Extraposition and Optionality:

an Investigation of Information Packaging in Paarl-Kaaps

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Dedications

"How lucky am I to have something that makes saying goodbye so hard."
—A.A. Milne, The Complete Tales of Winnie-the-Pooh

For my ouma - who used to scold me for not drinking the floaty bits in my milk after my cereal, who made big pots of spaghetti when we asked, and who hiked through Paarl Mountain with her grandkids - thank you for everything that you did and all the sacrifices that you made throughout your extraordinary life. Your hard work and dedication gave your daughters a better future, and in turn, they were able to do the same for their children, me included. Thank you for always being so generous with your time, especially when I needed to interview you for all my various projects, and for your constant prayers and encouragement throughout my academic journey. Though you have departed from this world, your legacy endures in my heart and in every endeavor I pursue. The mark that you left on all our lives will never be forgotten and will forever be cherished. You loved us with all your heart, and we loved you just the same.

In loving memory of Rosetha Abrahams, my eie Ma Rosie
(19 November 1939 – 26 January 2025)

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"You'll never walk alone" — a phrase famously used by Liverpool fans. Ironically, I've never watched a single Liverpool match in my life, but my dad, an avid Liverpool supporter, has somehow succeeded in making it our family's motto. Much to my own chagrin, this phrase perfectly captures my MA journey.

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Virrie Paarliete wat sê *'djy'* en *'djou'*, en *'hai'* en *'dai'*. Ôs wietie altyd soe lekke watte Afrikaans os praatie, maa ôs wiet it issie 'Suiwe Afrikaansie'. Julle wôd gesien.

They say it takes a village to raise a child, and for me, this thesis was my baby. To everyone— family, friends, colleagues, and neighbors—who offered their support, thank you. I wouldn't have completed this journey without my village.

Lawren Smith
Paarl
March 2025

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Abstrêk

Oppie oomlik, is (Paarl-) Kaaps ‘n under-documented taal sistem. Dit wêk vi allie levels van taal, insluiten sintaksis, wat die focus van díe study is. Veral, die study gan die phenomenon van extraposition onnesoek. Dais die displacement van woodgroepe innie mirrel vannie clause na regs vannie wêkwood. Is belangrik om te vestaan dat extraposition represent een area waa grammar vi speakers options gie, want die extraposed ennie non-extraposed strukture is gereeld altwie acceptable vi speakers vannie taal. Grammatical en information packaging properties wôd geconsider as possible factors wat extraposition influence. ‘n Groot krag vannie study is datit gevalle van regte extraposition, én gevalle waa extraposition (on-)moonlik is consider. In anne woorre, ‘n three-way onnerskeiding wôd gemaak tussen regte gevalle van extraposition, gevalle waa extraposition nog altyd ‘n grammatiese sin maak, en gevalle waa extraposition ‘n ongrammatiese sin maak. Om die data soe te view highlight die optionality van grammar. Die study aim oek om te determine hoe speakers extraposition kan gebryk om hulle identity te construct depending on men wie hulle praat, en hulle relationship met dai pesoon.

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Abstract

Presently, (Paarl-) Kaaps is an under-documented linguistic system. This applies to all levels of language, including syntax, which is the focus of this study. In particular, this dissertation aims to investigate the phenomenon of extraposition, which is the displacement of constituents from their canonical position in the middle of the clause, to the right of the verb. Importantly, extraposition represents one area in which grammar seems to permit some optionality, as both extraposed and non-extraposed structures are frequently grammatical. Grammatical and information packaging properties are considered as factors conditioning extraposition. A major strength of this dissertation is that it considers actual cases of extraposition in a spoken corpus of Paarl-Kaaps, as well as cases where extraposition was (im-)possible. In other words, a three-way distinction is made between actual cases of extraposition, cases in which extraposition would still yield a grammatical expression, and cases in which extraposition would have resulted in ungrammaticality. Viewing the data in this way highlights the optionality in grammar. Furthermore, this dissertation also aims to determine how extraposition can be used by speakers as a variable to construct their identity depending on the nature of their relationship with the interlocutor.

Keywords *Paarl, Kaaps, Afrikaaps, Paarl-Kaaps, Extraposition, Word Order Variation, Morpho-syntactic Variation, Sociosyntax, Style, Optionality*

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Abbreviations

VP	Verb Phrase
OV	Object verb constituent order
VO	Verb object constituent order
CI	Clause initial position
V2	Verb second
MF	Middle field
VF	Verb-final position
PV	Post-verbal field

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Kaaps, or Afrikaaps,[1] is one of South Africa's many under-documented linguistic systems. The term *Kaaps* is commonly used to refer to a colloquial variety of modern Afrikaans that is strongly, but not exclusively associated with working-class Coloured communities in Cape Town and the Cape Peninsula more generally. Kaaps can, however, trace its roots back to 17th and 18th century Kaaps-Hollands ('Cape Dutch'; Hendricks 2016; Kotzé 2016; amongst others). Notably, Afrikaans is also a descendant of Cape Dutch, so the history and development of Kaaps is interconnected with that of Afrikaans. While both varieties share common roots, their development has been partly independent. Kaaps evolved separately within the marginalized Coloured communities of the Cape, shaped by their unique social and cultural experiences, whereas Afrikaans became institutionalized through formal education, media, and government policies. Despite the important role that Kaaps has played and continues to play in the history and development of modern Afrikaans, it is still highly stigmatised.

Although Kaaps is spoken across the Cape Peninsula and in some surrounding areas, there is a misconception that Kaaps is a language that is mostly spoken in Cape Town, as the boundaries and limits for Kaaps are still unclear. One of these areas is Paarl, which is situated in the Boland region of the Western Cape province of South Africa. Paarl is the largest town in the Cape Winelands, and it is situated about 60 kilometres from Cape Town (see figure 2.1 in chapter 2 below). The variety that will be discussed will be referred to as Paarl-Kaaps for the following reasons: (i) speakers in Paarl are willing to identify as Paarl-Kaaps speakers; (ii) many speak-

[1]The term *Afrikaaps* originates as a blend of "Afrikaans" and "Kaaps", reflecting the dialectal variety of Afrikaans spoken primarily by Coloured communities in the Cape Flats and Western Cape of South Africa.

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ers who live in Paarl exhibit high mobility between Paarl and the Cape Peninsula; and (iii) Paarl-Kaaps seems to exhibit similar grammatical markers and features as Peninsula-Kaaps.

It has been shown that Kaaps is a highly marginalised and stigmatized language in South African society. Hendricks (2016: 34) proposes that a paradigm shift is of importance, and the free use of Kaaps and other still-stigmatised varieties in the private domain as well as in the public spheres still needs to be encouraged. Presently, a number of scholars have contributed to the growing body of of scholarly literature about Kaaps (see de Vries 2016; le Cordeur 2016; Van Rooi 2022; amongst others). In addition to this, Professor Quentin Williams (University of the Western Cape) and various scholars are working on the *"Kaaps Trilingual Dictionary"*, and the Society for the Advancement of Kaaps (SAK) has been constituted. These efforts all feed into the now on-going shift to destigmatize Kaaps in general and to contribute knowledge about and understanding of the variety so that its speakers can begin to move beyond the perception and lived experience of their mother-tongue as one that creates challenges rather than opportunities. Likewise, this dissertation aims to make a contribution to this growing body of scholarly work by exclusively focusing on the phenomenon of extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps. By doing so, it will contribute to how we understand how sentences in (Paarl)-Kaaps are structured, as well as helping to better understand how Paarl-Kaaps relates to (other varieties of) Peninsula-Kaaps, which in turn contributes to the present knowledge about this stigmatised variety as a whole.

1.2 Problem Statement

Presently, (Paarl-) Kaaps is an under-documented linguistic system. This applies to all levels of language, including syntax, which is the focus of this study. By exclusively focusing on clausal word in Paarl-Kaaps, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the systematic documentation and analysis of the grammar of Kaaps varieties spoken across the Cape Peninsula.

Kaaps, like Afrikaans, is a West-Germanic language. Similarly to the other members of the West-Germanic family, both Afrikaans and (Paarl-) Kaaps are an Object-Verb (OV) language and share the property of Verb Second (V2). This means that the finite verb has to be the second constituent of a sentence in main clauses, the non-

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finite verb has to be in the final position of the sentence, and modifiers and objects precede the non-finite verb. This is illustrated in example (1), where the finite verb *het* ('have') is in the V2 position, and the main verb *gehad* ('had') is in the final position in the sentence:

(1) Ek [**het**$_{V2}$] *[giste]*$_{ADVP}$ *['n klas]*$_{NP}$ [**gehad**$_{VF}$].
I have yesterday a class had.
"I had a class yesterday."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Cloutier et al. (2008: 1) states that although even the oldest stages of West-Germanic languages (e.g. Dutch and German) have been characterized as OV languages, this OV order shows a considerable amount of 'leakages' or VO-like orders even in the oldest stages of the West Germanic languages. Important for this dissertation are the various modifiers and objects that originate to the left of the final verb. In particular, this dissertation aims to investigate the extraposition (i.e. the displacement or 'leaking') of these constituents from their canonical position in the middle of the clause, to the right of the verb. This is illustrated in example (2) below, where the adverbial modifier *gister* ('yesterday') is displaced to after the main verb *gehad*:[2]

(2) Ek [**het**$_{V2}$] t$_i$ *['n klas]*$_{NP}$ [**gehad**$_{VF}$] *[giste]*$_{ADVPi}$.
I have a class had yesterday
"I had a class yesterday."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Notably, there have been many debates about the credibility of extraposition as a single, simplex phenomenon. As stated by Koster (2000: 3), "extraposition" is more the name of a complex of problems than the name of a successful explanatory pattern, as it encompasses a range of unresolved and overlapping issues that challenge syntactic theories. Similarly, Lee (2012: 1) states that the phenomenon of extraposition has always been problematic, and goes on to highlight the problems with various analyses of extraposition. Specifically, extraposition presents a range of challenges as existing theories do not fully explain its behavior or constraints. This complicates its integration into linguistic theory. Taking this into account, by investigating extraposition, this dissertation aims to enhance our understanding of this phenomenon and grammar in general.

[2]The trace (t$_i$) in example (2) indicates where the constituent originates; and the index ($_i$) indicates where the constituent moves to. This notation is used throughout the dissertation to indicate the base position of extraposed constituents.

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According to Francis & Michaelis (2017: 333), grammar offers options to speakers in the form of nearly synonymous competitor forms/variables. The issue with extraposition and optionality lies in discerning whether instances of extraposition reflect genuine syntactic flexibility or if it is governed by underlying grammatical, semantic, or pragmatic constraints that causes speakers to choose one form over the other. A big strength of this dissertation is that in addition to considering actual cases of extraposition, I will also be considering clauses where extraposition could have taken place but did not. This will allow me to investigate what factors cause speakers to choose one form over the other (i.e. non-extraposed structures vs extraposed structures). In turn, this allows us to distinguish between cases of true optionality, as well as the structures that are influenced by subtle grammatical or discourse constraints.

Furthermore, according to Eckert (2008: 455), when we speak in the social world, we continuously analyse categories, groups, and types, as well as the ways in which we communicate. This ongoing process of assessing and adapting our speech patterns is integral to what she defines as style, which is a form of social practice that focuses on the study of variation in language. Thus, style emerges as a framework through which we understand how speech is not just a reflection of linguistic norms, but also a dynamic tool for negotiating social identity. While this dissertation primarily investigates the phenomenon of extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps and explores how speakers utilize this syntactic strategy to "package" information effectively within discourse, it also seeks to examine how extraposition functions as a variable in the construction of social identity. By analyzing the contexts in which extraposition occurs, the study aims to uncover how speakers employ this grammatical phenomenon not only to organize and prioritize information but also as a tool for negotiating and performing various aspects of their identity.

The research question for this study will be provided in section 1.2.1 below.

1.2.1 Research Question, aims and objectives

What is the extraposition profile of Paarl-Kaaps?

In addressing the research question, which may appear simple, the following aims

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and objectives are elaborated:

1. To ascertain whether extraposition is a prominent feature of Paarl-Kaaps.
2. To determine what factors influence extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps by:
   (a) Examining the influence of grammatical category on the possibility and likelihood of extraposition,
   (b) Examining the influence of the sense conveyed by a constituent (i.e. its 'literal' interpretation) on the possiblity and likelihood of extraposition,
   (c) Examining how a constituent's phonological weight influences its possibility and likelihood of extraposition.
   (d) Examining the effect of information packaging on the possibility and likelihood of extraposition.
3. To investigate the issue of optionality in connection with extraposition by determining whether extraposition is conditioned by:
   (a) grammatical factors,
   (b) pragmatic factors (i.e. information packaging),
   (c) social factors,

   or whether some extraposition might exemplify a case of 'true optionality' in the grammar of Paarl-Kaaps.
4. To further contribute to Afrikaans syntax and to destigmatize Kaaps by exploring certain grammatical patterns (i.e extraposition) that can be found in Paarl-Kaaps-speakers.

1.3 Roadmap

This study consists of six chapters, including the current chapter, and they are as follows:

Chapter 2 provides background for this study. This will be done by providing a background on the location of the study, as well as on Kaaps (section 2.2). Next, section 2.3 will outline the grammatical phenomenon (i.e. extraposition) under investigation for this study. Lastly, section 2.4 will outline the analytical framework that is

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used in this study. This is followed by chapter 3, which details the research design and methodology that was used to collect and process the data. Then, chapter 4 describes the results of the clauses that were investigated for this study, namely: (i) clauses that show extraposition, and (ii) V-final clauses. Specifically, section 4.2 will investigate all the clauses that feature extraposition, and section 4.3 will be dedicated to the V-final structures. Thereafter, chapter 5 will discuss the results presented in chapter 4. This will be done by presenting and evaluating the extraposition profile of Paarl-Kaaps in comparison to the literature (5.2); by discussing the optionality of extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps (5.3); and lastly, by providing the sociosyntactic impressions of extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps (5.4). Lastly, chapter 6 will summarize the main points that will be discussed in this study.

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2. Background and Analytical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide the necessary contextual background, as well as the analytical framework for the study. First, section 2.2 provides background on Kaaps and on Paarl, the location of the study. This is followed by section 2.3, which gives an overview of the grammatical phenomenon that forms the focus of this study. Specifically, section 2.3.1 provides the properties of West-Germanic varieties generally and Afrikaans in particular; section 2.3.2 provides an overview of extraposition; and section 2.3.2.2 provides an overview of the factors that influence extraposition. Lastly, section 2.4 outlines the analytical framework for this study, where section 2.4.1 outlines sociosyntax (2.4.1); and section 2.4.2 sheds light on the optionality of extraposition in the grammar.

2.2 Background

The following section offers some background on the location of the study, and on Kaaps. Section 2.2.1 considers the geographical location of Paarl, its historical development, as well its present demographics. Next, section 2.2.2 discusses the history and development of Kaaps; then section 2.2.3 discusses the Kaaps spoken on the Peninsula vs the Kaaps that is spoken in Paarl. Lastly, section 2.2.4 discusses the linguistic features of Kaaps in general.

2.2.1 Location of the study: Paarl

Paarl is a town that is situated in the Boland area of the Western Cape province of South Africa. It is the largest town in the Cape Winelands, and it is situated

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about 60 kilometres from Cape Town (see figure 2.1 below). Additionally, Paarl was the place where the foundations of standardised Afrikaans were laid by the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners ('The Society for True Afrikaners') in 1875, and their main goal was to transform Afrikaans from a language perceived as inferior to the Dutch used in schools and churches into one fit for professional conversation, publication and a means of full cultural and political expression (Beningfield 2004: 511).

According to Beningfield (2004: 511-514), the Afrikaanse Taalmonument ('Afrikaans Language monument'), which is situated on the slopes of Paarl Mountain, was built in 1975 to commemorate the development of Afrikaans as a standardised language and of the Afrikaner identity. The construction and inauguration of the Taalmonument was used as an opportunity to create a festival programme that allowed the influence of the monument even to penetrate remote locations. All racial groups that used Afrikaans as their language were invited to join in the festival, including Coloureds,[1] whose first language was Afrikaans, as the organisers wanted them to be involved in local festivals as much as possible (Beningfield 2004: 514). Although Coloured people were allowed to participate in this festival, in reality, the Afrikaans that they spoke was ignored in the development of Modern Afrikaans. This had the effect of creating a widespread sense of alienation among Afrikaans speakers of colour.

Oberholster (1987: 15) states that the Drakenstein Valley, now known as Paarl Valley, had the first white inhabitants who settled in the area 35 years after Jan Van Riebeeck settled in the Cape in 1652.[2] In the remainder of the 17th century, this population expanded to include an (unspecified) number of persons of colour (Oberholster 1987: 19). From having a small number of persons of colour in the 17th century, the 2011 census of Paarl recorded a population of 197,739 people with a total of 58.5% of the inhabitants describing themselves as "Coloured", 25.5% as "Black African", and 14.6% as "White". Regarding language, 71.7% indicated that they spoke Afrikaans as their first language, 19.5% spoke isiXhosa, and 5.5% spoke English.

[1]During apartheid, citizens of South Africa were separated by race and classified into four groups: African, White, Indian, and Coloured. "Coloured" refers to a specific multiracial ethnic group that was used to categorize people of mixed ancestry, including indigenous Khoisan, African, European, and Asian heritage. In post-apartheid South Africa, the term "Coloured" is still used as a self-identification by many within the community.

[2]The first European settlement in southern Africa was established by the Dutch East India Company in Table Bay (Cape Town) in 1652.

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According to Brinkhoff (2016), the 2011 South African census recorded that roughly 49.7% of the Western Cape province inhabitants (i.e. the province in which both Paarl and Cape Town are situated) speak Afrikaans, and the majority of these speakers are from Coloured communities, where Kaaps is typically (though not exclusively) spoken instead of Standard Afrikaans. However, the census does not distinguish between the different varieties of Afrikaans. Although Paarl (population: 197 739) is made up of 58.5% (115,594) Coloured inhabitants, and the proportion of Coloured speakers now even greatly exceeds the provincial average, the Kaaps that is spoken in this area is essentially undocumented and severely understudied.

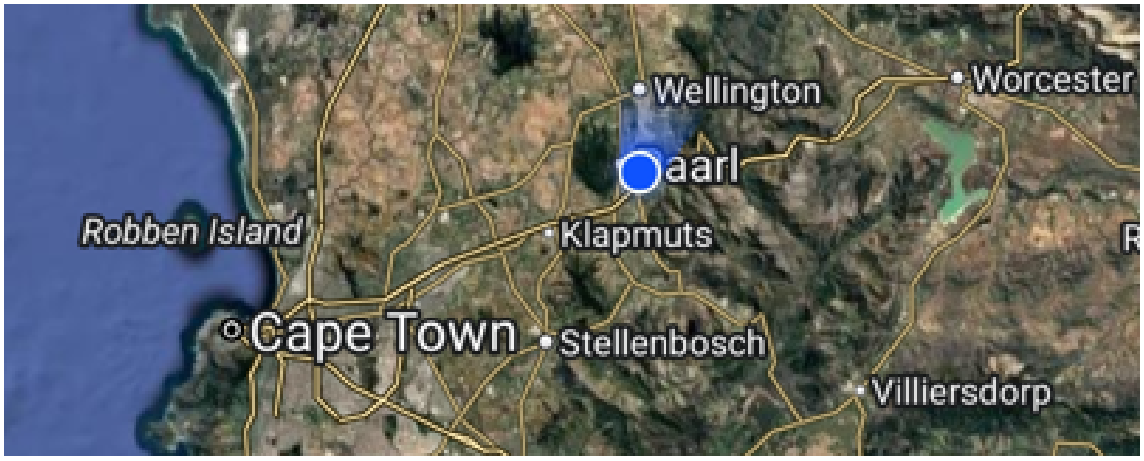

Figure 2.1: Map of Paarl in relation to the Cape Peninsula, Google Maps 2024

2.2.2 History and development of Kaaps

According to Hendricks (2016: 9), Kaaps is a colloquial variety of Afrikaans that can be traced back to the colonial rule of the Dutch (which lasted until 1806) as well as that of the English from the 19th century. Hendricks (2016: 8) states that the defining characteristics of Kaaps entail it having a hyper-informal slant; the deep influence of English; its capacity for rapid renewal and change; as well as it mostly (but not exclusively) being spoken by people from a lower working class. It is nevertheless important to note that many scholars and activists strongly disagree with this way for framing Kaaps, and instead are moving towards the intellectualization of Kaaps by working on including it in all public domains. Presently, speakers of Kaaps aspire for Kaaps to be included in schools and the economy, despite facing negative attitudes and the dominance of "pure" Afrikaans in political discourse

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(Williams et al. 2022: 4).

Hendricks (2016: 8) goes on to state that the term 'Kaaps' was initially used to refer to 'Kaaps-Hollands', which was the South African form of Dutch, and is therefore linked with Cape Dutch as one of the earlier layers of the Afrikaans language. However, he clarifies that Kaaps should not be confused with the dialect bundle of South-Western Afrikaans, which is also sometimes referred to as 'Cape Afrikaans', and includes other colloquial dialects in the Western Cape such as the Boland, Swartland and Overberg Afrikaans varieties. Additionally, Kotzé (2016: 41) states that the root of Kaaps can be traced back to 350 years ago, when speakers of various languages came into contact for the first time, and a new language resulted from this contact. He clarifies that these languages were the mother tongues of immigrant communities, which consisted of speakers from the Indonesian islands, from India, from Madagascar, as well as speakers from the rest of Africa. Due to the colonial rule of the Dutch, these speakers had to learn another language - the Dutch that was spoken by the ruling officials. As a result, the Dutch and the innovations resulting from the language contact situation could be regarded as the foundation of Kaaps.

Despite the large and important role that Kaaps has played in the history and development of modern Afrikaans, it is still a language that is highly stigmatised and marginalised. Hendricks (2016: 33) states that Kaaps was suppressed as a colloquial code for most of its existence, which in turn led to its marginalization. Furthermore, it was consciously avoided in the standardization of Afrikaans, and further ignored in the tuition of Afrikaans (Hendricks 2016: 33). This marginalization promoted the stigmatization of Kaaps, while simultaneously resulting in Kaaps being seen as inferior to Afrikaans by its own speakers.

Hendricks (2016: 34) argues that a paradigm shift is of importance, and the free use of Kaaps and other long-stigmatised varieties in the private domain as well as in the public spheres (where the usage of the standard variety is the norm) needs to be encouraged. Current projects working on the de-marginalisation of Kaaps include the "Kaaps Trilingual Dictionary" led by Professor Quentin Williams (University of the Western Cape), and the speech therapy-directed vocabulary development work being undertaken in the context of the CDI project by Professor Frenette Southwood, Professor Heather Brookes and colleagues at Stellenbosch and other South African universities (https://sa-cdi.org/). This dissertation, likewise, aims to feed

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into the now on-going shift to destigmatize Kaaps in general and promote its use in all domains by drawing specific attention to the properties of the Kaaps spoken in Paarl. This will be done by investigating the grammatical properties of Paarl-Kaaps and, in turn, facilitating a greater understanding of the, crucially, systematic internal variation in this variety and of its distinctive properties.

2.2.3 Peninsula-Kaaps vs Paarl-Kaaps

As already noted, Kaaps is a language that is arguably best known for being spoken by people from a lower working class.[3] According to Hendricks (2016: 10-11) this can be exemplified by going to the suburbs of Cape Town and the Cape Flats where people with a working class background will make use of Kaaps or certain linguistic aspects of Kaaps. In addition to this, the primary speakers of Kaaps are Cape Muslims and/or Coloured people, but it is also spoken by White people (Hendricks 2016: 10).

According to Hendricks (2016: 10), Kaaps is mostly limited to the Cape Peninsula, as this is where it took on the character that it has been recognised for. More specifically, areas like the Bo-Kaap (which is the historic centre for Cape Muslim Culture) and District Six (an area which was inhabited by freed slaves, workers, immigrants, traders and artists until 1966) are the cradles of Kaaps. Taking this into account, it is inaccurate and problematic to assume that all people who were categorised as 'Coloured' under the Apartheid system are Kaaps speaking. In addition to this, Hendricks (2016: 10) states that Kaaps has not taken shape in isolation from the other varieties in the South-Western Afrikaans dialect bundle, namely: Swartland, Boland, Overberg, and West Coast Afrikaans.

Kotzé (2016: 43) states that Afrikaans as a language is also not a uniform concept, as the speakers do not all live in the same geographical location and have not grown up with the same patterns of language use. Similarly, a variety of Afrikaans such as Kaaps will also display internal variation and contact with the social factors affecting it (Kotzé 2016: 43). With a large focus being placed on the Kaaps spoken by people from the Cape Town area, it is important to note that the use of Kaaps extends to

[3]In post-apartheid South Africa, the legacy of systemic racism has resulted in a persistent link between socio-economic class and race.

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speakers in areas beyond Cape Town too, such as Paarl. It was stated in section 1.1 that the variety on which this dissertation focuses will be referred to as Paarl-Kaaps for the following reasons: (i) speakers in Paarl are willing to identify as Paarl-Kaaps speakers; (ii) many speakers who live in Paarl exhibit high mobility between Paarl and the Cape Peninsula; and (iii) Paarl-Kaaps exhibits similar grammatical markers and features as Peninsula-Kaaps. While Paarl is situated in the Boland area, and consequently is included in the areas that contribute to the shaping of Peninsula-Kaaps, Paarl-Kaaps has not received systematic attention in linguistic research. Although many individuals in Paarl want to identify as Kaaps-speakers, they are often not included and are ignored. As stated by Esterhuyse (1986: 13), "die Hotnots het hulle eie, laat ons dit noem, plat Afrikaans". With 'Hotnots' being a derogatory word used to refer to Coloureds, this sentence translates to "Coloureds have their own 'flat-Afrikaans'". Instead of identifying as Kaaps-speakers as they rightfully should, some individuals in Paarl rather say that they speak a 'flat-Afrikaans'. The fact that this view persists among Kaaps speakers in Paarl plausibly links to the lack of research on Paarl-Kaaps and its speakers. This thesis accordingly aims to initiate systematic research on Paarl-Kaaps so that its properties can in future be independently considered in relation to those of Peninsula Kaaps varieties.

2.2.4 The linguistic features of Kaaps

Kaaps, as stated by Hendricks (2016: 11-13), is characterised by particular phonological, lexical, and grammatical markers. Importantly, as Hendricks (2016: 31) notes, features of Kaaps often differ depending on social class, including economic class differences, regional differences, and differences centering on religion. For example, the differences may include the Kaaps spoken by Muslims vs the Kaaps spoken among Christians, or the Kaaps spoken by someone in Manenberg vs the Kaaps spoken in Paarl.

According to Hendricks (2016: 11), the linguistic character of Kaaps reflects the formative influence of languages like English, Arabic, Malay, and Indonesian on its Dutch-Afrikaans roots, as well as the impact of Standard Afrikaans and other colloquial Afrikaans varieties. Phonologically, Kaaps is strongly marked. Amongst others, Hendricks (2016: 10-13) provides the following examples: the omission and assimilation of speech sounds (e.g. *atappels* instead of *aartappels*; 'potatoes'), the enclisis of certain function words (e.g. determiners following prepositions, such as *innie*

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instead of *in die*; 'in the'), as well as vowel heightening (e.g. *briek* instead of *breek*; 'break'). Focusing on what was known as 'Cape Muslim Afrikaans', Davids (1992: 40) also notes that one of the distinctive features of the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety is the realization of the voiced alveolar stop [d] as a tap-*r* when it occurs intervocalically, i.e., between two vowels (e.g.*marrag* instead of *middag*; 'afternoon', and *mirrel* instead of *middel*; 'middle').

Furthermore, Hendricks (2016: 14) states that besides the frequent use of English lexical items, which includes the morphological embedding of English loanwords (e.g. *ge-ignore* instead of *geïgnoreer*; 'ignored', and *erre-plein* instead of *vliegtuig*; 'aeroplane'), Kaaps also incorporates terms of Arabic, Malay, and Indonesian origin, particularly those linked to Islamic traditions (e.g. *kannala*; 'please', and *boeja* 'father').

On a morphological level, Kaaps is characterized by general proliferation of inflectional morphemes, which includes 'superflous' possessive markers with pronouns (e.g. *ons-se* instead of *ons*; lit.: our-POS, 'our'), as well as double plural marking with certain nouns (e.g. *broe-se* instead of *broers*; lit.: brother-PL--PL-, 'brothers'). Furthermore, Kaaps is also characterized by placing a definite article in front of place and street names (e.g. *innie Delft* instead of *in Delft*; 'in Delft'), as well as locative preposition doubling (e.g. *innie Delft in*).

2.3 The Empirical Phenomenon

This section outlines the grammatical phenomenon (i.e. extraposition) under investigation for this study. Section 2.3.1 discusses the general properties of West Germanic languages, including Afrikaans; and section 2.3.2 outlines extraposition. More specifically, section 2.3.2.1 offers a definition of extraposition, and section 2.3.2.2 outlines the factors that could influence (e.g. promote, hinder, or bar) extraposition. Lastly, section 2.3.3 discusses optionality in the grammar.

2.3.1 General properties of West Germanic languages and Afrikaans

According to Zwart (2005: 903), the Continental West Germanic languages form a subgroup of the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family and are

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spoken in Northwest Europe, while Non-Continental West Germanic varieties can be found in South Africa, among other places (for example, see Putnam (2011) on German-language islands). Afrikaans is the best-known variety of Non-Continental West Germanic, but it is at present still significantly understudied, with the extent to which it differs from Continental West Germanic owing to the influence of non-Indo-European languages currently being unclear (Zwart 2005: 904).

Continental West Germanic languages are characterized by the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses in relation to the position of finite verbs. Specifically, in embedded clauses, finite verbs are in final position whereas in main clauses they are not. Example (3a) illustrates a main clause, and (3b) illustrates an embedded clause:

(3) a. Ek **het** die winkel gesoek.
I have the shop searched.
"I looked for the shop."

b. Jy weet dat ek die winkel gesoek **het**.
you know that I the shop searched have
"You know that I was looking for the shop."

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

Conradie (2020c), using the traditional Feld model, provides the following frame for the structure of the West Germanic clause: [4]

Figure 2.2: Conradie (2020c); West-Germanic field model

The clause-initial position (CI) contains a non-verbal constituent, and when there is no special focus, the subject is typically clause initial; the finite verb of a main clause follows in verb-second position (V2); this is followed by the middle field (MF), which may contain adverbial modifiers, nominal arguments, and dependent clauses, amongst others; and lastly, the verb-final position (VF) contains any remaining non-finite verbs associated with the clause's verbal complex (V). After these, we find the post-verbal field (PV). In a similar way, Sapp (2014: 131) explains that the word-order in German has verbs in main clauses to 'frame' the rest of the sentence, so

[4]The colour of the MF is different to the colour of the CI-positition and the PV to highlight where the extraposable material originates.

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that the finite verb forms the 'left bracket' (V2) and the non-finite verb forms the 'right bracket' (VF). With this structure, the position before the left bracket is the 'pre-field'(CI), and the contents between the brackets is the MF. The position of extraposed or displaced constituents is the PV (Sapp 2014: 131). This is illustrated in figure 2.3 below:

CI	V2	MF	VF	PV
Ek	het	die winkel	gesoek.	
Pre-field	**Left bracket**	**MF**	**Right bracket**	**Post-verbal field**

Figure 2.3: West Germanic field model based on (3a)

In figure 2.3 above, which is based on (3a), *Ek* (CI) is in the pre-field, *het* (V2) forms the left bracket; *die winkel* is in the MF; and *gesoek* is in the VF, and forms the right bracket.

Word order, as defined by Tallerman (2019: 17), is the order in which parts of a sentence occur in a language. According to Biberauer (2019: 5), due to the property of Verb Second (V2), which is the requirement that the finite verb must be the second constituent in the sentence, Afrikaans can have the Verb both preceding and following the Object (see example (4) below). Moreover, in a V2 sentence, non-finite verbs are clustered together in the verb-final position, after the nominal arguments, and adverbials (Van Rooy 2020). Consider example (4) below:

(4) a. Ek **het** die winkel **gesoek**.
I have the shop searched.
"I looked for the shop."

b. Die winkel **het** ek **gesoek**.
The shop have I searched
"I looked for the shop." [5]

c. Ek **soek** die winkel.
I search the shop.
"I'm looking for the shop."

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

In both (4a) and (4b), *het* (the finite verb) is in the V2 position, and *gesoek* (the non-finite verb) is in the final position. Both examples exhibit OV word order, as

[5]Object fronting occurs in particular communicative contexts, e.g. for contrastive focus. The utterance in (4b) could be a response to a first speaker's mistaken statement that someone was looking for the station. By fronting the object *die winkel*, the speaker is highlighting the contrast.

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die winkel precedes the final verb in (4a), and it precedes both the finite verb and the non-finite verb in (4b). Additionally, due to the V2 property, the object is also able to follow the verb, giving a VO word order. Example (4c) has *soek* in the V2 position as the finite verb, which is then followed by *die winkel* (the object).

2.3.2 Extraposition

The following section (section 2.3.2.1) offers a definition of extraposition, and section 2.3.2.2 outlines the factors that could influence (e.g. promote, hinder, or bar) extraposition.

2.3.2.1 Defining extraposition

According to Cloutier et al. (2008: 1), OV languages exhibit a considerable amount of 'leaking' or VO-like orders even in the oldest stages of the West Germanic languages. Leaking phenomena can broadly be defined as movement from a base-generated position to the left of the verb (i.e. from the MF) to the right of the verb (Cloutier et al. 2008: 3). This is illustrated in (5) below, where the PrePP *in die verkeerde straat* ('in the wrong street') moves from the left of the verb (see (5a) below) to the right of the verb (see (5b) below):

(5) a. Ek$_{CI}$ [**het**$_{V2}$] [die winkel vandag in die verkeerde straat$_{MF}$]
I have the shop today in the wrong street
[gesoek$_{VF}$].
searched.
"I looked for the shop in the wrong street today."

b. Ek$_{CI}$ [**het**$_{V2}$] die winkel [vandag]$_{ADVP}$ t$_i$ [gesoek$_{VF}$] *[in die verkeerde straat]*$_{PPi}$.
I have the shop today searched in the wrong street.
"I looked for the shop in the wrong street today."

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

Although Modern Dutch (which is still generally and strictly characterized as an OV language) shows 'leakages', the nature of these phenomena appears to be quite different from what we find in the earlier stages of West Germanic, which were more flexible in terms of word order (Cloutier et al. 2008: 2). This means that 'leaking', or extraposition, is still a prominent feature of all West Germanic languages (Sapp 2014), including Afrikaans. It is important to note that there is a widespread expectation that Afrikaans will have more 'leaking' than Dutch, as OV languages

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that make contact with SVO languages (such as English) are often thought to be susceptible to 'leaking'. As opposed to Dutch, Afrikaans is in contact with many SVO languages, such as English and isiXhosa, amongst others.

