360

THE CLINICAL EVALUATION OF THE EXPRESSIVE SYNTAX OF BILINGUAL ENGLISH PRE-SCHOOLERS IN THE GREATER CAPE TOWN AREA: SUGGESTED MODIFICATIONS TO THE 1981 LARSP PROFILE.

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Introduction.

The NEPI-report (1992:13) states that the national tendency of parents is to choose English as the medium of school instruction for their children. This tendency is very much present in the greater suburban area of Cape Town[1,2], and particulary in the Cape Flats and District Six (McCormick 1989:149). In preparing their children for school, the parents in the Area usually try to raise their children in English from birth[3]. In some cases the parents are not mother tongue speakers of English, but of the local variety of Afrikaans. This results in second language English input being given to the children at home. According to McCormick (1993:66), the scenario of children acquiring English second language as their first language is thus not uncommon in the Area. The reader is referred to Appendix 1 for a brief discussion of the grammatical characteristics of the English spoken in the Area.

Not only do children in the Area often acquire a second language form of English as their first language, but they frequently grow up in homes where the adults speak Afrikaans to one another (McCormick 1989:130). In working-class areas, this Afrikaans usually differs significantly from standard Afrikaans[4]. The former is a mixed code. According to McCormick (1989:225), the syntactic structure is almost entirely Afrikaans, but many lexical items are English. McCormick (1993:66) states that both English and Afrikaans are spoken in the community, but speakers vary in the extent to which they are fluent in these two languages. Informal discourse is characterized by frequent situational and conversational code-switching[5]. Children growing up in the Area may thus hear at least two

linguistic varieties in their community, namely non-standard English and non-standard Afrikaans. School-going children may also hear standard English and/or standard Afrikaans.

Lack of appropriate language evaluation instruments for speakers of non-standard English.

Speech-language therapists are required to make a judgement about these children's language abilities. Referrals to speech-language therapists are frequently made by other professionals, for example paediatricians, who are concerned about the children's language. Reasons for their concern often include the children refusing to speak on the professional's request, backward language, or the children exhibiting language mixing of English and Afrikaans, which is seen as undesirable language behavior by the referring agent. It is the speech-language therapist's responsibility to determine whether the language development is delayed, the language is deviant, or whether the child's receptive and expressive language abilities are within normal limits in comparison to the non-standard English and Afrikaans used in the child's linguistic environment.

There are no formal evaluation instruments which were devised especially for the evaluation of the syntax of these English-Afrikaans bilingual children. Commonly available formal instruments were devised for overseas (usually American or British) middle-class monolinguals, and should thus not be used for the evaluation of South African, working-class bilinguals on whom the instruments were not standardized. In order to form an opinion of the bilinguals' expressive syntactical abilities in English, South African speech-language therapists usually rely on the Language Assessment, Remediation, and Screening Procedure (=LARSP), devised by Crystal, Fletcher and Garman in 1976 and modified by these authors in 1981. It is an instrument used for analysing the spontaneous language samples of pre-school children, in order to make a differential diagnosis of the pre-schooler's expressive syntactical and morphological abilities. By analysing a sample according to the LARSP profile and plot-

362

ting the exibited syntactical and morphological structures on the profile; the speech-language therapist can determine the language age of the child, the pattern of syntactical use, as well as the nature of the language deviance (if any). A particularly useful feature of the LARSP profile is the error box, which is shown in Figure 1. Each of the structures or errors in the box will be explained briefly. The reader is refered to (Crystal, Fletcher and Garman 1989) for a detailed account of the LARSP, including the error box.

Figure 1. The error box of the 1981 LARSP profile.

Conn	Clause	Phrase			Word
	Element		NP	VP	N V
and	$\emptyset$	D	Pr Pron^P	Aux^K Aux^0 Cop	irreg
c	ς	D $\emptyset$	Pr $\emptyset$		
s	Concord	D ς	Pr ς	$\emptyset$	reg
Other				Ambiguous	

The errors are divided into those concerning connectives, and those at clause, phrase, and word level. The connectives specified are and (and on the profile), as well as co-ordinate (c) and sub-ordinate (s) conjunctions.

At clause level an element can be omitted (Element $\emptyset$) or elements may be in the wrong order (Element ς), such as the incorrect placement of an adverb in a clause. Mistakes of concord are indicated at clause level under Concord.

Errors in phrases are divided into noun phrase errors and verb phrase errors. Under noun phrase errors a determiner may be substituted (D) or omitted (D $\emptyset$). Alternatively the determiner and the noun may be in the wrong order (D ς). Prepositions may be substituted (Pr), deleted (Pr $\emptyset$), or the preposition may be wrongly positioned in the phrase (Pr ς). Errors in personal pronouns are indicated under Pron^P at the noun phrase level.

363

errors of placement order or substitution of modal auxiliaries are indicated under Aux^M at the verb phrase level. A substitution or order error of all other auxiliaries are marked under Aux^D. If any auxiliary is deleted, then the verb phrase box is used. Copula errors of any kind are grouped together under *Cop*.

