CHAPTER 9

SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION

9.1   INTRODUCTION

We have indicated earlier in this study that varieties of a language have to be seen in relation to the various language functions that must be fulfilled by a particular speech community. For example, in South Africa, the following functions have to be met by English:

(1)   the needs of mother tongue speakers and learners

(2)   the needs of secondary and tertiary education

(3)   access to all to libraries and to the media

(4)   the need for an international language to keep in touch with the rest of the world.

(5)   the need for a lingua franca

(6)   the needs of business and commerce

(7)   the needs of science and technology

(8)   the requirements of the law and legislation

(9)   the requirement of government, of parliament and of the civil service

All these functions must be fulfilled by opting for standard English as a number of the functions listed above cannot be fulfilled by a non-standard variety. A non-standard variety will continue to be appropriate to informal situations but for professional careers, the country's economic development and membership of the international scene, to mention but a few requirements, standard English is essential.

Furthermore, a black variety is not fully documented and not codifiable at the present time. The findings of this present study reinforce this view.

The deviant usage we noted in chapter 4, made by individual second language users denied adequate educational opportunities, cannot simply be labelled a "new English". Nevertheless, a new English may eventually develop or emerge given the present situation. There is a remote possibility that in future, ESL learners might aim at a black variety but it would need to be self-sufficient, codifiable and appropriate to fulfil international language functions as well as being an intranationally viable form. The consequence would be bidialectalism.

Having identified the causes of persistent deviant ESL usage in the classroom situation, we need to prepare effective ESL teachers. Richards (1990) argues that if teacher preparation aims to perpetuate second language teaching as a profession, then training in the narrowest sense will not be adequate, and some broader educational goals must be recognised. He further claims that for successful language teaching, both education and practical training in the "tools" of the teaching profession are needed, i.e. methods, materials, curriculum and evaluation.

9.2   ESL TEACHER EDUCATION

This section seeks to examine major issues in second language teacher education in South Africa which have been relatively under explored especially in second and foreign language teaching.

In second language teaching, teacher education programmes include an ESL knowledge base, drawn from linguistics and language learning theory, and a practical component based on language teaching methodology and opportunity for practice teaching (Richards, 1990: 3).

It has been demonstrated throughout this study that the decline of the standard of English in black schools is primarily the product of apartheid legislation since 1953, which has resulted in inadequate ESL teacher training, poor resources, apartheid laws and overcrowded classrooms. Yet standard English remains the most viable pedagogic language model in South Africa for fulfilling the language functions described at the

start of this chapter. The pedagogic notion of standard English as highlighted earlier in this study does not imply a refusal to accept the existence of non-native varieties of English or of mother tongue varieties that differ in certain respects from standard English e.g. indaba (gathering), stokvel (syndicate for the pooling of funds), ubuntu (humanity) as words used in SAE. It has been pointed out earlier that the problem of identifying "black English" is more complex than it appears on the surface, excluding accent.

The following issues have not as yet been fully explored in South Africa:

*   a detailed description of black English (grammar, vocabulary etc)

*   an identified level on the cline of "bilingualism which is "stable" and viable for pedagogical purposes

*   the propagation of it in the mass media

*   the acceptance and widespread use of this variety.

In support of the above view (i.e. the complexity of identifying a non-native variety of English), Ahulu (1992) maintains that the suggestion that "Ghanaian" and "Nigerian" varieties of English be recognised would not be questioned if, as Spencer (Ahulu, 1992: 242) put it in his foreword to Sey (1973): "... these relatively slight deviations from and extensions of standard British English are widespread, stable and, above all, locally acceptable. So far, ... impression and opinion has dominated discussion". This has been at issue for the past three decades or so. Some writers have resorted to an attack-to-defend strategy whereby "new Englishes" are being defended not so much by describing such varieties as by attacking the pedagogic notion of "standard English" or of "correctness".

Opposed to the linguistic ethos which suggests that there is a standard English which must be the accepted educational norm or practice, some linguists, like Kachru (1990),

suggest that all varieties of English should be treated equally. However, Kachru does not provide a practical solution for the ESL teacher and examiners who require clear guidelines.

Furthermore, Ahulu cautions that there is no viable distinction between those local linguistic habits which could be codified and accepted as "Ghanaian standard English", and those features which would then become errors and excluded from that standard. In other words, non-standard varieties do not seem to have a fixed point on the cline of bilingualism as indicated earlier in this study, that would on the one hand be sufficiently close to other standards of English, especially the British or American models, to ensure linguistic intelligibility, and on the other hand sufficiently distinct from them to convey African culture and identity.

One gets the impression that "educated black English" in South Africa is nothing more than standard English with an injection of vocabulary items and accent of South African origin (e.g. induna, indaba, ubuntu, stokvel, shebeen queen etc). These words probably belong to South African English generally, and are probably all in the Oxford Dictionary of South African English. It has been noted earlier that such phenomena as coinage, lexical borrowing, etc are processes by which standard English is creating and expanding its lexicon as an international language, but not all these will become part of standard English eventually.

To prepare effective language teachers especially in South Africa, we will need among other things to have a theory of effective language teaching. Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983: 1) give us a helpful review of the skills or competencies a well trained ESL teacher is ideally expected to have:

(1)   He/she is expected to have a good grasp of language teaching methodology, to know enough about available approaches and the nature of the learning process so that he or she can decide how to approach a particular skill to a given group of ESL students.

(2)   He/she should be familiar with available materials in order to select the most appropriate textbooks for a class, or if desirable be able to prepare original materials.

(3)   He/she should provide a good linguistic model. In the past, it used to be argued that you needed to be a native or near-native speaker of English to qualify to teach English to speakers of other languages, however, anyone who has attempted to teach English with only this skill, immediately realises that merely being a native or near-native speaker is not a sufficient qualification to be a language instructor. If you are a non-native speaker of English, you can also provide an excellent role model for your students by demonstrating "good" and fluent control of the English language.

(4)   An ESL teacher must know his/her subject matter and must have conscious knowledge of the rules of the English language.

There are however other constraints which should be considered in order to improve ESL teaching/learning in South African black schools. The following constraints have been identified by the Gauteng Language in Education Task Team (1994):

*   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 especially for black languages

*   Shortage of teachers of black languages trained in modern methodology of language teaching and learning

*   No provision for the former TED schools for black language speakers to study their home language at the appropriate level

*   Lack of remedial education at the former DET schools

All these factors obviously contribute to the decline of the standard of ESL teaching and learning.

In addition, Ridge (1990: 169) gives the following pertinent factors which have also contributed to the deterioration of the teaching and learning of standard English:

*   poor matric screening and standards

*   poor schooling due to inadequately trained teachers

*   poor tertiary teaching

*   inadequate provision for new students

*   social instability

Black education has for decades been deliberately kept at the bottom of the pack by the successive governments of South Africa. Furthermore, the now scrapped 1953 Bantu Education Act and 1959 Extension of University Education Act, have had an adverse effect on black teachers' and pupils' self-esteem throughout the history of the Apartheid era.

Ridge states that "other people assume with equal confidence that schools suffer under inadequate English teachers because the people who train teachers have not done their job." He argues that "when we pass the buck we trivialise an immensely important cluster of issues" (Ridge, 1990: 169).

Ridge points out that "the quality of social transformation is going to depend in a significant measure on the people's ability to use English efficiently for their own purposes. These will include education, effective political negotiation, efficient work and easy social mixing." (Ridge, 1990: 170).

He then makes a crucial point that first year university students should be given a solid foundation in English because he argues that they may relatively soon be in a position

of some influence in our political economy.

Ridge argues that this poor ESL teaching situation in South African black schools can only be overcome if educational activities create or encourage the establishment of ongoing programmes to prepare, support and challenge primary and secondary school teachers. He finally proposes that "the staff and facilities of universities, technikons and colleges should be drawn on far more regularly and that the interplay between secondary and tertiary teachers should be invigorating for both." (Ridge, 1990: 171).

This section focuses on tertiary and teacher education. We will examine only "poor tertiary teaching".

9.2.1 Poor tertiary teaching

The ESL teaching problem prevails not only in the primary level as indicated earlier in this study, but it appears worse at the tertiary level where teachers are prepared. In this section we intend to examine the following questions regarding teacher education:

* Who are the teacher educators?
* Who train the teacher educators?
* Do teacher educators themselves receive adequate training?
* Do the educators prepare the trainees adequately?
* At which universities were these educators trained?

These questions and their answers will probably help shed some light on the teacher educators' level of training. This study, seeks to address them within the framework of teacher education which, in South Africa, has been compounded by the different "racial" education systems followed. Unfortunately, the field is underexplored especially with regard to second language teaching. Richards and Nunan (1990: xi) say that "as we move from a period of "teacher training", characterised by approaches that view teacher preparation as familiarising student teachers with techniques and skills to apply in the classroom, to "teacher education", characterised by approaches that involve

teachers in developing theories of teaching, understanding the nature of teacher decision-making, and strategies for critical self-awareness and self-evaluation, teacher educators need to reassess their current positions and practices and examine afresh the assumptions underlying their own programmes and practices". However, there has been very little real use of second language theories and their application in overcrowded classrooms.

Let us begin by examining the first two crucial questions asked above regarding teacher educators:

(1)   Who are the teacher educators?

(2)   Who trains these teacher educators?

Hutchings (1990: 117) claims that "the overwhelming majority of graduates in English, become users of the formal methods of English." He further expresses his concern that "if we examine the tasks they have to perform, and the expectations society has for them, it is quite obvious that their degree training leaves massive gaps in their knowledge".

These graduates pursue a three year degree course exclusively devoted to the study of literary texts. Hutchings challenges the academics who claim to know "what goes on in the syllabus" and who seem "to assume that three years study of the literary canon will confer by osmosis expertise on English linguistic matters" (Hutchings, 1990: 117).

Furthermore, he argues that even though literary training confers upon the teacher a genuine love of literature, such love is not by itself sufficient to sharpen the pupils' reception skills to the point where they can read with discrimination unaided. Therefore, Hutchings argues that "any teacher of English is daily confronted with a set of problems for which his or her degree training has not explicitly prepared him or her."

In addition, this degree course which mainly produces the teachers for former DET schools, does not seem to focus on issues relating to "first and second language acquisition". Some of these same graduates, are employed to teach "teacher trainees".

In 1990 there were 102 colleges of education, 21 universities and 15 technikons (c.f. table 11 ANC Implementation Plan for Education and Training, 1994: 113):

Department	Teachers' colleges	Universities	Technikons	No of students enrolled for teacher education
Education & Culture (Assembly)	12	11	8	8 766
Eduction & Culture (Delegates)	2	1	1	1 726
Education & Culture (Representatives)	13	1	1	7 851
Education & Training	15	4	1	9 965
Self-governing territories	32		1	25 830
TBVC states	27	4	3	21 772
Private	1			
TOTAL	102	21	15	75 910

TABLE 11: PRESET PROVISION (1990)

The MEC for Gauteng Education, has recently announced that the number of teacher trainees in future should be cut. According to the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) Circular Number 26 of 1996, the following resolutions were taken by rectors of the teachers' colleges and the GDE:

(a)   The intake of primary students (PRESET) to all colleges for 1996 was supposed to be reduced by 40% (relative to the 1995 first year intake). Of this senior primary/junior primary intake, 60% would be required to major in maths or science and 40% would be permitted to major in other subjects. If colleges are unable to meet the 60% quota for maths or science, their overall intake would be reduced accordingly.

(b)   There was supposed to be no reduction of the 1996 intake of secondary students

in the fields of maths and science relative to the 1995 intake, and increases were to be permitted if properly motivated.

(c)   There was supposed to be no reduction of numbers in the 1996 intake of secondary students in the fields of commerce, physical education and art relative to the 1995 intake.

This was done because of the large number of unemployed teachers at the moment and also because of budgeting constraints. South Africa has a unique problem at the moment. Black schools are overcrowded whereas white schools have lesser pupil:teacher ratios. Furthermore, these teachers in white schools cannot simply be redeployed to black schools. Legally, the Gauteng Department of Education must negotiate with the teachers concerned; if they are unwilling, they cannot forcefully be redeployed.

The standard of teaching especially in black colleges was and still is generally perceived to be low compared to those of the other race groups. Many of these black colleges have been historically under the control of the discredited former Department of Education and Training which has recently been phased out. It also controlled black schools which for decades went through severe crises. At the moment, colleges of education are going through a process of restructuring and rationalisation. In the previous racially and ethnically-based system, various norms existed for the provisioning of education at colleges of education. These colleges are now beginning to be integrated. Rectors and lecturers at these colleges are going through a stressful transitional period especially because of uncertainty about the future of these colleges. We inherited the worst possible situation. Vast inequities existed between the sophisticated part of the education system and the disadvantaged part thereof. One of the first steps that need to be taken to make equity in education a reality is to introduce a process while equity in the funding of tertiary education could be effected.

The following is Southey's (1990: 129) example of the approved 1990 limited English syllabus structure at black colleges. The structure for a three year secondary teacher's diploma, has 10 periods a week allocated to English Content and Method. The revised

structure according to Southey "gives only four periods to the didactics of English and seven to content." Four periods a week on method is not bad, depending on what is taught. He further maintains that the syllabus for English Content is based on university English courses and in the three years, covers English 1 and half of English 2. The emphasis has moved towards English literature in the revised English syllabuses. The content includes proficiency in linguistics, grammar and phonetics.

Similarly, Southey (1990: 129) claims that the Primary Teacher's Diploma English syllabus, is literature oriented and only four periods per week are allocated to literature. The level at the end of three years is supposed to be equivalent to English 1. The other interesting revelation relating to teacher education is that the vast majority of ESL trainees come into contact with English mother tongue teachers for the first time at the tertiary level. Their teaching which is exclusively devoted to the literary texts, fails to adequately address ESL basic needs.

This situation tends to be intractable. Finn (1990: 131) reaffirms this view when he acknowledges that "our black students (and therefore the majority of students studying English) come from an impoverished educational background" (c.f. figure 28). Further on, he says that "universities might have been opened to all of late, but schools have not". At this moment of change and transition in South Africa, some schools are beginning to open their doors to all other race groups. In any case, the "white" schools are few and cannot cater for the bulk of black pupils. In addition, he argues that pupils in "black schools under the apartheid" philosophy, were always "at a great disadvantage when entering culturally or racially mixed" tertiary institutions. The situation described by Finn above has not yet disappeared, black students will continue for some time to struggle to settle comfortably in culturally or racially mixed tertiary institutions.