As aforementioned in section 2.3.1, the finite verb forms the left bracket (V2) and the non-finite verb(s) form the right bracket. The contents between the brackets are the MF, and everything after the right bracket makes up the PV. Sapp (2014: 132), then, defines extraposition as the placing of constituents in the PV. Simply, elements in the PV have been displaced (extraposed) out of their canonical position in the MF. Similarly, Baltin (2006: 237) defines extraposition as the process where an element is moved to the right of its canonical position. Using example (5) from above, the examples in (6) show the various displacement options of the direct object *die winkel* ('the shop'), as well as the modifiers *vandag* ('today'), and *in die verkeerde straat* ('in the wrong street') from the MF to the PV:

(6) a. Ek het *[die winkel]*$_{NP}$ t$_j$ t$_k$ gesoek *[vandag]*$_{ADVPj}$ *[in die verkeerde straat]*$_{PPk}$.
I have the shop searched today in the wrong street.
"I looked for the shop in the wrong street today"

b. Ek het *[die winkel]*$_{NP}$ *[vandag]*$_{ADVP}$ t$_k$ gesoek *[in die verkeerde straat]*$_{PPk}$.
I have the shop today searched in the wrong street

c. Ek het *[die winkel]*$_{NP}$ t$_j$ *[in die verkeerde straat]* gesoek *[vandag]*$_{ADVPj}$.
I have the shop in the wrong street searched today

d. *Ek het t$_k$ *[vandag]*$_{ADVP}$ *[in die verkeerde straat]*$_{PP}$ gesoek **[die winkel]**$_{NPi}$.
I have today in the wrong street searched the shop

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

In (6a) above, the modifiers *vandag* and *in die verkeerde straat* are simultaneously extraposed from the MF to the PV. In a similar way, examples (6b) and (6c) respectively illustrate the independent extraposition of the short adverb *vandag* and the PrePP *in die verkeerde straat*. However, in example (6d), the extraposition of the NP *die winkel* results in an ungrammatical sentence. Generally, it is accepted in

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the literature that non-obligatory elements (i.e. adverbials) can extrapose; whereas arguments (e.g. direct and indirect objects) resist extraposition.

2.3.2.2 Factors that influence extraposition

Extraposition can be influenced by a number of factors. These include the grammatical category of a constituent, the weight or heaviness of a constituent, and the type of information that is being conveyed. This section will review these factors that could influence extraposition.

According to Sapp (2014: 146), the constituents that are most frequently extraposed are clauses, and extraposition is more common in main clauses than in subordinate clauses. In many cases, extraposing a subordinate clause is obligatory. This is illustrated in (7), where the canonical position of the subordinate clause is to the right of the selecting non-finite main verb *gesê* (see (7a) below); and placing the subordinate clause to the left of *gesê* results in ungrammaticality (see (7b) below):

(7) a. Sy het **gesê** dat sy die winkel gesoek het.
she have said that she the shop searched have
"She said that she was looking for the shop."

b. *Sy het [dat sy die winkel gesoek het] gesê.
she have that she the shop searched have said
[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

Additionally, Sapp (2014: 146) states that adverbial modifiers are readily extraposed, and that extraposition favours prepositional phrases. In a similar way, Conradie (2020b) states that prepositional phrases (PrePPs) and circumpositional phrases (CircumPPs) generally occupy the MF, but allow extraposition. Example (8) below, repeated from (6b) above, illustrates the extraposition of the PrePP *in die verkeerde straat*; and example (9b) illustrates the extraposition of the CircumPP *yt die winkel yt* from the MF to the PV:

(8) Ek het *[die winkel]$_{NP}$* *[vandag]$_{ADVP}$* t$_k$ gesoek *[in die verkeerde straat]$_{PPk}$*.
I have the shop today searched in the wrong street
"I looked for the shop in the wrong street today"

(9) a. Sy het *[yt die winkelyt]$_{PP}$* gekom.
she come out the shop out
"She's coming out of the shop now"

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b. Sy het t_i gekom *[yt die winkel yt]*$_{PPi}$.
she have came out the shop out.

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

Moreover, Sapp (2014: 148) states that PP extraposition can involve both adjuncts and arguments. For example, the extraposed material in (6b) above is an adjunct prepositional phrase (PrePP), as it is not required by the verb and can be left out of the sentence. On the other hand, PP arguments cannot be left out of the sentence as they are complements of the verb. In example (10a), the argument PrePP *met iemand* ('with someone') originates in the MF; and the example in (10b) shows that this argument can be extraposed:

(10) a. Sy het *[met iemand]*$_{PP}$ gepraat.
she have with someone spoke
"She spoke with someone."

b. Sy het t_i gepraat *[met iemand]*$_{PPi}$.
she have spoke with someone

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

The literature generally states that while PrePPs and CircumPPs allow extraposition, postpositional phrases (PostPPs), which originate in the MF as well, resist extraposition. Cloutier et al. (2008: 33) argues that because postpositions denote direction, they cannot occur to the right of the verb. Van Luven (2014: 3) suggests that this might be because directional PPs are more argument-like than other types of PP adjuncts. However, this is contradictory, as CircumPPs are also typically directional. On the other hand, according to Conradie (2020b), the presence of a preposition seems to be the decisive factor in allowing the extraposition of phrases. In this connection, though, consider example (11a) below, where the PostPP *winkel toe* (lit. shop to; 'to the shop') originates in the MF. Instead of the PostPP resisting extraposition, as a Paarl-Kaaps speaker, I find that extraposing a PostPP still results in a grammatical sentence (see (11b) below). This will be further discussed in section 5.2 below:

(11) a. Sy het *[winkel toe]*$_{PP}$ gestap.
she have shop to walked
"She walked to the shop."

b. Sy het t_i gestap *[winkel toe]*$_{PPi}$.
she have walked shop to
"She walked to the shop."

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[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

As mentioned previously, adverbial modifiers are most frequently extraposed (Sapp 2014: 146; Conradie 2020a). These include temporal and locational adverbial clauses (e.g. *toe hy in die Kaap was*, lit. when he in the Cape was; 'when he was in Cape Town'); as well as clausal, adpositional and nominal adverbial phrases (consider *aan die einde van die maand*, 'at the end of the month'; *verlede jaar*, 'last year'; and *vandag* as in (5a) above, respectively). Some adverbials do not extrapose, however. Manner adverbials are a case in point (e.g. *baie vinnig*; 'very fast'). For example, (12b) below shows that the extraposition of *baie vinning*, which originates in the MF (see (12a) below), results in an ungrammatical sentence:[6]

(12) a. Sy het *[baie vinnig]*$_{ADVP}$ winkel toe gestap.
she have very fast shop to walked
"She walked to the shop very quickly."

b. *Sy het t$_i$ winkel toe gestap *[baie vinnig]*$_{ADVPi}$.
she have shop to walked very fast

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

In addition to this, so-called 'split extraposition' is also possible. Split extraposition involves part of a clausal constituent (e.g. a relative clause) being located in the PV, while a further part (e.g. the head noun) remains in the MF or appears in the CI (Conradie 2020b). This is shown in example (13) below, where the head noun *vrou* ('woman') remains in the MF, and the associated relative clause *wat op die hoek bly* (lit. what on the corner live; 'that lives on the corner') is extraposed:

(13) a. Ek het die **vrou** *[wat op die hoek bly]*$_{RC}$ gesoek.
I have the woman what up the corner live looked
"I was looking for the woman that lives on the corner."

b. Ek het die **vrou** t$_i$ gesoek *[wat op die hoek bly]*$_{RCi}$.
I have the woman looked what up the corner live
"I was looking for the woman that lives on the corner."

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

[6]I would like to point out to the reader that I listened to the audio recordings to determine whether there are pauses between the lexical verb and the final constituent. If there are pauses, it would not be considered extraposition, but rather an afterthought construction. The ungrammaticality in (12b) depends on the fact that there is no pause between the lexical verb and the final constituent, and is therefore not acceptable. This issue is taken up in more detail in Chapter 3.

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In addition to the grammatical category that a constituent belongs to, Collins (1994: 7) identifies three additional factors which influence extraposition: weight, information packaging, and theme. Cloutier et al. (2008: 7) notes that heaviness, which refers to the syntactic or phonological weight of a constituent, has been proposed by a number of scholars as a factor that influences extraposition. However, definitions of heaviness have always been rather vague, and it is not clear how 'heaviness' should be defined, e.g. by phonetic, lexical, functional, or structural considerations. Collins (1994: 16) also mentions that syntactic heaviness is a vague and relative concept.

In order to somewhat narrow down the concept of heaviness, Cloutier et al. (2008: 175) distinguish between lexical heaviness, which is measured by counting the number of words in a relevant constituent, and structural heaviness, which takes into account the internal structure of the constituent. As illustrated in (14) below, the extraposable relative clause *wat altyd daa vi hom was* (lit. what always there for him was; 'that was always there for him') is lexically heavy, as it is made up of 6 words. Notably, it is also structurally heavy, as the relative clause is made up of the 'regular' short adverb *altyd* ('always'), the locative pronoun *daa* ('there'), and the PrePP *vir hom* ('for him'):

(14) a. Hy het **die meisie** *[wat [altyd]$_{ADVP}$ [daar]$_{ADVP}$ [vir hom]$_{PP}$*
he have the girl what always there for him
was]$_{RC}$ gesoek.
was looked
"He was looking for the girl that's always there for him."

b. Hy het **die meisie** t$_i$ gesoek *[wat [altyd]$_{ADVP}$ [daar]$_{ADVP}$ [vir*
he have the girl looked what always there for
hom]$_{PP}$ was]$_{RCi}$.
him was
"He was looking for the girl that's always there for him."

[Afrikaans; constructed by author] [7]

Collins (1994: 15) uses the term 'end-weight' to describe the principle of organisation in a language where 'heavy' elements appear at the end of a clause or sentence, which makes it easier for the speaker or hearer to process. Therefore, through extraposition, the production and comprehension of sentences is made easier by allowing the displacement of heavy constituents to final position so that they do not disrupt

[7] I would like the reader to note that I will set aside the the internal structure of the relative clause for the purpose of this exposition.

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the processing of the remainder of the sentence. Consider example (14) above, which is both lexically and structurally heavy: by having the heavy constituent in the PV, it becomes easier for the hearer to process the core structure.

I will now be turning to the issue of information packaging and extraposition. New information and heavier/longer constituents go hand in hand, because when speakers are introducing a new item into the discourse, they are more likely to add more modifiers to describe it in order to make it as clear and specific as possible. According to Collins (1994: 15), heavy syntactic units are likely to contain new information, and given (or old information) is typically associated with light syntactic units (such as pronouns). He uses the term 'end-focus' to describe the tendency for new information, which represents the 'focus' of the message, to normally be placed at the end of the information unit. In a similar way, Burridge (1993: 107) argues that extraposed constituents are likely to be unknown information, which cannot be understood from the context and is not shared by the speaker and the hearer. In example (14b) above, the extraposed relative clause contains new information about the relative head, *die meisie* ('the girl'), that the speaker might want the hearer to pay attention to. Additionally, the speaker adds the respective modifiers *altyd* ('always'), *daa* ('there'), and *vir hom* ('for him') to describe the relative head.

In addition to this, Conradie (2020b) states that extraposition may be employed to attract sentence accent in order to focus on new information. According to Sapp (2014: 139), focus has an effect on NP extraposition, as object focus favours extraposition. Specifically, Sapp (2014: 139) investigates new-information focus and constrastive focus, with the former somewhat favouring extraposition and the latter strongly favouring extraposition.

This section looked at the factors that could influence extraposition, including the grammatical category that a constituent belongs to, the weight or heaviness of a constituent, and the type of information that is being conveyed. Taking into account the literature, from my own data I expect to find the following:

1. Adverbial modifiers are more frequently extraposed than other grammatical categories. In particular, I expect prepositional phrases to be readily extraposable, and postpositional phrases to resist extraposition.

2. Temporal and locational adverbial modifiers are readily extraposable, but

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manner adverbials resist extraposition.

3. Most instances of extraposition feature heavier constituents.

4. Extraposition is used by the speakers to introduce new information, or to focus information.

This section looked at the factors that could influence extraposition. The following section will look at the optionality in grammar.

2.3.3 Optionality in Grammar

According to Francis & Michaelis (2017: 333), grammar offers options to speakers in the form of nearly synonymous competitor forms/variables. Section 1.2 stated that in addition to considering actual cases of extraposition, I will also be considering clauses where extraposition could have taken place but did not. Thus, this section aims to review how the dynamics of linguistic structure, variation, and change act as a crucial window into the optionality in grammar.

Wallenberg & Fruehwald (2013: 2) states that variation in grammar often falls into one of two categories, namely: competing grammars and optionality. The former describes a scenario in which two variants compete for usage and one may replace the other, whereas the latter refers to when a speaker of a language has more than one grammatical option available for expressing the same/similar meaning. While the competing grammars scenario leads to language change via the replacement of one grammatical process by another, optionality allows us to understand the stable variation between grammatical processes. Typically, social considerations (e.g. the language background of speakers, the style that the speaker wants to portray, amongst others) are responsible for the loss or maintenance of optionality. Important for the purpose of this dissertation is the key difference between interpretively significant optionality, where there is some kind of meaning change in play when one variant is used rather than another, vs interpretively neutral optionality, which describes free variation or true optionality.

According to Wallenberg (2016: 245), once two structures with the same meaning or function are available to a speaker, there is competition for language use as the speaker needs to decide on which structure to use in a given utterance. This means

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that such structures or variants 'compete' for limited resources. Wallenberg & Fruehwald (2013: 7) refer to competing variants as a doublet. The words *chommie* and *vriend* are an example of lexical doublets in Kaaps, as they both serve the same function (i.e. both are NPs), and they both mean 'friend'.

Focusing on extraposed relative clauses, Wallenberg (2016: 249) argues that even though a relative clause that has undergone extraposition could serve a different function to an 'in-situ' relative clause, there are still situations where a well-formed utterance can be produced with either the extraposed or the non-extraposed variant. In this instance, the speaker is still forced to choose between the items in the doublet (Wallenberg 2016: 249). Consider example (15) below, which is repeated from example (14) for the reader's convenience: (15a) illustrates an in-situ relative clause; and in (15b), the relative clause is extraposed:

(15) a. Hy het **die meisie** *[wat [altyd]$_{ADVP}$ [daar]$_{ADVP}$ [vir hom]$_{PP}$*
he have the girl what always there for him
was]$_{RC}$ gesoek.
was looked
"He was looking for the girl that's always there for him."

b. Hy het **die meisie** t$_i$ gesoek *[wat [altyd]$_{ADVP}$ [daar]$_{ADVP}$ [vir*
he have the girl looked what always there for
hom]$_{PP}$ was]$_{RCi}$.
him was
"He was looking for the girl that's always there for him."

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

Wallenberg (2016: 250) goes on to state that although the extraposed and in-situ relative clause variants are not really functionally equivalent (an in-situ relative clause provides essential information on the head noun, whereas an extraposed relative clause could provide background information on the noun), extraposition is more likely to occur if the relative clause is prosodically heavier (see section 2.3.2.2 above). Thus, the optionality between extraposed and in-situ relative clauses is not entirely random but rather, influenced by contextual factors such as prosodic weight. In a similar way, Wallenberg & Fruehwald (2013: 19) hypothesize that stable variation (i.e. optionality) results from categorical variants (i.e. separate forms or types within a category) specializing along a continuous dimension. This means that based on the continuous dimensions, each of these forms become specialized for use in different contexts. These dimensions take into account language internal dimensions, which include the weight of a constituent (see section 2.3.2.2 above);

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as well as language external dimensions, which include the style and speech rate of speakers. This will be discussed further in section 2.4.2 below.

This section found that variation can arise from competing grammars or can be stable, with the stable form being referred to as optionality. Within optionality, there is a distinction between conditioned optionality and true optionality. The former proposes that optionality occurs when some factor (i.e. grammatical, pragmatic, or social) encourages speakers to favour one variant over the other. On the other hand, true optionality indicates the absence of any identifiable factors that influences the preference for either variant. Taking this into account, this dissertation aims to assess whether the optionality observed in extraposition is conditioned, potentially even by social factors, or whether it is true optionality.

2.4 Analytical Framework

This section outlines the analytical framework that is used in this study, which is sociosyntax (section 2.4.1) and sheds light on the optionality of extraposition in the grammar (section 2.4.2). Section 2.3.3 above considered whether the optionality that is observed in extraposition is conditioned, or whether it is true optionality. The studies that I reviewed above used grammatical and pragmatic lenses to investigate their data. Thus, I selected sociosyntax as a framework in order to probe how social factors could influence the optionality of extraposition.

2.4.1 Sociosyntax

Linguistic variation as a concept focuses on differences in the ways that a language is used. These differences can be linked to factors such as macro-social traits (age, gender, religion, etc), to social contexts, and to different dialogical places. Variation, as defined by Eckert (2016: 1), is made up of a system of signs that allows the expression of social concerns as they unfold in interaction. Simply, variation refers to the differences in the way in which language is used across different social groups or contexts.

Over the years, the study of sociolinguistic variation has taken place in three waves. According to Eckert (2016: 2), First Wave studies linked patterns of variation which emerged in a speaker's unmonitored speech with macro-social categories. These cat-

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egories included age, gender, class, etc. Building on this, the Second Wave uses a more constructivist view of the relationship between variation and macro-social categories, and draws attention to the importance of style in the construction of these categories (Eckert 2016: 2). According to Eckert (2008: 455), when we speak in the social world, we do a constant analysis of the categories, groups, types and the manner in which we talk. This form of social practice where we study variation is referred to as style. However, Third Wave studies move away from the first two waves as they instead view variation as a system of signs where the meaning emerges in their role in styles, which in turn, is constrained by and contributes to macro-social patterns (Eckert 2016: 2). While Second Wave studies seek to investigate the meaning relation between variation and macro-social categories, Third Wave studies focus on the social meaning of variables as contributors to style, instead of directly linking them to macro-social categories. For example, in Second Wave studies, someone using a certain variable (e.g. using *chommie* instead of *vriend*) in their speech is linked to a larger social group that they may be a part of. However, in Third Wave studies, the same variable is investigated for the role it plays in the construction of style and identity. A Third Wave approach contributes to an understanding of why speakers make use of certain variables in their speech, while also analysing how it is linked to different macro-social categories. For example, a speaker could use *chommie* instead of *vriend* to signal that they are a young Kaaps-speaker.

According to Eckert (2008: 466), variables occur as components of styles, as the various ways of saying things represent different ways of being. For example, using the word *burk* in Kaaps instead of *boyfriend* signifies a younger and more casual style. This means that the variables that we employ in our speech represent the style that we want to portray, which can include the style of a friend or the style of a struggling university student. Asking someone for *kroon* ('money') portrays a different style than if you were to use the formal term and asking them for *geld* ('money'). Moore (2021: 55) expands by stating that the meaning of a variable requires consideration of how forms are used as components of style. In order to determine why a speaker uses one variable over the other (e.g. *kroon* instead of *geld*), one needs to take into account how the variable aligns with specific social personas or identities. These lexical doublets, as well as the lexical doublets that were presented in section 2.3.3 above (i.e. *chommie* vs *vriend*), illustrate optionality. Since these categorical variants have the same meaning, the language external dimension of style can influence whether one form is used over the other depending on the context.

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Eckert (2016: 3) further states that macro-social categories such as class, gender, ethnicity and age are abstractions over a wide range of conditions constituting the lives in which people use linguistic variation. This is shown in Adger (2017: 1), which states that the grammar of young speakers is able to restructure quite radically, thereby demonstrating the relevance of age as a macro-social category to variation. In this regard, one of the aims of this dissertation is to determine whether macro-social categories influence the variables (i.e. extraposition) that were used. Moreover, it aims to determine whether the speech patterns of younger participants are similar to those of older participants, or if the former's speech patterns and variables may have been restructured to suit that of their conversation partner. It also aims to determine whether the possible variable elements that are being investigated are related to the style of the participants. This raises the opportunity to investigate whether speakers style themselves differently using particular grammatical patterns, depending on the age (and therefore the cultural status) of the conversation partner.

2.4.2 Optionality in the light of sociosyntax

Sapp (2014: 145) states that extraposition can occur for either grammatical or stylistic/pragmatic reasons. Grammatical extraposition is determined by the category of the constituent and therefore exhibits less variability. For example, with comparatives, subordinate clauses, and infinitive phrases the extraposed order is the usual (although not obligatory) order. This is illustrated in example (16) below with the conditional clause *as haa nou iets briek* (lit. if there now something break; 'if something breaks now'). As shown in examples (16a) and (16b), although it is not obligatory, the conditional clause can be extraposed:

(16) a. Ek moet (dit) gou **regmaak**, *[as haa nou iets briek]*.
I must (it) quickly right.maak if there now something break
"If something breaks now, then I need to fix it quickly."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

b. *[As haa nou iets briek]*, moet ek (dit) gou **regmaak**.
if there now something break must I (it) quick right.make
"If something breaks now, then I need to fix it quickly."
[AABU; PSC] [8]

[8]For the remainder of this dissertation, examples from the Paarl sub-corpus (PSC) will be labelled using the naming conventions as displayed in table 3.1 in section 3.5 below.

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Example (16a) illustrates the neutral word order where the conditional clause is 'extraposed'; and (16b) illustrates the conditional clause being fronted. By extraposing the conditional clause, the speaker allows the hearer to first focus on the main clause, and then on the additional information that is conveyed through the conditional clause. The optionality that is illustrated in example (16) is conditioned, as information structure and information packaging are the influencing factors.

On the other hand, Sapp (2014: 145) states that the extraposition of other types of constituents, most frequently PPs, is stylistic and pragmatic, as opposed to grammatical, and can be due to the length or focus of the extraposed constituent. Sapp (2014: 152) states that PP extraposition in German, like extraposition in English is optional, and it is conditioned by heaviness and is sensitive to information structure. Thus, optional extraposition can be attributed to either prosody or focus. This is illustrated in (17) below which is repeated from (5) above, where the PrePP *in die verkeerde straat* ('in the wrong street') is extraposed:

(17) a. Ek het die winkel vandag *[in die verkeerde straat]*$_{PP}$ gesoek.
I have the shop today in the wrong street searched.
"I looked for the shop in the wrong street today."

b. Ek het die winkel vandag t$_i$ gesoek *[in die verkeerde straat]*$_{PPi}$.
I have the shop today searched in the wrong street.
"I looked for the shop in the wrong street today."

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

In example (17) above, the non-extraposed PP (see (17a) above) vs the extraposed PP (see (17b) above) are two variants that are not in competition with each other, as they express the same meaning. Instead, the examples illustrate conditioned optionality, as one form may be used over the other depending on language external dimensions (e.g. the style that the speaker wants to portray), as well as language internal dimensions (e.g. the weight of the clause).

2.5 Summary

This chapter has provided the literature background for this study. First, section 2.2 provided a brief background on Kaaps and on Paarl, which is the location of the study. This was followed by section 2.3, which gave an overview of the general properties of West-Germanic varieties and Afrikaans (2.3.1); as well as an overview of extraposition (2.3.2), by outlining what extraposition is (see section 2.3.2.1), and

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outlining what factors could influence extraposition (see section 2.3.2.2). Lastly, section 2.4 outlined the analytical framework of this study, which includes sociosyntax (2.4.1); and section 2.4.2 which sheds light on the optionality of extraposition in the grammar.

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3. Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The following chapter outlines the research design and methodology of this research study, which was carried out using data that was collected as part of the on-going SEcoKa (Syntactic Ecology of Kaaps) project that is hosted in the Linguistics Department at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). More specifically, this section discusses the participants, the data collection site, and the procedures that were used to collect the data. I also outline the data processing and analysis procedures.

3.2 Participants

A total of four Coloured participants took part in the Paarl focus group discussions. Two of the participants were between the ages of 18 and 25, while the other two were above 60. The four participants were chosen based on their availability, as well as their language background, which is the language varieties in which any individual has experience. Initially, the intention was to recruit one participant with a predominantly Afrikaans background, and one participant with a predominantly English background in each age group. However, Kaaps speakers in Paarl over the age of 60 tend to have an Afrikaans-only background, as English was only introduced as a medium of instruction in Paarl schools in 1986. Thus, finding a participant over the age of 60 with a predominantly English background was not possible. This means that these speakers had Afrikaans as their mother tongue and as their medium of instruction in school. Consequently, both participants in the 60 and above age group had an Afrikaans-only language background. In the 18-25 age group, both participants were bilingual (comfortable in both languages), but one participant had a predominantly Afrikaans background, whereas the other had a predominantly

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English background. Unlike the older speakers who are not completely comfortable using English, the younger participants had used Afrikaans and English throughout their life. One of the younger participants had English as their mother tongue and as their medium of instruction in school, while the other had Afrikaans as their mother tongue and as their medium of instruction in school. The use of two different age groups and language backgrounds was motivated not only by the question of whether age and language background are connected to different speech patterns, but also whether the conversation partner (specifically, their relative ages and languages) has an effect on an individuals' speech patterns.

3.3 Social backgrounds of individual participants

This section provides very detailed aspects of the participants' identities, as well as their relationship dynamics. This information is crucial for chapter 5 in order to understand how the sociolinguistic context may affect extraposition.

3.3.1 AABR

Speaker *AABR* is >60 years of age. Although *AABR* was born, raised, and still resides in Paarl, she also spent 12 years of her life living in Atlantis in the Western Cape, which is geographically much closer to Cape Town, up the West Coast of the Peninsula. *AABR* is the mother of one of the participants, *AABT*. Audio recordings of *AABR* included a one-on-one conversation with *AABS* and another with *AABT* (her daughter).

3.3.2 AABS

Along with speaker *AABR*, *AABS* is the second participant in the >60 age group. *AABS* is an Afrikaans First Additional Language teacher at a public school.[1] Audio recordings of *AABS* included a one-on-one conversation with *AABR* and another with *AABU* (her former student).

[1]In a multilingual country like South Africa, it is important that learners reach high levels of proficiency in at least two languages. Therefore, children start school competent in their home language, and are then required to learn an additional language (Lenyai 2011: 69).

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3.3.3 AABT

Speaker *AABT* is a part of the 18-25 age group, and although she is billingual, she had an Afrikaans-dominant upbringing, and attended Afrikaans schools throughout her life. *AABT* is the daughter of one of the participants, *AABR*. Audio recordings of *AABT* included a one-on-one conversation with *AABR* (her mother), and another with *AABU*.

3.3.4 AABU

Along with speaker *AABT*, *AABU* is the second participant in the 18-25 age group, and is also billingual. While *AABT* had an Afrikaans-dominant upbringing, *AABU* had an English-dominant upbringing and attended English schools throughout his life. It is also important to point out that recently, *AABU* learned isiXhosa, and is now fluent in the language. Audio recordings of *AABU* included a one-on-one conversation with *AABS* (his former teacher), and another with *AABT*.

3.4 Data collection site

Recall in section 2.2.1, it was discussed that the data was collected in Paarl, which is a town that is situated in the Boland area of the Western Cape province of South Africa. As mentioned, the 2011 census of Paarl recorded a population of 197,739 people with a total of 58.5% of the inhabitants describing themselves as "Coloured", 25.5% as "Black African", and 14.6% as "White". Regarding language, 71.7% indicated that they spoke Afrikaans as their first language, 19.5% spoke isiXhosa, and 5.5% spoke English.

3.5 Procedure

The four participants all have a pre-existing connection to myself, and they were chosen based on their suitability to the SEcoKa criteria as well as their availability. Since the data was collected under the ethical clearance of the SEcoKa project, the data collection process followed the protocols and procedures of the SEcoKa project.

Before the discussions started, the participants were each given an information sheet,

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a consent form and an intake questionnaire with information about their language background. Each discussion that took place involved two participants at a time, with each of the participants on opposite sides of a table with the recording device placed between them and with the microphones facing in their respective directions. As a means to avoid the participants feeling pressured by my presence and having the discussions feeling like an interview, I left the room after I'd pressed record on the recording device. Before the discussion started, I told the participants that they could discuss their favourite childhood memory or a positive experience. In some of the discussions, some of the participants used these topics in their conversations. However, the majority of the conversations between the different participants focused on random topics that came up as they were speaking. This process was repeated for each of the groups. All the discussion recordings together ended up being 123 minutes long. The following table shows a breakdown of the discussions:

Focus Group	**Ages**	**Backgrounds**	**Length**
20220331_INT_AABR_AABS_01.wav	60+ & 60+	Afr. & Afr.	25 min.
20220401_INT_AABS_AABU_01.wav	60+ & 18-25	Afr. & Eng.	41 min.
20220402_INT_AABR_AABT_01.wav	60+ & 18-25	Afr. & Afr.	18 min.
20220403_INT_AABT_AABU_01.wav	18-25 & 18-25	Afr. & Eng.	39 min.
Total			123 min.

Table 3.1: Description of focus groups and recording length

The discussions and recordings took place at my house, as this was a venue that was familiar to all participants. Although the discussions were conducted in a less trafficked area of the house, barking dogs can be heard in the background of the recordings. Fortunately, this did not disturb the participants during their discussion. However, during one of the discussions, one of the participant's phone went off, which interrupted their conversation. Once the phone was silenced, the discussion continued. Before the discussions and recordings started, I read and explained the contents of the information sheet to the participants. Once I was sure that everyone understood their role in the research, I asked them to fill in their consent forms. Additionally, I sent all the participants an electronic copy of their completed consent forms.

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3.6 Data

Once the recorded discussions were completed, they were transcribed in Microsoft Word using the SEcoKa conventions (see appendix A).[2] When the transcriptions were complete, I thoroughly checked them to ensure that everything was transcribed as consistently and accurately as possible. The following table provides a breakdown of the discussions by the length in words:

Focus Group Name	**Size of Corpus**
20220331_INT_AABR_AABS_01.wav	3943
20220401_INT_AABS_AABU_01.wav	8180
20220402_INT_AABR_AABT_01.wav	2572
20220403_INT_AABT_AABU_01.wav	8408
Total	23 103

Table 3.2: Breakdown by number of words

The amount of data which the transcripts yielded was enough to undertake a systematic investigation of extraposition, as potentially every spoken clause constitutes a data point. Taking this into account, clauses which are relevant data points for this study, i.e. those possessing all the properties that make extraposition technically possible and those actually exhibiting extraposition, were tagged and extracted.

3.6.1 Extraposition

Recall from section 2.3.2.1 that extraposition involves the appearance of elements in the post-verbal field (PV) which have been displaced (extraposed) out of their normal position in the middle field (MF). Consider example (18) below (repeated here from (5a) in section 2.3.2.1 above for the reader's convenience), which illustrates a V-final clause, with the verb in the final position and extraposable material originating in the MF:

[2]It should be noted that these conventions are not in line with the transcription conventions for spontaneous speech. As a result, it is not possible to directly read the transcriptions in order to determine the length of pauses in utterances. For this reason, reading the data was supplemented with listening to the recordings where the information on the length of pauses became relevant. Taking this into account, pauses between the lexical verb and the final consituent invokes afterthought structures, whereas no pauses between the lexical verb and final constituent illustrates extraposition.

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(18) Ek$_{CI}$ [**het**$_{V2}$] [die winkel vandag in the verkeerde straat$_{MF}$] [gesoek$_{VF}$].
I have the shop today in the wrong street searched
"I looked for the shop in the wrong street today."

The examples in (19a), (19b), (19c), and (19d) show the various displacement options of the modifiers *vandag* ('today'), *in die verkeerde straat* ('in the wrong street'), and *die winkel* ('the shop') from the MF to the PV. These modifiers originate in the MF, as shown by (18) above. In (19a), *vandag* and *in die verkeerde straat* are extraposed simultaneously (see more in section 4.3.2); whereas (19b) and (19c) show the independent extraposition of the PrePP *in die verkeerde straat* and the short adverb *vandag*. On the other hand, example (19d) illustrates that the extraposition of *die winkel* ('the shop'), which is a direct object, results in an ungrammatical sentence.

(19) a. Ek het *[die winkel]$_{NP}$* t$_j$ t$_k$ gesoek *[vandag]$_{ADVPj}$* *[in die verkeerde straat]$_{PPk}$*.
I have the shop searched today in the wrong street.
"I looked for the shop in the wrong street today"

b. Ek het *[die winkel]$_{NP}$* *[vandag]$_{ADVP}$* t$_k$ gesoek *[in die verkeerde straat]$_{PPk}$*.
I have the shop today searched in the wrong street

c. Ek het *[die winkel]$_{NP}$* t$_j$ *[in die verkeerde straat]* gesoek *[vandag]$_{ADVPj}$*.
I have the shop in the wrong street searched today

d. *Ek het t$_k$ *[vandag]$_{ADVP}$* *[in die verkeerde straat]$_{PP}$* gesoek **[die winkel]**$_{NPi}$.
I have today in the wrong street searched the shop

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

Clauses exhibiting extraposition (see (19a), (19b), and (19c) above) as well as V-final clauses containing extraposable constituents in the MF (see example (18) above) were tagged in Excel with various types of information, including their syntactic category, semantic features, and heaviness.

It is important to note that while clauses actually exhibiting extraposition, as well V-Final clauses with extraposable constituents were tagged, there were clauses for which it was not possible to determine whether extraposition had in fact taken place. Specifically, these are matrix clauses in which the main verb occupies second position. When the main verb occupies second position, there is no overt element demarcating the boundary between the middle field and the post field, so it cannot be determined beyond reasonable doubt whether a particular constituent is in the MF or the PV. Example (20) below illustrates this:

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(20) a. So jy ken computer goed [nou]?
So you know computer stuff now?
"So now you know computer stuff?" [AABS; PSC] [3]

b. Sy's soe lieflik [buitekant skool]
She.is so lovely outside school
"She's so lovely outside of school" [AABU; PSC]

In examples (20a) and (20b), although these may be cases of extraposition, it is not detected as both *ken* ('know') and *is* ('is') are main verbs and occupy the second position in the sentence. Since the main verb is not in the verb-final position, it is not possible to tell whether extraposition has taken place. For this reason, these cases were disregarded for the purpose of this study, and will not be considered further.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the research design and the methodology that was used to collect and analyse the data. This chapter also gave a brief overview on the ordering phenomena that is relevant for this study (i.e extraposition), as well as some decisions and constraints that presented itself during the extracting and analysis of the data. The following chapter will present the results of the data.

[3]Example (20a) illustrates an instance of linear V3, and shows that the model in figure 2.2 does not capture all orders in main clauses. Specifically, this includes a position preceding that of the finite verb, as it is assumed for German, cf. *Vorvorfeld*. The Vorvorfeld is reserved for discourse particles and other linking elements. This is illustrated in example (20a) where the discourse particle *so* ('so') is in the *Vorvorveld*. For a detailed discussion on V3 orders in Kaaps, see Van Rooi (2022).

