



BLACK ENGLISH AND EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA - AN INVESTIGATION

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"The fear of the Lord is beginning of knowledge" (Proverbs 1:7).



KEY WORDS

1. New Englishes
2. Black English
3. Standard English
4. Teaching model
5. Linguicism
6. Interlanguage
7. Scalogram
8. Errors/Fossilisation
9. Accent
10. Econocultural model
11. Cline
12. Bidialecticism
13. Kachru's concentric circles



SLEUTELWOORDE

1. Nuwe Engelse spreektaal
2. Swart Engels
3. Standaard-Engels
4. Onderwysmodel
5. Linguisisme
6. Intertaal
7. Skalogram
8. Foute/Fossilering
9. Aksent
10. Ekonomies-kulturele model
11. Verbuiging / afname / neiging
12. Bidialektisisme
13. Kachru se konsentriese sirkels

SUMMARY

"The emergence of English as an international language in a number of domains has implications which are becoming a matter of widespread discussion among both linguists and the general public. In the face of the increasing number of the functions for which English is regarded as more useful or convenient than any other language, and the growth in the numbers of its speakers and learners - it is only slowly that we are beginning to sort out the practical and theoretical implications for the early part of the new millennium of this unprecedented linguistic predominance" (Honey, 1996:99).

Despite its high status, the standard of English teaching and learning, especially in severely underfunded black South African schools has suffered rapid deterioration. At the moment, there are no indications that the downward slide can be halted. The non-native English language debate is compounded by arguments rejecting the pedagogic notion of "Standard English" and advocating a linguistic ethos which suggests that all forms of English are equal. This has resulted in the proliferation of terms such as "black English", "Ghanaian English", "Indian English" etc. which are claimed to be on an equal footing with "British" and "American" English or standard English (Ahulu, 1992). This thesis makes the important point that both "educated" black and white people in South Africa make use of standard English. But the concept of standard English must be properly understood. Quirk at the 1995 English Academy conference, was pushing the term "general English" as an alternative name for "standard English." A variety of English such as British or American English incorporates a standard variety that is encoded in grammars, dictionaries and guides of usage, taught in educational institutions, used to print and often found in the usage of those regarded as educated users. However, those who express "concern for the recognition and acceptance of the English language standard in the education system are sometimes accused of ignoring socio-linguistic realities" (Wright, 1996: 154).

This thesis discusses several language features which are peculiar to English as a second language (ESL). These features have been claimed to yield the characteristics of a "South African black English." The analysis shows that these characteristic features

are not consistently or reliably realised. In fact according to current research it would seem that most "features are actually teacher-influenced" (Buthelezi, 1989:40). Non-standard ESL features indicate according to Wright (1995: 8) "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." Wright maintains that "to advocate the 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."

The debate about "black English" in South Africa has not yet gained momentum even though it is part of the common currency. There seems to be a powerful conventional opinion in influential circles that claims that there is a black English in South Africa. The possibility exists that a local variety of English in South Africa may ultimately emerge. But the internationally viable variety will still be needed, one hopes by an ever growing portion of the population as education and opportunity increase. Standard English is the form of English that is taught in South African schools and tertiary institutions. In other words, it includes all users of the "educated" form of English all over the world and it also fulfils more and broader language functions than the non-standard form. The pedagogic notion of standard English, however, does not imply refusal to accept the existence of non-standard varieties of English or of features in colloquial use that are non-standard and geographically or culturally specific.

It is all the more important according to Ahulu (1994: 26) for those concerned with education, especially "the curriculum designers, subject advisors and textbooks writers, to know the forms of English they should consider and emphasize as the educational target, which should subsequently guide teachers and examiners."

The evidence we have in the field of "black English" according to Ahulu's (1992) findings in Ghana largely consists of coinages and other lexical modifications, and the listing of isolated examples of grammatical divergence. What is referred to as "educated black English" is nothing more than standard English with an injection of vocabulary items of South African origin. Such phenomena as coinage, lexical borrowing are processes by which standard English is expanding its lexicon as an

international language. The inferior conditions of years of underfunding and relentless application of the underlying philosophy of apartheid education have had a critical and profound bearing on the state of ESL teaching. For professional careers, the country's economic development and membership of the international scene, to mention but a few requirements, standard English is essential. Teacher training institutions in South Africa are at the moment going through a rationalisation and restructuring process and they need to review their ESL curriculum and programmes. These teacher training colleges should produce well equipped ESL teachers who are capable of dealing with the language dynamics in the ESL classroom situation.

OPSOMMING

Honey (1996: 99) voer aan dat "die verskyning van Engels as internasionale taal in verskeie areas implikasies meegebring het wat tans grootskaalse bespreking uitlok by linguïste en lede van die publiek. In die lig van die toenemende aantal gebruike waarvoor Engels ingespan word, as synde meer bruikbaar of gerieflik te wees as enige ander taal, asook die groeiende aantal persone wat Engels praat en leer - begin die praktiese en teoretiese implikasies van hierdie onvoorsiene taaldominering nou stadigaan verstaan te word, aan die begin van die nuwe millenium".

Ten spyte van sy hoë status, het die standaard van Engelse leer en onderrig, veral in onderbefondsde Suid-Afrikaanse swart skole vinnig agteruitgegaan. Daar is tans geen aanduiding dat die afwaartse neiging gestop kan word nie. Die nie-moedertaal Engelse debat is saamgestel uit argumente wat die pedagogiese opvatting van "standaard Engels" verwerp en 'n taalkundige etos wat alle vorme van Engels gelykwaardig ag, voorstaan. Dit het tot gevolg dat terme soos "swart Engels", "Ghaniese Engels", "Indiese Engels" ens. ontstaan, wat gelykwaardig aan "Britse" en "Amerikaanse" Engels of standaard Engels geag word (Ahulu, 1992). Die konsep "standaard Engels" moet egter deeglik verstaan word. By die Engelse akademie se konferensie in 1995 het Quirk die term "algemene Engels" as 'n alternatief vir die term "standaard Engels" aangemoedig. Verskeie soorte Engels soos Britse of Amerikaanse Engels sluit 'n standaard variëteit in wat gekodeer is in grammatikale geskrifte, woordeboeke en gebruikersgidse, gedoseer word in opvoedkundige inrigtings, gebruik word in drukwerk en dikwels gevind word in die taalgebruik van diesulkes wat as geleerde gebruikers beskou word. Persone wat hulle "bemoei met die aanvaarding van die Engelse taalstandaard in die opvoedingstelsel word egter soms daarvan aangekla dat hulle die sosio-linguïstiese realiteite ignoreer" (Wright, 1996: 154).

Hierdie tesis behandel verskeie taalverskynsels wat eie is aan Engels as tweedetaal (ET). Daar word beweer dat hierdie kenmerke aan "Suid-Afrikaanse swart Engels" sy karaktertrekke besorg. Die analise toon dat hierdie kenmerke nie konstant of op betroubare wyse realiseer nie. Om die waarheid te sê, onlangse navorsing toon dat die meeste van hierdie "kenmerke 'n resultaat is van die onderwys-invloed" (Buthelezi,

1989:40). Kenmerke van nie-standaard ET is volgens Wright (1995: 8) eerder "'n gevolg van die mislukte onderwysstelsel, as die evolusionêre ontwikkeling van 'n nuwe kragtige nasionale variëteit van Engels." Wright voer aan dat om nie-standaard Engels, wat grootliks toegeskryf kan word aan apartheid se nalatenskap van lae onderwysstandaarde, as standaardtaal in die samelewing te bevorder, nog radikaal nog progressief sal wees, maar eerder diepgaande konserwatisme sal weerspieël, wat middelmatigheid sal afdwing en verheerlik.

Die debat oor "swart Engels", in Suid-Afrika het nog nie momentum gekry nie alhoewel dit in hierdie tyd baie aktueel is. Daar is skynbaar 'n sterk konvensionele opvatting in invloedryke kringe dat daar 'n "swart Engels" in Suid-Afrika is. Die moontlikheid bestaan dat 'n plaaslike variëteit van Engels uiteindelik mag ontstaan. 'n Mens hoop dat namate onderwys en geleentehede toeneem die internasionaal lewensvatbare variëteit nog deur 'n al groter wordende gedeelte van die bevolking benodig sal word. Standaard Engels is die vorm van Engels wat in Suid-Afrikaanse skole en tersiêre inrigtings gedoseer word. Dit sluit dus alle gebruikers van die "opgevoede" vorm van Engels regoor die wêreld in en vervul ook 'n groter verskeidenheid taalkundige funksies as die nie-standaard vorm. Die pedagogiese opvatting van standaard Engels impliseer dus nie dat die bestaan van nie-standaard variëteite van Engels ontken word nie, of van verskynsels wat kenmerkend is van omgangstaal, wat nie-standaard is of wat eie is aan 'n geografiese gebied of kultuurgroep nie.

Dit is dus volgens Ahulu (1994:26) soveel belangriker dat die persone betrokke by opvoeding in Suid-Afrika, veral die kurrikulum-opstellers, vakadviseurs en handboekskrywers, wat onderwysers en eksamineerders gevolglik moet lei, die vorme van Engels wat hulle in ag behoort te neem, ken en beklemtoon as opvoedkundige doelstelling.

Die bewyse wat ons het in die veld van "swart Engels" volgens Ahulu (1992) se bevindings in Ghana bestaan grootliks uit nuutskeppinge en ander leksikale wysigings en die notering van geïsoleerde voorbeelde van grammatikale afwykings. Dit waarna verwys word as "opgevoede swart Engels" is niks anders as standaard Engels met 'n inspuiting leksikale items van Suid-Afrikaanse oorsprong nie. Verskynsels soos

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

"Following on the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, the new Central State Department, which took over control of (black) education from the provinces and mission churches, laid down strict national language policy. What was clear from the beginning was that the concern was as much for Afrikaans as for the development of mother tongue instruction, and that the intention was to reduce the influence of English" (Hartshorne, 1987:69).

This study has been prompted by the state of English teaching and learning, especially in black education. "There is a deep concern among academics, parents, education authorities and employers about the deteriorating standard of English in black education" (Nwaila, 1993:3), especially when compared with the past. At the moment, there are no indications that the downward slide can be halted. This is evidenced according to Brown (1987:4) in the "plethora of courses and programmes aimed at improving the quality of English teaching" in these schools. Nwaila maintains that "major international corporations also have a vested interest in this situation: they pour money into the black education sector" in order to deal with this situation.

Regardless of all these efforts, the situation doesn't seem to improve. One wonders, though, whether black teachers and students at the grass-roots level are aware of this concern. The central players in this debate seem to be academics and teachers are mostly kept on the periphery.

Indeed, it is difficult to isolate the exact factors responsible for this decline in the standard of English in black schools and probably in the rest of the country. Some concerned academics (Mawasha, 1984; Mphahlele, 1984; Ndebele, 1987; Van Zyl,

1987) have surmised that this situation could be attributed to the tide of nationalism which might be giving impetus to emerging South African black identity and multilingualism. Questions of language and identity are extremely complex. Issues pertaining to ethnic identity, nationalism and language maintenance possess strong emotional associations, but they need to be presented, discussed and evaluated objectively. These issues will be explored further in Section 1.2.1.

Lanham (in Mawasha, 1984:13) on the other hand, argues that "in the 1920's and the early 1930's, classes were smaller and the black school-going population was approximately one third of what it is now and possibly black teachers had a better training in the teaching of English. Black children proceeding to high school stood at least a fair chance of receiving instruction from a skilled mother-tongue speaker of English. Since that time, following social and political trends in this country and because of the vast increase in school-going population, the chances of such contact have been reduced to virtually nil." Mesthrie (1995) makes the same point about South African Indian English (SAIE) that "it is a relatively fossilised form on account of rigid segregatory tendencies in South Africa." "Black English" proponents might actually be perpetuating the results of Verwoerdian education.

Hartshorne (in Mawasha, 1984:13) takes this argument further stating that English is mostly taught by "Bantu teachers", whose qualifications are limited to a standard 8 education plus a professional training of two years. He also ascribes the decline to the fact that one out of six primary school teachers is still unqualified. The question whether ESL is taught by black teachers or not is beside the point. What is needed is the proper training of teachers, especially in ESL theories and methods. Most important of all, ESL teachers need basic competence in the language itself. This applies especially to black teachers who have received inadequate training whereas their white counterparts have had the opportunities to acquire better qualifications. All the factors mentioned by both Lanham and Hartshorne are also pertinent and worth examining.

We have seen above that the vast majority of black teachers in the past had a standard eight and two year teacher training qualification, but the situation has slightly improved

over the last decade. Quite a number of these teachers have acquired a standard ten certificate. This development does not seem to have improved the ESL teaching and learning. This implies that standard ten is still not sufficient.

It is also unwise to ignore the rise of black nationalism as highlighted earlier in this chapter and its links to the politics of language. As a result of the rise of nationalism, there is a strong feeling that the black languages in South Africa should undergo an extreme elaboration of function in the new dispensation. "On 12 December 1995, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology announced the establishment of the Language Plan Task Group, also known as LANGTAG, for the purpose of advising him on devising a coherent national language plan for South Africa. The work of this task group was informed by the values and goals relating to the language question which are spelled out in the constitution. Among these, the most important are the political thrust in terms of which the languages of South Africa are to be promoted and used in order to maximise national unity and cohesion, the economic thrust which views language as a resource for maximising efficiency, productivity as well as intra- and international communication, and finally, the cultural thrust in terms of which it is hoped that genuine respect for language and cultural diversity will become a defining characteristic of the people of South Africa" (Draft Report of the Language-in-Education Sub-Committee of Langtag, June 1996: 1).

There is also a perception that there are varieties of English in South Africa ranging from "white" South African English, "Indian" English, "Coloured" English and various "black Englishes". Roberge (1996: 90) argues that "white, coloured and Indian Englishes in South Africa are distinct ethnolects". These varieties of English seem to have racial labels in keeping with the legacy of racial segregation in South Africa. Comments such as "you speak English like an Indian, Coloured, black, Afrikaner etc" are quite common in South Africa. However, it is doubtful whether these English varieties do exist, especially in the South African context, beyond the domain of accent. All these varieties are characterised by accent and a few grammatical features. Quirk (1988: 234) expresses his concern regarding labels which are often used loosely such as "Nigerian English" and "West African English", that they are "a misleading if not entirely false, analogy from designations like American English or Iraqi Arabic,

Mexican Spanish, Canadian French ..." This point will be discussed fully later in this study.

Education authorities and examiners concur with the views expressed earlier in this section, that is that many black teachers have been systematically deprived of the privilege of decent education and as a result, have limited and poor academic and professional qualifications. It is further argued in Section 9.2.1 of this thesis that the majority of these teachers are inadequately trained and incompetent to teach English. Subsequently, they are sent to in-service training centres or institutions of higher learning and even abroad in order to "upgrade" their English teaching skills. Do they come out of these institutions using a different and more competent English? Does the situation in black school English teaching and learning improve? The answers to these questions in many ways would most certainly be negative because there seem to be many factors which contribute towards the decline of the standard of English in black education.

This study therefore, seeks to find a path through this language debate as well as to contribute towards language research and surveys which have been and are being conducted in South Africa.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES

In his address to the English Academy in 1986, Professor Ndebele argues that "South African English must be open to the possibility of its becoming a new language." This, he maintains, "may happen not only at the level of vocabulary but also with regard to grammatical adjustments that may result from the proximity of English to indigenous languages" (Ndebele 1987:3). Ahulu (1992: 1) expresses a different view when he argues that "for nearly thirty years now, no detailed, descriptive documentation of any such "new Englishes" as they are often called is available". He further highlights 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."

On the other hand, Wright (1996:154) argues that "those who express concern for the recognition and acceptance of standard English in the education system are sometimes accused of ignoring socio-linguistic realities." Allied with this view he maintains, "is the suspicion that what the debate is really about is the maintenance of British hegemony over the language, through the agency of white English-speaking South Africans" (Wright, 1994: 7).

The question of varieties of English has become both subtle and complex. "In Nigeria, the need has often been expressed for a variety of Nigerian English which could be used as a model - both for teaching purposes and for every day discourse" (Odumuh, 1984: 230). Furthermore Odumuh maintains that there has been a persistent demand to define and describe a standard variety of Nigerian English.

He highlights two related problems regarding Nigerian English. "Firstly, that of a definition of "standard Nigerian English", used so far loosely to refer to a variety which is different from Nigerian pidgin but very amorphous ..." Secondly, "he points out that many scholars take the view that the distinctive Nigerian features are mainly phonological." (Odumuh, 1984:230).

Corson (1994) elaborates on the same question of language varieties. He argues that "these varieties are socially or regionally recognisable". He maintains that as a result of this, varieties are often distinguished by a name of their own. Corson, like others, seems to be referring to labels such as "Indian English", "Nigerian English", "Caribbean English" and "black English."

Furthermore, Corson claims that varieties serve valuable group identity functions for their speakers. They express interests that are closely linked to matters of self-respect and other psychological attributes. Both non-standard native and non-native varieties of

English serve these functions. Although Corson's viewpoint is cogent and pertinent in this case, it fails to take us much further. This debate will be expanded in Chapters 3 and 5.

Varieties of a language have to be seen in relation to the various language functions that must be fulfilled by a particular community.

In the South African context, the language functions and areas of use constitute a long list (Titlestad, 1995:179):

- (1) The needs of mother tongue speakers must be met.
- (2) The need for an international language must be met. We must be able to communicate with the rest of the world.
- (3) The needs of secondary and tertiary education must be met.
- (4) Access for all to libraries and to the media is important.
- (5) South Africa is a multilingual country. There is a need for a lingua franca or even more than one. English will be one of these languages.
- (6) The requirements of the law and of legislation must be met.
- (7) The requirement of government, of parliament and of the civil service must be met.
- (8) The needs of business and commerce must be met.
- (9) The needs of science and technology must be met.

At the moment, some of these listed functions could, theoretically, be fulfilled by Afrikaans to some considerable extent. However, a number of people in South Africa have negative attitudes towards Afrikaans. The only viable language to fulfil these functions is Standard English. The education system must provide a basis for these language functions. Non-standard varieties cannot fulfil these functions. It is envisaged that an acceptance of the reality and advantages of multilingualism in South Africa will form the core of both the language in education policy and its implementation in educational practice. South Africa has eleven official languages. Black languages have never been used as languages of learning beyond the primary phase. As a result of this, there are a number of constraints at the moment; lack of materials, lack of adequately trained teachers, entrenched negative attitudes towards black languages. In other words, these languages cannot at this stage fulfil the functions noted earlier in this section. This debate will be reactivated in Chapters 2 and 8.

At this point, we need to briefly explore what is, and is not, standard English. This concept of "standard English" means different things to different people.

Quirk (The Times, 1993) claims that there is a myth that standard English (general English - Quirk's alternative name) entails a particular accent or "talking posh." Titlestad (1995:181) takes this point further when he says that "all too often standard English is conceived of as being an elitist form, elevated in style and characterised by puristic precision."

Titlestad (1995) maintains that Received pronunciation or BBC English or, worst of all, "English English", becomes the immediate target. One of the immediate misconceptions some have as noted above, is that standard English is a matter of accent. Titlestad (1995:180) argues that "this is a frequent misconception often expressed in emotive terms and associated with such notions as 'BBC English' or 'Oxford English'".

Standard English as we will see in chapter three, is used by "educated" people who make use of English all over the world and may be spoken with an accent from any geographical locality or with a non-regional accent. It is the variety of English most comprehensively studied and is the dialect of literature, except when regionality is deliberately used.

Therefore, standard English in Titlestad's (1995) view has nothing to do with puristic extremes, nor with such social attitudes. It is worth indicating at this stage that there is a range of registers within standard English. Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that "non-standard" does not necessarily imply "sub-standard".

