ASPECTS OF THE ACQUISITION OF AFRIKAANS SYNTAX

by

JAN VORSTER

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR LITERARUM ET PHILOSOPHIAE

in the subject LINGUISTICS at the

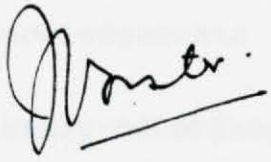
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Promoter: PROF. A. D. de V. CLUVER (UNISA)

Joint Promoter: PROF. CATHERINE E. SNOW (HARVARD UNIVERSITY)

Date submitted: January 1983

I declare that *ASPECTS OF THE ACQUISITION OF AFRIKAANS SYNTAX* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



Jan Vorster

So here I am (...)
Trying to learn to use words, and every attempt
Is a wholly new start, and a different kind of failure
Because one has only learnt to get the better of words
For the thing one no longer has to say, or the way in which
One is no longer disposed to say it. And so each venture
Is a new beginning, a raid on the inarticulate

T. S. Eliot: *EAST COKER*

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dulcis et decorum est ...

To express gratitude at the completion of a dissertation is sweet and fitting; doubly so when gratitude is mixed with admiration and affection.

Professor August Cluver has for a long time sustained a keen interest in my work, allowing me to benefit by his erudition and his keen and critical insight into the theoretical issues surrounding language acquisition. For this, and for his support and encouragement, I wish to express my deep appreciation.

By introducing me to the absorbing field of child language, Professor Catherine Snow has crucially influenced my entire professional life. Throughout the development of the project of which this dissertation is the first major product, she has most generously given of her time and attention. To work with Professor Snow is to be inspired by her, and for this, more than anything else, I thank her. I also wish to thank the Harvard Graduate School of Education for academic hospitality during the fall semester of 1981, which enabled me once again to work in close association with Professor Snow.

The task of establishing an extensive child language data base, and of operationalizing the retrieval of data from it, is a many-faceted excercise, consuming more time and requiring more varied expertise than most individual scholars have at their personal disposal. For these reasons I find it hard to conceive of undertaking such a task unless in the context of an organization like the South African Human Sciences Research Council. I greatly appreciate the opportunity afforded me by the HSRC to undertake the first large-scale investigation of language acquisition in Southern Africa.

To single out is to omit, yet I have to thank the following colleagues by name: Magtild Viljoen, who remained cheerful while spending countless hours checking transcripts and coding data; Andries van den Berg, who was ever willing to share with me his statistical expertise; Mart van der Westhuizen, Hans de Roos, Hans Ros and Felicity Howard, who managed to operationalize my ideas about computerized retrieval of information from the data; and Felicity, again, who mediated between me and the computer with warmth and humour.

The mothers and children involved in the project made a truly indispensable contribution. I thank them for so generously sharing their intimate communication with the scientific community.

GLOSSARY OF ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

Afrikaans words: UPPER CASE
English equivalents of Afrikaans words: '.....'
Concepts and Terms: SMALL CAPS
Quotations and scare quotes: "....."
Emphasis; book/journal titles; foreign words: *italics*

Tables and figures generally appear on the page following the point of first mention.

ABBREVIATIONS

BT	:	Baby Talk
% CORP	:	Percentage of corpus
DR	:	Deletion Ratio
FS	:	Filled Slots
FSU	:	Filled Slots per Utterance
GS	:	Generated Slots
GSU	:	Generated Slots per Utterance
LAD	:	Language Acquisition Device
MLU	:	Mean Length of Utterance
NAS	:	Normal Adult Speech
NP	:	Noun Phrase
PLD	:	Primary Linguistic Data
PP	:	Prepositional Phrase
PS	:	Parental Speech
RR	:	Realization Ratio
TGG	:	Transformational Generative Grammar
TTR	:	Type-Token Ratio
VP	:	Verb Phrase

SUMMARY

Longitudinal data from two age-homogeneous three-child cohorts covering the age range from 23 months to 35 months and the MLU range from 1.5 to 4.5, were analyzed with the main purpose of determining the efficacy of paraphrasing as a method for describing language acquisition, and of providing language practitioners with information on the acquisition of Afrikaans.

The paraphrasing procedure consists of converting deviant child utterances to minimal well-formedness by means of additions, deletions, substitutions and permutations. The main advantage of this method is that it provides for an objective and controlled comparison between more and less standard forms of a language. It was used by Van der Geest et al. (1973) to compare the speech of Dutch kindergarten children from different socio-economic milieux, and by Snow et al. (1976) to do the same for Dutch mothers. In the present study it was used to compare language-learning children's successive approximations to adult Afrikaans.

The central hypothesis is derived from the assumption of Greenfield and Smith (1976) that adults and children express the way they see the world in essentially similar ways. From this hypothesis follow the testable predictions that the most important differences between child and adult speech would be reducible to children's non-realization of low-information elements, and that language development could be described in terms of the narrowing, over time, of the gap between child and adult speech.

In the process of confirming most of the predictions following from this, and other related hypotheses, a substantial body of information on the development of children's repertoires for adverbs, prepositions and verbs is provided. The data base comprising 3900 child utterances, with their paraphrases, is supplied.

CHAPTER ONE: METHODOLOGICAL PRELIMINARIES

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is the first major report of data from an extensive data base comprising 180 half-hour samples of mother-child interaction. Twelve dyads participated, each contributing longitudinal data over a period of one year. The starting ages of the children ranged from 1;6 (one year and six months) to 3;2.

The least advanced samples contain no more than a small repertoire of one-word utterances, while the most advanced samples contain highly complex speech. It follows that data encompassing a developmental range of such magnitude, can hardly be accommodated within a single descriptive framework. The enormity of the task aside, there are not many meaningful descriptive parameters uniformly applicable to data of which the mean length of utterance (MLU) range extends from 1 to beyond 5. It is for precisely this reason that Brown's (1973) 400-page treatise is devoted to the "early stages" of language acquisition - MLU from roughly 1.5 to 2.5 - and that even within this fairly narrow range, he focusses on two distinct consecutive aspects of development: semantic relations and grammatical morphemes.

The particular subset of the data to be described in this dissertation was likewise determined by the method of analysis employed. At the lower level, child utterances (supported by maternal responses and contextual clues) had to contain sufficient material to make them paraphrasable into well-formed sentences. At the upper level, their usefulness ceased when a certain level of well-formedness was reached. For the aspects considered here, and the method of analysis employed, the useful range extended from samples with an MLU of roughly 1.5 to roughly 4.5.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

1.2.1 Efficacy of the method

The central concern of this dissertation is to find an effective descriptive method for child language. The technique of paraphrasing has been used to measure an hypothesized difference in the degree of idealization of the speech of mothers from three social classes (cf. Snow et al. 1976) and to compare the linguistic skills of children from three social classes (cf. Van der Geest et al., 1973).

This technique consists of comparing the semantic intent of an utterance in the form of a well-formed paraphrase, with the actually realized utterance. It has never been used to characterize developmental changes in longitudinal child language data. The paraphrase technique will be used here with a view to determining its efficacy as a method for describing the developing language of six children within the MLU range stated above. This constitutes the first objective of the dissertation.

The coding of the data to accommodate both the actually spoken child utterances and their well-formed paraphrases (cf. 3.3.2 below) provides comparative information on what the child manages to say and on what he (*) "intends" to say at a given stage of development. Since not only the realized speech, but the paraphrases too, gain in complexity, these two sets of data provide information on two discrete dimensions. Although the generated slots for categories (hereafter GS) increase in the speech of the children over time, filled slots (hereafter FS) increase at a faster rate, so that two lines respectively representing GS and FS would converge (see Figure 1.1).

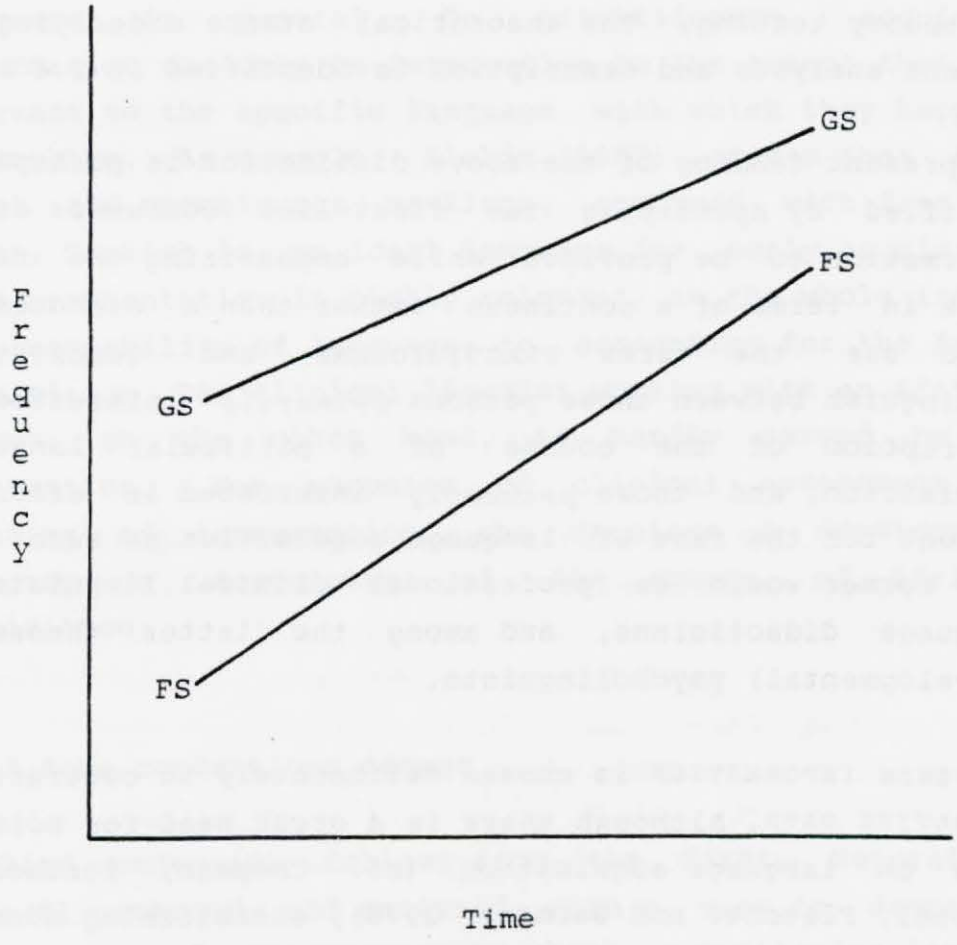
When, therefore, we speak of developmental differences between children, or between cohorts, or between a child's performance at different points in time, we will generally be referring either to increments over time on the GS

---

* The use the masculine form of the pronoun to refer to an unspecified child is for the sake of convenience, and has no bearing on the author's regard for female children.

FIGURE 1.1

IDEALIZED LINES REPRESENTING THE CONVERGENCE BETWEEN GENERATED SLOTS (GS) AND FILLED SLOTS (FS)



dimension, or on the FS dimension, or to the degree of convergence between these dimensions.

1.2.2 Information on the acquisition of Afrikaans

A second objective is to use the paraphrase technique to provide some information on the acquisition of Afrikaans. The reason for describing some aspects of Afrikaans acquisition, is that no work in the field of language acquisition has ever been done on Afrikaans. Let the implication contained in such a declaration of intent be explicitly stated: our concern is in the first place to "*explain* the *course* of acquisition" rather than to "*account for* the *fact* of acquisition". (*) The qualification "in the first place" is acknowledgement of the fact that any data description will of necessity be done from within some theoretical framework, regardless of whether the primary aim is theory testing. The theoretical stance underlying the present analysis and description is identified in 2.6 below.

The present reading of the above distinction is perhaps best clarified by specifying the first-line consumers of the information to be provided. While emphasizing the need to think in terms of a continuum rather than a dichotomy, we could use the terms PRACTITIONERS and THEORISTS to distinguish between those persons *primarily* interested in a description of the course of a particular language's acquisition, and those *primarily* interested in efforts to account for the fact of language acquisition as such. Among the former would be professional clinical linguists and language didacticians, and among the latter theoretical (developmental) psycholinguists.

The term INFORMATION is chosen deliberately to contrast with NORMATIVE DATA. Although there is a great need for normative data on language acquisition (cf. Chapman, forthcoming; Crystal, Fletcher and Garman, 1976), establishing norms for early child language in accordance with standard psychometric practice is virtually *ultra vires*. The numbers

---

* This important distinction is thus formulated - in a somewhat different context - by Hoff-Ginsberg and Shatz (1982:5, emphasis added).

required in a norm population are incompatible with the labour-intensive procedures employed in gathering and analyzing data on the developing language of small children.

The norm tables used by psychometricians are derived from the performance of large representative samples of the population, and are in effect templates against which the performance of an individual can be measured. The information contained in such tables is presented in a stereotyped way, so that no explanation is required and using them is a standard operational procedure. None of the above holds for the data presented here, and yet this data, too, must provide a variety of language practitioners with information.

Information on the acquisition of any language is potentially interesting to theorists, their domain being language in general. To practitioners, acquisition information can only be interesting to the extent that it is relevant to the specific language with which they happen to be working. An example: Slobin (1982) argues that due to overt and unambiguous markings, combined with free word order, Turkish is an ideal language for early acquisition. Such argumentation is highly relevant to the whole issue of the learnability of language; to accounting for the fact of acquisition. The clinical linguist working with an Afrikaans client, on the other hand, is hardly served by this information. For purposes of clinical assessment, and planning of intervention, she requires a developmental backdrop; a description of the course of Afrikaans acquisition.

1.2.3 Some contentious issues

A third objective follows from the first. Naturalistic data,(*) gathered and analyzed with a view to describing some aspects of the process by which a particular language is acquired, can often be used to illuminate certain issues

---

* This term is used in its normal sense, signifying data that were not elicited by means of some manipulative experimental procedures.

having a more general relevance. Two such issues presenting themselves from time to time in the course of the present description are:

- limitations of MLU as a measure of children's linguistic development, and
- individual differences between language-learning children.

Identifying and discussing instances germane to these issues is very much a lesser objective of the dissertation, however important the issues themselves may be in their own right.

1.3 THE DATA

The data is predisposed for addressing the issues in question, both by the number of children involved, and by the manipulation of the time factor. The data derive from six children, a deliberate effort having been made to minimize all differences except one (cf. 3.1 below). The subjects break down into two age-equivalent cohorts of three children, with a between-cohort age difference of ten months. For each child in the older cohort there are data points distributed over a period of nine months, while for the younger cohort the data points are distributed over five months. The last data point for the younger cohort coincides with the first data point for the older cohort.

Whereas individual differences between children's *rate* of language development are an accepted fact, well demonstrated by the Harvard children (cf. Appendix A.2) the invariance of the *processes* for different children is a matter of considerable debate (cf. Nelson, 1981). If children were automata, identically constructed, identically programmed and identically informed, all children's language development would be identical, and a single observation of a single child at a given age would provide information true for all children at that age. Likewise, one longitudinal observation of one child would tell the whole story of language development for all children. Since not one of the three crucial variables - construction, programming and information - is identical for any two children in the way

in which it can be identical for two automata, information about an individual child is in the first instance (and, depending on the observer's aims, in the n-th instance) information only about that particular child. However, though not identical, children are similar, and the relative similarity between a Japanese, a Zulu and a Swedish baby is incomparably greater than the diferences - compared with, for example, any nonhuman infant. Whereas children's non-identity, in the sense mentioned here, detracts from the generalizability of any individual child's performance, the essential similarity between children does allow one to assume that manifest trends among children are meaningful rather than fortuitous.

The description and analysis of the data is done in terms of a system of hypotheses. These are identified in the next section.

1.4 ASSUMPTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

What assumptions justify the implementation of the proposed descriptive method? In spite of all the obvious differences between early child speech and adult speech, it is an observable fact that mothers understand children's early utterances. This observation leads to the following hypothesis:

H 1: Children and adults express the way they see the world in essentially similar ways.

If this is true, then we may predict that:

P 1: Differences between child and adult speech would in an essential way be reducible to the non-realization by children of low-information elements, and

P 2: Language development would be describable in terms of the narrowing over time, of the gap between child and adult speech.

The observation that children's language undergoes conspicuous development between the ages of 20 and 40 months, leads to the following hypothesis:

H 2: An effective descriptive procedure should, for every child, identify some developmental differences between earlier and later samples.

P 3: If this is true, then it should be possible to show that later samples are closer to adult speech than earlier samples.

The observation that different children's language development proceeds at different rates, leads to the following hypothesis:

H 3: An effective descriptive procedure should show up whatever differences in linguistic development there may be between two age-equivalent children.

If this is true, then the following would be legitimate predictions:

P 4: Using as criterion MLU, the most common language development measure, it would be possible to rank six children from two age-equivalent cohorts, with a 10-month between-cohort age difference, in a canonical order from the least advanced of the younger cohort to the most advanced of the older cohort.

P 5: The age difference between the two cohorts would cause greater between-cohort than within-cohort mean differences for any variable.

P 6: If order of developmental steps is invariant, the same rank order as the one for MLU would obtain for all variables.

P 7: If order of developmental steps is not invariant, then the canonical order will be disturbed. Thus if variable V-1 ranks child C-1 in position P, while variable V-2 ranks child C-2 in position P, then development with

regard to the two variables is independent. Disturbance of the canonical order can vary in severity, depending on whether two adjoining children merely swap places for a given variable, or whether a child leaps two or more places. Leaping argues more strongly against an invariance hypothesis than swapping.

Two further hypotheses may be formulated.

H 4: Language acquisition is a hierarchical process.

If language acquisition is to be seen as hierarchical, and if, regardless of whether the process is exactly invariant across children, certain dependencies are to be assumed between successive levels in the hierarchy, then it would be possible to make the following prediction:

P 8: It is likely that a 10-month age difference will reflect not only superficial, quantitative differences, but also essential, qualitative differences in language development.

H 5: If instead of seeing language acquisition as a hierarchical process, we hypothesize that it is linear, a different prediction may be formulated:

P 9: It is likely that a 10-month age difference will reflect only quantitative differences, i.e. at times T-1 ... T-n the same elements will occur, and in the same relative proportions, with only more of everything at time T-n than at time T-1.

These objectives, the hypotheses, and the testable predictions following from them, have formed the backbone of this dissertation. Together they should lead to one general goal: to increase our objective knowledge of the process of language acquisition.

1.5 THE CANONICAL RANKING OF THE CHILDREN

Since the canonical order is the most pivotal aspect of the data, it may be in order to anticipate here the data-reporting chapters with a few remarks on this issue. The data support the hypothesis that using MLU as criterion, individual differences would spread six children from two age-homogeneous three-child cohorts, with a ten-month between-cohort age difference, fairly evenly along a continuum from the least advanced to the most advanced child. The graph in Figure 1.2 connects the means of the children's MLU for each sample, while the asterisks represent the data points contributing to each mean. It can be seen that each mean derives from a cohesive set of data, and that not only the means, but the sets of data themselves, underscore the canonical order. Furthermore, in ten of the twelve cases the upper and lower limits of each set coincide with the last and first samples respectively.

At first sight these findings augur well for the verisimilitude of MLU as a measure of young children's linguistic skills. However, throughout the data-reporting chapters of this dissertation we find instances where one child, in some respect, can be shown to be more advanced than another child, although on MLU the latter is ahead of the former.

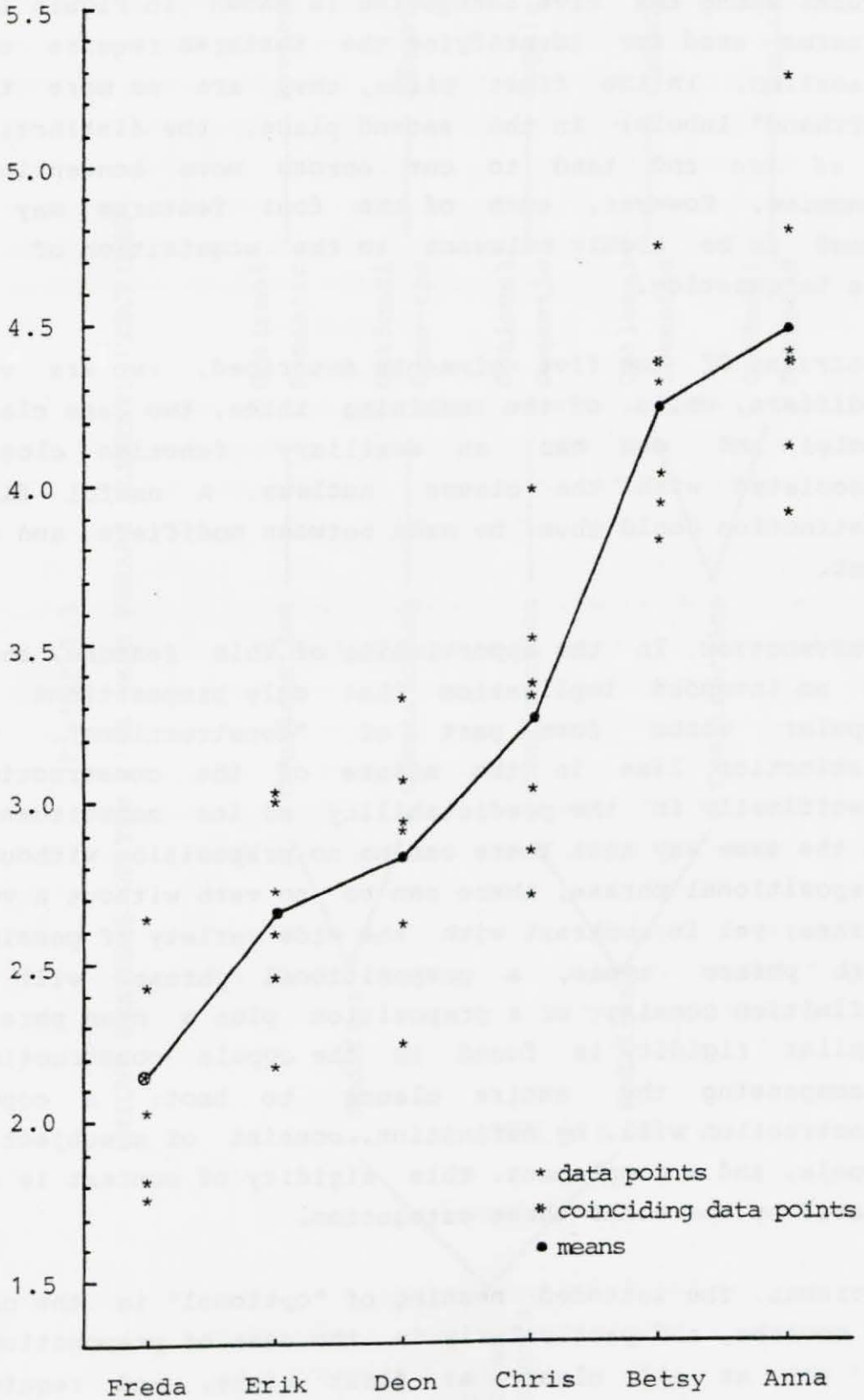
To facilitate identification of the children in terms of their positions in the canonical order, they have been given alphabetical pseudonyms ranging from Anna for the most advanced child to Freda for the least advanced one. In the raw data given in Appendix G, the mothers - and the children themselves - refer to them by their real-life names.

1.6 DELIMITATION OF THE DOMAIN

The five categories to be described are coverbs, copulative verbs, adverbs, prepositions and lexical verbs. The feature common to all these elements is that they are peculiar to

FIGURE 1.2

DATA POINTS AND MEAN MLU FOR EACH CHILD'S CORPUS



the verb phrase. (*) On the other hand, each element can be defined by a unique combination of four binary features pertaining to function, involvement in a construction, optionality, and semantic value. The distribution of these features among the five categories is shown in Figure 1.3. The terms used for identifying the features require some explanation. In the first place, they are no more than "shorthand" labels; in the second place, the distinctions are *ad hoc* and tend to cut across more conventional taxonomies. However, each of the four features may be assumed to be highly relevant to the acquisition of the class in question.

- MODIFIER. Of the five elements described, two are verb modifiers, while of the remaining three, two are clause nuclei and one has an auxiliary function closely associated with the clause nucleus. A useful first distinction could thus be made between modifiers and the rest.

- CONSTRUCTION. In the apportioning of this feature, there is no intended implication that only prepositions and copular verbs form part of "constructions". The distinction lies in the nature of the construction, specifically in the predictability of its constituents. In the same way that there can be no preposition without a prepositional phrase, there can be no verb without a verb phrase; yet in contrast with the wide variety of possible verb phrase types, a prepositional phrase will by definition consist of a preposition plus a noun phrase. Similar rigidity is found in the copula construction, encompassing the entire clause to boot: a copula construction will, by definition, consist of a subject, a copula, and a complement. This rigidity of context is not shared by the other three categories.

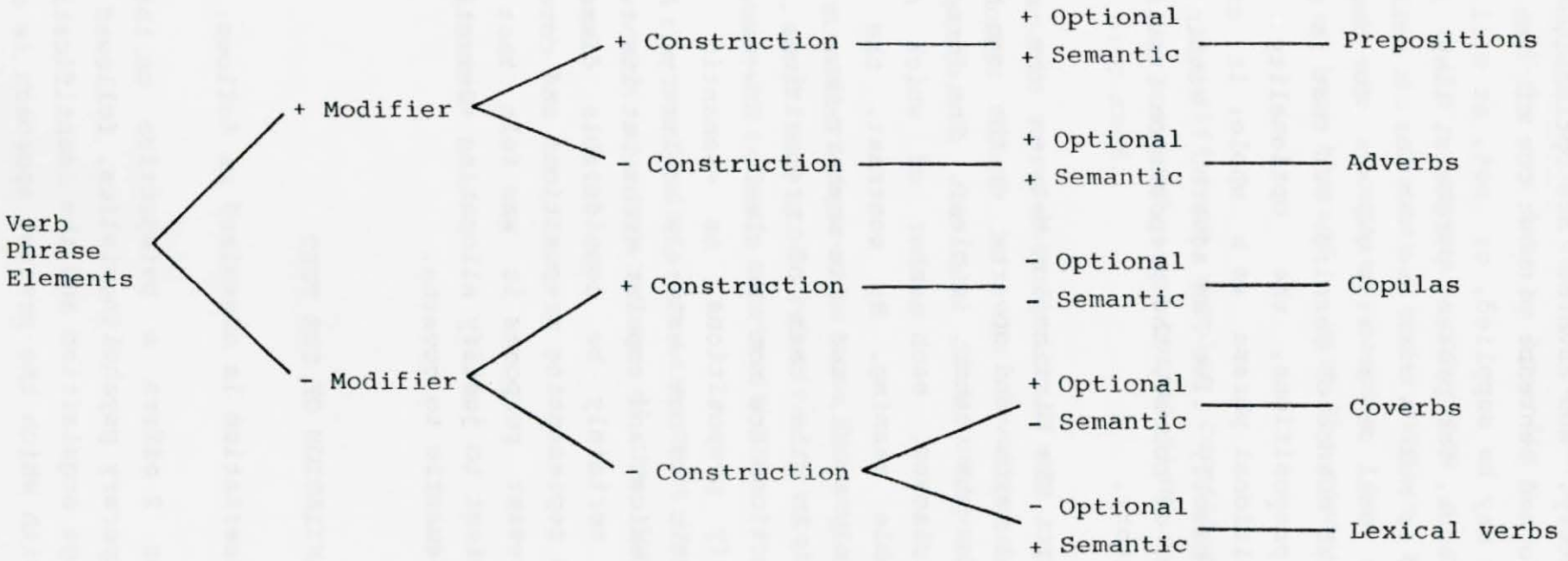
- OPTIONAL. The intended meaning of "optional" in the case of coverbs, and particularly in the case of prepositions, is not at all clear at first sight, and requires

---

* The 2.04% adjectival - as distinct from adverbial - prepositional phrases occurring in the data are not considered further.

FIGURE 1.3

UNIQUE FEATURES OF THE FIVE VERB PHRASE ELEMENTS DESCRIBED



elaboration. Lexical and copular verbs are manifestly obligatory, and adverbs are optional. There can be no well-formed sentence without one of the former, while the latter may be supplied, or not, at will. The optionality of coverbs, for present purposes, lies in the fact that a coverb is not a *sine qua non* for a well-formed sentence. It may well be a *sine qua non* for conveying a certain intended nuance of meaning, but that is another matter. As for prepositions, the optionality extends to the prepositional phrase as a whole: it can be supplied or not, exactly like an adverb. Within a prepositional phrase, of course, the preposition itself is by definition obligatory.

- SEMANTIC. The distinction between the semantic value of lexical verbs and coverbs on the one hand, and copular verbs on the other, is clear. The former two are large, open classes, each member of which has a unique and definable meaning. By contrast, the latter class is extremely small, and its members have a minimal semantic value. In the case of prepositions and coverbs the distinctions are not so clear. However, the decision to classify prepositions as +Semantic and coverbs as -Semantic is not entirely arbitrary. Along a continuum with lexical and copular verbs at its two extremes, there would certainly be considerable distance between the points representing prepositions and coverbs respectively. For present purposes it was felt that this distance is sufficient to justify allocating +Semantic to prepositions and -Semantic to coverbs.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

This dissertation is organized as follows:

- Chapter 2 offers a perspective on the antecedents of contemporary psycholinguistics, followed by an overview of language acquisition and the identification of the general area with which the present approach is compatible.

- In Chapter 3 the experimental design is described, a detailed explanation of the coding procedure being given in Appendix A, and the raw data in Appendix G.

- Although each child's corpus comprises a number of different samples, in Chapter 4 these samples are pooled per child and the complete corpora are compared. Correlations - or lack thereof - with the canonical order are discussed.

- In Chapter 5 the different samples constituting each child's corpus are compared, and correlations with sample chronology are discussed.

- Chapter 6 is devoted to a description of the regularities and idiosyncracies found in the development of the children's repertoires for the five categories under consideration.

- In Chapter 7 attention is given to some factors associated with deletion, and to the relative deletability of different elements in certain constructions.

- In Chapter 8, the conclusion, an assessment is given of the extent to which the objectives of the dissertation could be achieved.

CHAPTER TWO : BACKGROUND

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter a brief account is given of the influences that have in recent times shaped psycholinguistic thinking, particularly as it pertains to language acquisition. Recent years have seen such a volume of work on language acquisition, that any survey of the field must needs be selective. Selection presupposes criteria, which in turn presuppose objectives. The first, general objective of this chapter is to provide some perspective on the antecedents of contemporary psycholinguistics. The next objective is to show how language acquisition theory was shaped by, and finally emancipated itself from the vagaries of linguistic theory. The final objective is to identify a general area of language acquisition research within which the approach followed in this dissertation can be accommodated.

Our concern will be mainly with that era of psycholinguistics that was heralded by the conscious effort, in the early fifties, to resume the dialogue between psychology and linguistics after a breakdown lasting some decades (cf. Osgood and Sebeok, 1954). However, the spectacular advances of this era tend to obscure the fact that psycholinguistics as an intellectual endeavour has a very long tradition. For the sake of some historical perspective, therefore, we will cast a brief glance back at the antecedents of present-day psycholinguistics.

The term PSYCHOLINGUISTICS is less than half a century old. It was introduced by J. R. Kantor (1936) to translate the term SPRACHPSYCHOLOGIE used by Wilhelm Wundt, the "Master Psycholinguist" from the turn of the century (Blumenthal, 1970). *Sprachpsychologie* in turn existed as a documented field of enquiry long before it was given that name, as witness the work of Wilhelm von Humboldt a century before Wundt. Von Humboldt assumed that "inner linguistic form must

be generally relatable to the endless variability of phonetic forms since it comes from one and the same mental nature of man" (cf. Blumenthal, 1970:30); and in this, again, we find echos taking us back another century at least, to the Port Royal grammarians. Central to their *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* is the tenet that it is human reason that determines the structure of language, and that beyond the superficial differences between languages there is a common logic and a common system (cf. Lyons, 1968:17).

The seventeenth century, however, does not mark the beginning of what we may call principled psycholinguistic thinking. The interests of the late-medieval scholastic philosophers in the "modes of signifying", in the relationship between the world of language, the world of things, and the human mind, and in the universality of grammar (cf. Lyons, 1968:14 ff.) are psycholinguistic interests par excellence. And had the scholasic, Peter Helias (cf. Robins, 1968:76) known the term PSYCHOLINGUIST, he may well have used it as an alternative to PHILOSOPHER in this remarkably modern-sounding assessment: "It is not the grammarian but the philosopher who, carefully considering the specific nature of things, discovers grammar."

If our aim had been to see how far back in time we can find psycholinguistic traces, we could go all the way to Herodotus' account of the experiment conducted 2600 years ago with two infants to determine the relative antiquity of the Egyptian and Phrygian languages (cf. Dale, 1976:6). But that is not the aim. Let these few remarks serve to show that, however young the name, and however recent the beginnings of the current era in its history, psycholinguistics is an intellectual pursuit with a venerable tradition.

2.2 THE PERIOD BEFORE TRANSFORMATIONAL GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

The estrangement between linguistics and psychology that was formally abrogated at an interdisciplinary conference in Bloomington, Indiana in the summer of 1953, was the direct

result of the advent of the mutually supportive schools of structuralism in linguistics and behaviorism in psychology during the first half of the century (cf. Tervoort et al., 1972:9-15). There is an extreme contrast between, on the one hand, Wundt's *Sprachpsychologie* synthesis, and on the other, the structuralist-behaviorist view of the relationship - or lack thereof - between linguistics and psychology. In Wundt's view the sentence is not primarily a surface string of words, as such containing and revealing all of its essential structural features. It is, rather, the "transformation" of a simultaneous cognitive representation - or *Gesamtforstellung* - into a serially ordered and grammatically endowed utterance of that cognitive configuration. Wundt regarded the sentence in its deepest essence as a cognitive process; behaviorist psychology eschewed speculations about cognitive processes; and structuralist linguistics confined its interest to what is physically perceivable in language.

A form of Wundtian psycholinguistics survived in the work of Karl Bühler (1918, 1933) but he had little influence in America. This was due in part to the mutual animosity between Wundt, with whom Bühler was associated, and William James, who exerted a crucial influence on American psychology at the beginning of the century (cf. Blumenthal, 1970:238). But most of all it was the advent of Bloomfieldian structuralism and Skinnerian behaviorism that effectively suspended the dialogue between linguistics and psychology for the 20 years leading up to the early 1950's. It was not some principled incompatibility, as for example that between empiricism and rationalism that caused the silence, but rather a tacit agreement that the two sciences had nothing to contribute to each other. The synthesis of Wundt was lost. While psychologists analyzed behaviour, linguists taxonomized the surface forms of language, and these activities were seen as best performed without mutual interference.

The interest of B. F. Skinner, and his forerunner J. R. Kantor, in "verbal behavior" must not be interpreted as "interference" between psychology and linguistics. In this interest there is no linguistic component worthy of mention,

which accounts for the distance Skinner was able to cover before floundering in the rapids of the revived *Sprachpsychologie* of generative grammar (Chomsky, 1959). It is not the publication as such of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior* (1957) that showed up the bankruptcy of a behaviourist approach to the acquisition and use of language. Skinner's program had, after all, been known in one form or another for more than 20 years before its final publication. What brought the notion of "verbal behaviour" down was what one might call "principled interference", for the first time since Bühler (or even since Wundt) between linguistics and psychology - and what brought it down so heavily was the fact that the interference was backed by a vigorous, well-articulated and radically mentalistic linguistic theory.

When psychology and linguistics rediscovered each other in the early 1950's, the excision and cauterization of the notion of "verbal behaviour" was still a few years in the offing, and the two great schools, behaviorism in psychology and structuralism in linguistics were at their respective pinnacles. What initially brought the two fields together was not a new theoretical alignment, nor was any "thought given to a 'renewal' of *Sprachpsychologie*, if indeed there was any attention at all to the early tradition of collaboration between psychologists and linguists" (Blumenthal, 1970:174). It was merely a question of psychologists beginning to take notice of the methods and tenets of Bloomfieldian linguistics. Brown writes of the excitement with which psychologists discovered that the "new" science of structural linguistics "had turned up phenomena with which psychology was long familiar - perceptual constancy, acquired perceptual distinctiveness, sensory generalization, the importance of differential reinforcement, positive and negative transfer in learning. It looked as if the findings of linguistics could be readily 'translated' into psychology" (Brown, 1957:vii).

After the formal re-establishment of the dialogue between linguistics and psychology, American psycholinguistics for some years consisted of a loose conglomerate of topics like mathematical linguistics, the analysis of verbal behaviour, acoustic phonetics, vocabulary acquisition, machine

translation, programmed language instruction and speech pathology. What was lacking, however, was a common, immanently explanatory theory. As Tervoort puts it: "For lack of a synthesis, a strong underlying theory, everyone was a more - or less - accomplished soloist; but the orchestration came to nothing" (Tervoort et al., 1972:15, my translation.)

2.3 THE ERA OF TRANSFORMATIONAL GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

2.3.1 The return of the synthesis

The impact of transformational generative grammar (TGG) on structural linguistics and behaviorist psychology was traumatic, and its influence on (developmental) psycholinguistics was vast. In describing the dramatic events surrounding the introduction of Chomsky's new linguistic theory, Newmeyer (1980) makes plain why it is not hyperbolic to speak of the "Chomskyan revolution". When *Syntactic Structures* appeared in 1957, American linguistics was experiencing a period of ambivalence in its self-perception. Optimistic, self-congratulatory pronouncements (Newmeyer, 1980:1-3) alternated with a growing awareness of crucial flaws in the structuralist approach (op. cit.:13-17). The root of the trouble was the bankruptcy of the theory, so that although "they knew what to do to get the right grammatical analysis ... their theory would not let them do it" (op. cit.:16). Into this milieu was introduced *Syntactic Structures*, not as an effort to resolve the dilemmas of structuralism, but as a Copernican alternative to the whole theory.

The first public reaction to *Syntactic Structures* was a review by Robert B. Lees in *Language* (1957). His enthusiasm for the new approach is matched only by the vehemence of his derogation of structuralism, and his review contributed substantially to the fact that *Syntactic Structures* "did not share the fate of most first books by unknown authors distributed by obscure publishers" (Newmeyer, 1980:19). Far from it. Backed by Lees' review, it split the linguistic world into an offended, conservative establishment and a zealous, revolutionary new brigade.

The first major impact of TGG on psycholinguistics came in the form of Chomsky's (1959) review of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior* (1957). While in *Syntactic Structures* Chomsky deliberately avoided the issue of the psychological implications of TGG, the Skinner review made it clear "that his theory of language was more than a neat manipulation of arcane symbols - it was a psychological model of an aspect of human knowledge" (Newmeyer, 1980:42). The net result of the Skinner review was that no serious attention has since been paid to behaviorism as a paradigm within which to consider the acquisition of language or the production and processing of speech.

Although Chomsky is at pains to document the philosophical antecedents of TGG and the fact "that much of what is coming to light in this work was foreshadowed or even explicitly formulated in earlier and now largely forgotten studies" (Chomsky, 1966:73), this does not detract from the spectacular record of the theory after barely two years. By 1959 a 124-page sketch of the theory, and a 33-page book review, had rocked both structural linguistics and behaviorist psychology to their foundations. Within a further ten years TGG had not only become the established linguistic theory, but under its influence it had become possible to refer to "that branch of human psychology known as linguistics" (Chomsky, 1968:76). In this capacity it not only engendered extensive psycholinguistic experimentation aimed at testing the psychological reality of its postulates, but it was also responsible for an important chapter in the history of child language studies. Under the influence of a strong, common, and immanently explanatory theory, the synthesis had been restored. (*)

---

* Some observers, however, are less easily satisfied. Thus Derwing (1973:307): "There has been a lot of confusion among linguists and psychologists as to the proper integration of their disciplines, as the unstructured hodgepodge of studies currently called 'psycholinguistics' shows." Let a comparison with the structuralist-behaviorist attitude to psycholinguistics - and the total lack of "orchestration" of the mid-fifties - serve to mitigate the somewhat sanguine attitude reflected in both the title and the tone of this section.

2.3.2 TGG and language acquisition

One of the most fundamental tenets of TGG is that a description of a language can not be arrived at via a description of a corpus of the language. Describing a language is not tantamount to describing a collection of sentences produced by its speakers - be this collection ever so large. Any language is in an essential sense a body of knowledge existing in the heads of its speakers, enabling them to produce and understand each of the infinitely large number of sentences belonging to it, and the only adequate way to describe any language would be to characterize this body of knowledge in the heads of its speakers.

The vocabulary of any language is finite, and likewise the capacity of the human mind. It therefore follows that the body of knowledge in question must also be finite, and the same applies to the systematic characterization of this body of knowledge. There is only one way of resolving the contradiction contained in equating a language, which is infinite, with a body of knowledge, which must be finite, and that is to see the body of knowledge as a finite set of rules capable of generating the infinity of sentences belonging to the language.

From the above view of language as a body of knowledge, in the form of a set of generative rules, it follows that the acquisition of language can in no way be equated to the learning of a repertoire of sentences. In the limited, syntax-dominated view of the early sixties, there was only one alternative: language acquisition had to be seen as the internalization of that set of rules, or grammar, capable of generating the language the child is acquiring. This view of language acquisition presupposes a child innately endowed with the ability to internalize the relevant rules. As we will see below, the strong nativist hypothesis credits the child with innate linguistic universals. Given these, the child is then able to internalize the specifics of his own language.

The great contribution of TGG-inspired child language research is not so much to be found in any lasting insights

it brought concerning the language acquisition process. Spurred by the undeniable appeal of a linguistic theory so far superior to structuralism, a number of psychologists set about energetically gathering and analyzing child language data within the TGG paradigm. In the process some of these took a sufficiently strong stance on key issues to provoke dissidence from others, thereby prompting further empirical work. (*) This, in turn, revealed the falsity of certain TGG-inspired assumptions concerning language acquisition. In the exposure of false assumptions, and the resultant necessity to find alternatives, lies the contribution of this period. In order to appreciate the advances of the past ten to fifteen years, it is necessary to give a brief overview of some important tenets of the strong TGG language acquisition theory, the clearest statement of which comes in the influential paper from 1966 by David McNeill.

In contrast to the traditional view, the child was now no longer to be seen as an incompetent speaker of adult language, but as a fluent speaker of an exotic language. The assumption was that the child has a succession of syntactical hypotheses, each of which he tests in turn against the primary linguistic data. The task of the psycholinguist was to characterize these successive hypotheses, i.e. to write generative grammars accounting for the body of knowledge in the child's head at any given stage. "One might hope that such study will reveal a succession of maturational stages leading finally to a full generative grammar" (Chomsky, 1968:76). Evidence for the existence of grammatical knowledge even in the heads of children producing at most two-word utterances, was found in comparable patterns occurring in each of the three main data bases under investigation during the early sixties (cf. Brown and Fraser, 1964; Miller and Ervin, 1964; Braine, 1963). To these investigators it appeared that from the outset the elements of two-word utterances differentiate into two primitive grammatical classes, the so-called Pivot class being roughly equivalent to the adult grammatical classes and the so-called Open class to the adult lexical

---

* Perhaps the best example of the process outlined here is the parental speech episode described in 2.4 below.

classes. The pivot-open distinction has long since become obsolete (cf. the arguments presented by Bloom, 1970, and Bowerman, 1973). Yet it was basic to the mid-1960's TGG approach to language acquisition, and pervades much of McNeill's argument, some crucial points of which are briefly summarized here.(*)

- The initially heterogeneous pivot class progressively yields up one after another adult grammatical class. Evidence for this is found in the way the privileges of occurrence of elements change. As soon as a word ceases to belong to the pivot class and gains membership of, for example, the adult class of articles, it ceases to share the privileges of occurrence associated with the pivot class and adopts those associated with articles.

- A "generic" relation holds between the pivot class and certain adult classes, and between the open class and other adult classes. This means that one and the same adult class does not derive its members from both the child's pivot and open classes. At this point in his argument McNeill takes an extremely strong stance on one of the most vexing key issues in language acquisition, i.e. the question of innate knowledge. He spells it out that "in order for a generic relation to exist, we must assume that the child honors in advance some of the distinctions on which adult classes are based" (McNeill, 1966:28). Since McNeill's thinking begins and ends with syntax, he can see parental speech as a source only of syntactical information. Given advance information, i.e. an innate consciousness of syntactical categories, the child would be able to notice relevant distictions in parental speech; without advance information, the distictions would be lost on him.

- The child's innate endowment goes beyond a mere consciousness of syntactical categories; it also encompasses the hierarchy of categories proposed by

---

* Since a comprehensive account of the development of language acquisition theory would go way beyond the scope of this chapter, the most we can aim for is to select some representative moments that point out the essential direction of that development.

Chomsky (1964) to account for a native speaker's perception of degrees of grammaticalness. It is possible to impose an interpretation on the semi-grammatical string "golf plays John", but not on the ungrammatical string "golf plays aggressive", because at some intermediate level in the hierarchy "golf" and "John" belong to the same category "noun"; this does not hold for "aggressive". Given an innate hierarchy of categories, the child's progressive differentiation of the pivot and open classes is merely a matter of "moving down the hierarchy to more narrowly defined categories" (McNeill, 1966:35).

- Parental speech is "essentially directional; it provides the child with some basis for choosing among the options offered by the linguistic universals" (McNeill, 1966:65). McNeill is only interested in the *role* of parental speech, not in its *nature*; but as will be seen below, only through a realistic assessment of its nature can the role of parental speech be properly understood.

The extreme position of McNeill, epitomized by the above selection of assumptions, did not go completely unchallenged at the time. In the same volume containing his article (Smith and Miller, 1966) both Slobin and Fodor express reservations about the amount and the nature of the syntactic knowledge with which the child must be assumed to be innately endowed. Their comments foreshadow an important development that was still some years in the offing, i.e. a shift in focus from syntactic to semantic-cognitive considerations. We return to this development below, but let us first dwell briefly on a highly influential reaction to one of the universally held convictions of the time, i.e. that the role of parental speech in the language acquisition process is negligible.

2.4 PARENTAL SPEECH (PS)*

To the developmental psycholinguist of the mid-sixties the child's head contains a Language Acquisition Device (LAD), a "black box" of which the internal structure and functions can not be directly observed, but have to be inferred. The basis for such inference is to be found in a comparison between the input and the output, the former being the Primary Linguistic Data (PLD), (**) and the latter the grammar. In the nativist-generativist view of language acquisition the PLD underdetermine the grammar, by which is meant that certain essential information concerning the grammar is not present in the PLD. Yet the child acquires the grammar, which can only mean that the missing information is already contained in the LAD when the child comes to the language acquisition situation. Examples of such missing information are the generic relations and hierarchy of categories mentioned above.

In their pursuance of the point that the PLD underdetermine the grammar, McNeill, Chomsky, Lenneberg and Fodor make a number of categorical statements about parental speech, that can be summarized as follows (for a detailed discussion see Vorster, 1975):

- *Only a little PLD will suffice.* "Although children must obviously have some experience with sentences in their language ... very little experience seems necessary" (McNeill, 1970:82).

- *The PLD is "normal" language.* The child's "corpus" is "a sample of the kinds of utterances fluent speakers of his language typically use ... the language environment of a child does not differ in any useful way from that of an

---

* This term is a compromise, for the sake of convenience, between the more accurate - but clumsy - "speech addressed to language-learning children", and "Motherese" or "Baby Talk"; terms that have fallen into some disrepute. It must be stressed that "parental speech" is not peculiar to parents; parents are merely the most typical users of this register.

** As PLD was regarded everything said within earshot of the language-learning child. The distinction between PRIMARY LINGUISTIC DATA and PRIMARY LINGUISTIC INPUT (Shipley, Smith and Gleitman, 1969) and the implications of that distinction (cf. Vorster, 1979) were still some years in the offing.

adult" (Fodor, 1966:108 & 126). Parental speech is "not at all contrived to instruct the child in basic grammatical structure" (McNeill, 1966:35). Children learn language "quite successfully even though no special care is taken to teach them" (Chomsky, 1965:200).

- *"Normal" language is "deviant" language.* "Transcripts of conversations always show drastic infringements upon grammar ... utterances heard in colloquial English (or any language for that matter) do not conform to what we know to be correct grammar" (Lenneberg, 1967:281). "A record of natural speech will show numerous false starts, deviations from rules, changes of plan in mid-course and so on" (Chomsky, 1965:4).

The notion that the data available to the language learner is "meager and degenerate" (Chomsky, 1968:75) is in direct contradiction to Brown and Bellugi's earlier statement that the child's "introduction to English ordinarily comes in the form of a *simplified*, *repetive* and *idealized* dialect" (1964:136, stress added). How accurate this statement really was, became clear during the late sixties when systematic studies were undertaken to determine the true nature of parental speech (cf. Snow, 1977). The first wave of investigations of the speech directed to small children - dubbed "Baby Talk" or "Motherese" - yielded seven articles aimed at showing differences between the parental speech register and normal adult speech on a total of 34 dependent variables, while a further five articles contained detailed analyses of specific phenomena.

The 34 variables studied by Drach (1969), Phillips (1970 a; 1970 b), Remick (1971), Broen (1972), Snow (1972), and Sachs et al. (1976) can be divided into prosodic features (5), complexity features (24), and aspects of redundancy (5), while in the detailed analyses Kobashigawa (1969) dealt with repetitions, Pfuderer (1969) with syntax, Holzman (1972) with interrogatives, Moerk (1972) with teaching strategies, and Holzman (1974) with pragmatics.

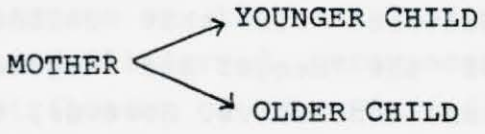
In the PS studies there are two classic designs, occurring

in a number of mutations (for a detailed description see Vorster, 1974):

- The mother's/adult's child-directed speech is compared with her speech to the invesigator:

INVESTIGATOR ⟵ MOTHER ⟶ CHILD

- The comparison is between speech directed to a younger and an older child, or to the same child at different ages:



These comparisons yielded a variety of statistically significant differences:

- It is much easier to segment PS into discrete utterances than to do so with normal adult speech (NAS).

- There is a dramatic difference in mean length of utterance (MLU) between PS and NAS, and PS is very sensitive to age difference: the younger the child, the shorter the utterances spoken to him.

- What goes for MLU also goes, *mutatis mutandis*, for speech tempo, measured in words per time unit: PS is spoken more slowly than NAS.

- The lexical simplicity of PS is reflected in the numerical proportion between different words used (types) and total number of words (tokens), the so-called type-token ratio: the younger the child, the fewer different words are used when speaking to him.

- Comparisons between the mean fundamental frequency of PS and NAS show that in pitch, too, the registers differ significantly: the younger the child, the higher is the mother's pitch.

- The frequency of a number of transformationally derived surface phenomena were investigated, and PS was found to be much less complex than NAS. Among the phenomena investigated were tense, interrogatives, imperatives, passive voice, plurals, diminutives, prepositional phrases and co- and subordination.

- The characteristic disfluencies of NAS, i.e. false starts, self-corrections, word repetitions and incomplete utterances are virtually non-existent in PS.

The refutation of the nativist view that children acquire language on the basis of the "meager and degenerate" data overheard from adults, was conclusive. However, the results of the early PS studies were sometimes overinterpreted, and such overinterpretation invited counterargument from the nativist quarter. Thus Newport, Gleitman and Gleitman (1977) were able to show that only the acquisition of language-specific aspects, e.g. verb auxiliaries and noun inflections, depends on input. The acquisition of assumed linguistic universals, like nouns and verbs, seems to be unrelated to any variance found in PS. With reference to the high incidence of questions and imperatives in PS, Newport et al. also question the validity of an empiricist stance based on the purported simplicity of PS. They argue that these sentence types deviate from the basic sentence type represented by the declarative, and that syntactic simplicity - in the sense of maximal correspondence between deep and surface structure - can therefore not be regarded as an important distinguishing characteristic of PS.

To discuss here reactions to the arguments of Newport et al. (cf. Snow, 1979; Hoff-Ginsberg and Shatz, 1982) would lead us too far afield. The important fact is that the early PS studies led to a reassessment of the nature and function of the PLD. Nativists were obliged to pay closer attention to this important variable in language acquisition; and their efforts, in turn, have compelled empiricists to refine the lens through which the PLD is scrutinized.

In following the debate surrounding the PLD, it is well to remind oneself of the assumptions in reaction to which the

PS studies were initiated. This is perhaps best done with reference to a comparison by Snow (1979) between the different blends of innate and learned abilities required for solving arithmetic problems and for singing on key. Before systematic investigations were done on the nature of the PLD, the nativist assumption that language is more like singing on key than like arithmetic went unchallenged. It was believed that "anyone with an innately good ear can learn to sing on key, with only minimal practice and exposure to music, and any human being (i.e. any possessor of the species-specific innate linguistic structure) can learn language on the basis of minimal exposure to even complex and ill-formed utterances" (Snow, 1979:366). The great contribution of the PS studies lies in the challenge it offered to this belief.

2.5 THE SEMANTIC-COGNITIVE APPROACH

2.5.1 Antecedents in linguistic theory

Snow (1977) points out that psycholinguistics has been said to lag about five years behind linguistics in its theoretical assumptions.(*) This certainly seems to hold for developmental psycholinguistics. The first systematic analyses of child language within a TGG framework were started about five years after the appearance of *Syntactic Structures*, and the first fragments of child grammars were published about five years after Chomsky's review of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior*. However important *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Chomsky, 1965; henceforth *Aspects*) may have been as a refinement of the original model sketched in *Syntactic Structures*, this refinement as such was not crucial to the development of the theory of language acquisition articulated by McNeill (1966) and Lenneberg (1967). *Aspects*, for all its relative sophistication, was a logical development of the theory proposed in *Syntactic*

---

* This aphorism, credited to Roger Brown (Catherine Snow, personal communication) is not necessarily derogatory of psycholinguistics. Radical new departures like TGG take some time to cross interdisciplinary boundaries, and the lag referred to here may well be merely an instance of such inertia.

Structures, and this development took place amid co-operative unanimity among linguists as to the nature and aims of the theoretical model.

At the very time that McNeill and Lenneberg published their formulations of a TGG-based theory of language acquisition, the first signs of a major rift in transformational linguistics became noticeable in the heretical teachings of George Lakoff at Harvard and John Ross at MIT (cf. Newmeyer, 1980:93 ff.). At issue was the level of abstractness - and thus the very nature - of the structure underlying the surface manifestation SENTENCE. Within the *Aspects* framework, the underlying structure was seen as syntactic, specifying the relations among syntactic entities such as SUBJECT OF A VERB, OBJECT OF A VERB, DETERMINER, NOUN and the like. These syntactic entities - and the relations among them - are readily "translatable" into "surface" language. Though abstract, the underlying structure is therefore seen as still relatively close to the surface structure.

The dissident view (first documented in the early writings of Lakoff, e.g. 1968; McCawley, e.g. 1968; and Ross, e.g. 1969) was that syntactic underlying structures fail to account for certain distinctions present in native-speaker intuitions. Such distinctions can only be accounted for at deeper levels of abstraction, requiring the specification of semantic rather than syntactic relations. Take the examples "John kissed Mary" and "John embarrassed Mary". Unlike "kissed", "embarrassed" contains the following semantic force: DO something, to CAUSE someone to BECOME X (i.e. to undergo a change of state), none of which is captured by a syntactic underlying structure. The alternative underlying structure, aimed at incorporating all semantic information, specifies the relations between predicates and arguments, and since many of these (e.g. the predicates DO, CAUSE and BECOME above) do not have demonstrable, discrete correllates in the "surface" sentence, the semantic underlying structure is seen as more abstract than the syntactic one.

At the same time that Lakoff, McCawley, and Ross first started proposing the alternatives to syntactic underlying structures that came to be known as GENERATIVE SEMANTICS,

Fillmore (1968) sketched an alternative based on the traditional case concept in grammar. Fillmore points out that for the sentences "The window broke", "John broke the window", "The hammer broke the window" and "John broke the window with the hammer", syntactic underlying structures would assign three different subjects; also, in one case "window" would be a subject and in another an object; and similarly, in one case "hammer" would be a subject and, in another, part of an adverbial prepositional phrase. Yet native-speaker intuitions would hold that in real-world situations the roles of these entities - their underlying relations among each other and with the verb - would remain the same. To account for such intuitions, Fillmore's underlying structure specifies semantically based case relations between the nouns and the verb, invariant regardless of surface syntactic roles. These case relations - Agentive, Locative, Dative, Instrumental and the like - are again more abstract than the grammatical categories of a syntactic underlying structure. On the other hand, being essentially "functional labels that categorize the arguments of a predicate" (Braine and Hardy, 1982) they possess a concrete, language-related dimension that the contentless logical forms of the underlying structures of generative semantics lack.

Once again it took about five years before the main thrust of these theoretical departures was felt in child language research. However, there was never again such determination to achieve a one-to-one correspondence between linguistic theory and (developmental) psycholinguistic research as in the mid-sixties. Some important reasons for this emancipation from dominance by one theoretical model are spelled out by Ingram (1971), who claims that to be of any use to persons trying to account for empirical phenomena, models have to meet certain requirements. Of these requirements - stability, plausibility, relevance and compatibility - it is probably stability that was found the most lacking in linguistic theory since the mid-sixties. However, with the advent of semantic-based as opposed to syntactic-based models, what linguistic theory lost in stability it made up in the greater psychological plausibility and compatibility of certain of its departures.

This would account for such influence as notions from generative semantics, and particularly case grammar, have had in the more eclectic conceptual frameworks within which language acquisition has been studied since the early seventies. This eclecticism is nowhere better captured than in Brown (1973).

2.5.2 Trends

Even as far back as 1966 it was possible to draw a meaningful distinction between McNeill's strong "content" approach to the LAD, and the more cautious "process" approach of Fodor and Slobin. To McNeill the fundamental point of importance is that the LAD must be assumed to contain innate linguistic universals. The knowledge that the child already has when he embarks on language acquisition is linguistic knowledge, and it is innate. To Fodor (1966), on the other hand, the fundamental point of importance is not whether such knowledge as the child must be supposed to contribute to the language acquisition process, is innate or not. Fodor is prepared to acknowledge innate learning principles of a general nature, with which the child creates from the PLD certain linguistic knowledge. Armed with this knowledge, which Fodor calls "intrinsic", the child is able to relate surface strings to their underlying structures - which, in the 1966 view, is what acquiring language is about. Taking the "process" approach somewhat further, Slobin explicitly exposes McNeill's greatest weakness, i.e. that his model "lacks an account of the semantic features underlying grammatical categories - and such features are learnable ... human languages distinguish animate from inanimate because of objective facts of referents; may not the child come to notice this distinction as a result of experience with the same objective facts?" (1966:88-89). The child needs no more than the ability to learn certain semantic categories, the substantive knowledge that semantic categories can be the basis for grammatical categories, and the formal knowledge that grammatical categories can be expressed by certain morphological devices.

Under the influence of the parental speech studies and the semantic movement in linguistic theory, the "process"

approach not only won the day, but in one form or another it has been dominating child language research for the past decade. However, the crucial insight that language acquisition is "the result of a process of interaction between mother and child" and that it is "guided by and is the result of cognitive development" (Snow, 1977:31-32) has neither simplified the problem, nor provided any easy answers to the many questions surrounding it. On the contrary. Since 1966 the problem of language acquisition has gained in complexity and the questions surrounding the problem have proliferated - and with them the number of studies undertaken and the number of publications produced. Thus Crystal (1981) reports that while in 1970 articles, chapters and books on child language appeared at the rate of one every six hours, this rate had by 1981 been stepped up to one every two minutes. What is the significance of Crystal's spectacular figures? It seems that the background assumptions associated with a semantic-cognitive approach to language acquisition are much more compatible with language acquisition data than the background assumptions of TGG ever were. The result is that, once rid of the stultifying constraints of TGG as a theory of language acquisition, developmental psycholinguists discovered a wealth of testable hypotheses.

Although the central question remains: *How does a child learn a language?* the very directions in which answers are sought diverge radically. Thus in a recent volume (Gleitman and Wanner, 1982) Braine and Hardy, Maratsos, and Wexler all address the child's problem of projecting from speech signals the general system that pairs meaning and forms, yet the editors comment that "Not only do the authors disagree. Their essays do not even seem to be on the same topic" (Gleitman and Wanner, 1982). And yet, Chapman is able to show that there is a broad integrated framework in the topics of recent keynote addresses at the Stanford Child Language Forum. "The topics have included cognitive prerequisites to early language acquisition (Sinclair-DeZwart, 1974); competing speaker and listener constraints on language change (Slobin, 1975); an integrative account of lexical, grammatical, and conversational variables affecting children's sentence structure (Bloom, 1976); conversational

contributions to syntactic development (Ervin-Tripp, 1977); a functional view of syntactic choices (Bates, 1978); the learning and constructional uses of conversational conventions at home and at school (Cazden, 1979); and children's creation of new words as evidence of active rule-governed processes in semantic development (Clark, 1980)". The fact that none of the above addresses are confined to a single domain, illustrates for Chapman "the most recent trend in child language research: the integration of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic views of the child's developing language system" (Chapman, forthcoming).

The chronological organization of the present overview into a period dominated by transformational syntax, the PS studies, and a semantic-cognitive period, may seem to contradict the picture of integration presented by Chapman. The chronological treatment is only in part supported by the facts; in part it is dictated by practical considerations; by no means is it to be taken as absolute. The strong statements of the innateness hypothesis (Chomsky, 1965, 1968; McNeill, 1966; Lenneberg, 1967) demonstrably antedate both the first PS studies and the full flowering of the semantic-cognitive approach. Most of the first PS studies antedate much of the most influential semantic-cognitive studies (e.g. Schlesinger, 1971; Slobin, 1973; Brown, 1973; Bowerman, 1973). Justification for the present chronological treatment goes no further than this. Although the majority of developmental psycholinguists do not work within a TGG framework, language acquisition is as central a concern of TGG as ever it has been. Although the first PS studies have a chronological edge on the semantic-cognitive movement, interactional aspects of language acquisition have steadily gained in importance and are at least complementary to most current research. In none of these cases does a chronological leading edge have a corresponding trailing edge, and in this lies the resolution of our apparent contradiction between chronology and integration.

2.6 RECENT AND CURRENT INFLUENCES

In the previous paragraph (2.5.2) some very general trends were sketched, and some idea was given of how the child language field has gained in complexity since the hubristic mid-sixties when it was assumed in some quarters that the essentials of language acquisition had been explained. The aim of this paragraph is to identify only those key aspects of the semantic-cognitive approach to child language that have shaped the assumptions and procedures upon which the present analysis is based. Excellent comprehensive overviews of the field of child language can be found in Dale (1976) and De Villiers and De Villiers (1978), while the current state of the art is presented in Gleitman and Wanner (1982).

Motivated by the inadequacies of pivot grammar, Bloom (1970) introduced the deep structure concept - until then exclusive to adult grammars - into a transformational generative grammar intended to characterize the linguistic knowledge of small children. Against the background of the existing child grammars of the day, this was a highly significant innovation. (*)

Bloom (1970) argues that on both counts critical for distinguishing pivots, i.e. frequency and distribution, the words "Mommy" and "Kathryn" in the corpus of one child she studied would qualify as pivots. Describing these words as pivots "would be largely vacuous, however, in that the description would *ignore the semantic relations* between the forms and the constituents with which they occurred" (op. cit.:38, emphasis added). Taking into account the child's semantic intent with each utterance, Bloom identifies four different relations - lost in a pivot grammar - in which "Mommy"/"Kathryn" function: as a subject with a verb ("Mommy read"); as a subject with an object noun ("Kathryn cheese"); as a genitive with a posessed noun ("Mommy piano"); as an equated entity with an equating noun ("Kathryn good girl").

---

* Bloom's dissertation, upon which her 1970 volume is based, is dated 1968. The gist of Schlesinger's 1971 article was first mooted in 1967. The time-lag between first mooting and final publication tends to affect scholars more or less equally, so that we will generally take as date of publication that point at which a work first became available to all.

The much cited surface ambiguity of "Mommy sock" (in one context it was clear that "Mommy" was a genitive, and in another that it was the agent of an action) well illustrates the necessity of taking cognisance of the deep structure of child utterances.

Bloom's significance for the whole semantic movement in child language research - and thence for the present investigation - lies in her disposing with the notion that the child's acquisition of language can be penetrated by only paying attention to surface aspects of utterances; by ignoring, or denying the relevance of semantic intent and context. The present description in terms of the narrowing gap, over time, between the semantic intent and the realization of child utterances is firmly rooted in Bloom's influential departure of 1970.

Schlesinger's (1971) proposal for a language acquisition model based on speaker intentions rather than on syntax, also has a landmark quality. Bloom's (1970) child grammar, for all its innovative merit, was still essentially associated with TGG; Schlesinger's outspokenly anti-nativist paper offered the first sketch of a truly semantic-cognitive model of language acquisition. Though entirely new in its conception, it was foreshadowed by Slobin's (1966) view that learnable semantic features are embedded in objective reality, and by Fillmore's (1968) specification of constant semantic relations amidst variable syntactic relations.

Schlesinger's approach influenced the present investigation in a number of ways. In the first place, with his 1971 proposal for an acquisition model based on speaker intentions, Schlesinger opened the way to investigating language acquisition untrammelled by the linguistic theory of the day. The present analysis, likewise, is not dictated by any linguistic-theoretical alignment. Secondly, Schlesinger went a step further than Bloom's appreciation of the importance of the semantic intent underlying utterances. Speaker intentions form the very basis of Schlesinger's acquisition model, and it is speaker intentions that are captured in the paraphrases on which the present analysis is based. Thirdly, Schlesinger is much concerned with a

universal world view - in terms of the agents and objects of actions - that language-learners share with mature speakers. In Schlesinger's opinion it is this world view, and not grammatical notions that, constructively restricting the way the world can be talked about, points the way to language. In the present investigation, this line of thought is extended to a "language view", suggested by the commonality with which linguistically less and more advanced children seem to regard the deletability of low-information components of constructions.