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4. Results

4.1 Introduction

A total of 760 clauses were extracted from the SEcoKa Paarl sub-corpus. Of these, 99 (13.03%) show extraposition, and the remaining 661 clauses (86.97%) are V-final. It was mentioned in section 3.6.1 that the V-final clauses which were extracted from the corpus were all clauses where (i) the main verb is in clause-final position, and (ii) there is a constituent that is known to be extraposable, i.e. those containing an adpositional or other adverbial phrase, as well as direct objects which are generally not known to be extraposable. Thus, (21a) below counts as V-final because it contains the extraposable adpositional phrase *in die dorp* (lit. in the town; 'in town'), which is, in fact, extraposed in (21b). (22a), by contrast, is not counted as V-final, in spite of the fact that the finite verb surfaces clause-finally, because there is no extraposable constituent in the structure:

(21) a. Ek het haar *[in die dorp]*$_{PP}$ gesien.
I have her in the town saw
"I saw her in town."

b. Ek het haar t$_i$ gesien *[in die dorp]*$_{PPi}$.
I have her saw in the town
"I saw her in town."

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

(22) a. Ek het haar gesien.
I have her saw
"I saw her."

b. *Ek het t$_i$ gesien *[haar]*$_i$.
I have saw her
"I saw her."

[Afrikaans; constructed by author]

Of the 760 clauses that were extracted, 575 (75.66%) are main clauses, of which 72

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(12.52%) show extraposition. Of the remaining 185 dependent clauses, 27 (14.59%) show extraposition. Table 4.1 below summarises the above information:

Clause	**Nr of Clauses**	**Extraposed**	
		Tokens	**%**
Main	575	72	12.52%
Dependent	185	27	14.59%
Total	760	99	13.03%

Table 4.1: Main & dependent clause rate of extraposition

Due to the limited scope of the study, I will leave to future research the question of whether the difference between the occurrence of extraposition in main and embedded clauses is significant or not. I will therefore consider the main and embedded extraposition structures together in the discussion to follow.

Relevant for the discussion in Section 4.2 below is the fact that 18 (18.18%) of all the clauses featuring extraposition (main + embedded = 99) have more than one extraposed constituent. I will first consider extraposition structures featuring only a single extraposed constituent (section 4.2.1). Then, I discuss the extraposition structures featuring more than one extraposed constituent (section 4.2.2). Section 4.3 is dedicated to the V-final structures. First, in section 4.3.1, I pay particular attention to the nature of the constituents where extraposition is a possibility (i.e. renders a grammatical expression) vs. constituents for which extraposition is impossible (i.e. renders an ungrammatical expression). This is then followed by section 4.3.2, which discusses the V-final structures that have more than one potentially extraposable constituent. Lastly, section 4.4 focuses on the semantics of the extraposed categories.

4.2 Clauses featuring Extraposition

This section is divided into two parts: section 4.2.1 examines the category of the extraposed constituents; and section 4.2.2 discusses the extraposition structures that have multiple (two or more) extraposed constituents (MEC's) by answering the question of which categories are frequently extraposed together.

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4.2.1 Extraposition by Category

The categories reviewed in this section are adpositional phrases; short adverbs; direct objects; clauses; modal particles; and verbal particles. In this section, I will consider each in turn.

4.2.1.1 Adpositional Phrases

Of the 760 clauses, a total of 293 (38.55% of all tokens) feature adpositional phrases. These include phrases headed by prepositions (e.g *van Amstelhof*; 'from Amstelhof'), postpositions (e.g *dorp toe*; lit. town to; 'to town'), circumpositions (e.g *na 'n meisie toe*; lit. to a girl to; 'to a girl'), R-pronouns (e.g *daarop*; lit. there on; 'on it'), and examples in which the adpositional phrase is accompanied by a locative pronoun (e.g *daa van Bosstraat af*; lit. there from Bos street down; 'from Bos street'). The overall rate of extraposition for adpositional phrases is 21.84%, i.e. in 64 of the 293 tokens, the adpositional phrase was extraposed. Significantly, this is higher than the average rate of extraposition across all the data (13.03%). In the remainder of this section, we examine the extraposition rates of the various sub-classes of adpositional phrases listed above.

The majority (82.59%, i.e. 242/293 tokens) of the adpositional phrases in the extracted clauses are prepositional phrases (PrePPs). Of these, 46/242 show extraposition (19.01%). Example (23) below shows the extraposition of the prepositional phrase *van Amstelhof* ('from Amstelhof'):

(23) Is al wat ek t_i gekennet *[van Amstelhof]*$_{PPi}$.
its all what I know.have of Amstelhof
"That's all I knew about Amstelhof." [AABS; PSC]

9 of the 293 tokens (3.07%) are postpositional phrases (PostPPs), and 4 of these 9 (44.44%) show extraposition. For example, in (24), *dorp toe* (lit. town to; 'to town') is extraposed:

(24) Ek moes baie keer t_i stap *[dorp toe]*$_{PPi}$.
I had many times walk town to
"I had to walk to town a lot." [AABR; PSC]

Of the 293 tokens, 12 tokens (4.10%) are circumpositional phrases (CircumPPs), and 2 of these 12 (16.67%) show extraposition. Example (25) demonstrates that

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the circumpositional phrase *na 'n meisie toe* (lit. to a girl to; 'to a girl') has been extraposed:

(25) Ja ek het altyd daa t_i gegan *[na 'n meisie toe]*$_{PPi}$ ....
yes I have always there went to a girl to ....
"I always went there to a girl ...." [AABR; PSC]

A further 9 of the 293 tokens (3.07%) feature R-pronouns, of which only 1 (11.11%) shows extraposition. Example (26) shows the extraposition of the R-pronoun *daarop* (lit. there.on; 'on it' or 'with it') [1]:

(26) dis hoekom ek t_i verlief geraaket *[daarop]*$_{PPi}$.
it.is why I in.love became there.on
"That's why I fell in love with it" [AABU; PSC]

Finally, 21 of the 293 tokens (7.17%) have locative pronouns (e.g. *daar*, 'there'; *hier*, 'here'; *waar*, 'where') co-occurring with an adpositional phrase. Of these 21 tokens, 11 (52.38%) show extraposition. Example (27) below features the locative pronoun *daa* ('there'), which is co-referential with the PrePP *by Sataaria* ('by Sataaria'):

(27) Nou dis wat my kind t_i t_j betaalet **[daa]**$_{ADVPi}$ *[by Saataria]*$_{PPj}$.
now it.is what my child pay.have there by Saataria
"That's what my child paid at Sataaria" [AABS; PSC]

Locative pronouns can be paired with either a transitive preposition or an intransitive preposition. Crystal & Alan (2023: 494) differentiates between a transitive and intransitive preposition by stating the following: a transitive preposition must always be accompanied by a noun phrase complement, and an intransitive preposition is characterized by not being accompanied by a noun phrase complement. In (27), the locative pronoun *daa* is paired with the transitive PrePP *by Sataaria* ('by Sataaria'). The example in (28) below shows the locative pronoun *hie* ('here') paired with the intransitive preposition *bo*. According to Kotzé & Breed (2020), intransitive adpositions are highly grammaticalised, to the effect that they can, in fact, be regarded as adjectives or adverbials, depending on the context in which they are used. However, here they will be regarded as P-elements:

(28) ôs het tiles t_i t_j gehad **[daa]**$_{ADVPi}$ *[bo]*$_{PPj}$.
we have tiles had there up
"We had tiles there." [AABU; PSC]

[1] According to Van Riemsdijk (2020), R-pronouns are named for the phonological /r/ ending of the members of this class. These include the distal *daar,* ('there'); the proximal *hier* ('here'); and the interrogative *waar* ('where'). Although the /r/ coda is typically omitted in Kaaps, for the remainder of this dissertation, I will still refer to them as R-pronouns.

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To illustrate the categorial equivalence of (in)transitive PPs, consider example (29), where the speaker follows the locative pronoun by beginning to introduce the transitive PrePP *by* ('by'). However, they pause, start over and use the intransitive PrePP *bo* instead:

(29) toe ek jou die eeste keer t_i t_j ontmoetet **[daa]**$_{ADVPi}$ *[by #]*$_{PPj}$
when I you the first time meet.have there by #
[haa]$_{ADVPi}$ *[bo]*$_{PPj}$...
there up...
"When I first met you by # there ..."

[AABU; PSC]

Regarding locative pronouns that are paired with an adpositional phrase, there are two issues to be discussed: (i) the referentiality of the locative pronoun, and (ii) the question of constituency, i.e whether the locative pronoun and adpositional phrase are a single constituent, or if they are separate constituents.

Concerning the referentiality of locative pronouns, the locative pronoun can be co-referential with its co-occuring adpositional phrase. This is illustrated in (27) above. Similarly, in example (30), the locative pronoun *hie* ('here') is co-referential with the PrePP *by Shoprite* ('by Shoprite'):

(30) Maa ôs het altyd t_i t_j omgedrai **[hie]**$_{ADVPi}$ *[by Shoprite]*$_{PPj}$.
but we have always around.turned here by Shoprite
"We always turned around here by Shoprite"

[AABR; PSC]

In example (31) below, the locative pronoun *haa* ('there') is co-referential to the CircumPP *yt 'n kar yt* (lit. out a car out; 'out of a car'):

(31) Lat ôs t_i t_j vlie **[haa]**$_{ADVPi}$ *soes Niknaks pakkies [yt 'n kar yt]*$_{PPj}$.
let us fly there like Niknaks packets out a car out
"Let us fly out of the car like Niknaks packets."

[AABU; PSC]

Locative pronouns can also be used to refer to multiple adpositional phrases. As illustrated in example (32), the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') can be simultaneously co-referential with multiple PrePPs i.e *innie onne-Paarl* (lit. in under-Paarl; 'in central Paarl') and *op dai brug* (lit. up that bridge; 'on that bridge'):

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(32) Ons het somma **[haa]**$_{ADVP}$ *[innie onne-Paarl]*$_{PP}$ *[op dai brug]*$_{PP}$
we have just there in.the under-Paarl up that bridge
gestaan.
stood
"We stood on the bridge in central Paarl."

[AABS; PSC]

In example (33) below, the locative pronoun *daa* is co-referential with the structurally and phonologically heavy PrePP, i.e. the PrePP is internally complex, in the sense that the complement of the preposition is a coordinated noun phrase. Due to this, the speaker uses the locative pronoun *daa* to refer back to and emphasise the heavy constituent. It is important to note that in this example, the Pre-PP *by Laerskool Paulus en Hoërskool Paulus* ('at Paulus Primary School and Paulus High School') precedes rather than follows the locative pronoun *daa* ('there'). This use of *daa* is quite different to the others discussed above (see examples (30), (31) and (32) above): where the others anticipate the PP, allowing the PP to act as an elaboration of the locative pronoun, this one serves as a resumptive, picking on the just-mentioned PP:

(33) ... ek het *[by Laerskool Paulus en Hoërskool Paulus]*$_{PP}$
... I have by primary.school Paulus and high.school Paulus
[daa]$_{ADVP}$ het ek skool gegaan.
there have I school went.
"... I went to Paulus primary school and Paulus high school"

[AABR; PSC]

It is also possible for the adpositional phrase and the co-occurring locative pronoun to have different referents. The examples in (34a) and (34b) show quite clearly that the locative pronoun (in this case, *daa*) need not be co-referential with the co-occurring PrePP *vi haa* ('for her') and the PrePP *vi jouself* ('for yourself'):

(34) a. Toe't hulle nou **[daa]**$_{ADVP}$ *[vi haa]*$_{PP}$ ingekry.
then.have they now there for her in.got
"Then they got her in there."

[AABS; PSC]

b. Jy kan jou doelwitte bereik wat jy **[daa]**$_{ADVP}$ *[vi jouself]*$_{PP}$
you can your goals achieve what you there for yourself
gestellet.
set.have
"You can achieve your goals that you've set for yourself there."

[AABR; PSC]

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Locative pronouns in clauses that also contain an adpositional phrase can therefore be more or less closely associated with that adpositional phrase. Although the structure of example (30) is similar to the structure of example (34), the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') is not co-referential to the co-occuring adpositional phrase in the latter case.

I will turn now to the question of constituency. There are two options we need to explore: (i) whether the locative pronoun and adpositional phrase are a single constituent (see (35a) below), (ii) or if they are separate constituents (see (35b) below):

(35) a. ... toe't hulle [**hie** *[innie Langvlei]*$_{PP}$]$_{ADVP}$ gebly.
... then.have they here in.the Langvlei lived.
"... they lived here in Langvlei." [AABR; PSC]

b. ... toe't hulle [**hie**]$_{ADVP}$ [innie Langvlei]$_{PP}$ gebly.
... then.have they here in.the Langvlei lived.
"... they lived here in Langvlei." [AABR; PSC]

If the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrase are co-referential, they originate in the MF together as a single constituent. This leads to three possibilities: they can either (i) remain in the MF together; (ii) they can extrapose together, or (iii) one component can extrapose independently of the other. This is illustrated in (36) below. In example (36a), neither the locative pronoun *hie* 'here' nor the PrePP *innie Langvlei* (lit. in.the Langvlei; 'in Langvlei') are extraposed; and in (36b) both *hie* and *innie Langvlei* can be extraposed together. Additionally, in (36c) and (36d) respectively, the PrePP and the locative pronoun are extraposed independently of one another:

(36) a. ... toe't hulle [hie [innie Langvlei]$_{PP}$]$_{ADVP}$ gebly.
... then.have they here in.the Langvlei lived.
"... they lived here in Langvlei." [AABR; PSC]

b. ... toe't hulle t$_i$ gebly [hie [innie Langvlei]$_{PP}$]$_{ADVPi}$.
... then.have they lived here in.the Langvlei
"... they lived here in Langvlei."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. ... toe't hulle t$_i$ [innie Langvlei]$_{PP}$ gebly [hie]$_{ADVPi}$
... then.have they in.the Langvlei lived here
"... they lived here in Langvlei."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

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d. ... toe't hulle [hie]$_{ADV}$ t$_j$ gebly [innie Langvlei]$_{PPj}$.
... then.have they here lived in.the Langvlei
"... they lived here in Langvlei."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

It is important to point out that in the corpus, the speakers commonly extraposed both the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrases at the same time (see also (30) above). Now consider example (37) below:

(37) a. Ek ken klomp mense wat [daa]$_{ADVP}$ t$_i$ bly *[in Mountainview]*$_{PPi}$.
I know a.lot people what there live in Mountainview.
"I know a lot of people who live in Mountainview"

[AABR; PSC]

b. Ek ken klomp mense wat t$_i$ [in Mountainview]$_{PP}$ bly *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
I know a.lot people what in Mountainview live there
"I know a lot of people who live in Mountainview"

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

(37a) shows the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') remaining in the MF, while the PrePP *in Mountainview* ('in Mountainview') is extraposed on its own; and (37b) shows that *daa* can be extraposed on its own, leaving *in Mountainview* in the MF. It is important to point out that the simultaneous extraposition of the locative pronoun and adpositional phrases occurred more frequently than extraposing them independently. Although the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrase are co-referential, example (37) illustrates the only instance where the speaker independently extraposed the adpositional phrase.

If the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrase are not co-referential, they are necessarily separate constituents. Consider example (38) below (which is repeated from (34a) above for the reader's convenience):

(38) a. Toe't hulle nou **[daa]**$_{ADVP}$ *[vi haa]*$_{PP}$ ingekry.
then.have they now there for her got.in
"Then they got her in there." [AABS; PSC]

b. Toe't hulle nou t$_i$ t$_j$ ingekry **[daa]**$_{ADVPi}$ *[vi haa]*$_{PPj}$.
then.have they now got.in there for her
"Then they got her in there."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

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c. Toe't hulle nou t_i *[vi haa]*$_{PP}$ ingekry **[daa]**$_{ADVPi}$.
then.have they now for her got.in there
"Then they got her in there."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

d. Toe't hulle nou **[daa]**$_{ADVP}$ t_j ingekry *[vi haa]*$_{PPj}$.
then.have they now there got.in for her
"Then they got her in there."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

(38a) shows the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') and the PrePP *vi haa* ('for her') remaining in the MF together, and in (38b) both the locative pronoun and the PrePP are extraposed together. On the other hand, in (38c) and (38d), the locative pronoun and the PrePP respectively are extraposed on their own. Although instances like examples (38b), (38c) and (38d) were not found in the data, as a native Paarl-Kaaps speaker, I find that these options are possible.

It has been shown that the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrase can respectively be extraposed alone, they can be extraposed together, or they can remain in the MF together. If the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrase are co-referential, they are a single constituent. However, if they are not co-referential, they are two separate constituents.

The following table provides a breakdown of the adpositional data discussed above:

Adpositional Phrases	**All tokens**	**Extraposed**	
		Tokens	**%**
Pre-PPs	242	46	19.17%
Post-PPs	9	4	44.44%
Circum-PPs	12	2	16.67%
R-pronouns	9	1	11.11%
Locative PRN + PP	21	11	52.38%
Total	293	64	21.99%

Table 4.2: Extraposition rate across adpositional phrases

Table 4.2 above reminds us that the average rate of extraposition for adpositional phrases is 21.99%, which is higher than the average rate of extraposition (13.03%) across all of the data. The extraposition rates of PrePPs, PostPPs, CircumPPs, and locative pronoun + adpositional phrase combinations are all higher than the overall rate of extraposition. It is important to point out that the data sets of the

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PostPPs and CircumPPs are comparatively small and, therefore, the extraposition rates for these two categories might be artificially high. The sub-categories that have (relatively) uncontroversially high extraposition rates are the Pre-PPs and the PP + locative pronoun combinations.

4.2.1.2 Short Adverbs

Of the 760 clauses extracted for this study, a total of 293 (38.55%) feature short adverbs. These include 'regular' short adverbs (e.g. *ongelukkig*, 'unfortunately'; *viddag*, 'today'; *somtyds*, 'sometimes'; *oek*, 'also'), [2] as well as 'bare' locative pronouns (e.g. *daa*, 'there'; or *hie*, 'here'), and locative pronouns that are accompanied by adpositional phrases (e.g *daa van Bosstraat af*, lit. there from Bos street down; 'from Bos street'). The latter group already featured in the discussion of adpositional phrases in the previous section (4.2.1.1). We briefly consider them again in this section.

Of the 293 tokens that feature short adverbs, 251 (85.67%) are 'regular' short adverbs that are lexically light, and only 17 (6.77%) feature extraposition. Example (39a) shows the extraposition of *ongelukkig* ('unfortunately'), and example (39b) shows the extraposition of *viddag* ('today'):

(39) a. Hulle wil t_i hulle geld maak *[ongelukkig]*$_{ADVPi}$.
they will their money make unfortunately
"Sadly, they want to make their money" [AABU; PSC]

b. Haa's haai man t_i geskei en wee getroud *[vidag]*$_{ADVPi}$.
there.is that man separated and again married today
"Now that man is divorced and married again" [AABU; PSC]

42/293 (14.33%) of the tokens feature locative pronouns (which are all light elements), of which 4/42 (9.52%) show extraposition. This is illustrated in example (40). In (40a), the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') is extraposed; and in (40b) *daarso* (lit. there.so, 'there') is extraposed:

(40) a. (Ôs het) heeldag t_i rugby gespeel *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
we have whole.day rugby played there
"We played rugby there all day" [AABS; PSC]

[2] The 'regular' short adverbs that are discussed here refer to a word/trivial phrase that modifies an adjective, verb, another adverb, or another word group.

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b. Ôs het kanoes t_i gat kyk *[daarso]*$_{ADVPi}$.
we have canoes go look there.so
"We watched the canoes there." [AABS; PSC]

Before proceeding, I will comment briefly on the extraposability of locative pronouns in the clause-initial position (see example (41a) below). Although there were no examples in the corpus where a locative pronoun in the clause-initial position was extraposed, as a native speaker of Paarl-Kaaps, I find it possible to extrapose them (see example (41b) below). By doing so, it becomes a V1 structure in a commonly V2 language. However, since there weren't any such examples in the corpus, I will not be considering it further.

(41) a. *[Daa]*$_{ADVP}$ het alewag mense gebly.
there have always people lived
"People have always lived there." [AABR; PSC]

b. t_i het alewag mense gebly *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
have always people lived there
"People have always lived there."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Notably, some locative pronoun subjects are expletives that do not refer to a specific place, but simply act as a dummy subject. This is illustrated in example (42a) below, where the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') is an expletive. As a native speaker of Paarl-Kaaps, I find that the extraposition of an expletive yields an ungrammatical sentence (see (42b) below):

(42) a. *[Daa]*$_{ADVP}$ gat altyd iets te sê wies.
there go always something to say be
"There will always be something to say." [AABU; PSC]

b. *t_i gat altyd iets te sê wies *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
go always something to say be there
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Consider example (43) below, which shows the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') being used three times in one utterance:

(43) *Daa* was *daa* mos 'n mobile *[daa]*$_{ADVP}$ gewies.
there was there mos a shop there was
"There was always a shop."
[AABU; PSC]

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In example (43), the first *daa* is an expletive subject and, based on the preceding discussion, is not expected to be extraposable. The second instance of *daa* precedes the modal particle *mos* and could be a case of expletive doubling, as the repetition of this syntactic element is superfluous (see Barbiers (2008), among others). However, the third instance of *daa* is a locative pronoun which, in its base position precedes the main verb. As the example in (44) shows, it is possible to extrapose this instance of *daa*:

(44) *Daa* was *daa* mos 'n mobile t_i gewies *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
there was there mos a shop there was
"There was always a shop."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Locative pronouns can also be modifed by discourse particles. In example (45) , the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') is modified by the discourse particle *somma* ('just'):

(45) Han staan ôs **somma** *[daa]*$_{ADVP}$ en kyk.
then stand us just there and look
"Then we stand just there and watch" [AABS; PSC]

It is important to note that if the pronoun in example (45) undergoes extraposition, the discourse particle *somma* ('just') needs to be extraposed with the locative pronoun (see example (46a) below). If the locative pronoun is extraposed without the discourse particle, the meaning changes (see example (46b) below):

(46) a. Han staan ôs t_i en kyk *[somma daa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
then stand us just there and look
"Then we stand just there and watch"
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

b. Han staan ôs **somma** t_i en kyk *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
then stand us just and look there
"Then we just stand and watch there."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Let us now consider the 21/293 tokens (7.17%) that featured locative pronouns accompanied by adpositional phrases. These examples, illustrated in (47), were already discussed in section 4.2.1.1, concerning the extraposition of adpositional phrases:

(47) ... my ouma'le het t_i t_j getrek *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$ *[van Bosstraat af]*$_{PPj}$.
... my grandma.them have pulled there from Bos.street down
"... my grandma-them moved from Bos street." [AABS; PSC]

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In section 4.2.1.1, it was pointed out that the locative pronoun can be co-referential with its co-occuring adpositional phrase (see example (30) above), or the locative pronoun can independently refer to another place (see example (34) above). If the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrase are co-referential, they are a single constituent. However, if they are not co-referential, they are two separate constituents.

The following table provides a breakdown of the short adverbs data discussed above[3]:

Short Adverbs	**All tokens**	**Extraposed**	
		Tokens	**%**
'Regular' Short Adverbs	251	17	6.77%
Locative PRNs	42	4	9.52%
Total	293	21	7.17%

Table 4.3: Extraposition rate across short adverbs

Table 4.3 above shows that although adpositional phrases and short adverbs have the same number of tokens (293), the extraposition rate of short adverbs is much lower at 7.17%. As expected, this suggests that short adverbs do not extrapose as easily as adpositional phrases do. However, although the extraposition rate for short adverbs is lower than the overall average rate of extraposition (13.06%), short adverbs extrapose more frequently than expected on 'weight'-based accounts of extraposition.

4.2.1.3 Direct Objects

Of the 760 clauses, a total of 87 (11.45%) feature direct objects. Of the 87 tokens containing direct objects, a total of 6 (6.90%) show extraposition. Example (48a) below shows the extraposition of the direct object *dai bokkom*; example (48b) extraposes the direct object *dai ding* ('that thing'); and example (48c) extraposes the direct object *die vis* ('the fish') [4]:

(48) a. Want ek hettie lus vi t_i skil *[dai bokkom]*$_{NPi}$ nie.
because I have.not want for peel that mullet not
"Because I don't want to peel the mullet" [AABS; PSC]

[3]Note that the tokens for locative pronouns that are paired with adpositional phrases were counted in the section 4.2.1.1. Therefore, although they are briefly discussed in section 4.2.1.2, they will not be counted again in this section.

[4]A *bokkom* is a whole, salted and dried mullet and is a well-known delicacy from the West Coast region of South Africa.

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b. Toe willie Paarl mos nou nie t_i afgooi *[dai ding]*$_{NPi}$ nie.
then will.not Paarl mos now not down.throw that thing not
"Then Paarl actually didn't want to throw that thing down."
[AABS; PSC]

c. sy hettie t_i betaal *[die vis]*$_{NPi}$ -ie.
she have.not pay the fish -not
"She didn't pay for the fish."[5] [AABS; PSC]

Strikingly, the three examples in (48) represent the 3/6 (50%) with articles (i.e. *dai* or *die*; 'that' or this') preceding the NP. The remaining 3 structures (50%) have objects that follow the verbs *sê* and *gesê* ('say' and 'said'). This is illustrated in example (49) below. In (49a), *onnewys* ('teaching') is extraposed past the verb *sê*; and in (49b) and (49c), the direct objects *ag uur* (lit. eight hour; 'eight 'o clock') and *nege uur* (lit. nine hour; 'nine 'o clock') are extraposed past the verb *gesê*. Notably, the utterance in (49c) is a response to the utterance in (49b). This suggests that the structure of the first speaker's utterance is echoed by the second speaker:

(49) a. Ek sallie t_i sê *[onnewys]*$_{NPi}$ -ie
I shall.not say teaching not
"I wouldn't suggest teaching" [AABR; PSC]

b. Ja wan N het t_i gesê *[ag uur]*$_{NPi}$
yes because N have said eight hour
"Yes, because N said eight 'o clock." [AABR; PSC]

c. Nee sy't t_i gesê *[nege uur]*$_{NPi}$.
no she.have said nine hour
"No, she said nine 'o clock." [AABS; PSC]

The following table provides a breakdown of the direct objects data discussed above:

Direct Objects	**All tokens**	**Extraposed**	
		Tokens	**%**
Direct Objects	87	6	6.90%

Table 4.4: Extraposition rate across direct objects

Table 4.4 above shows that the extraposition rate of direct objects is 6.90%. This is noteworthy as extraposition of direct objects is known to be very limited in West Germanic varieties more generally (see section 2.3.2.2 above). Here, we see that

[5]The final *ie* is the final *nie*. Like Afrikaans, Kaaps is a double negation language. This means that there has to be both a clause-internal *nie* (the -tie part of *hettie*) and a final *nie* (the -sie that is attached to *vis*.

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Paarl-Kaaps does permit such extraposition. Importantly, though, the attested object extraposition patterns are restricted in kind: only the main-clause verb *sê* ('say') permits this option. Further, it is worth noting that the extraposed objects here are multisyllabic, i.e. there may be a prosodic weight consideration in play. However, as a native-speaker, it seems to me that at least some monosyllabic alternatives allow the extraposition of objects as well. More specifically, monosyllabic options remain available where they relate to temporal (i.e. more adverbially oriented) meanings (e.g. *dag*; 'day'). Interestingly, the structures in (49) are also available in colloquial Afrikaans more generally (Theresa Biberauer, p.c.; Erin Pretorius p.c.).

4.2.1.4 Clauses

As mentioned above, the data contained a total of 185 (24.34% of all the clauses) dependent clauses. Of these, 87 tokens are dependent declarative clauses (47.02%), 20 (10.81%) are embedded questions, 20 (10.81%) are conditionals, and 58 (31.35%) are relative clauses. Table 4.5 below summarizes this information:

Clause Types	**Clause Tokens**	**%**
Dependent Declarative	87	47.02%
Embedded Questions	20	10.81%
Conditionals	20	10.81%
Relative Clauses	58	31.35%
Total	185	100%

Table 4.5: Types of dependent clauses

Of the 87 declarative dependent clauses, 42 (48.28%) are complement clauses. In Afrikaans varieties, including Kaaps, the complement clause follows the main verb (see section 2.3.1 above). This is shown in example (50) below, as the complement clause *dat ôs gan maa nou betaal* (lit. that us go but now pay; 'that we're rather going to pay') follows the verb *besluit* ('decide'). Since this is the neutral structure, I will not be considering these examples further.

(50) ... en ôs het maa besluit [*dat* ôs gan maa nou betaal].
... and us have but decide that us go but now pay
"... and we decided that we're rather going to pay" [AABS; PSC]

A further 45 of the 87 (51.72%) dependent declarative clauses are adverbial clauses. Although adverbial clauses typically can be moved around in a sentence, their neutral position is also following the main verb. This is illustrated in example (51), where the adverbial clause *want hy willie vi ôs lat gannie* (lit. because he does.no

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for us let go.no; because he didn't want to let us go') is after the main verb *spring* ('jump'). For this reason, the adverbial clauses will also not be discussed any further.

(51) Ôs spring yt daai klas yt [*want* hy willie vi ôs lat gannie].
we jump out that class out because he does.no for us let go.no
"We just out of the class because he didn't want to let us go."
[AABU; PSC]

Embedded questions (10.87% of all dependent clauses) are introduced by interrogative words, such as *wat, waar, wie, hoekom* and *hoe* ('what, where, who, why and how'), but they do not modify a noun phrase. Similarly to dependent declarative clauses, the neutral position for embedded questions is after the main verb. For this reason, they will not be discussed further. Example (52) below shows the embedded question *wat is hulle van nie* following the main verb *onthou* ('remember'):[6]

(52) Ek kannie onthou [*wat* is hulle van nie].
I can.no remember what is their surname no
"I can't remember their surname." [AABS; PSC]

Conditionals (10.77% of all dependent clauses) are a type of adverbial clause that express or describe the result of a condition. Conditionals are introduced in most Afrikaans varieties (including Kaaps) by *as* ('if'). Like adverbial clauses, conditionals can be moved around in a sentence, but their neutral position is after the main verb. Therefore, they will not be discussed further. Example (53) illustrates this, where the conditional *as jy by dit ytkom* (lit. if you by this out.come; 'to see you achieve that') follows the verb *maak* ('make'):

(53) Dit sal my baie gelukkig maak [*as jy by dit ytkom*].
it will me very happy make if you by this out.come
"It will make me really happy to see you achieve that." [AABR; PSC]

Similarly to embedded questions, relative clauses can be introduced by interrogative words (i.e. *wat, waar, wie, hoekom and hoe*; 'what, where, who, how, why'). However, relative clauses modify a noun phrase and directly follow the relevant noun phrase in their basic position, which also means that they precede the main verb. Example (54) illustrates this:

(54) a. ... om **alles** *[wat vekeed is]*$_{RC}$ reg te maak.
... to everything what incorrect is right to make
"... to fix everything that's wrong"
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

[6]The V2 order that is illustrated here is a common feature of Kaaps (see Van Rooi 2022) and also of Afrikaans more generally (see Biberauer 2017).

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b. My ma het **iemand** *[wat ôs allie jare betaalet]*$_{RC}$ gehad.
my mom have someone what us all.the years paid had
"My mom had someone that we paid all those years."
[PAARL-KAAPS; CONSTRUCTED BY AUTHOR]

Of the 760 clauses, there are 8 (1.05% of all tokens) tokens where the relative clause follows the verb and is disconnected from the noun phrase that it modifies. In (55a) and (55b), the bracketed relative clauses are extraposed:

(55) a. ... om **alles** t$_i$ reg te maak *[wat vekeed is]*$_{RCi}$.
... to everything right to make what incorrect is.
"... to fix everything that's wrong" [AABR; PSC]

b. My ma het **iemand** t$_i$ gehad *[wat ôs allie jare betaalet]*$_{RCi}$.
my mom have someone had what us all.the years paid
"My mom had someone that we paid all those years." [AABU; PSC]

In examples like (56) below with particle verbs like *afpluk* (lit. off.pick, 'pick off'), it is possible to discern that the relative clause has been extraposed, even though the main verb *pluk* has moved to a higher position and is no longer marking the right clause boundary. This is because particles like *af* become stranded by verb movement and therefore mark the original position of the main verb. In short, it can be seen that the relative clause has been extraposed because it is to the right of the verbal particle.

(56) ... en dan pluk ek die **peppers** t$_i$ af *[wat ek nou geplantet]*$_{RCi}$.
... and then pick I the peppers off that I now planted
"... and then I pick off the peppers that I planted." [AABR; PSC]

4.2.1.5 Modal Particles

Of the 760 clauses, a total of 79 (10.39%) feature modal particles. Modal particles, which are a subset of discourse particles that are characterized by their strong connection to the MF, are lexically light elements which convey additional information about the possibility, ability, or speaker's attitude towards an event. Example (57) below shows sentences with the modal particles *mos* and *maa nou*:

(57) a. Hulle het *[mos]*$_{MP}$ amil daa gebly.
they have mos everyone there lived
"They all ended up living there" [AABR; PSC]

b. ... en finansieël het dit *[maa nou]*$_{MP}$ swaar gegan.
... and financially have it but now heavy went
"... and it was financially difficuly, unfortunately." [AABR; PSC]

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Strikingly, there were no tokens featuring modal particle extraposition. Although no modal particles were extraposed in the data, it is important to point out that as a native Paarl-Kaaps speaker myself, I find it easy to construct examples with extraposed modal particles. Using example (57) from above, example (58) below shows the extraposition of *mos* and *maa nou*:

(58) a. Hulle het t_i amil daa gebly *[mos]*$_{MPi}$.
They have everyone there lived mos.
"They all ended up living there."

b. ... en finansieël het dit t_i swaar gegan *[maa nou]*$_{MPi}$.
... and financially have it heavy went but now
"... and it was financially difficuly, unfortunately."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

4.2.1.6 Verbal Particles

There has been much debate about the categorial and structural status of the particle in verbal particle constructions (see Den Dikken (1995); Broekhuis 2013; Pretorius 2017; Van Riemsdijk 2020; among others). Because the particle element in a verbal particle often shares a form with known adpositions, it is interesting to consider to what extent particles behave like their adpositional counterparts. Example (59) below shows sentences with verbal particles:

(59) a. ... ek moet mos nou eeste sòg dat ôs rerag *uitgesort* is.
... I must mos now first care that us really out.sorted is.
"... I must make sure that we're sorted first" [AABT; PSC]

b. ... maa ek gattie *uitsoekerig* wies nie.
... but I go.no out.picky be no
"... But I won't be picky." [AABU; PSC]

c. ... maa ôs het daar *deergekom*.
... but we have there through.came.
"... But we got through it." [AABR; PSC]

The structures that are considered here show that particles do not extrapose in the way that adpositions do. Example (60) shows how the extraposition of the particles *uit* ('out') and *deur* ('through') yields an ungrammatical sentence:

(60) a. *... ek moet mos nou eeste sòg dat ôs rerag t_i gesort is *uit*$_i$.
... I must mos now first care that us really sorted is out
"... I must make sure that we're sorted first"

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b. *... maa ek gattie t_i soekerig wies *uit*$_i$ nie.
... but I go.no picky be out no
"... But I won't be picky."

c. *... maa ôs het daar t_i gekom *deer*$_i$.
... but we have there came through
"But we got through it."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In section 4.2.1.1 above, it was shown that PrePPs are the most frequently extraposed category. Interestingly, although particles often take the same form as the adpositions heading PPs, they do not behave like adpositions since they seem to resist extraposition.