We perhaps need to ask why non-standard varieties should be rejected, especially in education, in favour of a standard English. Wright (1996:154) gives a pertinent answer when he points out that in order "to ensure greater equality of access, increased social mobility and more coherence in this shattered society, the rural poor and the urban underclasses have to be given, as far as possible, the education which will empower them to the same extent as those in developed and privileged areas of the country". He

further stresses that all the learners "should be entitled to standard English." However, this does not mean that non-standard varieties should be denigrated and discarded. Corson's notion of "appropriateness" becomes pertinent here. This means that in one setting when talking to certain people, it is better to use one variety rather than another if communicative efficiency is to be served. In other words, the level of formality or the informality of the occasion is one factor that tends to influence the choice of variety that people make.

A more important concern for the teacher is what to do in the classroom especially about non-standard varieties of English. Given the fact that non-standard native and non-native varieties of English exist and that they fulfil different functions what might be the ESL teacher's approach to this dilemma?

In his response to the similar dilemma with regard to mother tongue non-standard and standard English dialects in America, Schafer (1982:63) argues that much of the confusion in this debate stems from the diversity of "expert opinion".

He gives three pertinent proposals which seem to shed some light on our South African dilemma (Schafer, 1982:65):

- * eradication of the non-standard variety, especially in education
- * encouraging bi-dialectalism or multi-dialectalism
- * acceptance of a non-standard variety as a variety which serves a different function from that fulfilled by standard English

Schafer maintains that the first proposal stems from the false belief that non-standard varieties are "ungrammatical" and thus "inferior" for sophisticated use. This view is rejected by sociolinguists.

The second proposal is called "bi-dialectalism". Two assumptions are held by bi-dialectalists:

- (1) a dialect is an adequate and useful aspect of a cultural minority;
- (2) in order to relate to a larger world, it is important to master the standard dialect.

Other linguists have raised objections to bi-dialectalism. Sledd (in Schafer, 1982: 66) has expressed his doubt, claiming that bi-dialectalism cannot succeed. He argues that "the English teacher's forty-five minutes a day for five days in the week will never counteract the influence, and sometimes the hostility of playmates and friends and family during much of the larger part of the student's time." Sledd argues for acceptance of the non-standard dialect by society as a whole.

Burling (in Schafer, 1982: 66) tries to balance the conflicting views. He takes another look at the problem, advocating "a compromise between encouraging the use of non-standard English and bi-dialectalism." Burling argues that "since reading standard English is not dependent on speaking standard English, the major effort in primary education should be reading and writing."

In addition, he argues that the child should be permitted to use his or her non-standard vernacular. Later, he advises that "when a child is old enough to decide the matter, if he chooses to learn a prestige dialect, the school should give him the best help it can." This view on the surface appears to be plausible and perhaps even "democratic". However, it does not seem to be a practical solution. It actually compounds an already complex situation. Burling's proposals seem to fail to adequately address the teacher's dilemma in the classroom situation. This issue will be discussed in Section 9.6.

In the South African context, the situation is even more intricate. Perhaps the best solution is that the black "non-standard" users of English at the lower level of the cline should aim at the apex of the cline of bilingualism which will subsequently elevate their form of English to the international standard English level. This issue will be explored further in chapters 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

If we examine our South African situation, Wright (1995:4) asks whether the "advocates of educated black South African English are seriously proposing the creation

of a new Standard language?" to take the argument further he poses a number of questions:

"If it really is a new language, what are the implications? How would we distinguish it from other black Englishes or from the international standard?" He further warns that we would probably "risk losing the advantages for South Africa of English as an international language, its educational resources and its commercial and diplomatic functions." However, we must hasten to say that this does not imply "that all South Africans are itching to communicate with speakers of standard English" (Wright 1993:4) locally or abroad. Wright makes a crucial point that "merely to attempt to establish a language standard of inherently limited viability would not be sensible."

First of all this study seeks to identify and examine the problem areas with regard to ESL in black education. The following questions are pertinent to this language debate:

- (a) Does the unrelenting tide of nationalism contribute to the creation of a codifiable new English. Does this new form actually exist?
- (b) What are the actual details that constitute the separate variety?
- (c) Does the South African variety of black English have any adverse educational implications?
- (d) Do the inferior conditions of years of underfunding and of an unenlightened underlying philosophy of apartheid education have a bearing on the decline of the standard of English and the creation of a new variety of English?

Secondly the hypotheses below are formulated on the basis of the problem areas stated above.

- (a) The possible emergence of a variety of black English in South Africa has important educational implications.
- (b) The attitude of black teachers and learners towards international standard English and the rise of nationalism affects the status of standard English in South Africa.

- (c) The inferior conditions of years of underfunding and of an unenlightened underlying philosophy of apartheid education have contributed to the decline of the ESL teaching/learning.

The financing system of black education has had a devastating effect upon the per capita expenditure. In the following table, Pam Christie (1986: 98) shows us per capita expenditure for the different population registration groups. It also shows how this has changed since 1953.

YEAR	AFRICAN	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE
1953-4	R17	R40	R40	R128
1969-70	R17	R73	R81	R282
1975-6	R42	R140	R190	R591
1977-8	R54	R185	R276	R657
1980-1	R139	R253	R513	R913
1982-3	R146	R498	R711	R1211

TABLE 1: PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Based on 1994 figures (Sunday Times, 27 August 1995), children attending white schools received R5400, at Indian schools each pupil received R4 600, in Coloured schools each pupil received R3700. At former DET schools each pupil received R2184. In the former homelands, their subsidies varied from R1050 to R2000.

As a result of these years of underfunding, the standard of English teaching has deteriorated. There has been lack of teaching and learning aids and shortage of proper and appropriate reading and language books. Over and above these constraints, black teachers have been given an insufficient academic grounding and opportunity to improve their own usage.

We have seen earlier in this study that black teachers used to be trained after standard six and later after standard eight. Quite a number of standard eight graduates who could not be accepted in other professions, took up a teaching career as the last resort. The majority of these teachers obviously would not become good teachers hence the teaching of ESL has been, and is still, unsuccessful in black education.

1.2.1 Nationalism

This is yet another factor which appears to have contributed to the deterioration of the standard of English teaching and learning in black schools. "Nationalism is evinced in a series of stages in the struggle of a given solidarity group to achieve basic aims of unity and self direction. A second basic part of nationalism is its stress on ethno-cultural characterisation and on the authenticity, purity and nobility of the beliefs, values and behaviours that typify the community of reference" (Fishman, 1989: 111).

In addition, Fishman defines nationalism as the "organisationally heightened and elaborated beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of a society." It is clear from Fishman's position that for such societally organised goal activity to take place, "it is first necessary for populations to become convinced that they possess in common certain unique ethno-cultural characteristics, and that these similarities, over and above obvious local variations and sub-group differences, are of importance to them."

In South Africa as a result of nationalism as defined above, we can easily identify three major schools of thought with regard to the language debate:

- * Those who argue that in South Africa we need to call for the detachment of English from the international standard English models, i.e. we need to develop our own variety/varieties of English.
- * Those who argue that unified Nguni/Sotho languages should be upgraded to replace English.

- * Finally, those who look beyond the intranational use of English, i.e. they view English as an international language and they also maintain that in order for South Africa to keep abreast of the world developments, English should be considered as an international language. This present study seeks to explore all these three schools of thought.

What appears to be the situation in the South African context is that a variety of English close to the international English exists and will continue to exist. At the moment, CCV Television channel employs a number of proficient and articulate black female presenters. Some of them are employed as news readers in Channel One. Their English proficiency, especially their accent is almost like that of the English native speakers. In other words, these presenters have excellent control of English grammar, vocabulary and accent. Television therefore is one of the most powerful media to influence the viewers, especially with regard to the future development of ESL in South Africa.

Furthermore, the current status of black languages has been elevated in the new Constitution. These languages have been suppressed for more than 300 years. Regardless of all these constitutional developments, it appears that English will remain the major language in education, administration and commerce for years to come.

It is however clear that these languages will complement rather than replace English as a lingua franca and as a language of learning at secondary and tertiary education. This issue is further explored in Chapter 8.

1.3 CONCLUSION

A single international language has long been thought to be the ideal for international communication. Honey (1996:99) maintains that "the emergence of English as the dominant international language in a large number of domains has implications which are ... becoming a matter of widespread discussion among both linguists and the general public." In recent years there have been suggestions that English could break up into mutually unintelligible languages, much as Latin once did.

McArthur (1987: 10) argues against this point of view. He maintains that "the Latin analogy as a basis for predicting one possible future for English is not very useful." He argues that "Latin derived its power and authority from not being an ordinary language." He further states that "'devoid of baby talk' and being a first language to none of its users, it was pronounced across Europe in often unintelligible ways but always written the same way. Eventually, Latin did disintegrate into different languages: French, Italian etc."

Furthermore, McArthur argues that "present day standard English developed historically from the courtly, scholarly and literary aspect of a dialect that is now used by educated people all over the world. It is a system of grammar and vocabulary well established in text."

"The diversity in English is greater in countries where English is exclusively a second language and therefore has to be taught. Since in the non-native countries students are usually taught by teachers who are themselves not native speakers of English and who have inevitably acquired the language to varying degrees of adequacy, it is not surprising that the standards of achievement are variable and subject to change" (Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J., 1985: 9).

In some countries, English is used primarily for internal purposes as an intranational language especially in multilingual countries such as India and Nigeria. It obviously serves an international function too in these countries.

In many countries, it serves chiefly as an international language, the medium of communication with speakers from other countries. As a foreign language, English is used for international communication, but as a second language, it is used mainly for intranational purposes.

McArthur (1987: 10) summarises this debate when he says that "educational systems can either live with, encourage or gain from such flexibility" of using English for both international and intranational purposes. He argues that "educational systems cannot

alter the demographic realities of the international standard English on one side and the core of negotiable standards on the other."

He further maintains that "many of us operate along continuums from a viable standard to fluent non-standard kinds of English, code-switching according to circumstances."

We have seen earlier in this chapter that varieties of a language have to be seen in relation to the various language functions that must be fulfilled by a particular community. Quirk et al (1985: 4) reaffirm this view when they distinguish five types of functions for which English characteristically serves as a medium when it is a second language:

- * instrumental, for formal education and as the countries chief source of knowledge - e.g. in libraries and the media;
- * regulative, for government administration and the law courts;
- * communicative, for interpersonal communication between individuals speaking different native languages;
- * occupational, both intranationally and internationally for commerce and for science and technology;
- * creative, for non technical writings, such as fiction and political works.

In countries where English is a non-native language, the major models for both speech and writing have always been the two institutionalised varieties of British and American English. The choice of either of the two models, has depended on various factors:

- * whether the country was formerly a British or American colony;

- * the extent to which Britain and America have most influenced its economic, cultural, technological and scientific development.

On the other hand, there are questions and controversies which have emerged as a result of the universal spread of English, especially to non-native countries. Kachru (1985) gives only four of these concerns:

- * the issue of codification and norms: who controls the norms and codification?
- * innovations which are formally and contextually deviant from the norms of the English native speakers:
what type of innovations and creativity are acceptable?
- * The pragmatics of selecting a norm:
what are the factors which determine norms for a region?
- * "de-Englishization" (which implies that English both in England and America ceases to be an exponent of foreign culture) of the cultural context of English in the "institutionalised" non-native varieties.

The questions and controversies raised by Kachru above, are relevant and plausible. However, Kachru does not take us far enough. He seems to be making only one major point: that the "non-native" local educated varieties of English should be institutionalised, recognised and accepted internationally. Kachru does not specify where on the cline the variety for teaching is to be chosen. Elsewhere, he does indicate that the "basilect" should be institutionalised above all in the education system with all the consequences that flow from this. One wonders how distinct these varieties propounded by Kachru are from standard English. Furthermore, it is not clear at which point these varieties become new Englishes. In the meantime, teachers in these countries remain uncertain about the norms to which their teaching should be geared: whether to those of the evolving local standard or to those of some external standard (Quirk et al, 1985: 7). In his argument, Kachru does not seem to consider the language functions described

earlier in this study. A further point is whether these evolving local varieties of English are subject to codification or are merely random errors i.e. whether they really constitute a standard. This debate is explored further in Chapters 3, 5, 6 and 7.

Other equally important issues do not seem to be covered by Kachru's questions: at the moment, the international community is converging into a "global village". This seems to be a notable trend for all the nations of the world and the globality helps the language more or less to conform. The international community should jointly create global peace, global economic, educational, scientific and technological development. A standard English language (excluding accent) is the only available resource at the moment which can unite nations across cultural and linguistic barriers internationally and intranationally. The concept of "standard English" is defined and discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

We have seen the world peace initiatives recently in Rwanda, Bosnia, Angola and right at our doorstep in South Africa and Lesotho. The point we are making is that, "if the non-native varieties diverge too far to remain part of the international standard English, they may develop into different languages altogether or at least cease to be varieties which enjoy mutual comprehensibility." This concern was raised by Svartvik (1985). And if they do not diverge enough, they do not become a new variety of English.

Furthermore, countries which aspire to remain part of the international community, where appropriate, should promote an English viable for general educated use close to the international standard. The advantage of the external standard, is that it has all the technology, books, learning aids and well trained teachers whereas the local standards do not have the necessary resources and teachers who are specifically trained to teach these non-native varieties. In addition, these non-native varieties do not seem to have clear-cut boundaries between "errors" which must be corrected and the ideal fixed point where the educated variety begins. Training colleges should play a major role in dealing with these issues.

A drawback in teacher training in South Africa, is the fact that a teacher's initial training is not carried forward when he or she starts work. Tertiary institutions should also work closely with schools. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that South Africa is currently going through a transitional phase. Institutions of learning are being democratised and restructured. At the moment there is a strong feeling that student teacher intake at colleges should be drastically reduced. It is generally agreed that political transition and development should be combined with a strategy to transform our colleges and to deracialise them (Chapter 9 discusses this issue further). While the rationalisation and restructuring of these colleges is taking place, some efforts have to be made to transform the teaching of standard English.

Svartvik (1985) from the Swedish point of view advises the non-native speakers of English that "the acquisition of (standard) English is an investment worth the effort and the money only as long as the language functions as a means of international communication for a range of purposes."

In conclusion, it is evident that we are a long, long way from finding ultimate answers to the many difficult questions we have been asking. Wright (1993:4) maintains that "no one doubts that English language in South Africa will continue to go through a process of indigenisation over time." He further indicates that "acculturation of languages is to be expected in situations of continuous language contact in multilingual societies and will take the form of deviations at the phonological, grammatical and lexical levels." And if the non-native varieties of English as noted earlier in this section, do not diverge enough, they do not become a new variety of English. They remain close to international standard English. Quirk at the recent English Academy Conference (1995) has used the concept of "general purpose English" rather than "standard" English especially because of the perceptions different people have about what standard English is or should be. The concept of standard English is often confused with accent, in other words "talking posh" (Quirk, 1993). The question of standard English and varieties of English will be explored in more detail in Chapters 3 and 5.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, the following key issues were raised with special reference to the deterioration of ESL teaching and learning in black schools:

- * the question of black English and its educational implications
- * the effect of the rise of black nationalism in ESL education
- * the neglect and underfunding of black education under apartheid government.

Before any of these issues can be fully examined, we need to put the English language in South Africa in its context. In other words, we must look at it within the context of multilingualism as South Africa is a multilingual country.

The purpose of this chapter therefore, is to explore

- * the language situation in South Africa (c.f. Section 2.2)
- * the history and the development of English in its new environment in South Africa (c.f. Sections 2.3-2.6).

2.2 LANGUAGE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, language debate in African education has reflected the relative political and economic power of Afrikaans and English on the one hand and the black languages

on the other. For the greater part of the period the African people's interests and wishes were subordinated to the political purposes and ideologies of white groupings: the conflicts between these groupings were to spill over into black education and in particular found expression in the language policies laid down from time to time. It is important at this stage to put the topic of this study which is "black English and education in South Africa - an investigation", in its context and perspective. In other words, this section, seeks to explore the language diversity in South Africa. This, hopefully will shed more light on the concept of ESL in South Africa.

According to the Language Plan Task Group discussion document, (1996) "linguistic diversity in South Africa was not properly acknowledged until the adoption of our new constitution. The current debate regarding the planning of the language dispensation for this non-racial, democratic South Africa and the role of the newly established language institution in the country called the Pan South African Language Board (Pan SALB), is taking place within the same political ambience." In addition, it was noted earlier in this thesis that on 12 December 1995, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology announced the establishment of the Language Plan Task Group, also known as LANGTAG, for the purpose of advising him on devising a coherent National Language Plan for South Africa. The Language Plan Task Group (1996) document, states that "contrary to the constitutional provisions, there was a definite trend towards unilingualism." Many, according to this document, "felt that while multilingualism was a sociolinguistic reality in South Africa, it was in fact invisible in the public service, in most public discourse and in the mass media."

Langtag is not to be confused with the Pan South African Language Board (Pan SALB) while Langtag operates under the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology only, Pan SALB is an independent statutory body which was appointed by the senate in March 1996 in terms of the Pan South African Language Board Act. Its work is to monitor the observance of the constitutional provisions and principles relating to the use of languages as well as the observance and content of any existing and new legislation, practice and policy relating to language matters. Its function is broader and it will ensure that politicians in parliament are guided by a body with non-political knowledge

of relevant multilingual issues in South Africa.

At the moment, some sociolinguists and educationalists argue that multilingualism should be promoted as an asset and that it should not be regarded as a problem that needs to be resolved.

According to the Pan SALB policy discussion document (March, 1995), there are approximately 25 to 30 languages spoken in South Africa, of which eleven are official languages. The figures below show the official languages and the number of the speakers of these languages. However, we need to be cautious about these statistics on language because they are based on the census statistics obtained in 1991. The census in 1991 was highly controversial and therefore it cannot be considered to be accurate. These statistics should be regarded as merely an indication of trends in language usage in South Africa.

The Constitution of South Africa, provides that the eleven languages below (cf. Table 2) will now be the official languages of the country at the national level. According to the 1991 census figures, English is the mother tongue of some 3,5 million people in South Africa today. Roberge (1996: 89) claims that there are 3,1 million mother tongue speakers consisting of 1,75 million white, 0,44 million coloured, 0,82 million Indians and 0,04 million Africans.

The following table (2) indicates the numbers and percentages of the users of the eleven official languages in South Africa.

Official language	Number	Percentage	Total
Nguni languages:			
1. isiNdebele	600 305	1,55	43,11
2. isiSwati	991 008	2,57	
3. isiZulu	8 580 380	21,96	
4. isiXhosa	6 580 380	17,03	

Official language	Number	Percentage	Total
Sotho languages:			
5. Sepedi	3 722 444	9,64	24,96
6. Sesotho	2 598 357	6,73	
7. Setswana	3 319 951	8,59	
8. Afrikaans	5 804 411	15,03	15,03
9. English	3 482 375	9,01	9,01
10. Xitsonga	1 681 575	4,35	4,35
11. Tshivenda	858 704	2,22	2,22
Other languages	Not indicated	1,31	1,31

TABLE 2: THE MAIN LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AFRICA IN 1991 (including the TBVC countries and self-governing territories - Schuring, 1993 in PSALB Policy Discussion Paper (1995))

According to SABC's statistics regarding intelligibility among viewers (Survey MRA - 1994, in Titlestad's 1996 a Langtag document), "there are 69% viewers who understand English, 65% who understand isiZulu and 59% who understand Afrikaans." In addition, "there exist considerable disparities in estimates of the proportion of South African blacks who have a knowledge of English: 61% according to the RCM survey (1993: 27), 32% according to figures derived from the 1991 census while De Kadt (1993: 314) cited by Gough (1996:53) gives a figure of 29% of spoken competence." English is perceived by some people as being non-indigenous, irrespective of its firm establishment in South Africa.

The Pan SALB document noted above makes an interesting point about English being the only non-indigenous official language. It argues that the situation with regard to Afrikaans is different although both English and Afrikaans are of European origin. It is argued that Afrikaans has become very strongly "Africanised" in the course of the 300 years. It is maintained that in this sense it qualifies to be a language of Africa. This appears to be a valid point. However the argument raises a number of questions:

- * Where do we draw the line between the indigenous and non-indigenous languages?
- * Does a language have to be 300 years in Africa in order to qualify as an indigenous language as is the case with Afrikaans?
- * What are the features in a language, especially a European language, which characterise it as an indigenous language?

