

**A COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ENGLISH
ACCENT OF AFRIKANERS LIVING IN AMERICA**

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'Tis grace hath brought us safe thus far
And grace will lead us home.

John Newton, "Amazing Grace" (1979)

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SUMMARY

In South Africa, a reported lack of confidence in Afrikaans is coupled with negative attitudes towards the phonological patterns that are characteristic of the English pronunciation of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. This lack of confidence perpetuates prevailing linguistic constraints at a time when proficiency in English has become increasingly important and thus requires a closer look at attitudes towards different varieties of an English accent.

The main objective of the present study was to gain new insights into language attitudes through a comparative analysis that took worldwide trends into account. This comparison was done to facilitate a more objective assessment of existing linguistic constraints in South Africa. This study compares how language attitudes of three different sociolinguistic groups, viz. South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language, South Africans with English as their native language and Americans, differ or correspond in reaction to the same set of English speech samples. The speech samples were recorded readings by South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language. Some of these contained varying degrees of an assimilated American accent. Attitudes were inferred indirectly from ratings of the recorded speech samples on various personality, status and accent-based traits according to a bipolar scale of 1-7, as well as directly by means of open questionnaires where respondents were invited to voice their opinions on several related issues. The results of this study suggest the Americans to be the most tolerant group (overall mean score: 4.75), followed by the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (overall mean score: 4.61) and the English-speaking South Africans being decidedly more critical (overall mean score: 3.54), where a rating of 4.00 would indicate an attitude of indifference.

By removing the English accents from the subjectivity of a South African context and assessing attitudes against the relative neutrality of an American background, the narrow focus on an intense sociolinguistic situation in South Africa could be widened to a global perspective - to view attitudes towards accent in the New South Africa against an

international background. Quantitative data, supported by qualitative findings, indicated that much stronger negative attitudes towards the English accent of Afrikaners prevailed amongst English-speaking South Africans than was evident in the other two groups. The data also indicated that although an American accent was overtly rejected, a clearly discernable covert endorsement of an American accent existed. This reaction seems to be in line with the unprecedented spread of Americanisms across the globe, which can partly be ascribed to the United States' world-wide domination of the mass media, the computer and entertainment industry, and lately also the internet.

The conclusion can be drawn from the results of this study that an adherence to external norms, which perpetuates exclusive language environments and tend to feed linguistic constraints, should be rejected in favour of national or regional authenticity as a higher priority than "near-British-English". This conclusion is specifically significant in view of the relatively high ratings given to the accents by the American respondents as the objective international evaluators. Insights of this kind, gained by comparative studies, can be applied to overcome constraining sociolinguistic attitudes to reach the goal of making English accessible to all South Africans.

OPSOMMING

Die gerapporteerde gebrek aan vertroue in Afrikaans in Suid-Afrika, met gepaardgaande negatiewe gesindhede teenoor fonologiese patrone wat kenmerkend is van die Engelse uitspraak van Suid-Afrikaners met Afrikaans as moedertaal, het die potensiaal om bestaande sosiolinguistiese beperkings te laat voortbestaan. In 'n tyd waarin vaardigheid in Engels toenemend belangrik geword het, noodsaak die huidige sosiolinguistiese situasie 'n nadere ondersoek na houdings teenoor verskillende variasies van 'n Engelse aksent - nie net binne 'n Suid-Afrikaanse konteks nie, maar ook in wêreldkonteks, aangesien Engels ons skakel met die res van die wêreld geword het.

Die hoofdoelstelling van hierdie studie was om nuwe insig te bekom in houdings teenoor aksent deur middel van 'n vergelykende ondersoek wat wêreldtendense in ag neem. Hierdie vergelyking is gedoen om 'n meer objektiewe beskouing van bestaande linguistiese beperkings in Suid-Afrika te bekom. Die studie vergelyk hoe houdings teenoor aksent in drie verskillende sosiolinguistiese groepe, nl. Suid-Afrikaners met Afrikaans as moedertaal, Suid-Afrikaners met Engels as moedertaal en Amerikaners, sal ooreenkom of verskil in reaksie op dieselfde stel Engelse spraakopnames wat gemaak is van voorlesings deur Suid-Afrikaners met Afrikaans as moedertaal. Sommige van hierdie spraakopnames het 'n wisselende mate van 'n geassimileerde Amerikaanse aksent bevat. Houdings is indirek afgelei van beoordelings van die opnames ten opsigte van verskeie persoonlikheids-, status- en aksentgebaseerde kenmerke na aanleiding van 'n bipolarêre skaal van 1-7, asook direk uit menings aangebied in oop vraelyste waarin respondente gevra is om persoonlike opinies te lug oor verskeie verwante aangeleenthede. Die resultate van hierdie studie het die Amerikaners aangewys as die mees verdraagsame groep (gemiddelde telling: 4.75), gevolg deur die Afrikaanssprekende groep (gemiddelde telling: 4.60) en die Engelssprekende groep, laasgenoemde as die mees kritiese groep (3.54) met 'n telling van 4.00 as die punt wat 'n neutrale houding aandui.

Deur die Engelse aksente uit die subjektiwiteit van die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks te verwyder en houdings te beoordeel teen die relatiewe neutraliteit van 'n Amerikaanse reaksie, kon die eng fokus op 'n intense sosiolinguistiese situasie in Suid-Afrika wyer getrek word - sodat houdings teenoor aksent in die nuwe Suid-Afrika teen 'n internasionale agtergrond beskou kon word. Kwantitatiewe data, ondersteun deur kwalitatiewe bevindings, het 'n veel sterker negatiewe houding onder Engelsprekende Suid-Afrikaners uitgewys as onder die ander twee groepe. Die data het ook aangedui dat, alhoewel die Amerikaanse aksent oort verwerp is, daar 'n duidelike koverte onderskrywing van die Amerikaanse aksent was. Hierdie reaksie blyk in lyn te wees met die huidige ongekende verspreiding van Amerikanismes dwarsoor die wêreld, wat deels toegeskryf kan word aan die Verenigde State se wêreldwye oorheersing van die massamedia, die rekenaar- en vermaaklikheidsbedryf, en tans ook die internet.

Die resultate van hierdie studie lei tot die gevolgtrekking dat 'n verkleefdheid aan eksterne norme, wat eksklusiewe taalomgewings laat voortbestaan en geneig is om linguistiese beperkings te voed, verwerp behoort te word ten gunste van 'n eiesoortigheid op nasionale of streeksvlak, wat as 'n hoër prioriteit gestel sou kon word as "near-British" Engels. Hierdie gevolgtrekking is veral betekenisvol in die lig van die hoë tellings wat deur Amerikaners as die relatief objektiewe internasionale groep toegeken is. Insigte van hierdie aard kan aangewend word om bestaande linguistiese beperkings te oorkom ter bereiking van die doelwit om Engels toeganklik te maak vir alle Suid-Afrikaners.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General observations

In South Africa today, a strict claim for standard pronunciation may have to give way to the demands of effective communication in a land with 11 official languages, many dialects and an influx of foreign workers - many with English as their only lingua franca (Wright, 1993: 6). In the new South Africa where accented speech has become characteristic of spoken English in all spheres of life, linguistic constraints might be losing their validity because of the practical necessity of making English accessible to the entire population. Thus it has become important to assess attitudes towards the accentedness of speakers of other varieties of English.

The scope of this study is restricted to the Afrikaans/English section of the sociolinguistic arena of attitudes in South Africa. However, when placed in the broader context of the additional nine official languages (Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tsonga, Swazi, Ndebele, Venda), the sociolinguistic picture becomes infinitely more complex. In 1996, Webb wrote that language had become such a politicized issue in South Africa that there is no single "neutral" language. He proceeds to point out that, according to the 1991 census survey, 49 percent of the country's population "knew" English and 44 percent "knew" Afrikaans. In addition to this, very few other-than-black South Africans knew any of the "Black" languages, which suggests that very little meaningful intergroup communication is possible (1996: 140).

In the article titled: "Second-Language Corpora" (1996: 184) Josef Schmied points out that in sociolinguistic textbooks the distinction has been recognized between English as a Native Language (ENL), English as a Second Language (ESL), English as an International

Language (EIL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) but that "the implications of this have not penetrated to the heart of corpus linguistics". He explains that, whereas Tanzania as an ESL country leans towards EIL, South Africa combines ENL and ESL characteristics, by having a substantial number of inhabitants who use English as their first language on the one hand, while, on the other hand, it is mostly used as a second language. Schmied states that: "ESL varieties derive from the superimposition of English on African or Asian languages during the colonial era. English was taught and learned under the guidance and to the advantage of the colonial élite. This has had and still has important consequences for attitudes to English and to the indigenous languages as well as to specific forms of English" (1996: 184). The sociolinguistic situation in South Africa is a conclusive example of this statement and might even extend beyond the confines of Schmied's application. Some isolated rural areas in South Africa where indigenous black languages are used as first languages and Afrikaans is used as a second language could also be considered "to lean towards EFL", which stresses the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa.

1.2 Statement of the problem

According to a news release from the University of California, Berkeley, titled: "New class at UC Berkeley explores Afrikaans, the language many wrongly associate exclusively with apartheid", the most recent census indicates the indigenous languages of Zulu and Xhosa as the most spoken languages in South Africa, with Afrikaans in third place and English as the sixth most widely spoken language, even though most bilingual people use English as a second language (Kell, 1998). Through practical necessity, English has been singled out as the language of international communication and as the only lingua franca in South Africa. Command of English has therefore become an absolute requirement for advancement at any level in spite of many remaining linguistic constraints. The necessity of making English accessible to the entire population requires a careful consideration of constraining attitudes towards accent.

1.2.1. English in South Africa

Butler (1986) and Lanham (1979) define Standard South African English (SAE) as the variety of English spoken by educated white South African mother-tongue speakers. SAE exhibits a number of characteristics of British received pronunciation (RP) and, although this variety of English possesses characteristics that are typically South African, it is perceived as having informal British 'correctness' (Cooper, 1989; Hofman, 1977). SAE has always been regarded as the only 'correct' version, with all the social, professional and educational controls that that implied. The prestige of SAE in the recent linguistic developments in South Africa has been confirmed by researchers such as De Klerk and Bosch (1995), Smit (1994), Nortjé and Wissing (1996) and Webb (1996). English has acquired an exceptionally high status in post-apartheid South Africa and is regarded as the major language of social mobility and prestige as well as the language of international communication. In addition, it has become a strong symbol of the struggle against apartheid and therefore of liberation (Webb, 1996: 145).

In spite of the high prestige value that English holds in South Africa, the question of what the appropriate standard should be has also become a politicized issue (Webb, 1996: 141). Several prominent black South African writers seem to support the Africanization of English (cf. Mawasha, 1984:12-18; Mphahlele, 1984: 94 and Ndebele, 1986:16). Political restructuring in South Africa has brought many varieties of English to the broadcast media, into the upper levels of the government and of commerce and industry. This has highlighted the question of acceptable standards of spoken English in South Africa.

1.2.1.1. English in South Africa: Attitudes and usage

Lanham (1985:243) makes a distinction between different varieties of English in South African society. Among white native speakers of English, mainly of British descent, three accents can be distinguished. Firstly, Extreme SAE has its origin in the working-class or

lower-middle-class accents of the first British settlers in the Cape in the early nineteenth century. It is the variety of SAE with the most typically local character and reflects a number of phonological, grammatical and lexical borrowings from Afrikaans through contact with the Dutch (Afrikaans-speaking) colonists at the turn of the eighteenth century. Socially, Extreme SAE carries connotations of low social status. Secondly, Respectable SAE which is supported by the high prestige associated with "being English" originated among the English of Natal who have succeeded in remaining close to Britain in mind and behaviour. Respectable SAE has spread to upwardly mobile groups elsewhere. Thirdly, Conservative SAE, which is close to British RP, has a social correlation with the highest socio-economic status, mainly among members of the older generation who have strong associations with Britain.

Since the British occupation of the Cape in 1806, and specifically after the 1822 proclamation of Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Cape at the time, that established English as the only official language, South Africans of Dutch descent (Afrikaners) have been involved in extensive English/Afrikaans bilingualism. According to an estimate by Van Wyk, (1978) 83.7 percent of Afrikaners have an average to excellent command of English. This has yielded yet another variety of SAE, Afrikaans English (AfrE), which is a clearly distinguishable accent with variables drawn from Afrikaans. Although many South Africans may not be able to distinguish between Extreme SAE and AfrE, there are distinct differences.

Black English is an easily recognizable variety of SAE due to its prominent pronunciation variables and Africanized forms which has developed into an acceptable variety of English as a second language during the political restructuring in present day South Africa (Lanham, 1985: 244).

Coloured English is distinguished by strong pronunciation variants of more extreme AfrE and Extreme SAE. Coloured English has many borrowed elements from Afrikaans and has a characteristic intonation. Even though this is a stigmatized variety of English in

South African society, it remains a strong symbol of Coloured identity and in-group solidarity. However, a major shift in language loyalty (from Afrikaans to English) associated with upward socio-economic mobility is currently reported in the Coloured community as well as in other Afrikaans-speaking communities in South Africa (Lanham, 1985; De Klerk and Bosch, 1995; Nortjé and Wissing, 1996; Webb, 1996).

The majority of the Indian community in South Africa is competent in English (Lanham, 1985: 244). Indian English of older and less educated generations has many similarities with the English spoken in India, but these features have become less prominent in younger generations, particularly those who are well educated (Lanham, 1985: 244).

1.2.2. English in the U.S.A. and elsewhere

Lippi-Green (1997: 217) explains American attitudes to multilingual situations as follows: "English, held up as the symbol of the successfully assimilated immigrant, is promoted as the one and only possible language of a unified and healthy nation". Ofelia Garcia (1985: 156) underwrites this in the following statement: "Current attitudes toward bilingualism in America are not new. English has endured as the *de facto* language precisely because the majority has always favored it as the only link to American ethnicity". It can therefore be expected that South Africans with Afrikaans as native language who live in America will experience some pressure to speak the way the Americans do.

According to all sociolinguistic indications, the prominent position of the U.S.A. in the world today makes the Americanization of English a very viable linguistic development, especially in countries and amongst communities with English as a second language. In many countries, large portions of the TV broadcasting programmes are taken over from CNN directly, and films from Hollywood dominate the entertainment market. Nortjé and Wissing (1996:143) hold the opinion that the esteemed "correctness" of standard SAE in South Africa is not expected to be rivaled by the high prestige value American English

(AmE) holds but that a changing sociolinguistic environment might bring changes in this regard. John Algeo (1990:123) states that the British are acutely aware of the influence of AmE on the language of the United Kingdom. This also seems to be the case in other countries where British English is regarded as the standard variety of English, especially in all educational applications where there appears to be a resistance to the American influence. The findings of Koster and Koet (1993:79) indicate that Dutch teachers used to frown upon an American accent, as British English is regarded as the standard taught in Dutch schools but that this attitude seems to be changing. In South Africa, indications are that British English is still regarded as the standard (Young, 1993 and Schmied, 1996), with the implication that the use of the American version would be regarded in a negative light.

1.2.2.1. English in the U.S.A.: Attitudes and usage

As far as the American language environment is concerned, Lippi-Green makes the following statement in her book, *English with an Accent*:

"It is crucial to remember that it is not *all* foreign accents, but only accent linked to skin that isn't white, or which signals a third world homeland, that evokes such negative reactions. There are no documented cases of native speakers of Swedish or Dutch or Gaelic being turned away from jobs because of communicative difficulties, although these adult speakers face the same challenge as native speakers of Spanish, Rumanian, and Urdu.