The work of Greenfield and Smith (1976) has crucially influenced the present approach. Working on children's one-word utterances, Greenfield and Smith were led to the conviction that the referential meanings of single words are neither as idiosyncratic nor as flexible as had been assumed - provided that one considers the way in which single words combine with nonlinguistic elements such as gaze, gestures and other movements. Since single words have no linguistic elements with which to combine, it was assumed by such earlier workers in the field as Bloch (1921) and Werner and Kaplan (1963) that single words only have referential meaning - that they lack combinatorial meaning. Thence "the erroneous notion that early words are more shifting, flexible, or idiosyncratic in meaning than the words of the adult lexicon. If each combination of a verbal element with nonverbal elements is taken to show a different meaning of the verbal elements, then its referential meaning will, of course, appear to be wildly flexible" (Greenfield and Smith, 1976:29).

Meticulous observation of their subjects produced counter-intuitive results, suggesting to Greenfield and Smith "that structural constraints might be guiding development during the period of one-word speech" (loc. cit.). Intuitively, one would see advantages for the child in using any new word in all possible ways: as agent of an action, object of an action, desired object, and the like. The latter, particularly, would seem to have potentially much greater utilitarian value for the child than using names merely to identify things. Yet, identificational naming of a person occurred considerably sooner than either the naming of

desired objects or the naming of a person in an agent-context. Though counter-intuitive, when properly interpreted these observations show that "the 1-year-old child is as sensitive to the informative properties of the world as adults. He is, however, limited to expressing the single most informative element" (op. cit.:195). Expanding on this theme, we are able to show from the present data that in utterances of two, three, and more words, the same principle holds.

The influence of the work of Brown (1973) is evident throughout the present description and interpretation of data - despite differences in objectives and descriptive procedures. Brown leaves no doubt that the "rich" interpretation of child utterances is the superior approach. The confidence with which our "doubly rich" interpretation procedure is used, is in large measure due to Brown's justification of a "rich" interpretation for English utterances on grounds of its rigid and contrastive word order. The rigidity and contrastiveness of Afrikaans word order is even greater than that of English, so that we can at least match Brown's confidence in this respect.

2.7 SUMMARY

In terms of the objectives stated at the beginning of this chapter, we have been able to trace the antecedents of contemporary psycholinguistics, sketch the dynamics of the relationship between language acquisition theory and linguistic theory, and define the area of language acquisition research in which the roots of the present approach may be found. A brief summary of the chapter is given below.

Although the term PSYCHOLINGUISTICS is a neologism not yet 30 years old, "psycholinguistic" thinking goes back several centuries via Wilhelm Wundt, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the Port Royal grammarians, to the mediaeval scholastics. However, after the progress made in psycholinguistics by Wundt at the turn of the century, the next 50 years saw empiricism in the ascendency, manifesting itself inter alia

in (Bloomfieldian) structuralist linguistics and (Skinnerian) behaviorist psychology. In this empiricist climate, the meeting-ground between linguistics and psychology was eschewed by both disciplines. Psycholinguistics - the study of the mental processes underlying the acquisition, perception and production of language - waned.

The strong unifying theory lacking during the rapprochement of the early fifties between linguistics and psychology, was introduced at the end of that decade; and it flowered during the sixties in the form of Noam Chomsky's outspokenly rationalistic theory of language known as Transformational Generative Grammar. However, for all its innovative merit Chomskyan rationalism is utterly unforgiving of anything that smacks of empiricism. Chomsky's theory deals with idealized speakers and abstract structures, not with the "flux" found in the performance of real speakers. The main-line theoretical linguist's espousal of nativism, particularly, put him on a collision course with the psychologist. Around 1970 the collision came. Some psychologists who had worked energetically on language acquisition within the Chomskyan paradigm, now felt constrained to question the relevance of idealized speakers for the study of language acquisition. Furthermore, by dint of the meticulous analysis of the very performance data eschewed by transformationalists, "emancipated" psychologists managed to seriously compromise the axiomatic assumption that the role of primary linguistic data in language acquisition is negligible.

Meanwhile the unanimity that characterized linguistic theory during the mid-sixties started falling victim to dissent, the primacy of syntax being questioned in favour of semantics. To the study of language acquisition this was an important development, coming just when it became evident how sterile an endeavour it was to write transformational grammars of children's developing language. The fragmentation of linguistic theory can be seen as the beginning of the road that led - in the field of child language - to acquisition models incorporating in one way or another semantics, cognition, interaction and pragmatics.

Language acquisition theory, once emancipated from transformational syntax, tended to maintain a certain distance from any of the ramifications of linguistic theory. Committed espousal of a particular linguistic theory made way for either indifference or eclecticism; and how well this tendency has served the cause of language acquisition research, can be measured in the advances of the past decade.

The basic assumptions underlying the present method of analyzing and describing data are to be found in the semantic primacy approach to child language, and in the hypothesis (H 1) that children's early speech reveal a view of language that is essentially similar to that of adult speakers. Within this theoretical framework, the data are described with the primary aims of evaluating paraphrasing as a descriptive method and of providing information on some aspects of the acquisition of Afrikaans.

CHAPTER THREE : EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

In this chapter the method employed for obtaining the data, and for preparing it for analysis, is briefly explained. This is done in terms of the subjects, the sampling procedure and the coding procedure

3.1 THE SUBJECTS

3.1.1 Age and sex

The data to be described in this dissertation were obtained from six subjects, divided into two age-homogeneous cohorts. The first cohort comprised two boys and a girl, all of whom were 18 months old when regular fortnightly sampling started. The second cohort comprised two girls and a boy. Their initial age was 28 months, and the sampling interval was three weeks. In this way the age range from 18 to 40 months was covered. For the present study a lower limit of mean length of utterance (MLU) of 1.5 and an upper limit of 5 was set. The least advanced member of the younger cohort passed the 1.5 MLU mark at 23 months and the most advanced member of the older cohort passed the 5 MLU mark at 35 months and 2 weeks. This study therefore covers the age range from 23 through 35 months, with a one-sample overlap between cohorts at 28 months, and the MLU range is from 1.7 through 5.3 (see Figure 1.2).

The sex distribution of the subjects was fortuitous. There is a twofold reason why no effort was made to ensure any particular distribution. In the first place the aim of the present investigation is to describe a particular process, and not to establish age norms. Secondly, while the "myth of female superiority in language" is still being hotly debated (Macaulay, 1977; Koenigsknecht and Friedman, 1976; Cherry, 1975) it has never even been suggested that the rate of linguistic development has any bearing on the order of events. Therefore, even if it were an established fact - which at this stage it is not - that girls are

linguistically more advanced than boys, a pure sample of either boys or girls might have been used for the present investigation. The only relevant factor would have been the stage of linguistic development of the younger children at the start of the experiment. With MLU as criterion, the only girl in the younger cohort consistently lagged behind her two male peers, while the only boy in the older cohort consistently lagged behind his two female peers.

3.1.2 Socio-economic status

The archetypal subject for a study of early child language is the first born child of university educated parents. In her description of Kathryn, Eric and Gia, Bloom may have been talking - *mutatis mutandis* - on behalf of the whole child-language fraternity: "The three children were all first born children of families in which both parents were college graduates and native speakers of American English" (1970:234). Apart from pragmatic considerations such as the prevalence of such subjects on or near American university campuses, this predeliction is scientifically justified, and the rationale is clearly articulated in Söderberg's description of the Swedish child-syntax project:

> "When we started to plan the project, we knew from earlier research work that there is a certain pattern of language acquisition common to all normal children speaking the same language and that this pattern seems to be independent of intelligence and environmental factors such as social group. What varies among children is rate of acquisition and degree of fluency, that is, some children are more clever than others. Here environmental factors seem to be of great importance. As our aim was not to find out about individual differences and the reasons for them but rather about the *common pattern of language acquisition* (*), that is how and in what order the elements and structures of language are acquired, we chose our subjects where we expected to find clever and fluent speakers in order to get as much material as possible" (Söderberg, 1973:6).

---

* Unless otherwise stated, emphasis is the quoted author's.

In the same spirit as Söderberg, and in order to eliminate as many as possible uncontrolled variables, the following conditions were set for participation in the present project:

- The subject had to be the first child in the family.
- During the period when sampling started, the subject had to turn 18 or 28 months.
- Both parents had to be native speakers of Afrikaans.
- The mother had to be the sole caretaker of the child, which excluded all mothers working outside the home.
- Both parents had to have university degrees.

The cumulative effect of these five conditions was such that the last condition had to be relaxed somewhat in some cases in order to get suitable subjects. However, all subjects came from comparable middle class homes. The qualifications of parents are summarized below:

COHORT	SEX	FATHER	MOTHER
Younger	Girl	B.Sc. Engineering	B.A. Hons. Psych.
	Boy	B.Sc. Engineering	B.A. Fine Arts
	Boy	B.Sc. Engineering	Dipl. Fine Arts
Older	Girl	B.Sc. Hons. Chem.	Teacher's Dipl.
	Girl	Dipl. Engineering	Matriculation
	Boy	Dipl. Architecture	Teacher's Dipl.

3.1.3. Developmental background

Since a middle class milieu per se is no guarantee of (optimal) normality in any individual child, parents were requested to fill out a biographical questionnaire including a 32-item adaptation of the Communicative Evaluation Chart developed by Anderson, Miles and Matheny (1964). In no case was there any counter-indication that we would be dealing with "clever and fluent speakers".

3.2 SAMPLING

3.2.1. Sampling situations and sample size

An inestimable advantage of dealing with educated unemployed mothers is the possibility of engaging them actively in the data-gathering phase of the operation. After brief individual training sessions, all mothers were able to record and transcribe very satisfactorily samples of their children's speech in interaction with themselves. Since standard orthography was used for the transcriptions, no specialized skills were required from the mothers.

The standard sample size was one side of a C60 cassette, i.e. half an hour per sample. This time was divided equally between two to three recording sessions on the due day for the sample and/or the day immediately preceding or folllowing it. The nature of the recording situations was left to the initiative of the mothers, who were only told to elicit speech from their children in the most normal and natural way possible, and to vary the situations within any one sample. The most frequently occuring situations were: looking at pictures in books or magazines; playing with familiar toys; drawing, colouring in and cutting and pasting; mealtimes; bathing; bedtime; and helping with the baby. Less frequent were the following: washing dishes; cooking; gardening; and going for a drive.

It has been established that mothers' speech to children varies in complexity according to the situation. It is more complex in a book-reading situation than in free play (Bakker-Rennes and Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1974; Snow, Arlman-Rupp, Hassing, Jobse, Joosten and Vorster, 1976) and also more complex in caretaking than in free play (Bakker-Rennes and Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1974). Snow (1977) ascribes this variation in mother's speech to the communicative demands of the different situations. Thus in a book-reading situation the topics are limited, and the pictures provide contextual props which allow for more complex language to be used.

Sampling situation has not featured as an independent variable in naturalistic studies of children's speech. The

reports of these studies imply that a mixture of book-reading, free play and daily routines will provide all the required linguistic information (Brown, 1973; Bowerman, 1973; Bloom, 1970; Söderberg, 1973; Park, 1974) and this assumption seems justifiable. The mother may well have at her disposal, within the superordinate register we call "parental speech", certain finer tuned sub-registers suitable for specific situations; the child on the other hand will say whatever he is capable of, and thus reveal his level of development regardless of the situation. The sole requirement is that the situation should stimulate the child to talk.

3.2.2 Equipment

Most of what is known about the emergence of the child's grammar has come from audio recordings. This was the medium used by Brown and his associates in that most bounteous of child language investigations to date, the Harvard project, and also by Bloom, whose meticulous attention to contextual information has made her work so influential. Indeed, with the exception of Leopold's data, all the data discussed by Brown (1973) in his treatise on the early stages of language development - coming from about a dozen different investigators - were gathered by means of audio recordings.

The main disadvantage of audio recordings is the impossibility to replay the non-verbal context when transcribing; something which is possible in the case of video recordings. On the other hand, factors such as cost of tapes and access to recording equipment put video recordings beyond the reach of most longitudinal projects, particularly those using several children. It is, however, possible to provide the necessary contextual information by means of hand-written or separately recorded comments when using audio recordings.

For the present investigation, Sony TC 55 battery operated, integrated microphone, portable cassette recorders were used. Each participating mother was issued with one of these recorders, which soon became simply another household object - a development facilitated by the fact that the recorder is

roughly the size and shape of a purse, and is cordless. During sampling the mothers kept the recorders within the immediate vicinity of the children, so that even household routines, which proved too noisy for the Swedish project (cf. Söderberg, 1973) could be used quite satisfactorily as sampling situations.

3.2.3 Transcriptions

Most transcriptions were made by the mother as soon as possible after the recording session, usually within a day or two. The entire sample of mother-child interaction was transcribed, and where necessary paraphrases were provided of what, in the mother's opinion, the child had intended to say. (*) In addition to this, the mothers also provided comments on the nonlinguistic context. Each transcription was checked against the tape recording for accuracy by either of the two assistants on the project, who settled doubtful cases in consultation with each other or with the investigator. At the same time the text was segmented into numbered terminable units (henceforth utterances), the terminability criteria being syntactic, semantic and prosodic, after which it was typed out and ready for analysis.

When it was impossible for a mother to make a transcription, this was done by one of the research assistants, in consultation with the other, and where necessary, in consultation with the mother. As anyone familiar with mother-child interaction would know, these dialogues contain abundant information for interpreting the child's utterances. In addition, the investigator and the assistants were thoroughly familiar with each child's idiolect at any particular time, so that the reliability of their transcriptions and interpretations can be assumed to approach closely that of the mothers.

---

* As Bloom points out, "Adults who know children tend to know what they are saying more often than not" (1970:9).

3.3 CODING

3.3.1 Utterances used

The analysis procedure is extremely detailed (*) and commensurately time-consuming, which limited the number of samples per child that were analyzed. For the sake of economy, every second sample for each child was used, which proved sufficient in terms of data cohesiveness. If for subsequent investigations the information from alternate samples should prove to become tenuous, the intervening samples would be available for further analysis. A detailed description of the criteria whereby utterances were included for coding, as well as the coding system, is given in Appendix A.

3.3.2 Semantic intent vs. realization

Approaches to child language vary in terms of a variety of factors, first and foremost the purpose of the description and the theoretical stance of the investigator. For example, a formal models approach aiming to account for the fact of acquisition would have little in common with a developmental approach attempting to describe the course of a particular language's acquisition; a syntax-oriented description aimed at establishing the explanatory adequacy of a generative grammar would differ widely from a semantically based description seeking to explain language acquisition in terms of cognitive growth and interpersonal interaction.

As was pointed out in Chapter 2, the decade separating Chomsky's *Syntatic Structures* (1957) and Fillmore's *The Case for Case* (1968) was dominated by the notion of a syntactical underlying structure of the sentence. In the field of language acquisition this resulted in efforts to characterize children's developing language by means of transformational grammars. The swing in linguistic theory away from underlying structures comprising syntactic

---

* The data was not coded only with a view to the present analysis (cf. Appendix A). The aim with the coding procedure that was developed, was to make readily retreivable from the coded corpus as much information as possible.

categories towards underlying structures comprising semantic categories, was echoed in child language research by Bloom (1970), Bowerman (1973), Brown (1973), Van der Geest et al. (1973), Wells (1974), Greenfield and Smith (1976) and others.

Since every sentence is embedded in a context - a body of known information - and since much information is either transferred referringly or nonverbally, or is tacitly assumed to have been transferred, deletions and substitutions are common in the use of language. This is particularly so in small children's language. For these reasons Bloom (1970) advocates cognisance being taken of context, situation and nonverbal behaviour in trying to penetrate the child's knowledge of his language. This is best done by distinguishing systematically "between the semantic intent or message - the information the child intends to give, as determined from context, situation, and nonverbal behaviour - and the realization or code which is realized on the verbal level" (Van der Geest et al., 1973:41).

Brown, too, emphasizes the importance of semantics in characterizing children's speech. He shows that the "lean" characterizations, telegraphic speech and pivot grammar, "fit the data we now have only insofar as they correspond to semantic characterizations, and they do this quite imperfectly showing rather clearly that a semantic characterization or what I have called 'rich intertpretation' is the superior approach" (Brown, 1973:63).

A vexing apprehension is that we may be analyzing not so much the child's intended meanings, as the adult interpretations of them. Wells sees this contingency as a strength rather than a weakness, arguing that even for adult speech "in the last resort it is not possible to *know* the intended meaning of an utterance: the listener forms the best possible estimate on the basis of all the cues available - perceived speech signal, linguistic context, situation etc. - and responds, or interprets, on the basis of this estimate" (Wells, 1974:257). He then develops the argument that since the mother, of all people, is best

acquainted with the child and his social world, and is also the conversational partner, she is best equipped to make the necessary interpretations.

Greenfield and Smith also address the issue of the validity of interpretations. Their "basic method for discovering the cognitive structure of one-word speech was the expansion of the child's single words by an adult" (Greenfield and Smith, 1976:44). Though aware of the apparent subjectivity of such a procedure, they nevertheless argue convincingly that "it is not at all arbitrary and ... has firm theoretical support" (loc. cit.). In the present investigation all precautions were taken against the danger, mentioned by Wells, that the mother may attribute undue complexity to the child's speech. Thus it was often necessary to reduce mothers' suggested paraphrases to the minimal wellformedness critical to our procedure.

The present method of analysis centres on the differences between child and adult language, specifically on the developmentally determined narrowing gap between the two forms. The procedure is to establish what the child's semantic intent is with each utterance by considering the linguistic and nonlinguistic context, and to compare this semantic intent, in the form of a well-formed paraphrase, with the child's realization of it. A similar technique has been used by Snow et al. (1976) to compare the speech of mothers from three social classes, and by Van der Geest et al. (1973) to compare the speech of children from three social classes. Here it is used to compare the developing speech of children with the adult norm. It is not possible to say with absolute certainty what the child's semantic intent in every case was. What can be said with certainty about the paraphrases is that they represent what an adult would have said if he had the same intent as the child appears to have had.

Three features of the present data make this a feasible proposition, i.e. the rich linguistic context provided by the mother's contribution to the interaction, mothers' paraphrases of obscure child utterances, and non-lingiustic contextual information supplied by the mothers. The cases

quoted below should illustrate that a high level of confidence in the accuracy of the paraphrases is justified.

In the data of one of the children the utterance:

BUITETOE NIE
('outside not')

consisting of a directional adverb and a negating particle, occurs twice in the same sample, the first time at 8 a.m. and the second at 5 p.m. on the day of sampling. (*) In the first case the child utterance was preceded by a question form the mother whether the child wanted to go outside, and the paraphrase volunteered by the mother was:

EK WIL NIE BUITETOE GAAN NIE
('I want not outside go not'
='I do not want to go outside')

In the second case the mother's preceding utterance was:

MM, HOOR DIE REëN
('mm, hear the rain')

and the paraphrase she provided for the child utterance was:

ONS GAAN NIE BUITETOE NIE
('we go not outside not'
='we are not going outside')

3.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter a brief description was given of the six subjects, their age, sex and social background. The sampling situations, recording equipment and method of description were described.

---

* Cf. Freda, Sample 14 (Appendix G). Since the first instance occurred at the beginning of the sample, it does not form part of the coded data.

From H 1 (Children and adults express the way they see the world in essentially similar ways) it was predicted (P 1) that the differences between child and adult speech would in an essential way be reducible to the non-realization by children of low-information elements.

To test the validity of this prediction, an attempt was made to establish what the child's semantic intent was with each utterance. A well-formed paraphrase of this semantic intent was then compared with the child's realization thereof. It is hoped that this procedure will enable us to provide a more insightful description of the language acquisition process, and of the acquisition of Afrikaans.

The technique for distinguishing between the paraphrased and the actually spoken parts of each utterance is described in detail in Appendix A. The raw data is given in Appendix G.

CHAPTER FOUR : GROSS FREQUENCIES PER CORPUS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to determine for each child's corpus as a whole, patterns of generated and filled slots for the five categories in question: coverbs, copulas, adverbs, prepositions and verbs. Of particular interest is the relation between frequency metrics and linguistic advancement, i.e. correlations with the canonical order derived from the mean MLU's of each child's pooled samples (cf. Figure 1.2).

A recurring feature of the present data is that the children's performance tends to conform to adult intuitions about the relative dispensability of various elements. Elements containing "given" as opposed to "new" information (*) in the children's discourses are prime candidates for deletion. When Brown considers the grammatical and semantic properties of the 14 function morphemes central to his chapter on language development during Stage II, he touches on this problem of the relative dispensability of items: "How does one justify characterizing the semantics of all the morphemes as 'modulations' of meaning. To say this is to suggest some sort of distinction between the meanings the grammatical morphemes carry and the more 'basic' relational meanings of Stage I such as agent-action, attribution, recurrence, and so on. To say 'modulation' is to suggest a class of meaning somehow subordinate, less than essential. I think speakers of English probably share an intuition that there is this sort of difference between the constructional meanings of Stage I and those of Stage II but it is difficult to get beyond intuition to an explicit statement" (Brown, 1973:250 ff.). We return to this theme in Chapters 6 and 7.

---

* The terms GIVEN/NEW information are preferred to e.g. TOPIC/COMMENT. Nor do these two sets exhaust the terminology in use (cf. McWhinney and Bates, 1982).

The important point for the moment is that children's deletions are not random. It is predicted (P 1) that children delete low-information elements in a systematic kind of way, and the knowledge that enables them to do this is as significant as the knowledge reflected by their actual linguistic performance. Part of the task at hand is to explore the possibility of isolating the determinants of children's deletions - the deleted elements themselves and the contexts in which each element is deleted (cf. Chapter 7).

4.2 COVERBS

4.2.1 General

COVERBS is the superordinate term used here for all temporal and modal auxiliary verbs and all catenative verbs. The Afrikaans coverb system is dealt with in some more detail when repertoire development is described (cf. 6.1 below). A deleted coverb (*) in Afrikaans leaves an unmistakable trace in the form of an altered word order. The unmarked verb-second order S-V-O changes to a verb-final order S-Cov-O-V when a coverb is introduced. If therefore a child, constrained to two or three words per utterance, produces an O-V structure in contrast to his normal V-O order, and if in addition the mother's (very frequent) expansion contains the deleted coverb, it is assumed that the coverb formed part of the child's semantic intent. In languages where word order is not a crucial grammatical device, the present procedure might have been somewhat more precarious. However, Afrikaans, like English, is one of the languages of which Brown remarks that "a single grammatical or expressive device, word order, is the clearest evidence that the child has the semantic intentions with which we are concerned" (1973:408).

---

* The term DELETION is used throughout in the sense of "non-realization", resulting in an unfilled slot. It is not used to designate a transformational operation whereby an element is removed from a structure.

The exchange below is typical of a child utterance containing an unfilled coverb slot, and of the mother's expansion of it:

Child: HASIE VANG
('Bunny catch')
Mother: JA, HY GAAN DIE HASIE VANG
('Yes, he going the bunny catch'
= 'Yes, he is going to catch the bunny')

Mothers' expansions are particularly crucial after utterances containing neither objects nor verb modifiers, since in such cases there can be no inversion, and consequently no overt trace of a generated coverb slot:

Child: LORRIE RY
('Lorry ride')
Mother: JA, DIE LORRIE KAN HIER RY
('Yes, the lorry can here ride'
= 'Yes the lorry can ride here')

4.2.2 Between-child coverb data

The global statistics for coverbs appear in Table 4.1, and a graphic representation of the children's increasing use and realization of coverbs appears in Figure 4.1. The different metrics in Table 4.1 will now be discussed in turn. The same metrics are found in Tables 4.2 through 4.5, and general information given here applies throughout.

(a) Generated slots (GS)

The total number of coverb slots occurring in each subject's entire corpus (for Freda, Erik and Deon 600 utterances each and for Chris, Betsy and Anna 700 utterances each) shows the marked increase in the frequency of coverb slots with increasing linguistic maturity as reflected by MLU. The figures of Erik, running contrary to the trend and disturbing the linearity throughout this category, will be dealt with below. Erik's performance notwithstanding, the number of utterances containing coverb slots clearly distinguishes between the children.

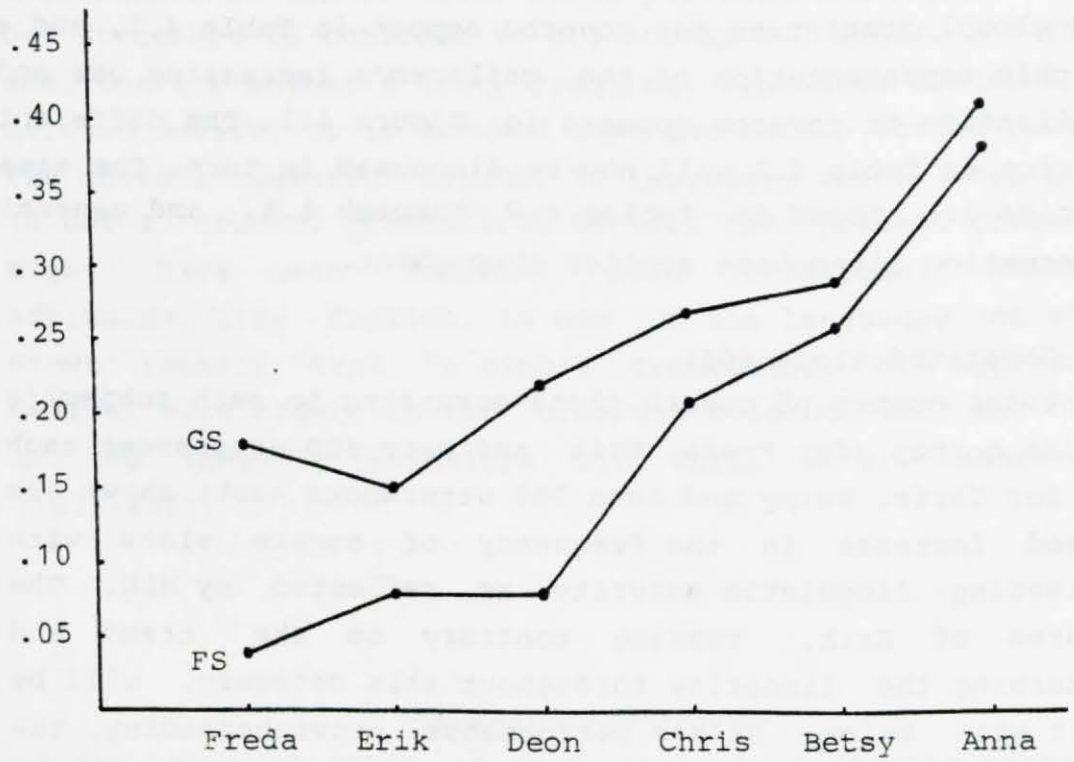
TABLE 4.1

COVERBS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF CORPUS (% CORP), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU)

	Freda	Erik	Deon	Chris	Betsy	Anna
GS	107	91	133	191	203	290
% CORP	4.74	4.04	5.49	6.60	6.25	8.27
% FS	20.56	54.95	33.83	76.96	90.15	91.72
GSU	0.18	0.15	0.22	0.27	0.29	0.41
FSU	0.04	0.08	0.08	0.21	0.26	0.38

FIGURE 4.1

COVERBS: CONVERGENCE BETWEEN GENERATED SLOTS (GS) AND FILLED SLOTS (FS) PER UTTERANCE



A Spearman rank correlation coefficient (r_s) shows a significant correlation between coverb slots and mean MLU (r_s = 0.943, $p < .01$; cf. Siegel, 1956:202). While it is true that the younger cohort's figures represent six samples and the older cohort's represent seven, scores were normalized for purposes of computing correlations by reducing the older cohort's scores by one-seventh.

(b) Percentage of corpus (% CORP)

Coverb slots as a percentage of all slots in each child's corpus is an interesting metric in that it reflects shifts in the composition of corpora or samples. Nor is it dependent on the GS metric. Thus in Betsy's corpus there are 9.92% more generated coverb slots than in in Chris', yet as a percentage of the total corpus, coverb slots in Chris' data outstrip coverb slots in Betsy's data, the difference of 0.31 represening a difference of 6.22%. Similar compositional differences occur throughout the data, which, at least at this level of analysis, argues against absolute invariance across children. So does the fact that this metric disturbs the canonical order in two instances, while GS disturbed it in only one instance. However, the correlation between % CORP and the canonical order, though lower than GS, is still significant (r_s = 0.886, $p < .05$).

(c) Percentage filled slots (% FS)

Filled coverb slots as a percentage of generated coverb slots provide a quick indication of a child's performance in terms of the familiar percentage concept. Since no account is taken here of the magnitude of the possible 100%, this metric is not equally informative for high and low performances. If a child generated three slots and filled two, his score of 67% filled slots does tend to inflate his performance *vis-à-vis* that of a child filling 67 out of a hundred slots.

(d) Generated slots and filled slots per utterance (GSU, FSU)

These figures are dealt with together, since what is at issue here is not merely the increases in both sets of figures with linguistic development, but also, and especially, the convergence of GS and FS envisaged in 1.3 above. For a graphic representation of the present

convergence see Figure 4.1. However, the linearity of the convergence is disturbed conspicuously by the fact that Erik not only generated fewer coverb slots than Freda, but also filled a significantly larger proportion of them than Deon. This case will be discussed in more detail below, but it may be mentioned here that the seemingly precocious performance suggested by Erik's nearly 55% realization of coverbs is counterbalanced by the fact that his repertoire of coverb types is severly limited compared with all the other children (cf. Table 6.1).

Erik's atypical performance notwithstanding, the convergence of the GS and FS graphs shows an interesting division between the two cohorts, the mean difference for the younger cohort being three times as large as that for the older cohort (0.12 vs 0.04). The correlations between both GS and FS per utterance and the canonical order are significant (r_s = 0,972 and 0,986 respectively, $p < .01$).

Although the information contained in each of the rows of table 4.1 (and of the other tables in this chapter, i.e. Tables 4.2 through 4.5) is closely interrelated, each row illuminates the data from a specific angle. Not every aspect of this varied presentation is discussed in detail for each category dealt with, as this would result in undue repetitiveness. In the final section of this chapter, a global summary of the data for gross frequencies per corpus is given.

4.3 COPULAS

4.3.1 General

An essential difference between elements like copulas and elements like coverbs is that copulas form one of the two subsets of the class of verbs, which in turn is one of a small set of elements without which there can be no sentence. In the abstract structure SENTENCE there is an obligatory verb slot that will contain either a lexical verb, or the dummy verb known as the COPULA.

The copula WEES ('be'), virtually the only type found in the present data, is semantically vacuous and serves merely as a formal link between a subject and a complement, or, to put it differently, between a predicate and an argument; the copula itself is neither predicate nor argument. Notwithstanding the semantic vacuity of the copula, its realization in Afrikaans, as in standard English, is obligatory, and copula deletion does not occur in the speech of any of the present subjects' mothers. (*) Yet, even among the middle-ranking children in this study, copula deletions occur with some frequency.

A deleted copula leaves as conspicuous a vacant slot as a deleted coverb. The essential difference is that in the case of the coverb the deletion is signalled indirectly, by means of a word order inversion; in the case of the copula, the pivotal element in the sentence - the obligatory formal link between subject and complement - is simply missing.

4.3.2 Between-child copula data

The global statistics for copulas appear in Table 4.2, and the convergence between GS and FS is shown in Figure 4.2.

The most conspicuous feature of the data at this level is the inversion in trend found in the frequency metrics, compared with the trend shown in the coverb data. From both % CORP and GSU it seems that copulas tend to decrease in frequency with increasing linguistic development. As in the case of coverbs, however, the performance of one child is out of line; in this case sufficiently so to preclude significant correlations between certain of the metrics and the canonical order.

For % CORP, the metric of the relation between the rest of the corpus and the element in question, there is a significant negative correlation with the canonical order (r_s = .828, $p < .05$). On this metric, however, a negative

---

* Copula contraction is very common, but is irrelevant to the present argument. In all cases where there was any sign of a contracted copula in the children's speech, it was coded as a realized copula.

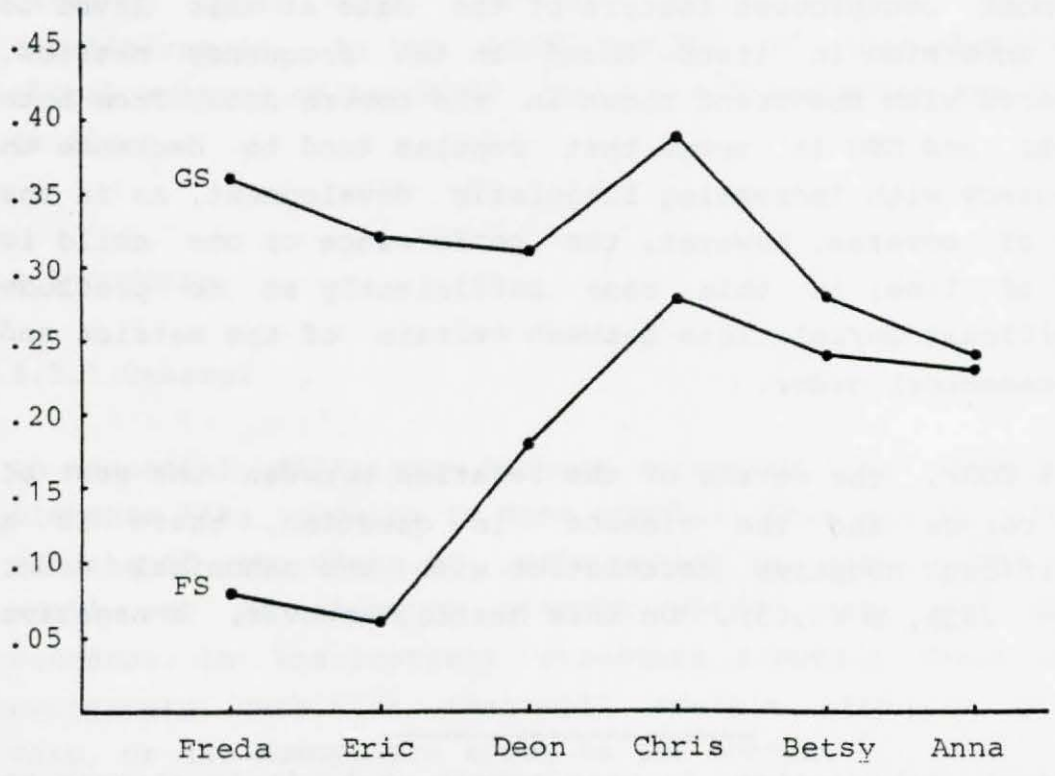
TABLE 4.2

COPULAS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF CORPUS (% CORP), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU)

	Freda	Erik	Deon	Chris	Betsy	Anna
GS	215	190	188	274	196	171
% CORP	9.52	8.43	7.76	9.46	6.03	4.87
% FS	22.97	19.47	56.38	71.17	85.71	92.98
GSU	0.36	0.32	0.31	0.39	0.28	0.24
FSU	0.08	0.06	0.18	0.28	0.24	0.23

FIGURE 4.2

COPULAS: CONVERGENCE BETWEEN GENERATED SLOTS (GS) AND FILLED SLOTS (FS) PER UTTERANCE



correlation may merely reflect the effect of increasing MLU, while real copula frequency remains constant. For this reason GSU is the only reliable basis for between-corpus comparisons of copula frequency. (*)

Although the correlation between GSU and the canonical order only approaches significance (r_s = .657, critical value for $p < .05$ = .829) the failure to obtain a perfect correlation is due solely to Chris' atypical performance. The tendency for copulas to decrease in the data (and Chris' deviation from the tendency) is best seen in the GS graph in Figure 4.2.

For % FS, the index of degree of conformity with the adult norm, there is a significant correlation with the canonical order (r_s = .943, $p < .01$). This shows that Chris' unduly high frequency of copula slots does not have a corresponding precocity in the filling of these slots. In fact, his degree of approximation between GS and FS is exactly where it would be predicted by the canonical order, i.e. between that of Deon and Betsy.

4.4 ADVERBS

4.4.1 General

Adverbs are optional verb phrase modifiers used predominantly to specify the time, place or manner of an action or event, and are characterized in the present data by a relatively high frequency of occurrence and a high realization level.

Since adverbs are optional, the question arises how their realization level can be called "high" when it should by definition be absolute. How can an optional element be called "missing"? This apparent anomaly is largely explained by the fact that a sentence-initial adverb in Afrikaans

---

* This, of course, does not apply in the case of positive correlations, where the relative frequency of the element increases in spite of an increase in the corpus size.

causes a subject-verb inversion:

SUBJECT-VERB-(OBJECT) ⟹ ADVERB-VERB-SUBJECT-(OBJECT)

Such an inversion occurring in the absence of an adverb would therefore signal a vacant slot. In the present data only the locatives DAAR ('there') and HIER ('here') are thus preposed, for the most part used ostensively (DAAR IS .../ HIER IS ...). A deleted ostensive is exactly equivalent to deleted locative copula complements (see 6.3.5 below). Since copulas and complements tend to be deleted together (see 7.3.2 below) an utterance with a deleted ostensive generally consists only of the subject to which the child wishes to draw attention.

Proper (i.e. non-ostensive) locatives are seldom deleted in the present data, particularly non-sentence-initially. Yet sometimes a construction leaves no doubt that a locative is missing, although there is no word-order clue to its deletion. Consider the following example (in which the underlined word was not spoken by the child):

SY FIETS IS NIE MEER <u>DAAR</u> NIE
('his bike is no more there not'
='his bike is not there any more')

Although in terms of deletions, adverbs may be somewhat less interesting than some other categories, this is made up for by the wide variety of adverb types occurring in the data, and by some interesting patterns in the development of the children's adverb repertoires (see 6.3 below).

4.4.2 Between-child adverb data

Adverbs are not necessarily involved (as e.g. coverbs are) in the complexities of Afrikaans word order. Unless an adverb is preposed to the sentence-initial position - a contingency largely confined to ostensives in the present data - its presence or absence in the post-verbal (or post-coverbal) slot leaves the word order unchanged. Since adverb insertion is such a grammatically simple operation, one may assume that adverb frequency is more likely to be a

function of stylistic idiosyncracy and repertoire development than of grammatical sophistication. The above assumption finds substantial support in the global statistics for adverbs appearing in Table 4.3. (*)

First, it is clear that all the children are able to use adverbs, and that they do so with a mutually cohesive high frequency. Why these figures may be called "cohesive" becomes clear when comparing adverbs and coverbs. The % CORP figures show that the difference between the proportion of adverbs in Betsy's and Deon's data (the extreme cases) is 3.64%. This figure is 48.73% more than Deon's total % CORP, which means that the percentage difference between the extreme cases is 48.73%. The comparable figure for coverbs (the difference between the extreme cases, Erik and Anna) is more than twice as great, i.e. 104.70%.

In the second place, no significant correlation obtains between generated adverb slots and the canonical order (r_s = .643; critical value for $p < .05$ = .829). This supports the assumption that a speaker's adverb frequency is not directly related to his grammatical sophistication. Figure 4.3 nevertheless makes it obvious that the manifest linguistic advantage Anna and Betsy have over the rest of the children is also reflected in their adverb frequency.

The two points made in the previous paragraph are not necessarily contradictory. For Freda to outperform Deon and for Betsy to outperform Anna points to independence between adverb frequency and grammatical sophistication at one level. When, on the other hand, we find the adverb frequencies of Anna and Betsy to be in a class apart from the other children, this merely points to another level, where large differences in linguistic development in general would correlate with adverb frequency. A potentially important determinant of differences at the latter level is adverb repertoire, which will be discussed in 6.3 below.

---

* Ostensives, dealt with later, are not included in these figures.

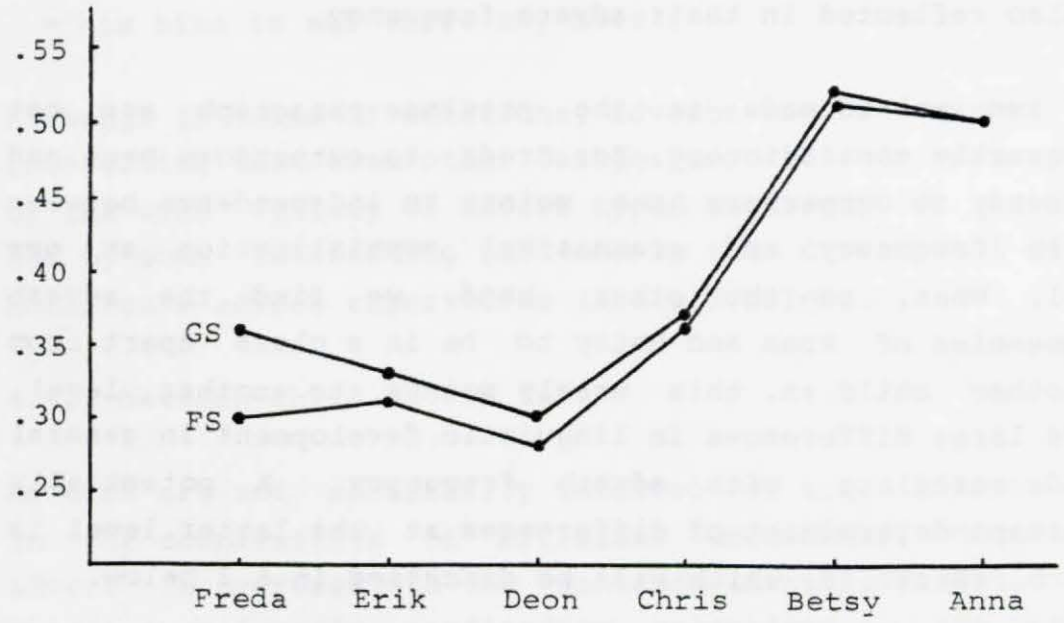
TABLE 4.3

ADVERBS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF CORPUS (% CORP), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTER= ANCE (FSU)

	Freda	Erik	Deon	Chris	Betsy	Anna
GS	213	198	181	219	309	303
% CORP	9.43	8.78	7.47	8.84	11.11	10.06
% FS	83.57	92.93	92.27	98.05	99.45	99.15
GSU	0.36	0.33	0.30	0.37	0.52	0.50
FSU	0.30	0.31	0.28	0.36	0.51	0.50

FIGURE 4.3

ADVERBS: CONVERGENCE BETWEEN GENERATED SLOTS (GS) AND FILLED SLOTS (FS) PER UTTERANCE



Although deletion of adverbs is by no means as much of an issue as deletion of coverbs (or the components of either the copula construction or the prepositional phrase) it is nevertheless interesting to note that adverb deletions, too, follow the established pattern. Despite the overall high realization percentages for adverbs, with five out of the six children scoring in the nineties, % FS nevertheless correlates significantly with the canonical order (r_s = .886, $p < .05$). Moreover, although there is not as much scope for convergence of the GS and FS graphs as we find with more highly deletable elements, Figure 4.3 nevertheless shows a convergence over the first four children where there is some scope, albeit small.

4.5 PREPOSITIONS

4.5.1 General

Afrikaans has a well-developed adpositional system employing simple prepositions, compound prepositions and postpositions (cf. Ponelis, 1979:171 ff.). In the present data 90% of all adpositional phrases are of the simple prepositional kind, and therefore the term PREPOSITION is preferred to the superordinate ADPOSITION. The remaining 10% of adpositional phrases employ one of two postpositional directionals. These will be identified when the need arises.

Although prepositional phrases (PP's) can perform either an adjectival or an adverbial function, the former function is performed by only 2.04% of the PP's in the data. For present purposes we may therefore regard the PP as an extension of the adverb.

The adverbial PP in Afrikaans has the same distributional privileges as the adverb, and causes the same word-order inversions when preposed sentence-initially. However, we do not rely on word-order clues to posit a deleted PP. Not only do realized sentence-initial PP's hardly ever occur (there is a total of six cases, produced by three children) but the main principle of the paraphrase procedure is to

restore an utterance to well-formedness in the simplest possible way. Consequently, an adverb would be preferred to a PP for this purpose. It follows then, that a deleted PP as such would not occur in the data. A deleted preposition, however, is a different matter, highly conspicuous in its absence since it forms an indispensible part of a construction.

4.5.2 Between-child preposition data

The global figures for each child's corpus as a whole appear in Table 4.4, and the GS-FS convergence is shown in Figure 4.4. For number of generated slots, the index of the frequency of prepositions in the data, a significant correlation obtains with the canonical order after the customary correction has been made reducing the older cohort's data by one-seventh to make it comparable with the younger cohort's (r_s = .886, $p < .05$). There is, moreover, a perfect correlation between the percentage of filled slots and the canonical order. These figures show the growth sensitivity of PP's, both in terms of frequency of use and approximation to adult well-formedness. Apart from these correlations, interesting in their own right, another striking feature of the data is the ranges covered and, for % FS, the cohort cohesiveness. On this score the deviations from the within-cohort means are 5.20 for the younger cohort and 9.78 for the older one, while the deviation from the between-cohort mean is 20.41. Clearly, the fairly consistent realization of prepositions only occurs after the age range covered by the younger cohort. Although Deon's rather high and Chris' somewhat low GS scores disturb the symmetrical convergence between the GS and FS graphs in Figure 4.4, the convergence is nonethelesss plain to see. Also obvious is the growth-sensitivity as well as the cohort cohesiveness of preposition realizations.

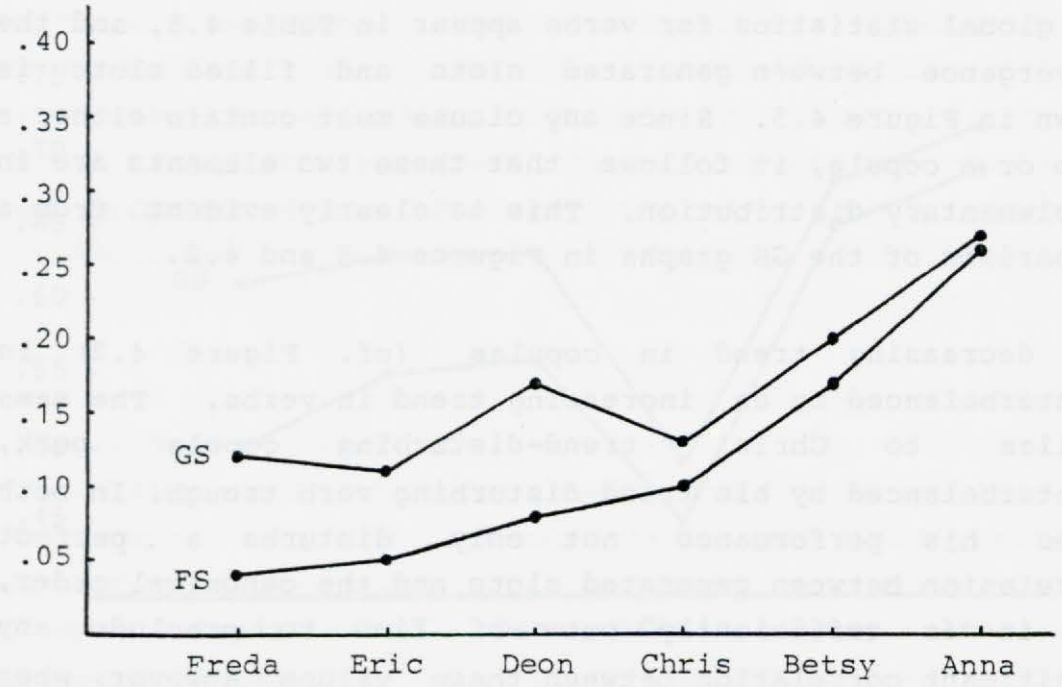
TABLE 4.4

PREPOSITIONS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF CORPUS (% CORP), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTER= ANCE (FSU)

	Freda	Eric	Deon	Chris	Betsy	Anna
GS	72	65	99	90	143	204
% CORP	3.19	2.88	4.09	3.11	4.40	5.82
% FS	40.28	47.69	48.48	78.89	83.92	96.08
GSU	0.12	0.11	0.17	0.13	0.20	0.29
FSU	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.10	0.17	0.28

FIGURE 4.4

PREPOSITIONS: CONVERGENCE BETWEEN GENERATED SLOTS (GS) AND FILLED SLOTS (FS) PER UTTERANCE



4.6 VERBS

4.6.1 General

Lexical verbs and copulative verbs share one crucial feature: in the abstract structure SENTENCE there is a verb slot that has to contain a member of either of these two classes. There the resemblance ends. The class of copulas is small, closed, and semantically vacuous - features that would predict the high copula deletability found in the present data. In contrast, lexical verbs (henceforth VERBS) form a very large, open class, each member of which has a specific and unique semantic value. These features, in turn, predict a low deletability.

By virtue of its indispensibility at clause level, the identification of an unfilled verb slot poses no problem; and although some 244 different verb types occur in the data, contextual support greatly facilitates the choice of an appropriate verb to restore to well-formedness an utterance containing a deleted verb.

4.6.2 Between-child verb data

The global statistics for verbs appear in Table 4.5, and the convergence between generated slots and filled slots is shown in Figure 4.5. Since any clause must contain either a verb or a copula, it follows that these two elements are in complementary distribution. This is clearly evident from a comparison of the GS graphs in Figures 4.5 and 4.2.

The decreasing trend in copulas (cf. Figure 4.2) is counterbalanced by an increasing trend in verbs. The same applies to Chris' trend-disturbing copula peak, counterbalanced by his trend-disturbing verb trough. In both cases his performance not only disturbs a perfect correlation between generated slots and the canonical order, but it is sufficiently out of line to preclude any significant correlation between these values. However, when we sum the % CORP figures for each child's verbs and copulas, we find a perfect correlation with the canonical order. This is hardly surprising, since there is a direct

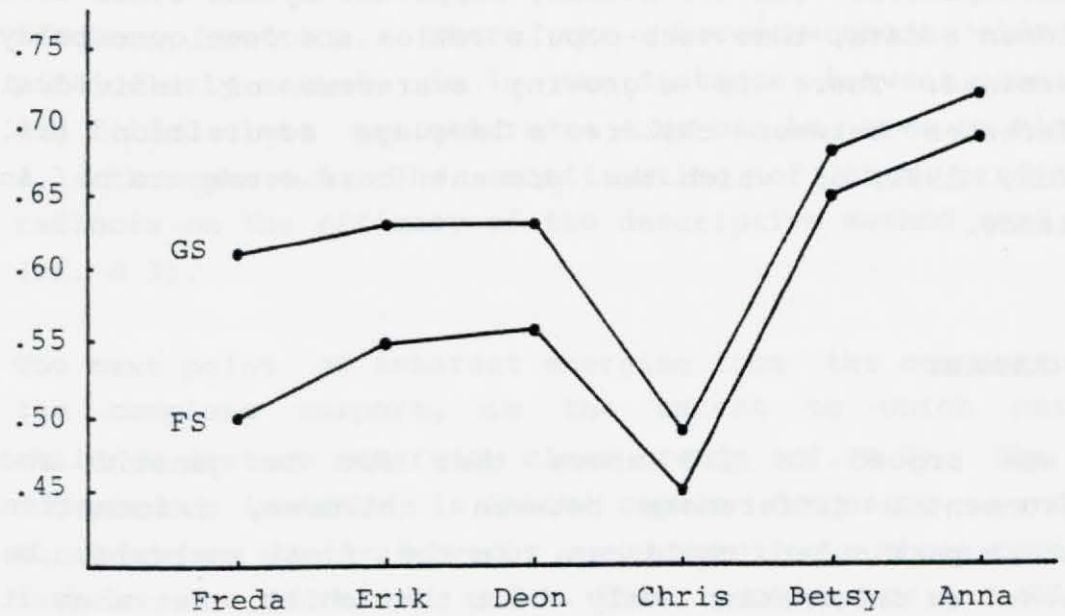
TABLE 4.5

LEXICAL VERBS: NUMBER OF GERERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF CORPUS (% CORP), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTER= ANCE (FSU)

	Freda	Eric	Deon	Chris	Betsy	Anna
GS	367	378	378	342	478	504
% CORP	16.25	16.76	15.61	11.81	14.71	14.37
% FS	82.03	86.77	88.89	91.81	94.77	95.63
GSU	0.61	0.63	0.63	0.49	0.68	0.72
FSU	0.50	0.55	0.56	0.45	0.65	0.69

FIGURE 4.5

LEXICAL VERBS: CONVERGENCE BETWEEN GENERATED SLOTS (GS) AND FILLED SLOTS (FS) PER UTTERANCE



correspondence between the percentage of verbal nuclei in a corpus and the mean clause length of that corpus. Moreover, since the children under observation predominantly produce one-clause utterances, mean clause length translates readily into mean utterance length.

The clear tendency for verb frequency to increase with linguistic development could, in the absence of any other evidence, suggest that Chris' verb-copula ratio may be symptomatic of a general linguistic delay. However, from his performance on the other categories reported here it is evident that no such delay exists. A more conservative assumption, then, would be that such delay as there might be, would be confined to the development of the verbal nucleus. The verb-copula ratio aside, how could such a delay be manifested? Two obvious candidates as corroborators of the hypothesized delay would be a high rate of verb deletion and a paucity of verb types. Table 4.5 shows that Chris' verb deletion rate is midway between Deon's and Betsy's, i.e. as "normal" as possible, and the same applies to his type-token ratio for verbs (cf. 6.5.3 below). The only conclusion to be derived from these findings is that Chris' atypical verb-copula ratio is a function of personal style, and not of some linguistic delay. Such a conclusion need not be incompatible with the notion, supported by the other five children's data, that verb-copula ratios are developmentally determined. There is a growing awareness of individual differences between children's language acquisition (cf. Nelson, 1981) of which the present case seems to be an instance.

4.7 SUMMARY

It was argued in 1.3 above that due to genetic and environmental differences between children, information about a particular child can, in the final analysis, be regarded as information only about that child. Yet when it comes to language acquisition, manifest trends observed among even a small number of children may be interpreted as being meaningful rather than fortuitous. The question now is, what manifest trends emerge from a comparison of the children's corpora?

Foremost is the clear association between the canonical order and the frequencies of the elements under consideration - both in terms of paraphrases and realizations. This association, reported for each individual element in terms of Spearman rank correlation coefficients, can be expressed for the elements jointly by means of the Kendall coefficient of concordance (W - cf. Siegel, 1956:229). Probably the two most informative single metrics used are GSU and % FS, and for both of these there is a significant association between the elements in question and the canonical order (W = .505 and .627 respectively, $p < .01$). The data, then, fail to support a null hypotheses that linguistic advancement, measured in terms of MLU, has no bearing on the frequency of either paraphrased or realized coverbs, copulas, adverbs, prepositions and verbs in the speech of children acquiring Afrikaans as a first language.

Next there is the matter of between-cohort and within-cohort differences. It was predicted (cf. P 5) that, although individual differences should rank children from two age-equivalent cohorts along an MLU continuum, the age difference between the two cohorts should cause greater between-cohort than within-cohort differences. Although Chris' atypical performance on copulas and verbs attenuates this trend somewhat, it is still clearly noticeable in the frequency metrics. Where the between-cohort rift is particularly marked, is in the distance between generated and filled slots per utterance - as can be seen in Figures 4.1 through 4.5. The confirmation of this prediction reflects on the efficacy of the descriptive method used here (cf. H 3).

The next point of interest emerging from the comparison of the complete corpora, is the extent to which certain children disturb otherwise clear trends (cf. P 7). The most conspicuous instance is Chris' copula frequency - and its mirror-image *vis-à-vis* verbs - representing a three-position leap in the canonical order. This performance is all the more striking for two reasons: in the first place it disturbs an otherwise perfect correlation with the canonical order; in the second place it is not possible to relate Chris' verb frequencies to any other aspect of his verb use.

Neither his verb realizations nor his verb repertoire would predict what at first sight - and in the light of the other children's performance - looks like some manifestation of delayed development (cf 6.5 below).

Among other individual performances to which the present level of analysis draws attention are, the following:

- Deon's low adverb and high preposition frequencies;
- Erik's depressed figures for both coverbs and prepositions;
- Freda's precocity, particularly on adverbs.

These cases clearly show that for all its usefulness as a global index of the linguistic development of young children, MLU fails to account for, or reflect, important divergences between individual children (cf. the third objective in 1.2.3 above).

CHAPTER FIVE : GROSS FREQUENCIES PER SAMPLE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

At the between-child level each child's corpus was dealt with as a homogeneous whole, the independent variable being the developmental differences between the children as reflected globally by the mean MLU of each child's several samples. The question now arising is what the within-child picture would be when each corpus is split up into separate samples and the time factor separating these becomes the independent variable. Answering this question is the objective of the present chapter.

Whereas for between-child comparisons the canonical order was established empirically, we now have an *a priori* "canonical order" imposed by the chronological order of the samples. We will therefore concentrate in this chapter on H 2 (i.e. that an effective descriptive procedure should identify developmental differences between earlier and later samples) and on its concomitant prediction P 3 (i.e. that it should be possible to show that later samples are closer to adult speech than earlier ones).

As will be seen below, the anticipated high correlation between sample chronology and any metric reflecting growth often fails to be met; likewise the expected convergence between the GS and FS graphs.

As in Chapter 4, the categories will be discussed in turn.

5.2 COVERBS

5.2.1 Correlations: interpretation of apparent recalcitrance in the data.

Let us consider how we may interpret the fact that frequencies and sample chronology do not correlate, and the fact that the GS and FS graphs do not converge (cf. Tables 5.1.A and 5.1.B, and Figure 5.1).

Interpretation 1: Coverb frequency is not so growth-sensitive as to show clear increments in relatively small speech samples at relatively short sampling intervals.

This interpretation is based on the lack of statistically significant rank correlations between any of the metrics used, and the chronological order of the samples. But does this mean that there is no within-child development? How then would one explain the clear connection between coverb frequency and development manifested in the correlations found at the between-child level between coverbs and the canonical (development-based) order? Let us assume some within-child coverb development, albeit too small and/or erratic to show up in straight rank correlations between any one metric on the one hand and sample chronology on the other. How can we determine the validity of this assumption?

We are dealing with six children. If there were no development that might be reflected in a given metric, say total number of generated coverb slots, then it follows that for three of the children there would have to be positive rank correlations between scores and sample numbers; for the remaining three children there would have to be negative rank correlations. What we find for this particular metric, however, are the following positive correlations: 0.771, 0.729, 0.600, 0.543 and 0.200, while the one negative correlation has a magnitude of 0.049. (*) Leaving the relative magnitudes of the positive and negative correlations in abeyance, if there were no development during the period of observation, the chance of getting a five-to-one split favouring positive correlations would be 7 in 64. The binomial test (cf. Siegel, 1956:36) shows the probability of such a distribution being due to chance, to

---

* The correlation coefficient required for significance at the 5% level is .829; for significance at the 1% level it is .943.

TABLE 5.1.A

COVERBS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU) FOR THE OLDER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% S	% FS	GSU	FSU
	2	38	7.32	86.84	0.38	0.33
	4	28	6.10	92.86	0.28	0.26
	6	43	9.00	90.70	0.43	0.39
Anna	8	48	8.96	89.58	0.48	0.43
	10	39	8.11	94.87	0.39	0.37
	12	41	8.33	87.80	0.41	0.36
	14	53	9.76	98.11	0.53	0.52
	2	19	4.31	73.68	0.19	0.14
	4	34	6.88	76.47	0.34	0.26
	6	45	9.85	93.33	0.45	0.42
Betsy	8	26	5.87	96.15	0.26	0.25
	10	27	5.76	96.30	0.27	0.26
	12	32	6.99	100.00	0.32	0.32
	14	20	4.11	90.00	0.20	0.18
	2	6	1.51	0	0.06	0
	4	9	2.49	44.40	0.09	0.04
	6	31	7.47	80.65	0.31	0.25
Chris	8	43	10.21	81.40	0.43	0.35
	10	24	5.96	79.17	0.24	0.19
	12	45	10.71	86.67	0.45	0.39
	14	33	6.89	75.76	0.33	0.25

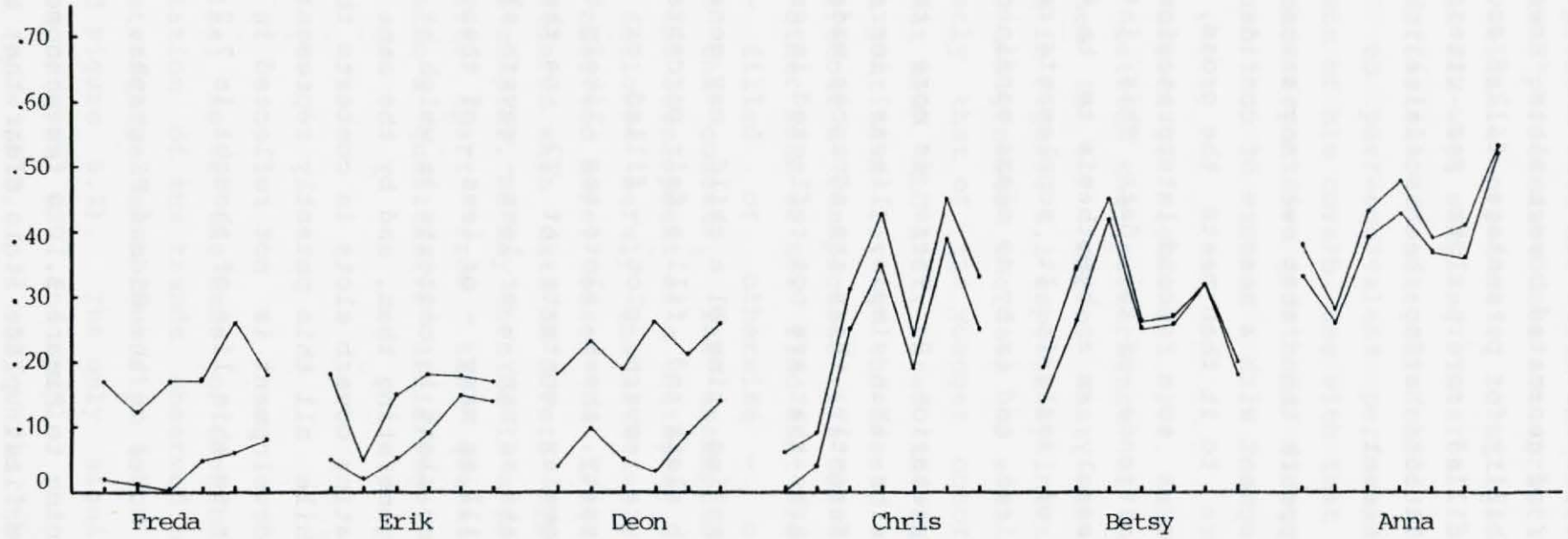
TABLE 5.1.B

COVERBS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU) FOR THE YOUNGER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% S	% FS	GSU	FSU
Deon	14	18	4.53	22.22	0.18	0.04
	16	23	5.85	43.48	0.23	0.10
	18	19	5.05	26.32	0.19	0.05
	20	26	6.05	11.54	0.26	0.03
	22	21	5.07	42.86	0.21	0.09
	24	26	6.31	53.85	0.26	0.14
Erik	14	18	5.14	27.78	0.18	0.05
	16	5	1.34	40.00	0.05	0.02
	18	15	4.05	33.33	0.15	0.05
	20	18	4.53	50.00	0.18	0.09
	22	18	4.63	83.33	0.18	0.15
	24	17	4.51	82.35	0.17	0.14
Freda	14	17	4.80	11.76	0.17	0.02
	16	12	3.19	8.33	0.12	0.01
	18	17	4.58	0	0.17	0
	20	17	4.39	29.41	0.17	0.05
	22	26	6.57	23.08	0.26	0.06
	24	18	4.80	44.44	0.18	0.08

FIGURE 5.1

COVERBS: CONVERGENCE OF GENERATED SLOTS AND FILLED SLOTS PER CHILD AND SAMPLE



The upper graphs show generated slots per utterance; the lower ones filled slots per utterance.

be 10.93%. Since an 11% probability is rather too high to be regarded as significant, this does not augur too well for our hypothesized within-child development based on total number of generated coverb slots. However, the corresponding probability for percentage filled coverb slots, as well as for filled coverb slots per utterance, is 1.56% - all correlations having been positive, though not individually significant.

It appears then that we may assume within-child coverb development with a measure of confidence, but there seems to be more to it than meets the gross, quantifying eye. This brings us to a second interpretation for the *prima facie* recalcitrance of the data. This interpretation is stated here merely as an hypothesis to be tested at a subsequent level of analysis. It supplements rather than contradicts the first, and is by no means confined to coverbs.

Interpretation 2: There is more to the acquisition of coverbs than simple, linear increment; or, to put it differently, there are advances made in the acquisition of coverbs that are not reflected in gross frequencies.

At sampling time T1 a child may generate a fair number of coverb slots and fill a fair percentage of these. However, since a coverb slot - filled or otherwise - bespeaks complexity, these slots are likely to occur in otherwise non-complex contexts. At T2, on the other hand, he may generate as many - or less - coverb slots than at T1, and he may fill as many - or less - of these. Yet he may at T2 be filling slots in contexts in which at T1 he may at most have been generating them, and by the same token he may at T2 be generating coverb slots in contexts that were too complex at T1. While all this patently represents coverb development, such development is not reflected in gross frequencies. We return to this line of thought in 7.2 below.

5.2.2 Notes on the GS and FS graphs.

Returning to Figure 5.1, a few phenomena are worthy of note. In the first place it is clear that between his second and third samples Chris' coverb use advanced from practically

nil to a level quite comparable with the level of the rest of his cohort. Such a leap is unusual, and accords neither with the rest of the present data nor with the observation by Brown (1973:257) that "performance does not abruptly pass from total absence to reliable presence". In mitigation it may be argued that the six-week sampling interval for this cohort may have been sufficient to take this child from the cusp of coverb use to peer-equivalent performance. A "qualitative" comparison of his coverb use with that of his peers will be made when repertoire growth is discussed in Chapter 6.

