Morphosyntactic Differences between Standard and South African English

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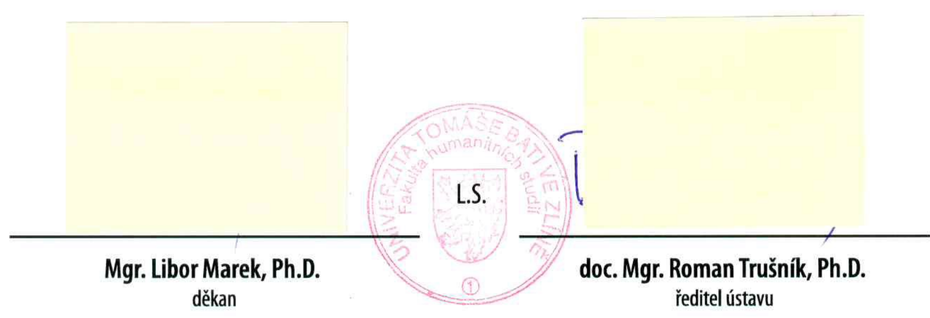

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ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá porovnáním standardní angličtiny s jihoafrickou variantou angličtiny. Hlavním cílem práce je rozbor jejich rozdílů v oblasti morfologie a syntaxe. Práce je výsledkem podrobného studia odborné literatury a výzkumů s tématem spojených. Přínosem této práce je přehledné vysvětlení pojmů a vytýčení morfosyntaktických specifik jihoafrické angličtiny.

Klíčová slova: jihoafrická angličtina, standardní angličtina, SAE, SE, morfologie, syntax, dialekt

ABSTRACT

The thesis deals with a comparison of Standard English and South African variety of English. The primary matter of the thesis is the analysis of their morphosyntactic differences. The work is a result of a detailed study of scientific literature and research related to the topic. This thesis aims to give a comprehensive account of the concepts covered and to define the morphosyntactic specifics of SAE.

Keywords: South African English, Standard English, SAE, SE, morphology, syntax, dialect

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INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this bachelor thesis is to indicate and describe the morphosyntactic differences between Standard and South African English. It is necessary to understand the concept of Standard English and the relationship between Standard English and other varieties first. Trudgill (2008, 1) explains that Standard English is referred to as "standard" because it has undergone standardization, a process through which it has been selected, codified, and stabilized, unlike any other English variety. English language, as the most widely spoken language in the world, has gained many varieties throughout its history. Two of the most known varieties of English are British and American English. Followed by Canadian English, Australian English, New Zealand English, South African English, and Indian English. South African English may be a lesser-known variety of English even though it has a rather complex history and is endowed with many linguistic distinctions, including morphological and syntactic ones.

The first chapter focuses on the concept of English varieties. The chapter introduces essential terms such as 'variety,' 'dialect,' and 'accent.' It deals with the variety of English presented as a usual correct form of English language – Standard English. The second chapter focuses solely on South African English, the variety of English that is the key matter of this thesis. The chapter begins with a description of different languages used in the Republic of South Africa. Moreover, it includes the study of the vast history of South African English. Hereafter, different sub-varieties of South African English consisting of White South African English; the most common one with its origins from English settlers, Indian South African English, Black South African English, and Cape Flats English, are introduced together with their linguistic features. The third chapter of this thesis deals with its primary matter, morphosyntactic differences between South African English and Standard English. The morphosyntax of South African English offers many deviations from the one of Standard English, especially in the sub-varieties. The most significant ones will be provided and examined in this thesis.

1 VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

The English language is spoken by many people all around the world, and as any other language, it does not occur only in one stable form. The different forms of language may be referred to as varieties. Bauer (2003, 4) describes ‘variety’ as a term of any kind of language production, it may be determined by region, gender, social class, age, or by our own inimitable characteristics. Those varieties may have some common features, but they may also differ in many ways. As stated above, the most known varieties of English are British and American English. They are followed by Canadian English, Australian English, New Zealand English, South African English, and Indian English. There is also a broad spectrum of lesser-known varieties that have originated as pidgins and creoles, including also varieties developing mainly through contact between mutually intelligible and structurally similar forms of the same language (dialects or sociolects), koines´ [1], and more recently, varieties of English as a Second Language (ESL) and Foreign Language (EFL) (Schreier, Trudgill, Schneider, and Williams 2009, 2). Some examples of the lesser-known varieties may be St Helenian English, Falkland Islands English, Bahamian English, Newfoundland, Labrador English, etc. Trudgill (2004, 1) states that all the varieties are linguistically equivalent; therefore, no variety of the language is linguistically superior to any other. Nevertheless, there is one variety of English language that is considered superior in a way – Standard English. (See chapter 1.3)

1.1 Dialect

The term ‘Dialect’ can be regarded as a subdivision of a particular language (Chambers, Trudgill 2004, 3). Dialects differ in such matters as vocabulary, grammar, word order, and also pronunciation (Roach 2009, 3). We differentiate between **social** and **regional** dialects. **Regional** dialect refers to a variety of language influenced by a region. It marks the speaker as coming from a particular place (Bauer 2003, 3). Scottish English, Welsh, Yorkshire, these may be referred to as regional dialects of British English. However, there are also national dialects, dialects of a language that differ among the nations. These include British English, American English, Canadian English, Australian English, etc. “The term dialect can also be used to describe differences in speech associated with various social groups or classes.” (Wardhaugh, Fuller 2015, 42) **Social** dialects, also called sociolects, are influenced by

[1] Koine´ is “any language or variety representing a compromise among dialects and providing communication across dialects.” (McArthur 1992, 563)

various factors, including social class, education, ethnicity, and religion. A close and obvious connection between language and social class exists in probably all English-speaking countries, states Wells (1982, 13). This correlation affects both non-phonetic factors; morphology, syntax, and vocabulary, and phonetic factors; accent.
One's social position or education is something that is not fixed and can be changed. Standard dialects, such as Standard English, are the dialects of education. However, emphasis should also be brought on the dialects that the students speak outside of the classroom, as they affect the way they speak. The dialects may evolve with different levels of education.

Sex or ethnicity, on the other hand, are so fixed. However, we can still influence the extent to which our sex or ethnicity affects our behaviour (Wells 1982,13;18;19). Like all other social dialects, ethnic dialects are learned by exposure, and anyone, regardless of their ethnic identification or racial categorization, may speak the dialect (Wardhaugh, Fuller 2015, 45). African American Vernacular English, Chicano English, and later discussed South African Indian English are some examples of ethnolects. Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015, 45) add that ethnic dialects are not simply foreign accents of the majority language. As proposed above, sociolects may also be influenced by one's religion. Hary (2011, 45) introduces the term 'religiolect' as "a language variety with its own history and development, which is used by a religious community." Religiolects occur across Christian, Jewish, and Muslim backgrounds. Examples of religiolect, provided by Hary (2011, 43-45), include well-known varieties such as Yiddish or Ladino but also lesser-known varieties Judeo-Arabic, Christianese, or Orthodox Jewish English, also called "Yeshivish" or "Yinglish." However, any religion can affect your speech even if you are not a speaker of a religiolect, as they possess some specific feature.

1.2 Accent

The term 'Accent' represents one's distinctive pronunciation. An accent may be influenced by your geographical, demographical, social, and educational background. Similarly to a dialect, everybody has an accent. However, those two are not necessarily connected. You may speak one dialect but have a completely different accent. It is also possible for one to have more accents. Many people seem to think that they do not have any accent. That is because one is used to the accent, he/she and his/her surroundings speak.

"The accent which enjoys the highest overt prestige in England is known to phoneticians as Received Pronunciation" (Wells 1982, 117). In this matter, 'received' stands for generally 'accepted' or 'approved.' RP (shortly) is the accent that foreign learners are usually taught while studying British English. RP is geographically associated with England and may also be referred to as 'BBC English.' It is socially characteristic of the upper and upper-middle class, and it is what British people mean when they say that someone 'does not have an accent,' claims Wells (1982, 117). 'General American,' on the other hand, is a term used to refer to the accent of two-thirds of the American population who do not have a recognizably local accent (Wells 1982, 117).

Another essential thing to consider while talking about accent is rhoticity. Rhoticity differs among the varieties of English because of language development throughout history. Some varieties have lost the final and preconsonantal /r/, but in others, it was retained. We distinguish between non-rhotic and rhotic accents. According to Barber (2009,224), Received Pronunciation ranks among 'non-rhotic' or 'r-less' varieties, similarly to most of the Wales varieties of English, Australian English, New Zealand English, and South African English. Non-rhotic accents are those accents in which the pronunciation of /r/ before consonants and before a pause occurs, Barber (2009, 224) explains. Varieties of English that have retained the historical /r/ are referred to as 'rhotic' or 'r-ful' varieties (Bauer 2003, 9). Barber (2009,224) claims that rhotic varieties include most of the North American English, but also Scots English or Irish English.

(1) *barn*	*/baːrn/*	rhotic
	/baːn/	non-rhotic
(2) *father*	*/ˈfaː.ðər/*	rhotic
	/ˈfɑː.ðɚ/	non-rhotic
(3) *father and mother*	*/ˈfaː.ðər/*	

In rhotic accents, the /r/ in examples (1) and (2) taken from Barber (2009,224) is always pronounced. In non-rhotic accents, however, /r/ in the word *barn* (1) is silent, and in the word father (2) is pronounced only when it precedes a vowel as in example (3) *father and mother* also taken from Barber (2009,224).