4.2.1.7 Interim Summary

The following table provides a detailed summary of extraposition by category:

Word Category	**All tokens**	**Extraposed**	
		Tokens	**%**
Adpositional Phrases	293	64	21.84%
Short Adverbs	293	21	7.17%
Direct Objects	87	6	6.90%
Clauses	8	8	100%
Modal Particles	79	0	0
Total	760	99	13.03%

Table 4.6: Summary of extraposition by category

Table 4.6 shows that the rate of extraposition for adpositional phrases is 21.99%, which is higher than the average rate of extraposition across all the data (13.03%). On the other hand, although short adverbs have the same number of tokens as adpositions, short adverbs only had a rate of extraposition of 7.17%. Additionally, the extraposition rate of direct objects is 6.90%. This fact is surprising, as direct objects do not typically extrapose in other West-Germanic varieties. Lastly, neither modal particles nor verbal particles showed any extraposition.

4.2.2 Multiple Extraposed Constituents

Section 4.2.1 above looked at cases where a single constituent is extraposed. The following section will give an overview of the 18 (18.18% of the 99 extraposition structures) clauses that have more than one extraposed constituent.

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The purpose of this section is to zoom in on cases where there are two co-occuring extraposed constituents. In particular, we will be examining which categories are (not) frequently extraposed together. Table 4.7 below contains all the actually occurring possibilities of how the extraposed categories could be combined, and shows the frequency of the word category in Category 1 co-occuring with the word category in Category 2. It is important to point out that the co-occuring categories that are not included in the table were not found in the data.

Category 1	**Category 2**	**MEC**	
		Tokens	**%**
Short Adverbs	Adpositional Phrases	9	50%
Adpositional Phrases	Adpositional Phrases	3	16.67%
Adpositional Phrases	Short Adverbs	2	11.11%
Adpositional Phrases	Clauses	2	11.11%
Adpositional Phrases	Direct Objects	1	5.55%
Short Adverbs	Short Adverbs	1	5.55%
Total		18	100%

Table 4.7: Overview of Multiple Extraposed Constituents by Category

As table 4.7 shows, the most frequent extraposed collocation in the data consists of a short adverb an and adpositional phrase (50%). All of these collocations involve the locative pronoun and adpositional phrases that were discussed in section 4.2.1. In that section, it was shown that although the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrase are frequently extraposed together, they can be extraposed on their own and still yield grammatical sentences. Example (61) below, repeated from (37) above, shows the simultaneous extraposition of the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') and the PrePP *in Mountainview* ('in Mountainview') (61a); the extraposition of the PrePP *in Mountainview* on its own (61b); and the extraposition of the locative pronoun *daa* on its own (61c):

(61) a. Ek ken klomp mense wat t_i t_j bly [**daa**]$_{ADVPi}$ *[in*
I know a.lot people what live there in
Mountainview]$_{PPj}$.
Mountainview.
"I know a lot of people who live in Mountainview."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

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b. Ek ken klomp mense wat [daa]$_{ADVP}$ t$_j$ bly *[in Mountainview]*$_{PPj}$.
I know a.lot people what there live in Mountainview.
"I know a lot of people who live in Mountainview."

[AABR; PSC]

c. Ek ken klomp mense wat t$_i$ [in Mountainview]$_{PP}$ bly *[daa]*$_{ADVi}$.
I know a.lot people what in Mountainview live there
"I know a lot of people who live in Mountainview."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

It was also found that although the locative pronoun precedes the adpositional phrase, the word order can be switched and still yield a grammatical sentence. Instead of the locative pronoun acting like an anticipator of the adpositional phrase, it can also be resumptive. This is shown in example (62), where *in Mountainview* now precedes *daa*:

(62) Ek ken klomp mense wat [in Mountainview]$_{PP}$ [daa]$_{ADVP}$ bly.
I know a.lot people what in Mountainview there live
"I know a lot of people who live in Mountainview."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

It has been shown that adpositions and short adverbs co-occur more frequently than with other categories. It is important to note that adpositions co-occur just as easily with other adpositions (16.67%). In example (63a) the PrePP *vi hom* (lit. for him; 'for that') and the PrePP *vi hierdie jaar* ('for this year') are both extraposed. Examples (63b) and (63c) show that the respective PrePPs can be extraposed on their own:

(63) a. Want ek het t$_i$ t$_j$ ingekom *[vi hom]*$_{PPi}$ *[vi hierdie jaar]*$_{PPj}$.
because I have in.came for him for this year
"Because I got accepted for that this year." [AABU; PSC]

b. Want ek het t$_i$ [vi hierdie jaar]$_{PP}$ ingekom *[vi hom]*$_{PPi}$.
because I have for this year in.came for him
"Because I got accepted for that this year."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. Want ek het [vi hom$_{PP}$] t$_j$ ingekom *[vi hierdie jaar]*$_{PPj}$.
because I have for him in.came for this year
"Because I got accepted for that this year."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Similarly, example (64a) illustrates the simultaneous extraposition of the PrePP *mettie twintag rand* (lit. with.the twenty rand; 'with the twenty rand'), and the

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extraposition of the co-occuring PostPP *dorp toe* (lit. town to; 'to town'). In (64b) and (64c), *mettie twintag rand* and *dorp toe* are extraposed on their own:

(64) a. Dan was ek t_i t_j gestuur *[mettie twintag rand]*$_{PPi}$ *[dorp toe]*$_{PPj}$.
then was I sent with.the twenty rand town to
"Then I was sent to town with the twenty rand." [AABR; PSC]

b. Dan was ek t_i [dorp toe]$_{PP}$ gestuur *[mettie twintag rand]*$_{PPi}$.
then was I town to sent with.the twenty rand
"Then I was sent to town with the twenty rand."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. Dan was ek [mettie twintag rand]$_{PP}$ t_j gestuur *[dorp toe]*$_{PPj}$.
then was I with.the twenty rand sent town to
"Then I was sent to town with the twenty rand."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In example (64a) above, the PrePP *mettie twintag rand* precedes the PostPP *dorp toe*. Example (65) below shows that the order of the adpositional phrases can be switched, with *dorp toe* preceding *mettie twintag rand*, and still yield a grammatical sentence:

(65) Dan was ek [dorp toe]$_{PP}$ [mettie twintag rand]$_{PP}$ gestuur.
then was I town to with.the twenty rand sent
"Then I was sent to town with the twenty rand."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

I will now discuss adpositions that co-occur with 'regular' short adverbs (11.11% of all MEC's). It is important to note that although this collocation contains the same categories as mentioned above, the focus here is on 'regular' short adverbs and not locative pronouns. Example (66a) illustrates that the PrePP *vi jou* ('for you') and the short adverb *oek* (lit. also; 'too') can be extraposed together, and in examples (66b), and (66c) the PrePP and the short adverb can be extraposed on their own:

(66) a. Ek kan 'n bietjie t_i t_j haa wies *[vi jou]*$_{PPi}$ *[oek]*$_{ADVPj}$.
I can a bit there be for you also
"I can be there for you too." [AABT; PSC]

b. Ek kan 'n bietjie t_i [oek]$_{ADVP}$ haa wies *[vi jou]*$_{PPi}$.
I can a bit also there be for you
"I can be there for you too."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

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c. Ek kan ‘n bietjie [vi jou]$_{PP}$ t$_j$ haa wies *[oek]*$_{ADVPj}$.
I can a bit for you there be also
“I can be there for you too.”

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In example (66a) above, the PrePP precedes the short adverb. However, example (67) below shows that if the word order is switched, it will still yield a grammatical sentence:

(67) Ek kan ‘n bietjie *[oek]*$_{ADVP}$ *[vi jou]*$_{PP}$ haa wies.
I can a bit also for you there be
“I can be there for you too.”

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In addition to co-occuring with short adverbs and other adpositions, adpositions can also co-occur with clauses (11.11%). For example, (68) illustrates the simultaneous extraposition of the CircumPP *na ‘n meisie toe* and the relative clause *wat daa gewêkkit* (lit. that there worked.has; ‘that worked there’):

(68) a. Ek het altyd daa t$_i$ t$_j$ gegan *[na ’n* meisie *toe]*$_{PPi}$ *[wat daa*
I have always there went to a girl to that there
gewêkkit]$_{RCj}$.
worked.has
“I always went to a girl that worked there.”

[AABR; PSC]

b. Ek het altyd daa **[na ’n meisie toe]**$_{PP}$ t$_j$ gegan *[wat daa*
I have always there went to a girl to that there
gewêkkit]$_{RCj}$.
worked.has
“I always went to a girl that worked there.”

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. *Ek het altyd daa t$_i$ [wat daa gewêkkit]$_{RC}$ gegan *[na ’n* meisie
I have always there that there worked went to a girl
toe]$_{PPi}$.
to

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Unlike the previous examples, example (68b) shows that extraposing the relative clause *wat daa gewêkkit* on its own results in a grammatical sentence, but extraposing the CircumPP *na ’n meisie toe* on its own results in an ungrammatical sentence (see 68c above). This is expected, as the relative clause precedes the head of the relative clause, the NP *‘n meisie*. As discussed in section 4.2.1.4 above, the relative

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clause can undergo extraposition on its own and still yield a grammatical sentence. However, due to the requirement that the head of the relative clause linearly precedes the relative clause, the CircumPP (which contains the NP) cannot be extraposed on its own as this will result in an ungrammatical sentence.

Consider (69) below, which is repeated from (54a) above. (69a) shows that the relative head *alles* and the relative clause *wat vekeed is* can be extraposed together, and (69b) shows that the relative clause can be extraposed on its own. However, (69c) shows that extraposing the NP on its own results in an ungrammatical sentence. This is clear evidence that the restriction on extraposition in (68) is particular to the requirement of relative clauses that should follow their head NPs:

(69) a. ... om t_i t_j reg te maak **[alles]**$_{NPi}$ *[wat vekeed is]*$_{RCj}$.
... to right to make everything what incorrect is
"... to fix everything that's wrong"

b. ... om **[alles]**$_{NP}$ t_j reg te maak *[wat vekeed is]*$_{RCj}$.
... to everything right to make what incorrect is
"... to fix everything that's wrong"

c. *... om t_i *[wat vekeed is]*$_{RC}$ reg te maak **[alles]**$_{NPi}$.
... to what incorrect is right to make everything
"... to fix everything that's wrong"

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Additionally, adpositions can also co-occur with direct objects (5.55% of all MEC's). This is illustrated in example (70a) below, where the PrePP *by Rembrandt* ('by Rembrandt') and the direct object *nagskof* ('nightshift') are extraposed together. As a native Paarl-Kaaps speaker, I find it possible to extrapose *by Rembrandt* on its own (see (70b) below), and to extrapose *nagskof* on its own (see (70c) below):

(70) a. ... dan moet hy nog t_i t_j gat werk *[by Rembrandt]*$_{PPi}$ *[nagskof]*$_{NPj}$.
... then must he still go work by Rembrandt nightshift
"... then he must still go work nightshift by Rembrandt."

[AABR; PSC]

b. ... dan moet hy nog t_i [nagskof]$_{NP}$ gat werk *[by Rembrandt]*$_{PPi}$.
... then must he still nightshift go work by Rembrandt
"... then he must still go work nightshift by Rembrandt."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

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c. ... dan moet hy nog [by Rembrandt]$_{PP}$ t$_j$ gat werk *[nagskof]*$_{NPj}$.
... then must he still by Rembrandt go work nightshift
"... then he must still go work nightshift by Rembrandt."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In (70a), the PrePP *by Rembrandt* precedes the direct object *nagskof*. However, as shown in (71), *nagskof* can precede *by Rembrandt*:

(71) ... dan moet hy nog [nagskof]$_{NP}$ [by Rembrandt]$_{PP}$ gat werk.
... then must he still nightshift go work by Rembrandt
"... then he must still go work nightshift by Rembrandt."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Lastly, I will be discussing the short adverbs that can co-occur with other short adverbs (5.55%). This is illustrated in example (72a) below, where the co-occuring adverbs *nou* ('now') and *nog* ('still') are extraposed together. In examples (72b) and (72c) respectively, the short adverbs *nou* and *nog* are extraposed separately:

(72) a. Hy is t$_i$ t$_j$ 'n bietjie gevaarlik *[nou]*$_{ADVPi}$ *[nog]*$_{ADVPj}$.
he is a bit dangerous now still
"He's still a bit dangerous now." [AABR; PSC]

b. Hy is t$_i$ [nog]$_{ADVP}$ 'n bietjie gevaarlik *[nou]*$_{ADVPi}$.
he is still a bit dangerous now
"He's still a bit dangerous now."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. Hy is [nou]$_{ADVP}$ t$_j$ 'n bietjie gevaarlik *[nog]*$_{ADVPj}$.
he is now a bit dangerous still
"He's still a bit dangerous now."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Example (73) below shows that the order of *nog* and *nou* can be switched:

(73) Hy is [nog]$_{ADVP}$ [nou]$_{ADVP}$ 'n bietjie gevaarlik.
he is still now a bit dangerous
"He's still a bit dangerous now"

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

This section focused on the extraposition structures that simultaneously extrapose multiple constituents. The purpose of this section was to zoom in on cases where there are two co-occuring extraposed constituents, by examining which categories are (not) are frequently extraposed together. I will be discussing whether there is an interpretive significance of the various ordering possibilities in section 5.2.5 below. The section to follow will focus on the V-final structures.

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4.3 V-Final Clauses

As previously noted, a total of 760 clauses were extracted from the Paarl sub-corpus of the SEcoKa project, of which 99/760 (13.03%) show extraposition, and 661/760 (86.97%) are V-final. This section focuses on those V-final structures in which a constituent could have been extraposed, as well as the V-final structures where constituents cannot undergo extraposition.

Of the 661 V-final sentences, 565 (85.48%) could allow extraposition. This means that although the speakers did not use extraposition in these structures, if extraposition were to take place, it would not result in ungrammaticality. Using example (21a) from section 4.1, example (74) shows a V-final clause that has extraposable constituents, but does not show extraposition:

(74) Ek het haar *[in die dorp]*$_{PP}$ gesien.
I have her in the town seen
"I saw her in town." [Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Table 4.8 details a breakdown of the constituent types in the V-final structures:

Word Category	**All V-Final tokens**	**Allows Extraposition?**			
		Yes	**%**	**No**	**%**
Adpositional Phrases	229	211	92.14%	18	7.86%
Short Adverbs	272	226	83.09%	46	16.91%
Direct Objects	81	49	60.49%	32	39.51%
Modal Particles	79	79	100%	0	0
Total	661	565	85.48%	96	14.52%

Table 4.8: Extraposability in V-Final clauses

In the discussion to follow, section 4.3.1 will investigate the constituents in V-final structures that could undergo extraposition, as well as the constituents that resist extraposition. This will then be followed by section 4.3.2, which discusses the V-final structures that have more than one potentially extraposable constituent.

4.3.1 Optionality of Extraposition

The following section will give an overview of the V-Final structures that allow extraposition, as well as the structures that do not allow extraposition. This will be done by focusing on the following categories: adpositional phrases; short adverbs; direct objects; and modal particles.

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4.3.1.1 Adpositional Phrases

Of the 661 V-final clauses, a total of 229 (34.64% of all V-final clauses) feature adpositional phrases. Of the 229 V-final tokens that feature adpositional phrases, a total of 211 (92.14%) could be extraposed and still yield a grammatical sentence, whereas only 18 (7.86%) resist extraposition.

Of the 229 V-final tokens that feature adpositional phrases, 196 (85.59%) are prepositional phrases. Of these 180/196 (91.84%) could undergo extraposition, and 16/196 (8.16%) could not. Examples (75a) and (76a) illustrate V-final sentences, where the PrePP's *oppie kraal* (lit. on.the field; 'on the field') and *deer 'n venster* ('through a window') respectively, are in the MF. The respective examples in (75b) and (76b) illustrate that it is possible for these PrePPs to be extraposed:

(75) a. Ôs het *[oppie kraal]*$_{PP}$ gespeel.
us have on.the field played
"We played on the field." [AABS; PSC]

b. Ôs het t_i gespeel *[oppie kraal]*$_{PPi}$.
we have played on.the field
"We played on the field."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

(76) a. Ek en sy het mos eendag *[deer 'n venster]*$_{PP}$ gespring.
I and she have mos one.day through a window jumped
"Her and I just jumped through a window one day." [AABU; PSC]

b. Ek en sy het mos eendag t_i gespring *[deer 'n venster]*$_{PPi}$.
I and she have mos one.day jumped through a window
"Her and I just jumped through a window one day."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Consider example (77) below, where there are two PrePPs in the MF. In (77b), the PrePP *aan hulle* ('to them') can be extraposed and yield a grammatical sentence. On the other hand, (77c) shows that the extraposition of the PrePP *vir jou* ('for you') results in an ungrammatical sentence:

(77) a. Eventually gan ek *[vi jou]*$_{PP}$ *[aan hulle]*$_{PP}$ bekend stel.
eventually go I for you to them introduce set
"Eventually, I'm going to introduce you to them." [AABU; PSC]

b. Eventually gan ek *[vi jou]*$_{PP}$ t_j bekend stel *[aan hulle]*$_{PPj}$.
eventually go I for you introduce set to them
"Eventually, I'm going to introduce you to them."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

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c. *Eventually gan ek t_i *[aan hulle]$_{PP}$* bekend stel *[vi jou]$_{PPi}$*.
eventually go I to them introduce set for you
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Notably, the 16/196 (8.16%) PrePPs that resisted extraposition had independent grammatical reasons for resisting extraposition. These included a facultative *vir*, which was used to mark a direct object (e.g. *hy wil [vi os] slat*; lit. he want for us hit; 'he wanted to hit us'), and PrePPs that were embedded into larger phrases out of which they could not independently be extraposed (e.g. *... wat [oor 10 jaar oud] is*; lit. ... what over 10 year old is; '... that's over 10 years old'). Furthermore, 2/16 (12.5%) of the PrePPs that resisted extraposition were situations in which we would expect them to be CircumPPs. However, the speakers ommitted the PostPP element (e.g. *... jy spring net [innie mirrel (in)] en keer*; lit. ... you jump just in.the middle and stop; '... you must jump in the middle and stop them').

Of the 229 adpositional phrases, 5 (2.18%) are postpositional phrases. 4 of the 5 (80%) could undergo extraposition and yield a grammatical sentence, whereas the extraposition of 1/5 (20%) would yield an ungrammatical sentence. In example (78a), the PostPP *rivier toe* (lit. river to; 'to the river') is in the MF, and in (78b) *rivier toe* has been extraposed:

(78) a. Hulle't amil *[rivier toe]$_{PP}$* gegan.
they.have all river to went
"They all went to the river." [AABS; PSC]

b. Hulle't amil t_i gegan *[rivier toe]$_{PPi}$*.
they.have all went river to
"They all went to the river."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Example (79b) shows that if the PostPP *huis toe* (lit. house to; 'home') were to undergo extraposition, it would yield an ungrammatical sentence:

(79) a. Hai een gat an *[huis toe]$_{PP}$* wil geneem wees.
that one will then house to want taken be
"That one will want to be taken home." [AABT; PSC]

b. *Hai een gat an t_i wil geneem wees *[huis toe]$_{PPi}$*.
that one will then want taken be house to
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

10 (4.37%) of the 229 adpositional phrases are circumpositional phrases, and all 10 (100%) tokens could undergo extraposition. This is illustrated in (80) below, where

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the CircumPP *ytie Mark yt* (lit. out.the Mark out; 'out of Market Place') can be extraposed (see (80b) below):

(80) a. Hulle het ôs mos toe *[ytie Mark yt]*$_{PP}$ gesit.
they have us mos then out.the Market out put
"They ended up putting us out of Market place." [AABR; PSC]

b. Hulle het ôs mos toe t$_i$ gesit *[ytie Mark yt]*$_{PPi}$.
they have us mos then put out.the Market out
"They ended up putting us out of the Market place."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Of the 229 adpositional phrases in V-final structures, 8 (3.49%) are R-pronouns, where 7/8 (87.5%) could be extraposed and 1/8 (12.50%) cannot undergo extraposition. For example, in (81b), the R-PRN *haamie* (lit. there.with; 'with that') is extraposed from the MF, as shown in (81a):

(81) a. Moenie lat ôs *[haamie]*$_{PP}$ begintie.
do.not let us with.that begin.not
"Don't let us start with that." [AABT; PSC]

b. Moenie lat ôs t$_i$ begin *[haamie]*$_{PPi}$ nie.
do.not let us begin with.that no
"Don't let us start with that."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

However, in example (82b), the extraposition of *waavoo* (lit. where.for; 'what') results in an ungrammatical sentence. This suggests that all of the *d*-initial (non-question type) R-pronouns are potentially extraposable [7]:

(82) a. Dis mos *[waavoo]*$_{PP}$ UNISA mos ha is.
that.is mos where.for UNISA mos there is
"That's actually what UNISA is there for." [AABT; PSC]

b. *Dis mos t$_i$ UNISA mos ha is *[waavoo]*$_{PPi}$.
that.is mos UNISA mos there is where.for
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

10 of the 229 (4.37%) V-final clauses containing adpositional phrases feature co-occurring locative pronouns, and all 10 (100%) tokens could undergo extraposition.

[7] As mentioned previously, R-pronouns are named after their phonological /r/ ending. The *d*-initial /d/ sound in the distal form *daa* can be weakened to *haa*. In Afrikaans more generally, this is due to factors concerning production (e.g. rapid speech). Ongoing research (see Pots et al. (2019) for first impressions) suggests that in Kaaps, the /d/ and /h/ distinction has been systematized. However, I will set this issue aside for the rest of this dissertation.

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Let us consider example (35) from section 4.2.1.2 above, repeated in (83) below for the reader's convenience.. In example (83) below, neither the locative pronoun *hie* ('here') or the PrePP *innie Langvlei* (lit. in the Langvlei; 'in Langvlei') has been extraposed:

(83) ... toe't hulle **[hie]**$_{ADVP}$ *[innie Langvlei]*$_{PP}$ gebly.
... then.have they here in.the Langvlei lived.
"... they lived here in Langvlei." [AABR; PSC]

It is important to note that example (83) has more than one potentially extraposable constituent. This is illustrated in (84):

(84) a. ... toe't hulle t_i t_j gebly *[hie]*$_{ADVPi}$ *[innie Langvlei]*$_{PPj}$.
... then.have they lived here in.the Langvlei
"... they lived here in Langvlei."

b. ... toe't hulle t_i *[innie Langvlei]*$_{PP}$ gebly *[hie]*$_{ADVPi}$.
... then.have they in.the Langvlei lived here
"... they lived here in Langvlei."

c. ... toe't hulle *[hie]*$_{ADVP}$ t_j gebly *[innie Langvlei]*$_{PPj}$.
... then.have they here lived in.the Langvlei
"... they lived here in Langvlei."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In (84a), the locative pronoun *hie* ('here) and the PrePP *innie Langvlei* (lit. in.the Langvlei; 'in Langvlei') have been extraposed. However, in (84b), the PrePP *innie Langvlei* remains in the MF, but the locative pronoun *hie* is extraposed. On the other hand, (84c) shows an instance where the locative pronoun *hie* remains in the MF, but the PrePP *innie Langvlei* is extraposed. As aforementioned, example (83) has more than one potentially extraposable constituent, which will be further discussed in section 4.3.2 below.

The following table provides a breakdown of adpositional phrases, and the extent to which the PPs in the corpus were, in principle, extraposable:
Table 4.9 shows that, as expected, PrePPs have a high rate of possible extraposition at 91.84%. Although PostPPs (80%), CircumPPs (100%), R-pronouns (87.5%), and locative pronouns that are accompanied by adpositional phrases (100%) have a high rate of possible extraposition, it is important to remember that the data set for these categories are considerably smaller.

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Adpositional Phrases	All tokens	Allows Extraposition?			
		Yes	%	No	%
PrePPs	196	180	91.84%	16	8.25%
PostPPs	5	4	80%	1	20%
CircumPPs	10	10	100%	0	0
R-Pronouns	8	7	87.5%	1	12.5%
Locative PRN ft PP	10	10	100%	0	0
Total	229	211	92.14%	18	7.86%

Table 4.9: Optionality in the extraposibility of adpositional phrases

4.3.1.2 Short Adverbs

Of the 661 V-final clauses, 272 (41.15%) features short adverbs; which includes 'regular' short adverbs, locative pronouns, and locative pronouns that feature adpositional phrases. Of the 272 V-final clauses that feature short adverbs, 226 (83.09%) could undergo extraposition and yield grammatical sentences, and 46 (16.91%) cannot undergo extraposition.

Of the 272 V-final clauses that feature short adverbs, a total of 234 (86.03%) are 'regular' short adverbs. 193 of the 234 (82.48%) V-final clauses could undergo extraposition, while 41/234 (17.52%) resist extraposition. Example (85a) shows the 'regular' short adverb *laaskeer* ('last time') originating in the MF; and example (85b) shows its extraposition:

(85) a. Ek het *[laaskeer]*$_{ADVP}$ gesien.
I have last.time saw
"I saw the last time." [AABR; PSC]

b. Ek het t$_i$ gesien *[laaskeer]*$_{ADVPi}$.
I have saw last.time
"I saw the last time." [Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Similarly, in (86), the 'regular' short adverb *nou* ('nou'), which originates in the MF (see (86a) below), can be extraposed (see (86b) below):

(86) a. Ek wil 'an *[nou]*$_{ADVP}$ aftrie.
I want then now retire
"I want to retire now." [AABS; PSC]

b. Ek wil 'an t$_i$ aftrie *[nou]*$_{ADVPi}$.
I want then retire now
"I want to retire now." [Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

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In examples (87b) and (88b), the extraposition of *baie gou* (lit. a.lot quickly; 'very quickly') and *starag* ('slowly') yields ungrammatical sentences:

(87) a. Ek kan *[baie gou]*$_{ADVP}$ brood bak.
I can a.lot quickly bread bake
"I can bake bread very quickly." [AABU; PSC]

b. *Ek kan t$_i$ brood bak *[baie gou]*$_{ADVPi}$.
I can bread bake a.lot quickly
"I can bake bread very quickly."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

(88) a. Ja ma jy't *[starag]*$_{ADVP}$ gegroei.
yes but you.have slowly grew
"Yes, but you grew slowly." [AABR; PSC]

b. *Ja ma jy't t$_i$ gegroei *[starag]*$_{ADVPi}$.
yes but you.have slowly grew
"Yes, but you grew slowly."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Of the 272 V-final clauses clauses that feature short adverbs, 38 (13.97%) are locative pronouns. 33/38 (86.84%) could undergo extraposition, and 5/38 (13.16%) could not. Examples (89) and (90) respectively illustrate the extraposition of the locative pronoun of *daa* ('there') from the MF (see (89b) and (90b) below):

(89) a. ... maa hulle was *daa*$_{ADVP}$ ytgesit.
... but they was there out.put
"... but they were put out there." [AABR; PSC]

b. ... maa hulle was t$_i$ ytgesit *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
... but they was out.put there
"... but they were put out there."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

(90) a. Daai goed wat jy *daa*$_{ADVP}$ geleeret?
that stuff what you there learnt.have
"The stuff that you learnt there?" [AABS; PSC]

b. Daai goed wat jy t$_i$ geleeret *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$?
that stuff what you learnt.have there
"The stuff that you learnt there?"
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Using the same example as (82), example (91b) shows that the extraposition of *ha* ('there') results in an ungrammatical sentence. Notably, in this instance, the use

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of *haa* isn't actually specific or properly locative (see section 4.2.1.1 above for the discussion on locative pronouns that are associated with adpositional phrases):

(91) a. Dis mos waavoo UNISA mos *[ha]*$_{ADVP}$ is.
that.is mos where.for UNISA mos there is
"That's actually what UNISA is there for." [AABT; PSC]

b. *Dis mos wavoo UNISA mos t_i is *[ha]*$_{ADVPi}$.
that.is mos waavoo UNISA mos is where.for
"That's actually what UNISA is there for."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Let us now discuss the 10/273 (3.66%) tokens that feature locative pronouns that are accompanied by adpositional phrases, where all 10 of these can undergo extraposition. Recall that a locative pronoun can be co-referential to an adpositional phrase. In example (92) below (which was already mentioned in section 4.2.1.1), the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') refers to multiple PrePPs (*innie onne-Paarl* (lit. in under-Paarl; 'in central Paarl') and *op dai brug* (lit. up that bridge; 'on that bridge')) at a time, and has more than one potentially extraposable constituent..

(92) Ons het somma **[haa]**$_{ADVP}$ *[innie onne-Paarl op dai brug]*$_{PP}$ gestaan.
we have just there in.the under-Paarl up that bridge stood
"We stood on the bridge in central Paarl." [AABS; PSC]

In example (92), the locative pronoun *daa* and the PrePPs *innie onne-Paarl* and *op dai brug* are in the MF. In (93a), the locative pronoun *haa* and the PrePPs *innie onne-Paarl* and *op dai brug* can be extraposed together as they are lexically heavy. Surprisingly, the locative pronoun *haa* (which is a lexically light element) can be extraposed on its own (see (93b) below). Additionally, the PrePPs *innie onne-Paarl* and *op dai brug* can be extraposed together (see (93c) below); or the respective PrePPs *innie onne-Paarl* and *op dai brug* can be extraposed on its own (see (93d) and (93e) below). The latter collocations are both heavy:

(93) a. Ons het somma t_i t_j t_k gestaan *[haa]*$_{ADVPi}$ *[innie onne-Paarl]*$_{PPj}$ *[op dai brug]*$_{PPk}$.
we have just stood there in.the under-Paarl up that bridge
"We stood on the bridge in central Paarl." [AABS; PSC]

b. Ons het somma t_i *[innie onne-Paarl]*$_{PP}$ *[op dai brug]* gestaan *[haa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
we have just in.the under-Paarl up that bridge stood there
"We stood on the bridge in central Paarl."

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[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. Ons het somma *[haa]*$_{ADVP}$ t$_j$ t$_k$ gestaan *[innie onne-Paarl]*$_{PP_j}$ *[op dai brug]*$_{PP_k}$.
we have just there stood in.the under-Paarl up that bridge
"We stood on the bridge in central Paarl."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

d. Ons het somma *[haa]*$_{ADVP}$ *[innie onne-Paarl]*$_{PP}$ t$_k$ gestaan *[op dai brug]*$_{PP_k}$.
we have just there in.the under-Paarl stood up that bridge
"We stood on the bridge in central Paarl."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

e. Ons het somma *[haa]*$_{ADVP}$ t$_j$ *op [dai brug]*$_{PP}$ *gestaan [innie onne-Paarl]*$_j$.
we have just there up that bridge stood in.the under-Paarl
"We stood on the bridge in central Paarl."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

The following table provides a breakdown of the short adverbs data discussed above [8]:

Short Adverbs	**All tokens**	**Allows Extraposition?**			
		Yes	**%**	**No**	**%**
'Regular' Short Adverbs	234	193	82.48%	41	17.52%
Locative Pronouns	38	33	86.84%	5	13.16%
Total	272	226	83.09%	46	16.91%

Table 4.10: Optionality in the extraposibility of short adverbs

Table 4.10 shows that 83.09% of all the short adverbs could undergo extraposition, with 82.48% of 'regular' short adverbs and 86.84% of locative pronouns being able to undergo extraposition and still yield grammatical sentences. This is unexpected, as light elements (such as adverbs) aren't typically expected to extrapose.

4.3.1.3 Direct Objects

Of the 661 V-final clauses, 81 (12.25%) feature direct objects. 49/81 (60.49%) could undergo extraposition and yield grammatical sentences, and 32/81 (39.51%) could

[8]Note that the tokens for locative pronouns that are paired with adpositional phrases were counted in section 4.3.1.1 Therefore, although they are discussed in 4.3.1.2, they will not be counted again in this section.

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not. Examples (94a) and (95a) illustrate V-final sentences, where the direct objects *die geleentheid* ('the opportunity') and *daai* ('that') are in the MF; and in (94b) and (95b) *die geleentheid* and *daai* are extraposed. Extraposing some of the direct objects in V-final clauses had an interpretive effect, and will be discussed further in section 5.2.4 below:

(94) a. So jy gan nou *[die geleentheid]*$_{NP}$ het.
so you go now the opportunity have
"So you're going to have the opportunity now." [AABR; PSC]

b. So jy gan nou t$_i$ het *[die geleentheid]*$_{NPi}$.
so you go now have the opportunity
"So you're going to have the opportunity now."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

(95) a. ... maa my kind het *[daai]*$_{NP}$ gedoen.
... but my child have that did
"... but my child did that." [AABS; PSC]

b. ... maa my kind het t$_i$ gedoen *[daai]*$_{NPi}$.
... but my child have did that
"... but my child did that."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Importantly, both direct objects in examples (94) and (95) are definite as they are identifiable in a given context. On the other hand, examples (96) and (97) illustrate that the extraposition of the direct objects *'n huis* ('a house') and *Wiskunde* ('Mathematics'), which originate in the MF (see (96a) and (97a) below), yields an ungrammatical sentence (see (96b) and (97b) below). In (96), *'n huis* is not definite and resists extraposition. In (97), the bare noun *Wiskunde* co-occurs with the light verb *doen* ('do'), and gets incorporated with that light verb, a structure that is common in Kaaps, as it is in Afrikaans and West Germanic varieties more generally (consider, for example, *klavierspeel*; lit. 'piano.play'; 'to play the piano'). Due to this, the direct object behaves the same as a P-type particle, ruling out the possibility of extraposition (see section 4.2.1.6 for further discussion). Thus, the direct objects that resisted extraposition were either indefinite or incorporated with the verb:

(96) a. Ons moet nou *['n huis]*$_{NP}$ koep.
we must now a house buy
"We must buy a house now." [AABU; PSC]

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b. *Ons moet nou t_i koep *['n huis]$_{NPi}$*.
we must now buy a house
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

(97) a. Ek weet ek wil *[Wiskunde]$_{NP}$* doen.
I know I want Mathematics do
"I know that I want to do Mathematics." [AABT; PSC]

b. *Ek weet ek wil t_i doen *[Wiskunde]$_{NPi}$*.
I know I want do Mathematics
"I know that I want to do Mathematics."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

The following table provides a breakdown of the direct objects data discussed above:

Direct Objects	**All tokens**	**Allows Extraposition?**			
		Yes	**%**	**No**	**%**
Direct Objects	81	49	60.49%	32	39.51%

Table 4.11: Optionality in the extraposibility of direct objects

Table 4.11 shows that 60.49% of direct objects in V-final clauses can be extraposed. Although this is less than the average rate of possible extraposition (84.64%), it is still unexpectedly high as extraposed direct objects are not typically expected to yield grammatical sentences.

