

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE DEBATE IN MULTILINGUAL COUNTRIES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to explore broader language issues affecting other English speaking countries of the world. It will be useful to see how other countries who share language controversies have addressed their problems. We will be able to learn from their mistakes.

Corson (1990) argues that a policy for languages developed at national level provides evidence to the people of a pluralist country and to the world at large, that the country is taking a mature look at its language problems, that it is trying to pose solutions to them and to extract as much advantage and equity as possible for its people from the language diversity that pluralist countries contain.

The purpose of this Chapter is therefore, to examine the language situation in Jamaica and in India, each of which has adopted somewhat differing approaches according to its uniqueness. The first section of this Chapter examines the language debate in the Caribbean with special focus on non-standard versus standard English (c.f. Sections 7.2 - 7.4). Finally, Indian English is examined (c.f. Section 7.5) and how India had resolved its complex language problems. Educational implications are also explored.

Earlier in this study, a crucial point was raised: whether non-native varieties of English could serve as pedagogical models. The same question could be redirected to non-standard dialects of English such as the Caribbean varieties of English. This chapter explores all these concerns.

Corson (1994) reinforces the view that was earlier raised by Kachru that sociocultural and geographical variations within a language are signalling matters of great importance

to those who use them. He further stresses that varieties serve valuable group identity functions for their speakers; they express interests that are closely linked to matters of self-respect and other psychological attributes.

It was shown earlier in this study that though this view is plausible, it fails to take us much further. The Caribbeans should indeed use their native dialects when communicating with their local communities - their dialect in this case will be appropriate. However, in order to fulfil broader functions such as access to world knowledge, science and technology and for functioning in a modern economy; they need standard English which is the only dialect which can meet all these requirements.

This chapter also explores the following contentious question, raised earlier, regarding ESL varieties of English: why are non-standard mother tongue dialects of English inadequate or inappropriate to serve as a pedagogical model of English?

Non-standard mother tongue dialects such as "outer circle" Englishes, are not sufficiently developed to cater for broader functions described earlier in this study:

- * the need to have access to world knowledge
- * the need for science and technology
- * the need for international business and commerce
- * the need for secondary and tertiary education, etc.
- * books in significant libraries

Taylor (1985:9) claims that "for a variety of reasons, including negative public attitudes and inadequate pedagogic models, non-standard dialect speakers often do not successfully acquire the standard language during the school years." This situation prevails in the South African ESL situation. We have seen in chapter 3 that there are a number of factors which affect ESL teaching and learning. As a result, the majority of ESL learners also, fail to attain the "highly prized goal" of standard English during the school years.

7.2 THE CASE OF THE CARIBBEAN: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

"The parent of Caribbean English was a mixture of British regional dialects. Dialects are features which are recognisable as belonging to the parent language but possess regular distinctive variations in pronunciation, vocabulary, grammatical structure and cultural features such as idioms, allusions and set phrases" (Moody, 1970: 101).

According to Moody the newly emerging nations of the former British West Indian colonies - Guyana, Trinidad, Barbados, Jamaica, the rest of the English-speaking Windward and Leeward Islands and Belize (British Honduras), face social and educational problems directly attributable to the fact that their English is non-standard. Of such dialects, that of Jamaica is best known.

Moody claims that Jamaica was originally occupied by the Arawak Indians, who were wiped out by the Spanish colonists before the British invasion of 1655. Soon after the Spanish disappeared, slaves from Africa were brought in by the British colonists to work the plantations. These African slaves outnumbered the European population and today Jamaica is inhabited by a majority of people of black or mixed descent.

Many Jamaicans when asked which language they speak, Moody says that they would reply "English". They do not, however, use the standard form of English. Instead the vast majority speak a Jamaican non-standard variety with distant influence of West African languages and influence of various British dialects.

A crucial question posed by Moody is, "how did Jamaicans come to use English as they do"? It is now about three hundred years since the English language took root in Jamaica, where it has flourished and developed its own local forms. Jamaican English (locally referred to as Creole), differs in many ways from standard English. One of the areas most studied is the difference in its vocabulary from that of standard English. The Jamaicans have preserved certain old words which are no longer in use in Standard English. Moody gives the word "moonshine" as an example. It is now rare or poetic in standard English, whereas it is more current among the Jamaican folk than

"moonlight". Another example is "tinnen" (made of tin) i.e. an archaic form which has survived in Jamaica as well as Barbados.

A theoretical model for Jamaica and one which seems to parallel certain aspects of the South African language situation, is shown in Figure 13 (Craig, 1971: 372):

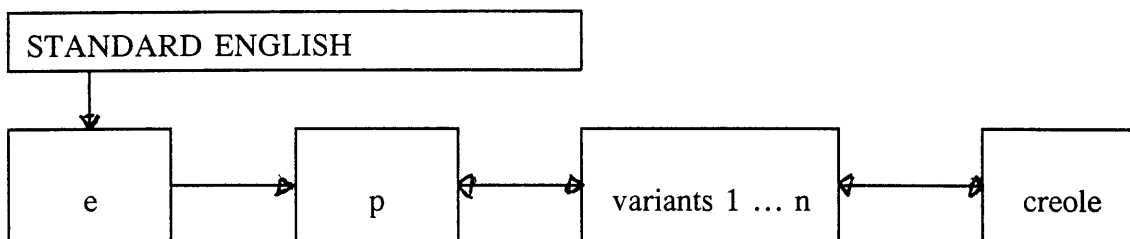


FIGURE 13: CRAIG'S MODEL OF STANDARD AND JAMAICAN ENGLISH (CREOLE)

This diagramme shows different varieties of English in Jamaica and how they relate to each other (standard and non-standard varieties):

* Firstly, "p" represents the ways in which such usage differs from standard English.

Craig (1971) argues that there is a one-way channel of influence from standard English to "p", but "p" is linked to the rest of the system by a two-way channel as shown by the arrows. In South Africa, this "one-way channel of influence" would apply also. Those at the bottom of the cline with fossilised features of English are unlikely to influence those users who are already at the acrolectal level of proficiency.

* Secondly, the rest of the system consists of a range of linguistic variation (variants 1, 2, 3, ... n). Together with "p", they represent "areas of interaction" between standard English and the non-standard dialect. Influence therefore, flows both ways (c.f. arrows in figure 13).

The examples above are equivalent to Kachru's (1985) cline of competence. Those learners exposed to standard English tend to be at the higher level of the cline whereas those further away from the standard English model tend to be at the lower level of the continuum.

Craig further maintains that the "area of interaction" indicated above, is intermediate between the extremes of the continuum defined for Jamaica by Bailey and DeCamp (in Craig, 1971: 372). He refers to it as "interaction" because its existence has been, and continues to be, dependent on the cross-influence from the two extremes. It is worth stating that as yet South Africa has not developed a creole. Some kind of pidgin accommodation is used now and then.

Craig's area of interaction is similar to the concept of "interlanguage" discussed earlier in this study with regard to ESL in South Africa. This concept was introduced by Selinker in 1969 and elaborated in 1972. Selinker conceived of interlanguage as a "dynamic system". Bickerton (1975) makes it clear that he regards the "interlanguage system" as the product of a psycholinguistic process of interaction between two linguistic systems, those of the mother tongue and the target language. Bickerton therefore clearly conceives of interlanguage as being part of a continuum. However, he does not indicate what happens when the learners' mother tongue is also English. One can only assume that in this case, the two linguistic systems are a Jamaican dialect of English and standard English.

In Jamaica, there are only two major varieties of English: standard and non-standard varieties. The variety used by Jamaicans as a mother tongue is non-standard. What is taught at their schools is standard English. Jamaicans need standard English in order to have access to information, technology, tertiary education, for their socio-economic mobility and as a lingua franca when they need to communicate beyond their own small community. Whether non-standard English or another language is the mother tongue, there is still a need for standard English both in Jamaica and South Africa.

In South Africa we have a more complex situation. ESL learners come into contact with

English at schools. They bring with them their mother tongue. They acquire standard English at school. We too need English as a lingua franca for science and technology, for tertiary education and also for socio-economic mobility. The parallel with Jamaica is limited in that in South Africa many pupils will in the early stages have only the mother tongue which is not a variety of English. They come into contact with standard English for the first time in the classroom. There is also no established local variety of English available.

7.2.1 Language and social mobility in Jamaica

Bailey states (in Craig, 1971: 374) that "it is possible to move from one social class to another by changing one's linguistic norm" in Jamaica's language situation. This reflects a striving on the part of non-standard English users towards a model provided by standard English and the social mobility it enables.

The following are typical of the responses teachers have been observed to obtain when trying to get children to "correct" spontaneous utterances. Each of these utterances comes from different children. The children range in age from 7 to 12 years (Craig, 1971: 374):

Spontaneous utterance and attempts of the same child at "careful" standard language replacement	creole and standard versions not heard
(i) / a mi buk dat /	/ a fi mi buk dat /
/ iz mi buk /	"It's my book"
/ iz mai buk /	
(ii) / a bin tu di stuor /	/ mi bin a stuor /
/ a did guo tu di stuor /	"I went to the store"
/ ai did guo tu di stuor /	

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| (iii) | / a waan let out / | / mi waan (fu) letout / |
| | / ai waant tu letout / | "I want to be let out" |
| (iv) | / Shi brokop di pliet / | "She's broken the plate" |
| | / Shi briek di pliet / | |

The above examples show the language development in the continuum described earlier. Note that the attempt to switch from one level of the continuum to another is sometimes accompanied by a reduction of some morphological features as in (iv).

Craig (1971: 375) makes the crucial point that for a vast majority of young people in Jamaica, this ability fails to develop any further, so that they leave school and attain adulthood without being able to shift out of the "interaction area" (highlighted earlier in figure 13) "into the highly prized standard language extreme of the continuum." This language situation to a certain extent resembles ESL in South Africa even though we do not have a creole. In Chapter 3, it was noted that most ESL learners fail to move from the basilect to the next point in the continuum due to several constraints. This also happens when the Jamaican pupils come into contact with standard English. Many of these children obviously fail to reach the apex of the cline.

Craig further highlights that the apparent facility with which young Jamaican speakers operate within the interaction area seems incompatible with the difficult barrier that they find between this facility and what Craig refers to as a "highly-prized" goal of standard language (p. 375). The important educational implications that arise are immense and they will be shown later in this study. The same dilemma faces South African ESL teachers. In this case where "learners" are trapped in the "interaction area", what do the teachers do? Is the form of English in the 'interaction area' codifiable? What are the implications of setting and aiming at the lower point of the continuum?

The answers to these questions will be provided in the next section.

7.2.2 Educational implications

Academic interest in the interaction between non-standard and standard language as pointed out by Craig, has an importance which goes far beyond the mere perfecting of sociolinguistic theory. Such interest in Jamaica in his view, is important for the provision of guidelines for social action, specifically educational action involved in economic and social development. We recall the notion of appropriateness at this point.

It is crucial to understand that English (Creole or not) is the mother tongue of Jamaica as is black English in the USA. At school they are required to learn standard English. In the South African ESL context as we have noted earlier, the difference is that at home ESL learners speak black languages and at school they are required to learn standard English as a subject and for purposes of the language of learning and the medium of instruction.

Craig points out that large sectors of the non-standard speaking population in the Caribbean (estimated at about 70% of the total population) have to be educated, and rapidly so, for functioning in a modern economy, in law, in science and technology, and standard English, by way of textbooks, instructors, examinations etc, is the medium which is able to fulfil all these requirements.

It was mentioned earlier that the apparently difficult language barrier that some learners encounter between the "interaction area" and the standard English extreme of the continuum seems inconsistent with the ability of most speakers to use language from the "interaction area" i.e. they use their own English fluently but cannot adapt. This is partially true of some areas in South Africa but the multilingual situation makes for greater variability. Nevertheless, in any language teaching situation the cline is operational.

Non-standard language users or learners display certain language patterns in their communication. Craig (1971: 376) gives four different types of these patterns (A-D):

- Class A: Patterns actively known. That is, non-standard speakers know how to use these spontaneously in their own informal speech.
- Class B: Patterns used only under stress: these may have been learned, without becoming firmly habitual, through school teaching, through short contact with standard English speakers, through intermittent exposure to mass media.
- Class C: Patterns known passively: That is, non-standard speakers would understand these owing to context, but if used by other speakers, non-standard dialect speakers would not themselves be able to produce them, except as mutations within the interaction area or 'errors' relative to standard English.
- Class D: Patterns not known.

Craig argues that the implication of non-standard English users learning standard English, is that the learner is able all the time to recognise standard English far out of proportion to his or her ability to produce it. This happens because of Class C features which are inherently passive. These features when combined with Classes A and B, create within the learner the illusion that the target standard English is known already.

DeCamp (1971) argues that there must be sufficient social mobility to motivate large numbers of non-standard users to modify their writing and language usage in the direction of the standard (c.f. figure 1). He further recommends that there must be sufficient programmes of education and other acculturative activities to exert effective pressures from the standard language on the non-standard (c.f. section 3.3.2).

In summing up, we need to point out that the language debate in multilingual or multidialectal situations has got to be examined within the framework of the language functions discussed earlier which every language or dialect fulfils.

7.3 CONFLICTING VIEWS ON NON-STANDARD ENGLISH

For several years, many teachers have been confused by the heated debate over non-standard English in the classroom. In other words, there has been much concern over the educational implications of non-standard English. There might be a temptation to label Jamaican English as a "crippled" form of English, instead of recognising it as a perfectly valid linguistic system in its own right.

The great confusion is attributable to the fact that there are frequently partial, inconclusive or greatly divergent answers to this controversy. It is therefore significant to note, that there are social, political and cultural values at stake whether we believe that "Jamaican English" had its origin in Jamaica or Africa.

The most affected people by this controversy are teachers who quite often find themselves in the cross-fire of the heated debate. We have seen earlier in this study that the most important concerns for the teachers are: what do they have to do about non-standard English, seeing that it differs in some ways from standard English? How do they respond to this dilemma? Schafer (1982:65) as shown earlier in this thesis gives three alternatives as solutions to this problem as we have seen in chapter one:

- (a) eradication of the non-standard variety
- (b) encouragement of bidialectalism/multidialectalism
- (c) acceptance of a non-standard variety as a separate but equal language.

The first view according to Schafer (1982:65) stems from the belief that the Jamaican dialect is "ungrammatical and thus inferior for sophisticated use." The other reason in his view, is that it is derived from a debased language taught to slaves and therefore, it still carries connotations of slavery. It is important to note at this point that this dialect further limits access to science and technology, world knowledge and commerce.

The second alternative Schafer calls "bidialectalism". This school of thought maintains the following assumptions:

- * a dialect is an adequate and useful aspect of a cultural minority;

- * in order to relate to a larger world, it is important to learn and master the standard dialect. Shuy 1973 (in Schafer, 1982) tested the hypothesis that speech is an important criterion in employability. He discovered that although employers consciously denied that speech was a consideration, the better jobs invariably went to the standard English users. The question of speech being "an important criterion in employability" raised by Shuy above is questionable. He seems to be muddling the concept of "standard English" with accent. We have noted earlier in this study that standard English excludes "accent" or "speech". Therefore an important criterion in employability should be an internationally viable standard English. Quirk shares this view of international viability when he argues that all the students know perfectly well that their "command of standard English is likely to increase their career prospects" (Kingman Report in Quirk, 1995: 26).

Bidialectalism, as stated earlier, has several weaknesses too. Sledd (1969) argues that it cannot succeed because the social pressures against the second dialect, i.e. the non-standard dialect, are overwhelming. It is argued as we have seen earlier in this study that "the English teacher's forty-five minutes a day for five days in the week can never counteract the influence and sometimes the hostility of playmates and friends and family during much of the larger part of the student's time" (Schafer, 1982: 66). This is obviously not applicable to the South African language situation. The black languages and standard English have got their rightful place in education. Black languages are used as languages of learning in the junior primary phase, and thereafter they are taught as language subjects. English becomes the language of learning from the senior primary phase upwards. However, in the new South Africa, the school governing structures are required to make language choices (c.f. chapter 8) in education. Many parents, seem to be in favour of English as a language of learning. They perceive standard English as the language of a modern economy, science, technology law, tertiary education and social mobility.