It is evident from these questions above that it is not easy to distinguish between Afrikaans and English on the one hand, and black languages on the other in terms of their "indigenoussness" in South Africa. English is spoken by South Africans as a mother-tongue.

At the moment, both English and Afrikaans languages in South Africa still perform more functions compared to black languages. These languages are languages of most books, of a powerful South African literature and they are languages of tertiary education.

We have noted earlier that "vernacular (black) 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" (Wright, 1996:150). The different functions fulfilled by both the English language and black languages in South Africa have to be explored. In fact, these languages have to complement each other. The Department of Education discussion document (Towards a Language Policy in Education - November, 1995) highlights tensions which emerge and are often commented on in the source documents:

- * the development and promotion of previously disadvantaged languages is potentially in conflict with the prescribed non-diminution of rights relating to language and the status of languages existing at the commencement of the Constitution

- * the principle of choice of language/s constrained by pragmatic requirements such as the availability of resources. Effective resource deployment and redeployment are crucial
- * the principle of choice of language/s of learning may enter into tension with affirmative action measures for black languages.

In order to deal with the tensions mentioned above, we need to perhaps focus on language functions. After we have identified the functions that should be fulfilled by the disadvantaged black languages, we can begin to develop a comprehensive programme that will begin to address the constraints. According to the Department of Education (Discussion Document, 1995: 12), there are opportunities for strategic intervention which need to be considered:

- * Curriculum development which encompasses teacher development, materials development, syllabus change and assessment practices.
- * Redeployment of human as well as material resources. In terms of human resources, South Africa has a wealth of bilingual and multilingual teachers.

In addition, the draft report of the language in education sub-committee of Langtag (June 1996) states that "promoting multilingualism in South African education requires a number of initiatives such as qualification route, teacher training, syllabus design and classroom practice." The Langtag proposals fail to provide a clear programme of action, especially for the short term. Schools require guidelines. It is not sufficient to simply state that we should "promote the students' primary languages as languages of learning and teaching" without providing an enabling framework for both learners and teachers.

At the moment, the major language functions as noted earlier (Titlestad, 1995:179 - 180), can only be fulfilled by standard English, whether English is considered an indigenous South African language or not. For example:

- * the need for tertiary education
- * the requirements of law and legislation
- * the needs of business and commerce
- * the needs of science and technology
- * access to libraries, world knowledge and the media
- * the need for a lingua franca
- * the language of learning in black schools, with a basis in mother- tongue use.

Some of these functions listed as noted earlier could, theoretically, be fulfilled by Afrikaans to some considerable extent. In addition to the state of development of the language and its supporting infrastructure, global and South African socio-political factors determine the dominance of standard English.

Nevertheless, official status was given to these eleven languages (c.f. Table 2) because the great majority of South Africans - "probably about 98% of the South African population" (Pan SALB Discussion Paper, 1995: 6), use one of these languages as their mother tongue or as a language of learning at the primary level.

The position of both English and Afrikaans as shown in Table 2 is protected by the new Constitution. The Gauteng Language in Education policy states that the previously disadvantaged or neglected languages should be promoted both as languages of learning and as subjects (Gauteng Language in Education, 1994: 5.2.6). It appears that the majority of black people in South Africa prefer English to be used as early as possible after initial literacy has been accomplished. This issue is fully discussed in Chapter 8. Refer to Figure 23. This situation immediately poses tension between the government's intentions and the peoples attitudes, perceptions and the language choice.

The Constitution also recognises the Oriental and European immigrant languages, but not as official languages.

This new language policy fulfils the following important requirements:

- * it recognises peoples' right to exercise their rights in their own language
- * it recognises the reality of the linguistic diversity of South Africa.

It was noted earlier that black languages are at present not sufficiently developed to fulfil certain major language functions. It is also important in considering standard English, to bear in mind the particular functions that it serves in education and professional life. English serves as a language of wider communication for such an extensive and important range of purposes that children must learn to use it competently.

In support of this view, the Cox Report (1989:4.7) makes a similar point about Britain which applies to South Africa too. It stresses 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."

At this point, it is important to briefly highlight the historical background of English in South Africa. English was first transplanted to South Africa in 1795 and it was established in 1806 in the Cape. In 1820 about 5 000 British settlers arrived at Algoa Bay. Gradually, the English language spread into the interior. According to Lanham (1996), the next settlement bringing a large number from Britain took place beyond the borders of the Cape, in Natal, over the period 1848-62. Lanham argues that the Natal settlers differed from the 1820 settlers in social and regional origins. The settlement in Natal was largely made up of the middle or higher in social class. Bruce, *South Africa's Emily Post* (Lanham, 1996: 21) at the turn of the century pronounced that "the purest English is spoken in Natal". She singled out the Cape Colony when listing the aberrations of English in South Africa, to be avoided by "Africa's daughters".

2.2.1 The South African black languages

The South African black languages as shown earlier in Table 2, are found largely in the Eastern part of South Africa. The southern most region is called the South-Eastern Zone

languages out of these language groups are now official languages (e.g. isiZulu, isiXhosa, Setswana, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, Sepedi, Sesotho, Siswati and isiNdebele) and they are recognised in government, law and education. Some of these languages are clustered into language family groups:

- * Nguni (Northern Ndebele, Southern Ndebele, isiSwati, isiXhosa, isiZulu)
- * Sesotho (Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana)
- * Tshivenda
- * Xitsonga

These languages were first reduced into writing in the 19th Century by missionaries who were serving black communities; until 1860, their literature was confined to translations of scriptures, later on these were extended to other categories of writing. The main thrust of this thesis is the investigation of "standard" English versus "non-standard" English ("black English"). However, this debate cannot be separated from black languages and the rise of black nationalism as noted in Section 1.2.1.

2.2.2 Oriental immigrant languages

Immigrants from Europe and the East form an important part of the South African community. The following are European immigrant languages: Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian and Portuguese. Oriental languages include: Gujerati, Hindi, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu and Chinese. The majority of Indians use English as their mother tongue.

The oriental and European immigrant languages do not form part of the eleven South African official languages. However, the South African Constitution recognises them and it promises to protect, promote and develop them too.

2.3 ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICA - A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.3.1 Introduction

The aim of this section is to discuss and examine various aspects of socio-linguistic

positions from both a historical and linguistic perspective.

The first section is concerned with the historical overview of English in South Africa following Hall's hypothesis (Llamzon, 1986: 101) which was first used to analyse the existence of pidgins. It has since been applied to actual languages, especially in language contact situations. Moag (1982) has used this hypothesis to analyse the language situation in the Philippines. He has used five phases to show how American English was indigenised and developed in the Philippines. These phases are:

- * the transportation phase
- * the indigenisation phase
- * the expansion phase
- * the institutionalisation phase
- * the restriction phase

This study will briefly describe these phases and then concentrate more on English as a second language in South Africa. The first phase refers to language spread. In other words, this phase indicates how English was brought into a new environment and how it started taking root. In South Africa, English was transported for the first time in 1806 when Britain invaded the Cape. This issue will be explored further later in this section.

The second phase, i.e. "indigenisation" is a stage when a transplanted language becomes localised. In other words, English forges its own linguistic and cultural identity. This identity is most evident in the large number of loan words from local indigenous languages. Pakistan serves as a good example. In order to read an English newspaper in Pakistan with complete comprehension, one must be familiar with such words and concepts as "baradari" (clan), "goonda" (thug), "Kabbadi" (a sport), "Kachchi abadi" (shanty town) (Baumgardner, 1990: 60). Filling lexical gaps in British English, "Pakistani English" has freely borrowed from the indigenous domains of food, clothing, politics, education, art and music. The register of religion, however, accounts for by far the largest number of borrowings. It is important to note that loan words from indigenous languages do not necessarily produce a new variety of English. All depends on the quantity. Furthermore, this is a process by which English is creating and

expanding its shared vocabulary.

Another area in which "Pakistani English" has forged its own identity is word-formation. The combination of English affixes with bases of both English and Urdu origin has produced vocabulary previously unattested in other varieties of English. One of the most productive prefixes in Pakistani English is "de" as in "de-notify", "de-load", "de-seat" and "de-shape". One wonders whether every Pakistani uses this form of English or whether it is a form used by English users at the bottom of the cline. In South Africa the situation is different. Unlike Pakistan, South Africa still has English mother tongue speakers who help to keep the tradition of English education in the black community and SAE close to international standard English. But they do use specifically South African words such as "braai wors", "indaba", "veld", "shebeen", "shebeen queen" etc. These words might already be included in the Dictionary of SAE. There are about 5000 words in the Oxford Dictionary of South African English on historical principles. While used for indigenous purposes on appropriate occasions, 5000 words in relation to the word-hoard of English as a whole is infinitesimal. Furthermore, some of these words might eventually be absorbed into general English usage.

The third phase of a life cycle of a non-native variety of English in its new environment is called the "expansion" phase. At this phase, the new variety becomes used by many local people and it therefore expands its domain of use. For example, it begins to appear in local media such as newspapers, radio and television. This new variety can only spread faster if the local people see the need for learning and using it. Ahulu (1992) from the Ghanaian point of view argues that "those with authority in education who determine the educational and career prospects of learners, do not accept that non-standard varieties should be used for educational purposes mainly because they are local-based and not written in textbooks and dictionaries."

The fourth phase is called the "institutionalisation" phase. Institutionalisation refers to a stage when a variety becomes more acceptable. It becomes codified and used in education, government offices, major newspapers and in television.

Dictionaries and grammar books are produced in this variety. Wright (1996:158) maintains 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; when the linguistic and economic incongruity of attempting to restandardise for South Africa a language already standardised in the print-based usage of millions world-wide registers more fully; and when it is recognised that a degree of competence in the educated standard need not inhibit the use of heavily indigenised local and regional varieties in appropriate circumstances." He further points out that "educated BSAFE and SAFE are each varieties of international standard English." Institutionalisation has not yet taken place in South Africa except for the dictionary of South African English. It was noted earlier that one of our major black newspapers, The Sowetan, according to Gabriele Stein (at the English Academy Conference in 1995) uses international standard English. There is no trace of the so-called "black English" in this paper. The point made here is that "black English" is not yet established in South Africa, especially in education or in the mass media.

The last phase, i.e. "restriction phase" refers to the stage when the local people begin to reject the foreign variety and adopt a local indigenous language. The Filipino language situation serves as a good example. In the 1960s - 1970s during the rise of Filipino nationalism against American domination, Filipino was introduced to replace American English. In South Africa, English is at the moment the language of black aspiration and advancement. There is no indication of the development or existence of the "restriction phase" in South Africa. Both English and the black languages complement each other. The Langtag exercise, mentioned earlier, may herald the beginning of such a phase, but it is doubtful whether full development will take place.

It was noted earlier that unlike other ESL countries, South Africa has been probably fortunate to have English native speakers who have kept English closer to the international standard. Standard English is an international language used throughout the world and essential for many purposes.

This section seeks to further explore the history of English in South Africa. This historical overview will yield information on the forces which gave impetus to the

development of ESL in South Africa. Until the early 1950's, South African schools and universities were educating relatively competent ESL speakers. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 devastated the black education system. Black ESL learners were separated from English native speakers. The most effective educational environment in which English language competence could be systematically developed was destroyed. The tradition of English in the black community was set in the mission institutions of the Cape, especially the Eastern Cape. Later it also gained momentum in Natal and then much later in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979: 14).

Lanham and Macdonald argue that the residential mission schools provided an authentic cultural context for learning of English which countered the threat to the norms of international English. They further maintain that contact with English speaking whites was greatly extended by the inclusion of many white English children in the mission school enrolment of 22 245 reported by the Superintendent General of Education in the Cape in 1875. It is reported that white pupils were attracted to mission schools because of the high standard of English, classical and mathematical education provided.

Furthermore, Greenberg (1959) has called Africa one of the most complex linguistic areas of the world, rivalled perhaps by the situations in aboriginal South America and New Guinea. With less than one tenth of the world's population, Africa accounts for at least one fifth of the world's languages, most of them are spoken by relatively small groups of people (Berry, 1970: 80). According to Lanham (1983), English was first established in 1806 when Britain invaded the Cape for strategic reasons. This point was made earlier in this study. Many Englishmen served as administrators and in the military on a temporary basis at the same time and there were some who settled permanently in the Cape. The first major group of the English speakers was the 1820 Settlers. The next settlement noted earlier, bringing large numbers from Britain took place in Natal, over the period 1848-62. It is important at this point to state that long before English was established in South Africa, Dutch was the major European language at the Cape. The major African languages in that region were isiXhosa, Khoi and San.

According to Lanham (1983) these settlers came from different parts of the United Kingdom. They brought with them more than twenty-five English, Scots and Irish regional dialects. The Received Pronunciation standard in Lanham's view, was represented only in the speech of some of the group leaders and also the existing officials and officers. This was stronger in the Natal settlements than among the 1820 settlers in the Cape. These dialects had more than phonological differences. These English accents have not boiled down to a fairly consistent white English speaking set of sounds but lexical and grammatical consistency has been established in line with international educated use.

Finally, settlers' children and grandchildren, irrespective of class or occupation developed a different accent from that of the actual settlers. The interesting thing is that the grammar and lexis that emerged was that of standard English, not the accent. The label "standard English" is misleading because of certain presuppositions it carries for many people. This issue will be discussed fully in chapter 3. But at this point it might be briefly stated that the definition of standard English used in this thesis excludes accent and is not to be associated with received pronunciation.

2.3.2 English as a second language in South Africa

English as a second language has its foundation in the history of English in South Africa dating from Lord Somerset's proclamation of 1822 which made English the only official language. This anglicization policy for both the Dutch and the African people was strengthened by Somerset's schoolmasters and clergymen imported from England and Scotland. They filled influential positions in Dutch and African communities.

The Dutch came to value and accept English in education as a means to social mobility. Lanham (1978) maintains that in the Boer Republics of the north these attitudes to English were maintained, and English retained its prominence in education. Lanham claims that Afrikaans parents in Pretoria in 1890 were actually demanding more English and less Dutch in their schools. Consequently, competent English-Afrikaans bilingualism was common and English was highly valued as the language of business

and the learned professions.

Lanham indicates that attitudes to English began to change in the closing years of the century with the growing realisation that Afrikaans not Dutch was the language of Africa. Afrikaans therefore, became part of the identity of the emerging Afrikaner nationalism. Language became a heated political issue and hostility to English developed in predominantly Afrikaans-speaking communities, a process aided by the political tensions of the 1890's. In these communities, the standard of and enthusiasm for English declined.

However, in recent years, a new motivation to competence in English has come to exist for younger Afrikaners, particularly those who are better educated and live in cities and towns. Lanham (1978) indicates that high levels of competence in English are particularly noticeable at executive levels in commerce and industry, in Afrikaans universities and government departments dealing with external affairs. A significant finding of the 1973 Human Sciences Research Council Languages Survey sampling urban communities, is that nearly 25% of the 18-24 age group of Afrikaans speakers would like to be taken as English in the company of English speakers and 58% feel that ability to speak English is prestigious. The 55+ group, on the contrary, largely showed opposite attitudes (Lanham, 1978: 22). One would assume that these attitudes of the younger group have not changed much. English as a language of wider communication is increasingly in demand. Its future as the major link language in South Africa is beyond dispute and it plays an irreplaceable role as an international language and language of tertiary education.

It appears that English will remain a language of wider communication. In addition, English is the vehicle by which new ideas have permeated this country and has carried it forward along the path of progress.

Much of the foundation of the features of black English usage was laid in the mission schools of the Cape and Natal in the last century. Institutions such as Lovedale, Blythwood, Adams College and several others have trained and educated the black "Royal Reader" elite, thus providing an authentic cultural context for English. The

concept of the "Royal Reader" elite emanates from the period when the so-called "Royal Reader" was used. This reader was commonly used by the missionaries. Lanham (1978) maintains that the scholarly missionaries educated a group of men and women with high competence in English, a deep insight into the world of English ideas and values, a strong language loyalty to English and a sense of the great tradition of English literature. As has been said, in the 19th century white children were sent to mission schools to get a good education.

At this point it is appropriate to refer to the concept of "Landeskunde". Landeskunde implies that if you are learning a target language, you need to learn the target language values and culture, and gain insight into the world, ideas and literature of the target language speakers.

Quirk (1988) maintains that it is not necessary to acquire the values and culture of the target language group while learning the target languages. In this case, he is referring to the English language. He makes a crucial point when he argues that what matters is to teach a "genuinely useful" international English without the imparting of Landeskunde (Quirk, 1988).

English in South Africa as indicated above, is perceived as an access language to the world community. However, in black education, there are several constraints in teaching and learning as it was shown in Section 1.1 mainly, because the majority of ESL black teachers have had inferior training and as a result, they have great difficulty overcoming mother tongue interference, both in their own proffered model of usage and in those of their pupils. Zotwana (1989: 276) reaffirms this view when he maintains that "as a language teacher, one has to deal not only with the control of one's language deviance from the standard, but also with that of the students. This is not an easy task, for the students do not only have problems with adjusting to the language of the school, but also do not see any need for doing so".

The following examples do not indicate an emergence of a new language variety. But they merely show the developmental phases of the cline (c.f. Kachru's cline of competence - Sections 3.3, 5.3.2 and 7.5.3).

- (a) Me and my friend instead of "my friend and I" (a colloquial white usage as well)
- (b) Don't eat all that money instead of "don't spend all that money."
- (c) Do you see him! instead of "he is provoking me."

The sentence (a) above, is a direct translation from first language: "Mina na nsati wa mina" (Xitsonga), "Nna le mosadi wa ka" (Sesotho), "Mina nomkami" (isiZulu). All these sentences start with "me". From the examples (a, b) above, it is evident that sentence (a) is a direct translation from black languages but it is strongly colloquial mother tongue English too.

In African culture, the speaker always begins by referring to himself or herself first, i.e. "me", whereas, in standard English we begin by the referent: "my friend". Examples (c) and (d) are also a direct translation from black languages. However, they differ from (a) above.

- (c) (isiZulu) ungadli yonke leyo mali
don't eat all that money - don't spend all that money.
- (c) (Xitsonga) U nga dyi mali yaleyo hinkwayo

This expression (c) at times can cause intelligibility problems as the two words "eat" and "spend" do not mean the same thing in English. In other words, this idiomatic expression does not exist in English. The following expression can also be misleading to an English mother tongue speaker:

- (d) (isiZulu) Uyambona! - Just look at him!
- (d) (Xitsonga) Wa n'wi vona! - Just look at him!

This expression (d) has an underlying meaning. It's often used when someone provokes you and then you address the third person next to you. This same expression to the English native speaker would mean literally "seeing someone".

The errors shown above (a - d), are minimal and insignificant. These characteristic features are not consistently or reliably realised. They occur mostly at the bottom of the

cline of bilingualism. This issue will be discussed in detail in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6. The point, briefly, is that not all black speakers of English would necessarily use these phrases, and phrases like them. In what sense then, is there a black English?

The other difficulty as noted in Section 1.1, facing the majority of ESL black teachers is that classes are large with an average pupil:teacher ratio of at least 80:1 which, to say the least, must heavily inhibit attention to individual pupils' progress. The Gauteng Department of Education is beginning to address this problem of teacher/pupil ratios. All the Gauteng schools with the teacher/pupil ratios above 40 (primary) or 35 (secondary) are gradually decreasing their ratios and those schools below these ratios are increasing their numbers. This process started in January 1996.

Lanham (1965:201) maintains that in sheer desperation, especially in larger classes, teachers often resort to choral verse speaking, recitations and mass speech drills, all of which encourage unthinking language usage. It is worth noting at this point that transformational generative grammar and structuralism contributed to these recitations and mass speech drills, all of which encourage unthinking language usage.

Transformational generative grammar (Stern, 1983: 144) recognises language as a "rule-governed system". These rules which are not only intricate but also quite abstract are made explicit by a transformational generative grammar. Learning a language involves internalising the rules.