The other noteworthy aspect of Figure 5.1, i.e. the clear division it presents between the performance of the two cohorts, was mentioned in 4.7 above. What makes the distribution reflected in Figure 5.1 especially interesting is that it shows how homogeneous the data of each child really is - particularly that of the younger cohort. It will be remembered that mean MLU distributed the subjects pretty evenly along a continuum between the least and the most advanced child, without a conspicuous rift between the two cohorts. On the other hand we now find that frequency of coverb slots - filled or otherwise - clearly distinguishes between the cohorts. The assumption was expressed above that the development of a category such as coverbs can not be followed merely quantitatively. The between-cohort rift observed here, based on frequencies alone, will be reconsidered when data on coverb types are introduced in the next chapter. We may then be in a position to determine whether, apart from the quantitative difference, there is also a "qualitative" difference.

5.3 COPULAS

In the case of copulas, as in the case of coverbs, the within-child recapitulation of the trends observed between children fails to materialize unambiguously (cf. Tables 5.2.A and 5.2.B, and Figure 5.2). The only significant (negative) correlation between GSU and sample chronology occurs in Chris' data (r_s = .875, $p < .05$) while the only significant correlation between % FS and sample chronology occurs in Betsy's data (r_s = .929, $p < .01$).

TABLE 5.2.A

COPULAS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU) PER SAMPLE FOR THE OLDER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% S	% FS	GSU	FSU
	2	24	4.62	91.67	0.24	0.22
	4	25	5.45	96.00	0.25	0.24
	6	19	3.97	100.00	0.19	0.19
Anna	8	26	4.85	80.77	0.26	0.21
	10	22	4.57	95.45	0.22	0.21
	12	27	5.49	92.59	0.27	0.25
	14	28	5.16	96.43	0.28	0.27
	2	33	7.48	69.70	0.33	0.23
	4	30	6.07	73.33	0.30	0.22
	6	26	5.59	88.46	0.26	0.23
Betsy	8	26	5.87	84.62	0.26	0.22
	10	23	4.90	91.30	0.23	0.21
	12	31	6.77	100.00	0.31	0.31
	14	27	5.54	96.30	0.27	0.26
	2	54	13.60	68.52	0.54	0.37
	4	56	15.51	62.50	0.56	0.35
	6	39	9.40	66.67	0.39	0.26
Chris	8	31	7.36	58.10	0.31	0.18
	10	36	8.93	72.22	0.36	0.26
	12	32	7.62	93.75	0.32	0.30
	14	26	5.43	88.46	0.26	0.23

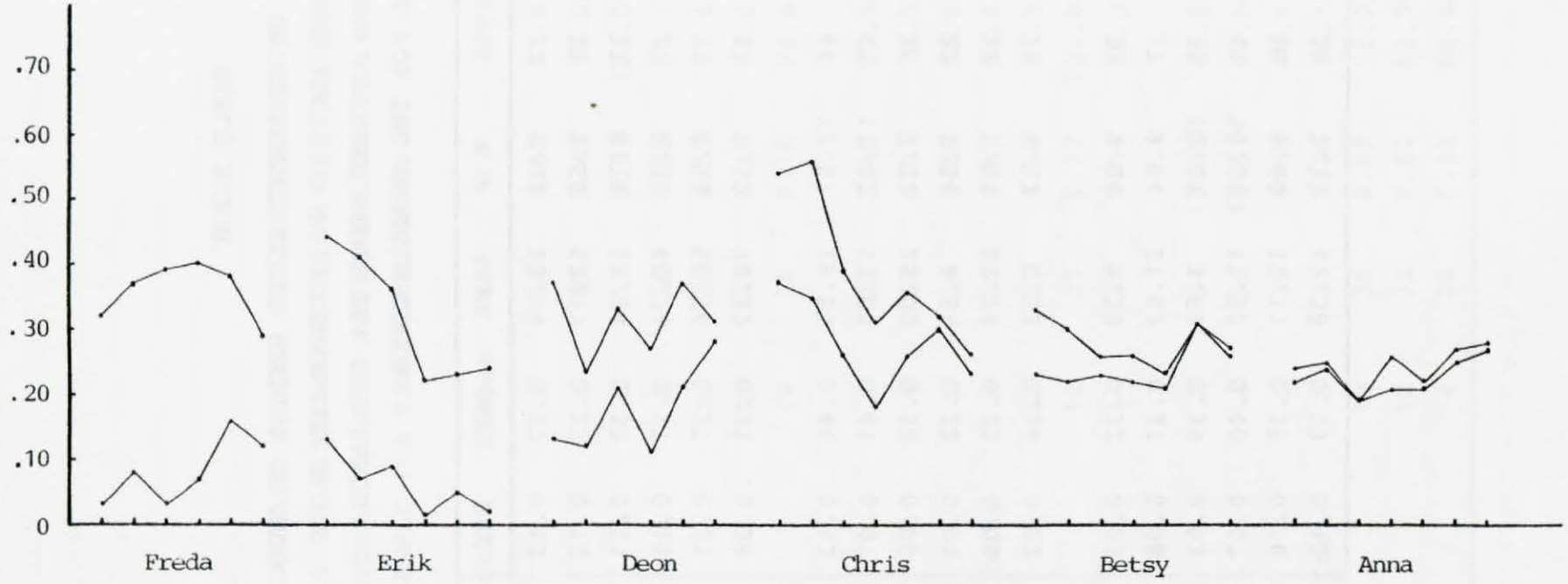
TABLE 5.2.B

COPULAS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU), PER SAMPLE FOR THE YOUNGER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% S	% FS	GSU	FSU
Deon	14	37	9.32	35.14	0.37	0.13
	16	23	5.58	52.17	0.23	0.12
	18	33	8.78	63.64	0.33	0.21
	20	27	6.28	40.74	0.27	0.11
	22	37	8.94	56.76	0.37	0.21
	24	31	7.52	90.32	0.31	0.28
Erik	14	44	12.57	29.55	0.44	0.13
	16	41	11.02	17.07	0.41	0.07
	18	36	9.73	25.00	0.36	0.09
	20	22	5.54	4.55	0.22	0.01
	22	23	5.91	21.74	0.23	0.05
	24	24	6.37	8.33	0.24	0.02
Freda	14	32	9.04	9.38	0.32	0.03
	16	37	9.84	21.62	0.37	0.08
	18	39	10.51	7.69	0.39	0.03
	20	40	10.34	17.50	0.40	0.07
	22	38	9.60	42.11	0.38	0.16
	24	29	7.73	41.38	0.29	0.12

FIGURE 5.2

COPULAS: CONVERGENCE OF GENERATED SLOTS AND FILLED SLOTS PER CHILD AND SAMPLE



The upper graphs show generated slots per utterance; the lower ones filled slots per utterance.

Once again the question arises how to explain these counter-intuitive results. Bear in mind that the lack of significant correlation between GSU and the canonical order at the between-child level was due solely to the fact that Chris was the foremost generator of copula slots, while his predicted position was fourth. In all other cases greater linguistic development means fewer copulas in the corpus. Why then does this not hold to a significant degree for more than one out of six children's within-child data?

The data for % FS are even more vexing. For this metric, at the first level of analysis, only the very poor performance of Erik, resulting in a swap between him and Freda, prevented a perfect correlation with the canonical order. The trend is unmistakable: greater linguistic development means fewer copula deletions. Why is this not reflected to a significant degree in more than one out of the six children's data?

As in the case of coverbs, we must either assume that the sample sizes and sampling intervals are such as to preclude significant correlations, or we must assume that there is no within-child development. The latter alternative is neither intuitively attractive, nor does it seem likely in the light of the between-child data. Abandoning the rigorous criterion of significant correlations between sample order and frequencies, we turn once more to the argument that a condition of no development would result in half the children showing positive and the other half negative correlations. What we find for GS as well as % FS is a 5-1 split, carrying a probability of 10.93%. It seems then that at this level the data will not stand up unambiguously to statistical testing. All we find is a fairly fuzzy tendency to recapitulate the trends observed at the between-child level.

The trends in question, i.e. decreasing copula frequency and a GS-FS convergence, are perhaps best seen in Figure 5.2. The only case where there is not at least a noticeable decline in GS between the first and last samples is Anna - where there is actually a slight rising tendency. In the light of the very slight variation in the values observed

for Anna, it could be argued that her copula use had stabilized before sampling commenced, so that the slight rising tendency in her copula frequencies may well be purely fortuitous. Note that it was the same Anna's data that caused the 5-1 split in correlations between sample order and copula slots. This fact might mitigate the somewhat high probability of 10.93% that these results are due to chance.

As for the convergence between GS and FS, here too, for four of the children, the declining GS graphs seem to be met by ascending FS graphs. Again, for Anna the distance between the graphs seems to have stabilized by the time observations commenced. The other exception is Erik with his declining FS graph, causing the other 5-1 split reported above.

5.4 ADVERBS

In the analysis of both the coverb and the copula data it was found that clear trends at the between-child level failed to show unambiguously at the within-child level. It therefore comes as no surprise that for adverbs this pattern is repeated, and to an extreme degree at that. For adverbs it was seen that even at the between-child level there is little development in terms of gross frequencies. At the within-child level there is none (see Tables 5.3.A and 5.3.B, and Figure 5.3).

For GS there is not one child showing a significant rank correlation between adverb frequency and sample chronology. Even more striking is the fact that two of the three younger children's GS figures correlate negatively with sample chronology. There is therefore no argument for a general tendency for children in this age range to increase their adverb frequencies over time.

Deletions of adverbs are of marginal interest. In the older cohort two-thirds of all samples score 100% on % FS, and if ostensives - the chief source of deleted adverbs - are discounted, the realization performance of the younger cohort, too, is too high for meaningful correlations to be computed. With ostensives taken into account, two of the

TABLE 5.3.A

ADVERBS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU), PER SAMPLE FOR THE OLDER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% S	% FS	GSU	FSU
	2	49	9.44	100.00	0.49	0.49
	4	49	10.68	100.00	0.49	0.49
	6	49	10.25	100.00	0.49	0.49
Anna	8	55	10.26	100.00	0.55	0.55
	10	53	11.02	98.11	0.53	0.52
	12	47	9.55	97.87	0.47	0.46
	14	51	9.39	98.04	0.51	0.50
	2	35	7.94	100.00	0.35	0.35
	4	53	10.73	96.23	0.53	0.51
	6	62	13.57	100.00	0.62	0.62
Betsy	8	42	9.48	100.00	0.42	0.42
	10	60	12.79	100.00	0.60	0.60
	12	44	9.61	100.00	0.44	0.44
	14	65	13.35	100.00	0.65	0.65
	2	33	8.31	100.00	0.33	0.33
	4	32	8.86	93.75	0.32	0.30
	6	34	8.19	97.06	0.34	0.33
Chris	8	41	9.74	100.00	0.41	0.41
	10	29	7.20	100.00	0.29	0.29
	12	44	10.48	100.00	0.44	0.44
	14	43	8.98	95.35	0.43	0.41

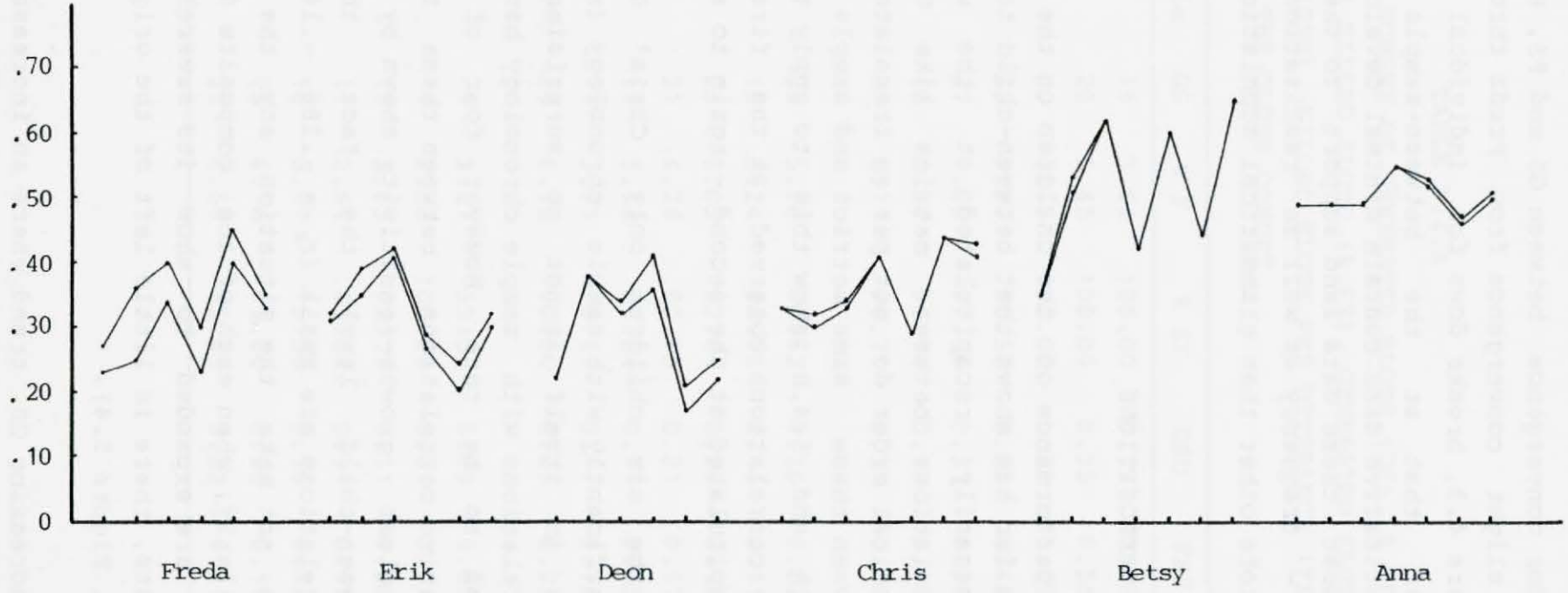
TABLE 5.3.B

ADVERBS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU), PER SAMPLE FOR THE YOUNGER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% F	% SF	GSU	FSU
Deon	14	22	5.54	100.00	0.22	0.22
	16	38	9.67	100.00	0.38	0.38
	18	34	9.04	94.12	0.34	0.32
	20	41	9.53	87.80	0.41	0.36
	22	21	5.07	80.95	0.21	0.17
	24	25	6.07	88.00	0.25	0.22
Eric	14	32	9.14	96.88	0.32	0.31
	16	39	10.48	89.74	0.39	0.35
	18	42	11.35	97.62	0.42	0.41
	20	29	7.30	93.10	0.29	0.27
	22	24	6.17	83.33	0.24	0.20
	24	32	8.49	93.75	0.32	0.30
Freda	14	27	7.63	85.19	0.27	0.23
	16	36	9.57	69.44	0.36	0.25
	18	40	10.78	85.00	0.40	0.34
	20	30	7.75	76.67	0.30	0.23
	22	45	11.36	88.89	0.45	0.40
	24	35	9.33	94.29	0.35	0.33

FIGURE 5.3

ADVERBS: CONVERGENCE OF GENERATED SLOTS AND FILLED SLOTS PER CHILD AND SAMPLE



The upper graphs show generated slots per utterance; the lower ones filled slots per utterance.

younger cohort's % FS show a negative rank correlation with sample chronology.

As for convergence between GS and FS, Figure 5.3 shows how the slight convergence from Freda through Chris, seen in Figure 4.3, breaks down for individual samples. Again it is clear that at the between-sample level the gross quantitative data contain minimal developmental information. At most these data lend support to the notion that adverb use - frequency as well as realization - is determined by factors other than grammatical sophistication.

5.5 PREPOSITIONS

The performance of the children on the categories reported thus far has shown that between-child trends are by no means necessarily recapitulated at the within-child level. Correlations between metrics like GS or % FS and the canonical order do not per se translate into correlations between these same metrics and sample chronology. Tables 5.4.A and 5.4.B show this to apply to prepositions too. The correlations observed at the first level fail to be recapitulated at the second - again to a surprising degree.

Of the six children only Chris' GS scores correlate significantly with sample chronology (r_s = .955, $p < .01$). This in itself is not so surprising since significant correlations with sample chronology have consistently been found to be rare. However, four of the children show negative correlations between these two variables. Given the clear growth-sensitivity shown by prepositions at the between-child level, the fact that these negative correlations are small (r_s = -.286, -.143, -.086 and -.014) does not make the situation any the less problematical. Similarly, when each of the composite data points in Figure 4.4 are expanded to show its several contributing data points, there is little left of the original orderly picture (cf. Figure 5.4).

A decreasing GS trend where an increase would be expected, is evident in the data of certain children, e.g. Freda; the

TABLE 5.4.A

PREPOSITIONS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU), PER SAMPLE FOR THE OLDER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% F	% SF	GSU	FSU
	2	19	3.66	100.00	0.19	0.19
	4	25	5.45	100.00	0.25	0.25
	6	20	4.18	100.00	0.20	0.20
Anna	8	53	9.89	90.57	0.53	0.48
	10	37	7.69	97.30	0.37	0.36
	12	19	3.86	94.74	0.19	0.18
	14	31	5.71	96.77	0.31	0.30
	2	26	5.90	84.62	0.26	0.22
	4	16	3.24	68.75	0.16	0.11
	6	23	5.03	82.61	0.23	0.19
Betsy	8	21	4.74	80.95	0.21	0.17
	10	17	3.62	88.24	0.17	0.15
	12	17	3.71	76.47	0.17	0.13
	14	24	4.72	100.00	0.23	0.23
	2	9	2.27	55.56	0.09	0.05
	4	1	0.28	100.00	0.01	0.01
	6	11	2.65	72.73	0.11	0.08
Crhis	8	11	2.61	63.64	0.11	0.07
	10	16	3.97	75.00	0.16	0.12
	12	20	4.76	85.00	0.20	0.17
	14	22	4.59	95.45	0.22	0.21

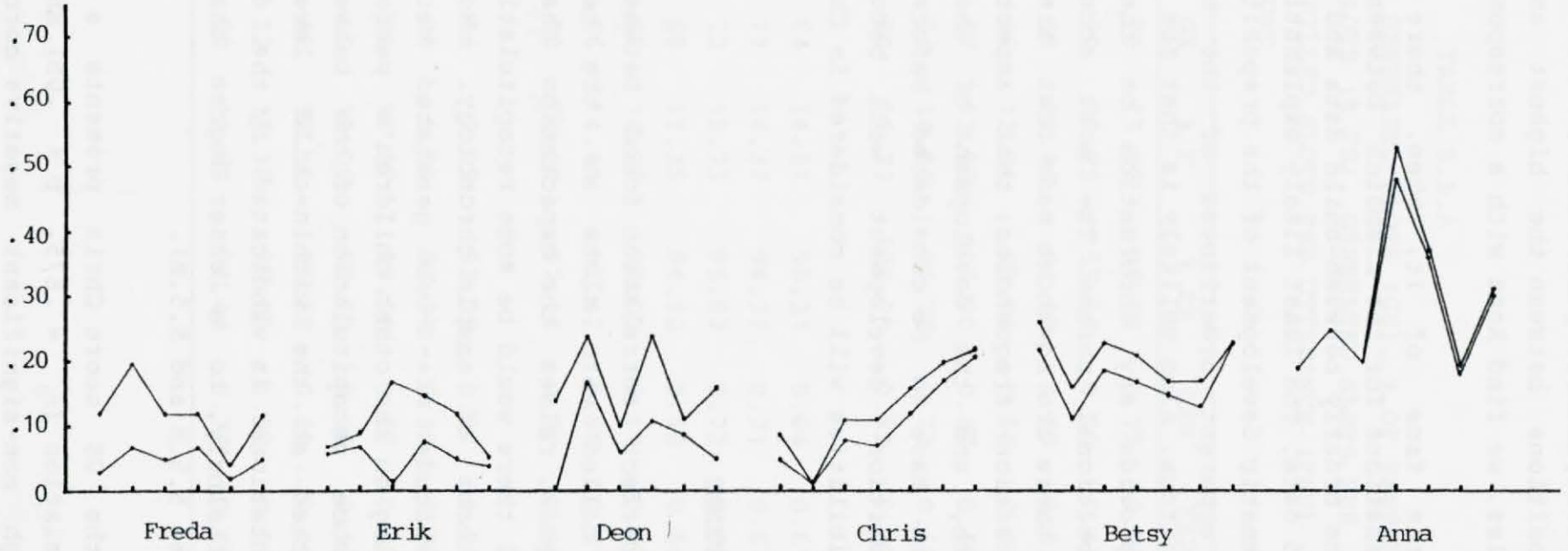
TABLE 5.4.B

PREPOSITIONS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU), PER SAMPLE FOR THE YOUNGER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% F	% SF	GSU	FSU
Deon	14	14	3.53	0.00	0.14	0.00
	16	24	6.11	70.83	0.24	0.17
	18	10	2.66	60.00	0.10	0.06
	20	24	5.58	45.83	0.24	0.11
	22	11	2.66	81.81	0.11	0.09
	24	16	3.88	31.25	0.16	0.05
Eric	14	7	2.00	85.71	0.07	0.06
	16	9	2.42	77.78	0.09	0.07
	18	17	4.59	5.88	0.17	0.01
	20	15	3.78	53.33	0.15	0.08
	22	12	3.08	41.67	0.12	0.05
	24	5	1.33	80.00	0.05	0.04
Freda	14	12	3.39	25.00	0.12	0.03
	16	20	5.32	35.00	0.20	0.07
	18	12	3.23	41.67	0.12	0.05
	20	12	3.10	58.33	0.12	0.07
	22	4	1.01	50.00	0.04	0.02
	24	12	3.20	41.67	0.12	0.05

FIGURE 5.4

PREPOSITIONS: CONVERGENCE OF GENERATED SLOTS AND FILLED SLOTS PER CHILD AND SAMPLE



The upper graphs show generated slots per utterance; the lower ones filled slots per utterance.

tendency to vary high and low realization rates can be seen in each of the first four children's graphs; beside Betsy's relatively stable performance, with a difference of only ten prepositions between the highest and the lowest ranking samples, we find Anna with a corresponding difference of 34.

On the face of it, then, there are three possible explanations for the mismatch between the picture presented of the orderly between-child data and the disorderly within-child data. The least likely explanation is that there is no systematic development of the prepositional phrase, and that the apparent orderliness of the between-child data is fortuitous. Also unlikely is that the sampling is inadequate to provide any information on the development of the prepositional phrase. The most acceptable explanation is that there are advances made that are not reflected in mere preposition frequencies; that aspects such as repertoire growth, and the development of the whole prepositional phrase have to be considered before the true picture of preposition development will become apparent. These possibilities will be considered in Chapters 6 and 7 below.

5.6 VERBS

The perfect correlation found between the canonical order and filled verb slots at the between-child level of analysis, raises the expectation that at the within-child level there would be some recapitulation of this correlation in terms of sample chronology. Moreover, since Chris' vicissitude *vis-à-vis* generated verb slots can have no bearing on the other children's performance, on this metric too some recapitulation of the between-child trend may be expected at the within-child level. Neither of these expectations is vindicated by the data, the former one, surprisingly, to a lesser degree than the latter one (cf. Tables 5.5.A and 5.5.B).

On the GS score Chris presents a significant positive correlation (r_s = .875, $p < .05$) and Deon a substantial though non-significant negative correlation (r_s = .729) while the other children's correlations are all positive but

TABLE 5.5.A

VERBS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU) FOR THE OLDER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% F	% FS	GSU	FSU
	2	79	15.22	94.94	0.79	0.75
	4	70	15.25	97.14	0.70	0.68
	6	69	14.44	91.30	0.69	0.63
Anna	8	66	12.31	93.94	0.66	0.62
	10	67	13.93	100.00	0.67	0.67
	12	73	14.84	91.78	0.73	0.67
	14	80	14.73	100.00	0.80	0.80
	2	64	14.51	95.31	0.64	0.61
	4	71	14.37	94.37	0.71	0.67
	6	72	15.75	95.83	0.72	0.69
Betsy	8	68	15.35	94.12	0.68	0.64
	10	67	14.29	94.03	0.67	0.63
	12	66	14.41	92.42	0.66	0.61
	14	70	14.37	97.14	0.70	0.68
	2	36	9.07	83.33	0.36	0.30
	4	30	8.31	83.33	0.30	0.25
	6	48	11.57	89.58	0.48	0.43
Chris	8	55	13.06	92.73	0.55	0.51
	10	49	12.16	93.88	0.49	0.46
	12	52	12.38	98.08	0.52	0.51
	14	72	15.03	94.44	0.72	0.68

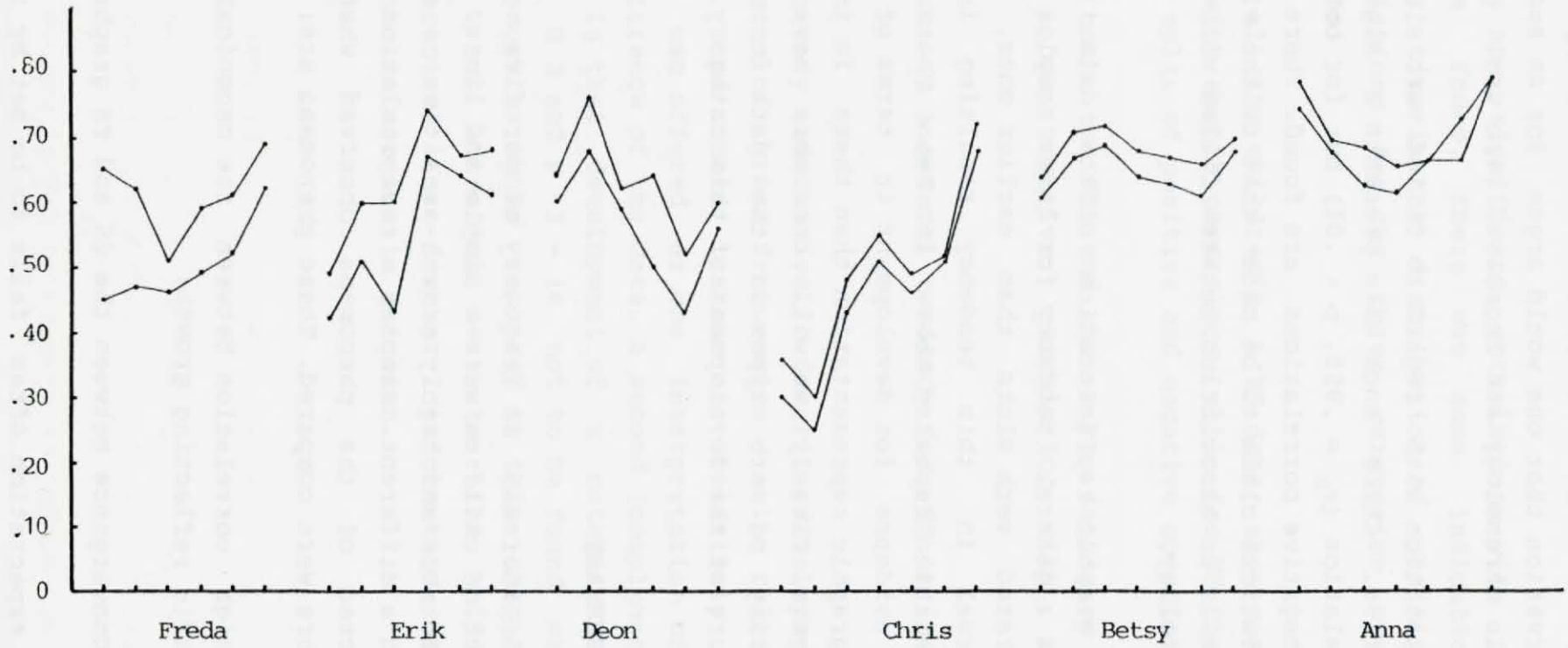
TABLE 5.5.B

VERBS: NUMBER OF GENERATED SLOTS (GS), % OF SAMPLE (% S), % FILLED SLOTS (% FS), GENERATED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (GSU), FILLED SLOTS PER UTTERANCE (FSU) FOR THE YOUNGER COHORT

Child	Sample	GS	% F	% FS	GSU	FSU
Deon	14	64	16.12	93.75	0.64	0.60
	16	76	19.34	89.47	0.76	0.68
	18	62	16.49	95.16	0.62	0.59
	20	64	14.88	78.13	0.64	0.50
	22	52	12.56	82.69	0.52	0.43
	24	60	14.56	93.33	0.60	0.56
Erik	14	49	14.00	85.71	0.49	0.42
	16	60	16.13	85.00	0.60	0.51
	18	60	16.22	71.67	0.60	0.43
	20	74	18.64	90.54	0.74	0.67
	22	67	17.22	95.52	0.67	0.64
	24	68	18.04	89.71	0.68	0.61
Freda	14	65	18.36	69.23	0.65	0.45
	16	62	16.49	75.81	0.62	0.47
	18	51	13.75	90.20	0.51	0.46
	20	59	15.25	83.05	0.59	0.49
	22	61	15.40	85.25	0.61	0.52
	24	69	18.40	89.86	0.69	0.62

FIGURE 5.5

LEXICAL VERBS: CONVERGENCE OF GENERATED SLOTS AND FILLED SLOTS PER CHILD AND SAMPLE



The upper graphs show generated slots per utterance; the lower ones filled slots per utterance.

non-significant. Since there is a 10.93% probability that a five-to-one split in favour of positive correlations is due to chance - and therefore not to development - it is with reservation that one would argue for an association between sample chronology and increased verb use.

The position with regard to filled verb slots is even less positive. Chris once more presents a significant positive correlation (r_s = .955, $p < .01$) but for both Betsy and Deon low negative correlations are found. There is therefore no statistical claim to be made that at the within-child level there is an association between filled verb slots and sample chronology.

The graphic representation of the data (see Figure 5.5) shows a general tendency for later samples to contain more generated verb slots than earlier ones, as well as the reversal in this tendency resulting in the negative correlation reported above for Deon. There is, however, no more evidence for development in terms of filled slots in the graphic representation than there is in the statistical analysis. Clearly we will once more have to resort to a scrutiny of verb types in the data for a more detailed picture of the development of this category.

5.7 SUMMARY

If the increase in frequency of our five categories in the speech of children were a simple and linear process - highly predictable and highly growth-sensitive - then between each child's different samples a recapitulation might have been expected of the phenomena observed when the different corpora were compared. These phenomena are:

- a high correlation between the canonical order and any metric reflecting growth;

- a convergence between the GS and FS graphs.

This expectation often fails to be met by the data. As can be seen in Tables 5.1 through 5.5, the column figures do not

show conspicuous rank correlations with sample chronology. Nor do the GS and FS graphs in Figures 5.1 through 5.5 converge conspicuously.

Although hardly any significant correlations with sample chronology were found, there was some indication of development over time in the distribution of positive and negative correlations for the three categories coverbs, copulas and verbs.

- For coverbs, all the children's % FS data show positive correlations with sample chronology, while for GS there is a five-to-one split of positive and negative correlations.

- For copulas, both the GS and the % FS data show five positive and one negative correlation with sample chronology.

- For verbs there is a general tendency for GS to increase over time.

It does not seem very informative to describe development at this level in terms of gross frequencies - using relatively small samples, and those taken at relatively close intervals. This was offered as one interpretation of the apparent recalcitrance of the data. A second (complementary) interpretation is that development of a category - i.e. confirmation of H 2 and P 3 - is not to be found only in frequency data such as those reported in this chapter. We therefore turn our attention next to the children's developing repertoires for further information on the development of the categories in question.

CHAPTER SIX : REPERTOIRE DEVELOPMENT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

At the previous level of analysis, where gross frequencies of within-child generated slots and filled slots were considered, few significant correlations were found between these frequencies and the chronological order of the samples. However, it was established that in the absence of any development there would be a 10.93% probability of a five-one split between positive and negative correlations, and only a 1.56% probability of a six-nil split. In all cases where either of these distributions were found, the assumption of at least some development seems justified. However, the prime prediction, i.e. a clear convergence between the GS and FS graphs for each child over time is not vindicated. In the younger cohort, particularly, the non-convergence of the graphs over time is counter-intuitive, since the initial distance leaves so much room for convergence.

It seems clear that to get further information on the development within each child's data, we should turn our attention to the development of repertoires, rather than to gross frequencies. By doing this, we hope to answer the general question whether repertoire development is random or systematic. This general question breaks down into more specific questions like the following:

- Within the main categories (coverbs, copulas, adverbs, prepositions and verbs) what is the order of emergence of types - and in some cases of subcategories?

- What is the extent of commonality among the children *vis-à-vis* the emergence of these types and subcategories?

- What correspondence is there between the canonical order and repertoire development?

- Is repertoire development hierarchical or linear - or does it differ from one category to another?

- What correspondences are there between aspects of the development of the different category repertoires?

The categories are discussed in turn, each discussion being followed by a brief summary of the findings. At the end of the chapter a chapter summary is provided.

6.2 COVERBS

6.2.1 Coverb types

The class of coverbs in Afrikaans comprises catenative verbs and auxiliary verbs, the latter in turn comprising temporal and modal auxiliaries (cf. Ponelis, 1979:241-258).

In Afrikaans, a highly analytical language even lacking a strong preterite, the full brunt of tense is borne by the auxiliary verb system. Only the three main tenses - present, past and future - are found in the present data. The present tense is unmarked, whereas the past is formed by a combination of the temporal auxiliary HET plus the past participle GE- , and the future by the temporal auxiliaries SAL and GAAN plus the present (unmarked) form of the verb.

The "modality" of modal auxiliaries refers to an element of non-reality or non-factuality expressed by them, such as possibility, probability, necessity and obligation, and they can be used either epistemically or deontically (cf. Ponelis, 1979:248). Used epistemically, modal auxiliaries bear on the speaker's disposition with regard to the definiteness of a proposition, for example: "If all goes well, they should be here by four." Epistemic modal auxiliaries may be paraphrased as follows: "If all goes well, it should be possible that they will be here by four". The deontic use, on the other hand, relates not to the attitude of the speaker to the whole proposition as such, but only to his attitude to the event, action or state expressed in the sentence, for example: "For this you should

actually pay more". A paraphrase similar to the one above is not possible: *"For this it should be possible that you will pay more". (Examples adapted from Ponelis, 1979:249.) All the modal auxiliaries in the present data are used deontically, suggesting that even children as relatively advanced linguistically as Anna and Betsy do not yet express a disposition with regard to the definiteness of a proposition; the modalities they express are confined to events, actions and states.

Word order is the most crucial syntactical device in Afrikaans, and a single coverb from any one of the classes mentioned above has the same ordering effect: S-V-O becomes S-Coverb-O-V. When more than one coverb operates in the same clause, the general rule is that temporal precedes modal and modal precedes catenative:

$$\text{Sub} - \begin{Bmatrix}\text{Temp}\\ \text{Mod}\\ \text{Cat}\end{Bmatrix} - (\text{Obj}) - \left(\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Mod}\\ \text{Cat}\\ 0\end{Bmatrix} \right) - \left(\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Cat}\\ 0\\ 0\end{Bmatrix} \right) - \text{Vb}$$

Multiple coverb use in the same clause is rare in the present data, and is only found in the older cohort, each child producing three 2-coverb clauses. In all cases the word-order is faultless.

6.2.2 Relatedness of corpora

We have established that there is an association between gross coverb frequency and the canonical order of the children (cf. 4.1 above) and also between filled slot frequencies and chronology (cf. 5.1 above). Since coverb types were not dealt with at those levels, the question of similarities and differences between children's production of specific coverbs has been left in abeyance. This matter can now be taken up.

Of the more or less 25 coverb types found in Afrikaans, a total of 12 occur in the present data. Only four are used by all the children, while two are used by only two children and another two by one child each. The total frequencies of the 12 coverbs appear in Table 6.1. (For a glossary of coverbs see Appendix B.)

TABLE 6.1

TOTAL FREQUENCIES OF DIFFERENT COVERBS IN EACH CHILD'S CORPUS

Coverb	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
GAAN$_1$ (T)*	55	38	55	4	40	2	194
MOET (M)	45	55	20	2	1	3	126
HET (T)	48	25	18	7	2	6	106
KAN (M)	34	27	22	14		2	99
WIL (M)	33	13	19	12	7	3	87
SAL (T)	14	9	5			2	30
KOM$_1$ (M)	2	12	6	6		1	27
MAG (M)	18					2	20
KOM$_2$ (C)	5	1		1		1	8
GAAN$_2$ (C)	5	2					7
LAAT (C)	3						3
BLY (C)		1					1
TOKENS	262	183	145	46	50	22	708
TYPES	11	10	7	7	4	9	12

* T = Temporal; M = Modal; C = Catenative

1 and 2 are homonyms; see Appendix B.

In Table 6.1 we observe a decreasing trend in the frequencies of the different coverb types - particularly noticeable in the data of Anna and Betsy, where the trend persists after the rest of the children's data have run down to mostly zeros. This leads to the assumption that the use of particular coverb types, and the relative frequencies of these types, are systematic across the children rather than idiosyncratic to each child. Testing this assumption with the Kendall coefficient of concordance for large samples (cf. Siegel, 1956:236) we find that the trend is significant ($\chi^2 = 32.87$, $p < .001$). We may therefore assume that all the children show the same ordering of use of the different coverb types.

6.2.3 Relative frequencies of temporals, modals and catenatives.

It is clear from Table 6.1 that there is no quantitative distinction to be made between modal and temporal auxiliaries. One temporal and one modal comprise the two most frequent coverbs in the combined data, two temporals and two modals comprise the four most frequent coverbs, and three temporals and three modals the six most frequent coverbs. The position regarding catenatives is quite different, the four catenatives occurring in the data being the least frequent of all coverbs. It seems likely that the preferences noted here would be due to a combination of the following candidate explanations:

- The children's relative coverb frequencies reflect the frequencies of these elements in spoken Afrikaans in general;
- The children's coverb use is a function of the input language derived from their mothers;
- The nature of the discourses in which the children are involved, the aspirations, prohibitions and limitations of nursery life, determine the relative coverb frequencies found in their speech.

6.2.4 First occurrences of coverb types

In Tables 6.2.A and 6.2.B the first occurrence of each of the various coverb types in each child's data is given. (*) Although no strong claims can be made as to whether the first appearance in the data coincides with the first emergence in the child's language of the type in question, interesting inferences may reasonably be drawn from Tables 6.2.A and 6.2.B. To illustrate: The modal auxiliary MOET ('must'/'have to') occurs with a high frequency in the older cohort's data (see Table 6.1). Sure enough Chris does not use it in his first sample, but then neither does he use any other coverb there; and his total use of MOET ranks third highest out of the seven types he uses. Allowing for the apparent late emergence of all coverbs in Chris' data, the combined performance of the older cohort would suggest that MOET is among the first of the coverb types to be acquired, that it has a high frequency, and that it is firmly established by the time the child is 28-29 months old. However, reference to the younger cohort's data shows this to be quite erroneous. Unlike GAAN, which seems to predict a correlation between overall frequency and early emergence, MOET emerges later in the younger cohort's data than its overall frequency might suggest. It seems then that although the nature of the data precludes apodictic pronouncements about the exact order or time of emergence, Tables 6.2.A and 6.2.B nevertheless provide a highly informative insight into the order of emergence of different coverb types.

6.2.5 Differences between cohorts and between coverb types

The column totals in Table 6.1 clearly divide the data along the between-cohort seam, while the row totals divide the coverbs into high (the first five) middle (the next three) and low frequency types (the last four). To give some idea of the magnitude of these differences, the relative percentages are given in Table 6.3. (**) The row percentages

---

* It should be noted that, although deviations are slight, the ages given in Tables 6.2.A and 6.2.B are somewhat idealized. The cohorts are age-homogeneous and in principle sampling intervals were the same for the children in each cohort, yet a lattitude of a few days must be allowed for.

** The older cohort's figures were reduced by one seventh so that comparisons between the cohorts could fairly be made. This accounts for the discrepancy between the grand totals in Tables 6.1 and 6.3.

TABLE 6.2.A

FIRST OCCURRENCE OF COVERB TYPES IN EACH CHILD'S CORPUS : OLDER COHORT

Age	Anna	Betsy	Chris
35;2			KOM$_1$ (6)
34;0			SAL (1)
32;2	KOM$_2$ (1)*	KOM$_2$ (1)	
31;0	GAAN$_2$ (1) LAAT (2)	BLY (1) KOM$_1$ (6) GAAN$_2$ (2)	GAAN$_1$ (6) KAN (8)
29;2	MAG (1)	SAL (4)	MOET (1) HET (1) WIL (2)
28;0	SAL (2) KOM$_1$ (1) KAN (1) MOET (11) HET (3) WIL (8) GAAN$_1$ (7)	 KAN (1) MOET (6) HET (1) WIL (1) GAAN$_1$ (5)	

* Number of tokens in each sample

1 and 2 are homonyms; see Appendix B.

TABLE 6.2.B

FIRST OCCURRENCE OF COVERB TYPES IN EACH CHILD'S CORPUS : YOUNGER COHORT

Age	Deon	Erik	Freda
28;0			KOM_2 (1) MOET (3)
27;0			MAG (2)
26;0		MOET (1)	SAL (1) HET (2) WIL (1)
25;0		HET (1)	
24;0	KOM_2 (1)* KOM_1 (1) MOET (1) HET (4) WIL (1)	WIL (2)	KAN (1)
23;0	KAN (3) GAAN (1)	GAAN (3)	KOM (1) GAAN (1)

* Number of tokens in each sample

1 and 2 are homonyms; see Appendix B.

TABLE 6.3

TOTALS, ROW PERCENTAGES, COLUMN PERCENTAGES AND OVERALL PERCENTAGES FOR THE OLDER AND YOUNGER COHORTS AND FOR THE HIGH, MIDDLE AND LOW FREQUENCY COVERB TYPES

Cohort	High	Middle	Low	Total
	85.80	11.24	2.96	100
Older	435 80.56	57 83.82	15 88.24	507 -
	69.60	9.12	2.40	81.12
	88.99	9.32	1.69	100
Younger	105 19.44	11 16.18	2 11.76	118 -
	16.80	1.55	0.32	18.88
	-	-	-	-
Total	540 100	68 100	17 100	625 -
	86.40	10.87	2.72	100

compare the high, middle and low frequency coverbs within cohorts, while the column percentages compare the cohorts. It can be seen that although the coverb use of the older cohort outstrips that of the younger cohort by 81.12% to 18.88%, the proportion of high, middle and low frequency types is much the same for the two cohorts. If this somewhat arbitrary classification of the coverb types can be justified, we seem to have here an instance of the contingency predicted (P 9) in 1.4 above, i.e. that over time the same elements will occur, and in the same relative proportions, with only more of everything at a later time.

6.2.6 Relation between tokens and types

It was further predicted (P 8) in 1.4 above that scrutiny of coverb types may enable us to determine whether there is also a qualitative dimension to the between-cohort rift revealed in the quantitative coverb data at the previous levels of analysis. From the correlation between the canonical order and filled coverb slots it is fair to assume that the relatively frequent use of coverb tokens indicates linguistic advancement. Let us now assume that an extended repertoire of coverb types also indicates linguistic advancement. If both these assumptions are valid, then we would expect a high correlation between types (repertoire) and tokens (frequency). The fact that the Spearman rank correlation coefficient of .557 obtained does not even approach significance (critical r_s value for a 5% significance level = .829; for 1% = .943) shows that, at least in the age range under observation here, there is no simple relation between quantity (frequency of tokens) and quality (diversity of types). The former quite clearly splits the children along the between-cohort seam; the latter does not.

Since the canonical order - with which frequency of tokens correlates, but diversity of types does not - is MLU-based, we have here the first substantive indication that there is certain meaningful information about children's linguistic advancement that fails to be captured by MLU.

6.2.7 Some individual styles

In a comparison of Erik's and Freda's performance on coverbs, we find strong support for P 7 (cf. 1.4 above), i.e. that if order of developmental steps is not invariant, then the canonical order will be disturbed. In 4.1 above it was mentioned that Erik's nearly 55% realization of coverbs inflates his actual coverb development. Tables 6.1 and 6.2.B give a more realistic picture of his performance. His entire repertoire for the first sample is one coverb type, and this increases by one type per sample until he reaches a total repertoire of four types. To derogate his performance further, his most frequent coverb type accounts for 80% of his entire output. The corresponding percentages for the other children are: Freda = 27.27%; Deon = 30.43%; Chris = 37.93%; Betsy = 30.05%; Anna = 20.99%.

These limitations notwithstanding, Erik's 54.95% realization of coverbs in generated slots is an impressive performance compared with Freda's 20.56%. Conversely Freda's total of nine coverb types compared with Erik's four (and Betsy's ten and Anna's eleven) puts her in a class apart from him. These facts seem to point to two extreme initial strategies: slow repertoire expansion with high realization vs. consistent repertoire expansion with low realization. Somewhere in between is Deon with his initial fast repertoire expansion of seven types in two samples, and his realization rate of 33.83% which is near enough half-way between Freda and Erik.

To this diversity of individual styles can be added Chris' combination of relative paucity of types with high frequency of use. Indeed, in this respect Chris and Freda also provide an interesting comparison, each embodying one of the two characteristics combined in the two most advanced children: Chris the high frequency of use and Freda the diversity of types.

6.2.8 Summary of coverbs

In the total corpus of 3900 utterances, a total of 708 realized coverbs occur. Analysis of these data reveal the following information about the acquisition of the coverb in Afrikaans:

- The exclusive use of deontic coverbs shows that, for the age range under observation, the children do not yet use coverbs in relation to the definiteness of a proposition.

- Only nine instances of multiple coverb use - two coverbs per utterance - occur. Although these data are extremely scant, the fact that in all cases the order of the two coverbs is faultless suggests that from the start children learning Afrikaans have access to the coverb-ordering rule.

- Only half of all Afrikaans coverbs occur in the data. Of these, only one-third (4) are used by all the children, while one-third are used by fewer than three of the children. We may therefore be confident that we have captured coverb acquisition in progress.

- The occurrence of the different coverb types in the data is by no means random, as witness the systematic decrease in frequency over types for all the children.

- Temporal and modal coverbs are preferred to catenatives, but not in relation to each other. This applies to frequencies as well as to order of emergence in the children's data.

- There is some indication that the development of coverb repertoires is linear rather than hierarchical. This can be seen in the similar proportions of high- and low-frequency coverbs in the older and younger cohorts' data.

- The frequencies of coverb tokens in the children's data correlate with the MLU-based canonical order, but this does not apply to different coverb types. If number of types is regarded as at least as valid an index of

linguistic advancement as token frequency, then these data show up a limitation of MLU as an index of children's linguistic skills.

- The present data show the order of emergence of the first seven Afrikaans coverbs to be GAAN ('going to'), WIL ('want to'), HET (past), MOET ('must'), KAN ('can'), SAL ('will') and KOM (ONS) ('let'(us)). The frequency of the remaining five types in the data is too low for pronouncements to be made about their relative order of emergence.

6.3 COPULAS

6.3.1 Introduction

At the between-child level of analysis it was established that linguistic advancement, as indicated by mean MLU for each corpus, predicts a decreasing tendency in copula frequency and a marked increase in copula realization. Of these findings the latter is hardly surprising; the implications of the former will be discussed below.

At the within-child level of analysis there is no more than a general tendency to recapitulate the trends found at the between-child level. The former data, then, though not conclusive, are at least suggestive, particularly when viewed in conjunction with the latter data.

At the present level of analysis we will look briefly at the copula types used by the children. The class of copulas is restricted, showing minimal repertoire development in the present data (see Table 6.4, and for a glossary of copulas, Appendix C). Better insight into the development of the copula construction is to be gained from considering the relative deletability of the components of this construction, co-occurrences of subjects and complements with the copula, and the copula complements used by the children. These issues are dealt with in Chapter 7.

TABLE 6.4

TOTAL FREQUENCIES OF DIFFERENT COPULAS IN EACH CHILD'S CORPUS

Type	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
IS	139	160	192	105	36	42	679
LYK	5	1	2			5	13
WAS	6	1		1			8
WEES	4	4					8
WORD	1	1	1		1		4
SMAAK	3						3
RUIK	1						1
BLY		1					1
KRY						1	1
VOEL						1	1
TOKENS*	20	8	3	1	1	7	40
TOKENS	159	168	195	106	37	49	714
TYPES	7	6	3	2	2	4	10

* Excluding IS

6.3.2 Copula types

It was mentioned above that the copula WEES ('be') predominates overwhelmingly in the present data. The question now arises what developmental trends may be observed in the relative frequencies of other copula types.

Whereas it was seen that a number of different coverb types appear with some frequency in the data of all the children, copula variety is minimal. At first sight it would appear that no information could come from this quarter. Apart from the present (IS), past (WAS) and infinitive (WEES) forms of the semantically vacuous dummy verb 'be', there are only about a dozen other verbs in Afrikaans that function as copulas. Between these and the different forms of the copula WEES ('be') there exists an important difference, i.e. that the former have a certain semantic value.

Although the types are few and the frequencies too low for meaningful statistical analysis, there are certain interesting correspondences between Tables 6.4 and 6.1:

- On both variety of types and frequency of tokens, for both coverbs and copulas (excluding IS) Anna and Betsy are well in advance of the rest of the children;
- On both coverb and copula variety Freda outstrips the three remaining children.

The first observation is not surprising; the second is, in view of Freda's position at the bottom of the log. However, both observations suggest a certain relation between coverb and copula development, while the latter again shows up the essential limitations of MLU as a measure of childrens's linguistic development.

6.4 ADVERBS

6.4.1 Introduction

At this level we will report the children's use of different adverb types, shedding some light on the development of the adverb repertoire. When working with fairly small speech samples, reporting on individual types from a lexical class such as adverbs may be felt to be precarious. What follows here is said in the light of this proviso.

In the corpus as a whole no fewer than 58 adverb types occur, together yielding some 1489 realized adverb tokens. A large number of adverbs occur only a few times, and are used by only one or two of the children, usually the linguistically more advanced ones. On the other hand there is a substantial number of adverbs that tend to be used by more than one, but not all, of the children. Here, too, the rule is that the more advanced children are, the more likely it is that they would be users of such adverbs. Finally there is a hard core of adverbs used by all the children.

The taxonomizing of adverbial modifiers in traditional grammar in terms not only of time, place and manner, but also of aspects such as degree, limitation, inclusion, purpose, result, cause, condition, etc. is an open-ended process, potentially leading to such a fine-grained taxonomy as would for our present purposes tend to obscure rather than elucidate matters. The current report will therefore be confined to a subdivision into temporal, locative and manner adverbs, plus a miscellaneous category we shall call "others". The "others" category does lend itself to a measure of subdivision, but for the sake of convenience it is dealt with as a single class.

The gross frequencies of the types and tokens within the four main categories are given in Table 6.5. To the locative adverbs could be added the 264 ostensives (DAAR IS... / HIER IS...) and to the manner adverbs the 79 instances of SO occurring in the data. However, since the use of ostensives and the demonstrative SO ('like this') by young children may be assumed to be highly formulaic, these

TABLE 6.5

TYPES AND TOKENS PER ADVERB CATEGORY

Category	Types	Tokens
Manner	13	58
(SO = 'like this'		79)
Temporal	12	308
Locative	16	403
(ostensives		264)
Others	17	377
TOTAL	58	1 146
TOTAL (+SO & ostensives)		1 489

two types will be kept separate from the rest of the data. Although it is quite possible that there are more adverb types used formulaically, none belong to such readily identifiable groups as ostensives and the demonstrative SO.

6.4.2 Development of the adverb repertoire

Examination of the children's adverb repertoires shows marked differences between them, and these differences are of particular interest because in certain respects they do not merely reflect either the canonical order or manifest proficiency in terms of adverb realization. Thus in terms of repertoire size Anna far outstrips the rest of the children. This might have been predicted with reference to the canonical order, but not to adverb realization where Betsy outperforms Anna marginally. Freda, for whom both the canonical order and rate of adverb realization would predict the smallest adverb repertoire, is placed a close fourth after Chris, outperforming both Deon and Erik by a considerable margin (cf. the final entries in the columns indicating the cumulative number of types - CT - in Tables 6.6.A and 6.6.B).

Although the occurrence of any given adverb in a 100-utterance sample is highly fortuitous, the overall high frequency of adverbs (30% - 50% of all utterances containing one) does offer reasonable scope for each child to use a representative selection of the adverbs he has available at any given time. Working on this assumption, the cumulative percentage columns in Tables 6.6.A and 6.6.B are regarded as giving some indication of the children's adverb repertoire expansion over time. Thus it can be seen that Erik's repertoire expanded more slowly between his first two samples, and more rapidly between his last two, than any other child's. In contrast, Betsy's repertoire expanded by nearly 47% between her second and fifth samples, and by less than 10% between her fifth and seventh samples. During the same time that Betsy's repertoire increased by only 9%, Chris, who ended up with a comparable total of types, increased his repertoire by all of 25%.

TABLE 6.6.A

ADVERBS : TYPES USED IN SAMPLE (TS), NEW TYPES (NT), CUMULATIVE NUMBER OF TYPES (CT), CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF TYPES (C %), FOR THE OLDER COHORT

	Anna				Betsy				Chris			
Sample	TS	NT	CT	C %	TS	NT	CT	C %	TS	NT	CT	C %
2	15	15	15	34.09	8	8	8	25.00	7	7	7	22.58
4	14	5	20	45.45	13	6	14	45.75	9	5	12	38.71
6	18	7	27	61.36	15	5	19	59.38	11	6	18	58.06
8	25	9	36	81.81	18	5	24	75.00	10	2	20	64.52
10	15	2	38	86.36	18	5	29	90.63	10	3	23	74.19
12	18	3	41	93.18	12	0	29	90.63	12	4	27	87.10
14	15	3	44	100	16	3	32	100	13	4	31	100

TABLE 6.6.B

TYPES USED IN SAMPLE (TS), NEW TYPES (NT), CUMULATIVE NUMBER OF TYPES (CT), CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF TYPES (C %), FOR THE YOUNGER COHORT

	Deon				Erik				Freda			
Sample	TS	NT	CT	C %	TS	NT	CT	C %	TS	NT	CT	C %
14	5	5	5	26.32	5	5	5	32.71	10	10	10	38.46
16	6	3	8	42.11	4	1	6	42.86	6	3	13	50.00
18	11	5	13	68.42	6	2	8	57.14	9	4	17	63.38
20	11	2	15	78.95	6	2	10	71.43	8	2	19	73.08
22	9	3	18	94.74	7	2	12	85.71	12	5	24	92.31
24	9	1	19	100	11	2	14	100	11	2	26	100

Although the above figures can be no more than suggestive, they do suggest rather strongly that increments to the adverb repertoire are not linear over time. Had this been the case, the figures for each child in the "new types" column would have had to be equal (and, of course, so would the intervals in the two cumulative columns be equal). This is by no means the case.

In the paragraphs following here, each of the four adverb classes will be considered in turn, the order in which the classes are dealt with being determined by the total number of realized tokens found in each class. Within each class the order in which adverb types are presented in the tables is primarily determined by the number of children using the type. A secondary ordering criterion, used in the case of ties on the first, is the total number of tokens found for each type.

6.4.3 Manner adverbs

In the present data the class manner adverbs is characterized by a combination of the following features:

- a relative paucity of types;
- a low frequency of tokens within any type;
- a low rate of intersection between children and types (few types used by 2, 3, ..., 6 children).

The latter two features are likely to be a function of the class in question, whereas the former is probably related to the children's level of language development (cf. Table 6.7; a glossary of adverbs is given in Appendix D).

In the well-known distinction between lexical and functional (or grammatical) classes, the contrast is between large, open classes - e.g. nouns - and small, closed classes - e.g. auxiliary verbs. Seen thus, the class of manner adverbs is, among the other adverb classes, the lexical one par excellence. Whereas the specifiability potential of the "where" or the "when" of an action or event (without recourse to prepositional phrases) is relatively limited, the specifiability potential of the "how" of an action or event is vast.

TABLE 6.7

ADVERBS OF MANNER : FREQUENCIES PER CORPUS

Adverb	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
LEKKER		2	3	1	3	2	11
MOOI	3	4	1				8
VINNIG	2			3		1	6
GOU	18	3					21
SAGGIES		2	1				3
STUKKEND	1					1	2
STADIG			1				1
HARD						1	1
SKOON	1						1
NETJIES		1					1
DOODSTIL	1						1
DIEP			1				1
LANK		1					1
TOKENS (-SO)	26	13	7	4	3	5	58
TYPES	6	6	5	2	1	4	13
SO	30	20	10	6	4	9	79
TOKENS (+SO)	56	33	17	10	7	14	137

All other things being equal, the probability of specific types from such a large, open class recurring frequently, and being used by all, or several, of six speakers in relatively small and situationally unrelated speech samples, is slight. To the extent that some types do recur, and are used by more than one child, things are not "equal". How far from equal they are becomes clear when we consider the close semantic relationship between LEKKER and MOOI (roughly 'enjoyably' and 'nicely'), and between VINNIG and GOU ('fast' and 'quickly'). If we reduce these four separate items to two semantic entities (one associated with pleasantness, the other with quickness), we find that the first is used by all, the second by two-thirds of the children. Together these two semantic entities account for 46 out of the 58 tokens found in the data.

From the above a few tentative conclusions may be drawn. In the first place, fewer manner adverbs occur than may be expected in view of the vastness of the class. Discounting the four types discussed above, we find very slight development of this class in the present data, even among the most advanced children. It would therefore seem that manner adverbs are only used productively by children beyond the ages involved in this investigation; not a surprising finding since intuitively "how" is a more abstract concept than "where" or "when". If we check this assumption against the children's interrogatives, we find that indeed "where" (locative) leads the field, with 58.26%. This is followed by the combined scores for "what", "who" and "which" (nominal), with 36.52%, and "why" (cause), with 2.61%. Of the remaining two types, "when" (temporal) and "how" (manner), the latter surprisingly outstrips the former, with 2,14% against 0.43%. It seems, then, that locality is both expressed and questioned with a far higher frequency than either temporality or manner, that temporality is expressed more frequently than manner, but that manner is questioned marginally more frequently than temporality.

In the second place, the reduction of the four most prolific types - prolific both in terms of frequency and of child-type intersection rate - to two semantic entities, raises the intersection rate of these considerably. The result is

contrary to the assumption expressed above that no single manner adverb is likely to occur in all - or several of - six speakers' limited and situationally unrelated speech samples; and this underscores the fact that our speech samples are not unrelated. They are all produced by socio-culturally comparable language-learning children; and since pleasantness and quickness feature so much more prominently in the children's speech than any other manner adverbs, we may assume that these are valued attributes in their milieux.

A last point to note is that there is a significant correlation between number of tokens and the canonical order (r_s = .829, $p < .05$) while the correlation between number of types and the canonical order approaches very close to significance (r_s = 814, critical value for $p < .05$ = .829). The implications of this in view of the overall lack of correlation with the canonical order (cf. 4.3.2 above) will be discussed below.

6.4.4 Temporal adverbs

As in the case of manner adverbs, few temporal adverb types occur in the data - but there the resemblance ends. From the latter class more than five times as many tokens are produced as from the former, and six of the twelve types are used by three or more of the children (cf. Table 6.8).

A number of interesting points emerge from the data presented in Table 6.8. In the first place, the data once more call into question the relative positions of Erik and Freda in the canonical order. With Erik using only 40% as many types as Freda, and producing only 20% as many tokens, the difference between them on this point can only be regarded as radical. This difference is by no means confined to temporal adverbs, the subject being broached here simply because temporal adverbs reveal the difference more strikingly than any other adverb class. The fact of the matter is that Freda's development of the entire adverb system is way ahead of Erik's. As for the rest of the children, their temporal adverb types as well as tokens show a perfect correlation with the canonical order. The overall

TABLE 6.8

TEMPORAL ADVERBS : FREQUENCIES PER CORPUS

Adverb	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
NOU	39	53	35	19	3	13	162
EERS	4	8	9		1	1	23
DAN	36	7	2	4			49
TOE	16	8	1	17			42
MÔRE	3	2		1		4	10
SOLANK	1		1			1	3
EENDAG	1			6			7
VANDAG	3	2					5
GISTER	2					1	3
ALTYD	1	1					2
NOOIT		1					1
LATER			1				1
TOKENS	106	82	49	47	4	20	308
TYPES	10	8	6	5	2	5	12

correlation, even including Erik's data, is highly significant (r_s = .943, $p < .01$). The incongruity between this observation and the lack of correlation between the canonical order and adverbs overall (see 4.3.2 above) will be discussed below.

The next point concerns some similarities and differences between the data of Freda and Deon on the one hand, and Freda and Erik on the other. The fact that Deon produced more than twice as many tokens as Freda, although they used the same number of types, is mainly attributable to the absence in Freda's data of the two types DAN and TOE (both 'then'; the first with a prospective, the second with a retrospective aspect). Although the occurrence or non-occurrence of any particular optional type from a lexical class is and remains fortuitous, the distribution of DAN and TOE in the data of the six children is highly suggestive. Discounting the obiquitous and frequent NOU ('now'), DAN and TOE are among the top performers in the manifestly most advanced two children's data. In the data of the next two children, too, DAN and TOE feature prominently (and the fact that Deon outperforms Chris is not unique to this occasion). In contrast, DAN and TOE fail to occur at all in the least advanced children's data. There is, therefore, distributional evidence that neither Erik nor Freda had acquired the use of DAN and TOE by the time observation ceased. To this distributional evidence may be added a semantic argument in support of the notion that in this case absence indeed means non-acquisition. Consider the common denominator between the two words in question. What they have uniquely in common is that they relate two actions or events that are both essentially in the non-present. Freda's use of MÔRE and GISTER ('tomorrow' and 'yesterday') attests to her ability to situate an event in either the future or the past, and so does her use of the requisite temporal auxiliaries (cf. Table 6.2.B). Although Erik's data do not contain MÔRE or GISTER, he, too, by his use of temporal auxiliaries shows evidence of this same ability. All this notwithstanding, it seems that Erik and Freda are not yet able to situate one event after another if both events are either in the past or in the future.

6.4.5 Locative adverbs

Before reporting on this class, two points of definition must be noted. First, the few instances of directionals appearing in the data are included in the class of locative adverbs. Although the only identifiable directional appearing in Table 6.9 is TERUG ('back'), isolated instances of the particles -NATOE, -TOE and -HEEN occur in the data. These all have the force of turning locatives into directionals. Since too few directionals occur to warrant a separate class, they were by way of compromise "de-directionalized" and added to the appropriate locative type. Secondly, the status of certain items as adverbs may be questioned at first sight. An example: The word AF may in Afrikaans function inter alia as the verb particle 'down' (as with jump), or as the copula complement 'broken' (as with arm), or as the copula complement 'down' (as with pants). In the case in question the child said

MY BROEK IS WEER AF
('my pants are again down'
='my pants are down again')

It was decided to interpret this as a comment on the locality of the pants rather than as the attribution to them of a quality or a condition.

It seems that locatives enjoy precedence in the acquisition of adverbs. For the order of acquisition of the various classes proposed here, the following arguments are advanced:

a. Relative contribution of cohorts.
Of the pure classes of adverbs (as distinct from the mixed class we call "others") locatives are by far the most numerous in the data. This holds for types as well as for tokens - even with ostensives discounted (cf. Table 6.9). What makes the high token count interesting is the relative contribution of the two cohorts. In the case of manner adverbs, the least abundant of the three principal classes, the relative contribution is 3.338 to 1 in favour of the older cohort. For temporal adverbs, a much better developed class compared with manner adverbs, the relative

TABLE 6.9

LOCATIVE ADVERBS : FREQUENCIES PER CORPUS

Adverb	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
DAAR	16	18	29	21	61	46	191
HIER	35	42	38	24	7	6	152
BO	1	1	4	2	9	3	20
VER	1		1	3	1	3	9
BUITE	1			3	3	3	10
BINNE	3		1	2			6
HOOG	1					1	2
UIT		2					2
TERUG	2						2
AF			3				3
ANDERKANT	1						1
BY	1						1
OM		1					1
ORALS		1					1
VOOR			1				1
WEG	1						1
TOKENS (-ost)	63	65	77	55	81	62	403
Ostensives	15	56	52	37	68	36	264
TOKENS (+ost)	78	121	129	92	149	98	667
TYPES	11	6	7	6	5	6	16

contribution is much the same, i.e. 3.035 to 1. For locative adverbs the situation alters radically, the figures being 1.035 to 1. This high contribution from the younger cohort points to the primacy of locatives.

b. Negative correlation with the canonical order.
It was seen above that for both manner and temporal adverbs, significant correlations obtain between the children's token counts and the canonical order. For the miscellaneous "others" class, there is a positive but non-significant correlation virtually identical to the overall correlation (others: r_s = .650; overall: r_s = .643). In sharp contrast, for locatives there is a considerable negative correlation (r_s = -.600). Clearly this negative correlation is sufficient - in the combined data - to attenuate the other high correlations to a point of non-significance. And clearly these correlations, in concert with individual performances of certain children, provide important clues to the order of acquisition of the three main adverb classes. If overall adverbs increase over time, while locatives decrease, this is further evidence that locatives are acquired first.

c. Temporal precedes manner.
It can be argued on the following grounds that the class of temporal adverbs develops ahead of manner adverbs. For both classes the children's token counts correlate significantly with the canonical order. For temporal adverbs the number of types used also correlates significantly with the canonical order (r_s = .943, $p < .01$) while for manner adverbs it approaches significance (r_s = .814; critical value for $p < .05$ = .829). These observations indicate that both classes are growth-sensitive. Since the temporal class is much better developed than the manner class in terms of number of types used, it must follow that the acquisition of the former is ahead of that of the latter.

d. Locative precedes temporal.
On similar grounds the relative positions of the locative and temporal classes can be argued. In the first place the locative class is much more extensively developed than the temporal. In the second place, for locatives the growth-

sensitivity is reversed; younger children tend to produce more locative tokens than older ones. Nor is there a significant correlation between locative types and the canonical order. One must conclude that, as the acquisition of the temporal class is ahead of that of the manner class, so the acquisition of the locative class is ahead of that of the temporal class.

Turning to individual children's performances, we find corroboration for these conclusions. Within his peer group, Chris consistently identifies himself as the least advanced member, while on most scores Deon may be regarded as the most advanced member of his group. It therefore comes as no surprise that relative to the older group Chris produces few temporals and many locatives, while relative to the younger group Deon produces many temporals and few locatives.