It is however, important to note that no teacher training institution is able to prepare students fully for the first year of teaching, and some skills and expertise can only be obtained through experience gained in the classrooms and field practicals during training. Nowlan (1990) maintains the view that the instruction received at many colleges and universities is often too theoretical, and the practical application that should flow from the theory is not developed. He further argues that suggestions made by

lecturers may be too idealistic and unsuited to the real life situation. He ultimately advises that students should constantly ask their lecturers what the practical outcome of their educational philosophy would be. Teacher trainees are not taught how to deal with varieties of English. Most importantly, they are not prepared in their training on how to support learners who bring a non-standard variety of English into class.

What seems to exarcebate the situation though, is the fact that teacher trainers who are themselves graduates from universities, continue to receive inadequate language skills to deal with sociolinguistic issues in the classroom context; and the vast majority of teacher trainees continue to graduate from colleges ill-prepared to deal with language needs in the ESL classroom situation. For example, they graduate ill-equipped to deal with non-standard forms of English or even standard English. A highly sophisticated field that required some detailed grammatical knowledge.

Earlier in this study it was noted that Buthelezi (1989: 40) an advocate for South African Black English (SABE), acknowledges that the ESL situation in black schools is critical. She argues like many others that the average black person in this country attends a government school following syllabi prescribed by the former DET. She further claims that English has always been taught by non-native speakers of English. Furthermore she argues that in most cases, such teachers are inadequately trained to handle this specialised area of teaching ESL.

Buthelezi reaffirms the view that has been highlighted earlier in this study that "a vicious cycle" is perpetuated whereby learners learn features of SABE (ESL) directly from the teachers and then reproduce these innocently (Buthelezi , 1989: 40). She goes even further to admit that most features of the learners fossilised English are actually teacher influenced.

It is evident from Buthelezi's comments that the so-called "SABE" seems to have emerged as a result of the poor ESL teacher training. She seems to be missing a key point, that is, how to break this "vicious cycle" of fossilised features of English? By simply admitting that the fossilised English equals "black English" generates a contentious and problematic situation.

In chapter 3, the following intractable key questions and concerns were raised regarding what "black English" is all about:

* Where does black English begin in the cline?
* At which point does the teacher correct "errors"?
* Are the fossilised forms produced by ESL learners homogeneous and codifiable?
* What does the ESL teacher teach?

Buthelezi's views to a certain extent resemble Kachru's position when he argues that the Indian variety of English right at the bottom of the cline could be used as a pedagogical model in India. We have also cited the adverse implications (especially in education) of settling for a non-viable variety of English low on the cline. It has been illustrated throughout this thesis that black English is a misnomer. It is further argued that errors do not constitute black English. Honey (1996: 114) warns that there are "some very militant left wing people" who are "very powerful in many ways whose opposition to standard English constitutes a malicious influence and does great harm. He argues that this attitude tends to "ghettoise" the underprivileged, while the proponents "themselves would never dream of allowing their own children to speak non-standard dialect".

A non-viable variety of English would obviously deprive learners as noted earlier, (Quirk 1995; Wright 1995; Titlestad, 1995) of the greater opportunities provided by the most viable international standard English: access to decent jobs, access to social mobility, technology, science, secondary and tertiary education, access to all libraries and the media and to be able to communicate both intranationally and internationally.

It was noted earlier that the Kingman Report (Quirk, 1990: 7) warns 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. "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."

It is therefore worth considering the assertion of the Kingman Report as shown earlier that children have a "right" to be taught standard English. Teacher training institutions should play a central role in equipping the teacher trainees with the appropriate skills which will enable them to teach the learners standard English and to deal with the L2 varieties that they encounter in their children.

In order to address these teacher education issues adequately, this study takes the following two pronged approach:

* Pre- and in-service training
* A need of the most drastic reform in education.

9.3 IMPROVED PRE-SERVICE AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

9.3.1 Introduction

Earlier in this study, it was pointed out that it is not the existence of BSAE that is the cause of pedagogic problems. The extent and nature of this BSAE has to be demonstrated. What is the problem is the English that has resulted from poor teaching and inadequate resources.

It has been demonstrated throughout this study that the decline of the standard of English in black schools is primarily the product of apartheid legislation since 1953, which has resulted in inadequate ESL teacher training, poor resources, apartheid laws and overcrowded classrooms.

As early as 1965, Lanham warned that most matriculation candidates simply had not enough English to cope with subjects such as history, which must be written in English, quite apart from English itself, with its heavy emphasis on literature and essay writing. In the 1990s, the situation does not seem to have improved, it is actually worse in black schools, especially from 1976 because of the political climate in these schools.

Ridge (1990: 170) reaffirms Lanham's position when he argues that "the quality of social transformation is going to depend in significant measure on the black people's ability to use English efficiently." In other words, standard English remains the most viable pedagogic language model in South Africa for fulfilling inter alia, language functions described at the start of this chapter. It was noted earlier that ESL in black schools is mainly taught by black teachers. Several of these teachers do not have the necessary skills to teach ESL. Even though this thesis suggests that in-service training would resolve our language dilemma, it is doubtful if much can be done with some of the present teachers, because in-service training is limited in South Africa. However, from now on, the future corps of teachers need to be adequately trained at the teacher training colleges.

Ahulu (1992) shares his Ghanaian experience regarding peoples' perceptions about standard English. He stresses that in practice, those in Ghana with authority in education and the professions, who more or less determine the educational and career prospects of learners, do not accept the linguistic ethos that is simplified into the tenet that any form of English is as good as any other, especially in education.

In South Africa, the majority of parents, teachers and students, would still prefer more or less standard English as a model for learners of English, although there is a powerful conventional opinion in influential circles noted earlier that advocates the existence and the use of non-standard "black English" in education. Wright (1993: 10) makes a key point regarding the question of standards. He argues that "to advocate institutionalising of non-standard English - attributable in large measure to apartheid's legacy of low educational standards - would be neither radical nor progressive, but a profoundly conservative attitude imposing and enshrining mediocrity."

We have also argued earlier in this thesis 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. We have noted that traditionally, English has always been taught by non-native speakers of the language. In most cases, such teachers are either unqualified or underqualified to handle this specialised area of teaching ESL. A vicious cycle is perpetuated whereby

learners learn features of SABE directly from their teachers and then reproduce this innocently (Buthelezi, 1989: 40).

It is therefore important that pre-service and in-service training should be improved in order to bridge the gap that has been created by Bantu Education.

This section therefore, briefly explores the concept of "staff development". This covers a whole continuum of professional development from initial training, through probationary training to appraisal and further staff development. This issue was highlighted in Chapter one of this study.

A major drawback in teacher training in South Africa is that documentation from a teacher's initial training is not carried forward when he or she starts work. Similarly, there are no links between the training and the on-going staff development which takes place throughout a teacher's career. This requires more government funding for tertiary institutions in order to alleviate the financial burden that is presently facing tertiary institutions.

The major argument of the James Report (Shaw, 1992), which studied all aspects of teacher training, was that the education and training of teachers should be seen as falling into three consecutive stages:

*   Personal education
*   Pre-service training and induction
*   In-service education and training

Personal education according to Jame's Report begins right from grade one to the high school level. Pre-service refers to initial teacher training which consists of the traditional routes through the college qualification or the Bachelor of Education or University Education Diploma. In-service training should begin soon after the initial training.

In-service education and training in South Africa, especially in black education, is

conducted in a disruptive manner. Teachers' centres have been established mainly in urban areas and teachers are invited for periods ranging from a day to a week. This process leaves several schools crippled during the entire period of the teachers' absence. The in-service training should be conducted after school and during the weekends. This is also a difficult option but it is more tenable and constructive. In-service training should also focus on the most neglected areas of language learning and teaching such as, how to deal with "non-standard" English in class, how to deal with learner "errors" etc. Highly skilled ESL teachers are required urgently to begin to address these issues. (For further discussion on highly skilled teachers, see section 9.7).

In-service courses are usually conducted in well equipped and fully resourced centres; whereas afterwards the training teachers go back to their ill-equipped, under-resourced and crowded classrooms. They are confronted with several demotivating factors, such as lack of electricity which makes it impossible for them to make use of electronic learning and teaching aids. Expense (e.g. electrification, audio-visual learning aids, adequate accommodation etc) are also a problem. Training should include techniques suitable for the circumstances.
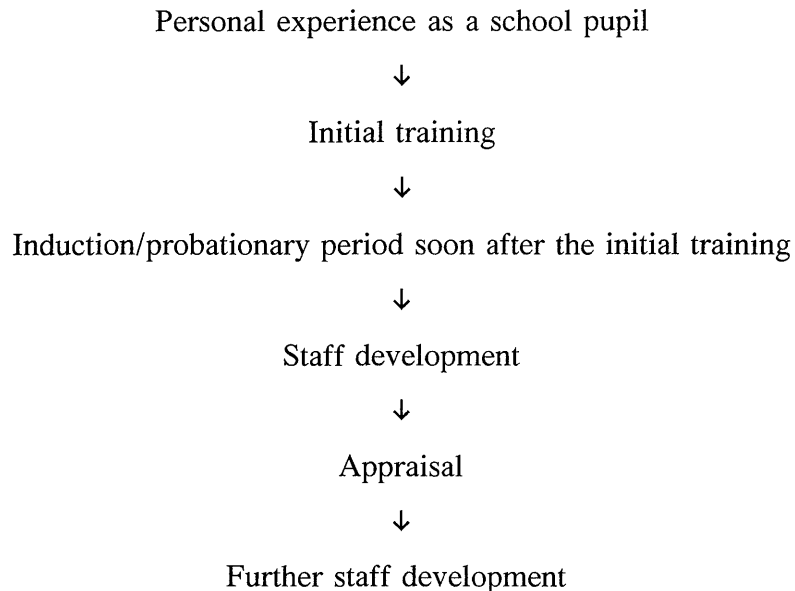
In some instances teachers get little support from their headmasters and heads of department and at times from their colleagues because they are faced with teacher shortage and lack resources. Nevertheless the results of this study, indicate that more ESL in-service training is urgently required. At least 17 (94,4%) college students, 25 (73,5%) matriculants and 9 (90%) educators agree that there is a dire need for improved in-service training (c.f. Figure 26). The state and the private sector should provide funding for this venture.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) do contribute towards teacher training, but their major problem is that they are quite often not well supported by some of the Education and Training authorities. Consequently teachers tend not to regard NGOs seriously, even though some of them such as the Molteno and Eltic Projects (to name just a few) are providing excellent support services in schools.

Another problem facing NGOs is the fact that they are unable to provide their students

needs as noted earlier. Most teachers therefore, end up chasing rewards rather than skills.

Shaw (1992: 16) gives an improved teacher training continuum:

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Personal experience as a school pupil

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Initial training

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Induction/probationary period soon after the initial training

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Staff development

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Appraisal

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Further staff development

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FIGURE 27: IMPROVED TEACHER TRAINING CONTINUUM

What seems to exarcebate the situation in teacher education though, is the fact that:

*   many teacher trainers continue to receive inadequate skills to deal with sociolinguistic issues in the classroom situation

*   the vast majority of teacher trainees continue to graduate while being ill-prepared to deal with the language needs in the classroom situation.

Year in and year out, these graduates join the language teaching fraternity. Southey (1990: 129) gives four other language issues facing the tertiary institutions at present, namely:

*   selection of students

*   bridging the gap between matric and the tertiary level

*   reading age

*   lecturing methodology

This following section will briefly explore some of these issues.

9.3.2   Selection of students

In the past, anyone unable to be admitted to other tertiary institutions tended to turn to the teaching profession in order to get employment at the end of the course. Even those students with poor symbols were accepted at the training colleges. For example, the defunct pre-matric teachers' course would accept a "third class" Junior Certificate graduate. This "third class" graduate was expected to go back to teach thousands of pupils. The teacher/pupil ratio in black schools ranges from 1:50 up to 1:80. Very little indeed could be expected from this type of under-performing teacher. At the moment it is evident that there is an oversupply of teachers. As a result of this, the MEC for Gauteng Education has recently announced that as from 1996, colleges will have to reduce their student intake by about 40%.

Obviously, colleges cannot be expected to perform miracles in three years time. Good news is that a few years ago, pre-matric teacher training was phased out. The duration of the training has now been extended from two years to three at times four years. At the moment, the situation has slightly changed. There are improved mechanisms which are used to select teacher trainees and thus has a positive effect in the training of teachers.

9.3.3   Bridging the gap between matric and tertiary

There is a huge gap between matric and the tertiary institutions. Sproat (1990: 168) gives revealing statistics about reading, with special reference to South African matric graduates:

1.   The average English-speaking first year student at South African universities and

technikons has a standard four level of reading proficiency.

2.   Afrikaans first language students, in first year, display about a standard three level of proficiency in English.

3.   Black students read on average at a standard one proficiency level.

4.   College of education students emerge as the worst readers of all.

These statistics reflect the vast inequities that existed in different racially and ethnically segregated education departments, with the black education being the worst. The South African history of unjust and unfair laws has kept blacks right at the back of the rest of the population groups educationally. The general situation is distressing. The concept of South African English could serve as a formula for entrenching incompetence. In addition the type of students who need the bridging courses have according to Starfield (1990: 143) often been described by a number of degrading terms such as "deprived", "disadvantaged", "underprepared" which compounds their negative self image and lack of confidence. The favourable term would be "disadvantaged" students although these concepts are no longer as sensitive as they were before the 1994 national elections. In other words, the context in which they were used then was "politically incorrect".

The causes of their disadvantage are manifold and have been frequently described in this study. These students in Starfield's view, "have been subjected to a severely underresourced system, taught by "under qualified" teachers in schools where facilities are extremely poor and the nature of their school education has not prepared them" for further education such as university or college study. (Starfield, 1990: 143).

It would also appear that white schools in many instances are also not preparing pupils appropriately for university study. This also indicates that the language situation in black education cannot simply be addressed by replacing black teachers of English by mother tongue speakers. The situation is more intricate than that. Several universities, have attempted to establish "bridging programmes". The name of these programmes have had to be changed to "English Support Programmes" and "Academic Support

Development" (ASD) because the term bridging had negative connotations at the time. Courses are offered in study skills and English language, in logical reasoning, critical thinking and in conceptual skills. The concept of "bridging classes" makes the matric graduates feel that there is something drastically wrong with them.

These ASD programmes are in fact introduced on a temporary basis to deal or bridge the rift that exists between high schools and the tertiary institutions.

Much more attention should be paid to the primary and the secondary levels. The present situation and trend especially in black schools, is that the highly skilled and qualified teachers are either very often promoted to be principals or inspectors or else they are removed in order to teach at the secondary level, while those who are least qualified and inadequately prepared to teach ESL, are expected to teach at the lowest levels. This has adverse consequences for ESL teaching/learning. (There is yet another misconception that female teachers are the one's who must teach at the lowest levels). There is a need to break away from this old tradition that highly qualified teachers can only teach at the secondary and tertiary levels. The situation in black schools could improve if such highly skilled teachers were to teach at the elementary level where the foundation is laid.