At the word level of the error box, errors in regular nouns, such as as *shoeses*, and errors in regular verbs, such as *playen*, are indicated in the Word colomn under *N reg* and *V reg* respectively. Errors of irregular nouns are placed under *N irreg*, for example *sheeps*. Irregular verb errors are placed under *V irreg*, e.g. *goed*. An error that cannot be placed clearly in any one of the abovementioned categories is entered into the *Ambiguous* or *Other* boxes.

A completed LARSP profile of a 3 year old child with normal language is exibited in Appendix 2. Note that there are some developmental errors (i.e. entries in the error box) and that the child's structures are centred around Stage V, making the child's language age appropriate. Appendix 3 shows the profile of a 3-year-old with a pure language delay: although the child's structures are mostly at Stage III (and thus only at a 2 to 2 and a half year old level), only a few developmental errors are used. The profile of a child with language deviance is found in Appendix 4. The multiple entries in the error box indicate that the child has both deviant syntax and deviant morphology. Since the child has deviant language, language therapy would be indicated, should other evaluation instruments in the test battery yield similar results.

Need for adaptation of the 1981 LARSP profile if used for speakers of non-standard English.
In order to determine whether the LARSP profile is an appropriate assessment tool for use with pre-schoolers from the Area, the English syntax and morphology of 19 Afrikaans-English bilingual, Coloured[7] children from working-class homes in the Area were analysed according to the LARSP and their non-standard English features plotted on the existing

1981 profile. The biographical details of the children are presented in
Appendix 5. It was found that, despite the normalcy of the language of
the pre-schoolers in the Area, some of their syntactical structures that
differ from standard South African English, would fall in the LARSP error
box, as can be seen in Appendix 6 and Appendix 7. The 1981 LARSP profi-
le was therefore not a fair evaluation instrument if used for this linguis-
tic population, because the error box is meant to contain only develop-
mental errors, and the non-standard features of the children from the
Area is not neccesarily devepmental. A skewed picture of their syntacti-
cal abilities was reflected by the profile. To avoid misdiagnosis and un-
necessary therapeutical intervention, the profile needed to be modified.

Suggested changes to the 1981 LARSP profile.

The following changes to the 1981 LARSP profile are suggested. Those
non-standard English features that caused entries into the error box will
be discussed first. See Appendix 8 for the modified LARSP profile.

Calque. It is suggested that a heading, *Calque*, is added after the *Other*
heading in the Clause Statement, Question and Command boxes of stages
III and IV. If the calque has three elements it would be entered into the
stage III box, and if the calque consists of four elements, it would be
placed at stage IV. This would enable the speech-language therapist to
determine which proportion of the child's utterances is well-formed, ac-
cording to the Area's non-standard English norms, but are based on Af-
rikaans syntax or the syntax of other non-standard English varieties.
This will be more informative to the speech-language therapist than pla-
cing calques in the Problems box of section B or (wrongly) placing it in
the error box, where it would be unspecified.

Non-standard word order. The clause and phrase content of utterances
with non-standard absent verb inversion (Verb=) or with non-standard
adjective placement should be entered on the LARSP profile as if the
order of the words are standard.

365

normative use of prepositions. Because of the frequent use of the pre-
position by in the English of the Area, it is suggested that those struc-
tures in the Phrase column that contain prepositions be further specified
by indicating whether the preposition used was by or not. For example,
PrDN would become PrDN^{by}. It is suggested that the speech-language
therapist consults the child's caregiver when a preposition is substitu-
ted according to the standard South African norms, in order to determine
whether this non-standard use is appropriate in the Area's English, in
which case it would not be placed in the error box.

Double negation. In order to indicate whether the single or double nega-
tive was used, it is suggested that the NegV and NegX structures in stage
VI's Phrase column are modified. The numbers 1 and 2 should be placed
next to these structures, for example NegV$\frac{1}{2}$. If the single negative is
used, then an inscription should be made next to the 1. To indicate a
double negative, an entry next to the 2 is made.

Third person singular morphological marker. The use of the third person
singular verb concord marker with plural subjects and the deletion of
this marker with singular subjects should both be specified in the Word
column with the other morphemes. It is suggested that a +3s and a -3s
are added between the existing 3s and gen on the profile. By doing this,
the speech-language therapist would be able to discern when the third
person singular marker is used with a third person singular subject (3s),
when the marker is used, although the subject is not third person singu-
lar (+3s), and when the marker is deleted even though the subject is
third person singular (-3s).

Past tense indicator. Another extention in the Word column would deal
with the past tense marker. On the 1981 profile this marker is indicated
by -ed only. It is suggested that -ed is broken down into reg, +reg and
did. reg would be used when an -ed is added to the verb that takes the
regular past tense in standard South African English, e.g. liked. +reg al-
lows the speech-language therapist to indicate when the regular past

tense marker -ed is used with verbs that have a irregular form in the past tense, e.g. cutted. did would be used to indicate that the speaker used this auxiliary verb unemphatically to form the past tense of a verb.

Plural marker. The pl in the Word column needs to be expanded to enable an indication of when the regular plural is used in the standard South African way (reg), and when it is added to a noun that is already in the irregular plural form, e.g. mens instead of men (+reg).

Deletion of subjects, verbs and/or objects. A sentence in which a verb, subject and/or object is deleted, should be placed in section B in the Reduced box under Normal Response. No alteration needs to be made to the profile itself; these sentences need to be plotted unto the profile in a different way to move them out of the error box.