6.4.6 The class "other" adverbs

The term OTHERS should not be read as suggesting either some essential mutuality among all the types here assembled, nor as suggesting that each type is totally unrelated to all the others. As will be seen below, certain types may be assembled into defineable classes, while others remain unrelated. It stands to reason that this quasi-class can be compared with the other classes neither in terms of frequency nor in terms of acquisition primacy. This constraint does not apply to comparisons between individual types and such defineable subclasses as are found within the quasi-class "others".

The types appearing in Table 6.10 are arranged into four subclasses (and labelled): Inclusion (I), Repetition (R), Limitation (L) and Disposition (D). The first two are self-explanatory, OOK meaning 'also' and WEER meaning 'again'. The types appearing in the Limitation class have, as the name suggests, an element of limitation in common: NOG NIE ('not yet'), NET ('only)', BIETJIE ('a little') etc. (see Appendix D.4). In this class are also incorporated three opposites, appearing immediately after their counterparts and labelled (o). This incorporation was seen as the best way of accommodating these otherwise problematical cases.

TABLE 6.10

"OTHER" ADVERBS : FREQUENCIES PER CORPUS

Adverb	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
OOK (I)	25	40	22	10	11	28	136
WEER (R)	13	13	6	3	8	4	47
NOG (NIE) (L)	15	13	9	1	1	3	42
KLAAR (o)	1	1	2		2	2	8
BIETJIE (L)	11	10	1	2		4	28
BAIE (o)	6			1	2	3	12
NET (L)	21	24	10			1	56
SELF (L)	3	2				1	6
AMPER (L)	1		1			1	3
ALLEEN (L)		2	1				3
SAAM (o)	3		1			1	5
MEER (NIE) (L)	2		1				3
Subtotal (L)	63	52	26	4	5	16	166
MAAR (D)	5	5	1				11
SOMMER (D)	1	8	1				10
SEKER (D)	1		1				2
MOS (D)		4					4
RêRIG (D)	1						1
Subtotal (D)	8	17	3				28
TOKENS	109	122	57	17	24	48	377
TYPES	15	11	13	5	5	10	17

(I = inclusion; R = repetition; L = limitation;
D = disposition; o = opposite of previous entry.)

The Disposition class distinguishes itself from the others in that these adverbs express subjective dispositions like speaker-perceived truth (RêRIG = 'really'), probability (SEKER = 'perhaps'/'probably'), acceptability (MOS = more or less 'surely'), and agent-indifference (SOMMER - untranslatable) with regard to an action or event.

Of the several totals appearing in Table 6.10, the overall tokens total is perhaps the most informative. It may be argued that the semantic heterogeneity of the contributing sub-classes would detract from the informativeness of this set of figures. Yet these figures reflect the situation that remains after the removal of the three main classes of adverbs; classes, moreover, of which the acquisition order seems to have been reasonably established. What picture do the figures for the remaining class present?

The most striking feature of the overall token figures is not that they divide the children into three pairs with very small within-pair differences and very large between-pair differences (deviations from means: within-pair = 6.5, 4.5 and 3.5; between-pair = 70.5 and 36.5). What is really striking is the composition of these pairs:

- The pairing of Anna and Betsy is completely predictable, both in terms of the canonical order and in terms of observed performance on adverbs in general; and so is the distance between this pair and the rest of the children (cf. Figure 4.3).

- With only the canonical order taken into account, the pairing of Chris and Freda would hardly be predicted, since such a pairing would require from Freda a double "leap". Yet Freda has consistently demonstrated a mismatch between her adverb development and the canonical order, so that the present mismatch, extreme as it may be, forms part of the pattern.

- The pairing of Deon and Erik, and particularly the fact that Erik outperformed Deon, could be regarded as truly inconsistent. If we consider the other three classes, locative, temporal and manner adverbs, we find Erik

clearly establishing himself as the least advanced child. He does this not only by underperforming on manner and temporal adverbs, but also by outperforming everybody on locatives - the class correlating negatively with the canonical order. Deon, on the other hand, scored high on temporals, and low on locatives, thereby performing in exact accordance with expectations raised by his position in the canonical order. Perhaps the best attempt at resolving the present inconsistency would be to argue that it is neither Erik who overperformed, nor Deon who underperformed; to argue, in fact, that, without prejudice to previous arguments concerning the development of locative and temporal adverbs, no compulsive relationship holds between the development of these classes and the further development of the adverb system. To be sure, Freda's performance in the present case is predictable from the rest of her adverb development. However, to expect in every case a compulsive relationship between the development of a single class and overall adverb development, may well be to inflate the predictive capacity of observed tendencies, or to underestimate individual differences, or both.

Finally, the non-use of dispositionals by the younger cohort is in complete intuitive accord with the acquisition order "where" > "when" > "how", since even more abstract than articulating the manner in which something is done, is giving information about one's disposition with regard to an action or event. What we have in mind here are refinements such as a speaker wishing to stress the truth of what he is saying, expressing an opinion as to the probability of an event occuring, or soliciting agreement from his hearer.

6.4.7 Summary of adverbs

The main points to emerge from an analysis of the development of adverb repertoires are the following:

- As an undifferentiated category, adverbs occur in the data with a very high frequency. However, if we split adverbs into the three main classes plus a fourth miscellaneous class, we find marked differences *vis-à-vis* token

frequencies, type numerosity, and both cohort and individual performances.

- The development of Freda's adverb repertoire is far in advance of that of her peers, and belies her position at the bottom of the canonical log. These, and similar findings once again raise the issue of important aspects of language development not being reflected by MLU.
- Adverb repertoire expansion is not linear over time, but seems to go by fits and starts idiosyncratic to each child.
- Manner adverbs is the least developed class, 80% of all tokens being reducible to two semantic values associated with pleasantness and quickness.
- The class of temporal adverbs is much better developed than manner adverbs, the development being in terms of token frequency rather than type numerosity. Half of all the types are used by at least half the children.
- Locative adverbs is the best developed class. In contrast to the other classes, token frequency of locatives shows a negative correlation with the canonical order. This is seen as a strong argument for the primacy of locative acquisition.
- When it comes to adverb classes, all the evidence point to the adverbial acquisition order locative > temporal > manner.
- When it comes to individual types, we can predict that the first adverbs Afrikaans children will acquire will come from those listed below. Produced by six children were: DAAR ('there'), HIER ('here'), BO ('on top'), NOU ('now'), OOK ('also'), WEER ('again'), NOG NIE ('not yet'). Produced by five children were: VER ('far'), EERS ('first'), LEKKER ('nicely'), KLAAR ('finished'), BIETJIE ('a little'). Produced by four children were: BUITE ('outside'), DAN ('then'), TOE ('then'), MÔRE ('tomorrow'), BAIE ('a lot'), NET ('only').

6.5 PREPOSITIONS

6.5.1 Introduction

It is clear from the data that the acquisition of prepositions is well under way even among the least advanced of the children, while even among the most advanced children it is nowhere near completion. The first point requires little elaboration. All the children use prepositions, and although the younger cohort's repertoire is limited to a few locatives and a few directionals, there is sufficient variety of correctly and appropriately used types, and a sufficient number of tokens, to regard the acquisition process of prepositions to be under way. The second point, i.e. that the acquisition process is ongoing - even among the most advanced children - will be addressed in this chapter in terms of repertoire development, and in Chapter 7 in terms of preposition deletions and substitutions as well as the relative deletability of the components of a construction containing a PP.

6.5.2 Prevalence of types

Ponelis (1979:171) provides a list of the most common simple prepositions in Afrikaans - a list comprising 54 types. Homonyms aside, only 19 types occur in the present data. Discounting some 25 types from Ponelis' list as being too "formal" for the familiar register used among intimates, that still leaves about a dozen very common prepositions that do not occur in the data at all. Looking at Table 6.11.A, we find, moreover, that only eight preposition types occur with any frequency, even in the data of the most advanced children (for a glossary of prepositions, see Appendix E).

With appreciation for the fact that the non-occurrence of any one item in a 100-utterance speech sample - or even in an individual's 700-utterance corpus - may be fortuitous, its total absence from the entire 2900-utterance corpus strongly suggests that it may not have been acquired. A more conservative stance would be to assume that the

TABLE 6.11.A

FILLED PREPOSITION SLOTS : FREQUENCIES PER CORPUS

Preposition	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
IN (loc)	23	39	12	20	12	9	115
BY (loc)	34	7	7	9	1	1	59
OP (loc)	14	16	9	4	3	1	47
ONDER (loc)	1	1		1			3
BINNE-IN (loc)	1			1			2
LANGS (loc)		1	1				2
NABY (loc)	1						1
TEEN (loc)	1						1
Subtotal (loc)	75	64	29	35	16	12	230
TOE (dir)	14	11	12	5	5	12	55
IN (dir)	10	8	2	5	10	2	37
NA (dir)	6	1	2	*	*	*	9
UIT (dir)		2	1		1	1	5
OOR (dir)	1		2				3
VAN (dir)	2	*		*		*	2
AF (dir)	*	1				1	2
BINNE-IN (dir)	1						1
OM (dir)	1						1
Subtotal (dir)	35	23	19	10	12	16	115
VIR (dat)	55	18	7	*	2	1	83
MET (inst)	15	3	8	*	*	*	26
MET (com)	11	7		1	*	*	19
AAN (mix)	2	3	1	2	1	*	9
SAAM-MET (com)		1	5	*		1	7
VAN (mix)	3	1	2	*			6
Subtotal	86	33	23	3	3	2	150
Tokens	196	120	71	48	31	29	495
Types	19	16	14	9	8	9	23

(loc = locative; dir = directional; dat = dative;
inst = instrumental; com = commitative; mix = miscellaneous.
* = cells that are filled in table 6.11.B.)

TABLE 6.11.B

GENERATED PREPOSITION SLOTS : FREQUENCIES PER CORPUS

Preposition	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
IN (loc)	23	43	14	29	18	18	145
BY (loc)	37	7	9	14	2	8	77
OP (loc)	14	18	10	11	8	5	66
ONDER (loc)	1	1		1			3
BINNE-IN (loc)	1			1			2
LANGS (loc)		1	1				2
NABY (loc)	1						1
TEEN (loc)	1						1
Subtotal (loc)	78	70	34	56	28	31	297
TOE (dir)	15	11	12	6	3	16	65
IN (dir)	10	9	2	9	12	2	44
NA (dir)	6	3	4	2*	2*	6*	23
UIT (dir)		2	1		2	1	6
VAN (dir)	2	1*		1*		2*	6
AF (dir)	2*	1				2	5
OOR (dir)	1		2				3
BINNE-IN (dir)	1						1
OM (dir)	1						1
Subtotal (dir)	38	27	21	18	19	29	152
VIR (dat)	57	26	14	7*	8	4	116
MET (inst)	15	8	11	10*	8*	4*	56
MET (com)	11	7		4	1*	1*	24
AAN (mix)	2	3	2	2	1	2*	12
SAAM-MET (com)		1	6	1*		1	9
VAN (mix)	3	1	2	1*			7
Subtotal	88	46	35	25	18	12	224
Tokens	204	143	90	99	65	72	673
Types	20	17	14	15	11	14	23

(loc = locative; dir = directional; dat = dative;
inst = instrumental; com = commitative; mix = miscellaneous.
* = cells that are blank in table 6.11.A.)

greater the number of successive samples not containing a high-frequency type from a small class, the greater the likelihood that such a type had not been acquired. Likewise, the further one moves back in time from the point of first emergence of a type, the more likely it is that such a type does not yet form part of a child's repertoire. The following are a few common preposition types that do not occcur in the data at all, and that may therefore with some confidence be assumed not to have been acquired, or at best acquired late in the observation period and not yet caught in sampling: the locatives VOOR ('in front of'), AGTER ('behind'), TUSSEN ('between'), and the temporals VOOR ('before'), NA ('after'), TOT ('until').

6.5.3 Primacy of locatives

The prevalence of space-orientational (locative and directional) prepositions - and the absence of temporal prepositions - is striking, lending support to the findings regarding the primacy of locative over temporal adverbs (cf. 6.4.5 above). The primacy of space-orientational prepositions is not only to be seen in a comparison with temporals: for both realized and generated prepositions it holds that there are more than twice as many locatives (plus directionals) as there are others - and this, in turn, holds for types as well as for tokens. Perhaps the most powerful evidence for the primacy of spatial prepositions over other prepositions comes from a comparison of the different children's ratios *vis-à-vis* these two classes: Anna = 1.28; Betsy = 2.64; Chris = 2.09; Deon = 15.00; Erik = 9.33; Freda = 14.00. These figures seriously compromise any argument that the overall ratio may correspond to the "natural" relative frequencies of these preposition classes in any representative corpus of speech. Clearly space-orientational prepositions are acquired first.

6.5.4 First occurrences of types

If the non-occurrence of a given preposition in the entire corpus points to the probability that this type had not

been acquired by any of the children, then it would follow that the same holds for a type not occurring in a particular child's corpus. However, it would become precarious if we were to suggest that the first occurrence of a type in any particular sample coincides exactly with the time it was first acquired. There is always the possibility that it might already have formed part of the child's repertoire one or two samples earlier, but had been missed in sampling. Without prejudice to this proviso, Tables 6.12.A and 6.12.B seem to contain meaningful information regarding the order of acquisition of various preposition types.

In the light of the above proviso, Table 6.12.A should not, for example, be read as a strong statement to the effect that Betsy and Chris acquired OP ('on') before Anna, or that by the age of 29 months and two weeks Betsy and Chris had not yet added AAN ('to'/'on') to their repertoires. Anna's overall advancedness contradicts the former notion, particularly in the case of such a common and early-acquired type as OP, while the fact that both Erik and Deon had manifestly acquired AAN by 24 and 28 months respectively (see Table 6.12.B) suggests the latter is unlikely.

What these tables do show, is that there is a clear pattern for the emergence of the various preposition types. To a certain extent one may have anticipated this pattern on the strength of the overall frequencies of the types, but the tables provide more substantial evidence. The order of types in Tables 6.12.A and 6.12.B is jointly determined by the first observation of the type and the number of children involved. Considering only those 13 types occurring in the data of both the older and the younger cohorts, we find a significant rank correlation between the order of types for the two cohorts (r_s = .582, $p < .05$).

In the context of the argument, the above correlation is highly revealing. Although prepositions do form a closed, functional (as opposed to lexical) class, even in a highly informal, familiar register, between 30 and 40 different

TABLE 6.12.A

PREPOSITIONS : FIRST OCCURRENCE OF TYPES IN EACH CHILD'S CORPUS : OLDER COHORT

Type	Age of children in months and weeks						
	28;0	29;2	31;0	32;2	34;0	35;2	37;0
IN (loc)	ABC						
TOE (dir)	ABC						
OP (loc)	BC....A						
AAN (mix)	A.....BC						
IN (dir)	AB.....C						
VIR (dat)	AB.....C						
MET (ins)	AB.....C						
BY (loc)	A.....B.....C						
MET (com)	B.....A						
VAN (mix)	A.....C						
OOR (dir)	A.....C						
UIT (dir)	A.....B						
BINNE-IN (loc)	A						
AF (dir)		B					
NA (dir)			A.....C.....B				
LANGS (loc)			C.....B				
ONDER (loc)			B..... A				
TEEN (loc)			A				
VAN (dir)			A				
SAAM-MET (com)				C.....B			
NABY (loc)				A			
BINNE-IN (dir)				A			
OM (dir)				A			

(loc = locative; dir = directional; dat = dative; inst = instrumental; com = commitative; mix = miscella= neous)

TABLE 6.12.B

PREPOSITIONS : FIRST OCCURRENCE OF TYPES IN EACH CHILD'S CORPUS : YOUNGER COHORT

Type	Age of children in months					
	23	24	25	26	27	28
IN (loc)	E	DF				
TOE (dir)	F	D		E		
OP (loc)		DE	F			
BY (loc)		D		E		F
IN (dir)		EF				
SAAM (com)		D			F	
AAN (mix)		E				D
ONDER (loc)		D				
BINNE-IN (loc)		D				
VIR (dat)			E	F		
UIT (dir)			F		E	
AF (dir)			F			
NA (dir				D		

(loc = locative; dir = directional; com = commitative; mix = miscellaneous)

types (counting homonyms) would be appropriate. What we find, instead, are 23 types in the older cohort's 2100-utterance corpus, and a subset of 13 of these in the younger cohort's 1800-utterance corpus. The younger cohort does not produce a single type not already produced by the older, and, in the face of all potential confounding variables, there is a significant relation between the order of first occurrence of the different types in the two corpora. These data seem to show - with a good measure of reliability - the order in which the first ten preposition types are acquired in Afrikaans, to be: IN (locative) ('in'), TOE ('to'), OP ('on'), BY ('at'), IN (directional) ('into'), SAAM ('with'), AAN ('on'), VIR ('for'), UIT ('out of'), ONDER ('under').

6.5.5 Rate of development

The manifest cohesiveness in the data *vis-à-vis* the emergence of preposition types, is counterbalanced somewhat by similar individual differences as were observed in the different children's adverb repertoire development (see 6.4.6 above). In Table 6.13.A can be seen, for example, that Anna and Betsy initially have a much larger proportion of their final repertoires available than Deon; furthermore that Deon's, but particularly Betsy's increments continue steadily throughout the observation period, while Anna's go by fits and starts. An extreme contrast is found between Freda and Deon (Table 6.13 B): while it takes Freda four samples to get up to seven different realized types, Deon moves from zero in his first sample to seven in his second, whereafter he adds only two new types to his repertoire.

6.5.6 Summary of prepositions

For a comprehensive picture of preposition acquisition, the information on deletions and substitutions (cf. 7.4 below) should also be taken into account. The present analysis, confined to the emergence of types, shows the following:

TABLE 6.13.A

PREPOSITIONS : TYPES USED IN SAMPLE (TS), NEW TYPES (NT), CUMULATIVE NUMBER OF TYPES (CT), CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF TYPES (C %), FOR THE OLDER COHORT

	Anna				Betsy				Chris			
Sample	TS	NT	CT	C %	TS	NT	CT	C %	TS	NT	CT	C %
2	9	9	9	47.37	7	7	7	43.75	4	4	4	28.57
4	7	2	11	57.89	4	2	9	56.25	5	1	5	35.31
6	6	0	11	57.89	6	1	10	62.50	5	4	9	64.29
8	10	3	14	73.68	7	1	11	68.75	4	1	10	71.43
10	12	4	18	94.74	6	1	12	75.00	7	2	12	85.71
12	8	1	19	100	7	2	14	87.50	8	2	14	100
14	6	0	19	100	8	2	16	100	8	0	14	100

TABLE 6.13.B

PREPOSITIONS : TYPES USED IN SAMPLE (TS), NEW TYPES (NT), CUMULATIVE NUMBER OF TYPES (CT), CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF TYPES (C %), FOR THE YOUNGER COHORT

	Deon				Erik				Freda			
Sample	TS	NT	CT	C %	TS	NT	CT	C %	TS	NT	CT	C %
14	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	12.50	1	1	1	14.29
16	7	7	7	77.78	3	3	4	50.00	2	2	3	33.33
18	3	0	7	77.78	1	1	5	62.50	5	3	6	66.67
20	4	1	8	88.89	4	2	7	87.50	3	1	7	77.78
22	4	0	8	88.89	3	1	8	100	1	1	8	88.89
24	3	1	9	100	2	0	8	100	2	1	9	100

- The total stock of Afrikaans prepositions is not well represented in the data, and even some very common types fail to occur at all. Only 13 of some 50 common prepositions occur in the data of all the children.

- It is possible to predict with a fair measure of confidence that the acquisition order of the first ten preposition types to emerge will be: IN ('in'), TOE ('to'), OP ('on'), BY ('at'), IN ('into'), SAAM ('with'), AAN ('on'), VIR ('to'), UIT ('out of'), NA ('to').

- As with adverbs, locative prepositions far outstrip the other categories. In this case, there are twice as many locatives as the total for all others types combined.

- Although the order of emergence seems to vary little between children, the rate of development is idiosyncratic and varies considerably.

6.6 VERBS

6.6.1 Introduction

Due to the large number of realized verb types in the data, it is not feasible to give the same detailed attention to individual types as was done when reporting on the less prolific classes. A total of 243 verb types occur, and as may be expected from a true lexical class such as the verb, the majority of these types occur either once, or only a few times. However, there are some types occurring with a very high frequency. Thus it can be seen in Table 6.14 that only three verb types occur more than 100 times, ten occur more than 50 times, and so forth. Less than one-third of all the types occur five times or more, while more than one-third occur once only.

Although giving a complete rundown on all the individual verb types is *ultra vires*, some useful information is to be gained from a close scrutiny of the high-frequency

TABLE 6.14

VERBS: NUMBER OF TOKENS PER TYPE

Tokens	Types	Cumulative subtotals of types
171	1	1
150	1	2
104	1	3
82	1	4
60 - 69	2	6
50 - 59	4	10
40 - 49	3	13
30 - 39	5	18
20 - 29	10	28
10 - 19	22	50
5 - 9	29	79
2 - 4	80	159
1	84	243

TABLE 6.15

SUBDIVISION OF VERB TYPES IN TERMS OF FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN INVOLVED

	+ 5 Occurrences	- 5 Occurrences	Total
+ 3 children	65	11	76
- 3 children	13	154	167
Total	78	165	243

types. Two parameters determine the overall frequency of any verb type, i.e. the number of children who use it and the number of times each child uses it. By taking as cut-off points five or more occurrences per type and three or more children producing the type, these cross-cutting parameters quadrichotomize the data as shown in Table 6.15. It is to the quadrant defined by the two positive signs that our attention will, for the most part, be directed.

6.6.2 Is occurrence fortuitous?

The 65 verb types occurring more than five times, and used by more than three children, are presented in Tables 6.16 through 6.19, the types being grouped together according to the number of children in whose corpora each type occurs.(*) As in the case of adverbs and prepositions - and possibly to an even greater extent - the non-occurrence of many of the 65 "double-plus" verbs in any particular child's corpus will at first sight seem to be purely fortuitous. All of these verbs are extremely common and most are also extremely simple, referring to everyday actions and processes (for a glossary of verbs see Appendix F).

The 20 verb types appearing in Table 6.16 are represented in all the children's data. At first sight no strong claims seem justified for an important status-difference between the eight types in Table 6.16 for which any one of the children produced only one token of a type, and any type in Table 6.17 - in all of which cases one of the children failed to produce a token of one of the types. However, the former table contains only 11.67% cells showing a frequency of one, compared with the latter table's 28.43%. If we add the blank cells, Table 6.17 is found to contain 45.10% cells with one or less tokens, compared with the 11.67% of Table 6.16. These figures - together with a mean count of 8.93 tokens per cell for Table 6.16, compared with 3.46 for Table 6.17 - seem to

---

* For the sake of convenience, all types that occur marked for tense (past participles) have been converted to the unmarked (present) form.

TABLE 6.16
FREQUENCY PER CORPUS OF VERB TYPES PRODUCED BY ALL SIX THE CHILDREN

Word	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
KYK	19	26	16	47	27	36	171
MAAK	43	33	29	16	9	20	150
RY	6	11	25	36	20	6	104
KOM	8	18	19	20	4	13	82
GAAN	8	13	21	3	13	4	62
HET	19	16	2	10	1	13	61
VAT	9	19	4	1	5	18	56
VAL	7	2	2	7	26	7	51
SIT	7	25	4	1	5	8	50
SIEN	5	6	2	4	21	3	41
Lê	9	5	4	2	8	8	36
WAS	21	5	1	1	1	6	35
EET	7	3	6	2	6	7	31
HAAL	5	2	5	5	6	4	27
GEE	7	7	1	4	4	1	24
KOOP	6	6	2	3	2	2	21
KLIM	3	2	3	2	5	4	19
DRINK	5	4	2	4	2	1	18
HUIL	3	5	2	1	1	5	17
TREK	4	4	1	1	4	2	16
TOKENS	182	212	151	170	153	168	1 072
TYPES	20	20	20	20	20	20	20

TABLE 6.17

FREQUENCY PER CORPUS OF VERB TYPES PRODUCED BY FIVE OF THE SIX CHILDREN

Word	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
SIT	13	19	5		15	1	53
SPEEL	6	17		14	1	8	46
GOOI	12		1	12	13	1	39
KRY	9	5	7	3		2	26
LOOP	3	3	4	5		9	24
STAAN	2	5	1	3		10	21
BRAND	1	1	1	4	13		20
DRAAI	1	2	2		13	2	20
BYT	5		3	4	4	1	17
BREEK		2	1	9	1	1	14
BRING	2	2	1	5	3		13
SOEK	2	4	1	5		1	13
KUIER	7	1	1	1		1	11
WERK	1	4	2	3		1	11
BAD	2	1	2	1		4	24
SPRING	3	2	2		1	1	21
SPUIT	1	1		2	1	1	19
TOKENS	70	69	34	71	65	44	353
TYPES	16	15	15	14	10	15	17

TABLE 6.18

FREQUENCY PER CORPUS OF VERB TYPES PRODUCED BY FOUR OF THE SIX CHILDREN

Word	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
TEKEN	13	10	15	2			40
SLAAP	11	6		7		12	36
WEET	3	20	1	3			27
Sê	15	5		1		1	22
SKRYF	5	3	1		7		16
REGMAAK	3	6	4			2	15
SLAAN	1	1	1		10		13
LOS	2	2	6		1		11
AFVAL			2	1	6	1	10
BLY	4	1	1	4			10
SWEM	3	4			1	1	9
UITHAAL	2	2	2		3		9
AANSIT	1	4	1	1			7
BêRE		1	1	1		2	5
OPSTAAN		1	1		1	2	5
TOKENS	63	66	36	20	29	21	235
TYPES	12	14	12	8	7	7	15

TABLE 6.19

FREQUENCY PER CORPUS OF VERB TYPES PRODUCED BY THREE OF THE SIX CHILDREN

Word	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
WYS	3	3	10				16
DOEN	4	2	7				13
HOOR	3	7		3			13
REëN	2				6	5	13
LEES			3	2		6	11
HELP	4	3				2	9
HOU	4	4	1				9
SING	4			4		1	9
SNY	3			5		1	9
VANG			3		5	1	9
PRAAT		1		5	1		7
SKIET				3	3	1	7
HARDLOOP	1			2		3	6
TOKENS	28	20	24	24	15	20	131
TYPES	9	6	5	7	4	8	13

show that the difference between the two tables extends beyond the supposedly fortuitous non-occurrence in Table 6.17 of any one type in any one child's corpus.

6.6.3 Cohesiveness of data

At first sight the data seem to lack cohesion. Occurrences of a single token in the cells of Table 6.16 are by no means confined - as may have been expected - to the low-frequency types. Conversely, individual cells with more than 20 tokens are found in type rows otherwise containing only single figures. In spite of this, there is a gradual decrease in the frequency of occurrence of types, ranging from 171 for KYK ('look') to 16 for TREK ('pull'). Is this decrease related to some commonality shared by the children? A Kendall coefficient of concordance for large samples computed on the ranks assigned by the six children to the twenty verb types in Table 6.16, shows a highly significant degree of agreement ($\chi^2 = 57.34$, $p < .001$).

On the face of it, the 20 verbs in question all seem to be equally common. Yet there was considerable agreement among the children as to their ranking in terms of frequency of occurrence. To test the children's ranking of the verbs against the intuitions of adult native speakers, six informants were asked to rank the verbs according to the frequency with which they expect them to occur in the speech of two- to three-year-old children. Using the same statistics as for the children, a highly significant degree of agreement was again found ($\chi^2 = 74.10$, $p < .001$). However, between the ranks assigned by the children and the adults, only a moderate correlation of 0.426 was found. That a higher correlation was not obtained, seems to be due to the fact that the adult informants tended to confuse what small children *do* with what they *talk about*. Thus items like EET ('eat'), KLIM ('climb'), DRINK ('drink') and HUIL ('cry') consistently tended to be assigned some of the top ranks by the adult informants, whereas these types were assigned low ranks by the children.

6.6.4 Types, tokens and type-token-ratio (TTR)

The type-token ratio indicates the relation between the number of different words and the total number of words in a speech sample. It has been used, inter alia, to illustrate the lexical simplification in the speech mothers address to their small children (Drach, 1969; Remick, 1971; Broen, 1972; Phillips, 1970a) and as a measure of the lexical development of kindergarten and elementary school children (Vorster, 1980). To minimize the effect of unequal sample sizes (in this case the differences in number of verb tokens in different children's data) the following formula was used to compute the children's TTR's:

$$TTR = TYPES \div \sqrt{(TOKENS \times 2)}$$

The total number of types and tokens, as well as the type-token ratio's, are given in Table 6.20.

The verb being a category with a low deletability, the token figures - reflecting realized verbs - faithfully correspond with the GS figures in Table 5.5. Again an otherwise perfect correlation with the canonical order is disturbed to a point of non-significance by the relative paucity of verbs in Chris' data. However, his token count and his TTR show that there is no relation between the frequency of verbs in his data and his verb repertoire. The fact that he uses few verb tokens does not mean that he has an underdeveloped verb repertoire.

For Erik the opposite is the case. Neither his number of generated verb slots, nor the number of realized verbs in his data, would suggest that his verb repertoire is as restricted as his types count and TTR show. Erik's types count and TTR notwithstanding, there is a significant correlation between these indices and the canonical order (r_s = .943, $p < .01$). However, if we compare Erik's performance with the rest of the children's, we get the impression that had it been possible, he would have disturbed the correlation to a point of non-significance. Since he occupies the fifth position, he could only drop one position regardless of his performance.

TABLE 6.20

TYPES, TOKENS AND TYPE-TOKEN RATIO'S (TTR)

	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda
Types	126	111	89	85	64	79
Tokens	473	445	312	335	323	298
TTR	4.10	3.72	3.56	3.28	2.52	3.24

TABLE 6.21

INCIDENCE OF VERB TYPES USED BY ONLY ONE CHILD: NUMBER OF TOKENS FOUND FOR EACH TYPE IN THE SPEECH OF THE CHILD IN QUESTION

	Number of tokens per type					
	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Anna	26	7	1	2	1	37
Betsy	21	2	1	1		25
Chris	18	3	1	1	1	24
Deon	12	1	2	2	1	18
Erik	2	2	3			7
Freda	5	1	2			8
Total	84	16	10	6	3	119

The rows showing the number of types in Tables 6.16 - 6.19 do not reflect the steady decrease, shown in Table 6.20, in the total number of types used. Table 6.18 does show a marked between-cohort split for types, but with minimal within-cohort differences; yet the overall within-cohort ranges are 37 and 21 respectively. Why do the individual tables fail to reflect the overall decrease in types across the children? It stands to reason that the quadrant defined by the two negative signs in Table 6.15 will contain many verb types produced by only one of the children. It is among these 154 types that the correlate for the steady decrease in types will be found. This decrease would be due to the fact that more of the older children - and fewer of the younger ones - are responsible for single occurrences of types. In Table 6.21 a breakdown is given of the number of types occurring in only one of the children's data, and the number of times each of these types occurs (tokens).

These figures highlight two aspects of the verb data that have featured on and off throughout this report - aspects that superficially seem to contradict each other. In the first place, non-occurrence of a type does not necessarily mean that it does not form part of a child's repertoire, and, by the same token, exclusive use would not necessarily mean exclusive possession. In the second place, the correlation between all aspects of verb use, i.e. frequency, realization rate and diversity on the one hand, and linguistic development on the other, is plain to see. Thus it may be true that Erik, for example, produced the types BREEK and VANG ('break' and 'catch') while Anna did not, an observation from which one would in no way infer that Anna had not yet acquired these types. It is equally true that Anna produced 37 types exclusively, while Erik produced only seven, and from this observation one need not hesitate to infer that Anna's verb repertoire is far in advance of Erik's.

6.6.5 Verb functions

The observed preference of the younger cohort for copulas over verbs, suggests that verb functions would offer an

interesting area on which to test for within-cohort vs. between-cohort differences (P 5 in 1.4 above). In terms of the functional grammar proposed by Dik (1980), two of the important parameters whereby predicates can be divided into different types are "±Dynamic (i.e. whether or not the state of affairs involves any change) and ±Control (i.e. whether or not the entities involved have the power to determine whether or not that state of affairs will obtain)" (Dik 1980:7). At the intersection of these two binary parameters we get four "states of affairs" that Dik calls "Action" (+Dynamic, +Control: John kissed Jane), "Position" (-Dynamic, +Control: John held Jane in his arms), "Process" (+Dynamic, -Control: John fell in love with Jane) and "State" (-Dynamic, -Control: John is in love with Jane).

In the present data there is a marked overall difference between the frequencies of verb types thus classified, with 154 Action types, 57 Position types, 17 Process types and 16 State types. Questions now arise concerning the proportional representation of Dik's "states of affairs", as embodied in the verbs used by the different children. Does this proportional representation in some way echo the developmental trends observed in overall verb frequencies and in type-token ratio's? Are there marked individual differences, as in Chris' preference for copulas to verbs? Table 6.22 shows the distribution of the four verb types across the children in terms of types and tokens, and also the token percentages.

There are cohort trends in these data, exaggerated by extreme individual cases. Thus for Action the older cohort outperforms the younger (means: 79.8 and 73.0 respectively) with Freda as the extreme case. For Process the position is reversed (means: 4.6 and 8.5 respectively) the extreme case being Erik. In the case of State the younger cohort again outperforms the older (means: 7.7 and 10.4 respectively) Chris' extreme paucity of tokens counterbalancing his high score for Action. For Position the frequencies break more or less even, each cohort having an extreme performer, and the younger cohort marginally outperforming the older. The trends are there,

TABLE 6.22

REPRESENTATION OF THE VERB CLASSES DENOTING ACTION, POSITION, PROCESS AND STATE, IN TERMS OF TYPES, TOKENS AND TOKEN PERCENTAGES

		Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda
Action	Types	102	84	68	63	54	62
	Tokens	381	332	263	255	236	208
	Token %	80.6	74.6	84.3	76.1	73.1	69.8
Position	Types	8	8	9	8	3	6
	Tokens	28	48	22	26	16	35
	Token %	5.9	10.8	7.1	7.8	5.0	11.7
Process	Types	5	10	7	7	4	7
	Tokens	19	16	19	20	48	14
	Token %	4.0	3.6	6.1	6.0	14.9	4.7
State	Types	11	9	5	7	3	4
	Tokens	45	49	8	34	23	41
	Token %	9.5	11.0	2.6	10.2	7.1	13.8

but are they significant? Using the chi square test to determine, first of all, the probability that the distribution of proportions among the individual children may be due to chance, a highly significant result against the null hypothesis was obtained (χ^2 = 95.966, df = 15, p = 0.0001; cf. Siegel, 1956:104 ff.) This result, however, does not allow inferences to be made about the relative performances of the cohorts as such. To test the null hypothesis that the distribution of proportions among the cohorts is the same, a chi square test was done on the combined within-cohort scores over the four verb classes, and again the outcome was highly significant (χ^2 = 19.508, df = 3, p = 0.0002). We can therefore conclude with a high degree of confidence that there is a difference between the relative frequencies of Action, Position, Process and State verbs in the speech of linguistically more and less advanced children. The former group uses significantly more Action verbs, and the latter significantly more of the other three classes.

These findings are interesting in that they contradict the implication in Brown (1973:174) that the semantic relations Agent-Action, Action-Object, Action-Locative and Agent-Object - the latter with an implied Action - predominate in the speech of Stage I children. The prototypical string seems to be Agent-Action-Object-Location, and of the minimally two terms needed to express a semantic relation, Action is the one most likely to occur together with one of the others. The implication is that the acquisition of Position, Process and State verbs would follow - not precede - that of Action verbs. The present data suggest the opposite. We find support for this apparent primacy of State verbs in the observed primacy of copulas (cf. 4.3.2 above). The copula is the State verb par excellence, and as we have seen, copulas are preferred to verbs by the linguistically least advanced children.

6.6.6 Simple and compound verbs

Afrikaans has an extensive system of verb particles, comprising five classes variously identifiable with

prepositions, adverbs, adjectives, nouns and prepositional phrases (cf. Ponelis, 1978:233 ff,). The feature ±AUX in a clause determines the position of the particle relative to the verb, and also whether it is free or prefixed to the verb:

VERB - (X) - PARTICLE ⟹ AUX - (X) - PARTICLE+VERB

Though identifiable with several grammatical categories, functionally the verb particle is essentially adverbial. The main difference between adverbs and particles is that whereas the former optionally modifies the action referred to by the verb, the latter is an obligatory complement, imparting a specific meaning unique to that particular verb+particle combination. Thus the verb LOOP ('walk') can be modified by means of adverbs such as VINNIG ('fast') or DIKWELS ('often') without compromising its autonomous meaning. However, when it combines with a particle, the resultant whole is more than (or at least different from) the sum of the parts: LOOP ROND = 'wander about' and LOOP DEUR = 'get it in the neck'; nor are these latter cases paraphrasable in the same way as the former: HY LOOP EN DOEN DIT VINNIG ('He walks and does it fast') vs. *HY LOOP EN DOEN DIT ROND (*'He wanders and does it about').

There is a considerable resemblance between the children's use of free particles and their use of adverbs:

- All the children produce particles from their first samples on, suggesting that particle use makes no greater cognitive demands than adverb use;
- Particle frequencies correlate neither with sample chronology nor with the canonical order, suggesting that their use is stylistically rather than developmentally determined;
- The mean deletion rate for free particles is a low 8.46%, ranging from 2.50% for Chris to 15.38% for Erik.

Whereas both the free particle frequencies of the two cohorts, and the free and prefixed particle frequenies of the older cohort are comparable, the younger cohort produced only half as many prefixed as free particles.

This is to be expected, since particle prefixing depends upon the presence of a coverb and coverbs are much more common in the older than in the younger cohort's data (cf. Table 4.1). The distribution of free and prefixed verb particles in the present data is shown in Table 6.23.

Particle deletion is rare. In the entire corpus only ten prefixed particles are deleted (Anna = 2; Chris = 1; Deon = 1; Erik = 5; Freda 1), and realization of the particle in the context of a deleted verb occurs only seven times (Betsy = 1; Erik = 2; Freda = 4). The numbers are too small to reveal any patterns, and at best the deletions may be called idiosyncratic. Likewise, the effect of free particles on verb deletions seems to be idiosyncratic. Whereas overall verb deletions correlate perfectly with the canonical order, the verb deletion percentages for utterances containing free particles are higher (+) than the overall condition in half the cases, and lower (-) in the other half: Anna = 0% (-); Betsy = 7.81% (+); Chris = 11.63% (+); Deon = 3.45% (-); Erik = 7.58% (-); Freda = 27.03% (+).

6.6.7 Summary of verbs

Of the total of 243 verb types in the data, there are only 65 that occur more than five times and are also present in at least three of the children's data. Concentrating on these high-frequency types, we find the following:

- Although at first sight the occurrence of a particular verb type in the speech of a given child may seen to be fortuitous, it is possible to deduce with a good measure of certainty the general order of emergence of the first several dozen Afrikaans verbs. These are the verbs appearing in Tables 6.16 through 6.19, and it seems fair to assume that the higher the frequency of a particular type, and the greater the number of children producing it, the higher it would rank in the acquisition order for verb types.
- Although verbs form a large, open class, and although 243 verb types - and 2185 realized verb tokens - appear in the

TABLE 6.23

FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF UTTERANCES CONTAINING FREE AND PREFIXED VERB PARTICLES IN EACH CHILD'S CORPUS

	Free particles		Prefixed particles	
	N	%	N	%
Anna	40	8.30	44	9.13
Betsy	52	11.48	48	10.60
Chris	40	12.74	40	12.74
MEAN	44	10.84	44	10.82
Deon	27	8.04	20	5.95
Erik	54	16.46	21	6.40
Freda	35	11.63	16	5.32
MEAN	39	12.04	19	5.89

data, a marked commonality is found in the children's verb preferences among the high frequency verbs.

- Scrutiny of individual repertoires shows that there is no essential relation between repertoire development and the relative frequency of verb tokens in a child's corpus.

- The linguistically more advanced children favour "action" verbs, and the less advanced children favour "state" verbs. Although this notion runs counter to the apparent prototipicality of "action" in the early semantic relations identified by Brown (1973), it accords with our finding that the less advanced children use relatively more copulas than the more advanced ones.

- The children's similar treatment of free verb particles and adverbs suggest that for the children these elements are functionally the same.

6.7 SUMMARY

At the beginning of this chapter we posed a number of questions about repertoire development. Analysis of the data has revealed the following:

- For each category it is evident that development of the repertoire is not random but systematic. This observation can be seen as a general confirmation of H 2.

- The order of emergence of subcategories within main categories is as follows: temporal and modal auxiliaries precede catenatives; locative adverbs precede temporals, which in turn precede manner adverbs; locative prepositions precede all others; state verbs precede action verbs. These observations confirm H 2 and P 3.

- It is possible to identify some 7 coverbs, 10 prepositions, 18 adverbs and 2-3 dozen verbs that will form the base upon which children build their repertoires of these categories.

- The above two predictions are possible due to a high degree of commonality among the children. This commonality - confirmation of P 6 - is evidenced by observations like the following: the similarity across all the children of the decreasing trend in the frequency of specific coverb and verb types; the fact that in the children's pooled data, only two semantic entities account for 83% of tokens in an open class like manner adverbs; the fact that the younger cohort's combined preposition repertoire of 13 types forms a subset of the older cohort's repertoire of 23, which in itself forms a rather limited subset of all available prepositions.

- Beside the expected correspondences between repertoire development and the canonical order, there are some striking deviances. Thus there is a significant correlation between the canonical order and frequency of coverb tokens, but this does not hold for number of coverb types. Since the latter may be regarded as at least equivalent to the former as a criterion for linguistic skill, the lack of correlation reveals a limitation of MLU. Likewise, Freda's adverb repertoire is developed far beyond the rest of her cohort's - yet the MLU-based canonical order ranks her as the least advanced of all the children. These observations confirm P 7.

- There are three instances of correspondences between aspects of the development of different category repertoires: on both coverbs and copulas Anna and Betsy outstrip all the children by far, while Freda outstrips the rest; for both adverbs and prepositions it is clear that locatives enjoy precedence over all other classes; the children's treatment of adverbs and verb particles makes it clear that they make no distinction between these categories.

For more information on categories typically involved in constructions comprising elements that are more and less deletable, we turn to the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN : DELETIONS AND SUBSTITUTIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Of the five categories considered in this dissertation, coverbs, copulas and prepositions were found to have a high deletability potential, while verbs and adverbs were found to be relatively resistant to deletions (cf. Chapter 4, and in particular Tables 4.1 through 4.5). The gross deletion statistics reported in Chapters 4 and 5, while informative in their own right, do not provide information on the factors associated with deletion; nor do they reflect the relative deletability of elements in constructions. The aims of the present chapter are to find evidence confirming the predictions (P 1 and P 2) following from the first hypothesis in 1.4 above. As will be seen in the course of the argument, this can be done by

- isolating some factors associated with coverb deletion, and
- elucidating the relative deletability of elements typically associated with copula constructions and prepositional phrases.

In addition, the relative frequencies of copula complement types are reported, while some suggestions are also offered to account for preposition substitutions encountered in the data. Although neither complement frequencies nor preposition substitutions have a direct bearing on the main issue of this chapter, i.e. deletions, these matters are perhaps best dealt with here.

7.2 COVERBS

7.2.1 Introduction

In the presentation of coverb data at the within-child level of analysis (see 5.1.1 above) it was noted that the expected

recapitulation of observed between-child trends failed to materialize. It was then assumed that the within-child growth evidenced by certain correlations may be represented by features not readily picked up in gross frequency data. One fairly obvious candidate for such a role is context, by which is meant the relative complexity of the utterance in which the coverb occurs.

Heightened complexity must here be seen not in the sense of an accumulation of transformations, as the concept is used by Brown and Hanlon (1970). For our purposes complexity results from the introduction of optional elements into a string. To the "ideal speaker-listener" who is "unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors" (Chomsky, 1965:3) complexity, in any sense of the word, is of no more than academic interest. To the real-life speaker of a language, however, the "conditions" mentioned above translate into performance constraints, i.e. limits to the complexity of structures he can handle. Affected by such conditions to an extreme degree, the language-learning child is initially limited to a one-word output to convey a given semantic intent, then to two words at a time, then to three, and so on. Much of the present argument is consonant with, and a logical expansion of the view expressed by Greenfield and Smith (1976:201) that "the development from one- to two-word utterances can be seen as the *addition of a second, less informative element* to a single-word utterance" (emphasis added).

During the one-word stage the non-realization of obligatory elements is inevitable by virtue of the fact that expressing a two-word proposition requires minimally two words. Even in a language like Afrikaans, where the principal grammatical device is word order - and which does not, for example, require the introduction of a dummy auxiliary for question formation or negation - the range of two-term propositions expressible in a well-formed two-word utterance is strictly limited.

Let us consider for the sake of the argument a "possible" but counterfactual process of language acquisition where

deletion of obligatory elements does not occur. The one-word output would be limited to elliptical answers and certain imperatives. During the two-word phase the child would produce only the following sentence types:

- either declaratives or interrogatives comprising one-word subject NP's and intransitive verbs;
- imperatives comprising either transitive verbs and one-word object NP's, or intransitive verbs and adverbs.

At the three-word phase the scope is extended considerably. Two-word NP's are now produced, as are wh-interrogatives, auxiliary verbs, co-occurring (one-word) subject and object NP's, adverbs etc. With each lengthening of the output potential by one word a whole range of new possibilities opens up; but all along the child remains within the limitations of the moment, and he produces only well-formed sentences. As we know, the realities of language acquisition are quite different. Instead of confining themselves to the structures allowed by the performance constraints of the moment, children introduce elements before they can "afford" them. The price they pay for this extravagance is that they have to delete obligatory elements. In this section we address the question whether certain contexts are more likely than others to precipitate coverb deletion.

7.2.2 High-risk elements

(a) Individual high-risk elements.

The most elegant contingency would be if we were able to isolate a small set of individual elements, each with an independent predictive power for coverb deletion of say 90% or more, and together accounting for 100% of coverb deletions. This contingency is as unlikely as it is elegant, and close scrutiny of the data revealed the opposite to be true. Although the most advanced children realize far more coverbs than they delete, and the least advanced children delete far more than they realize, within each child's data coverb deletion appears to be quite random. Sometimes deletion occurs in short, relatively simple utterances, while at other times it fails to occur in long, complex utterances, and this holds for the paraphrased as well as

the realized versions. Nor is there any single element with greater predictive power than any other.

(b) A set of high-risk elements

A more realistic expectation would seem to be a set of (potentially co-occurring) elements, each member of which would by its presence in an utterance increase the risk factor for coverb deletion. In determining the membership of such a set, the following criteria would apply:

- relatively high frequency in that subset of the data containing coverbs;
- growth sensitivity;
- optionality in the sense that the element is not an ipso facto prerequisite for well-formedness.

These criteria narrow the field down to posessive and other prenominal adjectives, adverbs, PP's, and object NP's. The optionality of the latter category may be questioned. However, true intransitive verbs aside, a large number of the potentially transitive verbs in the present data can be, and are, used intransitively, so that it is often a matter of choice whether an object is specified.

If we assume that the introduction of any of these elements increases the complexity factor of an utterance, and if we further assume that complexity increases the risk factor for coverb deletion, then deletions should be directly proportional to complexity. Due to the time factor built into the present study, this does not simply mean that a given critical complexity value would predict deletion with a certain success rate. It means, in addition, that as each child's language gains in orthodoxy, it would require greater complexity to precipitate a deletion. As performance constraints decrease, the child's deletion threshold is raised.

To facilitate within-child, between-samples comparisons, a deletion ratio (DR) and a realization ratio (RR) were computed as follows: For all utterances (in each sample) containing a deleted coverb, all complicating elements, i.e. adjectives, adverbs, prepositions and object NP's were

counted, and the sum was divided by the number of deleted coverbs. This yields the DR - the number of complicating elements per deleted coverb. Next, by dividing the sum of complicating elements in utterances containing realized coverbs by the number of realized coverbs, the RR for the sample was obtained - the number of complicating elements per realized coverb. With these ratios for all the samples of each child available, it was possible to test the following hypotheses:

H 1: Following from the assumption that coverbs will tend to be deleted in a more complex context, it is hypothesized that in any samples where coverbs occur, the DR will be greater than the RR.

In Figure 7.1 the association is shown between age and the two ratios described above. It can be seen that a fairly consistent distance is maintained over time between the regression lines (*) indicating the DR and the RR, with DR > RR. This finding confirms the first hypothesis.

H 2: Following from the assumption that with increasing competence greater complexity will be required to precipitate a coverb deletion, it is hypothesized that over time the DR will increase.

A regression analysis showed a significant association between age and DR ($F = 8.42$, $p < .01$). This finding confirms the second hypothesis.

H 3: Following from the assumption that a corollary of increased competence will be a greater coverb survival potential, it is hypothesized that over time the RR will increase.

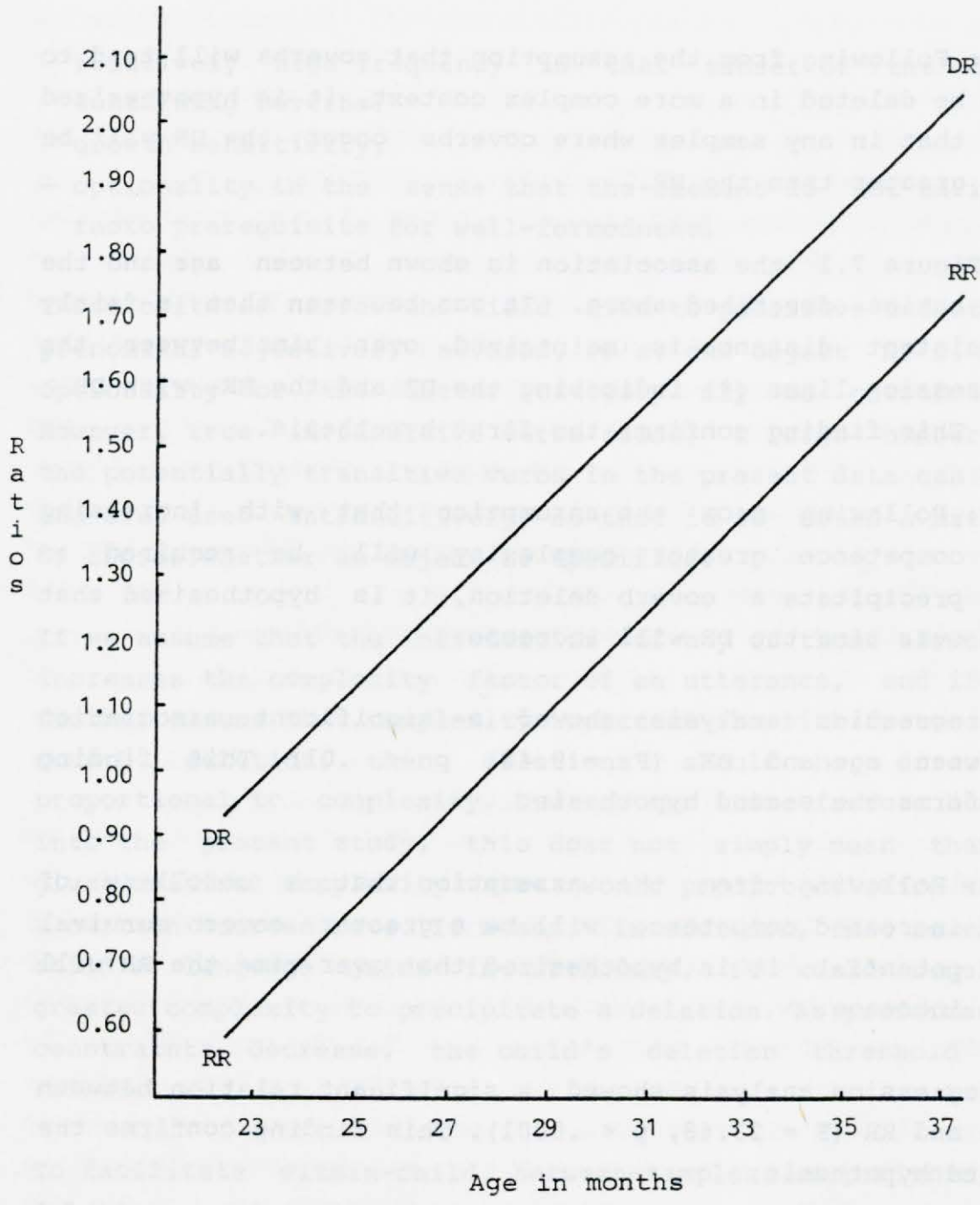
A regression analysis showed a significant relation between age and RR ($F = 23.48$, $p < .0001$). This finding confirms the third hypothesis.

---

* A least squares regression line is an objective method to obtain a best-fitting straight line through the observed data points (cf. Wonnacott and Wonnacott, 1970:6 ff.).

FIGURE 7.1

REGRESSION LINES SHOWING THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN AGE, DELETION RATIO (DR) AND REALIZATION RATIO (RR)



We may conclude from these results that coverb deletions are not as random as they initially appeared to be. Coverb deletions are, in fact, associated with the overall complexity of the utterances in which they occur. The elements contributing to this complexity are prenominal adjectives, adverbs, PP's, and object NP's.

7.3 COPULAS

7.3.1 Introduction

It was seen in 6.2 above that of the five categories considered in this dissertation, copula repertoire development as such is the least informative. This is understandable. The class of copulas is small, and functionally rather than semantically active. However, the copula construction taken as a whole, and the deletion pattern of its components, contain interesting information.

The essential components of the copula construction are a subject NP, the copula and a complement. In the present data the subject NP is invariably a noun or a pronoun (i.e. no noun clauses occur) while the complement may be one of the following: NP, predicative adjective, deictic locative, interrogative word, or PP. In this section deletion patterns of these essential components, the co-occurrence of subjects and complements with the copula, and the relative frequencies of complement types are reported.

7.3.2 Deletion of copula construction components

For the reasons set out below, we may formulate the following hypothesis:

H 4: The copula would have the highest deletability potential, the subject the second highest, and the complement would have a low deletability. Consider the following:

(a) Copula deletability.

Due to the semantic vacuity of the copula, and its high predictability - and commensurately low information load - in the context of a subject and a complement, copula deletion does not result in information loss. It therefore comes as no surprise that copula deletion is a regular feature of certain dialects of English, e.g. nonstandard Black English (cf. Labov, 1972), and that it also occurs to some extent in South African English as well as Afrikaans.

(b) Subject deletability.

In a study of the negative utterances produced by two Afrikaans children between the ages of 18 and 30 months, it was found that the least advanced child deleted 89% and the most advanced one 59% of subjects (Vorster 1982). From the reactions of the mothers of these children to subject-deleted utterances, it is clear that once again information loss was negligible. This is largely due to the fact that in the mother-child discourses observed, the same subject tends to persist over several utterances. Once a subject has been introduced, communication is maintained regardless of whether the child articulates the subject in subsequent utterances. Moreover, due to the here-and-now nature of these discourses, entities under discussion are almost invariably in the joint attention focus of the dyad, so that the child can introduce a subject, by commenting on it, without actually naming it. In such cases the mother typically names it in her next turn, after which the discourse runs its course.

(c) Complement deletability.

By the very nature of the copula construction, it is the complement that typically conveys the "new" information. A sentence with complement deletion would therefore only in exceptional circumstances succeed in performing a communicative function - i.e. when the subject, rather than the complement, conveys the "new" information. If, for example, the child says "Is daddy?" with a questioning intonation, and the mother says "Daddy is at the office", it is clear that she understood the child's

utterance to mean "Where is daddy?". In a similar way communication is maintained in the absence of a complement when, during a snapshot viewing session, the mother expands the child utterance "Grandma too" to "Yes, there is Grandma too".

Figure 7.2 shows to what extent the data confirm H 4, i.e. that copula deletions > subject deletions > complement deletions. Only in the case of Betsy are minimally more subjects deleted than copulas, while in all cases complement deletions are the least frequent. However, the relative ranges involved, i.e. the differences between the children deleting the most and the fewest copulas respectively, are more revealing than the mere confirmation of the hypothesis.

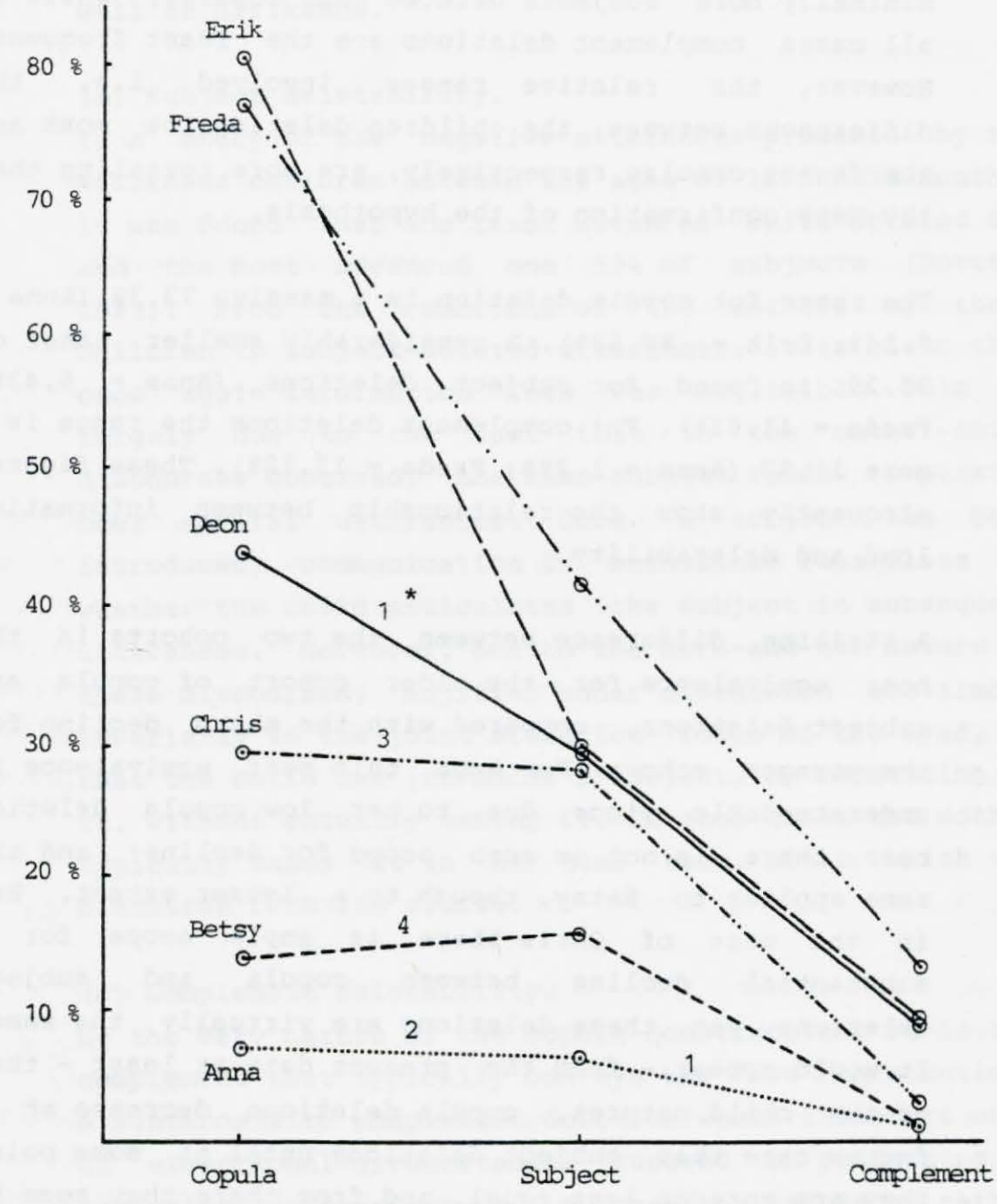
The range for copula deletion is a massive 73.39 (Anna = 7.14%; Erik = 80.53%). A considerably smaller range of 35.20 is found for subject deletions (Anna = 6.43%; Freda = 41.63%). For complement deletions the range is a mere 11.83 (Anna = 1.29%; Freda = 13.12%). These figures eloquently show the relationship between information load and deletability.

A striking difference between the two cohorts is the near equivalence for the older cohort of copula and subject deletions, compared with the sharp decline for the younger cohort. For Anna this near equivalence is understandable since, due to her low copula deletion rate, there is not so much scope for decline; and the same applies to Betsy, though to a lesser extent. But in the case of Chris there is ample scope for a substantial decline between copula and subject deletions, yet these deletions are virtually the same. It would appear - from the present data at least - that as the child matures, copula deletions decrease at a faster rate than subject deletions until at some point they are more or less equal, and from there they seem to decrease at an equal rate.

The between-child pattern reflected in Figure 7.2 is for the most part repeated in the within-child data. Each

FIGURE 7.2

PERCENTAGE DELETION OF ESSENTIAL COMPONENTS
OF THE COPULA CONSTRUCTION



* Number of contributing samples - a total of 11 out of 78 - running counter to the hypothesis that for deletions Copulas > Subjects > Complements. (Each straight line represents 6 samples for the younger cohort and 7 for the older cohort.)

line connecting two data points summarizes, for the younger cohort, six samples, and for the older cohort seven samples. The parenthesized figures above the lines indicate the number of samples running counter to Hypothesis 4. For the younger cohort each line between two points represents six samples, while for the older cohort it represents seven. This means that out of a possible maximum of 78 figures, only 11 run counter to the hypothesis. As may be expected, these cases occur for the most part where the differences between the data points are slight and the figures involved are small.

7.3.3 Co-occurrence of subject/complement and copula

Having confirmed the hypothesized deletion pattern: COPULA < SUBJECT < COMPLEMENT, we turn now to the question of the relationship between copula deletions and the deletion of the other two components of the copula construction. Since, at least for the younger cohort, there are not enough realized copulas to go round, how do the children apportion them? There are two possible strategies:

(a) All or one.
Following this strategy, children would in some cases articulate only the high-information element occupying their attention at the time of the utterance, leaving the rest as read; in the rest of the cases they would produce well-formed utterances containing all the essential elements of the copula construction. To follow this strategy, a child must have available the complete rule for the copula construction. The deletions would be ascribable to some of Chomsky's "grammatically irrelevant conditions (such) as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors" (Chomsky, 1965:3).

(b) Share alike.
Following this strategy, a child would build up his copula constructions by first only articulating the complement, then the copula with the complement, and so on until he finally produces the full construction. If

systematic, such a procedure would reflect steps in the acquisition of the copula construction.

Though theoretically attractive, the latter strategy is not the one favoured by the children. Although copula deletion is rife among the younger children, they all produce well-formed copula constructions from their first samples on. Furthermore, there is a marked tendency for all the children to produce one-word utterances paraphrasable as copula constructions, in preference to utterances consisting either of a copula plus a complement or a subject plus a copula (cf. Table 7.1). The "all or one" strategy seems to predominate, resulting in either well-formed utterances or solitary complements (or, to a lesser extent, solitary subjects).

7.3.4 Relative frequencies of complement types

Since a fair amount has been said in this section about the deletability of copula complements, and since these elements receive no further attention elsewhere in this dissertation, some information here on the frequencies of the different complement types seems appropriate.

The frequencies and percentages of the five complement types occurring in the data are shown in Table 7.2. It is clear from the totals column that the most used complements are nominals and the least used are prepositional phrases. Adjectives and deictic locatives occupy a mid-high position and interrogatives a mid-low position. There is a significant association between the relative frequencies of the complement types in the different children's data (Kendall coefficient of concordance for small samples: $s = 239$, $p < .01$). Despite this association there are some interesting individual performances. On both nominals and deictic locatives Anna scores considerably lower than the rest of the children. Constructions containing these two complement types are typical of the less advanced children's speech, and their relative paucity in Anna's data reflects her sophistication. The same applies to the prevalence of adjectives and prepositional phrases

TABLE 7.1

PERCENTAGES OF SUBJECTS AND COMPLEMENTS OCCURRING WITH COPULAS (+COP) AND WITHOUT COPULAS (-COP)

	Subject		Complement	
	+cop	-cop	+cop	-cop
Anna	17.63	82.37	0	100
Betsy	15.80	84.20	19.90	80.10
Chris	13.35	86,65	32.97	67.03
Deon	30.27	69.73	4.93	95.07
Erik	37.15	62.85	24.56	75.44
Freda	28.08	71.92	15.85	84.15

TABLE 7.2

FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF COPULA COMPLEMENT TYPES

Type	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda	Total
Nominal	39	63	104	54	67	75	402
%	23.08	31.98	37.85	28.72	35.21	34.85	32.58
Adjective	65	50	68	35	37	52	307
%	37.91	25.68	24.61	18.63	19.25	24.06	24,88
Locative	18	56	48	36	76	68	302
%	10.44	28.38	17.67	19.12	39.91	31.54	24.47
Interrog.	31	23	48	52	5	14	173
%	18.13	11.71	17.67	27.66	2.82	6.64	14.02
PP	18	4	6	11	5	6	50
%	10.44	2.25	2.21	5.88	2.82	2.90	4.05
Total	171*	196*	274*	188	190	215	1 234

* It must be borne in mind that the older cohort's corpora comprise seven samples and those of the younger cohort six.

TABLE 7.3

RELATIVE FREQUENCIES OF INTERROGATIVES IN +COPULA AND -COPULA CONTEXTS

	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda
+copula construction	31	23	48	52	5	14
-copula construction	28	0	34	0	0	0
Total	59	23	82	52	5	14

in her data. There is an interesting comparison to be made on both counts between Anna and Erik (whose performance can often be seen to belie his position in the canonical order). Erik's total for nominals and deictic locatives is 75.12% against Anna's 33.52%. On the other hand, Anna's total for adjectives and prepositional phrases is 48.35% against Erik's 22.07%

The relative paucity of interrogative copula complements in the data of the two least advanced children is striking (cf. Table 7.2). Although the development of interrogatives does not form part of the present report, it is interesting to note that for four of the children, interrogatives only appear in the context of copula constructions. The minimal development of interrogatives in the data of Erik and Freda, and the absence of interrogatives in the non-copula data of all but Anna and Chris, can be seen in Table 7.3.