Structural linguistics, it was argued, does not lead to an understanding of a language as a system of rule-governed relationships. In language teaching, it sanctions imitation, memorisation, mechanical drill, and practice of sentence patterns as separate and unrelated items. It has limited use provided that the process does not stop at pattern drill.

Both teachers and pupils in black schools have limited exposure to standard English speakers. This was caused by the now defunct 1953 Bantu Education Act and Group Areas Act which made it very difficult for blacks outside white areas to achieve regular contact and practice in ESL.

Furthermore, the social function of English for black South Africans has not been adequately studied. In black education, the concept of English as a second language is used loosely especially in urban areas where different language groups interact and intermarry. Children in this context often begin their elementary education having acquired their second, third or even the fourth language. English therefore, does not necessarily become the second language, but the fifth or sixth language. In this study, this concept of "English as a second language" (ESL) will be maintained and used with regard to all non-native learners and users of English.

It has been indicated earlier that English in black schools is taught predominantly by black teachers. In the lower standards, many black teachers are severely limited in the English they can offer the children and indeed, they prefer to use their mother tongue in class. In competence and intelligibility, the English of these children consequently falls to low levels. In his 1965 (p. 204) article as noted earlier, Lanham indicates that "the most serious consequences of ineffective English teaching in black primary schools only become evident in the last years of secondary school education."

Lanham argues that there was a time when the standard of English teaching was high and this gradually declined after the demise of the mission schools in the early 1950s. By 1965 (p. 200), however, Lanham argues that "only a very small percentage of older primary school teachers, located mainly in the English speaking cities, belongs to a generation that commands the best African English on the continent," a command that has been destroyed by apartheid education since 1953.

There are several organisations closely involved in teaching and learning ESL, or in assisting black teachers to improve their teaching skills, for example, The English Academy of Southern Africa which was established in 1961 to represent English language (in the broader sense) practitioners, academics and those interested in maintaining standards of English usage in South Africa. This Academy has long targeted black education as one of its major interests. Several of its members have done tremendous work to assist black teachers of English, especially in poetry teaching, oral work and dramatics. In 1973, The English Academy of Southern Africa organised a highly successful conference which was held at the University of Lesotho. Out of this

conference emerged the English Language Information Centre (ELTIC) which now acts as a resource centre of English language teaching materials and expertise. ELTIC's main focus now is on multilingualism in education. It is currently running pilot projects in multilingualism in Pretoria Districts One and Three.

Lanham (1978) an internationally known linguist, embarked on a research project in 1962, which was aimed at assisting black teachers to improve their pronunciation of English. The project which began as a series of experiments in eighteen Soweto schools, was planned to provide, eventually, a teaching programme for the crucial first four year period at primary school. The main aim of attention in the experiments included:

- * a systematic attack on aberrant African English pronunciation, including an attempt to provide authentic models of English in the classroom in the form of recorded materials.

- * the teaching of English reading using a phonemic alphabet.

The use of tape-recorded models of correct pronunciation was central in the whole project, giving teachers and pupils classroom access to a mother tongue pronunciation model.

Lanham's aim was to equip black teachers and thereby, hopefully, their pupils, with a model of English which is easily understood by all South Africans. However, his main focus was on pronunciation rather than looking at the whole language package. While pronunciation is important to a certain extent and must be mentioned, it must be seen in perspective when standard English is discussed. Nevertheless Lanham's concern that spoken English should be of a kind that was widely comprehensible, should not be passed over unthinkingly.

As pointed out at the end of chapter one, Strevens (1977) and Quirk (1993) exclude accent in their definition of standard English. Therefore, all the other language aspects such as grammar, lexis and vocabulary should be addressed. These are actually even

more important because the English-using countries share these features to a greater extent than pronunciation. This issue is dealt with fully in chapters 3 and 4.

2.4 SEMANTIC CHANGE

This section seeks to highlight the crucial point that semantic change, coinage and lexical borrowing are processes by which English is creating and expanding its lexicon as an international language. These processes do not necessarily lead to a new language or variety. A language may gain or lose lexical items. Fromkin and Rodman (1983) argue that it is also common for lexical items to shift in meaning, providing yet another way in which languages change. They maintain that there are three ways in which a lexical item may change semantically. Its meaning may become broader, its meaning may become narrower; its meaning may shift.

- * **Broadening:** When the meaning of a word becomes broader, that word means everything it used to mean, and then it includes other new meanings. For example, the word "holiday" originally meant "holy day", i.e. a day of religious significance.
- * **Narrowing:** In this case the meaning of a word is narrowed. To a speaker of seventeenth century English "meat" meant "food" and "flesh" meant "meat".
- * **Meaning shifts:** The third kind of semantic change that a lexical item may undergo is a shift in meaning. For example, the word "bead" originally meant "prayer". During the Middle Ages the custom arose of repeating one's prayers (i.e. beads) over and over again counting them by means of little wooden balls on a rosary. The meaning of "bead" shifted from "prayer" to the visible manifestation of a prayer. English in South Africa has also acquired new meanings, when ESL usage is in question. The following are some of the examples of ESL uses which have emerged as a result of native language transfer. For example

Father:	biological father
Small father:	uncle

Big father:	uncle
Father:	step father
Mother:	step mother

The adjectives attached to "father" have something to do with the notion of the extended family in the traditional kinship system. Cousins are referred to as "brothers" or "sisters" in order to strengthen their relationship. Words such as "uncle", "aunt" and "cousin" are perceived in this case, to distance and displace their close relations. These examples do not signal the beginning or the existence of a new English. They provide an occasional South African flavour to our colloquial usage. Nevertheless, they do show how a process of acculturation can lead to language development and expansion as noted earlier in this section. This issue will be discussed fully in chapter 5.

Let us re-examine and explore the development of ESL further. Lanham (1982:329) maintains that many blacks in the 1880's "were attracted to the mining cities" like Johannesburg and adjacent urban areas such as the famous Sophia Town and Alexandra. Several of these blacks were fortunate to receive missionary education. It was noted earlier in this section that this is the period when the "Royal Reader English" emerged. This is an English reader which was commonly used in mission schools. The Royal Reader English was based on the Grammar-Translation Method. Richards and Rodgers (1986) cite Johann Seiden-Stucker, Karl Plötz, H S Ollendorf and Johann Meidinger, as some of the Grammar Translation Method proponents. As the names above suggest, GTM was the offspring of German scholarship, the object of which was "to know everything about something rather than the thing itself" (Richards & Rodgers, 1986). For example, learners had to analyse rules of the language rather than learn how to communicate effectively in the target language. It was first known in the USA as the Prussian Method. The principal characteristics of the GTM were to:

- * learn a language in order to read its literature, a language is approached first through detailed analysis of its grammar rules, followed by application of this knowledge to the task of translating sentences and texts into and out of the target language. The first language is maintained as the reference system in the acquisition of the second language;

- * focus solely on reading and writing, with little or no systematic attention paid to speaking or listening skills.

For example, the Royal Reader was translated into isiZulu and it was used in the different native schools of the Natal Colony by the late superintendent of the Government Zwartkop Native Industrial School (Gibbs, 188.7):

Text: The Skylark (E: English; Z: isiZulu):

- E. The skylark is a very famous bird in England.
- Z. I skylark li yinyoni e dumekile kakulu England.
- E. It is called the skylark because it flies up high in the sky.
- Z. Li bizwa i skylark kukuti ilark lezulu, ngokuba li ya ndiza pezulu ezulwini.

This, as was indicated earlier in this study, was perceived by black learners as the best quality of English as there was no international standard, the only standard was educated Southern British. Hence those who had the privilege of attending and graduating from such schools, and are still alive today, invoke and lament the good old days when they were taught "pure" English by English mother tongue speakers. Most of them, as pointed out in chapter one, attribute the decline of the standard of English to the demise of mission schools in the early 1950's. There may be a case for this in fact. In his 1979 article, Lanham maintains that the products of the missions were an elite group with high competence in English, a deep insight into the world of English values and ideas and a strong language loyalty to English which nevertheless remained for the great majority a "second language" or as black educators now prefer: "a second first language". The main point is that a body of teachers whose own usage was sound served a relatively small number of children in relatively small classes.

It was noted earlier that South African English (SAE) has not yet been institutionalised. There are only two fully institutionalised varieties: American English and British English. An institutionalised variety is one which according to Wright (1993:6) quoting Quirk (1990: 6), is "fully described and with defined standards observed by the institutions of state". Wright argues that other native varieties such as Australian and

South African English "are on the way to developing their dictionaries, grammars, language bureaux, syllabi and curricula which may eventually establish them as institutionalised." At the moment there is a debate going on addressing this issue. While there is indeed a dictionary of South African English, how many other features of local grammatical usage are there that would require a distinctive codification in grammars and teaching grammars?

Furthermore, it is useful to take a holistic approach when dealing with the language situation in South Africa. Rather than tackle the English situation exclusively in the South African context, we should look at it globally. Strevens (1977) and Quirk (1993) address the question of institutionalisation satisfactorily (c.f. chapter 3). They provide a detailed account of what standard English is and should be. They view it as a universal non-regional dialect without any affinity either with a particular region or with a particular accent. Quirk (a letter to Titlestad, 4 October, 1994) argues that "since standard English is basically the shared vocabulary of the English-speaking countries, it can in no way be said to be basically a written form. He further makes the point that the shared vocabulary is spoken 99,9% of the time, written for 0,1%."

In other words, Strevens and Quirk perceive standard English to be a variety which is used by "educated" people who make use of English all over the world. This variety may also be spoken with a non-regional accent i.e. Received Pronunciation, but RP is not necessarily a feature of standard English. For example, Quirk (1993) argues that Clinton, Keating, Mandela and De Klerk all speak standard English. This concept of standard English will be dealt with in chapter 3 in greater detail.

In future, whatever choice South Africans will make with regard to a standardised South African English will be determined by various factors. We live in a shrinking world called a "global village". It has been shown in chapter one that in order to communicate internationally, for economic, technological, educational and political purposes, we need English. Needless to say, it has become the world language. The variety of English that is viable at the moment is standard English. Earlier in this thesis, we have noted that there are only two institutionalised varieties of English, i.e. the British and the American standard English.

At this point we need to return to Moag's five phases of language spread and development. It is clear from the discussion earlier in this study that his phases do not seem to address all linguistic questions and issues facing our South African society adequately. These phases are therefore, an attempt to categorise various historical issues and language change and development in the new environment in order to make them more understandable. Quirk (1988/1995) provides a more comprehensive language spread framework.

2.5 QUIRK'S LANGUAGE SPREAD MODELS

Quirk (1995:32) tackles the spread of English differently from Moag's approach. He argues, firstly, that language spread can "traditionally and endemically" be caused and "accompanied by population spread." He gives an example of Gujarati which is spoken in England because groups of Gujarati-speaking immigrants have settled there.

Secondly, he maintains that "language spread may reflect the spread of ideas without much population movement." He gives an example of the spread of scientific information, computer technology and pop music through the medium of English.

Thirdly, he claims that language spread may reflect political domination with only sufficient population movement to sustain an administrative system and power structure.

Quirk terms these three phases:

- * the demographic model
- * the econocultural model
- * the imperial model

2.5.1 The demographic model

Language is regarded "as one of the prime bases of nationhood." Between 1800 and 1940, as Fishman (1982) reminds us (in Quirk, 1995: 33), no fewer than three dozen new standard languages were recognised in Europe alone, resulting from the growth of

rationalist movements. From the intensity of nationalism beyond Europe, especially during the past thirty or forty years, came the recognition of analogous linguonational identities to be numbered not by the dozen but by the hundred. Nonetheless, nationhood realised through a single language is widely regarded as ideal. Quirk refers to it as Demographic Model A. Among the major countries, perhaps Japan comes closest to Model A. More usually, we have the Demographic Model B, which results in multilingual nations such as South Africa, India, Nigeria etc.

A less common product of demography-led language spread according to Quirk, is the emergence of countries which are politically separate but which share a language. The demographic pattern includes examples as various as Arabic in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, and elsewhere. This last demographic pattern is called Demographic Model C.

2.5.2 The Econocultural Model

"While the demographic model is relevant in some degree to all languages," the econocultural model of language spread according to Quirk (1995:34) applies more to English than to any other language. This model raises questions relating to standards. Quirk argues that these questions concern two broad areas:

- * the general and
- * the restricted.

The first area i.e. the general, is concerned mainly with the authorities responsible for setting standards in the education systems.

He maintains that in his own experience, the issue that worries education ministers is not the choice between American and British standards, but

- (1) what they detect as an increasing unwillingness or inability to identify standards in America or Britain, and
- (2) what they infer from (what Quirk, 1988: 232 calls) the false extrapolation of English "varieties" by some linguists.

What worries Quirk most, are the political or regional labels attached to English. He gives a pertinent example which reaffirms his position regarding varieties of non-native Englishes. While he was in Japan he was asked whether Japanese learners should settle for the "relaxed and clearly insulting goals" of "Japanese English", called by foreign expert advisors "Japlish" (Quirk, 1995: 35). Quirk regards these labels such as "Japanese English", "Nigerean English", Ghanaian English", "Indian English" etc. as false extrapolations from established varieties (American and British standard varieties). In other words, it is not clear if these labels stem from linguistic, political or racial background nor is it clear whether the mistakes of EFL learners can rightfully be said to constitute a "new English". This issue will be further discussed in chapter 5.

The second area of standards raised by the econocultural model is called "restricted". Quirk gives examples of the English used in transnational corporations, for example in service manuals for electronic equipment in non-English speaking countries. He makes the point that English for these purposes has to reflect not only what is going on in America and in Britain, but equally what is going on in Japan and the Soviet Union. In other words, English serves the mutual communication internationally. He therefore argues that it is under these circumstances that the motivation is strongest for the establishment of standards that are "genuinely and usefully international" (Quirk, 1988/1995: 36).

2.5.3 The Imperial Model

This is Quirk's third model. He (1988/1995) gives examples of the imperial model during the actual colonial times. He indicates that the British ran Nigeria in English; the Germans ran Tanganyika in German. Local elites spoke the imperial language and became the more elite in so doing.

He argues that when the Germans withdrew from Tanganyika in 1918, their linguistic footprints were obliterated. But his counter example is that when the British withdrew from Lagos, English remained. He gives justification for this situation:

* English serves as an ethnically neutral link language between Ibo and Yoruba;

- * the British were in Nigeria longer than Germans were in Tanganyika;
- * the English evolved complex educational and administrative structures which involved the indigenous population in running these systems;
- * English seems to the Nigerians to be a more useful language econoculturally in communication with the rest of the world and also as a linking language within Nigeria.

Quirk then goes on to challenge the desirability and feasibility of a local standard within the imperial or econocultural model of linguistic spread. He expresses his concern regarding varieties of the non-native English. For example, "Nigerian English", "West African English", "South African English", "Singaporean English". He argues that these labels are misleading if not entirely false, he claims that the analogy is derived from designations like American English, or Iraqi Arabic. He further cites an example of the label "black English"; he argues that quite often it is used by sociolinguists to mean different things e.g. the "mother tongue non-standard English" in the Caribbean and North America are likely to refer to their varieties as "black English" while in Africa, black users of English would also label their English as "black". These designations as we will see in chapter 3, are not grounded on linguistic terms alone but also on political terms. Black users of English wishing to distinguish themselves from white native speakers, tend to use these sorts of labels to make that distinction.

To sum up, we have looked at Moag's five phases (c.f. Section 2.3.1) by which human language may be spread, localised and developed. In his approach he was able to show what happens to a language when it spreads beyond its borders to other areas and nations.

Quirk on the other hand, goes beyond this question:

- * He also looks at what happens when a language spreads to other areas.
- * He then looks at how this spread takes place.
- * He also brings in the most important factor which Moag does not address, that is, the economic, scientific and informational power factor (the power of the econocultural model which is the powerful factor these days).

2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have attempted to put ESL in South Africa in its linguistic, economic and social perspective. At the moment, English enjoys higher status compared to the other ten official languages. Our need for English in South Africa is certainly econocultural. In other words, at the moment we need English for tertiary education, we need all the international advantages that English can bring, we need standard English to have access to world knowledge. We need it for law and commerce.

English is also seen as the language of western "success" and increasingly in South Africa, it is perceived as the language of unity, power and politics. Furthermore, it carries with it unrivalled access to pedagogical, scientific and technological resources.

However, there is a case against English. Some of the South Africans perceive English to be a kind of ecological disaster that will smother all other languages (Titlestad, 1996a: 3 - Langtag opening address). Titlestad argues that there are those South Africans who think that English would help to drive a wedge between the affluent and poor. He further points out that "the Minister of Education's recent language policy announcement, frees communities from the need to teach English or use it as the language of learning, and frees pupils from the need to offer English for matric. However, this raises the question of equipping matriculants for tertiary education."

According to the Pan SALB policy discussion document (March, 1995: 12), the current status of English leads to "the linguistic disempowerment and socio-political disadvantage of the non-English speakers since they usually feel inhibited in speaking their mother tongue in public ..." This situation according to this discussion document, is conceived to be contrary to current internationally accepted linguistic principles and that it constitutes an infringement of people's language rights.

It is important to note that the position of English, especially in education should be approached within the global perspective. In response to the concern raised against the status of English, the NEPI Framework Report (1993: 182) talks of "ensuring that all South Africans have access to English, without jeopardising the use (and expansion) of

African languages".

Titlestad (1996a: 3 - Langtag Opening Address) makes a key point that if the case against English is "taken up in any serious degree by our schools, the effect for the foreseeable future will be to deprive academically gifted children of the opportunity to go to university, and to cripple South Africa for lack of highly qualified person power".

Let us turn back to the "black English" debate. Let us imagine that the so called "black English" were to be accepted as a new standard and codified in South Africa, at which point of the cline would we find features which are fixed and codifiable? What would be the consequences both for the teaching of English and for the international uses of English?

At the moment, codification of black English is inconceivable because the ESL learner's "interlanguage" system (which refers to the language system used by the ESL learner between L₁ and ESL) "is permeable, in the sense that rules that constitute the learner's knowledge at any one stage are not fixed" (Ellis, 1985: 50).

Earlier in this study we have shown that Moag's language model has limitations. We have also looked at Quirk's three models in terms of which human language may be spread. Quirk (1995) argues that most government authorities and industrial organisations in the countries concerned seem to believe - not unreasonably - that any local variety and especially one of uncertain stability, will be of diminishing usefulness in contrast to the native-speaker-based standard English with its world-wide currency.

The next chapter (3) examines several issues which have been raised earlier in this study, especially the key concept of "standard" and "black English". Furthermore, chapter 3 explores the implications of non-native uncoded varieties of English in the ESL classroom.

CHAPTER 3

STANDARD ENGLISH AND SOUTH-AFRICAN BLACK ENGLISH

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the two key concepts of "standard English" and "South African black English". The label "standard English" could at times be misleading as shown earlier in this thesis because of certain presuppositions it carries for many people.

Stevens (1985: 6) gives two of these false presuppositions:

- (a) that standard English is the English of the numerical majority of English-users;
- (b) that it has some special quality of excellence because, it is believed either it is used by the majority, or it has some official sanction, rather as Standard French has the imprimatur of Académie Française.

Stevens attempts to clarify this issue. He argues that standard English is used by "a minority of the world's 700 million English-users" and that "it is certainly not standard by statistical pre-eminence." Furthermore he argues that there is no authoritative organisation "which pontificates upon usage of English and establishes what should and should not be included within standard English and what should be excluded." In his definition of Standard English, Stevens maintains that "it has no local base." He further makes an important point that "Standard English is accepted throughout the English-using world"... and that "it is spoken with any accent." (Stevens, 1985:6).

Stevens further challenges the notion of a central authority for the English language. He argues that usage in standard English is established by common consent and acceptance or rejection among the educated users of the language, rather than through an imposed official authority.