"Immigrants from the British Isles who speak varieties of English which cause significant communication problems are not stigmatized; the differences are noted with great interest, and sometimes with laughter..." (1997:238-239).

She furthermore points out that "to be truly sexually attractive and available in a Disney film, a character must not only look the idealized part, but he or she must also sound white

and middle-class American or British" (1997: 97). The assumption is therefore made that the Afrikaans English accent of white South Africans will not be stigmatized in America as in South Africa - rather that it will be looked upon as a variety of British English with interesting differences.

1.2.3. A South African sociopolitical perspective

South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language have to overcome a multitude of sociopolitical constraints to establish a new linguistic identity within the multi-accented ranks of English-speaking South Africans in the new South Africa. Researchers, including De Klerk and Bosch (1994), Nortjé and Wissing (1996) and Webb (1996), have confirmed a general tendency towards a lack of confidence in Afrikaans. This lack of confidence in Afrikaans has led Afrikaners to regard their own English accent (AfrE) negatively, which has the potential to impact adversely on acquiring communicative competence in English. One important use to which language-attitude information has been applied concerns second-language acquisition. According to Edwards (1985: 146), the general view is that positive attitudes are likely to facilitate the learning of another language.

It has repeatedly been confirmed that people's reactions to language varieties reveal much of their perception of the speakers of these varieties. Edwards (1982: 21) makes the following statement in this regard: "Thus, we are on a fairly safe footing if we consider that evaluations of language varieties - dialects and accents - do not reflect either linguistic or aesthetic quality *per se*, but rather are expressions of social convention and preference which, in turn, reflect an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties". If these findings are applied unreservedly to the sociolinguistic situation in present day South Africa, the English accent of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans should still be very negatively evaluated, due to strong negative reactions to everything implicating the recently abandoned apartheid policy and its association with the standard Afrikaans spoken by white South Africans.

1.2.3.1. Historical background

Vic Webb (1996: 143) describes South Africa as sociolinguistically complex, characterized by the politicization of its languages and cultures due to the colonial past and the policy of apartheid. An understanding of the full complexity of the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa requires an historical perspective. After an intense language struggle against the early Dutch authorities to gain recognition for the independent status of Afrikaans as a language in its own right, which at that point was regarded as an inferior language to the extent that its existence was denied, Afrikaners had to face subsequent enforced Anglicization during an extended period of British domination in the country. Once again Afrikaans was denied official status. Stigmatized by the upper classes as ignorant and uneducated, the Afrikaners of the 1800's resisted the British by refusing to speak English and by developing a nationalistic, Afrikaner-focused identity. In 1925, after centuries of development, Afrikaans became an official language in South Africa. When the (Afrikaans) National Party came into power in 1948 and enforced racial segregation, the standard Afrikaans spoken by white South Africans became associated with apartheid.

According to De Klerk and Bosch (1995: 20), the in-power group's linguistic characteristics will generally tend to be valued positively, regardless of what these characteristics are. In South Africa, however, the situation did not develop according to this expected outcome. Instead of Afrikaans and the associated accent being regarded positively, the recently abandoned apartheid policy of the National Party, which led to enormous injustice and bitterness, resulted in Afrikaans acquiring very negative connotations. Attempts by black pupils to reject enforced instruction through the medium of Afrikaans in their schools led to the bloody Soweto riots of 1976. The riots presented irrefutable evidence of the resentment fostered against Afrikaans and all it represented. Afrikaans has become strongly stigmatized in some sections of the South African population and is seen as the language of oppression, despite the fact that there are Afrikaans speakers from other than white racial groups and many white Afrikaans

speakers who have never supported apartheid. In other sections, mainly some Afrikaans-speaking white groups, Afrikaans has become a very strong symbol of cultural identity. As pointed out by Webb (1996: 141) the conflict potential of this situation is clear.

1.2.3.2. Present sociolinguistic situation

Due to the present sociopolitical and economical situation in South Africa, many South Africans have left the country, of which relatively large numbers have resettled in the United States of America. According to the most recent figures released by the Central Statistical Service in South Africa, 15% of the total number of 10,079 South African emigrants who left the country in 1997 relocated to North America, which includes Canada. This has led to an interesting new linguistic environment within which South Africans from a conservative Afrikaans background have to assess their own linguistic identity. Considering the Afrikaans/English power struggle that has become part of the cultural heritage of the Afrikaner, the undisputed "correctness" of SAE with all its implicit social, professional and educational controls, and the many discrepancies between British and AmE, this is no simple matter. Hauptfleisch (1977) has reported on the relative ease with which the urban Afrikaner forsakes his mother tongue, but in more conservative Afrikaner circles, language has always been an integral part of cultural identity. As Schmied (1991: 185) points out: "Language is seen as a means of expressing, together with a message, a personal and/or a group identity". For Afrikaners, where their group identity has become stigmatized, the present situation seems to involve an intense conflict in language loyalty, incited by the necessity for survival strategies in a rapidly changing environment.

1.2.4. Indications for language research

The reported lack of confidence in Afrikaans, coupled with negative attitudes towards the phonological patterns that are characteristic of the English pronunciation of South

Africans with Afrikaans as their native language, creates a sociolinguistic context that is presented as a subjective language environment in this study.

The question arises how language attitudes towards an AfrE accent will, in a relatively objective sociolinguistic environment (U.S.A.), compare with language attitudes in a subjective sociolinguistic environment (South Africa) in terms of indirect evaluations of the same set of accented English readings, on personality and status and also directly on accent-based traits. Will Americans, South Africans with English as their native language and South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language evaluate the AfrE accents differently? Will there be differential evaluations with regard to traces of an assimilated American accent, and which of the three groups will be most critical? According to Nortjé and Wissing (1996: 158) indications are that attitudes of South Africans towards accent are changing to become more tolerant. Will traces of an American accent in spoken English in South Africa be accepted, indicating a movement towards greater openness, or will South Africans continue to strive for British 'correctness' with a resulting negative evaluation of both American and AfrE deviations?

Existing linguistic constraints in the New South Africa, still prevalent in times when proficiency in English has become increasingly important, necessitate a closer look at attitudes towards different varieties of an English accent, not only in a South African context, but also in a global context - English being our link to the rest of the world. The relevant question in this regard would be: How do linguistic attitudes in South Africa compare to those in the rest of the world, for example, in the U.S.A.?

1.3 Objectives

The main objective of this study was to gain new insights into language attitudes through a comparative study that took worldwide trends into account. This comparison was done to facilitate a more objective assessment of existing linguistic constraints in South Africa.

The study compares how language attitudes of three different sociolinguistic groups, viz. South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language, South Africans with English as their native language and Americans, differ or correspond in reaction to the same set of English speech samples. These speech samples are recorded readings by South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language, some whose spoken English contains varying degrees of an assimilated American accent

By removing the English accents from the subjectivity of a South African context and also assessing attitudes against the relative neutrality of an American background, the narrow focus on an intense sociolinguistic situation in South Africa could be widened to a global perspective - to view attitudes towards accent in the New South Africa against an international background. The approach of this study takes heed of Edwards's insistence that: "We should also bear in mind, generally, the position of English as a world language when considering linguistic attitudes" (1982: 32). Insights of this kind can be applied to facilitate overcoming constraining sociolinguistic attitudes and working towards the goal of making English accessible to all South Africans.

In order to tie the general objective to a practical research situation, the following specific objectives were formulated:

- 1) To determine whether the English accent of South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language will be less critically assessed in America than in South Africa;
- 2) To determine whether South Africans with English as their native language will be more critical than the Americans and less critical than Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in their attitude towards the English accent of Afrikaners living in America, and whether an added negative bias will be incurred by convergence towards an American accent;
- 3) To determine how critical South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language will be in their assessment of the spoken English of fellow South Africans, how their evaluations will compare to the other two groups concerned, and whether an added negative bias will be incurred by convergence towards an American accent.

1.4. Research hypotheses

The following three hypotheses were posed as a basis for a comparison of attitudes towards the English accent of Afrikaners living in America:

- 1) The English accent of South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language will be less critically assessed in America than in South Africa;
- 2) South Africans with English as their native language will be more critical than Americans and less critical than Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in their attitude towards the English accent of Afrikaners living in America, with an added negative bias incurred by convergence towards an American accent;
- 3) South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language will be most critical of all three groups concerned, with an added negative bias incurred by convergence towards an American accent in the spoken English of fellow South Africans.

1.5. Research design

Following a mentalistic approach, this study inferred attitudes indirectly from ratings of recorded speech samples on various personality, status and accent-based traits according to a bipolar scale of 1-7. The method applied is an adaptation of the work of Frederick Williams and his associates (1974).

The selection of subjects for this study involved two phases: firstly, selecting a group of readers for the recording of speech samples; and secondly, testing the reactions of three different selections of listeners/evaluators to these recordings to establish their attitudes.

With regard to the readers, a sample of ten participants was used that consisted of five husband-and-wife teams. The readers had to meet very specific requirements: they had to

be from white Afrikaans-speaking families and had to have been living in America for at least six months; they had to be at least twenty-five years old and have had academic training at an Afrikaans-medium university in South Africa; and they must have continued speaking Afrikaans at home after having moved to the U.S.A.

The second phase was to select subjects to represent three different linguistic environments: 1) an American town, Blacksburg, in the state of Virginia, where American English is generally used; 2) a South African town, Potchefstroom, where a section of the population has Afrikaans as their native language and English as a second language; 3) and another section of Potchefstroom where English is used as the native language with Afrikaans as a second language. The three groups consisted of ten subjects each of whom had to be of Caucasian descent. The subjects in the three groups were correlated in terms of sex and age, and were, as far as possible, of comparable professional backgrounds to eliminate extraneous variables that might influence the outcome of the study. Because all subjects had to meet very specific requirements, random sampling was impossible. All suitable and available volunteers had to be included in the study. By correlating the groups on relevant variables, an attempt was made to establish population validity.

Language attitudes constituted the dependent variable, as it was expected to be influenced by the language variable, which in this study were the varying degrees of accented speech as recorded in ten speech samples. These varying degrees of an American accent (or the lack thereof) assimilated into the spoken English of South Africans with Afrikaans as native language, were regarded as the independent variable (Williams, 1976: 6). The focus in this study was the general impression of the researcher of the characteristic British versus American pronunciation, rather than specific linguistic features. The format used for the subjects' responses was a combination of open and closed questionnaires.

The scores for each trait, rated as bipolar semantic differential scales of 1 - 7 where one was arbitrarily associated with the less desirable attribute, were considered separately, as well as in reference to the broader context of the study. A score card was completed for

each semantic differential scale after the data had been collected from the three listener/evaluator groups. The survey yielded three sets (one set for each of the three groups) of six score cards each. The readers were listed on the score cards in order of sounding the most "American" to sounding the most "South African" (see 2.1). The mean score and standard deviation were calculated for the ratings of each semantic differential scale with respect to the accent of each of the ten readers as well as the reaction of each of the ten listeners/evaluators in the three different groups. The overall mean score and standard deviation were also calculated for each of the three listener/evaluator groups. A one-way analysis of variance was applied to determine the statistical significance of the ratings.

1.6. Chapterization

The chapterization of this study will be done as follows:

- Chapter 1: Introduction
- Chapter 2: Method of research
- Chapter 3: Results and Discussion
- Chapter 4: Conclusion

CHAPTER 2

METHOD OF RESEARCH

2.1 Research design

Following a mentalistic approach, this study infers attitudes indirectly from ratings of recorded speech samples on various personality, status and accent-based traits, according to a bipolar scale of 1-7. The method applied is an adaptation of the work of Frederick Williams and his associates (1974). As stated by Fasold (1984:148) this approach has the following advantage: "If the mentalistic conception of language attitude turns out to be right, then, if we know a person's attitudes, we would be able to make predictions about her behavior related to those attitudes, with some degree of accuracy".

Language attitudes constitute the dependent variable, as it is expected to be influenced by the language variable, which in this study would be the varying degrees of accented speech as recorded in the ten speech samples. The varying degree of an American accent (or the lack thereof), assimilated into the spoken English of South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language, is regarded as the independent variable (Williams, 1976: 6). An assessment of the "degree of accent" was based on the impression of the researcher by considering the characteristic British versus American pronunciation of the (a) and (r) sounds in words like *laughter*, *after*, *better* and *anger* that appeared in the passage provided to be read for the speech recordings.

However, the focus in this study is on a general impression rather than specific linguistic features. Lanham (1967: 14) makes the following statement in this regard: "The average person's ability to identify a dialect is based more on overall impression than on conscious knowledge of the vowel and consonant sounds which characterise particular dialects".

The format used for the subjects' responses was a combination of qualitative methods (open questionnaires) and quantitative methods (closed questionnaires). This format was applied as a method of triangulation to test the reliability and validity of the acquired responses.

2.2 Subjects

The selection of subjects for this study will involve two phases, viz. 1) selecting a group of readers for the recording of speech samples and 2) testing the reactions of three different selections of listeners/evaluators to these recordings to establish their attitudes.

2.2.1. Readers

As this study focusses specifically on the English accent of white South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language and English as a second language who have been living in America, subjects had to meet these very specific requirements. Afrikaans-speaking families who had been living in America for at least one year were approached, and husband-and-wife teams were invited to participate. These men and women had to be twenty-five years old or older; they had to be of Caucasian descent and have had training at an Afrikaans-medium university in South Africa; and they must have continued speaking Afrikaans at home after having moved to America. The target sample was ten people, which consisted of five husband-and-wife couples.

The ten participants were asked to individually make a recording of their own reading of a provided English passage. These individuals were chosen to represent a spectrum of varying degrees of an assimilated American accent in their spoken English.

2.2.2. Listeners/Evaluators

The second phase of selecting subjects for the study was to select three different groups of listeners. The only general requirement that they all had to meet was to have had some level of post-graduate training. They were selected to represent three different linguistic environments, which are: 1) an American town, Blacksburg, in the state of Virginia, where AmE is the official language; 2) a South African town, Potchefstroom, where a section of the population uses Afrikaans as its home language with English as a second language; 3) another section of the population of Potchefstroom, which uses SAE as its home language with Afrikaans as a second language. Like Potchefstroom, Blacksburg is a university town in a rural setting, where more conservative values still prevail. In these three groups of ten volunteers each, every individual will be asked to evaluate the same set of speech samples. The three groups will be correlated in terms of sex and age and all participants will have to be Caucasian to eliminate extraneous variables that might influence the outcome of the study.

2.3. Instrumentation/Materials

2.3.1 Recording of the speech samples

A paragraph with a general, non-threatening topic - laughter - was taken from a popular American magazine (*Better Homes and Gardens*) and used to be read during the recording of the speech samples

A package was mailed to each reader in the recording phase. These packages contained a micro cassette recorder and an unused tape cassette; a page with instructions (Appendix 2) stating clearly that these recordings will be applied anonymously; the passage to be read in easily readable print (Appendix 1); a third page for personal information with emphasis on the fact that these recordings will be handled anonymously (Appendix 3); and a sealed

envelope containing a questionnaire to be filled out by each participant after the recording had been completed (Appendix 4). This specific sequence of events was necessary as a precaution to prevent the English accent of the readers from being influenced by the nature of the information requested in the questionnaire.