9.4   RECOMMENDATIONS

9.4.1 Introduction

The key issues drawn from the entire debate of this thesis and the interpretation of the findings resulting from the analyses of data, has made it possible to formulate the following recommendations centred on the four broad areas of ESL teaching and learning:

(1)   Theory of language and methods of teaching

(2)   How the ESL teacher deals with language varieties in the classroom situation

(1)   Theory of language and methods of teaching

(2)   How the ESL teacher deals with language varieties in the classroom situation

(3)   The cultural approach (to teach standard/non-standard varieties)

(4)   Kingman Report - Gillian Brown's Language Teaching model.

Since language touches so much of a person's day to day life, it is incumbent upon the teacher to be open to ideas from almost any quarter that might carry suggestions for more effective language learning. The teacher education programme is often seen to be a source of knowledge, experience and resources for student teachers to use in exploring and developing their own approach to teaching. Such a programme needs to be grounded in both theory and practice, informed on the other hand by an understanding of what we know about the nature of classroom second language teaching and learning.
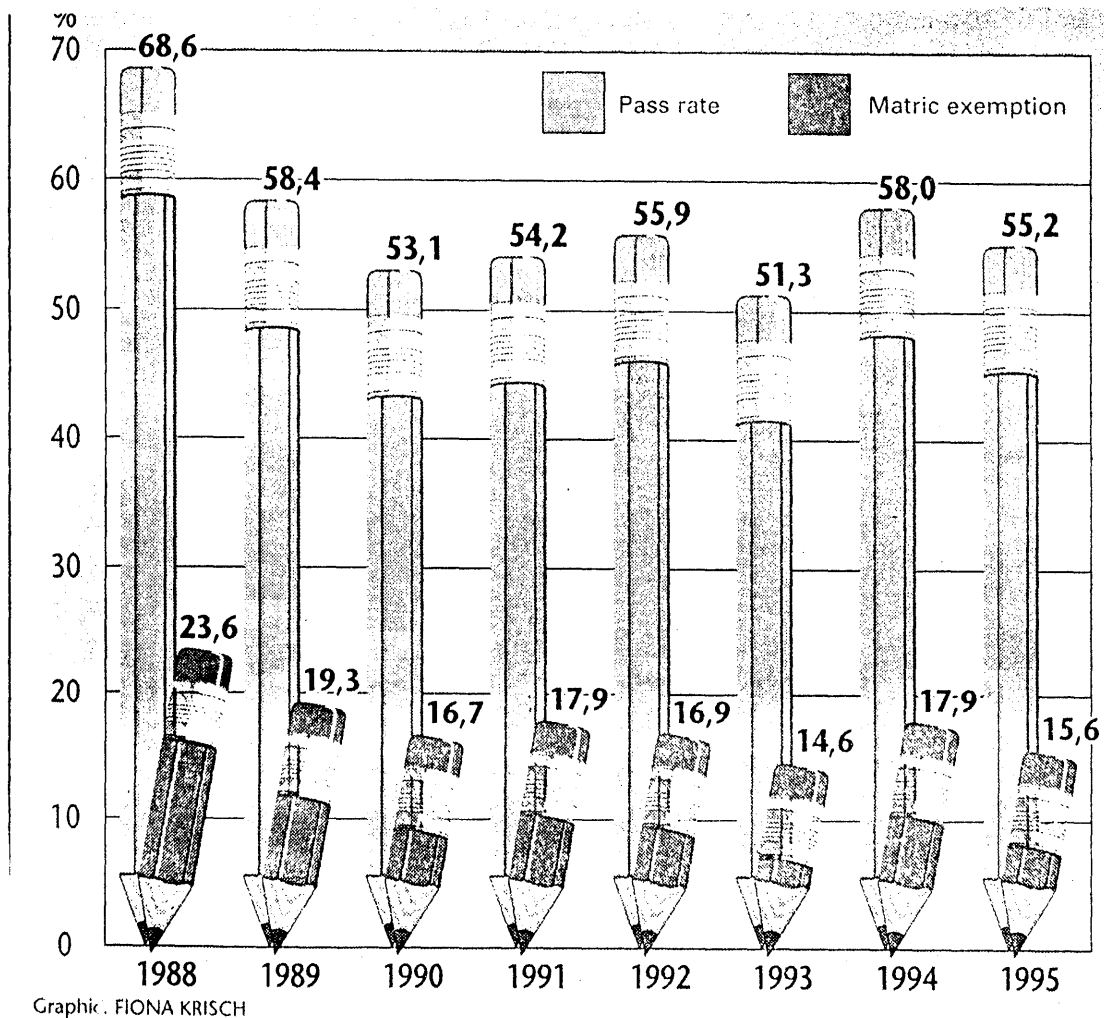

FIGURE 28: MATRIC PASS RATES (SUNDAY TIMES, 31 DECEMBER 1995)

Matric examination results in black schools according to the Sunday Times article (1995), have mirrored the political events of a changing South Africa at the end of each school year ever since 1976 when black students first challenged the hated system of Bantu Education. According to Cas st Leger's report in the Sunday Times (31 December 1995), the pass rate for black matriculants in 1976 was reportedly 84,8 percent, although the then Department of Education and Training did not officially release the results to prevent intimidation of students who wrote the examination.

From 1976 until 1994 according to the Sunday Times article, the pass rate followed a steady downward trend with a marginal rise in 1991 and 1992 (c.f. figure 28). The most dismal year on record was 1993 when the national pass rate plunged to 51,3 percent. In 1995, only 55,25 percent of 441 853 matric candidates passed, almost three percent lower than 1994. In 1995 students achieved only a 15,6 percent exemption rate compared to 17,9 percent in 1994. The Minister of Education, Prof S Bengu (Sunday Times, 31 December 1995) makes a key point in defence of the 1995 poor results when he argues that "the public had expected too much from the changes in education, there were no disruptions and we have a democratic government, but these are not reasons for education to improve". In 1996, the pass rate dropped further to 52,2 percent with 14 percent obtaining university entrance (Sowetan, 3 January 1997).

James Moulder (1990) argues that appalling black matriculation results (c.f. figure 28), as well as the inability of the majority of black matriculants to graduate from universities, has encouraged the business sector to react to the urgency of the situation by sponsoring alternative education projects that are aimed largely at high school pupils. But this fails to get to grips with the root of the problem. The basic problem lies at the primary level where the language variety problem is smallest. Available resources should be directed to the primary schools where the foundation of competence in English for "higher" learning and economic life is laid.

James Moulder (1990), as do many others, argues that the problems experienced by black students in their secondary and tertiary education are the symptoms of a disease rooted in inadequate, inappropriate and unfairly funded primary education. He also suggests that the private sector should alleviate this problem by spending more money

on improvements in primary schooling than on remedial eduction in high schools, technikons and universities (c.f. "Academic Support Development"). ASD has somehow become ideologically unacceptable. The education system should indeed render it unnecessary.

He finally warns that if the private sector does not support the primary education, it will continue to waste money on alleviating the symptoms of our education crisis instead of using its resources to help cure the disease, otherwise it will continue to be without the skilled and qualified manpower it requires. At the end, it all boils down to the fact that the government of the day should be held responsible for providing quality education for its citizens.

Coming back to our subject, training in English should equip the pupils to use the language confidently, appropriately and accurately according to the circumstances in which it is used. Textbooks alone cannot achieve this aim. The teacher is more important than the text, and only with the teacher's guidance can English be mastered.

Unfortunately, the vast majority of the graduates from both the universities and colleges of education as we have seen earlier, come out with very limited knowledge to tackle the above concerns.
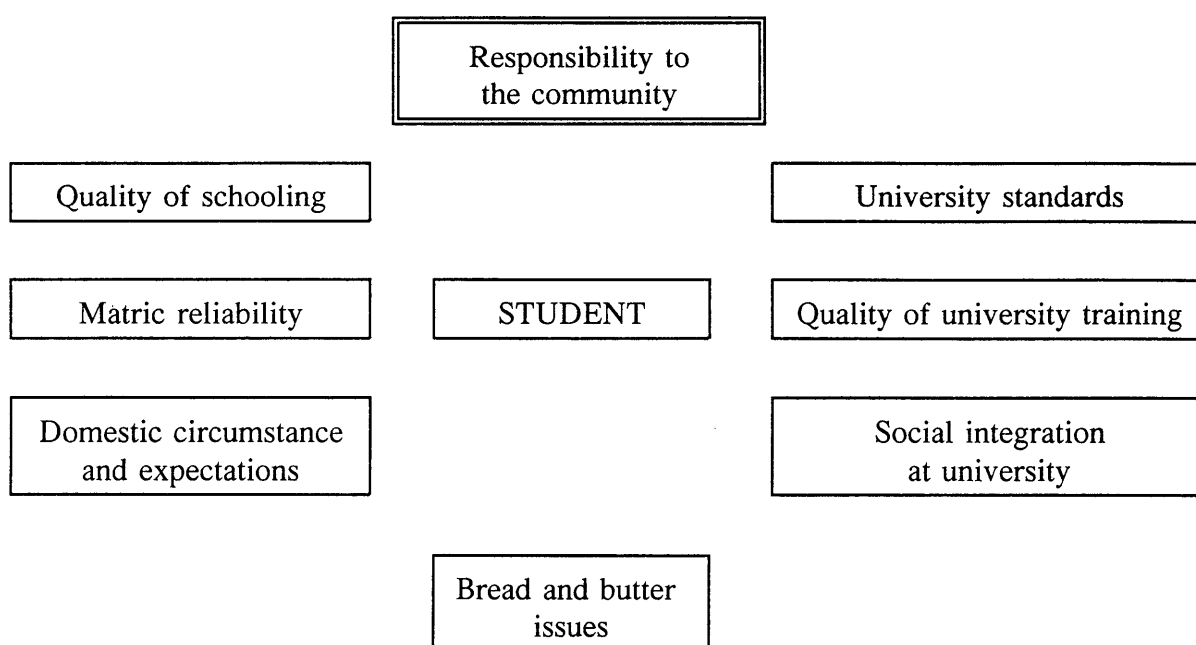
To sum up, Smit (1990) questions what higher education is supposed to be and how it is to be achieved. He maintains that excellent higher education should be a continuation of excellent high school education. He also emphasises that higher education excels and takes effect when the lecturer experiences that electric moment of realising that his adult students grasp the new work, and that they manage the new connections.

Furthermore, Smit claims that education can be labelled "higher" only when the lecturer finds proof that he has achieved professional and academic success in a course, knowing that what he is doing for and with his adult students, and with his own life, really makes a difference.

To tackle the intricate issues raised above relating to higher education, we need to

consider all the things which have a bearing on success in learning/teaching ESL and these things do relate to one another. Ridge (1990: 170) gives a diagram (c.f. figure 29) which shows all those factors which determine the student's success. The student is seen as affected by and developing in relation to domestic and public factors and those relating directly to education. In other words, his or her success will mainly depend on the socio-economic background and the quality of teaching from the primary up to the tertiary level:

	Responsibility to the community	
Quality of schooling		University standards
Matric reliability	STUDENT	Quality of university training
Domestic circumstance and expectations		Social integration at university
	Bread and butter issues	

FIGURE 29: FACTORS WHICH DETERMINE THE STUDENTS' SUCCESS

This present study looks beyond the student per se. In order to approach this complex debate relating to teacher education satisfactorily, we must also consider the balance between the three main components of a teacher training course (Strevens, 1980: 38):

(1)   A **skills component**, which develops practical, instructional techniques, both those common to all branches of teaching, including adequate command of the language he is teaching.

(2)   An **information component**, in which the teacher masters the very considerable body of knowledge about education, teaching, language, including detailed knowledge of structures and the problem areas, English today, sociology, psychology and the organisational framework he is working in.

(3)   A **theory component**, which provides him with an intellectual basis for knowing not just "what" to teach and "how" to teach it, but also why to teach that rather than something else.

Hutchings (1990) takes the issue a step further by proposing a comprehensive English language and literature course at the university level, which consists of two major courses in English, operated with enough flexibility to permit any student to make a choice of components from both branches, language and literature. Some fundamental elements from both language and literature must be made compulsory. The plan might look something like this (Hutchings, 1990: 119):

A - English 1
.   Introduction to literary study
.   English usage: Composition and comprehension

B - General Linguistics 1
.   Language in society
.   Linguistic systems: introduction to syntax and phonology
.   Elementary semantics
.   Elementary language acquisition studies

Either of these courses in Hutching's opinion, could be taken on its own, but both would be pre-requisites for the second and third year courses, which would be

C - Literature in English II

D - English Language II
.   English as a world language
.   English syntax and phonology
.   Semantics and stylistics

E - Literature in English III

F - English Language III

. English Syntax and phonology

. Semantics and stylistics

. Dialects of English

Hutchings (1990: 119) proposes that "the first steps along this path would be the provision of a full English language course at second year level with English 1 and General Linguistics 1 as prerequisites, and so presented that students could take either the whole course or part of it together with part of English Literature II to make up an English II course." He further maintains that such a department would aptly be designated "Department of English Language and Literature."

This type of a language course, hopefully, would fill in the gaps which are currently prevailing in the tertiary English literature orientated curriculum.

9.5 THEORY OF LANGUAGE AND METHODS OF TEACHING

At least three different theoretical views of language and the nature of language proficiency explicitly or implicitly inform current approaches and methods in language teaching. Stern, (1983: 261) maintains that "attempts have recently been made to combine analytical and non-analytical approaches in a multilevel curriculum. He quotes Allen's (1980) communicative levels of competence in second language education (Stern, 1983: 261):

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
* **Structural** - **Focus on formal features**	* **Functional** - **Focus on discourse features**	* **Experiential** - **Focus on the use of language**

9.5.1 Structural view

This is the most traditional view that language is a system of structurally related elements for the coding of meaning. The target of language learning is seen to be the

mastery of elements of this system, which are generally defined in terms of phonological units, grammatical units and lexical items. Stern maintains that this first approach deals with "(a) structural control" (b) "materials simplified structually" and (c) "mainly structural practice."

9.5.2 Functional view

This refers to the view that language is a vehicle for the expression of functional meaning. The communicative movement in language teaching subscribes to this view of language. This theory emphasises the semantic and communicative dimension rather than merely the grammatical characteristics of language, and leads to a specification and organisation of language teaching content by categories of meaning and function rather than elements of structure and grammar. This second approach according to Stern (1983: 261), deals with (a) "discourse control" (b) materials simplified functionally" and (c) "mainly discourse practice."

9.5.3 Experiential view

It views language as a vehicle for the realisation of interpersonal relations and for the performance of social transactions between individuals. Language is seen as a tool for the creation and maintenance of sound relations. In Stern's (1983: 261) view, this last approach deals with (a) "situational or topical control" (b) "authentic language" and (c) "free practice."