Turning back to bidialectalism, Sledd and his colleagues condemn bidialectalism as immoral because any effort to alter a student's language, despite protests of linguistic equality, must subtly condemn his vernacular.

Burling (in Schafer, 1982:66) on the other hand, attempts to balance the conflicting views by first acknowledging that "we seem to have a problem with nothing but poor solutions". He argues that the real question is not whether or not to teach standard English but rather a far more complex question of what aspects of standard English to teach and when. Burling gives a pertinent illustration when he says that teachers may assume that they are speaking the same language as their students because both speak English, but in fact they are speaking a language which is foreign to students who have grown up speaking a "patois" or "creole". Furthermore he argues that teachers may also want to continue a system which they have invested training in. Their expectations and attitudes may downgrade non-standard English and its users.

According to Burling, a teacher should learn to listen to the dialects of his students and learn how best he could assist them to acquire standard English. Non-standard English should not be regarded as a broken variety of English which needs to be eliminated. Instead, a non-standard English-speaking child should be guided and be shown that his or her dialect is important even though it is not used for educational purposes. His confidence in non-standard English should not be destroyed as this can be psychologically damaging. Burling's approach seems to be more plausible. However, it is very difficult for the teacher to deal with this complex situation. For example, in South Africa would white parents have the right to choose a variety of English for their children? Does this make mixed schools a viable possibility? In any case - what variety of English do black parents want? Is it the kind that brings educational advantage? e.g. white teacher in "black" school or Indian school, or vice versa. Will the teachers always know all the possible varieties of non-standard English? And say the class is mixed - with a member of different non-standard varieties co-existing in the same classroom.

It has been demonstrated throughout this study that it is impractical to teach in non-

standard English because it is stigmatised and uncodified. The argument of the liberals would be that it should not be stigmatised and that the problem would then be solved. However, there would still be the uncodified problems: pockets, language functions etc. What chance does a teacher stand in this case? The education system should be directed towards the function that standard English should perform. Nevertheless, the Jamaican students will eventually need to speak standard English in order to have access to knowledge and also to get "decent" jobs.

McArthur (1987) reaffirms Burling's view above that teachers need to be sympathetic with pupils who bring with them a non-standard dialect of English in class. He makes a useful point when he maintains that educational systems can either live with and encourage and gain from such flexibility, or can be so organised as to make it seem shameful. He further argues that whatever the Jamaicans do, they cannot alter the demographic realities of the popular Englishes on one side and the core of negotiable standards on the other.

The Jamaican language controversy as we have noted earlier, differs to a certain extent from the South African language situation. In South Africa, English is acquired in schools as a second, third or fourth language. At home the ESL students make use of their black languages. The majority of the ESL learners do not come to school with an established non-standard dialect already acquired at home. There are obviously exceptions to this: there are Indians, Coloureds and blacks who acquire English as a first language and also use English at their homes. However, the fact remains that the vast majority of blacks learn English at school as a second language i.e. it is not a mother tongue form acquired at home. Earlier in this study, we have described several language features which are peculiar to English as a second language. These features have been claimed to yield the characteristics of a South African black English. It was also demonstrated in chapters 3 and 4 that these characteristic features are not consistently or reliably realised. Must the black ESL pupils learn two varieties of English in South Africa? How extensive are the peculiar features of the so-called "black English"? Discussion elsewhere in this thesis has shown that the specifically "black" features of English, apart from accent, are limited and in any case tend to fade away

at the top of the cline.

In the Jamaican context, the situation is different because pupils come to school speaking a dialect of "English". When pupils come into contact with standard English for the first time, they are bewildered and culture-shocked to find that they must learn not a foreign language but the language of another social class in their own country.

Schafer maintains that it is definitely debilitating to discover that one's native idiom is an off-brand of limited distribution and is regarded as inferior by one's teachers and is not to be found in one's textbooks and worst of all is proscribed. It is unbearable particularly if one has always been hostile to anything unfamiliar. However, education authorities and educators can play a major role in addressing this situation without overburdening the teachers. In other words, learners have to understand the different functions which are fulfilled by both standard English and their non-standard dialect. At present, standard English is the only practical option which is able to fulfil educational functions.

7.4 CONCLUSION

We sum up this debate on non-standard English using Morse's (1973) pertinent analogy which relates the whole debate to the notions of "appropriateness" and "correctness". He argues that the non-standard English users' native locutions are not "wrong" for purposes of communication in their native community, they are "right" and standard English is "wrong"; but since the territory within which they are "right" is limited and the territory within which standard English is "right" is world-wide and since moreover no books or magazines at all, and no newspapers outside their native community are written in their native idiom, they must therefore develop some acquaintance with standard English if they are to get through college. In other words, standard English is basically an ideal mode of expression that we seek when we want to communicate beyond our immediate community with members of the international community; a view held and cherished by Quirk (1985, 1988, 1993, 1995).

7.5 THE CASE OF INDIAN ENGLISH

7.5.1 Introduction

We have noted Kachru's three concentric circles in chapter 5 in which Indian English is classified under the "Outer Circle" Englishes. Kachru (1985) concedes that countries such as South Africa and Jamaica are not easy to place within the concentric circles since in terms of the English using populations and the functions of English, their situation is rather complex.

Unlike Jamaica, English in India is acquired as a second or third language. This situation resembles the South African ESL situation. The main differences between Jamaican and the Indian situation is that in Jamaica, the non-standard English is their mother tongue whereas in India but with a powerful position, it is a non-native language. South Africa on the other hand (especially with regard to blacks), differs from the Indian language situation. It has been highlighted in this study that South Africa is regarded as an English native speaking country while India is not. Importantly, the presence of English native speakers and extensive media use of English influence the development of English in South Africa. For example, Gabriele Stein at the 1995 English Academy Conference holding up a copy of **The Sowetan** asked where she is to find **black English**. In other words, The Sowetan editors and reporters make use of standard English. At this point, we need to explore the concept of "South African Indian English (SAIE)" advocated by Mesthrie. Bughwan (1970: 503 - in Mesthrie, 1995: 18) states that English was first transmitted to Indians in South Africa by native speakers of the language - English missionaries, British teachers and English-speaking super-estate owners.

Mesthrie posits four main possible sources of Indian ESL features:

- * Schooling, with teachers being native speakers of English
- * Schooling, with teachers being non-native speakers of English
- * Contact with native speakers in Natal, and

- * Contact with non-native speakers of English (chiefly Indians).

The development of South African Indian ESL is similar to that of blacks noted earlier in this study. Mesthrie admits that SAIE shares similarities with L2 varieties of English throughout the world. SAIE lexis differs only slightly from the "general purpose English", especially at the highest level of the cline. The differences found in informal speech are catalogued in his "Lexicon of South African Indian English", a work comprising of 1400 items characteristic of this variety.

Questions have been raised throughout this thesis querying the existence of new Englishes. The same questions emerge:

- * Where do we draw the line between errors that must be corrected and the beginning of SAIE?
- * Does every South African Indian speak SAIE?
- * Is this variety codifiable?
- * What about the majority of South African Indians who use English as their mother tongue?
- * Are these textbooks available in this variety?
- * What do teachers teach?

This perspective has not been fully applied empirically in South Africa, although as we have seen, certain scholars have called for the recognition of both "black English" and "Indian English" as varieties in their own right. The evidence available is simply the "listing of isolated examples and coinages and other lexical modifications." (Ahluwalia:1992). It has been illustrated earlier that this does not signal the emergence of a new variety of English.

We have seen in the preceding section and chapters (3, 4 and 5) that if the non-native learners of English have no contact with the native speakers of English, their variety of English tends to be fossilised somewhere near the bottom of the continuum, between mother tongue and the target language (this issue has been fully discussed in chapter 6). As a result of this, non-standard and non-native English becomes vastly deviant from the standard varieties of English.

Kachru is one of the main advocates for the development of non-native varieties in the "Outer Circle" and the establishment of pedagogical norms within these national varieties.

We have seen earlier in chapter 5 that Quirk (1990/1995) objects to non-native varieties of English being institutionalised.

7.5.2 A brief historical background

In India, Kachru (1983:357) maintains that there are as many as 1652 languages and dialects. Its language situation is more complex than that of South Africa and Jamaica. It is even surmised that it was convenient for Indians during the colonial period to use English as a "link language" and it seems the role of English has not changed over time. It is also a "link" language in South Africa.

The history of British colonization of India and the introduction of an Indian language and English are closely interlinked. The first contact of the British people with the Indian subcontinent according to Kachru (1983:353), is estimated to be on 31 December 1600. But actual colonisation was much later.

The introduction of bilingualism with English as the non-native language can be seen in three stages which are very crucial in understanding the diffusion and the impact of English in India (Kachru, 1983:353):

* the missionary stage

- * the local demand
- * education policy

The first stage was established in 1614 by Christian missionaries of various persuasions who volunteered to go to India to evangelize.

The second stage involved the "local demand" and Kachru argues that it had been considered important by some scholars who believed that the spread of English was the result of the demand of the local people and their willingness to learn it. In his 1986 article, Kachru refers to this attitude as a "love-hate" relationship with the language. He admits that English, especially standard English is more powerful than the local varieties of English. He claims that (1986: 32): "the middle classes prefer English-educated women in matrimony and England-returned and American-returned grooms are in demand". He further indicates that all social classes prefer English medium schools for their children, including individuals who make anti-English proclamations.

"The prominent spokesmen for English were Raja Rammohan Roy (1772 - 1833) and Rajunath Hari Navalkar (1770). Their aim was to persuade the East India Company to give instruction in English, since Sanskrit, Arabic and the Indian vernaculars did not allow young Indians access to the scientific knowledge of the west" (Kachru, 1983: 354).

It is further claimed that Raja Rammohan Roy expressed disappointment in the establishment of Sanskrit schools in Calcutta. He urged Lord Amherst (1773 - 1857) to allocate funds for employing European gentlemen of talent and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy and other useful sciences.

This proposal resulted in the third stage involving a controversy in Indian educational policy. The controversy was between the anglicists and orientalist. Anglicists exposed a need to form a subculture in India: "a class who could be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but

English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect" (Kachru, 1983: 355). Orientalists could not stop the anglicists' plans and intentions. This situation eventually resulted in the diffusion of bilingualism in English on the Indian subcontinent.

Kachru (1983) claims that the British sovereignty (1765 - 1947) established English firmly as the medium of instruction and administration. The first three universities, modelled after British universities, were established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857.

Even after the anglicists' proposals were adopted, the debate about the medium of instruction continued. Now, after years of controversy, Kachru maintains that Indians seem to have settled for what is known as the "three language formula". This formula was introduced in the 1960's with the hope that it would satisfy all three language camps in India (Kachru, 1983:355):

- * the pro-English group
- * the pro-Hindi group
- * the pro-regional languages group

This formula therefore entails teaching English and the local regional language. According to Kachru (1983) it was expected that in the so-called Hindi area, Central India, a Dravidian language would be introduced so that all the school-going children throughout the country would have an equal language load. The intention here was to use an integrative approach to India's language planning, but unfortunately it has not been successful. The main reason for the failure was probably people's perception of English as a language of social and career mobility. Many minor languages or dialects are not considered in education. Only four languages are considered: a local language, mainstream Hindi and Dravidian and English.

Despite the debates and controversies about the status of English in India, it has attained the status of an important intranational and international language in the area.

7.5.3 Indian English

In chapter 5, we noted that Kachru's cline of bilingualism classified Indian English into the three points of the "cline" (1965, "The Indianess in Indian English"). It was shown that this cline may be divided into three "measuring points":

- * the zero point
- * the central point
- * the ambilingual point.

The zero point is the bottom point on the axis. This obviously is not the end-point in India where there are people in Kachru's view, who use English varieties ranked below the zero point such as "Baboo English" or "Butler English" (also called "kitchen English"). Butler English is often not intelligible to the users of educated Indian English. For example (Kachru, 1965: 391):

- * I telling = I will tell
- * I done tell = I have told
- * done come = actually arrived.

An English speaking Indian bilingual who ranks above the zero point is called by Kachru a minimal bilingual. These bilinguals have knowledge of written or spoken modes of English. The above Butler English examples illustrate the learner's interlanguage which has fossilised, which evolves from one point to another. It was pointed out earlier in this study that generally ESL learners (including first language children) go through several stages before they reach the apex of the cline. We have also emphasised that examples such as these, do not indicate a breakthrough to a new English.

A bilingual who has adequate competence in one or more registers of Indian English (the register of the law courts, administration and science), may be rated round the central point. However, the central point is arbitrary. Quite what constitutes the

"centre" is actually hard to determine and may be the result of a number of viable, interacting factors.

A bilingual who becomes intelligible beyond his Indian context, is rated at the ambilingual level.

Later in his 1985 article, Kachru renamed these points on the "cline of competence":

- * bazaar variety (lowest)
- * semi-educated variety
- * educated variety (highest).

Kachru's labels above are confusing. He does not indicate the different cut-off points on the continuum from the "bazaar", "semi-educated" and "educated varieties". It is also not clear what he means by "semi-educated" and "educated varieties". In Section 3.2.2 (c.f. table 2), Schmied explains the different three stages of his continuum. In this case, one wonders if Kachru's "semi-educated" level is similar to Schmied's "mesolect", which is the level of someone who has acquired secondary education (e.g. nurses, secretaries etc). One also wonders if Kachru's "educated variety" is equivalent to Schmied's "acrolectal" level.

7.5.4. The Indianization of English

Two distinctions are made by Kachru between those formations which are "deviations" from L1 varieties of English and secondly, those formations which are termed "mistakes". According to Kachru, mistakes can be corrected whereas deviations may not. It also appears that mistakes in this case can only be made by native speakers of English. Kachru regards "errors" made by non-native users of English as "acceptable deviations".

A mistake according to him, is defined as "any deviation which is reflected by a native speaker of English as out of the linguistic code of the English language, and which may

not be justified in Indian English on formal or contextual grounds. A "deviation" on the other hand, may involve differences from a norm, but such deviations may be explained in terms of the cultural or linguistic context in which a language functions" (Kachru, 1965: 397).

He illustrates his point regarding "deviation" in terms of the cultural or linguistic context when he gives the following example:

Dr A N Jha in 1940 addressing the Conference of English Professors, Playwrights and critics in Lucknow, pleaded for the use, retention and encouragement of Indian English. His speech reflects the Indian English characteristics:

Is there any who will not understand a young man who had enjoyed a "freeship" at College and who says he is going to join the "teachery profession" and who after a few years says he is engaged in "headmastery"? Similarly, why should we accept the English phrase "mare's nest", and object to "horse's egg" ... Why should we adhere to "all this" when "this all" is the natural order suggested by the usage of our own language?

These examples do not impede intelligibility even though there are expressions which are not familiar to us. The questions which were raised regarding ESL in South Africa and Jamaican English, become pertinent to the Indian situation. For example, "is Indian English different and a distinctive form of English with its own standard; where do we draw a line between "language errors" and the beginning of Indian English?" We will come back to these questions later. Kachru gives his own examples to illustrate what he terms "Indianisms".

In order to trace the distinctive characteristics of Indian English, at other than the phonological level, he focuses on what he perceives as typically "Indian English formations". These "Indianisms" include the following types of formations. (In the South African context, we have some parallel between the following lexical items and anything that might be claimed for ESL):

- (a) (i) those which are transferred from Indian languages into Indian English e.g. "the confusion of caste".
- (ii) those which are transferred from black languages e.g. "eating the money" instead of "spending the money".
- (b) (i) those which are not necessarily transformed from Indian languages but are only collocationally deviant from standard English e.g. salt-giver, rape-sister, sister-sleeper.
- (ii) no parallel in the South African language context.
- (c) (i) those which are formed on the analogy of native used forms of English e.g. "black money" meaning black market.
- (ii) no parallel in the South African context.
- (d) (i) those which are formally non-deviant but are culture-bound. Such formations amount to an introduction of a new register by Indian English writers in Indian English and extend the register-range of such items e.g. "flower-bed".
- (ii) In the South African context, Buthelezi (1995: 145) gives examples of what she class more established words in SABE: 'kwela-kwela' (police van), 'dompas' (I.D book).

