly extended by the inclusion of many white English children in the mission-school enrolment of 22,245 reported by the Superintendent General of Education in the Cape in 1875. Shepherd's history of Lovedale (a famous mission institution in the Eastern Cape; see Shepherd, 1971) reports that white pupils were attracted because of the superior English, classical and mathematical education given. It was the mission school which imbued African minds with a keen sense of the great tradition of English life and letters, a sense still strongly maintained in present day attitudes which assign the highest prestige to English. Mystic association with Shakespeare and the poets is still in evidence today among teachers, pupils and their parents.

The products of the missions were an elite group with high competence in English, a deep insight into the world of English values and ideas and a strong language loyalty to English which nevertheless remained for the great majority, a second language, or, as black educators now prefer: a 'second first language'. In one respect, however, the past 30 years have seen a dramatic change. The mission tradition has become progressively diluted as black schools, teachers and pupils have multiplied. White teachers have virtually disappeared from black schoolrooms and this has extensively eroded the effects of the mission tradition. Proficiency levels in English in the younger generation reaching secondary and tertiary education (only a small percentage - 67% of the school population were concentrated in the first four standards in 1973) have plummeted giving evidence of the poverty of the learning experience in the formative years. The black community is aware of this because the intelligibility of Black English is constantly put to the test in economic life

which draws young blacks into the wider SA society. The threat to English in black schools might not actually have been the primary *casus belli* in the Soweto riots of 1976, but the fact that it is cited as such is evidence enough of black sensitivities in the matter of English in education. Edelstein's (1972) survey of Soweto attitudes found 88.5% of black parents chose English as the language in which they wanted their children educated. Only 2.2% wanted the Bantu vernacular as medium. The HSRC's survey of English and Afrikaans in the SA black population (Schuring, 1977) gives empirical support to impressions as to the respective roles of the white languages and yields some new information on language attitudes and functions. Important findings in summary are:¹

- (i) In (a) social gatherings and (b) radio listening, the second most common medium (assuming the Bantu home language to be the first) is (a) English for 12.1%, Afrikaans for 4.7%; (b) English for 18.3%, Afrikaans for 3.2%.
- (ii) 11.2% write their personal letters in English; less than 1% in Afrikaans.
- (iii) 50% of those with five or more years of schooling read English newspapers, less than 5% Afrikaans newspapers.
- (iv) English is a 'language of prestige' and symbolic of '*geleerdheid*' (Schuring, p.41), i.e. 'good education', (cf early Afrikaner attitudes to English discussed above). Afrikaans has 'pragmatic value' for Blacks being 'used more often than English in communication with Whites at work'.

Black English for public consumption is mainly a product of the older generation and does not reveal much of the declining quality of English. The text of *The World*, an English

1 Percentages given are derived from the responses of 3653 black South Africans in the survey and all represent statistically significant or highly significant differences in the comparison with Afrikaans.

newspaper produced by a black editor and staff with probably the largest circulation in SA, reads like any white English newspaper apart from favoured topics and themes in the black community, and metaphor and turns of phrase translated from African languages. Creative black writing in English - except for some recent poetry - is not obviously a product of a non-native user of English. Black English, among its more competent users, is characterized primarily as an accent with institutionalized features of Bantu-language phonology. There is as yet little evidence that SA Black English is cultivated as a symbol of Black identity, in fact there is little recognition of it among blacks as a definable non-native variety of English. When a Black-English speaker has the competence to opt for typical Black English, or a form closer to standard mother-tongue English, the choice, on current observational evidence, lies with the latter.

The two second-language versions of English discussed above (Afrikaans and Black English) as distinctive varieties spoken in demographically definable communities, together provide two or three times more second-language users of English than mother-tongue SAE speakers. The 1960 Census shows 1.3 million blacks claiming competence in English; the true figure is certainly higher - 3 million black children were at school in 1973 with almost equal time given to English, Afrikaans and the Bantu home language. 80.9% of the Afrikaner respondents in the HSRC LS of 1973 indicated that their proficiency in spoken English was 'fair' or 'good'. Projecting this proportion into the population sampled (urban areas with 10 thousand or more whites), the number of competent Afrikaner users of English amounts to 1.1 million at least.

Another variety of English of local origin is Coloured English. 604 thousand of the coloured community claimed proficiency in spoken English in the 1960 Census; van Wyk (1978) gives 123 thousand coloureds as mother-tongue speakers of English. The coloured community has its origins in the Cape dating back to the earliest days of white colonization and Dutch (Afrikaans) has in the past been the mother-tongue of

the great majority. 123 thousand mother-tongue English speakers would represent a comparatively recent, major shift in language loyalty of which there has been much observational evidence in recent years. The shift is associated with the rise in socio-economic status and life in the major industrial cities. Typical Coloured English is marked in pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and usage by features which characterize the most extreme form of Afrikaans-English and, variably according to region, Extreme SAE, the most obviously local of SAE dialects also with a genesis in the Cape.

Census statistics indicate Indian English as predominantly a second language to one of several major Indian languages brought in the 1860's by indentured labourers to Natal. Bughwan's (1970) research, however, reveals that in one or two most recent generations English has extensively replaced Indian languages as the language of the home. Van Wyk (1978) gives 180 thousand of the 387 thousand Natal Indians as having English as mother-tongue, but an upward adjustment of his figures is necessary in view of Bughwan's survey. The following statistics come from Bughwan: 62% of the high-school sample used only English with siblings and 52% only English with parents. But 84% of parents used an Indian language with grandparents. Over 90% of the same sample could speak, read and write better in English than any other language. Only 11% could communicate in writing in an Indian language. It is clear that for the great majority of Indians, Indian languages at best struggle to survive with limited function in a diglossic relationship with English. Indian children in Natal have always received an English-medium education and the economic life of most Indians lies in the predominantly White English-speaking communities of Natal. To all intents and purposes, therefore, SA Indian English is a mother-tongue variety. It is characterized by many of the features of pronunciation which mark Indian English of India. It is extremely fluent and has much higher intelligibility in the wider SA community than the more deviant forms of Black English, while remaining, nevertheless, a readily rec-

ognizable variety of English in SA.

Of SA's total population of 21.5 millions, mother-tongue speakers of English amount to 1475 thousand made up of (in thousands): 1120 White, 123 Coloured, 232 Indian (Census figures adjusted to 60% of the Indian population.) This represents 7% of the total population and to them may be added those who claim equal use of English and Afrikaans in the home. Van Wyk (1978) gives the following figures in this category, but census returns are least reliable in this respect (see Malherbe, 1966): 685 White, 303 Coloured, 33 Indian. With the latter added, users of English as home language amount to 12% of the total population.

Standard English as the white SA population recognizes it, and the social values and attitudes which support it, are in every respect products of the section of the SAE community who brought English as mother tongue to SA and have maintained it as such, i.e. the 1120 + 685 thousand whites. The Afrikaner has contributed through his participation in English-speaking society adding to the array of social types which the society recognizes and with whom attitudes and beliefs are associated. His manner of speech therefore conveys social information which is part of the conglomerate of social meaning acquired by those who grow up in the SAE community. Evidence such as that provided by Macdonald in 12 below, makes it clear that the Afrikaner as English speaker shares in the consensus as to the dimensions of social meaning which different varieties of SA English convey. The Afrikaner has therefore contributed, and increasingly still does, to the norms which make up the social accents of SAE, and the attitudes directed at them. These are our main concern in this study, with a primary focus on speech forms accepted as 'standard speech'. For this reason, Black, Coloured and Indian English have no further consideration in our discussion. In these communities the standard in SAE is not, to any large extent, a model for imitation and there is little evidence of a behavioural response to the significance of standard speech as social information. In this respect, therefore, users of Black, coloured and Indian English remain outside the com-

munity which determines the norms of the standard and the attitudes that maintain them.

At this point we return to the 'new society', the urban-industrial society which, for nearly a century, has dominated in determining the life-style and values of English-speaking SA whites in all parts of the country. This society is the setting in which the norms of standard speech and all their social connotations have arisen. It is, however, the social-historical view of this society which we must pursue in explaining these. Discussion of the significant period in the social history of the society is taken up in the main body of this study in Section VII. Suffice to say here that the 'new society' in its origins is identified with the mining cities of Kimberley and, in particular, Johannesburg (with adjacent mining towns). The discovery of gold and diamonds attracted 400 thousand immigrants to SA between 1875 and 1904, more than double the white population of SA before that time (Salomon, 1964). These came mainly from Britain and the Empire, and from Eastern and Western Europe, and the entrepreneur and socially influential amongst them largely determined the pattern of social and economic life in the new cities.²

I. FIRST OBSERVATIONS ON THE STANDARD

1. Mr John Simpson, the BBC's recently appointed Southern African correspondent has made the following comment on South African radio broadcasts: 'Listening to the radio is like switching on the BBC Home Service in the days before Suez ... the accents of the English services are impeccably upper middle-class. It's only when people are interviewed that you

2 A recent publication which deals with English and other SA languages in the total Southern African society in much wider perspective than is possible here is Lanham and Prinsloo, 1978.

hear authentic South African being spoken - the accent after all, of the majority of whites here.' (Johannesburg *Star*, April 16, 1973.) Accepting that the 'upper middle-class' accent is often not entirely devoid of traces of the SA accent, and not entirely unrepresented among the non-professional voices, this is a basically correct observation. The South African Broadcasting Corporation is actually hard-put to maintain its British accents, but does so under pressure from, possibly, a minority, yet nevertheless an influential sector of the SAE speech community. As to the main concern of this community regarding its language in multilingual SA society, Partridge (1971) comments cynically: 'The English-speaking population ... is touchy only in its uncritical reverence for received English pronunciation'.

The suggestion conveyed in the previous paragraph is largely true: The speech pattern which the SAE community professes as standard and that which, in fact, it transmits and tacitly accepts in speech behaviour, are qualitatively different varieties of English. Since the Second World War this society has, in the processes of socialization and early education, effectively ceased to transmit 'near-British-English' in social institutions previously successful in achieving this in the highest social strata. In the light of evidence (see 11 below) that a substantial number of South Africans are making, and have made, highly motivated shifts in speech habits towards a form regarded as more prestigious than the vernacular (Labov, 1964, associates such shifts with adolescence and young adulthood), our inquiries seek to discover:

- (i) the form of SAE which appears to represent the local 'provincial standard';
- (ii) the relationship between the local and authentic standard in terms of (a) attitudes, (b) general social meaning;
- (iii) the origin and manner of the emergence of the provincial standard;
- (iv) the social function and meaning of the 'standard' in a society which accomodates co-existing standards.

We are dealing with the consequences of social change sufficiently recent for us to unravel and, therefore, have socio-linguistic patterns in the context of social history as a primary focus of attention.³

II. THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

2. The SAE speech community is a part of the larger pluralistic SA society being the group which Watts, 1976, identifies as that 'with the highest social status in South Africa' still exercising a major influence economically and socially - but not politically. This stems from the days before Union (1910) when they constituted an 'urban elite in a developing urban economy'. Extrapolating from census data Watts calculated that in 1974 there were 1487 thousand whites speaking English as mother tongue, who comprised about two-fifths of the white population. However, this proportion may already be smaller because of the lowest birth rate of all ethnic groups. Social variables of significance in socio-linguistic covariation are discussed at (a) to (f) below.

(a) Regional communities and their characteristics

The HSRC LS of 1973 has revealed phonologic variables which, in their major social correlations, have been found to differentiate regional communities, particularly among

3 The peculiar properties of English in SA society are highlighted by a comparison with Australian English as another variety of 'Commonwealth English' of similar vintage and origin as SAE. A first point of difference is the fact that an accent close to Standard Southern British English (Cons SAE, see para.5) is a functioning variety in the SAE community, but apparently not in Australia. Mitchell and Delbridge, 1965, find no need to include a similar speech pattern in varieties of Aust E stating that the speech of 'Cultivated speakers ... is still entirely indigenous...' (p.37). Our monitoring of Australian television broadcasts confirms that an Australian accent prevails in professional voices. (Significant aspects emerging from a comparison of SAE with Aust E are presented at 24 below.)

older (over 45), long-resident subjects. The regions so defined are Natal and the Eastern Cape (the latter extended to include the Cape Midlands) representing the earliest organised settlements of British immigrants in the last century. These settlements differed partially in their composition (social-class and region) and in the dates at which emigration took place. Separated by an area of black settlement (the present-day Transkei) they remained relatively self-contained communities until co-mingling of different ethnic and descent-group strains of the heterogeneous SAE community was promoted in the mining society of the 1870's, and spread with the industrial age in SA receiving the major fillip during the Second World War.

Natal and the Eastern Cape have emerged as separate dialect areas from the analysis of the linguistic data (see tables 2-6 below), particularly in regard to subjects over 45 and those who are 'old-aged' (see below). Phonologic variables which differentiate these regions project into the linguistic variability of the Witwatersrand community, i.e. the goldfields of the early mining society and today the industrial heart of SA. The Witwatersrand community is not regionally distinct in speech patterns, but we isolate it in our sampling of the SAE community because all ethnic and descent-groups in the society were conflated in it at a crucial period in the social history of linguistic diversity in SA. The Witwatersrand represents the 'new society' as a product of the mining-industrial revolution in SA, distinct from 'settler society' of the Cape and Natal. The new society integrated old Settlers and their descendants with Afrikaners and waves of new immigrants coming in far greater numbers than the Settler immigrations. This 'new society' rapidly became an urban-industrial society socially stratified in familiar 19th-century terms; a social structure which released into the wider SAE community social values, attitudes and a life-style different in many respects from those of rural, small-town society in SA.

The Western Cape sample (see table 1 below) is included as representative of a community different from others in the

following respects: British influence in SA was first exercised in this region, mainly by those in military and colonial service, strengthened later by retired civil servants, merchants in maritime trade in the 'Tavern of the Seas' and unsponsored, small-scale emigration from economically depressed Britain. They, together with Lord Charles Somerset's schoolmasters and parsons from Britain, made the earliest sociocultural impact on the predominantly Dutch community which surrounded them. Dutch-English contact yielded the bi-cultural, bilingual 'Kaapenaar' representing English-Dutch social mingling bearing a typically South African identity before the clash of nationalisms later in the century. Certain phonological variables of Dutch/Afrikaans origin are, in our data, associated with older members of this latter group. The Western Cape sample also offers a long-established urban society furthest removed from the mining-industrial society created later in the century from whose brashness and cultural immaturity it for long sought to dissociate itself.

In our total sample regions are represented as shown in table 1 below.

Table 1. The Sample

	HSRC LS		Selected samples		
	male	female	male	female	
Eastern Cape	28	31	9	11	long-resident
			10	12	old-aged
Natal	21	25	11	15	long-resident
			6	17	old-aged
Western Cape	39	50			
Witwatersrand	66	75			
East Rand ⁴	20	30	n = 426		

The 'old-aged' (70 years and older) and 'long-resident' samples were selected individually in 'settler' regions of

⁴ Five electoral districts are extracted from the Witwatersrand to constitute this sample. Reasons for this are given at (b) below.

the Eastern Cape and Natal in the knowledge that spatial mobility in modern, industrial SA has diluted the settler strain in communities now resident in these regions. The 'old-aged' are also all 'long-resident' and represent an attempt to capture speech norms and attitudes antedating the mining-industrial society and its social impact on settler communities; the subjects were mainly from old-aged homes. 'Long-resident' subjects were predominantly Settler descendants in the Eastern Cape and Natal who were interviewed at length in an attempt to obtain viewpoint and attitude relating to SA society, as well as their speech behaviour.

Only the sample given in table 1 above is represented in quantities shown in tables 2 to 10 below, but our SAE data are considerably greater than that provided by these 426 subjects. Radio monitoring and accent surveys since 1962, and many recorded interviews with individuals and groups before and after that date, contribute to our view of linguistic variability in SAE.