Stern argues that "the language curriculum must have all three components" mentioned earlier.

Stern (1983) further points out that the conceptualisation of language teaching has a long, fascinating, but rather tortuous history. He claims that for over a century, language educators have attempted to solve the problems of language teaching by focusing attention on teaching method as an end in itself. Stern argues that although the question of how to teach languages has been debated even longer than that, for over twenty five centuries. Theory development in his view, as a debate on teaching methods

has evolved particularly over the last hundred years. This debate has provided the basis for recent interpretations of language teaching.

Stern states that the method debate has brought into focus important issues of language teaching and learning and in recent years he claims, the debate has led to the demand for theoretical clarification as well as for empirical research. Furthermore, he argues that any present day theory of language teaching must at least attempt to understand what the methods stand for and what they have contributed to current thought on teaching and learning.

He (Stern, 1983: 23) also points out that the vast majority of "language teachers regard themselves as practical people and not theorists." Some even go to an extent of saying "they are opposed to "theory", expressing their opposition in such remarks as: it's all very well in theory but it won't work in practice." Stern clarifies this confusion and says that theory is an important component of language teaching and learning. He claims that it "is implicit in the practice of language teaching." Stern further claims that theory "reveals itself in the assumptions underlying practice, in the planning of the course of study, in the routines of the classroom, in value judgements about language teaching, and in the decisions that language teachers have to make day by day." Those who reject theory in fact do apply one or other theory.

Stern (1983: 27) gives the following criteria for distinguishing between good and bad theories:

1.   **Its usefulness and applicability.** A language theory according to Stern, must prove its usefulness above all by making sense of planning, decision making and practice.

2.   **Explicitness.** A theory in Stern's view should state and define its principal assumptions. Stern (1983: 27) argues that "no language teacher, however strenuously he may deny his interest in theory, can teach a language without a theory of language teaching, even if it is only implicit in value judgements, decisions and actions."

3.   **Coherence and consistency**. A good theory according to Stern should "reveal order, a pattern or "gestalt", and establish in our minds an awareness of relationships which, without it, might not be organised." Stern (1983: 29) argues that "consistency in a language teaching theory, however, does not necessarily mean the exclusive application of a particular pedagogic, linguistic or psychological theory." He further gives an example of many language teachers who consider themselves to be eclectic. That is, they do not subscribe to a distinct language teaching approach.

4.   **Comprehensiveness**. A language theory should be as comprehensive as possible and should provide a framework within which special theories can have their place.

5.   **Explanatory power and verifiability**. The value of a scientific theory in Stern's view normally lies in its explanatory power, its capacity to predict and in the direction it gives to empirical research. A good theory according to him is useful in identifying areas of knowledge to build upon and areas of ignorance still awaiting investigation or confirmation. In short, he maintains that a "good theory stimulates research." He further points out that "theory and research support each other" (Stern, 1983:29).

6.   **Simplicity and clarity**. Stern indicates that "a common misconception is that a theory is inevitably a complex and incomprehensible statement." In fact, he argues that a good theory, aims at being simple and economical and should be expressed in as clear and straightforward a language as possible.

Finally, Stern maintains that a language teaching theory which is not relevant to practice, which does not give meaning to it, or does not work in practice is a weak theory and therefore bound to fail. The crucial test of a language teaching theory is its effect on language learning.

More recently in the twentieth century, Stern points out that we have seen the complexity of language and mind, reflected in the variety of theories about how first and second languages are learned. This debate suggests that we are still far from resolving the ultimate mysteries of language and language learning. The next section explores ways in which an ESL teacher deals with language varieties in the classroom

context. This is one of the key issues addressed in this thesis.

9.6   HOW DOES THE ESL TEACHER DEAL WITH BIDIALECTALISM

In the preceding section 9.4, we made a very important point regarding black students in South Africa. We have noted that problems experienced by these black students at the secondary and tertiary levels are the symptoms of a disease rooted in inadequate, inappropriate and unfairly funded primary education. This section looks at the other side of the coin, i.e. the plight of the ESL teachers in these schools and how they should deal with this intractable situation. These issues were first raised in section 6.4.1 (Teacher's Dilemma). These controversies will be expanded further in this section and several solutions will be suggested.

The debate on the teacher's dilemma in teaching native and non-native speakers and learners of English has been going on for decades, especially in America and the Caribbean. In these countries, a learner brings a dialect of English into class. This issue has been discussed in Chapter 7. The teacher's dilemma centres on the question of how to deal with both the "standard" and "non-standard" English varieties in class. In chapter one and nine, we have highlighted this issue. This section revisits this subject as it is central to the whole thesis.

Taylor (1985: 9) in his article "Standard English as a second dialect", paints the following gloomy picture regarding "non-standard" users of English: "... non-standard dialect speakers often do not successfully acquire the standard language during the school years".

Selinker (in Ellis, 1985) and Craig (1971) reaffirm this same worrying view. Selinker says that many ESL learners - as many as 95% fail to reach target language competence (c.f. section 4.2) and Craig referring to the Jamaican language situation, argues that the vast majority of young Jamaicans fail to develop further than the "interaction area", so that they leave school and attain adulthood without being able to shift from this "interaction area" into the "highly-prized standard language extreme of the continuum. He goes further to describe a sad situation which is relevant to the South African

"black" situation that "widespread inability to use the standard language is resulting in increasing wastage in causing expanding education systems, a wastage which poor economies cannot afford ... government officials often show very little insight into the real nature of the problem" (Selinker in Ellis, 1985: 376).

In order to account for the above bleak language learning situation, Taylor (1985: 10) makes the following pertinent observations:

*   He criticizes the methodologies that have been and are still being employed to teach standard English. He argues that these methodologies have generally been prescriptive, corrective and structure-focused.

*   He complains that many teachers have approached the teaching of standard English with inadequate knowledge of the nature of language variation and classroom tactics to deal with it.

In addition, teacher training, especially in South Africa does not deal with this problem, social pressure, time constraints and the teacher's attitude also excarcibate this situation.

Taylor admits that teachers have a complex task and a great challenge when he presents the following scenario with regard to American situation: "... the dilemma, simply stated, is how to respect the validity of any variety of English while simultaneously assuring that all children acquire competence in standard English ... this dilemma is not limited to the United States or for that matter the English speaking world ... in every language in the world there are prestigious varieties, and where there are writing systems to accompany the language, the variety with the greatest prestige and power becomes certified, either officially or unofficially as the standard for that language" (p.9). In this case, the "prestigious variety" is "standard English" (Taylor, 1985:9).

In order to deal with "this dilemma", Taylor makes useful recommendations which seem to be applicable to our language situation in South Africa. (These recommendations will be discussed in the following section (9.6.1)).

Let us first look at what the Americans have done over the years to solve this intricate problem, bearing in mind their peculiarity (English being a mother tongue). In the late 1960's according to Taylor, a number of educators in America devised instructional strategies which were based on modern sociolinguistic theory and established principles of second language teaching. They included inter alia, the following approaches (Taylor, 1985: 10):

*   Considerations of the effect of language attitudes on language teaching and learning.

*   The principles of linguistic contrastive analysis.

*   Extensive practice of specific structures of standard English in a variety of listening and production activities.

In 1979, the East Oak Cliff Sub-District of Dallas (Texas), initiated the Standard English Programme. The Independent School District was one of the very few to adopt a "cultural approach" (to be discussed in section 9.6.1) for teaching standard English to non-standard speakers (Taylor, 1985: 10).

In 1981, Taylor maintains that the California State Board of Public Instruction became the first state to recognize the importance of taking indigenous dialects into account in teaching standard English (the Cultural Approach).

In South Africa, the situation is more complex because an ESL learner brings to school a black language and in certain cases, he or she brings fossilized forms of English whereas in the American or Jamaican context, the learner brings a non-standard mother tongue variety of English. In the South African context, the "Cultural Approach" can be tried for teaching standard English to some of the second language black teachers and learners who also bring to school "fossilized" forms of English. As for the fossilised English of teachers it is doubtful if much can be done with the present teachers, because in-service training and resources are limited. However, from now on the future corps of teachers at the pre-service level need some carefully worked out

curriculum and materials which deal with the actual language dynamics in an ESL classroom in South Africa.

9.6.1 The cultural approach

Taylor (1985:10) argues that "teaching the standard language from a cultural perspective varies from traditional language education models in that it does not require the teacher to "blame the victim." In this approach "the learning of standard English does not require the designation or elimination of the learner's indigenous language systems." We have seen the "eradicationist" view in chapter one, which advocates that non-standard varieties must be eliminated. This view is rejected by sociolinguists and the non-standard speakers themselves.

The cultural approach therefore, "recognizes 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" (Taylor, 1985:10). This resembles Corson's (1994) and Morse's (1973) notion of "appropriateness" which has been discussed earlier in this study.

To take this debate even further we need to recall "language functions" discussed earlier. For example, in America, many black learners come to the school setting speaking an English dialect that is linguistically different from standard English in the same way that blacks in South Africa come to school speaking a different language from standard English. The vital difference is that in South Africa, the learner's mother tongue is used for the first few years (junior primary phase) as a language of learning whereas in America, the non-standard dialect is not used in education at all. In both these contexts, the language they speak is an integral part of their culture.

However, the school context and that of the international community (including the economic and commercial communities), represent another linguistic sphere in which the student must learn to move and speak successfully. This same view was expressed by Quirk (1990) and Morse (1973) earlier in this study.

Taylor gives "six basic tenets which underpin the Cultural Approach" (only five of these tenets are described in this study because some of them seem to be more pertinent to our South African situation) (Taylor, 1985:10):

(1)   An oral focus: Taylor maintains that "the spoken language is the basis for all competence and precedes all other language development, such as reading and writing." This of course depends very much on the teacher's own oral proficiency, unless there is back-up from tapes, broadcasting etc, the whole exercise will be futile. This has also been discussed in section 8.6.2 which deals with "basic literacy" in South Africa. In other words, before the ESL learner begins to learn a second language, he or she should learn his or her mother tongue first. But the earlier 2L sounds and rhythms are learned, the better. Nursery rhymes are very important for teaching rhythmic patterns.

(2)   A communicative rather than structural focus: Traditionally, as was pointed out in section 9.5.1, "language arts programmes have focused almost exclusively on teaching structures with little recognition given to effective communication." Dreyer (1995: 126) is of course critical of certain current conceptions of the communicative approach. He warns that a major characteristic of some scholars of modern linguistics has been that it takes structure as a primary end in itself, and tends to depreciate use. By contrast, this would seem to be the opposing point of view from that of Taylor's. Hymes (in Dreyer, 1995: 127) makes a firm declaration that work with children, and with the place of language in education, requires a theory that can deal with a heterogeneous speech community, differential competence, the constructive role of socio-cultural features.

Dreyer maintains that the movement in the ESL professional community at the beginning of the 1990's to restore grammatical knowledge to a position of some prominence among the competences that characterise communicative proficiency holds much promise, provided it does not revert to the behaviourist inculcation of formal paradigm, to a reflection of structuralist schemes which disregard the procedural and contextual dimensions of language activity.

(3)   Concern for pattern, situation and thought. "Pattern" according to Taylor refers to the "various forms of usage appropriate for different communicative acts: phonetic and grammatical differences, differences between speaking and writing." "Situation" on the other hand, he maintains, refers to the setting, the audience and the purpose associated with the communication act, so that students should learn how to determine the type of communication that would be most appropriate to a given situation.

"Thought" relates to the content of the communication act, on what the speaker is trying to tell his or her audience.

(4)   A linkage to "products". A language skill in Taylor's view should link instruction to short and long range products: tangible purposes like interviews, dialogues during field trips etc. In other words, the ESL teacher must be able to bring the outside world into the classroom, simulate the outside world in the classroom and escape from the classroom on an imaginative level.

(5)   Linkage to a developmental teaching model. This is the last and the most important tenet. Taylor maintains that "a developmental model for second dialect or variety teaching recognizes that acquisition proceeds through an orderly process."

Taylor points out that "the model which has enjoyed the widest use and greatest success in America is the one originally designed by the San Diego (California) oral Language Programme. It has been used with varying modifications in Dallas (Texas), Richmond and Auckland (California)." The following diagrams (c.f. figure 30) (called Taylor's Staircase to success in standard English) shows all the eight developmental stages (Taylor, 1985: 12):

```
8
                                        Production
7                                       Spontaneous
                                        situations
                          Production
6                         controlled
                          situations
            Production
5           structured
            situations
        Recognition
4       of situations
    Comprehen-
3   sion of
    meanings
  Recognising
2 Labelling
  contrasting
  dialects
Awareness
1 of language
varieties
Positive
attitude
toward own
language
```
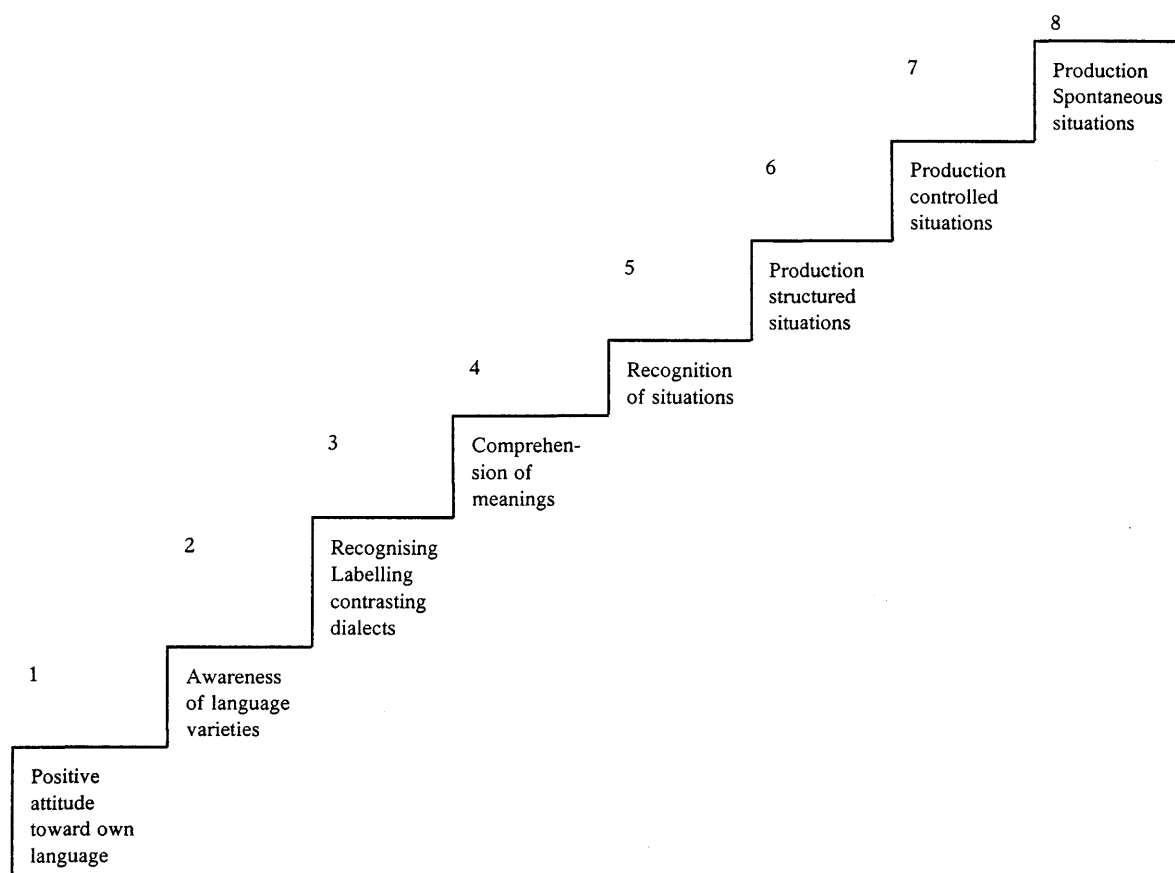
FIGURE 30: TAYLOR'S STAIRCASE TO SUCCESS IN STANDARD ENGLISH