Deletion of serial and or to. It is suggested that the verb construction where the serial marker has been deleted, is plotted on the profile as VV. No indication is needed of the fact that the verb construction would have needed a serial marker, had the person been a speaker of standard South African English.

Other deletions.

Deletion of other free morphemes. It is suggested that the phrases in which determiners, prepositions, conjunctions, and/or auxiliaries have been deleted, are treated as if it is acceptable to delete these free morphemes. In other words, the phrases should be analysed according to the LARSP and plotted in the Phrase column of the profile, but the deletion should not be indicated in the error box.

Deletion of bound morphemes. It is not possible to credit a speaker for a deletion or to indicate a deletion on the LARSP profile, other than as a negative feature in the error box. Therefore it is suggested that phrases from which the -ed, -ing, -ly or irregular past tense have been deleted, are treated as if it is optional for them to contain these bound

367

morphemes. Once again, the deletion should not be indicated in the error box.

Alternative word choices. For the following no changes are suggested to the LARSP profile: this/that confusion, the use of the dative form of the pronoun, and the non-standard use of conjunctions such as that illustrated in the features +what and -what. The clauses containing these features should be analysed as if these features were standard. The child should be credited for using the pronoun or demonstrative adjective or the conjunction, but the child should not be penalized for making a non-standard word choice.

Pronoun inversion. No change needs to be made to the LARSP profile in order to score the feature me and X, used instead of X and I. It is suggested that this non-standard featured be entered next to XcX in stage IV's Phrase box, thus crediting the child for the use of a complex phrase construction.

Although the following features did not cause entries in the error box, the suggested refinements would allow the speech-language therapist to gain more specific information about the pre-schooler's language.

Frequent use of [nə] as tag question. In order to allow the therapist to differentiate between when [nə] and when another form of the tag question, such as or not, was used, it is suggested that the tag structure in stage IV's Question column is modified. The inscriptions ne and 0 should be placed next to this structure, i.e. tag$_0^{ne}$. If [nə] is used, then it should be indicated to the ne. To indicate the use of any other tag question, an entry next to the 0 is made.

Frequent use of and so as linking devise. and so should be added to the list of conjunction types in the Connective column. This whould enable the therapist to determine whether the pre-schooler is using any conjunction other than and so.

368

Style differences. It is suggested that the Style box at Stage VII is refine. To indicate the use of Afrikaans words, so instead of like this, and also instead of too, the headings *Afr*, *so*, and *also*, respectively, should be put in the Style box.

Suggested addendum to the modified LARSP profile.

A number of the non-standard English features require no changes to the LARSP profile itself, but rather a change in the way the features are entered unto the LARSP profile. However, the features of the English of the Area are generally speaking not known to the speech-language therapists who evaluate and treat the children from the Area. Therefore it is not practical to simply suggest alternative scoring of these features for which no special adjustment has been made to the profile to remind the speech-language therapist of the normalcy of these non-standard features. Hence, it is suggested that the adapted LARSP profile be supplemented with an addendum containing all the non-standard features, as well as the way the features should be scored. See Appendix 9 for the suggested addendum.

Conclusion.

Damico et al. (1983:385) mention that the proportion of language disordered children is more or less the same in the monoligual and bilingual population. The effective management of bilingual and multilingual children warrants the attention of the speech-language therapist. This effective management starts with appropriate assessment to ensure accurate diagnosis based on norms from the children's own language community. What was presented here, was a study of the English syntax of bilingual pre-schoolers in the greater Cape Town area. Suggestions for the modification of the frequently used LARSP profile have been made in an attempt to avoid misdiagnosis of these children. It is recommended that a quantitative study of the English of pre-schoolers in the Area is done in order be able to adapt the LARSP profile more accurately and to present speech-language therapists with typical profiles that could serve as reference.

369

Notes

1. This area includes Distict Six, Woodstock, Walmer Estate, Saltriver, Athlone, Mitchells Plain, Graasy Park and Brackenfell.

2. Hereafter refered to as the "Area".

3. This is, however, not the sole reason for the generational shift towards English. See (McCormick 1984) for a summary of the political, social, economical and religious factors pertaining to the preference for English in District Six.

4. See, for instance, (McCormick 1989:267-274, 286-290) for a discussion of the non-standard form of Afrikaans spoken in District Six.

5. McCormick (1986: 290-291) defines situational 'code-switching' as "language or dialect alteration that is governed by change of topic, participants or situation" and 'conversational code-swithing' as "alteration that occurs within a single conversation - often within a single sentence - even when topic,participants, and situation remain constant". In contrast, McCormick (1993:66) defines 'mixing' as "the insertion of single items from one language into a construction in the other language".

6. The abbreviations used on the LARSP profile for the structures are provided in italics.

7. In McCormick (1984) Theron is quoted on the meaning of 'coloured': "The population Register Act ... does not give a positive definition of the term 'Coloured', but defines 'Coloured person' as a person who is not a White person or a Bantu. ...Coloured persons have been classified into the following groups: Cape Coloureds, Malays, Griquas, Chinese, Indians, 'other' Asiatics, and 'other' Coloureds." According to this division, the pre-schoolers whose language was analysed for this paper were Cape Coloureds and Malays.