Kachru maintains that the meaning of an item of an Indian language may be transferred to an item of English. His expression "flower-bed" is a good example in the sense of a "nuptial bed" by B Bhattacharya e.g. "on this her **flower-bed** her seven children were born". In this case the meaning of Bengali lexical item "phul scjja" was transferred to a lexical item of English. In English "flower-bed" is restricted to the register of "gardening" but in Kachru's example, the register range of the item has been extended.

The collocations like "sister-sleeper" are deviant only in terms of the class assignment of the lexical items. They are not structurally deviant from L1 varieties of English. Kachru argues that the main point of deviation here is that in Indian English, "sleeper"

is used in a unique sense which is different from standard English i.e. to sleep with.

The above lexical example (a), the "confusion of case" is an English translation of the Sanskrit "varna sankara and dvija". Kachru argues that the transfer from the first languages also results in deviant structural constructions in for example, interrogative sentences and the formation of tag questions. There is a tendency to form interrogative constructions without subject and auxiliary verbs inversions. For example:

- * What you would like to read?
- * When you would like to come?

In English the structure of tag questions is formed by a statement and a tag attached to it. In Hindi-urdu, the parallel structure consists of a single clause with a postponed particle which is invariably "na". For example:

- * You are going tomorrow, isn't it?
- * He isn't going there, isn't it?

These interrogatives and tag questions are also common in South African ESL and even in white speech. In addition, there are also English verbs which are used incorrectly in Indian English in the progressive form (is having, seeing, knowing). Kachru complains that the following sentences common in Indian English are deemed to be unacceptable by native users of English, that is to say, not standard English:

- * My brother **is having** two houses
- * Rama **was knowing** that he would come
- * I **am understanding** English now.

These examples are similar to those described earlier relating to South African ESL which show the deviant usage of the progressive forms (is having, seeing, knowing).

ESL learners all over the world generally make these errors. The usage of the above

sentences does not signal the emergence of a new variety of English. Nsakala Lengo (1995: 20) maintains that "errors are believed to be an indicator of the learners' stages in their target language development". On the other hand Corder (1973: 259 - in Lengo: 1995: 20) refers to errors as "breaches of the code". Corder argues that errors deviate from what is regarded as the norm. The problem, however, is that sometimes there is not a firm agreement on what the norm is.

Kachru's examples raise a number of questions to which one would love to have answers:

- * What are the causes of these deviant forms in Indian English?
 - * What do teachers in India teach? Do they consciously and deliberately teach non-standard forms?
 - * Are there textbooks and grammars that codify Indian English? (Quirk asks this of Kachru somewhere)
 - * Are usages fixed at a certain point on the cline?
 - * Is "educated" use the determining factor in education?
- OR
- * Are all usages, including the basilectal, accepted in the classroom?
 - * How far does educated Indian English deviate from standard English?
 - * Are there Indian language pockets? What happens when teachers or pupils move to a different area? Or to a different school? From primary to high school? To tertiary education?
 - * Do different provinces in India, with different Indian languages as the local language, produce different nativised Englishes e.g. Hindu English, Tamil

English, Gujerati English?

- * Is Hindi taught as a standard language throughout India?
- * What kind of English is used in tertiary education?
- * Is Indian English standard throughout India?

Svartvik (1985) as we have seen in chapter 5, has questioned Kachru's logic regarding some of his examples such as the ones given earlier in this section. Svartvik argues that these examples were lexical items that followed standard word-formation rules and that they were comprehensible also to outsiders. Furthermore, Svartvik argues that such lexical and grammatical innovations do not represent a new feature in the history of English but rather demonstrate the flexibility of the language and add to the richness of its total lexical resources. In other words, Kachru's examples follow the normal English word-formation rules.

7.6 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has explored broader language issues affecting Jamaica and India, especially the debate about the varieties and status of these varieties.

We have seen in this chapter that Jamaica is not so much faced with language diversity, as with standard versus non-standard dialects of English. Jamaicans speak a non-standard mother tongue English whereas Indian and black South African English is acquired as a second language because both India and South Africa are multilingual societies.

Jamaican English as a dialect, differs from standard English in vocabulary, grammar and transmission as indicated in the examples given earlier in this chapter. On the other hand, Indian and South African ESL differ from standard English mainly in transmission (pronunciation). This aspect of the language as we have seen in chapter

3, no longer forms part of standard English, even though it is an important part of the whole language. Excluding accent (transmission), there are negligible differences which cannot warrant calling these "varieties" a new English or a clear regional form. We need a variety of English which is internationally viable. Geographical varieties serve as a barrier to educational progress and career prospects.

South Africa has its forthcoming Dictionary of South African English. But this dictionary has only some 5000 items. Titlestad (1995: 4 - Presidents' Report - AGM) argues that "for the rest of the 30 000 words we need for general purposes, we need English of a more general kind and the grammar which has remained uniform in international use, the shared English of all users of English world-wide". Kachru also notes a fair number of lexical items that he claims are specifically Indian. How extensive this vocabulary is, is not clear from his work.

It was also noted earlier in this chapter that after independence, the question of language and style became very crucial in India. The traditions of English as we have seen, are peculiarly deep rooted in India. Kachru (1983) claims that since 1947 there have been three schools of thought about the role of English in independent India. There was a small minority which looked for ever-closer ties between international English and Indian English. Then there were those according to him, mainly Hindi, who worked towards the day in 1965 when Hindi would become the official language. In fact, as 1965 drew closer, he argues that the hostility of the South to the Hindi supremacy in the north proved beyond any doubt that people were still in favour of English. English was perceived as a unifying language as is the case in South Africa.

It was proposed that English could continue to be used in addition to Hindi for all the official purposes of the Union. In due course, this debate stabilised into the Three Language Formula: English, Hindi and one other Indian language.

Taylor (1985) reinforces the view that the learning of standard English does not require the denigration or elimination of the learner's indigenous language systems. He further argues that standard English recognises the fact that the selection of language codes is

situationally based and for this reason, students need to retain their home dialect for use in the situations where its use is appropriate. This is similar to Corson's notion of "appropriateness" which has been discussed earlier in this study. Standard English, however, does accommodate a variety of styles and registers but Corson's argument may go beyond standard English e.g. in Jamaica - the non-standard English dialect is used for communication at home whereas standard English is used for broader functions.

We perhaps need more investigation specifying the reasons why and the conditions under which non-standard speech varieties are preferred over standard styles and the conditions under which the standard variety is viewed more favourably.

In the preceding chapters, we have highlighted a number of factors which contribute to the development of "persistent fossilised forms" in both native and non-native non-standard Englishes. The most important of all are:

- * lack of external pedagogical models
- * inadequate training of ESL teachers
- * users attitudes toward the target language
- * teachers' attitude towards non-standard Englishes
- * teachers' approach to learners' "deviant" usage of English (errors).

Kachru's main weakness highlighted in this chapter appears to be his approach to the development of exonormative functions of English in India. For example:

- * the need for a vehicle for international communication
- * access to science, commerce and technology. These are available in standard English.

In addition, he does not say what teachers must teach and he fails to get down to educational practicalities such as the choices to be made at which point on the cline. For example acceptance of the "bazaar" level of English in the 1991 article.

His position, therefore, seems to create a barrier for those Indian ESL learners who wish to have access to tertiary education. Furthermore, people in India are divided concerning the question of whether to opt for local or external norms. Kachru (1986: 32) concedes that "the situation is indeed confusing to an outsider." He further maintains "that Indians have learnt to live with such contradictions." He admits to acrolectal usage in major newspapers (in the 1965 article, especially - where he talks more about bidialecticism than he does later).

Before we conclude this chapter, we would like to cite another aspect of Indian English, that is pronunciation, and how it can hamper intelligibility and communication. This is what can happen if varieties of English advocated by Kachru are not close to standard English. Even though pronunciation does not form part of standard English, it is nonetheless not to be totally ignored, whether in India or Africa.

Mehrotra (in Platt et al, 1984: 173) mentions, in relation to Indian English, that regional variations in English speech may hamper intelligibility:

A Bengali speaker once annoyed his Punjabi neighbour by his inquiry: "Do you have TB?" What the speaker actually meant was: "Do you have TV"? At the Gujerati wedding recently an announcement was heard on the microphone: "The snakes are in the hole". It created panic among the guests ... There was a scramble for the exit until someone explained that the message was: "The snacks are in the hall".

These examples demonstrate the problem of intelligibility if a variety of English is solely confined to its locality. If the Indian community wishes to communicate with their fellow outer circle users of English, the expanding circle community and the inner circle users of English, they perhaps need to add the exonormative functions of English to their endonormative functions. In other words, how may the evolution of a variety of Indian English in the schools be encouraged which will satisfy the demand for intercomprehensibility and international function without stripping the language of its social function as a matter of identity and solidarity in those spheres where this is

necessary.

Finally, the language situations described in both Jamaica and India, especially in education in their different ways, resemble our ESL situation in South Africa. Most importantly, it has been noted that in all the three countries the non-standard deviant features if not corrected, can serve as a barrier as highlighted earlier by Craig to the "highly prized goal" of standard English. The Kingman Report (Quirk, 1990: 7) considers that "an educational ethos" which promotes deviant features traps students in their "present social and ethnic sectors and creates barriers to their educational progress, their career prospects, their social and geographical mobility." Of course, this context is specifically the British educational system which also applies in the commonwealth countries.

"Command of standard English," says the Report, "so far from inhibiting personal freedom, is more likely to increase the freedom of the individual than diminish it." In this age of emphasis on rights, including language rights, it is worth considering the assertion of the Kingman Report that children have a "right" to be taught standard English.

CHAPTER 8

EMPIRICAL WORK

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this study is to investigate and explore the concept of "South African black English" much further.

In chapter 3, it was shown that the question of South African black English is a contentious one. We have also noted earlier that the different labels (e.g. Zulu English, Afrikaans English, Coloured English, black English etc) of different so-called varieties of English can be confusing at times, especially because the grammar, lexis and the vocabulary of all the above-mentioned Englishes excluding accent are almost similar.

Wright (1996:153) defines black South African English as an "arrested stage in a learner-language continuum". Earlier in this study, this same stage was referred to as an "area of interaction" or "interlanguage". Wright further highlights that this definition "implies acquiescence in an incomplete educational process, an attitude scarcely palatable to proponents of black South African English, let alone the masses who are demanding quality education."

Wright in the same text argues that "if black South African English is actually composed of ethnic (and racial) varieties of English, then its role as a national medium of communication must be called in question." He then makes a key point that an "educated" variety of "South African black English" must be "highly responsive to the norms of international standard English."

Quirk (1988: 234) as noted earlier, expresses his concern regarding the similar labels which are often used loosely such as "black English", "Indian English", "Japanese English" etc. He argues that these labels are misleading analogies from designations like

British and American English.

However, it has been noted earlier in this thesis that the debate about black English in South Africa is part of common currency. There seems to be a powerful conventional opinion in influential circles that there is a black English variety in South Africa. The focus of this study is whether a South African black English should be used as a variety of teaching and learning and whether this variety is codifiable, if it exists at all. Gough (1996: 55) makes an interesting point when he argues that in terms of language variety, the specifically black oriented print media (e.g. Sowetan, City Press, Drum and Pace Magazines) appear to use predominantly standard English. He further claims that code-switching and the use of black urban slang does however, increasingly feature in articles and features relating to township life as a marker of the black urban identity.

We have also seen that language debate in South African education, especially in black schools, has reflected the relative political and economic power of Afrikaans and English on the one hand and the black languages on the other.

The objective of this chapter is to report on the findings of a survey into students' and educators' perceptions of their mother tongue, standard British English, Standard American English, South African English and the South African black English and the effect of these varieties on ESL teaching/learning.

In his "Staircase to success in Standard English", Taylor (1985: 12) regards the positive attitude towards one's own language as the foundation for a successful ESL learning. This view is also held by the Molteno Project which argues that a proper foundation in the learner's first language should be laid before the introduction of ESL. There has been an unequal relationship between English and Afrikaans and the other South African languages. This situation facilitated the domination of some people by the others. The new language policy in South Africa promotes multilingualism. The Department of Education (1995 - Discussion Document) presents multilingualism as a resource in education and in national life. A key feature of multilingualism, is that it promotes the use of two or more languages throughout schooling.

The aim of the study involved asking respondents' points of view regarding varieties of English in South Africa which they prefer to be used as languages of learning at different levels of education. In addition, the respondents were asked how they felt about the current South African language policy, i.e. all the eleven major languages being used concurrently as official languages.

Finally, issues relating to English as an intranational and international language, were also explored indirectly.

The discussion regarding methods and techniques that were used starts this study. The following sections explore the terms "methods" and "techniques" (section 8.2 - 8.5) and analyses of data and interpretation of the results (section 8.6).

8.2 METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

It is quite difficult to draw a line between "method" and "technique". According to Walker (1985), the term method is used to specify research recipes and "technique" is used to refer to the detailed practice of those strategies.

If methods refer to the range of approaches used in educational research to gather data, the aim of methodology then is, in Kaplan's (1973) words: "to describe and analyse these methods, throwing light on their limitations and resources".

8.2.1 Survey research method

The survey research method was used to gather data in this study. In this section we discuss this method briefly. The survey is an important and frequently used method of research for sociology, business, political science as well as for education.

Typically, surveys gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of:

- * describing the nature of existing conditions

- * identifying standards against which existing conditions can be compared
- * determining the relationships that exist between specific events.

In other words, surveys are used to learn about people's attitudes, beliefs, values, demographic facts, behaviour, opinions, habits, desires, ideas and other types of information.

The data gathered in surveys is usually responses to predetermined questions that are asked of a sample of respondents. The researcher therefore, generalizes the findings to the total group from which the sample came, that is, the population.

A survey was conducted to investigate educators and student's attitude, feelings and opinions about English in South Africa, British English, American English, Afrikaans and African languages. It also focused on the other important issues such as motivation for learning a second language, language policy and languages preferred for learning. A sampling technique was designed and administered to gather the above information. Questionnaires were used to gather information from the respondents.

Van Dalen (1979: 28 in Nwaila, 1986: 30) argues that no single method of obtaining data is perfect, for this reason, he maintains that collecting data by more than one method is often a prudent procedure. However, in this study, only one method was used.

Fifty-five statements were used to elicit language beliefs concerning the role of English, its varieties and other major languages in South Africa. Respondents were requested to fill in the questionnaires in the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas. The respondents were required to circle the right answers from the ones provided (c.f. Appendix B).

8.3 DEFINING THE POPULATION

One type of population distinguished by educational researchers is called the "target population". By target population, also called "universe", we mean all the members of

a real or a hypothetical set of people, events or objects to which we wish to generalise the results of our research.

The target population in this study consisted of educators and students. Students were drawn from the private English medium schools, former Department of Education and Training and a technical training college. The advantage of drawing a small sample from a large target population is that it saves the researcher the time and expense of studying the entire population. If the sampling is done properly, the researcher can reach conclusions about an entire target population.

One of the first steps in designing quantitative research is to choose the subjects or respondents. (Subjects are the individuals who participate in the study). These individuals are referred to as a "sample". The sample consists of persons selected from a larger group as indicated above, that is, a "target population".

Sampling is indispensable to the researcher. Usually the time, money and effort involved do not permit a researcher to study all possible members of the entire population.

As it is usually impossible to deal with an entire target population, Ary et al (1990) maintain that there is a need to identify that portion of the population to which one can have access - called the "accessible population". It is from this group that the researcher selects the sample for his or her study. The nature of the accessible population is influenced by the time and resources of the researcher. From the accessible population, one selects a sample in such a way that it is representative of that population.