Communities which have been omitted from sampling and further discussion in this study are those of the 'Afrikaans cities' (see map on p.6) and rural areas and towns of the Transvaal and Orange Free State in which Afrikaans influence predominates.

(b) Social class.

Social-class distinctions are particularly difficult to draw in white SA society. There is no labouring class, manual labour correlates almost totally with an ethnic identity having minimal representation in the English-speaking community. The lower class which we have extracted are socially mobile and interviews with female subjects indicate that social aspirations are as strong as in any middle class. Social mingling with the middle class in clubs, churches and government schools is common. In broad terms our lower-class sample meets the criteria of filling low-status occupations and in being comparatively poorly educated. Categories for occupations in the HSRC LS are unsatisfactory for identifying low-status occupations; we have, therefore, resorted to a regional identity

as a first criterion in separating a lower-class sample. This sample is represented in five electoral districts of the East Rand (as part of the Witwatersrand)⁵ which we judge to have predominantly blue-collar residents, or those in low-status clerical or similar occupations. Occupational and educational determinants of the upper class (following the criteria of education and occupation applied to the HSRC LS sample by Hauptfleisch, 1977) eliminated a small number of subjects in the East Rand sample. Criteria for separating an upper class have for our purposes been strictly applied: the highest salary category or university education of the breadwinner in conjunction with professional or managerial occupational status.

English South Africans, at least the 'elites' of H.W. van der Merwe *et al.*, 1974, apparently differ from Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in the strength of their belief in the existence of a class society. Our impressions of the Witwatersrand community, well supported by sociolinguistic evidence emerging subsequently, indicate a need to separate a stratum of lowest social status. Labov (1966) in New York City, found normative trends in behaviour and attitude in the lower class supporting non-standard speech sustained by an allegiance to 'covert' social values. In similar, but different terms, we identify the lower class in the English city⁶ as the major exponents of the covert values of the 'South African tradition' and stigmatized, non-standard speech which expresses it. (Social values in SA society are discussed at (d) below.) Empirical evidence of a different kind points to a need to isolate at least the lower class in the mining-industrial city: Watts, 1976, observes that in his sample Afrikaans-speaking

5 Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Germiston and Geduld. The first four are early mining towns which grew with Johannesburg.

6 The major English cities are Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth; i.e. large urban populations in which 65% or more were English speaking according to the 1960 Census. (See map on p.6). We note that Kimberley, the first of the mining cities, is today predominantly Afrikaans speaking.

relatives or ancestors of English speakers increase as one 'proceeds down the occupational hierarchy', and, correspondingly, these relatives or ancestors increase with lower levels of education, i.e. Afrikaans ties are more likely in the lower strata of English-speaking society. Of Watts' English sample 36% have Afrikaans-speaking ancestors and, significantly, one in six of the Afrikaans sample thought that they had an 1820 Settler ancestor. Upward social mobility and class polarisation of the Afrikaner in the city is recent. Until the massive urbanisation of the Afrikaner was well under way in the late 1930's, the Afrikaner in the English cities was mainly of low socio-economic status. Hauptfleisch, 1977, interpreting HSRC LS data, supports Watts and shows two other correlations of social class:

- (i) Upper-class English South Africans show greater 'resistance to Afrikaans' than the lower-class English speaker. (Contrarily, upper-class Afrikaners are the most positive towards speaking English.)
- (ii) Social contacts between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans increase as one proceeds down the socio-economic scale. Of the 'old colonials', Cape-Settler descendants make the major contribution to the lower class in the mining-industrial city. In urban-industrial society, therefore, the descendants of the 'old South Africans', Afrikaner and English, tend to concentrate in the lower social strata.

(c) Ethnic identity.

The main ethnic groups which enter into the composition of the SAE community are still easily drawn distinctions: Jews; Afrikaners; gentiles of British origin. The distinction between colonials and 'home-born' Englishmen, still existing at the time of the Second World War, has now disappeared. The Jewish identity, particularly of the Eastern European immigration is maintained by a degree of voluntary social separation strongly reinforced by religious fealty. The primary social division in white SA society is unquestionably that of language loyalty (English vs Afrikaans as mother tongue). This

is usually an accurate predictor of variables such as political and religious affiliations and allegiance to systems of social values.

The significance of Afrikaner descent in the SAE community is in an orientation towards the values, attitudes, loyalties and life-style of the Afrikaner sub-culture. For our purposes Afrikaner descent is defined by one parent or a husband whose mother-tongue is Afrikaans in conjunction with a claim to competent bilingualism.

(d) Variable social values.

Social values are, in Labov's sociolinguistic analysis of New York City (1966), major determinants of speech behaviour in the distinction 'prestigious standard' vs 'stigmatized non-standard'. A similar distinction in the SA community, is, we believe, between a SA and British tradition in social values, with the former more positively marked in social behaviour and attitude in present-day society. The first large, organized British settlement in SA (in the Eastern Cape in 1820), cut away from its roots and subjected to the exigencies and cultural attrition of a frontier, developed a social system and life-style similar in many respects to that of the Dutch/Afrikaner frontiersmen older by 150 years in the African environment. The present-day reflex of the frontiersman we conceive of as 'typical local man' whose values are actualized in behaviours and attitudes revealing: a concern for the physical self-image (toughness, manliness); the adulation of sport and sportsmen; gregarious and unselective in social relations (within the in-group); strongly conforming to in-group attitudes and norms; insensitive to, or disdainful of, the distinction English:un-English; strong local loyalties and patriotism. Such themes in social 'mind' rely for their transmission in the SAE community mainly on those of Afrikaner and 'old colonial' descent with, of course, willing adherents to be found elsewhere in the society among those caught up in the polarization created under pressure of present-day global themes in values and world view.

The overt values (i.e. middle- and upper-class in Labov's

terms) were, at least until Union in 1910, those in the British tradition represented in the 'authentic, home-born Englishman' as colonial administrator, soldier, senior civil servant, and mining magnate; the latter in his aspirations if not by his birth. These constituted the power group in the society as premier exponents of everything implied by 'upper middle-class Victorian England'. Conditions which maintained the British tradition until the Second World War and continued it in modified form into present-day society, are discussed at 16 below. As a value-system allegiance, we attempt to capture the consequences of the social experience of these conditions in the rubric 'associations with Britain' which, individually or in combination, subsumes: recent British descent (usually within one locally-born generation) at middle or higher class levels; attendance of an exclusive Anglican private school in SA, or a British public school, 'old' university, drama school or similar institution. These conditions afford the necessary exposure to authentic British values, attitudes and norms of social behaviour and are the social experience of individuals rather than groups in contemporary society, not necessarily confined to those of British descent.

(e) Age.

The age variable is applied mainly in the distinction 'older' vs 'younger' (than 45 in 1975). Socialization and early education before or after 1942 has, on the observations of the senior author, had sociolinguistic consequences such as: Standard Southern British (SSB hereafter; Received Pronunciation as an accent), or at least Conservative SAE (Cons SAE, see 5 below), effectively transmitted in exclusive private schools before the Second World War, has given place to more typically local speech patterns in the same schools since that time; the same difference between upper-class father and son, mother and daughter, commonly coincides with the age difference recognized in this variable. Our hypothesis is that socio-political change such as the severing of the British connection, the demise of Empire and the disappearance

of the upper-class Englishman from positions of social power and influence in the English cities, has sociolinguistic consequences relating to sensitivity to standard speech. Our data give empirical confirmation of the significance of being 45 years old or older. (see, for example, table 9 at 13 below.)

(f) Sex.

Linguistic correlates of the sex variable are patent in the society and similar to those reported in the United States and Britain (see Labov, 1972, p.243 and Trudgill, 1974b, chap. 4.) Women of all ages are more assiduous in their pursuit of what they perceive as prestige norms, and are likely to be more advanced in phonetic trends representing standard speech. The support of non-standard speech, on the other hand, comes mainly from men. The most significant socially-diagnostic variable, the salient variable of the provincial standard, is Fronted ai (see 7a below), and is discussed mainly in its appearance in the accent profiles of females; women are in advance of men in transmitting it.

3. As objective criteria by which social groups can be defined for correlation with linguistic variables, the social variables are:

Region: East Cape; Natal; West Cape, Witwatersrand.
 Class: lower; middle; upper.
 Ethnic: Afrikaner; British; European Jewish.
 Age: 45-; 45+.
 Associations with Britain.
 Sex.

The variables 'age' (specifically younger or older than 45 in 1975) and 'region' derive from our data; evidence in support will be found below. Class and sex are standard variables in the analysis of sociolinguistic patterns in societies such as that of white SA. Ethnic divisions arise from the social history of the society and our own observations of present-day society. Criteria subsumed by 'associations with Britain' derive, in the first instance, from case studies seeking to determine social factors which predict Cons SAE as an accent.

An inspection of our data reveals the following associations between social variables and the three socially significant accents of SAE (see 5 below) likely to yield significant correlations.

Cons SAE is strongly associated with the conjoint set: upper class, associations with Britain, older than 45, female. *Cons SAE* varies inversely with the major variables correlating with *Ext SAE*: lower class, Afrikaner descent.

Ext SAE has strongest associations with lower class, Afrikaner descent, male. In the presence of 'East Cape', social class and male are less obviously determinants (i.e. in the Eastern Cape more speakers of *Ext SAE* are found among females and in the higher socio-economic groups).

Resp SAE is least apparent as a differential between social groups; the strongest association is with a small group identified by the conjoint set: European Jewish, female, younger than 45, without associations with Britain.

In 6-9 below the demographic variables region, age and sex are correlated with salient phonologic variables. Other social variables are introduced where relevant. A correlational analysis based on objectively defined criteria is not, however, our primary concern. We attempt to demonstrate below that competing systems of social values (i.e. the subjective orientation of individuals in the society) more directly determine linguistic variables, particularly in formal speech with which we are mainly concerned.

An independent sociological analysis by Schlemmer (1976) relating to group consciousness and group identity in the SAE community explores social grouping along lines which make it a relevant comparison with our own. It is cited here as partial empirical support for the group characteristics and social variables which we postulate. The following are edited extracts from Schlemmer's chapter with minor changes and omissions indicated in brackets. No information running counter to our claims is suppressed.

- (1) 'Anglophiles', who do not exceed one or two out of ten of English-speaking Whites, are people who value highly

their links with the wider Anglo-Saxon world and reject South Africanism. This group includes fairly high proportions of people in higher (but non-professional) socio-economic positions and high proportions of Anglicans. They seem to be characterized by (*inter alia*) rejection of, and hostility towards, Afrikaners. This social type is not a dying fragment, but seems to be a result of a self-renewing tradition (pp.112, 131, 132).

- (m) The endorsement of patriotic sentiments is lowest among: 16 to 24 year olds, graduates, upper categories of socio-economic status, those with weak emotional ties with SA (p.120).
- (n) Negative stereotypes of Afrikaners are particularly prevalent among younger English-speakers under 25, among Anglophiles and to some extent among graduates (p.116).
- (o) Relatively low ethno-centricism (in English speakers) expressed in a relatively greater than average social acceptance of middle income Afrikaners, is found among: 35-54 year olds, people of lower education and occupational status, people claiming family ties with Afrikaners (p.106). (Certain religious and minor regional groups are also named.)
- (p) The age-group of 55 years and older tends to select 'English-speaking South African' as a description of themselves ('South African' and 'White South African' are the next most commonly chosen alternatives) significantly more frequently than younger people (p.100).
- (q) It seems clear that English language-group identity among Whites is a *composite* phenomenon. In terms of a widespread and coherent group-consciousness there are *no* English South Africans (p. 131).

(l), (m), (n).above relate to the identity and social characteristics of the group determined by the 'British tradition in social values' (see (d) in 2 above) and the modified version of these values as realized among younger South Africans (see 22 below). The social characteristics of the group correlating with Ext SAE (see (b) in 2 above) are for comparison with (o). Our discussion of the age variable in

(e) of 2 above and in 21 below relates to (p). In (q) Schlemmer makes a statement supporting a claim we make in the last sentence of 22 below.

III. THE LINGUISTIC VARIABLE; DATA-GATHERING TECHNIQUES

4. The HSRC LS elicited biographic, demographic and linguistic information from a 1 in 375 random sampling of the voters' roll (18-year-olds and older) in urban areas with white populations over 10 thousand. (Our 'selected samples' attempt to overcome this limitation in areas where rural residence has, we believe, particular significance.) Linguistic information relevant to this study is extracted from a questionnaire filled in by each respondent, and from recorded interviews varying from three to twenty minutes of conversation on a topic of interest to the respondent and ending with the reading of a word-list presenting significant SAE variables. Samples drawn from HSRC LS are subsets of total samples for particular regions or districts; the latter were reduced by removing unsatisfactory responses (a fair number of women, for example, refused to divulge their age) and elimination from samples too large to handle. The Witwatersrand sample is representative of five metropolitan electoral districts plus the five 'East Rand' districts and represents a reduction of some 35% of the total number of respondents in these districts.

Variants of phonologic variables identified and quantified in this study are taken from the speech of subjects in our sample at stages in interviews which we judge as normal, semi-formal or formal speech behaviour. Stretches of speech which are stilted and overly correct in a studied way have been ignored. In all cases the setting is an interview conducted by a stranger lacking obvious high-status identity - most subjects were interviewed by females under 30 without high occupational status and with obviously SA accents. That subjects responded in this situation with their

interpretation of standard speech behaviour, is, of course, desirable in terms of the object of this study. Stylistic variation and the direction of style shifts have obvious significance too, but these have not necessarily been denied us by the formality of the speech encounter. Interviewers were required to make an intentional switch from the concerns of the interview to, for example, the informality of seeking opportunities to chat informally on family, children, etc. Stylistic shifts occurred under these conditions, but, more significantly, as far as survey methodology in sociolinguistic inquiry is concerned, it was found that non-standard, 'vernacular' norms appeared without any manipulation of topic or situational variables. (Cf. Labov's technique for evoking style shifts; Labov, 1966, chap. IV.) Such shifts occur in quite short stretches of speech coinciding with pause fillers, formulaic expressions (i.e. relatively uncoded syntactically) and stretches of speech low in propositional content. In such lapses the common factor would appear to be a fall in the level of attention paid to the speech-production processes. In other words, the high level of attention demanded by calculated syntactical and lexical choices spreads to the phonetic substance in which they are cast. Success in suppressing an original, non-standard vernacular is, of course, a matter of degree, extending over the range of complete suppression of an original vernacular, with possible rare lapses usually in particular lexical items, to unstable speech patterns in which the standard finds erratic representation in particular variables.

We excluded the reading of word-lists from the analysis of style shifting. Too often was there evidence that the subject was offering his beliefs as to the prescribed norms (occasionally quite bizarre) rather than formal-speech habits. Apart from this elimination from our data, all variants are included in calculating an index score for an idiolect.

In quantifying variants in idiolectal index scores, single tokens are values on a scale of 0 to 3.0 at intervals of .5. Individual index scores are averages rounded to the nearest scalar value. 3.0 represents the most advanced variant in a

phonetic trend in a least-favouring environment for the particular trend (where there is evidence of phonological conditioning); 0 represents a variant entirely unaffected by the trend. The index score for a sample is a true average of the total index scores in the sample. In characterizing accent profiles across the population, we have need to distinguish 'high' from 'low index scores'. The former is 1.5 on our scale, or higher, representing variants in which the phonetic trend is conspicuous and clearly discernible even without phonetic training.