4.3.1.4 Modal Particles

It was noted in section 4.2.1.5 that there are 79 (12.20% of the V-final clauses) that feature modal particles. Of the 79 modal particles, 100% could undergo extraposition. In (98a) and (98c), the modal particle *mos* is in the MF. However, in (98b) and (98d) *mos* has been extraposed:

(98) a. A het *[mos]$_{MP}$* op 'n plaas gewoon.
A have mos on a farm lived
"A lived on a farm, remember." [AABS; PSC]

b. A het t_i op 'n plaas gewoon *[mos]$_{MPi}$*.
A have on a farm lived mos
"A lived on a farm, remember."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. Hulle het *[mos]$_{MP}$*-sie internet gehadie.
they have mos.no internet had.no
"They actually didn't have internet." [AABU; PSC]

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d. Hulle hettie t_i internet gehad *[mossie]*$_{MPi}$.
they have.no internet had mos.no
"They actually didn't have internet."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author][9]

Since modal particles provide additional information about a speaker's perspective about an event, extraposing them from the MF could alter the meaning that the speaker is trying to convey. In both examples (98a) and (98c), to the speaker, the utterance contains information that the hearer should know. Thus, with *mos* remaining in the MF, the speaker uses it to remind the hearer about this information that they may share. As opposed to this, by extraposing *mos*, the speaker uses it to reinforce the shared information between the speakers (see examples (98b) and (98d) above).

The following table provides a breakdown of the modal particles data discussed above:

Modal Particles	**All tokens**	**Allows Extraposition?**			
		Yes	**%**	**No**	**%**
Modal Particles	79	79	100%	0	0

Table 4.12: Optionality in the extraposibility of modal particles

Table 4.12 shows that 100% of modal particles in V-final clauses could have been extraposed. Surprisingly, although the average rate of possible extraposition for modal particles is so high, the corpus did not have any tokens where the modal particles were actually extraposed.

4.3.1.5 Interim Summary

The following table (repeated from table 4.8 above for the reader's convenience) provides a detailed summary of the possibilities of extraposition:
Table 4.13 shows that of the V-final clauses, adpositions had a 92.14% rate of possibly being extraposed. Additionally, short adverbs (83.09%) and direct objects (60.49%) both have a fairly high rate of possible extraposition, which is unexpected as neither light elements (such as short adverbs) nor direct objects are easily extraposed in other West-Germanic languages. Strikingly, although modal particles have

[9]Recall that Kaaps is a double negation language. In example (98d) above, the first *nie* is a part of *mos*, and the second *nie* is a part of *gehad*. However, once *mos* undergoes extrapostion, the first *nie* 'attaches' to the finite verb and becomes *hettie*, and the second *nie* 'attaches' to *mos* and becomes *mossie*

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Word Category	All V-Final tokens	Allows Extraposition?			
		Yes	%	No	%
Adpositional Phrases	229	211	92.14%	18	7.86%
Short Adverbs	272	226	83.09%	46	16.91%
Direct Objects	81	49	60.49%	32	39.51%
Modal Particles	79	79	100%	0	0
Total	661	565	85.48%	96	14.52%

Table 4.13: Summary of optionality

a rate of possible extraposition of 100%, the corpus did not have any tokens where the modal particles are extraposed.

4.3.2 Extraposability with Multiple Constituents

In section 4.2.2 above, we focused on the 18/99 (18.18%) extraposition structures that simultaneously extrapose multiple constituents. In a similar way, but now focusing on the V-final data, this section focuses on the 70/661 (10.59%) V-Final sentences that have more than one potentially extraposable constituent. Section 4.2.2 zoomed in on examples with two co-occurring extraposable constituents to gain insight into how these constituents interact under extraposition. Similarly, the purpose of this section is to gain insight on how the V-final structures that have more than one potentially extraposable constituent interact under extraposition.

Table 4.14 below contains some logical possibilities of how the categories could be combined, and shows the frequency of Category 1 co-occuring with Category 2. Notably, the categories that are not included in the table were not found in the data.

Category 1	Category 2	MHEC	
		Tokens	%
Short adverbs	Short adverbs	24	34.29%
Short adverbs	Modal particles	20	28.57%
Short adverbs	Adpositional phrases	13	18.57%
Adpositional pjrases	Adpositional phrases	9	12.86%
Modal particles	Modal particles	3	4.29%
Adpositional phrases	Short adverbs	1	1.43%
Total		70	100%

Table 4.14: Summary of extraposability with multiple constituents

Table 4.14 shows that short adverbs co-occur with other short adverbs most fre-

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quently (34.29%), followed by modal particles (28.57%), and then with adpositions (18.57%). Then, it shows that adpositions co-occur with other adpositions (12.86%), followed by modal particles that co-occur with other modal particles (4.29%), and lastly, adpositions that co-occur with 'regular' short adverbs (1.43%).

Example (99a) illustrates a V-final structure which incorporates two short adverbial constituents, both of which are possible candidates for extraposition. The short adverbs *nou* ('now') and *nog* ('still') can be extraposed simultaneously and still yield a grammatical sentence (see (99b) below). However, as shown by (99c) and (99d), *nou* and *nog* can be extraposed separately and still result in a grammatical sentence:[10]

(99) a. Kan mevrou *[nou]*$_{ADVP}$ *[nog]*$_{ADVP}$ dai ysterbrug onthou?
can ma'am now still that iron.bridge remember
"Can you still remember that iron bridge?" [AABS; PSC]

b. Kan mevrou t_i t_j dai ysterbrug onthou *[nou]*$_{ADVPi}$ *[nog]*$_{ADVPj}$?
can ma'am that iron.bridge remember now still
"Can you still remember that iron bridge?"
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. Kan mevrou t_i *[nog]*$_{ADVP}$ dai ysterbrug onthou *[nou]*$_{ADVPi}$?
can ma'am still that iron.bridge remember now
"Can you still remember that iron bridge?"
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

d. Kan mevrou *[nou]*$_{ADVP}$ t_j dai ysterbrug onthou *[nog]*$_{ADVPj}$?
can ma'am now that iron.bridge remember still
"Can you still remember that iron bridge?"
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

As shown in section 4.9, short adverbs that are accompanied by adpositional phrases frequently co-occur. Example (100a) below shows an instance where the locative pronoun *haa* ('there') and the PrePP *onner* (lit. under; 'at the bottom') are still in pre-verbal position. The example in (100b) shows that both the locative pronoun *haa* and the PrePP *onner* can be extraposed together. However, as shown in examples (100c) and (100d) respectively, *haa* (which is the head of the relative clause) and *onner* can be extraposed separately and still yield a grammatical sentence:

[10]In Afrikaans and Kaaps, there is a level of respect when speaking to elders or someone that you do not know. Instead of using personal pronouns like *jy* ('you') when addressing them, you address them with the relevant honorific titles.

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(100) a. *[Haa]$_{ADVP}$ [onner]$_{PP}$* waa hulle kanoes gan kyk.
There under where they canoes go look
"There, at the bottom where they watch the canoes." [AABS; PSC]

b. t$_i$ t$_j$ waa hulle kanoes gan kyk *[haa]$_{ADVPi}$ [onner]$_{PPj}$*.
where they canoes go look there under
"Where they watch the canoes, there, at the bottom."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. t$_i$ *[onner]$_{PP}$* waa hulle kanoes gan kyk *[haa]$_{ADVPi}$*.
under where they canoes go look there
"At the bottom where they watch the canoes, there."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

d. Haa t$_j$ waa hulle kanoes gan kyk *[onner]$_{ADVPj}$*.
there where they canoes go watch under
"There, where they watch the canoes, at the bottom."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

I will now discuss the modal particles that co-occur with short adverbs (28.57%). Consider the V-final structure in (101a) below, where the modal particles *mos* and *nou* can be extraposed together (see (101b) below). Additionally, *mos* and *nou* can also be extraposed separately and still result in a grammatical sentence (see (101c) and (101d) below):

(101) a. ... ha dink hulle *[mos]$_{MP}$ [nou]$_{ADVP}$* ôs is klaar.
... then think they mos nou us is done
"... then they end up thinking that we're done." [AABS; PSC]

b. ... ha dink hulle t$_i$ t$_j$ ôs is klaar *[mos]$_{MPi}$ [nou]$_{ADVPj}$*.
... then think they us is done mos now
"... then they end up thinking that we're done."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. ... ha dink hulle t$_i$ *[nou]$_{ADVP}$* ôs is klaar *[mos]$_{MPi}$*.
... then think they now us is done mos
"... then they end up thinking that we're done."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

d. ... ha dink hulle *[mos]$_{MP}$* t$_j$ ôs is klaar *[nou]$_{ADVPj}$*.
... then think they mos us is done now
"... then they end up thinking that we're done."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In addition to frequently co-occuring with short adverbs, modal particles also co-occur with other modal particles (4.29%). In (102a), the modal particles *mos* and

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ma are in the MF. Example (102b) shows that extraposing both *mos* and *ma* simultaneously results in an ungrammatical sentence. On the other hand, examples (102c) and (102d) shows that extraposing *mos* and *ma* on their own yields grammatical sentences:

(102) a. ... toe moen ôs oek *[mos]*$_{MP}$ *[maa]*$_{MP}$ agte innie bus sit.
... then must us also mos but back in.the bus sit
"... then we also had to sit at the back of the bus." [AABR; PSC]

b. *... toe moen ôs oek t$_i$ t$_j$ agte innie bus sit *[mos]*$_{MPi}$ *[maa]*$_{MPj}$.
... then must us also back in.the bus sit mos but
"... then we also had to sit at the back of the bus."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. ... toe moen ôs oek t$_i$ ma agte innie bus sit *[mos$_{MP}$]$_i$*.
... then must us also back in.the bus sit mos
"... then we also had to sit at the back of the bus."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

d. ... toe moen ôs oek *[mos]*$_{MP}$ t$_j$ agte innie bus sit *[ma$_{MP}$]$_j$*.
... then must us also mos back in.the bus sit but
"... then we also had to sit at the back of the bus."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

12.86% of the examples containing two potentially extraposable constituents are adpositional phrases that co-occur with other adpositional phrases. Example (103) shows a V-final structure that features two prepositional phrases that could both be extraposed. In (103b), both the PrePPs *vir A* ('for A') and *op kampus* ('on campus') are extraposed together. However, examples (103c) and (103d) respectively show that the PrePPs can be extraposed separately:

(103) a. Ek het altyd *[vir A]*$_{PP}$ *[op kampus]*$_{PP}$ gekry.
I have always for A on campus received
"I always got A on campus." [AABU; PSC]

b. Ek het altyd t$_i$ t$_j$ gekry *[vir A]*$_{PPi}$ *[op kampus]*$_{PPj}$.
I have always received for A on campus
"I always got A on campus."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. Ek het altyd t$_i$ *[op kampus]*$_{PP}$ gekry *[vir A]*$_{PPi}$.
I have always on campus received for A
"I always got A on campus."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

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d. Ek het altyd *[vir A]*$_{PP}$ t$_j$ gekry *[op kampus]*$_{PPj}$.
I have always for A received on campus
"I always got A on campus."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Finally, let us consider cases in which adpositions co-occur with short adverbs (1.43%). This is shown in example (104b) with the simultanenous extraposition of the PrePP *ini agte stasie* (lit. in.the back station; 'behind the station') and the short adverb *oek* ('also'). In (104c) and (104d) respectively, the prepositional phrase and adverb are extraposed on their own:

(104) a. ... en dan was die mense mos *[ini agte stasie]*$_{PP}$ *[oek]*$_{ADVP}$
... and then was the people mos in.the back station also
ytgesit.
out.put
"... then they ended up evicting the people from behind the police station as well." [AABR; PSC]

b. ... en dan was die mense mos t$_i$ t$_j$ ytgesit *[ini agte stasie]*$_{PPi}$
... and then was the people mos out.put in.the back station
[oek]$_{ADVPj}$.
also
"... then they ended up evicting the people from behind the police station as well."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

c. ... en dan was die mense mos t$_i$ *[oek]*$_{ADVP}$ ytgesit *[ini agte*
... and then was the people mos also out.put in.the back
stasie]$_{PPi}$.
station
"... then they ended up evicting the people from behind the police station as well."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

d. ... en dan was die mense mos *[ini agte stasie]*$_{PP}$ t$_j$ ytgesit
... and then was the people mos in.the back station out.put
[oek$_{ADV}$*]*$_j$.
also
"... then they ended up evicting the people from behind the police station as well."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

This section focused on the V-Final sentences that have more than one potentially extraposable constituent. This was done by zooming in on examples with two co-

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occurring extraposable constituents to gain insight into how these constituents interact under extraposition. The next section (4.4) focuses on the semantics of the extraposed categories.

4.4 The Semantics of Extraposed Categories

This section is going to focus on the semantics that are expressed by the following categories: adpositional phrases, short adverbs, and direct objects.

4.4.1 The Effect of Semantics on the Extraposition of Adpositions

According to Droga & Humphrey (2002: 29), experential meanings entail the use of language to represent our knowledge of the world and to talk about about our experiences. Verb groups, noun groups, and adverbials are used to express experential meaning. When we describe experience, we make use of three different elements of experience, namely: participants, processes, and circumstances.

Droga & Humphrey (2002: 32) state that participants are the noun groups that name the people, places, or things that affects other things in a clause. Additionally, Droga & Humphrey (2002: 30) define processes as the verb groups that express meaning about saying, doing or sensing. Moreover, while participants include the nouns that affect other things, circumstances add meaning to a class by locating events in time, space, or by describing the surrounding conditions (Droga & Humphrey 2002: 36). It is important to consider whether experiential meaning has an effect on extraposition. The adpositional phrases in the data express circumstance by using experiential meanings of direction, place, time, and other information. These other senses included expressions in which the preposition introduces a NP that is an an object of the verb (i.e. a prepositional object, is a companion, a purpose, a non-argument beneficiary, an instrument, or a result).

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The following table provides a breakdown of senses in adpositional phrases:

Sense	**Total Tokens**	**Extraposed**	
		Tokens	**%**
Place	84	25	29.76%
Direction	42	13	30.95%
Time	22	6	27.27%
'Other'	145	20	13.79%
Total	293	64	21.84%

Table 4.15: Extraposition rate of adpositional phrases by sense

Table 4.15 above shows that of the 293 adpositional phrase tokens that convey experential meanings, 64 (21.84%) tokens show extraposition. Of the 84 tokens that convey place, 25 (29.76%) show extraposition; and of the 42 tokens that convey direction, 13 (30.95%) show extraposition. Both the senses of place and direction are often realised via spatial metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 2008). Similarly, of the 22 tokens that convey time (which is a metaphorical spatial meaning), 6 (27.27%) show extraposition. Of the 145 tokens that convey 'other' information, 20 (13.79%) show extraposition. If we look across the senses that were conveyed by adpositional phrases, spatial semantics (i.e place, direction, time) were most frequently extraposed.

Examples (105) and (106) respectively show the extraposed PrePP *oppie bôd* ('on the board') indicating place and the PrePP *tot by OK* (lit. until by OK; 'to OK') indicating direction:

(105) ... tiwyl hy nog t_i geskryfet *[oppie bôd]*$_{PPi}$.
... while he still wrote.have on.the board
"... while he was writing on the board" [AABT; PSC]

(106) ôs het die Louwsrivier-bus t_i gevat *[tot by OK]*$_{PPi}$.
we have the Louwsriver-bus took until by OK
"We took the Louwsriver-bus to OK." [AABS; PSC]

Additionally, in example (107) below, the PrePP *virre hele wiek* (lit. for.the whole week; 'for a whole week') indicates time in the sense of expressing duration:

(107) ôs het ses rand *i* gekry *[virrie hele wiek]*$_{PPi}$.
we have six rand received for.the whole week
"We received six rand for the whole week" [AABS; PSC]

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As mentioned previously, 20 tokens that convey other information show extraposition. In some instances, a preposition introduces an NP that is an argument of the verb. Such PrePPs are called prepositional objects, where 8 (40%) of the 20 extraposed other tokens are prepositional objects. In example (108), the PrePP *met* ('with') introduces the NP *sy Honeurs* ('his Honours'):

(108) Nous hy nou t_i besag *[met sy Honeurs]*$_{PPi}$.
now.is he now busy with his Honours
"He's busy with his Honours now." [AABS; PSC]

Of the 20 extraposed tokens that were tagged as other, 4 (20%) are comitatives. Crystal & Alan (2023: 87) define comitatives as a noun phrase (participant) that expresses the meaning 'along with' or 'accompanied by'. Comitatives in Kaaps are commonly identified with the preposition *met/men* ('with'). In example (109), repeated from (64a) above, the PrePP *mettie twintag rand* (lit. with.the twenty rand; 'with a twenty rand') is used to indicate that the participant took a 'twenty rand' with them:

(109) Dan was ek t_i gestuur *[mettie twintag rand]*$_{PPi}$ dorp toe.
then was I sent with.the twenty rand town to
"Then I was sent to town with the twenty rand." [AABR; PSC]

3 out of the 20 (15%) extraposed tokens are purposive, meaning the PrePP is used to indicate the purpose of the event expressed by the verbal predicate. In example (110), the PrePP *vi toer* (lit. for tour; 'for touring') is used as a circumstance to indicate the purpose expressed by the verb *weggesitet* ('put away'):

(110) Daai geld wat hulle nou kon t_i weggesitet *[vi toer]*$_{PPi}$.
that money what they now could put.away.have for tour
"The money that they could have put away for touring." [AABU; PSC]

Additionally, 3 out of the 20 (15%) tokens are non-argument beneficiaries. Beneficiary PPs introduce an individual that will benefit from the event expressed by the verbal predicate. Example (111) below shows the PrePP object *vimy familie* ('for my family') that acts as a beneficiary, where the object *familie* ('family') benefits from the process done by the verb *braai*:

(111) ... as ek an nou t_i kan braai *[vimy familie]*$_{PPi}$.
... if I then now can braai for.my family
"... if I can braai for my family" [AABU; PSC]

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Of the 20 tokens, 1 (5%) is an instrumental. This is where the PrePP introduces an instrument with which the event denoted by the verbal predicate is carried out. In example (112), the PrePP *met dai geld*[11] ('with that money') acts as the instrument that is used by the agent introduced by the verbal predicate:

(112) Wat kan ekkie alles t_i gedoenet *[met dai geldt]*$_{PPi}$-ie?
what can I.no everything done.have with that money.no
"What (amazing things) wouldn't I have been able to do with that money?!"
[AABS; PSC]

Of the 20 tokens, 1 (5%) is a resultative. Simply put, this indicates that one thing is the result of another. In example (113) below, the PrePP object *met my vorige verhouding* ('with my previous relationship') resulted in the participant learning their lesson:

(113) Ek het my les t_i geleer *[met my vorige verhouding]*$_{PPi}$.
I have my lesson learnt with my previous relationship
"I learnt my lesson with my previous relationship." [AABT; PSC]

This section focused on the semantics that are expressed by adpositional phrases. The next section (4.4.2) focuses on the effect of semantics on the extraposition of short adverbs.

4.4.2 The Effect of Semantics on the Extraposition of Short Adverbs

Recall in section 4.4.1, it was noted that it is important to consider whether experiential meaning has an effect on extraposition. Similarly to adpositional phrases, short adverbs can also express a range of experiential meanings. I will consider adverbs of time, space, degree, manner, perspective, and frequency.

[11] I removed the *ie* from the predicate as it forms part of the double negation in Afrikaans, and is the second nie in the structure.

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The following table provides a breakdown of the different types of adverbs that express experiential meaning:

Adverb Type	**Total Tokens**	**Extraposed**	
		Tokens	**%**
Time	178	12	6.74%
Space	55	6	10.91%
Degree	43	0	0%
Manner	8	0	0%
Frequency	4	0	0%
Perspectival	4	2	50%
Additive	1	1	100%
Total	293	21	7.17%

Table 4.16: Extraposition rate of short adverbs by sense

Similarly to the semantic meanings that are discussed in table 4.15, table 4.16 shows that of the 293 short adverb tokens, 21 (7.17%) tokens show extraposition. Of the 178 short adverbs that convey time, 12 (6.90%) show extraposition; and 6/55 (10.91%) of the short adverbs that convey space show extraposition. Of the 293 short adverbs, there are 43 adverbs of degree, 8 adverbs of manner, and 4 adverbs of frequency, and neither of them show extraposition. Additionally, there are 4 adverbs of perspective, where 2 (50%) exhibit extraposition; and 1 (100%) additive adverb that shows extraposition. Like the spatial semantics expressed in adpositional phrases, spatial short adverbs are the ones that are most commonly extraposed. It is important to point out that although adverbs that convey perspective have an extraposition rate of 50%, the data sample for this category is notably smaller than the other categories.

Example (114) below shows the extraposition of *daai tyd* ('that time'), which is an adverb of time:

(114) Hy kon it mos t_i afford *[daai tyd]*$_i$.
he could it mos afford that time
"He could afford it then." [AABU; PSC]

Example (115) below illustrates an adverb of space in the extraposed *oorsee* ('overseas'):

(115) ... julle wôd t_i ontvoer *[oorsee]*$_i$.
... you become kidnapped overseas
"... you will get kidnapped overseas." [AABS; PSC]

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Example (116a) illustrates the adverb of degree *baie* (lit. a.lot, 'a lot') that originates in the MF, and (116b) shows that *baie* cannot undergo extraposition as it yields an ungrammatical sentence:

(116) a. Os het *[baie]*$_{ADVP}$ berg gat klim.
we have a.lot mountain go climb
"We climbed the mountain a lot" [AABS; PSC]

b. *Os het t$_i$ berg gat klim *[baie]*$_{ADVPi}$.
we have mountain go climb a.lot
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Additionally, in example (117), *presies* (lit. precise; 'exactly') is an adverb of manner. However, none of the adverbs of manner show extraposition, as the extraposition of adverbs of manner result in an ungrammatical sentence (see section 2.3.2.2 above, and example (117b) below):

(117) a. ... en hy wiet *[presies]*$_{ADVP}$ wat om te doen.
... and he know precise what around to do
"... and he knows exactly what to do." [AABU; PSC]

b. *... en hy wiet t$_i$ wat om te doen *[presies]*$_{ADVP}$.
... and he know what around to do precise
"... and he knows exactly what to do."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In example (118) below, *wee* ('again') is used as an adverb of frequency. Although, none of these showed extraposition, example (118b) illustrates that *wee* could undergo extraposition:

(118) a. Ek gat *wee*$_{ADVP}$ sleepover.
I go again sleepover
"I'm going to sleep over again" [AABU; PSC]

b. Ek gat t$_i$ sleepover *wee*$_{ADVPi}$.
I go again sleepover
"I'm going to sleep over again"
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

I will now discuss adverbs of perspective, which convey the speaker's perspective on an event. Using example (39a) from section 4.2.1.2, example (119a) below shows how *ongelukkig* ('unfortunately') is used as an adverb of perspective. Similarly, in (119b), *nogal* ('actually') is an adverb of perspective:

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(119) a. Hulle wil t_i hulle geld maak *[ongelukkig]*$_{ADVPi}$.
They will they money make unfortunately
"Unfortunately, they want to make their money." [AABU; PSC]

b. Ek gan vi jou t_i opsoek *[nogal]*$_{ADVPi}$.
I go for you up.look actually
"I'm actually going to look you up." [AABT; PSC]

Lastly, example (120) below illustrates the short adverb *oek* ('also'), which is an additive adverb, and is extraposed:

(120) Ek het ryte t_i gewas *[oek]*$_{ADVPi}$.
I have windows washed also
"I washed windows too." [AABU; PSC]

This section focused on the effect of semantics on the extraposition of short adverbs. The next section (4.4.3) focuses on the effect of attitude on the extraposition of direct objects.

4.4.3 The Effect of Affect on the Extraposition of Direct Objects

Section 4.4.1 above mentioned that experiential meaning entails the use of language to describe our experience in the world. The meanings expressed can include time, place, direction, etc., and they can also include attitude. Unlike the 'literal' meanings that are expressed through time, place, and direction, attitude is a subjective kind of meaning that is on a different level than the 'literal' semantics. Affect (or attitude) refers to the emotional element in meaning, which conveys a speaker's attitude or perspective of an event (Crystal & Alan 2023: 43). Notably, affect often comes into play in the direct object extraposition domain.

Consider example (48) from section 4.2.1.3 above (repeated here as (121) for the reader's convenience). In example (121a) and (121b), the speaker conveys a sense of disdain towards the activities through the extraposed direct objects *dai bokkom* ('that mullet') and *dai ding* ('that thing'). This is signalled quite clearly through the use of the distal demonstrative *dai* ('that'). By using *dai* ('that'), the speaker creates distance between themselves and the object *bokkom* ('mullet'), and Paarl:

(121) a. Want ek hettie lus vi t_i skil *[dai bokkom]*$_{NPi}$ nie.
because I have.not want for peel that mullet not
"Because I don't want to peel the mullet" [AABS; PSC]

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b. Toe willie Paarl mos nou nie t_i afgooi *[dai ding]*$_{NPi}$ nie.
then will.not Paarl mos now not down.throw that thing not
"Then Paarl actually didn't want to throw that thing down."

[AABS; PSC]

It was stated in sections 4.2.1.3 and 4.3.1.3 that there are 87 direct objects in the corpus (11,48% of all clauses), of which only 7 (8.05%) of the direct objects have affective connotations. Of these, 3 (42.86%) show extraposition. The role of affect in extraposition will be further discussed in section 5.2.4.

This section focused on the direct objects that convey the experiential meaning of attitude, which is a subjective kind of meaning that is on a different level than the 'literal' semantics. The next section (4.5) provides a summary for this chapter.

4.5 Summary

This chapter presented the empirical results of this study. Section 4.2 covered the extraposition structures that were found in the Paarl sub-corpus. More specifically, section 4.2.1 discussed the extraposition structures by category by focusing on single extraposed constituents. Thereafter, section 4.2.2 focused on the extraposition structures that had more than one extraposed constituent. This was done by zooming in on when there are two co-occuring extraposed constituents and answering the question of what categories are frequently extraposed together.

Section 4.3 covered the V-final structures that were found in the Paarl Sub-corpus. Section 4.3.1 investigated the optionality of extraposition by discussing the possibility of constituents that could be extraposed in V-final structures, as well as the V-final structures that resist extraposition. Lastly, section 4.3.2 discussed the V-Final sentences that have more than one potentially extraposable constituent.

The last section (4.4) discussed the semantics of the extraposed categories. First, section 4.4.1 focused on the semantics that are conveyed by adpositional phrases. This was then followed by section 4.4.2, which focused on the semantics expressed through short adverbs. Lastly, section 4.4.3 focused on the direct objects that convey the experiential meaning of attitude.

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The findings of each section are as follows:
Section 4.2 showed that adpositional phrases were extraposed most frequently, and short adverbs (which have the same amount of tokens as adpositional phrases in the corpus), were extraposed less frequently, as expected. Strikingly, the rate of extraposition for direct objects was noteworthy (6.90%), as extraposition of direct objects is known to be very limited in West Germanic varieties, yet its permitted in Paarl-Kaaps. Of the direct objects that permitted extraposition, the following constraints came into play: (i) the main-clause verb *sê* ('say') permitted extraposition; (ii) the extraposed objects were multisyllabic, i.e. there may have been a prosodic weight consideration in play.

Section 4.2.2 showed that the most frequent extraposed collocation in the data is short adverbs and adpositional phrases.

As shown in section 4.3.1, many of the V-final clauses in the corpus contained adpositional phrases, which could, in principle, have extraposed, but didn't. The majority of the adpositional phrases did not extrapose, despite the fact that adpositional phrases constitute the most commonly extraposed elements. Notably, short adverbs and direct objects both had a fairly low rate of possible extraposition relative to the types of elements that were extraposed in the corpus. As noted above for short adverbs and direct objects, the actual rate of extraposition is low, if we consider how many elements could have been extraposed, but were not. This is expected, as short adverbs are not easily extraposable as they are light elements; and direct objects tends to resist extraposition as arguments of the verb are less free to move than adjuncts. Moreover, modal particles in V-final structures could easily be extraposed. However, there are no cases where the modal particles are in fact extraposed.

In section 4.3.2, short adverbs were shown to co-occur with other short adverbs most frequently (34.29%). Surprisingly, the most common collocations consist of light elements like short adverbs and modal particles.

Lastly, section 4.4 shows that spatial meanings (i.e related to time, place, and direction) were most frequently extraposed; and section 4.4.3 shows that only 3 of the direct objects that express attitude showed extraposition.

The following chapter (chapter 5) will provide a discussion of the findings.

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5. Discussion

5.1 Introduction

Recall from chapter 4 that a total of 760 clauses were extracted from the SEcoKa Paarl sub-corpus. Of these, 99 (13.03%) showed extraposition, and the remaining 661 clauses (86.97%) were V-final. Based on the results reported in chapter 4, an overall, crucial observation that can be made about the data is that Paarl-Kaaps is uncontroversially an OV language. Two pieces of evidence support this observation. Firstly, the extraposition rate across all of the data was only 13.03%, which suggests that although extraposition is a prominent feature in Paarl-Kaaps, it is not the dominant pattern. Secondly, recall that in section 4.3.1, as a native Paarl-Kaaps speaker, I investigated the V-final structures with potentially extraposable constituents to determine if extraposition was possible. This investigation of the V-final data revealed that 96 (14.52%) clauses resist extraposition. Not only does this further illustrate that the option to extrapose is not selected by default, it also implies that there are restrictions on extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps.

These results are discussed in detail in this chapter, which is structured as follows: section 5.2 will present and evaluate the extraposition profile of Paarl-Kaaps in comparison to the literature; and section 5.3 will briefly discuss the nature of the optionality that is demonstrated by extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps. More specifically, it considers whether all instances of extraposition in the corpus are conditioned by the grammatical and pragmatic factors typically considered in the literature, or whether some extraposition might exemplify true optionality. Section 5.4 introduces a further, final perspective from which to consider the optionality exhibited by extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps, namely that of sociosyntax. In this section, we discuss whether extraposition can be motivated by social factors and interpersonal dynamics. This perspective is valuable because it might reveal that cases of extra-

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position, which might have seemed like true optionality, are in fact conditioned by social contexts.

5.2 The extraposition profile of Paarl-Kaaps

In the discussion to follow, it should become clear that extraposition is not deterministic in the sense that not one, simple factor can be said to trigger extraposition, or to prevent it. Example (122) below, repeated from (49a) above, illustrates the extraposition of the direct object *onnewys* ('teaching'), which, as an argument of the verb, is generally not expected to extrapose. However, section 4.2.1.3 above found that the main-clause verb *sê* permits the extraposition of direct objects:

(122) Ek sallie t_i sê *[onnewys]*$_{NPi}$ -ie
I shall.not say teaching not
"I wouldn't suggest teaching" [AABR; PSC]

Keeping this in mind, it is more useful to think of extraposition as more or less probable, given the presence or absence of (a combination of) certain factors. Here I would like to invite the reader to think of extraposition as scales tipping: in one pan is the grammar's OV default; and in the other pan are one or more factors that favour extraposition. When factors favouring extraposition 'outweigh' the grammar's OV default, the scales tip and extraposition occurs. Continuing this metaphor, it seems that certain extraposition-favouring factors 'weigh' more than others in the sense that they increase the likelihood of extraposition more than certain other factors do. With this metaphor in place, the purpose of this chapter could be stated as interpreting the results of the study to determine how much each factors 'weighs' in increasing the likelihood of extraposition in any given context. To this end, a major strength of this study is that, in addition to considering instances where extraposition took place, I also considered cases where extraposition was possible but did not actually occur. Using the scales metaphor, cases of actual extraposition could be considered cases in which the factors that were in favour of extraposition 'outweighed' the grammar's OV default. Similarly, V-final cases in which extraposition was permissible could be considered cases in which any factors favouring extraposition, although present, did not actually 'outweigh' the grammar's OV default. Taking this into account, this dissertation aims to contribute to how we think of extraposition, i.e. to think of how the factors that influence the probability of extraposition weigh in on the possibility of extraposition taking place tipping into

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actual extraposition. To make this maximally clear, this section will discuss the cases of actual extraposition in tandem with the cases where extraposition was possible.

This subsection interprets the findings of this study (chapter 4) against the backdrop of the expectations that were drawn from the literature (chapter 2). Focusing mainly on PPs, section 5.2.1 discusses the extraposability of a constituent against their argument vs. adjunct status. Next, section 5.2.2 discusses whether and how the meaning that is being conveyed through a constituent influences its likelihood of extraposition. In particular, this section will be focusing on PrePPs and short adverbs denoting spatial vs. non-spatial related meanings. This is then followed by section 5.2.3, which will discuss how a constituent's phonological weight influences its likelihood of extraposition. The categories that will be discussed in this section are adpositional phrases, short adverbs, clauses, and modal particles. These categories will be discussed in particular as they best illustrate the influence of phonological weight on extraposition. Lastly, section 5.2.4 discusses the effect of information packaging on extraposition.

5.2.1 Arguments vs Adverbial Modifiers

Section 2.3.2.2 above stated that PP extraposition can involve both adjuncts and arguments (Sapp 2014: 148). Recall, again from section 2.3.2.2 that directional PPs (i.e. PrePPs that denote direction, CircumPPs, and PostPPs) are more argument-like than PrePPs, most of which tend to be adjuncts (Van Luven 2014: 3). Additionally, it was also proposed that categories that denote direction should not be able to occur to the right of the verb. In general, the literature reports PrePPs to be readily extraposable, whereas PostPPs must remain in the MF. Via their semantics, these facts have been linked to the argument status of the relevant PPs: PostPPs are directional whereas PrePPs have a range of spatial and non-spatial semantics. It has been argued (see Sapp 2014 and Van Luven 2014 discussed in section 2.3.2.2 above) that PPs with directional semantics are more argument-like than PPs which express other senses. This in turn is intended to explain the extraposition tendencies, namely constituents which are arguments resist extraposition, whereas modifiers do not. Curiously, the Paarl-Kaaps data revealed a relatively high extraposition rate for PostPPs and CircumPPs, the latter of which also have directional semantics. Additionally, the majority of the PPs that resisted extraposition

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altogether were PrePPs. Taking this into account, I am going to investigate whether argument(-like) PPs extrapose less readily than adjunct PPs do. In order to this, I am going to consider directional PPs as well as prepositional objects as cases of argument-like PPs, and then locative PPs as well as PPs that express other senses as cases of adjunct PPs.

Recall from chapter 4 that a total of 293/760 (38.55%) clauses featured adpositional phrases, and 64 (21.84%) of the adpositional phrases displayed extraposition. Importantly, the rate of extraposition for adpositional phrases is higher than the overall extraposition rate across all the data (13.03%). Furthermore, besides clausal constituents whose canonical position is to the right of the verb, adpositional phrases showed a higher rate of extraposition than constituents of other categories. Taking into account the first point from the literature, this was expected, as extraposition favours adverbial modifiers, and a high proportion of adpositional phrases are modifiers.

