

The sociosyntax of verb-second and verb-third placement in Manenberg Kaaps

The University of the Western Cape



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Dedications

In memory of my dearest aunty, Nolene Merle Willemse (25.03.1964 - 19.06.2022)

For Maya Julies (and everyone in her position) who is fighting cancer.

To my beautiful, supportive and loving wife, Tamzyn-Lee.

For my grandparents, David and Kathleen whose prayers carry me through some of the darkest times.

For my parents, André and Jennifer who have sacrificed and taught me so much.

To my brothers Clint and Mandré and their partners, Kim and Shannon.

To my nephews, Zack, Cole, Carter and Cooper, and my nieces, Shelby and Kirsten Van Rooi - I pray for courage, perseverance and faith to be your portion.

For Kaaps and Kaaps speakers. You deserve serious scholarly attention.

For the aspiring linguist and academic: the process is important, embrace it and keep the goal in mind - against all odds.

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Though your beginning was small, Yet your latter end would increase abundantly.

(Job 8:7, New King James Version)

When I started the MA programme, I didn't know much. What I did know, however, is that I wanted to do a syntactic study on Kaaps, and that I wanted Dr Erin Pretorius and Prof Theresa Biberauer to be my supervisors - I was most certain about these things. My beginning was small, in essence. It was also the frightening unknown. Furthermore, the process could often be described as the Biblical story in Mark 4:35-41 in which the disciples and Jesus were in a boat when a storm arose, with waves beating into the boat and the boat filling up with water. But indeed, the end was much better than the beginning.

What I know now, or rather, what I've learnt during the programme cannot be accurately expressed by a transcript or grade. Doing this MA hasn't just taught me syntactic theory or what I know today about verb-second and verb-third (of which there's still much more to learn, I'm sure). No, it taught me much more than that. I've learnt what it means to endure, to keep the faith, to trust in the Lord, and to always keep my eyes on the goal, to always remember why I'm doing what I'm doing - despite the noise.

Needless to say, writing up this thesis and doing the programme and all of the activities that make up the programme took a whole community. This piece of work that you are about to read (assuming that you're starting to read from the front cover) is definitely not the result of a one-man-show. So, in what follows I attempt to acknowledge the input of those who have assisted me in completing the programme.

First and foremost, I thank God. My words will surely fail me in trying to do justice thanking the Creator for all that He has done. But I know that He knows my heart.

One thing that I find interesting is how we (unconsciously) reflect our surroundings, reflect those around us, particularly those who play(ed) a role in our development. Back in my school days when I would deliver speeches (public speaking has been a thing of mine for quite some time now, yes), or partake in some socio-cultural activities, people would often

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Embarking on (postgraduate) studies takes its toll on you. More than that, it also affects those around you. Those closest to you stand to bear the brunt the worse. They often have to deal with your fluctuating stress levels, moods, your frustration, your sorrow, your weight loss, your absenteeism - you name it. (Thankfully they also get to be a part of the victories and breakthroughs!) My wife (fiancé and girlfriend while doing the MA), Tamzyn-Lee has, simply put, been incredible. She was a solid rock. If you think I needed perseverance to complete the thesis, wait until you find out about the perseverance that she needed to co-exist/deal with me. Rarely did she complain. Instead she supported me, often putting my needs above her own. She doctored and offered me coffee when I needed it the most and made sure that I ate so that I could avoid descending into nothingness. Her love, concern and willingness to help were (and are) consistently constant. And when it came to Excel, Tamzyn was a great teacher and help. I'm thankful and grateful to be able to call you my wife. Thank you for everything.

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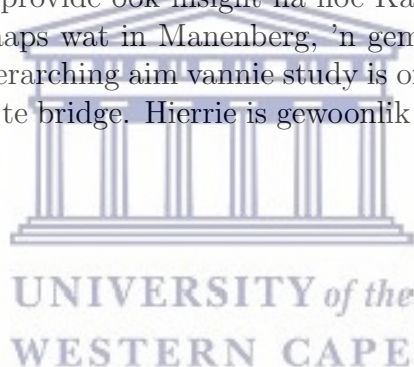
Until the next dissertation,



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Utrecht, The Netherlands, October 2022

Êbstrêkt

Die primary goal van die study is omme detailed en sharply focused sociosyntaktiese description en analysis vanne êspekt van clausal woort order variation in Kaaps, 'n grammatically understudied historiese ryk en marginalised variety van Afrikaans te provide. Special attention is gegee aanni gebruik van verb-second (V2) en verb-third (V3) in relation men sociolinguistiek variables soos lokasie, language background en age. V2 en V3 refer na die posisie vannie verb inne sin en is typical properties van Gemranic taale. Die study aim om possible variations van V2 en V3 te vestaan in relation men sociolinguistiek intricacies. Syntactic properties wat gegather wôt van die research sal aannie documentation en description van Kaaps grammar, ôs understanding van woort order variation in Kaaps en Afrikaans innie algemeen contribute. Dit provide ook insight na hoe Kaaps innie Germanic taal familie inpas. Die study fokus op Kaaps wat in Manenberg, 'n gemeenskap oppie Kaapseflakte, in Suid AFrika gepraat is. 'n Overarching aim vannie study is ommie gap tussen solciolinguistic studies en syntaktiese studies te bridge. Hierrie is gewoonlik getreat soos unrelated studies.



Abstract

The primary goal of this study is to provide a detailed and sharply focused sociosyntactic description and analysis of an aspect of clausal word order variation in Kaaps. Kaaps is a grammatically understudied, historically rich and marginalised variety of Afrikaans. Special attention is given to the use of verb-second (V2) and verb-third (V3) in relation to sociolinguistic variables such as location, language background and age. V2 and V3 refer to the position of the verb in a sentence and are typical properties of West Germanic languages. The study aims to understand possible variations in V2 and V3 and to locate this variation in relation to sociolinguistic intricacies. Syntactic patterns gathered from this research will contribute to the documentation and description of Kaaps grammar, to our understanding of word order variation in Kaaps and in Afrikaans more generally, and they will also provide insight into how Kaaps fits into the West Germanic language family. This study focuses on Kaaps spoken in Manenberg, a community on the Cape Flats, Cape Town, South Africa. An overarching aim of this study is to contribute to the efforts of bridging the gap between sociolinguistic and syntactic studies, which are traditionally treated as being unrelated.

Keywords

Sociosyntax, West Germanic languages, Afrikaans grammar, Kaaps, Clausal word order, Variation, Verb-second, Verb-third

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Abbreviations

AUX.MOD	Modal Auxiliary
AUX.TNS	Tense Auxiliary
BE.COP	Copula verb
CP	Complementiser Phrase
DP	Determiner Phrase
L1	Mother tongue
OV	Object verb constituent order
TP	Tense Phrase
V2	Verb second
V3	Verb third



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Declaration

I declare that *The sociosyntax of verb-second and verb-third placement in Manenberg Kaaps* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Chevān Rooi

Chevān Van Rooi
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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This is an exploratory study which focuses on the grammar and sociolinguistics of verb-second (V2) and verb-third (V3) in Manenberg Kaaps. Kaaps is a matrilectal, historically rich and marginalised variety of Afrikaans spoken predominantly, but not exclusively, in Cape Town. More precisely, the study aims to describe and analyse V2 and V3 in Manenberg Kaaps and make sense of how they interact with specific sociolinguistic variables such as language background and age.

Kaaps is spoken predominantly by descendants of the enslaved population of the early Cape colony and as such the linguistic and social factors influencing the early development of Kaaps are interestingly different from those of Cape Dutch. Although modern Afrikaans developed from a complex interaction between Cape Dutch and the so-called Cape Malay Afrikaans spoken by (descendants of) the enslaved people of the Cape, Kaaps remains a distinct spoken variety that has continued to evolve alongside other varieties of Afrikaans. For socio-historical reasons and because of prevailing socio-political inequality, Kaaps was circumvented during the standardisation process and Kaaps speakers continue to be disadvantaged by racial prejudice which has a strong linguistic component. A lack of systematic documentation and description of the language, which would enable and promote various forms of scholarly activity, including formal linguistic inquiry, is one example of how Kaaps is disadvantaged by the inferior status it holds relative to standard Afrikaans (and other languages in South Africa).

Manenberg, the location in which data for this project was collected, is an area on the Cape Flats which was established in the 1960s under the Apartheid government's forced removal programme. It is a linguistically diverse area where various languages are spoken. These languages include: Afrikaans (including Kaaps), English, isiXhosa and other Southern Bantu languages. According to Census 2011, Afrikaans is the dominant language spoken in Manenberg, with 37 772 (72% of the population) speakers speaking Afrikaans.

Data gathered from this research will contribute to the documentation and description of Kaaps grammar in general. In particular, through description and analysis of syntactic patterns of verb placement, this study will contribute to our understanding of word order variation in Kaaps and in Afrikaans more generally, and provide insight into how Kaaps fits into the West Germanic language family. Furthermore, this study will contribute to theo-

retical developments on language contact. Finally, in addition to contributing to the formal linguistic literature, the study’s sociosyntactic nature allows for potential contributions to sociolinguistic literature as well.

1.2 Problem statement

In the area of syntax especially, Kaaps is severely under-researched. A better understanding of its structural properties would make an important contribution to what we know about Kaaps. On the other hand, Kaaps has undergone, and continues to undergo, rigorous sociolinguistic inquiry (see i.a. le Cordeur 2011; Blignaut 2014; Hendricks 2016; Alim et al. 2021; Van Niekerk 2022).

Kaaps can be defined as a heavily contact-influenced language variety (see Kotzé 2016; Biberauer et al. 2018). Due to the great number of English lexical items that are present in many varieties/registers of Kaaps, it has often been described as a “mixed language” (see Kotzé 2016: 2). The excerpt in (1a) from the Kaaps abstract above illustrates the issue at hand. The English lexical items are italicised.

- (1) a. Die *primary goal* van die *study* is omme *detailed* en *sharply focused* sociosyntaktiese *description* en *analysis* vanne êspekt van clausal woort order *variation* in Kaaps ’n *grammatically understudied*, historiese ryk en *marginalised variety* van Afrikaans te *provide*.

- b. Translation:

The primary goal of this study is to provide a detailed and sharply focused sociosyntactic description and analysis of an aspect of clausal word order variation in Kaaps. Kaaps is a grammatically understudied, historically rich and marginalised variety of Afrikaans.

Given the presence of English lexical items, Kaaps is often viewed simplistically against a backdrop of code-mixing, as a mixed code (McCormick 2002). Code-mixing is defined by Mesthrie (1993: 43) as “the use of words and phrases from two different language systems by the same speaker in the same speech event”. However, it is important to note, even though Kaaps speakers do employ speech practices such as code-mixing/-switching, that Kaaps cannot be summarily characterised by code-mixing/-switching. Kaaps is a language variety in its own right, regardless of whether or not code-mixing occurs. In other words, Kaaps has unique, defining grammatical and lexical properties in the same way that all language varieties do.

This study is about the structural properties of verb placement in Manenberg Kaaps. In Afrikaans, verb placement is characterised by object-verb (OV) constituent order in embedded clauses with an overt complementiser (underlined in (2)), and by V2 constituent order in matrix clauses (3).

- (2) ...dat hy [die boek *object*] **lees**.
 ...that he the book reads
 ‘(I know) that he is reading the book.’

[Constructed by author]

The OV constituent order is seen in embedded clauses (e.g. (2)) headed by an overt complementiser *dat* (‘that’). In such cases, the verb (e.g. *lees* (‘read’)) always follows its object (e.g. *die boek* (‘the book’)); the verb appears in clause-final position.

- (3) a. [Hy *constituent 1*] **lees** [die boek *object*].
 he reads the book
 ‘He is reading the book.’

[Constructed by author]

- b. [In die Kaap *constituent 1*] **lees** hy [die boek *object*].
 in the Cape reads he the book
 ‘In Cape Town he reads the book.’

[Constructed by author]

In standard Afrikaans matrix clauses, the verb always appears in second position; matrix clauses are V2 as the examples in (3) illustrate. V2 is a constituent order which requires the finite verb to obligatorily occupy the second position in a clause (Holmberg 2015: 1). A further requirement for V2 structures such as (3) is that one constituent, a phrase in particular - either a subject (3a) or a non-subject (3b) - precedes the finite verb.

In addition to the V2 patterns presented in (3), standard Afrikaans also displays instances of V3 strings. Consider (4) in which the first and second constituents are marked as such and the verb is boldfaced.

- (4) [By die kerk *constituent 1*] [dan *constituent 2*] **sing** ons almal saam.
 at the church then sing we everyone together
 ‘At church, there we all sing together.’

[Constructed by author]

In (4) the initial constituent (*By die kerk* (‘at the church’)) is an adverbial. The second constituent (*dan* (‘then’)) is a resumptive pronoun. Patterns such as the one in (4) are ultimately analysed as V2 structures: although there are two preverbal constituents in the string, they are analysed as a single complex initial element.

The verb placement in standard Afrikaans differs from that in English as English displays a different V3 string to (4). Consider the English example in (5).

- (5) In the morning_{*constituent 1*} I_{*constituent 2*} **drink** coffee.

In instances such as (5), the two preverbal constituents are not analysed as a single complex initial element. Instead, they are analysed as two distinct preverbal constituents.

With the above Afrikaans and English facts in mind, this study seeks to investigate the nature and variation of V2 and V3 in Manenberg Kaaps, to investigate, to an extent, the

effects of English on the grammar of Kaaps. The research questions that this study aims to answer are provided in Section 1.2.1.

1.2.1 Research questions

The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

1. What is the grammatical status of V2 in Kaaps?
 - (a) Is V2 a consistent main clause property of Manenberg Kaaps?
 - (b) What phrases and categories are permissible first constituents in V2 patterns?
 - (c) What is the nature of the permissible verbs in clause-second position?
2. Is V3 permissible in Manenberg Kaaps? If so:
 - (a) What are the properties of V3 in Manenberg Kaaps?
 - (b) What conditions V3 patterns in Manenberg Kaaps?
 - (c) What phrases and categories are permissible first and second constituents in V3 patterns?
 - (d) What is the nature of the permissible verbs in third position?
3. Do speakers from different social backgrounds investigated in the study exhibit different tendencies in respect of their use of V2 and V3?

1.2.2 Aims and objectives

The proposed study will be guided by the following objectives:

- To provide detailed theoretically informed descriptions of V2 and V3 in Manenberg Kaaps, based on what we know about these phenomena in other West Germanic languages.
- To give serious scholarly attention to the structure of a language spoken by a people who were for a very long time socially and politically side-lined.
- To create a pool of data that will be made available for subsequent research.

1.3 Road map

This study is written up in six chapters. Following the Introduction (the present chapter), the thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2: This chapter provides the necessary background for the study. The reviewed literature includes a diachronic perspective on Kaaps (Section 2.2), followed by a discussion

on the inception of Manenberg, and its present day make-up (Section 2.2.2). Thereafter (Section 2.3), a detailed discussion on the nature of a socio-syntactic study will be provided. Finally, Section 2.4 provides an overview of the literature on V2 and V3.

Chapter 3: This chapter outlines the research design and methodology that was created and employed to collect the data to answer the research questions provided in Section 1.2.2.

Chapter 4: This chapter provides and describes the results of the collected V2 and V3 data. It focuses on syntactic properties of matrix clauses (Sections 4.2 and 4.4.2) as well as embedded clauses (Sections 4.3 and 4.4.3). Finally, Section 4.5 highlights the relationship between syntactic phenomena (e.g. V2 and V3) and sociolinguistic variables (e.g. age and language background).

Chapter 5: This chapter analyses the data using the split CP analysis put forth in Walkden (2017). It further provides sociosyntactic perspectives in relation to preservation and language contact.

Chapter 6: This chapter summarises the main points of the study.



2. Background

2.1 Introduction

This study is positioned within an integrated framework: it is intended as a socio-syntactic study. Sociosyntax refers to a study in which knowledge of sociolinguistics is combined with knowledge of syntax to better understand a given phenomenon (Adger et al. 2020).

In the present chapter I review literature on a number of topics to construct a literature background for the study. The reviewed literature provides a diachronic perspective on Kaaps (Section 2.2). Following that is a discussion on the inception of Manenberg, and its present day make-up (Section 2.2.2). Thereafter (Section 2.3) a detailed discussion on the particulars of a socio-syntactic study is provided. That section is followed by a description of V2 and V3 (Section 2.4). Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary (Section 2.5).

2.2 Kaaps then and now

Kaaps is a variety of Afrikaans spoken predominantly, but not exclusively, by the Coloured community on the Cape Peninsula (Blignaut 2014; Dyers 2016; Hendricks 2016; Roman 2019; see Section 2.2.2.1 of this chapter for a brief discussion on the term ‘Coloured’). By 1808 Kaaps (or at least a predecessor variety of Kaaps) was the home language of most people living in Cape Town, and in 1838 Kaaps was the dominant language spoken by the slaves and people of colour (le Cordeur 2019: 129). It is a variety that, for many years, has been (and to some degree is still being) marginalised and seen merely as a language variety with an inferior status to standard Afrikaans (Van der Rheede 2016; le Cordeur 2019). However, le Cordeur (2019: 129) argues that Kaaps is not “swak Afrikaans” [weak or poor Afrikaans], as standard Afrikaans is not “’n meer korrekte vorm van Afrikaans” [a more correct form of Afrikaans]. Instead, le Cordeur argues that Kaaps is a different variety. Alternative (or previous) names for Kaaps include: *Kaapse Vernakulêre Afrikaans* (‘Cape Vernacular-Afrikaans’, Du Plessis (1987: 130)), and *Kaapse Afrikaans* (‘Cape Afrikaans’, Hendricks (1978: 13-26), Carstens (2003: 291), le Cordeur (2011: 763-766)). Kaaps, as le Cordeur (2019: 128) puts it, is “’n belangrike variëteit van Afrikaans” [an important variety of Afrikaans], and, contrary to what some believe, is “g’n joke-taal nie” [no joke language]. It is not a language that should be reduced to humorous contexts only. In other words, Kaaps is a language that should be

taken seriously as one that can fulfil a full range of functions, formally and informally.

The origins of Kaaps cannot be precisely pinned down or assigned to a homogeneous speech community (Kotzé 2016: 50). However, what is known to us is that Kaaps is one of the oldest varieties of Afrikaans and that it, as its name suggests, finds its roots in Cape Town and environs (Hendricks 2016; le Cordeur 2019).

The development of Kaaps was sparked by contact between the Khoi-Khoi and Dutch (van Rensburg 2018). This Afrikaans was known as Khoi Afrikaans (van Rensburg 2018) and can be traced back to the 1590s. This early variety of Afrikaans is what is referred to as Proto-Afrikaans 1 (Den Besten 1989).

In 1658 slaves from, inter alia, Malaysia, Java, Indonesia, India, Madagascar and Mozambique were brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) (Hendricks 2016; van Rensburg 2018). At this time, Khoi-Khoi and Khoi Afrikaans (and other varieties of Dutch) were important languages in the Cape (van Rensburg 2018). The indigenous people (the Khoi-Khoi), the slaves and the Dutch were required to adapt to the '(macro-) social context' of the time. Thus, they had to find ways to interact with one another, and their masters, as well as to live together and function (le Cordeur 2019: 128). Finding (or developing) a common language was one way to do so. For this reason the development of historical predecessors of Kaaps (e.g. Proto-Afrikaans 1 Den Besten 1989) can be seen as a result of social pressure. Likewise, as Aboh (2015: 125) puts it, "[it is] logical to conclude that the [vernacular] emerged as a mediation language" between the communities on the Cape "where daily interactions [were] negotiated".

As expected, the slaves brought along with them their languages (including mother tongues and other language varieties that they may have spoken, for example Pasar Malay and Creole Portuguese (Hendricks 2016: 9)), thus expanding the pool of existing languages in the Cape. Even though the Khoi-Khoi were free and the slaves were not, there were "enough opportunities for mutual contact to allow them to influence one another's languages" (van Rensburg 2018: 29).¹ After approximately 1806 English was also one of the contact languages (Ponelis 1998; Hendricks 2016).

It should not be assumed that Kaaps, in any simplistic way, replicates Dutch, Afrikaans and or English's structural properties. Instead, Mufwene (2001) proposes a feature pool for the development of contact language varieties (such as Kaaps). The feature pool can be perceived as the accumulation of language features from various languages in a specific socio-cultural context that a speaker draws from when trying to learn a new language. For example, the feature pool for Kaaps presumably consisted of: various 17th century varieties of Dutch, other settler varieties (O-Set-Vs), e.g. German and French, various varieties of Malay, Creole Portuguese (Cr-Portug), Arabic, other slave varieties (O-Sl-Vs), Khoi-Khoi, English as well as Southern Bantu varieties (S-B-Vs), such as isiXhosa, among others. The diagram in Figure 2.1 represents a possible feature pool for Kaaps (inspired by Aboh (2015: 114)).

¹See Aboh (2015: 113-170) for a comprehensive discussion on the development of vernaculars in superdiverse contact situations.

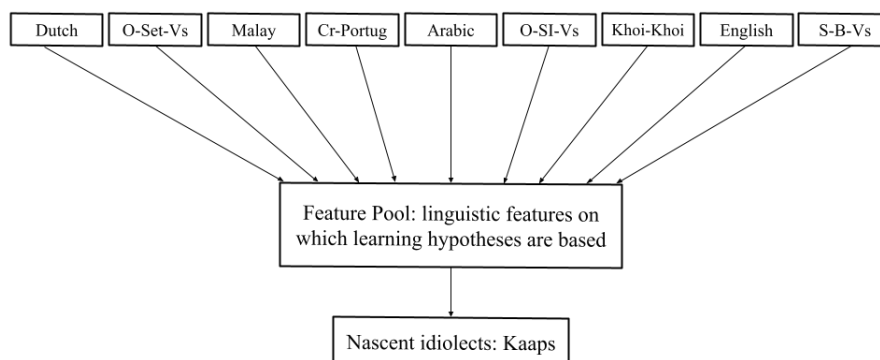


Figure 2.1: Kaaps feature pool

The diagram above highlights an important point: that contact happens at the individual level first, in the mind of the speaker, developing an idiolect (Weinreich 1953; Mufwene 2001; Aboh 2015). An E-language (e.g. Kaaps as it is spoken on the Cape Peninsula), on the other hand, is developed by “cumulative selection of similar properties across idiolects” and by “convergence” (Aboh 2015: 115).² In addition, Figure 2.1 also points out that the structural properties of a developing language are “shaped by learning hypotheses that speakers entertained while trying to learn from one another during interactions” (Aboh 2015: 114).

Before progressing, there is more to be said about the feature pool approach adopted in Mufwene (2001) and Aboh (2015). The idea as presented in the aforementioned works is appealing because it shows that features of distinct grammars can come together in a contact variety. However, there is still a strongly ‘externalist’ perspective in play since it represents the full set of features. It embodies thinking about the full sets of features that monolinguals of the languages in the feature pool will potentially have. A more appealing way of thinking would be in terms of multilingual speakers who may know some of the languages better than others. If we think about multilingual speakers who may know some languages better than others, it becomes clear that a multilingual speaker will not necessarily have all the features of all the languages in his mind. Thus, when considering Kaaps, the feature pool idea should be rethought in terms of a more ‘internalist’ perspective which takes the multilingual speaker as the point of departure, as opposed to thinking about which of the languages may have

²The term E-language as used in the context of this current passage (and Aboh (2015: 115)), is not Chomsky’s notion, as it was originally conceived in Chomsky (1986: 20). In Chomsky (1986: 20), Chomsky introduced the notion E-language to refer to a collective term for productions of different kinds by people who in some sense can be said to speak ‘the same’ language; Chomsky did not use the notion to refer to a language system, as it is used in this current context.

influenced the contact language (e.g. Kaaps) that people speak in a given context.

Today when we speak about Kaaps, we should avoid speaking of Kaaps as a single, homogenous variety. Instead, Kaaps should be viewed as a cluster of varieties where “socioculture and community of practice are important factors” (Klopper 1983, Van Rensburg 1989, De Vries 2006, in Biberauer & Pretorius 2019: 4). The idea of a cluster of varieties is supported by both inter- and intra-speaker variation within one variety (Biberauer & Pretorius 2019). Walkden (2017: 51) proposes the term “urban vernacular” as a justified term to refer to the West Germanic varieties he focused on. “Urban” highlights the urban locations in which the varieties are used; “vernacular” denotes that the variety is a non-standardised variety that forms part of a heteroglossic spectrum. In this regard, Kaaps too can be described as an urban vernacular variety (of Afrikaans).

Below, in Section 2.2.1, properties of Kaaps that have been noted in the literature are provided and discussed.

2.2.1 A glimpse of Kaaps properties

Kaaps has a linguistically diverse lexicon. Apart from English (see example 1a in Chapter 1) the lexicon also reveals/shows evidence of Arabic influence (see also the feature pool for Kaaps (Blignaut (2014), see also Figure 2.1 above).³ For example:⁴

- (1) *Shukran* vir.rie *barakat*.
Thanks for.the blessings
'Thank you for the doggie bag/the food that we can take home.'
[Constructed by author]

The word *barakat* in (1) is not only borrowed from Arabic, it is also assigned new meaning. The Arabic meaning of *barakat* is ‘blessings’. However, in Kaaps (as used in (1)) it refers to edibles that one usually takes home after an event or function.

The assigning of new or extended meanings to existing words is a common practice in Kaaps (Blignaut 2014). Words such as *gevaarlik* (‘dangerous’) and *duidelik* (‘clear’) can also mean ‘impressive’, ‘good’, ‘nice’ or ‘cool’. *Koppel* (‘to join’ / ‘to connect’) can also mean ‘to catch’ or ‘to develop’. Examples are provided in (2).

- (2) a. Hais ‘n gevaarlike kar.
that.BE.COP a dangerous car
'That's an attractive/impressive car.'

³The Arabic influence can be traced back to the very time that enslaved Muslims were brought to the early Cape (i.e. very soon after the VOC established the settlement). Islam was practised, whether or not condoned by the authorities. The Muslim community (i.e. speakers of Arabic) gave rise to what Roman (2019: 18) calls “Muslim Afrikaans”. As a result of contact, the then Afrikaans variety was influenced by Arabic lexical words which to date are still evident in Kaaps.

⁴Unless otherwise stated, all examples are created / provided by the author, who is a home language speaker of Kaaps.

- b. Bru, jou taanie is mos duidelik.
 friend your mommy BE.COP just clear
 ‘Friend, your mommy is so cool.’⁵
- c. Jy moenie *feelings* koppellie.
 you must.NEG feelings join
 ‘You musn’t fall in love (e.g. with her).’

[Constructed by author]

Kaaps also has some phonologically distinctive features. There are instances of vowel raising (Blignaut 2014: 21). For example: /ʊə/ in [rʊək] raises to /ʊ/ as in [rʊk] (‘smoke’); affrication in which /j/ in [jəɪ] changes to an affricate /tʃ/ as in [tʃəɪ] (‘you’). There are also instances in which vowel lengths are shortened. For example, /ʌ:/ in [xʌ:n] gets shortened to /ʌ/ as in [xʌn] (‘go’). In addition, Kaaps also has instances of coalescence. For example, /n/ in [o:ns] can undergo coalescence with the preceding vowel, i.e. [ō : s] (‘we’), usually represented in writing as *ô*s.

Morphologically, Kaaps morphemes (both inflectional and derivational) can attach to English roots (Blignaut and Lesch 2014). For example the participle marker *ge-* can attach to English verbal roots, e.g. *geworry* (‘worried’); the nominalising suffix *-ery* can also attach to English verbs, e.g. *shoutery* (‘the shouti-ness’). Further notable morphological properties noted by Hendricks (2016: 26,29) include:

1. Doubling plural morphology. For example *flatse* (‘block of flats’) and *broese* (‘friends’ / ‘brothers’). In these examples, it appears that we have not only the plural suffix *-s* (as in *tafels* (‘tables’)), but also *-e* (as in *stoele* (‘chairs’)).
2. Attributive adjectival inflection. For example, *rooie rokkie* (‘red dress’) in which *-e* attaches to adjectives which precede their nouns.

Syntactically, there are two particularly important properties to highlight. First, Kaaps,⁶ like standard Afrikaans and other West Germanic languages such as Dutch and German, is a verb-final, ‘basic OV’ language variety. By this it is meant that the verb follows the object in all cases in embedded clauses (as in 3a), and it also follows the object when the verb is non-finite, i.e. when there is a finite auxiliary in main clauses (as in 3b).

- (3) a. ..._{CP} dat ôs dai kos_O moet iet_V.]
 ... that we that food AUX.MOD eat
 ‘... that we should eat that food.’

⁵‘*Mos*’ is quite a peculiar word, too unique to translate simply. We could categorise it as a ‘modal particle’ (Conradie 2015: 41). In some contexts *mos* can mean ‘right’: **Speaker A:** Jy het hom dit al explain (‘You already explained this to him’). **Speaker B:** Mos! (‘right’/‘exactly’). There are perhaps even other uses for *mos*. *Mos* is also used in other colloquial Afrikaans varieties, but Kaaps may feature usages/interpretations not found in other varieties.

⁶Here I am specifically referring to varieties of Kaaps previously discussed in the literature, i.e. not Manenberg Kaaps which is the focus of this dissertation.

- b. Hulle het_{VFIN} [nou ‘n song_O gesing_V.]
 they AUX.TNS now a song sang
 ‘They sang a song.’

[Constructed by author]

Biberauer & Pretorius (2019: 1) note that it is striking that the Kaaps that they focused on has, despite diachronic tendencies for OV grammars to become VO, retained its OV basic word order. Despite the fact that Kaaps retains the ‘basic OV’ property that it shares with other West Germanic languages, surface orders in which the verb in embedded clauses and the non-finite verb in main clauses is not final are common. This is seen clearly by extraposition; instances in which a constituent, typically an adverb or PP, leaks, past the verb (see (4)). This is a striking property of all Afrikaans varieties and Kaaps permits frequent leaking. The leaked constituent is in square brackets.

- (4) Ôs het die monument gevisit [innie Kaap in].
 we AUX.TNS the monument PTCPL-visit [in.the Cape in]
 ‘We visited the monument in Cape Town.’

[Constructed by author]

In (4), the leaked constituent *innie Kaap in* (‘in Cape Town in’) is a locative adverbial.⁷ The adverbial has leaked past the non-finite verb *gevisit* (‘visited’).

The second Kaaps syntactic property of interest is V2 (Holmberg 2015). V2 is defined by Biberauer & Pretorius (2019: 1) as a clausal property in terms of which “the finite verb moves into C domain and moreover requires some phrase (subject or non-subject) to fill its specifier position (Spec-C).” (see also Section 2.4 in this Chapter for a detailed discussion on V2 in West Germanic more generally.) To summarise, Kaaps being V2 means that the finite verb in main clauses is raised to obligatorily occupy the second position in the clause. Consider the data in (5). The verb in second position is in bold.

- (5) a. [_{Spec-C}Ek] **wil**_{VFIN} saam haa daa afklim.
 I AUX.MOD together her there off.get
 ‘I want to get off with her there.’
 b. [_{Spec-C}Môre] **het**_{VFIN} [hulle skool aan].
 Tomorrow have they school on
 ‘They have to attend school tomorrow.’

[Constructed by author]

The fact that Kaaps is characterised by ‘basic OV’ word order and V2 is indicative of its membership to/origins in the West Germanic language family.⁸ Figure 2.2 below illustrates the West Germanic language family tree. Kaaps (encircled in the diagram) is marked as a variety of Afrikaans.

⁷Locative PPs in which the P element *in* is doubled is also a syntactic feature of Kaaps PPs.

⁸These are but two of various relevant West Germanic properties. Additionally, Kaaps, like other West Germanic languages also features particle verbs (e.g. *afklim* (‘get off’) as in (5a)) and verb clusters (*moet iet* (‘must eat’) as (3a)).

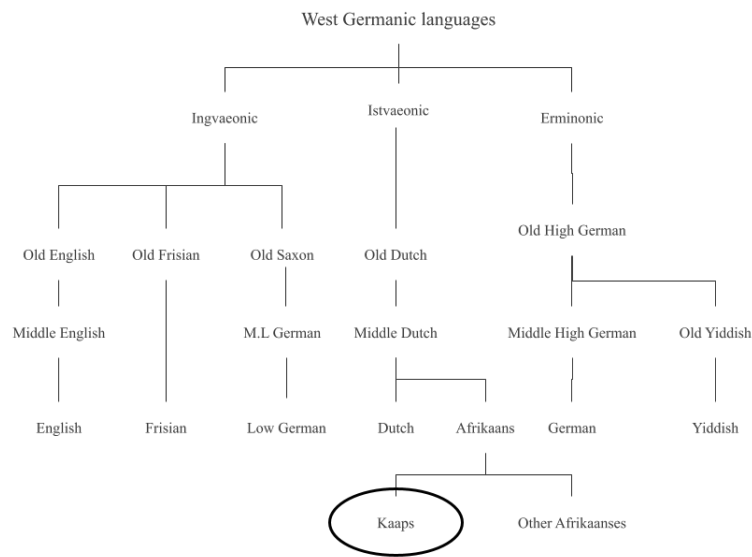


Figure 2.2: West Germanic language family tree (adapted from Biberauer 2019b: 3)

West Germanic languages are OV / V-final languages. This property (OV) distinguishes West Germanic languages from the North Germanic languages (Biberauer 2019b: 5). Consider the data in (6).

- (6) a. ...dat Cook de verwijzing_O op zocht_v
 ...that Cook the reference up seek
 ‘(He said) that Cook looked up the reference.’
 [Dutch; Zwart 2011: 249]
- b. ...dass Cook die Referenz_O nachgeschlagen hat_v.
 ...that Cook the reference to.PTCPL-looked AUX.TNS
 ‘(He said) that Cook looked up the reference.’
 [German]
- c. ...dat Cook die verwysing_O opgesoek het_v.
 ...that Cook the reference up.PTCPL-look AUX.TNS
 ‘(He said) that Cook looked up the reference.’
 [Afrikaans; constructed by author]

All West Germanic languages with the exception of English are V2 (Biberauer 2019b: 5). Consider the examples in (7).

- (7) a. Tasman **heeft** Nieuw-Zeeland ontdek-t
 Tasman AUX.TNS New-Zeland discover-ed
 ‘Tasman discovered New Zealand’.

[Dutch; Zwart 2011: 281]

- b. Ich **gehe** morgen einkaufen.
I AUX.MOD tomorrow shopping
'Tomorrow I am going shopping.'

[German; Walkden 2017: 1]

- c. Ek **gaan** môre inkopies doen.
I AUX.MOD tomorrow shopping do
'Tomorrow I am going shopping.'

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

In summary, this section has introduced Kaaps from a synchronic and diachronic perspective. It has briefly introduced some key formal properties of Kaaps, including those that will be particularly significant in the context of this dissertation. The fact that Kaaps is a V-final and V2 language affirms that Kaaps is part of the West Germanic language family.

The following section (Section 2.2.2) is devoted to providing an overview of Manenberg, the data collection site.

2.2.2 Manenberg: A socially and politically engineered town, and a thriving habitat for Kaaps

The environment in which contact takes place is important to linguistic inquiry. It is worth quoting at length from Bastardas-Boada (2002):

Certain precise conceptualizations of biological ecology are of great heuristic use to [linguists], in particular with regard to our understanding of developmental phenomena. For example, the findings of the bioecologists that have preceded us will deepen our understanding of the contacts between different linguistic groups. The contact between two species, they tell us, is never purely binary. A third element is always present: the environment in which the contact takes place. The application of this perspective to the field of sociolinguistics is extraordinarily productive. In the contact between two linguistic groups, we should not focus solely on the groups involved but also, and indeed above all, on the broader context in which the contact takes place. As in biological species, the context may tend to favor one group over the other, and so the third element may have a decisive impact on the situation's development. (Bastardas-Boada 2002: 2-3)

The quote reveals to us the importance of an approach to linguistic inquiry which also takes the context or environment in which a language is used into account. More specifically, it emphasises the importance of sociocultural habitat for contact situations. In a way, Manenberg can be perceived as an environment, a context in which contact takes places between languages or even between different varieties of a given language, e.g. Kaaps.

2.2.2.1 On the term ‘coloured’ and coloured identity

As one of the townships created and intended for coloured people, in 2011, 84% of the population in Manenberg (out of a 52 877 total population size) is coloured (Census 2011).⁹ The term “coloured” and much of the discourse around the term to date, has its roots in apartheid policy. *The Population Registration Act of 1950* (a piece of apartheid legislation used to enforce segregation) defined a coloured person as a person “who is not a white person or a native”.¹⁰ This definition, although it may seem straightforward and simple, has embedded within it complexities and struggles that are grappled with by many ‘coloured’ South Africans - in post-apartheid South Africa. Van Niekerk (2022: 8) puts it succinctly: “this essentialised view of race reflects the often quoted struggle of those who self-identify as coloured, that because they are neither ‘white’ nor ‘black’, they are thus seen as the segment of the population that is always in the middle”. This quote, in a sense, shares the sentiment of being *neither here nor there*. By this I mean that coloured people are, to some degree or another, overlooked. Even in the histories of South Africa, “coloured people have effectively been written out of the narrative and marginalised to a few throw-away comments scattered through the text” (Jacobs 2010: 1). It is for this reason that this dissertation not only aims to investigate the formal properties of Kaaps, but to also pay honour and due respect to the coloured population.