There are many other myths and misconceptions held by several people regarding standard English. Quirk in his London Times article (1993) takes up this debate around the myths held by many people about the concept of standard English. He clarifies these misconceptions people have about Standard English. He maintains that standard English has nothing to do with puristic extremes, nor with such social attitudes. He further points out that there is a range of registers within standard English. The concept of "standard English" is often confused with "accent". There is a myth for example, that Standard English entails a particular accent, in other words "talking posh" (Quirk, The London Times 1993). According to Quirk's letter to Professor Chris Jeffrey (1994), standard English is conceived to be a widely inclusive concept, at least partly in order to counter egalitarians who attack it as socially exclusive.

According to Quirk's letter, standard English comprises "the vast word-stock (vocabulary) that is registered and defined in dictionaries, together with similarly agreed conventions of spelling and grammar." Quirk maintains that this "form of English is general in the spoken and printed media as well as having - with minor differences - world-wide currency." He argues that being "fully competent in standard English is of prime importance not only for professional development and geographical mobility, but for sharing in all aspects of general life."

Furthermore, he maintains that standard English varies (especially in writing vocabulary and speech) according to subject matter and the level of formality appropriate. While most speech and writing are neutral in formality, spoken standard English is frequently informal as compared with writing (with words like grumpy, put up with, nice). In his reply to Quirk's letter noted earlier, Jeffrey (1994) differs from Quirk regarding the point that standard English should be conceived as neutral. Jeffrey argues that there is some fudging in Quirk's Times statement that the vast majority of standard English words and sentences are of course neither formal nor informal but "neutral" between these extremes. He further argues that in professional terms it takes rather a lot of fudging to count everything from formal written to informal spoken as standard English "tout court". Jeffrey submits that it is best to define standard English as a more or less category rather than an either/or (yes/no, +/-) one. He finally makes the point that as

a term of art "neutral" is not very meaningful or informative. However, Quirk and Jeffrey agree on broader issues pertaining to what is, and is not, standard English.

Quirk makes a crucial point when he says that clear diction is very important but standard English can be spoken in a wide range of pronunciation representing different regional accents (e.g. Nelson Mandela, John Major, Paul Keating and Clinton all speak standard English). Chapter 4 deals with accent in more detail.

Quirk (1994 - Guardian) argues that standard English is classless. He maintains that the debate is not primarily about grammar, since the standard English dialect shares its grammar with most other English dialects, and it is certainly not about accent. Rather in his view, it is about clear diction and about ensuring that children acquire the vocabulary to cover the 30,000 or 40,000 meanings they will need in school subjects.

He expresses his concern about what he calls "tolerant pluralism", i.e. the variety of language that students bring to their classrooms from different social and regional backgrounds or the leaving of ESL errors uncorrected. The Kingman Report (Quirk 1995:26) views this as a trap to keep the pupils in that "present social and ethnic sectors" which creates "a barrier to their educational progress, their career prospects, their social and geographical mobility."

There is however consensus among linguists such as Jeffrey (1994), Corson (1994), Strevens (1977) and Quirk regarding what a standard variety is supposed to be. They maintain that a genuine standard variety of a language provides a more effective means of communication than non-standard varieties especially because standard English is basically the shared vocabulary of the English-speaking countries world wide. For example, earlier in this study we highlighted a number of language functions fulfilled by standard English. Standard English is used to fulfil the following functions in English speaking countries, especially in South Africa.

- * for science and technology
- * for law and legislation

- * for government, parliament and civil service
- * for business and commerce
- * for international communication
- * as a lingua franca
- * for secondary and tertiary education
- * for access to books in libraries.

Lastly, Strevens and Quirk, exclude accent in their definition of standard English. This issue is discussed and explored further in Section 3.1.2.

3.1.1 Standardisation - A historical overview

In England toward the end of the fourteenth century emerged a written language that in the course of the fifteenth won general recognition and has since become the recognised standard especially in writing. The East Midland district contributed most to the formation of this standard.

In the first place Baugh and Cable (1978:192) state that "as a Midland dialect of English, it occupied a middle position between the extreme divergences of the north and south." Secondly, they maintain that this district was the largest and most populous of the major dialect areas. The presence of Oxford and Cambridge Universities in this region according to Baugh and Cable, contributed towards the formation of standard English. The most influential factor in the rise of standard English was the importance of London as the capital of England.

They claim that toward the end of the fifteenth century, the London standard had been accepted, at least in writing in most part of England. Considerable difference in pronunciation still existed. Baugh and Cable (1978:195) argue that "it would be a mistake to think that complete uniformity was attained within the space of a few generations." In their example, they argue that "vocabulary dialectal differences (grammar and accent) have persisted in cultivated speech down to the present day, and they were no less noticeable in the period during which London English was gaining

general acceptance."

In the eighteenth century the language debate took a different turn. It was often expressed as shown by Baugh and Cable (1978:255) that English had been and was being daily corrupted, that it needed correction and refinement and finally the desire of the reformers was that "when the necessary reforms had been effected, it should be fixed permanently and protected from change."

"The lack of a standard to which all might conform was believed to have resulted in many corruptions which were growing up unchecked" (Baugh and Cable, 1978:256). While acknowledging the results obtained by these grammarians and reformers, it is important to note the serious limitations in nearly all of them. Baugh and Cable point out that in their attitudes toward these matters, such people reveal a refusal to accept two cardinal characteristics of historical languages: their essential arbitrariness and their essential susceptibility to change. Strictly speaking, to be a purist in linguistic matters is to suffer from insufficiency of knowledge about language. We have seen earlier in this study that Standard English has nothing to do with puristic extremes, nor with such social attitudes.

Baugh and Cable (1978) argue that one of the reformers' major weaknesses was their failure to recognise the importance of usage as the sole arbiter in linguistic matters.

Secondly, Baugh and Cable argue that these grammarians and reformers did not realise, or refused to acknowledge, that changes in language often appear to be capricious and unreasonable - in other words, these changes are the result of forces too complex to be fully analyzed or predicted.

In 1795 England seized the Dutch settlement in Cape Town. As we have seen in Chapter 2, from this small beginning sprang British rule over large parts of South Africa. The British people (as shown in chapter 2) who came to settle in South Africa in 1806 and 1820, brought with them different dialects of British English. These dialects disappeared over the years. By the turn of the nineteenth century, English

speakers formed a powerful elite in the developing urban economies and English had become a major language in South Africa. The Standard British English of that time became the model dialect which was taught in schools as there was nothing else to teach. African education actually started after the arrival of the English. It was pointed out in chapter two that English as a second language in South Africa has its foundation in the history of English in this country dating from Lord Somerset's proclamation of 1822 which made English the only official language. Furthermore, it was noted that this anglicization policy for both the Dutch and the black people was strengthened by Somerset's schoolmasters and clergymen imported from England and Scotland. They filled influential positions in Dutch and black communities. The earlier period from 1652 when the Dutch arrived in South Africa, was marked by wars between the Xhosa and the Dutch. The economic and social historian de Kiewiet (Rose & Tunmer, 1975: 202) has said that the first colonists in the Cape (Dutch), met some Xhosa tribesmen as early as 1702 and their main preoccupation throughout the eighteenth century was to control boundaries.

In 1855, the state under the control of Governor Grey, supported African education for the first time. He claimed that education, especially industrial training, for blacks would make white people aware of the need to consider Christian responsibility to others less fortunate than the white man. The Governor argued (Rose & Tunmer, 1975: 205) that "the means by which he proposed to attempt the introduction of industrial training were the encouragement of missions connected with industrial schools in which the natives were to be trained in Christian doctrines and at the same time instructed in English." This was the beginning of ESL in South Africa. These mission schools offered a relative excellence in education. This was the first time that education was offered on an official, organised basis. Lanham and McDonald are quoted elsewhere on its relatively high standard - white parents wanted their children to attend mission schools.

3.1.2 Current debate on Standard English

Writing is itself a powerful force driving the standardisation process. This is true because the need for a single standard written variety is greater than that for a single

spoken variety. Nevertheless RP has been a powerful influence on English world-wide in the British sphere. The written variety is acquired through schooling, a standard literacy variety, which students acquire more or less from the beginning of their studies. Usually, writers exercise more control over their writing than speakers can exert over their speech. Cooper (1989) reaffirms Quirk and Strevens' views expressed earlier that there is essentially one standard written English throughout the Anglophone world, with a few minor differences in spelling and vocabulary, whereas there are numerous regional and national spoken English standards. However, the RP sound system is also non-regional (Strevens, 1977/1988). Most teaching textbooks describe either RP or American pronunciation, and allegiances to one or the other tend to be traditional or geographical: thus, for instance, European Countries continue on the whole to teach RP, whereas much of Asia and South America follow the American model.

Cooper further argues that since we tend to glorify the written varieties and since written varieties are likely to be more standardised than the spoken varieties, we tend to accept the written standard as a universal model. Quirk (1993) stresses a slightly different point from Cooper when he argues that standard English is general in the spoken and printed media as well as having minor differences, with world-wide currency. At the moment, accent is not considered as part of the standard language package.

Rubin (Cooper, 1989) views standardisation as a relative term. In her discussion of language standardisation, she argues that all human interaction requires some degree of standardisation; i.e. some degree of shared expectations and shared understanding. If each participant in an interaction operates according to different norms, communication breaks down (c.f. Quirk's concerns in Chapter 5).

Furthermore, we have seen that standard English is a mode of expression that we seek when we wish to communicate beyond our immediate community with members of a wider community of the nation as a whole, or with members of the still wider community, English-speakers as a whole. Quirk (1985, 1990) echoes the above views that as an ideal, standard English cannot be perfectly realised and we must expect that

members of different wider communities (Britain, America, Nigeria, India, for example) may produce different realisations. He goes further to point out that in fact, the remarkable thing is the very high degree of unanimity, the small amount of divergence. He concludes by saying that any English speaker can read a newspaper printed in Leeds, San Francisco or Delhi without difficulty and often even without realising that there are differences at all. This last view reinforces that notion that the written standard is more universal than the spoken mode (c.f. Quirk's Concerns, Chapter 5). Gabriele Stein at the 1995 English Academy Conference as indicated earlier in this thesis, highlighted that one of the major newspapers, The Sowetan, uses standard English.

Peter Strevens (1977:136) challenges the notion of a standard language above a rigid line, anything below this line being considered "substandard" (Platt et al, 1984). He argues that "standard" English does not mean "better", it means simply "most frequent". He goes further to indicate that a dialect that is not Standard English ought to be referred to as "non-standard", rather than "sub-standard".

Strevens gives a detailed description of Standard English, excluding accent as a universal non-regional dialect. He maintains that this dialect has no affinity either with a particular region or with a particular accent. He argues that this dialect has the following six important positive features:

- (1) It is used by educated people who make use of English all over the world, not solely in Britain.
- (2) Wherever it is used, it displays very little geographical or social variation (although there are distinctive features of British and American English, for example).
- (3) It may be spoken with an accent from any geographical locality, or with a non-regional accent i.e. RP.

- (4) It has been universally accepted in the English speaking world as the only appropriate model for educational use.
- (5) It is the variety of English most comprehensively desirable and studied.
- (6) It is the dialect of literary writing, with exceptions only for works that deliberately introduce and emphasise local features of language.

It was noted earlier that the concept of "standard English" is often confused with accent and that there is a myth for example, that standard English entails a particular accent, in other words "talking posh" (Quirk, 1993). Standard English is therefore, not an accent but it involves grammatical and lexical forms as well as a phonological structure. Strevens claims that the characteristics of standard English are displayed when it is written down, and also in a transcript of speech; but when a person speaks English using standard English dialect, he or she is bound to use one accent or another, and may be either a non-regional or regional accent. Speech operates as a means of holding a community together and to give a sense of belonging. It is therefore, easy to identify or recognise someone who speaks with an accent of a different community.

Rajend Mesthrie (1991 point 11, no pages) argues that "while empowerment of people speaking non-standard dialects via teaching the use of the standard is a feasible goal, it must be tempered by questions of allegiance. That is such empowerment is not a practical proposition unless the pupil wants to be associated with the group that typically speaks standard English ..." Mesthrie's comment raises a key question: Is there a South African non-standard English that exists in textbooks? Most of the time the ESL pupils would be taught standard English in any case.

Mesthrie's view that pupils should not be taught standard English unless they want to be associated with the group that typically speaks standard English, is indeed untenable because pupils may not be aware of the value of standard English at the time when they are given an option to either learn it or not. Contrary to Mesthrie's view, the Kingman Report (Quirk, 1995: 26) as noted earlier, even though it has British origins and

application, sees such an "educational ethos as trapping students in their present social and ethnic sectors and as creating a barrier to their educational progress, their career prospects, their social and geographical mobility."

ESL students learn English mainly for "integrative" and "instrumental" reasons. Teachers should consider these reasons in the classroom situation. Gardner and Lambert (1959) were the first to make the distinction between "integrative" and "instrumental" motivation in second language acquisition. "Integrative" motivation refers to the desire to achieve proficiency in a new language in order to participate in the life of the community that speaks the language. Gardner and Lambert argue that it reflects a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group. "Instrumental" motivation on the other hand, may be defined as the desire to achieve proficiency in the target language for utilitarian reasons, such as getting a job or having access to the resources offered by standard English, books in libraries and tertiary education.

It is indicated above that it is very difficult for children to make these choices. Instrumental and integrative motivation is only applicable to adult second language learners. It is therefore important that all the pupils be exposed to the standard English variety and later on if they choose to reject it, it will be solely their own decision.

At this point it may be useful to recapitulate by giving in full the interesting definition of Standard English as it appears in the most recent unabridged Webster dictionary with four subsections (Quirk & Stein, 1990: 121):

- (1) The English taught in schools.
- (2) English that is current, reputable and national.
- (3) The English that with respect to spelling, grammar, and vocabulary is substantially uniform though not devoid of regional differences, that is well-established by usage in the formal and informal (speech) and writing of the

educated and that is widely recognised as acceptable wherever English is (spoken) and understood.

- (4) All words entered in a general English language dictionary that are not restricted by a label (as slang, dialect, etc.)

It has been highlighted earlier in this study that "accent" is excluded from the Standard English package.

Finally, Quirk's (1990/1995) position on the question of the advantages of standard English as noted earlier, is that "all the students know perfectly well that their command of standard English is likely to increase their freedom and their career prospects." He concludes that "teachers and learners should accept the basic conclusion that it is the institution's duty to teach standard English."

3.2 SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ENGLISH

3.2.1 Introduction

"Research examining the English of black South Africans is still in its infancy" (Gough, 1996:53). The question of South African black English is a controversial one. For example, some educators have wondered if black English really exists at all. The concept "black English" in South Africa has not yet been thoroughly explored, investigated and documented. To simply concede that there is a black English variety still leaves several areas of controversy.

For example:

- * What does black English mean?
- * How do teachers cope with this variety of English in the ESL classroom?

"Black English" means various things in different contexts. For example, in America,

"black English" refers to the native language (i.e. a mother tongue English) spoken by African Americans, while in South Africa the same concept could mean "varieties" of English which are acquired at school as a second or third language (c.f. Section 2.4 for an elaborate debate on the subject of black English). Some linguists in South Africa, refer to it as "South African Black English (SABE), whereas others call it "Black South African English" (BSAE). We have seen that the American variety of black English is regarded as a non-standard form of English in America although there is a lobby for acceptance of these forms (c.f. Sledd etc).

If one re-examines the concept of black English closely in South Africa, one is tempted to pose the questions: does "black English" cover all the blacks who come from diverse linguistic background? To what extent for example, does "Nguni English" differ from "Sotho English"? How far removed is the English of the blacks who live in extreme rural areas? Are there dialectal differences between Soweto and the townships surrounding Cape Town or in the Eastern province or in rural Natal? It is worth asking the question whether there are common features. Gough (1996: 61-67) gives random phonological and grammatical features of what he calls black South African English. He does not seem to address the most important questions raised elsewhere in this thesis:

- * Where on the cline does one make the choice of black English?
- * What does the teacher teach?
- * What goes into grammar and textbooks?
- * Will some people who have had better education be inclined to correct the non-standard forms or at least avoid them?

Gough does not discuss the general question of language functions illustrated throughout this study. Furthermore, he fails to distinguish the different language competence levels on the cline, i.e., acrolect, mesolect and basilect levels. It is not clear what the role of

the ESL teacher is supposed to be. For example, at which point on the cline should the teacher start correcting the errors and when does he or she stop correcting these errors?

In addition, Buthelezi's (1995: 245) understanding of SABE is quite interesting. Unlike Gough, she approaches the debate from a different perspective. She starts by making a distinction between "interlanguage errors" which are still open to modification (e.g. features of number and subject-verb agreement) and those which have fossilised to the extent that they can now be classified as distinctive features of South African black English. Buthelezi identifies two types of errors on the interlanguage cline of which one, surprisingly becomes black English:

- * those errors which are at the lower end of the cline which should and can be corrected
- * those fossilised errors at any point of the cline (cf. Table 3); i.e. at the basilect, mesolect or acrolectal levels. This situation seems to have been created by poor ESL teaching and learning strategies. We therefore cannot simply call the outcome of this process SABE.

SABE according to Buthelezi as noted earlier, consists of fossilised features. The crucial point in this case is that she seems to focus on the symptoms of the ESL teaching and learning situation, rather than addressing the causes of the "problem". It appears that the main cause of these features is the now scrapped Bantu Education system and the Verwoerdian philosophy of providing inferior education for blacks. There are different pockets of black people who use fossilised features of English, it obviously does not include every black English speaker. In fact, the higher one moves on the cline, the more one gets rid of the fossilised forms. This issue will be explained further in Section 3.3.1 and in Chapters 6 and 9.

The question of labels (Nguni English, Sotho English, etc) of different varieties of English as shown earlier in this thesis, can be confusing at times, especially because the grammar, lexis and the vocabulary of all the above mentioned "Englishes" are almost similar. The only feature which slightly characterises them is accent which in anyway

is excluded from the standard English package. It is important to note that Gough does not make this key distinction. At times it becomes difficult to differentiate these varieties on the basis of pronunciation because they are more similar than different. One wonders if it is necessary to use these labels or to further segment this concept of "black English" into these ethnic units. The main focus in this study will be on a broader designation, that is "black English" in as far as this exists.

In order to understand this concept of South African black English variety we need to explore it broadly. Wright (1996: 153) interrogates the hypothesis postulated by de Kadt (1993:314) regarding the definition of Black South African English. He maintains that black South African English (BSAFE) "could be defined as an arrested stage in a learner-language continuum". He further indicates that "this definition implies acquiescence in an incomplete educational process, an attitude scarcely palatable to proponents of BSAFE, let alone the masses who are demanding quality education" and an educational system that is in the process of being transformed after the degradation of Verwoerdian under financing.

Wright argues that "if BSAFE is actually composed of a number of ethnic varieties of English, then its role as a national medium of communication must be called in question." He then makes a crucial point that an "educated" variety of BSAFE must be "highly responsive to the norms of international standard English." Both as lingua franca and because of the need for the international variety.

These ethnic varieties of English highlighted earlier in this section, are highly contentious. They are also not well documented and researched. Quirk (1995) supports Wrights' concern about the notion of non-native varieties of English. He argues that they are inherently unstable, ranged along a qualitative cline, with each speaker seeking to move to a point where the varietal characteristics reach vanishing point.

Quirk further singles out a variety which is quite often confusing when used to describe a variety of English. This is "black English": he wonders if it covers all the blacks in North America. In addition, he argues that any linguistic basis becomes rather broad and if it is extended to include the English of blacks in Britain even though blacks in

Britain very often speak with a British accent, a linguistic basis becomes incredible, especially since the term "black" is assumed not only by Britons of Afro-Caribbean origin but equally by many who are of Pakistani and Indian origin as well.

This same concept in our context is labelled "South African Black English" (SABE). At this point we need to look beyond the mere labels attached to the English language. Quirk (1995: 28) quotes a colleague in Kenya who has recently told him in a letter: "There is a heated debate here (in Kenya) as to whether there is such a thing as "East African English" or whether the local variety is just the result of the increasing failure of the education system". Quirk's colleague makes an important observation which seems to be relevant to our South African language situation. He wonders whether "East African English" has not emerged "as a result of the increasing failure of the education system".