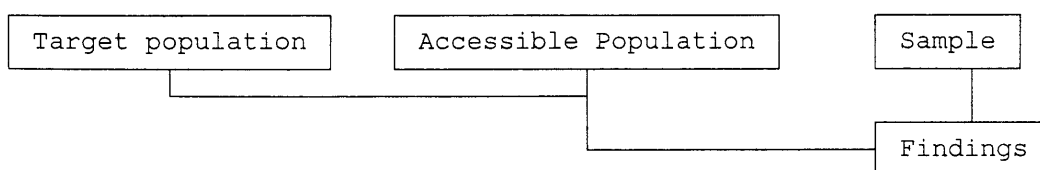


FIGURE 14: THE ACCESSIBLE POPULATION

In the present study, a sample consisting of 65 respondents was selected of which 10 were educators, 18 college students, 19 Private English medium schools matriculants and 17 former Department of Education and Training matriculants.

The size of the sample to draw from is one of the first questions the researcher must answer. Questions such as how does one decides on the number of people to survey are quite often asked. At this point, we need to justify our limited selection of only 65 respondents. Many researchers believe they have to "select a sample that is at least ten percent of the population," but it is also argued that this is often not necessary. Contrary to what is generally believed, the accuracy of data as demonstrated in this study, is determined by the "absolute size" of the sample, rather than by the percentage and size of the population (Ary et al, 1990: 413).

Ary et al argue that the main consideration when deciding on sample size should be the degree of accuracy one wants in the estimation of population values. If for example, researchers use probability sampling, they have a basis for estimating how far sample results are likely to deviate from the population values, that is, the margin of error, for a given sample size. They select a sample size that will enable them to be satisfied that their estimates will be correct within a small range about 95% of the time.

8.4 DATA-GATHERING INSTRUMENTS

The interview and the questionnaire both utilize the question-asking approach. These instruments can be used to obtain information concerning facts, beliefs, feelings, intentions and so on.

In an interview, data are collected through face-to-face or telephone interaction between the interviewer and the respondent. The questionnaire on the other hand, obtains information through the respondent's written responses to a list of questions or statements. Each method has advantages and disadvantages. A questionnaire technique has been used in the present study to gather data from the targeted respondents.

8.4.1 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is an instrument which requires the respondent to record in some way his responses to set questions. A questionnaire encompasses a variety of instruments in which the subject responds to written questions to elicit reactions, beliefs, and attitudes. Questionnaires are not necessarily easier than other techniques and should be employed carefully.

For many good reasons, the questionnaire is the most widely used technique for obtaining information from subjects. A questionnaire is relatively economical, has standardized questions, can assume anonymity and questions can be written for specific purposes. Questionnaires can use statements or questions, but in all cases the subject is responding to something written.

Once the researcher has defined objectives and has ascertained that no existing instruments can be used, he can then proceed to write the questions or statements.

8.4.2 Effective questions or statements in questionnaires

The questions and statements in this present study, were informed by the following constructive guidelines (c.f. Appendix B). Babbie (1983 in McMillan and Schumacher, 1989: 255) suggests the following guidelines for writing effective questions or statements:

(1) Make items clear

An item achieves clarity when all respondents interpret it in the same way. Avoid ambiguous items which will result in different interpretations.

(2) Avoid double-barrelled questions

A question should be limited to a single idea or concept. By double-barrelled questions we mean items containing two or more ideas, and frequently the word 'and' is used in the item.

(3) Respondents must be competent to answer

It is important for the respondents to provide reliable information. The kind of question which requires respondents to recall what they did several weeks ago, is subject to inaccuracy because the respondents cannot reliably remember the incidents.

(4) Questions should be relevant

If subjects are asked to respond to questions that are unimportant to them or things they have not thought about, it is likely that the subjects will respond carelessly and the results will therefore be misleading.

(5) Keep individual questionnaire items as short and simple as possible

Eliminate any words and phrases not essential to the clear meaning of the question. Long and complicated items should be avoided.

(6) Avoid negative items

Questions should not put the respondent on the defensive. For example, people often resent questions about their age, income, religion or educational status. Subjects will unconsciously skip or overlook the negative word. If researchers use the negative word (**not** or **No**), they should underline or capitalize the word concerned.

(7) Avoid biased items

The way items are worded or the inclusion of certain terms, may encourage particular responses more than others.

Babbie (1983 in MacMillan and Schumacher, 1989) argues that the direct one-on-one contact with subjects involved in the interview process is time consuming and expensive as stated under the interview section. Often much of the same information can be obtained by means of a questionnaire. A questionnaire that can guarantee confidentiality in Babbie's view may elicit more truthful responses that would be obtained with personal interview. In the interview, subjects may be reluctant to express unpopular prints of view or to give information that they think might be used against them later.

A disadvantage of the questionnaire is the possibility of misinterpretation of the

questions by the respondents. It is extremely difficult to formulate a series of the questions whose meanings are crystal-clear to every reader. Furthermore a large section of the population may not be able to read and respond to a mailed questionnaire.

We often expect 100 percent responses from the mailed questionnaires, although a more reasonable expectation may be 75 - 90 percent returns. In this present study, questionnaires were delivered to respective schools and we received almost 100% responses.

Coming back to questions and statements in questionnaires, it is recommended that special attention be given to the very first question because it may determine whether the respondents continue with the questionnaire or toss it aside.

The first statement if a questionnaire scale is used, should be interesting and easy enough for all respondents to interpret and answer. A simpler statement or question in the beginning of a questionnaire, increases the subject's motivation and confidence about the ability to complete the questionnaire. It is therefore advisable that the first question seek worthwhile information that is related to the topic under consideration (c.f. Appendix B).

Furthermore, it is important according to Babbie that before the final printing, the questionnaire should be pretested in order to identify ambiguities, misunderstandings or other inadequacies. It is also useful to ask colleagues who are familiar with the study to examine a draft of the questionnaire and give their opinions on whether the instrument used would obtain the desired information and whether there are any problems that may have been overlooked.

The following are some of the questions that should be considered as a result of pretesting:

- (1) Do the respondents appear to be comfortable with the questionnaire and motivated to complete it?

- (2) Are certain items confusing?
- (3) Could some items result in hostility or embarrassment on the part of respondents?
- (4) Are the instructions clear?
- (5) How long will it take a respondent to complete the questionnaire?
- (6) Do all respondents interpret the items in the same way?

8.5 PRETESTING

Pretesting as indicated earlier is the final stage in questionnaire construction. This is usually an initial effort which is merely a rough draft. It can be administered to a few respondents so that mistakes can be identified and corrected.

In this study about twenty draft questionnaires were administered to academics, teachers, friends and students. The initial questionnaire had forty-four questions and statements. At the end of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to give their critical analysis of all aspects of the questionnaire, such as question wording, question order, redundant questions, missing questions; inappropriate, inadequate, redundant or confusing response categories; poor scale items; poor reliability checks and insufficient space for answering open ended questions (c.f. Appendix A).

The final questionnaire was revised and restructured bearing in mind respondents' comments. The revised questionnaire had fifty-two questions and statements.

8.5.1 The survey

The first section in this test included a biographical section providing information on the respondents' sex, age, highest educational qualification, occupation and their home

languages.

The second section consisted of various statements and questions set to elicit opinions and attitudes on a number of cardinal facets of language loyalty and language use, either directly or indirectly. Those facets were (c.f. Appendix B):

- * the importance of all the major languages spoken in South Africa;
- * the personal importance which these languages have for the respondents;
- * the respondent's norms for using their preferred languages and their motivations;
- * the language loyalty of the respondents and their language identity.

The researcher in this study, observed a number of important issues which were to be considered before any data could be collected from respondents:

- * to protect the dignity and welfare of the participants;
- * to respect the individual's freedom to decline participation;
- * to maintain confidentiality of the research data;
- * to guard against violation or invasion of privacy;
- * to maintain ethical standards.

8.6 ANALYSES OF DATA AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

The main objective of this study as noted earlier in this chapter, is to investigate the causes of the decline of ESL teaching, especially in black education. Appendix C shows the results of all the respondent groups (N:65).

In this section, we examine the three hypotheses mentioned in Chapter 1 in light of the results of this survey. We begin by looking at the first hypothesis, which was:

- (1) that the emergence of a variety of black English in South Africa has important educational implications.

The analysis of data first of all, reveals that 41 (64%) of all the respondents have never heard of "South African black English" (Question 11(a)) (c.f. Figure 15).

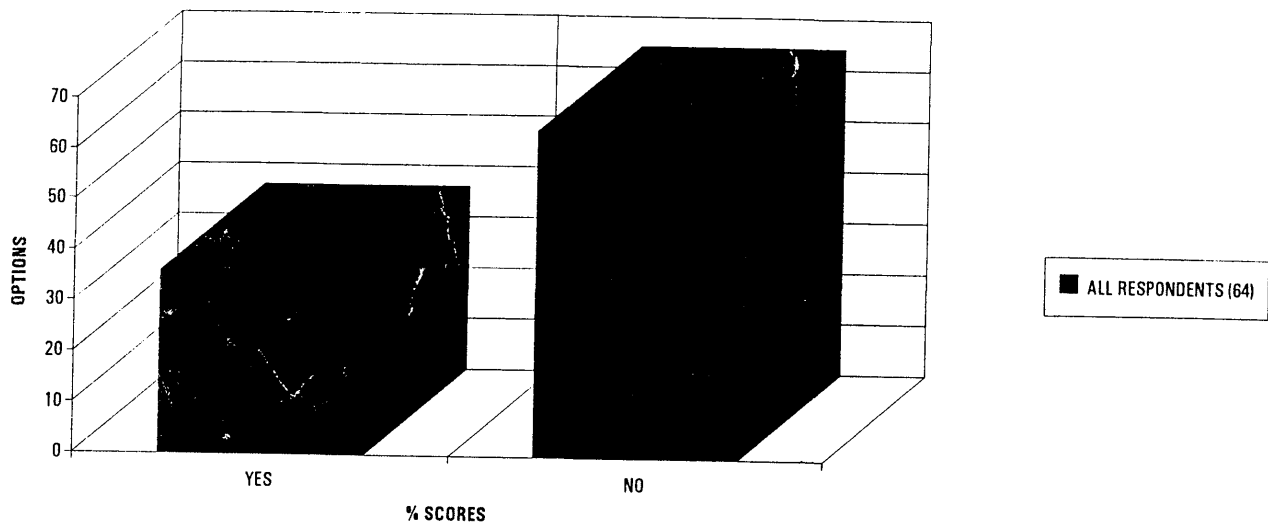


FIGURE 15: HAVE YOU EVER HEARD OF SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ENGLISH?

This suggests that the concept of a South African "black English" is still fairly new in South Africa. As a result of this, one could surmise that this factor has negligible impact on the standard of English teaching/learning in South Africa.

When asked which aspect of English the respondents would like to improve (Q.25), the majority of them, i.e. 24 (52,2%) think that they would like to improve their vocabulary rather than pronunciation (26,1%). This therefore, does not mean that pronunciation should not be taught at all, but it simply indicates that it should not be elevated over and above the other features of English, such as grammar, lexis and vocabulary (c.f. Table 6.4 - Appendix C).

The above findings suggest that even though ESL usage differs from the educated "white" variety, especially in pronunciation, there is nevertheless consensus that the written form of both the varieties is almost similar.

The results of this study also indicate the respondents' positive attitude towards English as an international language. This view is also confirmed by their responses to: "Do you think you place yourself at a disadvantage if you do not speak English?" (Q.26) - Thirty-two (50%) of all the respondents, agree that they place themselves at a disadvantage if they do not speak English well (c.f. Table 6.5 - Appendix C). Furthermore, 10 (55,5%) of the college students think that if they do not make use of English, it definitely would put them at a disadvantage (c.f. Figure 16).

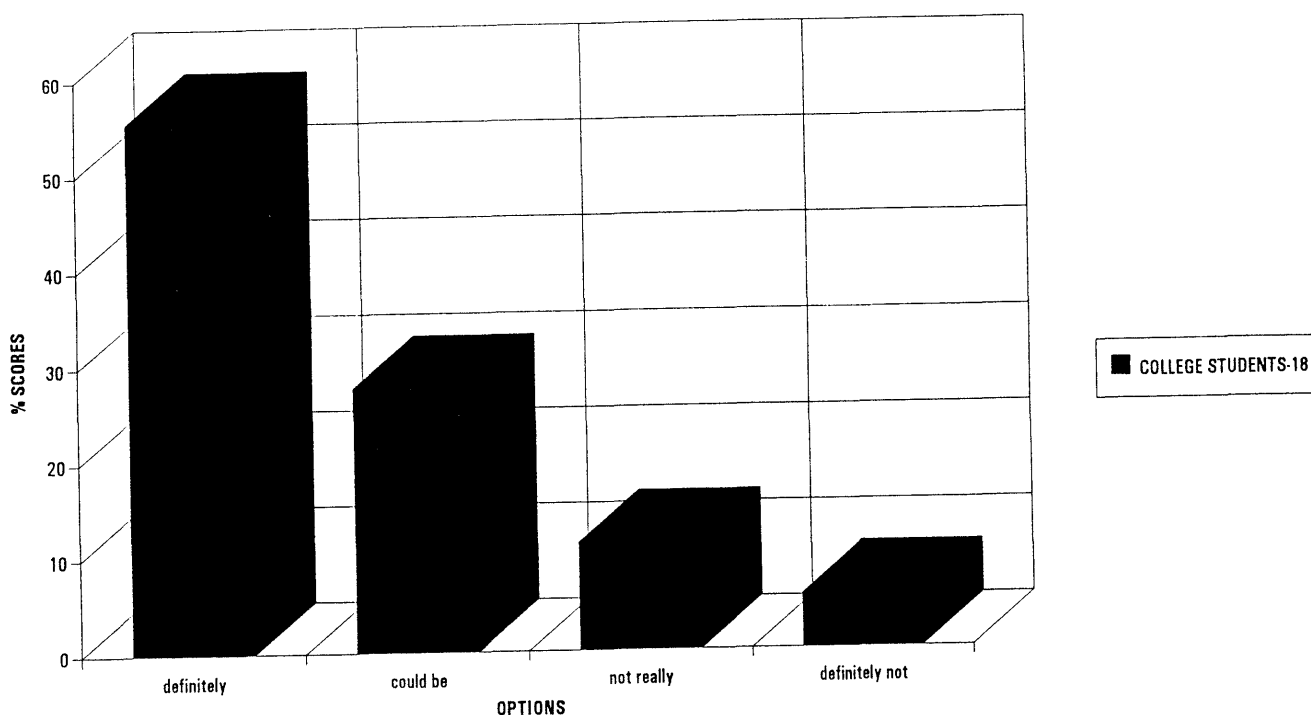


FIGURE 16: NOT SPEAKING ENGLISH IS A DISADVANTAGE

To sum up, we have seen throughout this study that the creation and promotion of a new variety of English in South Africa, would have adverse consequences especially in education. We would probably risk losing the advantages for South Africa of English as an international language, its educational resources and its commercial and diplomatic functions. While a few distinctive black features would characterise the form as a "black English", an English viable for general educated use close to the international standard should be preserved and promoted.

- (2) The rise of black nationalism contributes to the decline of the standard of English in black education.

Before the new democratic government came into power, students were highly politicised and it is assumed in this study that this could well have filtered into language teaching and learning. A good example is the rejection of Afrikaans in 1976 by Soweto pupils.