IV. LECTAL VARIETIES IN SAE

5. Diversity in the SAE community, is, in our analysis, located in phonetic trends associated with 30 phonologic variables. Variants of a variable may be more or less advanced in the trend and idiolectal accent profiles differ in this respect. However, trends in different directions from the same point in phonological structure make for qualitative differences in lectal varieties of SAE far more pronounced than in Aust E. Mitchell and Delbridge in their analysis of Aust E associate a 'spectrum' (i.e. a continuum) with each of six characterizing variables (Mitchell and Delbridge, 1965, p.33 ff.) and every idiolect is placed at a level on each continuum. In SA speech patterns, however, the vowel nucleus /ai/, as a point in the phonologic pattern, has three such continua: the trend to fronted [a] and an abnormally long, tense off-glide to [i] in Afrikaans English (Afr E); backing, raising and glide-weakening as a variable characterizing Extreme SAE (also an Aust E variable); fronting, tensing and glide-weakening of a variable associated with Resp SAE.⁷ Afr E is predominantly a second-language variety and outside the scope of our present inquiry; its variables are, however, present in mother-tongue SAE accents of those with extensive

7 Defining properties of Ext SAE, Resp SAE and Cons SAE as major varieties are briefly discussed below; for fuller explication see Lanham, 1978.

contacts with Afrikaans in predominantly Afrikaans-speaking communities.

SAE variables occur in many different 'mixes' in the accent profiles associated with our subjects, but discernible patterning in the peaks and troughs of such profiles, which correlate with social variables and, more significantly, with differentiated social evaluation of variables, have led us to extract Cape English (CE) and Natal English (NE) variables as groups, leaving a remainder of General SAE variables. A first criterion in separating CE and NE variables is found in indications of different regional origins thereby providing important leads in exploring the evidence of social history in present-day sociolinguistic patterns. Quantities of a variable, in samples of older and old-aged subjects, are our primary evidence of such origins: in one case (see 7c) very high index values in a lexical residue remaining after apparent correction of the trend in formal style, is taken as sufficient evidence. High co-occurrence expectancies, higher within CE and NE as groups than between them, together with indications of implicational scaling in the communities of their believed origin, give further support to the separation of CE and NE variables. Their special significance for this inquiry is, however, the following: CE variables are the most salient characterizing properties of stigmatized, non-standard Ext SAE; all give evidence of receding through age grades in the speech community and style-shifts in formal speech reverse rather than advance the trends. NE variables on the other hand are associated with Resp SAE, they receive social approbation (except in some sectors of Natal society) and characterize the 'provincial standard'; there is evidence that they are advancing in the speech community and formal style shifting is towards them rather than away from them.

In our present concern with speech behaviour relating to the standard, the categories CE and NE are small, meeting the criteria mentioned above. Gen SAE undoubtedly includes certain variables whose lectal associations are more with Resp SAE, or Ext SAE, than with an indeterminate group apparently less affected by social forces connected with standard and non-

standard behaviour. Gen SAE variables are, however, more pervasive, more generally shared in the SAE community and have weaker differentiating properties in correlation with social variables, including region. Particular views of the social distribution of certain Gen SAE variants place them with either Resp or Ext SAE. For example, the variables Backed, lowered, glide-weakened əʊ, and Raised, glideless eə, are invariably present with high index values in stereotypic Ext SAE; both are extensively involved in idiolectal alternation which is interpretable as style shifting. There is some evidence that both originate in Cape English. But Resp SAE accent profiles can present these variables with middling index scores without affecting their social evaluation. Raised, fronted, final-syllable i, and Raised oə, are prominent in Resp SAE and are advanced rather than suppressed in formal speech behaviour. They are well below the level of social awareness, however (as isolated variables they apparently evoke no evaluative response), but both are often prominent in what we judge as typical Ext SAE. Origins of these latter two variables are unknown.

Differences in profile configuration associated with lectal accent profiles, and changes in profile corresponding to formal and informal speech behaviour, we view as consequences of the pressure of social forces on speech behaviour. Such pressure is, of course, exerted in social encounters and SAE variables are normative trends experienced by everyone growing up in present-day society. Some younger members of the SAE community, however, resist such normative trends, or at least contain SAE variables at very low index values. This apparently requires a particular individual social experience - no longer generally available in the society - and is motivated by strong allegiance to social values in the 'British tradition'. When SAE variables are successfully contained at every point in the phonologic pattern (particularly at the most vulnerable points: NE variables; Raised, stressed final-syllable i; Raised oə) the pattern is Cons SAE. Cons SAE is a viable sociolect perceived and acquired in the society having these major social correlates: older than 45; strong 'associations with Britain'; high socio-economic status; resident in the English

cities, or Natal more generally. (These appear as common factors extracted from the biographies of individuals speaking Cons SAE in our data.) Cons SAE makes up the majority of Simpson's 'upper middle-class accents'; authentic RP is certainly heard, but, more usually from those who are British-born. The age-grade significance of Cons SAE apparently reflects the insulation provided in families in a more exclusive upper class before the Second World War, and in the Anglican private schools or their imitations in a few state schools. However, Cons SAE remains a functioning variety in SAE; it is still transmitted to children (a small number in our data closely defined by the criteria above) and is a formal-style accent of a small proportion of adolescents and young adults, particularly women.

The analysis of accent profiles and our inquiries into the SAE community's reaction to accent, indicate that the following major accent types are distinguished in SAE:

- (a) Cons SAE: Index scores of 0.5 or less for any SAE variable.
- (b) Resp SAE: High index scores for NE, or NE + Gen SAE.
- (c) Ext SAE : High index scores for CE + Gen SAE, or CE + NE + Gen SAE.

Afr E variables may appear in (c). As regards the mixture of CE + NE variables in Ext SAE, we concur with McKay, 1969, that listeners pick out 'the lowest ranking feature (even if it appears rarely) as an indicator of the speaker's social status'. (Giles and Powesland, 1975, p.41, citing McKay.) Profiles with Gen SAE variables only occur in our data, but we are unsure of their social evaluation.

Major variables of SAE are now examined as phonetic trends, their distribution in the speech behaviour of the community, and their probable origins.

6. Major CE variables:

- a) Obstruent r (hereafter 'Ob r' as in *red, drive, craze, carry*). The phonetic trend is towards approximation or contact with the hard palate producing a post-alveolar slit fricative or a brief strike (a tap). Highest index values are given to tokens of /r/ occurring in least favouring environments; the most favouring environments are: Tap:

V_V, k_, g_, θ_. Fricative: t_, d_, #r. High index scores are commonly associated with extensive variation so that no idiolect with [r] lacks the fricative and many have resonant r as an alternant. This variation does not correlate obviously with different levels of formality and the trend is not subject to correction. The primary social correlates are with the Cape as a region, and the East Rand as representative of a social class. There is evidence that this variable is receding in the community (see table 2 below); quantities of Ob r in a selected sample of 8 - 15 year-olds in the Eastern Cape whose domicile and social status predict high scores for CE variables, are: males 1.1 (n = 19); females 0.8 (n = 9). We hypothesize that Ob r entered Cape English in the earliest days of settlement as a product of the accommodative behaviour of Settler sons to the Afr E of Afrikaner wives (the commonest type of intermarriage in the Eastern Cape at that time). We note that Ob r is not Afrikaans trilled /r/ but, apparently, an articulatory compromise made by an adult lacking the neuromuscular skill to produce a trill. As a norm in later generations this variable was passed between English speakers knowing no Afrikaans/Dutch.

Table 2. Quantities of Ob r⁸

	18 - 44		45 - 70		Old-aged	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Natal	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.1	0	0
E. Cape	1.4	1.0	1.6	1.1	1.7	2.0
E. Rand	1.0	0.4	1.3	0.9	-	-
W. Cape	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5	-	-
n =	16	22	16	18	6	17
	16	23	21	19	10	12
	11	17	9	13	-	-
	26	23	13	27	-	-

b) Backed, raised, rounded, shortened aa ('Backed aa' in *car*, *park*, *last*).

⁸ Long-resident subjects are included in their appropriate age-groups. Ss remain unchanged in tables 3 - 7 below.

The phonetic trend is to [v̥[◌]] which, with weak rounding, is the most advanced variant.⁹ Variants are not conditioned by phonologic context. The variable is subject to correction in formal speech to [a[◌]:] (the zero value on our scale), or hypercorrection to long, front, even tense [a:]. There is early evidence of social awareness and probable stigma associated with this variable. M.C. Bruce, 1919, the *Emily Post* of SA soon after the turn of the century, refers caustically (p. 10) to a man introduced as 'Mr Morton - and it took me five days to find out his name was really "Martin"'.

Backed aa correlates with the Eastern Cape as a region, in fact with the Cape generally. Lower class in the cities is a further strong correlation. Allegiance to the SA tradition seems to be the over-riding determinant when young males in the middle, even upper-class, present this variable prominently. Males in the 8 - 15 age group in a lower-class sample on the Witwatersrand gave the highest quantity of Backed aa: 2.4 (n = 11).

Evidence that Backed aa originates in Home Counties, working-class speech of 1820 Settlers is strong: Goldswain, the uneducated young sawyer from Buckinghamshire, as the most noteworthy Settler chronicler (see Long, 1946) occasionally represents /aa/ as *or* in, for example, *gorden* (= *garden*). Matthews (1938, pp. 79-80) in reference to Cockney of his time says: 'The Cockney tendency to rounding gives the Cockney sound for long *aħ* something of the quality of standard *aw*'. He gives spellings such as *awt* for *heart*, *pawk* for *park*. According to Matthews (p. 161), G.B. Shaw represented the letter R in the 'Cockney alphabet' as *Aw*.

9 It appears that this variable penetrated Afrikaans in the last century and continues today in formal style in Afrikaans without any connotations of social stigma. Advanced variants are prominent in the speech of at least one female professional voice on the Afrikaans Service of SA television.

Table 3. Quantities of Backed aa

	18 - 44		45 - 70		Old-aged	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Natal	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.1
E. Cape	1.8	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.9	1.6
E. Rand	1.6	1.5	1.1	1.3	-	-
W. Cape	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.0	-	-

- c) Fronted, glide-weakened æu ('Fronted æu' in *how*, *bound*, *crowd*). The most advanced variant as [æ[^]] quality followed by a weak, unrounded off-glide to [ə[˘]] with other variants on a continuum from [a[˘]˘v], the zero index value. Fronted æu is extensively corrected and hypercorrected (towards backed [av] or glide-weakened [a^v]) with hypercorrection most prominent among females in the Cape generally, including those having Afr E as second language. Samples of the childhood vernacular in this region, and of formal and informal speech of adolescents, suggest that the trend is being reversed. Zero index scores, or hypercorrect values, occur with little stylistic variation particularly in the speech of middle- and upper-class subjects. Anecdotal evidence from women at school in the Eastern Cape in the 1890's, reveals that stigma associated with this variable, and the overt correction of the trend by teachers, have a long history.

Fronted æu would appear to have the same origin as Backed aa; the same trend (apparently without glide weakening) characterizes Aust E (Mitchell and Delbridge, 1965, p.35).

Table 4 below is designed to show a retreat from æu through age grades in numbers of subjects with index scores shown as 1+,0(= 0 and .5),-1. The latter represents conspicuous hypercorrection. Hypercorrection appears as more prominent in the speech of the over 45's. Among younger subjects, the East Rand has the highest quantities of this variable followed by the Eastern Cape. In the other two regions younger speakers have much lower quantities.

Table 4. Index Scores for Fronted æu

	East Cape				Natal			
	18 - 44		45 - Old-aged		18 - 44		45 - Old-aged	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
1+	8	8 = 41%	20	16 = 58%	3	4 = 18%	7	5 = 21%
0	7	13 = 51%	10	9 = 31%	13	15 = 74%	12	21 = 58%
-1	1	2 = 8%	1	6 = 11%	0	3 = 8%	3	9 = 21%
n =	16	23	31	31	16	22	22	35

	East Rand				West Cape			
	18 - 44		45 - 70		18 - 44		45 - 70	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
1+	7	8 = 54%	7	8 = 68%	3	5 = 16%	9	9 = 45%
0	3	7 = 36%	2	5 = 32%	20	14 = 70%	3	12 = 38%
-1	1	2 = 11%	0	0 = 0%	3	4 = 14%	1	6 = 17%
n =	11	17	9	13	26	23	13	27

Other CE variables for brief comment are: Backed, raised, glide-weakened *vi* (in *nice, while, I*), which is similar in social evaluation, social distribution of variants and historical origin to Fronted æu. (Mitchell and Delbridge include the trend to *vi* in their six variables of Aust E, p.35.) Deaspiration of stops has an origin in Afrikaans/Dutch and appears to be receding although without stigma.

7. We identify three salient NE variables:

a) Fronted, glide-weakened *ai* ('Fronted *ai*' in *high, ride, while*). The phonetic trend is towards a fronted, tenser [a:] without trace of an off-glide in the most favouring environments of following /l, m, n/. The highest index scores have a glideless Fronted *ai* in any environment except before V without intervening C (e.g. *buyer, buying*); the trend is auditorily most prominent word-finally (e.g. *buy*). (Spectrographic evidence confirms complete glide loss.) Idiolectal variation with more or less glide prominence is normal and correction of Fronted *ai* occurs among females in Natal. We have reports identifying a girls' school in Durban where attempts to correct this variable have been made. Subjects over 55 in the

Eastern Cape, mainly women, may have advanced variants of Fronted ai as a formal-style correction of Backed ɔi and generally outside Natal highest values of Fronted ai are found in most formal speech behaviour. Social groups outside Natal most consistent in presenting high values of this variable are young females of the Eastern European descent group and certain older females in the Eastern Cape. High values are normally a feature of women's speech except in Natal where middle-aged, middle-class men participate. Generally, however, this variable is well below the level of social awareness and its social evaluation, although positive (see 14 below) is largely subjective. Fronted ai is the major characterizing variable of NE undoubtedly promoted by its high lexical frequency.

The origin of Fronted ai in the English speech of Natal of the last century is probable. In Britain it is associated with the North Country from where a substantial proportion of the Natal Settlers came. Ellis, 1889, describing accent in British dialects in the last century has the following observation on /ai/ in his Midland Division: 'When, however, the forms of (âi) have once been reached, the dialect changes are not over. The final (i) may be degraded to (e) as (âe), and then the (e) altogether omitted, so that (aa, aa, AA) result...' (p.293). These variants of /ai/ are noted mainly in Lancashire and Yorkshire; Rochdale, for example, has *time* as 'tAAm, taam'; *pipe* as 'paap, pAAp'. AA is, however, said to be 'rare out of Yorkshire' (p. 323).

Table 5. Quantities of Fronted ai

	18 - 44		45 - 70		Old-aged	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Natal	2.1	2.3	1.7	2.1	0.5	0.7
E. Cape	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.0	1.2
E. Rand	1.3	1.5	1.0	1.1		
W. Cape	1.4	1.6	1.2	1.4		

The Natal old-aged do not, on first inspection, support the hypothesis as to the origin of Fronted ai in Natal. Individual scores in the total sample, however, tend to cluster at either high or very low values on our scale. The latter are, with few

exceptions, associated with those subjects who, in the subjective evaluation test of Fronted ai (see 14 below), downgraded the variable; i.e. evinced a strong negative attitude towards it as opposed to general approbation afforded this variable in other sectors of the SAE community. If these subjects are removed from this sample, then quantities of Fronted ai in the Natal old-aged sample are:

m	f
1.6	2.3
n=4	n=5

b) Vowel retraction before l ('Retraction before l' in *bell*, *still*, *cold*).

Vowel nuclei most obviously affected are /e/ → [æ^ʰ], /i/ → [ɨ^ʰ] (central allophones), /əu/ → [ʊ^ʰ]¹⁰. (These are the most advanced variants.) The trend is advancing through age grades (see table 6 below), but idiolectally one particular vowel nucleus is normally more advanced than others and different sectors in the SAE community are, in some degree, selective in this respect. Young males and females on the Witwatersrand favour /el/, young males in Natal /əul/, with the latter sample coming closest to having the variants of the three most affected nuclei more or less equally advanced. Among children and young adolescents there is evidence of this variable in an advanced stage of linguistic change in the homophony of *elf* : *Alf* and their inability to distinguish these words pronounced in Cons SAE. Only /il/ is corrected in the SAE community (hypercorrected to front [I], mainly by older members of the community, all other nuclei show little evidence of involvement in style shifting. The SAE community show little sensitivity to advanced variants of /el/ and /əul/ when objectively presented to them.