7.4 PREPOSITIONS

7.4.1 Preposition deletions

In Table 6.11.A are given the preposition types and tokens that are realized by each child, and in Table 6.11.B those for which unfilled slots are generated. The question now arising is whether preposition deletions are random, or whether we can identify some internal determinant for these deletions.

We can approach this question by hypothesizing that the semantic intent associated with a given preposition would be likely to precede its realization in a child's data. If semantic intent precedes realization, then it should be possible to show that types for which slots are generated but which are not yet realized by a particular child, are precisely those types which, by virtue of their frequency and generality in the other children's data, are the most likely to be acquired next. To be specific, it would be counter-intuitive to find the younger cohort generating - but not filling -

slots for low-frequency prepositions like TEEN ('against') or NABY ('near'); equally counter-intuitive would be for them not to generate slots for high frequency prepositions like either the commitative or the instrumental MET ('with') - whether they fill these slots or not. Note that these judgements are not based on any native-speaker intuitions about the relative complexity or abstractness of instrumentality, proximity and the like, but on the relative prevalence of the types themselves in the children's data.

In Table 6.11.A there are 63 blank cells - signifying the non-occurrence of a given type in a particular child's data - and in Table 6.11.B there are 47 blank cells. This means that in 16 cases (i.e. 25.40% of the total) a child generated a slot - or slots - for a particular preposition, but failed to ever realize it. Can we make some meaningful distinction between these two subsets of preposition types: those for which slots are generated but not filled; and the rest, for which a paricular child simply does not generate any slots?

We can, on the strength of their total frequencies in the data, dichotomize preposition types into "common" and "esoteric" classes, calling a type esoteric if, in the entire corpus, it fails to be realized more than five times. Again, it must be stressed that the epithet "esoteric" is not inspired by native-speaker intuitions, and that several intuitively simple and manifestly common preposition types fail to occur in the data at all. The only criterion for calling a type "common" or "esoteric" is frequency in the data.

The common/esoteric dichotomy, superimposed on the existing trichotomy of locatives, directionals and others, yields six cells (see Table 7.4). Of these, two contain no figures: the cell defined by the features +Locative and +Common is empty because all adverbs in this set were realized, while the table deals with deletions; the cell defined by the features +Other and +Esoteric is empty because there were no adverbs - realized or otherwise - in this set.

TABLE 7.4

PREPOSITIONS : DISTRIBUTION OF DELETED TYPES

		Locative	Directional	Other	Total
Common	Possible		5	14	19
	Actual		3	9	12
	Percent		60 %	64.29 %	63.16 %
Esoteric	Possible	21	23		44
	Actual	0	4		4
	Percent	0 %	17.39 %		9.09 %
Total	Possible	21	28	14	63
	Actual	0	7	9	16
	Percent	0 %	25 %	64.29 %	25.40 %

Although the two empty cells preclude meaningful statistical testing of the differences between the proportions in the cells, it is clear that these proportions differ radically, showing that preposition deletions are not random. It seems that before specific preposition types overtly emerge in a child's data, he tends to first generate unfilled slots for these types.

7.4.2 Preposition substitutions

The preposition types listed in Table 6.11.A were all actually produced by the children. However, in some cases children use inappropriate types, for example:

ONS GAAN BY (NA) DIE KAAP
('we go at (to) the Cape'
= 'we are going to the Cape')

In such cases the preposition slot was taken as filled, but the intended type (hereafter referred to as "target"), and not the substitution produced, was included in the type count. Though not numerous (a total of 35 preposition substitutions occur in the entire corpus) certain features of these substitutions make them worthy of note:

- In the first place, it is striking that both the targets and the substitutions are predominantly from the subset of prepositions styled above as "common". Out of the 35 cases, two esoteric targets are substituted by common types, and one common target is substituted by an esoteric type.
- In the second place, all targets are realized appropriately somewhere in the overall corpus, in most cases even in the corpus of the child producing the substitution.
- In the third place, substitution tokens as well as types feature significantly more in the older cohort's than in the younger cohort's data (Mann-Whitney $U = 0$, $p < 0.05$; cf. Siegel, 1956:116 ff.):

	Anna	Betsy	Chris	Deon	Erik	Freda
Tokens	10	8	10	3	2	2
Types	8	6	5	2	1	2

The above observations have several interesting implications. Working on the assumption that more familiar types would be substituted for less familiar types, one would expect a tendency to use common substitutions for esoteric targets - or for targets not occuring in the data at all. The fact that the opposite is the case, seems to show that substitutions do not primarily serve to fill slots for which the appropriate types are not known. It seems, rather, that substitutions occur for one of two other (closely related) reasons. Either the semantic values of the different types have not yet been firmly established, resulting in confusion of types, or the children have not yet become sufficiently fastidious in their choice of types, resulting in the generalization of one type to another. The present data do not allow for a choice to be made between these alternatives, but it may well be possible to investigate the matter experimentally.

It is striking that targets are largely confined to the 13 common types found in the data. Add to this the fact that there are 178 deletions in the data and only 35 substitutions, and the notion is strengthened that substitution is not primarily a strategy used when the appropriate preposition had not yet been incorporated into the child's repertoire; that substitution is, in fact, either due to carelessness or to generalization. This line of argument is further supported by the fact that the older cohort are the prime producers of substitutions. Ever since the well-known "Wug"-studies by Berko (1958) generalization has been accepted as indicative of the productive acquisition of a rule. This datum, combined with the relative abundance of preposition types in the older cohort's corpora and this cohort's greater tendency to produce substitutions, leads to the tentative suggestion that the older cohort's PP's may be more likely to be analyzed, while the younger cohort's may be more likely to be formulaic.

It is tempting to counterargue that the younger cohort, responsible for 72% of all preposition deletions, do not primarily delete these because they lack the appropriate types in their repertoires, but because they are constrained to only articulating high-information elements. This argument is compromized by the fact that the younger cohort did articulate all of 108 prepositions, showing that performance constraints are not absolute; and furthermore by the fact that they did delete 48 tokens, representing 14 types which ostensibly were lacking from their combined repertoire. Yet they only produced seven substitutions. This figure may have been expected to be much higher had substitution, rather than deletion, been the strategy used when lacking a type in one's repertoire for which there is already present the semantic intent.

7.4.3. Relative deletability of components

The global figures presented in Table 4.4 represent inter alia all preposition slots generated, and the percentage of these filled by each child. No account is taken in these tables of the rest of the structure in which the preposition occurs. Although elliptically deleted prepositions are not reflected in Table 4.4 (nor in Tables 5.4.A and 5.4.B) it is quite possible that other elements in the larger structures containing these prepositions were indeed elliptically deleted. For the sake of the validity of the present comparison, therefore, only utterances were considered in which every element was either realized - albeit with a substitution - or ungrammatically, i.e. not elliptically, deleted.

As with deletions of essential components of copula constructions (see 7.2.2 above) the present comparison is motivated by the question: what is the relative deletability of elements in a specific construction type? The common ground between the copula construction and the prepositional phrase is that both are distinguished by the presence of a low-information functional "head" and a high-information lexical "complement". All similarities end there: whereas the copula itself is semantically vacuous, each preposition type specifies a relation, and therefore

has a specific semantic value; whereas the copula performs the verbal function in a clause - and is therefore obligatory - the prepositional phrase is an optional modifier with no indispensable syntactical function in a clause.

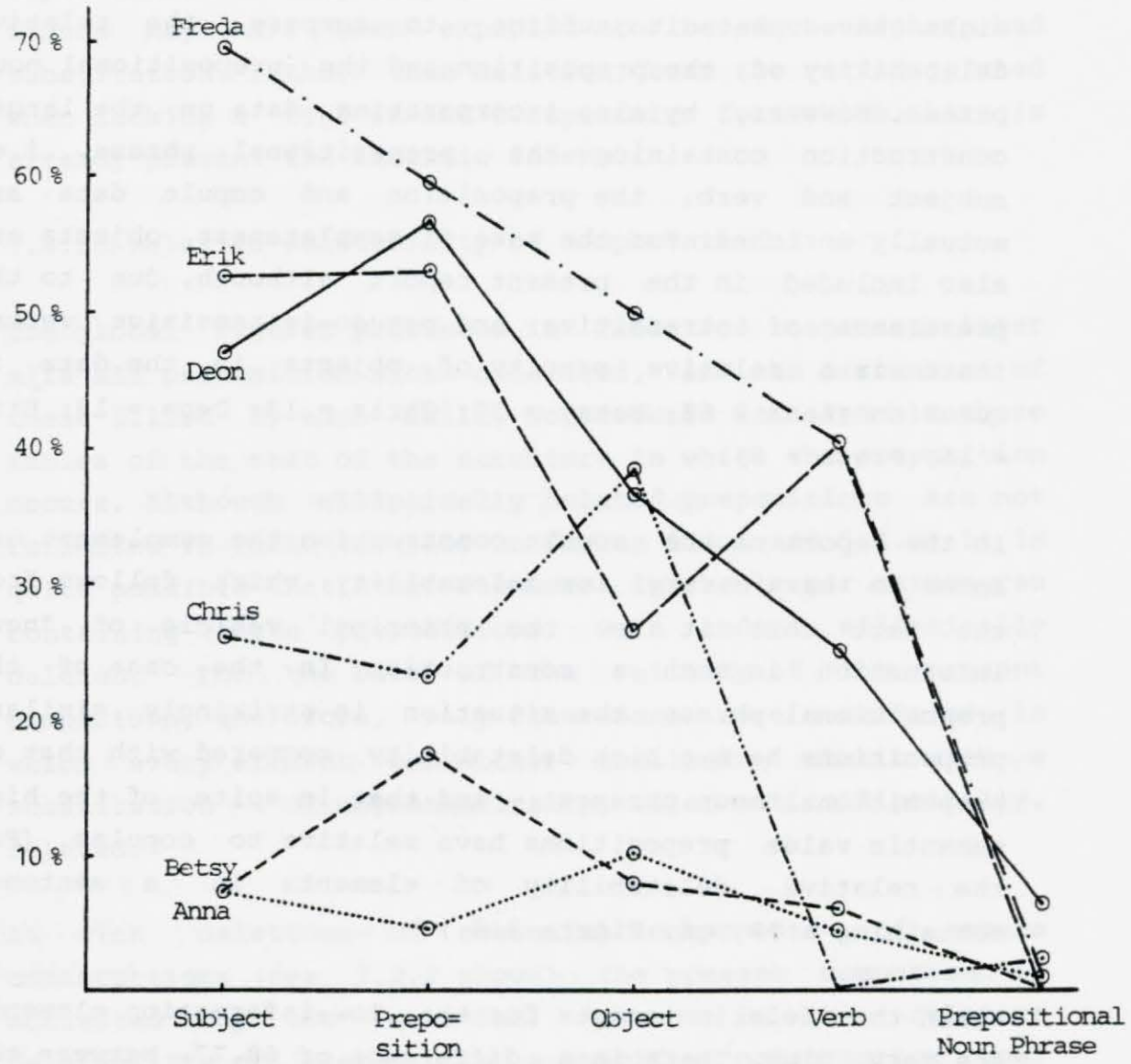
While the essential elements in a copula construction are also essential elements in a clause, the essential elements in a prepositional phrase are no more than essential in relation to each other, deletion of an element being irrelevant at the clause level. Since this is the case, we might have let it suffice to compare the relative deletability of the preposition and the prepositional noun phrase. However, by also incorporating data on the larger construction containing the prepositional phrase, i.e. subject and verb, the preposition and copula data are mutually enriched. For the sake of completeness, objects are also included in the present report although, due to the prevalence of intransitive and pseudo-intransitive verbs, there is a relative paucity of objects in the data in question (Anna = 68; Betsy = 37; Chris = 13; Deon = 19; Erik = 15; Freda = 8).

In the report on the copula construction the complement was found to have a very low deletability, which follows from the fact that it is the principal vehicle of "new" information in such a construction. In the case of the prepositional phrase the situation is strikingly similar: prepositions have a high deletability compared with that of prepositional noun phrases - and that in spite of the high semantic value prepositions have relative to copulas. (For the relative deletability of elements in a sentence containing a PP, cf. Figure 7.3.)

Again the deletion ranges for the low-information elements are very high. There is a difference of 68.77 between the child deleting the most and the least subjects, and the corresponding figure for prepositions is 55.17. In sharp contrast, for the prepositional noun phrase it is a mere 6.52. With one exception, i.e. Chris' high rate of object deletion, there is a clear rift between the two cohorts on the first four scores; but on the fifth, prepositional noun

FIGURE 7.3

PERCENTAGE DELETION OF ELEMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES



phrases, is found the kind of uniformity across all the children that is seldom found even within one cohort.

7.5 SUMMARY

By taking a closer look at the deletion-prone elements dealt with in this dissertation, i.e. coverbs, copulas and prepositions, we were able to show the following:

- When an attempt is made to relate coverb deletions to individual "culprit" elements - to specific factors associated with deletion - they appear to be random. However, a DR computed by dividing the sum of adjectives, adverbs, prepositions and object NP's by the number of co-occurring coverb deletions, shows these elements to jointly constitute high-risk contexts for coverb deletion (cf. 7.2.2 above).

- In this connection three hypotheses were formulated: the DR will be greater than the RR; the DR will increase over time; the RR will increase over time. That these hypotheses were all supported by the data, constitutes confirmation of P 2, based on the original H 1.

- In both copula constructions and PP's there are high and low-information elements, the latter being consistently more prone to deletion than the former. The children's respective linguistic levels are faithfully reflected by the rate at which they delete low-information elements, whereas high-information elements are minimally deleted and do not distinguish between the children (cf. 7.3.2 above). These observations support H 1 and its concomitant predictions P 1 and P 2.

- There are strong indications that unfilled slots for specific preposition types are generated before these types are realized. This would show that the semantic intent associated with a specific preposition precedes its realization (cf. 7.4.1 above) and serves as a high-level confirmation of H 1.

- Copula constructions with deleted elements occur in the same samples with complete copula constructions, showing that the former constructions do not necessarily reflect incompetence. Moreover, incomplete constructions are far more likely to consist only of the subject or the complement, than of one of these elements plus the copula. Realized copulas tend to be reserved for complete constructions (cf. 7.3.3 above). These observations confirm P 1.

- Preposition substitutions are not related to repertoire deficiencies. Far more substitutions occur in the data of the more advanced cohort than in the data of the less advanced cohort, and in most cases substitutions co-occur with the correct preposition (cf. 7.4.2 above).

On balance it would seem that the deletions considered in this chapter are the result of performance constraints rather than lack of knowledge of the system. The fact that information load is the deciding factor determining which elements will be deleted, provides strong support for the assumption of Greenfield and Smith (1976) that there is an essential similarity between the way adults and children see - and talk about - the world.

CHAPTER EIGHT : CONCLUSIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The central concern of this dissertation was to test a descriptive method capable of identifying objective and fundamental variables underlying the observable phenomena of the language acquisition process. The problem of accounting for language acquisition is certainly not new. If originality is to be claimed for the outcome of the present dissertation, it will be found in an original approach to an exisiting problem, and in the establishing of a body of systematized knowledge on certain aspects of the acquisition of Afrikaans syntax.

The descriptive method used here (paraphrasing) has necessarily led to a new interpretation of what constitutes data in developmental psycholinguistics. Applying the technique to longitudinal data - and on an unprecedented scale - we were able to show that the non-realization of elements occurring in the paraphrase form part of the data base of a theory of language acquisition.

The confirmation of hypothesized regularities in the data elevates these hypotheses to the status of rules. In the process of confirming our hypotheses, we employed recognized statistical techniques as legitimate and controlled means of idealizing the data.

A descriptive procedure can only be evaluated in the context of a theoretical discussion of the relative merits of alternative descriptive procedures. Therefore, paraphrasing was placed (in Chapter 2) in the context of current trends in theoretical psycholinguistics. The process of locating the central concern of this dissertation within the domain of present-day psycholinguistic research, entailed an evaluation of known descriptive procedures. The semantic-cognitive approach was identified as the approach best able

to elucidate the problematical and elusive phenomenon of language acquisition. The central hypothesis of this dissertation is derived from the assumption of Greenfield and Smith (1976) that adults and children express the way they see the world in essentially similar ways.

To meet the requirement of replicability, an account of the experimental design was supplemented with a detailed description of the coding procedure. In addition, the raw data used for the present analysis is provided.

8.2 SUMMARY OF RESULTS

In one form or another, support was found in the data for all the hypotheses formulated in 1.4 above. In a few cases, two hypotheses or predictions are opposed to one another. That support for both could be found - e.g. that in certain respects language acquisition is invariant while in other respects it varies, or that the acquisition of certain categories tends to be hierarchical while for other categories it seems to be linear - need not be seen as contradictory. Considering the diversity of the categories investigated, such findings would themselves be predictable.

In view of the chapter summaries appearing in the text, there is no need for the present summary to be anything but brief. When, therefore, the support found for the hypotheses and their concomitant predictions is reviewed below, no attempt at exhaustiveness will be made.

8.2.1 Hypothesis 1

The hypothesis central to this dissertation is that children and adults express the way they see the world in essentially similar ways. The predictions following from this general hypothesis are that:

- one of the most important differences between child and adult speech lies in children's non-realization of low-information elements, and

- we can usefully describe language development in terms of a narrowing gap between child and adult speech.

In the present data, support for H 1, and P 1 and P 2, is found at every turn. The most obvious support for P 1 is found in Chapter 7, where the deletability of copula construction components (cf. 7.3.2) and PP components (cf. 7.4.3) is discussed. For P 2, the most obvious support is found in the GS-FS convergences reported in Chapter 4.

8.2.2 Hypothesis 2

Support for H 2 (that an effective procedure should identify differences between a child's earlier and later samples) and P 3 (that later samples are closer to adult speech than earlier samples) is found in its purest form in Chapter 6, where repertoire development is discussed. Of particular merit for the procedure is its ability to project the emergence of preposition types not yet realized in a child's speech (cf. 6.5.2 for a presentation of the data, and 7.4.1 for a discussion of this projection).

8.2.3 Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis concerns the potential of the procedure for showing up differences between age-equivalent children.

The first two predictions following from this hypothesis (P 4 and P 5) are supported by the abundant correlations between a variety of variables on the one hand and the canonical order on the other, and by the many instances where the data were able to make a distinction between the two cohorts.

The next two predictions following from H 3 (P 6 and P 7) concern the invariance/variance of developmental steps across children. From the limited data analyzed, and the limited domain considered, it is possible to conclude that clear trends predominate (cf. the between-child frequency data in Chapter 4, and the repertoire development data in Chapter 6). Yet this support for invariance is repeatedly compromized by trend-disturbing individual performances.

8.2.4 Hypotheses 4 and 5

These two hypotheses address the question of the extent to which the language acquisition process should be seen as hierarchical (H 4) or linear (H 5) - i.e. whether developmental differences can be shown to be "qualitative" (P 8) or "quantitative" (P 9). Strong support for H 4 is found in the data on repertoire development (cf. Chapter 6), particularly in the development of subcategories like adverb classes, "common" vs. "esoteric" prepositions, and action vs. state verbs. For the categories bearing the feature -Semantic, however, there is evidence that acquisition is linear.

8.3 FINAL EVALUATION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

8.3.1 First objective : the method

The method used here has produced some tangible results. However, in the behavioural sciences problems at best have only approximate solutions. We can not, therefore, claim that paraphrasing is the "best" method of describing language acquisition. What we *can* claim is that this method brings to light information that eludes other methods.

The outstanding advantage of this method is that it provides for an objective and controlled comparison between different - by implication more and less standard - forms of a language. Van der Geest et al. (1973) used it to compare the speech of kindergarten children from different socio-economic milieux, and Snow et al. (1976) did the same for the speech of mothers. In the present study it was used to compare young language-learning children's successive approximations to adult Afrikaans. A crucial test awaits the method when a proposed application of it to describe the acquisition of some African (i.e. non-Indo-European) languages is implemented.

However, the potential usefulness of this method is not limited to the language acquisition context. In the present study we concentrated on deletions, but it must be borne in

mind that paraphrasing also entails substitutions, additions and permutations. In South Africa a pidginized form of Afrikaans is common in Black-White communication, and paraphrasing seems to be ideally suited to characterize the differences between this "Black-talk Afrikaans" and standard Afrikaans (*). If paraphrasing can be shown to be a superior technique for characterizing substandard forms, it should be able to bring to light underlying similarities between different simplified registers (e.g. child language, aphasia and pidgins).

8.3.2 Second objective : Afrikaans acquisition

In addition to testing the paraphrasing technique, we were able to provide a substantial body of information on the acquisition of Afrikaans. Concentrating on the five categories uniquely associated with the verb phrase, we were able to show their relative deletability potential in the speech of linguistically more and less advanced children. We were also able to identify for each category that subset of items from which a child learning Afrikaans is likely to start building his lexicon.

In view of such success as was achieved with the present analysis and description of the data, we may predict that further analyses - concentrating on the noun phrase, co- and subordination, and logical operations like negation and interrogation - will yield comparable results.

8.3.3. Third objective : Individual differences and MLU deficiencies

In the process of analyzing the data, instances were noticed where the performances of individual children on particular variables showed up inadequacies of MLU as an index of linguistic development. In view of the prominence of MLU in developmental psycholinguistic research, it was set as an objective - albeit a minor one - to record, and attempt to generalize from instances where MLU obviously fails to

---

* An exploratory study of this phenomenon - by Betsy Stoltz of the Rand Afrikaans University - is currently under way.

reflect some important merit in a child's language. This objective was met in that we were able to establish that repertoire development does not necessarily correlate with token frequency in a child's data. Thus we may find a relative paucity of coverb or adverb types - resulting in a deflated MLU - co-occurring with a relatively rich repertoire for the same categories. When the data base has been analyzed in its entirety, it is possible that this line of inquiry will reveal important information on the issue of individual differences between children's acquisition of language.

REFERENCES

ANDERSON, R. M., MILES, M. and MATHENY, P. A. *The communicative evaluation chart from infancy to 5 years.* Audiology and speech pathology department, Children's Hospital, Denver Co., 1964.

ARLMAN-RUPP, A.J.L., VAN NIEKERK-DE HAAN, D. and VAN DER SANDT-KOENDERMAN, M. Brown's early stages: some evidence from Dutch. *Journal of Child Language*, 3:267-274, 1976.

BAKKER-RENNES, H. and HOEFNAGEL-HÖHLE, M. *Situatie verschillen in taalgebruik.* Master's thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1974.

BATES, E. Functionalism and the biology of language. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development*, 15:K1-K26, Stanford University, 1978.

BERKO, J. The child's learning of English morphology. *Word*, 14:150-177, 1958.

BLOCH, O. Les premiers stades du langage de l'enfant. *Journal de Psychologie*, 18:693-712, 1921.

BLOOM, L. *Language development: form and function in emerging grammars.* Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 1970.

BLOOM, L. An integrative perspective on language development. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development*, 12:1-22, Stanford University, 1976.

BLUMENTHAL, A. L. *Language and psychology*. New York, John Wiley, 1970.

BOWERMAN, M. *Early syntactic development: a cross-linguistic study with special reference to Finnish*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973.

BRAINE, M.D.S. The ontogeny of English phrase structure: the first phase. *Language*, 39:1-13, 1963.

BRAINE, M. D. S. and HARDY, J. A. On what case categories there are, and how they develop: an amalgam of a priori considerations, speculations, and evidence from children. Unpublished manuscript. (Subsequently published in Gleitman, L. and Wanner, E. (Eds.) *Language acquisition: the state of the art*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1982. Page reference unobtainable.)

BROEN, P. A. The verbal environment of the language-learning child. *ASHA Monographs*, Washington, D.C., American Speech and Hearing Association, 1972.

BROWN, R. *Words and things*. Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1957.

BROWN, R. *A first language: the early stages*. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1973.

BROWN, R. and BELLUGI, U. Three processes in the child's acquisition of syntax. *Harvard Educational Review*, 34:133-151, 1964.

BROWN, R. and FRASER, C. The acquisition of syntax. In: Cofer, C. N. and Musgrave, B. S. (Eds.) *Verbal behavior and learning*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1963.

BROWN, R. and HANLON, C. Derivational complexity and order of acquisition in child speech. In: Hayes, J. R. (Ed.) *Cognition and the development of language*. New York, Wiley, 1977.

BÜHLER, K. Kritische Musterung der neuern Theorien des Satzes. In: *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*, 6, 1-20, 1918.

BÜHLER, K. *Sprachtheorie*. Gustav Fischer Verlag, Jena, 1934.

CAZDEN, C. Peekaboo as an instructional model: discourse development at home and at school. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development*, 17:1-29, Stanford University, 1978.

CHAPMAN, R. S. Issues in child language acquisition. In: Lass, N., Northern, J., Yoder, D. and McReynolds, L.

(Eds.) *Speech, language and hearing*, Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Company, forthcoming.

CHERRY, L. J. Sex differences in child speech: McCarthy revisited. *Research Bulletin, ETS*, Princeton, N.J., 1975.

CHOMSKY, N. *Syntactic structures*. The Hague, Mouton, 1957.

CHOMSKY, N. Review of B. F. Skinner: "Verbal behavior". *Language*, 35:26-57, 1959.

CHOMSKY, N. Degrees of grammaticalness. In: Fodor, J. A. and Katz, J. J. (Eds.) *The structure of Language*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1964. (Originally published as: Some methodological remarks on generative grammar. *Word*, 17:219-239, 1961.)

CHOMSKY, N. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 1965.

CHOMSKY, N. *Cartesian Linguistics*. New York, Harper and Row, 1966.

CHOMSKY, N. *Language and mind*. New York, Harcourt, 1968.

CLARK, E. Convention and innovation in acquiring the lexicon. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development*, 19:1-20, Stanford University, 1980.

CRYSTAL, D. Keynote address. *Proceedings of the First Annual Symposium on Research in Child Language Disorders.* University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981.

CRYSTAL, D., FLETCHER, P., and GARMAN, M. *The grammatical analysis of language disability: a procedure for assessment and remediation.* London, Edward Arnold, 1976.

DALE, P. *Language development: structure and function.* New York, Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1976.

DERWING, B. *Transformational grammar as a theory of language acquisition.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973.

DE VILLIERS, J. G. and DE VILLIERS, P. A. *Language Acquisition.* Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1978.

DIK, S. C. *Studies in functional grammar.* London, Academic Press, 1980.

DRACH, K. The language of the parent: a pilot study. *Working Paper 14,* Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

ERVIN-TRIPP, S. From conversation to syntax. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development,* 13:K1-K21, Stanford University, 1977.

FODOR, J. A. How to learn to talk: some simple ways. In: Smith, F. and Miller, G. A. (Eds.) *The genesis of language*. Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 105-122, 1966.

FILLMORE, C. The case for case. In: Bach, E. and Harms, R. T. (Eds.) *Universals in linguistic theory*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1-90, 1968.

FREUND, J. E. and WILLIAMS, F. J. *Elementary business statistics*. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1976.

GLEITMAN, L. and WANNER, E. Language learning: the state of the art. Unpublished manuscript. (Subsequently published in Gleitman, L. and Wanner, E. (Eds.) *Language acquisition: the state of the art*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1982. Page reference unobtainable.)

GREENFIELD, P. M. and SMITH, J. H. *The structure of communication in early language development*. New York, Academic Press, 1976.

HOFF-GINSBERG, E. and SHATZ, M. Linguistic input and the child's acquisition of language. *Psychological Bulletin*, 92, 1:3-26, 1982.

HOLZMAN, M. The use of interrogative forms in verbal interaction of three mothers and their children. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 1:311-336, 1972.

HOLZMAN, M. The verbal environment provided by mothers for their very young children. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 20:31-42, 1974.

INGRAM, E. The requirements of model users. In: Huxley, R. and Ingram, E. (Eds.) *Language acquisition: models and methods*. New York, Academic Press, 1971.

KANTOR, J. R. *An objective psychology of grammar*. Bloomington, Indiana University Publications, 1936.

KOBASHIGAWA, B. Repetitions in a mother's speech to her child. In: *Working Paper 14*, Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

KOENIGSKNECHT, R.A. and FRIEDMAN, P. Syntax development in boys and girls. *Child Development*, 47, 4:1109-1115, 1976.

LABOV, W. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

LAKOFF, G. Instrumental adverbs and the concept of deep structure. *Foundations of language*, 4:4-29, 1968.

LEES, R. B. Review of Noam Chomsky: "Syntactic Structures". *Language*, 33:375-408, 1957.

LENNEBERG, E. H. *Biological foundations of language.* New York, Wiley, 1967.

LYONS, J. *Introduction to theoretical linguistics.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968.

MACAULAY, R.K.S. The myth of female superiority in language. *Journal of Child Language,* 5:353-363, 1977.

MARATSOS, M. The child's construction of grammatical categories. Unpublished manuscript. (Subsequently published in Gleitman, L. and Wanner, E. (Eds.) *Language acquisition: the state of the art.* New York, Cambridge University Press, 1982. Page reference unobtainable.)

McCAWLEY, J. D. The role of semantics in a grammar. In: Bach, E. and Harms, R. T. (Eds.) *Universals in linguistic theory.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 125-169, 1968.

McNEILL, D. Developmental psycholinguistics. In: Smith, F. and Miller, G. *The genesis of language.* Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 15-84, 1966.

McNEILL, D. *The acquisition of language.* New York, Harper and Row, 1970.

McWHINNEY, B. and BATES, E. Functionalist approaches to grammar. Unpublished manuscript. (Subsequently published in Gleitman, L. and Wanner, E. (Eds.) *Language acquisition: the state of the art*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1982. Page reference unobtainable.)

MILLER, W. and ERVIN, S. The development of grammar in child language. In: Bellugi, U. and Brown, R. (Eds.) *The acquisition of language. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 29, 92:9-34, 1964.

MINIFIE, F.D., DARLEY, F.L. and SHERMAN, D. Temporal realibility of seven language measures. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research*, 6:139-148, 1963.

MOERK, E. L. Changes in verbal child-mother interactions with increasing language skills of the child. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 3:101-116, 1972.

NELSON, K. Individual differences in language development: implications for development and language. *Developmental Psychology*, 17, 2:170-187, 1981.

NEWMEYER, F. J. *Linguistic theory in America*. New York, Academic Press, 1980.

OSGOOD, C. E. and SEBEOK, T. A. (Eds.) Psycholinguistics. *Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology*, 49 (Supplement), 1954.

PARK, T.Z. A study of German language development. Unpublished manuscript. Psychological Institute, Berne, 1974.

PFUDERER, C. Some suggestions for a syntactic characterization of baby-talk style. In: *Working Paper 14*, Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

PHILLIPS, J. R. Mothers' speech to young children: syntax and vocabulary. Unpublished paper, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1970(a).

PHILLIPS, J. R. Syntax and vocabulary of mothers' speech to young children: age and sex comparisons. Unpublished paper, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1970(b).

PONELIS, F. A. *Afrikaanse Sintaksis*. Pretoria, J. L. van Schaik, 1979.

REMICK, H. Maternal speech to children during language acquisition. Unpublished paper, University of California, Davis, 1971.

ROBINS, R. H. *A short history of linguistics*. London, Longmans, 1967.

ROSS, J. R. Adjectives as noun phrases. In: Reibel, D. and Schane, S. (Eds.) *Modern studies in English.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ., Prentice Hall, 352-360, 1969.

SACHS, J., BROWN, R. and SALERNO, R. Adults' speech to children. Paper given at the International Symposium on First Language Acquisition, Florence, Italy, September 1972. (In: Von Raffler-Engel and Lebrun, 1976.)

SCHLESINGER, I. M. Learning grammar: from pivot to realization rule. In: Huxley, R. and Ingram, E. (Eds.) *Language acquisition: models and methods.* London, Academic Press, 1971.

SHARF, D.J. Some relationships between measures of early language development. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders*, 37:64-74, 1972.

SHIPLEY, E. S., SMITH, C. S. and GLEITMAN, L. R. A study in the acquisition of language: free responses to commands. *Language*, 45:322-342, 1969.

SIEGEL, S. *Nonparametric statistics for the behavioral sciences.* New York, McGraw-Hill, 1956.

SINCLAIR-DeZWART, H. On pre-speech. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development*, 8:1-11, Stanford University, 1974.

SKINNER, B. F. *Verbal Behavior*. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957.

SLOBIN, D. I. Comments on "Developmental psycholinguistics". In: Smith, F. and Miller, G. A. (Eds.) *The genesis of language*. Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 85-91, 1966.

SLOBIN, D. I. Cognitive prerequisites for the development of grammar. In: Ferguson, C. A. and Slobin, D. I. (Eds.) *Studies of child language development*. New York, Holt Rinehart and Winston, 175-208, 1973.

SLOBIN, D. I. The more it changes... On understanding language by watching it move through time. *Papers and Reports on Child Language Development*, 10:1-30, Stanford University, 1975.

SLOBIN, D. I. Universal and particular in the acquisition of language. Unpublished manuscript. (Subsequently published in Gleitman, L. and Wanner, E. (Eds.) *Language acquisition: the state of the art*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1982. Page reference unobtainable.)

SMITH, F. and MILLER, G. A. (Eds.) *The genesis of language*. Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T Press, 1966.

SNOW, C. E. Mothers' speech to children learning language. *Child Development*, 43:549-565, 1972.

SNOW, C. E. Mothers' speech research: from input to interaction. In Snow, C. E. and Ferguson, C. A. (Eds.) *Talking to children*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 31-49, 1977.

SNOW, C. E. Conversations with children. In: Fletcher, P. and Garman, M. (Eds.) *Language acquisition: studies in first language development*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 363-375, 1979.

SNOW, C., ARLMAN-RUPP, A., HASSING, Y., JOBSE, J., JOOSTEN, J. and VORSTER, J. Mothers' speech in three social classes. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 5, 1-20, 1976.

SÖDERBERG, R. Project child language syntax. Report No. 2, Stockholm, Institutionen för Nordiska Språk, 1973.

TERVOORT, B. Th., VAN DER GEEST, A. J. M., HUBERS, G. A. C., PRINS, R. S. and SNOW, C. E. *Psycholinguistiek*. Utrecht, Het Spectrum, 1972.

VAN DER GEEST, T., GERSTEL, R., APPEL, R. and TERVOORT, B. Th. *The child's communicative competence*. Mouton, The Hague, 1973.

VON RAFFLER-ENGEL, W. and LEBRUN, Y. (Eds.) *Baby talk and infant speech.* Lisse, Peter de Ridder Press, 1976.

VORSTER, J. Mothers' speech to children: some methodological considerations. *Publicaties van het Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap 8*, University of Amsterdam, 1974.

VORSTER, J. Mommy linguist: The case for motherese. *Lingua*, 37, 4:281-312, 1975.

VORSTER, J. Towards an empirical model of language acquisition. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 9:1-7, 1979.

VORSTER, J. *Manual for the Test for Oral Language Production.* Pretoria, Human Sciences Research Council, 1980.

VORSTER, J. The last shall be first: On the acquisition of the Afrikaans double negative. In: Johnson, C. E. and Thew, C. L. (Eds.) *Proceedings of the Second International Congress for the Study of Child Language.* Lanham, Md., University Press of America, 231-244, 1982.

WELLS, G. Learning to code experience through language. *Journal of Child Language*, 1:243-269, 1974.

WERNER, H., and KAPLAN, B. *Symbol formation.* New York, Wiley, 1963.

WEXLER, K. A principle theory for language acquisition. Unpublished manuscript. (Subsequently published in Gleitman, L. and Wanner, E. (Eds.) *Language acquisition: the state of the art.* New York, Cambridge University Press, 1982. Page reference unobtainable.)

WONNACOTT, R. J. and WONNACOTT, T. H. *Econometrics.* New York, Wiley, 1970.

APPENDIX A

UTTERANCES USED, AND CODING PROCEDURE

A.1 INTRODUCTION

The relegation to an appendix of the information following here, is not to be seen as a reflection on its importance. This information is, in a sense, as important as the data itself. However, it was felt that accommodating a description of the coding procedure where it logically belongs, i.e. in the description of the experimental design (Chapter 3) would disturb somewhat the balance of the main text. Although only a subset of the data is currently covered, a full exposition of the apparatus used for analysis is necessary. It will not only lead to a proper understanding of the present description of data, but also to an appreciation of the further potential of the procedure.

A.2 UTTERANCES USED

Per child per sample, 100 utterances meeting certain criteria were used to calculate the mean MLU for that sample. An essentially overlapping set of 100 utterances, meeting some additional criteria, were fully analyzed. For both purposes, every recording session in any particular sample was equally represented in the 100 utterances: if there were two sessions, each contributed 50 utterances; if there were three, two contributed 33 utterances each and one 34. Only utterances from the second transcribed page onwards of each session were used.

The rest of the criteria for inclusion in the MLU calculation and in the full analysis are best stated negatively. Excluded for either purpose are the following: solitary vocatives (e.g. MAMMA); solitary attention-getters (e.g. HAAI!); solitary expressions of assent or dissent

(e.g. JA/HM, OKAY, NEE/HM-HM); solitary requests for repetition (WAT? - not used as an elliptical question); politeness terms or greetings, with or without the addressee named (ASSEBLIEF, DANKIE, HALLO, TOTSIENS); exclamations such as: DAAR! (not an elliptical answer to the question: WAAR IS X); incomplete utterances or utterances containing unintelligible words. The rationale for these constraints will become clear when the analysis procedure is explained.

Included in the MLU calculation but excluded from the full analysis are: complete or reduced repetitions by the child of one of his own five preceding utterances; complete or reduced imitations by the child of the mother's immediately preceding utterance; utterances with the prosodic features of a normal utterance but that are too anomalous to paraphrase. Justification for these exclusions is that such utterances occur frequently but do not contain sufficient information about the child's emerging language. Indeed, the last category contains no information whatever, since it is incompatible with an analysis procedure that requires a well-formed paraphrase. The first two categories simply attenuate a sample without providing new information.

A.3 RULES FOR CALCULATING MLU

Mean length of utterance is characterized by Brown (1973:53) as "an excellent simple index of grammatical development", and is shown by Sharf (1972) to correlate highly with complexity, and by Minifie et al. (1963) to be a reliable measure. It is universally used where such an index is required. With regard to early language development, MLU is infinitely superior to chronological age as a reference point, since the latter increases at an equal and constant rate for all children whereas the rate of language development is idiosyncratic and fluctuating for each individual child. The idiosyncratic nature of each child's rate of language development is well illustrated by the Harvard children:

	MLU = 2	MLU = 3	MLU = 4
Eve:	20 months	22 months	26 months
Adam:	27 months	35 months	42 months
Sarah:	29 months	38 months	43 months

(Adapted from Brown, 1973)

Brown's rules for calculating MLU (1973:54) have been used, with minor adaptations, by most workers in this field. The element per utterance which is most commonly used for calculating MLU is the morpheme. By using the morpheme, authors ensure the comparability of their figures. A significant correlation has, however, been established ($p < .005$) between MLU's calculated for morphemes, words and syllables (Arlman-Rupp, Van Niekerk-de Haan and Van der Sandt-Koenderman, 1975). Morpheme-based and word-based MLU's would therefore be equivalent, but a word-based MLU for a speaker of a highly analytical language could obviously not be compared with a word-based MLU for a speaker of a highly inflectional language. There will be a systematic bias in favour of the former. Conversely, using a morpheme-based MLU for one speaker of an inflectional language and a word-based MLU for another speaker of the same language, would disadvantage the former.

In the present study, the MLU calculations are word-based. Afrikaans is a highly analytical language, so that a word count would capture most of the corresponding bound morphemes in an inflectional language. Moreover, Brown's specifications further obviate the necessity to use the more cumbersome morpheme-based MLU. Thus, in Brown's analysis, diminutives are not counted as two morphemes, nor are compound words. These two potential sources of systematic bias, both abundant in Afrikaans, will therefore have no effect. Afrikaans has a regular past tense, expressed by an auxiliary verb in conjunction with the past participle, so that Brown's counting of the regular past as two morphemes leaves the relative positions unchanged. Afrikaans has no morphemes specifying person or number of the verb, so that on this point word and morpheme counts would be identical. There is, then, no prohibition on comparing the present word-based figures with Brown's morpheme-based figures.

A.4 THE CODING PROCEDURE

The coding procedure that has been developed is so delicate as perhaps to have exceeded the point of diminishing returns. Such great delicacy was considered prudent, since it was not possible to know at the outset exactly what information would be required for describing the mutual coherence of a number of developing structures. The coding procedure is described here in some detail, specifically because in the current South African context the usual replicability requirement is of particular interest. The reasons for this are as follows:

- In South Africa languages of which the acquisition process has yet to be described, abound.
- The technique employed provides powerful access to developmental information, and it could readily be adapted to fit different, unrelated languages.

A.4.1 Coding of general information

Each utterance is coded in two fixed fields and one flexible field. The first fixed field contains only the card number plus identifying information (child, sample and utterance number) and occupies the first eight columns on an eighty-column computer card. The second fixed field occupies the next 15 columns and contains the following general information about each utterance:

- Number of words. Here are counted all words actually uttered by the child, and which meet the criteria laid down in A.2 above. Not counted as part of utterances that otherwise do meet the criteria, are functionless sentence-initial conjunctions, vocatives, and tags (in Afrikaans only HE? or NE?, the equivalent of 'hey?'). The rationale is that these rather common elements inflate MLU without contributing to the information about the child's grammatical development.
- Utterance type. Each analyzed utterance is classified as one of the following: declarative, imperative, first person imperative, wh-question, and yes-no question.

Utterances used for calculating MLU, but not analyzed further, i.e. repetitions, imitations and anomalous utterances, are not classified on this or the next index.

- Utterance function. Utterances qualifying for analysis are next classified for one of the following functions: REPORT, if a referent is not present or if the action referred to is in the past or future tense; COMMENT, if all referents are present and the action is in the present tense; BEHAVIOR ELICITATION, usually interrogative forms intended to make somebody do something; QUESTIONS, i.e. genuine requests for information.

- Word order. Afrikaans has a surface verb-second (V-2) word order. It also has minimal morphosyntactical development, so that deviations from the V-2 order are either deviant of highly functional. The unmarked realization of V-2 order is S-V-O.

The following marked orders obtain:

- Marked for focus, e.g. V-2 is realized as O-S-V;
- In the case of questions: (wh)-V-S-O;
- In the presence of an auxiliary verb: S-Aux-O-V;
- In the presence of a sentence initial modifier: Mod-V-S-O
- In a subordinate clause: S-O-V.

The correct or deviant use of each of these permutations is coded.

A.4.2 Coding of the actual utterance

After this preliminary classification of each utterance in terms of length, type, function and word order, the paraphrased utterance itself is coded in a flexible field, the length of which varies from utterance to utterance. The categorization employed, and particularly the subcategorizations, must not be read as a theoretical statement about the grammar of Afrikaans. It is merely an *ad hoc* arrangement aimed at the economical retrieval of a great deal of information about the speech of the subjects at various stages of development.

The flexible field potentially accommodates any of 14 categories. Each of these may potentially occur in any combination with any of the others, and may also potentially occur any number of times in any particular utterance. Each category consists of an identifying category symbol followed by a certain number of subcategorization options, which together occupy a fixed field. This fixed field is followed by the word in question, which occupies a flexible field, the length of which depends on the length of the word, demarcated by word boundaries. Schematically it can be represented thus:

$$A \begin{Bmatrix} B \\ C \\ D \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} E \\ F \\ G \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} H \\ I \\ J \end{Bmatrix} \text{/WORD/}$$

where A is the category symbol, BCD and EFG and HIJ are subcategorization options, and the slashes indicate word boundaries. After each terminal word boundary, any of the category symbols can occur, followed by its own subcategorization and the word in question. When all the words in the paraphrased utterance have been thus coded, the utterance is terminated with an utterance boundary: //.

The flexible field in which each word in the paraphrased utterance is fully specified, extends from Column 24 of the first card as far as it goes. If an utterance is too long for one card, it overflows onto the second card, the first eight columns of which contain the new card number plus the same identification information as the previous card. Thus for cards other than Card 1, the flexible field starts in Column 9. Each new utterance starts with Card 1.

The 14 categories accommodating all parts of speech and their subcategorization options are as follows:

Pronouns (Category symbol P)

$$P \begin{Bmatrix} S \\ O \\ I \\ C \\ P \\ R \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} P \\ D \\ I \\ B \\ E \\ G \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} F \\ S \\ T \\ N \\ O \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} S \\ P \\ O \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} M \\ U \\ O \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} D \\ A \\ O \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} A \\ I \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ E \\ D \\ S \\ A \\ B \\ P \end{Bmatrix} \text{/"WORD"/} \begin{Bmatrix} / \\ // \end{Bmatrix}$$

The first column of options concerns the function of the pronoun in question. It can be coded as being: subject (S), object (O), indirect object (I), copula complement (C), the NP of a PP (P), or prepositional object (R).

The second column specifies the class of the pronoun: personal (P), demonstrative (D), indefinite substantive (I), possessive substantive (B), possessive substantive proper noun (E), or epithet (G).

The third column specifies person: first (F), second (S), third (T), neuter (N), or not applicable, e.g. if the pronoun had been coded as possessive (O).

The fourth column specifies number: singular (S), plural (P), or not applicable (O).

As in English, the singular forms of Afrikaans personal pronouns are marked for the "accusative" case, or when they occur as the NP of a PP. The fifth column specifies whether the pronoun in question is marked (M) or unmarked (U), should this be applicable. Unless otherwise specified, the sign "O" appearing at the end of a column of options signifies that the column is not applicable to the word in question.

The sixth column contains information concerning the pronominal reference, i.e. whether it is anaphoric or deictic, the criterion being whether there is an antecedent for the pronoun in the discourse in which the paraphrased utterance occurs. If it is not possible to deduce from the discourse the antecedent of a pronoun, it is scored as deictic (D); otherwise it is anaphoric (A).

The seventh column specifies referent animacy: animate (A) or inanimate (I). Pictures or toys representing animate beings are regarded as animate, as are inanimate things that behave as animate.

The last column before the initial word boundary is identical for all categories, and contains the all-important information concerning the difference between the utterance

as paraphrased and the child's actual, physical utterance; i.e. the difference between semantic intent and realization. Not all seven options offered are accessible to every category, but they occur in every case for convenience of programming. A normal realization, i.e. a one-to-one correspondence between paraphrase and realization, is coded as N. An elliptical deletion is coded as E. All words are stated explicitly in the paraphrase, and the elliptical deletion is the one option, other than N (normal), which is not regarded as a deviation from the adult norm. Deletions other than ellipsis are coded as D, and additions as A. There are three classes of substitutions: S for an inappropriate word, including the wrong form of the pronoun; B for a "baby-language" item. i.g. WOEFIE for HOND, or BRM-BRM for KAR; P for the substitution of a proper noun for a pronoun. If therefore a child refers to something as being WILHELM S'N ('Wilheml's'), meaning MYNE ('mine'), it will be paraphrased and coded as MYNE, the difference being specified in the last column, thus:

Utterance:DIT IS WILHELM S'N
='it is Wilhelm's
Paraphrase: DIT IS MYNE
Coding: /PCBFSOAAP/WILHELM-S'N=MYNE/

In all cases where the last column is coded as S or B or P, the paraphrased as well as the realised word is given. In this way information regarding all substitutions remains accessible.

Likewise, if a child substitutes the unmarked form EK ('I') for the marked form MY ('me'), it will be coded thus: /POPFSMOAS/EK=MY/.

Nouns (Category symbol N)

N {SOICPRV} {AIN} {SPMEO} {DVCO} {ECO} {NEDSABP} /"WORD"/{/ //}

The first column of options for nouns, specifying the function of the noun, is identical to that of pronouns,

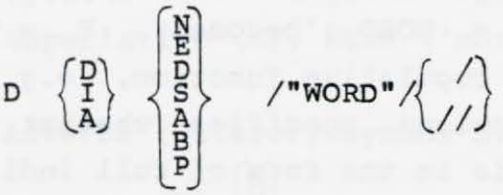
with the addition of the one option: vocatives (V). Vocatives were coded - but not counted for MLU for the reasons stated above - merely to keep information on this form accessible.

The second column specifies animacy, and has an additional option for abstracts nouns (N).

The only rationale for the organization of the next three columns of options is that the options in any column should be in complementary distribution, i.e. they should be mutually exclusive. Clearly, this principle pertains throughout, but usually there is also some logical basis for any particular grouping. The options in these three columns are given below.

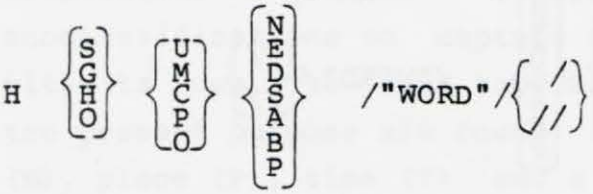
Column 3: S = singular, P = plural, M = mass noun, P = proper noun. Column 4: D = diminutive, V = vocative, C = diminutive plus vocative. Column 5: E = Complex proper, i.e. where a proper noun comprises more than one stem, C = complex noun, i.e. a combination of two independent noun stems in one word, which is common in Afrikaans.

Articles (Category symbol D)



The options in the first column are as follows: D = definite article, I = indefinite article, A = adjectival demonstrative pronoun.

Coverbs (Category symbol H)



There are three classes of coverbs in Afrikaans, modal auxiliaries, temporal auxiliaries and catenatives. The future tense construction consists of the auxiliaries SAL (S) or GAAN (G) plus the present, while the past tense

construction consists of the auxiliary HET (H) plus the past participle (GE- prefixed to the present). Modal auxiliaries are the only verb forms in Afrikaans with irregular past tense marking, so that in the second column of options, unmarked (U) and marked (M) modals are distinguished. Also accomodated in this column are the catenatives (C). (See 6.1 for more information on the Afrikaans coverb.

Copulas (Category symbol C)

C {M S O C R A} {S V P O} {I W E V} {F R D O} {N E D S A B P} /"WORD"/{/ //}

The first column of options specifies the function of the clause governed by the verb: M = main clause, S = noun clause subject, O = noun clause object, C = noun clause copula complement, R = relative clause, A = adverbial clause. The second column of options is only applicable if the clause in question is a relative clause, and it specifies the domain of the relative clause: S = subject of the clause in which the relative clause is embedded, V = object of the clause, P = the domain is the NP in a PP. The five classes of copulas specified in the third column are: I = IS, W = WAS, F = WORD ('become'), E = WEES ('be'), V = verbs with a copulative function, e.g. LYK ('resemble'). The fourth column specifies whether the clause governed by the verb is in the form of full indirect speech (F), reduced indirect speech (R), or direct speech (D), if applicable. (See 6.2 for more information on the Afrikaans copula.)

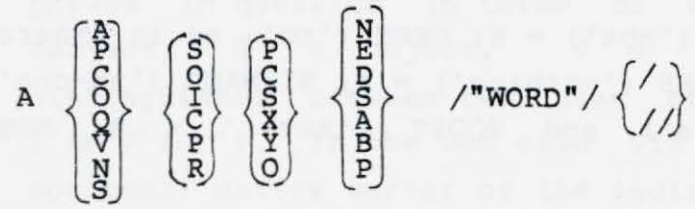
Verbs (Category symbol V)

V {M S O C R A} {S V P O} {T I} {U P F T A} {F R D O} {N E D S A B P} /"WORD"/{/ //}

The first, second and fifth columns here are identical to the first, second and fourth columns for the copula, while the third column distinguishes between transitive (T) and intransitive (I) verbs. The specifications contained in

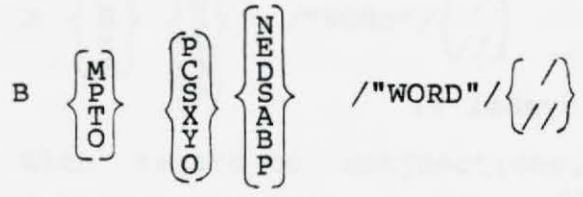
the fourth column are as follows: U = unmarked, i.e. infinitive, P = past participle in the past tense construction with HET, F = past participle in a full passive construction, T = past participle in a truncated passive construction, A = adjectival particple. (See 6.5 for more information on the Afrikaans verb.)

Adjectives (Category symbol A)



The first column specifies one of the following options for the adjective in question: whether it is attributively (A) or predicatively (P) used, whether it is a cardinal (C) or an ordinal (O) numeral or a quantifier (Q), whether it is a possessive pronoun (V) or noun (N), or whether it is an adjectival prepositional phrase (S). The second column specifies one of the following options for the noun modified by the adjective in question: subject (S), object (O), indirect object (I), copula complement (C), NP of a PP (P), prepositional object (V). The third column gives options for degree: positive (P), comparative (C), superlative (S), MEER ('more') (X), and MEES ('most') (Y).

Adverbs (Category symbol B)



The adverb is used extensively in Afrikaans, and traditional grammar offers a wide range of subclassifications to capture all the nuances associated with its use. The four subclassifications sufficient for the present purpose are found in the first column; manner (M), place (P), time (T) and a miscellaneous catogory (O). The second column contains the same options for degree as the third column under adjectives. (See 6.3 for more information on Afrikaans adverbs.)

Negation

Negation (Category symbol O)

O {N G X P B I} {N E D S A B P} /"WORD"/ {/ //}

The following types of negation are distinguished in the first column: NIE ('not') = N; GEEN ('no', as in "There is no water") = G; NIKS ('nothing') = X; NIEMAND ('no-one') = P; NeRENS ('nowhere') and NOOIT ('never') = B; MOENIE ('don't') = I.

The second negation (Category symbol T)

T {N E D S A B P} /"WORD"/ {/ //}

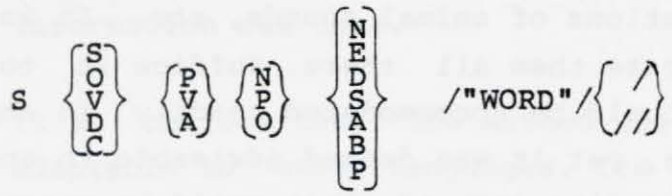
The second negation is obligatory in Afrikaans, subject to the following constraints: it occurs only clause-finally and is never contigent upon the main negation, which in turn follows the verb: JAN DRINK NIE ('John drinks not' = 'John does not drink'); JAN DRINK NIE BIER NIE ('John drinks not beer not' = 'John does not drink beer'). Hence the only information required in the coding of a double negative in the paraphrase is whether it was correctly realised by the child.

Interrogatives (Category symbol I)

I {A B P V T} {N E D S A B P} /"WORD"/ {/ //}

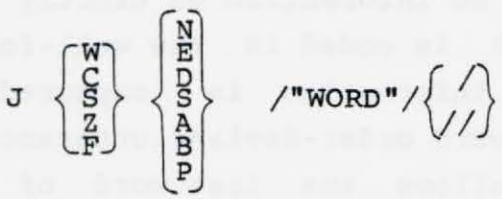
The first column specifies whether the interrogative in question is: adjectival (A), adverbial (B), nominal (P), prepositional (V), or a tag (T).

Adpositions (Category symbol S)



This category includes pre- as well postpositions, and the first column specifies the function of the prepositional phrase in question in terms of what it modifies: S = subject, O = object, V = verb. It furthermore distinguishes between two uses of the preposition VIR ('to'/'for'). In the one case VIR is the standard (though optional) dative marker of the indirect object: HY GEE VIR JAN 'N BOEK ('He gives to John a book'). In the other case it is non-functional and fairly common, though not quite standard: HY KLAP VIR JAN ('He clouts for John'). The former is coded D, and the latter C. The second column of options specifies whether it is a single preposition (P) followed by a postposition (V), or whether it is a postposition (A). The third column distinguishes between noun (N), pronoun (P), or neuter pronoun (O) as head of the noun phrase involved in the prepositional phrase in question. (See 6.4 for more information on Afrikaans prepositions.)

Conjunctions (Category symbol J)



With regard to conjunctions, provision is made for the following options: word co-ordinating (W), clause co-ordinating (C), subordinating (S), functionless sentence-initial conjunctions (F), and a zero conjunction (Z) which is here merely a device to distinguish between the constructions EK WEET HY IS SIEK ('I know he is ill') and EK WEET DAT HY SIEK IS ('I know that he is ill').

A miscellaneous category (Category symbol R)

This category contains some 14 options, which were found to be necessary to accommodate awkward items like detached

verb particles, the equivalent of 'to' in an infinitive construnction, imitations of animal sounds, etc. It is not necessary to enumerate them all there. Suffice it to say that none of them could be accommodated readily in any of the major categories, yet it was deemed advisable to ensure that information regarding each of them could be retreived if necessary.

Unscored utterances

The utterances mentioned under 3.1, used for calculating the MLU but not analyzed further, are coded as U in column 24 of the computer card, followed by one of the following specifications: I = imitation, R = repetition, A = anomalous. Once more it was deemed advisable to keep information about such utterances retreivable.

Child versions

All aspects of the child's realization of the paraphrased utterance are fully specified by means of the option chosen from the last column under each category, excepting word order. An utterance with deviant word order is labelled as such in the field extending from Column 13 to 23 on the computer card, and the general nature of the deviation is specified. However, there is no information on exactly what the child said, because what is coded is the well-formed paraphrase. The required information is captured by including in the coding of word order-deviant utterances a catagory symbol K. This follows the last word of the paraphrase, and signifies that the material following is the child version of the utterance, exactly as spoken. This is then coded without any further specification of each word, and the words are separated by hyphens since blanks are permissible only after a word boundary (signifying overflow to the next card) or after an utterance boundary.

* * *

The above coding procedure captures all information we deemed necessary for a comprehensive description of the acquisition of Afrikaans syntax. For the present

dissertation, only a small portion of the available information was used.

It is obvious that the method used here will be readily adaptable to other languages. Its only limitation may be found in the lack of ingenuity of the investigator. A particularly attractive feature of this method - not exploited in the present investigation - is that a succession of investigators may each code and process just that part of the data with which he is concerned. After each coding operation, the data are more fully coded, so that the cumulative efforts of successive investigators keep enhancing the value of the data.

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF AFRIKAANS COVERBS IN THE DATA

BLY: 'keep'. DIE LIG BLY FLIKKER: 'The light keeps flickering'.

GAAN I: 'going to'. EK GAAN MÔRE BEGIN: 'I'm going to start tomorrow'.

GAAN II: 'go and'/'go for a'. EK GAAN DIKWELS SWEM. 'I often go and swim / go for a swim'.

HET: Temporal auxiliary, past tense. EK HET GISTER GEKOM: 'I arrived yesterday'.

KAN: 'can'. JY KAN DIT DOEN: 'You can do it'.

KOM I: 'come and'/'come to'. JULLE MOET KOM KUIER: 'You must come and see us'.

KOM II: 'let (us)'. KOM ONS VRA HOM: 'Let us ask him'.

LAAT: 'let'. LAAT EK HIER SKOONMAAK: 'Let me clean up here'.

MAG: 'may'. HY MAG HIER SLAAP: 'He may sleep here'.

MOET: 'must'. HY MOET HIER SLAAP: 'He must sleep here'.

SAL: 'will'. EK SAL HOM WAS: 'I will wash him'.

WIL: 'want to'. EK WIL MET HOM SPEEL: 'I want to play with him'.

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY OF AFRIKAANS COPULAS IN THE DATA

BLY: 'remain'. HY BLY DIE BESTE: 'He remains the best'.
IS: 'is'. HIERDIE EEN IS MYNE: 'This one is mine'.
KRY: 'be'. EK KRY KOUD: 'I am cold'.
LYK: 'look (like)'. DIT LYK SOOS OUMA S'N: 'It looks like Grandma's'.
RUIK: 'smell'. DIE SEEP RUIK SOOS BLOMME: 'The soap smells like flowers'.
SMAAK: 'taste'. DIT SMAAK SOOS SEEP: 'It tastes like soap'.
VOEL: 'feel'. SY VOEL NIE LEKKER NIE: 'She does not feel well'.
WAS: 'was'. EK WAS BY OUMA: 'I was at Grandma's'.
WEES: 'be'. ONS MOET SOET WEES: 'We must be good'.
WORD: 'get'/'become'. MY POP SAL NAAR WORD: 'My doll will get sick'.

APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY OF AFRIKAANS ADVERBS IN THE DATA

D.1 MANNER ADVERBS

DIEP	:	'deep'	NETJIES	:	'neatly'
DOODSTIL	:	'stockstill"	SAGGIES	:	'softly'
GOU	:	'quickly'	SKOON	:	'clean'
HARD	:	'hard'	STADIG	:	'slowly'
LANK	:	'a long time'	STUKKEND	:	'in pieces'
LEKKER	:	'enjoyably'	VINNIG	:	'fast'
MOOI	:	'nicely'			

D.2 TEMPORAL ADVERBS

ALTYD	:	'always'	MÔRE	:	'tomorrow'
DAN	:	'then'	NOOIT	:	'never'
EENDAG	:	'one day'	NOU	:	'now'
EERS	:	'first'	SOLANK	:	'meanwhile'
GISTER	:	'yesterday'	TOE	:	'when/then'
LATER	:	'later'	VANDAG	:	'today'

D.3 LOCATIVE ADVERBS *

AF	: 'down'	HOOG	: 'high'
ANDERKANT	: 'other side'	OM	: 'around'
BINNE	: 'inside'	ORALS	: 'everywhere'
BO	: 'on top'	TERUG	: 'back'
BUITE	: 'outside'	UIT	: 'out'
BY	: 'with'/'at'	VER	: 'far'
DAAR	: 'there'	VOOR	: 'in front'
HIER	: 'here'	WEG	: 'away'

* On contextual and intentional grounds certain cases were counted as locative adverbs rather than verb particles or prepositions. See the remark under 6.4.5 above.

D.4 OTHER ADVERBS

ALLEEN	: 'alone'	NOG (NIE)	: '(not) yet'
AMPER	: 'almost'	OOK	: 'also'
BAIE	: 'a lot'	ReRIG	: 'really'
BIETJIE	: 'a little'	SAAM	: 'together'
KLAAR	: 'finished'	SEKER	: 'perhaps/probably'
MAAR	: 'only'	SELF	: '-self'
MEER(NIE)	: '(no) more'	SOMMER	: (indifference)
MOS	: (agreement)	WEER	: 'again'
NET	: 'only'		

APPENDIX E

GLOSSARY OF AFRIKAANS PREPOSITIONS IN THE DATA

AAN	: 'on' (wall)	OM	: 'round'
AF	: 'off' (from)	ONDER	: 'under'
BINNE-IN (loc)	: 'inside'	OOR	: 'over'
BINNE-IN (dir)	: 'right into'	OP	: 'on (upon)'
BY	: 'at/with'	SAAM MET	: 'together with'
IN (loc)	: 'in'	TEEN	: 'against'
IN (dir)	: 'into'	TOE	: 'to'
LANGS	: 'next to'	UIT	: 'out of'
MET	: 'with'	VAN (dir)	: 'from'
NA	: 'to'	VAN	: 'of'
NABY	: 'near'	VIR	: 'for'

APPENDIX F

GLOSSARY OF AFRIKAANS VERBS IN THE DATA

F.1 VERBS PRODUCED BY SIX CHILDREN

DRINK	: 'drink'	Lê	: 'lie down'
EET	: 'eat'	MAAK	: 'make'
GAAN	: 'go'	RY	: 'ride'
GEE	: 'give'	SIEN	: 'see'
HAAL	: 'fetch'	SIT	: 'put'
HET	: 'have'	TREK	: 'pull'
HUIL	: 'cry'	VAL	: 'fall'
KLIM	: 'climb'	VAT	: 'take'
KOM	: 'come'	WAS	: 'wash'
KOOP	: 'buy'		

F.2 VERBS PRODUCED BY FIVE CHILDREN

BAD	: 'bath'	LOOP	: 'walk'
BRAND	: 'burn'	SIT	: 'sit'
BREEK	: 'break'	SOEK	: 'search'
BRING	: 'bring'	SPEEL	: 'play'
BYT	: 'bite'	SPRING	: 'jump'
DRAAI	: 'turn'	SPUIT	: 'squirt'
GOOI	: 'throw'	STAAN	: 'stand'
KRY	: 'get'	WERK	: 'work'
KUIER	: 'visit'		

F.3 VERBS PRODUCED BY FOUR CHILDREN

AANSIT	: 'attach'	SKRYF	: 'write'
AFVAL	: 'fall off'	SLAAN	: 'hit'
BêRE	: 'put away'	SLAAP	: 'sleep'
BLY	: 'stay'	SWEM	: 'swim'
LOS	: 'let go'	TEKEN	: 'draw'
OPSTAAN	: 'get up'	UITHAAL	: 'take out'
REGMAAK	: 'repair'/'fix'	WEET	: 'know'
Sê	: 'say'		

F.4 VERBS PRODUCED BY THREE CHILDREN

DOEN	: 'do'	REëN	: 'rain'
HARDLOOP	: 'run'	SING	: 'sing'
HELP	: 'help'	SKIET	: 'shoot'
HOOR	: 'hear'	SNY	: 'cut'
HOU	: 'hold'	VANG	: 'catch'
LEES	: 'read'	WYS	: 'show'
PRAAT	: 'talk'		

APPENDIX G

THE DATA

The complete data base used for the analysis proper - but not for calculating MLU - is given here per child and sample. Criteria for the inclusion of utterances appear in Appendix A.1.

G.1 DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN PARAPHRASE AND REALIZATION

To increase the potential usefulness of the data for others - indeed to render many of the utterances intelligible at all - the paraphrased version is given. However, by noting the following conventions, it is possible to distinguish between the paraphrased version and the original child version:

- All words marked with a following asterisk (*) were added in the paraphrase, but were not actually spoken by the child. No distinction is made here between elliptical and ungrammatical deletions. In the analysis, however, only the latter type was considered. Elliptical deletions form roughly 10% of the younger cohort's overall deletions, and 20%-25% of the older cohort's overall deletions.

- Unorthodox use of words were scored as one of the following: substitutions, "baby-language", and proper nouns for pronouns (cf. Appendix A.3.2). In all these cases the word produced by the child is followed by an equal sign (=) and then the paraphrased word. Since, in Afrikaans, prepositions merge with pronouns (in a sense like "upon that" becoming "thereupon"), a special arrangement was necessary to be able to code both the pronoun and the preposition. As a result of this arrangement, all occurrences of preposition + pronoun are represented here as the equivalent of "upon that=there". Thus the discreteness of the two components is maintained.