The open questions in the questionnaire were specifically formulated to determine the language loyalties and personal attitudes of the readers towards their own accents. This questionnaire was also presented to the three groups of evaluators in the AmE, the AfrE and the SAE linguistic environment in an adjusted format. The information provided an additional basis for comparison and made it possible to compare the perception that the readers have of their own accents and their own linguistic situations to the way these issues are perceived by other people in different linguistic environments

2.3.2 Evaluation of the recorded readings

Every member of the three different listener/evaluator groups was presented with a package containing ten sets of two questionnaires each (a set for each speech sample), as well as the questionnaire presented to the readers adjusted for a listener/evaluator perspective. All applicable material was translated to have an English version (A) for the groups with English as their native language and an Afrikaans version (B) for the group with Afrikaans as its native language to facilitate objective evaluations. The first questionnaire (Appendix 5) was a general question, viz. "What is your reaction to this person based on the speech sample provided", that had to be answered as negative/positive on a scale of one to seven. The second questionnaire (Appendix 6) contained five semantic differential scales to be scored by assigning one through seven to the response entries where one was arbitrarily associated with the less desirable adjective. The five scales chosen were: unsure — confident; unintelligent — intelligent; low social status — high social status; uneducated — educated; unpleasant accent — pleasant accent. The third questionnaire (Appendix 7) was slightly adjusted for the American group but was still basically the same as the open-question questionnaire that had been

completed by the readers. Each listener was asked to complete only one of these as it was designed to obtain general linguistic information.

2.4. Data collection procedure

2.4.1 Speech samples obtained from the readers

To find suitable readers, all possible candidates were contacted telephonically and informed of the nature of the study and the need for subjects. To avoid any attention being drawn to their specific accents, the information provided was of a general nature. By making it possible to record their own readings in a relaxed environment, an attempt was made to ensure authentic representations of the English accent of South Africans with Afrikaans as their home language. These subjects were selected to be reliable, professional adults who understood the value of their involvement in the study and could be trusted to keep to the prescribed sequence of events, as the researcher was not present to directly control the practical circumstances of the procedures. In the package that was mailed to each reader a stamped, self-addressed envelope was included for returning the micro cassette recorder, tape cassette and completed questionnaire.

After having received these packages, the speech recordings were relayed to a Windows-based computer equipped with sound recording software. This was done by attaching the micro cassette recorder to the computer by using a 3.5mm stereo headphone adapter to fit a mono phone jack. Each recording was saved in a separate file for easy retrieval.

2.4.2. Evaluations obtained from the listeners

The American group was approached first. Possible participants were identified and informed verbally, as well as by means of a cover letter (Appendix 8A) that focused on creating interest and motivating volunteers. An appointment was made with each

volunteer. During this meeting the participant could listen to each of the speech samples in a prescribed sequence. Recordings were played back as wave files (*.wav) through a multimedia audio player on a computer.

Each participant received a package prior to listening to the speech samples containing an instruction sheet (Appendix 9A), ten sets of two questionnaires each (Appendices 5A and 6A), applying to each of the ten speech samples, and one questionnaire (Appendix 7B) that applied in general. These packages did not have the participants' names on the outside but rather a code number to ensure anonymity. The required questionnaires had to be completed during this meeting.

Score cards were completed for questionnaire number one and for each semantic differential scale in questionnaire number two after the data had been collected from the three listener/evaluator groups. The survey yielded three sets (one set for each of the three groups) of six score cards each (Appendix 10A-C). The readers were listed on the score cards in order of sounding the most "American" to sounding the least "American" according to the general impression of the researcher. This was an attempt to facilitate discerning any emerging pattern in the evaluation related to the varying degrees of an assimilated American accent. These score cards furthermore facilitated the comparison of the reactions of individual listeners to the accents of the ten readers as a group and also of listeners as a group to individual readers. As the listeners/evaluators were correlated in the three different groups with regard to sex and age, the listeners/evaluators were kept in the same order for all the listings on the score cards within the groups as well as between the three different groups.

2.5. Statistical analysis

The purpose of this study was to test the three hypotheses viz.:

1. The accent of South Africans with Afrikaans as native language will be less critically assessed in America than in South Africa;
2. South Africans with English as their native language will be more critical than Americans and less critical than Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in their attitudes towards the English accent of Afrikaners living in America, with an added negative bias incurred by convergence towards an American accent;
3. South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language will be most critical of all three groups concerned, with an added negative bias incurred by convergence towards assimilated American accent in the spoken English of fellow South Africans.

In order to test the validity of these three hypotheses the overall mean score and standard deviation were calculated for the ratings obtained from each of the ten participants in each of the three listener/evaluator groups (the AmE, the AfrE and the SAE groups) of each semantic differential scale with respect to the accent of each of the ten readers. The overall mean evaluation and standard deviation were also calculated for each of the three listener/evaluator groups. A one-way analysis of variance was applied to determine the statistical significance of the ratings.

CHAPTER 3

Results and Discussion

The language which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words *home, Christ, ale, master*, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted his words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language.

James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916)

3.1. Introduction

A comparative study of attitudes towards the English accent of Afrikaners living in America was done by collecting data through qualitative as well as quantitative methods. The same data collection procedure was followed in three different sociolinguistic environments, viz. among Americans, South Africans with English as their native language and South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language. A comparison was drawn between these subjective reactions to the accented speech in ten speech samples provided by non-native speakers of English - readers with Afrikaans as mother tongue. This was done to determine which of the three listener/evaluator groups would be most critical to the English accent of Afrikaners and whether convergence towards an American accent would influence the evaluations.

The data were analyzed by means of qualitative methods through comparing and contrasting responses to the open-question questionnaires in search of discernible patterns (see 3.2, 3.3.1.1, 3.3.2.1, and 3.3.3.1). In addition, quantitative methods were applied by comparing evaluation scores obtained through ratings of the semantic differential scales in the closed-question questionnaires (3.3.1.2, 3.3.2.2 and 3.3.3.2). An analysis of variance was done to determine whether significant differences existed between the three group means (see Table 3.3). The quantitative data obtained were compiled and ordered in three

sets of score cards (Appendices 10 A-C) consisting of six tables each [Am(a)-(f), SAE(a)-(f), Afr(a)-(f)] that represented the ratings for the six traits evaluated in the semantic differential scales. This was done to facilitate a contrast analysis of the data in order to establish linkages and relationships that could support the qualitative data.

As standard accents usually connotes high status and competence (Edwards, 1982: 25) four of the five traits presented for rating related to competence and status (confident, intelligent, high social status, educated), with the fifth trait being: unpleasant accent - pleasant accent. This selection of traits was made with the following comment of Edwards in mind: "While individual preferences and attitudes will continue to colour our views of speakers, we should try to remember that they are just that - preferences and attitudes. We are quite entitled to find given dialects and accents more or less pleasant; we are not entitled to draw conclusions from these perceptions alone concerning speakers' basic skills" (1982: 31).

The ratings were taken as an indication of how far the speech samples were judged to deviate from the accepted standard in a given speech community. Edward's conclusion that language varieties which diverge from Standard English are liable to be viewed, even by speakers of those varieties themselves, less favourably than the Standard, highlights the question of establishing acceptable, as well as practical standards of spoken English within the multi-accented ranks of South African society as elaborated in Chapter one. Shuy (1977: 93) points out that "through an accident of history, a great deal has been learned about Vernacular Black English but very little is known about the variation used by Standard English speakers, regardless of race. Little is known about the sort of variation which establishes a speaker as a solid citizen, a good guy, or an insider". Progress has been made in this regard since 1977, but in South Africa, as in the rest of the world, it has become essential to redefine the parameters of standard English in the wake of the worldwide spread of English as the language of international communication (Young, D, 1992, Sarinjeive, D, 1997). As language tends to be an emotionally laden subject, comparative studies provide an objective basis for subjective reactions to language, especially when

viewed against an international background of current developments as will be discussed in the next section.

3.1.1. General observations

Roger Shuy points out that the development of sociolinguistics has always been paralleled by an interest in the subjective reactions of speakers to language, which in recent years, has focussed on three types of subjective reactions to variation in spoken and written language:

1. Studies that compare subjective reactions to more than one language.
2. Studies that compare subjective reactions to variations within the same language.
3. Studies that compare accented speech, the production of a language by non-native speakers.

According to Shuy, "It is felt that such studies will enable linguists to get at the threshold, if not at the heart, of language values, beliefs, and attitudes. From there it is a relatively short step to relating such attitudes to actual language teaching and planning" (1977: 92).

There seems to be a new focus on comparative studies of English in global context, as indicated by the International Corpus of English (ICE) project of Sidney Greenbaum and associates. The principle aim of this project is to provide the resources for comparative studies of the English used in countries where it is either a majority first language (for example, Canada and Australia) or an official additional language (for example, India and Nigeria) (Greenbaum, 1996: 3). The value of the ICE project, according to Granger, is that it not only features different native varieties of English, but also gives non-native varieties "the place they deserve" in the context of an increasing majority of non-native speakers of English world-wide (1996: 13). In order to come to a better understanding of attitudes towards non-native varieties of English, it will be necessary to have a closer look at the nature of language attitudes in itself.

3.1.2. The nature of language attitudes

Edwards (1982: 30) makes the comment that "...unfavourable linguistic attitudes cannot reasonably be said to reflect any inherent linguistic or aesthetic inferiorities in the varieties concerned. Rather, they represent social judgements, ones of taste, preference and convention... which in turn, reflects an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties" (21). He points out that studies of language evaluation show that speech can evoke stereotyped reactions reflecting differential views of social groups, but adds: "It is important to remember in all this that the social context in which evaluations occur is not a static entity: as it changes, one should expect to see alterations in attitude too" (1985: 149).

The multidimensionality and the complexity of language attitudes make it difficult to determine their precise nature. Edwards suggests as a general guideline, the definition of Sarnoff who views attitude as "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" (1982: 20). This disposition is often taken to comprise three components: feelings (affective element), thoughts (cognitive element) and predispositions to act (behavioural element). This can be explained as follows: "one knows or believes something, has some emotional reaction to it and, therefore, may be assumed to act on this basis" (20).

There often seem to be conflicting desires and motives such as when the affective aspect overrides cognitive concepts. Ryan quotes Lambert (1967) as describing the second-language learner's need to preserve something which separates him from the new language group. Otherwise, with fluent speech in the new language, he might begin to lose his original identity (1979: 148). This is also underlined by the findings of Gubuglo (1973) as quoted by Ryan, that the value of language as a chief symbol of group identity is one of the major forces for the preservation of non-standard speech styles and dialects (1979: 147). On the other hand however, Labov (1966) found that those speakers with the highest frequency of stigmatized pronunciations in their own speech showed the greatest

tendency to downgrade others for their use of such features. They were therefore covertly endorsing the values of the dominant middle class (cognitive aspect), while at the same time, by using non-standard forms, were declaring their solidarity towards the working-class values (affective aspect) (Nortjé and Wissing, 1996: 141).

Gardner (1982: 134) furthermore points out that most research in language attitudes has drawn a contrast between integrative and instrumental orientations. An integrative orientation refers to an interest in learning a second language in order to facilitate interaction with the other language community. An instrumental orientation, on the other hand, focuses on the utilitarian aspect of learning the language, for example to get a job. According to Gardner, research results suggest that students who indicate an integrative orientation are generally more motivated to learn the second language, have more favourable attitudes towards the other community and are more proficient in the second language than those who are instrumentally orientated. Gardner comes to the following conclusion in this regard: "In general, therefore, there has been considerable research demonstrating that attitudinal and motivational variables are related to achievement in a second language, and that this association is independent of language aptitude" (1982: 135).

The last aspect of language attitudes to be considered in this section, was that of speech accommodation which is seen as an identity adjustment made to increase group status and favourability. This phenomenon is discussed in terms of the two notions of convergence and divergence as introduced by the social psychologist, Howard Giles (Fasold, 1984: 160). Since the need for social approval is "assumed to be at the heart of accommodation" (Giles and Powesland, 1975: 159) the model involves reducing linguistic differences in order to be better perceived by others. However, accommodation means change, and change involves cost. In this regard Giles and Powesland state that accommodation will only likely be initiated if a favourable cost-benefit ratio can be achieved. Therefore, convergence reflects a desire for approval, occurs when perceived benefits outweigh costs and varies in extent according to proficiency and the degree of need for approval.

Listeners receive convergence favourably if positive intent is perceived. Divergence (or limited to speech maintenance) reflects a desire for personal dissociation or an emphasis upon positive in-group identity. Unfavourable reactions can be expected when listeners perceive negative intent. Thus, "accommodation through speech can be regarded as an attempt on the part of the speaker to modify or disguise his persona in order to make it more acceptable to the person addressed" (Giles and Powesland, 1975: 158).

In an article titled, *The language of immigrants*, Glenn points out that there is a perception that minority language use implies a repudiation of the host society, thus leading to marginalization. He also discusses several factors that might be conducive to minority language maintenance, viz. the symbolic importance of minority languages as resisting the mainstream, the establishment of an immigrant community within the boundaries of society, minority community mobilization and the perception that future generations will immigrate to the host society (1997: 17 - 58).

Within the framework of the preceding discussion, the responses of the readers, as well as the three listener/evaluator groups will be considered with regard to their reactions to the open-question questionnaires and the ratings on the semantic differential scales. An attempt will be made to detect emerging patterns and linkages in the responses against which the three hypothesis can be tested as posed in Chapters one and two.

3.2. Readers' responses

Only one questionnaire (Questionnaire number 3; Appendix 4) was presented to the ten readers with Afrikaans as their mother tongue and English as a second language. This was in an open-question format, and respondents were not restricted to a specific answer but could respond freely to the questions.

The first question posed in this questionnaire was: *"How self-conscious are you about your own English accent?"* Four responses were: "Not at all" of which one added, "...but very aware of it (I lecture)". Another four responses were less confident with: "A little bit". Comments included: "...because I realize that I do have an accent and that I am typified the moment I open my mouth, but it does not affect me"; "...people usually don't understand me, I have to repeat myself sometimes"; "...not as much as fifteen months ago" and "...very self-conscious, the first question when I am introduced to somebody new is always: "Where are you from?" The majority (60 percent) of the readers reported a self-consciousness about their English accent. This confirms the reported trend in South Africa of a lack of confidence in Afrikaans with resulting negative attitudes towards the English pronunciation of South Africans with Afrikaans as native language (Nortjé and Wissing, 1996, De Klerk and Bosch, 1994, Smit, 1994).

The second question posed was: *"Do you deliberately try to speak with an American accent now that you are living in America?"*, to which five readers responded in the negative, one with an added comment: "...except when I read to my children and help them with their homework. There are also new concepts, words, etc. (to me) that are typically American". Four readers responded affirmatively with justification like: "That's the only way to be understood the first time around". The ten readers seem to be divided on the issue of divergence versus convergence in an American English context. One half of the responses indicated a need to retain an original identity apart from the new language group - to retain their way of speaking as a symbol of group identity. It was interesting to note that all the men were inclined to converge towards American English (answering "yes" and "sometimes"), while all the women answered "no". This tendency towards speech accommodation seems to indicate a strong instrumental orientation on the part of the men who feel the pressure of having to be successful in a new professional environment - as one respondent justified: "I want my students to understand me".

To the question of whether they continued to use Afrikaans as a home language since they moved to America, everybody responded affirmatively. This unanimous affirmation of

continued use of Afrikaans as home language, in spite of pressure to switch to English on behalf of the children (in order to facilitate their adjustment in a new language environment), seemed to indicate strong language loyalty.

Question four, viz. *"Do you consciously try to keep your Afrikaans usage free from American English expressions and words?"*, was met with an equal number of negative and positive responses. This question touched on another aspect of language loyalty - the conflict between language maintenance and language shift. One of the most frequently cited causes of language shift is migration by members of a small group to an environment where their language no longer serves them, as might be the case here (Fasold, 1984: 217). In South Africa almost all language shift has been from Afrikaans as the lower-status language to English as the higher status language (Hauptfleisch, 1979), which could give these South Africans living in America another incentive to adopt English as a new home language. Fasold points out that perhaps the most basic condition for language shift is societal bilingualism (1984: 216). According to Lieberman, all cases of societal language shift come about through intergenerational switching. In the typical case, one generation is bilingual, but only passes on one of the two languages to the next generation (1980: 11-27). Half of the readers seemed to be deliberately counteracting influences of the new language environment on Afrikaans, but the remainder disregarded this aspect which, theoretically, could make them more vulnerable to language shift.