The local origin of the variable is clearly not the Cape

10 Other affected vowel nuclei in which Retraction before l can be prominent, are not as widely distributed as the three named here. An advanced variant of /əe/ before /l/, viz. [ɜː] is often noticeable in the pronunciation of *girl* in Natal. In addition /ul/ (*wool*) and /ʌl/ (*hull*) may acquire an [ʊ]-like quality in the vocoid.

where /eI/, the nucleus favoured by the variable in this region, is entirely uninfluenced by the trend in the speech of most males in the Eastern Cape old-aged sample who have the same tongue-height for /e/ in *bet* and *bell*. The trend, in the speech of these subjects, is in evidence only in /il/ with retraction at the tongue-height of [ə]. An origin in Natal is suggested in the quantities in table 6 below, accepting that the East Rand population has acquired rather than initiated major trends in accent profiles in SAE (see 9 below). The ultimate origin of this variable is obviously in the assimilation to dark (velarized) l prominent in most British dialects. Retraction before l is reported as a variable in Britain (see, for example, Trudgill, 1974a) where we know of no particular regional associations.

Table 6. Quantities of Retraction before l

	18 - 44		45 - 70		Old-aged	
	m	f	m	f	m	f
Natal	1.6	1.5	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.4
E. Cape	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.3
E. Rand	1.8	2.1	1.6	1.1	-	-
W. Cape	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.5	-	-

c) Raised, fronted, rounded əə ('Fronted əə' in *years*, *Durban*). Highest index value is assigned to weakly-rounded fronted [ɜː], in Natal most favoured after /y/ (e.g. *year*), but contextually unconditioned in SAE generally. Zero value on our scale is assigned to [ə:]. Quantities of Fronted əə are regionally highest in the Cape (East and West), but there is a good deal of diversity in the SAE community and no clear correlations with social groups emerge. Quantities are, therefore, not tabulated. The presence of a high value for Fronted əə in *year* in an accent profile broadly conforming with Cons SAE is striking in a number of older, upper-class Natal men; whether the association is with the lexical item or the context y_ cannot be determined from our data.¹¹ Mainly in Natal are

¹¹ Mitchell and Delbridge, 1965, p. 36, note the presence of advanced variants in particular lexical items in accent pro-

there indications of correction and hypercorrection (to low central [e:]). Variation in Fronted əe is not prominent in idiolectal style shifting in the SAE community generally. A parliamentary correspondent in the 1950's, a well known SA newspaper editor, identified *years* 'yurs' as a shibboleth identifying Natal politicians, contrasting with the "yehz" of most South Africans' (*Natal Mercury*, 11 April, 1975). Our data support this correlation with Natal, but point to older subjects in the Cape as the social correlate of [jɛ^:z].

Our observations of British dialects suggest the presence of Fronted əe as a trend in north-east England, but at present we lack adequate information on this accent feature.

Natal English at the present time has other variables with clear local correlations and strong suggestions of an origin in the northern counties of England or in Scotland; for example, high schwa as allophone of /i/ in contexts h_, #_, _C palatal, in *Hilton, industry, fish*. Except for the latter, this variable is uncommon outside Natal.¹² It is possible that Centralized uu (in *zoo, two*) has a distribution, origin, and the social approbation of NE variables, but there is insufficient evidence to warrant this identity at present.

files otherwise low in local variables. [ʌI] in *say* and [ʌU] in *so* occur in sets 'made up otherwise of Cultivated vowels'. Lexical items therefore appear to yield selectively to the pressure of local norms. In the case of our upper-class subjects we suggest that correction in formal style leaves a lexical residue in the most favouring environment of y_.

- 12 Schwa-quality vocoids realizing /i/ in the context _C palatal, contribute to the 'prevalence of low schwa' as a feature of SAE identified in Lanham, 1967. This feature equates with the variable Low schwa discussed at 11c below. Low schwa has an origin in Afrikaans/Dutch and should therefore be separated from the variable discussed here. Central vocoids for /i/ in the context _C palatal are differently distributed in accent variability in SAE, but our data on this are at present inadequate.

8. Eight salient Gen SAE variables are briefly described below: (a) and (b). 'Backed, lowered, glide-weakened əi' (most advanced variant [ʌ^e]) and 'Backed, lowered, glide-weakened əu' (most advanced variant unrounded [ʌ•]). Examples: *play, take* and *so, notes*. These variables are extensively involved in correction and style shifting and their highest index values commonly stand in accent profiles associated with non-standard Ext SAE. Idiolectally these two variables are mutually predicting to a high degree. They are stable in spite of correction - we have no evidence of these trends receding. These variables are pervasive in SAE and normally in evidence in Resp SAE. Both trends occur in Aust E and they have an obvious origin in British dialects; Afr E has, as norms for these nuclei, unvarying low-schwa quality followed by long off-glides and hence they differentiate Ext SAE from accent types influenced by Afrikaans/Dutch.

c) 'Low schwa' is best explicated as the 'polarization of allophones of /i/': The more central allophones of British English /i/ (e.g. without an adjacent velar consonant, as in *build, sit, did*) are, as the most advanced variant, low schwa, widely separated in phonologic space from fronted allophones (e.g. *kiss, ring, big*). The latter are higher and tenser in SAE and, as allophones, are in stricter complementation, e.g. *pin* as [pən]. I-quality, unstressed vowels (as in the final syllables of *wanted, chicken*) of RP are low schwa. The trend is pervasive in SAE (except for Cons SAE) and this variable is subject to correction in stressed syllables, even hypercorrection to fully-front [I]. It originates in Afrikaans which phonemically opposes /i/ : /ə/ in stressed syllables.

(d) and (e). 'Raised e' and 'Raised, glideless eə' have cardinal [e] quality or even higher, idiolectally highest in *yes*. (e) is usually devoid of off-glide, but a good deal of idiolectal alternation occurs with [εə] favoured in formal style. These two variables are implicationaly closely related, with high scores for eə predicting e. Origin is unknown.

(f) 'Raised ə' (in *had, brag*) with [ε[^]] as the most advanced variant, occurs commonly in Ext SAE profiles and the trend is advancing strongly in the lower class in the English cities. Origin is unknown.

(g) 'Raised, stressed, final-syllable i' (in *city, stories*) has cardinal i, with additional length and stress-raising in the most advanced variant. This phonetic trend is widespread, particularly in the under-45 age group, and is entirely below the level of social consciousness. It is never corrected.

(h) 'Raised oə' (in *four, scores*) with [o[˘]·] as the most advanced variant. This variable is entirely below the level of social consciousness and is never corrected. The trend has, apparently, a long history; it is prominent in the speech of the old aged, but has a wide distribution generally in the SAE community. A British origin is probable.

9. In attempting a characterization of accent profiles in more formal speech behaviour associated with the main lectal types in SAE, we have grouped variables in the sets already identified (each set represented by at least one variable with a 'high index score') in the manner shown in table 7 below. Percentages indicate numbers of subjects as proportions of the total sample shown in the table. (The old-aged are excluded.) In order to bring out main types in accent profiles, percentages less than 20% are omitted. (General SAE, CE, CE+NE are, as accent profiles, omitted from the table as no sample reached 20% in these categories.)

Table 7. Major accent profiles in SAE

	CE+Gen SAE	CE+Gen SAE + NE	NE+Gen SAE	NE	None	n=
Natal						
18-44 m		25%	63%			16
f		25%	56%			22
45-70 m		33%		23%		16
f		22%		33%	22%	18
East Cape						
18-44 m	31%	44%				16
f	26%	43%				23
45-70 m	48%	24%				21
f	32%	37%				19

	CE+Gen SAE	CE+Gen SAE + NE	NE+Gen SAE	NE	None	n=
East Rand						
18-44 m		55%				11
f		71%				17
45-70 m	78%					9
f	23%	46%				13
West Cape						
18-44 m		42%	27%			26
f		26%	26%	22%		23
45-70 m		46%				13
f		26%			37%	27
The full Witwatersrand sample:						
18-44 m		35%	23%			31
f		34%		22%		41
45-70 m	51%	26%				35
f				21%	32%	34

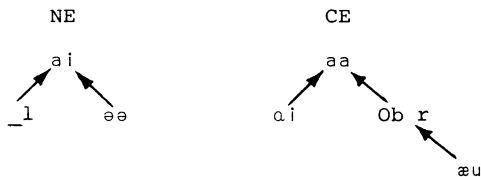
The dominant accent profile for younger South Africans emerges as that having all three groups of variables represented - except in Natal where NE + Gen SAE dominates. Older South Africans differ in a stronger tendency for either CE or NE variables to dominate. Older males on the East Rand appear as the most prominent exponents of CE variables. NE variables provide the main differences between older and younger subjects, among the latter there is a trend towards becoming more broadly 'South African' in accent, and this is particularly striking among females. Note that a substantial number of older female subjects in Natal, the Western Cape and on the Witwatersrand lack SAE variables entirely. CE variables have receded in prominence in all samples although quantities remain relatively high among males. In all populations NE variables have advanced - significantly so amongst males and females on the Witwatersrand. Table 8 below shows the extent of the retreat from CE variables in our total sample excluding the old aged; table 9 below shows the dramatic advance of Fronted ai among Witwatersrand females.

Table 8. Receding CE variables

	18 - 44	45 - 70
m	55%	70%
f	41%	51%

Table 7 above has provided some justification for the separation of CE and NE variables particularly in the speech of older subjects. The fact that these variables are mutually predicting within their groups to a considerably higher degree than between them, provides further support. More significant, however, is the evidence of implicational relations between variables within groups, but not between them; the relationships indicated in the diagram below hold only in the populations of their origin. They are not valid in borrowing populations; for example, Fronted æ is the independent term for NE variables in the Western Cape sample; the variable Retraction before l, appears as the independent term amongst males on the Witwatersrand. CE variables on the Witwatersrand have Ob r as the independent term in a substantial proportion of older males.

Dependency relations suggesting implicational scaling may be represented thus:



Arrows represent the direction of the if-then condition and the relationship holds for 65% or more of the idiolects in the respective samples. Unlinked variables cannot, in terms of our data, be related in these terms.

In tracing the origin of CE and NE variables to different British settlements in the last century, we rely mainly on disparities in quantities of advanced variants of variables in present-day social groups comparatively remote from the in-

fluences of extensive co-mingling of component strains in modern, industrial SA society. Such evidence is supported by the correlations of the more significant variables with regions in Britain associated with the origin of the particular immigrations. References in writings about the society before the industrial era have also been taken into account. (See, for example, the reference to Bruce in 6b.) In Natal, evidence of the correction and partial reversal of the phonetic trends of certain local variables in more formal speech behaviour is taken into account in interpreting the evidence of quantities of variables in that area. The interpretation of high variable quantities in the East Rand sample needs some explanation, however. In tables 2, 3 and 4, quantities of CE variables are equalled or even exceeded by the East Rand sample in comparison with the Eastern Cape. In table 6 a NE variable is actually more prominent on the East Rand than in Natal. As a source for the more socially meaningful SAE variables, the East Rand is discounted. As an integrated, settled society it is half the age (by 75 or more years) of the East Cape and some 40 to 50 years younger than Natal. The HSRC LS questionnaire reveals the diversity in origin of this society (into which the Eastern Cape has fed quite strongly) and that the majority are not long settled. As a 'lower-class' population in the peculiarly SA sense of this term, it is a group sensitive, highly sensitive in fact, to social forces released in the society by both overt values (i.e. middle class values closely associated with upward social mobility), and covert values (promoting in-group cohesion and integration, and a valued local identity). It is, therefore, a population in the lower and lower-middle socio-economic ranks reacting with maximum sensitivity to overt social values in the manner demonstrated by Labov in New York City (Labov, 1967). It is, however, also within the force-field of covert values and is uninhibited in maintaining the stigmatized non-standard variables while nevertheless participating in the advance of variables of the provincial standard. On this basis, we explain the fact that the younger East Rand population is, across the board, the most typically South African of all.

V. PROPERTIES OF A STANDARD VARIABLE

10. Certain expectations exist as to the manner in which the speech community treats variables which express the standard. There are three major sources for empirical data revealing the treatment of a standard phonological variable by the speech community:

- (i) The subjective evaluation of advanced variants of the variable reveals social approbation, as in Labov's subjective evaluation and self-evaluation tests. (Labov, 1966, Part III.)
- (ii) Style shifts in formal speech behaviour advance the phonetic trend followed by the variable. (Labov, 1966, chap. IV.)
- (iii) In the age of social perception, i.e. middle adolescence to young adulthood, standard variables are acquired, or quantities of advanced variants increase. This constitutes a measurable shift in speech habits most marked in middle class (the working and lower classes may hardly participate) and most advanced in formal speech behaviour. (Labov, 1964, pp. 88-92.)

In terms of Labov's classic methodology, it is to be expected, with reference to (i) above, that society will show consensus in its 'endorsement' (Labov, 1967) of the social prestige assigned to standard variables. In subjective evaluation tests currently conducted, such attitudes are revealed in the association between the variable and highly valued social attributes - not necessarily, however, personal attributes. (Giles and Powesland, 1975, chap. 5, discuss 'evaluative ambivalence' associated with RP as an accent which uniformly attracts the highest ratings for prestige, but a rating lower than non-standard British speech for integrity and social attractiveness.) Conversely, the non-standard variable is socially downgraded, being associated with social types perceived as of lower social status.

As regards (ii), the attitudes revealed in (i) are matched in actual speech behaviour in index scores of a standard variable rising in formal speech and those of non-standard vari-

ables falling. However, 'subjective responses are more uniform than performance' (Labov, 1964, p.84) and different sectors of the society are more or less successful in suppressing the non-standard variant and in advancing the standard variant in their most formal speech behaviour. Among the social factors correlating, in performance, with such variable success, or motivation, are age and social class.

In New York City, Labov (1964, pp. 88-92) found that the acquisition of prestige norms (i.e. the standard) advances through age grades mainly in the teen years. Increasing conformity with adult norms in speech behaviour relating to the prestige standard reaches the 'great turning point (which) seems to be exposure to a group larger than the neighbourhood group in the first year of high school' (p. 91.) Taking specifically the case of variables competing for the status of standard (e.g. those of the provincial standard of SAE), whose entry into prestige speech patterns is of recent origin, we might expect that, at least in certain sectors of the society, the advance through age grades (from mid-teens to early twenties) will be clearly marked - in the manner that post-vocalic r, for example, increases in quantity inversely to age in New York City (Labov, 1964 and 1966.)

At 11 below we give the available evidence of shifts in speech behaviour coinciding with the age of social perception (cf (iii) above). CE variables (at 12) and NE variables (at 13) are then examined as to the manner in which the community treats them in speech behaviour and attitude (cf (i) and (ii) above).

11. Evidence from two sources indicates that young South Africans have made and are making shifts in speech habits towards more prestigious norms in the predicted age-range. NE variables have not been identified as targets in these shifts, but it is important to establish that such shifts do in fact take place. Certainly in the case of Macdonald's findings, it can be assumed that Resp SAE provides the prestige norms towards which shifts are made. The best we can do with Hooper's evidence is to state the shifts negatively, i.e. a retreat from Ext SAE variables.

Hooper, 1944, studied the accents of high-school children in the Transvaal between the age levels 13/14 and 16/17 using a small number of variables amongst which Fronted æu, Backed aa (i.e. CE variables) and Gen SAE Backed, lowered əi, were prominent. He reported that in almost all cases the speech of the older group was nearer to 'Standard English' than the younger group in the same school. 'Gains in the direction of standard English' follow the trend indicated below for one of his variables.

12% to 64% in a Johannesburg girls' school,

0% to 32% in a mixed 'Reef high school' (our East Rand sample equates most closely).