This model in Taylor's view, is "developmental in the sense that it schematizes the steps through which the learner must proceed when learning a new linguistic system, while preserving his or her indigenous system for use in appropriate situations and appropriate tasks" (c.f. figure 30). It does not matter whether the learner's indigenous system is an English dialect or a black language, both these learners can benefit from this model. However, steps 2 and 3 do not seem to be relevant to the South African language situation. We do not seem to have established language varieties which learners bring to their schools. The following are Taylor's staircase to success in standard English:

* Positive attitude toward one's own language. This model according to Taylor, "recognizes that the primary and continuing job of the teacher is to counteract negative public evaluations of the child's non-standard dialect." In the early grades according to Taylor's model, it is argued that the teacher must maintain

a classroom atmosphere of respectful listening and enjoyment. In the grades, Taylor points out that the teacher is supposed to be more flexible. He or she should allow learners to use their "vernacular" or dialect especially when discussing difficult concepts. This however, does not mean that teachers should tolerate errors. It simply means that teachers should be sensitive to the language needs of their pupils. Standard English should be introduced orally first.

The learners according to this model, should move through the school years from an emotional acceptance of the value of all languages, beginning with their own mother tongue to an appreciation of language diversity. In South Africa, interestingly, many black learners look down upon their mother tongue, probably because of the very limited functions black languages have fulfilled throughout the South African language development history.

*   Awareness of language varieties: Taylor maintains that young children may have heard many dialects, the teacher's job in this case is to expose them to a variety of forms of language: Taylor gives examples of stories in standard English, poems in different dialects and records. In this case, it refers to the two established dialects: the Afro American and standard English dialects. In South Africa, we have indicated earlier that we do not seem to have established varieties of English. It was noted that this step is not applicable in the South African context.

*   Recognizing, labelling and contrasting dialects: The older child according to this model will be able to recognize specific differences in features of various languages and dialects, and compare and label them. However, Taylor argues that it is not necessary for one to be able to label various dialects as "standard" and "non-standard". One major problem in his view with regard to labelling and contrasting dialects is that teachers do not have much time to do all this. Even though it sounds cogent, it appears impractical to apply in a classroom. This third step, does not apply to the South African situation.

*   Comprehension of meanings: Taylor states that it is important for the learner to

recognize particular underlying meanings and intentions associated with particular words. For example the word "funeral" is associated with a huge crowd of mourners, many buses etc, by many blacks whereas whites would associate it with the opposite.

*   Recognition of situations: It is important according to this model for the learner to be able to assess what is appropriate in any situation. Young children may not be able to deal with this concept. It is maintained that this inability to change in terms of a given situation is what makes the young child seem so straightforward. The older child in Taylor's view, however, can understand, and can be taught how to use that understanding.

*   Production in structured situations: It is necessary in the earlier stages according to Taylor to have a model to follow initially (some kind of script, poems etc). When that level is mastered, he claims that the learner can alter and extend the original set of behaviours.

*   Production in controlled situations: Taylor states that this time, there is no script, instead there is role-playing, retelling a story, etc. He argues that the situation is controlled and pre-determined in that communicative performance in the situation is under the speaker's control. The learner in his view can generate certain known language patterns spontaneously when the content of the communication is known in advance. He claims that by making the content and the context predictable the teacher frees the learner to concentrate more effectively on the skills to be practised.

*   Production in spontaneous situations: This is Taylor's "last step in the sequence and the ultimate goals of the programme." Here in his view, the student has to determine the linguistic and communicative requirements of the situation and then proceed to use the form of language that is most appropriate.

The cultural approach as noted earlier, seems to leave some gaps especially with regard to the South African language scenario. Laurence Wright (1994: 13) and Bangeni

(1994) provide some practical hints which attempt to address South African black ESL in education.

Firstly, Wright (1996:160) maintains that "the main causes of South African black English's tendency to deviate from the norms of standard English is removal from continuous contact with these norms."

He argues that this "problem can be addressed by ensuring that appropriate linguistic models are presented in the print and broadcast media and in the legal system" (Wright, 1996:160). He further advises that "the models put before society by media announcers, legal officials and public servants should remain as far as possible tied to the language standard" as described by Quirk and Strevens earlier in this study.

Wright (1996:160) makes an important point that "formal English instruction in black schools should be learner-centred but highly structured, with maximum provision of teacher and learner support." This approach is similar to Taylor's "production situations" (c.f. steps 6, 7, 8 - figure 30). Wright argues that "subject textbooks, as well as language materials, need careful design to support systematically the communicative expansion of vocabulary, the command of associative and extra meaning (both locally derived and foreign) and the mastery of English syntax i.e. all those features of English which are elusive and vulnerable to distortion when learning takes place in a non-english environment."

He (Wright, 1996: 160-161) also touches on phonology. In other words he states that "English language education should incorporate particular attention to prosodic phonology." He further quotes the three pertinent features singled out by Lanham (1994a - in Wright, 1996: 160-161): "the function of stress in the sound system, vowel length contrast and central vowel quality." He argues that "targeting these points of deviance for specific correction could go some way to ensuring that spoken BSAFE remains intercomprehensible."

Secondly, Naremore and Hopper (cited by Bangeni, 1994: 3) rightly assert that "English second language learners need linguistic help not only in an English lesson but

more aware of the language demands their particular subject makes on pupils."

Bangeni (1994:3) makes an important point that "all over South Africa, black young learners on entering school life, already possess a vast store of vocabulary of English words, irrespective of their language and social background." She claims that they "find counting up to ten easier in English than counting in (isi) Xhosa, even before they start formal schooling." This situation is obviously prevalent in urban areas - in the townships. This vocabulary in her view covers areas such as the supermarket and scores of items brought from there, for example, the words: coffee, tea, rice, soup, matches, milk, change, cheap etc.

Bangeni (1994:4) offers a practical solution for ESL learners who bring some form of English to the classroom when she advises that "the kind of vocabulary referred to above could provide an ideal basis on which the teachers, particularly the English teacher, can build in the lower classes." She maintains that "whenever the young learners find difficulty in expressing themselves in English with regard to certain concepts, a little bit of help for clarification using the mother tongue could help out." She further argues that "at early levels a ratio of about 5 percent native language to about 95 percent target language may be more profitable." In other words, the ESL teacher especially the one who shares the same mother tongue with the learners, can spend at least 5 percent of her time explaining instructions in pupils mother tongue. The rest of the ESL time can be devoted to the target language. It sounds most interesting, but it is inconceivable how the ESL teacher can divide his or her teaching time into percentages. Instead of putting down rigid percentage structures for the teacher, it is useful to allow flexibility. The teacher must be allowed to use his or her discretion as is necessary. The general principle is worth consideration.

According to Bangeni (1994:10), "bilingual education programmes have an added advantage of making learners view the second language in a positive light by the realisation that it can exist side by side with their mother tongue." She further points out that this also discourages the "view that learning English strips the learners of their pride in their own language causing them to look down on their culture." Instead, she argues that "as they progress in learning they realise how enriching the exposure to

different languages and different cultures can be."

Bangeni also points out that black pupils who attend non-racial schools (private or Model C schools) "have always been accused of being alienated from their cultural roots just because they often end up becoming more conversant with English than their first language." In response to this concern, she argues that "because their first language is used in the wider environment as a "majority language", they never actually lose it.

All the suggestions proposed in this section, can only be successfully and effectively implemented by dedicated, motivated and skilled trained teachers. Gillian Brown (1988) proposed what seems to be an effective language model derived from the Kingman Report.

9.7   KINGMAN REPORT - BROWN'S LANGUAGE MODEL

In chapter 6, a number of concerns and questions which are central to this thesis were raised. For example, questions such as the following were posed:

(a)   Is there a codifiable variety of black English in South Africa apart from phonology?

(b)   Should we consider individual errors made by individual ESL users who have been denied decent educational facilities and opportunities as a new English?

(c)   Is an error/mistake a learner's error or part of a new language?

(d)   What are the implications of the opting for a non-standard "uncodified" variety of English in education?

(e)   Where would one fix the so-called educated black English on the cline of bilingualism and does this constitute a new English?

(f) **What are the specifically black features of educated black English?**

These are some of the questions which compound the ESL teaching and learning situation. One has to admit as we have noted in chapter 4, that black ESL is characterised by the persistence of peculiar forms and usages that are found at almost all the levels of the cline of bilingualism. Earlier in this study, we have identified some root courses which account for these deviations and at times poor performance:

* underfunding of black education as a result of apartheid policies
* poor ESL teacher training
* inadequate resources and
* overcrowded classrooms.

These deviations from standard English do not necessarily result in a new variety of English. In other words, these deviations are not made deliberately or consciously. It has been demonstrated throughout this study that the decline of the standard of English in black schools is primarily the product of apartheid legislation since 1953, which has resulted in inadequate ESL teacher training, poor resources, and overcrowded classrooms. Yet standard English remains the most viable pedagogic language model in South Africa for fulfilling the language functions described earlier in this study.

In order to drastically change and improve the English language teaching and learning situation in broader terms, the Cox Report (1989: 4.7) suggests that the English curriculum must respond to the entitlement of all pupils to learn and if necessary to be taught, the functions and forms of standard English.

Quirk reinforces the same view when he says that all pupils are entitled to learn standard English. He (1995: 27) argues that "all the students know perfectly well that their command of standard English is likely to increase their freedom and their career prospects." He further stresses that "teachers and taught alike (should) accept the basic conclusion that it is the institution's duty to teach standard English."

It is worth noting, when considering standard English as a language of learning, to bear in mind the particular functions that it serves: for example, it was shown earlier that it fulfils certain major functions in the education system and in professional life, in public and formal uses, and in writing and particularly in print. It is precisely for the same reason stated earlier by Quirk, that standard English serves as a language of wider communication for such an extensive and important range of purposes that children must learn to use it completely (The Cox Report, 1989: 4.9).

Taylor's model, Wright's and Bangeni's proposals described earlier in this chapter, attempt to address the questions and concerns raised earlier in this section. Taylor's model is more applicable to the American and the Caribbean language situations where children come to school speaking an English dialect different from the standard variety.

Wright and Bangeni do not provide a useful framework which ESL teachers can use in the classroom situation. They simply give a few suggestions regarding strategies which an ESL teacher is supposed to use in the classroom. However, ESL teachers need something more than mere suggestions. They require clear approaches and guidelines that will enable them to teach ESL effectively.

Part of the increased complexity of life in the classroom arises mainly from the political changes in South Africa. We now have eleven official languages and language rights written into the interim Constitution.

Furthermore, we now find increasingly that classes are mixed in cultural traditions, languages, educational background and age range (Ridge, 1995: 2). Ridge argues that education is at present less and less shaped by the organising rituals of the system and more and more by the demand of access to economic life and to the benefit of democracy.

Now, at last, for Brown's model (1988: 17) it seems to be more comprehensive, detailed and simple to adapt to different English teaching situations.

The model is presented in four parts:

Part 1:   The forms of the English langauge - sounds, letters, words, sentences, and how these relate to meaning.

Part 2:   Communication and comprehension - how speakers and writers communicate and how listeners and readers understand them.

Part 3:   Acquisition and development - how the child acquires and develops language.

Part 4:   Historical and geographical variation - how languages change over time, and how languages which are spread over territories differentiate into dialects or indeed into separate languages.

Brown stresses that all four parts are necessary, since each is part of a whole, thus each has full significance only in relation to the other three.

Brown points out that it is the (Kingman) Committee's view that teachers need to understand the shape, scope and detail of the model. She hastens to admit that she is not suggesting that there is only one correct approach to the study of the various parts of the model.

She further claims that teachers with this degree of knowledge will readily make use of it in those circumstances where they consider it appropriate to the language needs of pupils. The main thrust of the communicative approach to language teaching is that learners should be helped to acquire the skills and knowledge to communicate at appropriate levels.