2.2.2.2 Manenberg and Apartheid

Manenberg is a product of social and political engineering during the apartheid era. Apartheid was a system of legislation, implemented in the 1940s, that enforced segregationist or separatist policies against non-white South Africans, in favour of the white minority group of the population (Robins 2002; Giliomee 2003; Jacobs 2010). The apartheid system sanctioned racial segregation and political and economic discrimination against non-whites. Manenberg, for example, was established in 1966 during the roll out of the apartheid regime’s forced removal programme (FRP) (Jacobs 2010: 6). The FRP was a cornerstone of the apartheid policy. A mechanism of the FRP was the *Group Area’s Act of 1950*. It was inhumane and disruptive. The act allowed for the forced removal of non-white citizens from city-centres and economically fertile areas, and aimed to maintain the segregation between whites and non-whites. For example, many people who had homes and lived in District Six (an inner-city residential area in Cape Town) have been forcibly removed from their homes and moved to areas on the Cape Flats, such as Manenberg, Heideveld, Gugulethu and Hanover Park (see Figure 2.3). They were “far removed from jobs and organised in racially segregated townships separated from each other by unoccupied buffer zones” (Rospabe & Selod 2006: 262). The engineers, despite their ideology and motivations being, for all intents and purposes,

⁹The remaining 16% of the population consists of: 11.7% Black, 0.5% Indian or Asian, 0.8% White and 3% “Other” people. The latest census is underway (February - March 2022), and these figures are expected to have changed since 2011.

¹⁰Another definition of coloured denotes a person who is mixed race (e.g. of both European and African descent) (Adhikari 2009: 8).

inhumane, they were spectacularly successful in achieving their mission. The aforementioned statement is supported by the fact that the results of their precision, ideological beliefs and motivations still have noticeable detrimental effects on present day democratic South Africa. One of the (well known) systems implemented by the ‘engineers’ in discussion is Apartheid - meaning “apartness”.

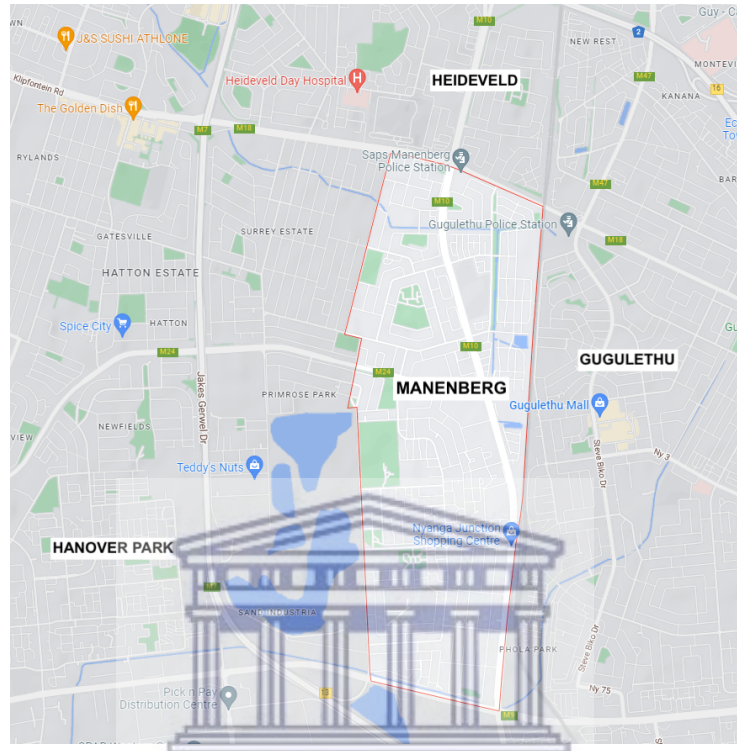


Figure 2.3: Map of Manenberg and surrounding areas, Google Maps 2022

To date, as already mentioned earlier, there are still effects of apartheid in post-apartheid South Africa (see Robins (2002) for a detailed discussion on the implications of apartheid spatial planning, also Jacobs 2010). Among these effects are: severe poverty, broken families,¹¹ fatherlessness, high levels of crime and gang violence, substance abuse, low school enrollment rates and high school drop-out rates. According to Census 2011, a mere 26% of those aged 20 years and older from Manenberg have completed grade 12 (the highest school grade) or higher. Some of these effects were clearly evident while doing data collection in

¹¹Recently (in 2021) I interviewed a family who currently lives in Mitchell’s Plain - a predominantly middle class Coloured area in Cape Town, established over 30 years ago. The husband (we shall call him Chris), in his childhood, lived in Diep River - a formerly non-white area changed to a white area under the Group Areas Act. He tells of the large and beautiful house that they had as a family - aunts and uncles, and their children, all lived together in one home. Due to apartheid laws, their family had to break up and move to different areas, out of Diep River. Chris and his immediate family ended up in Manenberg. He eventually married his wife and moved to Mitchell’s Plain. But his childhood family remains tainted by apartheid, divided and destitute of the bond that they once shared.

Manenberg. Court yards were filled with children, who to my knowledge, are still supposed to be in school. Drug dealers openly execute their transactions, and (young) adults roam around, directionless, without employment. These are indeed sobering sights.

2.2.2.3 Present day Manenberg

It is equally important to note that Manenberg is not best characterised by dysfunctionality (see Robins 2002 for references). While collecting data in Manenberg, I realised that the residents of Manenberg have adapted, perhaps out of necessity, to life in Manenberg. There are systems at play that they need to be given credit for. For example, to survive, residents have opened little shops from home, to generate an (extra) income. This is indicative of, among others, aspirations to be business owners, entrepreneurial mindsets, creativity and a desire to serve customers. Many single mothers have made immense sacrifices to see their children through school. A number of adults who were not afforded the opportunity to pursue an education (or who had dropped out for some reason), are now attending night school to obtain a grade 12 certificate. These facts highlight a strong value and desire for education. Other signs of a functioning society include the fact that over many years, residents have been able to share communal washing lines, with minimal conflict, and many non-government organisations (e.g. *The Manenberg People's Centre*) have been established to alleviate social ills in the area. These signs suggest a sense of community and respect among neighbours.

Manenberg is a community accurately described as diverse. It is multilingual, multiracial, and inter-religious. On multilingualism, Afrikaans (including Kaaps), English, isiXhosa and other Southern Bantu languages, as well as sign language are used in Manenberg. Afrikaans is the dominant language, with 37 772 (72%) speakers, followed by English with 9 352 (18%) speakers (Census 2011). The paragraph above already sheds light on how racially diverse Manenberg is. The most prominent religions practised in Manenberg include Christianity and Islam.

Kaaps echoes in the courtyards of Manenberg. It is heard on the streets and the playgrounds, used in the local commercial sector, in churches, and many other dialogical spaces. Manenberg's current socio-cultural make-up is set up for Kaaps to thrive. This is due to a number of factors. (i) There is a large Afrikaans (Kaaps) speaker population in Manenberg. (ii) Anecdotal evidence suggests that there is an increase in activism for Kaaps (and coloured culture at large) in the area. (iii) Given the low school attendance rate (mentioned above), there is less influence from the standard variety of Afrikaans. Lastly, (iv) the increase in (or stable) birthrate in Manenberg could mean that more speakers are being born who would learn (and speak) Kaaps as their L1.

In summary, this subsection was aimed at providing an overview of the socio-cultural make-up of Manenberg. It provided both a historical and present day perspective on Manenberg. The following section unpacks what a socio-syntactic study is, and examines its utility.

2.3 Socio-syntax: An ecology for variation and meaning making

On one level, this study is largely concerned with variation (see, for example Labov 1972a; Silverstein 1985; Kayne & Benincà 1989; Labov & Harris 1994; Eckert 2000, 2008, for studies on variation). Variation can be perceived from two perspectives (Adger et al. 2020: 2). The first: variation between grammars (perhaps better understood as inter-speaker variation), and, the second (Adger & Smith 2010: 1-2): variation within a single grammar (perhaps better understood as intra-speaker variation). The former perspective compares grammars, investigating how grammar X and Y differ. The latter approach to variation, intra-speaker variation, is concerned with the ability of speaker X to convey the same or very similar meanings with various linguistic forms. Put differently, ‘grammar’ can be studied at various levels. At the ‘macro-level’, the grammars of (vastly) different languages are examined in a comparative study. Typology is one field of inquiry that operates at this level. At the ‘micro-level’ there are also different levels of ‘grain’: micro-variation studies usually focus on variation between two or more closely related varieties of the same language. At a finer grain, we are comparing the grammars of idiolects (see Cornips & Corrigan 2005b for an overview of syntactic variation of this latter type).

The goal of this section, in a sense, is to argue for an approach to syntactic variation which is better understood as the interaction between sociolinguistics and theories of generative grammar (Mufwene 2001; Adger 2006; Adger & Trousdale 2007; Adger & Smith 2010; Aboh 2015; Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019; Röthlisberger & Tagliamonte 2020; Aboh & Vigouroux 2021, among others).

2.3.1 A historical perspective on approaches to linguistic inquiry

As a point of departure, consider the following passage from Chomsky’s (1965) *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*:

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance (Chomsky 1965: 3).

According to Adger et al. (2020), the passage was written at a time when many linguists assumed that linguistic theory should be concerned with external linguistic behaviour. This meant that linguists classified and analysed utterances into “phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases and sentences” (Adger et al. 2020: 1). In other words, the focus of the analysis was behaviour. Chomsky’s (1965) passage above was a response to the behaviour-oriented movement. Chomsky (1965) presented an alternative approach to linguistics, one which is

concerned with the internal cognitive systems that would, to some degree or another, be responsible for the observable linguistic behaviour.

In attempting to achieve his goal, Chomsky proposed several idealisations (Adger et al. 2020: 1):¹²

1. The ideal speaker-listener. This idealisation is centred around the idea that the speaker and listener, alike, have perfect knowledge of the language of the speech community that they belong to.
2. The homogeneous speech community. Here speech community is used to refer to speakers of a particular language, for example speakers of Kaaps forming a speech community. The idealisation viewed the behaviour of the members of a speech community to be “essentially alike”.
3. Competence versus performance. The third idealisation is centred, as the passage above reveals, around a shift from properties of performance - “grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attentions...” - to properties of competence (Chomsky 1965: 3). Competence refers to the native speaker’s knowledge of his/her language (Chomsky 1965: 4). This can be described as an “idealized capacity that is located as a psychological or mental property or function” (Sarimsakova 2019: 166). Performance, on the other hand, refers to the actual use of language in real-life situations (Chomsky 1965: 4), regardless of the knowledge that a speaker may have regarding the (prescriptive) rules of a given language, for example.

Taken together, the idealisations were meant to pave the way for linguistic theorists to more closely approach the nature of the cognitive system. This cognitive system Chomsky perceived to be central to accounting for human language and refers to the grammatical system - morpho-syntax and phonology (Adger et al. 2020: 1).

Importantly, against the backdrop of variation, the ostensible problem with the perspective(s) proposed by Chomsky (1965) is that it fails to account for intra-speaker variation and variation found in non-homogeneous speech communities. In light of this, Adger et al. (2020: 2) argue that the idealisations are not injunctions and that linguistic theory has since developed beyond these idealisations (see Chomsky’s 1995 *The Minimalist Program*; Kayne 1996 on microparameters; Henry 1996 and Kayne & Looseleaf (2000) for a historical shift beyond Chomsky’s 1965 idealisations), in ways that now enable us to account for intra-speaker variation, amongst other things.

¹²A brief comment on the use of the term *ideal/idealisation* is in order here. “Ideal” is not used to denote the ‘most desirable’ or ‘best’ (i.e. an ethic). The use of the term *idealisation* should, instead, be understood in terms of scientific inquiry, i.e. ‘scientific idealisation’. Weisberg (2007: 2) defines this type of idealisation as “the practice of introducing distortions into theories with the goal of simplifying them in order to make them computationally tractable.” In other words, although *idealisation* is like adding training wheels to a bicycle for toddlers and should eventually be ‘removed’, i.e. complexity needs to be added back into the picture, it is necessary to do at first. It may be that the specific way in which we ‘idealise’ can sometimes lead us to a fundamentally flawed perception of the phenomenon that we are seeking to understand, e.g. we may simplify the picture in the wrong way, however, idealising in itself is necessary.

Another problem stems from the notion of “homogeneous speech-community” (Chomsky 1965: 3). Today it is almost impossible to imagine a homogeneous speech community, given the urban settings and highly multilingual backgrounds of individuals who make up the speech communities (see Aboh 2015 for a perspective on multilingualism that challenges the notion of homogeneous speech communities). A homogeneous speech community, as noted above, assumes that members of the speech community are united by what was believed to be essentially alike competence (Chomsky 1965: 3). Thus, variation that was not deterministic¹³ was viewed as free, arbitrary and outside of the internal linguistic system, i.e. the I-language. I-language is the same as competence, as introduced above. In other words, such variation was not relevant to a competence-based study.

Contrary to the point on free variation, Labov, in his 1966 volume *The Social Stratification of English in New York*, demonstrated that the relationship shared by phonemes and their realisations were neither arbitrary nor were they categorical. The multiple realisations of a single phoneme were, as Labov (1966: 169) argued, influenced, though not determined by, both linguistic and social factors. Thus variation was not viewed as free but was viewed as ordered heterogeneity (Weinreich et al. 1968: 167).

It is then not surprising that Chomsky’s (1965) propositions were deemed problematic in sociolinguistics (Adger et al. 2020: 2). In opposing the propositions made in Chomsky’s (1965) work, Weinreich et al. (1968: 100) criticised the generative model used for the description of language as a homogeneous object as being “unrealistic” and representative of a “backward step from structural theories capable of accommodating the facts of orderly heterogeneity”. The opponents here were arguing against the idealisations of Chomsky (1965) because of the inability/failure of these idealisations to account for variation within a language.

Essentially, in the 1960s, generative theory and sociolinguistics, specifically variationist sociolinguistics, diverged from one another. This was evinced by their methodological approaches and their theoretical positions (Cornips & Corrigan 2005b; Cornips 2015; Adger et al. 2020). Although, as Cornips (2015: 3) argues, there are formal resonances between the paradigms, fundamental differences between them “created a schism that has persisted through most of the later twentieth century”.

It is in marrying the two paradigms that we are able to provide a more precise analysis of syntactic variation and gain a better understanding of not only intra-speaker variation but also inter-speaker variation. The following sub-section discusses the union, the formed ecology, between sociolinguistics and syntax.

¹³Some variation is claimed to be deterministic. This means that some variation “is determined categorically by context, as are the classical notions of phoneme and allophone” (Adger et al. 2020:2). The opposite of deterministic variation, as early generative grammar viewed it, would be “free variation” (Adger et al. 2020:2).

2.3.2 A necessary reconciliation: A combined approach to variation-oriented linguistic inquiry

Syntactic variation is limited, constrained by grammar, and some parts of grammar are less affected by or more resistant to variation (Cornips 2015). The reality, however, is that in certain contexts speakers may circumvent such syntactic restrictions. Thus an approach that is able to account for such variation is necessary.

Sociosyntax, as the name suggests, is a framework in which variation is analysed that combines knowledge of usage or sociolinguistics and theories of grammar or syntax (see, i.a. Cornips & Corrigan 2005a,b; Adger 2006; Cornips 2015; Adger et al. 2020; Moore 2021). A sociosyntactic study thus shifts the focus and perspective away from an “ideal speaker-hearer” (Chomsky 1965: 3), as this provides a decontextualised view on syntactic variation and change, to an approach that accounts for a speaker-hearer relationship that is intrinsically social in nature or embedded within a social context (Labov 1966; Cornips 2015). A sociosyntactic study, in essence, is an attempt at understanding the (range of) mechanisms that determine syntactic variation and change, combining knowledge from both paradigms.

According to Cornips (2015: 4) such a combined approach is necessary for two reasons. First, both approaches are necessary to account for the fact that inter- and intra-speaker variation are not rare, but occur in normal, daily situations. Second, syntactic variation and sociolinguistic change happen frequently. I think an important point to note about the changes here is that the syntactic variation and sociolinguistic change do not occur independently of one another, although they may. Instead, these factors may influence each other, albeit to varying degrees (see Meechan & Foley 1994; Eckert 2012, 2016; Adger 2016; Moore 2021, among others). In other words, when linguistic features (or variation) are examined through a sociosyntactic lens, an interaction between and variation in those features will become evident. A linguistic ecology emerges.

The call for the marriage between syntax and sociolinguistics is not emerging only recently (see, for example, Labov 1966, 1972b, 1978). Wilson & Henry (1998: 2) had already pointed out that there were (albeit only a few) attempts to combine the two approaches into one. According to Cornips (2015: 4), in the nineties, “sincere [or an increase in] attempts have been undertaken to integrate grammar and usage”.¹⁴ Further, Wilson & Henry (1998: 8) argue that there is an interaction between syntactic variation and sociolinguistic factors, specifically that the syntactic variation is guided by social factors but “constrained by the nature of possible grammars” (see also Sells et al. 1996: 173 on this point).

Both paradigms (variationist or sociolinguistic and generativist or syntactic) stand to benefit from the proposed union, i.e. the endeavour to conduct sociosyntactic studies. For the variationist approach, adopting the “technical apparatus” from generative grammar would allow for a better understanding of microvariation. Likewise, Sells et al. (1996: 173) notes the following:

¹⁴See Adger (2006), Adger and Trousdale (2007) and Cornips and Corrigan (2005a) - among others - for a brief overview of such work.

Variation theory needs grammatical theory because a satisfactory grammatical characterization of a variable is a pre-requisite to decisions about what to count and how to count it, and it is an essential element in the larger question about where variation is located in speakers' grammars.

On the other hand, for the generativist, it is useful to perceive the organisation of grammar as “somehow reflected in patterns of usage” (Cornips & Corrigan 2005a: 7). Furthermore, by employing a variationist methodology, for example a quantitative approach, the generativist can catch “a glimpse of grammatical structure” (Meechan & Foley 1994: 82; Sells et al. 1996: 624). In other words, it is shown that quantitative results may yield strong support for structural analysis (Pintzuk 1995; Van der Wurff 2000) and they also “provide more evidence for microvariation between closely related grammatical systems exhibiting ‘orderly heterogeneity’” (Cornips & Corrigan 2005b: 7).

To further reiterate, Barbiers (2005: 235) articulates that:

Generative linguistics and sociolinguistics are complementary in that it is the task of sociolinguistics to describe and explain the patterns of variation that occur within a linguistic community, given the theoretical limits of this variation uncovered by generative linguistics.

In addition, Eckert (2016: 3) contends that the social does not only influence or effect variation, but variation (or syntactic structures, for example) is also seen as an agent of change in the social realm.¹⁵ In the process of communication, within various dialogical spaces, speakers reproduce, and as a result possibly change structures (both social and syntactic).

In summary, the content discussed in this section reveals (or at least alludes to the fact) that there is a shared relationship between the two approaches to linguistic inquiry. A combined approach allows for a systematic collection strategy that will yield a more accurate analysis of variation exhibiting ‘orderly heterogeneity’. Without a combined approach of the kind this study adopts, certain syntactic phenomena will remain elusive (Cornips & Corrigan 2005a). The following section presents and discusses the syntactic mechanisms relevant to this study.

2.4 Verb-second (V2)

Verb second (V2) is a syntactic property that can be found in all Germanic languages (and a number of non-Indo-European languages) but not in English (Vikner 1995, 2020; Holmberg 2015; Hsu 2017; Walkden 2017).¹⁶ As introduced in Chapter 1 above, this study aims to investigate whether V2 is a consistent property in Manenberg Kaaps.

¹⁵See also Cornips (2015: 5) for a brief discussion on the agency of variation.

¹⁶English (and French) has what Rizzi (1990: 375) has termed “residual V2”: it has V2 in questions, and some other instances (Vikner 1995; Holmberg 2015).

In V2 languages, V2 is found in all main clauses for all finite verbs (see for example (8) below), and also in some embedded clauses. When thinking about V2, it is useful to think of the clause as being divided into three parts:

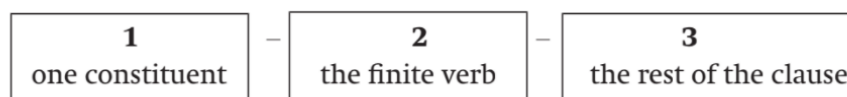


Figure 2.4: The partitioning of the clause (Vikner 2020: 368)

What Figure 2.4 illustrates is that verb second means that the finite verb (obligatorily) occupies the second constituent position in a clause (Biberauer 2002; Holmberg 2015; Vikner 2020). Consider the examples in (8). The finite verb (in second position) is boldfaced.

- (8) a. Die kind **het**_{VFIN} stadig die boek gelees.
the child have slow the book PTCPL-read
‘The child read the book slowly.’
- b. Die boek **het**_{VFIN} die kind stadig gelees.
the book have the child slow PTCPL-read
- c. Stadig **het**_{VFIN} die kind die boek gelees.
slow have the child the book PTCPL-read

[Std Afrikaans]

The examples in (8) illustrate that regardless of what the first constituent is in Afrikaans, the finite verb always occupies the second position in the clause (see Section 2.4.1 below for a detailed outline of the various permissible first constituents in West Germanic languages). On the robustness of patterns like those in (8), standard Afrikaans is classified as a V2 language. Adopting a generative perspective, Biberauer and Pretorius (2019:1) define V2 as a clausal property “on which the finite verb moves into the C domain [V-to-C movement] and moreover requires some phrase (subject or non-subject) to fill its specifier position (Spec-C).”

Another way of conceptualising the Germanic (declarative) clause is in terms of the German topological field model (Ruhnau 2011; Wiese & Müller 2018). The field model, conceptually speaking, consists of three fields or “coherent regions in the surface order of German[ic] sentences” (Ruhnau 2011: 3): the forefield, the middle field and the postfield. Together, these three fields can be used to describe and discuss regularities in German sentences. By way of illustration, consider (9).

- (9) a. Peter_{FF} **hat**_{LB} geschlafen_{RB}.
Peter has PTCPL-sleep
‘Peter slept.’
- b. Peter_{FF} **hat**_{LB} Karl_{MF} den Ball gestern gegeben_{RB}.
Peter has Karl the ball yesterday PTCPL-give
‘Yesterday Peter gave the ball to Karl.’

- c. Peter_{FF} **hat**_{LB} Karl_{MF} den Ball gegeben_{RB} der blau war_{PF}.
 Peter has Karl the ball PTCPL-give which blue was
 ‘Peter gave Karl the ball which was blue.’

[German, Ruhnau 2011: 4]

The forefield (FF) is the domain in front of the left sentence bracket (LB). The middle field (MF) is the field in between sentence brackets, and the postfield (PF) is the domain after the right sentence bracket (RB), in the right periphery (Wiese & Müller 2018: 2). Consider Figure 2.5 by way of illustration.

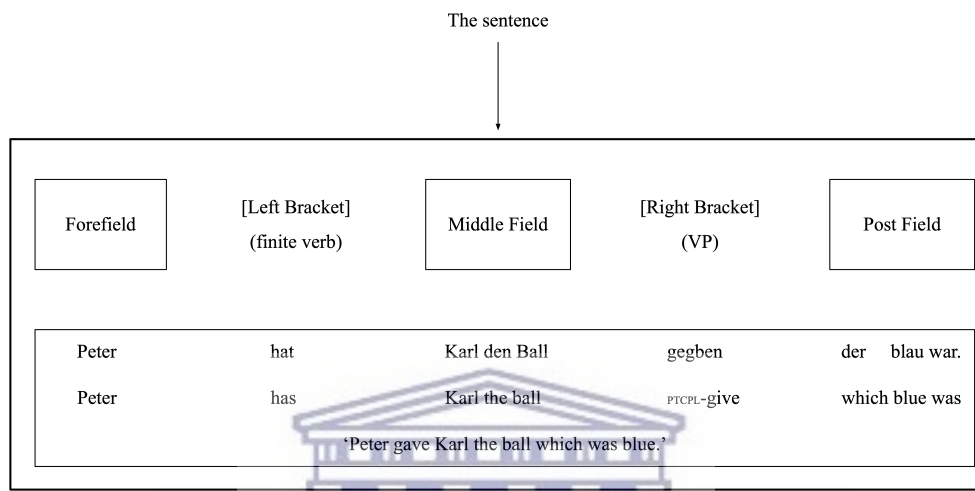


Figure 2.5: German field model based on example (9c).

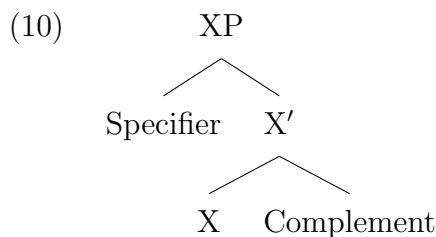
The examples in (9) highlight a number of properties relating to the topographical field model. According to Ruhnau (2011: 4), not all positions are filled in each sentence. For example, (9a) does not contain a middle field, i.e. there is no direct/indirect object or adverbial. The second property Ruhnau highlights is that the topological fields do not necessarily correlate with the constituent structure of a sentence as per generative theory. For example, the middle field in (9b) hosts the direct object (*den Ball* ‘the ball’), indirect object (*Karl*) and the adverbial (*gestern* ‘yesterday’). This does not mean that these elements form a single constituent. The final property highlighted by Ruhnau is that the topological field model is recursive. Example (9c) contains a relative clause *der blau war* (‘which blue was’) in the postfield (see also Figure 2.5). The recursive nature of the field model is seen by the fact that the relative clause *der blau war* (‘which was blue’) can further be divided into fields and brackets.

To further use the language of the field model, we would say that, as the examples in (9) show, the finite verb marks the left bracket (LB). In other words, the finite verb occupies the second position in terms of Vikner’s (1995; 2020) three-part clause ‘model’ (see Figure 2.4 above), with this second position corresponding to the ‘opening’ or lefthand bracket of the field theory. What is also clear is that only one constituent precedes the left bracket in both models.

Furthermore, V2 has yielded some important insights within generative theory. On this Holmberg (2015: 2) notes that

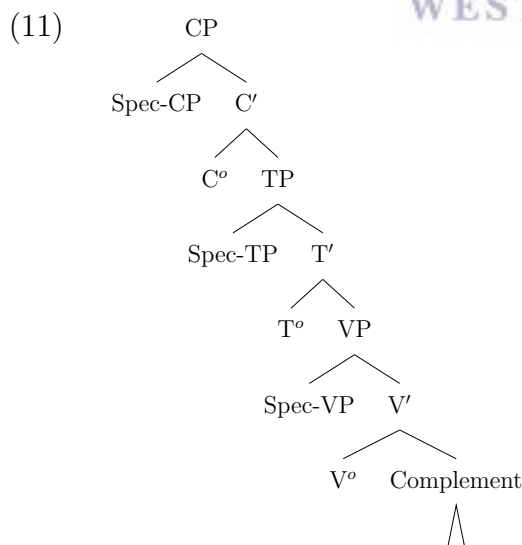
in the history of generative linguistics, V2 has played a particularly important part, in that it was the first well-studied and widely known case of head-movement, and also one of the first well studied cases where a functional category, namely C (or COMP), was successfully analysed as a head in X-bar-based phrase structure theory.

To aid our understanding of the content presented in the Holmberg quote above, there are a number of important concepts that I unpack in the following text. Consider (10).



The diagram in (10) illustrates X-bar phrase structure (see Anderson 2018 for an introductory discussion). XP is a maximal phrase (Koenenman & Zeijlstra 2017: 40). Every maximal phrase (XP) contains at least an obligatory head (X), but can have additional optional phrases: Specifier (ZP) and Complement (YP) (Koenenman & Zeijlstra 2017: 42). The bottom-most level of the diagram is referred to as the ‘head’ level as it hosts the head (X) of the phrase. The top level (where XP is marked) is called the ‘phrase’ level. The middle level (where X’ is marked) is called the bar level. This is where the theory gets its name (*X-bar theory*) (Anderson 2018: 4). In essence, X-bar theory proposes that phrases of all categories follow this basic template, regardless of whether the complement and specifier positions are filled by overt material.

Consider now the basic generative clause structure in (11).



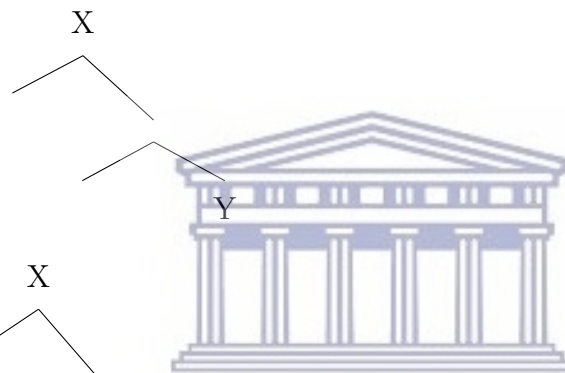
The clause structure in (11) consists of ‘serially’ embedded XPs, each of which is internally structured according to the X'-schema given in (10), namely: VP, TP and CP. VP is projected when a lexical verb is externally merged. Chomsky (2001) distinguishes between two types of Merge: External Merge and Internal Merge. External Merge takes two distinct elements and combines them into one structure (Chomsky 2001: 110). This is illustrated in (12).

(12)



Focusing on V' in (11), for example, we can thus say that V^o and Complement are externally merged to yield V'. Internal Merge differs from External Merge in that it takes part of an existing structure, say Y (in 13a), and makes it part of a different structure (Chomsky 2001: 110). Internal Merge can thus be seen as an instance of syntactic movement. In what follows, e.g. (13b), I will represent Internal Merge with an arrow.

(13) a.



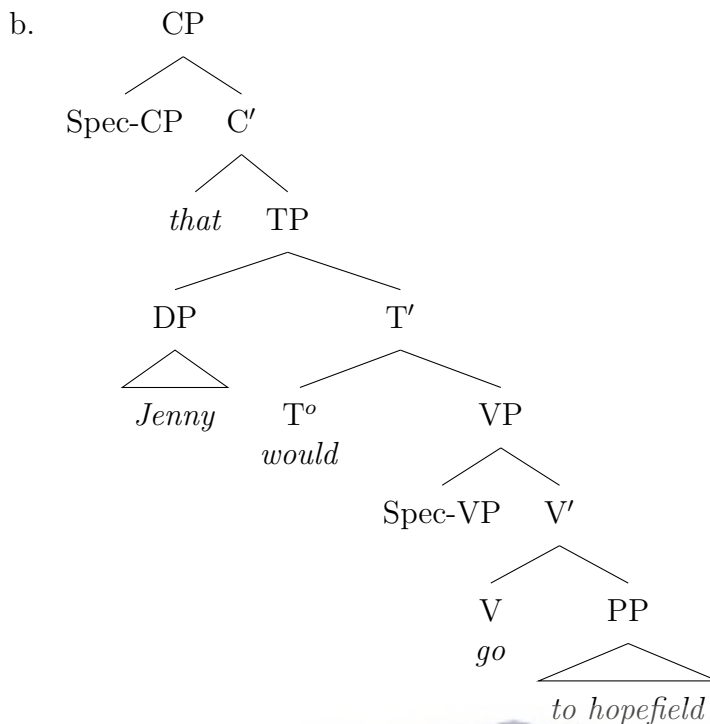
b.



As will become clear in subsequent sections (e.g. Section 2.4.1 in this chapter), an example of Internal Merge in West Germanic languages is when V^o moves to C^o in certain clauses.

We now turn back to the remaining projections in (11), namely TP and CP. At the level of grain adopted in this study, TP is the locus for all auxiliary verbs. In West Germanic structures, auxiliary verbs, although externally merged in TP, often move elsewhere. CP houses elements that are related to discourse functions such as clause typing, topic and focus. C^o can house, for example, complementisers such as *that* - which typically marks the clause as a declarative embedded clause - and lexical verbs such as *runs*. To illustrate which elements occupy which positions in (11), consider the English embedded clause below:

(14) a. (Tamzyn knows) that Jenny would go to Hopefield.



In (14) V (*go*) selects the PP *to Hopefield* as its complement. These two elements are externally merged. This merge operation projects V', and has no element in the specifier position of Spec-VP. This, however, is the position into which adverbs such as *quickly* would go. The auxiliary verb *would* merges with VP and projects T'. The specifier position of TP is occupied by the subject *Jenny*. The complementiser *that* merges with TP and projects C'. Spec-CP in this case remains unoccupied as illustrated in (14b).

Traditionally V2-languages are grouped as one of two types: asymmetric or symmetric V2 languages (Vikner 1995; Holmberg 2015). The former refers to languages (e.g. German, Dutch, and Mainland Scandinavian) in which V2 occurs only in main clauses (consider German (15a)) and embedded clauses lacking an overt complementiser (consider German (15b)); the latter refers to languages (e.g. Icelandic and Yiddish) in which V2 occurs in all finite clauses (16).¹⁷

- (15) a. Das Kind **hatte** das Buch langsam gelesen
 the child had the book slow PTCPL-read
 'The child read the book slowly.'

[Main CP]

- b. Er **sagt** [Ø die Kinder **haben** den Film gesehen.]
 he says [the children have the film PTCPL-see]
 'He says the children have seen the film.'

¹⁷Although Icelandic and Yiddish are described as symmetric V2 languages, they do not have V2 in embedded questions (Vikner 1995: 124; contrast with Biberauer 2017 which focuses on V2 in embedded *wh*-structures in modern spoken varieties of Afrikaans).

[Null Comp]

- c. *Er **sagt** [dass die Kinder **haben** den Film gesehen.]
he says [that the children have the film PTCPL-see]

[German; constructed by author]

The example in (15c) shows that, in standard German (it is acceptable as a limited embedded V2 structure in colloquial German (where the speaker is trying to assert something)), if the complementiser is overt, the V2 sentence pattern is ungrammatical. This situation will be unpacked further in Section 2.4.1.

- (16) a. Max **shikt** avek dos bukh.
Max sends away the book
'Max is sending the book away.'

[Yiddish main CP]

- b. Avrom gloybt [az Max **shikt** avek dos bukh]
Avrom believes [that Max sends away the book]
'Avrom believes that Max is sending the book away.'

[Yiddish, V2 + Comp; Diesing 1990: 42]

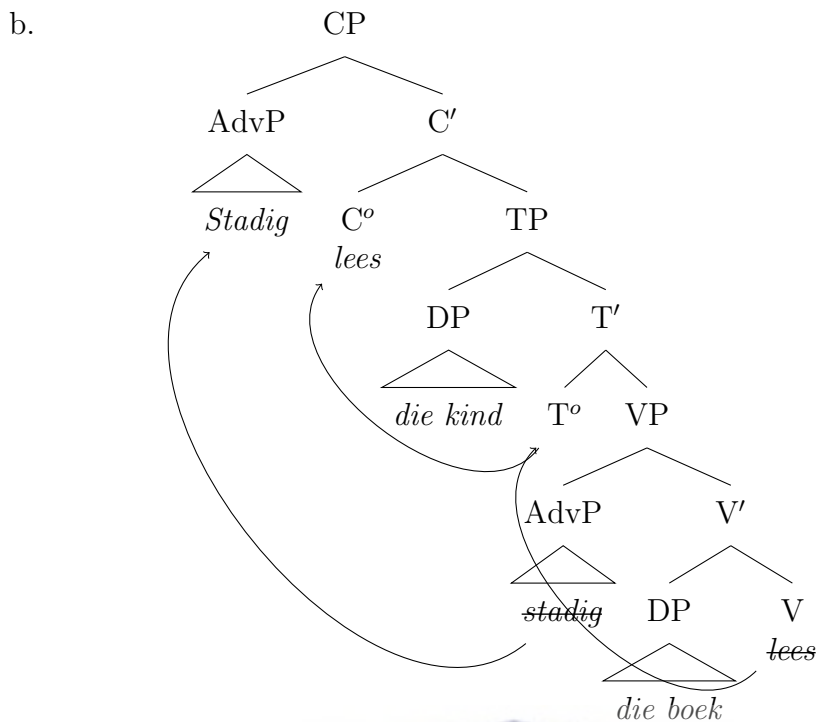
In (16) the symmetry is made clear by the fact that V2 is found in both main clauses (16a) as well as in embedded clauses with an overt complementiser (16b), which is not possible in asymmetric languages such as German (see again (15c)).

In Section 2.4.1 below, a discussion on how V2 is derived is provided.

2.4.1 V-to-C movement

V2 is typically considered to be derived by syntactic movement, namely V-to-C movement (Vikner 1995, 2020; Holmberg 2015). The central idea is that, in the absence of an overt complementiser, the verb moves from lower down in the syntactic tree (V), to a higher position (C) in the tree by head movement. In what follows, I go over specific aspects of the structure on the basis of the Afrikaans example in (17a).

- (17) a. Stadig **lees** die kind die boek.
slow read the child the book
'Slowly the child reads the book.'



If the finite verb is an auxiliary, it moves from T to C; if it is a lexical verb, it moves to C via T, as illustrated in (17b).¹⁸ In the matrix clause structure in (17b) the verb *lees* ('to read') moves (i.e. an effect of Internal Merge as discussed earlier) from V' where it is first externally merged with the object *die boek* ('the book') to C° (see Holmberg (2015)). The lexical verb, once in C°, signifies the clause type: that the clause is a matrix clause. The latter type of movement is XP-movement. In this instance, a manner adverb *stadig* ('slowly') moved from a VP-adjoined position to Spec-CP. This movement occurs because V2 structures require the first position in a given clause to be occupied by a phrase. That *stadig* is a phrase becomes clear if we consider that it can be modified. For example, e.g. *baie stadig het...* ('very slowly have...'). Once the modifier *baie* ('very') is added, we still get a grammatical structure, i.e. the extra word is clearly part of the same constituent as *stadig*, which means the initial XP is a phrase (unlike, for example, *stadig lees* ('slowly read') or some other modification structure). To clearly see that the verb moves from a lower position, consider the Afrikaans CP in (18a) below.

¹⁸Vikner (1995, 2020) claims that V2 is derived via this route: V-to-T-to-C movement (as the diagram in (17b) illustrates), and not a direct move from V to C. Vikner (1995: 39-40) acknowledges that with languages such as Afrikaans (see (17b)), German, Dutch and Frisian, V-to-T is disguised: it is not clear that V-to-T movement has first taken place, followed by T-to-C movement. In order to trace V-to-T movement we have to look at a particular kind of embedded clauses in V2 languages, which, due to the scope of this dissertation, will not be discussed. Interested readers are encouraged to read Vikner (2005) for more about V-to-T movement.