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370

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371

372

Appendix 1: Grammatical features of non-standard English spoken in the Area.

McCormick (n.d.) lists the following features that are present in the English of all age groups of District Six speakers. Other researchers have identified similar characteristics in the English used by speakers residing in the Area and in suburbs of Cape Town outside of the Area. See, for example, Malan (1980:18-30) and Shirk (1985:17-27). An example of each feature is given. Where possible, the feature in the example has been underlined. Deletions have been indicated by short lines (___). After the example, a code appears in parantheses. This is the code by which the feature can be identified on the profile in Appendix 6.

1. Afrikaans loan-words that cannot be translated into English accurately are used. These words are almost exclusively used as fillers, e.g.:

  He had maar a brown jacket on. (Filler)

2. The choice of an Afrikaans word for an expression of anger or disgust is common.

3. Afrikaans nouns and adjectives are occasionally used in English sentence constructions.

  Pappa (daddy) *Bear got a hoedjie* (little hat) *on.* (Afr)

4. Calques occur frequently in the language of children who are being brought up in English by Afrikaans first language parents whose speak non-standard English in their home.

  Buy for you also that (Calque)

which is a direct translation of the grammatical Afrikaans sentence *Koop vir jou ook dit.*

5. The same form of the verb to be is frequently used for the third person singular and the plural, namely the third person singular form as it would be used in standard English.

  My hands isn't dirty. (+3s)

6. Often the third person singular concord marker is deleted.

373

My mommy chuck_ it away. (-3s)

.7. Occasionally a third person singular marker would be used with the second person form of the pronoun.

I ask if you's going now home. (+3s)

8. An unemphatic *did* is often used for indicating past tense.

Interviewer[1]: Or did you buy a packet?

Child: *I did buy a lot of packets.* (Did)

9. Copula or tense, aspect and modal auxiliaries such as *are*, *will*, *would*, *has*, and *have* are often deleted in Distict Six English, whereas they may only be contracted in standard English.

You ___ mos clever now. (Aux→∅)

10. Serial markers *and* and *to* may be deleted in District Six English, especially if *go* forms a part of the serial.

We went to go ___ play by the water. (Serial→∅)

11. Pronoun and demonstrative adjective concord differ from standard South African English. Unlike the latter where *these* or *those* are used for indicating plural, District Six English uses the singular forms *this* or *that* in both singular and plural constructions. According to McCormick (n.d.), this applies to the use of the word in both the pronoun and demonstrative adjective functions.

This is hands. (This/that)

12. Often the prepositions used in District Six English are either the preposition *by* or a direct translations of the preposition that would appear in the equivalent Afrikaans sentence.

That man is married with me, man.

We went by the mountain. (Prep)

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[1] i.e. the sample obtainer

13. In District Six English it is optional to use the suffix -ly with ad-
verbs.

> She says you must give it quick__. (-ly→Ø)

14. The adverbial often precedes the object in District Six English.

> I will again put it on. (Adv ≠)

15. Adverbs of time may futhermore precede those of place instead of the
reverse which holds true for standard English.

> We're going tomorrow home. (Adv ≠)

The adverb placement in these above-mentioned examples is equivalent
to the Afrikaans translation of the sentences, Ek sal weer dit aansit and
Ons gaan môre huis toe.

16. Double negation may occur in District Six English.

> She don't want to write nowhere. (2xneg)

The following characteristics are possibly unique to the English of pre-
schoolers in the Area, thus not occuring in the English of older children
and adults, therefore being developmental.

17. The irregular past tense might not be used. In cases where it is not
used, the children use the present tense plural verb form.

> He mos came and stand there in the passage. (irreg past→Ø)

18. The pre-schoolers often use so or and so instead of and then to link
ideas, especially during story-retelling.

> And so we came there. (+so)

19. So is also often used by the pre-schoolers in the area, where spea-
kers of standard South African English would use like this.

> My mommy must pick me so up. (so)

20. The pre-schoolers use also instead of the standard English too.

> We sing also. (also)

21. What is occasionally used instead of the standard English's if or
when.

We must just ask you what we want another page. (+what)

22. The pre-schoolers may use what instead of which.

   Soraya, what side is this. (-what)

23. Much are often used instead of many by the pre-schoolers in the Area[2].

   How much pages was here? (+much)

24. Occasionally the regular past tense marker, -ed, may be added to an irregular verb, especially if the verb remains the same in standard English for the present and past tenses.

   I cutted the .... off. (+reg past)

25. Although the addition of the regular plural marker does occur together with the irregular plural form of the noun, this does not happen often.

   She don't want to let the childrens come in here. (+reg pl.)

26. The regular plural marker may be deleted by the pre-schoolers.

   My brother is only three year_ old. (reg pl.→∅)

27. In addition to deleting the auxilary verb, the -ing as progressive tense marker may also be deleted.

   I do___ the lady's hair (context indicating a continuous action). (-ing→∅)

28. In some instances, the main verb in a clause was deleted by the pre-schoolers.

   The people ___ here and then the people take a photo of them. (verb→∅)

29. The direct object in a sentence may be deleted, although this deletion is not common in the pre-schoolers' English.

   Because you must stick___ up here, man. (Obj→∅)

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[2]According to Crystal (1979:98) the much/many contrast may only be aquired fully after 7 years of age. Therefore (+much) is not charted on the LARSP profile as an error.