Brown's model, presents an eclectic approach to the issues which teachers have to be familiar with. This model applies across teacher education and across pre-service and in-service training at different levels.
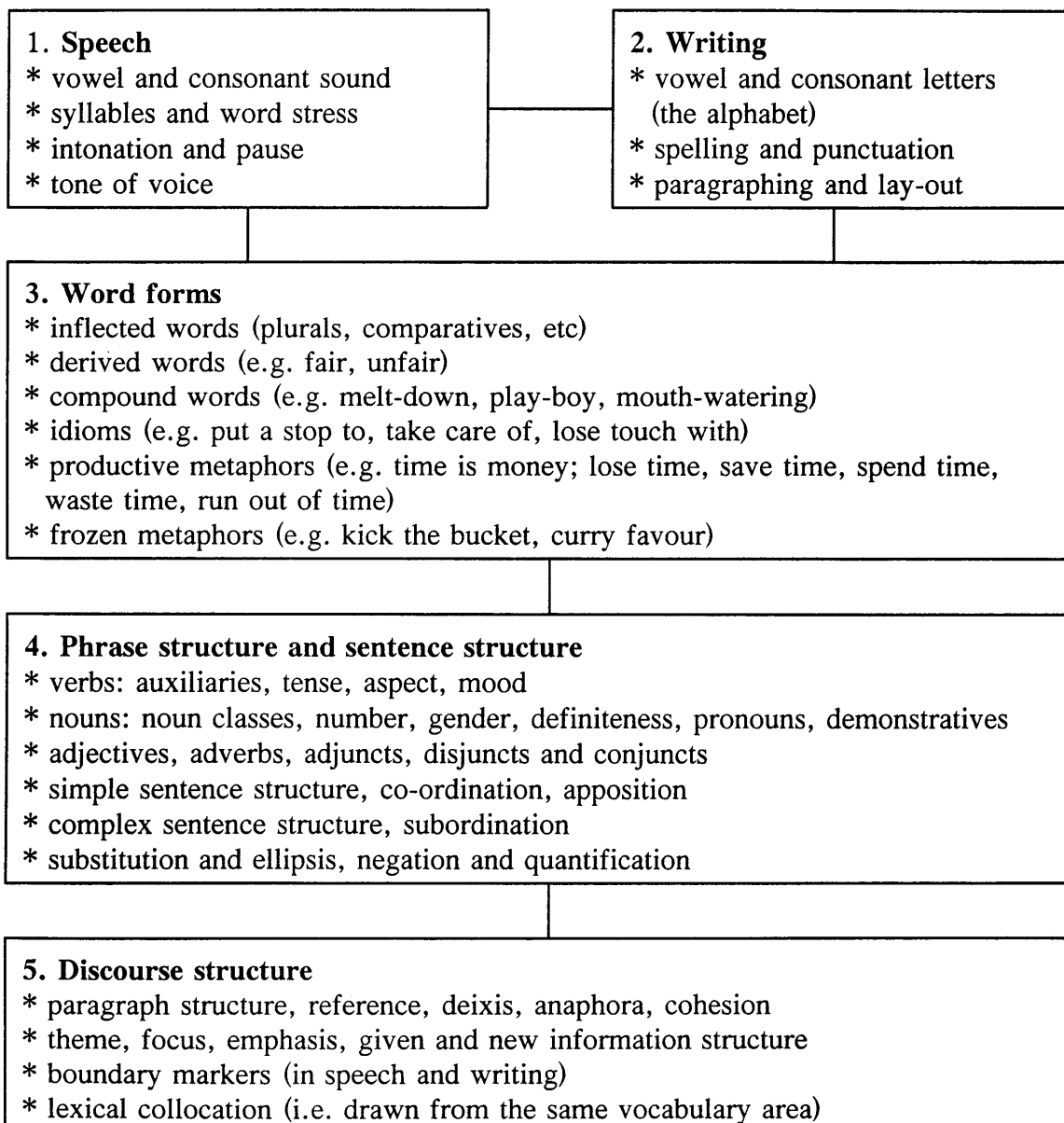
Teacher trainers are therefore advised to select from those books which are most appropriate to the teachers they are educating.

The parts of the model are presented in a series of five figures (31, 32, 33, 34 and 35) reproduced together below for ease of reference.

The contents of the five figures constitute the model. Each figure has a summary which is divided into different parts.

Part 1: The forms of the English language

The following boxes according to Brown exemplify the range of forms found in English. If forms are combined in regular patterns, following the rules and conventions of English, they yield meaningful language.
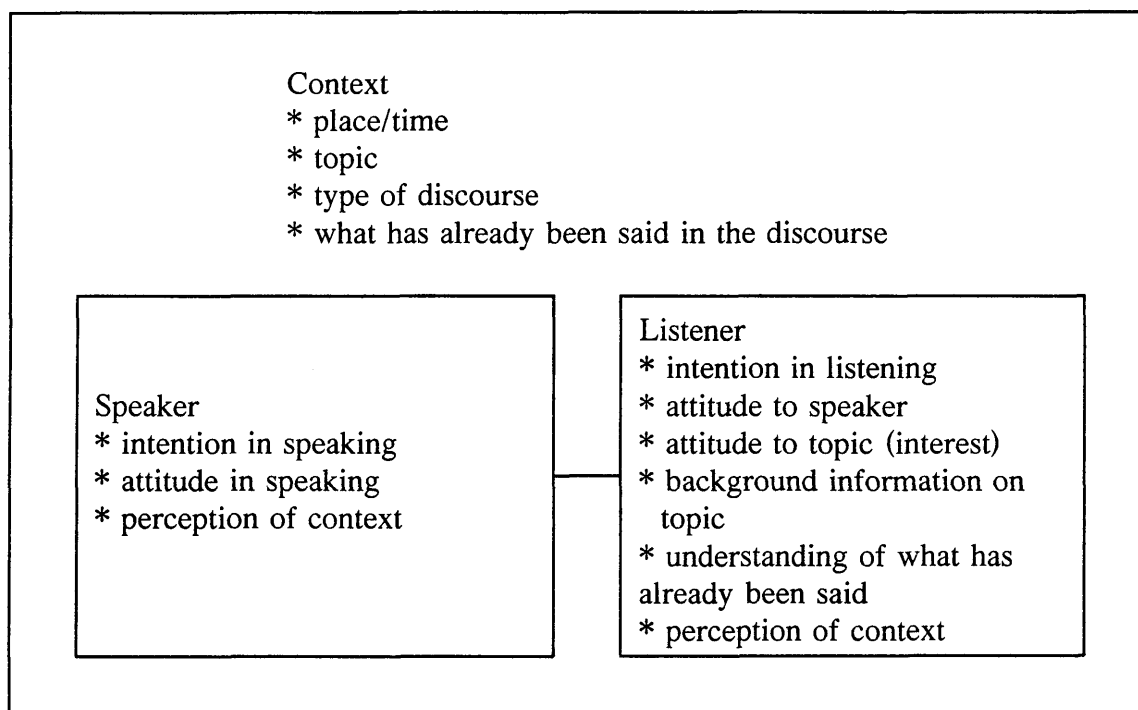
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1. Speech
* vowel and consonant sound
* syllables and word stress
* intonation and pause
* tone of voice

2. Writing
* vowel and consonant letters
  (the alphabet)
* spelling and punctuation
* paragraphing and lay-out

3. Word forms
* inflected words (plurals, comparatives, etc)
* derived words (e.g. fair, unfair)
* compound words (e.g. melt-down, play-boy, mouth-watering)
* idioms (e.g. put a stop to, take care of, lose touch with)
* productive metaphors (e.g. time is money; lose time, save time, spend time, waste time, run out of time)
* frozen metaphors (e.g. kick the bucket, curry favour)

4. Phrase structure and sentence structure
* verbs: auxiliaries, tense, aspect, mood
* nouns: noun classes, number, gender, definiteness, pronouns, demonstratives
* adjectives, adverbs, adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts
* simple sentence structure, co-ordination, apposition
* complex sentence structure, subordination
* substitution and ellipsis, negation and quantification

5. Discourse structure
* paragraph structure, reference, deixis, anaphora, cohesion
* theme, focus, emphasis, given and new information structure
* boundary markers (in speech and writing)
* lexical collocation (i.e. drawn from the same vocabulary area)

FIGURE 31: BROWN'S FORMS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The following diagram (c.f. figure 32) according to Brown relates to how context affects our use of language, the way we choose our expressions in speaking and the ways in which we understand when listening can comment in an unprejudiced and illuminating way on problems, questions and observations about communication and comprehension.

Part 2(i): Communication

Brown maintains that speakers and writers adapt their language to the context in which the language is being used. The boxes below indicate some of the main features of context which are relevant in conversations where the speaker and listener are talking face to face. In this section Brown also indicates how this model needs to be adapted to account for written language. (Note that in literature we often find representations of speech which rely on our experience of the spoken language).

Context
* place/time
* topic
* type of discourse
* what has already been said in the discourse

Speaker
* intention in speaking
* attitude in speaking
* perception of context

Listener
* intention in listening
* attitude to speaker
* attitude to topic (interest)
* background information on
  topic
* understanding of what has
already been said
* perception of context
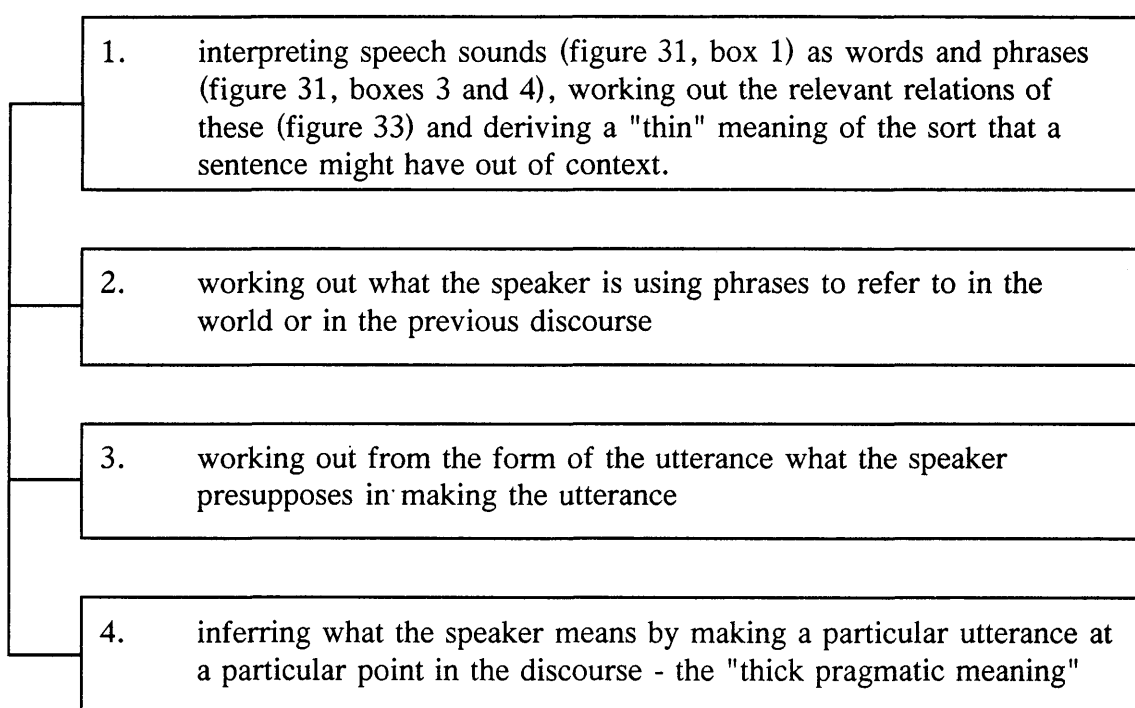
FIGURE 32: BROWN'S COMMUNICATION PROCESS

The following diagram (figure 33) shows how, according to Brown, language is understood in a context as demonstrated in figure 32 and the processes of language understanding (c.f. figure 33) can reflect and comment illuminatingly on problems,

questions and observations to do with language understanding which occur in everyday life.

Part 2(ii): Comprehension: some processes of understanding

In figure 32 we showed the context of communication which is of course the context in which comprehension takes place. We understand language in a context of use. Some of the processes involved in understanding are indicated in this figure 33 which, like figure 32, is orientated to the speaker/listener relationship; these figures can be adapted to give an account of reading with understanding.

1.	interpreting speech sounds (figure 31, box 1) as words and phrases (figure 31, boxes 3 and 4), working out the relevant relations of these (figure 33) and deriving a "thin" meaning of the sort that a sentence might have out of context.
2.	working out what the speaker is using phrases to refer to in the world or in the previous discourse
3.	working out from the form of the utterance what the speaker presupposes in making the utterance
4.	inferring what the speaker means by making a particular utterance at a particular point in the discourse - the "thick pragmatic meaning"

(All of these processes may apply simultaneously)

FIGURE 33: BROWN'S COMPREHENSION PROCESS

The following diagram (c.f. figure 34) in Brown's point of view is clearly important to teachers in both the primary and secondary schools, as well as to parents and all those concerned with the development of young people.

Part 3:   Acquisition and development

1.   Children according to Brown, gradually acquire the forms of language identified in the boxes of figure 31. Whereas some aspects of acquisition are fairly rapid (most children have acquired a full range of vowels and consonants by the time they are 6 or 7), other aspects develop much later (for example, control of spelling patterns and conventions of punctuation).

2.   Children in her view gradually develop their ability to produce and to understand appropriate forms of language (both spoken and written) in a wide range of contexts (figure 32). She maintains that development does not cease in the years of schooling but continues throughout life.

FIGURE 34: BROWN'S ACQUISITION AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The last diagram (c.f. figure 35) focuses on the process of language change, and in particular the history of English.

Part 4:   Historical and geographical variation

1.   Brown maintains that language changes over time - all forms of language are subject to change, to inception, modification and to decay, sometimes rapidly and sometimes immeasurably slowly. Changes continue to take place in our own time.

2.   As populations are dispersed and separated, she argues that they typically develop regular regional changes in their language forms. These changes may mark different dialects (or eventually different languages). If one of these dialects is used for writing, that dialect may emerge as the standard langauge; it will, of course, share many characteristics with the other related dialects.

FIGURE 35: BROWN'S HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL VARIATION

In conclusion, Brown (1988: 17) acknowledges that her model "does not and cannot

reflect the depth, range and quality of the debate" which has been generated within the (Kingman) Report. She further stresses (Brown, 1988: 31) that this is the model of the English language in outline only, knowledge of which the Kingman Committee sees as both desirable and necessary for all teachers of English and especially all teachers of primary school children where the language foundation is laid.

In his (1995: 2) article "First, Second Language, Language", Ridge concurs with the Kingman Report when he makes the point that the primary concern of language teaching should be "enabling learners to develop their skill at using the language-communicating in it".

Lastly, The Cox Report (1989: 4.5) warns that, "if pupils do not have access to standard English, then many important opportunities are closed to them, in cultural activities, in further and higher education, and in industry, commerce and the professions".

9.8   CONCLUSION

Taylor's model discussed in this chapter, even though it seems more convincing, still has a lot of limitations. Taylor himself acknowledges that his model is not perfect when he confesses that "the proposals advanced ... are not suggested as a panacea for teaching standard English" (Taylor, 1985: 12).

Section 7.3 of this study, cited Sledd (in Schafer, 1982: 66) expressing his doubts regarding the teaching of two dialects (bidialectalism) claiming that the English teacher's forty-five minutes a day for five days a week will never counteract the influence, and sometimes the hostility of playmates, friends and family during much of the larger part of the student's time.

One of the major weaknesses (raised throughout this thesis) of Taylor's model is that it does not indicate how the "non-standard" variety is going to be taught, even though it seems codified or even codifiable (c.f. Chapter 7). It is not clear whether it is the "basilectal", the "mesolectal" or the "acrolectal" level of the non-standard variety that

must be taught alongside standard English. However, the situation Taylor is talking about in this case is more codifiable than our case in South Africa. The Afro-American dialect is more stable than ESL in South Africa.

The questions that immediately come to mind are:

*   What does the English teacher teach?"

*   How does he or she teach the non-standard variety without the dictionaries, grammar and handbooks?

*   How does he or she divide the time to teach both these varieties (standard/non-standard)?

*   How does he or she deal with the socio-political pressure against "standard English" on the one hand and "non-standard English" on the other?