1.3 Standard English

Standard English is the most general form of the English language. It represents the standard of the language all around the English-speaking world. Trudgill (2008, 1) explains that it is referred to as "standard" because it has undergone standardization, a process through which it has been selected, codified, and stabilized, unlike any other English varieties. However, making one variety of English a standard was a natural process. Initially, it was an upper-class dialect, which was gradually imposed on society at large. The variety was associated with prestige and social status; therefore, the standardization of the dialect was widely accepted (Trudgill 2008, 2). Standard English is the language of grammar books, dictionaries, government and law, newspapers, mass media, and the variety of language taught in schools. Yet, it is not usually spoken by the commoners. Even though they have all learned it in schools, their language is influenced by regional and social dialects. Standard English simply unites the varieties and serves mainly functional purpose. Trudgill (2008, 5) states that it is the variety with the greatest prestige and adds that it has slightly different forms in different parts of the English-speaking world. Quirk et al. (1985, 18) add that there is a single spelling and punctuation system of Standard English, with two minor subsystems, British and American. These two differ in a small class of words such as *colour*, *centre*, *levelled*, *favourite*, etc. and *color*, *center*, *leveled*, *favorite*, etc. The former are British-oriented and the latter American-oriented. While British spelling is preferred in learned or formal publications, such as academic journals and school textbooks, American spelling is preferred in popular publications such as newspapers (Quirk et al. 1985, 18-19).

2 LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AFRICA

There are eleven official languages in the Republic of South Africa consisting of the previous official languages English and Afrikaans[2], and nine African languages: isiZulu, isiXhosa, sePedi, seSotho. seTswana, xiTsonga, siSwati, tshiVenda and isiNdebele. These were declared in 1996 when the country's new constitution emphasized the connection between language, culture, and development (Mesthrie 2009, 2). Byrnes (1997, 111) states that each of the eleven languages includes several regional dialects and variants. The most spread language is isiZulu, followed by English and isiXhosa, see *Figure 1*.

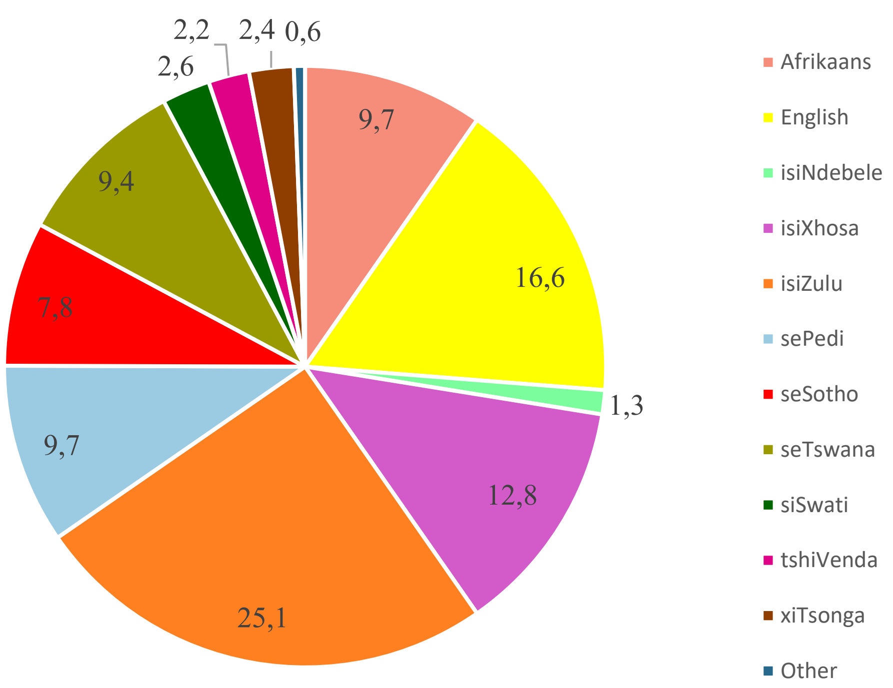

Figure 1. *Percentage of languages spoken by household members outside household, 2018*
Statistics South Africa, 2018 http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0318/P03182018.pdf

Figure 1 shows that the most widely spoken language of South Africa outside the households is isiZulu with 25,1% of the population, next is English with 16,6%, followed by isiXhosa with 12,8%. Afrikaans and sePedi are both spoken by 9,7% of the population, 9,4% of the population speak seTswana, and 7,8% seSotho. siSwati is spoken by 2,6% of the population, xiTsonga by 2,4%, tshiVenda by 2,2%, isiNdebele by 1,3%. 0,6% of the population speak other languages such as Khoi, Nama, or San.

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[2] Afrikaans is a seventeenth-century African variant of Dutch that was recognized as a separate language in the nineteenth century, after the development of significant literature. (Byrnes 1997, 129)

The Bantu languages are the most common and numerically predominant languages of South Africa. They may be divided into four groupings: the Ngumi cluster[3] (isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati, and isiNdebele), the Sotho cluster (seSotho, sePedi, seTswana), xiTsonga and tshiVenda. Other Bantu languages are spoken in small numbers by migrants from neighbourhood countries; these include Chopi, Kalanga, Shona, Chewa, etc. Languages of the Dravidian group (Tamil and Telugu) are now in decline. Moreover, there are also urban lingua francas (Tsotsitaal, Flaitaal, Iscamtho) and a pidgin language, Fanakalo. The Indo-European family is represented by the Germanic branch (English, Afrikaans, and German), the Indic branch (Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Konkani, etc.), and the Romance branch (Portuguese, spoken by immigrants from Angola, Mozambique, and other parts of Africa). Speakers of Polish, Dutch, Italian, and Chinese languages (primarily Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin) may be found in smaller numbers. Arabic is used by the Cape Muslims, same as Hebrew is still used in Judaism, Sanskrit in Hinduism, and Greek and Latin on occasion in some churches (Mesthrie 2004, 11-12).

2.1 History of English in South Africa

Until 1652 when the Dutch, the wealthiest trading nation of the time, established a trading station at the Cape, South Africa was only a place of stopovers by Portuguese and English sailors for the purpose of refreshment and recovery. Jargon[4] form of English with Portuguese and Dutch expressions developed in that time, long before 1652. Even though the newly formed Cape Dutch community was labelled ‘Dutch,’ it included many Germans, Huguenot French refugees, and other Europeans in small numbers. Because of strife between Dutch and Khoesan [5]inhabitants, Dutch had to find new sources of labour for the new colony, and from 1658 they imported large numbers of slaves from Madagascar, Mozambique, East Indies, and India (Mesthrie 2004, 14). “The slave population of the Cape was possibly one of the most diverse in the world in terms of origin, religion, culture and language.” (Mesthrie 2004, 15)

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[3] “The term ‘cluster’ denotes a set of varieties that are closely related along linguistic lines.” (Mesthrie 2004, 11)

[4] Jargon is an “outlandish language of various kinds, such as speech perceived as gibberish or mumbo jumbo, slang, a pidgin language” (McArthur 1992, 543)

[5] The term ‘Khoesan’ refers to the most indigenous group of South African inhabitants, composed of KhoeKhoe and San population which is now with very few exceptions close to extension (Mesthrie 2004, 6-13).

2.1.1 The Colonial Era

British forces captured Cape Town in 1795 during the time of Napoleonic wars and took over the colony as a naval base. The colony was eventually handed back to Dutch in 1803 but recaptured again by the English in 1806, states Mesthrie (2004, 15). John Phillip, a missionary and a son of a Scottish handloom weaver, arrived in 1819 intending to spread Christianity among the indigenous Africans. He believed that they are capable of becoming "civilized," not only by adopting the religion but also European ideas of education, clothing, family life, and the roles of women and men. The European missionary activity became significant from this point forward with the establishment of the first schools for black and coloured[6] people (Berger 2009, 42).

In 1820, the first purely civilian British population consisting of poorer branches of British society settled in the eastern cape, away from the community of Cape Town. Presumably, South African English originated predominantly in this settlement (Mesthrie 2004,15). Bekker (2012, 140) describes this kind of language development as what Trudgill (2004, 26) refers to as 'tabula rasa' situations, i. e. "those in which there is no prior-existing population speaking the language in question, either in the location in question or nearby," meaning a koineization or a mixing process took place across the various dialects of English and resulted in the creation of a new variety of English – Cape English. British followed Anglicisation policy in the Cape, which replaced Dutch with English as the language of government, education, and law., adds Mesthrie (2004, 15). Moreover, many legal and administrative reforms were promoted in South Africa by business leaders and humanitarians, such as the implementation of the English common law and the replacement of Dutch administrators with British officials (Berger 2009, 43). Cape English gained many loan words and some pronunciation aspects from the Dutch due to a harmonious relationship between the Dutch and English. At that time, an influx of loans from Xhosa also occurred. Since then, Cape English was recognized as a typically local speech of South Africa (Lanham 1996, 20-21).