30. Determiners may be deleted. Again, this deletion does not occur fre-
quently.

   I went to ___ clinic. (Det→∅)

31. The deletion of prepositions occur more frequently.

   Child: *Some cards to play ___ ?*

   Interviewer: *No. These are for my work.* (Prep ≠)

32. Conjuctions may be deleted in the English of the Area's pre-schoo-
lers.

   Can you copy off by the other one ___ he's doing? (Conn→∅)

33. The pronouns it and there may be deleted from the subject position
in a sentence.

   But ___ is different. (Subj→∅)

34. The first person singular I in pronoun constructions differs from the
position in standard South African English. Thus me and X is used in-
stead of X and I.

   Me and my sister and my brother went to Durban. (Pron ≠)

35. Personal pronouns may also take the non-nominative form instead of
the nominative form it would take in the standard language.

   Us is finished. (Pron=dative)

36. The absence of inversion of the auxiliary verb, the copula or the main
verb, and the object. This occurs often, especially in object clauses and
questions.

   I know where is the CNA. (Verb ≠)

377

Appendix 2. The LARSP profile of a 3-year-old standard English speaker with normal language.

A Unanalysed				Problematic		
1 Unintelligible	2 Symbolic noise	3 Deviant		1 Incomplete	2 Ambig- uous	3 Stereo- types

B Responses			Repet itions		Normal Responses					Abnormal		
					Major							
					Elliptical			Redu ced	Full	Minor	Structu ral	∅	Prob lems
Stimulus type		Totals		1	2	3							

C Spontaneous							
D Reactions			General	Structural	∅	Other	Problems

	Minor	Responses	Vocatives	Other		Problems		
Stage 1 (0;9-1;6)	Major	Comm.	Quest.		Statement			
		'V'	'Q'	'V'	'N'			
						Other	Problems	

	Conn.		Clause				Phrase		Word
Stage II (1;6-2;0)		VX	QX	SV SO SC NegX	AX VO VC Other 2	DN 16 AdjN NN PrN	VV Vpart IntX 7 Other 2		-ing 3 pl 2 -ed 21
	X+S:NP 1		X+V:VP	X+C:CP 4		X+O:OP 3		X+A:AP 11	
Stage III (2;0-2;6)		VXY letXY doXY NegXY	QXY 1 VS(X)	SVC SVO 10 SVA Other 8	VCA VOA VO₄O₁	DAdjN AdjAdjN PrDN 14 Prog 31	Cop 22 Aux 18 Other 1		-en 3s -s' gen
	XY+S:NP 4		XY+V:VP 1	XY+C:CP 8		XY+O:OP 10		XY+A:AP	
Stage IV (2;6-3;0)		+ S 2 VXY+	QVS 2 QXY+ VS(X+) tag 8	SVOA SVCA 14 SVO₄O₁3 SVOC	AAXY 10 Other 9	NPPrNP 3 PrDAdjN 2 cX XcX 8	NegV 1 NegX 2Aux 3 Other 5		n't 'cop 8 'aux 4
Stage V (3;0-3;6)	and 10 c 4 s 3 Other	Coord. Other	Coord. Other	Coord. 1 3 1+ Subord. 1 1+ S C O Comparative		Postmod. 1 1 1+ clause Postmod. 1 1+ phrase			-est -er -ly 6

	(+)			(-)					
	NP	VP	Clause	Conn.	Clause		Phrase		Word
Stage VI (3;6-4;6)	Initiator Coord.	Com- plex	Passive Complement how what	and c s	Element ∅ 4 Concord	NP D Pr Pron' D ∅ 1 Pt ∅ D 4 Pt 4		VP Aux^M Aux^0 Cop ∅	N V irreg 1 reg
	Other							Ambiguous	

	Discourse			Syntactic Comprehension	
Stage VII (4;6+)	A Connectivity		it		
	Comment Clause		there	Style	
	Emphatic Order		Other		
	Total No. Sentences			Mean No. Sentences Per Turn 2	Mean Sentence Length 3.6

Crystal, Fletcher, & Garman (1981)

378

Appendix 3. The LARSP profile of a 3-year-old standard English speaker with delayed language abilities.

A Unanalysed				Problematic		
1 Unintelligible	2 Symbolic noise	3 Deviant		1 Incom-plete	2 Ambig-uous	3 Stereo-types

B Responses			Repet itions	Normal Responses						Abnormal		
				Major								
				Elliptical			Redu ced	Full	Minor	Structu ral	∅	Prob lems
Stimulus type		Totals		1	2	3						

C Spontaneous								
D Reactions				General	Structural	∅	Other	Problems

	Minor	Responses	Vocatives	Other	Problems	
Stage I (0;9-1;6)	Major	Comm.	Quest.	Statement		
		'V'	'Q'	'V' 'N'	Other Problems	