- (18) a. ...*dat* die kind stadig die boek lees.
 ...that the child slow the book read
 ‘(I know) that the child reads the book slowly.’
 b. **dat* die kind lees stadig die boek.
 that the child read slow the boek

In (18a) *dat* (‘that’) serves the same purpose as the finite verb in C^o in (17a), i.e. it signals the clause type, here an embedded declarative clause. Another key point to highlight is that V-to-C movement is blocked by an overt complementiser (Vikner 1995, 2020, Holmberg 2015; Hsu 2017). In other words, the complementiser and finite verb are in complementary distribution. Compare (18a) and (18b). The embedded clause in (18a) is completely fine. This is because only one of the two competing elements (the complementiser and the finite verb) is in (C^o). However, both cannot occur in C^o as (18b) shows.

The reason why (18b) (and (15c) above) is ungrammatical is because the finite verb (in main clauses) and the complementiser (in embedded clauses) occupy the same position (Den Besten 1977, 1983; Platzack 1985; Chomsky et al. 1986; Vikner 1995). In embedded clauses with a complementiser, the complementiser wins the competition, and blocks the finite verb from moving into C^o . It is generally assumed that elements (like C) that need to be externally merged rather than moved (such as V) should “win” competitions of this type.

Interestingly, Afrikaans has innovated additional embedded V2 structures which are not possible in Dutch (Biberauer 2017, 2019). Standard Dutch has essentially no complementiser (*dat*-)drop (Zwart 1997: 24), and German has restricted *dass*-drop (Vikner 1995: 71). Therefore, as noted above, the finite verb cannot move to C^o in embedded clauses in Dutch. Vikner (2020:378, see also Vikner 2001:226) provides three conditions which “seem to be necessary for embedded V2 to be possible”:

1. An embedded V2-clause requires a matrix verb belonging to a particular class (e.g. verbs of saying and believing).
2. An embedded V2-clause requires the matrix verb not to be negated.
3. An embedded V2-clause has to occur in object position.

Condition (1), which assumes that embedded V2 is conditioned by the verb, essentially relates to the Hooper and Thompson (1973) verb classes:

- (a) Class A – strongly assertive (*say, claim, assert, report, vow*)
- (b) Class B – weakly assertive (*think, believe, suppose, guess, imagine*)
- (c) Class C – non-assertive (*doubt, deny, be possible*)
- (d) Class D – factive (*regret, resent, be surprised*)
- (e) Class E – semi-factive (*know, discover, find out, forget*)

In other words, V2 in embedded clauses is argued to be restricted to class A, class B as well as class E. Afrikaans, however, readily allows for *dat*-less embedded clauses (Van Rooy & Kruger 2016; Biberauer 2017), which, crucially, extend beyond classes A, B and E, i.e. there are also instances of embedded V2 with verb classes C and D. The full range of Afrikaans possibilities is illustrated in (19a)-(23a) below.

- (19) a. Hy sê [Ø julle **skryf** môre]
 he say [you.PL write tomorrow]
 ‘He says you all are writing tomorrow.’
 [Class A; constructed by author]
- b. Hy sê [dat julle **skryf** môre]
 he say [that you.PL write tomorrow]
 ‘He says that you all are writing tomorrow.’
 [Constructed by author]
- (20) a. Ek dink [Ø julle **skryf** môre]
 I think [you.PL write tomorrow]
 ‘I think you all are writing tomorrow.’
 [Class B; constructed by author]
- b. Ek dink [dat julle **skryf** môre]
 I think [that you.PL write tomorrow]
 ‘I think that you all are writing tomorrow.’
 [Constructed by author]
- (21) a. Hy ontken [Ø hy lees romans]
 he deny [he read novels]
 ‘He denies he reads novels.’
 [Class C; Biberauer 2021: 17]
- b. Hy ontken [dat hy lees romans]
 he deny [that he read novels]
 ‘He denies that he reads novels.’
 [Constructed by author]
- (22) a. Ek is verrras [Ø jy **is** so op en wakker]
 I is surprised [you is so up and awake]
 ‘I’m surprised you’re so chipper.’
 [Class D; Biberauer 2021: 19]
- b. Ek is verrras [dat jy **is** so op en wakker]
 I is surprised [that you is so up and awake]
 ‘I’m surprised that you’re so chipper.’
 [Constructed by author]

- (23) a. Ek weet [Ø Jan **kom** môre]
 I know [Jan comes tomorrow]
 ‘I know Jan is coming tomorrow.’

[Class E; constructed by author]

- b. Ek weet [dat Jan **kom** môre]
 I know [that Jan comes tomorrow]
 ‘I know that Jan is coming tomorrow.’

[Constructed by author]

Moreover, there are (innovative) instances (24a) in which the verb surfaces in what appears to be the second position of the embedded clause, in the presence of an overt complementiser (see Biberauer (2019c: 6)). Examples like (24a) appear to suggest that Afrikaans might be a language that challenges the idea that the finite verb and the complementiser (in embedded clauses) are in complementary distribution, although this is standardly the case (compare (18a) and (18b) above). The standardly accepted V-final option is provided in (24b).

- (24) a. Ek weet [**dat** julle **het** die huis gekoop.]
 I know [that you.PL AUX.TNS the house PTCPL-buy]
 ‘I know that you bought the house.’

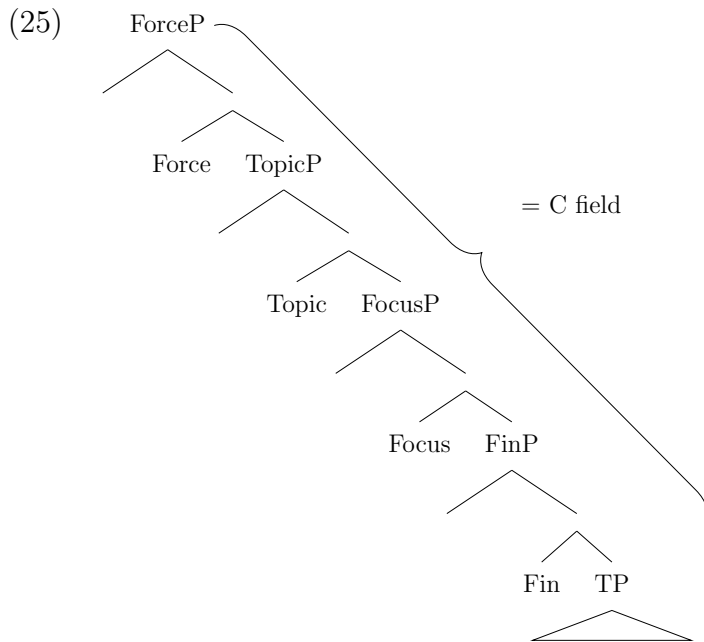
(Biberauer 2019c: 6)

- b. Ek weet [**dat** julle die huis gekoop **het**.]
 I know [that you.PL the house PTCPL-buy AUX.TNS]
 ‘I know that you bought the house.’

[Constructed by author]

Vikner (2020: 377) notes that two C^o -positions, sometimes referred to as CP-recursion, are required to account for examples such as (24a). This kind of ‘double CP’ structure has sometimes been referred to as entailing a CP recursion analysis (see Iatridou Kroch 1992 as discussed in Vikner 1995). One C^o -position is reserved for the complementiser, e.g. *dat* (‘that’), the other for the finite verb (*skryf* (‘write’)) (see, i.a. DeHaan & Weerman 2012; Nyvad et al. 2017 for discussions on CP recursion).

However, following Rizzi (1997), there is a variety of evidence that has emerged to suggest that the left periphery of the clause, the so called CP, consists of additional internal structure, as opposed to being a single projection. That is to say that the left edge of the clause contains a series of distinct functional projections, which, collectively, are referred to as the extended left periphery. The functional heads perform the various functions of complementiser-like elements, generally related to clause typing (i.e. whether a clause is declarative, interrogative, etc.) and the encoding of information structure (Hsu 2017: 1). Below is a version of the extended left periphery (i.e. the CP domain) as proposed by Rizzi (1997).



The diagram in (25) illustrates the extended left peripheral structure, restricted to the ‘C field’, i.e. TP is not included. This structure provides a means to account for languages that appear to have multiple positions in the left periphery, permitting the overt realisation of multiple heads or specifiers (see, i.a. Vikner 1995: 65-67; Vikner 2020).

In addition to the (24a)-type structures, Afrikaans also allows for V2 in embedded *wh*-structures (Biberauer 2002, 2019c). This is a unique property in the context of adult Germanic languages (see Schönenberger 2001 and Biberauer 2019a on a limited stage in the acquisition of Child Swiss German varieties where V2 is similarly permitted in embedded *wh*-clauses). Consider (26a) and (27a) below. The V-final counterparts are provided in the (b) examples.

- (26) a. Ek wonder [wat eet hulle saans].
 I wonder [what eat they evenings]
 ‘I wonder what they eat in the evenings.’

(Biberauer 2019c: 6)

- b. Ek wonder [wat hulle saans eet].
 I wonder [what they evenings eat]
 ‘I wonder what they eat in the evenings.’

[Constructed by author]

- (27) Ek sal uitvind [hoe kom ons by die gebou in].
 I shall out.find [how come us by the building in]
 ‘I will find out how we (can) get into the building.’

(Biberauer 2019c: 6)

- a. Ek sal uitvind [hoe ons by die gebou in **kom**].
I shall out.find [how us by the building in come]

‘I will find out how we (can) get into the building.’

[Constructed by author]

These instances (embedded *wh*-V2) are “completely unmarked”, with speakers “readily employing both the prescriptively correct V-final and the innovative V2 form in a single utterance” (Biberauer 2019c). Consider (28).

- (28) Sien [hoe sy haar kop skuins **draai**_{VFIN}] om te hoor [hoe **skinder**_{V2} ‘n
see [how she her head sideways turn] INF-C to hear [how gossip a
trossie voëls in ‘n tak langs hulle.]
cluster birds in a branch beside them]
‘Observe how she inclines her head to listen how a flock of birds gossips on a branch
beside them.’

(Biberauer 2019c: 8)

In (28) there are two embedded clauses: (i) *hoe sy haar kop skuins draai* and (ii) *‘n trossie voëls in ‘n tak langs hulle*. In (i) the verb *draai* appears in the standardly accepted clause final position; in (ii) the verb *skinder* appears in the second position, yielding a V2 structure.

In addition, research to date suggests that there are restricted cases of V2 in relative clauses (Gärtner 2001; Catasso & Hinterhölzl 2016).¹⁹ This is the case across Germanic languages. Consider the German examples in (29). The relative clause is marked by square brackets, and the second position verb is boldfaced.²⁰

- (29) a. Das Blatt hat eine Seite, [die **ist** ganz schwarz].
the sheet has a side [that is completely black]
‘The sheet has a side that is completely black.’

(Gärtner 2001: 98)

- b. Es gibt Menschen, [die **hängen** sich Plakate ans Fenster ‘Refugees
there is people [that hang itself posters at.the window refugees
welcome’].
welcome]
‘There are people who put posters in their windows, ‘Refugees welcome’.’
(Catasso & Hinterhölzl 2016: 100)

¹⁹See Gärtner (2001) and Catasso & Hinterhölzl (2016) for a systematic exposition of relative clause V2.

²⁰Gärtner (2001) queries whether the German clauses (as in (29)) are in fact relative clauses. According to Gärtner (2001: 99), what we are calling “relative clauses”, are not relative clauses, due to their root-like properties. However, in terms of interpretation/semantics, these clauses operate on their preceding clauses in a syntactic sense, their interpretations are restricted to the preceding clause; hence the term relative clause. It is not the aim of this dissertation to further explore the syntactic and semantic nature of these clauses. Instead, the aim is to draw attention to ‘relative clauses’ in which the verb occurs in second position.

According to Catasso & Hinterhölzl (2016: 100), V2 in relative clauses is optional; the (default) V-final word order option is also available (see also Gärtner (2001)). Furthermore, a number of restrictions apply to relative V2 structures:

1. V2 relative clauses are confined to sentence final position (i.e. position 3 in Figure 2.4; Vikner (2020: 368)), they are obligatorily extraposed.
2. They are not permitted to occur in the scope of a negator or a question operator.
3. They only modify indefinite, wide-scope nominal expressions.
4. These structures are, as (29) shows, introduced by a (weak) *d*-pronoun.
(Catasso & Hinterhölzl 2016: 101)

As a result of (or at least in part) the aforementioned restrictions, relative clause V2 is thought to be uncommon across Germanic languages.

So far we have unpacked what it means to be a V2 language, and also how V2 is realised in a subset of Germanic languages (e.g. Afrikaans and German). This section also presented a number of innovative patterns that Afrikaans exhibits within the Germanic language family.

In the following section we discuss the first position constituents of V2 clauses.

2.4.2 V2 first constituents

Afrikaans and other V2 languages allow for a range of categories to be fronted into initial constituent position (Holmberg 2015; Biberauer 2019b; Vikner 2020). I will use grammatical functions (subjects, objects and adverbials) to illustrate this point.

2.4.2.1 The subject

The subject can precede the finite verb in all Germanic languages. Subject preposing can be considered the most neutral option, i.e. the most unmarked (Holmberg 2015). This applies to subjects that are full DPs, e.g. (30a,c) and DP-pronouns, e.g. (30b,d).

- (30) a. *Die kind het*_{VFIN} stadig die boek gelees.
the child have slow the book PTCPL-read
'The child read the book slowly.'
[Afrikaans, Full-DP]
- b. *Hy het*_{VFIN} stadig die boek gelees.
he have slow the book PTCPL-read
'He read the book slowly.'
[Afrikaans, DP-pro]
- c. *Das Kind hatte* das Buch langsam gelesen
the child had the book slow PTCPL-read
'The child read the book slowly.'
[German, Full-DP]

- d. *Er hatte* das Buch langsam gelesen.
 he had slow the book PTCPL-read
 ‘He read the book slowly.’

[German, DP-pro]

On the subject, Holmberg (2015:6) provides the following generalisation:

Whatever category is moved to the left periphery (the C-domain) will count as the first constituent for V2, while categories which are externally merged (first-merged, base-generated) in the left periphery, including conjunctions and question particles, do not count as first constituents for V2.

Thus, in Afrikaans, for example, when a conjunction like *en* (‘and’) precedes the subject or another initial clausal constituent, it does not get parsed as the first constituent. The first constituent (*ek* (‘I’)) is italicised and the verb in second position is boldfaced:

- (31) En *ek* **dink** [dat julle môre skryf]
 and I think [that you.PL tomorrow write]
 ‘And I think that you all are writing tomorrow.’

This ‘rule’ applies to a subset of conjunctions. For example, it does not apply to conjunctions such as *daarom* (‘therefore’):

- (32) ...*daarom* **moet** hy die boek lees.
 therefore must het the book read
 ‘...therefore he must read the book.’

In this instance the conjunction *daarom* (‘therefore’) does occupy the first position in the clause.

2.4.2.2 Objects

V2 clauses with initial objects are always discourse-marked, i.e. non-neutral (Holmberg 2015: 7). The object can also be realised as a full DP (33a) or a DP-pronoun (33b):

- (33) a. *Die boek* **het**_{VFIN} die kind stadig gelees.
 the book have the child slow PTCPL-read
 ‘The child read the book slowly.’

[Afrikaans, Full-DP]

- b. *Dit* **het**_{VFIN} hy stadig gelees.
 This have he slow PTCPL-read
 ‘This he read slowly.’

[Afrikaans, DP-pro]

2.4.2.3 Adverbials

Adverbial preposing is also permitted across V2 languages (Holmberg 2015: 7-8). Consider (34) below. These include adverbs (34a), prepositional phrases (34b) and conditional clauses (34c).

- (34) a. *Stadig het*_{VFIN} die kind die boek gelees.
slow have the child the book PTCPL-read
'Slowly the child read the book.'
[Afrikaans, Adverb]
- b. *In die klas het*_{VFIN} hy stadig die boek gelees.
in the class have he slow the book PTCPL-read
'In class he read the book slowly.'
[Afrikaans, PP]
- c. [*Wenn man keine Träume mehr hat*] *ist*_{VFIN} man leer.
if one no dreams anymore has is one empty
'If you have no dreams anymore, you're empty.'
[German, CP, Holmberg 2015: 8]

2.4.2.4 Wh-phrases

All V2 languages have *wh*-movement, i.e. they are not *wh*-in-situ (like Chinese) (Holmberg 2015: 8-9). The *wh*-phrase moves either from subject, object or an adverbial position in a given clause. The examples in (35) illustrate the issue at hand.

- (35) a. *Wie is*_{VFIN} hier?
who BE.COP here
'Who is here?'
[Afrikaans, Wh-Subj]
- b. *Wat eet*_{VFIN} die kind?
what eat the child
'What is the child eating?'
[Afrikaans, Wh-Obj]
- c. *Waar kan*_{VFIN} ek 'n bril koop?
where AUX.MOD I a glasses buy
'Where can I buy spectacles?'
[Afrikaans, Wh-Adv]

2.4.2.5 Predicates

According to Holmberg (2015: 9) predicates (e.g. adjectival predicates such as (36a)) can occupy clause initial position in all V2 languages. A number of the V2 languages (but not all) allow for the preposing of a VP (36b) (Yiddish and Icelandic do not, see Källgren & Prince 1989; Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 223).

- (36) a. *Sint* **er**_{VFIN} jeg ikke, bare veldig skuffet.
 angry am I not only very disappointed
 ‘Angry am I not, just very disappointed.’
 [Norwegian, Adj-Pred, Holmberg 2015: 9]
- b. *'n Marathon gehardloop* **het**_{VFIN} ons Sondag.
 a marathon PTCPL-run have us Sunday
 ‘Run a marathon is what we did on Sunday (can you believe that?!).’
 [Afrikaans, VP-Pred, Biberauer 2021: 12]

2.4.2.6 Heads / Remnant VP

What appears to be heads can also be preposed, although there is variation across V2 languages (Holmberg 2015: 9-10). Biberauer (2021: 12), following den Besten & Webelhuth (1990), refers to a particular case of such instances of head preposing as “remnant VP” preposing:

- (37) a. *Gelesen* **heeft**_{VFIN} hij het boek niet.
 PTCPL-read have he the book not
 ‘He hasn’t read the book.’
 [Dutch, Holmberg 2015: 9]
- b. *Gerhardloop* **het**_{VFIN} ons Sondag 'n marathon.
 PTCPL-run have we Sunday a marathon
 ‘We ran a marathon on Sunday.’
 [Afr, Biberauer 2021: 12]

The constructions in (37) are characteristic of the continental West Germanic languages (Holmberg 2015). On the surface, such constructions may seem to exhibit V-fronting, i.e., movement of a head (the finite verb) into a phrasal position (Spec-CP; see Section 2.4, diagram (10)). This, however, is not the case: den Besten & Webelhuth (1990) propose that the constructions are derived by first moving the object out of the VP, which is then followed by fronting of the (remnant) VP, which contains only the lexical verb.

2.4.2.7 Interim summary

The data in (30-37) reveal that the grammar of West Germanic languages does not place a strict requirement on the syntax as to what type of first constituent is allowed: there is a range of options available in terms of what category and function the first constituent in V2 structures may be. The only requirement here seems to be that the relevant category should be phrasal (i.e. an XP).

Although there exists such variability in V2 first constituents, Holmberg (2015: 12) notes that “[o]ne of the defining characteristics of V2 languages is that only one category can ever be fronted, to preverbal position.” However, there are exceptions to this generalisation (see,

i.a. Holmberg 2015; Walkden 2017; Wiese et al. 2017; Haegeman & Greco 2018 for examples and discussions).²¹

In the following section one of those exceptions is presented, namely V3 (whether or not it is really an exception is yet to be determined; see Chapter 5).

2.4.3 Verb-third (V3)

There are instances in Germanic V2 languages in which the V2 constraint is not adhered to (see i.a. Wiese et al. 2017; Walkden 2017; De Clercq & Haegeman 2018; Haegeman & Greco 2018; Kühl & Petersen 2018; Wiese & Müller 2018). The case to which I would like to pay particular attention in this section is when the finite verb occurs instead in (what seems to be) the third position in the clause. Such systematically conditioned (not random) deviations are referred to as V3 (Müller 2005; Walkden 2017; Wiese & Müller 2018). The examples in (38)-(41) illustrate various types of V3 strings from a number of Germanic languages. The various types of V3 found will be further unpacked in following sections.

- (38) [Haai man] [hy] **willie** saamwêkkie.
 that man he AUX.MOD.NEG together-work.NEG
 ‘That man, he refuses to cooperate.’
 [Kaaps; Biberauer & Pretorius 2018: 15]
- (39) [By die kerk] [in die Kaap] **gaan** ons trou.
 by the church in the Cape going we marry
 ‘At the church in Cape Town we are getting married.’
 [Afrikaans; constructed by author]
- (40) [Kurz] [die Bestzeit] **hatte** der Berliner Andreas Klöden gehalten.
 briefly the record had the Berliner Andreas Klöden PTCP-held
 ‘For a short time, the record was held by Berliner Andreas Klöden.’
 [German; Müller 2005: 3]
- (41) [morgan] [ich] **geh** arbeitsamt.
 tomorrow I go jobcentre
 ‘Tomorrow I will go to the job centre.’
 [German; Wiese 2009: 787]

When speaking about V3 it is important that we distinguish between ‘superficial’ V3 and ‘true’ V3. Superficial V3 refers to instances in which two constituents appear to occupy the forefield, but this is not actually the case.; there are superficially two constituents preceding the verb. Examples (38)-(40) are examples of superficial V3. Examples such as (38) are commonly referred to as *contrastive left dislocation* (see, i.a. Axel 2007: 204; Den Dikken & Surányi 2017; Biberauer & Pretorius 2018: 15-16; Meklenborg et al. 2020: 100-101). Such

²¹Again, see Holmberg (2015: 13-16) for a more comprehensive list and discussion on exceptions to V2. See also Wiese et al. (2017).

structures do not occur in languages that do not have V2 structures (Meklenborg et al. 2020: 90). In examples such as (39), there are two adverbials stacked in initial position, i.e. double adverbial fronting. In Germanic languages, circumstantial adverbials can be stacked in the forefield, forming a single “complex constituent” (Holmberg 2015: 14). According to Wiese & Müller (2018: 2), the two constituents which precede the verb in (40), are also analysed “as a single, complex element in the forefield”. Such examples (40) have been analysed as having remnant VP fronting. This means that the forefield contains a VP which is analysed as a single fronted VP with an empty head (Müller et al. 2012).

However, there is another type of V3 that cannot be analysed as containing a single, complex constituent in initial position (Wiese & Müller 2018: 2). Example (41) is such a case. These types of V3 structures I shall call ‘true’ V3. These examples have been analysed as having two elements preceding the finite verb. Instead, the initial constituent is a temporal adverbial and the second constituent is the subject.

Furthermore, Wiese & Müller (2018: 4) highlight that evidence on V3 points to three central aspects in its distribution:

V3 appears across Germanic “V2 languages”, is associated with informal registers, and is used by a range of different speaker groups, namely by multilingual speakers across heritage languages and also by monolingual speakers.

Recall that the aims of this study include: (i) investigating whether V3 is permissible in Kaaps, and if it is (ii) describing its properties (see Chapter 1). The following sub-sections (2.4.3.1 - 2.4.3.4) unpack the three central aspects in V3’s distribution as outlined in Wiese & Müller (2018).

2.4.3.1 Evidence for V3 across Germanic languages

The focus of this section is on varieties that display ‘true’ V3 patterns (under certain conditions). In (42) some examples are given. The preverbal constituents are presented in square brackets.

- (42) a. [toen] [we] **hadden** eerst twee auto’s.
 then we had first two cars
 ‘Then we had two cars (and later only one).’
 [Dutch Urban Vernacular; Freywald et al. 2015: 866]
- b. [Als’t geijzeld is] [ze] **risschiert** heur niet beuiten.
 when.it frosty is she risks her not outside
 ‘When it is frosty, she does not venture outside.’
 [West-Flemish; Haegeman & Greco 2018: 2]
- c. [morgen] [ich] **geh** arbeidsamt.
 tomorrow I go job centre
 ‘Tomorrow I will go to the job centre.’
 [Kiezdeutsch; Wiese 2009: 787]

- d. [normalt] [man] **går** på ungdomsskolen
usually one goes to youth.club
'Normally you attend the youth club.'
[Danish Urban Vernacular; Quist 2008: 47]
- e. [med limewire] [det] **tar** én to dager
with Limewire it takes one or two days
'Using Limewire it takes 1 or 2 days.'
[Norwegian Urban Vernacular; Freywald et al. 2015: 84]
- f. [igår] [jag] **var** sjuk.
yesterday I was sick
'Yesterday I was sick.'
[Swedish Urban Vernacular; Kotsinas 1998: 137]

The examples in (42) illustrate that V3 is available across Germanic languages (Quist 2008; Ganuza 2008; Opsahl 2009; Freywald et al. 2015; Walkden 2017; Wiese & Müller 2018). The examples in (42) are of the type Adverb-Subject-Verb_{FIN}. Despite the availability of V3 across Germanic, the V3 pattern occurs relatively infrequently (Wiese & Müller 2018: 2).

2.4.3.2 V3 is a register bound choice

According to Müller (2018: 3), V3 is conditioned by register (see also Wiese et al. 2017). In particular, V3 is primarily associated with informal registers.²² Here “informal registers” is used to refer to a register (or registers) of language typically associated with informal contexts of communication, e.g. a conversation with a friend as opposed to a conversation with a teacher in the classroom. Further, “adolescent speakers in multiethnic urban contexts can use it as an in-group marker” (Wiese & Müller 2018: 3). Multiethnic urban contexts can be perceived as contexts made up of speakers from various ethnic groups in exclusively urban areas. The Swedish (43) and German (44) examples below demonstrate contexts in which V2 and V3 would naturally be observed. The Swedish examples are from Ganuza (2008: 111) and the Turkish-German ones are from Pohle & Schumann (2014: 16).

- (43) a. å [sen] [dom] **får** det brevet.
and then they get the letter
'And then they get the letter.'
[Swedish; **V3**, peer-group conversation]
- b. å sen **så** förstår rom.
and then PART understand they
'And then they understand.'
[Swedish; **V2**, teacher present]

²²See also Quist 2000, 2005, 2008, 2012 on Danish Urban Vernacular, Opsahl & Nistov 2010 on Norwegian Urban Vernacular. These are all studies that reveal that V3 is favoured by informal registers.

- (44) a. [dann] [ich] **bin** so weiter gegangen.
 then I have so gone PTCPL-further
 ‘Then I walked on.’
 [V3, conversation with friend]
- b. dann **bin** ich einfach WEITer fortgegangen.
 then have I simply further away.PART-gone
 ‘Then I just walked away.’
 [Turkish-German; V2, talking to a stranger]
- c. [dann] [die Fahrradfahrerin] **ist** zu ihr gekommen.
 then the cyclist has to her PTCPL-come
 ‘Then the cyclist went to her.’
 [Turkish-German; V3, text message to a friend]
- d. Dann **ging** ich fort.
 then went I away
 ‘Then I went away.’
 [Turkish-German; V2, written report]

According to Ganuza (2008: 16), Swedish V3 primarily surfaces in peer-group conversations, and in situations of strong emotional investment. For Norwegian, it is reported that, in peer-group conversations, there are three times as many V2 violations as in interviews (Opsahl & Nistov 2010). The examples in (43-44) emphasise the point that V3 seems to be favoured by informal contexts.²³

2.4.3.3 V3 is used by different heritage speakers

Evidence of V3 in “multilingual adolescent vernaculars” has been collected from a range of different heritage speakers or speakers from various countries (Wiese & Müller 2018: 5). Broadly defined, heritage speakers are

individuals who were raised in homes where a language other than the dominant community language was spoken, resulting in some degree of bilingualism in the heritage language and the dominant language (Valdés, 2000). A heritage speaker may also be the child of an immigrant family who abruptly shifted from her first language to the dominant language of her new community. Crucially, the heritage speaker began learning the heritage language before, or concurrently with, the language which would become the stronger language (Scontras et al. 2015: 3).

Wiese & Müller (2018: 6) report that within a country some heritage languages might be more “salient or more widely spoken than others”, and that the languages may be typologically distant, i.e. languages may belong to different language families. Importantly, the

²³I acknowledge and thank one of my examiner’s for suggesting that I mention a proposal made by Schalowski (2017). Schalowski (2017: 26) suggests that *dann* (‘then’) - in cases such as (44a and c) for example - may be grammaticalising as a discourse-connection. Further research is necessary to determine if this is also the case for (Manenberg) Kaaps.

speakers of the salient heritage language are not the only ones using V3. On this, Wiese (2016: 14,19) reports that in Germany, for example, the speakers of Kiezdeutsch (an urban vernacular spoken in Berlin (see, i.a. Wiese 2006, 2009; Walkden 2017)) display evidence of V3 and are heritage speakers of Turkish, Kurdish and Arabic, among others. There is also such evidence from Russian and Greek heritage speakers (see, i.a. Wiese & Müller 2018: 4 and also Wiese 2020: 7).

Further evidence for V3 among heritage speakers can be found in American Norwegian, where Norwegian is the heritage language (see Alexiadou & Lohndal 2018).

Wiese & Müller (2018: 4) contend that the unifying factor among speakers who use V3 is that they are speakers of a Germanic V2 language. Thus, it seems as if the Germanic V2 context supports the V3 pattern. If the V2 context supports the V3 pattern, we should expect to find V3 patterns emerging from monolingual speakers' speech as well. V3 produced by such speakers will be the focus of the following section (Section 2.4.3.4).

2.4.3.4 V3 in monolingual speakers

If the hypothesis, roughly put, is that the 'Germanic V2 context supports V3 patterns' we would expect to find evidence for V3 in monolingual speakers of individual Germanic languages too.²⁴ It is indeed the case that V3 is used by monolingual speakers (Schalowski 2012, 2015; Wiese et al. 2017). Consider (45) below.

- (45) EY [vorhin] [ick] **bin** so na=HAUse jelaufen.
 Ey earlier I have PTCPL to=home gone
 'Ey, earlier, I was going home.'
 [Colloquial German; Wiese et al. (2017: 3)]

Not only is V3 found among monolingual speakers, it is not restricted to only young people, i.e. V3 is used by (monolingual) adults as well (Schalowski 2015, 2017; Bunk 2017). Furthermore, Wiese et al. (2017: 3) note that the V3 found in monolingual contexts (such as (45)) is further evidence that V3 is a "genuine option in German". Examples such as the one in (45) follow the same pattern as the Kiezdeutsch V3 pattern (42c), an urban vernacular of German spoken in multilingual contexts (see Walkden 2017). Wiese et al. (2017: 3) report that the first element is typically a framesetter,²⁵ the second one a topic expression. The fact that the multilingual V3 patterns in (42c) and the monolingual types in (45) share the same pattern sheds light on the fact that V3 is systematic, and not a random deviation of the V2 constraint that can be simply characterised as a feature of multiethnolects (Wiese et al. 2017; Wiese & Müller 2018; Walkden 2017; Freywald et al. 2015).

In what follows (Sections 2.4.3.5 and 2.4.3.6), we provide details regarding the first and second constituents in 'true' V3 structures as outlined in Walkden (2017).

²⁴Here I employ the 'traditional' view on a monolingual, i.e. a person who speaks one language; a person who is not bilingual or multilingual. For further clarification, it is important to note that monolinguals, of course, also control multiple registers therefore are not really monolingual in the eyes of a linguist.

²⁵Framesetters create context for time, place or condition (Walkden 2017: 55).

2.4.3.5 The V3 initial constituent

As we have seen in Section 2.4.2 above, initial constituents in Germanic V2 are not categorially restricted. The same counts for the initial constituents in V3 structures: they are not categorially restricted. They may be a DP (46a), a PP (46b), a CP (46c), or a simple adverb (46d).

- (46) a. [*DP*JEdes jahr] [ich=ch] **kauf** mir bei DEICHmann.
every year I buy me at D
'Every year I buy (shoes) at Deichmann's.'
[Kiezdeutsch; Walkden 2017: 54]
- b. [*PP*ab JETZ] [ich] **krieg** immer ZWANzig euro.
from now I get always twenty euros
'From now on, I always get twenty euros.'
[Kiezdeutsch; Walkden 2017: 54]
- c. [*CP*wenn der mann dis HÖRT] [er] **wird** sagen...
if the man this hears he will say
'If the man hears this, he will say...'
[Kiezdeutsch; Walkden 2017: 55]
- d. [*Adv*danach] [er] **sagt** zu Othniel, ge mal WEG.
afterwards he says to Othniel go PTCP away
'Afterwards, he says to Othniel, go away.'
[Kiezdeutsch; Walkden 2017: 55]

Significantly, the initial elements in (46) are all adjuncts, rather than arguments (Freywald et al. 2015), and they typically fulfill the role of framesetters (Chafe 1976; see also Footnote 25 above). Subjects are the most unmarked first constituent type in V2 clauses (see Section 2.4.2), but are presumably not possible as V3 first constituents. Object fronting to initial position is also not permitted in V3 clauses (Walkden 2017: 55).

2.4.3.6 The V3 second constituent

The second constituent is much more restricted than the first constituent in urban vernacular V3 clauses (Walkden 2017: 55). It is almost always the (topical) subject (Walkden 2017: 55). In what follows, I provide, by way of illustration, the number of second-position subject V3 structures in the urban vernaculars studied in Walkden (2017): for Kiezdeutsch (47a) 51/55; for Norwegian urban vernacular (47b) 194/194; for Swedish urban vernacular (47c) 217/218. The relevant examples from (42) are repeated in (47) for convenience. The second-position constituent is italicised.

- (47) a. [morgen] [*ich*] **geh** arbeitsamt.
tomorrow I go jobcentre
'Tomorrow I will go to the job centre.'
[Kiezdeutsch; Wiese 2009: 787]

- b. [med limewire] [*det*] **tar** én to dager
with Limewire it takes one two days
'Using Limewire it takes 1 or 2 days.'

[Norwegian Urban Vernacular; Freywald et al. 2015: 84]

- c. [igår] [*jag*] **var** sjuk.
yesterday I was sick
'Yesterday I was sick.'

[Swedish Urban Vernacular; Kotsinas 1998: 137]

If the second constituent is the subject, it is typically pronominal: for Kiezdeutsch 41/51; for Norwegian Urban Vernacular 170/194; for Swedish Urban Vernacular 191/218. However, this, according to Walkden (2017: 56) is a “strong tendency rather than a requirement”. Below (48) are examples of non-pronominal second position constituents, i.e. subjects.

- (48) a. [heute] [der tag] **ist** für mich so schnell vorbeigegangen.
today the day is for me so fast past.gone
'Today the day went buy so quickly for me.'

[Kiezdeutsch; Walkden 2017: 56]

- b. [jetzt] [der Friesi] **kommt**.
not the Friesi comes
'Now Friesi is coming.'

[Kiezdeutsch; Walkden 2017: 56]

- c. [då] [alla] **börja(de)** hata henne.
then everyone started hate.INF her
'Then everyone started hating her.'

[Swedish Urban Vernacular; Ganuza 2008: 53]

Walkden (2017: 56) provides the following generalisation for V3 second constituents: the second constituent is typically a familiar topic, “referring to a contextually given or otherwise salient discourse referent”. This helps us to understand why the subject tends to be a pronoun since pronouns index active discourse referents.

In addition to subject constituents, light adverbials (also known in the Germanic literature as *R-pronouns*, or forms corresponding to single-word locative adverbs) are also permissible second constituents. Consider (49) below.

- (49) a. und [dann] [*hier*] **ist** auch noch ein Loch.
and then here is also still a hole
'And then here is another hole.'

[Kiezdeutsch; Walkden 2017: 56]

- b. und [dann] [*da*] **ist** doch n die U-Bahn und so.
and then there is though (filler) the U-Bahn and so
'And then there is the subway and so on.'

[Kiezdeutsch; Walkden 2017: 56]

To summarise, in Section 2.4.3.5 we noted that V3 initial constituents are all adjuncts; second constituents are typically subjects (Section 2.4.3.6). Thus V3 patterns found in the urban vernaculars presented in Walkden (2017) are best characterised by the following schema in (50).

(50) Adjunct-Subject- V_{FIN} .

2.4.3.7 Cases in which V3 is ruled out

V3 is not permissible in all contexts. Below are the contexts in which V3 is not allowed. Recall from Section 2.4.3.2 that V3 is register bound; V3 is said to not be found in formal registers. In Section 2.4.3.5 we showed that V3 does not occur with object fronting. V3, unlike V2, does not permit object fronting to clause initial position, yielding *Object-Subject- V_{FIN} . (Walkden 2017: 55).

In addition, V3 is extremely rare with *wh*-elements as initial constituents. Ganuza (2008) found that all 1015 *wh*-interrogatives produced were V2. In her larger sample, only one (51a) out of 693 produced V3s displayed a *wh*-phrase in initial position. For Kiezdeutsch, only two (51b) and (51c) instances of V3 in the corpus, featured *wh*-phrases in initial position. Ganuza (2008) and Walkden (2017) therefore set such interrogatives aside as “an invariable context”, i.e. one that requires V2.

- (51) a. [*Varför*] [han] **skulle** ti(ll)backs?
 why he should back
 ‘Why was he going back?’
 [Swedish Urban Vernacular; (Ganuza 2008: 62)]
- b. [*warum*] [du] **machst** DINGS?
 why you do thing
 ‘Why are you doing that?’
 [Kiezdeutsch; (Walkden 2017: 57)]
- c. [*wieso*] [er] **is** gegangen?
 why he is not gone
 ‘Why didn’t he go?’
 [Kiezdeutsch; (Walkden 2017: 56)]

Lastly, the ADV-SUBJ- V_{FIN} (50) species of V3 is not found in subordinate clauses. True V3 is a main clause phenomenon (see Ganuza 2008; Walkden 2017).

2.5 Summary

This chapter was dedicated to providing a background to the study. The chapter started off by defining what Kaaps is, followed by a discussion on its origins and present characteristics. Thereafter, it provided a discussion on Manenberg, the research site. That was followed by a literature review on a combined formal and sociosyntactic approach to linguistic inquiry.