[6] From the mid19th century, the term 'coloureds' was used to refer to people of mixed Asian, African, and European ancestry. By the Apartheid government it was assigned to people who did not fit its two major population categories: 'European' or 'white', and 'Bantu' or 'black' (Finn 2008, 200).

The second British settlement took place from the late 1840s onward in a former South African province Natal, which had been annexed from the Afrikaners by the British in 1843. The second settlers were of different regional and social origins from the former ones, they were more mindful of the social symbols and system of Victorian England, states Mesthrie (2004,16). The relevant second settlers were of middle-class and upper-class nature. They had far less contact with the Dutch; therefore, there was no Afrikaans influence over the koineization process. The variety of English that developed of this process – Natal English was affected by the north of England (Bekker 2012, 141). At that time, two mother-tongue varieties of English in local speech and usage existed in South Africa. Both Natal and Cape English held some representation of Standard Southern BrE in order to retain their form and social meaning. However, Cape English, as indicated earlier, was associated with a much lower social image (Lanham 1996, 21).

According to the standard model of SAE formation, South African English development was complete after the rise of Cape and Natal English. Even though “these two groups laid the foundation for the main accents of present-day SAE” (Bekker 2012, 141), a crucial third phase of the development of South African English took place later, during the birth and growth of Johannesburg (Bekker 2012,141). To escape British domination, the trekking Afrikaners established the republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State in the 1850s. Even though they had installed Dutch as the official language of the republics, there was still a strong influence of the English language (Mesthrie 2004, 17).

2.1.2 The New Society

Large deposits of precious metals were discovered later in the 1860s and led Britain into conflict with the Afrikaner republics, resulting in Transvaal being annexed as a British colony in 1877. The land and its wealth were the cause of two wars, first in 1881 when the Afrikaners won back the Transvaal and second between 1899 and 1902 when the Afrikaners were heavily defeated. The second war is now known as ‘the South African War.’ Between 1860 and 1911, the British, in need of cheap labour, imported over a hundred and fifty thousand Indian people to Natal (Mesthrie 2004, 17). Indian children started attending Anglican church schools, and the ancestral variety of today’s ‘coloured’ English – Indian South African English (ISAE) had in all probability developed within this community (Lanham 1996, 21). As a result of the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold on the

Rand, approximately 400,000 immigrants, mainly from Britain and eastern and western Europe, arrived between 1875 and 1904, declares Bekker (2013,5). Mesthrie (2004, 17) adds that the discovery led to a large-scale movement of black people into the mining areas. Consequently, it brought together three different strands of English – Cape English, Natal English, and to some extent, Received Pronunciation. Those three "laid the foundations for the twentieth-century continuum of South African English varieties." (Mesthrie 2004, 18)

Between 1901-1905, Lord Alfred Milner, who served as British high commissioner, took over the administration of the conquered Boer[7] republics and ruled South Africa from Johannesburg (Berger 2009,85; Mesthrie 2004,18). Johannesburg was described as very British, loyal to the Empire, filled with English manners and traditions. It was the city of 'aristocrats' (Lanham 1996, 22). Milner's main aims were to anglicise the Afrikaners, reshape South Africa into an efficient, modernized, and capitalist state and ensure the continuity of white supremacy. One way to achieve these goals was to make English speakers the majority of the white population. He sought to attract new British settlers, men to replace black men as domestic workers and women to provide wives for English-speaking mine workers; however, his attempts failed (Berger 2009, 85-86). Milner also tried to emphasise English over Dutch in the schools. Whites were educated by the state, whereas the education of blacks was left to the churches and mission schools, states Mesthrie (2004,18). Replacing Dutch with English in all government schools led to the formation of new associations to promote the use of Afrikaans, the emerging South African variant of Dutch (Berger 2009,86). In 1910, the Union of South Africa was formed by combining the two former Boer republics and the Cape and Natal British colonies. Both Dutch and English have become the official languages of the Union. However, in 1925, Dutch was replaced by Afrikaans. Both Black and Indian English have gone through a noteworthy development during this period. While aspects from African languages were still significant in Black English, Indian English developed into a language close to the norms of more standard SAE (Mesthrie 2004, 18).

2.1.3 The Apartheid Era

The National Party, in alliance with the Afrikaner Party, won the polls in 1948, resulting in the rise of Apartheid, the official policy of 'separate development,' which represents segregation on the grounds of race (Ross; Mager and Nasson 2011, 122; McArthur 1992,

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[7] At that time, Dutch-speaking Voortrekker, i.e. Boer, republics comprised of the South African Republic/Transvaal and the Orange Free State. (Bowerman 2008, 166)

105). New laws were built upon racial segregation, and white supremacy, explains Berger (2009,114). “In this process, older patterns of segregation were transformed into a complex system for controlling the labour and movement of Africans and clearly defining and separating the country’s four officially designated racial groups – Africans, coloureds, Asians, and whites” (Berger 2009,114). The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was an attempt to make the population of black people a definite underclass. It introduced strict controls over syllabi and the media of instruction and enforced the closure of the mission schools for blacks, which was the only proper education they had. The educational system favoured the Apartheid policies, which attempted to set a definite linguistic hierarchy in the Union. The Department of Bantu Education insisted that both English and Afrikaans should be introduced in the first year of schooling and both the official languages should be compulsory subjects at the secondary level of schooling, fearing that if only one of them were to be compulsory, it would be English (Mesthrie 2004,18).

“Resistance to Bantu education and the language policy it attempted to impose led to the Soweto uprisings of 1976. The 1970s and 1980s became a period of intense struggle against white domination, in which schoolchildren played a prominent role.” (Mesthrie 2004,19)

2.1.4 **Post-Apartheid**

The apartheid government ruled South Africa until the 1990s. First formal negotiations for a new democratic constitution began in December 1991, states Berger (2009, 149). English became the language of unity and liberation since it was widely used by the anti-apartheid political leadership. In 1994 when the first democratic elections took place, it was de facto a lingua franca. Even though the African National Congress intended to make English the only official language, it was clear that to empower all the South Africans, it is necessary to empower their languages, too. In 1996, when the new constitution emphasised the link between language, culture, and development, all nine major African languages, i.e., isiZulu, isiXhosa, sePedi, seSotho. seTswana, xiTsonga, siSwati, tshiVenda, and isiNdebele were chosen as official languages together with English and Afrikaans, explains Mesthrie (2004, 22-23).

2.2 South African English

South African English is the variety of English language spoken in the Republic of South Africa. As explained in the previous chapter, English was initially brought in South Africa from England and was in its early days, as Lass (2004,104) claims, an instrument of English hegemony (i.e., leadership, dominion, supremacy).

South African English can be further divided into many sub-varieties, major ones being White South African English, Black South African English, Indian South African English, and Cape Flats English. In the past, the label 'South African English' used to refer only to White South African English, and other varieties were given a descriptor. With the evolution of the varieties, SAE serves as a cover term, explains Bowerman (2008, 168).

South African English ranks among the extraterritorial (ET) varieties of English, meaning it is a 'transported' language spoken outside the land of origin. These 'transported' varieties can be further divided into two groups – Northern hemisphere ETEs including American, Canadian but also Irish English, and Southern hemisphere ETEs consisting of South African English, Australian, and New Zealand English, and Rhodesian English. (Lass 2004, 106-107). Different linguistic features occur in these Northern and Southern varieties caused, as de Klerk (1996, 10) explains, by various cultural and regional backgrounds, unique settlement dates, and demographic details. Southern ETEs are in most ways typically 'British' in pronunciation and also vocabulary, states Lass (2004, 107). Following examples taken from Lass (2004, 107) show some South African English vocabulary, influenced by British English and their American English equivalents.

SAE	BrE	AmE
(4) petrol	petrol	gas(oline)
(5) bum, arse	bum, arse	ass
(6) dustbin	dustbin	garbage-can
(7) chemist	chemist	drugstore
(8) silencer	silencer	muffler
(9) dinner-jacket	dinner-jacket	tuxedo

Lass (2004, 106) mentions some of the essential phonological features of southern varieties. These include:

a) [æ] (or a higher vowel) in *trap*, [træp]

This is a seventeenth-century development of older fully open [a], which still occurs in the north and Midlands of England, Scotland, and Ireland, [trap]. It may rise even higher in the Southern hemisphere varieties to [ɛ], [trɛp]. (Lass 2004, 106)

b) [strʌt] / [fʊt] split

This phenomenon refers to distinct vowels that occur in these categories. *Foot* in Standard English realized as [fʊt] and other words with [ʊ] have something close to [u] in the southern varieties. S*trut*, in SE, [strʌt] covers a wide range in the southern varieties, from lower mid back [Λ] to something much fronter such as central [ɐ], centralised front [ä] or raised [ɛ]. (Lass 2004, 106)

c) Lengthening I

This is another of seventeenth-century changes, [æ] is lengthened before the voiceless fricatives *f, θ, s* and often *nt, ns*. Therefore there is a short vowel [æ] in [træp], and a long one in [bɑːθ], usually different in quality.