We have indicated earlier in this study that the financing system of black education has had a devastating effect upon the per capita expenditure. It has been pointed out elsewhere in this thesis that in 1953 while a black child received R17 both the coloured and Indian children received R40 each. White children on the other hand received R128. It was also highlighted that in 1994 black pupils received R2184. In Indian schools, pupils received R4600, in Coloured schools each pupil received R3700. Children attending "white" schools received R5400 (Sunday Times - 27 August 1995).

This funding situation is being redressed at the moment. It will take some time for this funding to be evenly distributed to all the pupils. As a result of these years of underfunding, the standard of English teaching and performance in black schools seems to have deteriorated.

3.2.2 What is South African black English?

Chapter one (Section 1.2), presented Ndebele's argument that South African English must be open to the possibility of its becoming a new language. Buthelezi (1989) takes this debate further when she argues that a vicious cycle is perpetuated whereby learners acquire features of South African black English directly from the ESL teachers and then

reproduce these innocently. In other words, she implies that most features of the learners fossilised English are actually teacher influenced. Buthelezi's recent article (1995: 245), reinforces her 1989 position when she makes a distinction (noted earlier in this thesis) between "interlanguage errors which are still open to modification and those which have fossilised to the extent that they can now be classified as distinctive features of SABE".

It was noted in Section 3.2.1 that Buthelezi seems to focus more on the "errors" rather than the cause of these "errors". It is evident from Buthelezi's views that the so called "South African black English" appears to have emerged as a result of poor ESL teacher training. Both Ndebele's and Buthelezi's points of view regarding SABE, cogent as they may be, generate a number of intractable questions:

- * Where does SABE begin on the cline?
- * At which point does the teacher correct "errors"?
- * If it is admitted that language errors constitute SABE, at which point does this happen?
- * Do all black ESL learners make same "errors" which can be codified and should all these errors be admitted in BSAE?
- * In what way do we rewrite our grammars and school text-books?

We need well thought out answers to these questions before we make conclusions that there is black English in South Africa. Several factors have limited the quality and potential growth of ESL in South Africa. As a result of the now scrapped Bantu Education, Separate Development Act and Group Areas Act, different races were forced by law to live in their own residential areas, with separate amenities, schools and churches. Due to these policies, contact between blacks and English mother tongue speakers has been minimised, especially in the formative years, including the middle teens. The mission tradition (c.f. Royal Reader English, chapter 2) has virtually

disappeared and white English teachers are rarely found in black schools. They are found in smaller numbers than formerly at the black tertiary institutions. Very few black students in the past had the opportunity to be accepted at English universities where they would have come into contact with English mother tongue students and lecturers and this obviously could improve their proficiency in English. This is now happening again though in a limited way e.g. the Model C schools, and the private schools. According to Schlebush (1994:98 in Gough, 1996: 55) "this appears to have led to at least partial language shift with a perceived decrease in competence in the mother tongue, as she finds in the Model C schools she investigated".

In black schools, teachers are the primary agents for provision and propagation of English (Buthelezi, 1989). The vast majority of black teachers, given the Bantu Education historical background, have themselves acquired English from other black teachers. The learners receive a type of English which is already modified, slightly deviant from "white" standard English. Buthelezi (1989) earlier made the point that "a vicious cycle is perpetuated whereby learners acquire features of SABE directly from their teachers and then reproduce them innocently". As noted earlier, Buthelezi still endorses this attitude. At the same time by calling it "a vicious cycle" Buthelezi is condemning the process. The whole debate becomes compounded when she condones the fossilised forms by labelling them SABE. These ESL teachers' inadequate level or competency of English unfortunately serves as a model for their learners. Lanham (1996) reaffirms this concern when he argues that for teachers and pupils who for several generations now have been deprived of an adequate English language education, the English medium for learning mathematics, science, geography etc. makes such learning a language problem far more than a conceptual learning problem. Lanham further makes an interesting observation when he alerts us to the fact that "as yet, there is no indication that those creating new syllabuses, policy statements etc. have fully grasped this". He warns that reports and research are accumulating which must be heeded if the great opportunities offered in starting afresh in South African education are not to be dissipated.

The type of English spoken and written by black people according to Schmied (1991) depends largely on the following two factors:

- * their education, i.e. the length and degree of formal education in English;
- * their occupation, i.e. the necessity for and amount of English used in everyday life (c.f. table 3).

In the South African context, Branford (1996) concurs with Schmied that the social functions of English for blacks depend often on the English that they have been able to learn at school. Schmied (1991:48) provides a table (c.f. table 3), which gives a clearer picture of the different stages of ESL acquisition.

Cline of English varieties	Cummulative length of English education	Degree of formal education		Characteristic jobs and occupations	
		ESL	EIL	ESL	EIL
Acrolect	14 years	University in home country	University in English speaking country	Newspaper editors, lawyers, senior officers in Civil Service and business firms	University lecturers, medical doctors, business managers.
Mesolect	8-14 years	Secondary School	University in home country	Junior civil servants, senior nurses, secretaries, typists	Senior civil servants, newspaper editors, lawyers
Basilect	7-10 years	Primary school	Secondary school	Shop assistants, taxi drivers, clerks, nurses	Medical assistants, junior civil servants, typists, secretaries

ESL = English as a second language

EIL = English as an international language

TABLE 3: SCHMIED'S CONTINUUM OF ENGLISH VARIETIES IN AFRICAN SOCIOLINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

This table shows the different proficiency levels of ESL users. Schmied conceptualises variation in language in terms of a scalogram of lects: basilect, mesolect and acrolect. This scalogram ranges from the more basic level called "basilect" to the highest level called "acrolect". At the basic stage, the learner still relies more on mother tongue communicative strategies.

Schmied's second level is called the "mesolect" stage. At this level, learners have at least 8 to 14 years of formal English education. This group of ESL users is obviously more proficient than the first at the basilect level. His final advanced phase is called the "acrolect" level of proficiency. These are proficient users of "educated" variety of English at this category.

Kachru uses the concept of the cline, embodying similar concepts to Schmied. In his earlier article in 1965, Kachru calls his phases of proficiency on the cline:

- * Zero point
- * Central point and
- * Ambilingual point.

Kachru's continuum also has the basic level at which the learner still relies heavily on the teacher and his mother tongue. This is similar to Schmied's basilect phase. The "central point" is equivalent to the "mesolect" level and finally, the "ambilingual" stage is assumed to be an apex of the cline. This phase is similar to Schmied's acrolect level of proficiency. As the learners approach the apex, the divergencies which still exist seem to become so small as to be noticed only by pronunciation.

If we examine Schmied's continuum, we find that it is more detailed than the earlier efforts by Kachru. He has attempted to categorise different learners according to their cumulative length of English education, the degree of personal education and their occupations.

Even though Schmied has provided all this detail, his model still falls short of the central questions. For example:

- * Where do we draw a line between errors which have to be corrected, and so-called black English which can be codified?
- * At what stage does black English become an "educated" variety of English?
- * How different is the black educated variety from the international educated varieties?
- * At which point or level can black English be used as a local variety in education?

This section seeks to address all the issues raised above. We have seen earlier in this study that ESL in South Africa is basically acquired through the media (specially in urban areas) and the education system.

At the earliest stages of ESL acquisition, learners tend to make many errors e.g. overgeneralisation:

(i) Plural form:

- (a) Child > *childs/childrens
- (b) woman > *womans

(ii) Tenses (simple past)

- (c) bring > *brang
- (d) drink > *drinked

(iii) Subject/verb agreement

- (e) I go home
- (f) *He go home

(iv) Confused gender pronouns

- (g) *My brother she go home
- (h) *My father her name is John.

The last set of examples ((g) and (h)) reveal a number of difficulties encountered by the ESL learner. Firstly, the learner retains the pronouns after using subjects, e.g. "my brother" and "my father". Secondly, the pronouns do not correlate with the subjects.

Thirdly, subject/verb agreement rule is flouted, e.g. *"brother (she) go".

In order to understand the root or the basis of some of the errors, we have to look at the learner's first language. For example:

- (g) *"My brother she go home." This sentence seems to be a direct translation from 'Umfowethu uya ekhaya' (isiZulu).

If we analyse the isiZulu sentence above, we find that it reveals a number of underlying issues. It makes use of concords, e.g. "u" which refers either to a male or female. The same concord can be used to refer to the second or third person, depending on the level of the tone, if it is high, it refers to the third person, but if it is low, it refers to the second person.

Another observation from the above isiZulu example is that it does not use subject/verb agreement. It again makes use of concords which must agree with their respective noun class systems. For example,

(singular) "umfowethu uya" > my brother goes ...

(plural) "abafowethu baya" > my brothers go ...

The prefix "um-" belongs to noun class 1 (singular prefix) and "aba-" to class 2 (plural prefix).

In English, in order to change a noun in a singular form to a plural form, the noun becomes suffixed; e.g.

brother (singular)

brothers (plural)

These "errors" described in (i) - (iv) above, are part of the ESL learner's "interlanguage". They are of course common at the basilect level. These "errors" should be corrected by the education system. In other words, ESL learners acquire standard English in schools. Some people however, might argue that these first utterances and writing in the target language could be regarded as the beginning of the

"black English" debate. Hopefully, if all the pupils from all the racial background attended the same schools and both black and white teachers taught all these pupils across the colour bar, there would perhaps be no need for labelling this variety of English as "black". The appropriate term would be "educated South African standard English" (c.f. later in this section for further discussion). The notion of "errors" noted earlier in this section, is sometimes contentious or controversial.

Kachru (1991) explores this concept of "errors" when he focuses on "mistakes" and "deviations" in non-native Englishes. He poses a central question: how much deviation from the norm is acceptable pedagogically, linguistically and above all with reference to intelligibility?

He makes a distinction between the terms "mistake" and "deviation" on linguistic and contextual levels. He argues that a "mistake" may be unacceptable to a native speaker since it does not belong to the linguistic "norm" of the English language. On the other hand, a "deviation" has the following characteristics according to Kachru. He argues that deviation is different from the norm in the sense that it is the result of the new "un-English" linguistic and cultural setting in which the English language is consistently used. Kachru calls his own model of English the "liberation" model. He argues that Quirk's position means the rejection of the cline, for Quirk tends to emphasise the acrolect. Kachru is prepared to give rein to the basilect. He argues that the intranational functions far outweigh the international. This debate is extensively discussed later in this study.

The central question is whether Kachru's model does liberate - does it give access to the international standard? Does it even make for a reliable internal medium of communication? Can it be used in schools as a pedagogic model? Are teachers ready to teach and use this variety? In his discussion paper: "The Standard English debate" Titlestad (1995:190) argues that concentration on the basilect as is the case with Kachru, Buthelezi and Ndebele, is concentration on language at its most limiting level of the cline - lexically and in range of interest and subject matter.

Titlestad further attacks Kachru and the proponents of black English when he says that they have not thought through the various language functions needed and disregard the advantages that the acrolect brings, internally and internationally.

Titlestad (1995:190) poses a key question when he asks whether Kachru has really faced the consequences of schools' teaching the basilect. He further indicates that "the concept is utterly limiting." He warns that "the various uses that English has in South Africa would make basilectal English in South African education an unmitigated disaster, were the Kachru model to be adopted here."

Patkowski (1982) provides a more elaborate language proficiency framework than the limited three phases propounded by Kachru and Schmied earlier in this section. He gives five stages (c.f. Table 4) through which a second language learner has to go. According to Patkowski's model, one can surmise that "educated black English" begins almost at the fourth stage up to the fifth - called "full professional proficiency" and "native proficiency" respectively. At these levels, it is assumed that the non-native speaker has excellent control of the grammar, few errors are made and the few errors that occur are still random; vocabulary is also broad, precise and literate.

	0	Unable to function in the L₂
Elementary proficiency	1	Can use stock expressions, almost no control of syntax, speaks largely by juxtaposition of words; vocabulary is adequate only for survival, basic courtesy needs; except for memorised expressions, speech is so fragmentary that little meaning is conveyed.
Limited working proficiency	2	Has fair control of basic patterns, uses single "kernel" sentences; very frequent errors of all types; vocabulary is adequate for simple social conversation and routine job needs; relatively simple meanings are accurately conveyed but linguistic abilities are clearly strained in doing so.

Minimum professional proficiency	3	Has good control of most basic syntactic patterns; reasonably complex sentences used, errors quite frequent, vocabulary is adequate for participation in all general conversation and for professional discussion in a specific field despite errors and possible circumspections; always accurately conveys meanings of relative complexity.
Full professional proficiency	4	Has excellent control of the grammar; the few errors that occur are still random rather than system based; vocabulary is broad, precise, and literate; occasional unidiomatic use of words or expressions; can convey complex messages in fluent and literate fashion.
Native proficiency	5	Has native control of grammar; vocabulary is equal to that of an educated native, speech is as fluent as a native's.

TABLE 4: MODIFIED MARK PATKOWSKI'S LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY FRAMEWORK

It is however, important at this stage of the debate, to once more highlight the fact that educated black English refers mainly to grammar, lexis and vocabulary rather than accent. Peter Strevens (c.f. Section 3.1.2) elaborates extensively on this subject. He argues that standard English is used by "educated people" who make use of English all over the world. He also makes the point that it may be spoken with an accent from any geographical locality, or with a non-regional accent.

Another interesting issue which needs to be explored further, is the question of "educated people" raised by Strevens above. If we re-examine Kachru's, Schmied's and Patkowski's language proficiency models, we can draw some parallels and differences. For example, Schmied states that ESL learners at the basilect level, are likely to have 7 to 10 years cumulative length of formal English education. Those at the mesolect stage are likely to be or to have had secondary education and finally, those whose

proficiency is closest to the acrolectal level, it is assumed, should either have had a university education abroad or at their own country. They are also supposed to be holding higher positions in their communities, e.g. doctors, lecturers, business managers and so on. Kachru's emphasis differs from the two other models (Schmied's and Patkowski's). He simply categorises the "outer circle" users of English into three proficiency levels. His point of departure is that the English learners in India, learn Indian English within his cline of bilingualism (i.e. zero point up to ambilingual point). This approach raises a number of questions:

- * at which point do teachers correct the "errors"?
- * What do teachers teach?
- * Are dictionaries and grammar books available in Indian English?
- * What is the attitude of education authorities, the "educated" Indian community and politicians towards this Indian English?
- * Do all the provinces in India use the same variety of Indian English?
- * Where do we draw the line between Indian English and standard English?

On the other hand, Patkowski does not provide the kind of detail given by Schmied. He focuses primarily on the levels of proficiency rather than the years of formal education and the qualifications acquired. Nevertheless, this appears to be a more cogent model than Schmied's. It is certainly more useful than Kachru's cline or his idea of the "systemic" detail.

3.3 EDUCATED BLACK ENGLISH (STANDARD ENGLISH OR GENERAL PURPOSE ENGLISH)

The term "educated" is difficult to define especially with regard to second language acquisition.

According to Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary, it means "someone who is educated or who shows high standards of learning". Earlier in this study, it has been indicated that ESL learners acquire it mainly in schools. If this definition is applied to the ESL context, it could at times be misleading that anyone who speaks and writes an educated variety of English should be someone who shows a high standard of educational qualification. For example: Schmied claims that "acrolect" speakers of English should have at least 14 years of English education and should have obtained a degree at a local university or from an English speaking country. Furthermore, he maintains that these speakers should be occupying high positions such as newspaper editors, lawyers, university lecturers, medical doctors and so on. Those categories of intellectuals can rightly be regarded and classified as speakers of an educated variety of English.

However, there are other people who do not hold high academic qualifications and high occupations who are also speakers of this variety. At the basilect level which is equivalent to Kachru's bazaar English, Schmied gives an example of people with seven to ten years of English education. These people are shop assistants, bus drivers, clerks and nurses. This category according to him would not qualify to be users of this "educated" variety. In South Africa, there are taxi drivers, clerks and shop assistants who are even more proficient in this variety of English at the spoken and in certain spheres of activity than many intellectuals. There should be another way of looking at this issue.

There are also proficient users of this variety who only have very basic education. It was stated earlier in this study, that during the mission school period in black education ESL learners used to be proficient in English as from their fourth and fifth year of English formal education. The primary reason for this was that they were motivated to learn Standard English and secondly, their teachers were also highly skilled in English teaching. Today, we still have the remnants of the Royal Reader English users who quite often invoke the spirit of the "good old days". In other words, this group of Royal Reader learners had the opportunity and the privilege of being taught in smaller classes by skilled missionaries.

There are also black pupils who start right from the grades at the English medium schools who could be quite proficient in English as early as standard three or four, which according to Schmied could be regarded as the "basilect".

What we perhaps need to emphasise right here, is that it does not matter how many years of formal education one has undergone, but what is important is how one develops oneself soon after whatever formal education one has acquired. For example, bank tellers after passing matric could be at the "mesolect" level, but within a year or two of their exposure to Standard English users, will increase their level of proficiency to almost acrolect level. When one meets them after two or three years, one finds that they have improved quite remarkably, especially with their accent. But the only problem is that spoken skills may not match writing skills and the two aspects are separate.

On the other hand, there are some speakers of this variety who have integrative motivation to learn Standard English on their own without formal education. Integrative motivation is the motivation as noted earlier of a person who learns the second language for the purpose of interacting and socialising with the target language group. Sociolinguistic studies have shown that this type of ESL learner acquires the target language faster than those who are forced by the school system to do so.

Therefore, if we concede that the educated black English-speaking community encompasses all those speakers who have "native control of grammar and their vocabulary is almost equal to that of an educated native and their speech is as fluent as a native's" (Patkowski, 1982) irrespective of their academic and professional qualifications; then we can conclude that they all belong to the educated family who make use of this English variety all over the world, not solely in Britain or America. The target for teaching should be the codified standard English. We have seen that the existence of educated South African black English is queried and even the existence of a codifiable and teachable black English is seen as doubtful. The variety of English used by educated speakers is called "standard English" or "general purpose English". It is important at this point to stress that the pedagogic notion of "standard English" does not imply a refusal to accept the existence of non-standard (non-native) varieties of English

or of features that are specifically local but of limited occurrence and so do not affect the core. Classroom strategies might be needed, however, to deal with features that are non-standard.

Quirk's article regarding the English language in a global context is pertinent in this debate, especially his concern for those non-native English speaking countries who teach English for local purposes. A good example is Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea. This pidgin's creolised form was institutionalised by the Australian Government for idealistic reasons. Today it is showing considerable "internal instability and is being rejected in favour of an external model of English by those with power and influence" (Quirk, 1988: 237). This situation arises because the world is gradually shrinking into a "global village", people across the cultures as indicated earlier need to communicate for economic, technological, scientific and most importantly, for local and global peace initiatives.

In order to stop the wars around the globe, different nations need to communicate in a common language. The viable language at the moment to accomplish this seems to be English. The educated variety of English has to be intelligible to all the users of English. This variety of English, as indicated above, is part of international Standard English. It is generally observed (c.f. Ahulu, 1992 and Svartvik, 1985) that such phenomena as coinage, lexical borrowing are processes by which English is creating and expanding its lexicon as an international language.

The phases provided earlier by both Schmied and Patkowski are not watertight, they overlap and thus it is not feasible to put down the learners' levels of qualification and fixed years of exposure to formal education as we have already stated. There are many factors which need to be considered before any classification can be determined.

It depends mainly on the type of teachers the learners are exposed to. If these teachers are well equipped to teach English as a second language, then the learners move from one level of proficiency to another without much difficulties. Learners may take a shorter or a longer period depending on their teachers' abilities rather than the time frames stipulated by Schmied earlier in this chapter (c.f. Section 3.2.2).

At this point we must go back to one of the central questions: where do we draw a line between errors which have to be corrected and so-called "black English"? Errors can be detected throughout all the stages of the continuum of the learner's interlanguage. These errors should be seen within the development of a learner's interlanguage. Kachru (1985) refers to ESL "errors" as "allowable deviations".