When asked to indicate whether "black languages must be developed so that they can be used broadly in the future" (Q.36), there was an overwhelming support on this view (c.f. Figure 17):

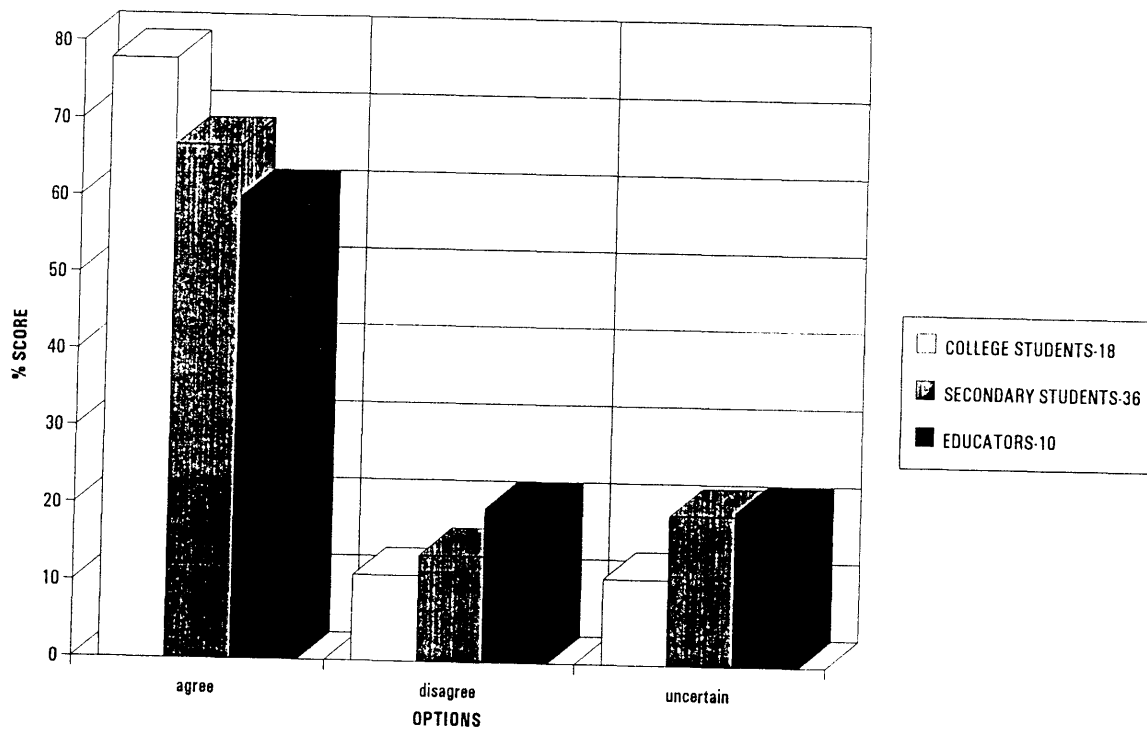


FIGURE 17: BLACK LANGUAGES MUST BE DEVELOPED SO AS TO BE USED BROADLY IN FUTURE

On the other hand, when asked to respond to the statement: "I would be very pleased if my mother tongue could be used at my workplace" (Q.50), only 26 (42,6%) of the

respondents agree with the statement whereas 15 (40,9%) of them disagree (Table 6.2 - Appendix C). The rest (16,5%) are undecided. Once more, these responses reveal that a number of people, especially in urban areas, are undecided and divided as far as this issue is concerned. They seem to prefer a linking language such as English, particularly at their workplace. The main reason for this confusion, is probably because of the linguistic diversity at the workplace.

8.6.1 The present status of English in South Africa

Let us look at the general attitude of the respondents toward the English language as compared to Afrikaans and black languages: Ten (100%) of the educators, 16 (88,8%) of the college students and 35 (97,2%) of the matriculants prefer to use English when communicating with their doctors (Q.10). This is probably because of the medical terms involved. Secondly, black doctors are perceived to be socially significant professionals who can only be accessed through English (c.f. Figure 18).

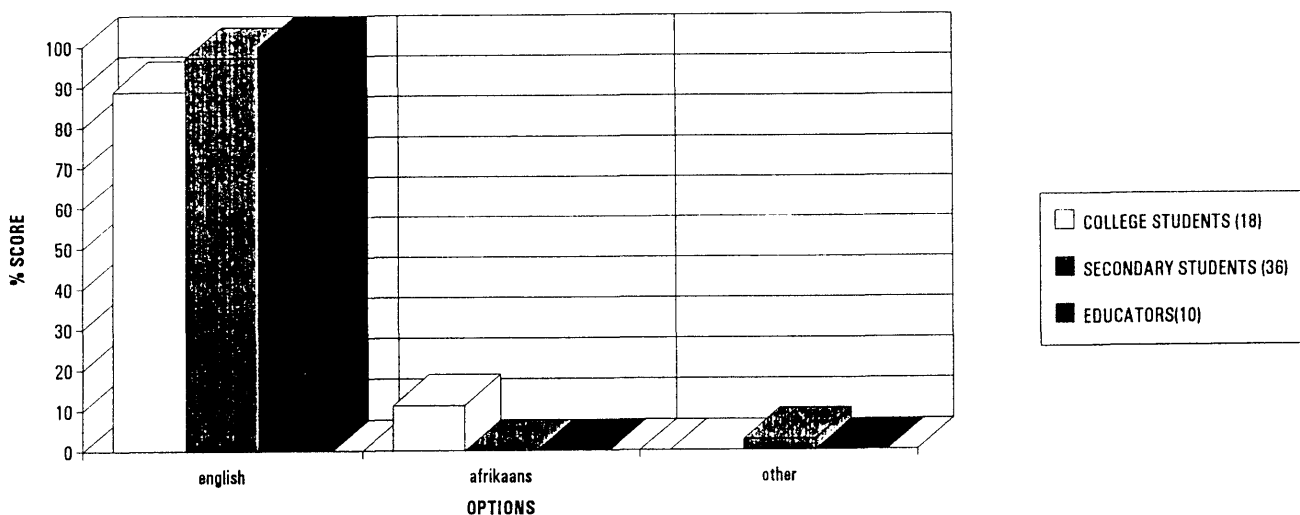


FIGURE 18: LANGUAGE PREFERRED WHEN SPEAKING TO MY DOCTOR

Furthermore, 54 (87%) of all the respondents, 7 (77,7%) of the educators, 17 (100%) of the college students and 26 (78,7%) of the matriculants, unanimously agree that

"English is a unifying language in South Africa" (Q.43) (c.f. Figure 19).

A new South Africa has emerged from the ethnic and racially divided society. The vast majority of the respondents are in favour of English as a "unifying language". English is perceived to be somehow neutral compared to the other ten official languages.

The findings also reveal something quite interesting relating to "black languages". The majority of the respondents agree that these languages should be developed and promoted so as to fulfil broader functions in future. In other words, the respondents seem to perceive black languages and English to be playing a complementary role. Ashworth (1985) says that in many countries of the world, no single language is spoken and understood by all the inhabitants, which results in some children having to take all or part of their education in a second language. She argues that there is educational evidence to suggest that children taught in their early years in a second language do not do as well as those who begin their schooling in their mother tongue.

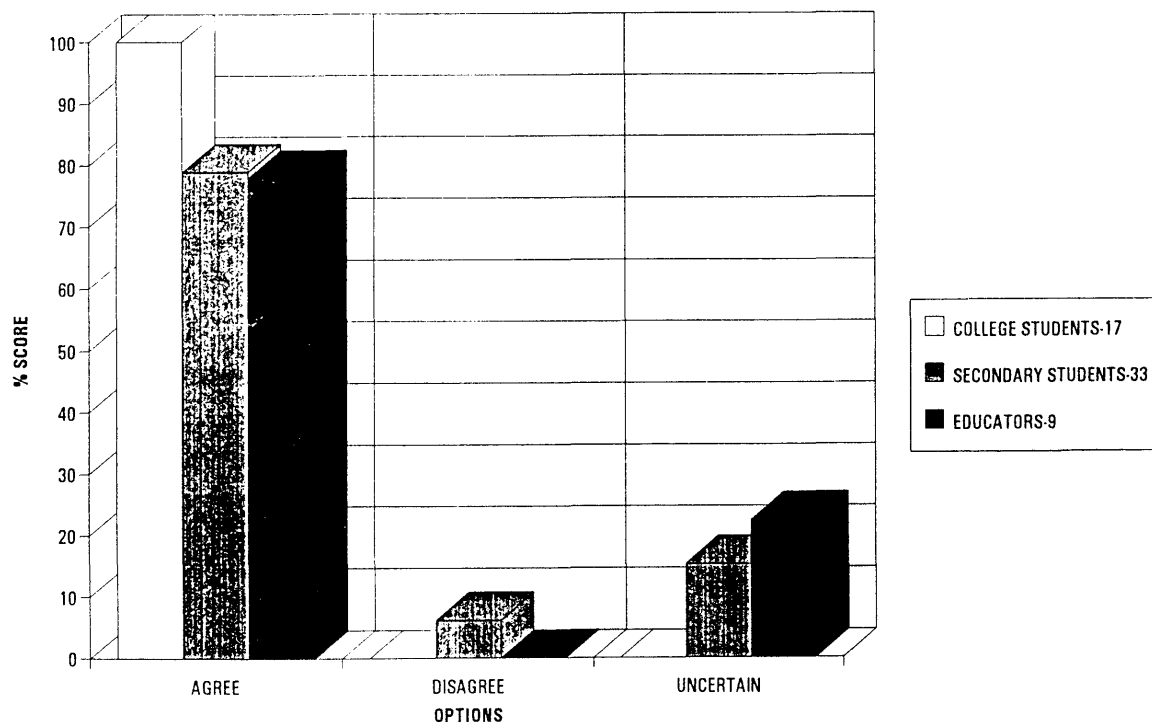


FIGURE 19: ENGLISH IS A UNIFYING LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Almost 37 (61,6%) of all the respondents, 8 (80%) of the educators, 9 (52,9%) of the college students and 20 (60,6%) of the matriculants think that in black schools, "English should be taught by anyone who is qualified to teach it" rather than English mother tongue speakers exclusively (c.f. Figure 20).

The results above show that it is not only the skilled mother tongue users of English who are capable of teaching ESL, but anyone who is qualified and skilled to teach it effectively.

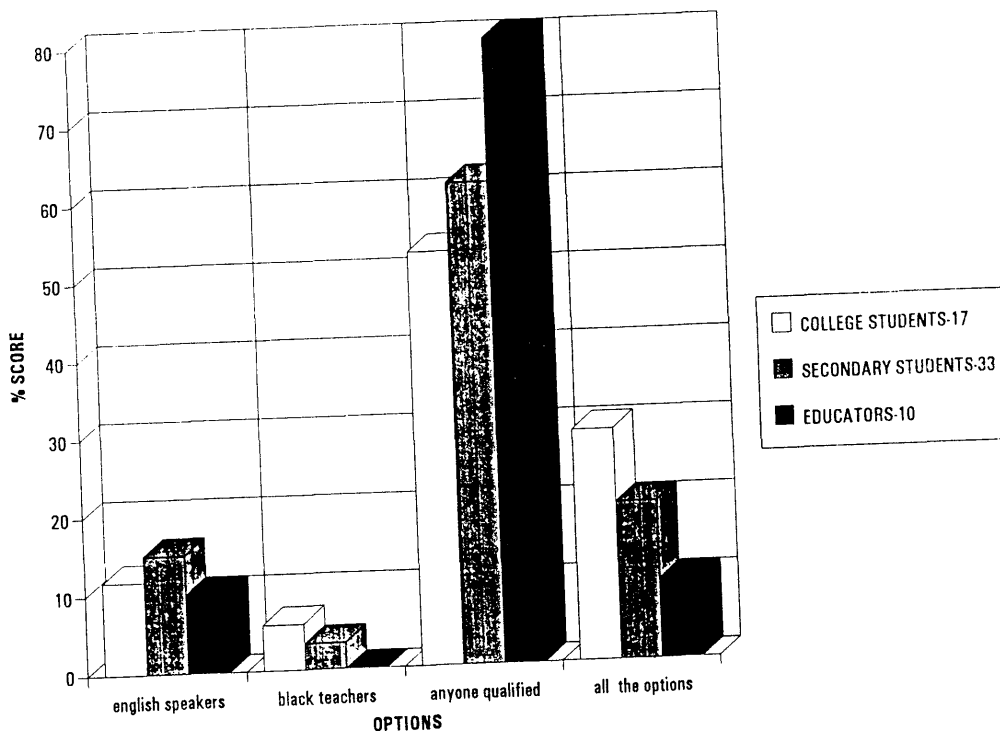


FIGURE 20: WHO SHOULD TEACH ENGLISH IN BLACK SCHOOLS?

It is important to state that there is a need for both black languages and English to fulfil the broader local and international functions. Fortunately, the new Constitution makes provision for this.

The following is the last hypothesis postulated earlier in this study:

- (3) The inferior conditions of years of underfunding and of an unenlightened underlying philosophy of apartheid education have a bearing on the decline of the standard of English in black schools.

The following four factors drawn from this hypothesis have had negative impact on black education in South Africa:

- * underfunding
- * population growth
- * overcrowding
- * teacher/pupil ration and poor teacher qualifications

It has been noted earlier in this study that the financing system of black education had had a devastating effect upon the per capita expenditure.

In 1953-4 (Christie, 1986), the per capita expenditure for the different population registration groups was:

Black	Coloured	Indian	White
R17	R40	R40	R128

Twenty-nine years later in 1983, per capita expenditure for the same groups became:

Black	Coloured	Indian	White
R146	R498	R711	R1211

In 1994 (Sunday Times, 17 August 1995), there were still huge disparities among the different race groups:

Black	Coloured	Indian	White
R2184	R3700	R4600	R5400

As a result of these years of underfunding, especially for black education, the level of English teaching and learning dropped drastically.

In order to understand the inequalities of funding in South African education, we need to look at overall population statistics. Population growth is the second factor indicated earlier.

Table 7 gives the different South African population statistics for 1978 (Christie, 1986: 96):

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION
BLACKS	19 970 000	72,2
COLOUREDS	2 505 000	9,0
INDIANS	778 000	2,8
WHITES	4 418 000	16,0
TOTAL POPULATION	27 671 000	100%

TABLE 7: POPULATION STATISTICS

The above table shows that blacks are in the majority. If the black education system is the worst, then the problem of inequality becomes an even greater one. In the 1990's the situation is still the same and blacks remain the majority and disadvantaged group. According to the 1991 census, the South African population is estimated to be almost 51 835 174 (Financial and Fiscal Commission Lecture, 1996).

A more detailed breakdown of the 1991 figures indicates an oversupply of teachers in certain urban areas, particularly in former white and Indian schools, massive overcrowding in many rural areas and shortages across many schools of teachers for maths, science, technical subjects and "English".

Table 8 shows the distribution of pupils and teachers according to nine new provinces and overall provincial teacher/pupil ratios for primary and secondary schools (ANC-Implementation plan for education and training, 1994: 111):

	Pupil Numbers	% Primary	Teacher Numbers	% Secondary	P:T Ratios		
					Total	Primary	Secondary
Gauteng	1 220 423	64,1	42 317	58,6	28,8	31,5	25,1
North West	813 222	71,1	25 834	59,5	31,5	37,6	22,4
Northern Tvl	1 643 872	67,3	44 942	62,5	36,6	39,4	31,8
Eastern Tvl	760 652	70,6	20 437	67,2	37,2	39,1	33,4
KwaZulu/Natal	2 149 393	73,2	53 505	65,4	40,2	45,0	31,1
OFS	691 009	70,8	20 890	66,3	33,1	35,4	28,6
Eastern Cape	1 965 752	77,9	49 067	59,3	40,1	52,6	21,8
Western Cape	746 599	69,2	33 229	64,1	22,5	24,2	19,3
Northern Cape	180 655	72,6	7 923	66,1	25,7	28,3	20,8
TOTAL	10 171 577	71,2	297 244	62,5	34,2	39,0	26,3

Source: 1991 Education Data (HSRC), data prepared by Education Foundation, Policy Support Unit
1993 Education Data (ECS). Tables prepared by Perry, Kleinsmidt and Yeowart (CEPD)

Note: 1) Data for Coloureds, Indians and Whites is for 1992/3
2) African data is for 1991
The total number of pupils and teachers in this table are about 1 per cent lower than DBSA calculations for the same year.

TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS IN THE NEW PROVINCES (1991)

It is well known that black schools are overcrowded. There are shortages of classrooms and teachers. The Education and Training White Paper (1994) reveals that at present, there is a shortfall of 76 000 school classrooms to provide for the current enrolment.

Table 9 below shows a further breakdown into the four racial groupings regarding the teacher/pupil ratios. These figures do not show the actual size of classes in practice. However, they reveal starkly the overcrowding which occurs in black primary schools.

	PRIMARY				SECONDARY			
	African	Coloured	Indian	White	African	Coloured	Indian	White
PWV	38,9	26,4	26,3	22,8	34,3	20,7	15,4	17,7
North West	39,2	35,4	24,8	23,5	23,7	15,1	12,9	15,7
Northern Tvl	40,0	31,1	27,6	22,0	32,6	17,8	13,0	16,9
Eastern Tvl	41,8	28,6	27,1	22,1	37,1	22,2	13,1	21,9
KwaZulu/Natal	51,0	26,9	26,2	26,0	40,8	16,6	17,7	15,9
OFS	38,7	27,6	0,0	19,9	34,0	16,4	0,0	15,8
Eastern Cape	59,2	25,0	24,1	23,4	22,6	20,3	20,9	15,6
Western Cape	42,1	24,6	22,2	17,2	40,0	19,9	14,0	14,7
Northern Cape	39,6	25,8	0,0	23,8	35,9	20,2	0,0	14,6
TOTAL	45,6	25,2	26,2	21,9	31,2	19,7	17,2	16,7

Source: 1991 Education Data (HSRC)
Data prepared by Education Foundation, PSU. Table prepared by Perry and yeowart.

Note: Coloured teachers in the N Tvl and Indian teachers in the North West, E Cape, W Cape, N Tvl, E Tvl have been divided by primary and secondary according to national proportions.

TABLE 9: PUPIL:TEACHER RATIOS (1991)

If we read across the columns, we can see general trends. The class sizes, especially in black education are much larger than the class sizes of the other racial groups. Over the years, the teacher/pupil ratio for Coloured, Indians and Whites has remained more or less the same. These ratios have an impact in the quality of teaching and learning. The teacher/pupil ratio, has been one of the major factors which had a negative effect in the teaching of ESL in black schools. The question of teacher/pupil ratios, is currently being addressed by the Gauteng Department of Education. All primary schools are urged to have 40:1 ratios and secondary schools are urged to have 35:1 ratios.

As for teacher qualifications are concerned, Christie (1986) claims that in 1979, there were no white teachers without a matric level qualification. Most black teachers (82,2%) and over two-thirds of Coloured teachers (69,5%) had no matric. Only 15,3% of the Indian teachers had no matric.

The figures provided above, especially those pertaining to black education indicate some of the factors which contribute to the deterioration of teaching and learning in these schools in South Africa.

In fact, the situation with regard to teacher qualification in black education has improved slightly since 1979 indicated above, but it is still serious. Christie (1986) warns that the position with regard to the majority of black teachers gives most cause for concern. She further complains that the present rate at which teachers are being trained for primary and secondary schools is totally inadequate. This same concern was highlighted earlier in this study.

According to section 29 of the White Paper (1994), the Ministry of Education takes the question of teacher education more seriously. It regards teacher education (including the professional education of trainers and educators), as one of the central pillars of national human resource development strategy, and the growth of professional expertise and self-development.

This proposal by the ministry encompasses initial teacher education, instruction, in-

service education and further education.

The analysis of data in this study reveals something interesting regarding this last hypothesis, (the inferior conditions of years of underfunding and apartheid education have a bearing on the decline of English in black schools) especially with regard to the students respondents. Fourteen (82,3%) college students claim that they express themselves better in "vernacular" whereas only 15 (45,4%) of the matriculants think that way (Q.15) (c.f. Figure 21). This issue will be explored further later.

It has been shown throughout this study that due to inferior conditions of years of underfunding as described in chapter 1, and the underlying philosophy of apartheid education, the standard of ESL learning and teaching has drastically declined.

That many ESL teachers received inadequate training has also been discussed. Teachers in this case also work in overcrowded and demotivating circumstances. All these and many other factors have a bearing on the decline of the standard of English in black schools.

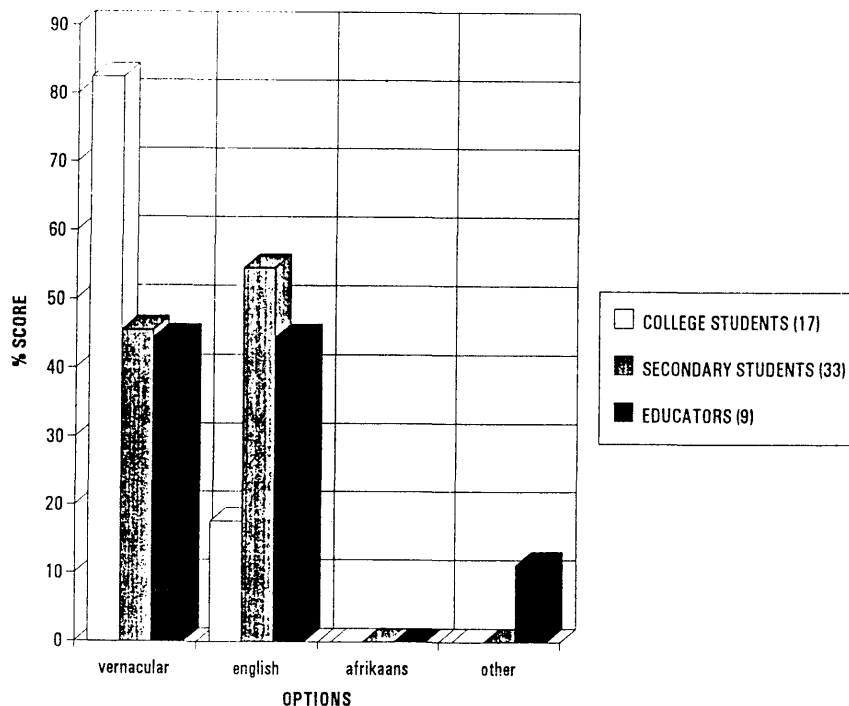


FIGURE 21: LANGUAGE I EXPRESS MYSELF BETTER IN

Something interesting was noted earlier with regard to both the secondary and the tertiary students. Almost 14 (82,3%) of the college students claim that they express themselves better in "vernacular" whereas only 15 (45,4%) of the matriculants share that view (c.f. figure 21).

The majority of the matriculants, 18 (54,5%) show that they express themselves more comfortably in English. There is therefore a mismatch between the students at the tertiary level and the high school pupils. Matriculants in this case seem to be more articulate than their college counterparts.

It is crucial to mention at this stage that 19 (52,7%) of the matriculant respondents, attend school at private English medium schools and almost all of them are fairly proficient and articulate in English. This also indicates that they come from the middle socio-economic class and that they have received a better foundation in English. Secondly it has been stated earlier in this study that the vast majority of mother tongue teachers of English have received good teacher training. As a result of this, they seem to teach English better than many of their non-native counterparts. Furthermore, private schools have smaller classes and take remedial steps when necessary. The following table shows the number of pupils according to education sector (especially the numbers in private schools and level of education for 1993 in the Gauteng Province):

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	EDUCATION SECTOR			TOTAL
	Public ordinary school education	Specialised education	Private schools	
1. Pre-primary	42 424	601	2 497	45 522
2. Grade 1	173 700	592	7 030	181 322
3. Grade 1	151 198	617	6 081	157 896
4. Standard 1	145 312	628	5 729	151 669
5. Standard 2	136 281	767	5 676	142 724
6. Standard 3	134 540	768	5 578	140 886
7. Standard 4	122 599	646	5 415	128 660
8. Standard 5	115 410	549	5 345	121 304
SUBTOTAL (Grd 1 to Std 5)	979 040	4 567	40 854	1 024 461

9. Standard 6	130 026	524	4 936	135 486
10. Standard 7	119 734	512	5 038	125 284
11. Standard 8	109 551	576	4 923	115 050
12. Standard 9	98 756	454	5 264	104 474
13. Standard 10	82 405	412	8 368	91 185
SUBTOTAL (Std 6 to Std 10)	540 472	2 478	28 529	571 479
14. Special education	10 878	4 418		15 296
15. Other		155		155
GRAND TOTAL	1 572 814	12 219	71 880	1 656 913

SOURCE: 1. CS education according to province for 1993 - Department of National Education (NATED 02-233 (94/04))

TABLE 10: NUMBER OF FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT PUPILS ACCORDING TO EDUCATION SECTOR AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR 1993 IN THE GAUTENG PROVINCE

At the moment, because of the black education crisis, the private schools seem to have a greater proportion of blacks to whites. Overall, many private schools in South Africa seem to appear to have more blacks than white pupils and a number of them are better geared to remedial or enriched teaching. Many of these private schools are not registered and they operate illegally. The Department of Education has started clamping down on these unregistered institutions.

On the other hand, the college students involved in this present study, come from the poorly resourced former Department of Education and Training background. The vast majority of them are still not proficient in English. For example, when asked, "if you do not often have a chance to speak English, do you think that given more opportunity to do so, you would make greater use of English?" (Q.24), fifteen (88,2%) of them agree that they would make good use of the opportunity, whereas only 22 (64,7%) of the matriculants think it would be a good idea (c.f. Figure 22). The vast majority of the matriculants who wish to have more opportunity for greater use of English are obviously those who have not had that opportunity at the former DET schools.

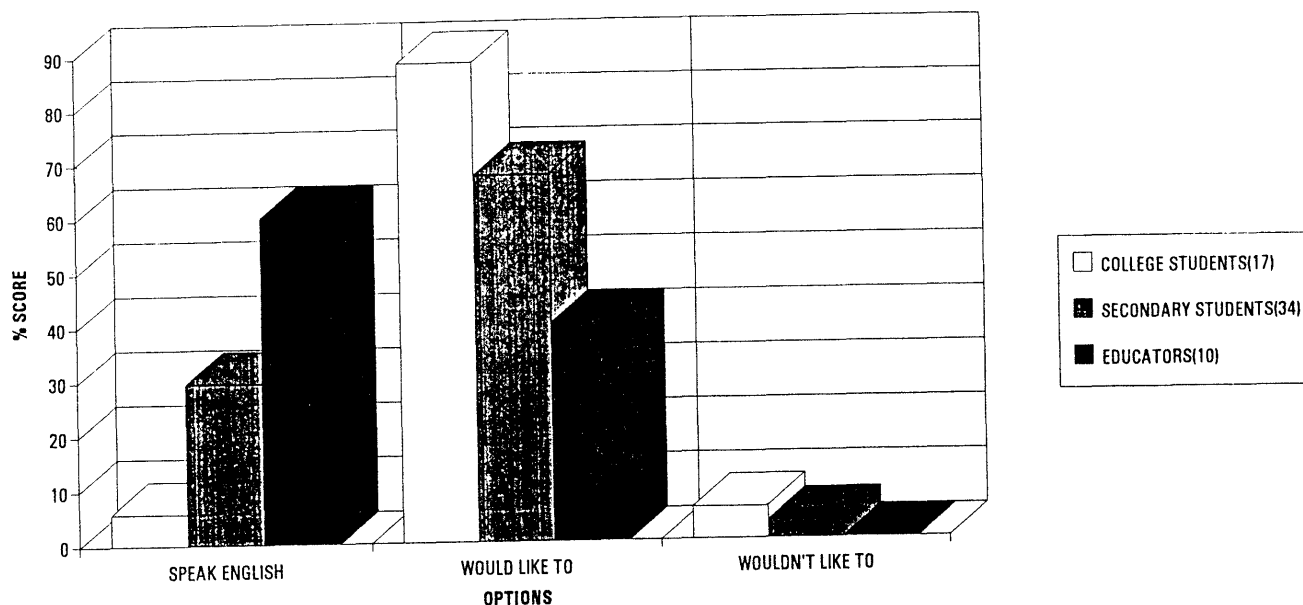


FIGURE 22: WOULD YOU IMPROVE YOUR ENGLISH IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITY?

8.6.2 Language in education

There is consensus between the college students and the matriculants with regard to English as a language of learning right from Grade 1 (Q.46). Ten (62,5%) of the college students and 25 (71,4%) of the matriculants would prefer to have English introduced in black schools as early as Grade 1. On the other hand educators are divided regarding the level at which English should be introduced. Three (33,3%) of them support the students, whereas the 6 (66,7%) think that English should be phased in later after the pupils have acquired their first language (c.f. Figure 23).

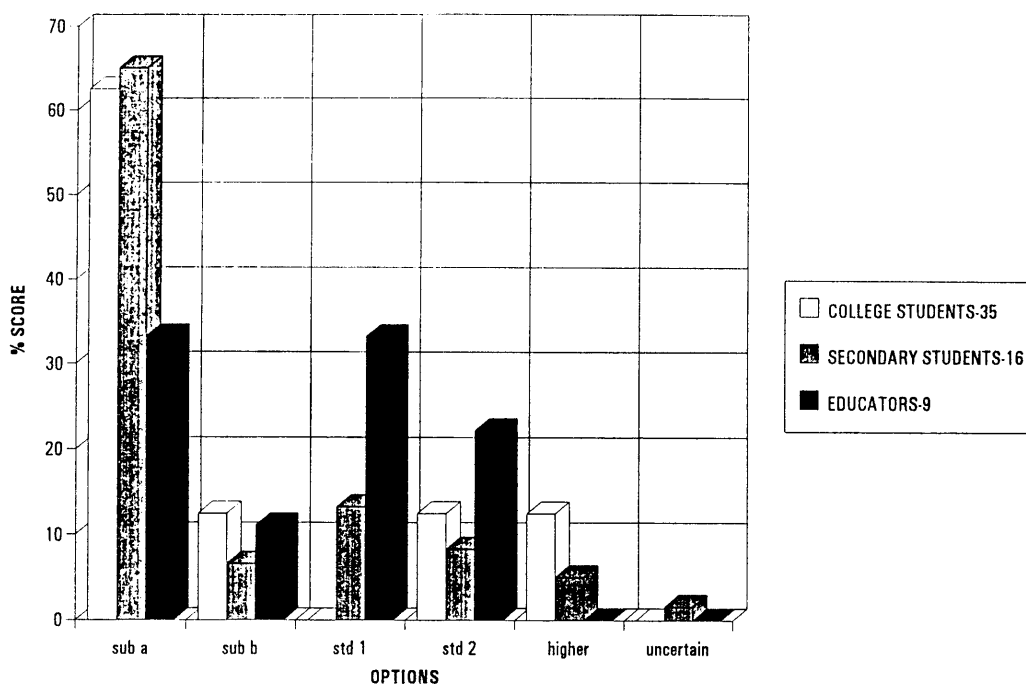


FIGURE 23: AT WHICH LEVEL SHOULD ENGLISH IN BLACK SCHOOLS BE INTRODUCED AS A LANGUAGE OF LEARNING?

The above results are not surprising. They suggest that black students as a group seem to be aware of the disadvantage of acquiring English later than Sub A (Grade One), rather than the educators who probably do not experience the difficulties which these two groups are faced with.

On the other hand, teachers approach this issue differently. They are aware of the importance of introducing English as early as possible but not in grade one. Ashworth (1985) reinforces this view when she argues that if young children are required to learn new concepts in school in a language which is foreign to them, they will neither be able to grasp the explanations offered nor to use language to expand and refine those concepts.

She further argues that if thinking skills are delayed while children struggle to learn the

target language, their intellectual development will be retarded. She in fact suggests that as language skills develop in one language, they can be transferred to another language. For example, she points out that "vernacular" language teaching can assist both cognitive and linguistic development, a resource which can be used in second language acquisition. This debate is further explored in Section 8.6.3.

When English is compared to the other ten official languages, especially in education, 8 (80%) of the educators, 12 (85,7%) of the college students and 25 (86,2%) of the pupils prefer English to be introduced as a language of learning starting from grade one (c.f. Figure 24). The NEPI research group argues that at present, there are not enough ESL teachers fluent in English to teach at all levels in the schools especially at the lower primary level.