- Superfluous words are marked with a following plus sign (+). These are the words referred to as "additions" in Appendix A.3.2.

- In all cases where children produced deviant word order, the well-formed paraphrase is followed by a bar (|) and then the original child version. For ease of identification, child versions are supplied with colons (:) between all words.

G.2 TELESCOPED ITEMS

A comparison of the raw data with the repertoires reported in Chapter 6 will reveal items that are ostensibly missing from the repertoires. Nor will word counts from the data necessarily tally with the frequencies reported in Chapter 6. Such discrepancies are due to the practical necessity of checking the proliferation of items - of keeping the repertoire data down to manageable proportions. In cases such as the following, certain related items were telescoped into a single form:

- Alternative forms. The prepositions OP and BO-OP are alternatives for 'upon', and the adverbs GOU and GOU-GOU are alternatives for 'quickly'. In such cases the alternative form was converted to the most common form (in the above instances OP and GOU).

- Substituted forms. "Baby-language" items (e.g. OESH for 'warm', TATA for 'ride') were converted to their adult alternatives and counted as such. In the case of malapropisms (e.g. KRAP 'scratch', for JEUK 'itch') the word actually used by the child was counted.

G.3 GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES IN AFRIKAANS

Afrikaans is a highly analytical language, relying to an extreme degree for its grammatical organization on word order. Only in the case of singular pronouns do markings for accusative and genitive case, and person, survive. Only the

copula and a few auxiliaries, moreover, are marked for the past tense. The regular past tense for main verbs is formed by means of the temporal auxiliary HET, plus the past participle, which, in turn, is formed by the enclitic particle GE- plus the present. Afrikaans has no equivalent for the dummy auxiliary "do", used in English for both negation and question formation. Question formation is achieved through S-V inversion, whereas the negating particle follows the first verbal element, be this either the main verb or an auxiliary verb.

FREDA SAMPLE 14

```
EK* HET* ALMAL OPDAAN=OPGEËET
HULLE* IS* NOG BIETJIE KLEIN
EK SIT
GEE* MY* NOG ERTE
HULLE* IS* KLEIN
GEE* MY* NOG
HY* Sê* KOMAAN KERK TOE KOMAAN
KYK DAAR
DIE* BABA HET* HUIL=GEHUIL
HY* WAS* HONGER
MAMMA=JY PRAAT* DAARSO
EK* BLAAS* 'n* SOENTJIE
GEE* MY* NOG ENE
KYK* DIE* BAL
KYK DAAR IS* MY* BALLIE=BALLETJIE
HY* EET* NIE* ERTE NIE
EK* WIL* DAARSO OP=OPKLIM
DIT* IS* BAIE OESH=WARM
EK* WIL* KLIM=OPKLIM
EK* WIL* SELF OPKLIM |OPKLIM:SELF
EK* KLIM NET BIETJIE |NET:BIETJIE:KLIM
EK* WIL* NA* MAMMA=JOU TOE GAAN*
EK* KLIM* AF NA* MAMMA=JOU TOE
LOUIETJIE=EK KLIM* AF |AF:LOUIETJIE
MAMMA=JY MOET* OP=OPKLIM
EK HELP MET* HOM |HELP:EK:HOM
EK* WIL* IN* DIE SAND SPEEL
EK* WIL* DAARSO SPEEL
WAAR IS HY NOU
KOM UIT
KYK DAAR
HY* IS* GROOT
DIT* IS* 'n* EINADING=MES
HY* DRAAI
PAPPA KOM HAP-HAP=EET
HULLE* BRAAI VLEIS
ONS* GAAN* NIE* BUITETOE NIE
DAN* KOM* DIE* MAAN
LOUIETJIE=EK KLIM BOOM
ONS* KLIM* HOOG
DIT* IS* OUMA
DIT* IS* OUPA
DAARSO IS* OUPA SE* STOEL
DIT* IS* KOEK
ONS* IS* ALTWEE KINDERS
HY* DRAAI
DIT* KOM DAARSO UIT |DAARSO:UITKOM
KYK DAAR IS WYN |DAAR:IS:WYN:KYK
KYK DAAR
HULLE* DRINK* KOFFIE
KYK DIE* SKOENE
KYK DAAR=DAARDIE TANNIE
DIT* IS* NIE* JOHN NIE
DIT* IS* JOHN
KYK HULLE* IS* TOE
HY* SLAAP
HY* IS* BANG VIR* DIE* KAT
HY* HET* DIE* BAL
HULLE* RY OP* DIE* WATER
KYK DAAR MAMMA
DAAR IS* DADA
SY* HET* KLAAR BAD=GEBAD
KYK DAAR
DIT* IS* DIE* OOM S'N*
DAAR IS HY+ MAATJIETJIE=MAATJIE
MAATJIE KOM
HULLE* MAAK* KWAAK-KWAAK-KWAAK
HY* VAT* MAMMA=JOU HARE
KYK DAAR
DAAR* IS* NOG ENE
TISSIE=CHRISTOPHER GAAN VERJAARDAGKOEKIES BAK
DIT* IS* 'n* HOND
ONS* IS* TWEE KINDERS
MAMMA LOUIETJIE=EK TRAP=STAMP HOM
DIT* IS* DIE* MAT
HY* IS* MOOI
DIT* WAS* NIE 'n* PEER NIE |PEER:NIE:NIE
SY* HET* KLAAR BAD=GEBAD
DIT* IS* 'n* BABATJIE
DIT* IS* LOUIETJIE=EK
EK* Lê
DAAR* Lê NOG ENE
KYK* SY* HARE
HY* WAS HARE |HARE:WAS
KYK DAAR=DAARDIE SWEMBAD
DAAR* IS* NOG 'n* BABA
HULLE* KLIM OP
KYK DAAR IS* OUPA
HY* VAL OM
SY* MAMMIE HELP HOM*
DIE* MOTOR IS* GROOT
SIT* DIE* LIG AAN
HY* IS* BAIE WARM
HY* HET* NA* OUPA TOE GERY*
HY* HET* NIE* STAD TOE* GERY* NIE
HY* HET* MET* DIE* MOTOR RY=GERY
HY* HET* EILA=ROOMYS KOOP=GEKOOP
PAPPA SLAAP
PAPPA HARDLOOP VINNIG |VINNIG:HARDLOOP:PAPPA
PAPPA MOENIE* LOUIETJIE=MY VANG NIE
  |PAPPA:VANG:NIE:LOUIETJIE
```

```
DIT* KOM* VAN* DAARSO BO=DAARBO AF*
DIE* WIND WAAI
HULLE* LAG
DIE* WOLKIES LAG* OOK
JY* KIELIE MY VOET |VOET:MY:KIELIE
EK* SWAAI-SWAAI
KYK DAAR IS* 'n* NEEPNEEM=KAMERA
DAARSO IS* 'n* GROOT BOTTEL
DIE* GROOT BOTTEL IS* DAARSO
EK* WIL* SWAAI-SWAAI
DIT* IS* LOUIE
ONS* GAAN* WATERTJIES=SEE TOE
ONS* GAAN* NA* DIE* GROOT WATERTJIES=SEE TOE
ONS* GAAN* NA* HIERDIE EEN+ WATERTJIES=SEE TOE
DIE* TEINE=FONTEINE SPUIT* OP
DIE* TEINE=FONTEINE SPUIT* BO=HOOG DAARSO
  |TEINE:DAARSO:BO
HULLE* SPUIT* BO=HOOG IN DIE* LUG
DIE* WATER* SPUIT 'n* MENS* NAT |NATSPUIT
WAT* IS* HAAR* NAAM
DIT* IS* LOUIETJIE S'N=MY NAMMIES=LEKKERS
EK* WIL* ANDER EEN=NOG NAMMIES Hê*
ONS* GAAN* NA* DIE* GROOT WINKEL TOE* MAMMIE
WAAR IS HY=DIT NOU
DAARSO IS* 'n* BABA ENE=KLEINTJIE |BABA:ENE:DAARSO
DAAR IS HY ENE+
DAAR* IS* 'n* KLEIN HONDJIE
ONS* HET* DAAR* KUIER=GEKUIER
DIE* HOND* BYT
DAAR IS 'n HOND
HY* IS* 'n* GROOT HOND
EK* IS* BANG VIR* DOWNIE
SPEEL HY*
DAAR* WAS* 'n* LEPEL
EK* HET* HOM* VOLMAAK=VOLGEMAAK
KRY* 'n* KLEINTJIES=KLEINTJIE
DIT* IS* EILA=ROOMYS
DAARDIE=HY STAAN |STAAN:DAARDIE
STAAN
STAAN SO
DAARSO IS* 'n* HOND
DAAR* IS* 'n* PYP
DAAR* IS* 'n* EMMERTJIE
DAAR* IS* 'n* GRAFIE
DAAR IS HY ENE+
DAAR* IS* 'n* HOND
DAAR* IS* GEEL=GELES
DAAR IS 'n GELE
HY* IS* GEEL
HY* IS* ROOI
HY* SLAAP BY* MYNE=MY
HY* DOEDOE=SLAAP
HY* MOET* OPSTAAN
LEES STORIETJIES
PAPPA LEES STORIETJIES |LEES:STORIETJIES:PAPPA
DAAR IS DIE STORIETJIES
DAAR* IS* 'n* GROOT HOND BY* DIE* HUIS
WAAR IS HY+ DIE* WORTELS NOU |WAAR:IS:HY:NOU:WORTELS
DAAR* IS WORTELS
HULLE* IS* IN* MY* HANDJIE
DIE* HASIES WIL=KAN NIE Hê=KRY NIE
DIT* IS* DIE* HOND
LEES STORIETJIES
DAARSO IS* DIE* KAT
DAAR* IS* HONDJIES
WYNAND SLAAP
HY* SLAAP
EK MAAK LOS
EK* MAAK LOS |LOSMAAK
GAAN* ONS* KERK TOE
ONS* VAT* DIE* BYBELBOEKIE KERK TOE*
ONS* BID OOK
DIE* DOMINEE IS* DAAR*
EK GAAN OOK KERK TOE
MAMMA=JY GAAN OOK*
GAAN* WYNAND OOK
HY* MOET* SAAM=SAAMGAAN
HY* MOET* SOET WEES* TOE=IN DIE* KERK
DAARSO=HY MOET* OPSTAAN
DAARSO IS* DIT* EINA=SEER
ONS GAAN* NIE IN* DIE* TUIN WERK NIE
  |TUIN:NIE:WERK:NIE:ONS
DIT* REëN NIE
AS* DIT* REëN HARDLOOP ONS*
AS* DIT* REëN HARDLOOP ONS* HUIS TOE*
KOM REëN
EK* MAAK HOM* LOS
DIE* WATER LOOP
KYK DAAR
HY* HUIL
LOUIETJIE=EK SKOP OOK |SKOP:LOUIETJIE:OOK
KOM UIT |UITKOM
DIT* IS* OOP
EK* GAAN* BIETJIE 'n* DOEK HAAL
DIT* IS* WYNAND SE* DOEK
LOUIETJIE=EK STAAN
DIT* STEEK
GEE* NOG PYNAPPEL
DAARSO=DAARDIE KLEIN BIETJIE IS* PAPPA S'N
DIT* IS* NIE* LEKKER NIE
EK* WIL* NIE Hê NIE
EK* SPEEL
```

```
KYK DAAR
DIT* IS* WYNAND EN LOUIETJIE=EK
LOUIETJIE=EK IS* GROOT |GROOT:LOUIETJIE
DIT* IS* 'n* GROOT STERT
DIT* IS* PAPPA EN* LOUIETJIE=EK
LOUIETJIE=EK HET* OOK EEN*
SY* EET MIELIES |MIELIES:EET
HY=SY SPRING BO-OP=BO-OOR DIE MAAN |MAAN:SPRING:HY:BO-OP
HY=SY EET |EET:HY
HIER IS* HASIES |HASIES:HIER
HIER* IS* NOG ENE
DIT* IS* 'n* GROOT DING
KYK DAAR
KYK DAAR IS* 'n* BABATJIE
DIT* IS* STERTES=STERTE
DIT* IS* LOUIETJIE S'N=MYNE
DIT* LYK SOOS* LOUIETJIE S'N=MYNE
DIT* IS* 'n* KOEKOEKOE-DING
DIT* IS* 'n* KATJIE
DAARDIE DING MAAK* EINA=SEER
HIER IS* GROOT MUISE |GROOT:MUISE:HIER
HIER* IS* NOG MUISE
HULLE* LYK SOOS* LOUIETJIE S'N=MYNE ENE+
DIT* IS* SOOS* JOHN S'N
HY* LEES 'n* BOEK
HY* RY MOTORFIETS |MOTORFIETS:RY
DIT* IS* OOK 'n* VARKIE
HULLE* HET* PIESANG=PIESANGS
HULLE* HET* KOUSE
MY* MAGIE IS* EINA=SEER
LEES
DIT* IS* 'n* HORLOSIE
LEES DAARDIE ENE+ BOEK |LEES:BOEK:DAARDIE:ENE
DAAR* IS* 'n* KLEIN VARKIE
DAARSO STAAN HY
DOOMPIE HET* HARD VAL=GEVAL
HY* KAN* NIE* LOOP NIE
DIT* IS* KLEIN MUISIETJIES=MUISIES
KYK DAAR
KYK DAAR IS* EENDJIES
DAARSO IS* DIE* EENDJIES
DIT* IS* OOK 'n* MUIS
DIT* IS* 'n* MUIS
EK* WIL* HANDE WAS
EK* WIL* NOG FOTO'S PLAK
DAARSO IS* 'n* MUIS
DIE* EEN IS* MAMMA S'N=JOUNE
IS* DIT* 'n* EENDJIE
EK* WIL* OOK SO MAAK
DIT* IS* MAMMA=JY
DIT* IS* TISSA
EK* WIL* OOK IN* DIE* SAND SPEEL Hê+
LOUIETJIE=EK KLIM* OP*
DAARSO IS* ENE
EK* WIL* OOK SO MAAK
EK* WIL* SO PLAK
EK* WIL* DIE* TEINE=FONTEINE PLAK
DIT* IS* DIE* FONTEINE HIERDIE
KYK DAAR
EK* BêRE DIT* IN DIT=DAAR
DIT* IS* LOUIETJIE S'N=MYNE
VAT* DAARSO=HIERDIE MAMMA
DAARSO IS* MY* VERJAARDAGKOEKIES
DIT* IS* LOUIETJIE=EK
EK* WIL* OOK SIEN
DIT* IS* LOUIETJIE S'N=MYNE
DIT* IS* LOUIETJIE=EK
DAAR* IS* MICHAEL S'N
WAAR IS HY NOU
EK* SOEK HOM*
DAARSO Lê DIE* KAT |DAARSO:KAT:Lê
WAAR* IS* DIE* KAT NOU
MOET* ONS* HOM* DOODMAAK
KYK DAAR LOUIETJIE=EK TEL* HOM* OP*
HY* IS* WIT
SAL* HY* WEER LOOP
DIT* IS* 'n* DUISENDPOOT HIERDIE
HY* IS* MOOI
HY* KOM* VAN* DAARSO BUITE AF
EK* DINK SO
DAARSO KOM HY UIT
DAARSO KOM HY UIT DIE* GROND
HY* MOET* NIE* GROND TOE GAAN NIE
HY* LOOP
EK* VAT AAN* DIE* DUISENDPOOT |DUISENDPOOT:VAT
EK* VAT AAN* HOM*
DAAR* LOOP HY
DAAR* RY* INA
SY* RY
TREK DIE* DUISENDPOOT UIT |UITTREK:DUISENDPOOT
HAAL HOM* UIT |UITHAAL
HY* MOET* IN* DIE* REëN LOOP
DIE* DUISENDPOOT LOOP IN=UIT |DUISENDPOOT:INLOOP
HY* GAAN* IN* DIE* REëN LOOP BUITE
DAARSO IS* DIE* STOEP NAT
DIT* REëN NOG BUITE |REëN:BUITE:NOG
DIE* DUISENDPOOT LOOP IN* DIE* REëN
  |DUISENDPOOT:REëN:LOOP
EK SIT DAARSO
GISTERAAND HET* DIE* REëN KOM=GEKOM
ONS* HET* EILA=ROOMYS KOOP=GEKOOP
```

```
DAARSO TEF=VER IS* NOG 'n+ ENE |TEF:NOG:'n:ENE:DAARSO
DIT* IS* MAMMA S'N
DIT* IS* DAARDIE=DAARSO EEN*
LOUIETJIE=EK WIL* DAARDIE ENE Hê
EK* WAS* STOUT
KYK DAAR
EK* SWEM
HY* IS* BUITEKANT
DIT* IS* 'n* EENDJIE
HY* STAP
EK* IS* LUS OM* TE* BAD
GEE* MY* LAPPIE AAN
GEE* DAARDIE LAPPIE
EK* WIL NIE WAS* NIE*
DIT* IS* MOOI
MAMMA KYK DAARDIE TREINTJIE
DIT* IS* OP* SY* KLERE
MAMMA KYK DAARDIE KLERE
DIT* IS* LOUIETJIE S'N=MY TREIN
EK* WIL* MYNE EEN+ Hê
EK* WIL* NIE* DAARDIE ENE Hê NIE
EK* WIL* DAARDIE GROTE Hê*
HULLE* IS* WEG
HULLE* IS* BUITEKANT
EK* HET* HULLE* HUIS TOE=BINNETOE GEBRING*
DAARDIE=DAAR IS* OOK ENE |DAARDIE:ENE:OOK
DIT* IS* 'n* LEPEL
WAAR* IS* WYNAND SE* SKILPAD NOU
KYK DAAR
DAAR IS HY NOU
TREK HIERDIE ENE VIR WYNANDJIE AAN
  |HIERDIE:ENE:AANTREK:VIR:WYNANDJIE
DIT* IS* WYNAND S'N
HIER* IS* SEPIES=SEEP
WYNAND IS* 'n* KLITSGRAS |KLITSGRAS:WYNAND
WYNAND VAL SO IN DIE* WATER |WYNAND:IN:WATER:VAL:SO
EK* SAL HOM* NIE INGOOI* NIE*
EK* STEEK HOM* HIERSO IN |HIERSO:INSTEEK
EK* LAAT* WATER INLOOP
HY* IS* IN DIE* WATER
WYNAND MOET* SEPIES=SEEP KRY
DAAR IS HY
EK* WIL* WEER DRINK
EK* SKEP* WATER IN
EK* WAS
PAPPATJIE SAL* HOM* REGMAAK
MY* NAAM* IS* LOUIE
EK* SPOEL IN* DIE* WATER |WATER:SPOEL
EK* WAS MET* SKUIM
GEE* DIE* SKêR
EK* SNY SOLANK UIT |SNY:UIT:SOLANK
KYK DAAR
DAAR IS ROOIES
ALMAL IS* MYNE S'N+
PAPPA KOM NOU-NOU
MAMMA KYK DAAR
DIE* ANDER EEN IS* MYNE S'N+
EK* MAAK SPELDES=SPELDE
KYK* DIE* BABA=KLEIN ENETJIE
KYK DAAR
DIT IS 'n GELE
HIERSO IS* DIE* GELE
EK* VAT HULLE* MAMMA TOE
DIT* IS* WIT
KYK DAAR STAAN HY
HIER* IS* NOG 'n KLEINTJIE
BILLA SYNE=SE KLERE LYK GROEN |LYK:GROEN:BILLA:SYNE:KLERE
EK* DINK HY* IS* IN DIE* KAS |IN:KAS:DINK
LOUIETJIEKIND=EK HET* DIT* AFGEGOOI*
LOUIETJIEKIND=EK GEHAD=HET SO* MAAK=GEMAAK MET* DIE*
  WAENTJIE |LOUIETJIEKIND:MAAK:GEHAD:WAENTJIE
DIT* IS* IN DAARSO=DAARIN
ONS* Bêre DIT* DAARSO |DAARSO:Bêre
KYK DAAR
DIE* KLERE IN DAARSO=DAARIN IS* STRYK=GESTRYK
  |KLERE:IN:DAARSO:STRYK
KYK HIER
LOUIETJIE=EK MAAK=DOEN IETS*
DAARSO STAAN=IS LOUIE S'N=MYNE WAT* SARA MAAK=GESTRYK
  GEHAD=HET
EK* WIL* BY* BILLA SPEEL
EK* HET* TWEE SPELDE
EK* VAT HULLE* WEG HOOR |WEGVAT:HOOR
TWEE IS WEGTATA=WEG
EEN* Lê DAARSO EN DAARSO Lê EEN
EEN KLEINTJIE KAN DAARSO Lê
DAARDIE ENE IS* MYNE |MYNE:DAARDIE:ENE
EK* VAT MYNE
DIT* IS* MYNE HOOR
LOUIETJIEKIND=EK MAAK ROKKIES
KYK DAAR
DAAR* IS* NOG 'n GROENE
IS* DIT* NOG 'n GROENE DIE
DAAR* IS* NOG 'n BABA=KLEIN ENETJIE
HY* IS* ROOI
HY* IS* WYNANDJIE
DAAR* IS* LOUIETJIEKIND=EK OOK
ALMAL STAAN DAAR OP=REGOP
DAAR* IS* NOG 'n ROOIE
EK* WIL* NOG 'n ROOIE Hê
MAMMA KYK DAAR
DAAR* IS* BAIE WITTES |WITTES:BAIE
EK* WIL* OPKLIM
HULLE* STEEK MY
```

FREDA SAMPLE 22

```
EK* WIL* CHIPPIE=CHIPPIES Hê
KYK DAAR MAMMA
DAAR IS HY
MOET* EK* DIT* HIERSO NEER=NEERSIT
HY* EET* DIE* SPEELDINGES=SPEELGOED OOK
ONS EET LEKKER |LEKKER:EET:ONS
EK* GAAN* CHIPPIES EET
EET* DIT* MÔRE MAMMA MÔREAAND
PAPPA HET* NIKS=NIE SY* BUSKAARTJIE=VERJAARDAGKAARTJIE
  KANTOOR STAD+ TOE VAT=GEVAT NIE
EK* BEDOEL* DAARDIE DING
MÔRE=GISTER HET EK* GESING*
WAAR IS DIE NAMMIES=LEKKERS NOU
KYK HIER IS* DIE HAAS
EN HIER* IS* 'n HOND
HIER* IS* 'n* BOOM
HIERSO IS* OOK EEN*
DIT* IS* MY MES
WAAR IS DIE NAMMIES=LEKKERS
DIT* IS* SJOKOLADE
DIT* IS* KLEIN SJOKOLADE
HIER IS JOU MOND EN* OOG
VAT HOM
VAT* DAARSO MAMMA
LOUIETJIE=EK KRY EEN
EK* WIL* NOG Hê
ONS* MOET* SEE TOE GAAN
SIEN=KYK MAMMA
HY* WIL NIE EET NIE
DAARDIE EEN IS BETER
DAARSO SIT HY
SIEN=KYK MAMMA
ALMAL IS* WYNAND S'N HOOR
KOM
HIER* IS* DIE* GELES
HIER IS NOG 'n+ EEN
EK* WIL* NOG Hê
MAMMA EK* WIL* DAARDIE BORSELTJIE Hê
KYK DAARDIE KLEIN BABATJIE
HY IS GROTE=GROOT
HIER* IS NOG 'n EEN+ 'n+ KLEINTJIE
  |IS:'n:KLEINTJIE:NOG:'n:EEN
DAAR* IS* TWEE BORSELS
MAMMA KYK DAAR
MOENIE MY* HARE WAS NIE
JY* HET* GISTER MY* HARE WAS=GEWAS
MAMMA SING
WAT HET* HY* NOU
VAT DAARSO
DAAR IS JOU ENETJIE
KYK HIER MAMMA
DIT* IS* LOUIETJIE S'N=MYNE
HY* IS* ROOI
KYK DAAR IS DIE BABA=KLEIN ENETJIE
JY* MAG NIE* VAT NIE
LOUIETJIE=EK SAL* LIEWER VAT
LOUIETJIE=EK GAAN* HAAL 'n* DOEK
JY* MOET* HOM* REGMAAK
LOUIETJIE=EK WIL* OOK SAAM BAD
EK* MOET* HOM* IN* DIE* BAD VASHOU
NOU-NOU VAL HY OP* SY* MOND HOOR
EK* KRY NIE BAIE OOSH=WARM NIE
DIE* WIND WAAI LEKKER |LEKKER:WIND:WAAI
MAN EK* HET* HOM* SO KRAP=GEKRAP
EK* HET GEKRAP*
KYK DAAR IS* MY DOEK S'N
OUSUS HET* HOM* GEGEE*
DIE* ANDER EEN IS* PIENK
IS* JOUNE OOK ROOI
HY* LYK SOOS* MAMMA S'N
HIERDIE KUSSING IS* 'n* ROOI DING
EK GAAN* HOM* HAAL
DAARDIE SPONS IS TE* TEF=VER
DAARSO IS* WYNAND S'N
VAT PAPPA S'N MAMMA |PAPPA S'N:VAT:MAMMA
WYNAND KAN* MAMMA S'N=JOUNE VAT
WAAR IS DIE PLEISTERTJIE
KYK HOE* MAAK HY
GOOI* SKUIMPIES IN
GOOI* BAIE PIENKES IN*
OUMA HET HOM GEVAT
EK VOEL HIER IETS
DAARSO IS* 'n* EINATJIE=SEERPLEK
PAPPA Sê EK* MAG DIE* MUUR SKOP
OM* DIE* MUUR TE* SKOP IS* LEKKER
EK* HET* NOG NIE KOEK EET=GEëET NIE
MAMMA KYK DAAR IS* VOëLTJIES
DAAR* IS* WYNAND OOK
WYNAND IS* KAAL |KAAL:WYNAND
DAARSO IS* MAMMA=JY OOK
LOUIETJIE=EK HUIL
DAARDIE ENETJIE HUIL NIE
MAMMA MAMMA=JY HET* SWEMKLERE AAN
AMPER SKEUR LOUIETJIE=EK HOM*
DAARDIE+ WYNAND SLAAP
DIT* IS NIE 'n* BUS NIE
DIT* IS* ONS HUIS
PAPPA IS* OOK DAAR
EK* WIL* NOG 'n* BROODJIE Hê
DAARSO KOM HULLE
DIT* LYK PRAGTIG
HY* REëN NIE NAT NIE
```

```
KAN* EK* HIERDIE EET
HY MOET EERS GROEI IN DIE BAKKIE
HIERDIE KLEINTJIE MOET* OOK GROOT WORD*
HIERDIE ENE MAAK SO VUIL |MAAK:SO:VUIL:HIERDIE:ENE
KYK DAARSO Lê HY
EK* BAK KOEK |KOEK:BAK
EK* SPEEL MET* 'n* STOK |STOK:SPEEL
MOENIE WEGGAAN NIE
STAAN
DIE* SAND IS* WEG
HY* IS NIE VOL* NIE*
EK* MAAK HOM* VOL |VOL:MAAK
PAPPA IS* IN* DUITSLAND
HY* IS* BY* ANJA
EK* SIT* HOM* OP* DIE* TAFEL NEER
DIE EEN IS* NIE* VUIL NIE
HY* IS NIE VUIL NIE
MAMMA WAAR* IS* NOG
DAAR IS NOG
WAT GEBEUR* NOU
WAAR IS HY+ JURGENS
WAT MAAK OE-OE |WAT:OE-OE:MAAK
EK* HET SLAAP=GESLAAP
WAAR IS HY NOU BENNIE+
WAAR IS HY+ JURGENS
SLAAP* OUSUS OOK
SY* IS* WAKKER
MAMMA IS* WAKKER
WYNAND IS* WAKKER
LOUIETJIE=EK IS* OOK WAKKER*
ALMAL IS* WAKKER |WAKKER:ALMAL
BENNIE SLAPIES
JURGENS SLAAP
ALMAL SLAAP
DIE* BATTERYTJIES GAAN AFVAL DAAR
KYK DAAR
KYK DAAR=DAARDIE BAIE GOETERS
DIT* IS* BATTERYTJIES
MAMMA TEL JOU=MY GOETERTJIES OP
TEL HY=HOM OOK OP
HY* SKIET
SO* MAAK HY
HY* IS* DOOD
HY HUIL |HUIL:HY
DAAR IS ENE
GOOI IN
SY* HET* VIR* MY* BROOD GEGEE*
KYK DAAR IS* NAMMIES=LEKKERS
DAAR IS OOK LEKKERS*
OOM HET* WYNANDJIE KEER=GEKEER BY* DIE* BOOM
HY* EET MY HAND
KOM KIELIE MY* NOG
KOM WYNAND
EK* SIT HOM NEER
LOUIETJIE=EK STAAN* OOK
KOM WYNAND
STAAN* BY LOUIETJIE=MY
KYK HOE* STAAN HY
MAMMA EK SIT BIETJIE
KAN* WYNAND BY* EK=MY SIT
KYK DAAR SIT HY
MOENIE HOM* WEGVAT NIE
MAMMA=JY MOET* HIER SIT
WYNANDJIE MOET* BY* EK=MY SIT
WYNANDJIE MOET NIE VAL NIE
DIE BANTOE MOET* HOM* LIEWER VAT |VAT:DIE:BANTOE:LIEWER
WYNANDJIE MOENIE* HOM* VAT NIE
EK* IS* 'n* GROOT KIND
WYNANDJIE SPEEL
DIT* IS NIE 'n SPEELDING NIE
EK* MAAK* 'n* DINGETJIE SO=SOOS PAPPA MAAK
PAPPA MAAK SO |MAAK:PAPPA:SO
KYK HIER
DIT* IS* 'n* TAFELTJIE SOOS* PAPPA S'N*
KYK DAAR
DIT* IS* 'n* BLOUE
MY KOP IS NIE SEER NIE
EK* VOEL BETER
HY* WIL* STROPIES Hê
DAARDIE EEN HET* STUKKEND GEBREEK
DIT* IS* 'n* SIMPEL ENE
KAN* HY* MAMMA S'N =JOUNE OOK VAT
KYK DAAR VAT HY
EK MOENIE SLAPIES NIE EK+ NIE+
EK* SAL NIE SLAAP* NIE*
EK* SAL* MÔRE SLAAP*
HY RY IN DIE* PAADJIE |RY:HY:IN:PAADJIE
KYK DAAR IN DIE PAADJIE RY HY
KYK DAAR STOP HY KAR+
DAAR VAL HY WEER
KYK DAAR EK MAAK 'n* TAFELTJIE |KYK:DAAR:TAFELTJIE:MAAK:EK
EK* MOET=WIL NIE HIERDIE TORING MAAK NIE
  |MOENIE:MAAK:HIERDIE:TORING:NIE
EK* MAAK* WEER 'n* TREINTJIE
DAAR IS TWEE BANKE
DAAR* VAL HY IN DIE MIELIEBLARE
EK WIL DAARDIE Hê
MOENIE VAT NIE WYNAND
DAARSO STAAN HY
MAAK OOP
Lê STIL MAN
```

```
ERIK  SAMPLE 14

DAAR=DIT IS* 'n* KOMBI
DIT* BRAND
DIT* IS 'n* HAAS
HY* GAAN* AFVAL
DIE KAR IS* NINGENGMAAK=STUKKEND
DAAR=DAARDIE KAR GAAN NINGENGMAAK=BREEK
  |DAAR:GAAN:NINGENGMAAK:KAR
KYK* DIE EEN MAMMA
KYK DIE MINGE=EETGOED
DAARDIE IS* OOK EETGOED*
DAAR=DIT BRAND
DIE KAR IS* NINGENGMAAK=STUKKEND
DAAR=DIT IS* NINGENGMAAK=STUKKEND
SIEN=KYK DIE GO=GOGGA
KYK DAAR
DIE* BO=VLIEGTUIG IS* NINGENGMAAK=STUKKEND
  |NINGENGMAAK:BO
DAAR IS HY
DIE* KAR HET* INGEVAL
DIT* IS* DIE* KAR EN DIE BA=BAKKIE
KYK DAAR IS* DIE* BA=BAKKIE
HY* INGOOI=SPUIT DIE WATIE=WATER |DIE:WATIE:INGOOI
DAAR=DIT BRAND
HY* IS* DAARBO
SIEN=KYK DAAR
DIT* IS* 'n* BUS
DAAR IS HY
EK* WIL NIE KYK* NIE*
KYK DAAR
HY IS+ VAL SO
DIE* KAR VAL*
DAARDIE KAR VAL |VAL:DAAI:KAR
DIE MA=BUS RY*
KYK DAAR
HY GAAN* DAAR AFVAL
DIE* KAR GAAN DAAR VAL
DAAR VAL HY
DIE GOGGA VAL
IS* DAAR=DIT DIE* BABA
DAAR=DIT BRAND
DAAR IS* WATER DAAR+
KYK DAAR IS* HUM=KOS
DIE=DIT IS* MINGE=LEKKERKOS
DAAR IS* 'n* GO=GOGGA
DIT* IS* DIE HAAS
DIE* KAR GAAN TATTA=RY
DIT* VAL DAAR AF |AF:DAAR:VAL
EK* SLAAN
HULLE Lê IN DIT=DAAR |HULLE:IN:DAAR:Lê
HULLE* GAAN* DAARBO AFVAL
KYK* DIE LORRIE
DAAR IS* HULLE*
HY* VAL AF |AFVAL
EK* SIEN DAARDIE EEN
HY* VAL AF |AFVAL
DAAR IS HY
HY* VAL DAAR AF
DIT* IS 'n* LIG
EK* IS KLAAR
EK* NINGENGMAAK=BREEK DIT*
KYK DAAR HULLE=HY IS KLAAR=LEEG |KYK:DAAR:IS:HULLE:KLAAR
DIT* IS* 'n* AMBULANS
EN DAAR* IS* DIE LIG
EN DAAR IS 'n+ DAARDIE LIG
DIE* LIG IS* NINGENGMAAK=STUKKEND
DIT* IS* 'n* LIG
EK SLAAN
DIT* IS AF
DAAR=DIT IS* 'n* BRMBRM-BO=VLIEGTUIG
DIT* IS DIE* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG SE* VLERK |DAARBO:IS:VLERK
DIT* IS DAAR
EN HIER* IS* DIE VLERK
HIER* IS* DIE* VOETJIES
DIE KAR IS* IN DIT=DAAR
HY* GAAN* HIER SO AFVAL
DIE DAARBO=VLIETUIG GAAN* AFVAL*
HY* MOET* SO TATTA=VLIEG
DAAR IS* DIE* BOEMBOEME=REWOLWER
DAAR IS* WATIE=WATER IN DAARSO+
DAAR IS* 'n* GAATJIE
HULLE=DIT IS DAARIN |HULLE:IS:IN:DAAR
HY* IS* WEG
DAAR IS* 'n* GOGGA
DIT* IS* 'n* BUS
DIT* IS DIE DAAR+ MA=BUS
HY* VLIEG
EK* WIL IN DIE KAR Lê
EK* WIL* TEE Hê*
EK* WIL* TEE IN 'n BOTTEL Hê*
DIT* IS* SEEP
HY* HET* TATTA=GERY MET* DIE* MA=BUS
EK* WIL* 'n* BOTTEL Hê
DAAR IS* 'n* VOëLTJIE
HY Lê
DAAR Lê TEDDIE HY+
DAAR IS* 'n* GOGGA DAAR
KYK DIE* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG
DAAR IS* DIE* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG
EK* GAAN* VAL
EK* GAAN* AF=AFVAL
WAAR* IS* DIE+ PAPPA
DAAR IS* PAPPA SE* KAR
```

```
DAAR WAS* 'n* GROOT KAR
HY IS KLAAR=WEG
KYK DAAR
HY IS WEG
HY SIT DAAR |HY:DAAR:SIT
SIEN MA=JY
SIEN JY* DAAR
SIEN JY* DIE* KAR
HY* MOET* HIERSO Lê
HY IS* WEG
MAMMA KYK DAAR
DIE VOëL HET* DIE KAR GESIEN
KYK DAARDIE LIG
DIE PERDJIE VAL |VAL:DIE:PERDJIE
EK* KLIM OP* DIE* PERDJIE |PERDJIE:KLIM
DAAR IS* GOGGO'S
HULLE* BYT MY
KYK DAAR
EK* RY DAAR=DAARHEEN
DIT* IS* MELKIES
MAAK SY TEE
EK WIL DAARDIE SIEN |EK:WIL:SIEN:DAARDIE
MAMMA SIEN=KYK DAAR IS* TJIEN=GELD
EK SIEN HOM
EK SIEN HOM DAARBO |HOM:EK:SIEN:DAARBO
DAAR IS* 'n* GOGGA
EK* SLAAN DIE BALLETJIE IN DIE* DAAR=WATER
EK* GOOI DIE* BALLETJIE IN AF+
EK* GOOI DIE BALLETJIE IN DIE WATERTJIE=WATER
  |DIE:BALLETJIE:DIE:WATERTJIE:INGOOI
EK KLIM IN
EK VAL
HIER VAL DIE BOEK
HIER IS* MINGE=EETGOED
DAAR IS* 'n* TOEKE-TOEKE=TREIN
SIEN=KYK DAAR IS* 'n* LORRIE
MAMMA KYK* DIE* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG
EK* SIEN
DIE* DAARBO=VLIETUIG MAAK+ IS* NINGENGMAAK=STUKKEND
SIEN=KYK DAAR
DIT* IS* DIE KAR
DIT* IS 'n MOOI KAR
KYK DAAR
HY* GAAN HAMHAM=HAP
DAAR IS* 'n* LORRIE
SIEN=KYK DAAR IS* NOG 'n* KAR
HIER* IS* 'n* TOEKE-TOEKE=TREIN
HIER GOOI HULLE* WATER IN* |HIER:WATIE:GOOI
DIT* IS* JULIA SE* BUS
DAAR IS* N* VOëLTJIE IN* DIE* BUS
KYK DAAR
DAAR IS* 'n* GOGGA
DAAR EET* DIE* VOëLTJIE GRAS
DAAR IS* 'n* BUS
DAAR IS* WATERTJIE=WATER
KYK DAAR HAMME=HAP HY*
DAAR IS* 'n* KOMBI
DAAR RY* DIE* LORRIE UIT
MAMMA KYK* DIE KAR
DIE KAR BRAND |BRAND:DIE:KAR
KYK* DIE* LORRIE
DIT* IS* 'n* HASIETJIE=HASIE
KYK DAAR IS* 'n* LORRIE
KYK DAAR
EK* SIEN DIE LIG
DIT* IS* DIE MAAN
DAAR=DAARDIE MAAN IS NINGENG=STUKKEND
MAMMA KYK DIE KIETSIE=KAT
MAMMA DIE* KIETSIE=KAT IS* MOOI
MAMMA DIE* HOND* HAM-HAM=BYT
MAMMA KYK DAAR
DIT* IS* DIE* KIETSIE=KAT
DAAR IS* 'n* GOGGA
DAAR* IS* DIE TEE
HY VANG HOM*
KYK* DIE KAR
KYK DAAR IS* 'n* LIG AAN DIE KAR
DAAR* IS* JULIA
KYK DAAR
DAAR* IS* MELKIE=MELK
DIT* IS* MINGE=LEKKER MELKIE=MELK
KYK* DIE LIG
HY* VANG HOM
EK* SIEN DIE* LIG DAAR |LIG:SIEN:DAAR
DIE* WOEFIE=HONDJIE GAAN* DAARDIE EEN VANG
DAAR IS PAPPA
DAAR IS* DIE* BOTTEL
EK* GOOI DIE WATER DAARIN |GOOI:DIE:WATER:IN:DAAR
HY* DRAAI DAAR
DIE NEUS IS* MOOI
DAARSO=DIT IS* NAT
DAAR IS* NOG 'n* VOET*
EK* GOOI* DIE WATIE=WATER DAARIN |DIE:WATIE:IN:DAAR
EK* SIT DAAR
DAAR IS 'n* GOGGA
HAAL HOM* UIT |UITHAAL
HY* IS* IN DIE WATERTJIE=WATER
VANG EERS DIE* GOGGA |GOGGA:EERS:VANG
EK* SIT DIE BOTTELS DAAR |DIE:BOTTELS:SIT:DAAR
DIT* IS* MOOI=BLOMME
EK* GOOI* WATER* IN=OP DIE HARE
```

ERIK SAMPLE 18

```
WAAR IS* HY*
HY* HET* DAAR UIT=UITGEGAAN
WAAR IS* OUMA SE* KIETSIE
EK* SAL* JOU* SLAAN
DIT* IS* PAPPA DAARDIE
HY* RY* MET* DIE* KAR
ONS* RY* MET* DIE* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG
ONS* RY* MET* DIE KAR AS* ONS* NA* OUMA TOE* GAAN
DIE+ MAMMA=JY GAAN* RY*
DIE+ OUMA GAAN* RY*
DIE+ PAPPA GAAN* IN* DIE* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG RY*
SEUNTJIE=EK GAAN NOU IN* DIE* BRM-BRM RY
HY* MINGE=EET
HY* DRINK* DIE+ WATERTJIE=WATER
HY* DRINK UIT* 'n BOTTEL
DAAR Lê HY*
EK* WIL* DIE* KIETSIE=KAT Hê*
DAARDIE=DIT IS* LAPPIE DAARDIE DIE+
LAPPIE GAAN* UIT
HY GAAN* UIT
LOS MY UIT
DAAR Lê DIE+ LAPPIE
HIER GAAN DIE+ LAPPIE
LAPPIE MINGE=EET |MINGE:LAPPIE
DAAR IS* 'n* MOOI=BLOM
HULLE* HET* DAAR VERF=GEVERF
HULLE HET DAAR OOK VERF=GEVERF
KYK DAARDIE
KYK* DAARBO
HIER IS HY+ LAPPIES
LAPPIES HY+ DRINK
EK* IS* BANG VIR* DIE+ LAPPIE |DIE:LAPPIE:BANG
DIT* IS DIE=SY OOR DAARDIE
HY IS DIE+ MOOI
EK* SLAAN HOM |HOM:SLAAN
DAAR GAAN* HY* UIT
EK* KIELIE DIE KIETSIE=KAT |DIE:KIETSIE:KIELIE
EK* SLAAN DIE+ LAPPIE
EK* IS* BANG VIR* DIE+ LAPPIE
DAAR GAAN HY
DIE=HY IS* BY* MAMMA
DAAR IS* SY* OOR
HY=EK WIL DAAR SIT
LAPPIE GAAN HUIL
EK* VRYF DIE=HOM |DIE:VRYF
EK* IS* BANG VIR* DIE+ LAPPIE
EN WAT* IS* DAARDIE
DIT* IS* SY=DIE OOR DAARDIE
DAAR BRAND HY
DAAR IS* MINGE=KOS
DAAR IS* PAPPA
DIT* IS* DIE=SY HARE DAARDIE
DIE=DIT IS* PAPPA SE* HARE |DIE:HARE:PAPPA
DIE+ OUMA VRYF=WAS
EK VRYF VIR KIETSIE=KAT
DAAR VERF 'n=HULLE MET* 'n DAAR+ BORSEL
SIEN=KYK HIER |HIER:SIEN
HIER IS DIE MAMMA
DAAR DRAAI HY*
HIER Lê LAPPIE
MAMMA HIER IS LAPPIE
NOU SIT EK
DIT* IS* MY* NEUSIE
DAAR IS DIE=MY OOR
DIT* IS* DIE=MY MOND
DAAR=DIT IS* BAIE SEER
EK* IS* BANG VIR* DAAR=HOM
MAMMA EK SIEN 'n SLANG
DAAR IS DIE SLANG
HY* IS* DAAR OP* MY* HEMPIE
DIT* IS* DIE SEUNTJIE
DAAR* IS* PAPPA
KYK DAARDIE
HY* MAAK NINGENG=STUKKEND |NINGENG:MAAK
JAN HET* STUKKEND* GEMAAK*
HY* HET* DIE MUUR STUKKENDGEMAAK*
HY* HET* DIE MUUR SLAAN=GESLAAN
DAAR IS* 'n* LORRIE
DAAR* IS SAND IN* DIE* LORRIE |SAND:LORRIE:IS
DIE* SKIP IS* DAARBO
DAAR KLIM HY IN
DIT* IS* 'n* KAR
DAAR IS* MAMMA
DIE HASIE SPRING |SPRING:DIE:HASIE
HY* WIL DAAR UITGAAN |UIT:WIL:DAAR:GAAN
DAAR IS* 'n* TJOEKE=TREIN
MAMMA KYK* DIE SLANG
SWEM HY
DAAR VAL DIE KAR
DAAR BRAND DIE KOMBI
DAAR GAAN LAPPIE UIT |DAAR:GAAN:UIT:LAPPIE
MAMMIE KYK* VIR* DIE+ LAPPIE
PAPPA GAAN* LEMOENE HAAL
DAAR IS* OOK KOLE
DAAR VAL HY
MAMMA KYK* DIE BUSSE
MAMMA DIE=DIT IS* JULIA SE* BUS
DIE BUS IS MOOI
MAMMA KYK* DIE VOëLTJIE
DAAR IS* 'n* GROTE=GROOT TJOEKE=TREIN
```

```
MAMMA KYK DAAR
DIE* KAR NEUK OM* |NEUK:KAR
HY* IS* WEG
EK* DRAAI HOM* DAAR
HULLE* KOM UIT
KYK* DIE* BAND=BANDOPNEMER
DAAR RY HY OP* MOUSE=MICKEY MOUSE
DIE EEND IS* DAAR*
KYK DIE HOND
NEEM HOM AF
SIT DAARDIE IN* |DAARDIE:SIT
MOENIE HOM* DAAR SIT=INSIT NIE*
SIT HOM DAAR IN* SIT+
SIT* NOG 'n ANDER EEN* DAAR IN* |NOG:'n:DAAR:ANDER
EN KYK* HIERBO
GAAN HY* BO IN
EK* KYK DAAR BY DIE* GAATJIE AF
HY* GAAN UIT DAAR
HY RY DAAR IN* DIE BO=VLIEGTUIG
DIE KIETSIE=KATJIE NEUK AF |DIE:KIETSIE:AFNEUK
KYK DIE* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG NEUK HOM+ AF
KYK DIE KLIP
DAAR IS* DIE MOOI=BLOM
SEUNTJIE=EK VAT DIE BAND |VAT:SEUNTJIE:DIE:BAND
DIT* IS* MYNE
SIT HOM* WEER DAAR |WEER:DAAR:SIT
DIT* IS* KLAAR
DAAR=HY GAAN VAL
MAMMA=JY MOET KEER
GEE DIE DING
EK NEEM AF
EK GAAN DAAR=DIT NEEM=AFNEEM
EK* GAAN DIE* KAR GAAN+ DAAR AFNEEM
  |GAAN:KAR:GAAN:NEEM:AF:DAAR
MAMMA NEEM HOM AF*
KYK DAAR=DAARDIE SKIP
MAMMA DIE GOGGA HET* DIE BEENTJIE BYT=GEBYT
  |MAMMA:DIE:BEENTJIE:BYT:GOGGA
DIE BOOR HET* MY* SEERGEMAAK*
DIT* IS* MY* VOET
DIT* IS* MY* BEENTJIE
DIT* IS* HARE
DIT* IS* 'n OOR
DIT* IS* 'n* HAND DIE
MAAK DIT TOE |DIT:TOEMAAK
EK* WIL* NIE DAAR SIT NIE*
DAAR* IS* TWEE BALLETJIES
MAMMA SEUNTJIE=EK SKREE
KYK DAAR IS* 'n* GROOT SKRYF=KRYT
EK* TEKEN* DIE BALLETJIE
EK* TEKEN* 'n* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG
HY SKIET DAARDIE=HOM
HY SKIET DIE+ DAFFY IN DIE BO=VLIEGTUIG
HY* VAL AF
HAAL HOM AF
MY* HAND GAAN HOM TOEMAAK
EK* SLAAN MAMMA=JOU |SLAAN:MAMMA
EK* GAAN* MAMMA=JOU SLAAN
EK* SKRYF DAAR IN=OP DIE MUUR
SY HET* TATTA=GERY
SY* HET* DIE+ HUIS TOE* GAAN=GEGAAN
HY GOOI PETROL IN* DAARDIE KAR
  |HY:PETROL:GOOI:DAARDIE:KAR
HY* HET* BRAND=GEBRAND
PAPPA DRUK=MAAK AF=OOP
DIE DING IS* KLAAR
DIE MENSE HET GOOI=INGEGOOI
HY* GOOI WATER* IN DIE KAR MET* 'n* GIETER
  |IN:DIE:KAR:GOOI:GIETER
HIER* IS* DIE* LIG
DAAR IS* DIE KIETSIE=KATJIE
KYK DAAR GAAN HULLE* NA* DIE HUIS TOE
HULLE* IS* IN DIE BOOM
HULLE HET* KLAAR UITGAAN=UITGEGAAN |HULLE:UITGAAN:KLAAR
DIT* IS* HAAR* OOR
SY* SIT* IN DIE BED
DIE KIETSIE=KATJIE IS* BANG HY* VAL DAAR
HULLE* HET* KLEIN STERTJIES
HY* TREK HOM AF=AAN
DIT* IS* 'n* OOM
DAAR=HY GOOI MELK DAARIN* |DAAR:GOOI:MELK
HULLE* GAAN* DIT* EET
DIT* IS* 'n* STOEL
DIT* IS* 'n* KUSSING
KYK DAAR
HIERSO EET HULLE* WEER MINGE=LEKKERGOED
  |HIERSO:WEER:MINGE:EET
HY* GOOI PILLETJIES IN*
DIE DAAR=DAARDIE PILLETJIES IS* DIE+ GAGA=SLEG
  |DIE:GAGA:DIE:DAAR:PILLETJIES
HY* RY MET* DIE FIETS |DIE:FIETS:RY
DIE MAMMA EET |EET:DIE:MAMMA
MAMMA KYK VIR* DIE+ DAARDIE BOOM
MAMMA HY GAAN UIT
HY* BYT DIE OOM |DIE:OOM:BYT
HULLE* KLIM* IN DIE LORRIE
DAAR IS* DIE* KAR
MAMMA DIE=DAAR IS* BAIE DIE+ MELK
HY GAAN DIT* UITHAAL
KYK DIE PAPPA HY+ HAAL DIT* UIT
HY GAAN VAL
HY GAAN HOM* VANG
HY DRAAI
EK* WIL* NA* DIE* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG KYK
DAARDIE IS* 'n* KAR
KYK DAARDIE TJOEKE=TREIN RY
```

ERIK SAMPLE 22

```
EK* VAT HOM WEG
EK* VAT* DAARDIE DING+ BATTERY
PAPPA SIT HOM AAN
DIE DING MAAK* DING-DONG |DING-DONG:DIE:DING
DIE DING-DONG=HORLOSIE IS* IN DIT=DAAR
HIER* IS* WEER=NOG 'n HORLOSIE
DALLETJIE=JULIA WIL VEE
DRUK
SEUNTJIE=EK TREK DIE HEMPIE UIT
TREK HOM WEER UIT*
EK* GOOI HOM UIT
EK* MAAK HOM DOOD
EK* MAAK+ SKIET HOM DOOD
EK* KLIM UIT DIE BED |KLIM:DIE:BED:UIT
DIT* IS* HARE
EK VAT HOM
DAAR IS NEGE BOTTELS |NEGE:BOTTELS:DAAR:IS
DIT* IS* 'n* BAADJIE
BY+ DIE BEEN KOM DAAR |BY:DIE:BEEN:DAAR:KOM
TEL HOM OP
HAAL HOM UIT
HAAL DIE BAL UIT
SKOP HOM
WAAR IS MY GUMBIES
GOOI POEIER* IN
GOOI* POEIER IN* DIT-DAARIN*
GOOI BAIE POEIER DAARBO IN
MAMMA PRAAT MET* DIE WEERLIG
DIT* IS* N* KAM
MAMMA=JY KOOP DIE* KAM
PAPPA KOOP DIE KAM
JY* MAAK DIE=MY SEER
JY* GAAN* TEE MAAK*
EK* GAAN DIE KAR VAT=HAAL |DIE:KAR:GAAN:VAT
EK* HAAL HOM UIT
MAAK* VIR* MY* 'n EIERTJIE
EK* GAAN VAL
EK* KLIM UIT=AF
EK* SAL* VAL
SY* TREK GRAS UIT*
MAMMA=JY GAAN=MOET MY* KAR WEER INBRING
EK* WIL* PAP Hê*
EK* WIL* TEE OOK Hê*
EK* WIL* KASIE OOK Hê*
DIE* EIERTJIE IS* GAGA=SLEG |GAGA:EIERTJIE
MAMMA MAAK=SIT KAAS* IN DIT=DAAR
EK* EET* KASIE
WAAR IS MY EIERTJIE
HY=EK GAAN HOM* INBRING
HY=EK LEK HOM
DAARDIE DING IS* WARM
EK* LEK HOM
DAAR IS* NOG GOGGAS IN+ IN DIT=DAAR
DAAR* IS* NOG GOGGAS OOK
DIE* EIER* IS* LEKKER WARM
PAPPA GAAN MET* DIE* KAR RY
EK* WIL* NOG EIERTJIE Hê*
EK* WIL* TEE DRINK
DAARDIE IS* OOK 'n MOE=KOEI |MOE:DAAI:OOK
DAAR GAAN DIE* OOM VAL
DIE VLIEG=VLIEGTUIG DRAAI
MAAK HOM OOP
DIE VOëLTJIE VAL OP* DIE DAK
DAAR KOM DIE OOM
DIT* IS* DIE SKIP
EK* WIL UITGAAN
DIE* VLIEG=VLIEGTUIG HY+ DRAAI
BRING IN DIE MELK
HY=DIT GAAN BUITE REëN
MAMMA DIT* GAAN MAAK+ DIE+ REëN
DAARDIE KAR GAAN NAT MAAK=WORD
HY* WAAI DAARDIE DING
HY WAAI HIER+ AL DIE GOETERS WEG DAAR
HY* WAAI DIE* FIETSIE OOK
DIE* TREKKER VAL
DIE* FIETS GAAN AMPER+ AFVAL |AMPER:FIETS:GAAN:AFVAL
HY GAAN DIE DING INBREEK=BREEK
DAARDIE DING VOEL WARM=LOOP |VOEL:WARM:DAAI:DING
DIE EEN WIEL WARM=DRAAI OOK |EEN:DIE:WIEL:WARM:OOK
DIE* KETEL BRAND DIE* HOED BRAND+
DIT* IS* 'n* GROOT GRAAF
DAARDIE DING VOEL WARM=LOOP |VOEL:DAAI:DING:WARM
DAARDIE DING WARM+DRAAI BAIE |WARM:DAAI:DING:BAIE
DIE=DIT REëN DAAR
DIE=DIT REëN WEER
HY* IS* BANG DIE WEERLIG EET=SLAAN HOM
DIE* VOëLTJIE VAL OP* DIE DAK
DIE* WIEL DRAAI |DRAAI:WIEL
DIT* IS* 'n* TREKKER
KYK DIE WEER=WEERLIG IN* DIE* WOLKE |KYK:DIE:WOLKE:WEER
KYK DIE WEERLIG
DIE* WEERLIG IS* GROOT |GROOT:WEERLIG
DAAR* IS* NOG 'n WEERLIG
MAMMA HULLE* IS* OOK BANG VIR* DIE DING
GAAN+ ALMAL GAAN IN* DIE BUS RY
ALMAL GAAN REëN=NATREëN |GAAN:ALMAL:REëN
DIE BUS IS PAPNAT
DIE OMIE IS* BANG VIR DIE* WEERLIG |BANG:DIE:OMIE:WEERLIG
DIT* IS* 'n HELIKOPTER
DAAR VLIEG HY
```

```
SY* HET* WEER REëN=NATGEREëN |NAT:WEER:REëN
DIE* WOEFIE=HOND IS* DAAR BUITE
DAARDIE LORRIE* WARM=RY |WARM:DAAI
HY* BYT LEKKER
HULLE GAAN ALMAL WEG
DIE* KAR=KARRE GAAN ALMAL WEG
DAAR=DIT HET* BRAND=GEBRAND
HULLE GAAN=VLIEG VER |GAAN:HULLE:VER
EK GAAN NOU OPSTAAN
ONS GAAN DAAR BUITE STAP*
DAARDIE LORRIE* IS WARM=RY |IS:DAARDIE:WARM
HY IS WARM=RY
DIE* PLEK BRAND
ONS* SIEN* 'n* DAARBO=VLIEGTUIG
DAAR STYG HULLE ALMAL WEG=OP
DIE SEUNTJIE=EK HET* KLAAR VERTEL*
MAMMATJIE DAARDIE DING WARM WORD=RY
EK* SPEEL LEKKER
MAMMA=JY KAP DIE+ DAARDIE |DIE:DAAI:MAMMA:KAP
HY GAAN UITKOM
HY* GAAN INGAAN
SIEN=KYK HY GAAN IN
HY GAAN INGAAN
HY SKUIF OP DIE GAATJIE |SKUIF:HY:OP:DIE:GAATJIE
EK* GAAN HOM UITHAAL
DAAR GAAN SEUNTJIE=EK NOG EEN UITHAAL
DIE* KAR GAAN BRAND
DIE* KLEINJTIE=KLEIN KAR=KARRETJIE GAAN BRAND
HY* HET* KLEINTJIE=KLEIN WIELIETJIE=WIELIETJIES
HY WARM=RY
EK* GOOI DIT* DAAR IN |DAAR:INGOOI
DIT* IS* DIE* WARM=ENJIN
DIT* IS* 'n* BANDNEMER=BANDOPNEMER
DAARDIE VLERKIE DRAAI |DRAAI:DAAI:VLERKIE
DIT* IS* SO=SO'n KLEINTJIE
DAAR* IS* 'n* GROTE=GROOT BAKKIE
DAAR IS* 'n BOTTEL
EK* VEE DAAR |DAAR:VEE
DIT* IS* DIE* OOM
SIEN=KYK DIE LIG HY+ DRAAI
DIE* LIG DRAAI
DAAR IS* NOG 'n BANDNEMER=BANDOPNEMER
DAARDIE DING HY+ DRAAI
PAPPA SIT DAARDIE IN |PAPPA:DAAI:INSIT
HY* SIT* HOM* DAAR IN*
PAPPA SIT=DRUK HOM* IN DIE MUUR
HY* SIT=DRUK DIE DING IN DIE MUUR
PAPPA SIT HOM AAN
DAARDIE IS* 'n* WAAIER
EN DAARDIE IS* 'n BOEK
AL MY SKRYFIES=KRYTE IS* DAAR
ALMAL IS NOG WEG
EK GAAN HOM DAAR SIT
PAPPA HOM+ SLAAN DIE SEUNTJIE=MY
SEUNTJIE=EK BREEK HOM MET* DIE* HAMER
DIT* IS* 'n* VISSIE
DAARDIE IS* MAMMA SE VERF=VERFKWAS |VERF:MAMMA:DAAI
PAPPA GAAN VERF
EK* SIT HOM IN DIE LIG=FLITS SIT+
EK* SIT HOM UIT=IN
EK* DRAAI DAARDIE DING SO
BRING NOG 'n SKRYFIE=KRYT
GEE* MY* 'n* ANDER SKRYFIE=KRYT
DIT* IS* WEER=WEERLIG
HY=EK SKRYF=TEKEN DAARDIE DING+ WARM=ENJIN
DIT* IS* OUPA
GEE NOG
GEE* NOG EEN
EK* SKRYF=TEKEN NOG WOLKE
DIT* IS* EEN WOLKE=WOLK
DAAR* IS* VIER WOLKE
GEE MY* NOG+ DAARDIE SKRYFIE=KRYT
DIT* IS 'n ROOI WOLKE=WOLK
GEE SEUNTJIE=MY NOG 'n* SKRYFIE=KRYT
EK* TEKEN* WOLKE
EK GAAN WEER TEKEN*
EK* SKRYF=TEKEN WEER
EK* SKRYF=TEKEN 'n* BOOM
EK* GAAN WIELE MAAK=TEKEN
DIT* IS* 'n* GOG
DIT* IS* 'n VOET
DAAR VAL HY
DIT* IS* 'n* WIEL
DAARDIE IS* OOK 'n* WIEL |DAAI:WIEL:OOK
DIT* IS* KLEI
DIT* IS* 'n* TOFFEL=PANTOFFEL
DIE* WIEL DRAAI |DRAAI:WIEL
HY KOM HIER |KOM:HY:HIER
DIT* IS* 'n SKIP
DIT* IS* DIE WATERTJIES
DAAR IS* 'n* MOTOR
DAAR IS* 'n* POMP
EN DAAR* IS* 'n* RAT
DIT* IS* NOG 'n RAT
DIT* IS* 'n* KLEINTJIE=KLEIN RATJIE
EK* SIT HOM DAAR
EK* GAAN NOG VAT
EK* SKRYF=TEKEN NOG 'n WOLK
EK* SKRYF=TEKEN 'n KLEINTJIE=KLEIN WOLK=WOLKIE
  |KLEINTJIE:WOLK:SKRYF
SIT HOM DAAR
```