9% to 62% in a 'Transvaal girls' school' (i.e. beyond the environs of Johannesburg).

Macdonald, 1977, inquired into the effects of teachers' perception of an accent on their expectations as to pupil performance. From her subjects' responses to a questionnaire, she reports that 79% of the young-adult teacher trainees (the majority judged as being lower-middle-class in status) admitted to attempts to change their own speech and nearly half of the total sample directed such efforts at their accent.

12. The social evaluation of CE variables is unequivocal, revealing the common social mind of white SA society in this regard. The keenest social sensitivity to speech is directed to these variables and only one token of an advanced variant is usually sufficient to evoke the stereotype associated with the popularly recognized SA accent. The social and personal attributes ascribed to the stereotype are most tellingly revealed in official sensitivity to caricature in any public display of the accent and its symbolic associations.

In March, 1975, Mr R. Kirby entered a plea in the Supreme Court for setting aside an order from the Publications Control Board for three excisions to his review *The Dot-Dash Show*. He challenged the Board's directive that 'the instructor speak in normal English accents' with the claim that:

'It was a gentle satire on a first-aid instructor. The tortuous manner in which the instructions are relayed

is underlined by a somewhat exaggerated South African accent which is an integral feature of the representation...' (*Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, March 7, 1975). The 'South African accent' referred to was advanced Ext SAE with the 'high diphthong glides' of the Afrikaans variables ei and eu . The SAE community is insensitive to the Ext SAE - Afr E distinction (see Macdonald's findings below) and the admixture has no particular significance therefore. In November, 1976, the SABC withdrew singer Andy Dillon's *Drive-In Song* because 'they didn't like the accent'. 'The accent in question is heavily South African' (Mr Dillon's comment), again in association with the stereotype of which the SAE community is so fully aware. In both these cases the government body concerned took such positive action because they believed the caricature would give offence to the public. The audiences of the *Dot-Dash Show* gave every evidence, however, of being highly amused. We have no reason to believe that those in the SAE (i.e. English-speaking) community who do in fact take offence are any more than a very small number. The behaviour of those initiating protest in cases of this kind, and officialdom overreacting to it, therefore requires explanation. It is highly likely that both protesters and officials find a good deal of their own perceived social identity in caricatured 'local man'. Moreover, that social identity is not one having the common associations of a stage caricature with region or class. In this case associations are found in social types in confrontation across the cultural-political-linguistic division which cuts deepest into white SA society.

Empirical evidence of the social response to an accent profile with prominent CE variables is found in Penn and Stafford, 1971. They report a highly significant difference between 'two SA dialects' in correlation with occupations as judged by 50 female English-speaking university students. The occupations were ranked at three levels according to social prestige. The dialects differed in seven variables which differentiated 'South African English' from 'Received Pronunciation' (in fact Cons SAE - the speaker was the senior author).

The former was found to correlate with the lowest status occupations and the latter with the highest in by far the largest number of responses. CE variables with 'high values' were: Ob r; Backed ɔi. Gen SAE variables were: Backed, lowered əi; Low schwa; Raised æ. (The phonetic transcription in Penn and Stafford, 1971, was inaccurate because of typographical difficulties.)

C.A. Macdonald, 1975, reports on an experiment in which she explored the extent to which different sectors of the society were prepared to associate vignettes of social behaviour (purged of stereotype cues) as realizations of specific social values, with four accent varieties heard in the SAE community. The social values included such 'overt' values as sophistication, leadership; and 'covert' values such as masculinity, strong local loyalties. The four accent types she identified as: 1) British Received Pronunciation; 2) South African English; 3) Extreme SAE; 4) Afrikaans English. The speaker for South African English had a poorly defined Resp SAE accent, but the voice was discounted for other reasons in the interpretation of the responses. Seven variables characterized (3) separating it from RP; these included Ob r, Backed aa, Backed ɔi; and four Gen SAE variables. Afr E was qualitatively differentiated in the high, tense off-glides for ai, əʊ, əi, and in rolled r and post-vocalic r. Macdonald interprets her results as indicating that people speaking RP 'are stereotyped as sophisticated-cultured'; Ext SAE correlates with 'an intuitively predictable picture: he is not a leader, he is uneducated ... he is unsophisticated, gregarious and physically strong ...'. In these judgements there was basic agreement between English- and Afrikaans-speaking respondents (male and female university students). Follow-up interviews of respondents indicated that Ext SAE and Afr E as accents do not distinguish social types, at least not according to the variables mentioned above.

In style shifting in formal speech CE variables fall in index values in those idiolects with prominent style shifts. There is one exception: Ob r, which although it recedes in quantity through age grades, is not noticeably reduced in

shifts from formal to informal speech behaviour. The most conspicuous stylistic variation is connected with Fronted æu which often moves towards hypercorrection in the speech of both men and women. Ext SAE is predominantly a colloquial style most prominent in the speech of young-adult and adolescent males in interaction with their peers. In such situations, we believe that Ext SAE expresses the covert values of the society esteemed by young males (e.g. masculinity and physical toughness) and for this reason it tends to cut across social-class divisions.

Evidence of the retreat through age-grades from CE variables is found in table 8 above. The phonetic trends of Ob r, Fronted æu, are receding in formal speech behaviour in all populations. 'Deaspirated stops' as a trend is similarly treated (the data are not tabulated). Evidence for æu is presented in table 4 in a way which shows the waning of this variable according to age and region; most marked in the Western Cape although all populations are involved. Backed aa shows some increase in quantity of advanced variants between older and younger males in the East Cape and on the East Rand. The latter, in particular, is the sector of the community most responsive to the society's covert social values and this support for a stigmatized non-standard variable has, we suggest, this explanation.

In summary, therefore, CE variables express a clearly perceived social stereotype of the lowest social status nevertheless attractive to those who hold dear physical toughness, disdain for the proprieties, and a typically South African identity. Generally, formal behaviour in speech is marked by attempts to suppress these variables and social forces are responsible for a retreat from them in the formal speech behaviour of the SAE community.

13. In the early stages of our research there were few intuitions and no empirical data relating to the social evaluation of NE variables. Clearly, these variables do not express stereotypically a social type perceived in the society. Whatever the reaction to these variables, their social evaluation

is, for the majority, entirely subjective. The recent appearance of the Kugel stereotype (see below) on the Johannesburg stage does indeed rely in part on Fronted ai as a characterizing feature, but the response to it remains subjective. The senior author, in attempts to determine the social meaning of this variable, has presented it to quite large audiences in three English cities in the form of the stimulus used in the experiment described at 14 below (the Version 2 voice). The only social meaning these audiences could offer (always by a small minority in the total audience) is a regional association with Natal.

With the exception of certain older and old-aged subjects in Natal, mainly female, NE variables gain in prominence in speech as it becomes more formal. The advance of these variables in the SAE community generally is indicated in table 7 above; the spectacular advance of Fronted ai in the speech of Witwatersrand females is revealed in table 9 below.

For some years we have observed high quantities and very high index values for Fronted ai in the speech of young female undergraduates; the Eastern European descent group is the most prominent in this respect. High values for Retraction before l are more general, extending to both males and females. These variables are contra-indicated in these groups mainly by the variable 'associations with Britain'. The Eastern European descent group has the closest association with the Kugel stereotype analysed in caricature in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, September 19, 1976, and defined as: 'single, pretty, often rich girls; university graduates (*sic*) but only there to hunt for a husband amongst medical and law students; mainly Jewish - although anyone can join.' Impressions as to the advance and prominence of Fronted ai among Witwatersrand females was confirmed by quantifying the variable, in terms of 'high index scores' in our Witwatersrand sample, as shown below in table 9. (Subjects with high index scores are expressed as percentages of the total sample in the particular age-grade.)

Table 9. High scores for Fronted ai in Witwatersrand female idiolects

18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
67%	58%	55%	20%	23%	11%
n = 16	13	12	11	14	9

By contrast, the stable nature of this variable among Natal women is indicated in the table below and this lends weight to our hypothesis as to the origin of the variable.

Table 10. High scores for Fronted ai in Natal female idiolects

18 - 44	45 - 70
68%	61%
n = 22	18

As individuals, a number of older and old-aged Eastern Cape women of high social status, including some educated in private schools, have noticeably high index scores for Fronted ai in formal speech behaviour. Usually, other NE variables have low or zero scores. These women, like Witwatersrand women with high scores, give no evidence of the correction of this variable in formal speech behaviour. In expressing their social attitudes, these Eastern Cape women appear to hold tenuously to the British tradition of social values although without pretensions to a British identity which their old-aged counterparts in Natal often claim.

The general view of NE variables is, therefore, that the trends are advancing in the SA community generally having associations with formal style, and that they have prestige (although well below the level of awareness), except in Natal, the region of their origin. Only the oldest subjects in Natal effectively suppress these variables, however. The need for empirical evidence of social approbation was obvious and to this end a test of the social evaluation of Fronted ai, the most salient variable in the NE group, was devised and applied in 1976.

14. In our test of the social evaluation of Fronted ai the stimulus voice was that of a middle-class Natal man in his fifties, of settler stock born and educated in Natal. He recorded two passages closely similar in content (a discussion in some 75 words on the history of the diamondfields), but different in wording at places where words with ai (13 tokens) could be substituted (Version 2) in place of those without ai (Version 1).¹³ Subjects in the test therefore responded to the same voice speaking first without and then with this variable conspicuously present. The test, therefore, is a form of the matched-guise technique which obviates problems associated with different voice qualities in different speakers.

Subjects were obtained in the categories of 'young' and 'old' (young = under 25; old = over 55) grouped as samples from sectors of the SAE community potentially significant in revealing attitudes to Fronted ai in terms of differences in the distribution of variants of this variable through style; age; sex; descent group. The samples were: I Cape old female; II Natal old female; III Cape young male and female; IV Natal young male and female; V Witwatersrand young female Jewish; VI Witwatersrand young female non-Jewish. All subjects met the requirement that socialization in early childhood, schooling through to high school and residence up to the age of 21 (in the case of 'old' subjects) was in the region indicated. The full Natal old-aged (female) sample (as in table 1) appears in this experiment and five of the Eastern Cape old-aged; apart from these, all subjects in this experiment appear for the first time in our analysis of the SAE community. 'Old' respondents are a selected sample taken from groups brought together in old-aged homes and in private houses where members of the group were expected to meet the criteria relating to regional associations. Young respondents were almost all

13 Index scores in the accent profile of this speaker are: NE: ai = 2.5, _l = 1.0, əə = 0.5; CE: aa = 0, Ob r = 0, æu = 0, ɔi = 0; Gen SAE: ei = 0.5, əu = 1.5, Raised e = 1.0, Low schwa = 0.5. We note that NE variables other than ai are not 'high scores' and we assume therefore that our subjects responded mainly to Fronted ai.

university undergraduates tested in groups in two universities. About 25% of responses in the test were discarded as having no particular regional affiliation, or, in the case of the old-aged, because of deafness, poor sight or inability to comprehend the nature of the inquiry.

Subjects responded to the reading of Version 1 (without ai) after listening to a brief introduction pointing to the fact that we often 'judge a speaker according to his voice' mentioning certain personal (not social) attributes. They then filled in a questionnaire in which five pairs of statements were placed on scales indicating a degree of agreement/disagreement with each statement. The scales for the old subjects were 4-point; a neutral point was not provided. The young subjects were given a 5-point scale. (Comparison between groups is therefore not possible as medians are not strictly comparable.) The first two questions referred to personal attributes and were intended to familiarize subjects in the test procedures, the third inquired whether the speaker was well-educated or not, but produced no interesting results, the fourth and fifth (as stated positively) were:

Q.4: There is authority in this man's voice - people will listen to him!

Q.5: This man sounds like an important man in the community having a high-salary job.

A final question (Q. 6) offered a choice between six occupations one of which was to be judged as most appropriate to the voice. The alternatives represented two occupations at each of low, middle and high-status levels according to Packard's (1960) classification with modifications appropriate to SA society.

Old subjects completed the questionnaire after listening to Version 1. They were then asked to listen again and re-assess the speaker and make a completely fresh judgement of him. No reference to their previous rating was allowed which was inverted in print on the reverse side of the answer sheet. Version 2 was then presented and the speaker re-assessed using the same questions as before except that occupations were

changed in Q. 6. Young subjects followed the same procedure, but for them two other SA accents spoken by two other voices were inserted between Versions 1 and 2. The different treatment of old and young respondents was necessary because of the length of time the old-aged took to respond and loss of attention in responding to a longer test.

The analysis of responses to questions 4 and 5 is given in table 11. The W values (from the Williamson test for correlated samples) are indicated. The significant W values are interpreted as showing a significantly different reaction (i.e. more positive) to the Fronted ai variable.

Table 11. Social evaluation of Fronted ai

		Question 4			Question 5		
		Median differ- ence V2 : V1	W	Signi- fic- ance	Median differ- ence V2 : V1	W	Signi- fic- ance
I	Cape old female n = 19	+0.9	3.0	p<.05	+0.4	0	p<.02
II	Natal old female n = 15	+0.2	18.0	n.s.	-0.13	12.0	n.s.
III	Cape young n = 9	+0.4	4.5	n.s.	0	6.5	n.s.
IV	Natal young n = 17	-0.5	16.0	n.s.	-0.4	38.5	n.s.
V	Witwa- ters- rand young female Jewish n = 41	+0.05	172.0	n.s.	+1.35	30.0	p<.01
VI	Non- Jewish n = 30	-0.1	117.0	n.s.	+0.67	11.0	p<.01

In responses to the final question (Q. 6) differences in occupations attributed to Versions 1 and 2 were not significant

except in the Witwatersrand young female Jewish group who attributed higher-status occupations to Version 2 at a very high level of significance. ($\chi^2 = 18.24$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$) Natal old females maintained their negative attitude to Version 2 in this question, although not at a significant level. In other samples comparatively small numbers of respondents changed the social status of the speaker.

In interpreting the results, we recognize only Q. 5 and Q. 6 as directed at social status, assuming that high social status is the commonest social attribute associated with a prestige standard. The question as to an ability to exercise authority (Q. 4) has a similar association only if we can be sure that leadership qualities were being judged and leadership is associated with the highest ranking social group. This was our surmise based on associations of the RP accent in Britain, but, because of this uncertainty, Q. 4 is regarded as less satisfactory than Q. 5. Nevertheless, the significant response of old Cape females in Q. 4 follows the trend they reveal in Q. 5 and the negative shift (without significance) of young Natalians maintains the direction of trend in that group.

15. Results in the experiment described above support a hypothesis that, except in Natal, the SAE community treats Fronted ai - and probably other NE variables in their common co-occurrence with ai - as expressing social prestige and, in this sense, a standard variety. Fronted ai is highly valued by, in ascending order of degree of approbation: old Cape females; young non-Jewish Witwatersrand females; young Jewish females on the Witwatersrand. Positive attitudes are matched by the manner in which NE variables are treated in speech behaviour. Table 7 shows that 'younger' subjects use greater quantities of these variables (in their more formal speech) than those who are 'older'; table 9 shows the advance through age-grades of Fronted ai in Witwatersrand female speech. The involvement of NE variables in style shifting has not been quantified in extent (range on the index scale), or degree (quantities of variants at different style levels). As to

direction, however, formal speech behaviour is marked by more advanced variants of NE variables when these are present in the speech repertoire; exceptions are found in certain older and old-aged subjects in Natal who obviously suppress NE variables. CE variables, on the other hand, are seen in table 8 to be receding in the SAE community. Here too there are exceptions: Ob r in the speech of older men may increase in quantity in forceful assertion in formal style. Of all CE variables, Fronted æu is the most sensitive to increasing formality and retreat from æu in Cape female speech commonly results in hypercorrect variants.