	Conn.	Clause				Phrase		Word
Stage II (1;6-2;0)		VX	QX	SV / AX 3		DN 13	VV	-ing 14
				SO / VO		AdjN	Vpart	
				SC / VC		NN 2	IntX 1	pl 2
				NegX / Other		PrN	Other 3	
		X+S:NP	X+V:VP	X+C:CP 3	X+O:OP	X+A:AP 8		-ed 1
Stage III (2;0-2;6)		VXY letXY doXY	QXY VS(X)	SVC / VCA		DAdjN	Cop 14	-en
				SVO 18 / VOA		AdjAdjN 4		
				SVA / VO₄O 2		PrDN	Aux 8	3s
				NegXY / Other 11		Prad 16	Other 11	gen
		XY+S:NP	XY+V:VP	XY+C:CP 3	XY+O:OP 1	XY+A:AP		
Stage IV (2;6-3;0)		+ S VXY+	QVS QXY+ VS(X+) ag	SVOA / AAXY		NPPrNP	NegV 2	n't
				SVCA 1 / Other		PrDAdjN	NegX	'cop
				SVO₄O 1		cX 1	2Aux	'aux 3
				SVOC		XcX	Other	
Stage V (3;0-3;6)	and c s Other	Coord. Other	Coord. Other	Coord 1 / 1+		Postmod. 1 / 1+		-est
				Subord 1 / 1+		clause		-er 2
				S C O		Postmod. 1 / 1+		
				Comparative		phrase		-ly

	(+)				(-)			
	NP	VP	Clause	Conn.	Clause	Phrase		Word
Stage VI (3;6-4;6)	Initiator Coord.	Com-plex	Passive Complement how what	and c s	Element ∅ ↔ Concord	NP D Pr Pron' D ∅1 Pr ∅ D ↔ Pr ↔	VP Aux^M Aux° Cop ∅	N V irreg reg
	Other						Ambiguous	

	Discourse			Syntactic Comprehension	
Stage VII (4;6+)	A Connectivity		It		
	Comment Clause		there		
	Emphatic Order		Other	Style	

Total No. Sentences	Mean No. Sentences Per Turn 1	Mean Sentence Length ≈ 1

Crystal, Fletcher, & Garman (1981)

379

Appendix 4. The LARSP profile of a 3-year-old standard English speaker with deviant language.

A Unanalysed			Problematic		
1 Unintelligible	2 Symbolic noise	3 Deviant	1 Incom-plete	2 Ambig-uous	3 Stereo-types

B Responses		Repet itions	Normal Responses					Abnormal		
				Major						
			Elliptical			Redu ced	Full	Minor	Structu ral	∅	Prob lems
			1	2	3						
Stimulus type	Totals										

C Spontaneous

D Reactions		General	Structural	∅	Other	Problems

	Minor	Responses		Vocatives	Other	Problems

Stage I (0:9-1:6)

	Major	Comm.	Quest.	Statement	
		'V'	'Q'	'V' 'N'	Other Problems

	Conn.	Clause				Phrase		Word

Stage II (1:6-2:0)

VX	QX	SV	AX	DN 17	VV	-ing 3
		SO	VO	AdjN	Vpart	
		SC	VC	NN	IntX 7	pl
		NegX	Other 2	PrN	Other 8	-ed 14

X+S:NP	X+V:VP	X+C:CP	X+O:OP	X+A:AP		

Stage III (2:0-2:6)

VXY	QXY 8	SVC	VCA	DAdjN	Cop 20	-en
letXY		SVO 21	VOA	AdjAdjN		
doXY	VS(X)	SVA	VO₄O₁	PrDN 4	Aux 25	3s 6
		NegXY	Other	Pron 18	Other 4	gen

XY+S:NP	XY+V:VP 7	XY+C:CP 3	XY+O:OP 14	XY+A:AP 1		

Stage IV (2:6-3:0)

+ S 7	QVS	SVOA	AAXY 11	NPPrNP	NegV	n't
	QXY+	SVCA 12	Other	PrDAdjN 8	NegX 7	'cop 7
VXY+	VS(X+)	SVO₄O₁ 7		cX	2Aux	'aux 4
	tag 4	SVOC		XcX 10	Other	

Stage V (3:0-3:6)

and 3	Coord.	Coord.	Coord 1 2	1+	Postmod. 1	1+ 7	-est
c			Subord 1	1+	clause		-er 2
s	Other	Other	S C	O	Postmod. 1	1+	
Other			Comparative		phrase		-ly 1

(+)						(-)		

	NP	VP	Clause	Conn.	Clause	Phrase			Word

Stage VI (3:6-4:6)

Initiator	Com-plex	Passive	and 3	Element	NP		VP		N V
Coord.		Complement		∅ 7	D Pr Prdn*		Aux^M Aux^D Cop		irreg 17
		how	c	4	D ∅ 14 Pr ∅ 6				
		what	s	Concord 21	D 5 Pr 5		∅ 4		reg 2

Other							Ambiguous	

Stage VII (4:6+)

Discourse		Syntactic Comprehension	
A Connectivity	11		
Comment Clause	there		
Emphatic Order	Other	Style	

Total No. Sentences	Mean No. Sentences Per Turn 1	Mean Sentence Length 3.4

Crystal, Fletcher, & Garman (1981)

380

Appendix 5. The biographical details of the non-standard English speaking subjects.