DEON SAMPLE 14

```
DIE* TREKKER HET* BREEK=GEBREEK MA
DIE* ENJIN IS STUKKEND
DIE* ENJIN IS* BINNE
KYK HIER RY HY
PAPPA MOET* HOM* REGMAAK*
PA HET* MET* DIE* BUS GERY
WAT* MAAK SO MAMMA
DIE* FIETSIE IS* STUKKEND
DIE* KIETSIE=KAT IS* DAAR
KYK HIER
EK* SKIET HOM
KYK
DIT* IS* DIE* JEEPIE MA
DIT* IS* PAPPA SE* SPORTMOTOR
HY RY MA
DIE* TREKKER RY
MAMMA KYK HIER RY HY
DIE* TREKKER RY |RY:TREKKER
MAMMA EK* SPEEL MET* DIE* TREKKER IN* DIE* SAND
  |MAMMA:TREKKER:SAND:SPEEL
DIT* IS* WARM MA
DIT* IS* DIE* TREKKER
KYK HIER
RIENIE HET* HOM* VIR* MY* GEE=GEGEE
DIT* IS* PAPPA
DIT* IS* 'n* GRAFIE
MOEKIES WAAR IS DIE* KIETSIE=KAT
EK* GAAN* DIE* KIETSIE=KAT HAAL MA
HIER IS HY
DIT* IS* 'n* KATJIE
MAMMA HY STAAN
HY BOEMS=VAL AF* |BOEMS:HY
KYK HIER HY* HET* SKOENE AAN
HY* Lê DAAR
EK* GOOI HULLE IN* DIE* BAK |HULLE:GOOI:BAK
EK* GOOI DIE* GRAFIE HIER |GRAFIE:GOOI:HIER
WAAR IS HY= DIE GIETER
MAMMA WAT* MAAK SO
DIE* WATER MAAK SO
EK* SPEEL MET* DIE* LORRIE
HY* IS* VOL SAND
KYK HIER
MAMMA KYK DIE WIELE
MAMMA KYK DIE LORRIE
MAMMA DIE LORRIE RY OP* DIE* KOMBERS
  |MAMMA:RY:DIE:LORRIE:KOMBERS
WAAR IS DAARDIE LORRIE
WAAR IS DIE GIETER
WAAR IS HY NOU
KYK HIER
WAAR IS DAARDIE ANDER LORRIE
CHRISTO=EK HET* DIT* PLUK=GEPLUK MAMMA
DIT* IS* WARM MA
DIT* IS* MYNE=MY RADIO
EK* GOOI HOM* WEG*
KYK HIER MA
EK* HET* HOM* DAAR GOOI=GEGOOI |GOOI:DAAR
EK* KAN NIE KYK* NIE*
EK KAN NIE DIE* LORRIE KYK=SIEN NIE
MAMMA KYK DAAR* IS* NIE 'n* LORRIE NIE
KYK DIE KAR
WAT* IS* DAARDIE
DIT* IS* 'n* HAMER
HY KAP
DAAR IS* KASSIES
WAT* IS* DAARDIE
KYK DIE HOND
KYK DAAR
SY* BRIL HET* BREEK=GEBREEK |BREEK:BRIL
KYK DIE TANNIE
EK* SOEK 'n* TREKKER MA
WAAR IS HY NOU
WAAR IS DAARDIE HORLOSIE
HIER IS HY
WAAR IS HY NOU
MA EK KAN NIE LORRIES KRY NIE
MAMMA SEUNTJIE=EK PRAAT
EK* WIL* HOM* AANSIT
EK* WIL* HIERSO MET* DIE* LORRIE IN* DIE* SAND SPEEL
'n=DIE LORRIE VAL AF |VAL:'n:LORRIE:AF
DIE* BOBBEJAAN MAAK DIE* DEUR TOE |BOBBEJAAN:DEUR:TOEMAAK
DIT* IS* DIE* BOBBEJAAN SE* LORRIE
HY* GAAN DAAR IN* DIE* SAND SPEEL
KYK HIER IS* DAARDIE GRAFIE
GEE
EK* GOOI SAND IN* DIE* LORRIE
MAMMA EK* GOOI SAND IN* DIE* LORRIE
  |MAMMA:GOOI:LORRIE:SAND
KYK HIER
DIE* GRAFIE IS* VAS |VAS:GRAFIE
DIT* IS* MYNE
KYK HIER IS* 'n* EINA=SEERPLEK
MA HIER IS HY
ELSIE HET* MY* KNYP=GEKNYP
EK* HET* MET* DIE* BOBBEJAAN BAKLEI
EK* MAAK HOM* VAS |VASMAAK
EK* WIL* DAAR IN* DIE* SPIEëL SIEN=KYK
  |SIEN:DAAR:SPIEëL
WAAR IS* PAPPA SE* REWOLWER |WAAR:REWOLWER:PAPPA
MAMMA MAAK HOM* VAS |MAMMA:VASMAAK
EK HAAL HOM* WEER AF
MY DOEK VAL AF |MY:DOEK:AFVAL
EK* HET* PIEPIE=GEPIEPIE
HY* IS* NAT
```

```
EENDAG HET* HY* RY=GERY
DAARDIE WIEL HET* AFGEBREEK |AFGEBREEK:DAARDIE:WIEL
DIE* LORRIE HET WEGGELOOP
DIT* IS* GOEDJIES=LEKKERGOEDJIES
EK* GAAN NOU-NOU WINKEL TOE*
EK* GAAN NAMMIES=LEKKERGOED KOOP |NAMMIES:GAAN:KOOP
EENDAG HET DIE* WIEL AFGEBREEK
'n BANTOE HET* KYK=GEKYK HOE* DIE WIELE AFGEBREEK HET*
KYK DAAR
HY KYK |KYK:HY
HY KYK NA* DIE WIELE |KYK:HY:DIE:WIELE
EENDAG HET* DIE* LEEU OP* DIE* DAK KLIM=GEKLIM
  |EENDAG:LEEU:KLIM:DIE:DAK
HY* LOOP OP DIE DAK
'n* PADDA HET* OOK OPGEKLIM* |OOK:PADDA
KYK DAAR EK RY FIETS
EK* STAMP DIE KAR
DIT IS 'n ONGELUK
KYK DAAR 'n WIEL HET* AFGEBREEK
EK* RY
EK RY VAS |EK:VASRY
EK* IS* MOEG
EK RY FIETS
EK RY VINNIG MET* MY KAR
MAMMA KYK DAAR RY DIE* ASBLIKLORRIE
  |MAMMA:KYK:DAAR:ASBLIKLORRIE:RY
DAAR IS DIE ASBLIK
MARIA HET* GETEKEN*
MAMMA HET* GETEKEN*
MA HET* TEKEN=GETEKEN
DAAR* IS* 'n LEKKER LORRIE |'n:LORRIE:LEKKER
DAAR IS DIE BUS
EK* SKIET HOM
EK WIL MY* GEWEER Hê*
HY DOEDOE=SLAAP
MA SY ENJIN BREEK AF |MA:SY:ENJIN:AFBREEK
MA KYK DAAR
BY DIE* KAFEE HET* HIERDIE LORRIE BREEK=GEBREEK
KYK* MY KAR
HULLE DOEDOE=SLAAP
ANNERINE SLAAP
EK TEKEN NIE 'n* LORRIE NIE*
EK* KAN NIE EEN* TEKEN* NIE*
JY MOET* EEN* TEKEN* MA
RY DAAR SAAM=SAAM MET MY |SAAM:MY:RY:DAAR
KOM ONS* RY* VINNIG
WAAR IS HY NOU
EK* BRING HOM HIERNATOE
HIER IS HY
HY* VAL
DIE* KIETSIE=KAT VAL IN DIE WATER
  |KIETSIE:IN:DIE:WATER:VAL
DIE* SLAKKE IS* IN DIE* BLOMMETJIES
  |IN:BLOMMETJIES:SLAKKE
MA KYK DAAR
DAAR IS HY NOU
HY* IS* ONDER DIE* GROND IN DIE GATE
DIT* IS* SLAKKE
MA KYK DIE SLAKKE
HULLE* IS* HIERSO BY DIE BLOMMETJIES
DIE SLAKKE IS* IN DIE BLOMMETJIES
DAARDIE IS* MIERE
DIE* KIETSIE=KAT IS* IN HIERDIE BLOMMETJIES
MA KYK DAAR
JY* MOET* DAAR KOM KYK
HY IS IN DIE GAT
HY LOOP
MA KYK DIE KIETSIE=KAT
WAAR IS HY+ DIE DOOIE SLAKKE
HULLE* IS* IN DIE BOOM
DIE* KIETSIE=KAT SOEK HOM=HULLE
DIE* KIETSIE=KAT IS* HIERSO
EK* KOM NOU-NOU
HIERSO BLY DIE* KIETSIE=KAT
MA KYK HY BLY HIERSO HIER+ IN* DIE BOSSIES
WAAR IS HY NOU
WAT IS DIT
EK* SOEK HOM DAAR IN* DIE BOSSIES
EK* SOEK BOSSIES
MA HIER IS* DIE* GRAFIE
EK GOOI SAND* IN DIE GAT
DIE SAND KOM HIERSO |KOM:DIE:SAND:HIERSO
DIT* KOM HIER
EK* SPEEL* DAARSO=HIERSO BINNE-IN DIE SAND
HIER IS 'n* LEEU
MA KOM HIER
DIE* AKKEDISSIE HET WEGGELOOP
DIE* REëNWURM HET WEGGELOOP
MA KYK DIE REëNWURM IS* DOOD
DIT* IS* DIE* KIETSIE=KAT
KOM HIERSO
MA VAT
KOM HIER KAT
KOM JY MOET NOU DOEDOE=SLAAP IN DIE KAS
KYK DAAR GAAN HY
DAAR IS HY+ DIE* BOBBEJAAN=DOM KIETSIE=KAT
EK* BêRE DIE* GRAFIE |GRAFIE:BêRE
DAAR IS* DIE* STOOTSKRAPER OOK
MA KYK EK* STOOT
HY DOEDOE=SLAAP
PAPPA RY WERK TOE
HY* RY* WERK TOE MET* DIE* BUS
DIE TANNIE SING
SING MAMMA
```

```
EK MAAK 'n LORRIE SE* BAK
IN DIE LORRIE RY HY
EENDAG RY EK* DIE ANDER DOOD
DAN RY HY
'n* BANTOE BREEK DIE* KAR
HY MAAK HOM* STUKKEND
TOE RY=MAAK HY BANTOE+ 'n* ONGELUK
DAAR EET HY* DIE PIESANG IN DIE BOOM
DIE* TRANSPORTLORRIE RY LEKKER |TRANSPORTLORRIE:LEKKER:RY
HY* HET* 'n KALFIE GEGEE*
EK* HET* GEET=VERGEET
DIT* IS* DIE BATTERY
EK* KAN NIE INGOOI* NIE*
ONS* HET* TV GEKYK*
ONS* HET* IN* DIE* SAND MET* KARRETJIES GESPEEL
ONS* HET* MET* KARRETJIES IN* DIE* SAND GESPEEL
RYNIE HET* GRAS GESNY
EK HET* DAAR BIETJIE GRAS SNY=GESNY
  |BIETJIE:EK:DAAR:GRAS:SNY
HY* HET* BY OUPA GRAS SNY=GESNY |BY:OUPA:SNY:GRAS
RYNARD HET* DAAR GRAS SNY=GESNY |RYNARD:SNY:GRAS:DAAR
EK* IS* BANG
HY BYT
RYNARD SNY GRAS
MA KYK
BRING HIERSO
ONS KRY 'n NUWE BOETIE |'n:NUWE:BOETIE:KRY:ONS
WAAR IS HY
WAAR IS HY NOU
DAAR IS HY
MAMMA KYK DAAR
EK WIL* SAAM LOOP=GAAN
HY* GAAN* 'n* GROOT LORRIE BRING*
MA WAAR IS DIE GOGGATJIE
EK KAN HULLE NIE SIEN NIE |EK:KAN:NIE:HULLE:SIEN:NIE
SIEN JY*
WAAR IS DAARDIE GRAFIE MA
EK WERK HIERSO
MAMMA SPUIT HIER NAT
MA KYK HIERSO
DAAR* IS* 'n* AKKEDISSIE MA
HY* IS* HIER IN DIE SAND
DAAR=DIT IS* VOL SAND |VOL:DAAR:SAND
KYK DAAR
EK* WIL* DIE* GRAFIE Hê
MA KYK DIE AKKEDISSIE
KYK DIE PADDA
DAAR IS HY
KYK
WAAR IS DIT=HY NOU |WAAR:IS:NOU:DIT
WAAR IS HY NOU DIT+
WAAR IS DIE* PADDA
DIT* IS* 'n BLOMMETJIE
MA KOM ONS GAAN* NOU LOOP
DAAR IS HY
KYK DAAR IS HY
EK* IS BANG
EK MAAK BLOMME NAT
DAAR SPUIT DIE SPUIT
HY LOOP |LOOP:HY
MAMMA=JY MOET* SING
SING
DAAR* IS* 'n* BANTOE
HULLE* IS* BY DAARDIE BLOMMETJIES
MA KYK NOU DAAR
DIT* IS* 'n KAR
DIT* IS* 'n KARRETJIE
MA HOOR DIE VLIEGTUIG
MA KYK DAARDIE KARRETJIE
DIE* KARRETJIE IS* SJOE-SJOE=WARM
DIE* KARRETJIE BO=DAARBO MAAK SO
WAAR IS DIE VLIEGTUIG
EK* GAAN* DIE* BOSSIE TREK=UITTREK
IS* DAARDIE 'n* BOSSIE
WAAR IS DIE BOSSIE
EK* GOOI HOM* VERDER WEG |WEG:VERDER:GOOI
EK* GOOI HOM* VERDER WEG |WEGGOOI:VERDER
EK HARDLOOP VINNIG
DIT* IS DIE* KARRETJIE WAT* SO MAAK |IS:KARRETJIE:MAAK:SO
MY GRASSNYER IS SJOE=WARM SIEN
DIE* ENJIN IS* NIE* WARM NIE
KYK WAAR IS DIE WIELETJIES
IS* HULLE* HIERSO
WAAR BREEK DIE KARRETJIE
WAAR IS HY
HULLE* EET KOSSIES
MAMMA KOM MAAK TEE
WAAR IS PAPPA
HY HET WERK TOE GAAN=GEGAAN
DIT* IS* NEILIE S'N
EK* VERTEL* VAN* DIE TRANSPORTLORRIE
MA KYK HY BRAND |MA:KYK:BRAND:HY
WAT IS* HIER=HIERDIE
WAAR IS HY NOU MA
HIER IS HY
MA KYK DIE* BABA
MA KYK DIE OMIE LAG
HY* DRINK KOFFIE |KOFFIE:DRINK
KYK DIE LEEU
DIT* IS* 'n* BOBBEJAAN
DIT* IS* 'n* VARKIE
```

```
DAAR* IS* 'n ANDER TIPLORRIE
HY GOOI 'n ANDER HOOP SAND BY* TANNIE ELSIE TOE+
HY TIP BY* TANNIE ELSIE TOE+ |TIP:HY:TANNIE:ELSIE:TOE
DAN RY HY DIE+ LORRIE+
HY* HET* DIT* BY TANNIE ELSIE GEGOOI*
VUUR+ DAAR BRAND NOU 'n* ANDER VUUR
  |VUUR:BRAND:DAAR:ANDER:VUUR:NOU
DAARDIE ANDER LORRIE BREEK BROEMS
'n* ANDER OOM HET* VAN* 'n LORRIE AFVAL=AFGEVAL
HY SIT NOU IN DIE STOOTSKRAPER
  |SIT:HY:IN:DIE:STOOTSKRAPER:NOU
SY PLOEG DIE LANDE
SY WAG NOU DAAR IN* 'n KAMER
DIE* SLANG BYT 'n OOM
HY* BYT* 'n ANDER EEN OOK
MA SEUNTJIE=EK PRAAT
HY* HET* DIT* IN DIE ANDER LORRIE* GOOI=GEGOOI
HY* HET* DIT* IN 'n TIPLORRIE GEGOOI*
TOE RY HY TERUG BY+ NA SESA SE* HUIS TOE*
DAAR HET* 'n* VUUR BRAND=GEBRAND
'n* ANDER BRANDWEERWA KOM
DAAR RY HY+ 'n ANDER BRANDWEERWA OOK
DIE* ANDER VOLKSWAGEN HET* TOE BREEK=GEBREEK
TOE HET* MY KAR DAAR BREEK=GEBREEK
EN TOE LEK DIE KAR
PIETER RY TOE |RY:PIETER:TOE
DAAR RY 'n ANDER KAR
DAAR PARKEER HULLE ANDER KAR=KARRE
EN DAAR KOM DAAR+ 'n POLISIEKAR
'n* ANDER AMBULANS MAAK TIE-TO
DIE* AMBULANS GAAN* HAAL* DIE* SIEK OMIE
KYK* DAARDIE BOY
KYK* DIE* ANDER BOY
DIE* ANDER BOYTJIE IS* BUITE
HY IS* OOK BUITE
'n=DIE BOY MAAK TUIN
DIE* BOY LOOP+ WERK IN DIE TUIN
  |BOY:IN:DIE:TUIN:LOOP:WERK
EK KAN AL PAPPA SE* NAAM* Sê*
HY* IS* JACO
EK IS* NIE* BIETJIE SIEK NIE
HIER IS KOEKIES
KYK* DIE* BOEK
DIT* IS* 'n REISIEKARBOEK
DAAR IS* 'n BRANDWEERWA
HIER IS DIE BRANDWEERWA
WAT IS DIE
KYK DIE LIG
EK* HET* MET* OOM JOHAN GESELS*
ONS HET* BROOD GEKOOP
EN ONS* HET* NAMMIES=LEKKERS KOOP=GEKOOP
HIERDIE VLIEGTUIG BRING VIR* PAPPA
WAT IS DIE
Sê AMBULANS
WAT IS DIE
MAMMA EK* WIL* UITKLIM
LIEZEL WAS* DAAR*
ONS* HET* NIKS GEDOEN* NIE*
OOM PIETER WAS* DAAR*
OUPA WAS* DAAR*
TOE RY MAMMA
PIETER IS* IN DIE SKOOL
OUMA HET* DIT* GEGEE*
DIT* IS MYNE
DIT* IS* 'n* LORRIEBOEK
SY* HET* 'n* LANDBOUWEEKBLAD VIR* MY* GEGEE*
DAAR IS WIELE OOK
EN DAAR IS TREKKERS
DIT* IS* OOK 'n STORIEBOEK ,
OUPA HET* VIR* MY* 'n* KALFIE GEGEE
HY IS MOOI
OUPA HET* VIR* MY* 'n* VERSKALFIE GEGEE*
HY* HET* IN DIE BOOM GEBLY
HEIDI KOM HIER=HIERHEEN
DIT* IS* MAMMA S'N
DIE* BOBBEJAAN BLY HIER
EK* IS* NIE BANG NIE
EK* IS* BANG* VIR* DIE* LUIPERD
HY* BLY* BUITE
HY* BLY* BUITE
DIT IS PIETER S'N
EK* WIL* NOG BAD
EK* HET* BY SOPHIE GESPEEL*
EN EK* HET* BY* MARIA GESPEEL*
DAAR* IS* 'n GROOT HOOP SAND* BY ELSIE
EK LEES MAMMA
EK* LEES WIELIE-WALIE
EENDAG HET* 'n* ANDER KAR HY=HOM TRAP=GETRAP
TOE* KOM* DIE* BRANDWEERWA
IEMAND* HET* SEERGEKRY
HY* HET* AAN 'n=SY HAND SEERGEKRY*
DIT BRAND
'n* ANDER BUS HET* OMGEVAL
SOPHIE HET* DROOM=GEDROOM
DIE* OOM HET* SEERGEKRY BY* DIE KLIP
'n* ANDER OOM HET SEERGEKRY
DIE* OOM MAAK SO
DIT* IS* 'n* LEEU
HY BRUL
HY* MAAK* Mê
HY* MAAK* MOE
WAAR IS DIE TREKKERBOEK
EK WIL DAARDIE BOEK Hê
```

```
DIT IS EK S'N=MYNE
MAMMATJIE WAT IS* OP DIE DAK
HIER IS HY
DIT* IS* 'n KRUIWA
MA WAT IS DIE
DIT* IS* 'n* REWOLWER
MÔRE KOM DIE LORRIE EN DIE STOOTSKRAPER
DIE BUS KAN* NIE RY NIE
MAMMA WAT* IS* DAARDIE
DIT* IS MYNE
TOE KOM DIE WOLF
HY* BLAAS DIE HUISIE OM
TOE WAAI DIE HUISIE OM
MA KYK HIER
DIT* IS NIE* JOU VARKIES NIE
EK* EET* NAMMIES=LEKKERS
EK* KRY* DIT* BY MARGO
SY* HET* DIT* BY DIE* KAFEE GEKOOP*
DAAR* IS TIEN LEKKERS*
DIE OOM KLIM IN* DIE* AMBULANSIES=AMBULANS
  |AMBULANSIES:KLIM:DIE:OOM
EN TOE VAL DIE SEUNTJIE IN DIE STRAAT AF
TOE SKREE HY WEER
TOE* KOM 'n BANTOE
TOE HARDLOOP HY IN DIE STRAAT
TOE* KOM DIE GROOT LORRIE
TOE IS* DAAR* 'n* ONGELUK
EN DIE HOOP SAND HET* OOK 'n* ONGELUK* GEMAAK*
HY KAN NIE RY NIE
DIE DAK IS* STUKKEND*
TOE RY DIE* MOTORFIETS
DIE* OMIE HET* IN=OP DIE DAK GERY*
TOE RY HY
HULLE* BEL* DIE* POLISIE
HY IS* VAAK
HY GAAN DOEDOES=SLAAP
PAPPA RY*
HY* RY* VER BO
HY* GAAN* DURBAN TOE
WAAR IS PAPPA
PAPPA IS* IN DIE* HELIKOPTER
HULLE* HET* DIE* POLISIE GEBEL*
EK* WIL* NOG 'n* NANNATJIE=LEKKERTJIE Hê
MAMMA KYK DIE NANNATJIE=LEKKERTJIE IS* BINNE-IN
NIKS GEBEUR* NIE
EK* HUIL NIE
EK WIL DIE NANNATJIE=LEKKERTJIE GAAN* HAAL
MAMMA CHRISTO=EK WIL* 'n* NANNATJIE=LEKKERTJIE Hê
EK KAN NIE VERTEL* NIE*
HY* SAL* JOU PIETS
EK* KAN=WIL NIE Lê* NIE*
'n SEUNTJIIE=EK WIL* PRAAT
EK KAN=WIL NIE VERTEL* NIE
EK SEUNTJIE+ PRAAT
EK* WIL* NIE VAN* HEIDI VERTEL* NIE
SY* IS* NIE BY* OUPA NIE
DIT* IS NIE* JOU OUPA NIE
DIT* IS HEIDI SE OUPA
HY* IS* WEG
HY* IS* IN DIE KAFEE
SEUNTJIE=EK PRAAT
EK* KAN NIE VERTEL* NIE*
HY STOOT DAARDIE KAR
OUPA STOOT* DIE* KAR*
OUPA STOOT DIE* ALFETTA
HY IS NIE* STUKKEND NIE
HY* IS REG
HY STOOT
EK* HET* OUPA GESIEN*
DIT* IS NIE* JOU KAR NIE
WAAR IS DIE NANNATJIE=LEKKERTJIE NOU
DIT* IS NIE JOU NANNATJIE=LEKKERTJIE NIE
DIT* IS NIE JOU KALFIE NIE
JOU KALFIE IS WEG
EK HET* DIE PERD KYK=GESIEN |EK:KYK:DIE:PERD
EK WIL BATTERYE Hê
KYK BINNE-IN MAMMA
WAAR IS DAARDIE ENE
EK SOEK DAARDIE ENE
EK* SOEK* DAARDIE EEN+ SPUITPROP
DIT* IS NIE DAAR=DAARDIE PROP NIE
EK HET NIE DAARDIE* PROP NIE
WAAR IS DIE PROP
DIT* IS NIE* JOU PROPPIES NIE
DIT* IS MY PROPPIES
JY KRY DIT NIE
WAT* IS* DAARDIE MAMMA
WAT* IS* DAARDIE ENE
DIT* IS* 'n* BOTTELTJIE ROOM
DIT* IS* MYNE
EK* WIL HOM* NIE AFDROOG NIE
EK* WIL* MY* GESIGGIE WAS
MA EK DRINK WATER
DIT* IS* KOFFIE MAMMA
DIT* IS* TEE
EK DRINK WATER
EK DRINK 'n BIETJIE WATER
DAAR* KOM DIE LEEU
EK IS* BANG DIE LEEU BYT EK=MY
EK SKIET DIE OU LEEU
DIE* KROKODIL BYT EK=MY |BYT:EK:KROKODIL
```

```
DIT IS OOK CHRISTO
SY* NAAM* IS* JACO
DAAR* KOM DIE OOM UIT DIE LELIKE DING
DAAR* KOM DIE LELIKE DING UIT
DAAR KOM DIE BANTOE
DIE BANTOE HY+ BOKS
HY BOKS DIE OMIE
HY WIL BOKS
DAAR* KOM DIE KLEIN BRANDWEERWA
TOE WAS* DAAR* 'n* SIEK OMIE
DIE* VLIEGTUIG HET* GERY DAARBO IN DIE WOLKE
EK WEET NIE
HIER IS BESKUIT
EK WEET NIE
DIE* GRAAF IS STUKKEND
DIT* IS 'n* GROOT GRAAF
EK WERK MET* DIE* GROOT GRAAF
ONS* GOOI DIT* NIE* OP* DIE GRAS NIE
ONS* GAAN* MET* SPEELGOED EN BLOKKIES SPEEL*
ONS* GAAN* MET* LORRIES EN BUSSE SPEEL*
EN ONS* GAAN* MET* KARRE SPEEL*
ONS* GAAN* OP* MY FIETS RY
HENRIEN MAG* NIE OP* MY FIETS RY NIE
HY=SY WAS STOUT
DIE* SEUNTJIE IS* STOUT
HY* RY OP* MY FIETS
EK* BEDOEL* 'n* ANDER SEUNTJIE
MAMMA=JY MOET DIE DOGTERTJIES PIETS
DIT* IS MY SPEELGOED
DIT* IS NIE WAAR* NIE*
EK WEET NIE
ONS* GAAN* HAAR* IN DIE DORP HAAL
VAT* HIERSO
DAAR KOM DIE TEE
EK WIL TEE Hê
WAAR IS MYNE
EK WIL DAARDIE Hê
WAAR IS MY SJOKOLADE
EENDAG RY ONS* IN* 'n GROOT LORRIE
DAN TIP HY* IN=OP OOM JERRY SE GRAS
TOE RAAS OOM JERRY MET* JOU=HOM
HY KAN NIE RAAS NIE
HY IS GROOT
HY=DIT IS WARM
DAAR IS MOOI ROOI BLOMMETJIES
DAN SLAAP HULLE
WAAR IS MY PLASTIEKSAK
EK GAAN HOM HAAL
WIE HET DIE DEUR TOEMAAK=TOEGEMAAK
EK WIL HIER INKOM
BEDOEL* JY* DAARDIE EEN
WAT* IS DAARDIE
DIT* IS* 'n* LELIKE DING
DIT* IS 'n KAMEELPERD
EN WAT* IS* DAARDIE
WAAR IS DIE GROOT MUIS
DAAR IS* HY*
HIER BRING EK DIE TAS
MAMMA=JY MOET* OOPMAAK
WAAR IS DIE KLEINTJIE
EN WAAR IS BOETIE
EN WAAR* IS* MARIA
EK HOOR NIE* DIE SEE NIE
HOOR HIER
DIT* IS OUMA
WAAR IS NEIL
DIT* IS NEIL MAMMA
KOM KUIER WEER
DAAR IS* HY*
DIE DUIWEL HY+ MAAK DIE LIEWE JESUS BAIE KWAAD
KYK DAAR Lê HY
HY HET+ BLAF WOEF-WOEF
EK* GAAN* AL DIE SPEELGOED OPPAK=INPAK
MAMMA KOM ONS STAAN OP
JY HET DIE* ROOI BROEK
JY* HANG DIT* NIE* AAN DIE HANGER NIE
WAAR IS DIE BROEK
MAMMA BRING HOM*
WAAR IS DIE KNOPPIE=KNOPIE
DAAR IS HY
EK WIL OP* MY FIETS RY
MAMMA EK* WIL* MY SKOENE Hê
HIERDIE IS MYNE
WAAR IS MY SAK
WAAR IS MYNE
DAAR VAL HY ENETJIE+ AF
BOETIE WIL SPEEL IN DIE HOOP SAND
HY* WIL* STAAN
DIT* IS NIE WAAR* NIE*
EK KAN NIE SING* NIE*
MAMMA=JY MOET* SAAMSING VAN* KAREL KRAAI
EK* WIL NIE KLAVIER SPEEL NIE
EK WIL* KITAAR SPEEL
MA SPEEL KLAVIER
MOET* EK* VIR* JOU 'n* PIL GEE
JY MOET* WIELIE-WALIE SPEEL |WIELIE:WALIE:JY:SPEEL
EK SPEEL OOK KLAVIER
EK SPEEL NIE KLAVIER NIE
EK* SPEEL* DIE* KLEINTJIE=KLEIN KITAAR=KITAARTJIE
MA SPEEL DIE KITAAR
```

CHRIS SAMPLE 2

```
DIE HOND BYT NIE
HY SPRING AF
DIE* HONDJIES SPRING* AF*
HY IS 'n OUTJIE WIE* SE* MAAG WERK
HIERSO IS* HY*
DIT IS 'n LEGKAART
DAAR IS HAAS DAS
DIT* IS* 'n* STOK
EK* WIL* DAARBO KYK
DIT* IS* HOë KRANE
HIER IS NOG HYSKRANE
WAT IS DAARDIE MAMMA
HULLE* GAAN* DIT* HIERSO NEERSIT*
DIT* IS* 'n* SKIP
HIER IS NOG 'n SKIP
DIT IS 'n SEILSKIP MAMMA
DIT IS 'n VIS
WAT IS DAARDIE
HY* HET* OOK 'n VIS GEVANG
DIT IS 'n BOOT
DIT IS 'n KAR PA
HIER IS DIE KAR
SY* LEES 'n* BOEK
DAAR Lê DIE BOEK
SY* HET* 'n* VIS GEVANG
HY* DRINK ROOMYS=WYN |ROOMYS:DRINK
DIE EEN DRINK WYN
DAARDIE EEN DRINK=EET ROOMYS
WAT IS DAARDIE
HY IS WEER AF
MY* BROEK IS WEER AF
WAT IS DAARDIE MAMMA
DAAR KOM NOG ROOK UIT
DIT* IS* 'n* TREKKER
DIT* IS* NOG 'n POLIESMAN
EK* WIL* NA* DAAR=DAARDIE ANDER KYK
DIT* IS* 'n* OUTJIE
HY* GAAN* PICK-N-PAY TOE
DIE* BOOTJIE RY OP DIE WATER
DIT* IS* 'n* STOOTSKRAPER
DIT IS 'n VOëL
DIT* IS* NOG 'n BABA-VOëLTJIE
MY* BROEK IS WEER AF
SY* SPEEL* TIKITAAR=KITAAR
WAAR IS DIE TIKITAAR=KITAAR
DIT IS 'n VIS
DAAR IS NOG 'n VIS
DIT* IS* 'n* VOëLTJIE
DIT IS 'n BUS
DIT* IS* 'N* ROOI BUS
DIE* OUTJIE SIT IN* DIT=DAARIN
DIT IS DIE LEER
HULLE* GAAN* HIERSO OPKLIM
HULLE* GAAN* DIE* LIG REGMAAK
HY VANG VISSE
HY SIT DAARBO
HIER IS DIT* GEBREEK
DIT IS 'n HUIS
DIT* IS* 'n TREKKER
DIT* IS* 'n* NESSIE
DAAR IS NOG 'n NESSIE
HIER IS NOG 'n NESSIE AL+
WAT IS HIERDIE
DIT IS 'n KAT
DAAR IS 'n GROOT KOEëLTJIE MAMMA
DAAR IS NOG 'n ARMBAND
HIER IS NOG ARMBANDE
DIT* IS* 'n* RING
DIT IS NOG ARMBANDE
DIT* IS* WILHELM SE=MY SKOEN
DIT* IS* TWEE SKOENES=SKOENE
DIT* IS* WILHELM SE=MY TRUITJIE
EK* HET* DIT* BY* DOEDELS GEKRY*
DIT* IS* KNOPIES
HY=HULLE WAAI
DIT* IS* WILHELM SE=MY JAPON
EK KOM HIERSO UIT DIE* HEMP |EK:HEMP:KOM:HIERSO:UIT
MY* KOPPIE KOM DAAR UIT
MY* VOETJIE KOM HIERSO UIT
DAAR KOM DIT* UIT AS* EK* DIE* BROEK AANTREK DAAR+
  HIERSO+ |DAAR:KOM:BROEK:HIERSO:UIT:DAAR:AANTREK
EK* TREK DIT* SO AAN |SO:AANTREK
EK* KLIM* DAAR IN
DIT* IS* WILHELM SE=MY ONDERBROEKIE
HIERSO KOM MY* BEEN* HIERSO+ UIT
DIT* KOM HIERSO OP
DIT* IS* 'n* ONDERBROEK
DIT IS 'n GROTE
DIT* IS* WILHELM S'N=MYNE
DOEDELS HET* HOM* GEMAAK*
DIE* MASJIEN* IS* ROOI
HY* MAAK SSSS
DIT* IS 'n FROKKIE
EK* HET* HOM* BY* OUMA OTTO GEKRY*
DIT* IS* WILHELM SE=MY BENE
DIT* IS* KNIEë
WAAR IS WILHELM SE=MY SOKKIES
ONS* GAAN* JOHANNESBURG TOE
SY* NAAM IS* BARTEL
WAAR IS DIE MERCEDES
ONS* BAD* IS* DAAR IN DIE BADKAMER
```

```
EK WIL NIE AANTREK* NIE*
EK* WIL* LATER AANTREK
WAAR IS* HULLE*
WAAR IS DIE NESSIE
HY IS WEG
WAAR IS* DIE* NESSIE
EK* WIL NIE WILHELM SE=MY KLERE AANTREK NIE
HY* IS* GEEL
DAARDIE EEN IS OOK GEEL
HY IS* 'n* GROENE
DIT* IS* PAULINA
WAT IS DIT
DIT* IS* DIE* SON
DIT* IS NIE DIE* SON NIE
DIT* IS DIE SON
HY* IS* WEG
WAAR IS DIE PAP MAMMA
DIT* BRAND
WAAR IS DIE PAP
WAAR IS WILHELM
DIT* IS* 'n* BALLON
WAAR IS NOG 'n BALLON
HULLE* IS GEEL MAMMA
NOU EET EK |NOU:EK:EET
DIT IS LEKKER
PAULINA HET* DIT* GEMAAK*
HY IS SEKER WEER HONGER
KYK DAARSO+ DAAR IS KNOPIES
HULLE* IS* WIT
DIE* PAP* VAL
EK* EET* HIERSO
EK* HET* 'n LEPEL
DIT* IS* 'n* TEELEPEL
DIT IS GROEN
DAARDIE IS* GROEN
EK* HET* 'n* BORSEL
HY* SPRING DAARSO
DAARDIE PAP HET* GESPRING*
EK* MAAK MY SKOEN REG |SKOEN:MY:REGMAAK
HY IS STUKKEND
'n* ONGELUK HET* GEBEUR*
EK* MAAK MY SKOEN REG
DIT IS STUKKEND
DAARDIE EEN IS* STUKKEND*
HY IS OOK STUKKEND
HY IS DAAR ENE+ STUKKEND
DIT* IS* OOK 'n KARRETJIE
DAAR* IS* TWEE KARRETJIES*
DIT* IS* 'N* COLT
DAARDIE EEN IS 'n* VOLKSWAGEN
DAAR* IS* TWEE VOLKSWAGENS
WAAR IS NOG 'n VOLKSWAGEN
DAAR IS* 'n LIGGIE
HY GAAN* NOU-NOU WEER RY
HULLE* MOET* HOM* EERS REGMAAK
DAARDIE EEN* IS STUKKEND
DAARDIE KARRETJIES RY
DAARDIE IS* 'n* LORRIE
DIT* IS* 'n* MOOI LORRIE
HY* IS* GEEL
DAARDIE EEN IS 'n* MOOI LORRIE
HY HOU* DAAR VAS
HY MOET NIE AFVAL NIE
DAARDIE IS 'n* HYSKRAAN |HYSKRAAN:IS:DAARDIE
HY VAT DAAR AAN DIE HYSKRAAN=HEFBOOM
DAAR VER IS* NOG 'n BOOM
DAAR IS NOG 'n STOOTSKRAPER
KYK DAAR IS* NOG EEN*
DIT* IS* 'n* STOOTSKRAPER
DIT* IS* 'n MINI
KYK HIERSO IS* 'n* MINI
DIT* IS* ONS S'N
DIT* IS* 'n MASJIEN
DAARDIE ENE BOU MOTORS*
DAARDIE ENE BOU* OOK 'n MASJIEN
DAAR IS 'n SPAARWIEL
DAAR IS 'n TREKKERTJIE
DIT* IS 'n STUURWIEL
EK* MAAK=TEKEN NOG 'n TREKKER |NOG:'n:TREKKER:MAAK
HY IS GEEL
WAT IS DIT MAMMA
HY* HET* WILHELMPIE SE=MY KRYT
HIERDIE EEN SKRYF
SIEN=KYK EK* TEKEN DAARSO
HY* TEKEN 'n DAMMETJIE
BJORN TEKEN DAAR |BJORN:DAAR:TEKEN
HY IS WIT
HY* MAAK=TEKEN 'n SJONGALOLLO
HY HET 'n SJONGALOLLO'TJIE GETEKEN*
DAAR IS WOLKE Né
DIT* IS* 'n* BLOM
WAT IS DAARDIE MA
BJORN HET* DAAR TEKEN=GETEKEN
DIT* IS BJORN |BJORN:IS
WAT IS* DIT
WAT TEKEN BJORN |WAT:BJORN:TEKEN
DIT* IS* 'n* SJONGALOLLO
DAAR IS 'n TREKKER
MAAK=TEKEN 'n+ BEESTE
MAAK=TEKEN NOG 'n SJONGALOLLO MAAK+
```

CHRIS SAMPLE 6

```
GAAN DIE* AMBULANS HIERSO UIT |AMBULANS:GAAN:HIERSO:UIT
HY IS TE KLEIN
DAARDIE WIEL IS STUKKEND
HY KAN NIE DAAR* RY* NIE*
DIT* IS* 'n* PREFECT
HY* KAN NIE AFVAL NIE
HY KAN DAAR RY
HY KAN HIER RY
HIERSO KAN HY NIE TERUGGAAN NIE
  |HIERSO:HY:KAN:NIE:TERUGGAAN:NIE
HY IS TE GROOT
MA EK GAAN* VIR* GERHARDUS OOK 'n KARRETJIE KOOP
HY* KAN* SOMMER MY KARRETJIES KRY*
EK GAAN DAARDIE GOED OOK UITPAK
HIER IS 'n KLEIN VOLKSWAGEN
DAAR IS NOG 'n VOLKSWAGEN
DIT* IS* OOK 'n VOLKSIE
DAAR* IS* TWEE VOLKSWAGENS
HY IS WIT
BEDOEL* JY* DIE* VOLKSWAGEN
DIE EEN IS WIT
EK* RY HIERSO |HIERSO:RY
HY* LIG SO OP |SO:OPLIG
HY KAN OOK OPLIG
EK GAAN BIETJIE VIR* JOU WYS HOE* EK* MET DIE VOLKSWAGEN
  RY
HY RY SO LEKKER
EK* HET* DIE PETROL UITGEGOOI
EK* GOOI SY NUWE PETROL IN |SY:NUWE:PETROL:INGOOI
EK SIT OLIE IN
EK GAAN NOU SY* BANDE* POMP*
EK GAAN IETSIE HAAL
EK SOEK IETS |SOEK:EK:IETS
ONS* KYK* HIERSO IN
IS DAAR 'n STOOTSKRAPER
HY IS NET NIE VOL NIE
HY IS OOK KLAAR=LEEG
EK WIL AAN* DAARDIE KANT Lê
WERK JY |JY:WERK
DIT* IS SY BOORTJIE
MAMMA WAT DOEN PAPPA
HY BOOR
DIT* IS SY BOORTJIE
HY BOOR SO 'n* GAT
WIL* JOU=JY MEET
JY KAN NIE MEET NIE
MEET JY* SO |SO:MEET
HY IS NOG NIE KLAAR NIE
JY IS NIE AMPER KLAAR* NIE*
DIT* IS* LEKKER KOEL HIER
GAAN* JY* SKEUR
IS HY REG SO
DIT* IS JOU BLOES
DIT* IS 'n* BLOES
DIT LYK SOOS 'n BLOES
DIT* IS* LEKKER KOEL
JY SKEUR HOM
IS HY* NOU KLAAR
WAAR IS JY
DIT IS NOU KLAAR DAARDIE
EK WIL HOM Hê
MA JY IS NOU KLAAR
DAAR IS DIE SAKKIE
DIT* IS* 'n* WIT BLOES
DIT* IS NIE 'n* BLOES NIE
IS* DIT* VIR DIE TOILET
DIT* MOET* NIE IN DIE KOMBUIS HANG* NIE
DIT* IS 'n* KOUD=KOUE PLEK
WAAR KRY+ HET EK HOM GEKRY |WAAR:KRY:EK:HOM:GEKRY:HET
EK* HET* HOM* BY OUMA BABS GEKRY*
HIERDIE EEN HET* EK* BY OTCH GEKRY*
OTCH HET VIR* MY DIE* BOOTJIE GEGEE
DIT* IS* 'n* FROKKIE
EK WIL 'n BOTTEL KRY=Hê
JY GAAN MY IN DIE BAD SIT
DIT* IS* RAMPATJANNAS=SANDALE
BEDOEL* JY* DAARDIE
DIT* IS* KRANE
DIT* IS* DIE* WARM WATER*
DIT* IS* DIE* KOUE WATER
EN WAT* IS* DAARDIE
DIT* IS* KOUE WATER*
DAARDIE* IS* WARM |WARM:DAARDIE
EK WIL DAARDIE LIGTE AANSIT
MOENIE OPSTAAN NIE
DIT* IS* WARM
IS DIT
EK WIL HOM Hê
DIT* IS* 'n* HANDDOEK
DIT* IS* MYNE
DIT* IS* PAPPA SE HANDDOEKE
DIT* IS* PAPPA S'N
MAAK HIER TOEMAAK=TOE
BEDOEL* JY* DAARDIE EEN
HY* IS* ORANJE
PAPPA GAAN NIE STORT NIE
HY* HET* BLOMME OP
EK WIL HIER AFVEE
EK WIL Lê
EK GAAN IN DIE BAD VAL
EK WIL NIE WAS NIE
EK KAN NIE OP MY MAAG Lê NIE
```

```
EK* GAAN NOG SAAG
EK GAAN NOU DIE DAK INSIT
EK* GAAN* EERS SAAG
EK* SAAG* NET IETSIE
EK* GAAN* NET 'n HAMERTJIE HAAL
EK KOM NOU-NOU
MOENIE DAARDIE HAMER VAT NIE
EK* GAAN* HOM NET SO STADIG BOU* |NET:HOM:SO:STADIG
EK* GAAN ALLES BOU
EK* GAAN NET SAAG
MOET* EK* SO SAAG*
ONS GAAN NOG SAAG*
DIT* IS NIE REG NIE
DIT* IS NOG NIE REG NIE |IS:NIE:NOG:REG:NIE
HY IS NOG NIE KLAAR NIE
HY* GAAN* NOU-NOU KLAAR WEES*
DIT* IS* 'n* SAAG
DIT* IS* 'n OPNEMER=BANDOPNEMER
EN WAT* IS* HIERDIE
WAT* IS* DAARDIE
DIT* IS* 'n VELLETJIE
EK* GAAN NOG SAAG
EK* GAAN NOU-NOU KLAAR SAAG*
EK GAAN ALLES=AL DAARDIE STUKKIES SAAG EN MY TREKKER OOK
  |EK:GAAN:DAAI:ALLES:STUKKIES:SAAG:EN:MY:TREKKER:OOK
EK* GAAN* DAARDIE EEN OOK SAAG*
WAAR IS MY BAL
ONS GAAN NOU-NOU BOU*
LOS DIT*
DAAR IS* NOG 'n STUKKIE
WAT DOEN ESTHER
SY* GAAN* NET IETSIE HAAL
SY KUIER NOG HIERSO
SY GAAN NOU-NOU HUIS TOE
WAT GAAN JY INSIT
JY MOET DAARDIE EEN BOU
MOET HOM NIE INSIT NIE
MOENIE* DIE LEGKAARTE INSIT* NIE
MOENIE HOM INSIT* NIE*
EK* WIL HOM SO INSIT
WAAR IS DIE KARRETJIE
WAAR* IS* DAARDIE ANDER KARRETJIE
HIERSO IS HY
EK* GAAN* HOM SAAG
MOET HOM NIE TERUGVAT=WEGVAT NIE
MOENIE HOM* NA* JOHANNES SE HUIS TOE VAT NIE
EK SAAG
DAARDIE IS NIE NOG 'n BAD NIE
HY* GAAN NOU-NOU BAD
DAARDIE EEN IS OOK VUIL
EK WIL SAAM MET HOM BAD
DIT* IS* 'n* TREINTJIE
HIER IS 'n GROOT BAL
HIER IS* NOG ENE
JY WIL SAAM MET* MY TEKEN
DIE EEN IS VUIL
EK GAAN JOU WYS HOE* GAAN ONS TEKEN
WAAR IS HY
DIT* IS* NIE HY NIE
HY IS VOL KARRETJIES |HY:IS:KARRETJIES:VOL
EK* GAAN* OP* DIE EEN TEKEN
HY IS NIE VOL NIE
EK* KAN OP HIERDIE EEN TEKEN
EK* GAAN VIR* JOU 'n* BALLON WYS=TEKEN
EK* GAAN NOG 'n BALLON INTREK=TEKEN
EK HET 'n WAENTJIE GEMAAK
DAAR IS HY
JY* MOET DAARSO TEKEN
GAAN* JY* SAAM MET* MY TEKEN
VENNIE GAAN* OOK TEKEN*
LOS MY KRYTE
JY KAN DIE GROTE KRY
JY KAN HIERSO LANGS MY TEKEN
DIT IS MAKLIK
EK HET 'n HONDJIE GEMAAK=GETEKEN
EK MOET DAARSO TEKEN
EK* TEKEN* 'N SJONGALOLLO
DAAR=DAARDIE IS NIE JOU PLEK NIE
JY KAN HIER TEKEN
DAAR IS* 'n SJONGALOLLO |'n:SJONGALOLLO:DAAR
HY GAAN JOU BYT
HY* IS* GROEN
HY* IS* WIT
MAAK 'n SLANG
MAAK JY OOK 'n SLANG
GAAN HY* MY BYT
HY GAAN MY* BYT*
HIERSO IS* NOG 'n STUK VAN* DIE* SLANG
DIT* IS* 'n* BLOM
DIT* IS* 'n* MIERTJIE
HY IS DOOD
WAT GAAN JY MAAK
EK MAAK VIR* MY 'n TREKKER MAAK+
DIT* IS* 'n* SJONGALOLLO
WAT* IS* DIT
DIT* IS* 'n* SLANG
LOS DAARDIE
EK SAL JOU WYS
JY KAN NIE DAARDIE GROEN KRY NIE
WAT IS DIT
WAT MAAK JY
```

```
EK WIL JOU WYS
KYK* DAARDIE BOEK
JY GAAN NIE 'n* OPNAME DOEN=MAAK NIE
JY WIL OP=BANDOPNEMER BêRE
HIER IS 'N KATJIE
MOET HOM NIE LEES NIE
EK GAAN NOU VIR* JOU LEES |EK:GAAN:JOU:NOU:LEES
SIT HOM NEER
JY* MOET HOM NEERSIT
EK GAAN EERS IETSIE KRY
EK GAAN EERS PRO-NUTRO KRY
DIT* IS* PRO NUTRO
GAAN EK BOEKIES KYK SAAM=SAAM MET JOU
KYK HIERDIE
DIT* IS 'n KAT
DAAR IS 'n HONDJIE
MOET* EK* NOG WYS
DIT IS NOG 'n HOND
BEDOEL* JY* DIT
DIT* IS* 'n* KAMEELPERD
DIT* IS* 'n SEUNTJIE OP 'n PERD
DIE ENE RY NIE OP DIE PERD NIE
HY GAAN NOU-NOU RY
DAAR IS 'n* APPEL OOK
DIE* PERD EET HOM
DAARDIE PERD EET NIE APPELS NIE
HULLE GAAN BAIE KOEKIES EET
MOET* EK* NOG KYK
KYK HULLE EET BAIE KOSSIES
HULLE* EET* LEKKER KOSSIES
DIT* IS* 'n* OPKNIPPER=NAELKNIPPER
MOENIE DIEP MAAK=KNIP NIE
KNIP* NET SO SAGGIES
IS DIT* NOU KLAAR
EN IS* DIE EEN KLAAR*
MAAK=DRUK HOM INDRUK=IN
WAT IS DAARDIE
WAAR IS DIE NAELTJIE
SY* NAAM* IS* TONKS
HY IS 'n* VINGER
MOENIE MY* SLAAN* NIE*
WAAR IS 'n KAT
MAAK=VAT HOM WEGVAT=WEG
BEDOEL* JY* DAARDIE KAT DAARONDER
SY NAAM IS KATJIE
MAAK=JAAG HOM WEGJAAG=WEG MAMMA
DIE* SON SKYN*
DIT GAAN NIE REëN* NIE*
DAAR IS* HY*
WATTER HAAS DASSIE BEDOEL JY*
WAAR BLY HAAS DAS MAMMA
WAAR IS SY HUIS
WAAR STAAN HY
DIT* IS KLAAR
WAT IS HIERDIE
MOENIE MY VASKNIP=RAAKKNIP NIE
WAAR IS DIE NAELJIE
DIT* IS* 'n* BUS
WAT=WAAROM HET HY* DAARSO GESTOP |WAT:DAARSO:GESTOP:HET
HY* IS WIT
DIT IS DIE RIVIER
DIT* IS* 'n* OOM
WAAR=WAARHEEN GAAN DAARDIE OOM NOU
HIER KOM 'n KAR WAT* HOM GAAN* RAAKRY
DIT* IS* 'n* BMW
HIER KOM NOG 'n TREKKER
ONS RY OP DIT=DAAR
DIT* IS* 'n* PRONUTRO=PEUGEOT
DAAR IS NOG 'n PRONUTROKAR=PEUGEOT
DIT* IS* 'n* VOLKSWAGENTJIE
HY* IS* GROEN
HY* LYK SOOS* TANNIE INA S'N* |TANNIE:INA:LYK
HY IS GEEL
HY* LYK* VAN=SOOS MY TREKKERS
WIE* RY OP DIT=DAAR MA
HIER IS NET EEN PLASE=PLAAS
DIT* IS* MOTORFIETSE
DAAR IS NOG 'n BMW
HY* IS* DAAR ANDERKANT
DAAR IS* 'n* CITROëN
HY* IS* WIT
HY IS PIENK
DIT* IS* BEVVIE S'N
EK GAAN VIR* MY OOK EEN* MAAK
JY HET VIR* BEVVIE EEN GEBREI
HY* IS* GROEN
BEVVIE-HULLE GAAN* SAAM*
ONS GAAN ALLEEN
EK GAAN* SAAM MET* HULLE RY IN DIE MINI
USSIE GAAN SAAM MET* HULLE RY
WAT GAAN* ONS DAAR DOEN
WATTER MINI BEDOEL* JY*
ONS IS LIEF VAN=VIR DIE WIT MINI
ONS GAAN* EERS MET* DAARDIE WIT MINI RY AS HY REG IS
AS DAARDIE ANDER EEN STUKKEND IS GAAN ONS MET DIE WIT
  MINI RY
ONS GAAN BY=NA DIE KAAP TOE*
ONS GAAN NIE KAAP TOE NIE
ONS MOET DIT UITHAAL=UITTREK
HIER IS NOU GENOEG GEBREI
WAAR BEDOEL* JY
```

```
ONS MOET NA n* ANDER PICK-N-PAY TOE GAAN
ONS GAAN NET SWEETIES KOOP
WAT IS DIT
WAAR=WAARHEEN GAAN JY NOU
EK* WIL OOK OOR DIE BULT RY
WATTER KANT TOE HET JY AFGERY
WAAR IS MY PLEK
MOET* EK* DAAR VOOR PARKEER*
HY IS STUKKEND
DAAR=DAARDIE EEN* IS STUKKEND
SANDY IS OOK HIER
SANDY GAAN OOK UITKLIM
HY IS NIE IN NIE
EK* KLIM UIT
WAAR IS DIE MANDJIES
DIT* IS IN MY KAR
ONS HET GELOOP
HIER IS DIT
ONS GAAN PICK-N-PAY TOE
ONS MOET NOU LOOP
KOM ONS GAAN NOU LOOP MA
DAN MAAK HY DIE PICK-N-PAY OOPMAAK=OOP
DIT* IS NIE VER NIE
DIT* IS OP DIE LYSIE
KOM ONS GAAN NOU HUIS TOE
HIER IS PICK-N-PAY
DAN LOOP ONS IN
WAAR IS DIE KERK
ONS MOET HUIS TOE GAAN
KOM ONS GAAN HUIS TOE
EK* GAAN EERS AANTREK
KOM SAAM
EK* GAAN* TOE SKOENE AANTREK*
JY MOENIE HIER AFRY NIE
RY* SO AAN* HIERDIE KANT
ONS MOET HIER BO RY
ONS GAAN AAN* HIERDIE KANT RY
WAAR IS ONS NOU
EK GAAN MY PANTOFFELS KRY=HAAL
KOM ONS GAAN 'n PAARTIE HOU
HIER IS 'n PARTYTJIE IN DIE KOELTE
EK GAAN HIERSO STOP |GAAN:STOP:HIERSO
ONS GAAN HIER BO RY
WAT HET* JY GEDOEN
DIT* IS* LEKKER IN DIE KOELTE
HIER IS 'n+ KOELTE
EK VERJAAR*
EK* IS* VIER MAANDE OUD*
KLIM UIT
WAAR IS JULLE PARTYTJIE
MOET* EK* DIE* PAPIERE EERS UITHAAL=AFHAAL
DIT* IS* LEKKERGOED
EK HET DIE LEKKERGOED GEBRING
KOM ONS GAAN NOU IN
KOM ONS GAAN NOU KERK TOE
MAMMIE WAT HET MET* HIERDIE KAR GEBEUR
JY MOET VERTEL*
HY* KOM HIER IN
EK* MOET* HOM EERS MOOI REGMAAK |EERS:HOM:MOOI:REGMAAK
JY MOET* KOM
EK SAL JOU SLAAN
EK* PRAAT* VAN BEBERLY=BEVERLY
WAT HET MET* DIE KARRETJIES GEBEUR MA
WAAR IS* DIE* ONGELUK
IS* DIT* DAAR
EK* KAN NIE SIEN NIE
IS* DIT* HIERSO MA
HET* NET HIERDIES=HIERDIE UITGEVAL*
HIERDIE EEN HET* GEKOM*
HIER IS 'n OOM IN HIERDIE KARRETJIE MA
EN WAT* MAKEER* DIE EEN
DIE EEN IS STUKKEND
DIT* IS 'n BROODLORRIE
WAAR IS NOG 'n BROODLORRIE
WATTER LORRIE IS* HIER*
HY IS BIG EARS
WAAR IS DIE ASBLIKLORRIES MA
GAAN* HULLE DIE SEMORS-GEMORS OPLAAI
KAN HY NIE AF=BY DIE BULT AFKOM NIE NIE+
  |HY:KAN:NIE:AFKOM:NIE:AF:DIE:BULT:NIE
EN WAT* IS* DIT
DIT IS ROOI
WAAR=WAARHEEN GAAN HULLE NOU MA
WAAR IS DIE ASBLIKLORRIE MA
HIERSO IS HY
WAT GAAN HULLE KOM OPLAAI MA
HULLE GAAN DIE SEMORS=GEMORS OPLAAI
DIT IS 'n* PLANT
DIT* IS* 'n* PERD
DIT IS SEMORS=GEMORS
WAAR IS DIE ASBLIKLORRIES
EN WAT* GEBEUR* MET* DAARDIE STUKKENDE KARRETJIES MA
WAT GAAN NOU GEBEUR MA
WAT HET GEBEUR MA
WAAR HET HULLE=DIT GEBEUR MA
HULLE KAN HOM NIE DAAR INSLEEP NIE
HY KOM DAAR IN
HULLE SLEEP DAAR 'n KARRETJIE IN
HIER IS NIE VAN=VIR HIERDIE KARRETJIE PLEK NIE
EK WIL DIE ANDER EEN GAAN* HAAL
EK* GAAN EERS DIE STUKKENDE LORRIE KOM HAAL
```

```
HY GAAN KARRE GAAN+ OPLAAI
HY GAAN DIE KARRE OP GAAN+ LAAI
KYK DIE* KARRE DAARSO |KARRE:KYK:DAARSO
BAIE GAAN STUKKEND GAAN=RAAK
HIER KOM NOU DIE GROOT LORRIE AAN
HIER IS DIE POLISIE
KYK DIE EEN
HIER RY DAARDIE KAR
HIER IS NOU DIE TWEE LORRIES
HULLE GAAN BAKSTENE AFLAAI
MA KYK DAARDIE OU
KYK DAARDIE KAR
EN DAAR IS SY HUIS
HIER IS DIE FIETS NOU
HIER KOM NOU DIE DRIEWIEL AAN
HIER GAAN HY* NOU AANKOM
HY* KOM* DAAR BY DIE MARK AAN*
HULLE GAAN OOR DIE STRAAT
HIER IS HOM=SY MA
EN DAAR IS DIE SEUNTJIE WAT* IN* DIE KAR SIT
KYK HIER
WATTER KAR IS DIT MA
EK WEET NIE
HY IS GEEL
HY* IS* ROOI
KYK HIERSO
EK SAL JOU DIE* PRENTJIES* VAN DIE ONGELUK WYS
HIER KOM DIE KAR NOU AAN
HIER IS NOU DIE PAD WAAROP* HY IN=MET DIE FIETSIE GAAN=RY
  |HIER:IS:NOU:DIE:PAD:GAAN:HY:IN:DIE:FIETSIE
HULLE GAAN=RY NOU MET DIE FIETSIE IN DIE PAD
NET GROOT FIETSE MAG* DAAR* RY*
KYK HOE RY SY FIETS
HULLE KYK VIR HIERDIE FIETS
DAAR IS 'n ONGELUK
WAAR=WAARHEEN GAAN HIERDIE KAR
WAAR=WAARHEEN GAAN HIERDIE LORRIE
EN WAT* IS* DIT
KYK HIERDIE STAMP=GESTAMPTE GEKAR=KAR
EN WAARHEEN* GAAN* HIERDIE KAR MA
WAT GAAN HY DAAR DOEN
WAAR HARDLOOP* HY* WEG*
EN WAAR=WAARHEEN GAAN DAARDIE OUTJIE
KYK HIERDIE KARRETJIE
MA WAAR=WAAROM HUIL DIE OUTJIE
EN HIERDIE OUTJIE WAAROM* HUIL* HY
IS* HY LOS=GELOS VIR=DEUR SY MAMMIE
IS* HY LOS=GELOS VIR=DEUR SY PA
HET* HULLE HOM HIER GELOS
TOE KOM* HY* BY DIE HUIS BY SY PA
WAARSO IS* HAAR* MAMMIE
HIERDIE EEN IS HAAR MAMMIE
SY* HET* HAAR MAMMA VERLOOR
EN HIER IS HAAR PA
WAT DOEN HIERDIE KAR
EN WAT* DOEN* HIERDIE EEN
EK WIL OOPMAAK=OMBLAAI
WAT DOEN HULLE
WAAR IS DIE FIETSIE
HY HET KLAAR GEHUIL
WAAR MOET* EK* KYK*
EN WAT* MAKEER* DAARDIE FIETS
SY HET NIE GEVAL* NIE*
EK* WIL IEMAND BEL |IEMAND:WIL:BEL
DIE EEN WIEL IS AF
KYK DAAR
HY* KAN NIE MEER OP HOM RY NIE
  |KAN:HOM:NIE:MEER:OP:RY:NIE
SY FIETS IS NIE MEER DAAR* NIE
DAARDIE EEN SE FIETS IS OOK IN 'n=DIE STRAAT
MA EK SAL JOU WYS WAAAR KOM HY IN
EK SAL* JOU WYS MET HIERDIE EEN
WAAR IS MY SKROEWEDRAAIER
EK VERF MET DIE ENE HOOR
JY* KAN* SOLANK DRAAI MET DIE SKROEWEDRAAIER
WAAR KOM HIERDIE
JY MOET HOM* DAAR SIT=INSIT
JY MOET DIE SKROEWEDRAAIER DAAR INSIT |JY:MOET
  DIE:SKROEWEDRAAIER:INSIT:DAAR
JY MOENIE SO MAAK NIE
EK* SAL* JOU WYS HOE MOET JY MAAK
WAAR IS JOUNE
DIT* IS* 'n* NUWE WINKEL WAT* EK GEMAAK HET
MY WINKEL IS STUKKEND
MY PA-S'N IS OOK STUKKEND
JY KAN MAAR DIE EEN VASKRY=VASMAAK
EK* KAN HOM NIE SKROEFMAAK=VASDRAAI NIE
HIERSO IS JOUNE
MAAK HOM VAS
DIE EEN MOET JY* HIER REGMAAK MAMMIE
JY MOET HIERDIE WIEL REGMAAK HOOR
DIE KAR KAN NIE RY NIE
JY MAAK DIE KAR REG
ONS SIT IN DIT=DAAR MAMMA
JY MOENIE DRAAI NIE
HY* IS* NOG NIE REG* NIE*
EK GAAN MET HIERDIE STRAAT RY
WAG VIR MY BY DIE* GARAGE HOOR
EK MOET HOM DAAR SIT
JY SUKKEL MET HIERDIE DING MA
JY KAN DIT NIE REGKRY NIE
EK IS 'n BOUER MA
EK* MAAK DIE KARRE REG
```

BETSY SAMPLE 2

```
DIT* IS MAMMA S'N=JOUNE DAARDIE ROOMYS
DIT IS JOU ROOMYS
DIT* IS* ROOMYS DIE
DIT* IS LEKKERGOED
HY* IS OOP
HY* IS NIE OOP NIE
HY* IS TOE
EK WEET NIE
EK* HET* IN* MAMMA SE KAR GESLAAP
EK HET OOK SO 'n WERKBOEK
EK GAAN NOU INSKRYF=SKRYF MAAK+ IN MY BOEK
JY IS NIE SO VET SO=SOOS EK NIE
DIT* IS MY NAMNAM=LEKKER
DAAR IS JOU ROOMYS
KYK DAAR IS JOU ROOMYS
EK GAAN DIT* OOPMAAK
JY GAAN OOK 'n+ EEN KRY
JY KAN OOK 'n+ EEN LEKKERGOEDJIE KRY
KRY* EEN VIR JOU
JY MOET NIE EEN* VAT NIE
JY MOET 'n* HAPPIE KRY
NOU KRY* MAMMA ENETJIE
DAAR IS NIE ENE IN JOU MOND NIE*
JY MOET NIE SO DOEN=MAAK NIE*
STAAN OP
JY MOET OPSTAAN
JY* MOET* OP DIE BANK SIT
DAAR IS DIE* BANK
SIT OP DIE VLOER
EK WEET NIE PAPPA
DAAR IS MY ROOMYS
GEE MY BAKKIE
DIT IS BAKKIES DAARDIE
DIT* IS SOMMER BAKKIES
EK* GEBRUIK* DIT* IN=OP DIE STOOF
DIT* IS* NIE LEKKERGOEDJIES HIERDIE NIE*
DIT* IS ROOMYS
JY HET* DAARDIE PEN* GEKOOP
DIT* IS* 'N* GROENE
DIT* IS* 'n* PEN
DIT* IS* 'n GROENE HIERDIE
JY GAAN DAAR SKRYF
JY HET TWEE PENNE*
HIER IS* VYF PENNE*
JY MOET NIE MY ORE EET NIE
HY WIL NIE OOPGAAN NIE
MOENIE HULLE ORE+ OPEET NIE
EK RAAS NIE MET JOU NIE
EK PRAAT NET MET JOU OMDAT* JY MY ORE EET
JY MOET VIR MY BOLLIE KONYN TEL=VERTEL
  |JY:MOET:BOLLIE:KONYN:TEL:VIR:MY
TEL=VERTEL VIR* MY BOLLIE KONYN
EK SIT OP* JOU SKOOT
DIT* IS* ASPOESTERTJIE
EK WEET NIE
EK WEET NIE
IS* DIT* 'n GOGGA
KYK DAAR IS DIE* GOGGA STUKKEND
DAAR VLIEG HY
KYK DAAR SIT HY
DAAR HUIL HY
KYK HY GAAN HUIS TOE |KYK:GAAN:HY:HUIS:TOE
KYK EK* GAAN NOU SKRYF IN DIE BOEKIE
DIE DOGTERTJIE SWEM IN DIE WATER
SY SWEM MET* KLERE=SWEMKLERE
KYK HIER IS* HAAR* BROEKIE
HIER IS* SY=HAAR SWEMKLERE
KYK HIER IS 'n* SEUNTJIE
DAAR IS SY* BROEKIE
HY HET NIE SWEMKLERE NIE
KYK HIER IS PAPPA
MAMMA TEL=VERTEL VIR MY
SY* RAAS*
HULLE* MOET* IN DIE HUIS GAAN
EK WEET NIE
DAAR GAAN=STAAN DIE KLEINTJIES IN DIE DEUR
KYK DIE SKOENE
WAT MAAK DAARDIE NETSOE
WAT MAAK HY=SY NOU
DAAR IS SY
DAAR GAAN=WAAI HY=DIT IN DIE WATER
KYK DAAR IS BOLLIE KONYN
DAARDIE EEN HET DIE KLERE GEWAS
MAMMA JY* MOET* NOG 'n* BLAADJIE BLAAI
EK WEET NIE
IS* SO=DIT OOK+ DIE* OLIE SE NAAM
IS* DAARDIE OOK PIENKIE PONK |PIENKIE:PONK:OOK:DAARDIE
DIE* TANNIE RAAS
DIT* IS* HANSIE
EK WEET
KYK DAAR IS DIE* TANNIE OOK
KYK HIER IS* 'n PADDA
HY SPRING* IN DIE WATER
KYK HOE* SPRING HY IN DIE WATER
KYK DIE DOGTERTJIES
KYK HY=HULLE SPEEL SO
KYK DIE BALLE IN DIE WATER
HULLE SPEEL HIERDIE DOGTERTJIES MET DIE BALLE
MAMMA KYK OUMA SIT HIERDIE KLEINTJIE IN DIE WATER
DIE* DOGTERTJIE SIT DIE POP IN DIE WATER
  |SIT:DOGTERTJIE:DIE:POP:IN:DIE:WATER
HULLE=HY SWEM LEKKER HIERDIE POPPETJIE=POPPIE
  |HULLE:LEKKER:SWEM:HIERDIE:POPPETJIE
```

BETSY SAMPLE 4

```
DAAR=DIT IS NOU KLAAR
MAMMA SPOEL MY HANDE AF
DIE DEUR IS TOE
EK KAN SPUIT*
MAMMA HELP MY
MAAK HOM 'n BIETJIE OOP
EK KAN HOM NIE OOPMAAK NIE
DIT* IS* LEKKER
DIT* IS* NOG NIE KLAAR NIE
DIT* IS* NET HIER DROOG
MAMMA EK GAAN NETNOU KOM
EK HET* HOM WEGGELOOR=VERLOOR
HIER IS NET TWEE WIELETJIES HIERSO
NOU GAAN JY HULLE DROOG BLAAS
  |NOU:GAAN:JY:HULLE:BLAAS:DROOG
HIER IS DIE KRULLERS
EK HET HOM GEVAT
TOE BLAAS EK SOMMER MY HARE DROOG
DAAR IS HY
HIER* IS* NOG EEN*
MY TOON MAAK SO
MY TOON MAAK WEER SO |MY:TOON:SO:WEER:MAAK
MOET* EK HIERDIE OOK GEE
DIT IS SO LEKKER HIERDIE
MA EK WIL* NOG SO 'n ENETJIE Hê |MA:EK:NOG:'n:ENETJIE:SO:Hê
EK WEET NIE
HIER IS NOG
HIERDIE MAAK PUNTJIES
MAMMA EK WIL* NOG SO 'n BIETJIE GEE
MAMMA VAT* HIERSO
JY+ SIT HIERDIE OOK IN* JOU HARE
SIT DAARDIE OOK IN JOU HARE
MAMMA WAT IS HIERDIE
SMEER* JY HULLE=DIT IN=AAN JOU HARE
MAMMA VAT HULLE
DRAAI JOU HARE IN*
DAAR=DAARDIE MOET JY OOK IN JOU HARE SIT
MAMMA VAT* HIERSO
HIER IS DIE BORSEL
VAT DIE BORSEL
EK IS* SOMMER SO+ STOUT
MAMMA KYK HIERDIE BOLLETJIE
EK WIL* HOM IN MY HARE SIT
EK SIT HOM ALTYD IN MY HARE
EK KAN HOM* NIE INSIT* NIE*
EK IS 'N KLEIN DOGTERTJIE
SIT HOM SOMMER IN MY HARE
DIE ANDER ENETJIE HET WEG+ VERLOOR
DIE* ANDER ENETJIE HET WEG+ VERLOOR TOE GAAN* HAAL DIE
  MAMMA NOG* ENETJIE
MAMMA JY KAN BY MY SIT
JY MOENIE MY PLA NIE
SAL JY NIE HUIL AS* EK HAAR* HIEROP SIT NIE
  |JY:SAL:NIE:HUIL:EK:HIEROP:SIT:NIE
JY SAL NIE NEE Sê NIE
EK SAL* HOM NIE HIER SO+ OPSIT AS* JY NEE Sê NIE
EK MOENIE HAAR* RUGGIE WAS NIE
EK MOENIE HAAR* HARE WAS NIE
AS* HULLE VUIL IS GAAN EK HULLE WAS
MAMMA EK WAS ALLES
EK* WAS* HIERSO OOK
EN EK* WAS* DAAR
DIT* IS* DIE* LANG POP
SY* LYK NET SOOS DAARDIE ANDER
  |NET:SOOS:DAARDIE:ANDER:LYK
SY* LYK* SOOS* DIE* ANDER IN DIE KAFEE
HULLE* LYK* NET SOOS MY LANG POPPIE
EK KRY HULLE NIE DROOG NIE*
EK* MOET* HULLE NET SO AFDROOG |NET:HULLE:SO:AFDROOG
JY HET MY HANDDOEK OOK GEBRING
EK VEE MY HANDE AF |EK:MY:HANDE:AFVEE
EK SAL NETNOU MY=HAAR HANDJIE AFDROOG
EK HET HOM GEKOOP VIR* MY BABATJIE
DIT IS HOM=SY TOUTJIE
HY LOOP AS* EK DIT* TREK
DIT IS HOM=SY EIE TOUTJIE
AS* EK HOM TREK TOE=DAN LOOP HY SELF
HIERDIE HONDJIE HY+ HET NIE 'n TOUTJIE NIE
HIERDIE ENETJIE IS JOUNE
HY KAN NIE IN JOU KAS KOM NIE
HY IS NOG KLEIN
HY KAN NET OP JOU VLOER SIT
GEE MYNE
JY KAN NOG SO 'n BIETJIE NA* HOM KYK
  |JY:KAN:NOG:HOM:SO:BIETJIE:KYK
EK HET HOM NOG NIE GESIEN NIE
HY GAAN NIE NOG=LANGER BAD NIE
VAT DAARDIE TOUTJIE
HY HUIL
HY WIL NIE SIT NIE*
HIERDIE HONDJIE IS* JOUNE
VAT HOM
JY KAN NOG SO 'n* BIETJIE NA* HOM KYK
  |JY:KAN:HOM:NOG:SO:BIETJIE:KYK
NOU* WIL EK HIERDIE EEN* Hê*
DIT IS JOUNE=JOU ENETJIE
DIT IS 'n HONDJIE
EK SAL JOU HONDJIE NETNOU GEE
MAMMA IS IN* PRETORIA
HIERDIE HONDJIE IS MYNE
EK HET NIE 'n LAMMETJIE NIE
MY LAMMETJIE IS DOOD
HY HET SO BAIE MELK GEDRINK |HY:SO:BAIE:MELK:GEDRINK:HET
VAT NET HIERDIE BANDJIE
HIERDIE ENETJIE IS JOUNE
MAMMA MOENIE WEGGAAN NIE
```