Finally, the chapter outlined what verb second and verb third is. In the following chapter (Chapter 3), the methodological map designed and employed for this project is presented.



3. Research design and methodology

3.1 Introduction

Preliminary research suggests that V2 is a consistent property in Kaaps (Biberauer et al. 2018), but further research is required to determine (1) the degree to which this obtains, and (2) whether it obtains equally in all varieties of Kaaps (e.g. Manenberg Kaaps). As regards V3, it is interesting to consider (i) whether (Manenberg) Kaaps permits this pattern at all and, if so, (ii) whether the properties and conditions of Kaaps V3 resemble those of other Germanic urban vernaculars or rather those of ‘old’ continental Germanic. These points are central to this study as will become clear in Chapter 4. Thus, in this chapter, I provide the methodological map that I created and employed to gather the data to answer the research questions from Section 1.2.1. These were, recall, as follows:

1. What is the grammatical status of Verb Second (V2) in Kaaps?
 - (a) Is V2 a consistent main clause property of Manenberg Kaaps?
 - (b) What phrases and categories are permissible first constituents in V2 patterns?
 - (c) What is the nature of the permissible verbs in clause-second position?
2. Is Verb-third (V3) permissible in Manenberg Kaaps? If so:
 - (a) What are the properties of V3 in Manenberg Kaaps?
 - (b) What conditions V3 patterns in Manenberg Kaaps?
 - (c) What phrases and categories are permissible first and second constituents in V3 patterns?
 - (d) What is the nature of the permissible verbs in third position?
3. Do speakers from different social backgrounds investigated in the study exhibit different tendencies in respect of their use of V2 and V3?

3.2 Research design and methodology

The data collection method was designed to investigate the V2 profile of Kaaps since V2 is a dominant property of West Germanic languages (see Section 2.4 in Chapter 2). The

research design was also aimed at investigating whether the Kaaps spoken in Manenberg has V3 structures, a property that is now known to also occur in V2 systems, albeit to varying extents (see Section 2.4.3 of Chapter 2).

3.2.1 Participants

A total of eight Kaaps-speaking participants participated in the study. All of the participants were women, and from Audrey Court, Manenberg (see Section 3.2.2 below). Four of the participants were in the 18-25 years age group, and the other four were part of the 60 years and older age group. Age groups were created to investigate whether there are any distinct patterns associated with the two age groups. The participants were further grouped according to their language background: whether they were most comfortable in using (a) Afrikaans, (b) English or (c) both Afrikaans and English. We have grouped (b) and (c) together, because with this variable, the aim was to gauge how likely it is that the participant's Kaaps has been influenced in any way by English. With the background knowledge, we formed intra-groups, where participants share the same age group and language background, as our focus groups. The four intra-groups formed have the following descriptions: (1) 18-25, Afrikaans-only; (2) 18-25, Afrikaans-English; (3) 60 and older, Afrikaans-only; (4) 60 and older, Afrikaans-English.

3.2.2 Data collection site

Manenberg (see Section 2.2.2 in the previous chapter) was identified based on three factors: (i) Manenberg is (almost centrally positioned) on the Cape Flats, one of the regions in which Kaaps is mainly spoken, (ii) willing participants had been identified, and (iii) I have access to the community. Audrey Court was chosen as that is where the research assistant resided,¹ and was able to recruit most of the participants. Audrey Court, like the other courts (interestingly, all with women's names), is a sub-area in Manenberg (and other areas created under the Group Areas Act (Act No. 36 of 1966)) where two blocks of three-storey flats, of 24 homes each, stand opposite to one another. The pale colours of the court are contrasted by the vibrant people: the many playing children, the group of gamblers, the people walking through the court, and the colourful clothing that hangs on the communal washing lines that fill the centre of the courts. In close proximity to the court is a bus stop, a primary school and a spaza shop (a small convenience store typically run from a house). However, there are a number of homes in Audrey Court which can also be described as convenience stores: one home sells spices, the other small packets of sweets and paarper bites (deep fried, leftover samoosa pastry with spice on), another home sells luxuries and cigarettes, etc. Business seems to be an integral part of day-to-day living in Audrey Court, so much so that even younger ones have their businesses up and running, albeit unconventional businesses: I met

¹The research assistant was a 20 year old female, a final year BA student at the University of the Western Cape, and a speaker of Kaaps.

and spoke to a young boy who was selling young frogs. Frogs were sold at R1 for six (the smaller ones) and R1 for two (the bigger ones).²

3.2.3 Procedure

Participants were recruited via existing contacts. Participants first completed an in-take questionnaire to determine their eligibility to participate in the study. Eight participants completed the eligibility questionnaire, of which all were eligible to participate in the study. On the day of data collection, I systematically read and explained the information sheet to the participant to ensure that the participant fully understood their role in the study, before consenting to participate. A copy of the information sheet was also given to each participant to keep. Once the information sheet had been covered, the participant was asked to complete a consent form. A copy of the signed consent form was also given to the participant.

As noted in Section 3.2.1 above, four intra-group focus group conversations were conducted. Each focus group involved two participants. In attempting to minimise the observer's paradox, I left the room for the duration of the focus group conversation. The recorder was placed in the middle of the two participants, with one of the two built-in microphones facing each participant. Dealing with noise was another challenge: the house used for the focus-groups is located where a lot of traffic occurs. The most practical way to deal with the noise was for us to ensure that the door and windows were closed. The conversations, on a number of occasions were interrupted by people who knocked on the door.

3.2.4 Task

Generative research is known to make use of grammaticality judgement tasks (GJTs), a task in which participants are asked to comment on the acceptability or grammaticality of isolated, decontextualised, individual sentences (Tremblay 2005; Tabatabaei & Dehghani 2012). More recently, though, corpus data has also started to play a big role in generative work, particularly where lesser-studied languages are involved and the detailed structural make-up of sentences and how they can be used is not yet well understood (Olivieri 2010; Stefanowitsch 2020). Since the latter scenario holds for Kaaps, we have based the project on a corpus.

Furthermore, it was (and is) important to us to collect the data with a socially sensitive approach. Thus, after consideration, we decided that collecting spontaneous speech from focus groups would be the optimal approach. One of the overarching aims of this project is to describe the patterns found in Manenberg Kaaps. Thus, opting for an option that provides data with richer ecological validity was a high priority.

Additional motivations behind collecting spontaneous speech, as opposed to data collected via traditional GJTs include that GJTs may create the impression of a standard school test, which may alter the responses of participants. There are also practical implications in using GJTs. For example, working with the data has proven that without context

²One South African rand equals to 0.067 US Dollar, and 0.057 Euro, checked on 17 August 2021.

(as is the case with GJTs) it would often have been difficult, if not impossible, to determine the nature of a given utterance. Spontaneous speech captures both positive intuitions of speakers and their natural use of language.

In concluding the motivations behind choosing spontaneous speech, it can be said that collecting spontaneous speech is a necessary pre-step to an experimental and complementary method, such as the GJT. The GJT may, in subsequent research, be used to contribute further positive and, crucially, also negative evidence to that uncovered in the present work.

In addition to the above, we sought to give the participants a neutral topic for discussion. In so doing, participants were asked to discuss fond childhood memories. It has to be noted, though, that participants often discussed other things such as (lesser or greater) malevolence they have experienced and/or a cry for assistance in achieving a better future.

The interviews were recorded using a Tascam DR-44WL. Approximately 1 hour and 30 minutes of speech was recorded in total. This translates to 11 916 words. The table in (3.1) provides a breakdown of the focus group conversations. The focus group conversations were transcribed in Microsoft Word, using the SEcoKa transcription conventions (see Appendix A).³⁴

Focus Group Name	Age Group	Lang Background	No. Words
Focus group 1	18-25	AFR-Only	2 232
Focus group 2	18-25	AFR-ENG	3 233
Focus group 3	≥ 60	AFR-Only	4 582
Focus group 4	≥ 60	AFR-ENG	1 869
Total			11 916

Table 3.1: Breakdown of focus group discussions



3.2.5 Data

From the transcribed data, I extracted all the clauses which exhibit verb movement of some kind. This includes both main and embedded clauses. The data were tagged in Google Sheets as one of three syntactic phenomena: (i) V1; (ii) V2 and; (iii) V3 with the latter two being the principal focus of this study. Consider the following examples by way of demonstration:

- (1) **Kô** in en los die mense.
 come in and leave the people
 ‘Come inside and don’t bother the people.’

³SEcoKa is a three-year research project about the morphology and syntax of Kaaps. The project is hosted by the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, South Africa, and is funded by the South African National Research Foundation. The project is led by Erin Pretorius and Theresa Biberauer.

⁴The data have not yet been released into the public domain, as they are part of an ongoing project. However, I welcome any engagement on the data.

- (2) My naam **is** Ursula.
 my name BE.COP Ursula
 ‘My name is Ursula.’
- (3) Sondag toe **praat** ieman daa by Patsy-hille
 Sunday so talk someone there by Patsy-them
 ‘On Sunday someone spoke at Patsy’s.’

The sentences in (1) to (3) are examples of V1, V2, and V3, respectively. The V1 sentence is an imperative sentence. V1 also arises as yes/no interrogatives, conditionals, and declaratives.

The V2 sentence in (2) is an example expressed via the structure of a declarative. V2 also realises as interrogatives and imperatives.

The final sentence, (3), is an example of a declarative V3 sentence. V3s also express interrogative clauses.

For V2 and V3 clauses we also annotated for the verb type, the language of the verb, as well as the constituent type of the first and second position constituents (for V3). Detailed presentations and discussions of V2 and V3 follow in Chapter 4, Sections 4.2 and 4.4, respectively.

The reason why V1 data has been annotated and included in the Manenberg Kaaps corpus is to adhere to the level of systematicity I was aiming at: to annotate all clauses that exhibited verb movement. In total 97 tokens of V1 have been annotated as: imperatives, interrogative, conditional or declarative clauses. Of the 97 tokens, 41 are declarative. A large majority (26 tokens, 63%) of the declarative clauses are of the *is*-type. Consider (4) below.

- (4) **is** wat ôs nou maak vannie plek.
 is what we now make of the place
 ‘It is what we make of it.’

The example in (4), and the other declaratives like it, pose an interesting question about whether or not they are covertly V2, with a dropped initial element. However, because the V1 phenomenon is not the focus of this dissertation, these clauses will henceforth be set aside for subsequent research.

Working with recorded, spoken data presented a number of challenges. For example, it is not always clear where one clause ends and another begins, boundaries between clauses are often not nearly as defined as they might be in written texts. This called for a number of decisions to be made:

In many cases, pauses are helpful indicators of clause boundaries. Other times, however, they do not signal clause boundaries. Such pauses (indicated by # in the transcriptions) were ignored, because it would not have made sense to treat the parts that come after the pauses as individual clauses, and not part of the preceding utterance. Consider (5) below.

- (5) Wat ek 'n kin gewiesit # en toe # lee ken ek ammel my vrinne.
 what I a child was # and then # learn know I all my friends
 'When I was a child, I got to know all my friends.'

The reason why ignoring pauses (as was done in (5)) was the logical thing to do lies within the meaning of the sentence. The speaker means to convey the message that by the time she was a child, she met all her friends. Note, however, as will become clear in Section 5.2.1.2 of Chapter 5, we are not suggesting that pauses and prosody more generally should be ignored. Put differently, we are not assuming a single interpretation of pauses.

Discourse particles (such as the boldfaced ones shown in (6)) are aimed at an interlocutor (e.g. an addressee), and are not concerned with the main content of the clause. Wiltschko (2021) proposes that such elements have a structural position higher than CP. Therefore, we have set aside such elements in our annotations and analysis.

- (6) a. **hō** dan voel ek sorry vi myself.
 man then feel I sorry for myself
 'Then I feel sorry for myself.'
 b. **hey** kō die groot vrou na jou toe?
 hey comes the big woman after you to
 'Is this grown woman coming to you?'

There were also challenges that stemmed from seemingly 'shared constituents' or 'blended clauses'. Consider the examples below.

- (7) a. it was net **Tania en Shakeela** was haa van ôsse group en ekke
 it was just Tania and Shakeela was there from our group and me
 'It was only Tania, Shakeela and me from our group that were there.'
 b. hys nou **ses jaa** # is hy nou oolede
 he.is now six years # is he nou dead.
 'He has been deceased for six years.'

In (7a) it seems as if the NP *Tania en Shakeela* is 'shared', forming a blend between two potential clauses: CP 1: *it was net Tania en Shakeela*. CP 2: *Tania en Shakeela was haa van ôsse group en ekke*. Like with the example in (7a), it seems like the NP in (7b) is being shared: CP 1: *hys nou ses jaa... oolede*. CP 2: *ses jaa # is jy nou oolede*. In such cases, two clauses were counted, i.e. the shared constituent was duplicated in the annotation process to acknowledge that there are actually two clauses happening.

In the following section (Section 3.3) a summary of the chapter is provided.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter I outlined the methodological map that was created and employed to collect and annotate the data of the project. The chapter also briefly discussed the relative importance of collecting spoken data in the context of the present dissertation. The chapter

further presented a number of challenges that were faced while working with the spoken data, and decisions that were made in developing and analysing the corpus of this project. The following chapter presents the results.



4. Results

4.1 Introduction

In total there were 1 575 clauses collected. These clauses consist of a total of 1 315 (83.5%) matrix clauses and 260 (16.5%) embedded clauses. These are tabulated in Table 4.1 below.

Clause type	Tokens	%
Matrix clauses	1 315	83.5%
Embedded clauses	260	16.5%
Total	1 575	100%

Table 4.1: Overview of the proportion of matrix and subordinate clauses

Of the matrix clauses, 94 tokens (7.1%) were V1, 1 159 (88.1%) were V2, and 62 (4.7%) were V3 tokens. Of the embedded clauses, 4 were V1 tokens (1.5%), 80 were V2 (31%), 2 were V3 tokens (0.8%) and 28 were verb-early structures (11%). Descriptively speaking, *verb-early* refers to structures in which the verb (in terms of the linear order of the words in a given sentence), occurs earlier than expected, i.e. the verb appears earlier in a given sentence in which it is expected to be in sentence final position. Such examples are typically a result of extraposition or leaking, as we will see in Section 4.3.4.1. A further 146 tokens (56.2%) were realised as V(erb)-final embedded clauses.¹ V1 is mentioned here to provide a complete overview of the word-order facts. However, as noted earlier (in Section 3.2.5 of Chapter 3), such expressions will not form the focus of this dissertation and will be set aside for subsequent research. Table 4.2 summarises the verb-placement patterns per clause type.²

¹ The term *V-final* is used to refer to structures in which the verb is rigidly in final position.

² Throughout this chapter, the percentage total cells will always contain 100% regardless of whether the individual cell totals add up to less than, more than or exactly 100%.

Matrix clauses	Tokens	%	Subordinate clauses	Tokens	%
V1	94	7.1%	V1	4	1.5%
V2	1 159	88.1%	V2	80	31%
V3	62	4.7%	V3	2	0.8%
Verb-early	0	0%	Verb-early	28	11%
V-final	0	0%	V-final	146	56.2%
Total	1 315	100%	Total	260	100%

Table 4.2: Overview of the matrix and subordinate clause verb-placement patterns

What the presented results already make clear is that on the one hand V2 is a robust property in the corpus, as indicated by its high occurrence rate across matrix and embedded clauses. V3, on the other hand, like in the other Germanic varieties (see Section 2.4.3), appears in a substantially lower frequency, and an even lower frequency in subordinate clauses.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 4.2 presents the findings on the structural properties of V2 matrix clauses. Section 4.3 presents the findings on the structural properties of embedded clauses. The following section, Section 4.4 outlines the findings on the structural properties of V3 clauses in the corpus. Section 4.5 attempts to draw correlations between structural properties and social demographics. The chapter concludes with a summary in Section 4.6. Unless otherwise stated, the data presented in this chapter is from the Manenberg Kaaps corpus (see Chapter 3 above).

4.2 Matrix clause V2

This section zooms in on matrix clauses which exhibit V2. There are 1 159 V2 matrix clauses (88.1% of all main clauses; see Table 4.2 above). These clauses are realised as declaratives (1), interrogatives (2) and an imperative (3). The finite verb in these examples is boldfaced.

- (1) My naam **is** Ursula.
my name BE.COP Ursula
‘My name is Ursula.’

[Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

- (2) Wanne **trou** jy?
 when marry you
 ‘When are you getting married?’

[Marcel_18-25_Afr-Eng]

- (3) korre to ten **moet** jy my dee velaat.
 quarter to ten aux.mod you my door leave
 ‘At quarter to ten you must leave my house.’

[Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]

Of the 1 159 matrix clauses in the corpus, 1 117 (96.4%) are declaratives, 41 (3.5%) interrogatives, and there is 1 (0.1%) imperative. Table 4.3 below summarises the breakdown of V2 matrix clauses.

Clause type	Tokens	%
Declarative	1 117	96.4%
Interrogative	41	3.5%
Imperative	1	0.1%
Total	1 159	100%

Table 4.3: Breakdown of matrix V2 clauses by clause type

The high frequency of declaratives in the corpus is expected, given that the speakers were narrating their lives. The frequency of questions is substantially lower than the declaratives, but indicates that speakers were involved in a conversation with one another, probing information. The extremely low frequency of V1 structures is expected because they are typically used for imperatives. The imperative in (3) is interesting because V2 imperatives in Afrikaans are typically of the subject initial type presented in (4).

- (4) Jy **moet** nou stap!
 you aux.mod now walk
 ‘You must leave now!’

[Constructed by author]

The (3) example, however, illustrates that V2 imperatives in Kaaps (and Afrikaans more generally) permit subject inversion, and non-subjects (i.e. a time specifying adverb) to occupy initial position. The remainder of this section is organised as follows: the first section, Section 4.2.1, focuses on the nature of the second-position verb. The following section, Section 4.2.2, provides the findings on the nature of the preverbal constituent in matrix clause V2.

4.2.1 Nature of the verb

Section 4.2.1.1 introduces information on the type of verb in second position, e.g. an auxiliary or a lexical verb. Section 4.2.1.2 focuses on the language of the verb in second position. The

source language of the verb is investigated to see whether or not it has an influence on the structure of the sentence.

4.2.1.1 Verb Type

The verb types that occur in second position are: lexical verbs (5a), copula verbs (5b), tense-marking auxiliaries (5c), auxiliaries of modality (5d), and passive auxiliaries (5e).

- (5) a. ek **wag** my beurt
 I wait my turn
 ‘I am waiting until it’s my turn.’
 [Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

- b. dai **is** jou werk
 that BE.COP your work
 ‘That’s your job.’
 [Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]

- c. Ôs **het** lekke sports ge-doen
 we AUX.TENSE nice sports PTCPL-do
 ‘We did fun sports.’
 [Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

- d. ‘n mens **wil** stilte hê
 a person AUX.MOD quietness have
 ‘A person wants quietness.’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

- e. die koole **is** yt gebrand
 the coals AUX.PASS out PTCPL-burn
 ‘The coals were burnt out.’
 [Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]

The corpus also displays evidence of so called ‘Quirky V2’ (de Vos 2006: 90), discussed in earlier work by Ponelis as the phenomenon of ‘complex-initials’ (Ponelis 1993: 315). This is exemplified by the verb cluster in second position (boldfaced) in (6).

- (6) da **kô gooi** ek hom hie innie freezer.
 then come throw I him here in.the freezer
 ‘Then I’d put it in the freezer.’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

Quirky V2 is a construction in Afrikaans and Kaaps which fronts not just a single finite verb to clause-second position, but instead fronts a more complex verb-form, here the cluster *kô gooi* (‘come throw’). This fronting can also be referred to as pied-piping, and is optional (de Vos 2006).³ The optionality is seen by the fact that (7) is also acceptable.

³Pied piping is “a term used in generative linguistics for one of the processes involved in deriving such

- (7) Da **kô** ek hom innie freezer gooi.
 then come I him in.the freezer throw
 ‘Then I’d put it in the freezer.’

[Constructed by author]

In other words, instead of only one verb moving up to second position (as in (7)), both verbs move as a cluster (6). In (6), the initial verb (*kô*, ‘come’) can be referred to as a ‘light verb’, typically encoding durativity or progression. The other Quirky V2 light verbs in the corpus are: *gat / gan* (‘go’), *loep* (‘walk’) and *staan* (‘stand’). The second verb (*gooi*, ‘throw’) is the lexical verb. See de Vos (2006) for a detailed discussion on Quirky V2.

Results on the various different verb types are summarised in Table 4.4 below. The data reveal that there is no restriction as to which types of verbs may appear in second position. However, there is a clear preference for lexical verbs.⁴

Verbs	Tokens	%
Lexical verbs	369	32%
Copula verbs	262	22.7%
Tense marking auxiliaries	285	24.7%
Modal auxiliaries	218	18.9%
Passive auxiliaries	10	0.9%
Quirky V2	9	0.8%
Total	1 153	100%

Table 4.4: V2 verb types

In Section 4.2.1.2 below, I present the data on the source language of the verbs in second position.

4.2.1.2 Verb Language

Since English is not a V2 language, whether the language from which the verb derives has any impact on the structure of the clause seems worthy of investigation. Therefore, this section is dedicated to presenting the findings on the source language of the verbs in V2 matrix clauses. We observe that verbs can derive from Afrikaans (8a) and English (8b).

- (8) a. toe **trêk** ôs Heideveld toe
 then move we Heideveld to
 ‘Then we moved to Heideveld.’

[Maggie_60&older_Afr-Eng]

sentences as *To whom did you turn for help?*: the preposition optionally moves to the front of the clause, following its *Wh*-noun phrase object – just as, the analogy suggests, the rats in the traditional tale followed the Pied Piper out of Hamelin. A contrast can be drawn with cases where the preposition is left behind (stranded), as in *Who did you turn to for help?*” (Crystal 2011: 369). As already mentioned above, in (6) the pied-piped verbal cluster is *kô gooi* (‘come throw’) and we have the stranded version, where *gooi* is left behind in (7).

⁴Recall from Section 3.2.5 in Chapter 3 that *is*-initial structures have been set aside for future research. Therefore the totals presented here are totals without those structures.

- b. Ek **delete** sy comment
 I delete his comment
 ‘I deleted his comment.’

[Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

A large majority of the matrix clause V2 verbs are Afrikaans: 98.4% (1 140 of 1 159 verbs). Only 1.6% (18) of the verbs are in English, all of which are lexical verbs. A point to be made here is that the English verbs such as the one in (8b) could have Afrikaans alternatives that are equally commonly in use, i.e. Kaaps speakers may also use the Afrikaans form, *verwyder*, without the meaning changing. However, there is a ‘special’ case that does not seem to avail itself to the former generalisation. Consider (9) below.

- (9) toe **warrie** hy nie wee men my nie
 then worry he NEG again with me NEG
 ‘After that he didn’t bother me again.’

[Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

Verbs such as the one in (9) suggest that there are English words (in this case *worry*) that have become the default form in Kaaps, and it may either be that Kaaps speakers never use the ‘Afrikaans’ form or that they do, but not in the same sense/context. There was only one such occurrence in the corpus, i.e. (9), and I categorise it as an English verb. Table 4.5 summarises the source language of the verbs in second position in matrix clauses.

Language	Tokens	%
Afrikaans	1 140	98.4%
English	19	1.6%
Total	1 159	100%

Table 4.5: Language of verbs in V2 matrix clauses

The findings reveal that there is optionality in terms of which language the verb in second place may be. The extent to which this is context/register based is yet to be determined. It is clear, however, that there is a strong preference for Afrikaans verbs in the variety and register under consideration here. Moreover, it might be assumed that using an English verb might realise an SVO word order (as in English). However, it is the case that V2 persists whether the verb is in English or in Afrikaans. In other words, the verb being in English does not affect V2.

4.2.2 The preverbal constituent

This section outlines the data relating to the nature of the preverbal constituents in V2 matrix clauses. Recall that Afrikaans and other V2 languages allow for a range of categories to be fronted into initial constituent position (see Section 2.4.2 above). Kaaps displays the same range of options. Again, I will use the constituent functions (subject, object, adverbial) to illustrate this point (as in Section 2.4.2).

4.2.2.1 The subject

In Section 2.4.2.1 we established that subjects are the default first-position elements in Germanic languages. In this regard Kaaps is no different. Subjects include full DPs (10a), DP pronouns (10b), modified subject pronouns (10c), subject CPs (10d), and elided subject pronouns (10e).

- (10) a. *Alisa het* ge-insist.
Alisa AUX.TENSE PTCPL-insist
'Alisa insisted.'
[Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- b. *ek study* by UWC.
I study at UWC
'I study at UWC.'
[Marcel_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- c. *ôs almal het* ôsse eie ding om te doen.
we all AUX.TNS our own thing INF.C INF.T do
'We all have our own things to do.'
[Marcel_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- d. *wat buitekan angan Veronica sal* ekkie warrie nie.
what outside on.go Veronica AUX.MOD I.NEG worry NEG
'I won't concern myself with what happens outside.'
[Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- e. \emptyset **gat** paaties toe.
go parties to
'I go partying.'
[Tanya_18-25_Afr-only]

Elided subjects were diagnosed as such if the preceding sentence featured an overt subject which is coreferential with that of the superficially subjectless clause. Consider the examples in (11) below.

- (11) a. *ek geniet* my nou nog.
I enjoy me now still
'I still enjoy myself now.'
[Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- b. \emptyset **gat** paaties toe.
go parties to
'I go partying.'
(=example 10e)
- c. *ek geniet* my nou nog \emptyset **gat** paaties toe
I enjoy me now still go parties to
'I still enjoy myself now, I go partying.'
[Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

The example in (11a) is the initial V2 clause. The example in (11b) is the example with the elided subject DP that was presented in (10e) above. The final example, (11c), shows the linear order of the two clauses ‘combined’. With that in mind, the elided subject in (11b) would be *ek* (‘I’).

The initial position is not restricted to only subjects. Non-subjects may also occupy the preverbal position (as pointed out in Section 2.4.2). The non-subjects include objects and adverbials. These are covered below in Section 4.2.2.2 and Section 4.2.2.3, respectively.

4.2.2.2 Objects

In the corpus, objects are realised as full DPs (12a), and object pronouns (12b).

- (12) a. *anne jaa se skool skoene sit* hy daa in
 other year POSS school shoes put he there in
 ‘School shoes from previous years he packs in there.’
 [Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. *Dai wil* ôs doen.
 that AUX we do
 ‘We want to do that.’
 [Tanya_18-25_Afr-only]

In Kaaps, V2 clauses with initial objects are always discourse-marked, i.e. non-neutral (see also Section 2.4.2.2 above).

4.2.2.3 Adverbials

As in other V2 languages (Section 2.4.2.3), Kaaps readily permits adverbial preposing to initial position. The fronted adverbial phrases may be: adverbs (13a), adverbial pronouns (13b), prepositional phrases (13c), conditional clauses (13d) and elided adverbial pronouns (13e). The adverbials are italicised.

- (13) a. *Vidag kan* jy nie vi jou hou wat jy nie issie.
 today can you NEG for you keep what you NEG is.NEG
 ‘Today you cannot pretend to be what you are not.’
 [ADV: Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. *toe gat* sy hospietaal toe
 then go she hospital to
 ‘Then she went to hospital.’
 [ADV-Prn: Marcel_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- c. *innie Manenberg issit* ‘n struggle met kinnes
 in.the Manenberg BE.COP.it a struggle with children
 ‘Children in Manenberg aren’t easy to deal with.’
 [ADV-PP: Maggie_60&older_Afr-Eng]

- d. *As ekke nie hai doenie gat* my doelwitte onne die drain af.
 if I NEG that do.NEG go my goals under the drain PRT
 ‘If I don’t do that I won’t accomplish my goals.’
 [ADV-CP-Conditional: Tanya_18-25_Afr-only]
- e. \emptyset **geniet** ôs vi ôs
 enjoy we for us
 ‘Then we enjoy ourselves.’
 [Elided ADV: Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

As with elided subjects, elided adverbials were diagnosed as such if the preceding sentence featured an overt adverbial which is coreferential with that of the superficially initial adverbial-less clause. Consider the examples in (14) below.

- (14) a. *dan maak* ôs ôs lekke.
 then make we us nice
 ‘Then we dress up.’
 [Mel_18-25_Afr-only]
- b. \emptyset **geniet** ôs vi ôs.
 enjoy we for us
 ‘Then we enjoy ourselves.’ (=example 13e)
- c. *dan maak* ôs ôs lekke en \emptyset **geniet** ôs vi ôs.
 then make we us nice and enjoy we for us
 ‘Then we dress up and (then) we enjoy ourselves.’
 [Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

The assumption that the adverbial has been elided is further supported by the fact that subject inversion took place in (13e/14b). This typically happens when a different constituent (e.g. an adverbial, as opposed to the subject) gets preposed. If subject inversion had not occurred in (13e), the sentence would have been:

- (15) ... *Ôs geniet* vi ôs
 ... we enjoy for we
 ‘(We dress up and) we enjoy ourselves.’
 [Constructed by author]

4.2.2.4 Wh-phrases

All V2 languages have *wh*-movement (see Section 2.4.2.4). Kaaps also exhibits *wh*-initial clauses. The *wh*-phrase moves either from subject, object or an adverbial position in a given clause, as illustrated in (16a-c), respectively. The *wh*-constituents are italicised.

- (16) a. *wie was* nog in graat siewe?
 who was still in grade seven
 ‘Who was still in grade seven?’
 [Wh-Subj: Marcel_18-25_Afr-Eng]

- b. *wat gan* it veroosaak?
 what go it cause
 ‘What will it cause?’

[Wh-Obj: Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

- c. *waa kô jy nou met ’n ninety nine cents huh?*
 where come you now with a ninety nine cents PRT
 ‘Where does one find items for ninety cents (in today’s life)?’

[Wh-Adv: Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

4.2.2.5 Interim summary

Table 4.6 below represents the distribution of all first-position subjects and non-subjects in V2 matrix clauses. The high frequency of initial subjects supports the claim that subjects are default preverbal constituents in V2 clauses.

First-position element	Tokens	%
Subjects	819	70.7%
Non-subjects	340	29.3%
Total	1 159	100%

Table 4.6: V2 first-position constituents

Table 4.7 represents the breakdown of the nature of subject initial constituents.

Subjects	Tokens	%
Full subject DPs	121	14.8%
Subject pronouns	692	84.5%
Modified subject pronouns	2	0.2%
Subject CPs	4	0.5%
Elided subject pronouns	4	0.5%
Wh-subjects	3	0.4%
Total	819	100%

Table 4.7: Nature of initial-position subjects in V2 clauses

Table 4.8 represents the breakdown of non-subject initial constituents.

Of importance is the fact that non-*wh*-objects in declarative clauses are very infrequent in first position compared to subjects and adverbials. The *wh*-objects, on the other hand, illustrate what a ‘more natural’ distribution of objects would look like, which is not evident in the non-*wh*-structures. This point is illuminated when comparing the frequency of *wh*-subjects to that of *wh*-objects; *wh*-objects occur more frequently. In as far as non-*wh*-objects are allowed, Kaaps appears to be like Afrikaans, but different to Dutch and German in the

Non-subjects	Tokens	%
Full object DPs	6	1.8%
Object pronouns	1	0.3%
Wh-objects	16	4.7%
Adverbial phrases	73	21.5%
Adverbial pronouns	214	62.9%
Elided adverbial pronouns	1	0.3%
Wh-adverbials	22	6.5%
Total	340	100%

Table 4.8: V2 non-subject initial-position constituents

sense that non-*wh*-object fronting in Afrikaans occurs rarely (Biberauer 2002: 30). Dutch and German readily allow object fronting (non-*wh*-objects) to initial position.

4.2.2.6 Preverbal constituent language

This section provides an overview of the language of the preverbal constituents found in matrix clause V2. Preverbal constituents can be in Afrikaans (17) or in English (18). The initial constituents are italicised.

- (17) *Ek het* nou bietjie gespyt
 I AUX.TNS now bit PTCPL-spray
 ‘I sprayed a little.’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- (18) a. *History was* mos nou juffrou Pienaar gewies
 history AUX.TENSE PRT now teacher Pienaar PTCPL-be
 ‘History was the subject Ms Pienaar taught us.’
 [Marcel_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- b. *mainly* vi my **was** sy bang
 mainly for me BE.COP she scared
 ‘Mainly, she was afraid of me.’
 [Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

The English examples are realised as subject DPs (18a) and adverbs (18b). There is one instance of a matrix clause V2 ‘English-Afrikaans’ first constituent. Consider (19).

- (19) *korre to ten moet* jy my dee velaat
 quarter to ten AUX.MOD you my door leave
 ‘At quarter to ten, you have to leave my place.’
 [Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]

As with verb types like (9), the example in (19) could also have been in Afrikaans: *kwart voor tien*, ('quarter to ten'). That is to say, the Afrikaans variant is also available. However, should the Afrikaans variant have been used, the register would have changed, marking a more formal register. Although the word *quarter* has been 'afrikaansified', i.e. *korre* instead of *quarter*, this particular example is categorised as an English first constituent because the rest of the phrase, including the function word *to*, has an English form.

There are 1 145 (98.8%) matrix clause Afrikaans initial constituents in the corpus. The remaining 14 (1.2%) matrix clauses have English initial constituents: 10 subjects and 4 adverbials (see Appendix B for more examples). These facts are tabulated in Table 4.9 below.

First constituent language	Tokens	%
Afrikaans	1 145	98.8%
English	14	1.2%
Total	1 159	100%

Table 4.9: Language of first constituents in V2 matrix clauses

The data reveal a significant difference between the two first constituent language types. There is a strong preference for Afrikaans first constituents. However, as seen by the use of English first constituents, the use of Afrikaans initial constituents is not a requirement, but a strong tendency. As with V2 second position verbs that are in English, V2 matrix clauses are not affected by the language of the initial constituent, e.g. English. If the initial constituent is in English (or Afrikaans), the (West) Germanic V2 structure / order is still realised. The following section, Section 4.2.3 provides a summary of Section 4.2.

4.2.3 Summary

Section 4.2 illustrated that Kaaps is a robust V2 language, with V2 patterns making up 88.1% of all matrix clauses (see Table 4.2 above). Section 4.2.1.1, on the type of the verb that may occupy second position, showed that there is variation in terms of the types of verbs that may appear in second position. Lexical verbs most frequently occupy second position (see Table 4.4). Section 4.2.1.2 showed that although it is possible for the verb in second position to be an English lexical item, the vast majority are Afrikaans, at 98.4% (see Table 4.5 above). When the verb is in English, it is always a lexical verb. Like the language source of verbs, the language source of initial constituents is also predominantly (97.5%) Afrikaans (see table 4.9). In Section 4.3, I outline the findings on embedded clauses in the corpus.

4.3 Embedded clauses

Recall that the basic word order in Afrikaans is OV (Section 2.2 of Chapter 2; examples in (3), repeated in (20)).

- (20) a. ..._{CP} **dat** ôs dai kos_O moet iet_V.]
 ... that we that food must eat
 ‘...that we should eat that food.’
 b. Hulle het_{VFIN} [nou ‘n song_O gesing_V.]
 they have now a song sang
 ‘They sang a song.’

Further, in West Germanic more generally, verb movement in embedded clauses with an overt complementiser is typically not possible. However there is a marginal occurrence of such cases (Section 2.4.1 in Chapter 2; an example for Afrikaans (24a), repeated in (21)).

- (21) Ek weet [**dat** julle **het** die huis gekoop.]
 I know [that you.PL AUX.TNS the house PTCL-buy]
 ‘I know that you bought the house.’ (Biberauer 2019c: 6)

Finally, complementisers in Afrikaans are readily dropped. In such embedded clauses, there is always V2 movement (Section 2.4.1 in Chapter 2; examples in (19a-23a), repeated in (22)).

- (22) a. Hy sê [\emptyset julle **skryf** môre]
 he say [you.PL write tomorrow]
 ‘He says you all are writing tomorrow.’ [Constructed by author]
 b. Ek dink [\emptyset julle **skryf** môre]
 I think [you.PL write tomorrow]
 ‘I think you all are writing tomorrow.’ [Constructed by author]
 c. Hy ontken [\emptyset hy lees romans]
 he deny [he read novels]
 ‘He denies he reads novels.’ (Biberauer 2021: 17)
 d. Ek is verrras [\emptyset jy **is** so op en wakker]
 I is surprised [you is so up and awake]
 ‘I’m surprised you’re so chipper.’ (Biberauer 2021: 19)
 e. Ek weet [\emptyset Jan **kom** môre]
 I know [Jan comes tomorrow]
 ‘I know Jan is coming tomorrow.’ [Constructed by author]

There are 262 embedded clauses in the corpus (see Table 4.2 above). The first aim of this section is to show that Kaaps is an OV language. This is presented in Section 4.3.1. Section 4.3.2 shows that Kaaps, like Afrikaans, readily permits complementiser drop in embedded clauses (i.e. *dat*-less embedded clauses), yielding V2 structures. Verb movement to second position or V2 is also readily permitted in embedded *wh*-interrogatives (Section 4.3.3). Section 4.3.4 demonstrates that Kaaps has instances of verb early structures: verb

early embedded clauses as a result of extraposition (Section 4.3.4.1), verb early embedded clauses with an overt complementiser (Section 4.3.4.2) and verb early relative clauses (Section 4.3.4.3). The section concludes with a brief summary in Section 4.3.5.

4.3.1 Verb-final

As noted in Section 2.2, Kaaps, like its West Germanic relatives, is a verb final language.⁵ In cases in which an object occurs in a sentence, it always precedes the verb. In this sense, Kaaps can be referred to as an OV language. This is seen clearly in embedded clauses introduced by a complementiser. Consider (23), of which kind there are 19 occurrences. In each example, the complementiser is underlined. The object is in square brackets and the verb(s) in final position is (/are) italicised.