It all boils down to the notion of the "language functions" discussed earlier in this study. In other words, ESL students have got to be made to feel good about their own black languages and that these languages or dialects form an integral part of their culture. Mesthrie (1992: 145) argues that language diversity "should not, however, prevent a more positive and tolerant attitude on the part of teachers than has been the experience of generations of learners".

These black languages also fulfil certain important educational and social functions, whereas the school setting and that of the world including the economic and the commercial communities, represent another linguistic sphere in which the student must learn standard English. The reader is reminded, yet again, of the crucial list of functions mentioned earlier in this thesis.

At the moment in South Africa, all the black official languages are used as languages of learning in the elementary classes. From the higher primary upwards, English is used exclusively as a language of learning. These black languages are taught as subjects up

to tertiary level and it seems that this situation will continue. It was noted earlier that" vernacular languages are, at present, not sufficiently developed to carry the burden of South Africa's urban-industrial energies either technically or in relation to demographic distribution."

As far as the extreme "fossilized forms" of English are concerned, special remedial programmes must be devised to minimize the situation. These issues concerning "how the ESL teachers should deal with learners' "errors", were discussed earlier in section 6.4 and they were also expanded earlier in this chapter (9).

Large sectors of the non-standard-speaking population in South Africa, especially "blacks" who are below or at the "basilectal" level of proficiency, have to be enabled or equipped and rapidly so, in order to function in a modern economy; and standard English, by way of textbooks, instructors, examinations etc, is the medium through which this can be achieved (Craig, 1971: 375).

The new Interim Core Syllabus (1995: 4) reaffirms the above view that ESL learners have to be enabled to acquire standard English. It provides the following nine general aims for the junior and senior primary phases:

1.   The purpose of this syllabus is to enable learners to communicate successfully in English for personal, social and educational purposes. Pupils should, therefore,

1.1   be encouraged to learn English so that they will eventually be able to meet the challenge of living in a multilingual environment

1.2   to listen to and understand English as it is used in South Africa. In other words, teachers should aim for the acrolectal level of proficiency when teaching their ESL learners.

1.3   to speak English clearly, fluently and with increasing confidence in a variety of situations and for a variety of purposes

1.4   to establish and develop the necessary reading skills so that their ability to read and comprehend a range of materials and their ability to read for multiple purposes will improve steadily

1.5   to learn first to write, and then to write for an increasing variety of purposes

1.6   to use English spontaneously and confidently without fear of constant correction

1.7   to control English structure and vocabulary and to use these in contextualised and interactive ways

1.8   to experience a sense of enjoyment and achievement in their mastery of English as an additional means of communication and as a tool for learning

1.9   to develop a basic awareness of social context and the ways it affects communication and to use elementary strategies for evaluating their own success in communicating.

There is only one major shortcoming with this new ESL syllabus. A lot of work and effort has gone into the whole exercise of producing a communicative syllabus while teachers who are supposed to implement it have not been fully equipped to deal with the changing circumstances. It is therefore important to train the teachers so that they can be able to cope and deal with the new syllabus.

At this point we need to revisit Taylor's model described earlier. It cannot and should not be discarded and condemned outright. We can learn something from it in South Africa. In his own words, Taylor stresses that "a culturally based approach to teaching standard English may provide useful insights into the direction that we needed to be headed" (Taylor, 1985: 12). Language policy makers should come up with guiding policies which address these controversial issues. This will enable the English subject advisors to guide teachers in schools. Examiners will also be able to select the appropriate language forms or varieties that must be set for examinations. Language book writers also need a guiding language policy in order to produce relevant materials.

Brown's (1988) language model appears to be more useful and feasible in the South African context than the Cultural Approach. This does not imply that the Cultural Approach should be abandoned. What is required is perhaps to adapt it to our situation.

Quirk, earlier in this study, makes a key point regarding "non-standard" versus "standard English" in education. He argues that "it is neither liberal nor liberating to permit learners to settle for (what he calls) "lower" standards (non-standard varieties) than the best (standard varieties) and it is a travesty of liberalism to tolerate "low" standards which will lock the least fortunate into the least rewarding careers" (1990: 1). He made this comment responding to Kachru's (Chapter 5) option for the variety of English at the lower end of the continuum to be a pedagogical model. What Quirk implies here is that teachers should focus on the teaching of standard English and at the same time be sensitive to the learners indigenous languages. Furthermore without necessarily teaching the non-standard variety, learners should be constantly reminded that their varieties of English are important and that they serve important but different functions compared to standard English which fulfils broader international functions and other areas of use (shown throughout this thesis). It was also mentioned earlier in this study that educated "black" and "white" varieties are more similar than different. What is required for South Africa, is for the tertiary institutions to re-examine their methods of ESL teaching. It has been noted in this study that while the colleges need to review their ESL methods, upgrade their materials, improve the curriculum, another equally important factor needs to be seriously considered, i.e. restructuring of all the teacher training colleges as indicated earlier in this thesis.

The MEC for Gauteng Department of Education has already taken a lead when she made an announcement recently that the Gauteng colleges should begin to consider cutting down their student intake by almost 40% from 1996 onwards. The situation may result in rationalisation and restructuring of the existing teacher colleges some of which are still racially segregated (c.f. table 11). For example, in Johannesburg alone, we have Soweto College (for blacks), Rand College (for Coloureds), the Johannesburg College of Education for Whites and the Transvaal College of Education (for Indians). It is therefore necessary to transform these colleges. It was noted earlier that black colleges in South Africa have and are still providing inferior education compared to the

other colleges.

At this point before we conclude this section, we need to revisit Taylor's model (his second step) discussed earlier in this study. He makes a proposal which needs to be explored further, that is, learners should be exposed or made aware of language varieties, especially in America. In South Africa (if such varieties exist) this would be a hazardous educational proposition unless some carefully worked out materials are available. Otherwise this would be an additional burden on the teachers' greater operation in the classroom situation.

Finally Quirk (1995: 26) expresses a critical view regarding the idea of exposing learners to different varieties of English. He warns that such an educational fashion went too far (especially in Britain), "grossly undervaluing the baby of standard English while overvaluing the undoubtedly important bathwater of regional, social and ethnic varieties: giving the impression that any kind of English was as good as any other".

9.9   BROAD CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis as a whole, certain basic issues have been examined and the findings have had to be accounted for. The thesis has produced substantial evidence which enabled us to draw certain conclusions.

It was noted earlier that three major factors have contributed to the decline of ESL teaching and performance in black schools. However, it is evident from the findings that the first two of these factors have had minimal effect on the deterioration of ESL teaching and performance. In other words, it was shown that the notion of black English is a misnomer because it is not an established variety of English in South Africa and that the rise of black nationalism does not seem to have a significant bearing on the decline of English teaching,. 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 effect on the state of ESL teaching and performance.

Many of the findings, and conclusions pertaining to these issues, were discussed in chapter 8 and are not repeated here. Only broad conclusions, which are in essence a distillation of the specific and generalized findings and conclusions are discussed in this section.

The analyses revealed that almost 64% of the respondents (teachers, inspectors, subject advisors, college students and native pupils), have never heard of a new English called "black English" in South Africa. The reason for this response could probably be that these respondents had always regarded "English" as it is, without any label attached to it. In other words, they had not given thought to the label "black English".

Another reason may be "a basic language insecurity, brought about by past and present attitudes" (Platt et al 1984: 171). In other words, they identify more comfortably with the prestigious standard English. Most importantly, standard English is probably perceived as the variety which fulfils broader functions such as access to world knowledge, science and technology and for functioning in a modern economy. However, there is a powerful opinion in influential circles, that by now is probably the conventionally listed opinion, that claims that there is a "black English".

For the past two or three decades there has been an intermittent debate about the emergence of distinct regional varieties of English in the "outer circle" where English is widely used as a second language. There have been, perhaps, some rather premature announcements of "post-colonial Englishes" by anxious sociolinguists in the new states of Asia and Africa. Ahulu (1992: 1) has pointed out earlier that "arguments rejecting the pedagogic notion of "standard English" or "correctness" and suggesting that all forms of English are equal, have resulted in the proliferation of terms such as "Indian English", "Ghanaian English", "Nigerian English", "Filipino English", etc. which are claimed to be on precisely the same equal footing with "British English" and "American English". These labels have been explored in this study and their existence has proved to be contentious and doubtful, especially with regard to the South African black variety of English. This language varieties controversy is summarised aptly by Jibril (1987: 46 - in Schmied, 1991: 175) with specific reference to "Nigerian English":

"Most of those who accept Nigerian English as a reality neither propose it as a model nor seek to wipe it out of existence. They recognise instead, that it is the natural result of attempting to learn a second language and of using that language in social and affective domains, among others. Nigerians will acquire Nigerian English whether or not they are taught in it, so attention is to be focused on supplementing this variety of English with a native-like model in order to enhance the international intelligibility of Nigerians.

Ahulu takes this debate even further. In his attempt to conflate the existing pedagogical concept of "standard English" and the emerging theoretical notion of "standard non-native varieties of English", he (1992: 5-6) reinforces his position when he argues that he does not simply select isolated examples of forms to corroborate or falsify any theoretical position or construct, which he maintains has been the general trend of research in the field. He explores the stability of the claimed "characteristic" forms of "Ghanaian English" and shows the statistical likelihood of their occurrence in particular syntactic and semantic environments.

In his thesis he selected the two Ghanaian national English-language newspapers, the Times and the Graphic for several reasons. They are the most widely circulated national English language newspapers in Ghana and they are read by the whole public, whose proficiency in English ranges from the lowest to the highest level of the continuum. It is argued that these papers are representative of written English in Ghana. It is also believed that the material appearing in newspapers, because of its pervasive nature, will be one of the most powerful models and authoritative sources of English usage for Ghanaians.

For example, Ahulu indicates that the corpus shows no grammatical categories that regularly occur divergently from the international standard English usage. He further argues that if we accept the general view that there is a distinctive Ghanaian English usage that can be clearly distinguished from standard English in terms of such tendencies as "omission of articles, pluralisation of non count nouns, etc", then we must allow for a great deal of overlap between "Ghanaian English usage" and standard practice in the language produced by educated Ghanaians.

Ahulu makes a key point which was made about educated South African black English in chapter 3 that educated Ghanaians, for instance, do not constantly omit articles in every context where standard practice would require them, nor are noncount norms consistently made to take the regular plural morph whenever they are expected to have semantically plural interpretations.

In conclusion, Ahulu argues that in Ghana, at least, the aim of ESL teachers is to teach, learn and use standard English. He makes an interesting observation when he claims that English has such a high status and level of respectability in Ghana that one's standard of English is virtually taken as an index of one's intelligence. The attitude of ESL users around the world is generally positive even though English may not be perceived as "an index of intelligence".

However, nobody doubts that those communities around the world which continue to use ESL extensively in education, law, government, commerce and journalism as well as in literature, display in their usage of it occasional deviations from standard English. It is also inevitable that local idioms develop, loanwords from other local languages are introduced, and distinctive patterns of pronunciation (excluded from the standard English debate) appear in the spoken form of English.

These relatively slight deviations from and extensions of standard English are widespread. It has been stressed in this study that these deviations do not signal the beginning of a new English. So far, Ahulu (1992) argues that detailed, descriptive documentation has been lacking, and only impression and opinion has dominated the whole language varieties debate. Ahulu further argues that the evidence we have in the field largely consists of glossaries of coinages and other lexical modifications and the listing of isolated examples of grammatical divergence. Could not the same be said of "varieties" of English in South Africa, a situation not really altered by the recent launching of the Oxford Dictionary of South African English.

It was also shown in this study that the majority of the South African ESL learners, according to their circumstances, develop an "interlanguage". What happens in this case is that certain aspects of their interlanguage become fossilized (permanently fixed) at

a particular point of the cline. This study therefore, recommends that the ESL teacher must strive for the acrolect (the highest point of the cline) knowing that the target will not always be attained. However, some linguists would argue against what they perceive as the "dominance" of standard English. Phillipson (in Honey's Review, 1994: 117) regards this domination as "linguicism", by which he means, "attributing to one language (or variety) favourable attributes and denying similar attributes to another". Phillipson further argues that linguicism has taken over from racism as a more subtle way of hierarchising social groups and promoting inequality.

By contrast, the Kingman Report (in Quirk, 1995: 26) noted earlier, sees such an attitude as "trapping students in their present social and ethnic sectors and as creating a barrier to their educational progress. The report further states that "so far from inhibiting personal freedom, is more likely to increase the freedom of the individual than diminish it".

In the South African context, it has been shown in this thesis that "teachers are the primary agents for propagation of English among blacks, and the greater majority today are the products of circumstances and a system which have eliminated authentic English as a model for black learners" (Lanham, 1982: 333). These teachers need to know what to teach and should also rectify the errors before they are fossilised.

The purpose of aiming at the apex of the cline is that it would bring our English close to international standard English. It was also shown that through the variety closer to standard English, learners will be able to have access to science and technology, commerce and industry, libraries and the media.

Furthermore, ESL teachers should apply remedial teaching to rectify the errors identified in their ESL learners' interlanguage. Corder (1981) reinforces this point when he points out that in general, we can say that remedial action becomes necessary when we detect a mismatch or disparity between the knowledge, skill or ability of someone and the demands that are made on him or her by the situation. Corder argues that the degree of mismatch determines whether and how much remedial teaching is necessary and is normally measured by language tests. It would also be more plausible to think

that speakers of ESL generally tend to follow the same "route" through what appears to be the complexities and idiosyncrasies of English. That obviously would be useful in error analysis in the classroom.

This thesis points out that there must be an ongoing interaction between the tertiary institutions and schools. As indicated earlier, Ridge (1990:17) maintains that "staff and facilities of universities, technikons and colleges of education should be drawn on far more regularly" to assist teachers to keep and maintain higher standards of teaching English. More government funding could alleviate the strain on these institutions.

In addition to this, the argument of this thesis has been strongly in favour of the establishment of effective teacher development programmes. This thesis takes as its point of departure the view that classroom teachers should be involved in curriculum research and development as these relate to their own classrooms. Most importantly, the primary goal for in-service teacher education should be to give teachers ways of exploring their own classrooms.

In order for the teachers to be constructively involved in-service teacher education and training, certain factors have to be considered (Nunan, 1990: 62):

*   teachers need to conceptualise their practice in theoretical terms
*   they need to be aware of the issues amenable to action research
*   they need to have skills in data collection and analysis.

Nunan further points out that these skills can be developed through "action research" (trying out ideas in practice as a means of improvement and as a means of increasing knowledge about the curriculum, teaching and learning) projects wherein professional development programmes can feed into a constant cycle of "intervention", "monitoring" and "modification" to classroom practice.