Subject	Age	Gender	Home language	Residential area
T.E.	3y 7m[a]	Male	Afrikaans and English	District Six
A.S.	4-5y[b]	Male	English[d]	Woodstock/Saltriver
M.P.	4-5y[b]	Male	Afrikaans and English	Grassy Park
S.S.	4y 9m	Female	Afrikaans and English	District Six
F.W.	5y 1m	Male	English	District Six
W.S.	5y 2m	Female	Afrikaans and English	District Six
S.H.	5y 6m	Female	English	District Six
A.E.	5y 7m	Female	Afrikaans and English	District Six
K.A.	5y 7m	Female	English	District Six
E.E.	5y 9m	Male	Afrikaans and English	District Six
G.S.	5y 10m	Male	Afrikaans and English	District Six
B.G.	5y 11m	Male	Afrikaans and English	Walmer Estate
M.A.	5y[b]	Female	English	Woodstock
S.A.	n.a.[c]	Female	Afrikaans and English	Brackenfell
W.A.	n.a.	Male	English	Woodstock
D.K.	n.a.	Male	English	Walmer Estate
D.M.	n.a.	Male	English	Mitchells Plain
J.A.	n.a.	Female	English	Athlone
N.V.	n.a.	Female	English	Woodstock

Notes. [a]Age indicated in years (y) and months (m). [b]The recording date and year of birth were available, but for children not from District Six, the complete date of birth was not available. [c]Indicates that the date of birth was not available. These children were, however, pre-schoolers. [d]Although these children came from English-speaking homes, they are still regarded as bilingual, because they went to school with Afrikaans-speaking children and because they understood Afrikaans.

381

Appendix 6. The Distribution of the non-standard English features on the 1981 LARSP profile.

A Unanalysed					Problematic		
1 Unintelligible	2 Symbolic noise	3 Deviant			1 Incomplete	2 Ambiguous	3 Stereotypes

B Responses			Repetitions	Normal Responses					Abnormal		
					Major						
				Elliptical			Reduced	Full	Minor	Structural	∅
Stimulus type		Totals		1	2	3						Problems

C Spontaneous							
D Reactions				General	Structural	∅	Other	Problems

	Minor	Responses		Vocatives	Other	Problems			Word
Stage I (0;9–1;6)	Major	Comm.	Quest.		Statement				
		'V'	'Q'		'V' 'N'		Other Problems		

	Conn.		Clause				Phrase		Word
Stage II (1;6–2;0)		VX	QX	SV SO SC NegX	AX VO VC Other	DN much VV AdjN NN PrN	Vpart IntX Other	-ing pl -ed ∆id
		X+S:NP	X+V:VP	X+C:CP	X+O:OP	X+A:AP			
Stage III (2;0–2;6)		VXY letXY doXY	QXY Aux→∅ VS(X)	SVC SVO SVA NegXY	VCA VOA VO,O, Other	DAdjN much Cop AdjAdjN PrDN Pron°	Aux° Other	-en 3s +3S gen
		XY+S:NP	XY+V:VP	XY+C:CP	XY+O:OP	XY+A:AP			
Stage IV (2;6–3;0)		+S VXY+	QVS QXY+ VS(X+) tag—Filler	SVOA SVCA SVO,O, SVOC	AAXY Other	NPPrNP PrDAdjN cX XcX	NegV2+ neg NegX 2Aux Other	n't 'cop 'aux
Stage V (3;0–3;6)	and c s +So Other	Coord. Other	Coord. Other	Coord 1 Subord 1 S C Comparative	1+ 1+ O	Postmod. 1 clause Postmod. 1 phrase	1+ 1+	-est -er -ly

	NP	VP	Clause	Conn.	Clause	Phrase			Word
	(+)					(-)			
Stage VI (3;6–4;6)	Initiator Coord.	Complex	Passive Complement how what	Se nə(+)∅ and e/t→hat f-what f-conn∅	Element ∅∆rb→∅ ∅Su→∅ ∅ob actic vrb∆ Adv∆ Concord∆	D D∆ →∅ D ↔	NP Prep nou∆ Pr Pron∆ Pr ∅ Pron∆ Pr ↔	VP Aux^ Aux° Cop ∅Aux→∅	N V ↔s∆pl ↔reg ↔s∆past ↔s∆ part∆ ↔s∆∅
	Other			This/that	-ly→∅ 2→neg -ing→∅		Ambiguous		

	Discourse			Syntactic Comprehension		
Stage VII (4;6 +)	A Connectivity		It			
	Comment Clause		there			
	Emphatic Order		Other	Style Filler Aff So also		

Total No. Sentences	Mean No. Sentences Per Turn	Mean Sentence Length

Crystal, Fletcher, & Garman (1981)

382

Appendix 7. The distribution of the non-standard features in the error box of the 1981 LARSP profile.

Conn	Clause	Phrase				Word	
	Elemen		NP		VP	N	V
and	t	D	Pr	Aux^M	Aux^O	*irreg*	
c	Ø		Pron		Did Cop		
S	Verb + Adv	D Ø	Pr Ø			*reg*	
- what	Concor	D s	Pr s		Ø Aux → Ø		
	d + s -s						
Other	This/that	-ly d	2×neg		Ambiguous		

Appendix 8. The modified LARSP profile.