The responses of three social groups in the experiment described at 14 above calls for comment. Young Jewish females are the strongest supporters and promoters of Fronted ai with old Cape females similarly inclined. Old females of the Natal sample show negative attitudes and the suppression of NE variables in formal speech, although young Natalians apparently holding similar attitudes, are nevertheless in step with the wider SAE community in maintaining these variables in formal speech. Social history, we believe, offers an explanation. The social history of SA society is discussed at 19 below, but briefly: the British identity and traditions in social values, life-style, etc. have been cherished and maintained with greater consensus in Natal than in any other sector of the society. British norms in attitude and behaviour distinguished, in the formative years of the Natal colony, as it does in Natal today to a lesser extent, local speech (i.e. non-standard) from the national standard. Whatever social meaning the wider society has come to ascribe to typical Natal English, there are still many Natalians who evaluate it as local and non-standard. The more open 'new society' has deeply infiltrated industrialized Natal and exercises its pressure on behavioural norms, hence a degree of dissonance between attitude and actual behaviour which young Natalians evince.

'Cape colonial' as a social identity had, in the last century and for a period in the present century, associations with a poor self-image. In a comparison of local identities, such self-attitudes received confirmation in the mining-indus-

trial society, a socially stratified society in which all social types and local identities were ranged alongside. There is little doubt that the new society evaluated the Natalian much more favourably than the Cape colonial, an attitude 'endorsed' (Labov's term) by the Cape Settler descendant himself.

As an 'alien' group, socially disadvantaged in the first generation or two in SA, the Eastern European Jew has moved on the crest of upward social mobility in the past 40 to 50 years. The opportunities for integration and social advancement opened up in post-war society matched with success in economic life, and this has brought this group in quite recent times to positions of social power and influence, i.e. a position in the social structure most likely to evoke an eager and sensitive response to national norms in attitude and behaviour and to the values underlying them.

VI. FORMAL AND INFORMAL STANDARDS

16. A main aim in previous discussion has been to establish that, in speech behaviour and social attitude, there exist phonologic variables characterizing an accent type which has properties of a standard variety while yet differing qualitatively from the authentic standard to which the majority in the society give overt recognition. We have demonstrated an association between high social status and the 'provincial' standard and conditions relating to the acquisition and use of the NE variables support a view of them as a form of standard. In many informal tests of the reactions of young South Africans (mainly university students in Johannesburg) to accents in the society, we have evidence of consensus regarding high social status and 'sophistication' associated with Resp SAE at levels of approbation sometimes as high as that assigned quite unequivocally to an RP accent. Equally unequivocally are both these accents a contradistinction of the identity and behaviour associated with 'typical local man' as expressed in stigmatized Ext SAE. Frequently, there is indecision as to the identity (regional associations, social class, etc.) of the Resp SAE voice (even uncertainty as to whether

it is British or South African), but no social stereotype is ever associated with it. The existence of Cons SAE and RP in the speech behaviour of the SAE community has not been presented in quantitative terms, but we have record of a substantial number of individuals over 45 who have a Cons SAE accent and, in addition, smaller numbers of adolescents and children (SA born) who control it virtually as a 'vernacular'. Young children (up to 10 years) in fact outnumber adolescents, reflecting the influence of family in the 'British tradition' of social values and behaviour which is likely to weaken when peer groups dominate as the child becomes older. Children identified by parents as 'speaking two dialects' are often among these.

There have been suggestions in previous discussion as to social conditions which have produced this ambivalent state relating to the standard in SAE, but further inquiry in this respect requires a deeper understanding of the social information which a standard variety expresses, and the social forces which support it, i.e. the social motivation by which a variety achieves and maintains this status.

Stewart, 1968, a major contributor to inquiry into standard varieties, finds in his 'formal standard' (a possible equivalent of our 'authentic standard') an expression of correctness: 'the codification and acceptance ... of a formal set of norms defining "correct" usage'. (This carries the implication that at least a proportion of the society is motivated to adopt proprietous speech behaviour.) Formal standardization is associated with codified prescriptions of academies, orthoepical guides, etc., and may be so far removed from the realities of actual speech behaviour that: 'Invariably, these formal codes are drawn up so that almost no one speaks the standard language'. (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974, p. 18ff., interpreting Stewart.) Clearly, this does not apply in our case; the authentic standard is the normal speech of many of our subjects. Stewart's 'informal standard' however, reflects 'a certain amount of normalization of language behaviour in the direction of linguistic usage with high social prestige'. (Stewart, 1968, p. 534.) It is, therefore, a possible equivalent to our provincial standard.

Dual standards do not arise in Labov's references to standard varieties in the USA. He sees in standard norms an expression of social status and prestige and the social support of the standard by the society as deriving from the 'overt social values' (middle-class values which esteem high social status). In identifying social values as the social motivation for adopting standard speech, Labov appears to offer the deeper explanation we are seeking - assuming that values can be specified in fairly explicit terms. Explanation in Labov's explication of the role of social values, is, however, more apparent than real. As motivation to adopt a particular behaviour where alternatives exist, values must be interpreted as beliefs; beliefs relating to 'ideal modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals' (Rokeach, 1970). For Labov, however, it appears that values are not much more than the social meaning which the linguistic symbol expresses (i.e. social values = social status and prestige). This is revealed in Labov, 1972, p. 251: 'In fact, social values are attributed to linguistic rules only when there is variation ... When the issue (i.e. arising from variation) is resolved, and one form becomes universal, the social value attributed to it disappears.' A social value is not, in our view, ephemeral to a degree that it disappears when a particular expression of it in social behaviour disappears. This view of social values has little explanatory force as regards motivation in linguistic variability. It handles variable behaviour simply as a matter of norms and rules and contributes to a view of individual behaviour in linguistic variability as that of a 'sociolinguistic automaton'. (Giles, 1976, uses this term.)

Giles and Powesland, 1975, explore the social significance of the standard in terms of the alternative hypotheses: 'inherent value' and 'imposed norm'. Their research findings incline them to reject the former (i.e. that pleasing aesthetic properties exist apart from social-status connotations), but it is of no great import as far as our inquiry is concerned that aesthetic qualities accrue from social status. It remains the view of at least some sectors of society that 'a standard dialect has attained its prestige ... because it is ... the most aesthetically pleasing and *linguistically sophisticated*

form of that language'. (Giles and Powesland, p. 11, citing earlier research findings. The emphasis is ours.) The standard in being aesthetically pleasing expresses correctness, and aesthetic properties and correctness can be taken as equivalents in broad terms. It may be deduced from this that correctness is undifferentiated in social meaning and attitude from high social status or prestige. Prestige and the property of correctness may well derive from a remote reference group as is the case of European French in Canada (Giles and Powesland, p. 50.)

That the standard can convey a richer social meaning than the social attributes mentioned above, is clear from Giles and Powesland's inquiries into personality traits (i.e. personal attributes) expressed by RP which, with the possible exception of north-east England and Scotland, is identified with high social status by listeners of both high and low status (Giles and Powesland, p. 31.) In experiments in south-west England, Giles and Powesland reveal that in the attributes of personal integrity and social attractiveness, RP and local-accent speakers both rate the RP accent lower than the local non-standard. But ambition, intelligence, self-confidence, determination and industriousness are expressed more in the standard than in the local non-standard. This information conveyed by accent immediately suggests stereotyping, i.e. these are different facets of a social type which respondents 'perceive' in their society; the social and personal attributes thus cohere in the stereotype. On this evidence, therefore, a stereotyped social identity is central in any inquiry into the social information conveyed by a standard accent.

17. From considerations arising in discussion above, we are led to seek for the social meaning of a standard variety in SAE in terms such as: correctness (i.e. propriety speech behaviour); high socio-economic status; prestige. (We will argue below that these are not to be taken as equivalents in the social evaluation of speech.) In addition, a well-defined stereotype might be part of the social meaning expressed by the standard, drawing in other facets of social meaning such as social identity (in class/ descent/ethnic terms), and per-

sonal attributes such as honesty, intelligence, etc. As to the social forces which sustain and promote the standard, social values have been suggested, not, however, in Labov's interpretation, but as part of a system of beliefs. Only with this interpretation do social values account for the individual case which is taken as deviant in terms of a particular position in the social structure and the norms that pertain to it. The deviant case may well be more interesting. When every social variable predicts standard speech behaviour in, for example, an upper-class adolescent male of British descent, but, on the contrary, he flaunts non-standard Ext SAE, the individual is motivated by social values held by a social group other than his own for whom such behaviour is the norm. Society presents alternative models and individuals pursue what they admire, and what they admire represents 'right and proper states' relating to themselves. Labov's working class who 'endorse' middle-class values (Labov, 1967, p. 68) do no more than reveal social knowledge - the social consequences of dominant middle-class values. Apparently, their actual commitment is to conflicting covert values, i.e. toughness, masculinity, in-group cohesion, etc., as Labov *et al.* (1968, p. 250) suggest.

Explicating social values at a level of specificity is a daunting task, easier to do for covert than overt values. We would claim, however, that prestige and high socio-economic status should not be equated. Prestige does indeed accrue from demonstrable economic success in the societies currently studied and such equivalence may well hold. However, as Labov admits, 'there are many kinds of prestige' (Labov, 1972, p. 307). Prestige might well be associated with attributes other than status. Nader, 1968, discusses the strikingly different attitude to rural speech and behaviour in the Lebanon, Mexico and Spain and comments that the factor 'which may encourage admiration, borrowing or emulation in language need not be related to affluent position of one group to another'. Fasold *et al.*, 1975, demonstrate that working class values held by middle-class subjects in an American city direct them to imitating working-class speech. Prestige, therefore, lies in the eyes of the beholder and social values as ultimate motivation

are to be examined as a product of an individual social experience and commitment as well as group norms. Prestige as a property assigned to a social type or group requires different specification in different societies.

Along similar lines we argue that an equivalence between correctness and high status should not be assumed. The fact that children, girls in particular, make shifts towards standard speech several years before the age of social perception, i.e. before they are aware of social-status differences and their significance, calls for explanation. Giles and Powesland (1975, pp. 28-30) give empirical evidence of 12-year olds in Britain, in comparison with 17-year olds, showing 'a lack of social conformity and awareness' in evaluating and distinguishing between accents. Lambert, Frankel and Tucker, 1966, confirm this in the evaluative reactions of French-Canadians to English and French-Canadian speech. However, we have evidence that girls considerably younger than 12 make shifts towards standard speech norms. Trudgill, 1974b, p. 10, also reports on 7-year-old West Indian girls who already control certain standard-language variables (which boys find an object of amusement and imitate in girlish voices). The explanation of this anomaly requires that correctness and high social status be separated as independent dimensions of social meaning. Correctness is equatable to 'good' in the opposition good/right: bad/wrong in behaviour and this distinction is imparted as a very early socializing experience. Standard speech is one manifestation of correctness and the association between the two is established at an early age in this way. The notion of correctness has a prominent place in behaviour codes which the family inculcates in the learning of social roles and girls comply more assiduously than boys in this respect. Social-status relations and the cognitive grasp of the social structure generally are advanced through contact with the wider society and this exposure takes place in the adolescent years. In this age of social perception the correctness ethic is elaborated and extended and it is then that an equivalence is established between high social status and propertious (correct) behaviour. This equivalence cannot be taken for granted, however, being in origin perceptions of social behaviour ac-

quired differently in time and place. Specifically with regard to speech and language, correctness might be identified in a model different from that symbolizing high social status and this appears as a distinct possibility in a society having co-existing standard varieties.

18. In turning to social meaning and social motivation sustaining standard speech behaviour in a society with co-existing standards, we note the strong implication of competition or conflict (with suggestions of social change) in current discussion of this phenomenon. Fishman, 1972, p. 25, makes reference to this and to the likelihood of competing standards being an interim state associated with social change:

'Note ... that there may be several competing standard varieties in the same speech community. Note finally that hitherto nonstandard varieties may themselves undergo standardization whereas hitherto standardized varieties may undergo destandardization as their speakers no longer view them as worthy of codification and cultivation.'

When, as in the SAE community, members of a middle class apparently assign prestige to both co-existing varieties as ideal behaviours they desire for themselves, this must be examined as a possible case of conflict or competition. However, there is currently a paucity of information on the phenomenon of co-existing standards. Giles and Powesland (1975, p. 50) make a contribution in a discussion on French Canada indicating that upper-class Canadian French and European French are competing standard varieties both viable in the society. At a subjective level the former is evaluated as less socially desirable, but at the conscious level of the expression of attitudes by subjects, there is reluctance to accept European French as more prestigious. Giles and Powesland suggest a state of social change likely to be followed by the adoption and internalization of the Canadian Standard. At present, therefore, the two varieties are in competition and the society discriminates between them.

At this point we turn to the SAE community with Resp SAE and Cons SAE/RP as co-existing standard accents and, bearing previous discussions in mind, we note that: no conflict in

underlying social values is in evidence in the coexistence of the authentic and provincial standards and no social stereotype is associated with the provincial standard. An explanation of the present state in SAE requires an understanding of the social history of the society which follows below.

VII. THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE SAE COMMUNITY

19. An excursion into some 175 years of social history is necessary in explaining present-day speech diversity in the SAE community and the social evaluation of differentiated speech patterns which are significant in a discussion of standard varieties. The event of greatest significance in this inquiry is the emergence of the mining-industrial city (from the mineral revolution of the 1870's) in a land of largely rural or small-town dwellers. Mainly on the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg and its environs) was the SAE community's heterogeneous past woven in to the more homogeneous present; it was here that the different ethnic, descent and settlement groups became socially integrated more than they had ever been before. The social structure and system of British urban industrial society established the form and 'mind' of this society which had diffused throughout SA. This was the 'new society' which attracted the British 'colonials' from the Cape and Natal; the Afrikaner - reluctantly at first and in small numbers until large-scale urbanization brought him into the cities; the new immigrant from Britain and the Empire together with the European immigrant, mainly Jewish, from Eastern Europe and Germany.

The 1820 Settlers in the Eastern Cape and the British settlement in Natal in mid-century established self-contained, permanently resident microcosms of British society which absorbed and moulded socially any later immigration into these areas - at least until the 1870's when gold and diamonds were attracting the new immigrant. The socially significant British presence in the Western Cape before 1820 involved mainly the

military and colonial administrator and settlement was largely by individuals removing themselves to a land offering novelty and social and economic opportunity. The main concentration of these was in Cape Town and its environs.

The precursor to Ext SAE was Cape English originating in the vernacular developed in the first childhood peer groups of over 1000 under-twelve children of the 1820 Settlers, and in the first generations born in Africa. Nearly half of the Settlers appear from records to be from London and the Home Counties,¹⁴ mainly lower-middle and working class. In the first peer groups constituted *de novo* in numerous small schools and rural communities, a homogeneous speech pattern emerged from many regional dialects, promoted by social levelling and the stressful conditions of social life in a seriously impoverished and embattled frontier society. The evidence on which this statement is based is mainly anecdotal coming from our oldest informants who included (in the 1950's) a few born in the 1870's. They were questioned on memories of the speech of their parents and grandparents and any expression of attitudes to speech and social behaviour which they could recall. In these inquiries we have been particularly interested in the descendants of 'county' families such as the Bowkers who were 'party leaders' in 1820 and have retained social and political leadership in the community since that time.¹⁵ (Mitford-Barborton, 1952, provides a history of the family.)

In accent Cape English reflected mainly the non-standard speech of the majority from south-east England, although such

14 Some Settler families joined parties from counties other than those in which they resided, the number who had lived their lives within the sphere of influence of the metropolis can only be roughly estimated therefore. It seems, however, that only a small percentage of those who embarked with parties from the Home Counties in fact came from elsewhere.