According to responses to question five: *"Do you feel more comfortable speaking English in America or in South Africa?"*, seven South Africans felt more comfortable in America. The reasons given were: "It seems as if they don't mind if you make a mistake"; "...the Americans don't laugh at one's pronunciation; "English-speaking South Africans are much more likely to pick up on incorrect tenses and pronunciation" and "...because I know there is not an option of speaking Afrikaans here". The readers' responses seemed to confirm a positive reaction to the more relaxed standards of spoken English in America, with 70 percent feeling more comfortable with English in America, 20 percent reporting no difference and 10 percent feeling more comfortable in South Africa. This seems to

confirm the value of "greater tolerance of accent" and "a less critical acceptance of non-standard speech" as discussed by Nortjé and Wissing (1996: 155) and as suggested by Wright (1993: 6) and Potter (1995: 202).

Table 3.1 A summary of the responses of the readers

M - male; F - female

Question 1: How self-conscious are you about your own English accent?	1M: to some extent 1F: little bit	2M: not at all 2F: not at all	3M: very 3F: little bit	4M: very little 4F: little bit	5M: no 5F: no
Question 2: Do you deliberately try to speak with an American accent in America?	1M: yes 1F: no	2M: yes 2F: no	3M: yes 3F: no	4M: sometimes 4F: no	5M: yes 5F: no
Question 3: Have you continued to use Afrikaans at home since you moved to America?	1M: yes 1F: yes	2M: yes 2F: yes	3M: yes 3F: yes	4M: yes 4F: yes	5M: yes 5F: yes
Question 4: Do you consciously try to keep your Afrikaans usage free from American expressions and words?	1M: yes 1F: not really	2M: no 2F: no	3M: yes 3F: I try, but am not that successful.	4M: yes, more than in the past 4F: yes, for the children's' sake	5M: no 5F: no
Question 5: Do you feel more comfortable speaking English in America or in South Africa?	1M: U.S.A 1F: no difference	2M: U.S.A. 2F: U.S.A.	3M: U.S.A. 3F: U.S.A.	4M: S.A. 4F: U.S.A.	5M: no difference 5F: U.S.A.
Question 6: How do you feel about South Africans who speak with an American accent?	1M: no problem 1F: no problem	2M: no problem 2F: no problem	3M: no problem 3F: don't like it	4M: envy them-not easy to learn 4F: well done for them	5M: no problem 5F: no problem

The last question posed in this questionnaire: "*How do you feel about fellow South Africans living in America, who speak with an American English accent?*", elicited a response of "no problem" from nine out of the ten readers. There appears to be an underlying sense of ambivalence in two of the comments: "I fully understand it - that's the

only way to make yourself understood" and "Envy them, it's not easy to learn". The responses of the readers seem to indicate an acceptance of and an understanding for an attitude of instrumental convergence to facilitate adjustment in America. Even the single negative response conveyed a tentative acceptance: "I understand why and how it happens, but I don't like it".

3.3. Listeners'/Evaluators' responses

Results were obtained from three different groups of evaluators that listened to and evaluated the recorded speech samples of South Africans with Afrikaans as native language. The three groups included an American group to represent a relatively objective assessment, and two South African groups, representing the two opposing poles of a subjective evaluation. Since the occupations reported by the ten readers included two medical doctors, a speech therapist, two engineers, a nurse, a teacher, a pharmacist, a social worker and a computer scientist, they all theoretically qualified for relatively positive evaluation on the traits of intelligent, educated and high social standing. Therefore the ratings could be taken as an indication of how realistically accents were evaluated in the three different settings.

3.3.1. Responses of Americans

The responses of Americans have to be considered against the following background: of the 226.5 million people in the United States in 1980, nearly 23 million United States residents spoke a language other than English at home, of these only 18,6 million considered themselves to speak English very well or well (Garcia, 1985: 149). America has nevertheless always been regarded primarily as an English-speaking country. This has been considered to contribute to the strength and cohesiveness of the United States. The private use of ethnic mother tongues like Spanish has been tolerated throughout United States history. However, the public use of these ethnic mother tongues is perceived as a

threat to the national unity of the United States (Garcia, 1985: 150). This insistence on all United States residents to unite into one nation and speak one language resulted in a greater tolerance for variety in English accent, as well as a less strict tradition in the teaching of English in the United States. Bloomfield lists additional reasons why less emphasis on "formal correctness" prevails in the United States: there is no established authority like an Academy - as there is in France for example - which guards over the language; there is no hereditary upper class which tends to be conservative; and the American tradition of an open society and its stress on individualism contribute to a greater tolerance amongst Americans for variety in accent (1985: 268).

3.3.1.1. Responses to the open-question questionnaires.

With regard to Questionnaire number 3 (Appendix 7B), which was based on the questionnaire presented to the readers but adjusted for an American point of view, some interesting attitudes emerged.

In response to the first question: *"How do you feel about people who appear to be self-conscious about their English accent?"*, six evaluators reported a negative reaction to uncertainty with comments like: "Makes me feel self-conscious about my conversation with them"; "I become self-conscious as well and seek to affirm their efforts"; "I usually want to find out about where they are from etc., but sometimes I feel that I am 'putting them on the spot'"; "It makes them seem unsure about themselves and what they are talking about" and "It makes me uncomfortable. I want them to be at ease with me". Four respondents had a more sympathetic attitude which they expressed as follows: "I respect anyone who can express himself in a second language"; "I can appreciate how they feel - it's nothing to be ashamed about"; "I would be inclined to encourage them" and "I have worked and studied with many people from other countries/accents, and I try not to let their accents affect my feelings about them". Americans seem to react negatively to uncertainty in speakers, as confirmed by 60 percent of the responses. This is also confirmed by the agreement of the ratings between the two semantic differential scales:

unsure/confident and negative/positive impression (see Appendix 10A). The lowest ratings in the negative/positive impression scale also elicited the lowest ratings in the unsure/confident scale. This reaction seems to strengthen the notion that speaker confidence is an important underlying condition for positive attitudes towards accent. For example, the findings of Rist (1971) confirm this perception that one of the aspects of language behaviour that elicits favourable responses from teachers in a classroom setting is "Appearing confident in speech".

Question two: "*Do you think people from other countries should deliberately try to speak with an American accent while living in America?*", was met with a majority of negative responses (8 out of 10) with the condition stated that the foreign accent must not make it difficult to be understood. Reasons offered were: "I would feel silly doing it in another country"; "No, especially if this affects their choice of words or overall comfort in speaking"; "No, they will most likely gradually accommodate their speech"; "No! Variety makes life interesting" and "No, unless their accent is so 'heavy' that I can't understand what they are saying". The two responses in favour of deliberately trying to speak with an American accent offered the following reasons: "Yes, because the more familiar they are with American English, the more confident they will sound", and "Yes, to the extent that it eases their fitting in. Not to the extent that they lose their identity". The responses of the American respondents confirmed once more that there is a less critical acceptance of a variety of accents in America, with 80 percent of the respondents being in favour of retaining native accents on the condition that it should not be difficult to understand. This proves that although there seems to be a greater tolerance for a variety of accents, communicative competence is still regarded as a prerequisite.

Responses to question three: "*Should people whose native languages are not English continue to use their own languages at home or should they switch to English to help with their adjustment in America?*" varied considerably. Four respondents felt that native languages should be used in the home regardless of circumstances; three respondents felt that English should be the primary language; and the remaining three respondents thought

that it depended on circumstances such as employment situations that may require intensive conversational skills, the permanency of their American stay and whether children are involved.

With regard to question four: "*If people from other countries continue to use their native languages in their homes, should they try to keep their native language usage free from American expressions and words?*", the American respondents once again offered an interesting variety of opinions. Two respondents were in favour of Americanization with comments like: "I think this is not possible (to keep native language usage free from American expressions and words)"; and "I think it would help to try to include American expressions, especially if they have children and do not want them to feel 'different'". Five respondents seemed indifferent, commenting: "Up to them to decide the degree of identity with their native country they wish to maintain vs. their identity with American citizenry"; "Not necessarily"; "I've never thought about this before, I don't have an opinion"; and "I don't care if they do or not". The remaining three respondents placed a higher value on retaining purer usage of native languages, but were realistic about the difficulties involved, as expressed in the following comments: "That would be hard in our culture, but for their children a purer usage would be best" and "It seems better to keep it free from American expressions, but that might be difficult to do".

As far as responses to the last two questions were concerned, it was obvious that having been in a monolingual situation for the most part, that the American respondents lacked the experience and resulting insight to realistically assess the implications involved. As one American aptly responded: "I've never thought about this before, I don't have an opinion". This attitude is confirmed by the following comment made by Shuman: "The basic American attitude towards foreign language acquisition and toward dealing with non-English-speaking students ranges from an attitude of indifference to one of outright hostility" because of a fear of societal fragmentation (1985: 321). A completely different reaction to these questions can be expected in a South African context, because of direct involvement in the existing complexities of a multilingual situation. This stresses the fact

that language attitudes always have to be assessed within the context of a certain society and are dependent on many interrelated factors, amongst others socio-cultural and political circumstances (Webster and Kramer, 1986: 231-240), as well as many overt and covert psychological factors of which most people are not even consciously aware.

3.3.1.2. Ratings of the semantic differential scales

Six completed score cards (Appendix 10A) represent the ratings by the ten American listeners/evaluators (designated A-J) with regard to the English accents of the ten readers for the six semantic differential scales: negative/positive impression (Questionnaire number 1) and unsure/confident, unintelligent/intelligent, low/high social status, uneducated/educated, unpleasant/pleasant accent (Questionnaire number 2).

The overall mean evaluation given by the American listener/evaluators (see Table 3.3) rated 4.75, which indicated a positive reaction towards the accents of the ten speech samples - a rating of 4 being considered a neutral response. This overall positive rating was attained in spite of complaints by the Americans of a lack of conviction and enthusiasm, and monotonous voice tones with regard to the quality of the readings. This complaint could have contributed to the relatively low score of 4.43 for the rating scale of *negative/positive impression*, when compared to the overall mean evaluation of 4.75 and could also have influenced the evaluation of the *unsure/confident* trait, which was rated at 4.61.

It is interesting to note that the rating for the scale of *unpleasant/pleasant accent* (4.71) was close to the overall mean evaluation of 4.75, and that the readers were rated higher than the overall mean evaluation on the traits of *intelligent* (4.94) and *educated* (5.01). The *social status* trait corresponded with the pleasant accent trait at 4.71. It also appeared that assimilated elements of an American accent had no influence on the American ratings, as the two readers who were awarded both the highest and the lowest

mean ratings (see Appendix 10A) both had more distinctly South African accents (reader 5M - 5.58; reader 5F - 3.9).

The results of both the qualitative and the quantitative methods of investigation seemed to confirm the Americans as the least critical of the three listener/evaluator groups in their attitudes towards the English accent of Afrikaners. The insistence of this group in Question two of Questionnaire three (3.3.1.1) on retention of native accents, the relatively high score in the rating scale of unpleasant/pleasant accent (Table 3.3 - Am: 4.71, SAE: 2.96, Afr: 4.61) and the relatively high overall mean score (Table 3.3: Am: 4.75, SAE: 3.54, Afr: 4.61) support this impression.

3.3.2. Responses of South Africans with English as native language

Probably the most obvious language attitudes in the South African society at present would be an endorsement of English as a denial of the ideology and values associated with Afrikaner nationalism. This attitude has resulted in a refusal to accept Afrikaans in any form of public and official communication and in the media, and support only of English-speaking institutions (Lanham, 1985: 248). Van der Merwe *et al.* (1974: chap.2) demonstrate that the English-Afrikaans confrontation marks the deepest division in white South African society. In a sample of white English speakers studied by Schlemmer, 48 percent chose to be called "English South Africans" (or "British"), specifically not "South Africans". This group in turn includes his "anglophiles" defined as "people who perceive themselves as English-speaking South Africans as opposed to South Africans and identify with international Anglo-Saxon culture" (1976: 108). The "anglophiles" seem to be showing the "greatest resistance to Afrikaans".

What they would specifically not be subscribing to, according to Lanham (1985), would be the South African tradition in social values, and therefore to the world-view and values of the typical Afrikaner: the high value placed on South African identity, independence, and

masculinity; on being patriotic, gregarious, strongly conforming to in-group norms, and have adulation for sports and sportsmen. Lanham points out that these amount to the covert values of the society and for this reason positive and negative attitudes to Conservative SAE (near-British-English) are an individual as well as a group response. He offers the following example in this regard: "some young, upper-class males, identified by all criteria relating to the 'British tradition in social values', give clear indication in their speech as having adopted 'typical local man' as reference group by flaunting Extreme SAE in formal and informal situations" (1985: 250-251).

3.3.2.1. Responses to the open-question questionnaire

Questionnaire number 3 (Appendix 7A), in an expanded version, was presented to the English-speaking South Africans.

To the first question: *How do you feel about people who appear to be self-conscious about their English accent?*, six respondents were sympathetic and the following are some of the remarks that were made: "Do not actually have an opinion, but do sympathize if person struggles to speak in English, accent does not have an influence on how I feel about this person"; "I feel there is no reason to be so and that they should be put at their ease - the accent will improve with increasing usage"; "Sorry for them" and "Not totally convinced by them, sympathetic as well". Three respondents offered the following objective comments: "Shouldn't be"; "No problem" and "Think they should reorient themselves". One respondent reacted very negatively with the single response of "Stupid people". English-speaking South Africans seemed to react to speaker uncertainty in a manner similar to the American group. Six of the ten respondents were sympathetic, with the remaining respondents being either indifferent or very negative. The single comment of "Stupid people" would exactly be the kind of attitude that feeds linguistic constraints in the South African sociolinguistic circumstances. As in the case of the American group, the lowest ratings in the negative/positive impression scale corresponded with the lowest ratings in the unsure/confident scale. This, coupled with the comments by the respondents

in this group, confirms speaker confidence as an important underlying condition for positive attitudes towards accent.

To the second question: *Do you think South Africans living in America should deliberately speak with an American accent?*, the response was a unanimous "no". Some reactions stated emphatically "Never" and "No! No! No!". One respondent remarked: "No, just to pronounce words as English language experts want them to be pronounced" and another responded to the word, *deliberately*, in the question, stating: "No, it comes naturally". The unanimous rejection of deliberately speaking with an American accent seems to involve an insistence on deliberately speaking with a British accent, this being regarded as the accepted norm in South Africa. It is interesting to note that the American and English-speaking groups had comparable reactions to this question as well, but with one determining difference: the Americans reacted from a position of tolerance towards accent, while the English speaking South Africans reacted from a position of intolerance.

Question three: *Should South Africans with Afrikaans as mother tongue continue to use Afrikaans as their home language when they live in America*, elicited much the same response among the English-speaking South Africans as among the Afrikaans-speaking respondents. Seven responded affirmatively with comments such as "Should try to"; "Yes, as long as they can" and "Yes - if they want to maintain their identities and culture". Two respondents replied: "It is their prerogative" and "That would be their choice - if they decide to maintain their Afrikaans culture, they should try to keep Afrikaans as their mother tongue". The remaining respondent replied with a definitive: "No".

To question four: *If South Africans continue to use Afrikaans as their home language, should they keep their Afrikaans usage free from American expressions and words?*, six respondents replied with comments like: "Yes, as far as possible" and "Yes, as long as they can", indirectly acknowledging the difficulties involved. Four respondents rejected the notion with comments like: "I don't think this is possible", "Not possible" and "No, languages grow with 'borrowing' from other languages".