- (23) a. ...lat [dai koole stove_O] *kan dinges_V*
 ...that that coal stove AUX.MOD thingy
 ‘(We had to collect wood) so that the coal stove could burn.’
 [Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]
- b. ...of ek nou [reg of vikeet_O] *is_V*.
 ...if I now right or wrong BE.COP
 ‘(Veronica can explain to me now) if I am right or wrong.’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

What is clearly demonstrated in the examples in (23) is that when a complementiser (underlined) is overtly present, the verb(s) appear at the end of the clause. Furthermore, when an object (e.g. *dai koole stove* (‘that coal stove’)) is present (as in (23a)), it occurs before the final verb cluster (*kan dinges* (‘can burn’)). As the example in (23a) shows, *lat* is a variant of *dat* (‘that’) available to Kaaps speakers. Note that the element in final position in (23a), *dinges* (‘thingy’) can be considered as being multi-functional. It can be used as a noun as in *waar is my dinges nou?* (‘where is my *thingy* (e.g. speakers intend to refer to their phone) now?’) and it can be used as a lexical verb as in (23a). The meaning of the verb (or noun) is typically derived from previous discourse, or context familiar to the interlocutors.

In addition, there are also instances in which surface VO strings appear. Consider (24).

- (24) Toe sê sy [Ø sy **hettie** mee brootie]
 so say she [she have.NEG more bread.NEG]
 ‘So she said, she doesn’t have bread anymore.’
 [Marcel_18-25_Afr-Eng]

This surface VO is a result of complementiser-drop and in fact reflects the V2 property. This phenomenon is discussed further in the following section, Section 4.3.2 (see also Section 2.4).

⁵Recall that the term *V-final* is used to refer to structures in which the verb is rigidly in final position (see footnote 1).

4.3.2 *Dat*-less embedded clauses

As already mentioned, Afrikaans allows for *dat*('that')-less declarative embedded clauses with all of the Hooper & Thompson (1973) verb classes (see Section 2.4.1 of Chapter 2; the Afrikaans examples in (19a)-(23a)). The verb classes are repeated below for convenience.

- (a) Class A – strongly assertive (*say, claim, assert, report, vow*)
- (b) Class B – weakly assertive (*think, believe, suppose, guess, imagine*)
- (c) Class C – non-assertive (*doubt, deny, be possible*)
- (d) Class D – factive (*regret, resent, be surprised*)
- (e) Class E – semi-factive (*know, discover, find out, forget*)

Kaaps also allows for *dat*-less declarative embedded clauses across all the verb classes. There were a total number of 76 *dat*-less (V2) embedded clauses and embedded clauses with an overt complementiser (V-final). The *dat*-less declarative embedded clauses are most prominent at 75% (57 out of 76). The remaining 19 clauses are clauses such as (23a) in which the complementiser is present, and the verb is in clause-final position. Declarative embedded clauses with an overt complementiser thus account for only 25% of embedded clauses. Examples of the Kaaps *dat*-less data are presented in (25)-(29). Unless otherwise stated, the *a*-examples are from the corpus; the *b*-examples are the constructed overt-*dat* / V-final embedded clause examples.

(25) **Class A**

- a. Hille sê [Ø die naaste is jou neighbour].
they say [the closest BE.COP your neighbour]
'They say the people closest to you are your neighbours.'
[Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. Hille sê [dat die naaste jou neighbour **is**].
they say that the closest your neighbour BE.COP
'They say that the people closest to you are your neighbours.'

(26) **Class B**

- a. Ek dink [Ø dais nou een fout vannie jong kinnes van idag].
I think [that.BE.COP now one mistake of.the young children of today]
'I think that's one of the mistakes children of today make.'
[Maggie_60&older_Afr-Eng]
- b. Ek dink [dat dai nou een fout vannie jong kinnes van idag **is**].
I think that that now one mistake of.the young children of today BE.COP
'I think that that's one of the mistakes children of today make.'

(27) **Class C**

- a. Hy deny [\emptyset hy **was** by ôs huis gewies].
he deny [he AUX.TNS by our house PTCPL-be]
'He denies he was at our house.'

[Constructed by author]

- b. Hy deny [dat hy by ôs huis gewies **et**].
he deny that he by our house PTCPL-be] AUX.TNS
'He denies that he was at our house.'

(28) **Class D**

- a. ek issie spyt [\emptyset ek **het** hie kô bly nie].
I BE.COP.NEG regret [I have here come stay NEG]
'I don't regret coming to live here.'

[Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

- b. Ek issie spyt [dat ek hie kô bly **het** nie].
I BE.COP.NEG regret that I here come stay AUX.TNS NEG
'I don't regret that I've come to live here.'

(29) **Class E**

- a. jy wiet [\emptyset Lee-Anne en Leslene is sieklike kinnes gewies].
you know [Lee-Anne and Leslene is sickly children PTCPL-was]
'You know Lee-Anne and Leslene were sickly children.'

[Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

- b. jy wiet [dat Lee-Anne en Leslene sieklike kinnes gewies **et**].
you know that Lee-Anne and Leslene sickly children PCTPL-was AUX.TNS
'You know that Lee-Anne and Leslene were sickly children.'

The high frequency (75%) of *dat*-drop in declarative embedded clauses suggests that Kaaps, like Afrikaans, readily permits complementiser-less embedded V2 clauses. Further, the examples in (25a)-(29a) illustrate that *dat*-drop found in Kaaps is also (like Afrikaans) not restricted to verb classes A, B and E (as assumed in Emonds (1970: 177) and Vikner (2020: 378)). In other words, instances of embedded V2 with verb classes C and D are also permitted in Kaaps (see Section 2.4.1 in Chapter 2; the Afrikaans examples in (19a)-(23a)). There is, however, a strong preference for *dat*-less embedded clauses with Class A (33 of 57 *dat*-less embedded clauses; 58%). That is followed by 14 (25%) with Class B verbs, and 9 (16%) with Class E verbs. There is only 1 *dat*-less embedded structure that occurs with a Class D verb (28). Although Class C is not represented in the corpus, as a native speaker of Kaaps, I can attest that such examples are possible. The following section, Section 4.3.3, outlines the data pertaining to embedded *wh*-interrogatives.

4.3.3 V2 in embedded *wh*-interrogatives

As mentioned in 2.4.1 in Chapter 2, Afrikaans, unlike many of its Germanic relatives, allows for V2 in embedded *wh*-interrogatives - regardless of Afrikaans being a V-final language. Likewise, the Manenberg Kaaps corpus also reveals instances of V2 in embedded *wh*-interrogatives. In total, there are 28 embedded *wh*-interrogative clauses. There are 23 occurrences (82.1%) of the V2 type and 5 (17.9%) of the V-final type. Consider the embedded V2 *wh*-interrogative examples in (30a)-(32a), of which the V-final counterparts are provided in (30b)-(32b). The *wh*-element is underlined in the examples below.

- (30) a. jy ken [hoet ek gestruggle].
you know [how.have I PTCPL-struggle].
'You know how I've struggled (over the years).'
- [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. Jy ken [hoe ek gestruggle **het**].
you know [how I PTCPL-struggle AUX.TNS]
'You know how I've struggled.'
- (31) a. toe vra sy vi my [wat **doen** ek].
then ask she for me [what do I]
'Then she asked me what it is that I'm doing (with my life) now.'
- [Marcel_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- b. Toe vra sy vi my [wat ek **doen**].
then ask she for me [what I do]
'Then she asked me what it is that I'm doing (with my life) now.'
- (32) a. jy wiet [wie **was** hie].
you know [who BE.COP here]
'You know who was here.'
- [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. Jy wiet [wie hie **was**].
you know [who here BE.COP]
'You know who was here.'

As in Afrikaans (Section 2.4.1; the examples provided in (26) and (27)), the V2 embedded *wh*-interrogatives in the Kaaps corpus are unmarked, i.e. the embedded clauses are interpreted neutrally, as true embedded clauses.

4.3.4 Verb early structures

In addition to the V-final (Section 4.3.1) and V2 embedded clauses (Sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3) discussed above, there are instances in which the verb, linearly speaking, appears earlier in the string, i.e. not in sentence final position. The term *verb early* is used only descriptively,

and not to imply any analysis. The first type of verb early structures under discussion will be those that come about as a result of extraposition. These are covered in Section 4.3.4.1. The following subsections deal with embedded clauses that are ‘verb early’ for reasons other than extraposition. In Section 4.3.4.2 the verb occurs early alongside an overt complementiser. Section 4.3.4.3 is concerned with verb early relative clauses.

4.3.4.1 Embedded extraposed verb early structures

As mentioned in Section 2.2.1, extraposition is a striking property of all Afrikaans varieties. Kaaps is no exception. As a result of frequent ‘leaking’ of various constituent types to the right of the finite verb, a ‘verb early’ structure is realised. This means that the finite verb appears earlier than expected, i.e. not in sentence final position. The embedded clause examples in (33a) and (34a) illustrate the kind of data at issue here. The *b*-examples are the standardly accepted V-final examples. The extraposed constituents are italicised.

- (33) a. daisie tyd wattie mense amilie mense **ytsit** *innie Kaap*
 that.BE.COP.the time what.the people all.the people out.put in.the Cape
 ‘(It was around the time) when apartheid government were putting people out
 of Cape Town.’
 [Maggie_60&older_Afr-Eng]
- b. daisie tyd wattie mense amilie mense innie Kaap **ytsit**
 that.BE.COP.the time what.the people all.the people in the Cape out.put
 ‘(It was around the time) when apartheid government were putting people out
 of Cape Town.’
- (34) a. ...dat ek soe groot **is** *vandag*
 ...that I so big BE.COP [today]
 ‘(I am very proud) that I’ve turned out this way.’
 [Tanya_18-25_Afr-only]
- b. ...dat ek vandag soe groot **is**
 ...that I today so big BE.COP
 ‘(I am very proud) that I’ve turned out this way.’

The embedded clause extraposed constituents in the corpus emerged as either prepositional phrases (such as *innie Kaap* ‘in the Cape’ in (33a)) or adverbs (such as *vandag* ‘today’ in (34a)). In total, there are 25 verb early strings realised as a result of extraposed constituents. However, it is important to note that not all verb early embedded clause strings are as a result of leaking.

4.3.4.2 Embedded verb early + overt complementiser

The corpus presents two instances of verb early strings in which the verb appears earlier in the string alongside an overt complementiser. These instances, as mentioned previously,

are not a result of extraposition. Consider (35a) and (36a). The *b*-sentences below show the ‘classic’ West Germanic order of sentences with an overt complementiser, i.e the V-final counterpart.⁶

- (35) a. ...lat ek **is** hai meisie wat hille nie ekspekke ek gat
 ...that I BE.COP that girl what they NEG expect.AUX.TNS I AUX.MOD
 is een vannie dae nie
 BE.COP one of.the days NEG
 ‘(I will show them) that I am that girl who they didn’t expect me to be one day.’
 [Tanya_18-25_Afr-only]
- b. ...lat ek hai meisie wat hille nie ekspekke ek gat is een
 ...that I that girl what they NEG expect.AUX.TNS I AUX.MOD BE.COP one
 vannie dae nie **is**.
 of.the days NEG BE.COP
 ‘(I will show them) that I am that girl who they didn’t expect me to be one day.’
- (36) a. ...lat ek **kan** ‘n goeie jong meisie bekom in hierie omstandighede
 ...that I AUX.MOD a good young girl become in this circumstances
 ‘(I will prove to myself) that I can become a good young girl, regardless of the
 circumstances.’
 [Tanya_18-25_Afr-only]
- b. ...lat ek ‘n goeie jong meisie in hierie omstandighede **kan** **bekom**.
 ...that I a good young girl in this circumstances AUX.MOD become
 ‘(I will prove to myself) that I can become a good young girl, regardless of the
 circumstances.’

The two Kaaps verb early examples under discussion here have a subject DP (*ek* ‘I’) preceding a copula verb (*is*) and a modal verb (*kan*). The copula complement appears as a definite DP (*hai meisie* ‘that girl’) as in (35a).⁷ Furthermore, it is interesting that the object (in (35a) is *hai meisie*; in (36a) the object is ‘*n goeie jong meisie*), in both cases, follows the finite verb.⁸ The fact that the object appears after the copula verb in (35a) and the modal verb in (36a) may be considered as ‘DP-object extraposition’. On the one hand, object extraposition is barred in Afrikaans (Biberauer & Pretorius 2018: 10). On the other hand, it does occur in Kaaps, but under specific conditions:

1. Object extraposition is accepted where the object “is complex / heavy”, reflecting a well-known “processing-induced universal pattern”; and / or

⁶The concord element (NIE2) in Afrikaans typically surfaces clause-finally after the verb in negative clauses; but this is independent of the position of the verb (NIE2 and the verb do not compete for a slot), thus final NIE2 (in 35a, for example) can be left aside for the purposes of the discussion here.

⁷The DP *hai meisie* is also the antecedent for the relative clause *wat hille nie ekspekke ek gat is een vannie dae nie* ‘who they didn’t expect me to be one day’.

⁸In (36a) the PP *in hierie omstandighede* has been extraposed. However, this does not play a part in the conversation at hand; thus it will be left aside.

2. Objects occur in “a particle-verb-containing imperative-like structure.” Objects may also follow particles in colloquial Afrikaans imperatives.

(Biberauer & Pretorius 2018: 13)

The examples are perhaps better described as extraposition permitted under condition 1. Considering (35a), the object *hai meisie* has a relative clause *wat hille nie ekspekke ek gat is* attached to it, yielding a ‘heavy’ object. Further, the fact that the object gets extraposed in examples such as (35a) could be perceived as being a pragmatic solution; the V-final structure (in (35b)) demonstrates why sentences like this are usually not realised: keeping *is* in its ‘proper’ final position makes the sentence nigh-impossible to process/interpret.

Section 4.3.4.3, which follows, focuses on verb early structures found in relative clauses.

4.3.4.3 Verb early relative clauses

Recall that V2 relative clauses appear in low frequency in German (see Section 2.4.1 in Chapter 2; and also Gärtner (2001); Catasso & Hinterhölzl (2016)). A relative clause is a clausal modifier that relates to a constituent of the sentence, typically a noun phrase (de Vries 2018: 1). The noun phrase, in this case, is referred to as the antecedent. In the corpus there is a total of 123 relative clauses. Out of that total, 122 relative clauses are V-final (99.2% of all relative clauses). There is one exceptional case, in which the verb appears early in the structure. Consider (37) below. The relative clause is in square brackets, and the ‘early’ verb is boldfaced. The antecedent is italicised.

- (37) a. *dai is* *jou werk* [*wat jy* **moet** nou gedoenit].
 that BE.COP your work what you must now PTCPL-do.have
 ‘That is your work that you should have done.’

[Maggie_60&older_Afr-Eng]

This relative clause appears with a modal verb (*moet* ‘must’). Another striking difference between the verb early relative clause in the corpus and the V2 relative clauses discussed in Section 2.4.1 in Chapter 2 is that the Kaaps one, as shown by the example in (37a), appears with *wat* (‘what’) instead of a *d*-pronoun.

4.3.5 Summary

In this section I showed that Kaaps is an OV language (Section 4.3.1), and that V2 is freely permitted in embedded clauses. The latter was shown by means of embedded clauses with no overt complementiser (Section 4.3.2) and in *wh*-interrogatives (Section 4.3.3). In addition, this section also focused on verb early structures: structures with an overt complementiser (Section 4.3.4.2), and verb early relative clauses (Section 4.3.4.3).

Section 4.4, which follows, introduces the empirical V3 data that emerged in the corpus.

4.4 V3 clauses

This section presents an overview of the V3 patterns found in the Kaaps corpus. As shown in Table 4.2 there are 64 V3 clauses (4.1% of all clauses in the corpus). Of the V3 clauses, 62 (96.9%) are matrix clauses, and 2 (3.1%) are embedded clauses. The V3 clauses include declaratives (38a) of which there are 60 (93.8% of all V3 clauses), and interrogatives (38b) of which there are 4 (6.3%). A tabulated summary of V3 matrix clauses is provided in Table 4.10 below.

- (38) a. [Sondag] [toe] **praat** ieman daa by Patsy-hille
 Sunday then talk someone there by Patsy-them
 ‘On Sunday someone spoke at Patsy’s.’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. [watte activities] [vi jou] **wassie** belangrikste?
 which activities for you v.COP.the important.SUP
 ‘Which activities were most important to you?’
 [Tanya_18-25_Afr-only]

Clause type	Tokens	%
Declarative	60	93.8%
Interrogative	4	6.3%
Total	64	100%

Table 4.10: Breakdown of matrix V3 clauses by clause type

The remainder of this section is organised as follows: the first section, Section 4.4.1, focuses on the two different types of V3, i.e. ‘superficial’ and ‘true’ V3 types, that surfaced in the corpus. The following section, Section 4.4.2, provides the findings on the structural properties of V3 matrix clauses: the nature of the verb in third position (Section 4.4.2.1), the nature of the initial constituent (Section 4.4.2.2) and the nature of the second position constituent (Section 4.4.2.3). Section 4.4.3 provides an overview of the two embedded V3 clauses in the corpus. The section on the structural properties is concluded with a summary in Section 4.4.4.

4.4.1 Types of V3

This section is analogous to Section 2.4.3 of the Literature Review in that it classifies the types of V3 as either ‘superficial’ V3 (Section 4.4.1.1) or ‘true’ V3 (Section 4.4.1.2).

4.4.1.1 Superficial V3

Recall that superficial V3 comprises examples of V3 in which the verb, on the surface level, seems to occupy the third position in the clause and there are superficially two constituents

preceding the finite verb. The superficial V3 types presented in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.3) are: examples in which two adverbials precede the left bracket, examples in which remnant VP fronting to the forefield has taken place, and also examples with a left dislocated subject with the resumptive pronoun. The Kaaps corpus consists of 49 (76.6% of all V3 clauses) superficial V3 patterns. However, there are no instances of remnant VP fronting in the corpus. Consider the examples in (39) below.

- (39) a. [hie] [vidag] **liewe** ôs nog
 here today live we still
 ‘Today we are still alive.’
 [Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]
- b. [meeste vannie mense] [hille]s snaaks men mekaa en hai.
 most of.the people they.BE.COP funny with each.other and that
 ‘Most people are nasty toward each other and so on.’
 [Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

There are two types of superficial V3 that surface in the corpus: (i) examples such as (39a), which have a complex initial element in the forefield; and (ii) the resumptive type as in (39b), which have two separate constituents in the forefield. Instead of a single complex initial element as in (i), however the two elements are directly related to each other. A vast majority of the superficial V3 patterns are of the resumptive type: 80.4% (41 tokens) of all superficial V3 patterns. The remaining 19.6% (10 tokens) are V3 patterns with a complex initial constituent. Further characteristics of the first and second constituents are presented in Section 4.4.2.2 and Section 4.4.2.3, respectively.

4.4.1.2 True V3

Whereas superficial V3 is analysed as having a complex initial element, or two directly related elements in the forefield, ‘true’ V3 is analysed as having two separate constituents preceding the left bracket. There are only 13 (20.3% of all V3 examples) such examples in the corpus. Consider (40) below.

- (40) [ongelukkag] [my pa] **was** ‘n visseman
 unfortunately my dad BE.COP a fisherman
 ‘Unfortunately, my dad was a fisherman.’
 [Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]

In 40 the two preverbal elements *ongelukkag* (‘unfortunately’) and *my pa* (‘my dad’) are not constituents of a shared phrase. These are discussed further in Chapter 5.

Table 4.11 shows the distribution of ‘superficial’ and ‘true’ V3 patterns across the corpus.

Throughout the remainder of this section I distinguish between ‘superficial’ and ‘true’ V3s. Further discussions on their status as either ‘superficial’ or ‘true’ will be left for Chapter 5.

In the following section, Section 4.4.2, we turn to the structural properties of V3 matrix clauses.

Type of V3	Tokens	%
Superficial	51	80%
True	13	20%
Total	64	100%

Table 4.11: Overview of the proportion of ‘superficial’ and ‘true’ V3s

4.4.2 V3 main clauses

In this section we are interested in understanding the structural properties of (superficial and true) V3 clauses. As a result, we explore the nature of the verb (Section 4.4.2.1), the nature of the initial constituent (Section 4.4.2.2), and the nature of the second position constituent (Section 4.4.2.3).

4.4.2.1 Nature of the verb

This section is concerned with the nature of the verb in third position. Of specific interest is the types of verbs that are realised.

4.4.2.1.1 Verb type Third-position verbs are of the same type as that of second-position verbs in V2 clauses (Section 4.1.1.1). This is seen clearly when considering verbs in third position in the superficial V3 types. They appear as lexical verbs (41a), copula verbs (41b), tense-marking auxiliaries (41c), auxiliaries of modality (41d), passive auxiliaries (41e), and complex initial verbal structures (41f).⁹

(41) **Superficial V3 verb types**

- a. [Sondag] [toe] **praat** ieman daa by Patsy-hille
 Sunday so talk someone there by Patsy-them
 ‘On Sunday someone spoke at Patsy’s.’

[Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

- b. [Christmas tye] [dan] **is** my klere laankal innie hys
 Christmas times then BE.COP my clothes long.all in.the house
 ‘Christmas time, my clothes are already in the house.’

[Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]

- c. [hie] [byrie hys] **het** ôs lekke tye gehet.
 here at.the house AUX.TENSE we nice times PTCPL-have
 ‘We had nice times at home.’

[Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

⁹ *Wat* (‘what’) at the beginning of the sentence in (41f) shows that *wat* is also used as a temporal connective in Kaaps (where many other varieties of Afrikaans would have *toe* (‘when’)).

- d. [Korre to ten] [da] **moet** hy die hys velaat Ursula
 quarter to ten then AUX.MOD he the house depart Ursula
 ‘At quarter to ten, he must leave the house, Ursula.’
 [Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]
- e. [na my ma en my pa se stefte] [toe] **wôt** ôs nou op videel.
 after my mom and my dad POSS death then AUX.PASS we now up share
 ‘After our parents died, we were split up.’
 [Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]
- f. [Wat ek ‘n kin gewiesit] # [en toe] # **lee ken** ek ammel my vrinne
 what I a child PTCPL-was # and then # learn know I all my friends
 ‘When I was a child, I came to know all my friends.’
 [Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

In (42) below, the verbs found in the true V3 examples are provided. These verbs are realised as lexical verbs (42a), copula verbs (42b), tense-marking auxiliaries (42c), modal auxiliaries (42d) and passive auxiliaries (42e).

(42) **True V3 verb types**

- a. [toe] [hy] **sien** it gat swaa
 then he saw it go heavy
 ‘Then he realised that it was difficult (for us to survive).’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. [ongelukkag] [my pa] **was** ‘n visseman
 unfortunately my dad BE.COP a fisherman
 ‘Unfortunately, my dad was a fisherman.’
 [Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]
- c. [oppie einde vannie aan] # [ôs] **hettie** op ‘n leë mag gat
 on.the end of.the night # we AUX.TENSE.NEG on a empty stomach go
 slaapie
 sleep.NEG
 ‘At the end of the day, we didn’t go to bed on an empty stomach.’
 [Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]
- d. [as jy moeligeit het] # [ek] **gannie** my mon indrik daa nie
 if you trouble have # I AUX.MOD.NEG my mouth in.press there NEG
 ‘If there is trouble, I won’t get involved.’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- e. [Actually] [dai]s wat met my oek gebee
 actually that.AUX.PASS what with me also happened
 ‘Actually, that is what happened to me too.’
 [Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

The table below (Table 4.12) represents main clause verb-third types per V3 type, i.e. superficial or true V3.

Superficial V3	Tokens	%	True V3	Tokens	%
Lexical verbs	20	40.8%	Lexical verbs	5	38.5%
Copula verbs	8	16.3%	Copula verbs	3	23.1%
Tense-marking auxiliaries	5	10.2%	Tense-marking auxiliaries	2	15.4%
Modal auxiliaries	11	22.5%	Modal auxiliaries	2	15.4%
Passive auxiliaries	3	6.1%	Passive auxiliaries	1	7.7%
Complex initial verbs	2	4.1%	Complex initial verbs	0	0%
Total	49	100%	Total	13	100%

Table 4.12: Main clause V3 verb types per V3 type

As with the verb types in V2 matrix clauses (Section 4.2.1.1), lexical verbs are the most common of verb types. Furthermore, verb types found in the superficial and true V3 examples are mostly the same. The only noticeable difference is that the true V3 type does not have any complex initial verbs in third position. This, however could be a corpus gap and not a real gap. For example the following true V3 structure in (43) with a complex initial verb is permissible:

- (43) [ongelukkag] [my pa] **loep soek** moeligeid by die neighbours.
 unfortunately my dad walk look trouble by the neighbours
 ‘Unfortunately, my dad goes looking for trouble with the neighbours.’
 [Constructed by author]

In terms of the language of the verbs in third position, one difference between the nature of the verbs in V2 and V3 structures is that almost all (61/62; 98.4%) verbs in third position are in Afrikaans. There is one example of an ‘English’ verb. Consider (44):

- (44) [As daa moeligeit is] # [da] **ekspek** hille jy moet nou help
 if there trouble BE.COP # then expect they you AUX.MOD now help
 ‘When there is trouble, then they expect you to help (them).’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

As with the example in (9) above, *ekspek* may be the default form in Kaaps. It may be that Kaaps speakers never use the ‘Afrikaans’ variant, *verwag* (‘to expect’), or they do, but not in the same sense/context.

Section 4.4.2.2, which follows, reviews the initial constituents in V3 structures in the corpus. That section is followed by Section 4.4.2.3 which reviews the second position constituents.

4.4.2.2 Nature of the initial constituent

The V3 data reveal that subjects and adverbials are permitted as first position constituents. There were no instances of object fronting to the first position. This is also a finding that emerged in (Walkden 2017), i.e. that object fronting is not permitted in V3 clauses (see Section 2.4.3.5). Section 4.4.2.2.1 provides the findings on the subjects that occurred in first position. Section 4.4.2.2.2 presents the findings on the adverbials in first position.

4.4.2.2.1 Subjects In initial position, subjects appear at a very low frequency. Only the superficial V3 clauses display subjects in initial position, i.e. there are no initial position subjects in the true V3 examples. There are only 4 instances of subjects in initial position (6.5% of all superficial main clause V3 initial constituents). They are realised as subject DPs such as (45a), a modified subject DP (45b) and a modified subject pronoun(45c). The subjects are italicised and the ‘second constituent’ is enclosed in square brackets.

- (45) a. *'n mens* [as jy klein is] **vergië** waa jy vanaan kommie
 a person if you small is forget.NEG where you from come.NEG
 ‘When you are young, you don’t forget where you come from.’
 [Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- b. *Doreen wat in my pat geblyet* [sy]t vi my gesê
 Doreen what in my street PTCPL-stay.have she.have for me PTCPL-say
 ‘Doreen who lived in my street told me.’
 [Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- c. *dai wat hom vermoort* # [hille]is nog altyd vry manne
 that what him murder.AUX.TNS # they BE.COP still always free men
 ‘Those who murdered him are still free.’
 [Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

As already mentioned, the only kind of non-subjects found in the initial position of declarative V3 matrix clauses in the Kaaps data is of the adverbial type. In V2 matrix clauses, object fronting to initial position in declaratives is very rare (see Table 4.8 above). In Kaaps declarative V3 clauses, on the other hand, there are no instances of objects in initial position. This, however, could be a gap in the corpus. Consider (46).

- (46) [die girls] [Saterdag] **gan** sy oues hille saam vat.
 the girls Saturday AUX.MOD his parents them together take
 ‘His parents are going to take the girls with them on Saturday.’
 [Constructed by author]

In (46) an object (*die girls* ‘the girls’) is fronted to initial position. The non-inverted V2 structure is provided in (47).

- (47) Sy oues **gan** die girls Saterdag saam vat.
 his parents AUX.MOD the girls Saturday together take
 ‘He’s parents are going to take the girls with them on Saturday.’
 [Constructed by author]

The findings on initial adverbials are presented in Section 4.4.2.2.2.

4.4.2.2.2 Adverbials Kaaps readily permits initial position adverbials in V3 clauses, regardless of V3 type. That adverbials are readily permitted is evidenced by the fact that 58 (93.6% of all V3 main clauses) of the initial position constituents are adverbials. Superficial

V3 initial adverbials include: adverbs (48a), adverbial pronouns (48b), prepositional phrases (48c) and CP adverbials (48d). Initial position adverbials are italicised.

(48) **Superficial V3 initial adverbials**

- a. *Sondag* [toe] **praat** ieman daa by Patsy-hille
 Sunday so talk someone there by Patsy-them
 ‘On Sunday someone spoke at Patsy’s.’
 [ADV: Ursula.60&older_Afr-only]
- b. *dan* [soe] **kan** ek boeke gekoepit
 then so AUX.MOD I books PTCPL-buy.have
 ‘That way I could buy books.’
 [ADV-Prn: Jolene.18-25_Afr-Eng]
- c. *by my hys* [da] **sit** ek haa voor innie yaat
 at my house then sit I there from in.the yard
 ‘At my house I sit in front, in the yard.’
 [ADV-PP: Marcel.18-25_Afr-Eng]
- d. *wat my uncle dood gaan* [toe] **issit** jy wietie wiet die
 what my uncle dead go then AUX.TENSE.it you know.NEG who.have the
 plek ge-erfie.
 place PTCPL-inherit.NEG
 ‘When my uncle passed on we didn’t know who inherited the place.’
 [ADV-CP: Ursula.60&older_Afr-only]

The examples in (49) are of the true V3 type. True V3 initial adverbials are realised as adverbs (49a), adverbial pronouns (49b), and CP adverbials (49c).

(49) **True V3 initial adverbials**

- a. *So* [familie] **kô** agtena.
 so family comes afterwards
 ‘Family arrives afterwards.’
 [ADV: Veronica.60&older_Afr-only]
- b. *toe* [hy] **sien** it gat swaa
 then he saw it go heavy
 ‘Then he realised that it was difficult (for us to survive)’.
 [ADV-Pronoun: Ursula.60&older_Afr-only]
- c. [as jy moeligeit het] # [ek] **gannie** my mon indrik daa nie
 if you trouble have # I AUX.MOD.NEG my mouth in.press there NEG
 ‘If there is trouble, I won’t get involved.’
 [ADV-CP: Ursula.60&older_Afr-only]

Table 4.13 presents the distribution of initial position subjects and non-subjects in V3 matrix clauses, per V3 type. The data reveal that there is a strong tendency to have adverbials as initial position constituents in V3 clauses.

Superficial V3	Tokens	%	True V3	Tokens	%
Subject DPs	2	4.1%	Subject DPs	0	0%
Modified subject DPs	1	2%	Modified subject DPs	0	0%
Modified subject pronoun DPs	1	2%	Modified subject pronoun DPs	0	0%
Subject subtotal	4	8.1%	Subject subtotal	0	0%
Adverbs	12	24.5%	Adverbs	7	53.9%
Adverbial pronouns	6	12.2%	Adverbial pronouns	3	23.1%
Prepositional phrases	6	12.2%	Prepositional phrases	0	0%
CP adverbials	21	43%	CP adverbials	3	23.1%
Adverbial subtotal	45	91.9%	Adverbial subtotal	13	100%
Total	49	100%	Total	13	100%

Table 4.13: V3 matrix clause initial constituent type per V3 type

In addition, as noted in Section 2.4.3.5 above, the Kaaps initial position in V3 clauses differs to that of the initial position in V2 clauses of spoken varieties. This is exemplified by the fact that there is no object fronting to initial position in Kaaps V3 clauses in the corpus. In this regard, Kaaps is like other Germanic urban vernacular V3 clauses.

4.4.2.2.3 Initial constituent language As with the initial constituents in V2 matrix clauses, V3 initial constituents appear in Afrikaans (50a)/(52a) or English (50b)/(52b). Initial constituents are italicised.

(50) **Superficial V3 initial constituent language**

- a. *Sondag* [toe] **praat** ieman daa by Patsy-hille
 Sunday then talk someone there by Patsy-them
 ‘On Sunday someone spoke at Patsy’s.’

[Ursula.60&older_Afr-only]

- b. *Korre to ten* [da] **moet** hy die hys velaat Ursula
 quarter to ten then AUX MOD he the house depart Ursula
 ‘At quarter to ten, he must leave the house, Ursula.’

[Veronica.60&older_Afr-only]

Recall that the example in (50b) is categorised as an English first constituent because of its English form, i.e. *quarter to ten* (see the discussion regarding an identical constituent in (19) above). In addition, there are also ‘Afrikaans-English’ initial constituents. Consider (51) below.¹⁰

- (51) *By Gordon se twennie first* [toe] **sien** ek vi haa
 at Gordon POSS twenty first then see I for her
 ‘At Gordon’s twenty first (birthday party) I saw her.’

[Marcel.18-25_Afr-Eng]

¹⁰The preposition *by* at the beginning of the example in (51) is the Afrikaans *by* (‘at’), not the English *by*, e.g. *I’m travelling by train to Johannesburg*. However, in some varieties of (South African) English, *by* is used instead of *at*. For example: *I’m by the house*. Perhaps this is influenced by Afrikaans *by* (‘at’): *Ek is by die huis* (‘I’m at home’).

Descriptively, such examples were classified as having ‘Afrikaans-English’ constituents if they consisted of both Afrikaans and English lexical items. However, (51) could be thought of as an Afrikaans example, since the structure of the phrase is that of Afrikaans, e.g. the use of the Afrikaans possessive marker *se*. There were 6 superficial V3 examples (8.2%) of this kind, all of which are made up of more than one word (i.e. phrases). As mentioned above, true V3 initial constituents also appear in Afrikaans (52a) or English (52b).

(52) **True V3 initial constituent language**

- a. *ongelukkag* [my pa] **was** ‘n visseman
 unfortunately my dad BE.COP a fisherman
 ‘Unfortunately, my dad was a fisherman.’
 [Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]
- b. *Actually* [dai]s wat met my oek gebee
 actually that.AUX.PASS what with me also happened
 ‘Actually, that is what happened to me too.’
 [Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

There is only 1 true V3 initial constituent of the ‘Afrikaans-English’ type. Consider (53).

- (53) *although is it ‘n stikkie droë brood en ‘n koppie flou tie # [ôs] het*
 although BE.COP it a piece dry bread and a cup weak tea # we AUX.TNS
 ge-iet
 PTCPL-eat
 ‘Even if it was just a piece of dry bread with a cup of weak tea, we had something
 to eat.’
 [Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]

Table 4.14 provides the distribution of V3 initial constituent languages per V3 type.

Superficial V3	Tokens	%	True V3	Tokens	%
Afrikaans	42	85.7%	Afrikaans	11	84.6%
English	1	2%	English	1	7.7%
Afrikaans-English	6	12.2%	Afrikaans-English	1	7.7%
Total	49	100%	Total	13	100%

Table 4.14: Language of initial constituents in V3 matrix clauses

The preference for Afrikaans is really striking. Across V3 types, there are 53 (85.5%) Afrikaans initial constituents, 7 (11.3%) Afrikaans-English ones, 2 (3.2%) English ones. The following section, Section 4.4.2.3, provides the findings on V3 second position constituents in the corpus.

4.4.2.3 Nature of the second constituent

Section 4.4.2.2 above focused on the first position constituents. This section focuses on the second position constituents, the constituent immediately to the left of the verb. Kaaps

displays a range of options in terms of permissible second position constituents. This is demonstrated and discussed in Sections 4.4.2.3.1-4.4.2.3.3 below. One notable difference between V3 initial constituents and second position constituents is that all V3 second constituents are Afrikaans.

4.4.2.3.1 Subjects Subjects are the second most frequent second position constituents in V3 matrix clauses in the corpus. There are 15 subjects (24.2% of all (superficial and true) main clause V3 second constituents). Recall that subjects most frequently appear as second position constituents in the urban vernaculars covered in Section 2.4.3.6 above. The fact that subjects frequently occupy second position in V3 clauses is perhaps indicative of the fact that subjects are the default / most neutral initial position constituents in V2 clauses (see Section 2.4.2.1). Subjects that surface in second position in V3 clauses in the Kaaps corpus include subject DPs (55a) and subject pronouns ((54) and (55b)). The second position subjects are italicised.

(54) **Superficial V3 second position constituents**

[meeste vannie mense] *hilles* snaaks men mekaa en hai.
 most of.the people they.BE.COP funny with each.other and that

‘Most of the people are nasty with each other and so forth.’

[Subject Pronoun: Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

(55) **True V3 second position constituents**

a. [So] *familie kô* agtena.
 so family comes afterwards
 ‘So, family comes afterwards.’

[Subject DP: Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]

b. [toe] *is was* lekke
 then it BE.COP nice
 ‘Then we had a good time.’

[Subject Pronoun: Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

The use of *is* (‘it’) in (55b), a variant of the most frequently used 3rd person neuter pronoun (*d)it*, is not to be confused with the present tense form of the copula *is* in (53), for example. The (55b) type is a *d*-less form of the pronoun *dit* (‘it’). Furthermore, when there is a subject in second position in the Kaaps V3 clauses, they appear most frequently as subject pronouns. See Table 4.15 below.

4.4.2.3.2 Objects There are only two second position objects (4.8% of all second position constituents). Both take the form of *wh*-phrases, and occur in matrix clauses with a superficial V3 pattern. No objects occurred in second position in true V3 clauses. Consider (56) below, in which the *wh*-objects are italicised.

- (56) a. [toe] *wat maak* hy?
 then what make him
 ‘Then what did he do?’

[Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

- b. [da] *wat gat* hille maak me my?
 then what AUX.MOD they make with me
 ‘Then what will he do with me?’

[Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]

4.4.2.3.3 Adverbials The most frequent second constituent in V3 matrix clauses is adverbials. A total of 45 V3 clauses had adverbials in second position. These clauses were all matrix clauses with a superficial V3 pattern. Second position adverbials include: adverbs (57a), resumptive adverbial pronouns (57b), prepositional phrases (57c), and adverbial CPs (57d). These adverbials are italicised in the examples.

- (57) a. [hie] *vidag liewe* ôs nog
 here today live we still
 ‘Today we are still alive.’

[ADV: Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]

- b. [dai tyd] *toe is* jy laankal klaa met jou lyne opsit.
 that time then AUX.PASS jy long.time finish with your lines up.put
 ‘By then, you were long done setting up your washing lines.’