Nunan (1990) maintains that it must be stressed that encouraging ESL teachers to become their own classroom researchers can have a beneficial effect in all areas of the curriculum. In particular, he argues that it has great potential for professional self-

development and renewal. However, we need to be careful that we do not overburden the teachers. We need some carefully designed materials to be made available. Teachers also need clear guidelines regarding in-service training.

In-service teacher education and training must be seen as part of the teacher's work and it is expected to have a direct connection with the practical school situation. This is likely to eliminate disruption of teaching and learning which often takes place when teachers go to a centralised in-service centre.

Furthermore in-service training seems to be most effective according to Bower's (1987) view, when it takes into consideration the teachers' own fears, preconceptions, role definitions, their perceived situational problems and constraints, their own social and communicative behaviour in groups. In other words, teachers should be actively involved in the search for and proposal of solutions to their perceived problems and constraints in the teaching situation. Bowers (1987) makes a significant point that any form of teacher education involves a close understanding of the processes of teaching and learning, empirical study of the joint activity of teacher and learner in the normal classroom, a conscious evaluation of educational programmes and processes as they relate to the current aims of society and a recognition that when all is said and done, teaching is no picnic.

Earlier in this study, we pointed out that there has to be retraining of some teachers. In order to attain this goal, we need an integrated approach. Bowers (1987) supports this view when he says that an effective programme of teacher education which seeks to have more than local effect, requires an effort and persuasion which is spread across the entire education system.

In addition, he argues that it is no good encouraging one section of the educational constituency if enthusiasm is stifled by inertia elsewhere in the system. He argues that students, teachers, trainers, NGOs and administrators have to move in the same direction if inertia is to be overcome. In other words, in the South African ESL context, we need to develop a set of interlocking projects which aim at concurrent and coherent innovation in all parts of the ESL teaching system. This action will definitely minimise ESL teachers' and learners' current and future difficulties. It is an expensive approach,

but it is also cost effective and a good investment.

Figure 36 below, sums up the question of "teacher education" by showing the symbiotic relationship between the project in pre-service, in-service and advanced training. It also reflects the hierarchical and functional links between the different groups involved in language education (Bower, 1987: 6):
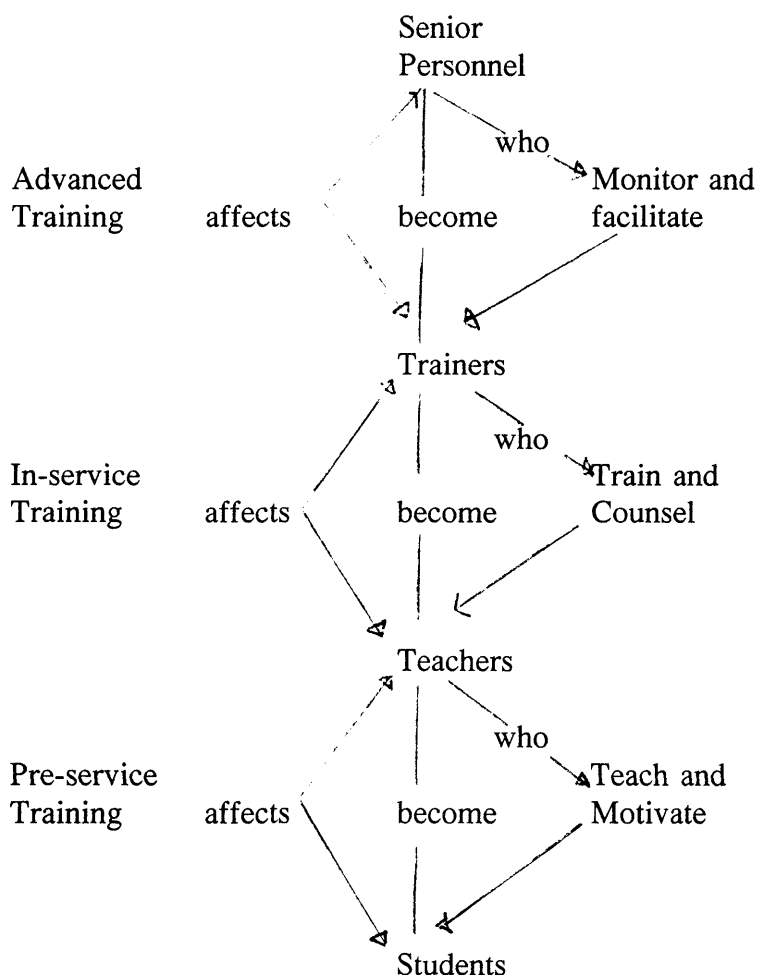
FIGURE 36: AN INTEGRATED SYSTEM OF TEACHER EDUCATION

With time the grounds for asserting the existence of a non-standard English will become weaker. The position with regard to the future of non-standard English is that it will become weaker. It was noted earlier that "pressures for the institutionalisation of non-standard English will tend to decline when better quality English education becomes more readily available in the state system" (Wright 1996: 158).

It has been pointed out that at the 'educated' level the differences are small and that the teaching target could logically only be the international standard. In this study, we noted earlier that educated "black" South African English and educated "white" South African English are each varieties of international standard English, influenced by the multilingual context of South Africa and shaped by the very different social histories of their users but separated by few significant differences from the international model. In effect, acrolectal English is viable everywhere among educated users. It has been pointed out earlier that "apartheid was meant to keep black South Africans from the modernization process... as a means of improving the lot of white South Africa in general..." (Wright, 1996: 159). Impoverished education for blacks was a facilitating condition for this disparity and limited introduction to English was a specific feature of it including the destruction of the mission schools. One hopes that the effects of Verwoerdian education will be significantly reversed.

Now, however, with South Africa's transition to democracy, the desperate linguistic gestures of asserting a non-standard English as the educational target take on a more ambiguous and less progressive aspect. Socio-economic opportunities are opening up, the pull of the developed economy is strong and competition for jobs fierce. In these changing circumstances, the attractions of standard English becomes even more imperative. The NEPI Framework Report makes a crucial point that "all South Africans (should) have access to English" and although NEPI does not say so, it appears that standard English is the model required (because it is currently the language of access to further education and because it is an established lingua franca in South Africa and further afield), "without jeopardizing the use of black languages" (NEPI, 1993: 182). We have seen earlier in this study that standard English is a non-regional dialect used by "educated" people all over the world.

Ridge (1995: 5) makes a pertinent point which has been highlighted throughout this study when he says that in language debate, accent is not the issue. He argues that "what we are concerned about here is clarity of articulation." He summarises the key issues when he says "people must speak to be heard. And they must write to be understood. And all the people in the workplace must be able to understand both written and spoken language within bounds of acceptability". In his 1982 article, "English in

South Africa", Lanham argues that the quality of black English had declined seriously in the previous thirty years. Unlike Ridge, Lanham gets to the bottom of the problem when he argues that there are factors that hinder this "clarity of articulation". He claims that "in black-white interaction, the intelligibility of South African English by (some) blacks poses problems". Lanham illustrates his point by giving an example of a white teacher who was recently dissuaded from using a Soweto class for a demonstration lesson because his English would not be understood. He further states that the communicative incompetence in English of some black students now coming to English-speaking universities in growing numbers is a problem receiving urgent attention.

Ahulu takes this debate even further. His examples are based on his Ghanaian language experience. He makes an interesting observation which seems to be relevant to our South African language debate. He (1994: 27; citing Saah - 1986: 373) "notes that no constituency in Ghana would elect someone, no matter how good he is, to represent them in parliament if he could neither read nor write English." He further states that in the tide of nationalistic fervour that has followed the attainment of independence, people have done whatever they could, including changing their English or Christian names for African ones, to remove every vestige of colonialism. Regardless of all this, English in Ghana is still perceived as a language of tertiary education, a lingua franca, a language of science and technology. It is used to ensure greater equality of access and increased social mobility. Ahulu, in investigating major newspapers showed that the Ghananian English is in fact standard. His conclusion seems to be ideal for our situation in South Africa. He argues that Ghana will certainly remain an ESL nation in future and the debate of "indigenisation" of English will continue for a long time to come. It was highlighted earlier in this thesis that this debate about "black English" in South Africa is still in its infancy stage.

In this thesis, arguments are put forward in favour of an English close to the international standard as the standard and teaching model in all the schools in South Africa, especially at the tertiary level. The logic of certain arguments that have been disseminated world-wide on varieties of English, is queried throughout this thesis.

Branford (1996: 42) explores the concept of "social functions" of English and funding of black education. He argues that "the social functions of English for blacks depend often on the English, if any, that they have been able to learn at school." He further claims that "a key factor for any educational system will be what it costs." It has been shown throughout this thesis that the inferior conditions of years of underfunding and of an unenlightened underlying philosophy by apartheid education have contributed to the decline of English teaching and learning in black schools (c.f. Table 1).

Lanham (1996: 31) looks at the impact of the apartheid system. He argues that the "full impact of Bantu Education was borne by pupils whose school years were spent in communities remote from, or with little access to, concentrations of white English-using communities; notable among these are rural areas and self-contained conurbations such as Soweto and Mamelodi". He makes the comparison with the pre-Verwoerdian era and its standards.

Gough (1996: 54) focuses on the context and domains of use of English by blacks. He maintains that "the acquisitional context and domains of use of English for black learners reveal broad similarities to those described for new Englishes elsewhere although they have taken on a particular manifestation within the context of the consequences of apartheid policies in general and Bantu Education in particular." He further maintains that "the language learning environment has been impoverished through the policies of Bantu Education." Gough seems to be supportive of the idea of Black English.

Buthelezi (1989/1995) as noted earlier, argues that a "vicious cycle" is perpetuated whereby learners acquire fossilised features of English directly from their teachers who are themselves inadequately trained, and then reproduce these errors innocently. However, it was noted earlier that it is not all blacks who acquire these fossilised features of English and furthermore it is not all black teachers who are inadequately trained. She unfortunately considers these fossilised errors as noted earlier, to constitute "South African black English" (SABE). This classification is however somewhat too simplistic. Ahulu (1994) sheds more light on this debate when he queries the authenticity of "Ghanian English". He argues that one problem with the existence of

such a variety, is that there is no viable distinction between those local linguistic habits which could be codified and accepted as "Ghananian standard English" and those features which would then become errors and excluded from that standard.

Gough (1996) approaches this debate differently from Buthelezi. He points out that there are striking differences among blacks in levels of competence or attainment in English. At one end of the scale he claims, are those completely fluent speakers and writers for whom English has become a "second first language". He further shows a sharp contrast of those with little English or none including many of the victims of the collapse of black education in the 1980s. What does the teacher teach?

Gough's example is similar to Schmied's (1991) and Kachru's (1982/1985) scalogram of lects noted earlier (e.g. basilect, mesolect, acrolect etc.). It has been noted earlier in chapter 6 that errors should be rectified as soon as they are detected before they become fossilised. Wingfield (in Hendrickson, 1980) as noted earlier in this thesis, advises that the teacher should choose corrective techniques that are most appropriate and effective for individual learners.

Honey also, boldly is prepared to assert the superiority of standard English in terms of its functions. Honey (1996) warns that the belief in certain circles that errors constitute new English, tends to "ghettoise" the underprivileged. Quirk (1995: 28) reaffirms this view as we have seen earlier in this thesis when he cites his colleague's example of the so-called "East African English". He argues that this concept of "East African English" has emerged as a result of the increasing failure of the education system. It also appears to be the case with "South African Black English".

It is therefore the teachers' responsibility to teach standard English as indicated earlier by Kingman Report. Standard English as shown throughout this thesis, is an international language used throughout the world and essential for many purposes. If pupils do not have access to standard English, then many important opportunities are closed to them, especially in higher education, in industry, commerce and the professions.

Phillipson as commented in Honey's Review: <u>Linguistic Imperialism</u>, (1994: 118) however, argues against the current position of English. He perceives English as the "cornerstone of the global capitalist system" and he claims that "those who teach English are usually the unwitting stooges of neo-colonialism". In response to this parochial point of view, Honey (1994) argues that "most of those who are implicated by Phillipson's assertions in the teaching of English, have some idea of its special value to their students, and some indeed are impelled by a feeling of urgency in giving them access to specific functional advantages which they perceive as unparalleled in the modern world".

Some of these functions have been highlighted throughout this thesis. It has been noted that these functions at the moment, can only be fulfilled by making use of standard English. For example:

* the need for tertiary education
* the requirements of law and legislation
* the need of business and commerce
* the need of science and technology
* the need to have access to the libraries, world knowledge and the media
* the need for a lingua franca
* the need of language of learning

Honey elaborates this discussion on functions and the current position of standard English. To illustrate his point, he compares English with other historically powerful languages with strong economic base, which seem to struggle to keep pace with English. He argues that "Arabic, Russian, Japanese, starting from a high base-line and all backed by huge financial resources, have had to struggle to try to keep up, and the text books now used for advanced degrees in some Japanese universities are in English - there is no other economic way of keeping abreast of world knowledge" (Honey's Review, 1994: 118).

Quirk's (1995: 40) prediction of the future of English world-wide, sums up the entire debate in this thesis which is on "black English and education in South Africa". He

predicts that a long-term demand for English will be related to econocultural factors, with consequences accordingly for the standards to be observed. Finally, he argues that most government authorities and industrial organisations in the countries concerned (e.g. South Africa etc.) seem to believe that any local variety of English, and especially one of uncertain stability (e.g. South African black English), will be of diminishing usefulness in contrast to the international based standard English with its world-wide currency.

This thesis explores the fossilised language features which are peculiar to English that is used by the majority of black people in SA. It was noted throughout this thesis that these features have been claimed to yield the characteristics of a "South African black English". The analysis in this thesis, shows that these characteristics features are not consistently or reliably realised. In fact, it has been found in this thesis that most deviant features from the "educated" form of English are actually teacher-influenced. The bottom-line is that these deviant forms as pointed out earlier by Wright (1995: 8) and reiterated by Gough (1996:8) indicate "a symptom of the sad failure of our education system rather than a sign of the creative evolution of a vigorous new national variety of English."

In conclusion, it is crucial to stress the point that South Africa should maintain and promote an international "educated" form of English as a teaching model. Standard English or "general purpose" English is currently the only viable variety that is used almost in all the schools in SA, i.e. as a language of learning and as a subject. This variety as noted throughout this thesis, fulfils more and broader functions than the limited non-standard form of English. The Department of Education therefore, has to pay special attention to more funding for teacher development programmes, to ensure quality pre-service and in-service teacher training programmes, training in dealing with bidialectal problems and the question of appropriateness. It is more important as stated by Ahulu earlier for those concerned with education in SA,particularly the ESL teachers, curriculum designers, teaching and learning units in the Districts and the textbooks writers, to know the variety of English they should consider and promote as the educational model which should subsequently guide teachers, teacher trainers, subject advisors and examiners.