

**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<sup>1,2</sup>, and particularly 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<sup>3</sup>. 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<sup>4</sup>. 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<sup>5</sup>. 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-

ting the exhibited 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 referred 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			
		D	NP	Pr	Pron <sup>p</sup>	Aux <sup>m</sup>	VP	Cop	N	V
<i>and</i>	Element									
<i>c</i>	≠	D ∅	Pr ∅	Pr ∅		Aux <sup>m</sup> Aux <sup>o</sup>				<i>irreg</i>
<i>s</i>	Concord	D ≠	Pr ≠			∅				<i>reg</i>
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 ∅*) or elements may be in the wrong order (*Element ≠*), 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 ∅*). Alternatively the determiner and the noun may be in the wrong order (*D ≠*). Prepositions may be substituted (*Pr*), deleted (*Pr ∅*), or the preposition may be wrongly positioned in the phrase (*Pr ≠*). Errors in personal pronouns are indicated under *Pron<sup>p</sup>* at the noun phrase level.

All errors of placement order or substitution of modal auxiliaries are indicated under *Aux<sup>m</sup>* at the verb phrase level. A substitution or order error of all other auxiliaries are marked under *Aux<sup>p</sup>*. If any auxiliary is deleted,  $\emptyset$  in 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 shoeses, and errors in regular verbs, such as playen, are indicated in the Word column 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 *Virreg*, 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 exhibited 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<sup>7</sup> 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 profile was therefore not a fair evaluation instrument if used for this linguistic population, because the error box is meant to contain only developmental errors, and the non-standard features of the children from the Area is not necessarily developmental. A skewed picture of their syntactical abilities was reflected by the profile. To avoid misdiagnosis and unnecessary 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, according to the Area's non-standard English norms, but are based on Afrikaans syntax or the syntax of other non-standard English varieties. This will be more informative to the speech-language therapist than placing 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.

Alternative use of prepositions. Because of the frequent use of the preposition *by* in the English of the Area, it is suggested that those structures 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<sub>by</sub>. It is suggested that the speech-language therapist consults the child's caregiver when a preposition is substituted 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 negative was used, it is suggested that the *NegV* and *NegX* structures in stage 1's Phrase column are modified. The numbers 1 and 2 should be placed next to these structures, for example NegV<sub>1</sub>. 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 singular (+3s), and when the marker is deleted even though the subject is third person singular (-3s).

Past tense indicator. Another extension 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* allows 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

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 feature 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<sup>ne</sup>*. 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 device. *and so* should be added to the list of conjunction types in the Connective column. This would enable the therapist to determine whether the pre-schooler is using any conjunction other than and so.



Style differences. It is suggested that the Style box at Stage VI1 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 monolingual 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.

Notes

1. This area includes District Six, Woodstock, Walmer Estate, Saltriver, Athlone, Mitchells Plain, Graasy Park and Brackenfell.
2. Hereafter referred 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-switching' 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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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 parentheses. 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.

- 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<sup>1</sup>: 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 District 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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<sup>1</sup>i.e. the sample obtainer

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

*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 furthermore 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 occurring 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 speakers 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<sup>2</sup>.

*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 auxiliary 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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<sup>2</sup>According to Crystal (1979:98) the much/many contrast may only be acquired 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 frequently.

*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. Conjunctions may be deleted in the English of the Area's pre-schoolers.

*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 instead 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 ≠ )*