[ADV-Pronoun: Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

- c. [hie] *byrie hys het* ôs lekke tye gehet.
 here at.the house AUX.TNS we nice times PTCPL-have
 ‘Here, at home, we had good times.’

[ADV-PP: Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

- d. [dan] *tewyl die galley brand moet* ek nou gan van slaggies tot slaggies
 then while the bonfire burn AUX.MOD I nou go from butcher to butcher
 ‘Then while the bonfire is burning, I have to go from butcher to butcher (searching for the right items).’

[ADV-CP: Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]

Table 4.15 represents the distribution of second position subjects and non-subjects in V3 matrix clauses. What the table shows is that most (47/62; 75.8%) of the second position elements are non-subjects. This table also shows that the second constituent in the case of true V3 patterns is always a subject.

Further, the non-subjects are predominantly adverbials (45/47; 95.7%), adverbial pronouns in particular (39/47; 83%). This contrasts with the second position constituents found in the urban vernacular varieties presented in Section 2.4.3.6 above. The second constituent in the urban vernacular V3 is almost always the subject. In part this is true for the Kaaps V3 data, in that the true V3 types (of which there are only 13/62; 21%) display only subjects

Superficial V3	Tokens	%	True V3	Tokens	%
Subject DPs	0	0%	Subject DPs	3	23.1%
Subject pronoun DPs	2	4%	Subject pronoun DPs	10	76.9%
Subject subtotal	2	4%	Subject subtotal	13	100%
Object wh-phrases	2	4%	Object wh-phrases	0	0%
Object subtotal	2	4%	Object subtotal	0	0%
Adverbs	2	4%	Adverbs	0	0%
Adverbial pronouns	39	79.6%	Adverbial pronouns	0	0%
Prepositional phrases	2	4%	Prepositional phrases	0	0%
CP Adverbials	2	4%	CP Adverbials	0	0%
Adverbial subtotal	45	91.8%	Adverbial subtotal	0	0%
Total	49	100%	Total	13	100%

Table 4.15: V3 matrix clause second position constituent type per V3 type

in second position. Another similarity between the Kaaps true V3 type and the urban vernacular V3 patterns is that when there is a subject in second position, it is usually a subject pronoun. 76.9% of the true V3 subject DPs in second position are subject pronouns. By way of reminder, a number of true V3s with subject pronouns in second position are given here, in (58).

(58) **True V3 second position subject pronouns**

- a. [toe] *hy sien* it gat swaa
 then he saw it go heavy
 ‘Then he realised that it was difficult (for us to survive).’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. [oppie einde vannie aan] # *ô s hettie* op ‘n leë mag gat
 on.the end of.the night # we AUX.TENSE.NEG on a empty stomach go
 slaapie
 sleep.NEG
 ‘At the end of the day, we didn’t go to bed on an empty stomach.’
 [Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]
- c. [as jy moeligeit het] # *ek gannie* my mon indrik daa nie
 if you trouble have # I AUX.MOD.NEG my mouth in.press there NEG
 ‘If there is trouble, I won’t get involved.’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- d. [Actually] *dai* s wat met my oek gebee
 actually that.AUX.PASS what with me also happened
 ‘Actually, that is what happened to me too.’
 [Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- e. [although is it ‘n stikkie droë brood en ‘n koppie flou tie] # *ô s*
 although BE.COP it a piece dry bread and a cup weak tea # we

het ge-iet
 AUX.TNS PTCPL-eat

‘Even if it was just a piece of dry bread with a cup of weak tea, we had something to eat.’

[Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]

To summarise the facts presented above: the superficial V3 patterns found in the Kaaps corpus typically display stacked adverbials in the clausal forefield, followed by the finite verb (39). If they deviate from the stacked adverbials generalisation, the superficial V3 patterns will most likely have a dislocated subject followed by a resumptive pronoun, preceding the finite verb, as in (45b). The true V3s, on the other hand, follow the properties of the urban vernacular V3s in that they are best characterised by the following structure: Adjunct-Subj- $V_{VF\text{IN}}$. See, by way of example, (40) above.

The following section, Section 4.4.3 outlines the structural properties of the two embedded clause V3s.

4.4.3 V3 embedded clauses

Recall that there are 64 V3 clauses in total. Of those, 62 occur in main clauses, and 2 occur in embedded clauses (see Section 4.4 above). As is illustrated in (59a) and (60a), these two clauses occur with *dat*-drop. Further, the embedded clause V3 examples are from Class A (59a) and Class E (60a), which are commonly referred to as strongly assertive verbs (e.g. *say*) and semi-factive verbs (e.g. *know*), respectively (Hooper & Thompson 1973). Consider the examples in (59a) and (60a) below. As with the examples in Section (4.3.2) above, the b-examples are the self-constructed verb-final examples.

(59) Class A

- a. Claude sê [Ø *laas wreek en Sondag* [toe] *borrillie* bloed by haa nies yt]
 Claude say [last week and Sunday then bubble.the blood by her nose out]
 ‘Claude said, last week and Sunday her nose was bleeding profusely.’
 [Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]

- b. Claude sê [dat die bloed laas wreek en Sondag toe by haa nies yt
 Claude say that last week and Sondag the blood then by her nose out
geborril et].
 bubble AUX.TNS
 ‘Claude said that last week Sunday her nose was bleeding profusely.’

(60) Class E

- a. Mens wiet mos [Ø *altyd* [innie Kaap] **is** jy familie vanamil].
 person know PRT [always in.the Cape BE.COP you family of everyone]
 ‘We know, in Cape Town everyone is your family, always.’
 [Maggie_60&older_Afr-Eng]

- b. Mens wiet mos [dat innie Kaap amil altyd jou familie **is**].
 person know PRT [that in.the Cape everyone always your family BE.COP]
 ‘We know that in Cape Town everyone is your family, always.’

Both examples are of the superficial V3 type: both (59a) and (60a) have stacked adverbials in the forefield, preceding the finite verb. Section (4.4.4) summarises the findings up until Section (4.4.3).

4.4.4 Summary

Section 4.2 showed that Kaaps, even though it is a robust V2 language (see Section 4.4) has instances of V3 in matrix clauses. Section 4.4.1 distinguished between superficial V3 and true V3. The superficial V3 type appears in two structures: two adverbials preceding the verb, as well as a dislocated subject in initial position followed by a resumptive pronoun in second position. The true V3 type typically has an adverbial in initial position, followed by a subject. These types of V3 will be discussed further in Chapter 5. Section 4.4.2.1 showed that V3 shares the range of options that V2 has in terms of types of verbs which occupy the left bracket. In other words, the same types of verbs (lexical, copula, auxiliaries, etc.) that occur in V2, are also found in V3, albeit barring the complex initial type. All the verbs in V3 clauses are in Afrikaans. Section 4.4.2.2 highlighted that the initial position is occupied by only subjects and adverbials. Adverbials are the most frequent type of initial constituent. There is no object fronting to initial position. Second position constituents, on the other hand show greater variation as to which types of constituents appeared - subjects, objects and adverbials (see Section 4.4.2.3). The most frequent second position constituent is adverbial pronouns (see Table 4.15). Already deducible is the fact that there are many examples of so called ‘superficial’ V3 patterns in the corpus. Section 4.4.3 revealed that the two V3 embedded clauses, are *dat*-less embedded clauses, and also of the superficial V3 type.

The next section (Section 4.5) reports on verb placement in the data with social demographics factored in.

4.5 Verb placement and social demographics

This section examines the distribution of verb placement more closely, focusing on its relationship with the social demographic factors of the participants. To conceptualise this section, perhaps it is best thought of in terms of the following (informally phrased) questions: *to what extent do the individual participants in the focus groups behave in a homogeneous way? And to what extent can we observe differences between them?* In other words, this section is interested in whether there is variation across speakers in the corpus.

All of the participants were women and from Manenberg (see Section 3.2.1). Therefore the differences (or similarities) are presented in terms of other social factors, namely age group and language background. Given the limited scope of the study, there are only a limited

number of correlations to be drawn. For example, the study consists only of interviews with focus groups made up of participants who share the same social demographics (age and language background); there were no ‘cross-focus group’ interviews (e.g. an 18-25 year old speaker with a 60 year and older speaker). Thus, I am not able to draw comparisons between focus groups with participants with shared social demographics (intra-speaker focus groups), and those who have different social demographics (inter-speaker focus groups). It seems reasonable to assume that there would be register differences (among others) between inter-age groups, i.e. conversations that took place between an older and a younger speaker. For example, I suspect that an 18-25 year old would speak less colloquially to her 60 year or older counterpart than to a counterpart roughly the same age. This is, at least in part, due to cultural norms.

Recall that there were four focus groups (eight participants; two per focus group) that participated in the study (see Table 3.1, repeated as Table 4.16 below for convenience). Table 4.16 also shows the number of words each focus group conversation was made up of.¹¹

Focus group name	Age group	Lang background	No. words
Focus group 1	18-25	AFR-only	2 232
Focus group 2	18-25	AFR-ENG	3 233
Focus group 3	≥ 60	AFR-only	4 582
Focus group 4	≥ 60	AFR-ENG	1 869
		Total	11 916

Table 4.16: Breakdown of focus group discussions

Table 4.17 zooms in a bit closer and provides the breakdown of each focus group conversation per individual, i.e. it shows (in words) how much each individual spoke.

Focus group	Participant	Word count	%
Focus group 1(18-25, AFR-ONLY)	Tanya	1 813	81.2%
	Mel	419	18.8%
Focus group 1 total		2 232	100%
Focus group 2(18-25, AFR-ENG)	Marcel	1 365	42.2%
	Jolene	1 868	57.8%
Focus group 2 total		3 233	100%
Focus group 3(≥ 60, AFR-ONLY)	Ursula	2 864	62.5%
	Veronica	1 718	37.5%
Focus group 3 total		4 582	100%
Focus group 4(≥ 60, AFR-ENG)	Miranda	963	51.5%
	Maggie	906	48.5%
Focus group 4 total		1 869	100%

Table 4.17: Breakdown of focus group conversations per individual

The data presented in Table 4.17 show that in each focus group conversation, one participant spoke more than her conversation partner. For example, in Focus group 1, Tanya

¹¹ It should be noted that Focus group 4 had a big portion of their conversation in English (approximately 750 words). These words are not included in their total in column 4 of Table 4.16.

spoke much more than Mel. The reason for this disparity should not be assumed to merely be a result of a power imbalance between the two speakers in a given focus group. Mel was very shy. As a result, she contributed minimally to her focus group conversation, even though she was speaking to a friend, and no researcher was present during the recording. While the conversation was ongoing, there were instances where Tanya tries to get Mel to participate more in the conversation. Even so, Mel contributed only 18.8% of Focus group 1's word count.

The remainder of this section is structured as follows. Section 4.5.1 sheds light on the correlations between main clause V2 and social demographics. Section 4.5.2 outlines the relationship between embedded clauses and social demographics. That is followed by Section 4.5.3 which focuses on the relationship between main clause V3 and the social demographics of participants. The section is concluded with a summary in Section 4.6.

4.5.1 Main clause V2 and social demographics

As already mentioned above, there are 1 159 V2 matrix clauses (see Section 4.2 above). Table 4.18 represents the distribution of V2 matrix clauses per focus group, including the size of each focus group's conversation (in words).¹²

Focus group name	MC tokens	%	Subcorpus size (words)	%
Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)	191	16.5%	2 232	18.7%
Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)	355	30.6%	3 233	27.1%
Focus group 3 (≥ 60 , AFR-ONLY)	427	36.8%	4 582	38.5%
Focus group 4 (≥ 60 , AFR-ENG)	186	16.1%	1 869	15.7%
Total	1 159	100%	11 916	100%

Table 4.18: V2 matrix clause breakdown per focus group

As expected, there is a clear correlation between the number of V2 matrix clauses per focus group (column 2) and conversation size (column 4). By this I mean, the larger the focus group subcorpus, the more V2 matrix clauses were produced. It is striking that Focus group 1 (18-25, Afrikaans-only) is more comparable to Focus group 4 (60 years/older, Afrikaans-English) than to Focus Group 3 (60/older, Afrikaans-only) in terms of proportion of V2 tokens to size of conversation. This, however, could be coincidental: Maggie (one of the participants in Focus group 4) had to cut the conversation short to attend to a prior commitment. Another important finding presented by the data in Table 4.18 is that, regardless of the use of English, i.e. focus groups in which participants are equally comfortable in Afrikaans and English; Focus groups 2 and 4, V2 remains a prominent property in Kaaps matrix clauses.

The remainder of this section is outlined as follows. Section 4.5.1.1 zooms in on the relationship between the language background of participants and the language of the verbs.

¹²The V2 token percentage is worked out as the percentage of all V2 clauses (1 159). The same counts for the size percentage. It is worked out as the size percentage of the total of words / the size (11 916) of the corpus.

Section 4.5.1.2 is centred around the relationship between the language background of participants and the language of the initial constituents in V2 matrix clauses.

4.5.1.1 Language background and language of V2 verbs

In this section we are interested in the relationship between the language background of the participants and the language of the verb (which is in either Afrikaans or English; see Section 4.2.1.2 above) in second position in V2 matrix clauses. Table 4.19 shows the relationship between Afrikaans verbs and the language background per focus group, as well as the relationship between English verbs and the language background per focus group.¹³

Focus group name	Afrikaans verbs	%	English verbs	%	Token total	% Total
Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)	189	98.9%	2	1.1%	191	100%
Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)	342	96.3%	13	3.7%	355	100%
Focus group 3 (≥ 60 , AFR-ONLY)	426	99.8%	1	0.2%	427	100%
Focus group 4 (≥ 60 , AFR-ENG)	183	98.4%	3	1.6%	186	100%

Table 4.19: V2 second position verb language breakdown per focus group

Table 4.19 shows that regardless of the language background, Afrikaans verbs are highly preferred. Another salient characteristic of Table 4.19 is that the language background of the participants seems to have an effect on the language of the verb. This is seen when considering focus groups in which participants have English (Focus groups 2 and 4) as one of the languages that they speak / have knowledge of. These participants use more English verbs. The inverse is seen for focus groups with Afrikaans-only background, i.e. they employ the fewest English verbs. Further, the ‘young’ Afr-Eng group produced English verbs at a greater frequency in the course of their conversation than any of the other groups. Table 4.20 represents the breakdown of the language of the second position verbs in matrix clauses per individual.

Participants	Afrikaans verbs	%	English verbs	%	Totals	% Totals
<i>Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)</i>					191	100%
Tanya	139	72.8%	2	1.1%	141	73.9%
Mel	50	26.2%	0	0%	50	26.2%
<i>Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)</i>					355	100%
Marcel	142	40%	6	1.7%	148	41.7%
Jolene	200	56.3%	7	2%	207	58.3%
<i>Focus group 3 (≥ 60, AFR-ONLY)</i>					427	100%
Ursula	254	59.5%	0	0%	254	59.5%
Veronica	172	40.3%	1	0.2%	173	40.5%
<i>Focus group 4 (≥ 60, AFR-ENG)</i>					186	100%
Miranda	87	46.8%	0	0%	87	46.8%
Maggie	96	51.6%	3	1.6%	99	53.2%

Table 4.20: V2 second position verb language breakdown per individual

¹³Percentages in Table 4.19 are calculated as the total of verbs per focus group.

The results presented in Table 4.20 call attention to the fact that the totals presented per focus group (in Table 4.19) are the average of the two participants. For example, it should not be assumed that the participants in Focus group 1 produced an equal number (e.g. 50% each) of, say, Afrikaans V2 verbs. Instead, in some cases, there is a large disparity in V2 matrix clause production per participant. By way of example, consider the breakdown for Focus group 1, in Table 4.20: Tanya produced 139 Afrikaans verbs, and 2 English verbs. Contrastingly, her conversation partner, Mel, produced only 50 Afrikaans verbs, and no English verbs. Thus, the total percentage is merely the average of the total contributions of each of the participants. A further noteworthy point is that Focus groups 2, 3 and 4 also presented internal variation (albeit to a much lesser degree than Focus group 1). Moreover, even for the focus groups with English as a language participants are comfortable in speaking, the use of English verbs employed are far less than that of the Afrikaans verbs.

The following section (Section 4.5.1.2) illustrates the relationship between language background and the language of the initial constituents in V2 matrix clauses.

4.5.1.2 Language background and language of V2 initial constituents

This section is concerned with the relationship between the language background of the participants and the language of the initial constituent (Afrikaans or English; see Section 4.2.2.6 above) in V2 matrix clauses. Section 4.2.2.6 reported that there are 1 145 (98.8%) Afrikaans initial constituents and 14 English ones (1.2%). Table 4.21 represents the relationship between Afrikaans initial constituents and the language background per focus group. It also represents the relationship between English initial constituents and the language background per focus group.

Focus group name	Afrikaans	%	English	%	Token total	% Total
Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)	191	100%	0	0%	191	100%
Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)	348	98.0%	7	2%	355	100%
Focus group 3 (≥ 60 , AFR-ONLY)	422	98.8%	5	1.2%	427	100%
Focus group 4 (≥ 60 , AFR-ENG)	184	98.9%	2	1.1%	186	100%

Table 4.21: V2 initial constituent language breakdown per focus group

The data in Table 4.21 show that Kaaps speakers (e.g. Focus Group 2; contrast with Focus Group 1) with English as one of the languages in their repertoire use more English initial constituents than those who do not have English as part of their repertoire. Interestingly, though, Focus Group 3, which has an ‘Afrikaans-only’ language background, has more English initial constituents than Focus group 4, an Afrikaans-English focus group. Although this is true, and in contradiction with the previously stated relationship (i.e. that participants with an English background use more English initial constituents), the fact that this ‘Afrikaans-only’ focus group used the most English initial constituents could be because this focus group presented the longest discussion (see Table 4.18). Furthermore, Focus group 1 (which is an ‘Afrikaans-only’ focus group) has no instances of English initial

constituents. The lack of English initial constituents in Focus group 1 should not be considered as an absolute restriction for ‘Afrikaans-only’ speakers of Kaaps; Focus group 3 (the other ‘Afrikaans-only’ focus group) illustrates that Afrikaans-dominant speakers of Kaaps also make use of English initial constituents. Although we might expect (even) more English initial constituents from the ‘Afrikaans-English’ focus groups (Focus groups 2 and 4), the use of English initial constituents is still very marginal; the vast majority is still in Afrikaans. Another interesting point to note is that Focus group 2, which produced the most English verbs (in the previous section), proportionally speaking, also produced the most English initial constituents, proportionally speaking. The difference, however, between the verbs and the initial constituents is that with the verbs, both speakers in Focus group 2 contributed roughly an equal proportion of the English verbs, whereas Jolene contributed decisively more English first constituents than Marcel. Table 4.22 provides the distribution of the language of the initial constituent per individual.

Participants	Afrikaans	%	English	%	Totals	% Totals
<i>Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)</i>					191	100%
Tanya	141	73.8%	0	0%	141	73.8%
Mel	50	26.2%	0	0%	50	26.2%
<i>Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)</i>					355	100%
Marcel	147	41.4%	1	0.3%	148	41.7%
Jolene	201	56.6%	6	1.7%	207	58.3%
<i>Focus group 3 (≥ 60, AFR-ONLY)</i>					427	100%
Ursula	252	59%	2	0.5%	254	59.5%
Veronica	170	39.8%	3	0.7%	173	40.5%
<i>Focus group 4 (≥ 60, AFR-ENG)</i>					186	100%
Miranda	88	47.3%	0	0%	88	47.3%
Maggie	96	51.6%	2	1.8%	98	53.4%

Table 4.22: V2 initial constituent language breakdown per individual

In Focus group 1, neither Tanya nor Mel used English initial constituents; Tanya’s 141, and Mel’s 50 initial constituents were all in Afrikaans. Even though Focus group 2 contributed the most English initial constituents, an absolute majority (6/7; 86%) of the English initial constituents are produced by one speaker, namely Jolene. Interestingly, the other ‘Afrikaans-English focus group, Focus group 4, produced only 2 of the English initial constituents, and both instances of English initial constituents are from one speaker, Maggie. Given that both speakers in Focus group 4 are comfortable in both Afrikaans and English (see footnote 11 for a sense of their use of English), it is interesting that Miranda also produced no English verbs (see Table 4.20).

The following section (Section 4.5.1.3) focuses on the relationship between the social demographics and Quirky V2 (complex initial verbs).

4.5.1.3 Quirky V2 and social demographics

Given that Quirky V2 is an Afrikaans innovation (see Section 4.2.1.1 above), we might expect a strong correlation between ‘Afrikaans-dominant’ speakers (Focus groups 1 and 3)

and Quirky V2.¹⁴ Recall that there were 9 instances of Quirky V2 in the corpus (see Table 4.4 above). Consider Table 4.23 below.

Focus group ame	Tokens	%
Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)	0	0%
Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)	1	11.1%
Focus group 3 (≥ 60 , AFR-ONLY)	5	55.6%
Focus group 4 (≥ 60 , AFR-ENG)	3	33.3%
Total	9	100%

Table 4.23: Quirky V2 breakdown per focus group

The data in Table 4.23 show that there is in fact no strong correlation between the Afrikaans-only focus groups and the Quirky V2 verb type. For example, Focus group 1 (an ‘Afrikaans-only’ focus group) has no occurrences of Quirky V2.¹⁵ On the other hand, what the data does seem to suggest is that Quirky V2 is more frequently used among speakers (Focus groups 3 and 4).

As Table 4.23 shows, Tanya and Mel (Focus group 1) had no instances of the Quirky V2 type. Marcel had 1 instance of Quirky V2 and Jolene had none (Focus group 2). Ursula made use of 3 Quirky V2s while Veronica made use of 2 (Focus group 3). Miranda had 1 occurrence of Quirky V2 while Maggie had 2 occurrences (Focus group 4).

Section 4.5.2, which follows, is concerned with the relationship between the social demographics and embedded clauses in the corpus.

4.5.2 Embedded clauses and social demographics

This section aims to present the findings on the relationship between social demographics (age and language background) and embedded clauses (of which, in total, there are 262; see Table 4.2 above). Section 4.5.2.1 focuses on embedded clauses with and without *dat* (‘that’). Section 4.5.2.2 zooms in on *wh*-interrogatives. As with the previous sections, this section investigates whether or not participants are employing the same embedded clause properties / structures in relation to the aforementioned social demographics.

¹⁴I acknowledge that Quirky V2 is a non-standard structure, which may actually have originated more from the speech of Afrikaans speakers who also controlled other languages (e.g. the Khoi/Orange River speakers, but potentially also those in the Cape in the early years). For the purpose of this discussion, I set aside such complexities.

¹⁵Recall that non-occurrence in the corpus does not indicate an absolute bar against the occurrence of a phenomenon. As a result, the fact that Focus group 1 has no instances of Quirky V2, should not be seen as a rule. This could merely be coincidental. Furthermore, the emergence of Quirky V2 from 60 year and older participants, should not be viewed as exclusive to this age group. See, e.g. Focus group 2, albeit one instance of Quirky V2. As a native speaker of Kaaps, I can attest that Quirky V2 is an available verb type to speakers regardless of social factors such as their age group.

4.5.2.1 Clauses with and without *dat*

As shown above, although Kaaps (and Afrikaans more generally) is a V-final language, *dat*-drop is a stable property of the grammar, giving rise to V2 embedded clauses (see Section 4.3.2). This section is thus concerned with the (potential) relationship between the language background of the participants and the frequency of V-final and *dat*-less embedded clauses. The data reveal that there is no significant relationship between participant language background (i.e. a language background constituting a participant who is dominantly Afrikaans speaking, or one that speaks Afrikaans and English equally) and *dat*/-less embedded clauses. Instead, across focus groups and individual speakers, barring Focus group 1, *dat*-less embedded clauses are preferred (Section 4.3.2). Table 4.24 shows the breakdown of *dat*/-less embedded clause results per focus group.

Focus group name	Overt <i>dat</i>	%	<i>Dat</i> -less	%	Totals	% Totals
Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)	11	68.7%	5	31.3%	16	100%
Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)	8	23.5%	26	76.5%	34	100%
Focus group 3 (≥ 60 , AFR-ONLY)	4	16.7%	20	83.3%	24	100%
Focus group 4 (≥ 60 , AFR-ENG)	2	22.2%	7	77.8%	9	100%

Table 4.24: Breakdown of embedded clauses with and without *dat* per focus group

For Focus groups 2, 3, and 4, it seems as if the grammars have reached a stage at which V2 embedded clauses (as a result of *dat*-drop) is preferred to V-final embedded clauses. For Focus group 1, however, it seems as if V-final embedded clauses (the default West Germanic word order) is still preferred. The following table, Table 4.25 gives the breakdown of clauses with/without a complementiser per individual.

Participants	Overt <i>dat</i>	%	<i>Dat</i> -less	%	Totals	% Totals
<i>Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)</i>					16	100%
Tanya	8	50%	3	18.8%	11	68.8%
Mel	3	18.8%	2	12.5%	5	31.2%
<i>Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)</i>					34	100%
Marcel	2	5.9%	9	26.5%	11	32.4%
Jolene	6	17.6%	17	50%	23	67.6%
<i>Focus group 3 (≥ 60, AFR-ONLY)</i>					24	100%
Ursula	3	12.5%	14	58.3%	17	70.8%
Veronica	1	4.2%	6	25%	7	29.2%
<i>Focus group 4 (≥ 60, AFR-ENG)</i>					9	100%
Miranda	1	11.1%	2	22.2%	3	33.3%
Maggie	1	11.1%	5	55.6%	6	66.7%

Table 4.25: Breakdown of embedded clauses with and without *dat* per individual

As shown in Table 4.25, Tanya produced the bulk of the overt *dat* embedded clauses in Focus group 1 (and of all the participants). However, both participants, Tanya and Mel, produced more embedded clauses with an overt complementiser, i.e. V-final embedded clauses than they did of the *dat*-less type.

4.5.2.2 *Wh*-interrogatives

There seems to be a relationship between the language of the participants and embedded clause *wh*-interrogatives. The data reveal that a large majority of embedded V2 *wh*-interrogatives are produced by ‘Afrikaans-dominant’ speakers (Focus groups 1 and 3). Of the 23 embedded V2 *wh*-interrogatives, 17 are produced by ‘Afrikaans-dominant’ speakers, that is 73.9%. The remaining 6 (26.1%) embedded V2 *wh*-interrogatives are used by ‘Afrikaans-English’ speakers (Focus groups 2 and 4). There are only 5 V-final *wh*-interrogatives. Of the 5, 3 are used by Focus group 1, 1 by Focus group 2 and 1 by Focus group 4. Focus group 3, an ‘Afrikaans-dominant’ focus group, has no instances of V-final *wh*-interrogative embedded clauses. This is rather interesting when considering the fact that Afrikaans is supposed to be a V-final language variety. Furthermore, these facts suggest that having English on the scene cannot really be the reason why embedded *wh*-V2 structures are produced. These results are tabulated in Table 4.26 below.

Focus group name	V-final <i>wh</i>	%	V2 <i>wh</i>	%	Token total	% Total
Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)	3	27.3%	8	72.7%	11	100%
Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)	1	20%	4	80%	5	100%
Focus group 3 (≥ 60 , AFR-ONLY)	0	0%	9	100%	9	100%
Focus group 4 (≥ 60 , AFR-ENG)	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100%

Table 4.26: Breakdown of embedded clause *wh*-interrogatives per focus group

Participants	V-final <i>wh</i>	%	V2 <i>wh</i>	%	Totals	% Totals
<i>Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)</i>					11	100%
Tanya	2	18.2%	6	54.5%	8	72.7%
Mel	1	9.1%	2	18.2%	3	27.3%
<i>Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)</i>					5	100%
Marcel	1	20%	1	20%	2	40%
Jolene	0	0%	3	60%	3	60%
<i>Focus group 3 (≥ 60, AFR-ONLY)</i>					9	100%
Ursula	0	0%	7	77.8%	7	77.8%
Veronica	0	0%	2	22.2%	2	22.2%
<i>Focus group 4 (≥ 60, AFR-ENG)</i>					3	100%
Miranda	0	0%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%
Maggie	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%

Table 4.27: Breakdown of embedded clause *wh*-interrogatives per individual

It is interesting that on the one hand Tanya and Mel prefer V-final embedded clauses with an overt complementiser (see Table 4.25), but on the other hand, they prefer V2 *wh*-interrogative embedded clauses (as shown in Table 4.27). Overall, the results reveal that individuals, across social demographics, employ similar patterns when using embedded *wh*-interrogatives: there is a clear tendency for V2 *wh*-interrogatives per individual. Half of the participants (exactly 50% of all participants) made no use of V-final *wh*-interrogative

embedded clauses at all. When they did make use of V-final *wh*-interrogatives, they used them less than embedded clause V2 *wh*-interrogatives.

The following section, Section 4.5.3 discusses the relationship between V3 clauses and the social demographics.

4.5.3 V3 and social demographics

This section is concerned with participant social demographics and the types of main clause V3 (i.e. superficial and true V3). In Section 4.4 we have established that there are 62 Kaaps V3 main clauses in the corpus: 49 ‘superficial’ ones and 13 ‘true’ ones. Below (in Table 4.28) a breakdown of the V3 types per focus group is provided.

Focus group name	Superficial V3	%	True V3	%	Token total	% Total
Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)	9	90%	1	10%	10	100%
Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)	10	71.4%	4	28.6%	14	100%
Focus group 3 (≥ 60 , AFR-ONLY)	22	81.5%	5	18.5%	27	100%
Focus group 4 (≥ 60 , AFR-ENG)	8	72.7%	3	27.3%	11	100%

Table 4.28: Breakdown of V3 clause types per focus group

The data reveal that there is a preference for superficial V3 across focus groups. That is to say that neither age nor language background is a strong predictor of tendency to produce superficial V3 structures. It is worth noting, though, that the ‘older’ Afrikaans-only group produced more than twice the number of the superficial V3 tokens that each of the other groups produced. However, this could be because this focus group yielded the largest subcorpus (see Table 4.17 above). Further, the two Afrikaans-dominant focus groups (Focus groups 1 and 3) produced the highest proportions of superficial V3 structures. On the other hand, and strikingly so, the focus groups in which participants are comfortable with both Afrikaans and English (Focus groups 2 and 4), have the highest proportion of ‘true’ V3 structures. This could mean that language background (and not age) has an influence on the types of V3 structures produced. Moreover, one difference between the findings in the study of Walkden (2017) and the findings in this section (Table 4.28), is that most true V3s are produced by older people; Walkden (2017) found that ‘true’ V3s are produced in a greater frequency by younger speakers.

Focusing on Table 4.29, Tanya made use of 4 superficial V3s, but no true ones; Mel made use of 5 superficial ones, and 1 true V3 (Focus group 1). This is the only structure type in which Mel produced more tokens than Tanya. Furthermore, although ‘true’ V3 is marginal in West Germanic language varieties, the absence of ‘true’ V3s (as with other phenomena in the corpus) per individual (in Table 4.29) should not be perceived as an impossibility.

The conclusion to this chapter follows in Section 4.6.

Participants	Superficial V3	%	True V3	%	Totals	% Totals
<i>Focus group 1 (18-25, AFR-ONLY)</i>					10	100%
Tanya	4	40%	0	0%	4	40%
Mel	5	50%	1	10%	6	60%
<i>Focus group 2 (18-25, AFR-ENG)</i>					14	100%
Marcel	6	43%	2	14.3%	8	57.1%
Jolene	4	28.6%	2	14.3%	6	42.9%
<i>Focus group 3 (≥ 60, AFR-ONLY)</i>					27	100%
Ursula	12	44.4%	3	11.1%	15	55.6%
Veronica	10	37%	2	7.4%	12	44.4%
<i>Focus group 4 (≥ 60, AFR-ENG)</i>					11	100%
Miranda	5	45.5%	3	27.3%	8	72.7%
Maggie	3	27.3%	0	0%	3	27.3%

Table 4.29: Breakdown of V3 clause types per individual

4.6 Summary

Overall, this chapter was dedicated to presenting the findings of the study. Section 4.2 covered V2 matrix clauses in the corpus. This section illustrated that Kaaps is a V2 language. Section 4.2.2 showed that the default initial constituent in V2 matrix clauses is the subject. Thereafter, Section 4.3 showed that Kaaps, like other West Germanic languages, is a verb final language. The section also showed that Kaaps has verb early instances in embedded clauses with an overt complementiser (e.g. *dat*), in relative clauses (although very marginally) and V2 in embedded clauses with no overt complementiser (e.g. *dat*-less). Following, Section 4.4 demonstrated that Kaaps has instances of V3. A vast majority of the V3 sample is of the superficial type, i.e. the initial and second position of V3 clauses is typically an adverbial.

The following focuses on the sections which were based on structural properties and their relationship with social demographics.

Section 4.5.1.1 showed that speakers who have equal competence in English (and Afrikaans) used more English verbs in Kaaps V2 matrix clauses - the language of the verb has no effect on whether or not the structure is V2.

As shown in Section 4.5.1.2, the preference for English initial constituents in declarative V2 matrix clauses is not as clear cut as it is, say, for English verbs as previously discussed. Although, the use of English initial constituents is very marginal in V2 declarative matrix clauses, they do seem to be preferred by speakers who are equally competent in Afrikaans and English (Focus groups 2 and 4 taken together).

In Section 4.5.1.3, Quirky V2, a matrix clause phenomenon in the corpus, is shown to be freely available to all focus groups besides Focus group 1. This, as mentioned in Section 4.5.1.3 does not mean that Quirky V2 is not available to speakers with the social demographics: 18-25, Afrikaans-only; it could be coincidence that those speakers did not make use of any Quirky V2 structures.

Section 4.5.2.1 showed that that there is no significant relationship between participant

language background (i.e. a language background constituting a participant who is dominantly Afrikaans speaking, or one that speaks Afrikaans and English equally) and *dat*/-less embedded clauses. Instead, across focus groups and individual speakers, barring Focus group 1 (this focus group employs more V-final embedded clauses), *dat*-less embedded clauses are preferred (see also Section 4.3.2).

Section 4.5.2.2, as with Section 4.5.2.1 (mentioned previously), shows a preference for V2 *wh*-interrogatives across focus groups.

Section 4.5.3 was dedicated to the relationship between main clause V3 and participant social demographics. There was a clear preference for superficial V3s across focus groups. Here, participants with equal competence in Afrikaans and English (Focus groups 2 and 4 taken together) showed to produce more ‘true’ V3s. In terms of age, ‘true’ V3 structures are produced more by the older participants (Focus groups 3 and 4).

Chapter 5 that follows, provides discussions on the findings.



5. Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter, Chapter 4, confirmed a claim made in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1, namely that Kaaps is a V2 language. Not only did Chapter 4 confirm the aforementioned, it also showed that V2 is very much the verb placement pattern, across focus groups, in Kaaps. The findings also reveal that V2 is not restricted to matrix clauses, but that, under certain conditions, V2 is permitted in embedded clauses as well. Further, in examining the exceptions to V2, we found that V3 is a stable, albeit infrequent order that exists as a discourse option to speakers of Kaaps.

The Chapter is structured as follows. Section 5.2 provides a syntactic analysis for the V2 and V3 structures presented in Chapter 4. Section 5.3 discusses the findings from Chapter 4 through a sociosyntactic lens.

5.2 Syntactic analyses

The aim of this section is to sketch out formal analyses to account for the facts presented in the previous chapter. This discussion is intended to be indicative of what a potential analysis might look like; the details remain to be worked out in future work.

Section 5.2.1 outlines the syntactic analysis for Kaaps V2 and V3 matrix clauses. Section 5.2.2 provides the adopted analysis for Kaaps embedded clauses.

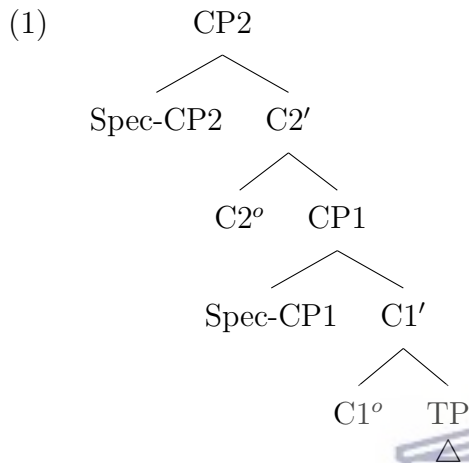
5.2.1 Syntactic analysis of Kaaps matrix clauses

The first adopted formal analysis comes from Walkden (2017: 60-65).¹ Walkden's proposal is an extension of the classic generative analysis of V2 in West Germanic languages (Den Besten 1983), in which V2 is derived by V-to-C movement (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1). Recall from Section 2.4.1 in Chapter 2 that V2 is characterised by the fact that only one constituent may precede the verb in a V2 matrix clause. If a finite complementiser (e.g. *dat*) is present, the verb remains in its base position; the complementiser blocks V-to-C movement. In other words, the complementiser and the finite verb are in complementary distribution. It is from

¹See also Vihman & Walkden (2021: 14-16) for the formal analysis of V2 in spoken Estonian.

this analysis that we derive the asymmetric distribution of V2, in terms of which V2 only occurs in matrix clauses. However, in West Germanic languages in which the complementiser may be dropped in embedded clauses, V2 is realised in both matrix and embedded clauses. This is indeed the case for Kaaps, as the data revealed in Section 4.3.2.

The adopted formal analysis from Walkden (2017: 60-65) differs from the classical analysis in that it postulates a split-CP: CP1 and CP2, instead of a single CP. The split-CP approach is illustrated in (1) below.