The reactions of English-speaking South Africans to question three and four had more in common with the reactions of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans than with the reactions of the Americans who have always promoted English as the only link to American ethnicity. The use of non-English languages at home has been tolerated throughout United States history. It is only when these ethnic mother tongues begin to be used in public that bilingualism becomes controversial in America (Garcia, 1985: 150). This policy coupled with greater tolerance and relaxed standards seem to have created an inclusive, monolingual American society. There might be a lesson in this for South Africa, where an insistence on official status for eleven different languages has resulted in fragmentation and competition brought about by the immense complexities caused by a multilingual situation. Nevertheless, the reactions of the majority of this group seem to convey a sense of acceptance and respect for the multilinguality of the South African situation, encouraging Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to retain their language as well as a pure usage as far as that would be possible.

In response to question five: *Do you think South Africans with an Afrikaans language background will be more comfortable speaking English in South Africa or in America?*, six English-speaking South Africans felt that fellow-South Africans with an Afrikaans language background will be more comfortable speaking English in South Africa, three felt they would be more comfortable speaking English in America and one felt they would be equally comfortable in both places. Two of the comments were: "USA, Americans like the 'British' accent" and "In America - less prejudice towards Afrikaners - simply regarded as foreign and thus intriguing".

Reactions to the last question: *How do you feel about South Africans living in America who speak with an American English accent?*, were very interesting and seemed to be the direct opposite of the reactions of the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. There were eight negative responses, one indifferent response ("So be it") and one respondent left the question unanswered. Some of the comments were: "Prissy - affected - snobs", "Don't like

it at all", "The combination of accents doesn't appeal to me - I don't like the sound, but I can't judge the person: are you not referring to an American Afrikaans accent?", "It's their choice - I don't like it", "They appear insincere", "Terrible", "Awful" and "I hate American accents (pseudo ones anyway)! If they acquire it naturally, as they will over time, well, so be it".

The answers to questions five and six corresponded with the answers of the Afrikaans-speaking group in interesting ways. The respondents seem to be almost equally divided in their assessment of whether it will be more comfortable speaking English in South Africa or in America. Interestingly enough, the Afrikaans-speaking group and the English-speaking group had opposite reactions to question six, with the majority of English-speaking South Africans reacting negatively to South Africans who speak with an American English accent in contrast to the Afrikaans-speaking group where the majority reacted with a pragmatic, "No problem".

3.3.2.2. Ratings of the semantic differential scales

Six completed score cards (Appendix 10B) represent the ratings of the speech samples of ten Afrikaans-speaking South Africans living in America by ten South Africans with English as their native language. Questionnaire number 1 and questionnaire number 2 were presented to this group according to the same procedure followed with the American listeners/evaluators.

The mean score of the English-speaking South Africans was 3.52.(AmE: 4.75) which indicated an overall negative reaction towards the accents of the ten speech samples. The rating for the scale of negative/positive impression corresponded with the overall mean score (SAE: 3.5; AmE: 4.43). In this case the rating for the scale of unpleasant/pleasant accent was much lower than the overall mean score (SAE: 2.96; AmE: 4.71). All the scores for the remaining rating scales (unsure/confident, unintelligent/intelligent, low/high social status, uneducated/educated) were below 4, with 4 being regarded as a neutral

response, and therefore indicated a negative attitude towards the accents presented in the ten speech samples.

Of the three listener/evaluator groups, English-speaking South Africans were found to have the most critical attitudes towards the accents of Afrikaners. This impression was confirmed by both the qualitative and the quantitative methods of investigation. The strongest evidence was found in the quantitative data, where a negative overall mean evaluation of 3,54 was given (see Table 3.3) compared to the positive overall mean scores of the other two groups (Am: 4.75, Afr: 4.61) with regard to the six semantic differential scales. This was underlined by a general attitude of intolerance, punctuated by strong negative comments in the responses of the English-speaking group to questions two and six in Questionnaire number 3 (3.3.2.1).

Even though this group overtly rejected the idea of South Africans speaking with an American accent (Table 3.2, questions 2 and 6) the quantitative data did not appear to reflect an added negative bias incurred by traces of convergence towards an American accent. The ratings for the readers that showed a stronger convergence towards American English (1M, 1F, 2M, 2F, 3M), contained more positive scores (above 4, 4 being regarded as a neutral score) than the remainder of the readers that kept to a more characteristic 'British' pronunciation (see Appendix 10B). An assessment of convergence was based on the general impression of the researcher by considering the characteristic British versus American pronunciation in the speech samples (see 2.1). These higher ratings for accents that showed an American influence could be indicative of a covert endorsement of the American accent with a greater openness developing in this regard.

3.3.3. Responses of South Africans with Afrikaans as native language

Attitudes of the Afrikaans-speaking population towards English are complex and best interpreted as a love-hate relationship, according to Lanham (1985: 249). Hate stems

from the association of Afrikaans as a symbol of the Afrikaner cause and sense of nation, and the long struggle against British domination. There is evidence that this attitude hardly existed before the end of the last century. Until then, the English language carried positive connotations of education and social prestige for Afrikaners (Lanham and Macdonald, 1979: 9). It is these positive connotations that still today seem to underlie the existing instrumental orientation towards English.

3.3.3.1. Responses to the open-question questionnaire

Questionnaire number 3 was presented to this group in English - the same version used for the English-speaking South Africans. This was deliberately done to stress the underlying issue of the practical implications of bilingualism.

To the first question: *How do you feel about people who appear to be self-conscious about their English accent?*, nine of the respondents had an empathetic reaction with reassuring remarks like: "Sympathetic, but they should be advised not to be self-conscious"; "It is not necessary to be self-conscious"; "I want to tell them not to be self-conscious"; "Sorry"; "Empathetic". One respondent replied: "It is nothing to be worried about as long as they try to improve it". The only critical response was "It gives the impression of uncertainty". The Afrikaans-speaking respondents reacted completely differently from the two native English-speaking groups. They could empathize with the readers, also being second language speakers of English. It is interesting to keep in mind that six of the readers reported a self-consciousness about their English accents. This could suggest the long-standing effects of linguistic constraints imprinted on the perceptions of members of that community, even when they are speaking English outside of such a community.

The second question: *Do you think that South Africans living in America should deliberately try to speak with an American accent?*, elicited a majority of negative responses. Comments were: "No, but if it comes naturally it is all right"; "No, but they

would start to do so spontaneously after some time". One respondent seemed to say: no, not deliberately, but, yes, spontaneously with time, by making the following remark: "It will happen in time. Such an accent will facilitate communication and ease assimilation". One encouraging comments was: "You cannot keep resisting the influence of your surroundings. So - yes - surrender and speak like them". The responses of the Afrikaans-speaking group seemed to be more pragmatic than those of the English-speaking group. Their comments conveyed an instrumental, rather than integrative orientation towards an American accent. This was specifically confirmed by the attitudes of the five Afrikaans-speaking male readers. An underlying resistance to the American accent seems to remain in spite of this tendency to convergence. The higher ratings by the Afrikaans-speaking group in the rating scale of unpleasant/pleasant accent, given to readers with stronger South African accents, seemed to confirm this.

To question three: *Should South Africans with Afrikaans as mother tongue continue to use Afrikaans as their home language when they live in America?*, seven respondents replied "yes". Single qualifying comments were: "Yes, but they should also try to become fluent in English"; "It would be ideal, for you can only be yourself in your mother tongue. However, it won't work out for the 2nd generation". Three respondents felt that it depended on future plans whether there should be continued use of Afrikaans.

Question four: *If South Africans with Afrikaans as mother tongue continue to use Afrikaans as their home language, should they try to keep their Afrikaans usage free from American expressions and words?*, was closely linked with the previous question, and elicited related responses. The same seven respondents replied affirmatively with an added "when possible" in a few cases. The same three respondents had more pragmatic approaches, leaving an outcome to be determined by circumstances with one specific comment: "It will impede their acculturation".

The reactions to question three and four corresponded with the responses of the English-speaking group. This can be ascribed to the fact that both these groups have practical

experience of a multi-lingual situation, whereas the Americans can only speculate about this. The majority of Afrikaans-speaking respondents seemed to have strong language loyalty, but were realistic about the difficulties involved as confirmed by the accompanying comments.

Respondents were almost equally divided in their reactions to question five: *Do you think South Africans with an Afrikaans language background will be more comfortable speaking English in South Africa or in America?* (4 in America, 4 in S.A.), with one respondent that remained undecided and another that remarked that it depended on the level of proficiency and individual differences - South Africans with a higher level of proficiency will feel more comfortable in South Africa and those with an average or lower level will feel more comfortable in America.

There was an unexpected response to question six: *How do you feel about South Africans living in America who speak with an American English accent?* Only two respondents made the following negative remarks: "I think they try to show other people that they are Americans" and "It is inevitable. I do not blame them, although I do not like the American accent". However, a sense of ambivalence is still evident in some of the positive responses: "As long as it isn't overdone it's OK", "OK, as long as it is not forced", "If it is natural, no problem" and "That is something that would come automatically after that person had been there for a while".

The Afrikaans-speaking group's reactions to questions five and six corresponded to those of the readers and seemed to convey a much more pragmatic approach than the attitude of the English-speaking South Africans. There seems to be a willingness to accept and adjust to a rapidly changing linguistic environment both inside and outside the borders of South Africa. Ambivalent remarks like: "So be it", "I understand how and why it happens, but I don't like it" and "You cannot keep resisting the influence of your surroundings. So - yes - surrender and speak like them", seem to indicate that affective elements covertly override

Table 3.2: A summary of responses to the open-question questionnaires.

	AmE responses	SAE responses	AfrE responses
Question 1			
How do you feel about people who appear to be self-conscious about their English accent?	4 - makes me uncomfortable 1 - makes them seem unsure 5 - sympathetic and understanding	6 - sympathetic 1 - "stupid people" 1 - not convinced by them 2 - should reorient themselves; shouldn't be	9 - empathetic 1 - gives impression of uncertainty
Question 2			
Do you think people from other countries should deliberately try to speak with an American accent while living in America? Do you think that South Africans living in America should deliberately try to speak with an American accent?	8 - no, unless it is difficult to understand them. 2 - yes, they will sound more confident; it will help them to fit in.	10 - no!; never!	6 - no, unless it comes naturally and gradually 4 - yes, surrender and speak like them
Question 3			
Should people whose native languages are not English, continue to use their own languages at home or should they switch to English to help with their adjustment in America? Should South Africans with Afrikaans as mother tongue continue to use Afrikaans as their home language when they live in America?	4 - yes, native languages to be used at home regardless of circumstances. 3 - English should be primary language. 3 - it depends on circumstances	7 - yes, as far as possible 1 - no 2 - their prerogative	7 - yes 3 - depends on future plans
Question 4			
If they continue to use their native languages in their homes, should they keep their native language usage free from American expressions and words? If South Africans continue to use Afrikaans as their home language, should they keep their Afrikaans usage free from American expressions and words?	2 - in favour of Americanization 5 - indifferent 3 - in favour of retaining pure usage of native languages, but realistic about difficulties involved.	6 - yes, as far as possible 4 - no, not possible	7 - yes, as far as possible 2 - no 1 - will depend on motivation for speaking Afrikaans
Question 5			
Do you think South Africans with an Afrikaans language background will be more comfortable speaking English in South Africa or in America?		6 - in S.A. 3 - in America 1 - equally comfortable in both places	4 - in America 4 - in S.A. 1 - undecided 1 - depends on proficiency
Question 6			
How do you feel about South Africans living in America who speak with an American English accent?		8 - negative 1 - indifferent 1 - left question unanswered	8 - positive: no problem, if natural, not "overdone" 2 - negative: don't blame them, but don't like it; they try to show other people they are Americans

cognitive elements in the attitudes of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents. The relatively low ratings given to the rating scales that involved affective issues (negative/positive impression and unpleasant/pleasant accent) seem to confirm this tendency. However, a general attitude of greater tolerance seems to prevail.

In the last instance it is interesting to note the differences between the responses of the two native speaking Afrikaans groups - the readers responding from the inside of an American English environment, and the Afrikaans-speaking listener/evaluator group responding as onlookers. The readers, having to deal with the practical reality of the situation, seem to be more tolerant to others trying to find a new linguistic identity (responses to questions five and six), seem to have stronger language loyalty (responses to question three), and seem to be more inclined to speech convergence and an instrumental orientation (responses to question two).

3.3.3.2. Ratings of the semantic differential scale

The mean evaluation score by the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans was 4.61 (AmE: 4.75 and SAE: 3.54) which indicated an overall positive reaction towards the accent of the ten speech samples. This rating was in agreement with the positive reaction from the American group and was confirmed by the answers to the open questions in Questionnaire number 3 (3.3.3.1).

The attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans towards the English accent of Afrikaners living in America was therefore established both by the qualitative and the quantitative data as more negative than the Americans and more positive than the English-speaking South Africans. No added negative bias seemed to be incurred by convergence towards an American accent as indicated by the prevailing attitude of tolerance in the responses of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. This was also confirmed in the qualitative data by the positive ratings awarded throughout the spectrum of accents in the

speech samples with regard to the rating scales of negative/positive impression and unpleasant/pleasant accent (see Appendix 10C).

The positive ratings by the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans suggest that Afrikaners may be starting to move away from the phase of "linguistic insecurity" (Labov, 1966: 476), and starting to revitalize group perceptions by a counter-reaction to a projected 'inferior' image. Lambert reported that mechanisms of this sort were believed to underlie what was called, the 'French Canadian revolution' where forceful demands were made for the respect and identity of a socially denigrated ethnic or linguistic group (1979: 188). As this counter-reaction gains social force, the relative attractiveness and status of more ethno-linguistic groups in the society can change.

3.4 A comparative discussion

The comparative discussion of data was confirmed by a statistical analysis of the quantitative findings. As seen in Table 3.4 statistically significant differences regarding the evaluations of the six traits exist between the group means of the American and English-speaking listener/evaluators at the 5% level of significance (ranging from $p = 0.000$ to $p = 0.004$), and between the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking listener/evaluators at the 5% level of significance (ranging from $p = 0.000$ to 0.013).

The absence of a significant difference between the group means of the American and Afrikaans-speaking listener/evaluators regarding the evaluations of all of the six traits on the 5% level of significance (ranging from $p = 0.28$ to $p = 0.78$) corresponds with the fact that these two groups both have positive attitudes towards the accents of the speech samples as borne out by Figure 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.3

The effect of accent on ratings at the $p < 0.05$ level						
TRAITS	Mean ratings:	Mean ratings:	Mean ratings:	ANOVA		
	American (Am)	English S.A. (SAE)	Afrikaans S.A. (Afr)	F	p	Means significantly different
Negative/positive impression (a)	4.43	-	4.15	1.15	0.297	No
	4.43	3.51	-	32.14	0.000	Yes
	-	3.51	4.15	7.41	0.013	Yes
Unsure/Confident (b)	4.61	-	4.31	1.21	0.287	No
	4.61	3.58	-	15.14	0.001	Yes
	-	3.58	4.31	8.62	0.009	Yes
Unintelligent/intelligent (c)	4.94	-	4.76	0.30	0.590	No
	4.94	3.7	-	17.60	0.000	Yes
	-	3.7	4.76	17.79	0.000	Yes
Low/high social status (d)	4.81	-	4.98	0.27	0.61	No
	4.81	3.81	-	10.87	0.004	Yes
	-	3.81	4.98	19.06	0.000	Yes
Uneducated/educated (e)	5.01	-	5.10	0.07	0.785	No
	5.01	3.66	-	18.83	0.000	Yes
	-	3.66	5.10	23.26	0.000	Yes
Unpleasant/pleasant accent (f)	4.71	-	4.36	1.23	0.282	No
	4.71	2.96	-	31.71	0.000	Yes
	-	2.96	4.36	15.52	0.000	Yes
TOTAL	4.75	-	4.61	0.61	0.455	No
	4.75	3.54	-	64.88	0.000	Yes
	-	3.54	4.61	28.44	0.000	Yes

In unexpected ways the results of this study find application in the three research hypotheses posed as a basis for a comparison of attitudes towards the English accent of Afrikaners living in America. The first hypothesis viz.: *The English accent of South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language will be less critically assessed in America than in South Africa*, was confirmed by the results of the study as illustrated in Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2.