**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 Ambiguous	3 Stereotypes		
B Responses		Repetitious	Normal Responses		Abnormal		
Stimulus type	Totals		Major		Structural	Problems	
			Elliptical				
			Reduced	Full			
C Spontaneous		General		Structural	Other	Problems	
D Reactions		General		Structural	Other	Problems	
Stage I (0;9-1;6)	Minor	Responses		Vocatives	Other	Problems	
	Major	Conn.	Quest.	Statement			
Stage II (1;6-2;0)	Conn.	Clause			Other	Problems	
		VX	QX	SV AX SO VO SC VC NegX Other 2	DN Vc AdjN NN PrN	VV Vpart IntX ? Other 2	-ing 3 pl 2
Stage III (2;0-2;6)	X+S:NP1		X+V:VP	X+C:CP ?	X+O:OP 3	X+A:AP 1/	-ed 2/
	VXY lecXY doXY	QXY 1 VS(X)	SVC SVO 1a SVA NegXY	VCA VOA VO, O1 Other 8	DAdjN AdjAdjN PrDN 1/4 PrDN 3/1	Cop 2/2 Aux 1/8 Other 1	-en 3s 1/7 gen
Stage IV (2;6-3;0)	XY+S:NP 1/		XY+V:VP 1	XY+C:CP 8	XY+O:OP 1a	XY+A:AP	o't 'cop 8 'aux 1/
	+ S 2 VXY+	QVS 2 QXY+ VS(X+) tag 8	SVOA SVCA 1/4 SVO, O, 3 SVOC	AAXY 0 Other 9	NPPiNP 3 PrOAdjN 2 cX XcX 8	NegV 1 NegX 2Aux 3 Other 5	
Stage V (3;0-3;6)	and 10 c 4 s 3 Other	Coord. Other	Coord. Other	Coord 1 3 Subord 1 S C O	1+ 1+ O	Postmod. 1/ 1+ clause Postmod. 1 1+ phrase	-est -er -ly 6
	(+)		(-)				
Stage VI (3;6-4;6)	NP	VP	Clause	Conn.	Clause	Phrase	Word
	Initiator Coord.	Complex	Passive Complement how what	and c s	Ø 4 Cocord	NP Pr PrDN D 4 Pr 4	Aux <sup>1</sup> Aux <sup>2</sup> Cop Ø
Stage VII (4;6+)	Discourse			Syntactic Comprehension			
	A Connectivity			Style			
	Comment Clause Emphatic Order			there Other			
Total No. Sentences		Mean No. Sentences Per Turn		Mean Sentence Length		3.6	

Crystal, Fletcher, & Garman (1981)

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

A Unanalysed 1 Unintelligible 2 Symbolic noise 3 Deviant			Problematic 1 Incomplete 2 Ambiguous 3 Stereotypes					
B Responses		Repetitions	Normal Responses			Abnormal		Problems
Stimulus type	Totals		Major			Structural	ϕ	
			Elliptical		Reduced			
			1	2		3		
C Spontaneous								
D Reactions			General	Structural	ϕ	Other	Problems	
	Minor	Responses		Vocatives	Other	Problems		
Stage I (0;9-1;6)	Major	Comm.	Quest.	Statement				
		'V'	'Q'	'V'	'N'	Other Problems		
Stage II (1;6-2;0)	Conn.	Clause			Phrase		Word	
	VX	QX	SV	AX <sup>2</sup>	DN <sup>13</sup>	VV	-ing <sup>14</sup>	
			SO	VO	AdjN	Vpart	pl <sup>2</sup>	
			SC	VC	NN <sup>2</sup>	IntX <sup>1</sup>	ed <sup>1</sup>	
			NegX	Other	PrN	Other <sup>3</sup>		
Stage III (2;0-2;6)	X+S:NP	X+V:VP	X+C:CP <sup>3</sup>	X+O:OP	X+A:AP <sup>3</sup>			
	VXY	QXY	SVC	VCA	DAdjN	Cop <sup>14</sup>	-en	
	IntXY	VS(X)	SVO <sup>18</sup>	VOA	AdjAdjN <sup>14</sup>			
	doXY		SVA	VO <sub>1</sub> O <sub>2</sub>	PrDN	Aux <sup>18</sup>	3s	
			NegXY	Other <sup>11</sup>	Pr <sub>0</sub> <sup>16</sup>	Other <sup>11</sup>	gen	
Stage IV (2;6-3;0)	+ S	QVS	SVOA	AAXY	NPPPrNP	NegV <sup>2</sup>	n't	
	VXY+	QXY+	SVCA <sup>1</sup>	Other	PrDAdjN	NegX	'cop	
		VS(X+)	SVCO <sub>1</sub>		cX <sup>1</sup>	2Aux	'aux <sup>3</sup>	
		tag	SVOC		XcX	Other		
Stage V (3;0-3;6)	and	Coord.	Coord.	Coord <sup>1</sup>	1+	Postmod. 1	-est	
	c	Other	Other	Subord <sup>1</sup>	1+	clause	-er <sup>2</sup>	
	s			S	O	Postmod. 1	1+	
	Other			Comparative		phrase	-ly	
				(+)		(-)		
Stage VI (3;6-4;6)	NP	VP	Clause		Conn.	Clause	Phrase	Word
	Initiator	Complex	Passive	Complement	and	Element	NP	VP
	Coord.		how	what	c	ϕ	D	Pr
					s	Concord	D	Pr
							D	Pr
							Aux <sup>14</sup>	Aux <sup>2</sup>
							ϕ	Cop
								N
								V
								irreg
								reg
	Other						Ambiguous	
Stage VII (4;6+)	Discourse			Syntactic Comprehension				
	A Connectivity	If						
	Comment Clause	there						
	Emphatic Order	Other		Style				
	Total No. Sentences			Mean No. Sentences Per Turn			Mean Sentence Length	2.1