As for South African English, there is [æ] or [ɛ] in [træp] and usually centralized back [ä:] or back [ɑ:] in [bɑ:θ]. (Lass 2004, 106)

d) Lengthening II

This is a later change which lengthened [æ] before voiced stops and nasals except for *ŋ*; therefore, there is [æ] in [træp] and [æ:] or a slightly raised version in *bad, bag, man*. (Lass 2004,106)

2.2.1 Phonology of South African English

Quite a lot of phonological distinctions occur in South African English. The most common ones, taken from Hannah and Trudgill (2008, 34-35), are described in this chapter.

SAE vowels

a) Like Australian and New Zealand English, South African English has [i:] instead of standard [ɪ] in the final syllable of *very, many, happy, busy,* etc. Therefore, in Standard English it is [verɪ], [menɪ], [hæpɪ] and [bɪzɪ] and in SAE it is [veri:], [meni:], [hæpi:] and [bɪzi:].

b) Another feature of SAE is the occurrence of [ə] instead of [ɪ] in the unstressed syllables of *naked, village, women,* etc. In SE it is [neɪkɪd], [vɪlɪdʒ], [wɪmɪn], in SAE [neɪkəd], [vɪlədʒ], [wɪmən].

c) The tendency for diphthongs to be monophthongised occurs in SAE. E.g., [aɪ] is realized as [ɑ·ᵊ], therefore *buy* is [baɪ] in Standard English and [bɑ·ᵊ] in South African English. [ɔɪ] as [ɑe], *boy* in SE is [bɔɪ] and in SAE [bɑe] and [eɪ] as in *bay* [beɪ] in SE as [ɒe], [bɒe] in SAE-

d) The pronunciation of [ɪ] is done as [ɪ] only before and after the velar consonants *k*, *g,* and *ŋ,* before *ʃ,* after *h,* and word-initially. Elsewhere it is [ə]. Therefore, *big* is pronounced as the standard [bɪg], but the pronunciation of *bit* differs from the standard [bɪt] and is realized as [bət].

SAE consonants

a) *p, t, tʃ,* and *k* are likely to be unaspirated, i.e., not pronounced with the sound of breath r the letter "h." The standard pronunciation of the word *pin* is [pɪn] with a slight *h* after *p,* therefore [pʰɪn]. In South African English, *pin* is pronounced with [ə] as [pən].

b) Intervocalic [t], as in *better*, is realized as a voiced alveolar flap [8][ɾ] in South African English varieties.

c) The dark [ɫ] allophone of [l], as in *hill* or *full,* does not occur in some South African varieties.

d) South African English is an *r*-less variety, SAE lacks non-prevocalic *r,* but some of its varieties also lack instructive *r* and linking *r*. Therefore, the phrase *law and order* is pronounced as [lo:no:də] in SAE instead of standard [lɔ: ənd ˈɔ:.dəʳ].

e) [tj] and [dj] are in SAE, as in many English varieties, realized as [tʃ] and [dʒ]. The word *tune* standardly pronounced as [tju:n] is pronounced as [tʃu:n] in SAE.

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[8] "Flap is a sound in which a brief contact between the articulators is made by moving the active articulator tangentially to the site of the contact, so that it strikes the upper surface of the vocal tract in passing." (Ladefoged; Maddieson 1996, 231)

2.2.2 White South African English

"The term 'White South African English' is applied to the first language[9] variety of English spoken by White South Africans…" (Bowerman 2008, 164) White South African English originated from British English in the times of British colonization and is described by Lass (2004,104) as a kind of reference point for all other SAE varieties. According to Bowerman (2008, 164), WSAE may be divided into three different social variations – Cultivated, General, and Broad WSAE. Cultivated is the variety associated with the upper class and may resemble Received Pronunciation. General is typical for the middle class, and Broad is spoken by the working class and Afrikaans descents; therefore, it is very similar to the second language[10] variety Afrikaans English. Regional varieties can be broadly divided into (Western) Cape, Natal and Transvaal (Gauteng) English, and recognisable Namibian and Zimbabwean varieties, connected to the places with the strongest concentrations of white English-speaking communities, claims Bowerman (2008, 168).

Vocabulary

Many languages have influenced the vocabulary of White South African English. Most borrowings come from Afrikaans and African indigenous languages, however, vocabulary items from Malay, Portuguese Indian languages also occur, claims Mesthrie (2008, 483). The following examples show some of the better-known borrowings taken from Hannah and Trudgill (2008,36).

(10) *dorp* 'village' Afrikaans
(11) *kraal* 'typical African village' Dutch<Portuguese
(12) *sjambok* 'whip' Afrikaans
(13) *veld* 'flat, open country' Afrikaans
(14) *impi* 'African warrior band' Zulu
(15) *indaba* 'conference' Xhosa, Zulu

[9] "The first language (L1) is the language in which learners are competent when starting a new language." (McArthur 1992, 406)
[10] "The second language (L2) is another language that is being learned or has been learned to an adequate level." (McArthur 1992, 406)

More examples of borrowings from other languages are provided by Mesthrie (2008, 484 – 485):

(16)	*buti / sisi*	'brother / sister'	Xhosa, Zulu
(17)	*kugel*	'a wealthy Jewish woman'	Yiddish
(18)	*mamba*	'a very poisonous snake'	Bantu
(19)	*brommmer*	'large fly or buzzing insect'	Afrikaans
(20)	*lapa*	'enclosed outside entertainment area'	Sotho

Furthermore, Hannah and Trudgill (2008, 36) add that there are also few differences within formal English vocabulary. These are referred to by Mesthrie (2008, 483) as English South Africanisms, expressions unique for South African English. Hannah and Trudgill (2008, 36) provide the following examples of English South Africanisms and their Standard English equivalents:

	WSAE	**SE**
(21)	*bioscope*	*cinema*
(22)	*location*	*(Black) ghetto*
(23)	*reference book*	*identity document*
(24)	*robot*	*traffic light*

2.2.3 Black South African English

Black South African English is "the variety of English commonly used by mother-tongue speakers of South Africa's indigenous languages." (De Klerk and Gough 2004, 356) Black South African English originated in colonial times when the English attempted to anglicize the indigenous inhabitants. Black people started learning English in mission schools and were eventually, with the growth of the school population, provided state assistance. Later established Apartheid policy aimed to reduce the weight of informed black opinion, emphasis was laid on the indigenous mother-tongues, and English was replaced mainly by Afrikaans. Access to native English speakers was restricted, mother-tongue English teachers were gradually eliminated except for some mission schools (de Klerk and Gough 2004, 357). This "resulted in certain characteristic patterns of pronunciation and syntax[11] (traceable to the mother tongue) being entrenched as norms of spoken BSAE, with consequential lowering of levels of comprehensibility." (de Klerk and Gough 2004, 357)

[11] These characteristic patterns of syntax include simplified comparative constructions, double conjunctions, responses to yes/no questions couched in the negative, etc. (See chapter 3)

Since 1979, consequently to the Soweto uprising of 1976, pupils could choose their own medium of instruction after the fourth year of schooling, and the English language was the choice of a vast majority. However, the teachers themselves have usually undergone the Bantu education and therefore could not provide adequate education to their pupils. Due to the long-term effects of the underfunding of black education, overcrowded facilities, black education almost collapsed between 1984 and 1994. All of this resulted in very mixed levels of competence in English among blacks. Some may be completely fluent in speech and writing, and others may have almost no knowledge at all. Nevertheless, the status of English remains to be solid among black people of South Africa until today, when the opportunities to learn English are more approachable (de Klerk and Gough 2004, 357-359).

Vocabulary

BSAE holds a great number of words from African languages that have become commonly used. De Klerk and Gough (2004, 365) provide the following examples:

(25) *kwela-kwela* ‘taxi’ or ‘police pick-up van’

(26) *morabaraba* ‘a board game’

(27) *mama* ‘a term of address for a senior woman’

Moreover, de Klerk and Gough (2004, 365) add that some words may have a regional basis, for instance:

(28) *Skebenga* ‘criminal’ Xhosa

(29) *Madumbies* ‘a type of edible root’ Natal

(30) *Skeberesh* ‘a loose woman’ Gauteng

Other phenomena mentioned by de Klerk and Gough (2004, 365) include the predicative use of *late* as a euphemism for ‘die’ as in *My grandfather is late*, or the use of *somebody* instead of ‘person’ as in *She is a very famous somebody*, also the redundant usage of *each and every* synonymously with *each*, e.g., *Each and every year it is the same.* De Klerk and Gough (2004,365) highlight differences and restrictions in the stylistic range. Relative degrees of formality or informality may not apply to some word-pairs such as *abode/house* or *mommy/mother*. They (de Klerk and Gough 2004, 365) also pointed out some connotational differences, such as that the public use of terms for sexual organs is strongly tabooed.

2.2.4 Indian South African English

Indian South African English is the language variety spoken by the descendants of Indian immigrants in South Africa. Most Indian immigrants, who were imported in South Africa between 1860 and 1911, had no knowledge of English. They used primarily Indian language for communication among themselves and sporadically a pidgin language, Fanakalo, learnt in the new colony. Indians acquired the knowledge of the English language by four different means, which were all significant in shaping ISAE – by learning from teachers who were native speakers of English, by learning from teachers who were non-native speakers of English, through contact with native speakers of English in Natal and through contact with non-native speakers of English, mainly other immigrants (Mesthrie 2004, 339).