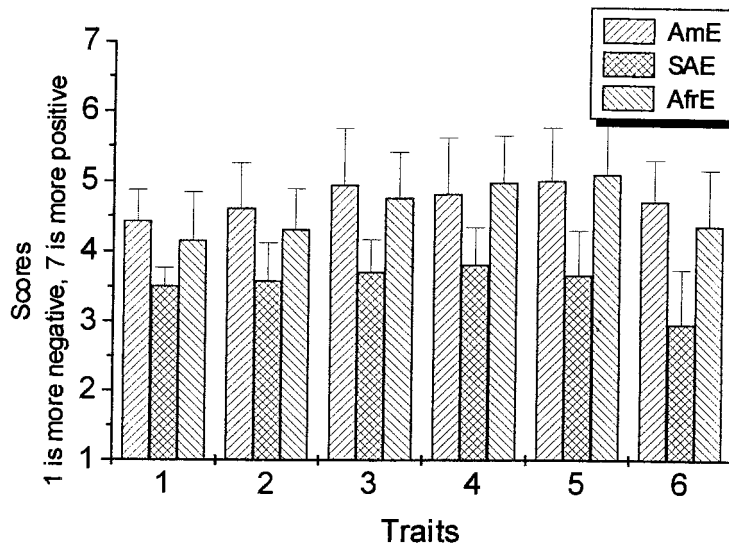


Figure 3.1: A comparison of scores given by the three listener/evaluator groups (\pm S.D.) for the six respective traits - on the Traits (X) axis, 1 is negative/positive impression; 2 is unsure/confident; 3 is unintelligent/intelligent; 4 is low/high social status; 5 is uneducated/educated; 6 is unpleasant/pleasant accent. SAE is significantly more critical than both the AmE and the AfrE groups at the 5% level of significance on all the traits.

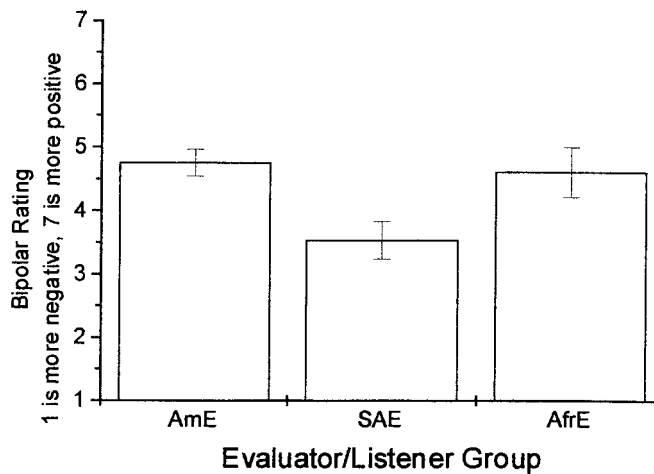


Figure 3.2: A comparison of overall mean scores given by the three listener/evaluator groups (\pm SD). SAE significantly different both from the AmE and the AfrE group ($p < 0.005$)

The second hypothesis, viz.: *South Africans with English as their native language will be more critical than Americans and less critical than Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in*

their attitudes towards the English accent of Afrikaners living in America, with an added negative bias incurred by convergence towards an American accent, was contradicted by the findings of this study. The English-speaking South Africans awarded the lowest mean scores on all counts with regard to the semantic differential scales (see Table 3.3) as illustrated in Figures 3.1 and 3.2. Furthermore, the scores on the rating scales of negative/positive impression and unpleasant/pleasant accent indicated that the three highest ratings in both cases were the strongest American accent (1M) and two intermediate South African accents (3M and 3F) as seen in Tables SAE (a) and SAE (f) (Appendix 10B). The overt rejection of an American accent by the English-speaking South Africans in answers to Questionnaire number 3 (Table 3.2) seems to be contradicted by the ratings mentioned above, which seem to indicate a covert endorsement of an American accent.

The third hypothesis, viz.: *South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language will be most critical of all three groups concerned, with an added negative bias incurred by convergence towards an American accent in the spoken English of fellow South Africans*, was also contradicted by the findings of this study, which suggested the English-speaking South Africans to be the most critical of the three listener/evaluator groups - see Table 3.2 and Figures 3.1 and 3.2. There seems to be no added negative bias incurred by an assimilated American accent, as the ratings for the 'strongest American accent' and the 'strongest South African accent' correspond at 4.3 in Table Afr(f) (Appendix 10C).

Indications of a covert endorsement of the American accent in the findings of this study seem to reflect a world-wide trend in this regard. In Europe and in many former British colonies in Africa there are many who follow the British English standard, and scorn American English. However, these attitudes seem to be "but the residues of a long-gone period of British supremacy" (Bobda, 1998: 14). According to Campbell (1996: 9) and others, the beginning of the marked lead of American English can be traced to the decades after World War II, which corresponded to the simultaneous rise of the US as a military and technological power and the decline of the British Empire, which diverted many to

American English. Ever since, American English has continued its spread all over the globe.

According to Foster (1968: 14), the use of Americanisms among the young generation in Britain is "the hall-mark of the tough-guy and the he-man". Modiano reports that, despite the influence of pro-British English teachers, Europeans "are subject to a massive amount of American English" which many pupils show greater interest in (1996: 208). Campbell's (1996: 9) examples of the influence of American English include the fact that young people in Europe, Asia and Russia use it in casual conversation, even when many of them have been taught British English; that in Brazil people often ask for courses in "American", rather than English; that American English is infiltrating the territories formerly known to be the preserve of British English, like Nigeria, Egypt, Thailand, and with even stronger effect in Latin America, Japan, and South Korea; that words like *guy*, *campus*, *movie*, once unknown in Britain, are now widely used; that even the BBC, which had been using British English speakers exclusively, now includes Americans in its broadcasts, especially in programmes that beam to countries like South Korea, where American English is favoured.

According to Campbell's estimate, 70% of the roughly 350 million native English speakers speak the American version of English. Apart from this numeric domination, the unprecedented expansion of American English could to a large extent be ascribed to the mass media, the American entertainment and computer industry, and lately, the internet. Campbell (1996) reports that, as recently as 1993, the United States controlled 75 percent of the world's television programming - CNN has no parallel anywhere in the world. As a consequence of the United States' domination of the computer industry, the favoured language of this industry is American English. Internet communications have knit all computer users across the globe into one community with American English as lingua franca. Many popular cult figures emerge from the American entertainment industry, leaving a distinctly American stamp on leisure activities around the world.

"The speaker, and especially the learner of English is now faced with the task of managing the co-existence of two competing varieties which is, after all, not always problem-free" (Bobda, 1998: 15).

3.5. Limitations and significance

As far as could be established, a comparative study of this nature has not been undertaken in South Africa to date.

Due to the limited nature of this study, the size of the samples had to be restricted. The findings can therefore not be regarded as conclusive evidence with general application. A more extensive follow-up study could prove to be of considerable importance in the field of language planning and education in South Africa.

The results of this study lend support to previous research findings in South Africa and overseas and provide interesting clues to language attitudes by using a comparative approach against an international background. This approach has the benefit of providing an objective perspective on the South African sociolinguistic situation, which seems to be following a world-wide trend in instituting English as the language of international communication. A study such as this could be expanded to include Black non-native speakers of English in South Africa to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the complete spectrum of prevailing linguistic constraints in that country. The influence of age and gender on ratings can also be included as an additional area of investigation. A more comprehensive investigation of the influence of American English on English in South Africa, could also prove to be an interesting study. Furthermore, specific speech characteristics could be identified and applied in a comparative study to come to a better understanding of the sort of variation that "establishes a speaker as a solid citizen, a good guy, or an insider" (Shuy, 1977: 93).

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The responsibility of tolerance lies with those who have the wider vision.

Anon.

No one can make you feel inferior without your consent.

Eleanor Roosevelt, *This is My Story* (1939)

4.1. Attitudes and usage: U.S.A. and elsewhere

Although there seems to be no general agreement on the exact figures, indications are that there are presently more non-native speakers of English in the world than native speakers (Granger, 1996: 13). McArthur (1992: 355) speaks of a "2-to-1 ratio of non-native speakers". According to Kachru (1985: 207), English had already acquired a dominant status as a world language by 1985, with the 300 million native speakers of English outnumbered by its 400 million non-native speakers.

As Kachru furthermore points out: "English has acquired a variety of intranational and international functions across cultures and languages, and has gained the unprecedented status of a universal language. What was until recently a 'colonial alien language' is now being used and spread by the former colonial subjects. By their geographical distribution, numerical strength, and varied uses of English, the second-language users have made English, as it were, a window on the world" (1985: 212).

Variety seems to be the most prominent characteristic of the prolific spread of English across the world and as Kachru (1985: 208) described the situation: "There is a cline in proficiency, rather than homogeneity". Sylviane Granger (1996: 13) mentions the idea of nativized varieties of English that have achieved the status of official languages. Nativization has however, essentially been seen as "deficiency", not "difference" (Kachru, 1985: 213). The distinctiveness of, for example, English in America, Australia or Canada has actually been claimed on the basis of such localized innovations. The reaction of the users of British English towards such variations and innovations was not always one of acceptance. "Such innovations were considered signals of language decay, language corruption, or language death..." (Kachru, 1985: 217-219).

According to Josef Schmied (1996:184) the tendency to look toward the British model as the perceived norm for everything pertaining to the idea of 'standard', in language as well as in other matters, persists. Thus the English Academy of South Africa made the proposal that British Standard English should be the official language for the New South Africa. International conformity to Standard English seems to be a higher priority than national or regional authenticity (e.g. Africanization). Kachru (1985: 223) points out that once national identity is associated with a second language, the question of preserving an external norm becomes difficult, to which he adds the following perspective: "In the purist's view perhaps English is internationally in disarray, going through a process of decay. In reality, however, English is acquiring various international identities and thus acquiring multiple ownership". Schmied offers the following conclusion in this regard: "Although the fear of losing international intelligibility is real, subjective impressionistic views often seem over-sensitive towards 'deviations', underestimating the common core of English" (1996: 184).

In earlier periods, both in Britain and the U.S.A., organized efforts for codification have invariably failed (Kachru, 1985: 213). Ryan (1979: 147) makes the following comment on the stubborn persistence of language varieties within many societies: "...Despite the lure of

social mobility and years of educational (and frequently political) efforts, there is no apparent move towards universal adoption of RP English in Britain, of standard English in the United States, of Castilian in Spain, or of European French in French Canada". According to Kachru, investigating English in world context has highlighted one important trend: "...the attitudinal conflict between indigenous and external norms is slowly being resolved in favor of localized educated norms. This move is motivated more by pragmatic considerations than by a desire for linguistic emancipation. This trend is very clear and there is a lesson in it" (1985: 217).

The confirmed lack of confidence in Afrikaans in the radically changed sociopolitical circumstances of the New South Africa (Lanham, 1985; Cooper, 1989; Smit, 1994 etc.) seems to present an interesting parallel to Wallace Lambert's research findings on language attitudes amongst French Canadians and English Canadians in the province of Quebec in the late 1950's. The French Canadians were downgraded by English Canadians, as well as by members of their own ethnolinguistic group, with fellow French Canadians being more extreme in the degree of negative sentiment directed towards a French Canadian language guise relative to an English Canadian language guise. This tendency was confirmed in research done by Labov (1966) on the use of English in New York City where it was found that the speakers with the highest frequency of stigmatized pronunciations in their own speech showed the greatest tendency to downgrade others for their use of the exact same features (Ryan, 1979: 146). Lambert's research findings seemed to reflect a general feeling among French Canadians of personal inferiority and own group denigration (Lambert, 1977: 188).

Lambert concludes that negative feelings of this kind and intensity often promote shifts in values, behavioural styles, and in the case where a different language is involved, socially important shifts away from the use of one's own language or dialect to that of the more prestigious group's language or speech style. An awareness of such a language shift can give rise to sociological and psychological reactions of confused personal identity and outward reactions of inferiority and inadequacy. As these sentiments spread through a

social system, members of the system may be prone to give in to and accept the projected 'inferior' image, while simultaneously assuming a position of counter-reaction in a sense of rejecting the accepted image of one's group, starting often with an exploration of the opposite view - that one's own group is as good if not better than the high prestige group. As the counter-reaction gains social force, the relative attractiveness and status of the two or more ethnolinguistic groups in the society can change. Mechanisms of this sort are believed to underlie the so-called 'French Canadian revolution' where forceful demands were made for the respect and identity of a socially denigrated ethnic or linguistic group (1979: 188). Some time after this event (1985) Edwards stressed the fact that it is important to remember that the social context in which evaluations occur is not a static entity; as it changes, one should expect to see alterations in attitudes too. He referred to the event mentioned above in the following words: "Recent movements like the new ethnicity, French-Canadian nationalism and 'Black Pride' can, for example, be expected to reveal revitalized group perceptions through linguistic evaluation" (149).

In order to come to specific conclusions on a comparison of attitudes towards accent involving American sentiments, it will be necessary to briefly look at prevailing attitudes towards bilingualism in the United States today. The continuous influx of large numbers of immigrants coupled with an increased ethnic awareness is seen as a threat to the strength and cohesiveness of the United States. The bilingual policies of the United States government were never intended to promote permanent bilingualism, but have always been merely transitional measures to facilitate a shift towards English (Garcia, 1985: 154).

Fishman (1972) formulates this notion in the following way: "There is a 'message' which immigrants, other ethnics, and their children quickly get - that ethnicity is foreignness, that both have no value, that they are things to forget, to give up. The frequent and enduring contrast between war, disharmony, and poverty abroad, and relative peace, acceptance, and prosperity here clearly shouts this message" (23). This image of American English holding promises of prosperity, coupled with a much more relaxed tradition of strictness in the teaching of English (when compared with that of British English), as well as the

American tradition of an open society and its emphasis on individualism, contribute to the willingness of non-native speakers of English to converge towards the American English model. In a very small measure, this trend seems to be confirmed by the limited feedback of the South African readers with Afrikaans as their native language, specifically through remarks bearing on the greater acceptance experienced in the U.S.A. with regard to non-standard accent.

4.2. Attitudes and usage: South Africa

When the sociolinguistic situation in South Africa and specifically the attitudes towards Afrikaans is viewed against the international background mentioned above, it becomes clear that current attitudes cannot solely be ascribed to a reaction against the legacy of apartheid. There seems to be indications that this reaction follows a world wide trend of enthusiastically accepting English as the language of international communication. In the case of India, for example, Halliday et al. (1964) warned that those who favour English as a model "should realize that in doing so they may be helping to prop up the fiction that English is the language of Indian culture and thus be perpetuating the diminished status of the Indian languages" (Kachru, 1984: 191). What was "fiction" in 1964 turned out to become a reality in India in the 1980's. This also seems to be the case in South Africa in the 1990's with regard to the status of Afrikaans and the indigenous Black languages.