In total, 293 of the extracted examples contained adpositional phrases, of which 242 (82.5%) were PrePPs. Overall, PrePPs had an extraposition rate of 19.01% (46/242). This was expected, as extraposition favours PrePPs, which, again, tend to be modifiers (see Sapp 2014 and Conradie 2020b). The remaining 196/242 (80.99%) PrePPs were V-final sentences. Interestingly, although the vast majority of PrePPs were not extraposed, it was found that 91.84% (180/196) premitted extraposition, and only 8.16% (16/196) resisted extraposition. A few comments are in order about these data.

Since only 19.01% of the PrePPs were extraposed, it is striking that the majority of the adpositional phrases did not extrapose, despite the fact that the adpositional phrases were the most commonly extraposed elements. Furthermore, there is a very large gap between the number of PrePPs that actually were extraposed and the number that would have permitted extraposition. This again highlights the stringing fact that Paarl-Kaaps is by default an OV system. Example (123) illustrates the extraposition of the directional PrePP *tot by OK* (lit. until by OK; 'up to OK'):

(123) ôs het die Louwsrivier-bus t_i gevat *[tot by OK]*$_{PPi}$.
we have the Louwsriver-bus took until by OK
"We took the Louwsriver-bus up to OK." [AABS; PSC]

According to Cloutier et al. (2008: 32), when the prepositional phrase occurs af-

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ter the verb, this alters the directional reading into more of a locational reading. Evidently, this is not the case in (123), and this generalization does not seem to hold in Paarl-Kaaps. Specifically, in Paarl-Kaaps, the interpretation of the PrePP consistently conveys a directional meaning, regardless of whether it occurs to the left or to the right of the verb.

Of the 293 adpositional phrases, 4.10% (12/293) were CircumPPs, and 16.67% (2/12) of the CircumPPs showed extraposition. Because the number of CircumPPs was so low, the extraposition rate in the data might be unreliable. As a native Paarl-Kaaps speaker, I found it possible to extrapose the remaining CircumPPs that were in V-final sentences. This is shown in example (124) below, which is repeated from (80) above:

(124) a. Hulle het ôs mos toe *[ytie Mark yt]*$_{PP}$ gesit.
they have us mos then out.the Market out put
"They ended up putting us out of Market place." [AABR; PSC]

b. Hulle het ôs mos toe t$_i$ gesit *[ytie Mark yt]*$_{PP_i}$.
they have us mos then put out.the Market out
"They ended up putting us out of the Market place."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In example (124a), the CircumPP *ytie Mark yt* (lit. out.the Mark out; 'out of Market Place') originates in the MF; and (124b) shows that the CircumPP can be extraposed. Interestingly, though, we observe a similar tendency with the CircumPPs as with the PrePPs, namely that only a small subset of the extraposable constituents have actually been extraposed.

It is evident that not all of the aforementioned generalizations from the literature hold in Paarl-Kaaps. On one hand, as stated by Conradie (2020b), CircumPPs in Paarl-Kaaps are readily extraposable. On the other hand, according to Cloutier et al. (2008: 34), Modern Dutch directional phrases are restricted to a position to the left of the verb unless the verb of motion occurs with a verbal particle (see (124) above, where the second *yt* ('out') is the verbal particle, and the verb is *ytgesit*), whereas the position of directional phrases in Middle Dutch (during the period from 1150 to 1500) can be on either side of the verb whether the verb occurs with or without a particle. This suggests that CircumPPs in Paarl-Kaaps are more similar to directional phrases in Middle Dutch than Modern Dutch, as they are readily extraposable with or without the presence of verbal particles.

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Similarly, PostPPs are expected to resist extraposition as they denote direction. In the PSC, 3.07% (9/293) of the adpositional phrases were PostPPs, and, instead of having no instances of extraposition, 44.44% (4/9) showed extraposition. This is illustrated in example (125) below, where the PostPP *winkel toe* (lit. shop to; 'to the shop') was extraposed by the speaker:

(125) ... dan sit sy nou nog met briefies wat sy vi my mien t_i gestierit
... then sit she nou still with letters what she for me with sent
[winkel toe]$_{PPi}$.
shop to
"... then she's still keeping the letters that she sent me to the shop with"
[AABR; PSC]

Notably, all of the extraposed PostPPs contained the P element *toe* ('to'), in combination with a bare noun (i.e. having no determiner), like *winkel* ('shop'). These bare nouns have been identified as *home*-class nouns (see Collins 2007, amongst others).

Taken together, direction denoting PPs (which can be prepositional (123), circumpositional (124), and postpositional (125)) have an extraposition rate of 30.95% (13/42; see section 4.4.1 above), which is relatively high. Crucially, directional PPs have been suggested to extrapose less readily than other PPs because they are argument-like. Yet, the directional PPs in my data have a combined extraposition rate that is even higher than that of the PrePPs (which include other argument-like PPs and adverbials).

Now, I would like to shift the focus to prepositional objects, which are argument-like, as well. This is illustrated in example (126) below, where the PrePP *met* ('with') introduces the theme NP *sy Honeurs* ('his Honours'). The PP objects had an extraposition rate of only 11.76% (8/68):

(126) Nous hy nou t_i besag *[met sy Honeurs]*$_{PPi}$.
now.is he now busy with his Honours
"He's busy with his Honours now." [AABS; PSC]

Since directional PPs and PP objects are both argument-like, the expectation then is that their extraposition rate would be similar. However, this is not the case, as the extraposition rate for the former is notably higher than the average rate of extraposition across all the data, and that of the latter is slightly below the average extraposition rate. This can be ascribed to the fact that directional PPs denote

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movement, and therefore, are able to detach from the verb without changing the core meaning. As opposed to this, since PP objects provide essential information regarding the verb that they modify, they are less extraposable.

Moving now from argument-like PPs, let us consider the extraposition rate of adjunct PPs. This consists of spatio-temporal adverbial PPs, which had an extraposition rate of 29.25% (31/106); and non-spatial adverbial PPs, which had an extraposition rate of 15.58% (12/77).[1] The former is illustrated in example (127a) below, where the temporal modifier *vir 'n jaar en 'n half* ('for a year and a half') is extraposed; and the latter is illustrated in (127b), where the comitative PrePP *men vol mae* ('with full stomachs') is extraposed:

(127) a. Ek het hom t_i op Universiteit gedoen *[vir 'n jaar en 'n half]*$_{PPi}$.
I have him on univeristy did for a year and a half
"I did it for a year and a half at University." [AABU; PSC]

b. ôs het elke aand t_i geslaap *[men vol mae]*$_{PPi}$.
we have every night slept with full stomachs
"we went to bed with full stomachs every night." [AABR; PSC]

Contrary to expectations, the directional PPs (30.95%) had a similar (relatively high) extraposition rate to spatial and temporal PPs in general (29.25%). In contrast, PP objects had an extraposition rate that was below the overall average (11.76%). Furthermore, the extraposition rate of the non-spatial PP adjuncts, although higher than the average extraposition rate, is much lower than that of the spatial PPs, and in fact more comparable to that of the PP objects. This suggests that argument vs. adjunct status does not notably increase a constituent's likelihood of extraposition. Rather, it seems that being a PP generally makes a constituent extraposable. To further illustrate this, I would like to remind the reader of the extraposition rate for PP objects (11.76%) in comparison to the extraposition rate of direct objects (6.90%; see section 4.2.1.3 above). Evidently, PP objects are more extraposable than direct objects, which are 'proper' arguments, as well. Additionally, having spatial semantics greatly increases the likelihood of extraposition.

For the reader's convenience, the information that was presented above has been summarized in the table below:

[1] I would like to point out to the reader that the PP objects were grouped in with the tokens that convey other senses for section 4.4.1. For the purpose of this discussion, I separated the 68 PP objects from the 145 tokens that were tagged as having "other" senses.

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Adpositional Phrases	All tokens	Extraposed	
		Tokens	%
Directional PPs	42	13	30.95%
PP objects	68	8	11.76%
Spatial PP adjuncts	106	31	29.25%
Non-spatial PP adjuncts	77	12	15.58%

Table 5.1: Extraposition rate for arguments vs adverbial modifiers

This section found that some of the generalizations from the literature do not seem to hold in Paarl-Kaaps. Specifically, the generalization that directional phrases are not expected to extrapose, as they are more argument-like. As shown in table 5.1, the directional PPs (which includes directional PrePPs, CircumPPs, and PostPPs) had an extraposition rate of 30.95%. As opposed to this, PP objects, which are argument-like as well, had an extraposition rate of 11.76%. Since directional phrases and PP objects are both argument-like and have notably different extraposition rates, this suggests that the likelihood for extraposition of directional phrases is increased by the fact that they denote motion and, thus, are not bound to the verb that they modify. Evidently, for PP objects, since they are more 'bound' to the verb, they were less extraposable. Furthermore, the data showed that directional PPs (30.95%) and spatial/temporal PPs (29.25%) exhibit similarly high extraposition rates, while PP objects have a much lower extraposition rate (11.76%), which is below the overall average rate of extraposition. Non-spatial PP adjuncts, though more extraposable than average, align more closely with PP objects. This indicates that argument vs. adjunct status does not significantly affect extraposition likelihood. Instead, the categorial status (i.e. PP) seems to be the factor that 'weighs' in favour of extraposition, as evidenced by the higher extraposition rate of PP objects (11.76%) compared to direct objects (6.90%). Furthermore, spatial semantics significantly enhance the likelihood of extraposition.

5.2.2 The effect of sense on the likelihood of extraposition

The following section will discuss how the semantic meaning that is being conveyed through a constituent influences its likelihood of extraposition. In particular, this section will be focusing on PrePPs and short adverbs. An important question to keep in mind for this section is as follows: Despite their typical lexical lightness, could short adverbs still be readily extraposable, given that extraposition often favors adverbial modifiers?

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Recall that in 4.2.1.2 from chapter 4, a total of 293 (38.55% of all tokens) clauses contained short adverbs. These included 'regular' short adverbs, 'bare' locative pronouns, as well as locative pronouns that are accompanied by adpositional phrases. For the purpose of this exposition, I would like to remind the reader of table 4.16 that is repeated below for the reader's convenience:

Adverb Type	**Total Tokens**	**Extraposed**	
		Tokens	**%**
Time	178	12	6.74%
Space	55	6	10.91%
Degree	43	0	0%
Manner	8	0	0%
Perspectival	4	2	50%
Frequency	4	0	0%
Additive	1	1	100%
Total	293	21	7.17%

Table 5.2: Types of Adverbs

Recall, again, from section 2.3.2.2 that according to the literature, temporal and locational adverbial phrases are most frequently extraposed. As shown in section 4.4.2, 79.52% (233/293) of the short adverbs in the corpus were temporal and locational adverbial modifiers. Of these, only 7.73% (18/233) showed extraposition. This was expected, as their phonological lightness decreased their likelihood of extraposition. Example (128a) shows the extraposition of the temporal adverb *daai tyd* ('that time'); and example (128b) shows the extraposition of the locational adverb *oorsee* (lit. over.sea, 'overseas'):

(128) a. Hy kon it mos t_i afford *[daai tyd]*$_{ADVPi}$.
he could it mos afford that time
"He could afford that time, you know." [AABU; PSC]

b. julle wôd t_i ontvoer *[oorsee]*$_{ADVPi}$.
you become kidnap oversea
"... you'll get kidnapped overseas"
[AABS; PSC]

Unlike the temporal and locational adverbs, and as the literature predicts, manner adverbs (8/293; 2.73%), as well as adverbs that convey degree (43/293; 14.68%) categorically resisted extraposition. Manner adverbs typically modify a verb by

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conveying information about how something is done. The manner adverb benefits from being in the MF, as its meaning is tied to the verb that it modifies. Extraposing the manner adverb results in ungrammaticality, as it is displaced away from the verb it modifies. This is shown in example (129a) below, where the adverb of manner *presies* (lit. precise, 'exactly') originates in the MF with the verb *wiet* ('knows') that it modifies. Example (129b) shows that extraposing the manner adverb results in ungrammaticality:

(129) a. ... en hy wiet *[presies]*$_{ADVP}$ wat om te doen.
... and he know precise what around to do
"... and he knows exactly what to do." [AABU; PSC]

b. *... en hy wiet t$_i$ wat om te doen *[presies]*$_{ADVP}$.
... and he know what around to do precise
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In a similar way, adverbs of degree are also bound to the grammatical category that they are modifying, as it tells us more about the intensity, degree or extent of the action. Like with manner adverbs, extraposing the adverbs of degree will result in ungrammaticality. Example (130a) below illustrates the adverb of degree *baie* ('a lot') originating in the MF, and (130b) shows that the extraposition of *baie* yields an ungrammatical sentence:

(130) a. Os het *[baie]*$_{ADVP}$ berg gat klim.
we have a.lot mountain go climb
"We often went hiking." [AABS; PSC]

b. *Os het t$_i$ berg gat klim *[baie]*$_{ADVPi}$.
we have mountain go climb a.lot
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Furthermore, the remaining extraposed adverbs were perspectival (2/4; 50%), and additive (1/1; 100%). The former is illustrated in (131a), where the perspectival adverb *ongelukkig* ('unfortunately') is extraposed; and the latter is illustrated in (131b), where the additive adverb *oek* ('also') is extraposed:

(131) a. Hulle wil t$_i$ hulle geld maak *[ongelukkig]*$_{ADVPi}$.
They will they money make unfortunately
"Unfortunately, they want to make their money." [AABU; PSC]

b. Ek het ryte t$_i$ gewas *[oek]*$_{ADVPi}$.
I have windows washed also
"I washed windows too." [AABU; PSC]

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As opposed to temporal and locational adverbs, the number of perspectival and additive adverbs are low, and thus, their extraposition rate is artificially high. As expected, the extraposition rate for spatial adverbs vs the adverbs that convey other meanings suggests that extraposition does, in fact, favour temporal and locational adverbs.

(Re-)turning to the issue of semantics and PP extraposition, which was discussed in section 5.2.1 above, it was found that PPs that conveyed spatial meanings were most frequently extraposed. These included the directional PPs that were discussed in section 5.2.1 above, where 30.95% (13/42) were extraposed; PPs related to place, where 29.76% (25/84) were extraposed; and PPs that denote time, where 27.27% (6/22) were extraposed. These individual rates are strikingly similar, and the combined extraposition rate for the PrePPs that express spatio-temporal meanings is 29.73% (44/148),[2] In example (132a) below, the extraposed PrePP *oppie bôd* (lit. on.the board; on the board) expresses location; and in (132b), the extraposed temporal PP *virrie hele wiek* (for.the whole week, 'for the whole week') expresses the duration that they got paid for:

(132) a. ... tiwyl hy nog t_i geskryfet *[oppie bôd]*$_{PPi}$.
... while he still wrote.have on.the board
"... while he was writing on the board" [AABT; PSC]

b. ôs het ses rand t_i gekry *[virrie hele wiek]*$_{PPi}$.
we have six rand received for.the whole week
"We received six rand for the whole week" [AABS; PSC]

In addition to this, section 4.15 also investigated PrePPs that conveyed other non-spatial information. These included comitatives (*men vol mae*; 'with full stomachs'), purposives (*vi toer*; lit. for tour; 'to tour'); beneficiaries (*vimy familie*; lit. for.my family; 'for my family'), and instrumentals (*met dai geld*; 'with that money'); and the combined extraposition rate for the PrePPs that conveyed non-spatial information is 15.58% (12/77). I would like to point out to the reader that the combined extraposition rate for non-spatial PrePPs included the 'Other' tokens that were discussed in section 4.4.1. For the purpose of this discussion, the PP objects (which were previously grouped in with the non-spatial PPs) has been removed since they do not denote a specific semantic meaning. Notably, the extraposition rates for

[2]The combined extraposition rate for spatial PrePPs took into account the 13/42 PPs that denote direction, the 25/84 PPs that conveyed place, as well as the 6/22 PrePPs that conveyed time. Additionally, I only focused on PrePPs because I am controlling for the distribution of P element placement within the PP, as all non-spatial PPs are PrePPs.

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spatial PPs is much higher than the average rate of extraposition for adpositional phrases (21.84%); whereas the rate of extraposition for non-spatial PPs is lower than the average rate of extraposition for adpositional phrases. This is expected, as temporal and locational modifiers are favoured for extraposition.

Crucially, when we compare the extraposition rate of spatial PPs (29.73%) to that of spatial adverbs (7.73%), it is apparent that semantics (i.e. spatial meaning) is not the the only (or the most important) factor that promotes the likelihood of extraposition. Rather, it seems once again that grammatical category (i.e. PP over and against AdvP) has a greater impact. Another factor which has an important impact, one which is inseparable from the categorial status of these constituents, is their phonological weight. This is the focus of the following section.

5.2.3 Heaviness vs Lightness

As expected, chapter 4 found that heavier constituents were readily extraposable. Notably, though, it also found that constituents which were typically phonologically 'light' (i.e. short adverbs) were often also extraposed, though to a lesser degree. Furthermore, a portion of the phonologically light elements occurring in V-final clauses (thus not actually extraposed) were in fact extraposable. It is evident that the likelihood of extraposition increases with a constituent's phonological weight. However, it is not true that light constituents are categorically barred from extraposition or even that the likelihood of extraposition decreases in proportion to its weight. Taking this into account, the following section will discuss how a constituent's 'weight' influences its likelihood of extraposition. The categories that will be discussed are adpositional phrases, short adverbs, clauses, and modal particles. These categories will be discussed in particular as they best illustrate the influence of phonological weight on extraposition.

The relative clauses that exhibited extraposition (8/58; 13.79%) were all attached to objects, and all of these were extraposed. This is expected, as the relative clauses generally consist of modifiers that provide additional information on the object NP. Recall, again, that the extraposition of relative clauses can be described as split extraposition, where the relative clause is located in the PV, and the head noun remains in the MF (Conradie 2020b). This is illustrated in example (133) below, where the bracketed relative clauses (which consists of the modifiers) are extraposed

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to the PV, disconnecting from the head nouns (i.e. *alles*, 'everything'; *iemand*, 'someone'; *doelwitte*, 'goals') that stays in the MF:

(133) a. ... om **alles** t_i reg te maak *[wat vekeed is]*$_{RCi}$.
... to everything right to make what incorrect is.
"... to fix everything that's wrong"

[AABR; PSC]

b. My ma het **iemand** t_i gehad *[wat ôs allie jare betaalet]*$_{RCi}$.
my mom have someone had what us all.the years paid
"My mom had someone that we paid all those years."

[AABU; PSC]

c. ... dan kan jy jou **doelwitte** t_i bereik *[wat jy daa vi jouself gestellet]*$_{RCi}$.
... then can you your goals achieve what you there for yourself set.have
"... then you can achieve the goals that you made for yourself there."

[AABR; PSC]

Now, consider (134) below, which illustrates the relative clauses remaining in the MF:

(134) a. ... om **alles** *[wat vekeed is]*$_{RC}$ reg te maak.
... to everything what incorrect is right to make
"... to fix everything that's wrong"

b. My ma het **iemand** *[wat ôs allie jare betaalet]*$_{RC}$ gehad.
my mom have someone what us all.the years paid had
"My mom had someone that we paid all those years."

c. ... dan kan jy jou **doelwitte** *[wat jy daa vi jouself gestellet]*$_{RC}$ bereik.
... then can you your goals what you there for yourself set.have achieve
"... then you can achieve the goals that you made for yourself there."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Keeping (134) in mind, it becomes evident that by displacing the heavy relative clause to the PV, it makes the production and comprehension of the sentence easier. This allows the speaker to first establish the structure of the main sentence before dealing with the complexity of the relative clause. In turn, this makes it easier for the hearer to process the main clause first, and then to focus on the details in the relative clause. Furthermore, it is difficult to separate a relative clause's heaviness from its information structure, as they typically consist of modifiers. Recall that

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new information and heavier/longer constituents go hand in hand, as heavy syntactic units are likely to contain new information (Collins 1994: 15). This will be discussed further in section 5.2.4 below.

Similarly to relative clauses, locative pronouns that are accompanied by an adpositional phrase are phonologically heavy, as they consist of modifiers that provide more information on the noun phrase, as well. Section 2.3.2.2 above introduced the term 'end weight', which describes the principle of organisation in a language where 'heavy' elements appear at the end of a clause or sentence, which makes it easier for the speaker or hearer to process (Collins 1994: 15). Now, recall from section 4.2.1.1 above that 7.17% (21/293) of the adpositional phrases have locative pronouns (e.g. *daar*, 'there'; *hier*, 'here') co-occurring with adpositional phrases. It was found that the speakers commonly extraposed both the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrase at the same time, which was the majority pattern in the corpus (20/21; 95.24%). Notably, there was only one instance where the speaker independently extraposed the adpositional phrase (1/21; 4.76%). This is illustrated in example (135) below, which is repeated from (37a) above for the reader's convenience:, where the the locative pronoun *daa* ('there') remains in the MF, while the PrePP *in Mountainview* ('in Mountainview') is extraposed on its own. This suggests that the independent extraposition of locative pronouns could be restricted due to their (phonological) lightness.:

(135) Ek ken klomp mense wat [daa]$_{ADVP}$ t$_i$ bly *[in Mountainview]*$_{PPi}$.
I know a.lot people what there live in Mountainview.
"I know a lot of people who live in Mountainview" [AABR; PSC]

Taking this into account, by extraposing the locative pronoun and the adpositional phrase simultaneously, the speaker and hearer are able to process the phonologically heavy structure more easily than if it were to remain in the MF. Furthermore, this allows the hearer to first focus on the information that is conveyed earlier in the structure, and then on the information that is conveyed through the modifiers in the extraposed structure.

Factors that are known to influence a constituent's likelihood of extraposition can either align or conflict with each other. For example, extraposition typically favours PPs (see sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), and heavy elements. Recall that section 4.2.1.1 differentiated between two different types of PrePPs, namely: transitive prepositions,

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which must always be accompanied by a noun phrase complement; or intransitive prepositions, which do not take a complement (Crystal & Alan 2023: 494). For the former, the factors (i.e. categorical status and phonological heaviness) align with each other; and for the latter, the factors (i.e. categorical status, spatial semantics, and phonological lightness), are in conflict with each other. Consider example (136) below:

(136) a. ôs het tiles t_i t_j gehad **[daa]**$_{ADVPi}$ *[bo]*$_{PPj}$.
we have tiles had there up
"We had tiles there." [AABU; PSC]

b. Is al wat ek t_i gekennet *[van Amstelhof]*$_{PPi}$.
its all what I know.have of Amstelhof
"That's all I knew about Amstelhof." [AABS; PSC]

Example (136a) illustrates the simultaneous extraposition of the intransitive PP *bo* ('up') with the locative pronoun *daa* ('there'); and (136b) illustrates the extraposition of the transitive PrePP *van Amstelhof* ('of Amstelhof'). Evidently, extraposition occured more frequently with transitive PPs than with intransitive PPs, which suggests that the speakers had a preference for a heavier structure in PP extraposition contexts. In the entire corpus, only 4/293 (1.37%) of the adpositional phrases were intransitive PPs, of which only 1/4 (25%) was extraposed, and crucially this was simultaneously with a locative pronoun. For intransitive PPs, their categorial status and semantics was in conflict with their phonological lightness, and in the end, the latter outweighed the former and decreased their likelihood of extraposition. As opposed to this, for transitive PPs, their categorical status and phonological heaviness were aligned with each other, and in turn, increased their likelihood of extraposition.

Now, let us consider how phonological lightness influences an elements' likelihood of extraposition in the case of adverbs. In order to do this, let us first consider the R-pronouns that were discussed in sections 4.2.1.1 and 4.3.1.1 above. R-pronouns, which had an extraposition rate of 11.11% (1/9), are phonologically light. This is shown in example (137), which is repeated from example (26) above, where the R-pronoun *daarop* (lit. there.on; 'on it' or 'with it') is extraposed:

(137) dis hoekom ek t_i verlief geraaket *[daarop]*$_{PPi}$.
it.is why I in.love became there.on
"That's why I fell in love with it" [AABU; PSC]

Importantly, 88.88% (8/9) of the R-pronouns remained in the MF, of which 87.5% (7/8) could have potentially been extraposed but were not. Example (138) below,

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repeated from (82b) above, illustrates the 1/8 (12.5%) R-pronoun that resisted extraposition, as the extraposition of *waavoo* (lit. where.for; 'what') results in an ungrammatical sentence. This was ascribed to the fact that all of the *d*-initial (non-question type) R-pronouns are potentially extraposable, whereas question type R-pronouns resist extraposition (see (138b) below):

(138) a. Dis mos *[waavoo]*$_{PP}$ UNISA mos ha is.
that.is mos where.for UNISA mos there is
"That's actually what UNISA is there for." [AABT; PSC]

b. *Dis mos t$_i$ UNISA mos ha is *[waavoo]*$_{PPi}$.
that.is mos UNISA mos there is where.for
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Using the scale metaphor that was introduced at the beginning of this chapter, the R-pronouns' likelihood of extraposition could be impacted by the following: in the pan that favours extraposition, we have the fact that extraposition favours PPs, and, in turn, should favour R-pronouns (which are 'governed' by P-elements). In the pan that favours the grammar's OV default, we have the R-pronouns phonological lightness. Notably, the latter pan 'weighed' more, which resulted in the majority of the R-pronouns remaining in the MF. In addition to this, it is important to point out that in one instance, the pan that favours extraposition outweighed the pan that favours the OV default. In turn, this caused 1/9 of the R-pronouns to tip into actual extraposition. The one instance of R-pronoun extraposition is discussed in section 5.2.4 below, where extraposition is discussed in light of information packaging.

As mentioned in section 5.2.2, 38.55% (293/760) clauses contained short adverbs. It was mentioned above that adpositional phrases and short adverbs had the same number of tokens (293), yet the extraposition rate for short adverbs was much lower at 7.17%, and the extraposition rate for adpositional phrases was 21.84% (64/293). Notably, the rate of extraposition for short adverbs is also considerably lower than the overall average rate of extraposition (13.03%). This alludes to the fact that extraposition favours heavy elements, whereas the short adverbs that are under question are typically lexically light and are generally not expected to extrapose.

Similarly to the transitive/intransitive PPs and R-pronouns that were discussed previously, sometimes, two factors that are both known to influence extraposition are at odds. On the one hand, extraposition favours locative and temporal modifiers (see section 5.2.2); and on the other hand, light elements (such as short adverbs) are less

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likely to be extraposed. Although the 'regular' short adverbs are lighter than PPs, the 'regular' short adverbs that tended to be extraposed were locational and temporal, but also notably multisyllabic, thus phonologically heavier. In example (139a) below, the multi-syllabic *laataande* (lit.late.evenings; 'late in the evening') is extraposed; and in (139b) *volgenne jaar* ('next year'), which is slightly phonologically heavier, is extraposed:

(139) a. soet ôs t_i saamgewerk *[laataande]*$_{ADVPi}$.
so.have us together.worked late.evenings
"That's how we worked together late in the evenings."
[AABU; PSC]

b. ... dan kan jy t_i uitvinne *[volgenne jaar]*$_{ADVPi}$.
... then can you out.find next year
"... then you can find out next year."
[AABS; PSC]

Now, consider example (140a) below, where the temporal adverb *nou* ('now') remains in the MF; and (140b) illustrates that it could have potentially been extraposed:

(140) a. N ôs gan *[nou]*$_{ADVP}$ skuif.
N us go now move
"N, we're going to move now." [AABU; PSC]

b. N ôs gan t_i skuif *[nou]*$_{ADVPi}$.
N us go move now
"N, we're going to move now."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

As the examples in (139) and (140) illustrate, in addition to their semantic class, the relative phonological 'heaviness' of these adverbial modifiers most likely contributes to their overall likelihood of extraposition (see (139) above), in contrast to adverbial modifiers that are monosyllabic (see (140) above). Although the corpus example in (140a) is V-final, (140b) shows that this light adverb can be extraposed, i.e. doing so does not result in ungrammaticality. This suggests that the lightness of such an adverb is a very important factor that negatively influences the likelihood of extraposition, as majority of the locational and temporal modifiers remained in the MF (94.42%; 237/251). For the adverbs that were extraposed (14/251; 5.58%), in addition to the presence of locational and temporal modifiers increasing their likelihood of extraposition, the fact that the extraposed 'regular' short adverbs were multisyllabic also further increased their likelihood of extraposition, and caused their

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scale to tip into actual extraposition. Interestingly, it seems that although phonological weight has a very big influence on the likelihood of actual extraposition taking place, it is not a factor that can bar extraposition (i.e. result in ungrammaticality).

Additionally 14.33% (42/293) clauses featured locative pronouns, and 90.48% (38/42) of the tokens that feature locative pronouns were V-final. Of these, 78.57% (33/42) of the locative pronouns could have been extraposed, but were not. Notably, only 4/42 (9.52%) showed extraposition, and 3/4 (75%) of the 'bare' locative pronouns that were extraposed were monosyllabic (e.g. *daa*; 'there'). In example (141a) the monosyllabic *daa* is extraposed; and in (141b), the multisylabbic *daarso* is extraposed:

(141) a. (Ôs het) heeldag t_i rugby gespeel *[daa]*$_{ADVPi}$.
we have whole.day rugby played there
"We played rugby there all day" [AABS; PSC]

b. Ôs het kanoes t_i gat kyk *[daarso]*$_{ADVPi}$.
we have canoes go look there.so
"We watched the canoes there." [AABS; PSC]

Since 90.48% (30/42) of the locative pronouns in the V-Final sentences could have been extraposed, their phonological weight (i.e. their relative 'lightness') could have been an outweighing factor that hindered their likelihood of extraposition. Additionally, it is important to remember that although 9.52% of the locative pronouns were extraposed, the extraposition rate for this category is artificially high as the data set for locative pronouns was considerably smaller than that of the 'regular' short adverbs (42 vs 251). Evidently, the examples in (139) and (141) suggest that the semantic class (i.e. they are locational modifiers), as well as the lexical and phonological heaviness contribute to the likelihood of extraposition.

Similarly to locative pronouns, 10.39% (79/760) of the clauses featured modal particles (e.g. *mos*; *maa nou*), which are notoriusly light elements that convey additional information about the speaker's attitude or perspective towards an event. Examples (142a) and (143a) below illustrate V-final sentences with the modal particle *mos* originating in the MF; and (142b) and (143b) illustrates that, although there were no examples of modal particle extraposition in the corpus, extraposing them does not result in ungrammaticality:

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(142) a. Hulle het *[mos]*$_{MP}$ amil daa gebly.
they have mos everyone there lived
"They all ended up living there" [AABR; PSC]

b. Hulle het t$_i$ amil daa gebly *[mos]*$_{MPi}$.
They have everyone there lived mos.
"They all ended up living there, remember."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

(143) a. Ek en M het *[mos]*$_{MP}$ saam skool gegan.
me and M have mos together school went
"M and I actually attended the same school." [AABR; PSC]

b. Ek en M het t$_i$ saam skool gegan *[mos]*$_{MPi}$.
me and M have together school went mos
"M and I attended the same school, remember."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

It is striking that there were no examples of modal particle extraposition in the corpus because as a native Paarl-Kaaps speaker, I find it possible for all the modal particles that were in the MF to be extraposed. Considering that extraposition generally favours heavier constituents, the lack of modal particle extraposition could be due to the fact that these constituents are generally phonologically light and/or monosyllabic. Similarly to the adverb *nou* that was discussed in example (140), the fact that the modal particles are extraposable but was not extraposed, is a good illustration of the non-deterministic effect of phonological weight on extraposition.

This section discussed whether the likelihood of extraposition increases with a constituent's phonological weight, as well as other factors that may influence its likelihood of extraposition in proportion to its weight. Instead of a constituent's phonological weight being the sole factor that influences its likelihood of extraposition, it was found that categorial status, semantic status, amongst others, play a part as well. For relative clauses and locative pronouns that co-occur with adpositional phrases, since both of these constituents consist of modifiers that provide more information on the noun phrase, they are phonologically heavy. Due to this, the extraposition of these heavy constituents are employed to make their processing and comprehension easier for the speaker and hearer. Importantly, for intransitive/transitive PPs, their phonological weight was either aligned or in conflict with other factors. For intransitive PPs, their categorical status was in conflict with their phonological lightness, and in the end, the latter outweighed the former and decreased their likelihood of extraposition. As opposed to this, for transitive PPs,

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their categorical status and phonological heaviness were aligned with each other, and in turn, increased their likelihood of extraposition. Similarly, the R-pronouns phonological lightness, as well as an additional factor 'weighed' more and decreased their likelihood of extraposition. Furthermore, for the phonologically light adverbs, in addition to their multi-syllabicity, their semantics (e.g. whether they were locational and temporal modifiers) came in to play, which sometimes caused the scale to tip into actual extraposition, or caused them to resist extraposition entirely. Similarly to the monosyllabic short adverbs, the lack of modal particle extraposition was ascribed to the fact that these constituents are generally lexically light and monosyllabic. Evidently, phonological weight seems to have a very big impact on whether or not extraposition will actually take place, but it does not seem to be the kind of factor that can bar (i.e. systematically rule out) extraposition. Thus, these factors illustrated the non-deterministic nature of extraposition.

Figure 5.1 below illustrates a visual representation of how phonological heaviness interacts with the previously discussed factors and their combined influence on the likelihood of extraposition:[3]

Category	Grammatical		Pragmatic		Likely outcome?
	Categorial status	Sense	Phonological weight	Information packaging	
Relative Clauses	CP	-	Heavy	Processing	Extraposition
Locative Prns + PP	ADVP + PP	-	Heavy	Processing	Extraposition
Transitive PPs	PP	-	Heavy	-	Extraposition
Intransitive PPs	PP	Spatial	Light	-	No extraposition
R-PRNS	PP	-	Light	-	No extraposition
Short Adverbs	ADVP	Spatio-temporal	Light	-	Extraposition
Short Adverbs	ADVP	Manner + Degree	Light	-	No extraposition
Locative PRNS	ADVP	Spatial	Light	-	No extraposition
Modal Particles	MP	-	Light	-	No extraposition

Figure 5.1: The influence of phonological heaviness on the likelihood of extraposition

[3]In figure 5.1, the factors that are highlighted in green increases the likelihood of extraposition taking place, whereas the factors that are highlighted in red decreases the likelihood of extraposition taking place.

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5.2.4 Information Packaging

Information packaging refers to how information is structured in a sentence. As discussed in 2.3.2.2, this includes 'end-focus', which is described as the tendency for new and focused information to normally be placed at the end of the information unit (Collins 1994). Thus, this section will investigate how extraposition interacts with old vs new information, as well as how it interacts with focused information.