In the 1930s, the English language was taught in schools just as the second or third language. However, in the 1950s, when the educational facilities improved, English was brought to Indian homes by children and taught between family members (Mesthrie 2004, 339). Mesthrie (2004, 340) introduces a process of 'closed cycle of reinforcement,' a phenomenon that occurred and still does in some rural homes when parents and grandparents learn English from the youngest children rather than vice versa. Apartheid policy kept Indian children away from first-language speakers of English, resulting in ISAE being a recognisably different variety of South African English. Its speakers, however, adopt more careful and formal styles in public interaction, therefore the differences are not as visible. ISAE, in some ways, includes aspects of pronunciation, syntax, or lexis similar to Indian English. However, ISAE is not a predominantly 'educated' or 'elite' variety. It is hyper-colloquial and often demands formalisation, contrary to Indian English, which is characterised as 'bookish,' 'Latinate' and imbued with a 'moralistic' tone (Mesthrie 2004, 341).

Vocabulary

"At its most formal, the ISAE lexis differs only slightly from general South African English; at its least formal, it is exceedingly different." (Mesthrie 2004, 342) The lexical items are taken predominantly from Indian languages and relate mostly to the spheres of kinship, religion, and culinary practices, proposes Mesthrie (2004, 342). For some words, there may be more expressions depending on the speaker's ancestral language, Mesthrie (2004, 342) provides examples of terms used in ISAE for the ambiguous word for spicy food *hot* depending on the ancestral language:

(31) *karo* Tamil

(32) *karum* Telugu

(33) *thikku* Gujarati

(34) *thitta* Hindi/Bhojpuri

(35) *tikka* Urdu

Terms such as *pungent* or *chilli-hot* are usually used in public discourse, explains Mesthrie (2004, 342).

More lexis drawn from Indian languages is provided by Mesthrie (2004, 343), including:

(36) *nikah* 'Islamic wedding ceremony' Urdu

(37) *thanni* 'a popular card game' Tamil

Mesthrie (2004, 342) also shows some examples of ISAE words from the sphere of kinship or lexis of love, e.g.:

(38) *future (noun)* 'husband or wife-to-be'

(39) *marry out* 'marry outside of one's traditional sub-ethnic group'

(40) *spoiled* 'carrying a child out of wedlock.'

Finally, some notable semantic shifts are introduced by Mesthrie (2004, 342):

(41) *lazy* 'unintelligent,'

(42) *independent* 'haughty' or 'stand-offish,'

(43) *healthy* 'fat' or 'overweight,'

(44) *raw* 'uncouth' or 'vulgar'

2.2.5 Cape Flats English

Cape Flats English (CFE) is a variety of South African English that originated in the working-class neighbourhoods of inner-city Cape Town, neighbourhoods of many cultures and languages, which were the homes to freed slaves and their descendants, indigenous people, and immigrants. The variety is also sometimes referred to as 'Coloured English' (Finn 2008, 200-201).

From the 1950s until 1991, people who were considered to be of mixed racial ancestry were forced by the Apartheid government to move to the rural areas of Cape Flats, adjoining areas for 'coloureds,' explains Malan (1996, 125). Not all people classified as 'coloured'

spoke the variety since they were not all from the same region or social class. The Apartheid segregation act did, however, create some common ground for the 'coloureds' since the contact with other population groups; therefore, different language varieties, was minimised. (Finn 2008, 200). "Almost two centuries of intensive contact have left their mark in the form of phonological, syntactic and morphological convergence, code-mixing and code-switching between English and Afrikaans." (Malan 1996, 126) Their social class did not allow them to develop proficiency in English nor Afrikaans. Children were taught Afrikaans and English in 'mission schools'; these, however, offered more of a practical curriculum. When outside, they learnt from other people in the area who most likely spoke a regional dialect of British or Irish English rather than Standard English. Non-standard dialects of British and Irish English played a significant role in shaping the early form of Cape Flats English (Finn 2008, 200- 202).

Vocabulary

Since children are exposed to both Afrikaans and English, their speech may include some Afrikaans loanwords. Most of them are nouns, and the rest are in decreasing order – verbs, discourse markers, adjectives, adverbials, conjunctions, and prepositions, describes Malan (1996, 140).

(45) I took that towel and *I made me closed.*

(46) So all the *food was up*.

Example (45) taken from Malan (1996, 139) shows the use of calque in young children's speech. *Made me closed* is taken from Afrikaans 'myself toegemaak' and means 'wrapped.' In the second example (46) also from Malan (1996, 139), the expression *food was up* in Afrikaans 'die kos was op' means 'finished.'

The use of this type of borrowing does not, however, occur to any great extent among adults; it is the part of developing mastery of two languages, adds Malan (1996,140). In conclusion, Cape Flats English's lexicon is relatively unaffected by the external influences of other languages.

3 MORPHOSYNTAX OF SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH

Cultivated White South African English differs just moderately from other L1 varieties of English. In fact, it, in a way, resembles southern British standards and even RP norms. Its morphosyntax, however, shows certain distinctly South African features. These features are said to be the results of Afrikaans' influence, although many may be survivors from Settler English (Bowerman 2008, 472). Morphosyntactic differences are more recognizable in the sub-varieties of South African English. Black South African English shares many features with other varieties of Sub-Saharan [12] L2 English, predominantly with West African varieties. Indian South African English holds many differentiations as it is the variety moved from L2 to L1 within a century of its inception in South Africa. The variety obtained many features from Indian languages (mainly Tamil and Bhojpuri) and additionally from L2 variety Natal colonial English (Mesthrie 2008, 488-501). Cape Flats English doesn't differ much from the standard, though non-standard variants of the variety remain more commonly heard, particularly in informal speech (McCormick 2008, 522).

3.1 Noun phrase structure

3.1.1 Articles

In Indian South African English, *one* often replaces the indefinite article *a*, as in the following example (47) (Mesthrie 2008, 512):

(47) *I was feeling thirsty, so I bought* ***one*** *soda water.* SAE

The definite article, *the*, may be deleted if it is presupposed and the noun is specific as in the example (48) (Mesthrie 2008, 513):

(48) *Ø food is lovely.* SAE
'The food is lovely.' SE

An indefinite article, *a* or *an*, may be deleted when the noun is non-specific (Mesthrie 2008, 513).

(49) *Because if they give us Ø chance…* SAE
'…give us a chance…' SE

[12] "The term Sub-Saharan Africa technically refers to all of Africa south of the Sahara, but is often used to mean Black Africa." (McArthur 1992, 19)

3.1.2 Adjectives

Another feature of Indian South African English is the reduplication of adjectives to signal plurality as in (50) or indicate distribution (51): (Mesthrie 2008, 513)

(50)	*You're doing* ***wrong-wrong*** *things.*	SAE
	'…many wrong things.'	SE
(51)	***One-one*** *time you see a blue lizard.*	SAE
	'Occasionally you see a blue lizard.'	SE

3.1.3 Irregular nouns

Nouns that are irregular in SE are sometimes made regular in ISAE, e.g., *oxens*, *childrens*, *bucks*, *sheeps*. Contrary, plural nouns may be used without an ending if clear in context (Mesthrie 2008, 513).

3.1.4 Noun phrase reduction

In Indian South African English, noun phrases made up of NP + PP are often reduced to ADJ + N or to compound nouns, states Mesthrie (2008,514), and provides the following examples with SE equivalents:

	SAE	SE
(52)	*cold-touch*	'touch of cold'
(53)	*top-house*	'house at the top'
(54)	*like-his shirt*	'shirt like his'
(55)	*my-house wedding*	'wedding at my house'

3.2 Noun plural formation

In Cape Flats English and Indian South African English, *them* is often added to a noun to form an associative plural. It can also be used in a possessive form, as in example (57) (McCormick 2008, 525).

(56)	*We were by Marlene-**them** yesterday.*	SAE
(57)	*Marlene-**them's** car was stolen.*	SAE

3.3 Verb phrase

3.3.1 Deletion of verbal complements

In WSAE, the complement(s) of transitive and ditransitive verbs can be omitted or ellipsed when in context. Either one or both the complements can be omitted in the case of ditransitive verbs. The ellipsis can happen in a context quite far outside the immediate situation (Bowerman 2008, 473).

(58) *Oh good, you've got ∅.* SAE

(59) *Did you give ∅ ∅?* SAE

Example (58), taken from Bowerman (2008, 473), shows the ellipsis of one complement, whereas in (59), also taken from Bowerman (2008, 473), both verbal complements are omitted.

3.3.2 *Busy* + progressive

Another noticeable feature of WSAE is the use of the verb *busy* followed by a present participle. It is usually used with non-active and atypical verbal complements (Bowerman 2008, 473).

(60) *I am busy relaxing.* SAE

(61) *I was busy losing my house.* SAE

(62) *When I got to the car; he was busy dying*. SAE

In examples (60) – (62), *busy* does not represent a lexical verb. It is rather a grammatical item, specifically an aspectual marker. Example (60), *I am busy relaxing* would probably be a humorous response to *Are you busy?* However, the question *Are you busy relaxing?* would be meant in all seriousness. The word *busy* is used in the same way in Afrikaans; therefore it could have arisen as its translation. Nevertheless, it could also be a development from the 19th century Settlers English since a similar construction appeared then (Bowerman 2008, 473).