A similar denigration process (as described by Lambert), occurred in Quebec with regard to the French-accented English of French Canadians. The same sociolinguistic reaction seems in recent years to have taken effect in South Africa in the Afrikaans-speaking community. The confirmed tendency towards a lack of confidence in Afrikaans is coupled with negative attitudes towards the phonological patterns that are characteristic of the English pronunciation of South Africans with Afrikaans as their native language. Lanham

reports that almost all language shift in South Africa has been from Afrikaans to English as language of identity (1985: 249).

Lanham furthermore points out that this switch to English might demonstrate a motivated rejection of Afrikaans, with indications starting to appear of a movement that is developing to counter this switch in language loyalty. Coloured leaders are proclaiming that "It (Afrikaans) is, after all, our language" (1985: 248). This clearly resembles the counter-reaction in linguistic attitudes during the initial stages of the 'French-Canadian Revolution' with the first signs of an 'exploration of the opposite view' noticeable in new applications of a revitalized Afrikaans in informal settings across racial divisions and sociolinguistic barriers.

Nevertheless, the prolific spread of English as a world language continues. As Cooper (1985) mentions in the case of Israel for example, where an earlier attitude of "hostility" towards English has slowly changed to one of "enthusiastic acceptance", which at present is characterized by "hunger" and "indecent passion" for acquiring English. According to Kachru it could be said that contemporary English does not have just one defining context, but many - across cultures and languages. In each context the English language is manipulated differently, as a medium of power, control, authority and cohesion (191). In addition to this it is important to keep in mind that English continues to provide unprecedented power for mobility and advancement to those native and non-native users who possess it as a linguistic tool. The implication is that all people should be afforded equal access to English to claim and establish ownership through proficiency, and in this process overcome the prevailing linguistic constraints in existing localized varieties across the world - not so much with an integrative as with an instrumental motivation, because of what Quirk et. al. (1972: 2) have termed the "vehicular load" of a language, which English carries as the "primary medium for twentieth century science and technology".

Communicative competence in English has become increasingly important to all South Africans in a New South Africa which is repositioning to find its place among the nations

of the world after decades of political isolation. Although a certain level of standardization will always remain relevant, greater tolerance of accent will be essential in making English accessible to the entire South African population. That this change in attitude seems to be under way, has been confirmed by Nortjé and Wissing (1996: 155). They point out that the "less critical acceptance of non-standard language" is taken to be an indication that "in future, a tendency towards greater tolerance of accent will result in many more spoken varieties of English". Jernudd (1981) believes that there is a need for "a circumscription of domestic use of English" in an international context, and that such an approach will "liberate English for use as a truly international language, a role that today is tarnished by the misuse of English to prevent the economic, socio-political, and cultural advancement of those who do not possess it" (50).

Prof. N. Manganyi makes the following appeal in his opening address presented at the July 1993 conference of the English Academy of Southern Africa in Cape Town: "But it may be timely to recall that the language you rightly cherish and promote was used for long years in this country to defend oppression and injustice - used indeed to deny a voice to the majority of our people - and used so eloquently, so subtly, in government propaganda, that overseas listeners to the SABC, as they were meant to, often thought it came from the BBC itself. I want English now to empower and give a voice to those same people it once abused" (Young, 1993: 4). Even though this remark had specific bearing on Black South Africans, large numbers of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans could make the same appeal to the English Academy of Southern Africa.

The very negative reactions of the English-speaking South Africans in both the open questions and the rating scales, still today in 1998 confirm the following remark made by Lanham in 1985 in a paper titled: *The perception and evaluation of varieties of English*: "I have provided strong empirical and circumstantial evidence of the fact that 'near-British-English' represents the standard (in the sense of correctness and high social status) for the influential sectors of the English-speaking SA; conversely, obviously local speech is non-

standard and strongly stigmatized" (1985: 250). The final paragraph in this paper presents the following conclusion:

"English as first or second language has pre-eminence in SA society in its communicative power and importance; social approbation far outweighs disapprobation. Negative attitudes to English are located mainly in the Afrikaans-speaking population among those who retain the animosities fostered in the period of advancing Afrikaner nationalism. For them the *taalstryd* (language battle) still rages" (251).

What has remained unsaid is that these "animosities" are being fuelled by intolerance and a denigration of the "non-standard" accent of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, as highlighted by the findings of this study. There seems to be indications that the *taalstryd* is still raging in more than one quarter, the apparent unwillingness of English-speaking South Africans to relinquish their insistence on exclusive standards of spoken English being a clear sign of this.

Finally, in reference to Wright's appeal for subordinating the strict claim of standard pronunciation to the demands of effective communication in South Africa, I would like to conclude with a casual remark of an American in a dentist's waiting room in Blacksburg, Virginia, while discussing accent: "There are moments for proper, and there are moments for practical". Apparently South Africa's moments for practical considerations have dawned.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Paragraph used for recording of speech samples.

If your doctor ever tells you to lighten up, don't be offended. Such a prescription may sound ridiculous but research shows that laughter and a positive attitude can be healing. They not only help bolster your immune system, but they also lead patients to take better care of themselves. Anger and stress can do the reverse. Thirty minutes after twenty medical students laughed through a video of a well-known comedian, their disease-fighting white blood cells increased by 25%, according to a university study.

Appendix 2

Instructions for readers

Geagte deelnemer,

Baie dankie vir u bereidwilligheid om deel te wees van hierdie studie. U deelname is van deurslaggewende belang in baie spesifieke omstandighede waarin gepaste kandidate nie maklik is om op te spoor nie. Ek gee aan u die uitdruklike versekering dat hierdie inligting onder alle omstandighede anoniem gebruik sal word. U aandeel behels eerstens die maak van 'n opname en daarna die voltooiing van 'n kort vraelys.

Die maak van die opname behels die volgende: 'n diktafoon voorsien van 'n bandjie, sowel as 'n kort paragraaf in Engels word aan u verskaf. Lees die paragraaf eers deur om 'n idee te kry van waaroor dit gaan. Maak daarna 'n opname op die diktafoon van 'n duidelike, gemaklike voorlees van die betrokke paragraaf. Hierdie studie het glad nie te doen met 'n regte of verkeerde manier van praat nie, maar juis met spontane kommunikasie. Moenie te veel daarop konsentreer in die maak van die opname om 'n spesifieke effek te verkry nie – dit behoort juis 'n voorbeeld te wees van 'n gemaklike manier van praat in soos wat dit in daaglikse sosiale omgang gebruik word. Indien u 'n keer of wat sou wou oefen om vertrouwd te raak met die diktafoon, staan dit u vry om dit te doen.

Nadat u die opname gemaak het, moet die vraelys wat in die meegaande koevert verseël is, voltooi word. Weer eens is daar nie 'n regte of verkeerde antwoord op enige van die vrae nie. Dit is u eerlike en spontane mening waarin daar belang gestel word in hierdie studie.

Nogmaals baie dankie vir u tyd en moeite.

Groete,

Fietjie van der Schyf.

Appendix 3

Information sheet

Persoonlik Inligting

Alhoewel hierdie opname anoniem aangewend word, word die volgende inligting benodig om die data sinvol te kan verwerk:

Geslag: _____

Ouderdom: _____

Opleiding: _____

Tydperk reeds in die V.S.A.: _____

Beroepsbetrokkenheid in die V.S.A: _____

Appendix 4

Questionnaire to be completed by the readers.

1. How self-conscious are you about your own English accent?

2. Do you deliberately try to speak with an American accent now that you are living in America?

3. Have you continued to use Afrikaans as your home language since you moved to America?

4. Do you consciously try to keep your Afrikaans usage free from American English expressions and words?

5. Do you feel more comfortable speaking English in America or in South Africa?

6. How do you feel about fellow South Africans living in America who speak with an American English accent?

Appendix 5A

Questionnaire number 1 to be completed by listeners/evaluators with English as native language

READER:
LISTENER/EVALUATOR:

What is your reaction to this person based on the speech sample provided?

Directions: Indicate your reaction towards the person whose voice you hear on the tape. Place a mark (X) at the point between each pair of opposing impressions that best represents your opinion about the person. Please mark only one position in the shaded area between each pair of descriptions.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Negative impression								Positive impression

Appendix 5B

Questionnaire number 1 to be completed by listeners/evaluators with Afrikaans as native language

LESER:
LUISTERAAR/EVALUEERDER:

Wat is u reaksie op hierdie persoon gebaseer op die spraakopname waarna u so pas geluister het?

Annwysings: Dui u reaksie aan op die persoon wie se stem u op die spraakopname gehoor het, deur die punt tussen die paar teenstellende indrukke te merk wat u opinie van die persoon die beste weergee. Merk asseblief net een posisie in die geskakeerde area.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Negatiewe indruk								Positiewe indruk

Appendix 6A

Questionnaire number 2 to be completed by listeners/evaluators with English as native language.

READER:
LISTENER/EVALUATOR:

Directions: Indicate your reaction towards the person whose voice you hear on the tape. Place a mark (X) at the point between each pair of opposing adjectives that best represents your opinion about the person. Please mark only one position in the shaded area between each pair of adjectives.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
unsure								confident
unintelligent								intelligent
low social status								high social status
uneducated								educated
unpleasant accent								pleasant accent

APPENDIX 6B

Questionnaire number 2 to be completed by listeners/evaluators with Afrikaans as native language

LESER:
LUISTERAAR/EVALUATOR:

Aanwysings: Dui u reaksie aan op die persoon wie se stem u op die spraakopname gehoor het, deur die punt tussen die pare teenstellende indrukke te merk wat u opinie van die persoon die beste weergee. Merk asseblief net een posisie in die geskakeerde area...

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Onseker								Selfversekerd
Minder intelligent								Meer intelligent
Lae sosiale status								Hoë sosiale status
Lae opvoedingspeil								Hoë opvoedingspeil
Onaangename aksent								Aangename aksent

Appendix 7A

Questionnaire number 3 to be completed by the South African listeners/evaluators.

1. How do you feel about people who appear to be self-conscious about their English accent?

2. Do you think South Africans living in America should deliberately try to speak with an American accent?

3. Should South Africans with Afrikaans as mother tongue continue to use Afrikaans as their home language when they live in America?

4. If South Africans with Afrikaans as mother tongue continue to use Afrikaans as their home language, should they try to keep their Afrikaans usage free from American expressions and words?

5. Do you think South Africans with an Afrikaans language background will be more comfortable speaking English in South Africa or in America?

6. How do you feel about South Africans living in America who speak with an American English accent?

APPENDIX 7B

Questionnaire number 3 to be completed by American listeners/evaluators

LISTENER

1. How do you feel about people who appear to be self-conscious about their English accent?

2. Do you think people from other countries should deliberately try to speak with an American accent while living in America?

3. Should people whose native languages are not English, continue to use their own languages at home or should they switch to English to help with their adjustment in America?

4. If people from other countries continue to use their native languages in their homes, should they try to keep their native language usage free from American expressions and words?

APPENDIX 8A

Cover letter

Dear Volunteer,

I am in the final stages of a Masters study in the field of Applied Linguistics. In order to continue the required research, I need American volunteers to listen and respond to ten previously recorded speech samples. All involvement will be kept strictly anonymous and the only way there will be referred to your responses will be by means of code numbers. Participants do not need any specific training other than some exposure to graduate study in general. This study does not focus on definitive right or wrong answers, but rather on spontaneous reactions and honest personal opinions. In order to avoid the participants from being influenced by external sources, very little information can be given about the nature of the study in these initial stages of the survey. The study will be conducted in two different parts of the world, where English is either used as a second or a first language.

Your involvement will be to complete two short questionnaires after having listened to each of ten short speech samples and one general questionnaire giving an overall impression. All relevant materials will be provided. The survey has been designed not to take up more than thirty minutes of your time.

Thank you very much for taking time to consider this request. Your participation will be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

S.L. van der Schyf.

Appendix 8B

Dekbrief

Geagte Vrywilliger,

Ek is in die laaste fase van 'n meestersgraadstudie in Toegepaste Linguistiek. Om my in staat te stel om die navorsing vir hierdie studie te voltooi, het ek Afrikaans-sprekende Suid-Afrikaners nodig om na tien kort spraakopnames te luister en dit t.o.v. voorgeskrewe kriteria te evalueer. U betrokkenheid sal anoniem hanteer word en daar sal slegs deur middel van kodenommers na die evaluerings verwys word. Deelnemers het geen spesifieke agtergrond nodig nie. Die enigste vereiste wat gestel word is blootstelling aan nagraadse studie in die algemeen. Hierdie studie gaan nie om bepalende antwoorde wat net reg of verkeerd kan wees nie, maar eerder om spontane reaksies en eerlike, persoonlike opinies. Om te vermy dat deelnemers beïnvloed word deur eksterne invloede, kan geen verdere inligting oor die aard van die studie op hierdie stadium verskaf word nie. Hierdie navorsing sal in twee verskillende dele van die wêreld, waar Engels as eerste taal ter sprake is, uitgevoer word.

U betrokkenheid sal behels dat u twee kort vraelyste voltooi nadat u na elkeen van tien kort spraakopnames geluister het, asook een daaropvolgende algemene vraelys wat daarop gemik is om 'n geheelindruk te gee. Alle relevante materiaal sal verskaf word. Die opname is ontwerp om nie meer as dertig minute van u tyd in beslag te neem nie.

Baie dankie vir u tyd en u bereidwilligheid om by hierdie navorsingsprojek betrokke te wees.

Die uwe,

S.L. van der Schyf.

Appendix 9A

Instructions for listeners/evaluators with English as native language

INSTRUCTIONS

1. You will be provided with ten sets of questionnaires to be completed after having listened to each of ten short (thirty seconds) recordings of speech samples. Each set will consist of **Questionnaire number 1** and **Questionnaire number 2**.
2. The questionnaire should be completed in the order that they are presented. First listen to the recording and then proceed to complete **Questionnaire number 1** and **Questionnaire number 2** for that specific recording. Do not spend too much time thinking about the right answer - the first instinctive reaction will be appropriate.
3. Repeat step two for the remainder of the recordings.
4. Only after all of the evaluations of the ten speech samples have been completed, should **Questionnaire number 3** be completed.
5. Even though your responses will be applied anonymously, some information is needed to correlate the information within the bigger sociolinguistic framework of the study. Please provide the following information about yourself.

LISTENER/EVALUATOR:
Male or female:
Age:
Area of training

Thank you very much for your time and your help

Appendix 9B

Instructions for listeners/evaluators with Afrikaans as native language

1. Tien stelle van twee kort evalueringsvorme, **Vraelys nommer 1** en **Vraelys nommer 2**, sal aan u verskaf word om te voltooi nadat u na elkeen van tien spraakopnames geluister het - 'n stel van twee vorms vir elke opname. Dit sal opgevolg word deur een algemene meningsopname wat ingevul moet word nadat die eerste deel van die evaluering afgehandel is.
2. Die evalueringsvorme moet voltooi word in die volgorde waarin dit aangebied word. Luister eers na die spraakopname en voltooi daarna **Vraelys nommer 1** en **Vraelys nommer 2** opeenvolgend. Moenie tyd spandeer om na te dink oor u antwoorde nie - u eerste instinktiewe reaksie is hier toepaslik.
3. Herhaal stap 2 vir al tien spraakopnames.
4. Eers nadat al die evaluerings van die tien spraakopnames afgehandel is, moet **Vraestel nommer 3** voltooi word.
5. Alhoewel u antwoorde vertroulik hanteer sal word, word sekere inligting benodig om die opname binne die groter sosiolinguistiese raamwerk van die studie te vergelyk:

LUISTERAAR:
Manlik of Vroulik:
Ouderdom:
Area van Opleiding:

BAIE DANKIE VIR U TYD EN U HULP.