A Unanalysed					Problematic		
1 Unintelligible	2 Symbolic noise	3 Deviant			1 Incomplete	2 Ambiguous	3 Stereotypes

B Responses			Repetitions		Normal Responses					Abnormal		
					Major							
					Elliptical			Reduced	Full	Minor	Structural	∅	Problems
					1	2	3						
Stimulus type		Totals											

C Spontaneous							
D Reactions				General	Structural	∅	Other	Problems

	Minor	Responses	Vocatives	Other	Problems		
Stage I (0;9-1;6)	Major	Comm.	Quest.		Statement		
					'V' 'N'		
		'V'	'Q'	'V' 'N'		Other	Problems

	Conn.	Clause				Phrase		Word
Stage II (1;6-2;0)		VX	QX	SV SO SC NegX	AX VO VC Other	DN AdjN NN PrNᵍ	VV Vpart IntX Other	-ing reg pl +reg
		X+S:NP	X+V:VP	X+C:CP	X+O:OP	X+A:AP		reg ed +reg did
Stage III (2;0-2;6)		VXY letXY doXY	QXY VS(X)	SVC SVO SVA NegXY Other	VCA VOA VO₄O₁ Calque	DAdjN AdjAdjN PrDNᵍ Pronᵍ	Cop Auxᴹ Other	-en 3s 3s- +3s
		XY+S:NP	XY+V:VP	XY+C:CP	XY+O:OP	XY+A:AP		
Stage IV (2;6-3;0)	and so	+S QXY+ VXY+	QVS QXY+ VS(X+) tagᵍ	SVOA SVCA SVO₄O₁ SVOC	AAXY Other Calque	NPP:NPᵍ PrDAdjNᵍ cX XcX	NegVᵢ NegXᵢ 2Aux Other	gen n't 'cop
Stage V (3;0-3;6)	and c s Other	Coord. Other	Coord. Other	Coord 1 Subord 1 S C Comparative	1+ 1+ O	Postmod. 1 clause Postmod. 1 phrase	1+ 1+	'aux -est -er -ly

	(+)			(-)				
	NP	VP	Clause	Conn.	Clause		Phrase		Word
Stage VI (3;6-4;6)	Initiator Coord.	Complex	Passive Complement how what	and c s	Element ∅ ⇆ Concord	NP D Pr Pronᵖ D∅ Pr∅ D⇆ Pr⇆	VP Auxᴹ Auxᵒ Cop ∅	N V irreg reg
	Other						Ambiguous	

	Discourse		Syntactic Comprehension	
Stage VII (4;6+)	A Connectivity is Comment Clause there Emphatic Order Other			
			Style Aff so also	
	Total No. Sentences	Mean No. Sentences Per Turn	Mean Sentence Length	

384

Appendix 9. Addendum to the adapted LARSP profile.

Non-standard feature	Example	Scoring
Calque	*Give for me also from that*	*Calque* in Clause Statement, Question or Command boxes of stages III and IV.
Prepositions: by	*We go by the mountain*	▼ next to structure in Phrase column containing preposition, e.g. PrDN⁀g.
Prepositions: non-standard use	*I bring books at home*	If correct acc. to caregiver: score as if standard English. If incorrect acc. to caregiver: Error box Noun Phrase Pr.
Double negation	*I never get nothing*	*NegV;* or *NegX;*
Third person singular marker with plural subjects	*The children learns English*	Word column + 3s
Deletion of third person singular marker with singular subjects	*He take everything*	Word column -3s
Regular past tense marker with verbs that have a irregular past tense form	*I cutted it*	Word column -ed +reg
Unemphatically did as past tense marker	*We did cut the bread*	Word column -ed did
Regular plural marker with noun in irregular plural form	*mens instead of men*	Word column pl +reg
Deletion of subject, verb and/or object	*Is never boring* / *I've also sisters* / *You must stick up here*	Section B *Reduced* box under *Normal Response*
Deletion of serial and or to	*We go play there*	VV in stage II Phrase column
Deletion of determiners, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliaries	*I go to clinic* / *Take it out the packet* / *They can see he got no hair* / *I finished*	Phrase column, but deletion not indicated in error box
Deletion of -ed, -ing, -ly or irregular past tense	*We went and walk around* / *Look how I draw* / *He speak so soft* / *He came here and stand in the hall*	Clause and Phrase columns, but deletion not indicated in the error box
this/that confusion	*We take this colours*	Score phrase containing a determiner (D), not using the error box
Dative form of pronoun	*Us is home now*	Score as if standard English pronoun form
Non-standard use of conjunctions	*You must ask what you want more*	Score as if standard English conjunction
Absence of verb inversion	*I know where is it*	Score as if inversion is present
Pronoun inversion	*Me and my sister went to Durban*	XcX in stage IV Phrase column
Use of (n] as tag question	*It is a lady, ne, mrs McComick*	tag? in Question column
Use of Afrikaans lexical items	*We sae lekker snuff*	*Afr* in Stage VII Style box
Use of so instead of like this	*Pick it so up*	*so* in Stage VII Style box
Use of also instead of too	*We sing also*	*also* in Stage VII Style box
Use of and so instead of and then	*We had cooldrink and so we played*	*and so* in Conn. column