3.3.3 *Is*-inversion

In WSAE, *Is*-inversion occurs in constructions with a topicalized locative determiner. The verb *be* is cliticised to it. Constructions *here's it* / *there's it*, as the one in the example (63), are not heard in other varieties of English and seem to be uniquely South African. Their

Afrikaans equivalent is *Daar's hy* in which *be* is also cliticised to the topicalized determiner (Bowerman 2008, 475).

(63) *Here's it!* SAE
'Here it is! / It is here!' SE

3.3.4 Serial verbs

Serial verbs constructions are created by deleting the serial markers *and* and *to*. These constructions may involve up to three verbs, as in the example (64). It is a feature of CFE, which is not typical for any other SAE variety (McKormick 2008, 527).

(64) *Yesterday I went Ø go Ø buy fruit*.

3.4 Aspect

The English aspect system is marked by the presence or absence of the auxiliary be, distinguishing between the progressive and non-progressive aspect (Huddleston; Pullum 2002, 52).

3.4.1 *BE + -ing*

In BSAE and ISAE, *Be + -ing* is used in many contexts beyond the standard usage.
One of the most frequent deviations is the use of *Be + -ing* together with the stative verbs[13] (Methrie 2008, 489).

(65) *People who are having time for their children…* SAE
'…who have time for…' SE
(66) *Even racism is still existing…* SAE
'…still exists…' SE

In example (65), the stative verb *have* is used with the form of 'be + -ing,' *are having*. Example (66) shows the use of the stative verb *exist* and 'be + -ing,' *is existing*.

In ISAE, the present tense form of *be*, instead of the standard past tense form *was*, combines with *-ing*, to create a vivid and immediate effect (Methrie 2008, 502).

(67) *I'm suffering here now and the pain is getting worse.* SAE
'I was suffering and the pain was getting worse.' SE

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[13] "A category of verbs that contrasts with dynamic verbs in the aspect system of a language, and relates to state and not action." (McArthur 1992, 985)

3.4.2 Past habitual

In most sociolects of ISAE, *should* is frequently used instead of 'used to.' It is in all probability based on the form of *would*, even though phonetic similarities between *should* and *used to* in fast speech could have had an impact as well (Mesthrie 2008, 503).

(68) *We* ***shouldn't*** *go to the cinema.* SAE
'We never used to go to the cinema.' SE

3.4.3 *Leave/stay*

In ISAE, the verbs *leave* and *stay* convey aspectual distinctions in the constructions *and stay* and *and left her/him/it*. *And stay* signals a habitual tense, the latter is a completive marker, explains Mesthrie (2008, 503) and provides the following examples:

(69) *We'll fright* ***an'stay****.* SAE
'We used to be afraid (for a long time).' SE
(70) *We whacked him* ***an'left him****.* SAE
'We beat him up thoroughly.' SE

3.5 Agreement features

3.5.1 Singular demonstrative with plural noun complement

A lack of agreement between the demonstrative determiner (*this*, *that*) and its noun complement occasionally occurs in General WSAE and CFE (Bowerman 2008, 481).

(71) *I'd better go and pick up this bags.* SAE
(72) *It's because of that birds.* SAE

It assigns a singular demonstrative to a plural noun. As in the example (71), where a singular demonstrative *this* is assigned to the plural noun *bags,* and the example (72), consisting of the singular demonstrative *that* and the plural noun *birds* (Bowerman 2008, 481).

3.5.2 *Is it?*

Is it in the superficial form of a question is used as a response to a statement. It can signify anything from keen interest to total disinterest, and its rough equivalents would be replies such as *Really*, *Has he?*. Its form is always *is it*, it never agrees in person or number with the initial statement. This feature is used in General and Broad WSAE (Bowerman 2008, 481).

(73) A: *The kittens ran away.*
B: *Is it?* SAE
'Did they?' SE

(74) A: *I'm going overseas.*
B: *Is it?* SAE
'Are you?' SE

3.5.3 The verb *to be* as copula and auxiliary

In Cape Flats English, the verb *to be* commonly has the same form, usually singular, for third person singular and plural. Especially when the subject is a noun than when it is a pronoun. It occurs in both present and past tense utterances (McCormick 2008, 524-525).

(75) *The parents* ***is*** *paying.* SAE

(76) *We* ***was*** *very forceful.* SAE

3.5.4 Subject-verb agreement in other verbs

The verb *to do* in a third person singular negative construction usually occurs in its SE plural form *don't* in CFE (McCormick 2008, 525).

(77) *He* ***don't*** *allow her inside the door.* SAE
'He doesn't allow her inside the door.' SE

3.5.5 Agreement between determiner and noun

In Cape Flats English, singular nouns ending in *-s* such as *jeans* or *pants* are likely to lose the *-s* becoming *a jean* or *a pant*. On the other hand, they may also keep the final *-s* but lose the preceding *pair of,* which is obligatory in SE if the phrase starts with an indefinite article (McCormick 2008, 526).

3.6 Modals and modality

According to Bowerman (2008, 477), there are two features of modality that are solely related to WSAE.

3.6.1 Illocutionary force of *must*

The strong obligative modal *must* holds much less social impact in WSAE and often replaces the polite *should* /*shall*, states Bowerman (2008, 477) and provides the following examples:

(78) *You must turn left at the robots…* SAE

(79) *Must I make you some tea?* SAE

3.6.2 *Won't* as a directive "softener"

Won't is used to soften a request in General and Broad WSAE. However, it is usually pronounced with a sharply rising intonation and strong emphasis; therefore it seems more like a command than a request (Bowerman 2008, 477).

(80)	*Won't you do me a favour?*	SAE
	'Will you do me a favour?'	SE

Example (80) taken from Bowerman (2008,477) shows the use of *won't* in a request made in SAE and the standard request starting with *will*.

3.6.3 Rarity of *shall* in ISAE

The use of *shall* is rare in ISAE. In declarative sentences, it is replaced by *will*, mostly in its reduced form *'ll*. In questions, it is usually deleted (81) or replaced by *must* (82) with changed word order (Mesthrie 2008, 503-504).

(81)	*Ø I bring it?*	SAE
	'Shall I bring it?'	SE
(82)	*I must bring it?*	SAE
	'Shall/should/must I bring it?'	SE

The negative form *shan't* is usually replaced by *won't* (Mesthrie 2008, 504).

3.7 Auxiliaries

3.7.1 Copula *be* deletion

The term 'copula' refers to a verb that joins a subject to its complement. Usually, it is the verb *be*, but it can also be extended to other verbs with a similar function. The copular verbs are also called linking verbs (McArthur 1992, 264).

In Indian South African English, copula *be* is often deleted. For example, with the focus movement involving *that* (Mesthrie 2008, 505):

(83)	*My brother that!*	SAE
	'That's my brother.'	SE
(84)	*From Sezela that people*.	SAE
	'Those people are from Sezela.'	SE

The copula is, however, necessary in the following contexts (Mesthrie 2008, 505):

(85) *He's my brother.* (**He my brother.)* SAE

(86) *She's sick.* (**She sick.)* SE

3.7.2 Habitual *be*

Invariant habitual *be* is occasionally used in ISAE, claims Mesthrie (2008, 505) and provides the following examples:

(87) *Spar's tomatoes* ***be*** *nice.* SAE

'Tomatoes from Spar are usually nice.' SE

(88) *Every time I go there she* ***be*** *all dressed up.* SAE

'Whenever I go there she's (usually) all dressed up.' SE

In Standard English equivalents, *be* is commonly accompanied by *usually* indicating the habit, as in the examples above (87), (88).

3.7.3 *Do*-deletion

In ISAE, *Do*-support is used in negative declaratives and questions, but rarely occurs in their positive counterparts (Mesthrie 2008, 505-506).

(89) *Ø you like this new programme?* SAE

'Do you like this new program?' SE

(90) *How often Ø she goes to her mother's place.* SAE

'How often does she go to her mother's place?' SE

3.7.4 Non-standard use of auxiliaries in CFE

Unstressed *did* frequently occurs in past tense utterances, states McCormick (2008, 523) and provides the following examples:

(91) *He* ***did*** *work for Taylor and Horn, that time.* SAE

'He worked for Taylor and Horn then.' SE

(92) *We* ***did*** *move here a week already.* SAE

'We had moved here a week previously.' SE

Must usually replaces *has/have/had to*, *should,* and *ought to* (McCormick 2008, 523).

(93) *We* ***must*** *have respect for each and everyone.* SAE

(94) *We* ***must*** *still wait.* SE

And moreover, *would* is usually replaced by *will* in hypothetical, iterative and habitual constructions (McCormick 2008, 523).

(95) *How **will** it be if I put this two milks together?* SAE

In example (95), we can also observe the lack of agreement between the demonstrative determiner *this* and its noun complement *milks*.

3.7.5 Contraction and deletion of auxiliary verbs

Cape Flats English allows the contraction and deletion of *are*. This feature is in all probability phonologically motivated since SAE is a non-rhotic variety (McCormick 2008, 523).

(96) *You ∅ educated. They**'re** all uneducated.* SAE

Tense auxiliaries and the past tense morpheme -*ed* may also be deleted. The past tense is expressed by the remaining unmarked form of the verb (McCormick 2008, 524).