15 Mr T.B. Bowker, the member of parliament for Albany for 31 years from 1936, was renowned for his 'Eastern Cape' accent. His accent profile in a short radio talk recorded towards the end of his life shows high index scores for CE variables: Fronted aa; Ob r; and Gen SAE variables: Backed, lowered əi; Raised e; Raised æ. Of interest is an index score of 2.0 for Fronted ai, a feature, we suspect, of his most formal style.

overtly stigmatized pronunciations such as h-dropping, g-dropping (in *-ing* endings) which must have been prevalent in Settler speech, were apparently eliminated at an early stage. The disappearance of such stereotypes (Labov's term for variables of this kind) is evidence of continuing allegiance to the overt social values of the mother society - normally honoured more in the breach than in observance in frontier society. We note, for example, observance of the proprieties in speech and writing extending to grandiloquence in family letters written in the last century, and hypercorrection, for example, of Fronted æu and 'aspirate w', by our oldest subjects with predominantly Ext SAE accents.

The advance of the 19th century saw Cape Settler society becoming progressively less a product of its history and more of its environment. Inter-marriage and social mingling with the Afrikaner community did not efface the English identity of Settler descendants, but contributed towards modifying their social values and life-style towards those of the 'frontier'. Changes in speech arising from this contact include our variables Ob r, Low schwa, Deaspiration of stops, converting Cape Settler English into Ext SAE as the society recognizes it today. The social force behind such imitation was the 'accommodation' of, for example, a Settler son to the Afrikaans-English of an Afrikaner wife. (This is a case of downward convergence identified by Giles and Powesland, 1975, chap. 9, in their model of accommodative behaviour.) The Afrikaner was not, in fact, a reference group to the Settlers; amity and friendship between fellow frontiersmen did not make up for his lack of sophistication, education, etc., by which he was lowly valued in terms of Victorian social values. (Newspaper comment and reports in the last century cited by Streak, 1972, provide substantial evidence.) Ironically, for the Cape Settler descendant, he and the Afrikaner had grown to resemble one another sufficiently closely that in the eyes of the early mining society they shared the same social image. Before exposure to Natal colonials and the new British immigration in the new society had left him in little doubt, the Cape colonial, even at that early stage, was aware of his poor social image. Cowper

Rose (1829, p. 46), a young British officer in the Eastern Cape, expressed his distaste of the crudities of social life commenting that 'the romantic expectations of the first settlers (contrast) with the squalid reality of their present state'. In his recollections of early Grahamstown, Meurant (1885, p. 80) lightheartedly recalls that a Mr Kromhout, an auctioneer, used to announce conditions of sale as: 'drie monts krediet for de Christemens - no krediet for the Settlaar'. Meurant continues: 'The latter term was then, and for some years afterwards, one of opprobium'.

The Settler legend bringing glory to the intrepid pioneers of 1820, is of comparatively recent origin. Emeritus Professor of History in Rhodes University, W.A. Maxwell (personal communication, 1976), reports that in her memory, 'identifying a member of the society as a "settler" was a solecism'. In our inquiries, further confirmation comes from a tendency of the oldest females in the Cape Settler descent group to deny their past. One member of a well known Settler family specifically rejected her Settler origin claiming that her ancestor was a young lawyer in London who made his own way to SA. At least three others from families with a history of intermarriage with Afrikaners in the last century, insisted in their reference to their forebear as 'our Hollander ancestor'.

Organized British emigration to Natal (a high proportion from the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire) took place between 1848 and 1862 with the middle and upper classes proportionately much larger than in the 1820 Cape settlement. Pietermaritzburg in the 1880's was the city of 'impecunious aristocrats' and Natal generally 'swarmed with half-pay or retired officers of the Army and Navy'. (Hattersley, 1940 and 1950.) The keynote of the 'social mind' of Natal society until Union (1910) was the desire to remain English and maintain what it could of the social symbols and system of Victorian England. The upper class of Pietermaritzburg rode to hounds until the late 1880's when its debt-ridden Master of Foxhounds absconded to the diamond fields (Hattersley, 1940, p. 101.) Forces similar to those that had simplified the social order and life-style of the

Cape Settlers operated in Natal, but far less drastically. There were no frontier wars in the strict sense, less impoverishment, far less contact with the Afrikaner (most had moved away after annexation of the Colony); but a higher density of population, ready access to fashion-setting urban centres, a great diversity in occupation and wealth, and social distinction based on position and rank.

Until the goldfields began to attract Natalians in large numbers and merged them into the wider SA community, and the province became industrialized in the 1930's, Natal remained insular and parochial in its English character. The cherished English identity of Natal was a major stumbling block at the conference table leading to Union in 1910. The highest approbation we find from our oldest female subjects in Natal is: 'She is so very English'. English speech in Natal is more recent in origin than Cape English and was less subject to social forces contributing to homogeneity. It therefore retained something of its original diversity and more standard British English shaded into Natal English of probably the majority of Natalians. The pattern of Natal English is less easily retrieved than Cape English, and with less certainty, because of the diffusion of its major variables geographically and through all social ranks of society. The impetus in such diffusion is, we believe, social approbation in the wider SA society and the mining-industrial city has been the main propagator of it.

As the mining city on the goldfields acquired social and economic stability, the pattern of the 'new society' in SA emerged, based on the industrial society of Britain familiar to many of the new immigrants. The dynamics of the society were the pursuit of wealth and social status, the former being the initial primary drive, the latter a natural consequence in 19th century industrial society. Statusful occupation, wealth and material possessions were now available to provide the full range of social differentials in a class society in a way they had never been in the colonies of the Cape or Natal. The mining plutocracy, more or less identified with the great mining houses in Johannesburg, were the aristocrats 'prepared

to consort with doctors, lawyers, engineers and architects, but to have little truck with the rest' (Gutsche, 1966, p. 76.) They came eventually to control the economy of SA, and also exercised social control within the society - with the firm support of their wives. The mining plutocracy maintained their exclusiveness in ways familiar in Britain, which was the target of their social ambitions and the model of their social behaviour. All were not British, however; many would not have qualified for the upper-class in Britain. But social mobility was a feature of the mining society and released the forces of social aspiring powerfully within it. A familiar set of social values linking prestige with social status and the latter with the acquired attributes of occupation, wealth and material possessions, were injected into the society and maintained and transmitted by many immigrants well acquainted with them. Dominant themes in overt social values were typically Victorian: genteelness and British nationalism, strongly symbolized by Queen and Empire. Louis Cohen, an early pioneer and satirical observer of the mining society, records that early in this century 'Johannesburg ... is very British ... loyal to Empire ... English manners and traditions appear to be lovingly enshrined in the hearts of the citizens.' (Cohen, 1924, p. 306.)

A feature of British 'top-dog' attitudes practised in the society, was the denigration of what was obviously local and the ascription of quality and excellence to what was British. This extended to the 'colonial', who was rated socially inferior to those who were 'home-born'. Home-born mothers admonished their children with 'You little colonial' at least until the 1930's. There were, therefore, many colonials striving to be 'English', a facet of the 'British tradition' greatly weakened in SA since the Second World War yet still observable in older South Africans of British descent.

Social types perceived and labelled in the society were: British, Colonial, Dutch. We have a report of this distinction being applied in a major SA industry as late as the 1940's; the practice was abandoned under protest from employees who found classification in the last category objectionable. The reference group in the society was epitomized in the home-

born, upper-class Englishman. The mining plutocracy had considerable success in realizing their aspirations directed at this target. Johannesburg names begin appearing in the Honours List after the turn of the century and rather earlier in the social diary of high society in London (some recur until the present day). English aristocrats were lionized in early Johannesburg society, and upper-class Englishmen attracted to institutions which functioned as the main agents in propagating the British tradition in social values: the mining houses, exclusive Anglican private schools, the Anglican Church. Many of lower social status judged the prestige model accessible and worth pursuing and this they did in 'academies' which contracted to teach the social graces, including speech, which were well patronized by young men and women. Members of British drama companies found it profitable, for example, to remain in SA and set up as elocution teachers. This is the origin of the SA Guild of Speech Teachers (Taylor, 1960) who were, and still are, extensively patronized by English-speaking South Africans.

The initially disadvantaged in the mining society were the Afrikaner and the Eastern European immigrant. Both lacked social attributes and socio-cultural competence to negotiate desirable positions in a typically British social system. The Afrikaner lacked industrial skills and education; 800 children without education in the slums of Johannesburg in 1896 were said in the majority to be Dutch speaking (Horton, 1968.) The Eastern European initially lacked language and was so obviously foreign as to earn the pejorative appellation 'Peruvian', now largely forgotten in SA society. (This name is an acronym based on the title of a Jewish club in the early days of Kimberley; the connotation for the wider society was 'complete outsider'.)

The 'colonials' from the Cape and Natal entered the mining society variously according to social background and education. The average Cape Settler descendant was not well placed in demonstrable social attributes: in speech and social behaviour he was identified with the Afrikaner by many in the society. (Macdonald, 1975, gives evidence that even the Afrikaner today does not distinguish Ext SAE from Afr E, a condition apparently

true for the majority in the SAE community.) With some notable exceptions, a fair number of Cape colonials in the mining cities found their way into the lower ranks of the mining society, lacking artisan skills, education and social attributes. In the early days of the mining city the social contacts of the Afrikaner outside his own social group appear to have been mainly with the Cape colonial, thus extending the social mixing which began in the Cape. Alice Ralls (no date) the daughter in a Settler family on the goldfields reminisces that in the 1890's 'we knew no racial differences. ... Dutch and English alike, had eaten at our table'. The association between Ext SAE and the lower class in the English cities is explained in this way; in part, the present-day association with Afrikaans is similarly accounted for, but this started, of course, in the Cape.

The Natalian had advantages over the Cape colonial and appears to have maintained a separate identity. Natalspruit (a placename on the Witwatersrand) originates in the name of a mining camp in early Johannesburg, providing evidence of the separate identity given to the Natalians - no such name exists for Cape colonials. He was more obviously English, and likely to proclaim the fact; more likely to control approved middle-class behaviour - Britain and what it represented were not as far in his past as they were for the Cape Settler descendant. Men from Natal, but more significantly women, could move directly into the higher ranks of society on no other qualification than their social competence and the middle- or upper-class British identity they proclaimed. Cohen, in his reference to the 'fashion and passion of the day' congregated at the race-course in early Johannesburg, singles out: 'the sweet Natalians with their abundant hair and deep black eyes that partake of the sunny brilliance of the Garden Colony'. (Cohen, 1924, p. 63.) The only other social type he identifies in this context are the 'Boers ... seldom seen, and scarcely tolerated in the grandstand' (p. 66).

Much is revealed of the social forces operating in the mining-industrial society by the Eastern European group. This ethnic group arrived with the acumen to exploit the economic

opportunities of the new society, but were handicapped in converting economic success into social advancement. For a generation or more (i.e. those born in SA) they lived beyond the pale in a society whose power group were intolerant of the foreign identity. Much anecdotal evidence indicates that before the Second World War Jewish children experienced social rejection in the form of anti-Semitism. Undoubtedly, this was rationalized on the basis of experiences, real or rumoured, of the naive and unworldly (in the world of diamond dealing) 'old South Africans' (Cape colonial and Afrikaner) in business transactions in the earliest days of the diamondfields. Attitudes associated with the derogation of 'Peruvian' can be understood from Cohen's narrative of incidents in early Kimberley society (Cohen, 1911.)

Grandchildren of the Eastern European immigrant have achieved the social integration and status which the first immigrants could not. Today, as a group, they stand out educationally, having more than twice the number of university graduates than the English-speaking community as a whole (Watts, 1976.) They have risen in prominence out of all proportion to their numbers in social and cultural influence, and in political and economic leadership in the industrial cities. Social and economic changes in SA over the past 30 or 40 years have been to the advantage of this descent group and the Jewish community has itself changed making, in the process, the most of such advantages. The majority of Jewish children, for example, now attend state or non-Jewish private schools and their social life has become less and less restricted to the in-group, always close-knit and clearly delineated by religious fealty.

Social change in train of major political and economic changes in SA since the Second World War has greatly affected sociolinguistic patterns in the SAE community. A major consequence of the severing of links with Britain is that the association between the British identity and high-status occupations is no longer reinforced. In fact, categories in the social and economic structure no longer coincide with ethnic, language and descent groups to the extent which they

used to. In a more complex society with greater diversity in statusful occupation, high status has passed to other social types. The upper class in the English cities now includes the Afrikaner industrialist and the business magnate of Eastern European descent. The former 'British' element of the mining plutocracy exists only in that its members are still known to one another and they set the limits to their group of social contacts, and these remain more or less where they were 70 years ago. Social influence in the English cities is no longer exercised by those who are obviously English. English identity, in fact, is now defined in local terms; 'British' attributes exist only for those who maintain the British connection.

VIII. THE PROVINCIAL (INFORMAL) STANDARD IN SAE

20. We are dealing with change in sociolinguistic patterns and social change is obviously implicated. The three significant stages in the social history of the SAE community are: the old colonial society continuing until the late 1870's; the 'new society' of the mining-industrial city providing dominant themes in the social system, values and life-style since then; post-war society, a period in which the British connection has been severed and political power, but not social power and control in any degree, has come to those of Afrikaner descent. The new society is our main concern because it was during this period that the attributes of a standard variety were acquired by a local speech pattern.

In the new society the esteemed social type was unquestionably the non-colonial, middle-class Englishman giving every evidence of his British identity. The values, attitudes and behaviours assigned to this stereotype were middle-class Victorian. Victorian values, we suggest, may be structured under the two main rubrics of 'genteelness' and 'British nationalism'. The former comprises sophistication, a keen sense of the refined and proprietous in social behaviour, a belief in innate superiority deriving from an elitist educa-

tion and 'good breeding', which leads to discrimination in all things on grounds of quality and excellence. Elaborate behavioural codes, including speech, served to actualize 'genteelness' in behaviour and provided differentials in practising exclusiveness in social relations. British nationalism determined a strong patriotism and the 'service' ethic in the peculiar sense in which it was realized in military and colonial service. What was British was superior in any comparison with things 'foreign'.

In the new society the exponents of overt social values were found most plainly in the mining plutocracy and their satellites. The middle- or upper-class Natalian could share this identity, but had to disclaim any colonial affiliations. The attraction of easily found wealth dispersed middle- and upper-class Englishmen as individuals quite widely in the society. Of necessity, the assigned attributes ('breeding' for example), as criteria of upper-class status, were suspended, opening the way for initiates in the mining plutocracy to seek social learning in the acquired attributes. Cohen (1911, p. 57) reports that Mr Barney Barnato took lessons from a retired schoolmaster; we surmise that tuition in the social graces involved correction of his Cockneyisms. Rhodes, it should be remembered, was a home-born, upper-middle-class Englishman who was Barnato's means of entry into the exclusive Kimberley Club; Rhodes came to the diamondfields from cotton-planting in Natal.

As to the social learning of the society's overt values as beliefs and attitudes, we must assume that they were grasped in essence if not in the fine detail of actual behaviour, by all who participated in the new society; 'endorsed' in the sense of Labov, 1967, who found such 'extraordinary unanimity in reactions to different speech behaviour in New York City'. Such learning may well have been partial in the first generation of an 'alien' descent group, particularly the Afrikaner and the Eastern European; and 'endorsement' does not necessarily imply allegiance.

The colonials of the Cape and Natal comprised a large proportion of the population of the mining city and, with

each new generation in the new society becoming progressively more remote from their origin, there is a need to ponder with Garson (1976), the historian, on the long delay in the 'development of a local nationalist outlook'. This we interpret as a process of gravitation towards local norms in social values and behaviour, and the acceptance of a local identity, which took place in other colonies such as Australia.