In connection to their phonological lightness, section 5.2.3 noted that although 7/8 of the R-pronouns would have permitted extraposition, none of them were actually extraposed. Here, I would like to discuss an additional, information packaging related reason for this. Typically, R-pronouns convey old information as they are co-referential to something that was already introduced into the discourse. Consider example (144) below, repeated from (81) above:

(144) a. Moenie lat ôs *[haamie]*$_{PP}$ begintie.
do.not let us with.that begin.not
"Don't let us start with that." [AABT; PSC]

b. Moenie lat ôs t$_i$ begin *[haamie]*$_{PPi}$ nie.
do.not let us begin with.that no
"Don't let us start with that."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Example (144a) above shows that the R-pronoun *haamie* (lit. there.with; 'with that') originates in the MF, and (144b) shows that it can be extraposed. During the conversation preceding the utterance in (144), the speakers were discussing the persistent inquiries from their family members regarding their marital status and plans for having children. Thus, *haamie* refers to a topic that both speakers are intimately acquainted with and have personally experienced. Since unknown information is more likely to be extraposed (see Burridge 1993: 107 in section 2.3.2.2), the fact that R-pronouns are phonologically light and convey old information decreases the likelihood of extraposition for the R-pronouns that remained in the MF. Now, I would like to draw the reader's attention back to example (145) below, which is repeated from (137) above:

(145) dis hoekom ek t$_i$ verlief geraaket *[daarop]*$_{PPi}$.
it.is why I in.love became there.on
"That's why I fell in love with it" [AABU; PSC]

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Notably, the R-pronoun *daarop* (lit. there.on; 'on it' or 'with it') in example (145) is the only instance of R-pronoun extraposition in the entire corpus (1/9; 11.11%). The conversation preceding this utterance was centered around the speaker's love for Mathematics. Although the R-pronoun does not convey new information, it is in-focus as it is still relevant to the discourse. Since *daarop* is a prepositional object, the speaker could have extraposed this R-pronoun to employ object focus. Therefore, in this one instance, object focus had a greater impact on the likelihood of extraposition than the R-pronoun's phonological lightness and their old information status did. In turn, this increased its likelihood of extraposition, and caused the scale to tip into actual extraposition.

Furthermore, in the V-final data, 49.38% (40/81) of the direct objects were already identifiable in the context of the discourse (i.e. they were topics in the sense that they conveyed old information), and this was signalled through definiteness. Definiteness can be encoded through the use of demonstratives, pronouns, or articles. Since new information is typically expected to be extraposable, its surprising that as a Paarl-Kaaps speaker, I found it possible to extrapose these direct objects. This is shown in example (146) below, which is repeated from (95) above, where the direct object *daai* ('that') is extraposed. Notably, *daai* is phonologically light, which is another factor that decreases its likelihood of extraposition:

(146) a. ... maa my kind het *[daai]*$_{NP}$ gedoen.
... but my child have that did
"... but my child did that." [AABS; PSC]

b. ... maa my kind het t$_i$ gedoen *[daai]*$_{NPi}$.
... but my child have did that
"... but my child did that."

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Similarly to the R-pronouns that were discussed earlier in this section, these direct objects conveyed old information, which decreased their likelihood of being extraposed, and they remained in the MF.

Furthermore, 43.21% (35/81) of the direct objects which remained in the MF contained bare nouns. As a native Paarl-Kaaps speaker, I found that 20.99% (17/81) of the bare nouns could possibly be extraposed, whereas 22.22% (18/81) resisted extraposition entirely. Notably, in addition to being nominal arguments of the verb,

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these bare nouns are phonologically light, and extraposing them is an especially marked option. The 17 bare nouns that could have been extraposed were specific and familiar in the context to both the speakers. When I extraposed these nouns, they became necessarily stressed and were accompanied by falling intonation. This is illustrated in examples (147) and (148) below, where the acute accent (´) on the extraposed objects in examples (147b) and (148b) indicates stress. Additionally, there is an interpretational difference in these examples:

(147) a. Sy het *[Geo]*$_{NP}$ gehad.
she have geo had
"She had Geography."

[AABU; PSC]

b. Sy het t$_i$ gehad *[Géo]*$_{NPi}$.
she have had geo
"She had Geography." (as opposed to another subject)

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

(148) a. Ek het *[Rek]*$_{NP}$ gehad.
she have accounting had
"I had Accounting."

[AABU; PSC]

b. Ek het t$_i$ gehad *[Rék]*$_{NPi}$.
she have had accounting
"I had Accounting." (as opposed to another subject)

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

In examples (147b) and (148b), the objects *Geo* ('Geography') and *Rek* ('Accounting') are familiar to both the speakers. In the conversation preceding these utterances, the speaker was telling the hearer that he and a friend had the same subjects throughout high school, except for *Geo* and *Rek*. When the respective bare NPs are extraposed, they necessarily become stressed. By extraposing the NPs, the speaker employs contrastive focus.

Surprisingly, while the direct objects that exhibit definiteness are extraposable, as a native Paarl-Kaaps speaker, I found that extraposing the direct objects that signalled indefiniteness (i.e. they give new information that the hearer is unfamiliar with in the context), results in ungrammaticality. This is illustrated in example

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(149) below, which shows that the extraposition of *'n huis* ('a house') results in an ungrammatical sentence:

(149) a. Ons moet nou *['n huis]*$_{NP}$ koop.
we must now a house buy
"We must buy a house now."
[AABU; PSC]

b. *Ons moet nou t$_i$ koop *['n huis]*$_{NPi}$.
we must now buy a house
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Although these direct objects are new to the discourse, the NPs are not denoting something specific or immediately identifiable to the hearer (e.g. *'n huis*; 'a house'). Since these NPs are non-specific, they don't carry the meanings that justifies extraposition as they are not in-focus.

With regards to the 18 bare nouns that resisted extraposition entirely, these NPs were non-specific and not in-focus, and thus not candidates for contrastive focus. Example (150b) illustrates that the extraposition of the non-specific bare mass noun *herring* ('herring') results in ungrammaticality:

(150) a. Ek moes *herring*$_{NP}$ gan koep.
I must herring go buy
"I had to go buy herring." [AABR; PSC]

b. *Ek moes t$_i$ gan koep *[herring]*$_{NPi}$.
I must go buy herring
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Evidently, it sometimes becomes difficult to separate a relative clause's phonological weight from their information status. It was argued in section 5.2.3 that relative clauses are generally heavy, as they contain modifiers that provide additional and new information. Consider example (151) below, which is repeated from (133c) above:

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(151) ... dan kan jy jou **doelwitte** t_i bereik *[wat jy daa vi jouself*
... then can you your goals achieve what you there for yourself
gestellet]$_{RC i}$.
set.have
"... then you can achieve the goals that you made for yourself there."
[AABR; PSC]

In example (151), the extraposed relative clause consists of the main verb *gestellet* (lit. set.have; 'set'); the locational modifier *daa* ('there'), which is co-referential to a place that was previously mentioned in the discourse; and the goal-oriented PrePP *vi jouself* ('for yourself'). Evidently, the relative clause supplies a lot of descriptive information about the head noun *doelwitte* ('goals'), all of which is new information. In turn, this makes the relative clause phonologically heavy, and by extraposing them, the speaker allows the hearer to first focus on the main clause, and then on the additional information that is conveyed with the relative clause. Thus, there is an information packaging aspect in allowing the hearer to first process the main clause efficiently, and then to focus on the descriptive content in the extraposed relative clause. More specifically, the speaker is structuring the content in such a way that the hearer is more likely to be able to interpret the relative, pragmatically informed, importance of each constituent in the way that the speaker intends. Interestingly, almost all the cases of relative clause extraposition were split extraposition, where the head noun was not extraposed with the relative clause. Now, I would like to remind the reader about the complexity of example (68) above, where the CircumPP *na 'n meisie toe* (which contains the head noun) and the relative clause *wat daa gewêkkit* are extraposed simultaneously. Notably, this example also undergoes split extraposition, as the relative clause is extraposed out of the CircumPP. We have seen that nominal objects can be extraposed when the circumstances are right. Thus, the fact that in majority of the relative clauses the head noun was not extraposed along with the relative clause suggests that the conditions motivating object extraposition are not the same as the conditions motivating relative clause extraposition.

Although the extraposition of direct objects is known to be very limited in West Germanic varieties more generally, it became apparent that Paarl-Kaaps does to a limited extent permit the extraposition of direct objects. Strikingly, information focus (i.e. focusing on new information) is not what drove object extraposition in my data. Of the direct objects that were actually extraposed, 3/6 (50%) of

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the extraposed direct objects follow the verbs *sê* ('say') and *gesê* ('said'); and 1/3 (33.33%) was the bare noun *onnewys* ('teaching'). By extraposing these direct objects past *sê* and *gesê*, the speaker would want the hearer to focus on what is being said/reported, which could have increased their likelihood of extraposition. This is similar to the extraposition of relative clauses, where the speaker wants the hearer to first focus on the main clause, and then on the extraposed clause. Notably, one of the utterances that had the direct object following *gesê* was a response to another utterance that had the direct object following *sê*. This suggests that the structure of the first speaker's utterance could possibly be echoed by the second speaker, and that extraposition can also be conditioned by factors outside of the pragmatic context, e.g. social and relational factors. I will return to the potential influence of social/relational factors on extraposition in section 5.4 below.

Finally, and quite notably, in as far as research on the extraposition of direct objects in West Germanic languages is concerned, information packaging is also used to convey a speaker's perspective of an event. Recall, again, that 3/6 (50%) of the extraposed direct objects included demonstratives (i.e. *dai* or *die*; 'that' or 'this'). Notably, in these three examples, the speakers used the demonstratives *die* ('this') and *dai* ('that') to express a non-neutral attitude towards the activities involving the direct objects. This is illustrated in example (152) below, which is repeated from (48c) above:

(152) a. Want ek hettie lus vi t_i skil *[dai bokkom]*$_{NPi}$ nie.
because I have.not want for peel that mullet not
"Because I don't want to peel the mullet."
[AABS; PSC]

b. Toe willie Paarl mos nou nie t_i afgooi *[dai ding]*$_{NPi}$ nie.
then will.not Paarl mos now not down.throw that thing not
"Then Paarl actually didn't want to throw that thing down."
[AABS; PSC]

c. sy hettie t_i betaal *[die vis]*$_{NPi}$ -ie.
she have.not pay the fish -not
"She didn't pay for the fish." [AABS; PSC]

In example (152a) and (152b), the speaker conveys a sense of disdain towards the activities through the extraposed direct objects *dai bokkom* ('that mullet') and *dai ding* ('that thing'). This is signalled quite clearly through the use of the distal demonstrative *dai* ('that'). By using *dai* ('that'), the speaker creates distance be-

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tween themselves and the objects *bokkom* ('mullet'), and Paarl. Additionally, in the conversation preceding the utterance in (152c), *AABS* was gleefully retelling a story about how her grandmother used to hide from the people that she owed money to. While *dai* was used by the speakers to create distance from the object, the speaker uses the proximal demonstratitve *die* ('the') to feel closer to this memory of her grandmother.

This section reviewed the effect of new vs old information, as well as focus on the likelihood of extraposition. It was found that for R-pronouns, their phonologically lightness and their old information status decreased their likelihood of extraposition and they remained in the MF. However, in one instance, object focus had a greater impact than their phonological lightness and their old information status, which increased it's likelihood of extraposition. Similarly, although the direct objects that conveyed old information were extraposable, their information status decreased their likelihood of extraposition and they remained in the MF. Furthermore, when extraposing the definite bare nouns that remained in the MF, they became necessarily stressed as the speaker employs contrastive focus. The direct objects that conveyed new information also resisted extraposition, as they were non-specific and not in-focus. Additionally, relative clauses supply a lot of descriptive information about the head noun. By extraposing them, the speaker allowed the hearer to first focus on the main clause, and then on the additional information that is conveyed with the relative clause. Similarly to R-pronouns, the factors that influenced the likelihood of extraposition for direct objects were not entirely related to new information vs old information. Instead, focus and speaker perspective outweighed the factors of new vs old information, which largely increased the likelihood of extraposition for direct objects. Evidently, these factors 'weighed' more, and allowed certain constituents to actually be extraposed.

Figure 5.2 below illustrates a visual representation of how information packaging interacts with the previously discussed factors and their combined influence on the likelihood of extraposition:[4]

[4]Similarly to figure 5.1, in figure 5.2 the factors that are highlighted in green increases the likelihood of extraposition taking place, whereas the factors that are highlighted in red decreases the likelihood of extraposition taking place.

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Category	Grammatical		Pragmatic				Likely outcome?
	Categorial status	Grammatical Selection	Information status	Phonological weight	Pragmatics	Information Packaging	
(Definite) Direct Objects	DP	-	Old	Light	-	-	No extraposition
(Bare) Direct Objects	DP	-	Old	Light	Contrastive Focus	-	No extraposition
(Indefinite) Direct Objects	DP	-	New	-	-	-	No extraposition
(Bare) Direct Objects	DP	-	New	Light	-	-	No extraposition
Relative Clauses	CP	-	-	Heavy	-	Processing	Extraposition
(Extraposed) Direct Objects	DP	Selection by verb of saying	Old	-	-	-	Extraposition
(Extraposed) Direct Objects	DP	-	Old	-	Speaker Perspective	-	Extraposition

Figure 5.2: The influence of information packaging on the likelihood of extraposition

5.2.5 Multiple extraposed/extraposable constituents

Before moving on to the interim summary, I would like to briefly comment on the extraposition and V-final structures that had more than one extraposed/extraposable constituent (see sections 4.2.2 and 4.3.2 in chapter 4 above). According to Conradie (2020b), there are no restrictions concerning the number of constituents that may occupy the PV. Now, recall that section 4.2.2 zoomed in on cases where there were two co-occuring extraposed modifiers, and section 4.3.2 zoomed in on examples with two co-occurring extraposable constituents. These modifiers included a range of grammatical categories, namely: short adverbs, adpositional phrases, direct objects, and clauses.

It was found that while these structures are extraposed together, they could be extraposed independently, as well. This is illustrated in example (153a) below, where the PrePP *vi jou* ('for you') and the short adverb *oek* (lit. also; 'too') can be extraposed together; and in examples (153b), and (153c) the PrePP and the short adverb can be extraposed on their own:

(153) a. Ek kan 'n bietjie t_i t_j haa wies *[vi jou]*$_{PPi}$ *[oek]*$_{ADVPj}$.
I can a bit there be for you also
"I can be there for you too." [AABT; PSC]

b. Ek kan 'n bietjie t_i [oek]$_{ADVP}$ haa wies *[vi jou]*$_{PPi}$.
I can a bit also there be for you
"I can be there for you too."
[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

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c. Ek kan ‘n bietjie [vi jou]$_{PP}$ t$_j$ haa wies *[oek]*$_{ADVPj}$.
I can a bit for you there be also
“I can be there for you too.”

[Paarl-Kaaps; constructed by author]

Since it is possible to extrapose one constituent without the other, it does not seem like there are any meaningful interactions between the different factors that could influence the likelihood for the independent or simultaneous extraposition for these structures. Therefore, these structures do not affect the nature of what we know about extraposition. Taking this into account, they will be set aside for the remainder of this dissertation.

5.2.6 Interim summary

This section assessed the results from this study against the expectations that were drawn from the literature on extraposition studies that have been conducted on other Germanic languages in chapter 2. To repeat, these expectations were:

1. Adverbial modifiers are more frequently extraposed than other grammatical categories. In particular, I expect prepositional phrases to be readily extraposable, and postpositional phrases to resist extraposition.

2. Temporal and locational adverbial modifiers are readily extraposable, but manner adverbials resist extraposition.

3. Most instances of extraposition feature heavier constituents.

4. Extraposition is used by the speakers to introduce new information, or to focus information.

In addition to considering instances where extraposition took place, I also considered cases where extraposition was possible but did not actually occur. This interim summary aims to draw together various threads of observation that have been made regarding the (im-)possibility of extraposition under certain conditions, and the (interaction of) factors that could ‘tip the scales’ from an underlyingly V-final structure containing extraposable material into an expression with actually extraposed material:

1. It was found that not all of the aforementioned generalizations from the literature hold in Paarl-Kaaps. Firstly, PostPPs were not expected to be readily

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extraposable. In the literature, this has been linked to both their directional semantics and to their presumed argument status. However, PostPPs were in fact found to be readily extraposable, so were CircumPPs and directional PrePPs. When comparing the extraposition rate of directional PPs with PP objects (which are argument-like, as well), it was found that directional PPs are far more easily extraposable than PP objects. This was linked to the fact that directional PPs are not bound to the verb that they modify, whereas PP objects are more 'bound' to the verb, and therefore, less extraposable. Furthermore, the data revealed that directional and spatial/temporal PPs show similarly high rates of extraposition, while PP objects exhibit much lower rates, below the overall average. Non-spatial PP adjuncts, which are more extraposable than average, behave similarly to PP objects. This suggests that whether a constituent is an argument or adjunct does not strongly influence its likelihood of extraposition. Instead, being a PP inherently favors extraposition, as seen in the greater extraposability of PP objects compared to direct objects. Additionally, spatial semantics significantly increase the tendency for extraposition.

2. Evidently, spatial semantics had an impact on the likelihood of extraposition, as the majority of the short adverbs that were extraposed denote spatial meanings. As opposed to this, perspectival and additive adverbs were rarely extraposed, whereas manner and degree adverbs resisted extraposition entirely. In a similar way, the extraposition rate for spatial PPs were considerably higher than the extraposition rate for PPs that denote non-spatial meanings. Furthermore, although spatial semantics had an impact on the likelihood of extraposition, spatial adverbs were extraposed at a much lower rate than spatial PPs. Thus, this suggests that semantics (i.e. spatial meaning) is not the the only (or the most important) factor that promotes the likelihood of extraposition. Rather, the categorial status (in this case adposition vs. adverb) of a constituent has a bigger impact on the likelihood of extraposition than its semantics does.

3. Crucially, it is sometimes impossible to disentangle two or more factors that are both known to influence the likelihood of extraposition. Section 5.2.3 discussed whether the likelihood of extraposition increases with a constituent's phonological weight, as well as other factors that may influence its likelihood of extraposition in proportion to its weight. I found that while phonological weight plays a very important role in whether or not an extraposable constituent is actually extraposed or not, it never systematically bars extraposition. Furthermore,

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other factors such as categorial status and semantics are also important in increasing or decreasing a constituent's likelihood of extraposition. For example, heavy constituents like relative clauses and locative pronouns tend to extrapose to make their processing and comprehension easier. Despite their categorical status, intransitive PPs showed lower extraposition due to being phonologically light; whereas transitive PPs, which were both phonologically heavy and aligned with their categorical status, were more likely to extrapose. Similarly, phonologically light elements such as adverbs and modal particles were less likely to extrapose. For the short adverbs that did, in fact, extrapose, their multisyllabicity and their semantics (e.g. whether they were locational and temporal modifiers) came in to play, which sometimes caused the scale to tip into actual extraposition. Evidently, although phonological weight seemed to have a very big impact on whether or not extraposition will actually take place, it does not seem to be the kind of factor that can bar (i.e. systematically rule out) extraposition. Thus, these factors illustrated the non-deterministic nature of extraposition.

4. Section 5.2.4 found that for R-pronouns, phonological lightness and old information status reduced their likelihood of extraposition, and generally kept them in the MF. However, in one instance, object focus had a bigger impact than these factors, and it increased the likelihood of extraposition for one of the R-pronouns. Similarly, direct objects carrying old information were also less likely to extrapose and remained in the MF. Notably, they could have been extraposed under contrastive focus. Direct objects conveying new information also resisted extraposition due to their non-specific, non-focused nature. Relative clauses, which provide descriptive details about the head noun, were extraposed to allow the hearer to first focus on the main clause before processing the additional details in the relative clause. Overall, factors such as focus and speaker perspective had a bigger impact than information status alone, which sometimes increased the likelihood of extraposition for direct objects.

This section reviewed the different factors that influences the likelihood of extraposition. With this backdrop in place, the next section (5.3) will reflect on whether the extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps is either grammatically or pragmatically motivated, or whether some cases of extraposition seem not to be motivated by either of these domains.

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5.3 Grammatically vs. pragmatically motivated extraposition

It was stated in section 2.4.2 that extraposition can occur for either grammatical or pragmatic/stylistic reasons (Sapp 2014: 145). Notably, section 5.2 examined the findings of the Paarl-Kaaps data with these concepts in mind. Thus, the purpose of this section is to reflect on the grammatical and the pragmatic reasons for extraposition that the previous section (5.2) examined in detail. The main goal is to arrive at an understanding of whether all extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps is either grammatically or pragmatically motivated, or whether some cases of extraposition seem not to be motivated by either of these domains. This is where the issue of 'true optionality' will be given due consideration. Specifically, the question that I want to consider is whether any or all cases of extraposition which are neither grammatically nor pragmatically motivated are cases of true optionality, or whether there is a set of factors beyond the domains of the grammatical and the pragmatic that might also condition extraposition. Specifically, in sections to follow, social factors will be considered as a further possible set of conditions for extraposition. This in turn will be discussed in detail in the following section (5.4). Taking this into account, and using the factors that were reviewed in the various subsections of 5.2, I will briefly comment on whether all cases of extraposition can be shown to be either grammatically or pragmatically conditioned, or whether there are cases that seem to exemplify 'true optionality'.[5]

Particularly in connection with PPs, section 5.2.1 above found that the grammatical factor of being argument-like or being an adverbial modifier does not notably increase a constituent's likelihood of extraposition. Instead, the category (also a grammatical factor) that the constituents belong to seems to have had a greater influence on their likelihood of extraposition. Similarly, focusing on PPs and short adverbs, section 5.2.2 found that although weight (a partially pragmatic factor) had a large impact on the likelihood of extraposition, this is secondary to the effect of (spatial) semantics.

Furthermore, section 5.2.3 found that although phonological weight seemed to have

[5]An examiner pointed out that probabilistic statistical modeling would prove a useful tool in discerning 'true' vs conditioned optionality. Such modeling fell outside of the scope of this dissertation, but would make a valuable contribution to future research.

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a very big impact on whether or not extraposition will actually take place, it does not seem to be the kind of factor that can bar (i.e. systematically rule out) extraposition. Although phonological weight is a pragmatic factor (as it is motivated by comprehension), it became evident that it was not always possible to separate a constituent's phonological weight from its categorial status (a grammatical factor), or from its information status (a pragmatic factor). Therefore, in some instances, extraposition was both grammatically and pragmatically motivated. Additionally, section 5.2.4 found that for R-pronouns and relative clauses, their information status either decreased or increased their likelihood of extraposition. Although the information status influenced the likelihood of extraposition for the direct objects that remained in the MF, for the direct objects that were actually extraposed, focus and speaker perspective outweighed the factors of new vs old information, and tipped the metaphorical scale into actual extraposition. Similarly to a constituent's phonological weight, a constituent's information status is pragmatically motivated extraposition. With this distinction is in place, it becomes evident that although extraposition can be pragmatically motivated, grammatical factors have a bigger impact and are more determinate on the likelihood of extraposition.

To reflect on the possibility of true optionality in Paarl-Kaaps, we could possibly find instances of true optionality in grammatical categories where the actual extraposition rate and the possible extraposition rate are both high. On one hand, a high possible rate of extraposition indicates that no factors systematically rule extraposition out, and that the option to extrapose is consistently available. On the other hand, a high actual extraposition rate indicates that the option is frequently chosen and that no interconnected, necessarily co-occurring factors (e.g. heaviness and newness in the case of relative clauses, or lightness in the case of short adverbs and modal particles) consistently promote or hinder the likelihood of extraposition. For these reasons, spatial adpositional phrases offer the best testing ground, since the category is readily extraposable, not systematically connected to specific factors that are known to promote or hinder extraposition, occur very frequently in the data, and show the highest actual rate of extraposition (29.73%) of all categories in the data. It was shown in 5.2 that there are conditioning factors that increases the likelihood of extraposition for PPs. However, there is still a huge margin where the quantitative data does not account for why certain PPs extraposed, whereas another PP that is structurally and phonologically similar remains in the MF. Thus, I will now take a closer, qualitative look at why certain constituents extraposed while

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others remained in the MF. Consider example (154) below:

(154) a. ... maa ek wiet ôs het *[by Sivas]*$_{PP}$ skoene gekry.
... but I know us have by Sivas shoes got
"... but I know we got our shoes from Sivas" [AABS; PSC]

b. En ôs amil het t$_i$ skoene gekoep *[by Sivas]*$_{PPi}$.
and us everyone have shoes bought by Sivas
"And all of us bought shoes from Sivas" [AABS; PSC]

The examples in (154) illustrate two very similar V2 utterances from the same conversation, both containing the same locative PrePP *by Sivas* ('by Sivas'). Regardless of whether the PrePP remains in the MF, or if it is extraposed, there is no significant change in the meaning. Recall that section 2.3.3 linked true optionality to free variation, where there is no significant change in meaning between two variants. Grammatical conditions in the two utterances are highly comparable. Although the semantic class of the lexical verbs *gekry* and *gekoop* differ, the object, the PP adjunct, and the past tense auxiliary in second position are identical. Since the same constituent has been extraposed in one instance, yet remained in the MF in another instance, could this then be a case of true optionality?

Now, I would like to point out to the reader that there is another conditioning factor that is neither grammatical or pragmatic that we have not considered yet. The next section (5.4) will discuss the influence of social factors on extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps.

5.4 Sociosyntactic impressions

Section 5.2 above addressed how linguistic factors play a part in influencing the likelihood of extraposition; and section 5.3 was concerned with whether extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps is always conditioned or whether there might be instances of true optionality. Now, the following section (5.4) will address how social factors might influence the likelihood of extraposition. This will be done by investigating the individual macro-social categories of each speaker. Section 2.4.1 in chapter 2 above stated that variation refers to differences in the way in which language is used across different social groups or contexts. These differences can be linked to factors such as macro-social traits (age, gender, religion, etc), to social contexts, and to different dialogical places. In order to determine why a speaker uses one

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linguistic variable over the other (e.g. *kroon* instead of *geld* or 'money'), one needs to take into account how the variable aligns with specific social personas or identities.

Taking this into account, the aim of this section is to determine whether the speech patterns of the young participants are similar to that of the older participants, whether the speakers' language background influenced their rate of extraposition, and whether speakers adapted their language use, depending on the nature of their relationship with the interlocutor. This will be done as follows: section 5.4.1 will briefly discuss the social meaning of extraposition. Then, section 3.3 will provide a brief summary of the participants' backgrounds and their social identities, in order to set the background on how their social identities may have influenced their speech patterns. The extraposition results from this study are then presented again, but in such away that speakers' individual extraposition rates can be compared with their biographical details in mind (section 5.4.2). Section 5.4.3 will then examine the effect of the interlocutor on each participant's extraposition rate, to determine whether extraposition might also be a feature that speakers use to stylise themselves in particular conversations and to portray specific identities.

5.4.1 The social meaning of extraposition

Kaaps (and Afrikaans, more generally) has been strongly influenced by Dutch and English, as its origins can be traced back to the colonial rule of the Dutch (which lasted until 1806) as well as that of the English from the 19th century (see Hendricks 2016: 9 in section 2.2.2). In order to protect the Afrikaans language, culture and 'purity', there have been movements that have historically rejected the influence of English. Presently, one of the more defining characteristics of Kaaps is the striking level of English lexical borrowings. Concerning grammatical patterns, it is both interesting and relevant to note that extraposition is the norm in English, and as shown in section 5.2, it is also a prominent feature of (Paarl-) Kaaps. Importantly, though, extraposition is a prominent feature of colloquial Afrikaans more generally, although prescriptive, standardised Afrikaans maintains a strict OV pattern. Because Kaaps is historically stigmatised as a language that is not fit for use in the 'higher' social functions, Kaaps speakers with a high degree of competence in standardised Afrikaans are aware of patterns which, in a social context, might trigger associations with informality, less formal education, lower social status, etc., in this case, extraposition. Thus, extraposition is seen as a more informal and colloquial

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way of speaking, and in order to reject this stigmatization, speakers may use more V-final structures in their speech. Notably, V-final structures are generally found in more prescriptive environments, where speakers may police their own way of speaking, as well as the way that other speak. Undoubtedly, a prescriptive environment was not ideal for the purpose of this dissertation, as the goal was to collect as much natural speech as possible (see section 3.5 above).

5.4.2 Overview of the speaker extraposition rate

Recall from section 3.2 in chapter 3 that a total of four participants took part in the Paarl focus group discussions. Initially, the intention was to recruit two participants with a predominantly Afrikaans background, one aged 18-25 and the other aged >60; and two participants with a predominantly English background, one aged 18-25 and the other >60. However, English was only introduced as a medium of instruction in one high school in Paarl in 1986, and finding a participant over the age of 60 with a predominantly English background was not possible.[6] This meant both the speakers in the >60 age range had a predominantly Afrikaans background. The speakers in the 18-25 age group were bilingual (comfortable in both languages), where one participant in this age group had a predominantly Afrikaans background, and the other had a predominantly English background.

The aim of this section is to determine whether the speech patterns of the young participants are similar to that of the older participants, and whether the speakers' language background or any other social trait may have influenced their individual rate of extraposition. For the purpose of this section, I would like the reader to keep in mind that *AABR* and *AABS* are aged >60, whereas *AABT* and *AABU* are between the ages of 18-25. The following table summarizes the extraposition rate per speaker:

Speaker	**All tokens**	**Extraposed**	
		Tokens	**%**
AABR	150	29	19.33%
AABS	168	27	16.07%
AABT	121	17	14.05%
AABU	321	26	8.10%
Total	760	99	**Avg:** 13.03%

Table 5.3: Extraposition rate per speaker

[6]Besides the one school, it was only after the 1994 elections that the rest of the public schools in Paarl introduced English as a medium of instruction, with the latest being introduced in 2018.

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Table 5.3 above shows that *AABR* had an extraposition rate of 19.33%, *AABS* had an extraposition rate of 16.07%, and *AABT* had an extraposition rate of 14.05%. Strikingly, their extraposition rate is higher than the overall rate of extraposition in the corpus (13.03%). Interestingly, and as opposed to the three other speakers, *AABU* had an extraposition rate of 8.67%, which is lower than the overall rate of extraposition.

Recall that section 2.3.2.1 stated that there is a general expectation that Afrikaans will exhibit more "leakage" than Dutch, as OV languages in contact with SVO languages (like English) are often considered more prone to exceptions to the "strict" V-final pattern of non-contact West Germanic. With this in mind, it would be anticipated that the younger participants (who are both more proficient in English than the >60 participants) would show a higher extraposition rate than the older speakers. Now, recall that it was previously mentioned in section 3.3 that both the speakers above the age of 60 had a strongly Afrikaans-dominant background (i.e. considerably more comfortable in Afrikaans than in English); and the speakers in the 18-25 age group were bilingual (i.e. comfortable in both languages). Of the two younger participants, *AABT* had a predominantly Afrikaans background, and *AABU* had a predominantly English background.

When considering the average rate of extraposition per speaker, two key observations emerge: (i) the extraposition rate for the older speakers was higher than the extraposition rate for the younger speakers, and (ii) the extraposition rate for the Afrikaans-dominant 18-25 year old bilingual speaker was higher than that of the English-dominant speaker. Crucially, both of these observations were unexpected. Evidently, separating the speakers' age from their language background is not possible, as finding a speaker in the >60 age group that is English-dominant was a challenge. Since the presence of English in Paarl has increased over the years, the expectation then is that English would have a big influence on Paarl-Kaaps and its (younger) speakers. In turn, considering that extraposition is the norm in English, the expectation was that the younger speakers would be subject to more exceptions ('leaking') than the older speakers. This was not the case, as the >60 speakers who had an Afrikaans-dominant background had the highest extraposition rates. Furthermore, younger speakers of Paarl-Kaaps display more mobility from Paarl to the English-dominated Cape Town region, and in turn, this also increases the presence of English in Paarl-Kaaps. However, although the younger speakers are more

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in-contact with English, the fact that their extraposition rate is considerably low suggests that this contact with English does not notably increase extraposition in (Paarl-) Kaaps and Afrikaans.

This section has allowed us to link the extraposition in Paarl to the macro-social categories (i.e. the age and language background of the participants) that were discussed in section 2.4.1. The next section (5.4.3) will reflect on how the macro-social categories that were presented here interact in communication.

5.4.3 Influence of the interlocutor on speaker extraposition rate

The aim of the following section is to investigate how speakers might make use of extraposition to style themselves in the context of interacting with the interlocutor. Variables occur as components of styles, as the various ways of saying things represent different ways of being (Eckert 2008: 466 in section 2.4.1). We have seen that individuals do differ in how frequently they tend to extrapose constituents. Therefore, this section investigates speaker-internal variation across two different dialogues to examine the possibility that the (relationship with the) interlocutor, and thus social styling, might also be an interactional factor that conditions extraposition. Furthermore, assuming that the speakers have, in fact, used extraposition to style themselves, this section further aims to discover what kind of extraposition is most active in this stylising process. In order to do this, I would like to remind the reader that my methodology was intentionally designed to glimpse into this aspect of extraposition. More specifically, by recording two conversations with a different interlocutor per speaker, I can now determine whether and how the extraposition rate for the same speaker differs depending on the interlocutor. In section 3.3, I provided a detailed description of the participants' identities, as well as their relational dynamics. This is where I will be drawing on that information.

5.4.3.1 AABR

As shown in section 5.4.2, *AABR* had an extraposition rate of 19.33%. Additionally, *AABR* had a recorded discussion with *AABS*, who she did not know prior to the discussion; and a recorded discussion with *AABT*, who is her daughter. When we consider the relational dynamics of *AABR* with each of her interlocutors, one

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hypothesis is that her extraposition rate in the dialogue with *AABS* (a new acquaintance) would be lower than with her daughter *AABT*, because we expect the familiar relationship to facilitate language patterns associated with informal settings (extraposition). For *AABS*, we can hypothesize that *AABR's* extraposition rate would be low, as she would be monitoring her speech more closely, with the intention of activating language patterns associated with more formal, prescriptive settings (V-final). As opposed to her conversation with *AABS*, for her recorded discussion with *AABT*, the expectation is that *AABR* would have a high extraposition rate with her daughter, as they have a more comfortable relationship.

For both discussions, *AABR's* extraposition rate is higher than the overall rate of extraposition (13.03%). However, in contrast to the hypothesis stated above, it was found that *AABR* had an extraposition rate of 21.74% when speaking to *AABS* (her new acquaintance); whereas when she was speaking to *AABT* (her daughter), *AABR* had an extraposition rate of 17.28%. During her conversation with her new acquaintance and age-mate *AABS*, the speakers were reminiscing about their shared experiences growing up during Apartheid. Since this topic was not only familiar and relatable for both the speakers, but also represents a shared, and therefore uniting, childhood experience, it is reasonable to assume that *AABR* felt comfortable and was therefore less conscious of her speech patterns. This lowered level of self-monitoring is associated with the production of patterns used in informal settings (extraposition) as opposed to formal, prescriptive settings (V-final). During her conversation with her daughter *AABT*, *AABR* was asking her daughter about her aspirations for the future, and she was reflecting on her own hardships growing up. Although they have a close relationship, since this was an emotional discussion, we might speculate that *AABR* could have tried to distance herself from uncomfortable emotions and memories, which potentially resulted in more highly monitored speech, and in turn a lower rate of extraposition.