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**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 Incomplete	2 Ambiguous	3 Stereotypes					
B Responses		Repetitions	Normal Responses			Abnormal				
Stimulus type	Totals		Major			Minor	Structural	β	Problems	
			Elliptical							
			1	2	3					
C Spontaneous		General		Structural	β	Other	Problems			
D Reactions		General		Structural	β	Other	Problems			
Stage I (0;9-1;6)	Minor	Responses		Vocatives	Other	Problems				
	Major	Comm.	Quest.	Statement						
Stage II (1;6-2;0)	Conn.	VX	QX	Clause		Phrase		Word		
		SV AX	SO VO	SC VC	NegX	Other Z	DN 1	VV AdjN	Ypari	IntX 7
Stage III (2;0-2;6)	Conn.	X+S:NP		X+V:VP	X+C:CP	X+O:OP	X+A:AP			
		VXY	QXY 8	SVC	VCA	DAAdjN	Cap Z0			
Stage IV (2;6-3;0)	Conn.	letXY	VS(X)	SVO-2,1	VOA	PrDN 4	Aux 5			
		doXY		SVA	VO <sub>1</sub> O <sub>1</sub>	PrN 8	Other 4			
Stage V (3;0-3;6)	Conn.	XY+S:NP		XY+V:VP	XY+C:CP	XY+O:OP	XY+A:AP			
		+S)	QVS	SVOA	AAXY 11	NPrNP	NegV			
Stage VI (3;6-4;6)	Conn.	QXY+	VS(X+)	SVCA1,2	Other	PrDAAdjN 8	NegX 7			
		VXY+		SVO <sub>1</sub> O <sub>1</sub> 7	SVOC	cX	2Aux	Other		
Stage VII (4;6-5;0)	Conn.	and 3	Coord.	Coord.	Coord 1 2	1+	Postmod. 1	1+ /		
		c	Other	Other	Subord 1	1+	S	C	O	
Stage VIII (5;0-5;6)	Conn.	NP		VP	Clause	Conn.	Clause	Phrase	Word	
		Initiator	Coord.	Complex	Passive Complement	how what	and 3	Element	D Pr Prdn	NP VP
Stage IX (5;6-6;0)	Conn.	Discourse		Syntactic Comprehension						
		A Connectivity	Comment Clause	Emphatic Order	there	Other	Style			
Total No. Sentences		Mean No. Sentences Per Turn		Mean Sentence Length		3.4				

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

Subject	Age	Gender	Home language	Residential area
T.E.	3y 7m <sup>a</sup>	Male	Afrikaans and English	District Six
A.S.	4-5y <sup>b</sup>	Male	English <sup>d</sup>	Woodstock/Saltriver
M.P.	4-5y <sup>b</sup>	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 <sup>b</sup>	Female	English	Woodstock
S.A.	n.a. <sup>c</sup>	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. <sup>a</sup>Age indicated in years (y) and months (m). <sup>b</sup>The recording date and year of birth were available, but for children not from District Six, the complete date of birth was not available. <sup>c</sup>Indicates that the date of birth was not available. These children were, however, pre-schoolers. <sup>d</sup>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.