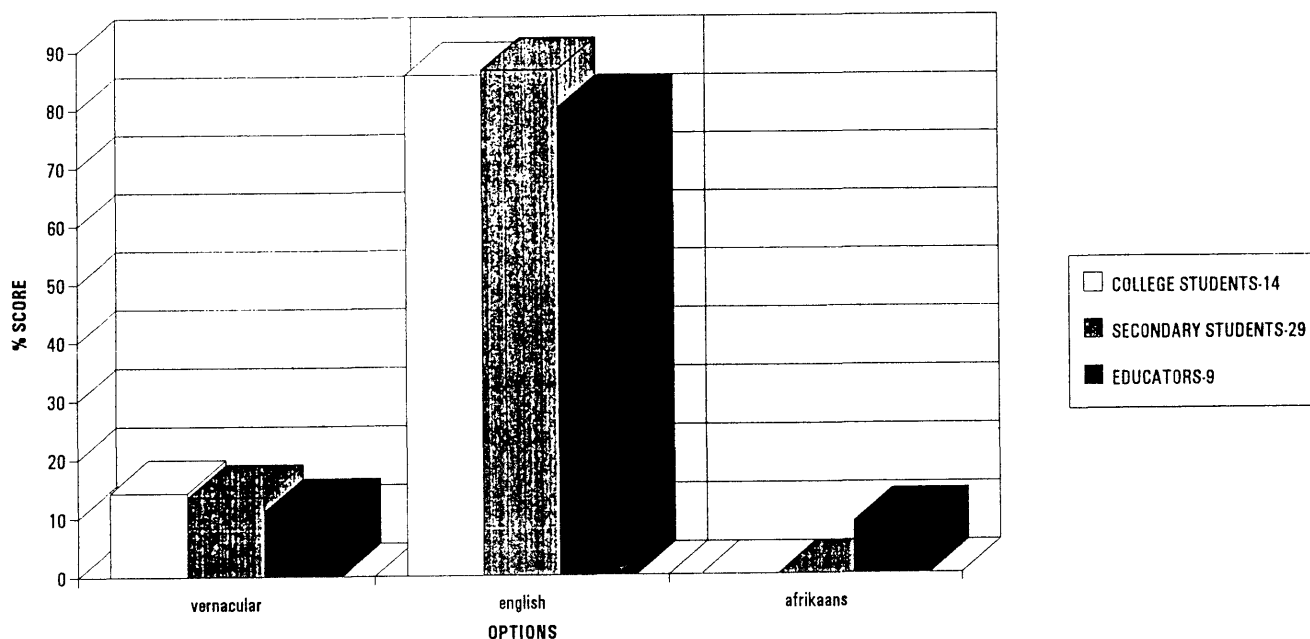


FIGURE 24: LANGUAGE(S) THAT SHOULD BE USED FOR LEARNING AT PRIMARY LEVEL

When the respondents were asked which language they would prefer to be used as medium of tertiary education, 10 (100%) of the educators, 17 (94,4%) of the college

students and 31 (93,9%) of the matriculants were unanimously in favour of English (c.f. Figure 25). Honey (1996: 111) affirms this view when he argues that the "credentials of English as megalanguage are strengthened by the extent of its use in two international domains, information technology and entertainment, especially vocal music.

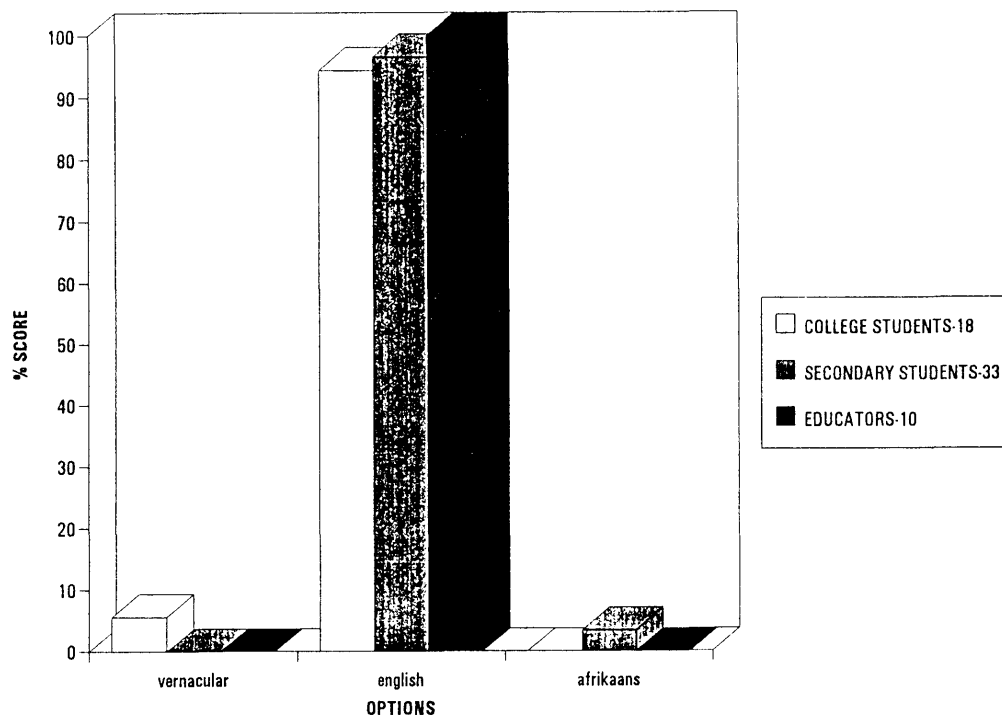


FIGURE 25: LANGUAGE(S) PREFERRED FOR LEARNING AT TERTIARY LEVEL

In addition, a crucial question of in-service training is also addressed. We have seen in the preceding chapters that the "deviant forms" or "errors" in ESL users are primarily due to the following factors:

- * underfunding of black education
- * inadequately trained teachers

All the respondents (64) agree unanimously that in order to redress the backlog in education, "we need more English in-service training", especially in black schools (Q.51). Fifty-three (81,6%) of all the respondents (c.f. Table 6.4 - Appendix C) support the idea of establishing effective in-service training programmes. Nine (90%) of the educators, 17 (94,4%) of the college students and 25 (73,5%) of the matriculants support this (c.f. Figure 26).

A major problem regarding ESL teacher education in South Africa as we will see in the next chapter, is that a teacher's training is never carried forward when he or she starts to work. Very often the actual qualifications are low at the start. Similarly, there is no link between the training and the ongoing staff development which is supposed to take place throughout a teacher's career. It is important to establish school based in-service training programmes.

Finally, Ridge (1990: 171) advises that in order to improve teaching and learning in black schools, "education authorities must have an ongoing programme to prepare, support and challenge ESL teachers".

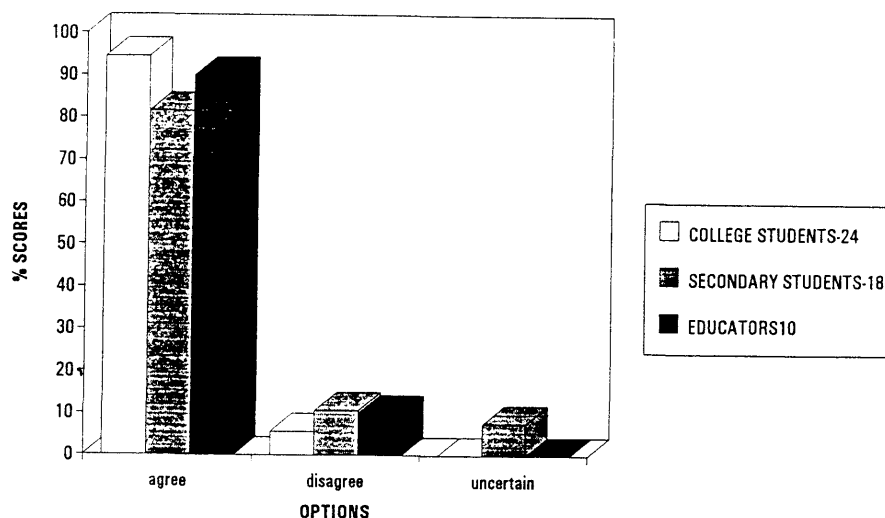


FIGURE 26: MORE ENGLISH IN-SERVICE TRAINING IS REQUIRED IN BLACK SCHOOLS

8.6.3 Language options in black education

It has been indicated earlier in this thesis that the Constitution of South Africa declares nine of the major black languages "official" in addition to English and Afrikaans. These black languages are supposed to be developed and promoted so as to fulfil broader functions in future. This however does not imply that black languages should replace English as languages of learning especially at the tertiary level. English may be used as a language of learning but not taken as a subject. It need not be taken as language subject to the twelfth year of schooling. However, the Department of Education interim core curriculum (1995), highlights the current reality in our schools. It states that "as English is currently a medium of instruction for a large part of the population, many of whom do not have it as a home language, English is of central importance to the whole learning process."

The analyses of data confirms this view. The vast majority of the respondents are in favour of English being used as a language of learning beginning from the grades upwards. However, we have noted that educationally, there is evidence to suggest that children taught in their early years in the second language do not do as well as those who begin their schooling in their mother tongue.

In 1992, the vast majority of black parents whose children attend former DET schools were in favour of English introduced right from the grades. The main reason for this perception of English seems to stem from the fact that it is conceived to be the language of success and it is favoured for socio-economic reasons. The majority of black parents probably think that the earlier their children are exposed to English as a language of learning, the better for their children's future. Teachers and headmasters were instructed by the education authorities to convene school parents meetings to discuss the language options.

The following options were then placed before the parents and they were asked to select a language of learning of their choice and the level at which this language should be introduced. This was before the Interim Constitution came into effect. The focus was

mainly on English and Afrikaans as they were the only official languages then. These policies could not be implemented because of the political instability in South Africa at the time.

OPTION 1: Straight for English, Afrikaans or mother tongue

If parents chose this option, it meant that every subject had to be taught through the medium of either English or Afrikaans right from grade 1.

The advantage of this option was that the child was to be exposed to either of the languages of learning as early as possible. This option of course requires skilled teachers and the adequate material. Proponents of this view argue that the younger the child, the more amenable he or she will be in acquiring a second language. The disadvantage is that this option may have a negative effect. Pupils may come to look down on their own language because they may believe that their language will never be capable of expressing complex ideas or able to cope with science and technology. It could alienate pupils from their own culture. The community may perceive favouring a language such as English or Afrikaans as perpetuating the problems of cultural imperialism. The problem of learning L2 when the structure of own language is not established.

The Molteno Project and the HSRC Report on the Threshold Project favour the gradual transfer option as indicated earlier (c.f. option 2 for detailed discussion), arguing that it is better to teach pupils to read and write in their mother tongue as a basis for transferring these literacy skills to English. Rodseth (1988: 65) argues that "the great potential for learning to be literate in the mother tongue outweighs other considerations", and that "in the post-apartheid society educationists with good sense would probably accept the case for a mother tongue start". The new Department of Education and the Langed Report (June 1996) take this debate further. They conceive of the gradual transfer approach advocated by the Molteno Project and the HSRC as being "subtractive" rather than "additive". Lockett (1993: Glossary) defines "subtractive bilingualism" as "a form of bilingualism in which a person's first language

is used as a bridge to learning a second language and thereafter the first language is not maintained". On the other hand, "additive bilingualism", is "a form of bilingualism in which the person's first language is maintained while adding competence in another language". The advocates of "subtractive bilingualism" argue that it is better to teach pupils to read and write in their mother tongue first (as shown earlier) as a basis for transferring these literacy skills to English. On the other hand, the proponents of "additive bilingualism" argue that switching from mother tongue as a language of learning to English implies that the learners' mother tongue is incapable of being developed and used as a language of learning at all the levels (Gauteng Language in Education Discussion Document, 1994: 8).

NEPI Language Policy Research Group (1992: 5-8) gives the following preconditions for straight for English, Afrikaans or mother tongue option to succeed:

- * Teachers must be fluent in the language which is the medium of instruction.
- * Teachers' training should have included analysis of the "errors" for children learning various subjects in a language other than their home language and they should have been taught how to avoid them. This point is particularly interesting. It relates closely to earlier chapters dealing with error analysis.
- * Teachers should know and respect the language that is their pupils' home language.
- * It would be an advantage if there were some books on various subjects in the child's home language available for the child or teacher to refer to informally.

This research group argues that at present, there are not enough ESL teachers fluent in English or Afrikaans to teach these languages and to teach other subjects in these languages, at all levels in the schools especially at lower primary school level.

In addition, most teacher training has not, thus far, included training for all subjects

through the medium of either language, especially at the lower primary level. Some teachers do not appear to have confidence to teach all subjects in English, particularly at the lower primary level. Consequently, teachers need enrichment courses, and textbooks graded to meet L2 learners' needs.

OPTION 2: Gradual transfer to either English or Afrikaans

This option meant that mother tongue was to be introduced initially to teach basic reading, writing and numeracy. English or Afrikaans was then to be phased in gradually at grade 1 level. As soon as basic literacy had been established in the mother tongue, especially in the former DET, English or Afrikaans was to be introduced to teach some subjects while mother tongue continued to be used to teach other subjects. For example, in 1975 the Molteno Project (NGO), began a mother tongue literacy project for grade ones called Breakthrough to Literacy. This was followed by a Bridge to English course for grade two, a Bridge plus One for standard one and Bridge plus Two for standard two. The materials developed comprised course books for pupils, manuals for teachers and materials for teacher training. The only disadvantage of this project was that schools were supposed to buy the materials themselves and these materials were quite expensive. As a result of this, few schools were able to purchase their materials.

The NEPI Research group identifies six requirements which will make this policy work effectively:

- * Thorough research has to be done to establish the order of subjects in which to introduce a second language of learning.
- * Teaching and textbooks must work with very carefully planned and monitored vocabulary development.
- * Syllabus and curriculum design must take account of the need to provide for the two languages to work in a complementary fashion.

- * The home languages would have to be sufficiently developed to deal with technical concepts.
- * Teachers have to develop a high level of bilingualism.
- * Children would have to develop a high degree of competence in the L2 before they study all subjects at the L2 level.

This option is currently perceived by the Department of Education to be a deficit model. It is actually referred to as "subtractive bilingualism" as noted earlier in option 1.

According to the Department of Education Language Discussion Document (1995: 2.1.3 and the Langed Report, 1996) multilingualism is presented as "a resource in education and in national life, with concomitant proposals for "additive bilingual" and multilingual models in schools and other educational institutions." This means that black languages are also capable of being used as languages of learning at all levels provided the textbooks are written. However, these discussion documents acknowledge tensions which emerge between:

- * the development and promotion of black languages and the current status of English and Afrikaans
- * the principle of choice and pragmatic requirements such as availability of resources
- * the principle of choice and affirmative action measures for black languages.

OPTION 3: Sudden transfer

This policy option meant that all subjects were to be taught in the child's first language except English and Afrikaans which were taught as subjects. Thereafter there was

supposed to be a sudden transfer to the second language of learning. The new language policy for 1995 requires that pupils choose one official language which is the language of learning in the school. They also have to take one other language as an option. The choice is no longer exclusively between English and Afrikaans, but within a wide range of all the eleven official languages. This issue will be fully discussed in section 8.6.4.

Some of the former Department of Education and Training schools at the moment still make use of this sudden transfer model. For the first four years, pupils are taught through the medium of the mother tongue. In standard three they change to English where subjects such as Geography, History, Maths, Science, Health education, Gardening or Agricultural Science are taught through the medium of English. However, according to Language Policy in Education Discussion Document (1995: 9), there is informal evidence that many black schools are already selecting and implementing a straight for English policy, with the home language relegated to one or two periods per week.