On the one hand, Vihman & Walkden (2021: 15) describe CP2 as being “multi-functional”, and its specifier (Spec-CP2) can host all of the same elements as the traditional Spec-CP. On the other hand, Spec-CP1 is more restricted as to which elements can appear there: it is reserved for familiar topics, i.e. topics which refer to a contextually given or otherwise salient discourse referent, and most commonly a pronominal subject (see Walkden 2017: 56; and Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3.6). Furthermore, initial position *wh*-elements (subjects and non-subjects), move to Spec-CP2 (Walkden 2017: 65).² The finite verb occupies C1. TP represents the rest of clause. As may be deduced, the split CP analysis put forward by Walkden (2017) is akin to the extended left periphery of Rizzi (1997) in that it also assumes that the left periphery of the clause (CP) consists of more than just a single projection, i.e. the left periphery has additional internal structure (see Chapter 2; Section 2.4.1; diagram 25 for more on the extended left periphery (Rizzi 1997)).

The split CP approach is able to account for V1, V2 and V3 clauses. As mentioned previously, we will set V1 aside for future research. In what follows, I first present the Walkden-style analysis for V2 structures (Section 5.2.1.1). The former is followed by the structural analysis of the V3 structures (true and superficial) found in the corpus (Section 5.2.1.2).

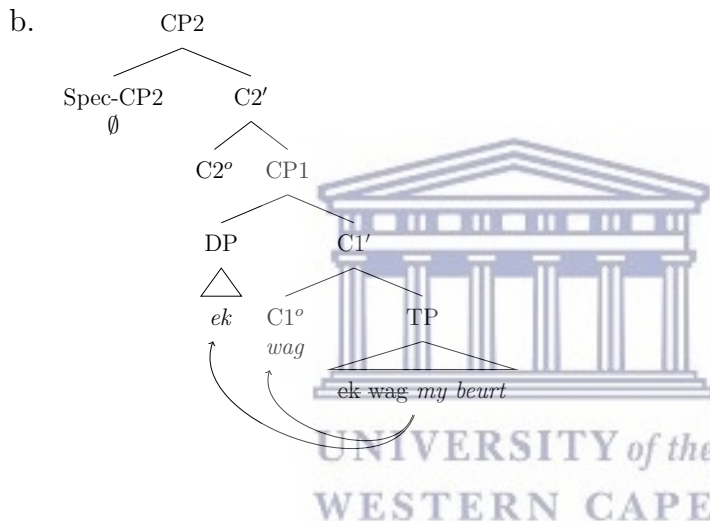
² *Why*-interrogatives are not included in the *wh*-interrogatives that move to Spec-CP2. This is based on the assumption that *why* is merged directly in the C-domain. See Walkden (2017: 57-58;65) and references therein for a more detailed discussion on *why*-interrogatives.

5.2.1.1 A split CP approach to V2 in Kaaps

Below I give illustrative representations of what Kaaps matrix V2 structures would look like in the context of a Walkden-style analysis. The internal structure of TP is simplified in each case as our central concern is with the structure of the left periphery.³ Consider (2b) and (3b):

- (2) a. ek **wag** my beurt
 I wait my turn
 ‘I am waiting until it’s my turn.’

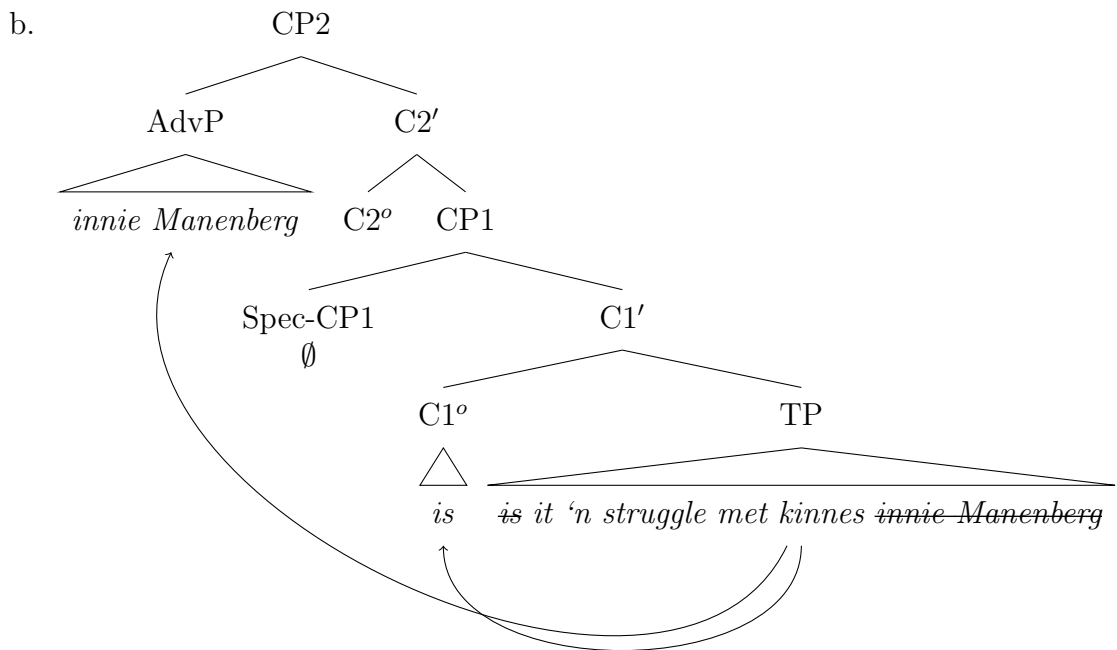
[= Example (5a); Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]



- (3) a. *innie Manenberg issit* ‘n struggle met kinnes
 in.the Manenberg BE.COP.it a struggle with children
 ‘Children in Manenberg aren’t easy to deal with.’

[= Example (13c) Maggie_60&older_Afr-Eng]

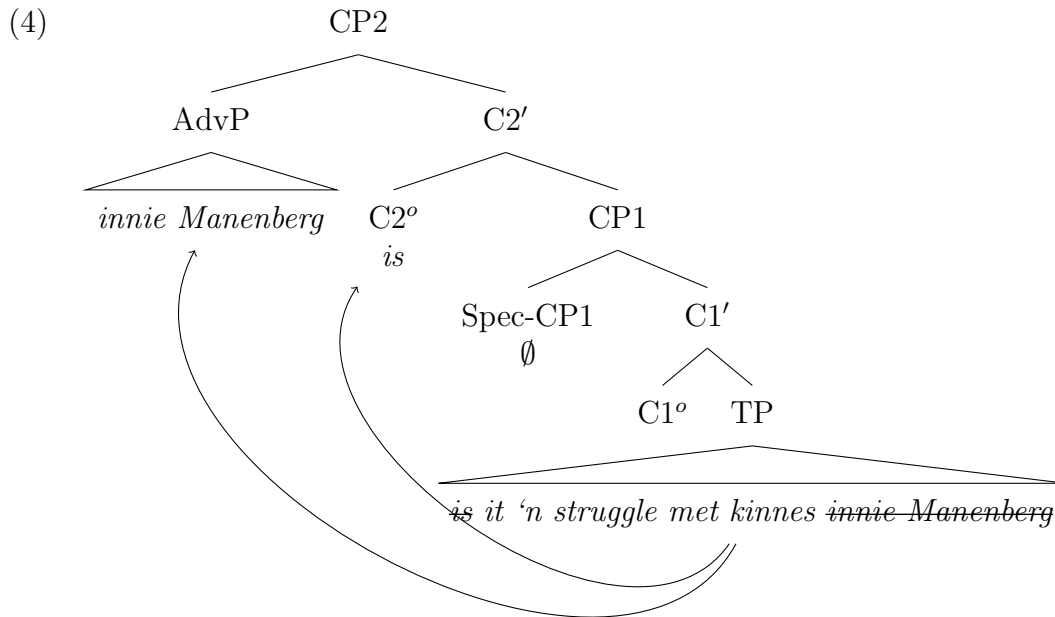
³In all the trees in this section (and subsequent sections) I abstract away from the internal structure of TP and I use traces (i.e. the arrows) to indicate that the elements in the CP-domain have moved from out of the TP.



In the context of this analysis, V2 structures consistently feature the finite verb located in C1. Walkden (2017) and Vihman & Walkden (2021) do not define conditions under which the verb moves to C2, say in a V2 clause with a scene setter in initial position. Thus, it remains to be clarified whether the finite verb moves to C2, and under which conditions. Additionally, only one of the two specifiers within the CP domain can be filled in the context of V2 expressions. As shown in (2b), when the clause has a subject in initial position (e.g. *ek* 'I'), i.e. a familiar topic, the subject occupies Spec-CP1, and Spec-CP2 remains empty. The inverse is seen when a non-subject occupies the initial position: in (3b), the locative adverbial *innie Manenberg* ('in the Manenberg') occupies Spec-CP2, and Spec-CP1 is empty. Since we already know that Spec-CP is reserved for familiar topics, a question arises: what stops the familiar topic (*it*), the pronoun, in (3b) from moving to Spec-CP1? Walkden (2017: 64) assumes that "only one constituent may move to the left periphery". In this case, the adverbial *innie Manenberg* ('in Manenberg') has already moved to Spec-CP2, therefore the familiar topic cannot move. I, too, adopt this assumption.

A brief summary is in order. So far we have seen that the Walkden-style analysis proposes that familiar topics (e.g. subjects) move to Spec-CP1, and that framesetters (e.g. adverbials) occupy Spec-CP2. Only one constituent is allowed to move (e.g. from TP) into the left periphery (Walkden 2017: 64). Furthermore, the analysis assumes that the finite verb moves into C1.

For Kaaps, however, the Walkden-style analysis presented above can be expanded upon, so as to account for instances in which the finite verb moves to C2°. Consider (4).



Sentences such as (2a) fit the Walkden-style analysis: the verb moves to C1°, Spec-CP1 is occupied by the familiar topic; C2° and Spec-CP2 remain vacant. However, when a marked XP occupies Spec-CP2 (as it does according to the Walkden-style analysis), the verb moves to C2° as is illustrated in (4).⁴ This way the verb and the initial element is always in a spec-head relationship. If we assume that there should always be a strict spec-head requirement between C1 and Spec-CP1 and C2 and Spec-CP2, then our analysis predicts that we cannot have true V3 structures. We will discuss this issue in the following section.

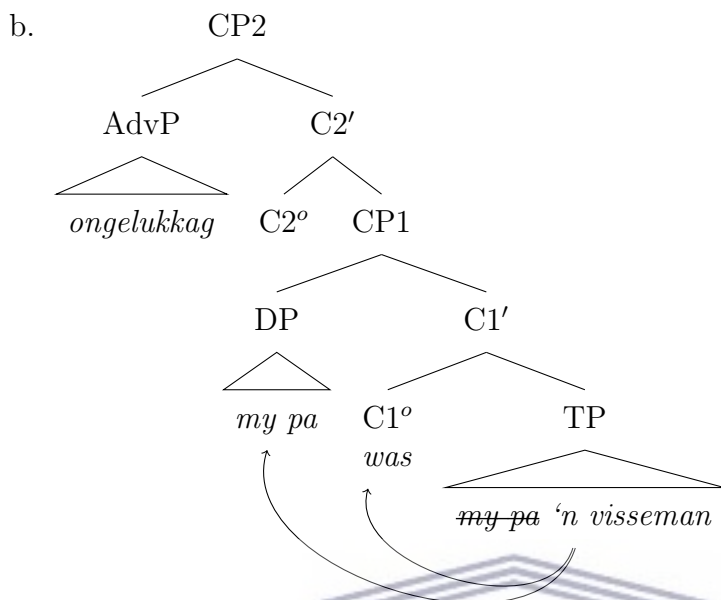
5.2.1.2 A split CP approach to V3 in Kaaps

Recall that V3 in Kaaps takes the following forms: true V3 structures which have the linear order Adjunct-Subject- V_{FIN} and superficial V3 structures which have the following linear orders: (i) DP-Adverbial- V_{FIN} and (ii) XP-Resumptive- V_{FIN} (see Section 4.4 in Chapter 4). In the discussion that follows, I present the analyses in this order.

The split CP analysis also accounts for the true V3 (XP-S-V; Section 4.4.1.2 in Chapter 4) types found in the Kaaps corpus (see Walkden 2017; Vihman & Walkden 2021 for the analysis of Kiezdeutsch and spoken Estonian true V3 structures). Consider the Kaaps illustration in (5b).

⁴Given the structure in (4), one prediction that the analysis seems to make is that you will find structures in which an initial adverbial (in Spec-CP2) is followed by the finite verb in C2, followed by the subject in Spec-CP1. This structure, however, would be impossible to distinguish from structures in which the subject is just below in Spec-TP, as it is in (4).

- (5) a. [ongelukkag] [my pa] **was** 'n visseman
 unfortunately my dad BE.COP a fisherman
 'Unfortunately, my dad was a fisherman.'
 [= Example (40); Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]



What distinguishes V3 from V2 is the fact that, as shown in (5b), both specifier positions (Spec-CP1 and Spec-CP2) are filled in a true V3 structure. Spec-CP1 is filled with the familiar topic, the subject-DP *my pa* ('my dad'); Spec-CP2 is filled with the adverbial *ongelukkag* ('unfortunately'). The generalisation for Manenberg Kaaps true V3 structures is therefore as follows. Spec-CP2 is reserved for unfamiliar framesetters and Spec-CP1 is reserved for familiar topics. Walkden's analysis therefore allows us to make the correct predictions about Kaaps true V3 patterns; it predicts that Spec-CP1 and Spec-CP2 cannot both be filled by arguments (Walkden 2017: 64). As a result, structures such as ones with two fronted DPs (subject and object, for example) are not possible. The analysis also predicts that true V3 will always consist of an adverbial followed by a familiar topic (e.g. a subject DP) preceding the finite verb. This means that a V3 structure in which a subject DP is followed by an adverbial which precedes the finite verb is not possible, or at least not characteristic of true V3. As for Kaaps: it is the case that the aforementioned predictions hold; there are no true V3 instances with two fronted DPs, or true V3 consisting of a subject DP followed by an adverbial in the left periphery.

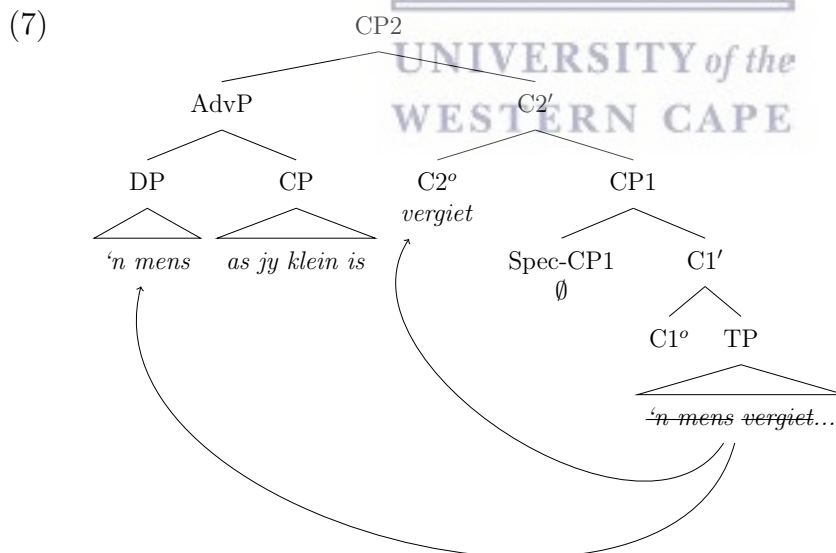
One potential problem with the analysis proposed in (5b) is that the spec-head requirement mentioned in the previous section between Spec-CP2 and C2 is not met. Thus the assumption for true V3 structures is as follows. When there is a familiar topic in Spec-CP1, preceding the finite verb in C1 (as is the case for the true V3 structures), the spec-head requirement for Spec-CP2 and C2 is lifted. The reason why this might be the case is set

aside for future research.

Using the Split-CP analysis, superficial V3 structures (presented in Section 4.4.1.1 of Chapter 4; see also Section 2.4.3 in Chapter 2) would be the outcome of a less straightforward derivation. Let us start with clauses which have the following linear order: a DP in initial position, followed by an adverbial in second position. These are typically examples with a complex-initial element in initial position. Consider again the example repeated in (6).

- (6) *'n mens* [as jy klein is] **vergi**etie # waa jy vanaan kommie
 a person if you small is forget.NEG # where you from come.NEG
 'When you are young, you don't forget where you come from.'
 [= Example (45a); Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

Sentences such as the one in (6) are instances in which the forefield hosts a complex initial element or constituent. Leaving aside much of the detail, I follow the logic of Barbiers (1995). The idea is that the DP (*'n mens* 'a person', in this case) moves to the specifier of the adverbial CP projection (*as jy klein is* 'when you're young'), which is assumed to be externally merged. When the DP occupies the specifier position of the adverbial, the adverbial becomes a predicate of DP (Barbiers 1995: 13). Furthermore, it is the case that the adverbial grounds the DP in time, i.e. a time constraint is attributed to the DP when it occupies the specifier position of the adverbial. For example, the person being referred to in (6) is a person of the past, a younger self, for example; it cannot refer to a person in the future, an older self, for example. Moreover, the CP *as jy klein is* also extends its scope over the entire clause, setting the time frame for the entire clause. This is further motivation for why the CP would need to be in Spec-CP2. The structural derivation is provided in (7).



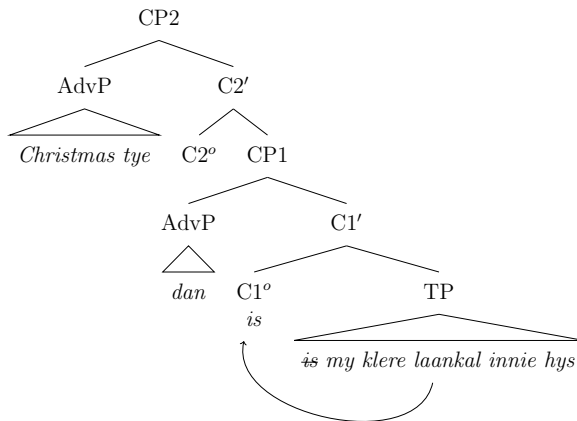
It is the case that the phrase in Spec-CP2 centres on the subject DP (*'n mens*, 'a person'). However, according to Barbiers (1995: 20-22) the structure of such a complex, adverbial-associated subject is syntactically derived by moving the subject to the specifier of the adverbial projection. This does not allow for us to analyse the XP as a true DP, hence the term *pseudo-DP*; Since the configuration yields a complex adverbial, the adverbial occupies Spec-CP2, as the diagram in (7) illustrates - this is what is assumed for non-resumptive adverbials under the split CP analysis. What is also illustrated in (7) is that the verb, as in (4), moves to C2° to ensure the spec-head relationship. A prediction which follows from this that is exemplified by the diagram, is that Spec-CP1 remains unoccupied, as it does in cases in which a familiar / neutral element (e.g. a subject DP) does not immediately precede the finite verb. In this instance the familiar topic, i.e. the subject *'n mens*, has moved into the specifier position of the adverbial in Spec-CP2, and therefore cannot occupy Spec-CP1. This analysis thus predicts that, for the superficial V3 types, only one specifier position will be occupied. As a result, such instances are characteristic of V2; they are not true V3 structures.

The other superficial V3 type that we present an analysis for here is realised as resumptive structures (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1.1 and also Section 4.4.2.1.1; examples (41a,b,d,e,f)). Resumptive structures, in terms of their linear order, can be described as structures with an XP in initial position followed by a resumptive element in second position, followed by the finite verb in third position. Meklenborg et al. (2020: 122) further discuss two types of resumptive structures: (i) structures in which the initial XP is “integrated” (8); and (ii) structures in which the initial element is “unintegrated”, or externally merged (9).

- (8) [Christmas tye] [dan] is my klere laankal innie hys
 Christmas times then BE.COP my clothes long.all in.the house
 ‘Christmas time, my clothes are already in the house.’
 [= Example (41b), Chp 4; Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]
- (9) [Wat ek 'n kin gewiesit] # [en toe] # lee ken ek ammel my vrinne
 what I a child PTCPL-was # and then # learn know I all my friends
 ‘When I was a child, I came to know all my friends.’
 [= Example (41f), Chp4; Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

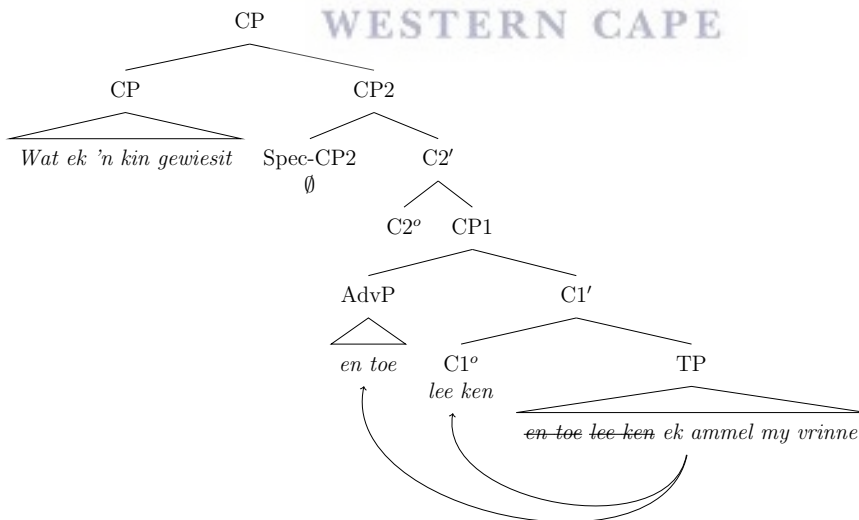
In the Manenberg Kaaps corpus, all of the resumptives in second position, are what Meklenborg et al. (2020: 95) refers to as “specialised resumptives”. These are typically adverbs that have retained their original meaning, i.e. they have not undergone semantic bleaching. Further, these resumptives follow an initial XP that expresses the same semantics (Meklenborg et al. 2020: 95). This property, i.e. the use of specialised resumptives, is characteristic of West Germanic languages more generally (e.g. German, Dutch and Afrikaans all have specialised resumptives). A question that we are now left with is: how do we account for the two types of resumptive structures syntactically? I believe a Walkden-style analysis is also able to account for the facts at hand. Consider the integrated structure in (10), and the unintegrated structure in (11).

(10)



Recall, again, that Spec-CP2 is reserved for unfamiliar content, for framesetters and that Spec-CP1 is reserved for familiar content. Up until this point, all of the familiar constituents in Spec-CP1 have been subjects. What (10) shows is that, in Manenberg Kaaps, resumptive pronouns (e.g. *dan* ('then')) are part of the class of familiar topics that can occupy Spec-CP1. At first sight this analysis seems to reflect the analysis of the true V3 structures presented in (5b) and Walkden (2017): both specifier positions are occupied and the verb is in C1°. However, the true V3s have XPs in Spec-CP1 and Spec-CP2 which do not share any common features; they are unrelated XPs. This does not hold for the resumptive type structures presented in (10). Thus what distinguishes the true V3 analysis (5b) from the resumptive one (10) is the agreement relation between the XP in Spec-CP1 and the XP in Spec-CP2. The (specialised) resumptive, as noted earlier, follows an initial XP that has the same semantics. Furthermore, this analysis assumes that the resumptive moves from a lower position into Spec-CP1. It is the case that Spec-CP1 is a suitable locus for such elements, as they are neutral / familiar topics. In this manner, the spec-head relation requirement between C1° and Spec-CP1 is satisfied.

(11)



The analysis of the unintegrated resumptive types in (11) works as follows. The CP *Wat ek 'n kin gewiesit* ('when I was a child') adjoins to the edge of the highest CP, CP2. What distinguishes this type from the integrated structures is the clear prosody difference, i.e. the pause (indicated by # in examples such as (9)). Note that in this particular example the elements *en toe* ('and then') are interpreted as a single constituent. Furthermore, this analysis proves to be consistent with what has been discussed previously: neutral elements occupy Spec-CP1 (e.g. *en toe* 'and then'), and that when such an element is present, the verb moves to C1^o to maintain a spec-head relation. It is also the case that the CP that has been externally merged agrees with the XP in Spec-CP1. Finally, what distinguishes this type of structure from the true V3 kind is the fact that both specifier positions (Spec-CP1 and Spec-CP2) are not filled. In (11) Spec-CP2 is not filled.

5.2.1.3 Interim summary

So far, we have shown that a Walkden-style analysis is able to account for all the matrix clause V2 and V3 options found in the Manenberg Kaaps corpus. For V2 structures, the lower specifier position (Spec-CP1) is reserved for familiar or neutral topics. This is not limited to DPs; we find that even AdvP-resumptives may occupy this position. The assumption here is that such resumptives move from a lower position in the structure. With the Kaaps data we also showed that the verb does not only move to C1^o. There are instances in which the verb occupies C2^o as to ensure a spec-head relation. Such instances are realised when a non-neutral, i.e. a marked XP, appears in Spec-CP2.

For the true V3 structures, the analysis is the same as the analysis presented in Walkden (2017): the finite verb moves to C1^o, Spec-CP1 is reserved for familiar topics and Spec-CP2 is the locus for marked elements such as framesetters. In such cases the verb always only moves to C1^o; never to C2^o. Precisely why this is the case is left for future research. The superficial V3 (i.e. true V2 structures with a complex initial XP) analysis depends on where the initial element in the linear order is integrated or unintegrated. On the one hand, the analysis for integrated resumptive structures, like the true V3 structures, has both specifier positions occupied. The two XPs in the integrated resumptive type share an agree relation which the two specifier XPs in the true V3 structures do not. On the other hand, for the unintegrated resumptive types, only Spec-CP1 is filled; Spec-CP2 remains vacant. The initial XP in the string, gets adjoined to the edge of CP2. With the unintegrated structures, the initial XP and the second position XP in the string also agree with one another.

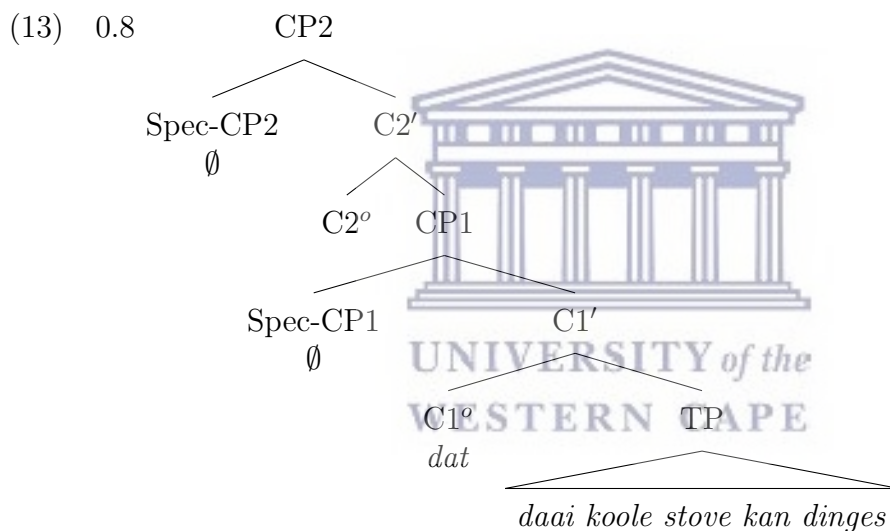
In Section 5.2.2 we explore a Walkden-style split CP approach to embedded clauses found in the Manenberg Kaaps corpus.

5.2.2 Syntactic analysis for Kaaps embedded clauses

Recall from Section 4.3.1 of Chapter 4, that Kaaps is an OV or a V-final language. The aforementioned is made clear when considering embedded clauses headed by *dat* or *lat* (in Section 4.3.1 we noted that *lat* is a variant of *dat*). By way of illustration, consider the example in (12a) below.

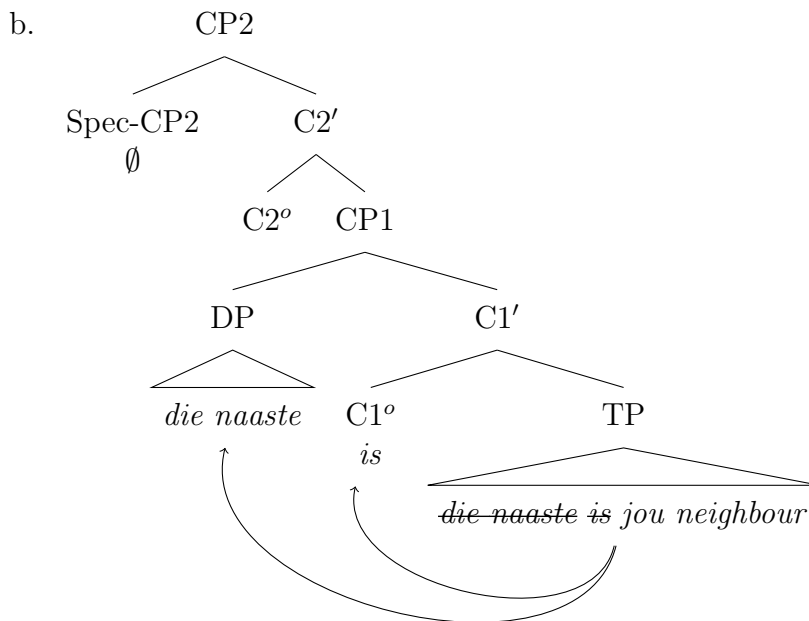
- (12) a. ...lat [dai koole stove_O] *kan* *dinges_V*
 ...that that coal stove AUX.MOD thingy
 ‘(We had to collect wood) so that the coal stove could burn.’
 [= Example (23a); Miranda_60&older_Afr-Eng]
- b. ...*lat *kan* [dai koole stove_O] *dinges_V*
 ...that AUX.MOD that coal stove thingy
 ‘(We had to collect wood) so that the coal stove could burn.’

A familiar analysis for structures such as (12a), is that the finite verb (e.g. *kan* ‘can’) and the complementiser (e.g. *lat* ‘that’) compete for the same C^o position in the clause (see, i.a. Vikner 1995, 2020 and also Section 2.4.1 in Chapter 2). That is to say that the verb and complementiser are in complementary distribution. What the analysis thus predicts is that when there is an overt complementiser, V2 (V-to-C Movement) is not possible. This is illustrated in example (12b). The split CP structural derivation for embedded clauses headed by *dat* is provided in (13). The matrix clause is left out of the derivation.



Furthermore, recall from Section 4.3.2 in Chapter 4 that Kaaps readily allows for *dat*-drop in embedded clauses. Subsequently, the verb moves into second position, yielding a V2 structure. The following structural analysis (14b) is an account for structures in which *dat*-drop has occurred.

- (14) a. Hille sê [∅ die naaste **is** jou neighbour].
 they say [the closest BE.COP your neighbour]
 ‘They say the people closest to you are your neighbours.’
 [= Example (25); Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]

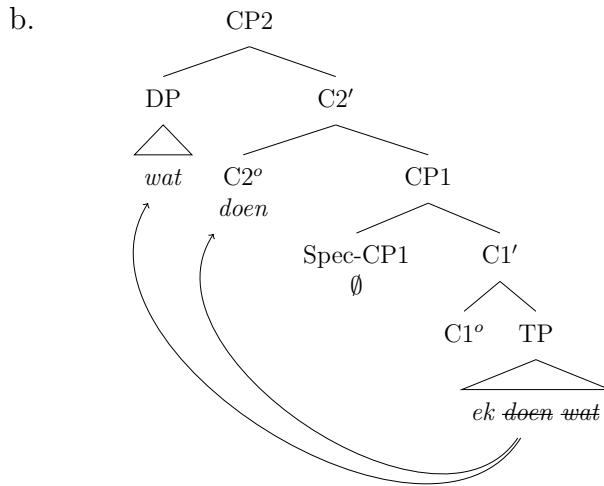


The derivation in (14b) shows that the structure of a *dat*-less V2 embedded clause is the same as a V2 matrix clause: (i) the verb moves to C1; (ii) when a subject (as is the case in (14)), the subject occupies Spec-CP1; and (iii) Spec-CP2 remains empty. Should Spec-CP2 be filled, the finite verb would move to C2° as discussed in Sections 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.2 in this chapter. However, in embedded clauses there is no distinction between familiar topics and unfamiliar topics; it is assumed that the information structure of the embedded clause is reserved for familiar topics. Therefore we propose that, for all embedded clauses, C2° and Spec-CP2 will always remain unoccupied; even in adverbial-initial embedded V2 clauses, the adverbial will occupy Spec-CP. This is not the case for matrix clause V2 patterns with an adverbial in initial position (see the derivation in (4), Section 5.2.1.1).

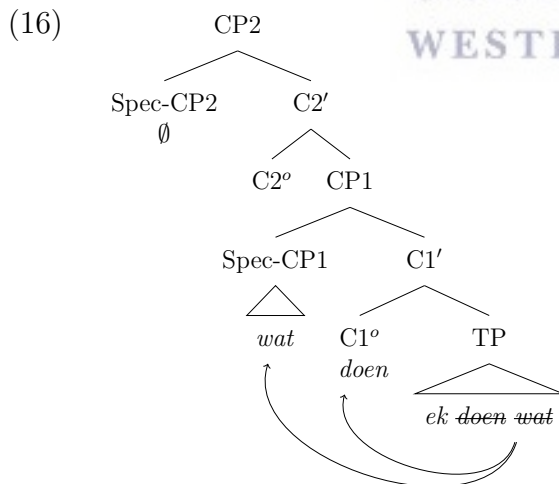
In Section 4.3.3 of Chapter 4, we found that Kaaps also has instances of embedded *wh*-V2. The Walkden-style analysis accounts for such structures by positing that *wh*-elements move to Spec-CP2 (barring *why*) (Walkden 2017: 65; see also Section 5.3.1.1 for a further discussion on embedded *wh*-V2 structures).⁵ The structural analysis for the embedded V2 *wh*-interrogatives is illustrated in (15b).

- (15) a. toe vra sy vi my [wat **doen** ek].
 then ask she for me [what do I]
 ‘Then she asked me what it is that I’m doing (with my life) now.’
 [= Example (31a), Chp 4; Marcel_18-25_Afr-Eng]

⁵There are no instances of embedded V2 with *why* in initial position in the Manenberg Kaaps corpus.



The derivation in (15b) suggests that the embedded *wh*-V2 structures are proper V2 structures. Thus, the analysis predicts that any *wh*-element, i.e. subject, object or adverb, may be in initial position, and that any type of verb, i.e. lexical or auxiliary may occur in second position. These predictions are true for the Kaaps data: any *wh*-element may occur in initial position, and any type of verb may occur in second position of matrix clause *wh*-V2 structures (see and compare Section 4.2.2.4 and Section 4.3.3 in Chapter 4). The one prediction that is not correct, however, is that the structure in (15b) makes the embedded *wh*-V2 structures identical to the matrix clause *wh*-V2 structures; the structure falls short in capturing the true embeddedness of (15)-type structures. A potential analysis that disambiguates matrix clause *wh*-V2 structures from their embedded clause counterparts is presented in (16).



The assumption here is that in embedded clause *wh*-V2 patterns, the *wh*-element always

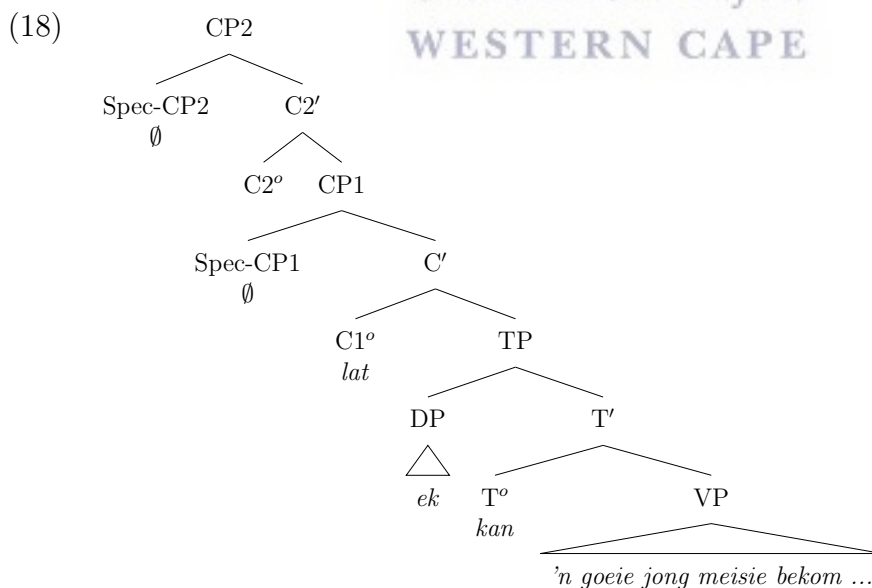
occupies Spec-CP1 with the verb in C1° (similarly to the derivation for *dat*-less embedded V2 structures such as the one in (14) above). Embedded *wh*-V2 structures are proper embedded structures because, among others, (i) there is no intonational break between the matrix clause and embedded clause, and (ii) embedded *wh*-V2 clauses alternate with their V-final counterparts which are clearly embedded (see, for example, Section 4.3.3 of Chapter 4). What motivates the distinction between the derivations of German, for example, and Kaaps (although they are both Germanic languages) is the fact that, in Kaaps, and Afrikaans more generally, Kaaps acquirers receive input that German acquirers do not. Kaaps acquirers hear embedded *wh*-V2 while German acquirers do not. Therefore, Kaaps speakers have a good motivation to make a formal distinction between matrix clauses with initial *wh*-elements - where these elements would be in Spec-CP2 in the Walkden-style split CP analysis (Walkden 2017: 65) - and embedded *wh*-V2 clauses, where the *wh*-elements are all in Spec-CP1.

Section 2.4.1 of Chapter 2 (see example (24a)), and Section 4.3.4.2 (see example (36a)) revealed that Afrikaans and Kaaps display instances in which there is verb movement alongside an overt complementiser. For reference purposes, I repeat the Kaaps example in (17).

- (17) ...lat ek **kan** 'n goeie jong meisie bekom in hierie omstandighede
 ...that I AUX.MOD a good young girl become in this circumstances
 '(I will prove to myself) that I can become a good young girl, regardless of the circumstances.'