One reason suggested by Garson is 'the high proportion of overseas-born English-speaking South Africans until quite recently'. This we can accept only in conjunction with the claim that the society remained sensitive and committed to the British tradition in overt values. The British-born as authority figures were, in fact, periodically reinforced thus revitalizing the authentic model of social behaviour in the society. Upper-class Englishmen were brought by favour of the mining plutocracy into many of the highest positions in the mining houses - quite obviously until the Second World War and continuing as a preference in post-war years. The Anglo Boer War created a large military presence in most parts of South Africa and thereby exposure to the officer class on social occasions. The aftermath of the war was even more effective: efforts directed at social and economic restoration brought Lord Milner and his "kindergarten" (mainly Oxford men) into the highest positions, and many other middle-class Englishmen into positions of control in the Civil Service. Schoolmastering in exclusive private schools, and the Anglican Church, institutions serving as main agents in disseminating the British tradition, were virtually reserved occupations for the middle-class, home-born Englishmen until the Second World War.

The 'development of a local nationalist outlook' has been effectively blocked for another more powerful reason: 'Typical local man' as a clearly delineated social type has a continuing presence in the society as the antithesis to the British tradition in social values and behaviour. The contrast has been all the more stark in being etched in the outlines of alien descent, culture and language and in an opposing nationalism. Confrontation between Boer and Briton until Union in 1910

was transformed after that date (at least in part) into opposing political ideologies. More significant for our inquiry, however, is the fact of the low socio-economic status of typical local man in the new society. This has served to convert into a covert-overt opposition in social values, what is in origin systems of overt values in two contiguous societies.

Those in the SAE community who give allegiance to the 'SA tradition' in social values find attractive the 'local man' identity and the values which it represents: self-reliance; strong local loyalties; masculinity and physical toughness; gregariousness, in-group cohesion and conformity. All these might be traced in their origin to the frontier society. For those without such admiration, the connotations are low socio-economic status, lack of sophistication, leadership qualities, etc. (See reference to the findings of Penn and Stafford, 1971, and Macdonald, 1975, in 12 above.) These social meanings are associated with the local-man stereotype whose Ext SAE accent profile is a characterizing feature. We have claimed an identity in social type of the Cape colonial and the Afrikaner in the new society, symbolically represented by Ext SAE. That this continues today is suggested by Macdonald, (see 12 above) and in references such as those of some of our oldest Natal respondents who, when questioned as to their ability to identify dialects, have referred to 'the sort of Afrikaans English of the Cape'.

21. We turn now to examine social groups who have participated in SA society, transmitting its norms in social behaviour and reacting to competing sets of social values amongst which we find those responsible for promoting and sustaining 'standard' speech behaviour. The 45-year age level divides the SAE community into two groups: one socialized in a society dominated by the behavioural norms, attitudes and values of the 'new society' described above; the other having social experiences different mainly in consequence of the severance of the formerly close ties with the mother society (as the main source of overt values), and in the emergence of global values in the post-war world which give a different meaning to the covert:

overt distinction. At least in table 9 is there support for this division in the age-scale and this is backed by our observation of generation differences in speech behaviour in particular middle-class families, also evident in the private schools they patronize.

Different ethnic, descent-groups play major roles in the explanation we offer. British descent has significance in both age groups if it is recent (within one, possibly two, locally-born generations) and middle or upper-class in origin. This variable predicts near-British-English (the authentic standard) as the speech behaviour among those older than 45. Among those younger, recent British descent is to be taken in conjunction with others subsumed by 'associations with Britain'. The group so defined maintains the sensitivities by which 'English' can still be actualized as 'British', at least as far as norms in speech behaviour are concerned. Alien or 'old colonial' descent is, however, the more significant grouping affecting the emergence of the provincial standard.

From the evidence of the speech behaviour of the first children of the Eastern European descent group born in SA, we deduce that a proportion were satisfied in achieving the local identity which embodied covert values, i.e. 'typical local man'. The appeal of this social identity was, of course, mainly to males and we make this deduction from our observation of the speech of a number of older males of this group who have risen to high public office in post-war Johannesburg and have an incongruously Ext SAE accent profile. The small percentage of females over 45 who presented high scores for Fronted ai (table 9) were mainly of Eastern European descent, but the small number in the 65 year-old and older group suggests that the proportion who adopted Natal English in the first locally-born generation was relatively small. Success in acquiring the authentic standard was not denied to this ethnic group; in our data a number of females of Eastern European descent in old-aged homes speak Cons SAE.

Our evidence suggests that the acceptance of the Natalian as the local substitute for the authentic Englishman by suitably motivated Cape colonials, antedates that of the Eastern

European. The Cape colonial, mainly female, was either insensitive in discriminating between the authentic and local versions of the standard, or the latter was inaccessible by being geographically or socially remote. It seems that already in the closing years of the century, the wider society was disseminating the provincial standard. Cape colonial females at school at this time, having no contact with Natal or the Witwatersrand, acquired *Fronted ai* with some prominence, and this, we believe, was motivated by a poor self-image. Bruce (SA's *Emily Post*; Bruce, 1919) expresses the sentiments of a society not yet completely dominated by the socio-cultural norms of the mining-industrial city, in her pronouncement that: 'the purest English is spoken in Natal', and in singling out the Cape Colony when listing the aberrations of SAE (pp. 10, 11) to be avoided by 'Africa's daughters'.

In the early years of the mining society, the adolescent and young adult of the Eastern European and Cape colonial descent adopted the accent features of Natal speech not by reason of a local regional identity, but as an expression of 'British'. In the new society, the desired social attributes of the reference group could find expression in local, ostensibly standard norms as well as the authentic standard; any distinction that might have been perceived did not detract from the attractiveness of the former. The absence of an association between *Resp SAE* and a social stereotype, for both young and old in present-day society, supports this claim.

For those growing up in post-war SA, the authentic Englishman has no significant presence as a reference group, although, as a social stereotype, he lives on in the mind of the society with connotations of social sophistication and the highest status and prestige. The model of standard behaviour corresponding to this social identity is, however, no longer viable (in the sense of being transmitted across generations as group norms in at least one social group); not by reason of a radical shift towards opposing social values, but because of the effacement of the authentic Englishman. This coincides, moreover, with a major change in post-war society: those least able to contain the pressure of local norms and most in need

of the clearly delineated reference group, have been deprived of it at a time when social power and influence have, to a large extent, passed into their hands. This applies not only to those of Eastern European descent, but to the Afrikaner and long-resident South Africans of British descent. Standard norms are now found locally and females of Eastern European descent, as the leading edge in, at least, the advance of Fronted ai, have in this and a previous generation adopted an interior reference group.

The 'lower class', in the part they play in advancing NE variables, must be seen in the peculiarly SA form of class structure; their nearest equivalent in Labov's analysis of New York City is the lower middle class. To the extent that upward social mobility might evoke pursuit of overt values, the lower class are advancing the provincial standard. (See the differences in accent profile between older and younger subjects in the East Rand sample in table 7.) It is to be remembered that by virtue of their past and social status, those in this sector of the SAE community have the strongest allegiance to covert values and the local-man identity which expresses them. If any connotations of this kind are associated with the provincial standard, they might well enhance its attractiveness.

The first locally-born generation in the Eastern European descent group were powerfully motivated in their efforts towards integration and social advancement in the new society. To find acceptance in the society they had to overcome the foreignness of parents; from their parents they acquired the drive and acumen directed at economic success. Initially, however, they laboured under serious handicaps. The society undoubtedly conveyed to them an awareness of its values, but the family, as the primary socializing agent in actualizing these values, was largely ineffective in the first generations. A metamorphosis to a social identity expressing the overt values was, in the fine detail of its behaviour codes, particularly difficult because the reference group was inaccessible in the crucial years of the childhood and adolescence. This lack of social competence, we deduce, allowed the Natalian to serve

as a model of standard behaviour in the peer groups of childhood and adolescence in the early mining society. At these age levels the colonial was more numerous and accessible and, ostensibly, the Natal colonial represented the authentic Englishman as the ideal social type.

Children on the diamondfields and goldfields in the early years were mainly colonial; with the exception of the Eastern European, fortune seekers from abroad did not normally come as families. A review of Johannesburg society at the turn of the century observed that 'the greater part of the population consists of colonials from the Cape and Natal' (Transvaal Publishing Company, 1905.) In an age when the successful imitation of reference figures depended on face-to-face encounters, accessibility was a major factor. Le Page, 1968, suggests the necessary conditions for adopting a new model of speech behaviour as: ability to identify the reference group; motives clear-cut and powerful; adequate opportunities for learning (i.e. accessibility); an ability to learn (with age as the major determinant). We suggest that the child of Eastern European descent had difficulty with both the first and the third of these conditions. The ability to distinguish the fine detail of authentic norms from those close to them in form and social meaning, is a product of an intimate and protracted experience in social learning. Moreover, the co-occurrence of Ext and Resp SAE variables in an accent profile is unlikely to be discomfotingly dissonant; a sense of conflicting social values is least likely in this sector of the SAE community. For this reason it is not surprising that the most completely SA accent profiles (CE, NE, Gen SAE variables all in prominence) are found in 'lower-class' females. Similar profiles exist for similar reasons in the Afrikaner descent group at higher social-status levels in the SAE community.

IX. THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROVINCIAL STANDARD

22. The social meaning expressed in the provincial standard in present-day society might be examined in terms of the overt values that support it. Although we claim that no fundamental conflict in values is implied in the distinction between the authentic and provincial standards, it would be patently wrong to suggest no difference in social meaning and no change in social values coinciding with the emergence of the latter. British nationalism, certainly, is no longer a constituent of the overt value system, but the provincial standard does distinguish 'English' in competing political ideologies of the present day as the inheritance of competing nationalisms of 60 or more years ago. English in this sense is a social attribute without stereotypic associations, specifically, the British identity is not represented in it.

From our informal testing of attitudes to accent varieties distinguished in the SAE community, we have an impression of consensus associating 'correctness', specifically in speech behaviour, with RP/Cons SAE in any comparison with other varieties of SAE. Correctness is not, therefore, a significant component of the social meaning of Resp SAE. High social status is assigned to both RP/Cons SAE and Resp SAE, although the latter might not have this meaning for the over-45's in Natal and in the upper class having 'associations with Britain'. From the nature of the mining-industrial society and its history, and the identity and aspirations of the social groups now mainly responsible for advancing the provincial standard, we would claim for the provincial standard connotations of 'respectability' as an elaboration of 'high social status'. 'Genteelness' is today only within the social competence of the well-placed few, but this dominant socio-cultural theme of earlier generations continues in essence. (Respectability is the negative realization of genteelness; i.e. avoiding the non-standard without sensitivity or discrimination as to the details of authentic standard behaviours.)

The social information conveyed by the provincial stan-

ard comprises, therefore, the attributes of high social status and respectability, and 'English', which is best defined negatively as the denial of 'local man' and his purported ideology and social values. The 'local Englishman' is not stereotyped because no such identity exists.

23. The case of dual standards we have examined is one without implications of social conflict or competing reference groups in any real sense. The co-existing provincial standard has arisen as a product of the normalization of features of 'local' speech which have acquired facets of social meaning normally associated with a standard variety. In Garvin's (1964) functional terms the provincial standard has a separating function and a prestige function, the latter interpreted as high social-status.

These functions or their equivalents in social meaning, have passed to a local speech variety because the reference group presenting the authentic standard, originally inaccessible to many, is now also ill-defined in the society. The present state of co-existing standard varieties largely congruent in social meaning, may well be transitional, with few exceptions it is only the older South African who has the security, social perception and inviolable behaviour patterns able to resist the pressure of local norms. Conceivably, the conditions under which co-existing standards arise in the speech community are several; the case we have documented has the features of: co-existence without competition, the social attributes of a standard variety are partly shared and partly peculiar; the absence of a clearly perceived social identity ascribed to the emerging provincial, 'informal' standard.

We would not claim that the case of co-existing standards in SAE is unique, but the admittedly meagre information on this phenomenon does suggest that it is unusual. Implications of social change inhere in this condition of dual standards and what is unusual in SAE is that such change is much less in the values and attitudes of the society than it is in the reference figures who provide the model.

X. POSTSCRIPT: A COMPARISON WITH AUSTRALIA

24. Blair, 1975, discussing the origins of Australian pronunciation comments that: 'It is now a commonplace to observe that the origins of Australian pronunciation are closely connected with the mixed London dialect of the later 18th century.' There is little doubt that typical SAE in the form of most of the characterizing variables of Cape English, has the same origin. Four of the six diagnostic variables used by Mitchell and Delbridge, 1965, to differentiate three main forms of Aust E, are prominent phonetic trends in this variety of SAE. In our terms these are: Fronted æu; Backed, raised ɔi; Backed, lowered əi; Backed, lowered əu. Although not identical in Aust E, these phonetic trends, and certain others less salient, are the common properties of Aust E and SAE which lead to mistaken identity reported by, for example, South African servicemen in the Second World War taken as Australians. This is more a matter of indecision than confident judgement because there are salient differences as well as more numerous similarities. Among the former is the main characterizing variable of Aust E abroad, viz. tense, front /aa/ (in *part*, *are*). Ob r and Low schwa are among the variables that clearly differentiate Ext SAE from Aust E; *pin* as [pən] is said to serve as the shibboleth identifying South Africans who have emigrated to Australia.

Differences between Aust E and typical SAE in the context of the respective societies are worth exploring when examining the social significance of, and social support for, a standard variety. (Two such differences are referred to at 5 above and Note 3 above.) Lectal distinctions in SAE are as much differences in kind as in degree. In Aust E, however, Mitchell and Delbridge, 1965, make it clear that the differences between Broad, General and Cultivated Aust E are quantitative in terms of ranges within the one 'spectrum' (i.e. continuum) associated with each phonologic variable. Lects differentiated in this way are unlikely to correlate in any well-defined way with regional and social differences and this appears to be the case in Aust E. We have attempted to demonstrate the well-

marked social and regional correlates of different lects in SAE and how these make for an understanding of the history and social dynamics of SA society.

In consequence of being a stigmatized non-standard speech pattern, Ext SAE, as the most typically local variety of SAE, has, in the phonetic trends of its characterizing variables, receded, not only in formal, but also in informal speech behaviour. The most advanced variants on Mitchell and Delbridges' spectra for the four shared variables, are beyond the range of the scales we have used for quantifying index scores in SAE. We have only heard similarly advanced variants from a few of the oldest male informants in the Eastern Cape. Present trends are therefore in the process of reducing the similarities between two speech communities speaking varieties of Commonwealth English originally closer than any other two major varieties.

The second difference between SAE and Aust E discussed elsewhere is that whatever accent type has the status of standard in Australian society, such a form is typically Australian speech. The 'authentic' standard of SAE, on the other hand, is 'near-British-English', or what is taken to be British English. The significant difference in sociolinguistic patterns between the two societies is this fact of the acceptance of the local identity in formal speech behaviour in Australia and its rejection in SA.

Aust E obviously enjoys the support of the dominant values and attitudes of the society whereas typical SAE does not. In the SAE community (i.e. English spoken as mother-tongue) we cannot match the apparent consensus in favourable attitude to Aust E presented in Mitchell and Delbridges' study of adolescents and young adults:

- (a) 'Most pupils appear to accept the Australian accent as natural, inevitable and independent.' (p. 40.)
- (b) '... speakers would never acknowledge having had any intention to alter their mode of speech at any time, ...' (p. 1). The speakers referred to are undergraduates; cf. the similar inquiry of Macdonald referred to at 11 above.

In the old colonial society in the last century Cape English had the promise of developing in parallel with Aust E achieving similar status and function and, in accent, being closer to Aust E than any other major variety of Commonwealth English. Weight of numbers behind indigenous, pervasive local norms supported Cape English. The promise was, however, never fulfilled because of social factors determining speech behaviour which amount to the major difference between the speech communities of Australia and SA. Opposed to Cape English (present-day Ext SAE) as symbolic of the local African identity, have been social and cultural differences astride the deepest division in white SA society. The two main traditions in belief and attitude which stand in confrontation are, we suggest, counter-forces stronger than any class-derived opposition in covert and overt social values (of Labov's model of socio-linguistic covariation) by reason of the added weight of political-ideological and cultural factors.

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