The Molteno and NEPI Language Policy Research Group (1992: 8) give the following advantages of sudden transfer policy:

- * Children learn basic literacy and numeracy in their home language, which is widely believed to be best for them.
- * Some researchers believe that it is easier for children to build on basic concepts if they are learned in mother tongue.
- * Transition from home to school is eased by the familiarity of the language used in the first year.

The NEPI research group, argues that irrespective of the above advantages, there are also disadvantages with regard to sudden transfer from first language to second language. It maintains that the year of change over to the second language of learning can be very stressful because listening, talking, reading and writing about all subjects

suddenly in a foreign-language puts an enormous strain on a pupil.

The vast majority of ESL teachers in the lower classes, right from grade two, when English is introduced for the first time, do not have adequate English teaching skills, especially English as a second language and their own command of English is deficient. For three years before these pupils reached standard three, they have to be adequately prepared. These pupils are expected to have sufficient vocabulary in the second language to enable them to cope with studying new material in standard 3.

It is argued (NEPI Language Policy Research Group, 1992) that this policy option has failed in Tanzania where changeover takes place at the beginning of high school. It was found in Tanzania that about 66% of standard 7 pupils were unable to read and understand any connected text in English. This policy option was also tried in Nigeria, in a set of urban and rural schools. There it was argued that it was successful because pupils had acquired adequate skills in English before they changed to English as a language of learning and because they had developed central concepts in their home language before they use these concepts in English.

The NEPI Language Policy Research Group maintains that pupils in the former DET primary schools did not, on the whole, develop anything like the vocabulary required and the level of competence in English which would make transition from L1 to L2 smooth. Pupils at the end of Standard 2 had, on average, an estimated vocabulary of 700 words and needed a vocabulary of at least 8 000 words to cope with the Standard 3 workload in English. These statistics were determined by the HSRC Threshold Project.

NEPI concludes this debate by proposing the following conditions for this policy to work well:

- * that pupils must have adequate vocabulary in the L2 to enable them to cope with studying new material in ESL;

- * teachers of pupils in the first few years of school must themselves be sufficiently fluent to be able to develop their students language skills in the L2;
- * teachers taking the class which is the first year of L2 instruction should be particularly well trained to cope with predictable difficulties;
- * pupils must have active contact with the English native speakers outside the classroom;
- * the school and local libraries should have books and other resources in the target language suitable for the pupils;
- * parents and children should want this L2 to be used as a language of learning.

The new interim core syllabus for ESL (1995) states that in Junior Primary the situation varies with some schools using a home language medium and teaching English as a subject, others trying to implement a straight for English policy while still others are beginning to experiment with gradual transition or with multi- or bilingual approaches. This option as it was the case with the second one, is conceived of by the Department of Education to be a "subtractive model" as defined by Luckett earlier in this section.

8.6.4 Gauteng language in education policy

It was noted earlier that the broad policy framework established by the South African Constitution prescribes that there should be "equal treatment and use of eleven official languages, and measures to promote African languages to ensure redress" (Department of Education Discussion Document, 1995: 3). In addition, it was highlighted earlier in this study that the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology had established the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) for the purpose of advising him on devising a coherent national language plan for South Africa. Its main purpose is to attain at least the following goals (Langtag information document, 1996: 2):

- * All South Africans to have access to all spheres of South African society through a level of spoken and written languages of their choice
- * All South Africans to be able to learn languages other than their mother tongue
- * African languages, which have been marginalised by the linguist policies of the past, to be developed and maintained
- * Equitable and widespread language facilitation services to be established.

In the LANGTAG information document (1996) and the education discussion document, multilingualism is presented as a resource in education with concomitant proposals for additive bilingual and multilingual models in schools and other educational institution. Advocates of additive bilingualism argue that black languages can also be used as languages of learning at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The critical question is whether this proposal is feasible or not, given the current reality. This issue will be explored in Section 8.6.4.2.

The Gauteng Language in Education Task Team (Gauteng LIE, 1994) proposes that the overall aim of the language in education policy for Gauteng should be multilingual proficiency for all pupils by the end of compulsory schooling (i.e. the tenth year of schooling). By multilingual proficiency is meant proficiency in at least two official languages. This does not refer exclusively to Afrikaans or English, it includes the other nine black languages.

The Gauteng Language in Education policy in line with the Department of Education's and Langtag's position discussed earlier in this

This second aim raises a number of queries as indicated earlier:

- * It does not seem to consider the current reality, i.e. lack of available materials in African languages, lack of teachers with appropriate skills, lack of adequate vocabulary and financial constraints and lack of books in libraries, especially at tertiary level.

8.6.4.1 New Language requirements for 1995

LEVEL	COMPULSORY	OPTIONAL
1. Grades 0-2	One official language which is the language of learning in the school	One other language
2. Grades 3-9	Any two official languages. One of these is the language of learning	A third language
3. Grade 12	One language which is the language of learning	Two extra languages are optional

8.6.4.2 Existing problems which could hinder a new language in education policy for Gauteng

The Gauteng Language Task Team acknowledges that it is not easy to teach eleven languages simultaneously. (Gauteng has selected only four of these official languages: English, Afrikaans, isiZulu and Sepedi). This team identified the following constraints, some of which can only be resolved in a long term period:

- * Lack of an official curriculum framework which embraces all languages and embodies the principle of multilingualism
- * Lack of suitable core syllabi and materials for all languages, and especially for African languages, taught both as first and as additional languages

- * Shortage of teachers of African languages trained in modern methodology of language teaching and learning
- * Limited knowledge of multilingual classroom practices on the part of many monolingual teachers
- * Lack of language awareness and awareness of range of choice on the part of many parents and educators
- * No provision in ex-TED schools for African language speakers to study their home language at the appropriate level.

8.6.4.3 Implementation plan

The language task team maintains that the success of an implementation plan depends on a number of factors, inter alia:

- (a) the commitment and active involvement of all inhabitants of the Province
- (b) the availability of resources (human and otherwise)
- (c) careful planning
- (d) consistent, objective monitoring and review.

In the light of these constraints, especially in dealing with the short term issues, the only viable solution seems to be standard English as shown earlier, particularly at the tertiary level, for which the school system must prepare if the needs of the country for high-level person power are to be met.

The interim core syllabus for English second language (1995-preamble) states that "English, as one of many languages in South Africa, has an important role to play in

the development of a nation ..." It further highlights that English is currently a medium of instruction for a large part of the population. It also affirms the view that pupils' proficiency in their home language(s) should be acknowledged and teachers should draw on this resource. The Language Discussion Document acknowledges that "there is informal evidence that many schools in which learners' home languages do not generally include English are already selecting and implementing a straight for English policy" (Language Education Discussion Document, 1995: 9).

8.7 CONCLUSION

The concluding remarks in this chapter, focus on the following three postulated hypotheses in this study: a variety of black English, the rise of black nationalism and the implications of the underfunding of black education. Given the findings of the present study, we may conclude that a variety of black English does not seem to have a significant bearing on the decline of English teaching and learning in the black schools. The problem then is defective knowledge of standard English especially of a vocabulary needed for a language of learning.

It has been shown that at least 64% of the respondents have indicated that they had never heard of a black variety of English in South Africa. This response seems to be surprising because these respondents make use of English as a language of learning in black education (pupils, teachers and inspectors of schools). This concept of black English is indeed elusive and contentious. However, we need to make the point that the term "black English" is in fact, part of the common currency in South Africa today. There is a powerful conventional opinion in influential circles that claims that there is a "black English "in South Africa". The English usage of "educated" black teachers excluding accent as noted earlier by Quirk and Strevens, is almost similar to that of the "educated" whites. Wright (1996:158) as mentioned earlier in this thesis, argues that "the linguistic and economic incongruity of attempting to restandardize for South Africa a language already standardized in the print-based usage ..." does not make sense - particularly that we have always had resources available internationally, written in standard English.

The respondents show a positive attitude towards their black languages. Generally, the majority of the respondents are in favour of their black languages being "developed so as to be used broadly in future" (Q.36) and they agree that "more teaching time should be allotted to the teaching of black languages" (Q.13 - c.f. Appendix C).

The respondents also indicate their positive attitude towards the English language. The vast majority (92,4% - Appendix C) of the respondents "prefer to use English when speaking to (their) doctor" (Q.10), and almost 87% (c.f. Appendix C) of them concede that "English is a unifying language in South Africa".

English is preferred as the major language of learning beginning from the primary through to the tertiary level. It is South Africa's international language and South Africa is fortunate to have this language. It is currently taught in all schools and it is the language of learning in most schools. It is a language for tertiary education and for general access to knowledge. It is the language of most books in significant libraries in South Africa.

The new interim core syllabus for ESL (grade 1 to standard 10) acknowledges the fact that English is currently important to the whole learning process for children, especially at the tertiary level. It further states that pupils' proficiency in their home language should be acknowledged and teachers should draw on this resource (also by allowing pupils to code-switch) with a view to enhancing pupils' comprehension, classification or acquisition of the target language.

The same core syllabus makes a pertinent point that in the present situation, the ability to understand and to use English effectively is important (Interim Core Syllabus for ESL, 1995).

What we can say about these results in this study, is that the respondents favour both their black languages and English. This can better be explained in terms of functions (highlighted throughout this study) which both these languages fulfil in our South African context:

- * black languages are required to cater for basic literacy and as languages of learning in the lower classes in school
- * for local newspapers and literature
- * for communication purposes.

However, the new language policy as noted earlier, promotes additive multilingualism. In other words, the new language policy states that black languages can also be developed to be used on equal footing with English. English is currently South Africa's chief source of knowledge. Even in the long term it is most unlikely that any substitute for this source of knowledge will be found. The growth of the internet further strengthens the need for English (Titlestad, 1995). Standard English at the moment, is needed to fulfil the broader functions described earlier in this study.

Accent is also important in this entire language debate even though Stevens (1985) makes the point that accent is irrelevant to the concept of standard English, which he defines solely in terms of the popular notions of "grammar" and "vocabulary". He makes an important point that "Received Pronunciation (RP) has been the only pronunciation described in the textbooks..." He further maintains that this situation would probably continue, "not just until other forms of pronunciation are described and form the basis of teaching handbooks but until there are sensible reasons for deliberately choosing a local or regional accent." (Stevens, 1985:7).

If we examine the first factor regarding the existence of black English noted earlier in this study, it is evident that the notion of "black English" is a misnomer because it does not seem to be an established variety in South Africa. It was demonstrated in this thesis that errors do not constitute black English. Therefore the concept of black English does not explain the deterioration at the standard of English teaching and learning in black schools.

The second factor (the rise of black nationalism) also does not seem to have much bearing in the deterioration of English teaching and learning in black schools. On the other hand, the last factor, namely the inferior conditions of years of underfunding and

relentless application of the underlying philosophy of apartheid education have had a critical and profound bearing on the state of ESL teaching and performance.

It has been argued throughout this present study that black education has always been backward and disadvantaged as compared to other education departments. As a result of this, many black teachers received inferior Bantu Education teacher training, especially those who were trained after the promulgation of the apartheid laws in the 1950's (e.g. separate universities, training colleges, residential areas etc). Already in 1965, concern about the decline of the standard of English teaching/learning was expressed by Lanham. At that time, he blamed the Verwoerdian Bantu Education policies for the dropping standard of English teaching and performance in the South African black schools. This view is still held by many educationists today.

He further argues that only a very small percentage of older primary school teachers, located mainly in the cities, belonged to the generation that formerly commanded the best African English on the continent. These teachers had the advantage of being exposed to mother tongue speakers of English and most importantly, had the privilege of attending mission schools which were staffed by highly skilled English teachers. The majority he claimed, were younger women. He indicated that a measure of the deterioration of English was obtained from a comparison of the two generations.

He then suggests that well-designed teaching materials combined with suitable techniques and methods of presentation could, compensate to a considerable extent for the teachers' inadequate English.

In fact, those persistent deviant features described in Chapter 4 which characterise the form of English used by some blacks today, stem mainly from this apartheid ideology. Teachers who were inadequately trained to teach ESL could not and still cannot deal with the processes which are involved in the learner's interlanguage. For example, ESL teachers have always approached the learners' errors in the following complex ways:

- * by being unable to detect a language error
- * by making some of the language errors themselves
- * by treating ESL learners' errors harshly
- * by expecting pupils to produce perfect and flawless work.

This is compounded by the confusion stemming from the diversity of "expert opinion" highlighted earlier in this thesis. Teachers are encouraged to tolerate errors which do not hinder communication"; in this case the teacher is left to decide the extent to which he or she can "correct" errors. The most crucial question is "how far is the teacher allowed to stretch his or her mercy?" These inhibiting factors raised above, cause great concern for educators involved in black schools. These concerns also involve the whole debate and training of teachers as well as the teaching of pupils.

The findings further reveal a worrying mismatch between the students at the tertiary level and those in matric. The majority of the college students (82,3%) claim that they "express themselves better in their mother tongue" whereas almost (54,8%) of the matriculants claim that they "express themselves better in English". We have shown that the college respondents come from a former DET school background where all the inadequacies described above prevail. On the other hand, those black pupils who attend private English medium schools, have had a solid foundation in English language teaching. Their only disadvantage is perhaps that they have been taught English as though they were first language users. However, this handicap, does not seem to hinder their English language acquisition. There are normally bridging units for new comers at some of the private schools. This applies to good model C schools as well.

The perceptions in this experiment reaffirm both the Molteno and NEPI conclusions stated earlier. It is evident that the respondents are in favour of their "vernaculars" even though they prefer English to be introduced much earlier in the grades. It was noted earlier that children learn basic literacy and numeracy in their home language, which is widely believed to be the best for them. In terms of the South African Constitution, eleven major languages are declared official.

The new language policy as noted earlier encourages that all these languages, particularly black languages, should be employed as languages of learning in all schools and at all levels. However, this policy is not implementable at the moment, because of the constraints highlighted in Section 8.6.3.

Although all these eleven languages should be accorded equal status and use at national level, individual provinces are at liberty to develop and implement language policies which best acknowledge the language realities of the particular province and which will most effectively meet the social, economic, political and other needs of its inhabitants.

Furthermore, it was earlier noted that English is currently preferred by the majority of the respondents in this study as a language of learning throughout the primary up to tertiary level. However, it was shown earlier in this thesis that there is a case against English. Some of the South Africans perceive English to be a kind of "ecological disaster that will smother all other languages (Titlestad, 1996a: 3). The position of English, especially in education, should be approached within a global perspective. In response to the concerns raised against the status of English, the NEPI Framework Report (1993: 182) talks of "ensuring that all South Africans should have access to English, without jeopardising the use (and expansion) of African languages". Titlestad (1996b) as noted earlier, argues that if the case against English is taken too seriously by our schools, the effect in future will be to deprive students the opportunity to go to university and to cripple South Africa for lack of highly qualified person power.

Finally, this study recommends that the majority of teachers, especially ESL teachers, should be retrained in order to deal with all the concerns which have been raised earlier in this section and in the whole thesis e.g. the language varieties debate. This ESL teacher retraining programme should be part of the school based in-service teacher development programme. It is all the more important according to Ahulu (1994:26), "for teacher trainers, textbook writers and curriculum designers" to know which variety of English "they are recognizing and emphasizing as the educational target" which will guide teachers and examiners. Our conclusion is that there is no "South African black

English", but only a set of "errors" (within the learners' interlanguage) that 2L learners throughout the world are likely to make. However, there are certain phonetic constituents of accent which show the social and ethnic functions of accent as a marker of identity for the non-standard users of English.

In the light of the issues raised and discussed in this study, we therefore recommend that "standard English" (excluding accent) in South Africa ought to be the norm for teacher training and ESL teaching in general. It seems that the concept of "black English" (as a non-standard form of English, uncodified and used as a sociolect e.g. "Soweto English") could still develop in the distant future. However, "standard English" will remain the pedagogical model for years to come. This will be determined by the future trend of the international community which has become an interdependent "global village". Obviously, targets are not always hit right in the centre. In other words, learners need to aim at the acrolectal level even though some of them may not reach that target. The following chapter explores the notion of ESL teacher development programmes.