(97) *We **stay** now here for twenty-four years.* SAE

Moreover, *will* and *would* as well as *has* and *have* can be contracted and deleted in ISAE (McCormick 2008, 524).

(98) *I said "Let's get together this evening and we ∅ talk about things."* SAE

(99) *Ja, because we ∅ grown up in Africa.* SAE

3.7.6 *Be* in idiomatic constructions

In Black South African English, the verb *be* is involved in two idiomatic constructions. In the first, auxiliary *be* replaces the standard *be* + verb if motion, as in the following example (Mesthrie 2008, 491):

(100) *I'm from his room.* SAE
'I've just come from his room.' SE

In the second, copula *be* is used in pronoun + *be* + numerical constructions, which replace the SE construction there + be + numerical. This construction does not occur in other varieties of SAE (Mesthrie 2008, 491-492).

(101) Q: *Have you got a full squad today?*
A: *We are ten.* SAE

'There are ten of us.' SE

3.8 Pronominal systems

Personal pronouns *he* and *she* and possessive pronouns *his* and *her* are often substituted for each other by speakers of BSAE. This variability comes from Bantu languages, where the gender differences are not marked in pronouns (Mesthrie 2008, 498).

(102) *(My mother), he's working in a factory.* SAE

3.9 Relativisation

Relative clauses contain overt or covert elements that relate them anaphorically to antecedents. These essential anaphoric elements are called relativised elements (Huddleston; Pullum 2002, 1037).

(103) *This is the letter which drew our attention to the problem.* SAE

In example (103), taken from Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1037), the relativised element is the relative pronoun *which*, it is anaphorically linked to the antecedent *letter*.

According to Mesthrie (2008, 508), four types of deviations in relative clauses (RCs) are identified in ISAE. The fourth one is a matter of phonology; therefore, it is not discussed in this section.

3.9.1 Standard RCs

Standard RCs are post-nominal RCs, introduced by relative pronouns *that, which, who,* or *Ø*. *That* may be used with inanimate but also animate nouns. *Whom* is not used in colloquial ISAE at all (Mesthrie 2008, 508).

3.9.2 Almost-standard RCs

The structure is the same as of the standard RCs. However, the choice of relative pronouns differs. Relative pronouns like *what*, *which one*, or *which* are used with animate noun phrases (Mesthrie 2008, 508).

(104) *That's the maid* ***which one*** *was here…* SAE

'That's the maid who was here…' SE

Example (104), taken from Mesthrie (2008, 508), shows the use of the relative pronoun *which one* as the relativised element, anaphorically linked to the antecedent, animate noun

maid. In SE, the pronoun *who* would be used as the relativised element linked to the animate noun phrase.

3.9.3 Substrate-influenced RCs

Three major substrate-influenced types of RCs exist in ISAE.

Older speakers, primarily those with a North Indian background, use many correlatives in their speech (Mesthrie 2008, 508).

(105) *Which-car they supposed to give us, someone else got it.* SAE
‘Someone else got the car they were supposed to give us.’ SE

(106) *Which-one I put in the jar, that-one is good.* SAE
‘The ones that I put in the jar are the best.’ SE

3.9.4 Resumptive pronouns

Resumptive pronouns are pronouns used in place of a gap in relative clauses. In some languages, they represent a regular feature of relative clause formation. In standard English, however, they are ungrammatical (Huddleston; Pullum 2002, 1091).

Resumptive pronouns are occasionally used in BSAE. Following example taken from Mesthrie (2008, 493) shows the use of the resumptive pronoun *it*:

(107) *Students discovered that the kind of education that these people are trying to give* ***it*** *to us…* SAE
‘…that these people are trying to give to us…’ SE

3.10 Complementation

Complements are the grammatical constituents that complete the meaning of words. The term *complementation* is used for the process of complementing the word. Complements may be in the form of direct objects, indirect objects, adverbial complements (McArthur 1992, 243)

3.10.1 Undeletions

Mesthrie (2008, 494) uses the term ‘undeletions’ to mark retentions in BSAE for elements that are deleted or unexpressed in SE.

(108) *As it can be seen* ***that*** *there is a problem here.* SAE
‘As can be seen, there is a problem here.’ SE

Example (108) shows the redundant use of *that* in the SAE variety. The occurrence of the dummy *it* in the SAE formation is in all probability due to the analogy with 'It has been said' (Mesthrie 2008, 494).

Moreover, in BSAE, *to* tends to persist after causative main verbs like *let* and *make*, where in some contexts in standard English, it is deleted (Mesthrie 2008, 494).

(109) *Even my friends were asking, "Why do you let your son* ***to*** *speak Zulu?"* SAE
'… let your son speak…' SE

To be also remains in BSAE formations, in which it is left out in SE. As in the following example (Mesthrie 2008, 494):

(110) *...and it challenges me or makes me to be challenged.* SAE
'…and it challenges me or makes me challenged.' SE

3.10.2 Comparatives

In BSAE, as in other varieties of English in Africa, comparative constructions may be simplified. In example (111) *than* is used instead of *rather than*, as in standard English. In (112) superlative form *most* is omitted in BSAE (Mesthrie 2008, 495).

(111) *…if you are not in a hurry, you can take it today – now – than Thursday.* SAE
'…today, rather than Thursday.' SE

(112) *...my school was one of the radical schools that you can ever find.* SAE
'…one of the most radical schools…' SE

3.11 Prepositions and the prepositional phrase

3.11.1 Preposition complement ellipsis

Preposition complement ellipsis is a feature occurring in WSAE. The complement of a preposition may be omitted in contexts where the preposition is not a phrasal verb particle. It is most familiar with the preposition *with* (Bowerman 2008, 475).

(113) *Are they coming with ∅?* SAE
'Are they coming with us?' SE

In example (113), the ellipsed preposition complement is *us*.

This feature, in all probability, comes from Afrikaans, where *saam* 'together' has been misinterpreted as 'with,' claims Bowerman (2008, 475).

3.11.2 THROW WITH

In Broad and General WSAE, the verb THROW…AT is usually replaced by THROW WITH as in the example (114) (Bowerman 2008, 476).

(114)	*He threw me with a stone.*	SAE
	'He threw a stone at me.'	SE

This feature is a stereotypic error associated with Afrikaans English in which it is the direct translation of the Afrikaans equivalent. Nevertheless, there are also many parallels in other varieties of English (Bowerman 2008, 477).

3.11.3 Absent prepositions

In CFE, the initial preposition may be absent, especially when the prepositional phrase denotes time, point in time, duration or frequency, as in the following examples (McCormick 2008, 527):

(115)	*Zelda died ∅ the Friday.*	SAE
	'…on the Friday.'	SE
(116)	*Two o'clock ∅ the morning, I'm walking down the street.*	SAE
	'…in the morning…'	SE

3.12 Negation

3.12.1 Responses to *yes/no* questions couched in the negative

This feature occurs in Broad and General WSAE as well as in BSAE. Following examples are provided by Mesthrie (2008,492):

(117) Q: *Isn't he arriving tomorrow?*

	SE	SAE
A:	*Yes, he is.*	*Yes, he isn't.*
	No, he isn't.	*No, he is.*

When the questions are initiated in the negative, the rules in SAE varieties differ from SE. The answer *yes* implies 'he is' in SE and 'he isn't' in SAE, and the same rule applies to the

answer *no*. In SE, *no* implies 'he isn't,' and in SAE, 'he is.' The agreement between question and answer in the SAE varieties is not lateral as in SE but vertical. The logic of the rule comes in all probability from Bantu and West African languages (Mesthrie 2008, 492).

3.12.2 Double negation

The term 'double negation' refers to "the use of two or more negatives in the same construction." (McArthur 1992, 320) In non-standard varieties, such as CFE, the meaning of such constructions remains semantically negative. Double negatives do not usually occur in Standard English, but the meaning would be semantically positive.

Following examples, taken from McCormick (2008, 529), show double negatives in Cape Flats English. In example (118), *no* is used instead of 'any.' The example (119) shows the usage of *no more* instead of 'any longer,' in SE.

(118) *He **didn't** have **no** money.* SAE

(119) *It's **not** nice neighbours **no** more, here.* SAE

3.12.3 *Never*

In WSAE, *never* is often used to indicate only one negative instance. Its meaning is not necessarily *not ever*, and it can be used instead of *do not.* According to Bowerman (2008, 480), this phenomenon existed already in times of Settler English. Following examples are provided by Bowerman (2008, 479):

(120) Q: *Did you see him on Tuesday?*

A: *No, he **never** arrived on Tuesday, but he was there on Wednesday.*

In example (120) *never* is used instead of 'didn't' and scopes over only one instance – *arrive.* Bowerman (2008, 480) also proposes that *never* can be used for emphatic denial as in following example:

(121) Q: *Did you take my wallet?*

A: *No, I **never.***

The use of *never* as an equivalent of *didn't* or *haven't* is a feature typical for lower sociolects of ISAE, and the former also occurs in CFE. Following examples are provided by Mesthrie (2008, 507):

(122) *I **never** go there to find out.* SAE

'I didn't go there to find out (what was happening).' SE

(123) *We* ***never*** *write yet.* SAE
‘We haven’t written (our exams) yet.’ SE

3.13 Word Order

3.13.1 Topicalisation

Topicalisation is one of the notable features of ISAE syntax and discourse organization and it is influenced by many different factors. Firstly, it allows the verb to appear in the final position, as in the following example (Mesthrie 2008, 517):

(124) *Alone you came?* SAE
‘Did you come alone?’ SE

Secondly, fronting does not have to be controlled by the discourse organization. It can appear initially without any given reason or contrast (Mesthrie 2008, 517).