[= Example (36a), Chp 4; Tanya_18-25_Afr-only]

Vikner (2020: 377) contends that such examples typically require two C°-positions (see also Section 2.4.1 in Chapter 2). Another possible analysis is that, in structures such as (17), the finite verb moves to (and remains in) T°. In (18) I illustrate a potential Walkden-style analysis for embedded clauses with an overt complementiser and a verb which remains in T°.



This analysis predicts that when a complementiser is present, the finite verb will remain in T^o . Importantly, the analysis does not predict that the finite verb and the complementiser are in competition for the same position. The analysis also predicts that in such structures the finite verb cannot move into $C2^o$ because it is in a spec-head relation with the subject (or familiar topic) in Spec-TP. The analysis further predicts that Spec-TP is reserved for familiar topics. This is exactly what the Manenberg Kaaps corpus revealed: there were no instances of non-subjects occurring in the immediately preverbal position.

In the following section, Section 5.3, we turn to sociosyntactic perspective brought to light by the findings presented in Chapter 4.

5.3 Sociosyntactic perspectives

This section discusses findings from Chapter 4 through a sociosyntactic lens. The central argument presented here is that Kaaps has preserved West Germanic properties, despite being in extensive contact with a non-V2 language such as English.

In Section 5.3.1 we discuss the effects of language contact on V2 (Section 5.3.1.1 and V3 (Section 5.3.1.2). Section 5.3.2 takes a closer look at the role of English, i.e. the impact of English on certain Kaaps properties.

5.3.1 Contact and continuity

Section 4.5 in Chapter 4 investigated which properties relating to V2 and V3 participants tend to have in common, and what these properties suggest regarding the V2 and V3 profile of Kaaps, i.e. whether or not contact and change have undermined the continental West Germanic character of Kaaps. This section discusses properties which indicate the V2 and V3 profile of Kaaps (which have been probed via checking whether these properties are used with a large degree of consistency across the participants). The purpose here is to highlight that the profile of Kaaps, in terms of V2 and V3, is better understood as an effect of continuity, rather than contact. Put differently, Kaaps has retained and expanded (i.e. innovated) upon general (West) Germanic properties, despite being in contact with English since 1806, for example.

Section 5.3.1.1 discusses the effects of continuity and contact in relation to V2. Section 5.3.1.2 discusses the effects of continuity and contact in relation to V3. To conclude this section, an interim summary is provided in Section 5.3.1.3.

5.3.1.1 V2

V2 has often been considered to be a vulnerable property in contact situations (see the references in Biberauer & Pretorius 2018: 5). The loss of V2 in the history English is a case in point. According to Kroch et al. (2000), the ‘loss’ of V2 in English is the result of grammar contact between dialects with different types of V2 (see also Kroch 1997, and Lightfoot 1997 for a similar argument regarding the ‘loss’ of V2 in English). However, Van Kemenade (2012:

2) attributes the ‘loss’ of V2 to the further articulation of subject positions within the modern English clause (see also Haeberli 2000 for an account on the loss of V2 in English).

Kaaps, like English, has been in frequent and long term contact with many other languages. However, unlike English, Kaaps does not give any evidence of having lost V2. Instead, as Section 4.3 in Chapter 4 shows, Kaaps has innovated additional instances of V2. Across focus groups, participants make use of V2 structures - in matrix and embedded clauses. A staggering 88.1% of matrix clauses are V2, and 32.4% of the embedded clauses are V2 (see Section 4.1 in Chapter 4 for a more detailed breakdown). Matrix clauses in Kaaps display the same properties (e.g. the range of permissible first position constituents and second position verbs) as other West Germanic languages (see Section 4.2 in Chapter 4). In what follows, I discuss the embedded clause instances of V2.

In Section 4.3.3 in Chapter 4, we found V2 in embedded *wh*-structures (19a) where V-final structures (19b) are expected (see Section 4.3.3 in Chapter 4).

- (19) a. jy ken [hoet ek gestruggle].
 you know [how.have I PTCPL-struggle].
 ‘You know how I’ve struggled (over the years).’
 [= Example (30a), Chp 4; Ursula_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. Jy ken [hoe ek gestruggle **het**].
 you know [how I PTCPL-struggle AUX.TNS]
 ‘You know how I’ve struggled.’
 [= Example (30b), Chp 4; Constructed by author]

Embedded *wh*-V2 (19a) has not, in any strict sense, replaced the classic West Germanic V-final option; the embedded *wh*-V2 structure is optional. However, the latter is preferred to the former. Our data revealed that out of all the embedded *wh*-structures, only 17.9% of them are of the classic Germanic V-final type (see Section 4.3.3 of Chapter 4). The *wh*-interrogatives have the same V2 order as the matrix *wh*-interrogatives, contrary to what is expected for embedded clauses. The V2 embedded *wh*-interrogatives are true V2s (i.e. described by V-to-C movement). In addition, the embedded *wh*-V2 structures are not merely direct quotations following an appropriate matrix verb.

To summarise these points, the embedded *wh*-structures look like V-in-C structures as all the matrix options are available in the embedded *wh*-V2 clauses. However, the *wh*-V2 clauses are not interpreted as matrix clause (true) interrogatives. Instead, they are interpreted as regular embedded clauses with a V2 word order, paralleling what we see in *dat*-less embedded clauses. This is identical to what Biberauer (2017) found for modern spoken Afrikaans. This claim is supported by the fact that there is no intonation break between the matrix verb and the following *wh*-element. Another piece of evidence available is the fact that such embedded *wh*-V2 structures alternate with their V-final counterparts. What these facts suggest, as noted earlier, is that the *wh*-V2 clauses in discussion here are properly embedded and not ‘true questions’, i.e. they do not “bear the illocutionary force of a true question” (Biberauer 2017: 79). Furthermore, the staggering 82.1% of V2 embedded *wh*-interrogatives, and that fact that it is used across focus groups, indicate that the property is well entrenched

within the grammar of (Manenberg) Kaaps. As a native speaker of Kaaps who is often in contact with speakers of Kaaps from various communities, I suspect that the property is entrenched not only in Manenberg Kaaps, but also in other varieties of Kaaps. It could be the case that this innovation is a marker of spoken varieties of Afrikaans more generally (see Biberauer 2017 for her findings on this phenomenon). Furthermore, Biberauer (2017), argues that this V2 innovation derives from Afrikaans' distinctive negative concord system.⁶ Taken together, the embedded *wh*-V2 structure is indicative of continuity in terms of V2; this property is indicative of an innovated V2 structure and not the loss of one (Biberauer 2002, 2017 also makes and expands upon this point).

The second most common instance of V2 in embedded clauses is found in embedded clauses with *dat*-drop (25a). Section 4.3.2 revealed that 75.3% of embedded clauses that could be headed by *dat*, are *dat*-less, yielding V2 structures.

- (20) a. Hille sê [Ø die naaste is jou neighbour].
 they say [the closest BE.COP your neighbour]
 'They say the people closest to you are your neighbours.'
 [= Example (25a), Chp 4; Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]
- b. Hille sê [dat die naaste jou neighbour is].
 they say that the closest your neighbour BE.COP
 'They say that the people closest to you are your neighbours.'
 [= Example (25b), Chp 4; Constructed by author]

It is suggested that this (*dat*-less) phenomenon is a result of more than 200 years of contact with English (Ponelis 1993: 306-309; Biberauer 2002: 32; Van Rooy & Kruger 2016; Biberauer & Pretorius 2018: 7; see also Section 5.3.2 for more commentary on the influence of English). The fact that Kaaps, and Afrikaans more generally, allow for *dat*-less embedded clauses indicates that Kaaps is a "well-behaved" V2 language, i.e. V2 is found in both matrix and embedded clauses (Vikner 1995: 65).

To summarise, the fact that V2 is frequently found in both matrix and embedded clauses means that acquirers of Kaaps (e.g. children learning Kaaps as their L1) have two domains to learn that V2 is a property of the language. According to Wexler (1998: 30) V2 is acquired very early. This means that acquirers of Kaaps (and other V2 languages) establish a strong connection between C and finiteness-bearing verbs and complementisers.

5.3.1.2 V3

The corpus revealed that, although V3 is a low-frequency property, it is still robust in the sense that it is found across all focus groups. Recall from Section 4.1, Chapter 4, that out of all matrix clauses, 4.2% are V3. More specifically, the superficial V3 type seems to be robust in Kaaps. 82.8% of the V3 tokens are of the superficial type; 17.2% are of the true V3 type (see Section 4.4.1 for a detailed breakdown of the different types of V3 found in

⁶I do not go into the details of this argument here as it is beyond the scope of my study. However, I encourage interested readers to visit Biberauer (2017) for a detailed exposition.

the Manenberg Kaaps corpus). This distinguishes Kaaps from the urban multi-ethnolects spoken in countries such as Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Norway (see i.a. Walkden 2017). Walkden (2017) presented a type of V3 found in Germanic urban vernaculars that has the following make-up: Adv-Subj-V, we called this type of V3 ‘true V3’ (see the analysis for such structures in (5b) above). Walkden (2017: 75) attributed this type of V3 to a high proportion of input from L2 (German) speakers whose linguistic practice serves as input to a new generation of L1 learners, who then adopt V3 as their own grammar.

This, however, does not hold for Kaaps. First, Kaaps displays very few instances (17.7%) of the true V3 type (Adv-Subj-V) that formed the basis of the discussion in Walkden (2017). Note that the true V3 structures in the Manenberg Kaaps corpus are not concentrated in the younger speakers or produced solely by the English-Afrikaans speakers. Furthermore, the fact that Kaaps does display instances of true V3 structures could be attributed to contact with English. English consistently exhibits instances of true V3. Consider (21).

- (21) a. In Cape Town the boy **studies** Law.
 b. Quickly he **came and sat** down.
 c. When it rains he **sits** inside the classroom. [Constructed by author]

The more prominent V3 type found in Kaaps, as noted earlier, is of the superficial kind. The superficial kind surfaces as, *inter alia*, double adverbial fronting (see example (39a) in Chapter 4) and contrastive left dislocation, i.e. V3 by resumption (see example (39b) in Chapter 4). These two forms are both familiar from West Germanic more generally. Consider the West Germanic examples listed in (22) (see also, i.a. Müller 2018; Den Dikken & Surányi 2017).

- (22) a. [Fast alles] [im Sitzen] **bewältigte** Joaquim Rodriguez auf dem Weg
 almost everything in sitting managed Joaquim Rodriguez on the way
 zum Gipfel.
 to.the park
 ‘Joaquim Rodriguez managed to ride almost all parts of the road to the peak
 without getting out of his saddle.’
 [German: Double adverbial fronting; Müller 2018: 220]
- b. [Die man] [die/hom] **ken** ik niet.
 that man D-PRONOUN/him know I not
 ‘That man, him I don’t know.’
 [Dutch: Contrastive left dislocation; Den Dikken & Surányi 2017: 544]

The fact that Kaaps more prominently features instances of superficial V3 structures suggests that the V3 structures found in Kaaps are not primarily contact induced, i.e. a result of contact with English. Contact situations, however, seem to be a context in which such structures more freely come to life. Moreover, the fact that true V3 structures are also found in non-contact Germanic varieties spoken by monolingual speakers (Wiese & Müller 2018) means that the V3 pattern seems to be intrinsic to V2 languages, and that such

instances cannot simply be attributed to contact. However, since Kaaps (and Afrikaans more generally) has been in close contact with English for a very long period of time, and since Kaaps does display instances of true V3 structures, contact cannot simply be ignored. The main point to be made here, is that the more dominant V3 type found in Kaaps suggests that V3 is an ordering option that needs to be understood as natural within the grammar of V2 languages, i.e. something that V2 grammars naturally generate.

Further, V3 is an option available to speakers of various Germanic languages for informal communication, and across both multilingual and monolingual speakers (Wiese & Müller 2018: 7). V3 is a structure that exploits the forefield of the clause to express nuanced meanings. It is a systematic option, and should not be perceived as “deviations due to performance errors” (Wiese & Müller 2018: 7). However, as Wiese & Müller (2018: 17) puts it, V3 has lived a hidden life. V3 is thus not a new invention in modern multi-ethnolects, or an indicator of a new grammar being developed per se. Instead, as Wiese & Müller (2018: 17) contend, dynamic multilingual speech communities acted as a means for us to “rediscover” a property with a long history.

The situation for Kaaps suggests that even though a language variety may fit the description of an urban vernacular, i.e. a non-standardised variety used in urban areas (Walkden 2017: 51) or be in extensive contact with non-V2 languages such as English, a high(er) frequency of V3 orderings is not guaranteed. Further, since the V3 profile of Kaaps seems to better fit that of the Continental Germanic languages, rather than that of the urban vernaculars (Walkden 2017), or English where V3 is widespread with all initial adverbs (Biberauer & Pretorius 2018: 16), we are prompted to ask the following question. *Why is this the case?* The answer lies perhaps in the history of Kaaps: Kaaps is regarded as one of the oldest varieties of Afrikaans (van Rensburg 2016). This could mean that Kaaps has preserved much of the ‘traditional’ or older properties of continental West Germanic languages that other varieties (e.g. Germanic urban vernaculars) may have lost.

5.3.1.3 Interim summary

In terms of V2, V2 in Kaaps seems to be a stable property. Contact has not threatened the V2 status of Kaaps. Instead, it seems to have contributed to its V2 profile: *dat*-drop in Kaaps may have been a result of contact, however Kaaps, and Afrikaans more generally, has innovated *dat*-drop structures beyond permissible *that*-drop embedded V2 structures in English. Another indicator of the robustness of V2 in Kaaps, regardless of contact, is the fact that Kaaps frequently displays instances of embedded *wh*-V2 clauses. Taken together with matrix clause V2, Kaaps acquirers therefore have two distinct domains to acquire the V2 property. Thus a strong connection between C and finiteness-bearing verbs and complementisers is established.

The following can be said about the V3 structures. Wiese & Müller (2018) contend that research on urban vernaculars has simply drawn our attention to a property that was being ‘ignored’ in studies about the V2 profiles of monolingual Germanic. Although it occurs relatively infrequently and is more restricted in terms of register, V3 is an ordering option

that is naturally available in a wide range/the majority of V2 grammars. The V3 option is available in monolingual and multilingual grammars, thus it is not correctly characterised as a feature of multilingual or (derivative of) L2 grammars. Instead it is an ordering that exploits the structural possibilities inherent to a V2 grammar's 'structural toolbox'.

In the following Section we take a closer look at the role of English in the grammatical make-up of Kaaps, focusing specifically on English lexical items and *that*-drop.

5.3.2 The role of English

Historically, Kaaps has its roots in two consecutive periods of colonial rule at the Cape (Hendricks 2016: 9). The first is the rule of the Dutch in the 17th and 18th century, and the second is the rule of the English in the 19th and early 20th century. These facts suggest that Kaaps has been strongly influenced by Dutch and English (see Section 2.2 for a more detailed list of languages that may have contributed to the development of Kaaps / Afrikaans). I will set the influence of Dutch (and other languages) aside for the purpose of this discussion. To date, Kaaps has often been described as a heavily English-influenced variety (see Biberauer & Pretorius 2018 for references). Biberauer & Pretorius (2018: 1) further note that Kaaps is widely assumed to have “undergone fundamental change under English influence, despite [this point] having never been the subject of detailed formal investigation”. Perhaps this assumption, in part, is motivated by the fact that Kaaps, to date, is in constant contact with English, and because of the existing presence of English lexical items in Kaaps.

In light of the above, it is particularly interesting to note that the use of English lexical items (e.g. verbs and preverbal constituents) in the corpus is strikingly low. This is true even in focus groups that are equally comfortable in Afrikaans and English (see Tables 4.19 and 4.21 in Chapter 4 for the distribution of Afrikaans and English constituents). Furthermore, when speaking about the influence of English on Kaaps, it is important to think of influence on at least two levels: (i) a lexical level and (ii) a syntactic level.

On the lexical level, it is indeed the case that Kaaps ‘borrows’ a variety of lexical items from English. However, when the lexical items or phrases are borrowed from English, they do not conform to the grammatical system of English. Instead, the lexical items undergo ‘kaapsification’, whereby the English item integrates with the Kaaps system; it conforms to the “preconditions (formal make-up) of the existing [Kaaps] system” (Biberauer & Pretorius 2018: 9). Consider the examples below.

- (23) a. Ek **delete** sy comment
 I delete his comment
 ‘I deleted his comment.’

[= Example (8b), Chp 4; Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

- b. toe **warrie** hy nie wee men my nie
 then worry he NEG again with me NEG
 ‘After that he didn’t bother me again.’

[= Example (9), Chp 4; Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]

- c. *korre to ten moet jy my dee velaat*
 quarter to ten AUX.MOD you my door leave
 ‘At quarter to ten, you have to leave my place.’

[= Example (19), Chp 4; Veronica_60&older_Afr-only]

The examples above show that Kaaps does borrow lexical items or phrases from English. However, these constituents are not imported ‘wholesale’, with English (morpho-)syntactic feature specifications intact. In (23a) the English verb *delete* is used. However, the sentence remains V2, a property of Kaaps (and other West Germanic languages), but not English. As mentioned in Section 4.2.1.2, there are alternatives available to Kaaps speakers, for example the word *verwyder* (‘remove’), which will not change the meaning of the sentence. Although this is true, it may be the case that the use of the word *verwyder* instead of the English word *delete* changes the register of the sentence: from a more informal register to a formal register. And although it may be that the English variant has been selected unconsciously, the use of the English variant grounds the sentence in its social context: an informal Kaaps conversation between two friends.

As previously noted in Section 4.2.1.2 in Chapter 4, the word *warrie* in (23b) is derived from the English verb *worry*. Not only is the seemingly English verb placed in second position in the matrix clause, the verb itself has undergone ‘kaapsification’, in its pronunciation, i.e. from [wæ.ɹi] to [wari]. Importantly, the word order remains non-English V2 with subject inversion.

The final example above (23c) combines the processes presented for the first two examples: the phrase *korre to ten* is clearly derived from the English equivalent, *quarter to ten*. Evidence for kaapsification is seen by the fact that the phrase contains *korre* ([kɔrə]) instead of *quarter* ([kɔ:tə]). Furthermore, the phrase, although considered an English constituent, is in initial position of a V2 clause in which the verb precedes the subject.

What the above is intended to illustrate is that when English lexical items are found in Kaaps, they do not seem to affect the core properties of Kaaps syntax, not in any deep sense.

Syntactically, as (Biberauer & Pretorius 2018: 7) notes, English influence may have played “an initial role in the triggering of [*dat*-less embedded clauses], given the intensive contact between Dutch/Afrikaans and English speakers since the early 19th century”.⁷ However, this topic requires more systematic diachronic investigation as Biberauer & Pretorius (2018: 7) contends (see also Van Rooy & Kruger 2016). Moreover, it is important to note that although *dat*-drop in Kaaps may initially have been influenced by English *that*-drop, the result of that potential influence produces a rise in the overall frequency of V2 in Kaaps rather than a rise in SVO (see Section 4.3.2 for an overview of *dat*-less embedded clauses). In addition, Kaaps allows for *dat*-less embedded clauses beyond what is permissible in English (see Biberauer & Pretorius 2018 for an exposition on how Afrikaans differs from English in this regard). Consider (24a).

- (24) a. *I don’t regret [Ø I came to live here].

⁷The property is not found in Dutch, hence its attribution to English influence.

- b. ek issie spyt [Ø ek **het** hie kô bly nie].
 I BE.COP.NEG regret [I have here come stay NEG]
 ‘I don’t regret coming to live here.’

[Kaaps = example (28), Chp 4; Mel_18-25_Afr-only]

The example in (24a) shows that a *that*-less embedded clause cannot be the complement of a matrix clause; this, however, is permissible in Kaaps, as (24b) shows. The discussion around *dat*-less embedded clauses reinforces the idea that although a grammatical property (such as *dat*-drop) might initially become part of a grammatical system through contact, once that property becomes part of the grammatical ecology, it can develop differently from that same property in the original system, and it can even reinforce some of the ‘recipient’ language’s original properties (such as V2). Moreover, the discussion presented in this section undermines the statement, at least in the given context, that Kaaps has undergone fundamental change under English influence.

5.4 Summary

This chapter’s central concern has been, to provide a structural analysis for matrix clause V2 and V3 structures found in Kaaps, Sections 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.2, respectively. These were accounted for by adopting a Walkden-style split CP analysis (Walkden 2017). For V2 structures, we suggested that familiar topics such as subjects occupy Spec-CP1, and that the finite verb moves to C1°. On the other hand, when the initial constituent is a non-neutral element, e.g. an adverbial, it occupies Spec-CP2. What our analysis further suggested is that in such instances the verb does not move to C1°. Instead the verb moves to C2° as to satisfy a spec-head relation.

For true V3 structures, the finite verb moves to C1°, Spec-CP1 is reserved for familiar topics and Spec-CP2 is the locus for marked elements such as framesetters. In such cases the verb always only moves to C1°. The superficial V3 (i.e. true V2 structures with a complex initial XP) analysis depends on where the initial element in the linear order is integrated or unintegrated. On the one hand, the analysis for integrated resumptive structures, like the true V3 structures, has both specifier positions occupied. The two XPs in the integrated resumptive type share an agree relation which the two specifier XPs in the true V3 structures do not. On the other hand, for the unintegrated resumptive types, only Spec-CP1 is filled; Spec-CP2 remains vacant. The initial XP in the string gets adjoined to the edge of CP2. With the unintegrated structures, the initial XP and the second position XP in the string also agree with one another.

For embedded clauses (Section 5.2.2), on the other hand, we proposed a slightly different analysis: all initial constituents (*wh* and non-*wh* ones) occupy Spec-CP1 with the finite verb in C1°. We used *wh* embedded V2 clauses to motivate this proposition: Kaaps acquirers hear *wh*-V2 while German acquirers do not. Therefore, Kaaps speakers have a good motivation to make a formal distinction between matrix clauses with initial *wh*-elements - where these

elements would be in Spec-CP2 in the Walkden-style split CP analysis (Walkden 2017: 65) - and embedded *wh*-V2 clauses, where the *wh*-elements are all in Spec-CP1.

The second central concern of this chapter was to provide sociosyntactic insights pertaining to Kaaps (Section 5.3). This was done by focusing on a number of properties that have simplistically been attributed to contact. Section 5.3.1.1 focused on V2. Here we argued that, in Kaaps, V2 innovations such as embedded clause *wh*-V2s and *dat*-less embedded V2 structures, are indicative of continuity and not simply contact; they further reinforce V2 in Kaaps even though Kaaps is in contact with an SOV language such as English. Section 5.3.1.2 showed that Kaaps' V3 profile looks more like the V3 profile of continental West Germanic languages than that of the urban vernaculars in Walkden (2017). We further argued that V3 is an ordering option that is naturally available in a wide range/the majority of V2 grammars. Section 5.3.2 centred around the role of English, i.e. the influence of English on Kaaps. Here the central message was: even though a property might be 'borrowed' from English, once it enters the grammar of Kaaps, it conforms to the structural make-up of the Kaaps grammatical system.

In the following chapter, Chapter 6, I conclude this dissertation.



6. Conclusion

At the end of this exploratory study, I would like to briefly summarise its main points.

One of the earliest arguments proposed in Chapter 2 is that Kaaps is a language that should be taken seriously as one that can fulfill a full range of functions, formally and informally (Section 2.2, Chapter 2). That is to say that Kaaps should not be reduced to humour contexts only, as is often the case. Another important point that was highlighted in Section 2.2 of Chapter 2 is that Kaaps does not in any simplistic way replicate Dutch, Afrikaans and or English's structural properties. This point was further emphasised in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 in which we illustrated and contended that once a borrowed property enters a host language, the property conforms to the rules of the host system. In Section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2, we provided evidence that shows Kaaps is a West Germanic language: (i) Kaaps is an OV language, (ii) Kaaps is a V2 language, (iii) Kaaps features particle verbs, and (iv) verb clusters. In Section 2.3.2 of Chapter 2 we offered a literature review based on a combined approach to linguistic inquiry, namely sociosyntax. Sociosyntax, as we put forth, is a framework in which variation is analysed that combines knowledge of usage or sociolinguistics and theories of grammar or syntax. Here we shed light on two benefits of such a combined approach to linguistic inquiry: first, both approaches are necessary to account for the fact that inter- and intra-speaker variation are not rare, but occur in normal, daily situations. Second, syntactic variation and sociolinguistic change happen frequently. An argument proposed here is that the syntactic variation and sociolinguistic change do not occur independently of one another, although they may. Instead, these factors may influence each other, albeit to varying degrees. Thus a combined approach allows for a systematic collection strategy that will yield a more accurate analysis of variation exhibiting 'orderly heterogeneity'.

In Chapter 3 we presented our novel approach to data collection. The research method entailed pairing participants who not only met certain requirements (e.g. age, and language background requirements), but also participants who were familiar and comfortable with one another (e.g. friends). Such participants formed our focus groups. The other significant characteristic of the research design is that while the participants were speaking and being recorded, the researcher and research assistant were not present in the room. This was an attempt to minimise the observer's paradox. Having worked through the interviews and data, the approach proved to be a success. Almost all of the participants were comfortable with speaking freely and openly about the topic (and even unrelated things), besides one.

It seems as if Mel was constantly thinking about the fact that she was being recorded. The data collection approach designed and employed met one of our central aims: to collect authentic, natural spoken data. In retrospect, there was a shortcoming of the approach: we did not pair participants from different subpopulations together. For example, it would have been interesting to see the speech patterns of an 18-25 year old participant when such a participant is paired with a 60 year or older participant. Culturally, at least, there are differences in the way younger people communicate with older people to be expected.

Recall from Chapter 1, Section 1.2.1, that this study set out to answer a number of questions. I re-present the research questions below.

1. What is the grammatical status of Verb Second (V2) in Kaaps?
 - (a) Is V2 a consistent main clause property of Manenberg Kaaps?
 - (b) What phrases and categories are permissible first constituents in V2 patterns?
 - (c) What is the nature of the permissible verbs in clause-second position?
2. Is Verb-third (V3) permissible in Manenberg Kaaps? If so:
 - (a) What are the properties of V3 in Manenberg Kaaps?
 - (b) What conditions V3 patterns in Manenberg Kaaps?
 - (c) What phrases and categories are permissible first and second constituents in V3 patterns?
 - (d) What is the nature of the permissible verbs in third position?
3. Do speakers comprising the different subpopulations investigated in the study exhibit different tendencies in respect of their use of V2 and V3?

In Chapter 4, in particular, the questions presented above were answered. In what follows, I provide a summary of each of the answers to each of the research questions.

To answer the first question: in Chapter 4, Section 4.2 we showed that Kaaps is a robust V2 language, with V2 patterns making up 88.1% of all matrix clauses (see Table 4.2 above). Section 4.2.1.1, on the type of the verb that may occupy second position, showed that there is variation in terms of the types of verbs that may appear in second position. Lexical verbs most frequently occupy second position (see Table 4.4). Section 4.2.1.2 showed that although it is possible for the verb in second position to be an English lexical item, the vast majority are Afrikaans, at 98.4% (see Table 4.5 above). When the verb is in English, it is always a lexical verb. Like the language source of verbs, the language source of initial constituents is also predominantly (97.5%) Afrikaans (see table 4.9). In addition to matrix clauses, we also showed that V2 is frequently permitted in embedded clauses: embedded clauses with no overt complementiser (Section 4.3.2) and in *wh*-interrogatives (Section 4.3.3). The former occurrence is said to be a result of contact with English, but as argued in Chapter 5, Kaaps has made the property its own, generating *dat*-less V2 structures beyond what is

permissible in English. The latter option, i.e. embedded *wh*-V2 pattern, is a peculiarity in West Germanic.

In analysing the structures (V2 and V3 alike), we adopted a Walkden-style split CP approach (Walkden 2017). With this approach we argued that in matrix clause V2 structures with a familiar topic in initial position, the familiar topic occupies Spec-CP1 with the finite verb in C1°. This is the standard in the Walkden-style analysis. Where we have slightly deviated from the Walkden-style approach is by assuming that in matrix clause V2 structures where the initial element is an unfamiliar topic, e.g. an adverbial, the verb moves to C2° instead of remaining in C1° (as is assumed in Walkden (2017: 62)). This we have argued is the case so to ensure a spec-head relation between the element in Spec-CP2 (e.g. the adverbial) and the verb (in C2°).

For the resumptive V2 structures, structures that have the following make-up: Adv-Pro-V/Subj-Pro-V we argued that, although these are true V2 structures (although V3 strings, linearly speaking), both specifier positions (Spec-CP1 and Spec-CP2) are occupied. The finite verb in such cases moves to C1°. The reason why these strings are perceived as true V2 clauses is due to the fact that the elements in initial and second position are strongly related to one another.

To answer the second question straightforwardly: yes, V3 is permissible in Kaaps. Section 4.2 of Chapter 4 showed that Kaaps, even though it is a robust V2 language (see Section 4.4) has instances of V3 in matrix clauses. Section 4.4.1 distinguished between superficial V3 and true V3. The former V3 type appears in two structures: two adverbials preceding the verb, as well as a dislocated subject in initial position followed by a resumptive pronoun in second position. The former type is thus analysed as true V2 structures (see Section 5.2.1.2 in Chapter 5). The latter type (i.e. true V3) typically has an adverbial in initial position, followed by a subject. Section 4.4.2.1 showed that V3 shares the range of options that V2 has in terms of types of verbs which occupy the left bracket. In other words, the same types of verbs (lexical, copula, auxiliaries, etc.) that occur in V2, are also found in V3, albeit barring the complex initial type. All V3 verbs are in Afrikaans. Section 4.4.2.2 highlighted that the initial position is occupied by only subjects and adverbials. Adverbials are the most frequent type of initial constituent. There is no object fronting to initial position. Second position constituents, on the other hand show greater variation as to which types of constituents appeared - subjects, objects and adverbials (see Section 4.4.2.3). The most frequent second position constituent is adverbial pronouns (see Table 4.15). Chapter 4 thus showed that there are many so called ‘superficial’ V3s in the corpus. This highlights the fact Kaaps’ V3 profile is more like that of the other Continental West Germanic varieties (see Section 5.3.1.2 in Chapter 5). Section 4.4.3 revealed that the two embedded clause V3s are *dat*-less embedded clauses, and the two examples are also of the superficial V3 type. The analysis of embedded clause superficial V3 structures were set aside for future research.

The analysis presented for the true V3 structures in the corpus is identical to the analysis presented in Walkden (2017: 62-63): the verb moves to C1°, familiar topics occupy Spec-CP1 while framesetters, e.g. adverbials occupy Spec-CP2. What distinguishes the true V2 type from the resumptive type structures, which on the surface seem to be analysed identically

to that of the true V3 structures, is the fact that, in the true V3 structures, the elements in Spec-CP1 and Spec-CP2 are completely unrelated to one another. We further argued in Chapter 5 that the V3 pattern is intrinsic to Germanic V2 languages; it is not simplistically a result of contact or illustrative of a new grammar.

Focusing now on the third question: Section 4.5.1.1 of Chapter 4 showed that speakers who have equal competence in English (and Afrikaans) used more English verbs in Kaaps V2 matrix clauses - the language of the verb has no effect on whether or not the structure is V2. As shown in Section 4.5.1.2, the preference for English initial constituents in declarative V2 matrix clauses is not as clear cut as it is, say, for English verbs as previously discussed. Although, the use of English initial constituents is very marginal in V2 declarative matrix clauses, they do seem to be preferred by speakers who are equally competent in Afrikaans and English (Focus groups 2 and 4 taken together). Section 4.5.3 was dedicated to the relationship between main clause V3 and participant social demographics. There was a clear preference for superficial V3s across focus groups. Here, participants with equal competence in Afrikaans and English (Focus groups 2 and 4 taken together) showed to produce more 'true' V3s. In terms of age, 'true' V3 structures are produced more by the older participants (Focus groups 3 and 4).



Appendices



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A SEcoKa Transcription Conventions

1. Start / end / question codes

In general: only the marks below are used, so no commas, quotation marks, exclamation marks, etc. Beware: full stops, question marks and numbers are unique codes and should not be used for any other purpose. All figures (numbers) are written in letters.

Capital	Capital letter	Start of sentence
.	Fullstop	End of sentence
?	Question mark	End of question
--	Underscores enclosing sound / word / phrase	Indicates a pronunciation / sound / word / phrase used in a metalinguistic sense

2. Metalinguistic

-	hyphen	End of unfinished sentences, and to indicate interrupted speech, i.e. when one speaker interrupts another speaker
xxx		Part of a sentence that is difficult to decipher
xx		Part of a word that is difficult to decipher
ggg		Indicates clearly audible sounds from speaker such as laughing, crying, shouting, etc.
#		Indicates a pause (any length)
fff		Non-verbal sounds in environment (e.g. knocking on a door) or verbal utterances not related to the interview (e.g. interruptions by non-participants)



3. Kaaps-specific conventions

Encliticisation: It often happens that a certain word becomes shortened, or reduced, and then attaches to the word preceding it. Common encliticisations include, for example

- When pronouns are followed by *is* or *het*, the reduced forms of *is* / *het* attach to the pronoun:
 - Dit is → dis
 - Dai is → dais
 - Hy is → hys
 - Waar is → waas
 - Daar is → daas
 - Dai het → dait
 - Hy het → hyt
 - Wat het → wattit
- When an article (*die* / *'n*) follows a preposition, the article is reduced and attaches to the preposition:
 - Van die → vannie
 - In die → innie
 - Vir die → virrie
 - Met die → mettie
 - Van 'n → vanne
 - In 'n → inne
 - Vir 'n → virre
 - Met 'n → mette
- When an article or negation follows a verb, the article / negation is reduced and attaches to the verb:
 - Het 'n kind → hette
 - Het die kind → hettie
 - Het nie geweet nie → hettie geweetie
 - Gaan nie → gaanie

However, when we can distinctly hear the article pronounced separately from the verb / preposition, the article should be written as apart from the verb / preposition as *'n*; not the clitic *e*.



- When a discourse particle follows a verb, the discourse particle is reduced and attaches to the verb:
 - Komma (<kom maar)
 - Gamma (<gaan maar)
 - Vatma (<vat maar)

If an **extra sound** is pronounced, write it down. For example:

- Rienṭ (<reën)
- Beginne (<begin)

If a sound is **not pronounced**, don't write it. For example:

- r-omission
 - Dee (<deur)
 - Ees (<eers)
 - Maa (<maar)
 - Mee (<meer)
 - Veloo (<verloor)
 - Wonne (<wonder)

- d-omission
 - Is (<dis)
 - It (<dit)
 - Gel (<geld)
 - Maane (<maande)
 - Minne (<minder)
 - Woore (<woorde)



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- n-/m-omission
 - Ôs (<ons)
 - Kô (<kom)

Word reduction: one or more sounds in a given word are not pronounced so the word is substantially shortened. For example:

- Dai (<daardie)
- Selle (<selfde)

Vowel changes: the quality of a given vowel is changed. For example:

- Vowel heightening
 - Dai (<daai)
 - let (<eet)
 - Lat (<laat)
 - Lies (<lees)
 - Soes (<soos)



- Vowel lowering
 - Rêag (<rerig)
 - Stadag (<stadig)
- Vowel reduction
 - Doenit (<doen het)
 - Ekkit (<ek het)
 - Saammit (<saam met)
- Reduced het
 - Gedoen et (<gedoen het)
 - Getrou et (<getrou het)
 - Gebly et (<gebly het)

Here, we should pay attention to whether or not the **h** in *het* is really being omitted such that it yields *et*. Also, contrast this to the encliticised form of *het* (*it*, under 'Vowel reduction'). We need to distinguish between the clitic (*it*) and the other two forms (*het* and *et*). Whenever it is **not** a clitic either *het* or *et* is used.

Sound changes: one consonant is replaced by another consonant. For example:

- **H**ai (<**d**ai)
- **H**aa (<**d**aa)
- **L**at (<**d**at)
- **M**en (<met) / **menn**ie (<mett**ie**)



B V2 with English first constituents

- (1) recently **het** sy vi my gesê
recently AUX.TNS she for me PTCPL-say
'Recently she told me (about how she felt).'
- [Adv; Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- (2) Miss Hiemann **het** altyd vi my ge-gun oo my rooi hare
miss Hiemann AUX.TNS always for me PTCPL-gun over my red hair
'Miss Hiemann was always on my case because of my red hair.'
- [Subject; Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- (3) First year **wassie** maklikie
first year BE.COP.NEG easy.NEG
'First year (of university) wasn't easy.'
- [Subject; Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- (4) financially **was** my ma nie byrie meansie
financially BE.COP my mom NEG by.the means.NEG
'Financially my mom wasn't able to (pay my university fees).'
- [Adv; Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- (5) Miss Markham **het** al vi my gesê al
miss Markham AUX.TNS already for me PTCPL-say already
'Miss Markham had already told me.'
- [Subject; Jolene_18-25_Afr-Eng]
- (6) Mask **maakke** mens benoud
mask make.a person warm
'(Wearing) a mask makes you warm.'
- [Subject; Veronica_60&Older_Afr-Only]
- (7) mask **maak** jou benoud.
mask make you warm
'(Wearing) a mask makes you warm.'
- [Subject; Ursula_60&Older_Afr-Only]
- (8) galley **is** nou yt gebrand
galley BE.COP now out PTCPL-burn
'The fire is now burnt out.'
- [Subject; Veronica_60&Older_Afr-Only]
- (9) Over sixty **kannie** gannie
over sixty AUX.MOD.NEG go.NEG
'People who are older than sixty cannot attend (church).'
- [Subject; Ursula_60&Older_Afr-Only]

- (10) Drugs **is** paat vannie liewe hie innie Manenberg.
drugs BE.COP part of.the life here in.the Manenberg
'Drugs (and drug related issues) are part of life in Manenberg.'
[Subject; Maggie.60&Older.Afr-Eng]
- (11) Guns en gangfights **is** een vannie grootste goete in die Manenberg
guns and gang.fights BE.COP one of.the biggest things in the Manenberg.
'Guns and gang fights are of the biggest concerns in Manenberg.'
[Subject; Maggie.60&Older.Afr-Eng]



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