BETSY SAMPLE 6

```
ONS MAAK HOM HIERSO REG*
KOM
BEDOEL* JY* HIERSO
KOM ONS GAAN NOU HIER SLAAP
KOM* ONS* TEKEN IETS OP=HIEROP
ONS* TEKEN* NET OP DIE BOEK
ONS GAAN HOM=HULLE MÔRE IN=DAARIN BÊRE
HIER IS WARM WATER IN
HULLE=DIT MOET* EERS LEKKER STROPETJIES=STROPIES WORD
  |HULLE:EERS:STROPETJIES:LEKKER:WORD
MAMMA WANNEER WORD DIE=DIT STROPETJIES=STROPIES
DIE HONDJIE HY+ WIL HUIL
HIER IS ONS
ONS IS* HIER BY JOU
ONS SIT
HY MOET OOK SIT
ONS* SIT NET SO=SOOS DIE HONDJIE |NET:SO:DIE:HONDJIE:SIT
MOENIE DIE* LIG* AANSIT NIE
HIER IS ONS BED
ONS SIT BY=OP DIE BED
BABAHONDJIE MOENIE HUIL NIE
ONS SIT SO
HY MOET SIT
ONS MAAK ONS* TOE
ONS* IS NIE TOE* NIE*
MAAK ONS TOE
DIT* IS NAGTYD=NAG
ONS* IS NOU OOP
KYK DIE SON HET OPGEKOM
KOM ONS KLIM VAN* DIE BED AF |KOM:ONS:KLIM:AF:DIE:BED
HIER IS ONS GROOT KOMBERS
ONS MOET HOM UITTREK
ONS* MOET* HOM* HIERSO UITTREK
KOM GROOT KOMBERS
MAAK DIT OP
EK SIT DIT AF
HY DRAAI SSS
KOM ONS Lê SO 'n* BIETJIE
HONDJIE HIER IS ONS
HY WIL OOK SO TOE WEES
ONS MOET ALTWEE TOE* WEES* EN DAARDIE BABATJIE
DIT IS NOU NAGTYD=NAG |DIT:IS:NAGTYD:NOU
ONS* SLAAP
ONS RUS
ONS Lê SO 'n* BIETJIE HIER |ONS:Lê:HIER:SO:BIETJIE
KOM* ONS SIT
KOM SIT IN DIE SITKAMER
DIT* IS NOG NAGTYD=NAG VIR HULLE
HULLE IS NOU GROOT
ONS GAAN NOU IN DIE TREIN RY
JY MOET JOU BABATJIE SAAMVAT
HY MOET IN DIE KLEIN TREINTJIE WEES
ONS MOET IN HIERDIE GROOT TREIN RY
HIERDIE IS OOK 'n KLEIN TREINTJIE
HY RY SOMMER SO
ONS MOET HOM EERS REGMAAK |ONS:MOET:EERS:HOM:REGMAAK
HIERDIE TREINTJIE MOET ONS* EERS REGMAAK
IS* DIT* NOU KLAAR
ONS GAAN NOU IN* 'n ANDER TREIN RY
HIERDIE MOET IN DAARDIE KLEIN TREINTJIE RY*
DIT IS DIE TREIN
HY MOET OP DIE SPORE RY
DIT IS DIE SPORE
DIT IS DIE STOOTWAENTJIE
KOM ONS GAAN NOU IN DIE TREIN RY
JULLE MOET OOK RY*
DAAR VERGEET JY JOU BABATJIE
SY MOET HIERSO SLAAP
ONS GAAN STASIETJIE TOE
ONS GAAN BLOMME KOOP BY DIE STASIE
HULLE KOM NIE SAAM NIE
HULLE BLY HIER SIT
MAAR DIE STASIE IS NET+ VER
DIE TREIN HOU NOU STIL
HY GAAN NIE SAAM NIE
DAAR IS 'n KARRETJIE
MOENIE OP HIERDIE KARRETJIE RY NIE
ONS MOET EERS 'n BIETJIE SIT
'n DOKTER KOM DAN HIER OM
HY SPUIT ONS IN
HY* SPUIT* ONS* HIER OP DIE* RUG IN*
MA KOM EK=ONS GAAN HUIS TOE
ONS GAAN OP* HULLE RY STASIE TOE
HIER IS 'n PARTYTJIE
MAMMA JY IS DIE KINDJIE
DIE DOKTER GAAN INSPUITING=INSPUIT
MAMMA=EK GAAN VIR* JOU 'n BIETJIE KLAVIER SPEEL
DIT IS 'n MOOI LIEDJIE
JY MOET OOK NOU SPEEL KINDJIE
JY MOET HIERSO DRUK
JY SPEEL
ONS GAAN NOU WATER INTAP EN SO MAAK
ONS GAAN NOU SPEEL
ONS* GAAN DIE BOTTELTJIE UITSPOEL
EN ONS* GAAN* HIERDIE OOK UITSPOEL*
GAAN ONS SPEEL
ONS GAAN NOU HIER WATER INTAP
  |ONS:GAAN:NOU:WATER:INTAP:HIER
EK KAN SELF OPKLIM
HIER IS JOUNE
MA EK TAP NOU WATER IN
JY MOET HOM VASHOU
```

BETSY SAMPLE 8

```
EK GAAN NOU MAAN TOE
IEMAND GAAN MY SIEK MAAK |IEMAND:MY:GAAN:SIEK:MAAK
DIT IS DIE TAFEL Né
EK KOM VIR* JULLE KUIER
Sê HALLO PIKKIE
EK GAAN AL DIE SIEK MENSE SOND=GESOND MAAK
EK GAAN HULLE MÔRE INSPUIT |EK:GAAN:HULLE:INSPUIT:MÔRE
EK HET DIE TAS
EK* GAAN* EERS ONDER* DIE* SKOORSTEEN IN
  |SKOORSTEEN:EERS:IN
EK HET IETS VIR BABABOETIE BRING=GEBRING
EK GAAN VIR* JOU 'n IETSIE KOOP VANMÔRE
KYK WAT HET EK VIR JOU KOOP=GEKOOP
DIT* IS* NET 'n BABABOETIE
VAT JY HOM
EK GAAN NOU VIR* BOETIE IETS KOOP
VAT DIT
DIT* IS* NOU WEER 'n SUSSIE
DIT* IS* 'n* SUSSIE Né
DAARDIE IS BOETIE
MAAK OOP
MAAK OOP DIE TAFEL
EK GAAN DAAR OP
EK* GAAN TOT BY DIE TRAPPIES EN DIE* SKOORSTEEN
EK SAL SOET* WEES*
EK WEET
ONS* HET* NET DIE BOOM REGGEMAAK
EK HET HOM MOOI REGGEMAAK
EK* HET* DAARDIE PLANT HY=WAT DAARSO IN DIE SITKAMER WAS
  REGGEMAAK*
TOE ROEP EK MAMMA MAMMA
JY HET WEGGEGAAN
TOE SIEN EK DIE BAKKIE IS WEG
TOE Sê EK VIR PAPPA JY HET GERY
EK HET TOE GEWEET WAAR IS JY
TOE MAAK EK DIE BOOM REG
JY DRINK NET SO=SOOS EK
HULLE=DIT IS KOUD
SIT DIT NOU NEER
JY MOET JOUNE NEERSIT
ONS LEER
HIER IS NOU 'n GAATJIE |HIER:IS:'n:GAATJIE:NOU
KYK DAARDIE GAATJIE
HULLE ROEP MY
SAMIE ROEP* MY*
CHARLENE'TJIE HOOR EK
EK* DRINK DIT*
EK KOM NOU-NOU WEER
EK* GAAN* NA* PAPPA TOE
EK GAAN KYK VIR PAPPA
EK* GAAN* KYK* HOE PAPPA DIE STOOF REGMAAK
PAPPA HET* 'n* SKROEDRAAIER=SKROEWEDRAAIER
MA HY* HET DAARDIE STOOF REGGEMAAK
HY* WERK MET* SY* HANDE
HY WIL NOOIT WERK NIE
HY KAN NIE KOS KOOK NIE
DIE STOOF KAN* NIE* KOS* KOOK* NIE*
HY MOET STUKKEND WEES
DAAR WERK PAPPA HOOR JY
'n MENS SIT NIE JOU VOETE OP DIE BED NIE
EK IS NIE SO DORS* SOOS* JULLE NOU NIE
EK* HET* 'n* WATERBOTTEL
WAAR IS MY SLAANDINGETJIE
EK KRY HOM* NIE
HY IS NIE DAAR* NIE*
KYK MY HARE IS NAT
EK WORD 'n BABATJIE |EK:'n:BABATJIE:WORD
WAAR IS JOUNE
KOM* ONS KLAP BIETJIE
KOM* ONS* SING* NOG
EK* WIL* HANSIE-SLIM SING*
JY MOET OOK SING*
SIT HOM VIR MY OP
SPEEL* SAGGIES MAMMA
EK SLAAN SO 'n BIETJIE JOUNE
HY IS NIE SO=SOOS MYNE NIE
HY IS NIE SO=SOOS MY BLIKKIES NIE*
HY IS REG
EK HOOR HY BLAF
HOOR NET
HY* RAAS* NET SOOS HIERDIE Né
SIT* PIENKIE PONK SAGGIES OP
KOM NOU
MY BEENTJIE IS SEER
EK HET VANMÔRE SKOOL TOE GAAN=GEGAAN
EK* HET* KLEUTERSKOOL TOE GEGAAN*
BLOMMIE EN 'n ANDER ENETJIE+ SEUNTJIE WAS* DAAR*
NET+ ALMAL WAS* DAAR*
KAREL KAT-HULLE LOOP SOMMER HUIS TOE Sê DAARDIE TANNIE
KYK MYNE LYK* NET SOOS JOUNE
ALTWEE HET TOUTJIES Né
HY IS 'n POPPETJIE=POPPIE
EK MAAK VIR BABATJIE 'n ROKKIE HOOR
EK GAAN NOU KOEK BAK
DIT* IS* 'n* KRALETJIE
EK* SOEK MY HEKELNAALD |MY:HEKELNAALD:SOEK
HY IS NOG IN DIT=DAAR
WAAR IS MY SKêRTJIE
EK WIL ALTWEE Hê
KAN EK MAAR MET HOM WERK
ONS SPEEL HIERDIE IS DIE HEKELNAALD HOOR
KYK EK HET DIE DEURTJIE MAAK=GEMAAK
```

BETSY SAMPLE 10

```
EK MOET MET* TWEE HANDE VAT WEET JY AS EK* MY POPKLERE
  VAT
MY POPKLERE IS SO SWAAR
EK IS=HET KLAAR DIE* GOED INGEPAK
EK* HET* PLUTO SE=DIE HONDJIE INGEPAK*
EN* EK* HET* DIE MUIS SE HONDJIE INGEPAK*
EN EK* HET* MY POP INGEPAK*
EK* VAT* HETTIE
DAAR IS* SY*
SY IS TE GROOT
EK* WIL* HAAR TRICYCLE SAAMVAT*
EK HET EEN*
HULLE* IS* IN MY LAAI
EK* HET* HOM* HIERSO GEBêRE* MAAR HY IS NOU WEG HIERSO+
MAMMA EK HET NOG HIERDIE HOED
EK GAAN MOS MEE=MET HOM MEE+ KERK TOE Né
HY* IS 'n+ MY KERKHOED OOK
EK* IS LUS
EK SPEEL MET MY KERKHOED
EK* VAT HOM SAAM
HETTIE MOET KOM Lê IN DIE MANDJIE
EK VAT HAAR BOTTEL
GEE HAAR BOTTEL
HIER IS DIT
WAAR IS* HULLE*
DIT* IS MY BOTTELBOEK
EK GEE VIR HETTIE HAAR BOTTEL
DIT IS ALDO SE GOEDJIES
DAAR IS HY
HAAR BROEKIES MOET=HET EK* OOK INGEPAK
MAAR DIT IS TE GROOT
HY KAN INKOM
MAAR KAN* ONS* HIERDIE OOK VAT*
NIE=MOENIE DIT VAT* NIE*
EK HET NOU GENOEG SPEELGOED
MAAK TOE DIE KAS
ONS MAAK EERS MY KAS NETJIES MAAK+
HOE GAAN EK IN DIE KAR KLIM
KOM ONS GAAN NOU RY
MY SPEELLIG BRAND
DAAR* BREEK HY WEER
DAAR IS* 'n HOND IN DIE KAS
DAAR BREEK DIE LIGGIE
MAAK ONS HOM REG SO
KOM SIEN=KYK JY HOE MAAK EK HOM WEER REG* Né+
ONS STOEL IS WIT
WAAR IS DIE* STOELTJIE
HY* IS* WEG
DAAR IS DIE BADKAMER
DIE WASBAK KOM OOK BO Né
WAAR* KOM* DIE BAD
ONS HET ALLES HIERSO
HY* KOM* HIERSO
SIT ONS DIT OOK IN
KOM ONS LOS MAAR DIE LIG
WAT Lê DAAR
EK SIT DAAR Né
SIEN JY* HOE MOOI PAK EK AL
EK IS NOU KLEIN Né
HOE KLEIN IS* EK*
KYK HOE MOOI HET EK GEMAAK
ALLES MOET HIERSO IN WEES Né
KYK HOE STAAN PAPPA EN MA EN CHARLENETJIE
DAAR VAL MA
NOU SIT SY MAAR OP DIE GROND
MA SY MOET DAAR SIT
ONS KYK BIETJIE HOOR
IN HIERDIE BOLLIE-BOEKE MOET OUMA MY WYS
MY VOETE MOET OOK INKOM Né
HULLE* MOET* HIERSO INKOM*
NOU KAN EK MAAR TEKEN
EK MOET NET DIE MANNETJIE SE* OGIES TEKEN HOOR
KYK DAAR IS HOM=SY OGIES
DAAR IS HAAR ANDER HOEDJIE
KYK HOE 'n GROOT HOED HET* HY* |KYK:HOE:GROOT:'n:HOED
EK HET NET SO 'n* GROOT HOED
EK HET NIE 'n KLEIN=KLEINTJIE SO=SOOS PAPPA NIE
KYK HIERDIE GROOT MAN
NOU KAN EK VIR JOU WYS
KYK DAAR IS 'n HOED IN DIE PAD
HOEKOM SPEEL JY MET* ANDER GOEDJIES
JY MOENIE DAAR STAAN NIE
EK TEKEN NOU SOMMER HOOR
EK MAAK=TEKEN NIE MENSE NIE Né
EK WIL NET HIERSO SKRYF
NOU GAAN* EK* DIE ANDER HAND GOU TEKEN
JY MOET NOU EERS MY ARM TEKEN*
EK KAN NIE 'n* LOSIE=HORLOSIE TEKEN NIE
WAAR IS DIE* NAELS
MAMMA HOE TEKEN JY ONS GESIGGE=GESIGTE
JY TEKEN VOETE
MAMMA KAN JY MY OOK TEKEN
WAAR IS DIE MOND Hé
MAMMA EK WIL Hê JY MOET VIR MY TEKEN
TEKEN* MY* LANGS JOU
DAAR IS 'n PLEK
DAAR* IS* HAAR OU HOEDJIE
EN DAAR* IS* MAMMA SE ORE
TEKEN* NOU PAPPA
HY* MOET* IN DAARDIE HOEK KOM*
EK WIL HOM=SY LYF MAAK=TEKEN
```

BETSY SAMPLE 12

```
WAAR IS DIE ANDER DINGETJIE
HY IS NIE HIERSO IN NIE
KYK HOE KOM HIERDIE ENE IN
KYK MYNE HET UITGEVAL
WATTER GOED MOET EK NOU VAT
KYK EK KAN DIT DOEN
WAT MAAK MENS MET DIT=DAAR
MAAR WYS VIR MY
HOU HOM MAAR HIER VIR* MY VAS
VAT HOM HIERSO WEG
HY GAAN NOU OPROL
HIERDIE DING ROL OP
KYK HIER
DIE ANDERKANT IS KLEIN
DIT IS MOOI AS HY SO IS
HOU HOM NET VAS
KYK HIER DIT ROL OP
MAMMA EK IS MOEG
DIT* IS* LOLLIE
SY* IS DIE GROOT KIND
EN JY IS DIE MA
DIT* IS* CHRISTIAN
BRING* DAARDIE HOND OOK
ONS* MOET DAARDIE GOED OOK SAAMVAT
MA KOM ONS SPEEL OP DIE BED
EN HIERSO IS TWEE HONDE
SY IS DIE BABATJIE
EN SY IS DIE KIND Né
SY HET TWEE HONTE=HONDE
WAAR IS HOM=SY OOG
KYK HIER IS 'n HOND
BABA JY IS 'n HOND
SY MOET SLAAP
KYK WAT IS HIERSO
WAT IS HIERSO IN
JY MOET OOPMAAK*
DIT* IS LEKKER IN DIE WATER
DIT* IS LEKKER KOUD
EK HOU VAN DIT=DAAR KOUD
NOU IS DIT LEKKER IN* DIE WATER
WEG IS HY
EK HET HOM WEGGEGOOI
HIER KOM 'n VLIEGTUIG AAN
IS JY NIE BANG NIE
OUMA LETITIA RY IN DIT=DAAR
SY KOM NIE NA ONS TOE NIE
MAMMA DIE WATER IS LEKKER |MAMMA:IS:LEKKER:DIE:WATER
DIE WATER KOM HIERSO UIT
EK WIL NET SO SWEM
SAL JY MET MY SPEEL
WEET JY WAT KAN ONS TWEE DOEN
ONS TWEE BOU HIERDIE GOEDJIES
ONS* BOU ALMAL
HIER* IS SO BAIE DIERE
EK* WIL* MY VARKDIERE EN MY SKAAPGOED BOU*
WEET JY DAARDIE DIERTJIES GAAN INVAL
WEET JY DIT=HULLE BLY IN DAARDIE BOTTEL
JY MOET HIERDIE BOU
DAN SIT EK HIERDIE GOED AAN
ONS VERGEET OM* HIERDIE VOETJIES IN TE SIT
MAAR ONS KAN HIERDIE VOETJIE MOS WEER AANSIT
MAAR JY MOET DIT AFHAAL EN* DAN SIT ONS DIT WEER AAN
EK KAN NIE BOU* NIE*
EK HET PROBEER*
DIT IS SNAAKS
HIER IS OOK NOG
KYK HIER
EK HET DIT PROBEER
KYK DIT IS SNAAKS
KOM HELP MY MET DAARDIE ANDER STUK TOE
JY MOET VASHOU
HIERDIE NEUS KOM* HIERSO
EN WAAR* KOM* HOM=SY STERTJIE
JY MOET HOM* INSIT*
HIERDIE EEN IS* DIE* STERTJIE*
NOU SAL EK REGKOM
JY KAN MY NIE HELP NIE
JY MOET MET* HIERDIE SPEEL
EK SAL DIT* NIE WEER IN MY WATER GOOI* NIE*
KYK DIE WATER KAN SOMMER HIERSO IN BLY
SAL* DIE WATER VROT* WORD*
AS* HULLE STAAN DAN KAN ONS HULLE WEER BOU
  |STAAN:HULLE:DAN:KAN:ONS:HULLE:WEER:BOU
SIT* VIR* HOM DIE KOERAAF=GIRAF SE GOED AAN
KOM ONS SIT DIE ANDER KOERAAF=GIRAF SE GOED AAN
NOU SIT ONS DIE KOERAAF=GIRAF SE KOP AAN
EN ONS* SIT* HOM=SY STERT AAN*
EK WEET NIE
KYK DOEMS SPRING HY IN DIE LUG
EK MOET HOM WEER AANSIT
KOM ONS* MAAK HOM* HIER STUKKEND
MYNE IS* NIE UITMEKAAR NIE*
EK WEET NIE
DIT* IS 'n LEEU
WAAR IS HY DAN
DAN MOET HIERDIE EEN OOK DAAR IN=INKOM
EK WEET
JY MOENIE HOM NOU UITHAAL NIE
IS* SY* OOR  DAAR
MOENIE DAARDIE DING AANSIT NIE
'n* MENS* SIT* DIT* AAN* AS DIT NODIG IS
```

BETSY SAMPLE 14

ONS RYG NIE HIERDIE IN NIE
WANT HIERDIE IS ONS KOS
HIERDIE RYG ONS OOK IN
NET HIERDIE IS ONS KOS
HIERDIE RONDE GOEDJIES IS OOK KOS*
KYK HIER WAT JY MOET SIEN
HOOR HIER
HIERDIE MOET DAAR KOM
DIT* IS ONS OU BABATJIE
ONS KAN MOS NIE IN+ ONS KOS MOS+ INRYG NIE Ne
DIE* OU BABATJIE SOEN MY MOOI
ONS GAAN VIR ONS BAIE GOETERS MAAK
JY SOEK JOU KRALE UIT HOOR
ONS SIT DIT ALLES IN ONS HANDE
MOET DIE KIND NIE AAN HAAR VOETJIES OPTEL NIE
HIERSO IS NOU BAIE GOETERS Né
WAG VIR MY MAMMA
KIND KOM
JY MOET JOU KRALE IN DIE HAND VAT HOOR
EK VAT* DIT IN MY BEKERTJIE
HOOR HIER HY=DIT IS MOS ONS BEKERTJIE Né
DAAR IS JOU RYGDING
MOET NOG NIE INRYG NIE
DAAR IS BAIE
SOEK NOG
JY MOET HIERDIE OU KLEINTJIES OOK VAT
MA EK WIL* NET GOU-GOU DIE KLEINTJIES UITSOEK
HOOR HIER EK LOS EERS VIR JOU SO MIN=VEEL DAN+
JY WEET NIE WAT JY MOET INRYG NIE
VAT* NOG ENETJIE
MA KYK HIER HOE VAL DIT
HIER IS KOS
JY KAN NOG NIE INRYG NIE HOOR
JY SOEK AL DIE KOS UIT KIND
SIT JOU GOEDJIES HIERSO OP DIE KOMBERS
HIER IS GROOT BALLE VIR JOU
SKUIF NET HIERDIE BOEK HOOR
EK WIL SIEN
DIT IS OOK MY FOTO Né
EN HIER IS EK OOK
HIER IS OOK OU CHRISTIAANTJIE
OUPA TOK HOU* MY* VAS*
EN HIER SLAAP EK IN MY BED
EN HIER IS EK OOK
LINDA HOU* MY* VAS*
EK HOU=ONTHOU DIT NIE* NOG=MEER NIE
EN WIE* IS* HIERDIE
EK* HET* 'n* DOOPROKKIE AAN*
HIERSO IS VIR+ MY HASIE
HY Lê OP MY BED
HY SKEUR DIE KOERANTE
HY REK SO EN SO
HETTIE MAAK OOK SO
KYK HOE MAAK HY
SIEN+ MA KYK SY* MAAK HAAR HANDE TOE
EN HIER IS EK
KYK HOE MAAK SY HAAR HANDE TOE
HIER IS OUMA SE HOND
SY* NAAM* IS* TOEKOES
EN HIER IS ONS BY DIE HUIS
HIER IS TWEE BABAS
HIER BLAAS* HULLE* OOK VIR* MY
EK SPEEL IN DIE WATER
EN HIER STAAN EK MET MY KAAL BOUDJIES
HIER SIT EK IN DIE WATER
EN HIER SIT EK SAAM MET* MY MA
HIER SPEEL EK ALLENIG Né
EK IS LIEF OM ALLENIG TE SPEEL Né
EN NOU DRINK EK UIT MY BABAKOPPIETJIE
EN HIERSO=HIERDIE IS OOK EK
HY DINK DIT IS 'n SKELM
EN HIER IS ONS BY=OP DIE PLAAS BY OUMA TISHA
ONS* IS* ORALS
MENS KAN NIE MENS SE* NIE+ TONE AFNEEM NIE Né
EK WEET NIE
EK WEET=KEN NIE+ HOM NIE
TANNIE MARIETJIE HOU* MY* HIER* VAS*
OUPA HOU* MY* HIER* VAS*
NOU SIT EK WEER IN DIT=DAAR |NOU:SIT:EK:DAARIN:WEER
EK* SIT* IN HIER=HIERIN
EN HIER SIT* EK* OOK IN DIE BOKS
EK* IS* 'n* OU KLEIN KALAKSIE-KOEKELOEKSIE Né
EK* HET* 'n HOED OP
EK WEET NIE
NOU GAAN ONS WEER OORBLAAI=OMBLAAI
HOEKOM GAAN JY MOS+ NIE GOU WEER KOM NIE
GAAN JY NIE GOU KOM NIE
EK WIL NIE LANK SPEEL NIE
MA HOOR JY
MA EK SAL DIE BROOD UIT DAARDIE DING HAAL HOOR
JY* MOET* DAARDIE BROODGOED=MARMITE UITHAAL
EK* WIL* DRIE SNYTJIES* Hê* MAMMA
EK EET TWEE BRODE=SNYTJIES BY DIE SKOOL
DAN MOET EK DRIE BROODJIES VAT
KYK HIER
EK VAT NIE AAN DIT=DAAR NIE
MARMITE IS LEKKER
EN DIT IS LEKKER
MOENIE JOU VINGER RAAKSNY NIE
DAARDIE=DAAR IS DRIE SNYE*

ANNA SAMPLE 2

Ek WIL VAN DAARDIE PROE
EK* MENG EN ROER
MY MAGIE IS VOL
MA KYK HOE PROE EK VAN DAARDIE
MAMMA SIT=GOOI WATER HIERSO BINNE=IN BY MY DEEG
MAMMA TANNIE RINIE MOET VAN MY KOEK PROE WAT EK BAK*
MAMMA MOENIE SO MOOI+ VINNIG MAAK NIE
EN GOOI BIETJIE WATER BY
MAMMA TANNIE RINIE MOET VAN MYNE PROE
MAMMA EK WIL HIERDIE GOETE HIERSO BINNE-IN MY BAKKIE Hê
GEE DIT VIR MY MAMMA
MAMMA GOOI DIT IN MY BAKKIE MAMMA+ DAN* KAN EK DIT ROER
GOOI DIE PANNETJIES=DEEG IN MY PANNETJIES*
MAMMA GOOI DIE PANNETJIES=DEEG IN MY BAKKIE
HIER IS DIE BAKKIE MAMMA
EK* GOOI DIT* BINNE-IN
EK LEK
EK* LEK* IETSIE
KYK HOE SIT=SMEER EK DIT AAN MY HAND
SO MAAK SO+ DIT
MAMMA DIT MAAK SO
DIT SMAAK SOOS IETSIE
MAMMA EK* WIL* KOEK Hê*
EK SAL DIT* MET MY PINKIE MAAK=UITKRAP
EK WIL NIE MEER Hê NIE
EK KLIM HIERSO OP
EK WIL NIE MEER Hê NIE
MY MAGIE IS* SEER*
EK HET VAN DIE KOEK GEëET
EK WIL BIETJIE WATER DRINK
EK HET SEER
MY MAAG IS VOL
DIT* IS* VOL* HIERSO BINNE
HY* IS* VOL* HOEKOM=OMDAT HET+ EK KOEK GEëET HET
MY MAAG IS VOL VAN DIT=DAAR |DIT:IS:VOL:VAN:MY:MAAG
WAT MAAK SO
EK WIL TOILET TOE GAAN
MAMMA DIT IS MY BEKERTJIE
DIT* IS* MY* BEKERTJIE
EN DIT* IS* MY WASLAP
EN DAN SIT EK* MY BORSELTJIE SO IN
EN DAN SIT=GOOI JY WATER SO BINNE-IN
DAN MOET JY DIE WATER VER GOOI
DAN MOET JY DIT* SO UITGOOI
WAAR IS DIE BORSELTJIE MAMMA
DAAR IS MY KLEIN SEPIE*
MAMMA JY MAAK MY HARE NAT
MAMMA EK WIL DAARDIE SEPIE VAT
WAAR IS HY
WAAR IS DIE SEEP
DIT IS 'n GROEN SEEP
DIT IS 'n GROOT PIENK SEEP |DIT:IS:PIENK:'n:GROOT:SEEP
EK SIT=SMEER HOM=DIT AAN
WANT DAN GAAN EK MY HANDE NOU WAS
DAAR IS HY
MAMMA EK VAT NOU DIE SEEP BY JOU
DAN GAAN EK MY SKOUER WAS
EN EK* GAAN* MY NEKKIE OOK WAS*
EN EK* GAAN* MY SKOUER OOK WAS* EN MY NEK
NOU GAAN EK JOU GESIGGIE IN=MET DIE SEEP SIT=WAS
EK GAAN 'N=JOU GESIG WAS EN* HOM AFSMEER=AFVEE
NOU GAAN EK GOU-GOU JOU HARE WAS EN JOU BAD
MAN Lê GOU-GOU AAN* HIERDIE KANT
MY HARE MOET NIE GEWAS WORD* NIE
EN WIE KOM HIERSO MET=BY ONS KUIER
OUMA EN STELLIE EN OUPA EN PIE=SEPPIE KOM* KUIER*
HULLE* KOM* MÔRE EN BRING* DIE+ LEKKERTJIES
EN HY* GAAN* VIR JOU OOK CHIPPIES BRING*
OUPA MOET VIR MY CHIPPIES BRING
EN HY* HET* VIR OOM LEON-HULLE SO NATGOOI=NATGEGOOI
EN HY* HET* OOM LEON SE HARE SO NATGOOI=NATGEGOOI
MENS GOOI NIE* IEMAND SE HARE NAT NIE
HOOR HOE=WAT MAAK SO
EK* WIL* BIETJIE WATER INGOOI |WATER:BIETJIE:INGOOI
MOET EK DIT* IN DIE WATER GOOI
DIE WATER IS NOU KOUD
EK WAS MY BEEN
EK WIL JOU BEEN BIETJIE WAS
EK WAS JOU BEEN
DIT=DAAR IS BIETJIE SEEP* DAAR* AAN
DIE* SEPIETJIE=SEPIE IS* DAAR* AAN*
MAN EK MOET MY HANDE NOU WAS IN DIE SEEP
JY MOET JOU GESIGGIE WAS
JY SAL MY VOETJIES WAS
DIE SEEP WAS IN+ MY HANDE
MAMMA MOENIE MY SO MAAK=TREK NIE
MAMMA WAT IS DAARDIE WAT SO+ IN MY NEKKIE WAS=IS
EK MOET JOU HARE WAS
EK WAS SELF
MAN EK MOET JOU GOU-GOU BAD
MAMMA MAAK MY WASLAPPIE OOP
EK GAAN NOU MY GESIG WAS
MAMMA MY HANDE IS VUIL
EK WAS NET DIE HANDE SKOON
NOU GAAN EK MY HANDE WAS
KYK NOU IS HULLE AFGESPOEL
NOU HET EK DIT=HULLE GEWAS
MAAK MY HARE TOE
HOEKOM IS MY HARE SO NAT
TEL MY OP MAMMA

ANNA SAMPLE 4

```
EN NOU MOET JY DAAR=DIT VAT
MAAK DIE TENNISBAAN MAMMA
MAAK DIE TENNISBAAN SE OË MAMMA
MAAK SY TEKKIES OOK
EK TEKEN NOU GOU 'n TANNIE
EN HIER IS 'n OOM EN 'n MEISIE
EN DAAR IS* OOK 'n* OOM* EN* 'n* MEISIE*
MA KYK NOU HIERSO
HY MAAK SO
DAAR IS HY
DAN MAAK HY SO
EK LEK HOM
EK* LEK* DIE KRYTJIE VAN MY
EK MAAK HOM SO NAT*
DAN MAAK EK MY TEKENBORD OOK SO NAT*
  |DAN:MAAK:EK:MY:TEKENBORD:SO:OOK
MAMMA TREK MY TRUITJIE OP
NOU GAAN EK WEER 'n TENNISBAAN TEKEN
PAPPA SPEEL* DAAR* TENNIS*
OOM ALBERT SPEEL* DAAR* TENNIS*
WAT MOET EK TEKEN MAMMA
EK KAN 'n RAKET TEKEN
NOU GAAN EK WEER 'n* BAL TEKEN
DIE TENNISBAL SE ORE MOET EK TEKEN
MOET EK DIE TENNISBAL SE ORE TEKEN
EK KAN TEKEN*
KYK DAAR HOE MAAK EK HULLE ORE
MOET EK GOU VIR JOU 'n* MANNETJIE TEKEN MAMMA
EN NOU GAAN EK SY VOETJIES HIERSO INSIT
MAMMA TEKEN GOU VIR MY 'n MANNETJIE
MOET EK MET HIERDIE EEN WERK
EK GAAN MET HOM SKRYF
NOU GAAN EK WEER SKRYF*
NOU GAAN EK VIR=MET BRENDA BY DIE TENNISBAAN GAAN+ SPEEL
EK WIL OOK TENNISBAL=TENNIS SPEEL MAMMA
EK WIL OOK SLAAN MAMMA
MA GAAN KOOP VIR MY 'n RAKET
EK MOET DIT WEER VIR DIE OOM TERUGGEE
HY MOET MY GELD BETAAL |MY:GELD:MOET:HY:BETAAL
DIE OOM BETAAL DIT VIR MY
HY BETAAL=GEE VIR MY 'n SJOKOLADE
DIT IS NIE OUMA ANNA NIE MA
DIT IS OUMA BOSSIE
OUPA IS BY STELLIE-HULLE
HULLE SKRYF
HULLE* SKRYF* VIR OUPA
KYK HOE MAAK ELLENORE
SY BLAAS SO
JY GAAN NOU VIR MY 'n ROLBAL SPEEL=TEKEN
MAAK NET GOU VIR MY 'n ROLBALLETJIE
MA GEE VIR MY 'n TISSUE MAMMIE
HY IS NIE HIERSO IN DIE KAS NIE DAAR+ ONDER+
KYK HOE MAAK JY HOM NAT
NOU KAN EK VRYF
EK DINK DIT IS 'n BOEING
HY LYK NET SOOS MY=EK MAMMA
WAARSO MOET* EK* DIT* KRY*
DIE* HONDJIE IS* WEG |WEG:HONDJIE
MAMMA EK KAN DIT INKLEUR
MAMMA EK MAAK=DOEN MY SKOOLWERK
WAT IS DIT MAMMA
WAT IS DAARDIE MAN
DIT IS MY BANDNEMER-OP=BANDOPNEMER
DIT IS NIE ONS S'N NIE
MAMMA EK KLEUR IN
ONS HET IETS INGEKLEUR
EK* HET* IN MY BOEK INGEKLEUR* EN STEFFAN HET* IN SY
  BOEK GETEKEN
ONS WAS NIE LELIK NIE
MAMMIE KYK WAT HET HY OP SY KOPPIE DAAR
EK WEET NIE
MAMMIE WAT HET* HY* NOG
KYK DAAR
KYK EK TEKEN
KYK DAAR OP SY KOP
MAMMA DIE KRYT WAS IN DIE SON
WAAR IS POPPIE BRITS
DAAR IS NIE 'n KASTROL NIE
DIT IS 'n TISSUE
BEDOEL* JY* KOS* VIR POPPIE BRITS
MAMMA WAT IS DIT
EN EK* GAAN* HIERDIE GOED KOOK*
EK* GAAN* KOOL KOOK*
EK* GAAN* AARTAPPELS KOOK*
EN WAT KAN* EK* NOG KOOK*
HOEKOM SIT JY JOU KOP IN JOU KOS
MAMMIE WAAR IS DIE LEPELTJIE
POPPIE BRITS SLAAP
KYK HOE SLAAP DAARDIE KIND
SY SKREE BAIE
SY VRA MY KOS
SY KAN MAAR 'n* BIETJIE* KRY
POPPIE BRITS HIER IS JOU KOS
WAT MOET EK DOEN
DIT* IS POPPIE BRITS SE KOS
EK MAG NIE WATER KOOK NIE HOOR
EK WAG NET DAT DIE KOS GROEN=GAAR WEES=WORD
GEE VIR MY BIETJIE KOFFIE MAMMIE
HAAL JY DAAR 'n BAKKIE UITHAAL=UIT
MAAK HOM BIETJIE SKOON
HY IS NAT
HIERDIE DINGETJIE IS NAT
```

ANNA SAMPLE 6

WIE HET SAAM GEKUIER
EK KEN NIE DAARDIE VROU NIE
DIT IS HILTON
EN WAAR IS RUAN
EN WAAR IS LIZEL
EN WIE IS NOG DAAR |EN:WIE:NOG:IS:DAAR
EN WIE HET* NOG GEKOM*
HULLE* HET* 'n* ROKKIE GEGEE*
SY* HET* DAARDIE MOOI BOEK VAN ELLENORE GEGEE*
SY* HET* 'n DIERTJIE EN ALLES GEGEE*
EN SY* HET* 'n MOOI OK HEMPIE GEGEE* |EN:'n:OK:MOOI:HEMPIE
EN EK WIL 'n* KOOL Hê
EK WIL DIT EET
HY=DIT BRAND NIE MY MOND NIE
DIT MAAK MY STERK
MOET* EK* DIT* HIERSO UITHAAL*
MAMMA MOET* EK* HIERDIE UITHAAL*
EK* HET* HIERDIE GOED*
WAAR IS HY NOU
WAAR* IS* DIE SIFFIE
MAMMA HIER IS HY
EK* HET* 'n SIFFIE GEKRY* MAMMA
EN DAN MAG EK HIER SIT Né MAMMA
JY HET MY HARE GESNY
JY* HET* OLIE AANGESIT*
JY* HET* OLYFOLIE AANGESIT*
MAMMA SY SAL NIE RAAS* NIE*
JY MAG NIE MY* HARE* AFSNY* NIE*
JY MAG NET KYK HOE LYK MY HARE
DAN MAG JY NET DAARDIE GOED AANSIT
DIT* IS* VISSE
EK WIL HOM HIERSO BINNE=IN SIT
EK* MAAK* VIR ELLENORE KOS*
EK SOEK 'n LEPEL
DAAR IS HY
EK GAAN MY KOSSIES MET HOM MAAK
EK KAN NIE WERK* NIE*
EK KAN NIE MEER WERK* NIE
DIT* IS* KRYT
TEKEN GOU VIR MY 'n MANNETJIE MAMMA
EK SKRYF MET DIT=DAAR
EK* SKRYF MET HIERDIE BLOU PEN
LAAT EK EERS HIERDIE TEKENBORD HIERSO AFVEE
|LAAT:EK:EERS:AFVEE:HIERDIE:TEKENBORD:HIERSO
MAMMA EK WIL GOU-GOU 'n TISSUE Hê OM DIE TEKENBORD AF TE VEE
LAAT EK EERS HIERSO SKOONMAAK
NOU GAAN JY GOU SKRYF
EN TOE KOM DAAR 'n MAN EN 'n* SEUN
DIT IS 'n GROOT ARM
EN WAT HET* HY* NOG
DIT* IS* ORE
MAMMA TEKEN VINNIG=GOU SY* ORE
MAMMA VAT HIERDIE KRYT

MA JY MAG SO MAAK
MAMMA EK WIL OOK SO VIR JOU WYS
EMILE IS SO VUIL SOOS 'n OTTER
EMILE LYK SOOS 'n AAP
EMILE HET TOE GEVAL EN TOE HY RY HET* SY BAL GEVAL
|EMILE:HET:TOE:GEVAL:EN:TOE:RY:HY:SY:BAL:GEVAL
EN TOE GOOI HY DAARDIE SPEEL=BAL HOM+ HOOG OP
|EN:TOE:GOOI:HY:HOM:HOOG:OP:DAAI:SPEEL
HY GEE VIR HOM=SY PERDJIE KOS
HULLE TREK=BIND HOM=HAAR VOETE=BENE IN=MET 'n* REKKIE=SPANTOU VAS*
EN HY* TREK DIE* SPENE*
DIE MELK KOM* UIT*
OOM DRIES MAAK DAT* DIE BEESTE MELK GEE*
HY MELK |MELK:HY
WAT DOEN* HY* NOG
HY* RY* OP SY PERD
DIT IS 'n* GROOT PERD
DAN MAAK HY SO Né
HY SPRING EN* DAN REK HY
EK* HET* SELF GELEER*
ONS MOET WEER WIELIE-WALIE SING*
EK KLIM NOU OP
EK* KLIM* HIER OP DIE TOILET
EK GAAN IN DIE BAD VAL
EK SIEN HOM OOK
NETNOU GAAN HY MY* BYT
HY GAAN MY BYT
DAN GAAN EK HOM PIETS
EK MAG HOM NIE TERG NIE
MAMMA HY IS 'n SEUNTJIE
HY TERG MY
BO-OP DIE* HUIS* IS KARRE
HOE MAAK JOU KLEIN KARRETJIE
HY HET 'n GROOT KAR
HY* HET* NET 'n STASIEKAR=STASIEWA
WAAR IS 'n=DIE STASIEWA
ONS MOET RêRIG VIR OOM JAN GAAN VRA WAAR IS DIE STASIEWA
HY IS IN DIE GARAGE
ONS GAAN NOU-NOU BY OOM JAN-HULLE BY DIE HUIS KUIER
HY MAG JOU NIE OPTEL NIE |HY:MAG:NIE:JOU:OPTEL:NIE
EK SAL HOM FOETER
EK SAL HOM FOETER AS HY JOU OPTEL
TANNIE GERDA SIT OP PAPPA SE SKOOT
DIE BANDNEMER=BANDOPNEMER KAN BY MY KOM SLAAP
MAMMA=JY MOET MY IETS Sê
BID
LIEWE JESUS Sê EK MAG NIE STOUT WEES NIE
AS JULLE WAKKER IS DAN GAAN EK KOM
DIE BANDNEMERTJIE=BANDOPNEMERTJIE MOET* BY MY KOM SLAAP
JY MOET HOM AFSIT EN JY* MOET* DIE BANDNEMER=BANDOPNEMER HIERSO BY MY SIT

ANNA SAMPLE 8

ALLES IS* AF
SIT OP DIE TOILET MAMMA
EK GAAN LOS
MAMMA EK KRY WARM
DIT* RUIK LEKKER
MAMMIE WAAR IS MY KUSSINKIE
EK* WIL Lê
MAMMA DIT* IS SEER
IS PAPPA BY=NA DIE WERK TOE* MET MY SKOEN
BY* OOM TINUS EN WIE NOG HET* ONS* GEKUIER*
ONS* HET* BY* ANET GEKUIER*
HULLE* HET* 'n SWEMBAD
DIT IS LEKKER
IS* DIT* AMPER KLAAR
HY* GAAN* SAAM MET JOU
GAAN ALLEN-HULLE OOK SAAM SWEM
EK WIL DIE BEKERTJIE SOEK
EK WIL WEER BIETJIE Lê
EK HET MET MY KAR GERY
TOE DOEN EK IETS MET ELLENORE
EK EN MY BABA HET* GERY*
ONS* HET* BY OUPA EN BY OUMA BOSSIE GAAN* KUIER*
MY MA IS* DAAR
MY MA-HULLE BLY DAAR ANDERKANT
EK GAAN NOU-NOU BY HULLE KUIER
JY KAN SAAMGAAN
ONS* SAL* VIR* OUPA EN STELLIE EN SINIE KUIER*
AS HY MY BYT DAN GAAN OUPA HOM PIETS
OUPA SAL OU SEPPIE BYT
OUPA SAL HOM PIETS MET 'n STOK Né
HOE GAAN DIT MET OU SEPPIE
JY MOET SAAMGAAN
JY MOET SAAMGAAN NA OUMA BOSSIE TOE
JY MOET EERS AANTREK DAT EK OOK SKOENE KAN AANTREK
DAN KAN EK TAP TOE GAAN
EK GAAN SELF TAP TOE
EK GAAN TAP
MAAR EK TAP EERS KLAAR
DAN GAAN DIT NOU-NOU KLAAR WEES
EK* GAAN* IETSIE HIER BO-OOR SIT
NOU GAAN ONS BIETJIE BAKLEI
EK* GAAN* NIE WIELIE-WALIE NIE+ BY OUMA ANNA SING NIE*
|NIE:WIELIE:WALIE:NIE:BY:OUMA:ANNA:SING
OUMA ANNA HET* DIT* VIR* MY* GELEER*
SY IS SO KLEIN
MY OUMA ANNA IS IN KIMBERLEY DOOD
MY PA IS DOOD*
OOM SAREL IS BAIE SIEK IN KIMBERLEY
ONS KAN MÔRE NA OUMATJIE TOE GAAN
JY MOET VIR PAPPA VRA
VIR* WIE GAAN* ONS* NOG KUIER*
SY* RY* MET=IN DIE STOEL=ROLSTOEL
WAARMEE=WAAROOR MOET EK MET JOU GESELS
EENDAG Sê HAAR MAMMA DAT* SY MAG=MOET MOOI OP DIE SYPAADJIE TRAP
SIEN MA MY BABA MAAK EK NIE WAKKER NIE
HIERDIE IS MY BABA
DIT* IS* NIE JOUNE NIE
AS JY AAN DIE TAFEL MET MY LELIK IS DAN GAAN EK JOU HUIS TOE STUUR
EK HET 'n BEURSIE SAAMGEBRING VAN DIE SKOOL AF*
EK GAAN NET GELD HIER UITHAAL
EK* GAAN* LEKKERS KOOP*
EK* GAAN* VIR JOU EN JOU CHOPLAP LEKKERS* KOOP*
EK* GAAN* CHOMPIES VIR PAPPA EN VIR JULLE KOOP*
EK* GAAN* NIE VIR ELLENORE LEKKERS* KOOP* NIE
SY* MAG KRY
JY KAN SAAMGAAN
SY SLAAP
HAAR KOP IS TOE
EK WIL HOM BAIE=GOED TOEMAAK
SY IS NOU SIEK IN DIE BED
SY IS NA DIE DOKTER TOE
HAAR VOETJIE IS SEER
EK GAAN NET VIR JOU WYS
EK* HET* 'n BAKKIE GESIEN*
GAAN MAMMA BY=VIR HULLE VRA OF HULLE 'n BAKKIE HET
PAPPA HET DIT VIR MY GESê
TOE WAS DIE KAR SE WIELE VUIL
OOM BASIE-HULLE SE KAR SE WIELE WAS* OOK NIE VUIL NIE*
ONS KAR WAS* VUIL*
PAPPA HET GISTER DAARDIE KAR SKOONGEMAAK
NICO WAS* HIER*
NICO HET* DAAR BY DAARDIE BANK* GESIT
TOE SIT EK DAARSO
TOE ROL HY VIR MY DIE BAL TERUG
TOE ROL EK DIE* BAL* VIR HOM
TOE ROL HY TEEN DAARDIE GORDYN* IN DIE SITKAMER
EK GAAN NOU-NOU EET*
MA EK HET AL DIE BEESTE OP DIE PLOT GESIEN
DIT* IS* DIE BOY SE BEESTE
DIT* IS* TANNIE SANDRA-HULLE SE PLOT
HULLE HET VANMÔRE BAIE=LEKKER KANSIE=VAKANSIE GEHOU
ONS IS OOK BLY OM VAKANSIE=SEE TOE TE GAAN
KOM ONS SING HANSIE-SLIM
EK KAN NIE DIE* PIESANG* EET* NIE*
DIT IS IETS WAT MY SO SEERMAAK
DIT=DAAR WAS 'N DORING AAN=IN GEWEES
TOE MAAK HY MY BAIE SEER
NOU GAAN ONS WEER VAN+ HANSIE-SLIM SING
HANSIE-SLIM MOET GESING WORD HOOR
EK MAG VIR JOU HELP OM DIE KOS MET+ JOU+ TE MAAK
MA EK SAL DIT ALLES IN DIE DROMMETJIE GOOI

ANNA SAMPLE 10

TANNIE BETS HET GISTER VIR+ MY+ SHAMPOO BY=OP MY HARE
GEBRUIK
SY* WERK* BY OOM KAREL
HY SNY AL DAARDIE TANNIES SE HARE AF
MYNE IS REGGESNY |IS:REGGESNY:MYNE
EN JOUNE IS OOK NIE+ MOOI
OOM KAREL HET DIT REGGESNY EN DIE OUSIE HET DIT GEWAS
EK* HET* VIR* TANNIE RIKA GAAN* HAAL*
SY IS HUIS TOE
SY IS NOG BY OOM KAREL
SY IS NOG SO 'n RUKKIE BY OOM KAREL
WAT IS HIERDIE
MAMMA KAN HY SO MAAK
WAT Sê JY VIR JOU=JOUSELF
MAMMA DIE* MUSKIET HET* MY* OP MY BEEN GEBYT
HIERSO IS* DIE* MUSKIET=MUSKIETBYTE
WAAR IS DIE MUSKIETBYTE
KRAP BIETJIE HIER MAMMA
KRAP* BIETJIE* OMDAT MY ARM JEUK
DIT KRAP=JEUK NET
WAARSO IS* 'n* MUSKIETBYT*
DIT* IS 'n MUSKIETBYT WAT MY=EK STUKKEND GEKRAP HET
GESELS WEER MET MY
MAMMA JY KRAP 'n BIETJIE
EK MAAK OOK SO
ONS GAAN VIR PAPPA BY DIE WERK HAAL
MAMMA WAAR=WAARHEEN GAAN ONS
MAAR EK GAAN MET MY FIETSIE RY
EK GAAN MET DIE WAENTJIE STAP
TANNIE WAS* HIER*
EN OOM LEON EN TANNIE GERDA WAS* HIER*
DIT* WAS* OOM GERRIE
EN PAPPA WAS* HIER*
EK* HET* BY JULLE GESLAAP*
EK* HET* HIERSO BY=IN JULLE BED GESLAAP*
EK WIL KYK HOE DRAAI DIE BANDJIE
MA SIT MY HAND SO OOR JOU KOP DAN KYK EK
MAMMA DIE BAKKIE IS GEWAS
MAMMA HY HET VIR JOU GELAG
DIT* IS ANDRIES
HY HET TWEE BOTTELTJIES HOOR
EK Sê DOUW KAN NABY BY+ TANNIE NOBIE SE BABETJIE KOM
Né
EK KAN* OOK NABY* KOM*
ONS HET COLYN GESIEN
OOM DRIES-HULLE HET AL 'n BAKKIE
ONS HET GOU NA DIE BEESTE TOE GERY
DIT IS REGTE BEESTE
HY MAAK SO
HY SPUIT HOM SO
EK HET NIE VAN DIE MELK GEDRINK NIE
EK HOU NIE VAN DIT=DAAR NIE
EK IS LIEF VIR MELKDRINK
ONS* HET* NOG TWEE BEESTE GESIEN*
DAAR* IS TWEE BEESTE
EN DIE BLOUE IS BLOU
EN 'n ANDER BEES IS WIT
EK WEET MAMMA
KAN EK HIERDIE EEN HIER BINNESIT=INSIT
EK* BEDOEL* DIE LAPPIE
MA EK TAP ALWEER DIE WATER UIT
EK SAL HIERDIE DING WAS
EK* SAL* AL DAARDIE VUIL GOETE=GOED WAS*
ONS* GAAN* WEER POLONIE EET*
ONS GAAN BY TANNIE GERDA-HULLE EET
EN DOUW MOET* OOK DAAR* EET*
EK HET IN DIE POPHUIS GESPEEL
EK* HET* BY AGATHA-HULLE GESPEEL*
MY POPPIE WAS* DAAR*
AGATHA-HULLE HET TWEE POPPIES
ONS* HET* MET DIE BADJIE GESPEEL*
HULLE MAG KOM KUIER
HULLE MAG NET NIE DIE BANDNEMER=BANDOPNEMER VAT NIE HOOR
EK MOET JOU WYS HOE RY EK
ONS GAAN GOU-GOU KERK TOE
MA MAAK MY FIETS REG
MY FIETS IS NOU WEER STUKKEND MAMMA
HOU SO 'n BIETJIE HIERDIE VAS
MAMMA EK RY SO OM DIE DRAAI
HET JY GESIEN DAT* TANNIE RINIE-HULLE IS=WAS GOU
DAAR=DAARHEEN
HULLE HET=WAS VINNIG+ GOU DAAR=DAARHEEN GEWEES TOE LOS SY
NOU+ DIE HEK OOP
DIT* IS* TANNIE RINIE EN OUMA VOSSIE EN BRENDA
HULLE WAS GOU-GOU DORP TOE
MAMMA BRENDA HET VIR HAAR 'n KOSTUUM GEKOOP
EK HET OOK 'n SWEMKOSTUUM
MAMMA JY KAN OOK SWEM
EN PAPPA MAG MY HELP
DAN LOOP EK IN DIE WATER
EN EK SAL BINNE-IN DIE WATER VAL
JULLE MAG BY KOM=WEES
WIL TEDDIE OOK SWEM
EK SAL BIETJIE VIR HOM 'n PROPPIE KOOP BIETJIE+
HY MAG NIE SAAMRY* NIE*
MAMMA TEDDIE MAG NET SO 'n BIETJIE BY JOU BLY HOOR
EK GAAN* NET GOU VIR* HOM IETS* BY DIE WINKEL KOOP
EK* WAS* GOU WINKEL TOE
EK WIL NET VIR TEDDIE 'n INSPUITINKIE GEGEE=GEE
WANT HY HET SY ARMPIE SEERGEMAAK
EK HET 'n PLEISTERTJIE OPGESIT
EN SY HANDJIE HET HOM=HY RAAKGESNY
DOKTER HET HOM REGGEMAAK
MAMMA HIERDIE TWEE HANDE IS SEER

ANNA SAMPLE 12

DIT IS LEKKER
SY VERJAAR
BEDOEL* JY* MY SLAAPBROEKIE
HY IS IN DIE BADKAMER
EK* HET* AL BAIE VLIEGTUIE GESIEN*
EK* HET* DIE* KLEIN HELIKOPTER GESIEN*
DAAR IS NOG BAIE BUITE
MA KAN EK HIERSO Lê
MAMMA Lê JY
EK Lê DAAR=HIER
JY Lê DAAR
MÔRE=VANMORE TOE ONS IN DIE KAR GEKLIM HET* TOE EET EK HOM
JY* HET* 'n* PIESANG EN 'n* BROODJIE GEëET*
EK HET VIR=NA JOU VERLANG
ONS* HET* NIKS GEëET* NIE*
EK WEET NIE
ONS HET NOG VIER KAASBROODJIES GEëET*
JY KAN NIE KRY NIE
ONS HET ALLES OPGEëET
JY MOET BY MY Lê
DIT IS JOU KAMER DAAR=DAARDIE
JY* SLAAP* DAARSO BY=IN JULLE KAMER
WAT IS DIT MAMMA
MAMMA WAT GAAN JY DOEN
HOEKOM LYK HIERDIE DING DAN SO
EK WIL HOM MOOI REGMAAK
MAAK DIT NET FYN
MAAK DIT NET FYN MET SUIKER
JY HET NOG NIE MELK BYGEGOOI NIE
GOOI MAAR BY
WAT IS DIT
MA HELP VIR MY
ELLENORE KAN NIE HAAR KOSSIES SO EET NIE
JY MOET HAAR ALTYD HELP
JY MAAK MY BED OP EN EK MAAK MY KIND MOOI
SY GAAN NOU MOOI SLAAP WANT TANNIE VERN-HULLE KOM
DIT REëN ALWEER MA
DAN=NOU REëN DIT WEER
AS* DIE VOëLTJIES EN DIE BLOMMETJIES NIE WATER KRY NIE DAN KAN HULLE NIE WATER KRY=GROEI NIE
KOM SLAAP
JY GAAN SLAAP
SLAPIES=SLAAP
EK MAAK MY POPPIE AAN DIE SLAAP
EK* SIT* DIE GOED HIER ONDER MY KUSSING
MOET* EK* DIE GOED OOK OPTEL*
DAAR IS HY
HIER IS NOG GOEDJIES MOET=WAT EK HIERSO MOET INSIT
|HIER:IS:NOG:GOEDJIES:MOET:EK:MOET:HIERSO:INSIT
DIE BABATJIE GAAN IN DIT=DAAR SLAAP
EK* BEDOEL* DIE KLEIN BABATJIE
EK GAAN HAAR SOMMER IN MY BEDJIE SIT HIERSO
DIT IS DIE BEDJIE

HY=SY HET MY KIND GEVAT EN* DAN=TOE WIL=WOU EK HOM GRYP
MAAR EK WIL DIT Hê
AS SY DIT GRYP DAN WIL EK DIT Hê
DAN GAAN* HAAL EK DIT
DAN WIL SY NET DAARDIE GOED VAT
DAN HAAT EK DIT
DIT KAN NIE INDRAAI* NIE*
MA KYK HOE LYK DIT
MY BABATJIE SE HARE IS INGEKRUL=INGEDRAAI
|MY:BABATJIE:SE:HARE:INGEKRUL:IS
KYK HIER EK KAN HOM NIE SO INKRUL=INDRAAI NIE
MAMMA MAAK 'n OPNAMES=OPNAME
MAMMA WIE HET KOM KUIER VANDAG
TANNIE KITTIE EN WENNIE HET* KOM* KUIER*
EK MOET VIR MY SKOOLKLERE KOOP EN 'n MOOI TAS
EK* MOET* 'n GROOT TAS KOOP*
MAMMA JY MOET HIERDIE PLEKKIE AFSNY=UITSNY
KYK DAAR
MAMMA WIE HET VANDAG GEKOM
ANDRé EN TANNIE ANET EN TINUS HET* GEKOM*
MAMMA WAAR IS PAPPA
KOM* HY* VROEG* BY=VAN DIE WERK AF*
WAARSO MOET* HY* GRAS* SNY*
EK HET NIE GESIEN* NIE*
Sê VIR HOM EK EET MY PIESANG
HY IS TE HARD
DAARDIE IS OOK HARD
EK* HET* 'n EIERTJIE IN* MY* MOND*
MA KAN EK 'n EIERTJIE BY JOU KRY
EK MOET NIE VAT NIE
DIT* IS NOG=AL FYN
DIT* IS NOG=AL BAIE FYN
KYK DAAR MAMMA
HY MOET* OOK UIT WEES*
HULLE IS IN
EN DAARDIE IS UIT
DAARDIE IS UIT EN DAARDIE EEN IS UIT
MAMMA BRING MY SERP
DAARDIE TANNIE HET LIPSTICK AAN
WAT IS DIT
DIE BOEK IS NAT
MAMMA EK GAAN VIR JOU SO 'n EEN KOOP
SY HET NIE KRALE AAN NIE
KYK DAARDIE BAL
KAN EK NOG 'n BIETJIE EIERTJIE BY JOU KRY
MAMMA DIT SNY HIER
KYK HOE GROOT IS* DIE* BOOM
HY GAAN NOU OP DIE GARAGE VAL DAARDIE BOOM
DAAR IS DIE TANNIE IN DIE KERK
EN DIT IS DEBBIE

ANNA SAMPLE 14

EK WIL HIERDIE BOEK BETAAL
HY IS GROTER AS MY BOEK
EK HET DIE BOEK BETAAL
MY KIND MOET SAAMGAAN
DAN HUIL SY AS EK WEGGAAN
MY POPPIE GAAN* HUIL*
MAMMA DIE GROOT=GROTE EN DIE KLEIN=KLEINTJIE GAAN HUIL AS EK WEGGAAN
HAAR HANDJIES IS TE KLEIN
EK* GAAN* KERK TOE
EK* WAS* BY DOKTER
HY* Sê* MY KIND IS SIEK
SY HET TE VEEL WATER GEDRINK
EN EK Sê JY KAN NIE WATER KRY NIE
TOE* DRINK SY BIETJIE WATER
TOE TAP SY NOG IN
TOE Sê EK VIR HAAR NEE
DAN HOES SY
EN DOKTER MOET HAAR NOU REGMAAK AS DAAR MENSE IS
SY* IS IN DIE HOSPITAAL
OOM DOKTER ROEP VIR MY
NOU MOET EK MY KIND GAAN HAAL
EK WIL NET MY GOETERS HIER SIT
HY Sê JY KAN MAAR DIE MEDISYNE HIERSO INSIT
MAMMA WAAR IS MY BEURSIE
MAMMA EK WIL KYK OF DIT=DAAR TWEE GELDJIES=GELDSTUKKIES IN IS
DAN MOET EK DIT BY DIE GELD HOU
MAAK DIT HIER OOP
EK SAL DIT NIE LAAT VAL NIE
EK HET* SEWE EN AGT GESê
EK GAAN MET HIERDIE GELD DANS
MAAR EK GAAN NIE MEER DIE BOEKIE SAAMVAT NIE
JOU KIND KAN MAAR BY JOU BLY
GAAN TANNIE BETSIETJIE OP WEES OP DIE OPNAMES
HULLE HET HULLE PAPPA BY DIE TENNIS GAAN AFLAAI
HY HET GAAN SPEEL
DIT* IS DIE DOGTERTJIE SE MAMMA SE PAPPA
DIT IS KOUD
IS DIT VUIL
EK SAL NET SOLANK VIR MY 'n BORD UITHAAL
DAAR VAL HY
KAN EK VIR MY 'n PIESANG AFPLUK
MAMMA EK WIL EEN AFSKIL
MOET* EK* DIE MESSEGOED AFDROOG*
PAPPA SIT HIER
MAMMA PAPPA KOM SIT OOK HIER
WAT IS HIERDIE
MY=EK IS BESIG OM DIE EIERS TE SKIL=AFDOP
MAMMA MOET EK VIR* DIE BANDNEMER=BANDOPNEMER IETS* Sê
KAN EK HOM 'n BIETJIE Hê=KRY
WIE HET VIR ONS KOM KUIER
WIE IS HIER
WIE Sê SO

BABATJIE MOET BY JOU BLY
TEDDIE MOET DAAR SLAAP
EK WIL POPPIE BRITS HOU=VASHOU
WAAR IS SY
SY MOET HIER BY MY Lê
EK GAAN NET GOU KYK WAAR POPPIE BRITS IS*
POPPIE BRITS* IS NIE HIER NIE
AS DIE BOYS POPPIE BRITS STEEL DAN PIETS ONS DAARDIE BOYS
JY KAN MAAR MET MY GESELS
MAMMA WIELIE-WALIE HY+ STAAN OP DIE BERG
HY VAT MET SY HANDE SO
AS HY DAAR DOODSTIL STAAN DAN SPRING HY AF
DAN LOOP=ROL DIE BALIE WEG
TOE SPRING DIE MANNETJIE AGTERTOE
AS JY BY DIE OMIES KOM Sê=VRA DAN VIR HULLE WAAR IS POPPIE BRITS |...KOM:DAN:Sê:VIR:HULLE...
EK* BEDOEL* OOM BEN-HULLE
DAN Sê=VRA JY HULLE WAAR IS POPPIE BRITS
VRA VIR HOM+ TANNIE DALEEN
MAAR KRY HAAR
MAMMA WIE HET HIER=HIERHEEN GEKOM
HY HET GEKOM Né
MAMMA WAT DOEN DAARDIE DING
HOOR HIER
DIT IS HIERDIE DING WAT STOUT IS
DIT IS 'n BABATJIE
HY IS STOUT
HY HET DIE ANDER EEN SE HARE SO GETREK
EN EK GAAN NOU DAARDIE ANDER EEN VAN MY PIETS
EK* GAAN* MY JONGSTE BABA PIETS*
HY LYK NET SO MET MY=SY VET ARMPIES
HY HARDLOOP
WAAR IS DAARDIE OU BABATJIE
WAAR* IS* DAARDIE* BABATJIE* WAT DAAR IN MY KAMER GELOOP HET
MAAR HULLE IS SEKER HONGER
EK SAL HULLE NOU GAAN HAAL AS EK KLAAR IS
MY KIND HUIL
MAMMA EK MOET MY KIND GAAN PIETS WANT SY HET LEON SE KAMER OMGEKRAP
SY* HET* LEON SE KAMER OMGEKRAP*
ONS WAS BY LEON-HULLE MAMMA
ONS* WAS* BY LEON
HULLE HET GESPEEL
EK GOOI TEE HIER IN DIE KOPPIES
HIER=HIERDIE HET EK VIR JOU GEMAAK
DRINK DIT
EK* HET* TEE GEMAAK*
WIL JY NOG Hê
MAAK VIR MY KOS DAN GAAN EK VIR JOU NOU NOG* GEE HOOR
MAMMA KAN EK BIETJIE KOELDRANK KRY