(125) *Your tablet, you took?* SAE

The sentence in example (125) can be formulated without any previous discussion of medication or illness (Mesthrie 2008, 517).

Thirdly, fronting and left dislocation can occur with different semantic roles, including time, location (126), instrument, beneficiary, etc. (Mesthrie 2008, 517):

(126) *Near to Margate that is*. SAE
‘That place is near to Margate.’ SE

Fifthly, Mesthrie (2008, 517) claims that topics may be “extracted” out of embedded clauses, as in the following example:

(127) *Indians, I donno why the like that!* SAE
‘I don’t know why Indians are like that!’ SE

Sixthly, it is also possible to “stack” the topics within a sentence (Mesthrie 2008, 517):

(128) *Therefore, I mean, I feel, Phoenix, living like this, I don’t like it.* SAE
‘Therefore, I don’t like living like this in Phoenix.’ SE

And finally, topicalization is so strong in ISAE that even if the speakers start with a standard SVO structure, they end up recapitulating the subject in the form of pronoun and the verb (Mesthrie 2008, 518):

(129) *We stayed in the Finn Barracks **we stayed.*** SAE

3.13.2 Quasi-postpositions

Nouns *side*, *time*, *part,* and *way* are often used as prepositions in ISAE. Mesthrie (2008, 515) provides the following examples:

(130) *I'm going **Fountain Head-side** tomorrow.* SAE
'I'm going towards Fountain Head tomorrow.' SE

(131) ***Afternoon-part** gets too hot.* SAE
'It gets too hot in the afternoon.' SE

(132) *We have our lunch **twelve o'clock-time**.* SAE
'We have our lunch at/at about twelve o'clock.' SE

In example (130), we can see that *-side* is used instead of the preposition *towards*. The example (131) shows the use of *-part* instead of *in the*. In the last example, (132), *-time* is used as a substitute for *at* or *at about*.

3.13.3 Co-ordination

Some speakers of ISAE use coordinative constructions where marker like *too* is present in final position of both clauses, claims Mesthrie (2008, 515) and provides following examples:

(133) *I made rice **too**, I made roti **too**.* SAE
'I made both rice and roti.' SE

3.13.4 Question-final particles

Question words, especially *what*, are sporadically used in the final position as interrogative markers to put emphasis on the sentence (Mesthrie 2008, 516).

(134) *You din' hear me, **what**?* SAE
'Didn't you hear me?' (emphatic) SE

3.13.5 Clause-final conjunctions

Speakers of ISAE use *but* at the end of clauses with affective meaning, it may be equal to 'really, though, truly' (Mesthrie 2008, 516).

(135) *She donno Tamil? She can talk English, **but**!*

But in the example (135), taken from Mesthrie (2008,516), could be replaced by 'though.'

3.13.6 Direct and indirect object

In standard English, ditransitive verbs allow two possible word orders with direct and indirect objects. Both direct and indirect objects can be realized directly after the verb. According to its complexity or pragmatic importance (Masár Machová 2018, 60-61).
However, it is impossible for an indirect object made of a preposition and a pronoun to precede the direct object.
In CFE, when the indirect object consists of a preposition and a pronoun, it may precede the direct object. This feature comes from Afrikaans, where it represents the usual word order (McCormick 2008, 527).

(136) *He explained* ***to me*** *a lot of things.* SAE
'He explained a lot of things to me.' SE
(137) *I was speaking* ***to her*** *English.* SAE
'I was speaking English to her.' SE

The indirect object *to me* in example (136), taken from McCormick (2008, 528), consists of the preposition 'to' and pronoun 'me'. It precedes the direct object *a lot of things.* In the example (137), also from McCormick (2008, 528), the indirect object *to her* precedes the direct object *English*.

3.14 Subordinations and coordination phenomena

3.14.1 Double conjunctions

In BSAE, adversative constructions, which involve conjunctions such as *although*, *but, even*, *so* etc., mark each clause separately. These constructions ate mainly used in lower sociolects of BSAE (Mesthrie 2008, 495).

(138) ***But*** *I don't know it well,* ***but*** *I like it.*
(139) ***So*** *we (= each family) had about two rooms each,* ***so we stayed***.

3.14.2 *Other…other* constructions

Many speakers of BSAE use *other…other* constructions instead of *one…the other* or *some…other*, used in SE. Similar forms may be found in Zulu and Sotho languages (Mesthrie 2008, 795).

(140) *Others are for proposals, others are against it.* SAE

	‘Some are for proposals, others are against it.	SE
(141)	*The other one was smart, but the other one was not clever.*	SAE
	‘One was smart, but the other one was not.’	SE

3.14.3 Innovations in the form of conjunctions

Some innovations occur in BSAE; these include: *if at all* for ‘if,’ *supposing* for ‘suppose’ or ‘if,’ *because-why* for ‘because’ (Mesthrie 2008, 496).

3.15 Deletion of adverbial suffix

In Cape Flats English, the adverbial suffix *-ly* is often deleted. The adverbs then have the form of the related adjectives (McCormick 2008, 524).

(142) *We must move* ***quick.***

(143) *People would look at him* ***strange****, you know.*

3.16 Tags and expletives

3.16.1 *Ag, Man* and *Hey*

Ag and *man* are very common tags in WSAE. Both usually signify annoyance, but *man* can also express pleasure or delight. *Ag* usually precedes a sentence; *man* mostly follows a sentence but can also precede it. *Ag* is probably of an Afrikaans origin (Bowerman 2008, 482).

(144) *Ag, the Stormers lost again.*

(145) *Get out of my way, man.*

(146) *Man, it’s beautiful!*

Ag and *man* in examples (145) and (146) express annoyance. *Man* in (147) signifies delight, for instance, from pleasant weather.

Hey is another common tag used in WSAE. It is a rough equivalent of ‘isn’t it’ or ‘not so.’ With a strong emphasis and a sharp fall in intonation, it invites an agreement (Bowerman 2008, 482).

(147)	*Wow, it’s big, hey.*	SAE
	‘Wow, it’s big, isn’t it?’	SE
(148)	*We are going to Durban, hey Dad.*	SAE
	‘We are going to Durban, aren’t we dad?’	SE

In example (148), *hey* is used instead of ‘isn’t it,’ in example (149), it is used instead of ‘aren’t we.’

CONCLUSION

This bachelor thesis dealt with the morphosyntactic differences between Standard and South African English and other concepts related to this subject. The primary aim of the thesis was to indicate and describe the morphosyntactic differences between the two varieties.

The first chapter discussed the essential terms such as 'variety,' 'dialect,' and 'accent.' The difference between social and regional dialects was described in this chapter, as well as the 'rhotic' and 'non-rhotic' types of accents. Moreover, the chapter introduced the most general form of the English language, Standard English.

The second chapter focused solely on South African English. It provided an overview of different languages used in the Republic of South Africa and a detailed study of the history of South African English. Furthermore, a description of the South African variety of English was given, together with a description of its subvarieties, White South African English, Black South African English, Indian South African English, and Cape Flats English. Their phonological and lexical variations were also examined in this chapter.

The third and last chapter dealt with the primary matter of the thesis, morphosyntactic differences between South African English and Standard English. The study of South African morphosyntax has shown certain distinctly South African features. Such as the *Is*-inversion occurring in constructions with a topicalized locative determiner, e.g., *here's it* / *there's it*. A noteworthy feature of WSAE is the use of the verb *busy* followed by a present participle. However, the morphosyntactic differences were proven to be more recognizable in the sub-varieties of South African English. A feature typical for CFE are the serial verbs constructions, which are created by deleting the serial markers *and* and *to*. Moreover, the deletion of adverbial suffix *-ly*. The use of copula *be* in the pronoun + *be* + numerical constructions, e.g., *We are ten*, is a feature typical for BSAE. A notable feature of ISAE is topicalization, which may be influenced by many factors. The deviations were mostly derived from Afrikaans, Settlers English, Indian languages, and Bantu languages, especially Zulu and Sotho.

The morphosyntax of South African English offers many deviations from the one of Standard English. However, these are mainly common in the General and Broad form of the variety and its sub-varieties.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ø	Ellipsis
*	Wrong example
ADJ	Adjective
AmE	American English
AusE	Australian English
BrE	British English
BSAE	Black South African English
CFE	Cape Flats English
ETE	Extraterritorial English
ISAE	Indian South African English
L1	First language variety
L2	Second language variety
N	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
OV	Object-Verb
PP	Prepositional Phrase
RC	Relative Clause
RP	Received Pronunciation
SAE	South African English
SE	Standard English
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
WSAE	White South African English

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Figure 1. *Percentage of Population Using Each Official Language as First Language, 1994* 14