He further complains that labels such as "errors" and "mistakes", are pejorative. He perceives what is regarded as "errors" by the users of the inner circle (mother tongue speakers of English), as deviations or innovations initiated by the users of English in the outer circle (ESL speakers). Let us assume that the educated Indian variety of English is the model for all the ESL learners in India, the question that one may ask is: "what would Kachru call the deviations of the learners at the lowest level of his continuum of ESL learning?" Are they to be regarded as correctable or as systemic-part of the new? This is one of the key points in the argument of this thesis. These issues will be explored fully later in this chapter (c.f. section 4.1).

Kachru (1985) also gives the following modified cline of competence in English:

- * educated variety (acrolect)
- * semi-educated variety (mesolect)
- * bazaar variety (basilect)

He further argues that within each variety, further distinctions are possible. He maintains that an educated speaker may switch between one or more varieties or mix varieties with other languages.

Again Kachru does not specify the level of education or exposure to educated users of English at various stages of the cline. It is therefore, not realistic to classify what appears to be complex into simple grids or categories.

Coming back to the South African situation, the question which needs to be asked with regard to ESL is: "At which level in the continuum can we say that the "black variety" is ready to be used as an exclusive, ideal pedagogic model?"

When Kachru was faced with the same thought-provoking question in his "South Asian English" article (1983:356), his response was that Indian English maintains varying degrees of Englishness within educated South Asian English which is graded from pidgin English or broken English on the one hand to educated (or standard) South Asian English. He further admits that "some speakers of educated South Asian English even aim at received pronunciation. He further argues elsewhere that basilectal non-native second language varieties of English could serve as the ideal pedagogic language models in education. This applies even to varieties low on the cline, which exist and he claims, work. He takes this issue even further saying that these basilectal non-native varieties call for replacement of "pedagogical models" (British and the American varieties) that have become "suspect". In later articles e.g. *The Quirk Concern* (1990), Kachru puts forward this idea of basilectal education models.

Quirk (1988) challenges Kachru and questions the logic and validity of his argument. Quirk further poses a teasing question: how likely is it that a minister of education in Delhi or Lagos will provide resources for teaching to a model derived from non-native norms, especially any that could be characterised as low on the cline of the continuum? The situation in South Africa is quite unique. The inherited language policy in education "is fraught with tensions, contradictions, sensitivities and underpinned by linguistic and racial discrimination" (1995: 1.1 - *Towards a Language Policy in Education*). However, a major challenge still lies ahead if balanced, creative and productive interpretation of the complex language provisions of the Constitution is to be achieved. The Minister of Education in South Africa, one hopes, would not provide resources for teaching to a model derived from non-standard English. Ahulu (1994: 26) takes this debate further when he provides a pertinent example of the Ghanaian variety of English. He argues that it is not only educationalists and language experts who are sceptical about a Ghanaian variety of English; parents and the general public are continually complaining about the use of non-standard English on Ghanaian campuses, and recommending that stern measures be taken against it.

Furthermore, Quirk surmises that if a national needs analysis in India or Nigeria or Singapore should convince ministers of education and other government officials that resources should be found for the promotion of non-native norms for teaching, low on

the cline of the continuum, then he admits that we might be in a different ball-game. The point Quirk is making here is that education ministers and government officials in these countries (India, Nigeria, Singapore) are aware of the importance of international Standard English. All the countries of the world are economically, technologically and scientifically interdependent. What brings these countries together is some form of the "acrolectal" form of English which is closer to the international Standard English. These ministers and government officials are also aware that by opting for a local variety, they will be isolating themselves from the international arena.

To illustrate this point further, Wright (1993:4) poses the following question: "Let us imagine for a moment that a radically non-standard English were to be accepted as a new standard and institutionalised... what would a user of this variety feel when his or her attempts at participating in the wider world of English have failed?" Furthermore how would he or she feel when this English has not given access to the resources of knowledge that it should have?

Finally in response to this question, Quirk (1990) warns, as we have seen earlier in this study, that all the students know perfectly well that their command of standard English is likely to increase their freedom and their career prospects.

3.3.1 The status of educated South African black English (ESABE)

The concept of "Educated South African black English" in this thesis should be taken to be effectively involved with standard English or general purpose English (excluding accent). In terms of Schmied's model, educated South African black English can be located between the "mesolect" and the "acrolect" levels. We must hasten to say that it is not a new variety of English. We need to examine whether our "educated black English" could be institutionalised as a new variety of English and perhaps be used in the ESL classrooms. What, furthermore, of the "multicultural" classroom where the pupils are not exclusively native speakers of English or 2L learners?

We have to explore Quirk's concept of "institutionalisation". This refers to what Quirk (1995:24) refers to as varieties that are "fully described and with defined standards

observed by the institutions of state." These varieties are codified and they have dictionaries, grammar and a wealth of written literature. Only two varieties of English are institutionalised, American English and British English, and there are others with standards rather informally established, notably Australian English.

South African native English is not yet institutionalised, even though in orthography, lexis and grammar this variety for most educated use is virtually identical to both British and American English. On the other hand, it is not even clear if a "black variety" of English in general terms exists or not, especially as a new variety. It is also inconceivable to even contemplate a fixed point in the competence continuum where the black variety of English could be ready to assume the status of an ideal pedagogic language model in education. Before educated black English in South Africa can be considered as an ideal ESL black model, a number of issues have to be fully explored.

Given the following pockets of different categories of the users of educated black English, it is indeed very difficult to assume or guess where that fixed point should be:

- (a) There are those who have received their education at the top private English medium schools so that their English proficiency is almost similar to that of the English native speakers.
- (b) There are those who have received their education from Model C schools which have recently been opened for other race groups. They are state-aided schools (they are about to become public schools) in which the teachers are skilled, well trained and motivated. The graduates from these schools are also articulate and have a good command of English.
- (c) The pre-1976 group who received their education from the defunct Department of Bantu Education schools under relatively stable and conditions conducive to ESL learning. Teachers were also motivated then. This group of graduates also has a relatively good command of English.
- (d) All those in the former Department of Education and Training (DET) schools

in the last 15 years.

- (e) The remnants of the pre-1953 mission education who received a high standard of English teaching. Although there are only a few of them alive, they have a very good command of English.
- (f) Those who received their education abroad from the English speaking countries. These also have an excellent command of the language.

One is tempted to ask whether pockets could be extended to regions, even to very localised areas or particular schools, and to rural versus urban usage. Furthermore, it would be interesting to explore how pockets would affect the viability and mobility of pupils and teachers.

In addition, those matriculants in former DET schools who have obtained $\pm C$ symbols could also be counted as "educated". All the above categories would be placed towards the top of the cline (between the mesolect and acrolect levels of proficiency). Their proficiency also varies according to the level of their exposure to the first language environment and the type of ESL teachers they have had. Interestingly enough, educated South African black English cannot simply be determined by the levels of formal education as noted earlier. All the above pockets of different categories of users of educated black English, need to be seen within a continuum.

Quirk (1990) argues that the native varieties as indicated earlier in this section e.g. American and British English, share a notable stability as compared with non-native varieties. He makes the point that native varieties resemble non-native varieties to a slight extent in being on a socio-economic cline, such that the features marking an individual as being a speaker of Yorkshire English tend to disappear the higher up the socio-economic scale he or she happens to be. Some measure of accent is likely to remain.

Kachru (1986) makes a clear distinction between "educated Indian English" and the "general purpose English" advocated by Quirk at the conference in 1995. He claims that

educated Indian English provides a regulative norm, which is available in good academic departments of English, at institutions of higher learning, on the All Radio (Akashwami) and on the programmes of national television. One wonders though, how far apart from accent does this differ from the international standard English. Furthermore, one wonders how the users of educated Indian English access the international and major national newspapers. Elsewhere Kachru seems to condone basilect varieties, even suggesting basilectal models for education (eg bazaar English (1991)). This debate poses two related problems: firstly, that of a definition of "Indian English", used so far loosely to refer to a variety which is different from standard English; secondly, many scholars' view that the distinctive Indian features are phonological.

In response to Kachru's claim, Quirk (1990) argues that although Kachru has been publishing on Indian English for 25 years "... prolifically, eloquently and elegantly", there is still no grammar, dictionary or phonological description for any of these non-native norms that is, or could hope to become, recognised as authoritative in India, a description to which teacher and learner in India could turn for normative guidance, and from which pedagogical materials could be derived and which education departments would endorse as the pedagogical model.

Schmied (1991: 174) takes the issue of developing a local variety of English further. He argues that a closer look at this issue reveals some of the issues involved:

- * a detailed description of the performance varieties at all levels of the continuum;
- * the identification of an acceptable level for a standard that would on the one hand be sufficiently close to other standards of English, especially the international standard, to ensure linguistic intelligibility, and on the other hand sufficiently distinct from them to convey African culture and identity;
- * the codification of this national variety in dictionaries, grammars or teaching handbooks;

All these concerns will be discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 9.

In summing up, it was noted earlier in this study that Patkowski provides a more tenable and elaborate language proficiency framework than the limited three phases advocated by Schmied and Kachru.

According to Patkowski's model, one can surmise that educated "black English" goes through the five language development phases. However, this "variety" probably begins at the fourth phase up to the fifth - called "full proficiency" and "native proficiency" respectively. At this "educated" level, it is assumed that the ESL user has excellent control of grammar, few errors are made and the few errors that occur are still random; vocabulary is also broad, precise and literate. In other words, this "variety" is close to the international standard English.

3.3.2 The notion of a pedagogical norm

When discussing language varieties, the notion of pedagogical norm becomes central to the whole debate. Earlier in this study, we have asked crucial questions relating to the existence of "black English":

- * Where on the cline does one make the choice of black English?
- * What does the teacher teach?
- * What goes into grammar and textbooks?
- * Is black English codifiable?

Gough (1996: 8) makes an interesting observation. He echoes Wright's (1995:8) point when he says "non-standard black South African English is to some extent 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".

Earlier in this chapter, three models showing the different proficiency levels of ESL learners have been discussed. Patkowski's model was identified to be a more comprehensive and plausible language proficiency framework than the other models

propounded by Kachru and Schmied. Patkowski's model shows the ESL learner's language competency phases. At the fifth phase (Native Proficiency), the ESL user has native control of grammar, vocabulary equal to that of an educated native. In other words, the pedagogical norm in this case, is the fifth phase of Patkowski's model. This is equivalent to what Quirk calls "general purpose English".

However, Valdman (1975) approaches this debate from a different perspective. He examines social groups in a speech community with a range of speech styles which are determined by co-existing norms.

Valdman (1975) maintains that traditionally, in the teaching of highly standardised languages, particularly the so-called "languages of culture" such as English, French, German and Spanish, the monitored speech of educated native speakers has been set as the "target" appropriate for foreign and ESL learners (c.f. section 3.3 and Chapter 5). He argues that this approach of non-native users of English adopting the educated native variety of English as the only target, is too restrictive and that, instead, attainment of near-native proficiency in a foreign or second language should entail the capacity to perceive the total repertoire of target speakers rather than a particular norm. This debate boils down to the language functions noted in chapter one. For example, standard English is the language of access to a vast range of cultural, scientific and economic activities, whereas non-standard English is used for non-educational purposes. It is important to note that the choice of any language variety should be informed by the functions it fulfils. Some of these functions have been highlighted earlier in Section 3.1.

Valdman argues that in order to communicate effectively with all segments of multilingual communities, ESL or EFL learners need to control their linguistic repertoire. Quirk (1995) develops this point and makes it even much clearer when he argues that being fully competent in standard English is of prime importance not only for professional development and geographical mobility, but for sharing in all aspects of general life.

In addition, Valdman's model looks at language issues more broadly. Unlike Kachru,

Schmied and Patkowski, Valdman looks beyond the language proficiency framework used by a particular speech community. Valdman's model reaffirms the notion of language functions noted earlier in this study. It clearly shows the reason why people choose a particular norm in a speech community. This reminds us of the fact that people do not simply learn a second language - but that they learn it for a purpose.

Valdman gives a multi-target model of language variation (c.f. Figure 1).

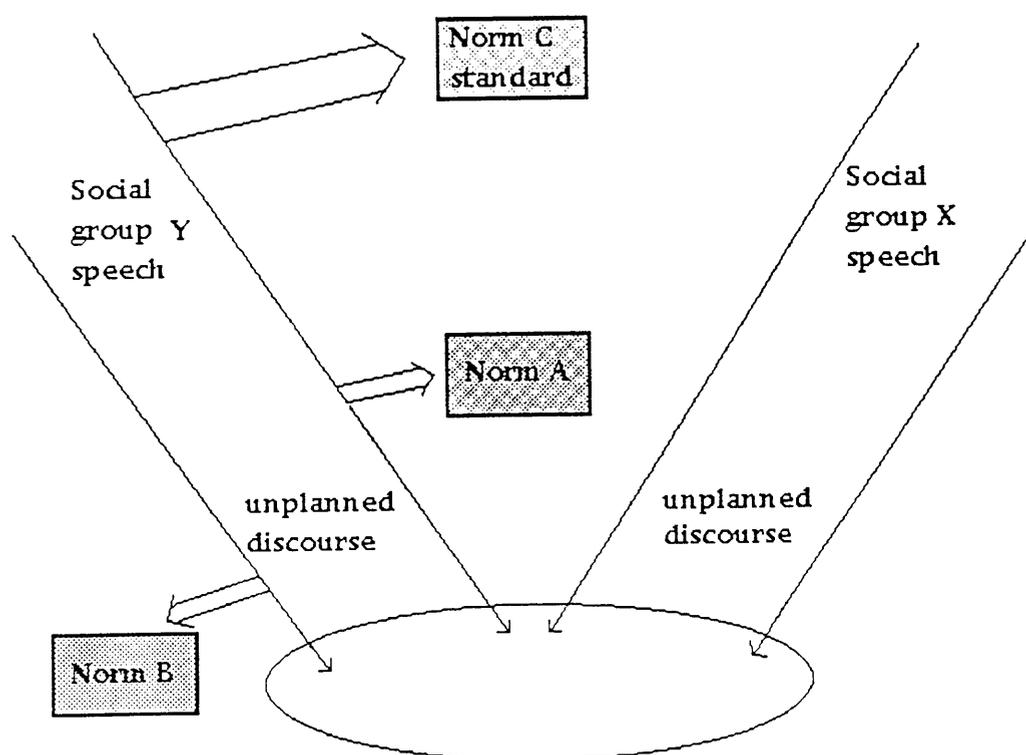


FIGURE 1: MULTI-TARGET MODEL OF LANGUAGE VARIATIONS

He claims that all social groups in a speech community have available a range of speech styles determined by co-existing norms. The boxes labelled Norm A, Norm B and Norm C respectively represent alternative norms available to the various social groups of a speech community. This model is more applicable to the American language situation where there are standard and established non-standard language norms. Valdman's model demonstrates the tensions that may arise in the context where mother tongue speakers of non-standard English are forced by circumstances to learn the standard

form.

Only two social groups are posited, X and Y. The widths of the arrows reflect the relative power of attraction exercised on a particular social group by a given norm.

Shift in norm orientation is determined by the social identity speakers wish to signify in the course of a particular speech event. In daily communicative interactions with their peers, speakers make use of their vernacular. In complex communities one of the norms becomes associated with political power and or prestige. This prestigious variety undergoes a gradual process of uniformisation and gains the status of standard.

Within the framework of the multi-target norm model, Valdman proposes to account for the variation present in the input to non-standard English learners. The interlingual continuum may be viewed as a vector which is oriented toward a particular norm by filtering input and by controlling feedback (c.f. Figure 2):

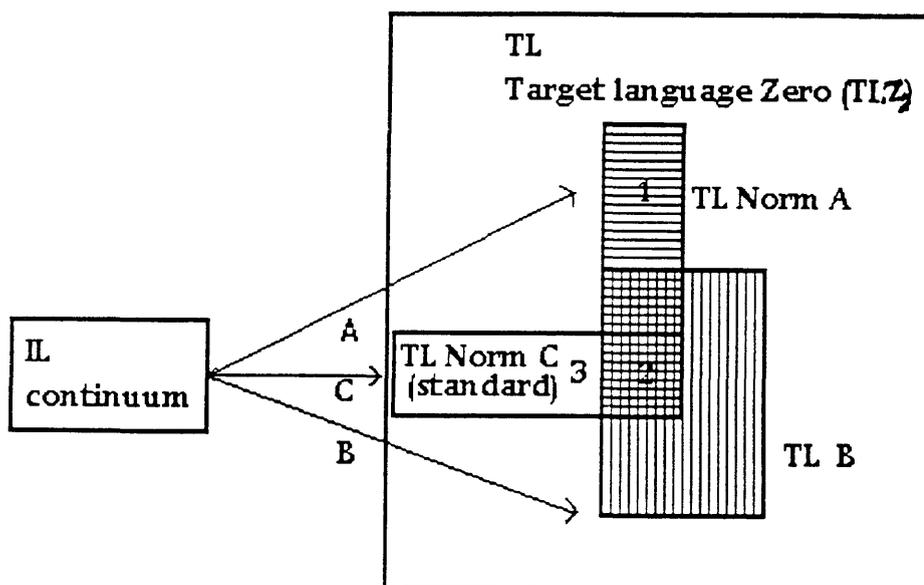


FIGURE 2: TARGET LANGUAGE ZERO (TLO)

This second model is actually applicable to the South African language debate too. One can apply it to black languages, non-standard and standard varieties. The largest block represents the totality of attested TL variants. This system encompasses features shared

by all TL varieties, as well as the totality of variable features. The three smaller blocks represent competing norms, one of which is the standard norm (Norm C). The interlingual continuum may be controlled to a certain extent by selection and sequencing of linguistic features, by instructional procedures and lastly by the elaboration of pedagogical norms.

If we try to apply this model to the main debate regarding English in the global context, the competing target language varieties would refer firstly to the institutionalised varieties of English: the American and the British varieties.

Secondly, the model as noted earlier applies to non-standard native varieties of English. All the non-standard and/or non-native varieties of English and their pedagogic norm depend mainly on the functions of these different varieties of English in that community. For example, in South Africa as pointed out earlier, we need standard English to fulfil the following functions (c.f. Section 3.1 and Chapter 1 for full discussion):

- * for science and technology
- * the requirements of the law and of legislation must be met
- * for government, parliament and of the civil service
- * for business and commerce
- * for international communication
- * for secondary and tertiary education
- * for access to books in libraries

In addition we need standard English to serve as a lingua franca locally and as well as an international language.

Corson's (1994) notion of "appropriateness" becomes pertinent in this case too. For example, a mother tongue non-standard English user may choose Norm A or B in his or her speech community. At school particularly at the lower primary classes, he or she can switch from Norm A or B to the standard Norm C. In the case of a non-native learner of English, Norm A or B, may be one or two official black languages. The

standard Norm C can only be taught and acquired at school - and to a less extent through the media, especially the electronic media. In figure 1, we have noted that the wider arrow from social group Y is pointing at Norm C (standard variety). It was also shown that this situation reflects the relative power of attraction exercised on a particular social group by a given norm. This attraction relates to language functions pointed out earlier.

In South Africa, ESL learners at the moment, especially at school, cannot aim at the so called "black variety" because it is not fully documented or developed. Members of the black English speech community at the lower end of the continuum, should aim at the "acrolect" (Schmied, 1991) level or Patkowski's fourth (full professional proficiency) and fifth (native proficiency) levels noted earlier in this study. These levels are referred to as "educated" varieties of English. Educated varieties of English are equivalent to standard English or general purpose English.

However, Wright (1993:4) argues that "if the possibility of communicating successfully outside the speech community is desired, adherence to the standard form of whatever linking language has been instituted is vital." In this case, standard English would be a more viable option. In Valdman's model, black ESL learners in South Africa, especially in education, would opt for Norm C. Other norms (A and B) are not yet fully developed, i.e. other varieties of English or "vernaculars".