**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			
Stimulus type	Totals		Major		Structural	Problems		
			Elliptical					
			Reduced	Full				
			Minor	Other				
C Spontaneous			General	Structural	Other	Problems		
D Reactions								
Stage I (0;9-1;0)	Minor	Responses		Vocatives	Other	Problems		
	Major	Comm.	Quest.	Statement				
Stage II (1;6-2;0)	Conn.	Clause		Phrase		Word		
		VX	QX	SV AX SO VO SC VC NegX Other	DNr nuck VV AdjN Vpart NN IntX PrN Other	-ing pl -ed -d		
Stage III (2;0-2;6)		X+S:NP	X+V:VP	X+C:CP	X+O:OP	X+A:AP		
		VXP IntXY doXY	QXY Aux → ∅ VS(X)	SVC SVO SVA NegXY	VCA VOA VO <sub>0</sub> Other	DAdjN much Cop AdjAdjN PrDN Pron <sub>s</sub>	-en 3s +3S gen	
Stage IV (2;6-3;0)		+S	QVS QXY+	SVOA SVCA SVO <sub>0</sub> SVOc	AAXY Other	NPPrNP PrDAdjN cX KcX	NegV2x neg NegX 2Aux Other	n't 'cop 'aux
		VXY+	VS(X+) tag-Filter					
Stage V (3;0-3;6)	and c s +5 <sup>o</sup> Other	Coord.	Coord.	Coord 1 Subord 1 S C O	1+ 1+ O	Postmod. 1 clause Postmod. 1 phrase	1+  1+  	-est -er -ly
		(+)	(-)					
Stage VI (3;6-4;0)	NP	VP	Clause	Conn.	Clause	Phrase		Word
	Initiator Coord.	Complex	Passive Complement how what	Serial and what s-concord	Element D <sub>1</sub> D <sub>2</sub> D <sub>3</sub> Pr <sub>1</sub> Pr <sub>2</sub> Pr <sub>3</sub> D <sub>4</sub> Pr <sub>4</sub>	NE <sub>1</sub> NE <sub>2</sub> NE <sub>3</sub> Pr <sub>1</sub> Pr <sub>2</sub> Pr <sub>3</sub> D <sub>4</sub> Pr <sub>4</sub>	Aux <sup>m</sup> Aux <sup>o</sup> Cop	N V -est -er -ly
Stage VII (4;0-4;6)	Discourse			Syntactic Comprehension				
	A Connectivity Comment Clause Emphatic Order			Style Filter Affs so also				
Total No. Sentences			Mean No. Sentences Per Turn		Mean Sentence Length			

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

Conn	Clause	Phrase			Word	
		NP	VP		N	V
and c s what raining	Element	D	Aux <sup>M</sup>	Aux <sup>O</sup>	irreg	reg
	NP	Pr <sup>re-φ</sup>	Pron <sup>P</sup>	Did	irreg	reg
	D φ	Pr φ	φ Aux → φ	Cop	reg	irreg
	Concor	D =	Pr =		reg	irreg
Other	This/that	-ly -ed -ing	z x 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			Minor	Structural	Problems
		Elliptical					
		1	2	3	Reduced	Full	Other
Stimulus type	Totals						
C Spontaneous							
D Reactions							
General Structural Other Problems							
Stage I (0,9-1,6)	Minor	Responses		Vocatives	Other	Problems	
	Major	Comm.	Quest.	Statement		Other Problems	
Stage II (1,6-2,0)	Comm.	VX	QX	SV AX	DN VV	-ing reg	
		SO VO	SC VC	AdjN Vpart	NN IntX	pl +reg	
Stage III (2,0-2,6)	VXY letXY doXY	QXY	SVC VCA	DAdjN Cop		reg ed +reg did	
		VS(X)	SVA VOA, O <sub>1</sub>	PrDN <sub>1</sub> Aux <sub>1</sub>		-en	
Stage IV (2,6-3,0)	VXY+	QVS	SVOA AAXY	NPPNPN <sub>1</sub> NegV <sub>1</sub>		3s 3s- +3s	
		VS(X+)	SVO, O <sub>1</sub> Calque	PrDAdjN <sub>1</sub> NegX <sub>1</sub>		gen n'l 'aux -est -er -ly	
Stage V (3,0-3,6)	Coord.	Coord.	Coord 1 1+	Postmod. 1 1+			
		Other	Subord 1 1+ S C O Comparative	Postmod. 1 1+ clause Postmod. 1 1+ phrase			
Stage VI (3,6-4,6)	NP VP Clause		Conn. Clause		Phrase Word		
	Initiator	Complex	Passive Complement	and c s	Element	NP Pr Proa' Aux <sup>m</sup> Aux <sup>s</sup> Cop N V irreg	
	Coord.	how what		Concord	D Pr Pr <sub>1</sub> Pr <sub>2</sub>	VP Aux <sup>m</sup> Aux <sup>s</sup> Cop Ambiguous	
Stage VII (4,6+)	Discourse			Syntactic Comprehension			
	A Connectivity is Comment Clause there Emphatic Order Other			Style Afr so also			
	Total No. Sentences			Mean No. Sentences Per Turn		Mean Sentence Length	