Appendix 10A

Completed score card for the semantic differential scales. Responses of Americans to Questionnaire number 1

Table Am(a)

LISTENERS AmE: A-J												
NEGATIVE IMPRESSION - POSITIVE IMPRESSION												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	4	6	3	4.6	
B	4	2	2	3	5	5	6	4	6	4	4.1	
C	6	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	5	3	4.7	
D	5	5	5	4	3	6	3	4	5	4	4.4	
E	5	4	4	5	5	5	4	4	4	3	4.3	
F	5	5	4	5	5	4	3	6	4	3	4.4	
G	5	6	3	5	4	4	5	3	4	3	4.2	
H	3	5	3	4	6	5	3	5	5	3	4.2	
I	3	2	3	3	5	5	5	3	6	4	3.9	
J	5	6	5	5	5	7	6	5	6	5	5.5	
	4.6	4.5	3.7	4.4	4.8	5.0	4.5	4.2	5.1	3.5		
											4.43	SD:± 0.442

Responses to questionnaire number 2

Table Am(b)

LISTENERS AmE: A-J												
UNSURE - CONFIDENT												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	5	5	3	5	5	4	5	4	6	3	4.5	
B	4	3	2	2	5	5	6	3	6	6	4.2	
C	5	5	4	4	7	3	7	4	7	3	4.9	
D	5	7	6	4	5	6	4	4	7	4	5.2	
E	5	3	3	5	5	6	4	3	3	3	4.0	
F	5	4	5	5	5	3	3	6	6	3	4.5	
G	4	6	3	4	3	3	6	2	4	3	3.8	
H	4	6	4	5	6	5	5	5	6	4	5.0	
I	4	2	4	3	5	5	5	3	6	4	4.1	
J	5	6	5	5	7	7	7	5	7	5	5.9	
	4.6	4.7	3.9	4.2	5.3	4.7	5.2	3.9	5.8	3.8		
											4.61	SD:± 0.644

Table Am(c)

LISTENERS AmE: A-J

UNINTELLIGENT - INTELLIGENT											
Readers											
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X
A	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	4	6	4	4.7
B	5	3	3	2	5	5	6	6	6	4	4.5
C	5	6	6	5	7	4	6	4	7	4	5.4
D	6	7	6	5	6	7	7	5	7	6	6.2
E	5	4	3	5	5	6	4	3	4	3	4.2
F	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	6	6	3	4.3
G	5	6	4	5	4	4	5	3	4	3	4.3
H	4	6	5	5	6	5	6	6	6	4	5.3
I	4	2	4	4	5	5	5	3	6	4	4.2
J	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	6	7	6	6.3
	5.0	5.0	4.6	4.7	5.4	5.0	5.4	4.6	5.9	4.1	4.94

Table Am(d)

LISTENERS AmE: A-J

LOW SOCIAL STATUS - HIGH SOCIAL STATUS											
Readers											
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X
A	5	6	4	5	5	5	5	5	6	4	5.0
B	5	3	2	3	5	5	5	6	6	3	4.0
C	5	5	6	4	6	4	6	4	6	4	5.0
D	5	6	6	6	6	7	7	6	7	7	6.3
E	5	4	3	5	4	5	4	3	4	4	4.1
F	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	6	6	3	4.6
G	4	5	4	4	3	4	6	3	4	3	4.0
H	4	5	5	4	6	5	5	5	5	3	4.7
I	5	3	4	4	4	5	5	4	6	4	4.4
J	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6.0
	4.9	4.8	4.5	4.6	5.0	4.9	5.2	4.8	5.6	4.1	4.81

Table Am(e)

LISTENERS AmE: A-J												
UNEDUCATED - EDUCATED												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	6	6	5	6	6	5	6	5	6	4	5.5	
B	5	2	3	3	5	5	6	6	6	3	4.4	
C	6	7	6	6	7	4	7	5	7	4	4.9	
D	6	7	7	5	6	7	7	6	7	6	6.4	
E	6	5	4	5	4	6	4	4	4	4	4.6	
F	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	6	6	3	4.6	
G	5	5	4	5	3	4	6	3	4	3	4.2	
H	3	6	5	5	6	5	6	5	5	4	5.0	
I	5	3	4	4	5	5	5	3	6	4	4.4	
J	6	6	5	6	6	7	7	6	7	5	6.1	
	5.3	5.2	4.8	5.0	5.3	5.1	5.7	4.9	5.8	4.0		
											5.01	SD:± 0.753

Table Am(f)

LISTENERS AmE: A-J												
UNPLEASANT ACCENT - PLEASANT ACCENT												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	6	6	4	6	5	5	6	5	6	4	5.3	
B	5	3	2	2	5	5	5	4	6	4	4.1	
C	7	7	4	5	6	4	4	5	5	4	5.1	
D	6	6	5	4	3	6	6	5	4	6	5.1	
E	5	4	4	5	4	5	4	4	4	3	4.2	
F	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	6	5	3	4.5	
G	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4.1	
H	3	4	3	5	6	5	3	4	6	3	4.2	
I	4	3	5	5	5	5	5	4	6	5	4.7	
J	5	6	5	5	5	7	6	6	7	6	5.8	
	5.0	4.9	4.1	4.6	4.8	4.9	4.6	4.7	5.3	4.2		
											4.71	SD:± 0.592

Appendix 10B

Responses of English-speaking South Africans to Questionnaire number 1

Table SAE(a)

LISTENERS SAE: A-J												
NEGATIVE IMPRESSION - POSITIVE IMPRESSION												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	3	3	4	3	5	5	3	4	3	3	3.6	
B	4	3	4	3	4	3	4	3	3	1	3.2	
C	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3.8	
D	4	3	4	4	6	6	3	4	3	3	4.0	
E	3	3	4	3	4	4	4	4	3	2	3.4	
F	4	4	5	3	5	3	4	3	3	1	3.5	
G	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	2	1	3.3	
H	5	3	3	2	3	3	4	2	4	4	3.3	
I	5	3	4	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	3.3	
J	3	3	5	3	5	5	3	4	3	3	3.7	
	3.9	3.2	4.1	3.2	4.4	3.9	3.6	3.4	3.1	2.3		
											3.51	SD:± 0.260

Responses to questionnaire number 2

Table SAE(b)

LISTENERS SAE: A-J												
UNSURE - CONFIDENT												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	5	4	4	3	5	3	5	2	3	3	3.7	
B	3	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	1	2.6	
C	5	5	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	3	4.5	
D	4	2	4	5	6	5	3	4	3	3	3.9	
E	4	2	5	3	6	4	4	3	4	1	3.6	
F	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	2	1	3.3	
G	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	1	3.3	
H	4	4	3	3	2	3	4	3	3	4	3.3	
I	5	4	3	2	4	3	3	2	4	2	4.2	
J	5	4	4	2	5	3	5	2	2	2	3.4	
	4.6	4.7	3.9	4.2	5.3	4.7	5.2	3.9	5.8	3.8		
											3.58	SD:± 0.535

Table SAE(c)

LISTENERS SAE: A-J											
UNINTELLIGENT - INTELLIGENT											
Readers											
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X
A	3	4	5	3	5	5	2	2	4	1	3.4
B	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	1	3.3
C	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	3	4.1
D	4	3	5	5	6	6	3	4	3	4	4.3
E	6	6	4	5	6	4	3	5	3	2	4.4
F	5	4	4	4	5	4	4	3	3	1	3.7
G	4	5	4	5	5	4	4	4	3	1	3.9
H	5	2	3	2	3	2	4	2	4	3	3.0
I	5	4	3	3	4	3	3	2	4	3	3.4
J	3	4	5	3	5	5	2	2	4	2	3.5
	4.3	4.0	4.1	3.8	4.6	4.2	3.3	3.1	3.5	2.1	
											3.7
											SD:± 0.462

Table SAE(d)

LISTENERS SAE: A-J											
LOW SOCIAL STATUS - HIGH SOCIAL STATUS											
Readers											
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X
A	4	4	5	3	5	3	4	4	4	2	3.8
B	3	3	4	4	4	3	5	4	2	2	3.4
C	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4.1
D	5	3	5	5	6	6	4	4	3	4	4.5
E	5	5	4	4	6	5	4	5	4	3	4.5
F	5	5	4	4	5	4	4	4	3	2	4.0
G	4	4	5	4	5	3	4	5	3	1	3.8
H	4	2	4	2	1	2	4	2	4	3	2.8
I	5	4	3	3	4	3	3	2	3	3	3.3
J	4	4	4	3	5	3	5	5	4	2	3.9
	4.3	3.8	4.2	3.7	4.5	3.6	4.1	3.9	3.4	2.6	
											3.81
											SD:± 0.530

Table SAE(e)

LISTENERS SAE: A-J											
UNEDUCATED - EDUCATED											
Readers											
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X
A	3	4	4	2	5	4	4	4	3	1	3.4
B	3	4	5	3	4	3	4	3	3	1	3.3
C	4	4	4	5	4	5	4	4	5	4	4.3
D	5	4	5	5	6	6	4	4	3	4	4.6
E	5	6	4	4	6	4	3	4	4	2	4.2
F	4	5	4	5	4	4	3	4	3	1	3.7
G	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	3	1	3.7
H	4	2	3	1	2	2	3	2	3	2	2.4
I	5	5	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3.2
J	3	4	4	2	5	5	5	4	3	3	3.8
	4.0	4.2	3.9	3.5	4.3	4.0	3.7	3.5	3.3	2.2	
											3.66
											SD:± 0.633

Table SAE(f)

LISTENERS SAE: A-J											
UNPLEASANT ACCENT - PLEASANT ACCENT											
Readers											
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X
A	3	4	4	3	4	3	4	1	3	2	3.1
B	4	3	4	2	3	3	3	3	2	1	2.8
C	5	5	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	3	4.2
D	5	3	2	3	6	5	3	3	3	2	3.5
E	1	1	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	4	2.4
F	4	2	4	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	3.1
G	4	4	3	3	4	3	4	3	4	2	3.4
H	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.2
I	4	3	2	2	3	4	2	2	3	3	2.8
J	2	5	4	3	4	4	3	1	3	2	3.1
	3.4	3.1	3.1	2.5	3.7	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.9	2.2	
											2.96
											SD:± 0.785

Appendix 10C
Responses of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to
Questionnaire number 1

Table Afr(a)

LISTENERS AfrE: A-J												
NEGATIVE IMPRESSION - POSITIVE IMPRESSION												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	3	3	3	4	6	5	6	3	4	3	4.0	
B	4	3	2	3	4	5	5	5	4	2	3.7	
C	2	2	3	2	4	5	6	5	4	2	3.5	
D	5	4	3	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	3.5	
E	6	4	5	5	4	4	6	4	4	5	4.7	
F	5	5	5	5	5	4	6	4	5	4	4.8	
G	6	5	3	4	6	6	5	3	5	2	4.5	
H	3	5	4	3	5	2	4	2	3	3	3.4	
I	3	2	3	3	5	5	5	3	6	4	3.9	
J	6	5	6	5	7	5	6	5	6	4	5.5	
	4.3	3.8	3.7	3.7	5.0	4.4	5.2	3.8	4.4	3.2	4.15	
											4.15	SD:± 0.696

Responses to questionnaire number 2

Table Afr(b)

LISTENERS AfrE: A-J												
UNSURE - CONFIDENT												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	6	4	5	6	7	6	6	3	5	3	5.1	
B	4	4	2	3	3	4	5	5	5	2	3.7	
C	2	3	2	4	4	4	5	5	4	2	3.5	
D	6	6	4	3	4	3	3	3	4	3	3.9	
E	5	4	4	6	5	3	6	4	5	5	4.7	
F	6	5	5	6	5	4	6	4	6	4	5.1	
G	6	3	3	5	6	4	4	3	5	2	4.1	
H	4	4	3	5	5	3	4	4	5	5	4.2	
I	5	4	6	4	7	3	5	3	7	4	4.8	
J	5	4	6	3	3	5	4	3	4	3	4.0	
	4.9	4.1	4.0	4.5	4.9	3.9	4.8	3.7	5.0	3.3	4.31	
											4.31	SD:± 0.576

Table Afr(c)

LISTENERS AfrE: A-J												
UNINTELLIGENT - INTELLIGENT												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	6	5	5	6	6	6	7	4	5	4	5.4	
B	5	5	4	3	4	4	5	4	4	3	4.1	
C	5	4	5	5	5	5	6	5	5	4	4.9	
D	6	6	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3.9	
E	6	5	5	6	6	4	6	5	4	6	5.3	
F	5	5	6	6	6	5	6	5	6	4	5.4	
G	6	5	5	5	6	4	6	3	5	2	4.7	
H	4	5	4	5	5	3	4	3	4	5	4.2	
I	6	5	6	5	7	4	6	5	7	5	5.6	
J	5	4	5	3	3	6	3	4	5	3	4.1	
	5.4	4.9	4.9	4.8	5.2	4.4	5.2	4.1	4.8	3.9		
											4.76	SD:± 0.647

Table Afr(d)

LISTENERS AfrE: A-J												
LOW SOCIAL STATUS - HIGH SOCIAL STATUS												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	6	6	6	5	6	6	7	5	5	4	5.6	
B	5	5	3	4	4	5	6	5	5	4	4.6	
C	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	5	5	5	5.1	
D	6	6	4	3	4	4	3	3	4	3	4.0	
E	6	5	5	6	6	4	6	5	5	6	5.4	
F	6	5	6	6	6	5	6	5	6	5	5.6	
G	7	4	5	4	7	3	6	4	5	3	4.8	
H	4	5	4	6	6	4	3	4	4	4	4.4	
I	6	5	7	6	7	5	6	6	6	6	6.0	
J	5	4	5	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	4.3	
	5.6	5.0	5.0	4.9	5.5	4.6	5.3	4.6	4.9	4.4		
											4.98	SD:± 0.661

Table Afr(e)

LISTENERS AfrE: A-J												
UNEDUCATED - EDUCATED												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	6	6	6	5	6	5	7	5	5	5	5.6	
B	5	4	4	4	4	4	6	5	5	4	4.5	
C	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	5	5	5	5.1	
D	6	6	5	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	4.2	
E	6	6	5	6	6	4	6	5	5	6	5.5	
F	6	5	6	6	6	5	6	5	6	5	5.6	
G	7	5	6	5	7	5	6	5	6	4	5.6	
H	3	5	4	5	6	4	4	4	5	4	4.4	
I	6	6	7	6	7	4	7	6	7	6	6.2	
J	5	4	5	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	4.3	
	5.5	5.2	5.3	5.0	5.5	4.5	5.5	4.8	5.1	4.6		
											5.10	SD:± 0.701

Table Afr(f)

LISTENERS AfrE: A-J												
UNPLEASANT ACCENT - PLEASANT ACCENT												
Readers												
	1M	1F	2M	2F	3M	3F	4M	4F	5M	5F	X	
A	3	2	3	3	6	5	5	4	4	4	3.9	
B	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	4	5	5	3.7	
C	2	1	3	2	5	4	6	5	4	3	3.5	
D	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	3.5	
E	6	5	5	5	5	4	6	5	4	5	5.0	
F	4	4	5	5	4	5	6	4	5	5	4.7	
G	7	5	5	5	7	5	5	5	5	4	5.3	
H	3	6	5	4	5	3	4	4	4	5	4.3	
I	6	4	7	6	7	5	6	5	6	6	5.8	
J	5	4	5	3	3	5	3	4	4	3	3.9	
	4.3	3.8	4.5	3.9	4.9	4.2	4.9	4.4	4.4	4.3		
											4.36	SD:± 0.804

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