The following table summarizes the extraposition rate for *AABR* with her different interlocutors:

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Speaker	Relationship	All tokens	Extraposed?	
			Yes	%
AABS	Age-mate; new acquaintance	69	15	21.74%
AABT	Daughter	81	14	17.28%
	Total	150	29	**Average: 19.33%**

Table 5.4: Extraposition rate for AABR by interlocutor

Sections 5.2 and 5.3 reviewed and highlighted the grammatical and pragmatic factors that could have influenced the likelihood of extraposition. Building on that, section 5.3 highlighted that in addition to the grammatical and pragmatic factors, extraposition could also be conditioned by social factors. Thus, we need a systematic way to explore how communicative strategies are associated with extraposition. In order to do this, I will take a closer look at AABR's extraposition by category with each interlocutor.

It was found that *AABR's* average extraposition rate for adpositional phrases was 31.03% (18/58), which is notably higher than the overall extraposition rate for adpositional phrases (21.84%). As opposed to adpositional phrases, *AABR's* overall extraposition rate for short adverbs was 5.56% (3/54), which is lower than the average rate of extraposition for short adverbs (7.17%). This is expected, as it was shown that adpositional phrases extrapose more readily than short adverbs do (see section 5.2 above). Now let's zoom in on *AABR's* extraposition rate for direct objects, which is 14.29% (2/14), and higher than the average rate of extraposition for direct objects (6.90%). Notably, with *AABS*, *AABR* did not extrapose any direct objects; whereas with *AABT*, she had an extraposition rate of 28.57% (2/7). As mentioned in section 5.2.4 above, one of the utterances that had the direct object following *gesê* was a response to another utterance that had the direct object following *sê*. Initially, *AABT* started with *Sy't gesê ag uur* (lit. she.have said eight hour; 'She said eight 'o clock), which was followed by *AABR* saying *Nee, sy't gesê nege uur* (lit. no, she.have said nine hour; 'No, she said nine 'o clock'). Thus, this suggests that the extraposition structure uttered by *AABR* in this context is primed by the preceding extraposition structure uttered by her daughter (*AABT*).

The following table summarizes *AABR's* extraposition rate by category & interlocutor:[7]

[7]For the purpose of this exposition, I have included the overall average extraposition rates by category for the reader's convenience.

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Category	Extraposed?			
	All	Yes	%	Avg Extrap. %
Interlocutor: AABS				
Adpositional phrases	26	11	42.31%	21.84%
Short adverbs	21	2	9.52%	7.17%
Direct objects	7	0	-	6.90%
Modal particles	13	0	-	-
Relative clauses	2	2	100%	13.79%
Total	69	15	**Avg: 21.74%**	**Avg: 13.03%**
Interlocutor: AABT				
Adpositional phrases	32	7	21.88%	21.84%
Short adverbs	33	1	3.03%	7.17%
Direct objects	7	2	28.57%	6.90%
Modal particles	5	0	-	-
Relative clauses	4	4	100%	13.79%
Total	81	14	**Avg: 17.28%**	**Avg: 13.03%**

Table 5.5: AABR: Extraposition rate by category & interlocutor

5.4.3.2 AABS

AABS, who had an overall extraposition rate of 16.07%, had a recorded discussion with *AABR*, who she did not know prior to the discussion (the same relationship that was discussed in section 5.4.3.1 above); and with *AABU*, who was her former student. Similarly to *AABR*, when we consider *AABS's* relational dynamics with her interlocutors, we might hypothesize that *AABS'* extraposition rate to be low in her dialogue with *AABR* (her new acquaintance). An interesting aspect to consider is how *AABS's* extraposition rate will reflect during her conversation with *AABU*, her former student. Although they are familiar with each other, there is still a power dynamic that comes into play, and thus, I hypothesize that *AABS'* extraposition rate in conversation with *AABU* would be considerably lower as she might try to maintain that professional persona.

Like *AABR*, *AABS'* overall extraposition rate is higher than the overall rate of extraposition (13.03%). With *AABR*, *AABS* had an extraposition rate of 18%, which is considerably higher than initially expected. As mentioned in section 5.4.3.1, the speakers were reminiscing about their shared experiences growing up during Apartheid. Like *AABR*, it is reasonable to assume that *AABS* felt comfortable enough to lower her level of self-monitoring, which is associated with the production of patterns used in informal settings (extraposition) as opposed to formal, prescrip-

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tive settings (V-final). As predicted, *AABS'* extraposition rate with *AABU* is considerably lower at 13.24%. This was expected, considering their relational dynamics (teacher and student). Since their relationship was primarily rooted in a prescriptive environment where V-final structures are the 'correct' way of speaking, *AABS* might have felt compelled to perform a more professional persona with *AABU* than she did with *AABR*.

The following table summarizes the extraposition rate for *AABS* with her different interlocutors:

Speaker	**Relationship**	**All tokens**	**Extraposed?**	
			Yes	**%**
AABR	Age-mate; new acquaintance	100	18	18%
AABU	Student	68	9	13.24%
	Total	168	27	**Average: 16.07%**

Table 5.6: Extraposition rate for *AABS* by interlocutor

Similarly to *AABR* that was discussed above, *AABS'* overall extraposition rate for adpositional phrases is 32.73% (18/55). Additionally, with *AABR*, her adpositional phrase extraposition rate was 36.67%; and with *AABU*, her adpositional phrase extraposition rate was 28%. As expected, her extraposition rate for adpositional phrases, which is higher with *AABR* than with *AABU*, corresponds to the style that she portrays with the respective interlocutors. Furthermore, *AABS's* overall extraposition rate for direct objects was 9.38% (3/32). Notably, with *AABR*, *AABS's* extraposition rate for direct objects was 14.29%; whereas with *AABU*, she had no instances of direct object extraposition. The lack of direct object extraposition suggests that *AABS* was more distant with *AABU* (her student) than with *AABR* (an acquaintance), as she did not employ direct object extraposition to express a non-neutral attitude with *AABU*.

The following table summarizes *AABS'* extraposition rate by category & interlocutor:

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Category	Extraposed?			
	All	**Yes**	**%**	**Avg Extrap. %**
Interlocutor: AABR				
Adpositional phrases	30	11	36.67%	21.84%
Short adverbs	41	4	9.76%	7.17%
Direct objects	21	3	14.29%	6.90%
Modal particles	8	0	-	-
Relative clauses	0	0	-	13.79%
Total	100	18	**Avg: 18%**	**Avg: 13.03%**
Interlocutor: AABU				
Adpositional phrases	25	7	28%	21.84%
Short adverbs	27	2	7.41%	7.17%
Direct objects	11	0	-	6.90%
Modal particles	5	0	-	-
Relative clauses	0	0	-	13.79%
Total	68	9	**Avg: 13.24%**	**Avg: 13.03%**

Table 5.7: AABS: Extraposition rate by category & interlocutor

5.4.3.3 AABT

I will now move on to discussing the extraposition rate of *AABT*, who had recorded discussions with her mother (*AABR*), and a peer (*AABU*). *AABT* had an overall extraposition rate of 14.05%. This is surprising, because with her profiency in English (in comparison to that of the >60 speakers), the expectation was that her extraposition rate would be higher than that of the two older strongly Afrikaans-dominant speakers (see 5.4.2 above). When we consider *AABT's* relational dynamics, we might hypothesize that *AABT's* extraposition rate to be high in dialogue with *AABR* (her mother). Furthermore, in addition to belonging to the same age group, *AABT* and *AABU* have a mutual friend in common, as well as shared interests. Thus, I hypothesize that *AABT* would have a high rate of extraposition with *AABU*, too.

Unexpectedly, during her conversation with her mother, *AABT* had an extraposition rate of 5.36%, which is considerably lower than her overall rate of extraposition (14.05%). This could be attributed to the respect that she has for her mother. Despite their close relationship, *AABT* is aware of the power dynamics between herself and her mother. In turn, she monitors her speech patterns and uses more V-final structures. Furthermore, as discussed in section 5.4.3.1, during their recorded discussion, *AABR* was asking her daughter about her aspirations and giving her advice

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for the future. Since this was an emotional discussion, *AABT's* low extraposition rate with her mother could also be attributed to the fact that she could have tried to create distance between herself, her mother, and the uncomfortable conversation which caused her to feel under interrogation. On the other hand, and as expected, when speaking to *AABU* (who is in the same age group as her), her overall extraposition rate is 21.54%. Since they are both between the ages of 18-25, *AABT* did not feel the need to present a formal persona and extraposed more freely. Additionally, since *AABT* and *AABU* had mutual interests, *AABT* might have felt comfortable enough to ease up on monitoring her speech patterns.

The following table summarizes the extraposition rate for *AABT* with their different interlocutors:

Speaker	**Relationship**	**All tokens**	**Extraposed?**	
			Yes	**%**
AABR	Mother	56	3	5.36%
AABU	Same age group; Peer	65	14	21.54%
	Total	121	17	**Average: 14.05%**

Table 5.8: Extraposition rate for *AABT* by interlocutor

To further examine how *AABT's* speech patterns vary according to interlocutor, I will analyse *AABT's* extraposition rates by linguistic category and interlocutor. In particular, I will be focusing on adpositional phrases, as this was the most frequently extraposed category. *AABT's* overall extraposition rate for adpositional phrases is 26.09% (12/46). Strikingly, when speaking to her mother, *AABT's* extraposition rate for adpositional phrases is 11.11%, which is considerably lower than the average rate of extraposition for adpositional phrases (21.84%). On the other hand, when speaking to *AABU*, she has an adpositional phrase extraposition rate of 28%. By solely focusing on her extraposition rate for adpositional phrases (which is the most commonly extraposed category across the data), this suggests that *AABT* is more reserved with her mother than she is with the speaker that is in the same group as her. Thus, her extraposition rate across categories decreases.

The following table summarizes *AABT's* extraposition rate by category & interlocutor:

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Category	Extraposed?			
	All	**Yes**	**%**	**Avg Extrap. %**
Interlocutor: AABR				
Adpositional phrases	18	2	11.11%	21.84%
Short adverbs	20	0	-	7.17%
Direct objects	4	1	25%	6.90%
Modal particles	14	0	-	-
Relative clauses	0	0	-	13.79%
Total	56	3	**Avg: 5.36%**	*Avg: 13.03%*
Interlocutor: AABU				
Adpositional phrases	28	10	28%	21.84%
Short adverbs	25	4	7.41%	7.17%
Direct objects	4	0	-	6.90%
Modal particles	8	0	-	-
Relative clauses	0	0	-	13.79%
Total	65	14	**Avg: 21.54%**	**Avg: 13.03%**

Table 5.9: AABT: Extraposition rate by category & interlocutor

5.4.3.4 AABU

Lastly, I will now discuss the extraposition rate of *AABU*, who had a recorded discussion with his former teacher (*AABS*), and with a peer (*AABT*). Strikingly, *AABU* had an overall extraposition of 8.10%, which is notably lower than the overall rate of extraposition across the data. Since *AABU* has an English-dominant language background, his low rate of extraposition is surprising, as extraposition is the norm in English (see section 5.4.2). Taking into account *AABU's* relational dynamics with his interlocuture, I hypothesize that his extraposition rate with *AABS* will be particularly low, as *AABS* is his former Afrikaans teacher. Additionally, considering that *AABU* and *AABT* are peers, I hypothesize that his extraposition rate during this dialogue would be relatively high.

Surprisingly, when speaking to his teacher, *AABU* had an extraposition rate of 12.04%. Although this is higher than his overall rate of extraposition (8.10%), it is still lower than the average rate of extraposition (13.03%). This is expected, because since their relationship was rooted in a prescriptive and formal environment, *AABU* might have used more V-final structures. Additionally, in order to show the respect that is typical in this relational dynamic, *AABU*, would self-monitor his speech to sound more formal and 'correct'. Strikingly, during his discussion with *AABT*, *AABU's* extraposition rate was only 6.10%, which was unexpectedly

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lower than with his teacher (*AABS*). Since *AABU* and *AABT* are both proficient in English, are both in the same age group, and have mutual friends and interests, I expected more 'leaking' from *AABU* to occur. Notably, *AABU* is a student at Stellenbosch university in the Western Cape, which has a reputation of being a historically white, Afrikaans-dominant institution. Thus, *AABU's* speech patterns might still be linked to his identity as a student at Stellenbosch. As a result, he uses less extraposition overall and speaks in a more 'correct' manner. Crucially, it remains an open question why *AABU's* extraposition rate was significantly lower with a peer than with a former teacher.

The following table summarizes the extraposition rate for *AABU* with their different interlocutors:

Speaker	**Relationship**	**All tokens**	**Extraposed?**	
			Yes	**%**
AABS	Teacher	108	13	12.04%
AABT	Same age group	213	13	6.10%
	Total	321	26	**Average: 8.10%**

Table 5.10: Extraposition rate for *AABU* by interlocutor

A closer examination of *AABU's* extraposition patterns, analyzed by category and interlocutor, reveals intriguing trends. Focusing solely on his extraposition rate for adpositional phrases, which is 11.94% (16/134), we find that it is considerably lower than the overall extraposition rate for adpositonal phrases (21.84%). Furthermore, while *AABU's* extraposition rate for adpositional phrases is 20.83% (10/48) with *AABS* (his teacher), his extraposition rate for adpositional phrases with *AABT* (his peer) is strikingly low at 6.98%. Speakers who are very comfortable with English would naturally tend to produce structures where prepositional phrases (PP) follow the verb, meaning they appear "extraposed" on the surface. Consequently, one might expect this to increase their use of extraposition in Kaaps.

The following table summarizes *AABU's* extraposition rate by category & interlocutor:

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Category	Extraposed?			
	All	Yes	%	Avg Extrap. %
Interlocutor: AABS				
Adpositional phrases	48	10	20.83%	21.84%
Short adverbs	38	3	7.89%	7.17%
Direct objects	17	0	-	6.90%
Modal particles	5	0	-	-
Relative clauses	0	0	-	13.79%
Total	108	13	**Avg: 12.04%**	**Avg: 13.03%**
Interlocutor: AABT				
Adpositional phrases	86	6	6.98%	21.84%
Short adverbs	88	5	5.68%	7.17%
Direct objects	16	0	-	6.90%
Modal particles	21	0	-	-
Relative clauses	2	2	100%	13.79%
Total	213	13	**Avg: 6.10%**	**Avg: 13.03%**

Table 5.11: AABU: Extraposition rate by category & interlocutor

5.4.4 Interim Summary

The aim of this section was to determine whether the speech patterns of the young participants are similar to that of the older participants, whether the speakers' language background influenced their rate of extraposition, and whether speakers adapted their language use, depending on the nature of their relationship with the interlocutor.

Section 5.4.1 highlighted the social meaning of extraposition, and section 3.3 provided brief social backgrounds for the participants. The main concern for section 5.4.2 was to determine whether the speech patterns of the young participants are similar to that of the older participants, and whether the speakers' language background or any other social trait may have influenced their individual rate of extraposition. The following observations were made (i) the extraposition rate for the older speakers was higher than the extraposition rate for the younger speakers, and (ii) the extraposition rate for the Afrikaans dominant 18-25 year old bilingual speaker was higher than that of the English dominant speaker. Since the presence of English in Paarl has increased over the years, the expectation was that English would have a big influence on Paarl-Kaaps and its (younger) speakers. In turn, considering that extraposition is the norm in English, the expectation was that the younger

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speakers' OV structures would be subject to more exceptions ('leaking') than the older speakers. Furthermore, although the younger speakers of Paarl-Kaaps display more mobility from Paarl to the English-dominated Cape Town region, and although they are more in contact with English, the fact that their extraposition rate is considerably low suggests that this contact with English does not notably increase extraposition in (Paarl-) Kaaps and Afrikaans.

Additionally, section 5.4.3 investigated how speakers might make use of extraposition to style themselves in the context of interacting with the interlocutor. The findings per speaker were as follows:

AABR: The difference between the extraposition rates for both discussions that *AABR* partook in suggests that although *AABR* employed extraposition more with *AABS* than with *AABT*, *AABR* still styled herself fairly consistently regardless of her interlocutor. This suggests that *AABR* is more comfortable as herself, regardless of her interlocutor. When zooming in on her extraposition rate by category and interlocutor, the following was found: *AABR's* average extraposition rate for adpositional phrases was higher than the overall average of 21.84%, while her extraposition rate for short adverbs is lower than average at 5.56%, compared to 7.17%. This aligns with the tendency for adpositional phrases to extrapose more readily than short adverbs. For direct objects, *AABR's* extraposition rate is 14.29%, exceeding the overall rate of 6.90%. Notably, *AABR* extraposed a direct object in response to her daughter *AABT*, suggesting that *AABR's* use of extraposition in this instance was influenced by *AABT's* preceding structure.

AABS: When speaking with *AABR*, *AABS's* extraposition rate is notably high, which was ascribed to her feeling relaxed and self-monitoring her speech patterns less. In contrast, her extraposition rate with AABU was considerably lower, which reflects a more formal, teacher-student dynamic. When zooming in on her extraposition rate, I found that *AABS's* extraposition rate for adpositional phrases was higher with *AABR* than with *AABU*, aligning with the style that she adopted with each speaker. Her direct object extraposition also varied: it appears with *AABR*, but not with *AABU*. The absence of direct object extraposition with her student suggests a more formal or distant interaction compared to her more casual discussion with *AABR*.

AABT: *AABT's* extraposition rate is notably lower when speaking with her mother,

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AABR, which was ascribed to her respect for her mother, as well as her awareness of the power dynamic between them. Furthermore, *AABT's* low extraposition rate with her mother may reflect an attempt to create emotional distance during a sensitive conversation about aspirations and advice, which she found uncomfortable and interrogative. In contrast, *AABT's* extraposition rate is higher with *AABU*, who was a peer, as their shared interests and equal standing made her feel comfortable enough to use a less formal speech style and extrapose more freely. Additionally, when zooming in on *AABT's* extraposition rate by category and speaker and solely focusing on adpositional phrases, I found that *AABT's* extraposition rate for adpositional phrases varies significantly by interlocutor. When speaking with her mother (*AABR*), *AABT* used fewer extraposed adpositional phrase structures, which suggests a more reserved speech style. In contrast, her extraposition rate for adpositional phrases is higher when conversing with *AABU* (a peer), which indicates a more relaxed and open style. This pattern highlights that AABT's extraposition rate decreases in interactions where she adopts a more formal tone, as she does with her mother.

AABU: When speaking with his teacher, although *AABU's* extraposition rate was higher than his overall rate (8.10%), it was still below the overall average rate of extraposition. This was ascribed to the formal, prescriptive nature of their relationship, which encouraged him to use more V-final structures and monitor his speech for a more "correct" tone. Surprisingly, despite their similar age and shared interests, *AABU's* extraposition rate was even lower when conversing with *AABT*. This may have been influenced by his identity as a Stellenbosch University student, which resulted in him using less extraposition, and rather maintaining a more formal speech style. Additionally, when I examined *AABU's* extraposition patterns by category and interlocutor, surprising differences emerged. His extraposition rate for adpositional phrases was lower than the overall average (21.84%), and it was unexpectedly low when speaking with *AABT* (his peer). In contrast, his extraposition rate for adpositional phrases is higher when speaking to *AABS* (his teacher). Although *AABU* is proficient in English (which might encourage more extraposition) *AABU* was more rigid with his word order with someone that was in the same age as him than with his teacher.

Taking this into account, evidently, most of the speakers did, in fact, use extra-

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position to style themselves and to portray certain identities depending on their conversation partner. In addition to their age and language background influencing their likelihood of extraposition, in some instances, their relational dynamics increased or decreased their likelihood of extraposition (daughter vs mother & student vs teacher). In each case, the level of formality, respect, and social dynamics of each relationship influenced the speakers' extraposition use.

Crucially, section 5.3 briefly investigated whether PP extraposition could be cases of true optionality, as it was shown that neither grammatical or pragmatic factors condition PP extraposition. However, once we take the social context into account, it seems that PP extraposition seems to be more conditioned by these factors (i.e. the relational dynamics that were discussed in section 5.4.3) than other categories. Thus, PP extraposition is not a case of true optionality.

5.5 Summary

This chapter's main goal was to interpret the findings of this study (chapter 4) against the backdrop of the expectations that were drawn from the literature (chapter 2). Section 5.2 presented and evaluated the extraposition profile of Paarl-Kaaps in comparison to the literature; section 5.3 briefly commented on whether all extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps is either grammatically or pragmatically motivated, or whether some cases of extraposition can be true optionality/free variation; and section 5.4 provided the sociosyntactic impressions of extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps.

I will take this opportunity to revisit the issue that was discussed in section 5.3: whether true optionality exists in extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps. Building on section 5.2, which examined the grammatical and the pragmatic reasons for extraposition in detail, section 5.3 found that although extraposition can be pragmatically motivated, grammatical factors has a more decisive impact on the likelihood of extraposition. Additionally, section 5.4 addressed how social factors might influence the likelihood of extraposition. Here, the extraposition results were presented again, but in such away that speakers' individual extraposition rates could be compared with their biographical details in mind; and to examine determine whether extraposition might also be a feature that speakers use to style themselves to portray specific identities. Evidently, most of the speaker's did, in fact, use extraposition to style themselves and to portray certain identities depending on their conversation partner. In addition

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to their age and language background influencing their likelihood of extraposition, in some instances, their relational dynamics increased or decreased their likelihood of extraposition (daughter vs mother & student vs teacher). Crucially, PP extraposition is precisely where we may feel tempted to invoke true optionality when only taking grammatical and pragmatic factors into consideration. However, when we consider the effect of social context on PP extraposition rates, we see a clear connection. In turn, this suggests that PP extraposition is not a case of true optionality.

The following chapter (6) concludes this dissertation.

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6. Conclusion

This chapter marks the end of this dissertation. Recall that chapter 1.1 introduced this dissertation's core research question, which was as follows:
What is the extraposition profile of Paarl-Kaaps?

With this in mind, I would like to summarize the main points of this dissertation below.

The purpose for chapter 2 was to provide background for this study. First, section 2.2 provided a background on Paarl (2.2.1) and Kaaps (2.2.2; 2.2.3; and 2.2.4). These sections presented early arguments, namely: that the Kaaps that is spoken in Paarl is understudied and under-documented; and that Kaaps in general should be used freely and without stigmatization in the private domain as well as in the public spheres (where the usage of the standard variety is the norm). Next, section 2.3 outlined the grammatical phenomenon that was investigated for this study. First, section 2.3.1 briefly outlined the general properties of West Germanic languages, as well as Afrikaans. This was done by detailing the sentence structure for Afrikaans, more generally, and by introducing the reader to the West Germanic field model to illustrate the structure of West Germanic clauses (see figures 2.2 and 2.3). Next, section 2.3.2.1 defined extraposition; and section 2.3.2.2 explored the different factors that influence extraposition. Then, section 2.3.3 discussed the various dimensions that influence the loss or maintenance of optionality. The last section (2.4) outlined the analytical framework that was used in this study. Section 2.4.1 focused on sociosyntax, and how macro-social categories plays a part in a speaker's identity and socialization; and section 2.4.2 explored the motivations (e.g. pragmatics, style, focus) that influence the optionality of extraposition.

This was then followed by chapter 3, which detailed the research design and methodology that was used to collect and process the data. The data collected for this dis-

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sertation formed a part of the larger SEcoKa project, which collects valuable usage data on Kaaps, and offers significant contributions to the field overall. To collect the data, four participants took part in the Paarl focus group discussions. Two of the participants were between the ages of 18 and 25, while the other two were above 60. The four participants were chosen based on their availability, as well as their language background. Initially, the intention was to recruit one participant with a predominantly Afrikaans background, and one participant with a predominantly English background in each age group. Then, the participants were to be paired with speakers that are in the same age group but with a different language background as them, followed by a speaker that is in a different age group but has the same language background as them. However, Kaaps speakers in Paarl over the age of 60 tend to have an Afrikaans-only background, as English was only introduced as a medium of instruction in Paarl schools in 1986. Thus, finding a participant over the age of 60 with a predominantly English background was not possible. Fortunately, this did not negatively impact the data collection. Before the discussion started, I told the participants that they could discuss their favourite childhood memory or a positive experience. However, the majority of the conversations between the different participants focused on random topics that came up as they were speaking. The amount of data that the natural conversations yielded was enough to undertake a systematic investigation of extraposition, as potentially every spoken clause constituted a data point.

Chapter 5 interpreted the results that were presented in chapter 4, while attending to the aims and objectives that were presented in chapter 1. Now, I would like to address these objectives against the findings from chapter 4, as well as the analyses that was presented in chapter 5. For the reader's convenience, I will repeat the aims and objectives below:

1. **To ascertain whether extraposition is a prominent feature of Paarl-Kaaps**

Chapter 4 presented and summed up the results of the data that was collected. It was found that extraposition is a prominent feature in Paarl-Kaaps, as 13.03% of the extracted clauses were extraposed. The findings in this chapter were as follows: (i) Section 4.2 revealed that adpositional phrases were the most frequently extraposed category, while short adverbs (which have the same amount of tokens as

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adpositional phrases in the corpus) were less frequently extraposed. Notably, direct objects were extraposed at a surprising rate, as extraposition of direct objects is known to be very limited in West Germanic varieties, yet it is permitted in Paarl-Kaaps. Section 4.2.2 then focused on the structures where multiple constituents were extraposed together, and found that the most frequent extraposed collocation in the data is short adverbs and adpositional phrases.

(ii) Section 4.3.1 found that many of the V-final clauses in the corpus contained adpositional phrases, which could, in principle, have extraposed, but didn't. The majority of the adpositional phrases did not extrapose, despite the fact that adpositional phrases constitute the most commonly extraposed elements. Short adverbs and direct objects also had low extraposition rates, relative to the types of elements that were extraposed in the corpus. Generally, short adverbs are phonologically light and less prone to extraposition, while direct objects tends to resist extraposition as arguments of the verb are less free to move than adjuncts. Modal particles in V-final structures could have been extraposed, yet no cases were found in the corpus. Lastly, section 4.3.2 highlighted that short adverbs most frequently co-occurred with other short adverbs, and that light elements (like short adverbs and modal particles) were the most common collocations.

Crucially, although extraposition is a prominent feature in Paarl-Kaaps, it is not the dominant pattern. This suggests that Paarl-Kaaps, similarly to Afrikaans more generally, is uncontroversially an OV language. Additionally, since 14.52% (96/661) of the V-final tokens that were investigated in section 4.3.1 resisted extraposition completely, this further suggests that the option to extrapose is not selected by default (see section 5.1).

2. **To determine what factors influence extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps by:**

(a) *Examining the influence of grammatical category on the possibility and likelihood of extraposition*

(i) Focusing mainly on PPs, section 5.2.1 found that not all the generalizations from the literature applied to Paarl-Kaaps. Contrary to expectations, PostPPs,

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along with CircumPPs and directional PrePPs, were found to be readily extraposable. Directional PPs were significantly more prone to extraposition than PP objects (which are argument-like, as well), likely because directional semantics are less tightly bound to the verb than the semantics of PP objects. Additionally, directional and spatial/temporal PPs exhibited similarly high extraposition rates, whereas PP objects and non-spatial PP adjuncts had much lower rates, which were comparable to one another. This indicates that argument or adjunct status has minimal impact on extraposition likelihood, with the PP category itself being the primary factor favoring extraposition, further influenced by spatial semantics.

(b) *Examining the influence of the sense conveyed by a constituent (i.e. its 'literal' interpretation) on the possiblity and likelihood of extraposition.*

(ii) Section 5.2.2 found that semantics (i.e. spatial meaning) is not the only (or the most important) factor that promotes the likelihood of extraposition. This was exemplified by comparing spatial adverbs with spatial PPs, where the spatial adverbs were extraposed at a much lower rate than spatial PPs. Instead of its semantics, the categorial status (in this case adposition vs. adverb) of a constituent has a bigger impact on the likelihood of extraposition than its semantics does.

(c) *Examining how a constituent's phonological weight influences its possibility and likelihood of extraposition.*

Section 5.2.3 found that instead of a constituent's phonological weight being the sole factor that influences its likelihood of extraposition, a constituent's categorial status, semantic status, amongst others, also play a part in increasing or decreasing a constituent's likelihood of extraposition. Evidently, although phonological weight seemed to have a very big impact on whether or not extraposition will actually take place, it does not seem to be the kind of factor that can bar (i.e. systematically rule out) extraposition.

(d) *Examining the effect of information packaging on the possibility and likelihood of extraposition*

(iv) Section 5.2.4 found that R-pronouns and direct objects tend to remain in the MF unless object focus (for the former), contrastive focus and speaker perspective

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(for the latter) encourages extraposition. Old information typically resists extraposition, while new, non-specific information is even less likely to move. Relative clauses, however, are often extraposed to prioritize processing the main clause. Overall, focus and speaker perspective play a more significant role than information status in driving extraposition.

Taking this into account, it becomes evident that not one sole factor exclusively influences extraposition. Instead, multiple factors 'weigh' in to increase or decrease the likelihood of extraposition taking place.

3. **To investigate the issue of optionality in connection with extraposition by determining whether extraposition is conditioned by:**

(a) and (b) *Grammatical and pragmatic factors (i.e. information packaging)*

In order to address whether extraposition is conditioned by grammatical or pragmatic factors, the following observations were made: Section 5.3 briefly commented on whether extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps is grammatically or pragmatically motivated, or if the optionality in extraposition can be cases of true optionality/free variation. It was found that although extraposition can be pragmatically motivated, grammatical factors had a more decisive impact on the likelihood of extraposition. Furthermore, since many of the constituents that were extraposable and remained in the MF are nearly identical to the constituents that were actually extraposed (i.e. similar categorical status, semantic status, phonological weight, etc.), this then raised the question of whether these identical non-extraposed variants represent cases of true optionality.

Furthermore, in order to reflect on the possibility of true optionality in Paarl-Kaaps, I assessed the grammatical categories where the actual extraposition rate and the possible extraposition rate are both high. Spatial adpositional phrases offered the best testing ground, since the category is readily extraposable, not systematically connected to specific factors that are known to promote or hinder extraposition, occur very frequently in the data, and show the highest actual rate of extraposition of all categories in the data. It was found that the grammatical conditions in many of the PPs are highly comparable. However, in many cases, the same constituent was been extraposed in one instance, yet remained in the MF in another instance.

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These instances were considered to represent cases of true optionality.

(c) *Social factors*

In order to address whether extraposition is conditioned by social factors, the following observations were made:

(i) Section 5.4.2 found the opposite of what was initially expected: the extraposition rate for the older speakers was higher than the extraposition rate for the younger speakers. Additionally, separating the speakers' age from their language background was not possible, as finding a speaker in the >60 age group that is English-dominant was a challenge. Section 5.4.2 also found that the extraposition rate for the Afrikaans-dominant 18-25 year old bilingual speaker was higher than that of the English dominant speaker. Since the presence and influence of English in Paarl has increased over the years, this led to the expectation that there would be an increase in extraposition among younger Paarl-Kaaps speakers. However, the results indicated otherwise. Despite being proficient in English, and despite being more exposed to English because of their increased mobility, younger speakers of Paarl-Kaaps show a relatively low extraposition rate. This suggests that contact with English has not significantly increased extraposition patterns in (Paarl-) Kaaps or Afrikaans.

(ii) As shown in section 5.4.3, most of the speaker's did, in fact, use extraposition to style themselves and to portray certain identities depending on their conversation partner. In addition to their age and language background influencing their likelihood of extraposition, in some instances, their relational dynamics increased or decreased their likelihood of extraposition (daughter vs mother & student vs teacher). In each case, the level of formality, respect, and social dynamics of each relationship influenced the speakers' extraposition use. Crucially, PP extraposition is precisely where we may feel tempted to invoke true optionality when only taking grammatical and pragmatic factors into consideration. However, when I considered the effect of social context on PP extraposition rates, there was a clear connection. In turn, this suggested that PP extraposition is, in fact, not a case of true optionality.

This dissertation represents the first investigation of its kind to focus on Paarl-Kaaps, a highly understudied subvariety of Kaaps, which itself remains largely

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under-researched. Given the limited scope of this study, extraposition in Paarl-Kaaps was not analyzed in relation to other sub-varieties of Kaaps. Exploring the similarities and differences between Paarl-Kaaps and other sub-varieties represents a significant area for future research.

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Appendices

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A SEcoKa Transcription Conventions

1. Start / end / question codes

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

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

2. Metalinguistic

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

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3. Kaaps-specific conventions

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

- When pronouns are followed by *is* or *het*, the reduced forms of *is* / *het* attach to the pronoun:
  - Dit is → dis
  - Dai is → dais
  - Hy is → hys
  - Waar is → waas
  - Daar is → daas
  - Dai het → dait
  - Hy het → hyt
  - Wat het → wattit

- When an article (die / ‘n) follows a preposition, the article is reduced and attaches to the preposition:
  - Van die → vannie
  - In die → innie
  - Vir die → virrie
  - Met die → mettie
  - Van ’n → vanne
  - In ’n → inne
  - Vir ’n → virre
  - Met ’n → mette

- When an article or negation follows a verb, the article / negation is reduced and attaches to the verb:
  - Het ’n kind → hette
  - Het die kind → hettie
  - Het nie geweet nie → hettie geweetie
  - Gaan nie → gaanie

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

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

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

- Rien**t** (< reën)
- Beginn**e** (< begin)

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

- r-omission
    - Dee (<deu**r**)
    - Ees (<ee**r**s)
    - Maa (<maa**r**)
    - Mee (<mee**r**)
    - Veloo (<ve**r**loo**r**)
    - Wonne (<won**d**er)

- d-omission
    - Is (<**d**is)
    - It (<**d**it)
    - Gel (<**g**eld)
    - Maane (<maan**d**e)
    - Minne (<min**d**er)
    - Woore (<woor**d**e)

- n-/m-omission
    - Ôs (<o**n**s)
    - Kô (<ko**m**)

Word reduction: one or more sounds in a given word are not pronounced so the word is substantially shortened. For example:

- Dai (<daa**rd**ie)
- Selle (<se**lf**de)

Vowel changes: the quality of a given vowel is changed. For example:

- Vowel heightening
    - D**ai** (<daai)
    - **le**t (<eet)
    - L**a**t (<laat)
    - L**ie**s (<lees)
    - S**oe**s (<soos)

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- Vowel lowering
  - Rêr**a**g (<rerig)
  - Stad**a**g (<stadig)

- Vowel reduction
  - Doen**i**t (<doen het)
  - Ekk**i**t (<ek het)
  - Saamm**i**t (<saam met)

- Reduced het
  - Gedoen et (< gedoen **h**et)
  - Getrou et (< getrou **h**et)
  - Gebly et (< gebly **h**et)

  Here,we should pay attention to whether or not the ***h*** in *het* is really being omitted such that it yields *et*. Also, contrast this to the encliticised form of *het* (*it*, under 'Vowel reduction'). We need to distinguish between the clitic (*it)* and the other two forms (*het* and *et*). Whenever it is **not** a clitic either *het* or *et* is used.

Sound changes: one consonant is replaced by another consonant. For example:

- **H**ai (<**d**ai)
- **H**aa (<**d**aa)
- **L**at (<**d**at)
- Me**n** (<me**t**) / me**nn**ie (<me**tt**ie)

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