**Appendix 9. Addendum to the adapted LARSP profile.**

Non-standard feature	Example	Scoring
Calque	<i>Give for me also from that</i>	Calque in Clause Statement, Question or Command boxes of stages III and IV.
Prepositions: by	<i>We go by the mountain</i>	✗ next to structure in Phrase column containing preposition, e.g. PrDN <sub>3</sub> .
Prepositions: non-standard use	<i>I bring books at home</i>	If correct acc. to caregiver: score as if standard English. If incorrect acc. to caregiver: Error box Noun Phrase Pr.
Double negation	<i>I never get nothing</i>	NegV <sub>1</sub> or NegX <sub>1</sub>
Third person singular marker with plural subjects	<i>The children learns English</i>	Word column +3s
Deletion of third person singular marker with singular subjects	<i>He take everything</i>	Word column -3s
Regular past tense marker with verbs that have a irregular past tense form	<i>I cutted it</i>	Word column -ed +reg
Unemphatically <u>did</u> as past tense marker	<i>We did cut the bread</i>	Word column -ed did
Regular plural marker with noun in irregular plural form	<i><u>ment</u> instead of <u>men</u></i>	Word column pl +reg
Deletion of subject, verb and/or object	<i>Is never boring I've also sisters You must stick up here</i>	Section B Reduced box under Normal Response
Deletion of serial <i>and</i> or <i>so</i>	<i>We go play there</i>	VV in stage II Phrase column
Deletion of determiners, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliaries	<i>I go to clinic Take it out the packet They can see he got no hair I finished</i>	Phrase column, but deletion not indicated in error box
Deletion of <u>-ed</u> , <u>-ing</u> , <u>-ly</u> or irregular past tense	<i>We went and walk around Look how I draw He speak so soft He came here and stand in the hall</i>	Clause and Phrase columns, but deletion not indicated in the error box
<u>this/that</u> confusion	<i>We take this colours</i>	Score phrase as containing a determiner (D), not using the error box
Dative form of pronoun	<i>Us is home now</i>	Score as if standard English pronoun form
Non-standard use of conjunctions	<i>You must ask what you want more</i>	Score as if standard English conjunction
Absence of verb inversion	<i>I know where is it</i>	Score as if inversion is present
Pronoun inversion	<i>Me and my sister went to Durban</i>	XcX in stage IV Phrase column
Use of (n) as tag question	<i>It is a lady, ne, Mrs McCormick</i>	tag <sub>3</sub> in Question column
Use of Afrikaans lexical items	<i>We sm lekker snuff</i>	Afr in Stage VII Style box
Use of <u>so</u> instead of <u>like this</u>	<i>Pick it so up</i>	so in Stage VII Style box
Use of <u>also</u> instead of <u>too</u>	<i>We sing also</i>	also in Stage VII Style box
Use of <u>and so</u> instead of <u>and then</u>	<i>We had cooldrink and so we played</i>	and so in Conn. column