Furthermore, we have seen earlier in this study that despite the influence of American English in commerce and in the entertainment industry, British English is very much on the ascendent, particularly after the collapse of the communist order across Europe. It is the variety that has existed through dictionaries and grammars in South Africa. A change would have consequences of book supply. In any case, there is not much difference between these two major varieties.

It is imperative at this point, to spell out that the South African language debate is unique and it differs to a large extent from the other "outer circle" Englishes. Quite different is the status of English in other former British colonies such as India, Nigeria, Ghana or in the former American possession of the Philippines. These countries were

not extensively settled by English speakers. English has always been an additional language for the vast majority of the inhabitants.

On the other hand the difference between the educated "black" and "white" varieties in South Africa, is very minimal and negligible, excluding accent. Probably, the first impression that anyone has of a speaker of a non-native or non-standard mother tongue variety of English is that he or she sounds different or has a different accent. This means that the way this person speaks may indicate what social class he or she belongs to or what region he or she comes from or what country or ethnic background he or she comes from. It is admitted that accent is a regional marker but not part of the standard English package, as has been explained earlier. The concept of "accent", will be explored further in chapter 4.

The main reason why this study investigates English used by black people in South Africa as "black English" is probably due to the following historical motivation and concerns:

- (1) The majority of black teachers have always taught and still are exclusively teaching black students, especially at the primary and secondary levels.
- (2) The vast majority of their white counterparts, have had the privilege of receiving decent education and teacher training. The vast majority of black ESL learners did not have access and exposure to these skilled teachers. Subsequently, black education became neglected. The standard of English teaching declined leading to what Buthelezi (1989) calls "a vicious cycle" perpetuated by poorly trained teachers. We have seen earlier in this thesis that Buthelezi refers to ESL fossilised features used by some of the blacks as South African black English.
- (3) There is also a limited number of white schools with blacks in the minority.
- (4) The English medium schools, especially Model C and private schools admit students from all racial backgrounds, but teachers remain almost exclusively white.

This fourth point creates the feeling within black communities and among the students involved that whites provide better education and black schools offer second and third grade education. There are also several black teachers who are equally or more skilled than some white teachers. These black teachers could not in the past and still cannot easily get employment in white schools, whereas whites could and still can easily cross the floor from their education system to the black education system. Furthermore, it reinforces the notion that the "best" and "proper" English for non-native learners can only be provided by English mother tongue speakers. The point one is making here is that ESL should be taught by both black and white skilled teachers which will reflect the spirit of the changing South Africa. However, the target should be standard English. And the existence of black English is queried and even the existence of a teachable black English is seen as doubtful.

- (5) Finally, the conditions created by the now scrapped divisive policies of South Africa have produced a fragmented South African society.

The language policies which have currently been proclaimed for the new dispensation in South Africa, should be able to address the five major concerns expressed above. The whole debate in this study boils down to underlying attitudes and stereotypes held by both white and black communities, which have been created and nurtured by apartheid policies of South Africa. Quirk (1990), as quoted earlier in this study, argued that even though Kachru had been publishing on Indian English, eloquently and elegantly, for 25 years, he had not managed to produce any grammar and dictionary description for the varieties of English he claimed to be defending and representing. This same challenge by Quirk, can be directed to us today in South Africa. Questions such as the following can be asked: Does "black English" propounded in this study have or would ever have its own grammar and dictionary? Will this variety be developed to an extent of being a pedagogical model in education? These are indeed very complex questions. However, one can speculate that it will take some generations for codifiable black English to emerge, if it does it should be examined within the international perspective. In other words, the emergence of codified black English will be determined by the status and functions of standard English internationally.

In addition, we have no books compiled on this variety and there are no teachers trained to teach it. The list of these sorts of concerns and questions is endless. The proposition this study seeks to make is that educated "black" and "white" varieties of English should not be developed separately. There seems to be no need for this. Strevens (c.f. Section 3.1.2 for full discussion) has put this point aptly when he referred to the international educated variety of English: it has been universally accepted in the English speaking world as the only appropriate model for educational use. It has been mentioned earlier in this study that non-native English speakers look to the standard language of mother tongue speakers, chiefly standard British English and standard American English, for their norms. This is similar to Valdman's Norm C (standard English) discussed earlier in this section.

It was also stated that attitudes are divided as to the norms for English where it is used chiefly for intranational communication. In South Africa, standard British English has always been the norm for both the native and the non-native users including Received Pronunciation and the written form.

For short term purposes, while other options are being considered, we have shown throughout this study that standard English is the only viable option in education and it should continue to serve as a model in schools. This option in future will depend largely on whether the following factors prevail:

- * ESL teachers are adequately trained
- * teacher education is improved
- * ESL schools have adequate resources
- * teacher/pupil ratio in ESL classrooms is addressed (This issue is currently being addressed)
- * black and white schools are integrated
- * overcrowding in black schools is adequately addressed.

Most importantly, English teachers, both black and white, will need a thorough training or retraining. More resources in ESL teaching should be made available. There should be more school-based teacher development programmes to empower those teachers who

are presently not adequately skilled in teaching English, especially ESL. (This issue is fully discussed in chapter 9 of this study).

3.4 CONCLUSION

At this point, it may be helpful to recapitulate by giving in full the definition of standard English as described by Quirk and Stein (1990: 113, citing Webster's Third ed):

1. the English taught in schools
2. English that is current, reputable and national
3. the English that with respect to spelling, grammar (pronunciation) and vocabulary is substantially uniform though not devoid of regional differences, that is well-established by usage in the formal and informal (speech) and writing of the educated, and that is widely recognised as acceptable wherever English is (spoken) and understood
4. all words entered in a general English language dictionary that are not restricted by a label (as slang, dial etc).

In addition, it was noted earlier that Quirk conceives standard English to be basically the shared vocabulary of the English-speaking countries with the shared vocabulary spoken 99,9% of the time, written for 0,1%. Quirk now uses the term "general purpose English".

Quirk and Stein (1995: 113) argue that "pronunciation" is the aspect of English which (in their view, as opposed to Webster's) is least applicable when talking about standard English.

The standard of English in South African black education has suffered rapid deterioration, for reasons stated in the previous section (c.f. Section 3.3.2). It seems the higher the level of education and exposure to standard English speakers, the greater

the tendency for a black South African learner to use standard English as a yardstick for measuring his or her own competence.

Sey (1973) maintains that poor use of English (in Ghana) is considered disgraceful and most unworthy of an educated person. Ahulu has been quoted to the same effect elsewhere. A single grammatical error in the speech of a public speaker, even if it is immediately corrected, is an almost indelible stigma on his public image. This situation is also common among ESL users in South Africa, especially with grammatical "errors". If deviations or errors are pointed out, the ESL user is likely to avoid them in future.

One has to admit that English used by the vast majority of South African blacks is characterised by the persistence of peculiar forms and usages that are basically found at the basilectal level. However pronunciation is probably the most prominent and remarkable feature of ESL (c.f. section 4.3).

Furthermore, if the situation in ESL classrooms is not attended to, there is indeed a real danger that English could degenerate into a kind of backwater cut off from the international mainstream. The point we are making in this study, is not against the development of a brand of English, that can be recognised as "black English". The point is, as long as it contains a substantial common core that will make it intelligible to other English users, then there will be no need for accentuating those negligible regional or community peculiarities.

To sum up this discussion, Wright (1993:6-7) warns that "the truth may be unwelcome to some, but it seems unavoidable that in today's world of interdependent national states, the only English standard which educational authorities can reasonably implement is the international standard". He further argues that non-native varieties "enrich the expressive potential of the language, a potential which is exploited by ordinary people in daily life and by imaginative writers." He finally maintains that "the very characteristics which allow them to perform these functions unfit them for service as a standard language."

CHAPTER 4

GRAMMATICAL AND PHONOLOGICAL DEVIANT USAGE WHICH CHARACTERISES BLACK ESL IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter 3, the concept of "black English" has been explored. We have also come to the conclusion that the educated white and black varieties of English are more similar than different. However, there are certain trivial grammatical and phonological features which characterise English spoken by black South Africans. These features occur at various levels of the cline. They are not fixed to only one level of the cline, hence, Quirk earlier in this study maintained that it is difficult to codify or institutionalise non-native varieties of English. Gough (1996:53) claims that "research examining the English of black South Africans is still in its infancy." He further makes the point that "the language learning environment has been impoverished through the policies of Bantu Education with overcrowded classrooms, limited facilities and the majority of undertrained teachers who use typically conservative teaching methods."

The following are some of the factors which seem to have contributed towards the persistent deviant ESL features which characterise it as "educated black English":

- * unskilled ESL teachers and lack of appropriate role models
- * inadequate ESL resources
- * separate residential areas for native and non-native speakers of English
- * low and inadequate teacher training
- * teachers having little understanding of second language acquisition theories and how to implement them in the classroom situation
- * lack of effective English in-service training

However, according to Gough, "an alternative acquisitional context has emerged with

the dismantling of Apartheid and the integration of state education from 1991." Gough further makes the point that "increasing numbers of blacks now enjoy access to previously whites only -schools." Gough further argues that in this new "context there is far greater pressure to speak English and even to change one's accent than in township schools, as well as extensive socialisation and interaction with English speakers and parental pressure to speak English at home." Gough continues to make an important point that in some instances, this new situation "appears to have led to at least partial language shift with a perceived decrease in competence in the mother tongue, as Schlebush (1994: 98 - in Gough 1996: 55) found in the Model C schools she investigated."

It was noted in chapter 3 that "educated black English"-users at the apex of the "competence continuum" have almost "native-like command" of English. However, their accent is obviously the main language aspect which characterises their English as "black". Nevertheless, their accent does not cause intelligibility problems, especially when conversing with both non-native and native speakers. Secondly and most importantly, if Quirk and Strevens are right, accent is no longer regarded as part of standard English.

On the other hand, black English users in the middle to the bottom of the cline may switch from one level to another. The English of this group has frequent grammatical "errors". Their vocabulary is limited and it is only adequate for simple social conversation (c.f. Patkowski's modified model c.f. Table 4).

Kachru (1985) expresses his concern about what we simply refer to as "errors" or "mistakes". This point was raised earlier in this study. We are now going to elaborate on this subject of "errors". He refers to "errors" as "innovations". He clarifies that there are two types of innovations:

- * those initiated by the users of the inner circle
- * those initiated by the users of the outer circle.

Kachru maintains that innovation in the outer circle, refers to the linguistic formations which are contextually and or formally distinct from language use in the inner circle. He argues that to label such formations such as "mistakes" and "errors" is pejorative. Kachru does not provide the examples to show what he means by "creativity" or "allowable deviations". These concepts appear to be attractive but it is difficult to imagine where and when they should be used. Furthermore, he does not provide any details on how the ESL teachers should deal with this situation in the classroom situation, whether they should correct the errors or just tolerate them.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine English expressions peculiar to South African black users. We also enquire into the nature and root causes of these persistent deviant features.

The following sections (4.1.2 - 4.1.4) provide most examples of persistent features of English grammar that are likely to give trouble to the non-native learners, especially at the "mesolect" and "acrolect" levels. Interestingly enough, some of these examples seem to be similar to features of the other ESL users around the world. This probably shows that ESL learners follow almost the same processes in their second language acquisition. It is also evident from the examples given in this study that they do not cause any intelligibility or communication problems.

The deviations from standard English are more likely to be developmental "errors" noted earlier on the cline of bilingualism. It has been illustrated throughout this thesis that these types of features do not signal the beginnings of a codifiable "new English". This chapter therefore, examines deviant grammatical usage involving inter alia:

- * articles (c.f. section 4.1.1)
- * the progressive aspect (4.1.2)
- * question forms (c.f. section 4.1.3)

- * tense aspect system (c.f. section 4.1.4)
- * non-count as count nouns (1)
- * extension of the progressive (2)
- * gender conflation in pronouns (3)

The final part of this chapter focuses on the speech sounds of English and black languages. It explores the status of pronunciation, teaching and learning in ESL contexts (c.f. sections 4.2 - 4.6). This chapter also explores the following sections which deal with phonological aspects of ESL:

- * Viewpoints on ESL pronunciation teaching (c.f. section 4.2)
- * South African Black ESL pronunciation debate (c.f. section 4.3)
- * The whole question of stress timed and syllable timed languages (c.f. section 4.3.1)
- * intonation (c.f. section 4.3.2)
- * conclusion (c.f. section 4.4)
- * the pronunciation debate - a historical overview (c.f. section 4.5)
- * basic issues in pronunciation teaching (c.f. section 4.6)
- * conclusions (c.f. section 4.7)

4.1.1 Usage involving articles

Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983:172) maintain that "the historical development of articles in English is similar to that of most other languages which have developed an article system." Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman further claim that "the definite article is derived from the demonstrative signalling distance (i.e. **that**) while the indefinite article is derived from the numeral **one**." The latter derivation, in their view, "helps explain why the form of the indefinite article occurring before a word with an initial vowel sound is **an**; that is, the **n** in **an** and **one** are historically related" (Celce-Murcia, Larsen-Freeman, 1983: 172). When dealing with an English article system, it is important to consider **common nouns** (e.g., a child, a school, a country) or **proper nouns** (e.g., Charles, London, Cape Town).

In addition, all common nouns are classified as **mass** (e.g., water, milk, luggage) or **count** (e.g., a drink, a shirt, a bookcase) because only count nouns have singular and/or plural forms (Celce-Murcia/Larsen-Freeman, 1983: 172).

Mass	Count
* two waters; a water	two beverages; a beverage
* two clothings; a clothing	two shirts; a shirt
* two luggages, a luggage	two suitcases, a suitcase

Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, argue that both the proper/common and the count/mass distinction seem to overlap in certain cases. They maintain that the overlap is useful and necessary for mastery of the English article system. They summarise this discussion in a diagrammatical form:

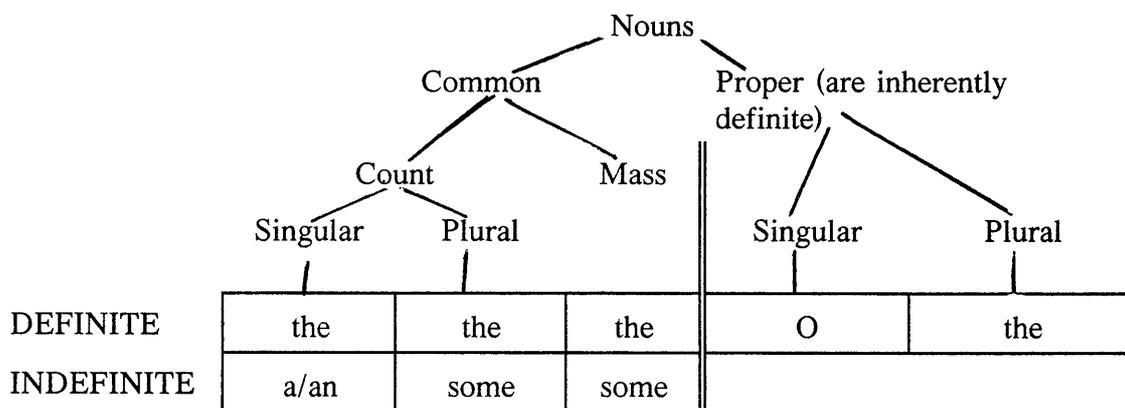


FIGURE 3: COMMON-PROPER NOUNS DISTINCTION

Deviant usage of articles is very common in black ESL. Black languages make use of the locative prefix instead of articles. This prefix does not denote definiteness or indefiniteness, e.g. Xitsonga:

- U ya exikolweni "He/she is going to school"
- U ya eposweni "He/she is going to the post office"

Black languages therefore, do not make use of articles to signal definiteness and indefiniteness as demonstrated above. The most common means other than the locative prefix is word order, i.e. the noun or pronoun in topic position is definite whereas a noun or pronoun in comment position tends to be indefinite, e.g. Xitsonga:

I mani a fambaka? "Who is leaving?" > Yena wa famba. HE is leaving (emphasis on pronoun Yena in topic position to signal definiteness). Instead of Wa famba yena. In this case, yena is in a comment position, therefore there is no emphasis on it.

The following examples are very common to ESL users: Omission of the indefinite article "a"

DEVIANT USAGE	STANDARD FORM
* I want to buy few articles	I want to buy a few articles
* She is still examining few more applications	She is still examining a few more applications

The singular indefinite article "a" in collocation with "few" which implies plurality, modifying a plural noun is often omitted.

The following examples show the omission of the discordant singular article "a" from an expression which appears plural by substituting it with "some": e.g. "some few" instead of "a few"

DEVIANT USAGE	STANDARD FORM
* He left some few minutes ago	He left a few minutes ago
* I met James some few weeks ago	I met James a few weeks ago
* Could you please wait for some few minutes	Could you please wait for a few minutes
* The accident occurred some few days before Christmas	The accident occurred a few days before Christmas

As a result of this usage, the finer distinctions in meaning between "few", "a few" and "some few" are very often lost in ESL users.

The sentence "he left some minutes ago", is a standard form but infrequent and it is also an educated standard except the form "some time ago". The expression "he left some minutes ago" is often muddled with "I met James some weeks ago".

The use of "many a" and singular noun e.g. many a time often becomes "many a" and "plural noun".

DEVIANT USAGE	STANDARD FORM
* I came here many a times to see you.	I came here many times to see you.
* I have warned you many a times but you wouldn't listen.	I have warned you many times but you wouldn't listen.

In the classroom situation, some students make these errors, others do not. The deviant usages cannot be referred to as evidence for a new English. They are simply errors which need to be attended to or addressed by the teacher. Fossilisation takes place if these errors are either not detected or tolerated to recur with the hope that one day they would disappear. Quite often they never disappear. Therefore a teacher has to work out strategies to correct these errors whenever they occur. The concept of "errors" and "fossilisation" is expanded in chapter 6.

4.1.2 The use of the progressive aspect

ESL learners have difficulties with the general use of the continuous tense in English. For example: there are verbs which occur with the progressive aspect and those which do not. Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman (1983: 71) give the following categories of verbs which can and those which cannot occur with the progressive aspect. However, ESL usage generally flouts these restrictions and often use these stative verbs with the progressive aspect.

- (1) Sensory perception: e.g. see, hear, feel, taste, smell - when an immediate and literal sensory perception is being expressed without any suggestion of hallucination.

- * I am seeing a tree behind the house + I see a tree behind the house.
In isiZulu this is because of "ya" in Ngiyabona i.e. there is no Simple Present in isiZulu.
 - * Jabu is knowing the answer = Jabu knows the answer.
- (2) Emotion - e.g. want, desire, love, hate, like, dislike - without any added expression of change over time or exceptionally strong feeling.
- * We are desiring an explanation = We desire an explanation.
- (3) Measurement - e.g. weigh, cost, measure, equal.
- * This steak is weighing 10kg = This steak weighs 10kg.
 - * This watch is costing R20 = This watch costs R20.
- (4) Relationship - e.g. have, own, contain, entail, belong.
- * Fiso is having a new car = Fiso has a new car.
 - * I am owning this house = I own this house.
 - * This pen is belonging to me = This pen belongs to me.

These examples show deviant uses of English by ESL learners. However, the question is whether the sum total of deviant uses really constitutes a new English. Do all learners make these errors in any case? These examples also do not cause intelligibility problems. We have indicated earlier that usage which differs so little from standard English can hardly be said to be a separate English. Many ESL users all over the world seem to have difficulties with the use of the progressive aspect as we will see in chapter 8. Ahulu (1992) reaffirms this view when he makes the point that certain errors are common to ESL throughout the world.

4.1.3 Question forms

This section focuses on the three types of question forms: Tag questions, yes-no questions and Wh-questions which are quite often used incorrectly by ESL users of English in general including black users of English in South Africa.

4.1.3.1 Construction of tag questions

A tag question is a short question which is appended to a statement when the speaker seeks confirmation of his statement. Brown (in Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, 1983: 165) "found empirical evidence for the claim that tags are primarily an informal, conversational device." She also discovered that "tags have five major functions and several minor ones." The first three she claims, seem to be related to the speaker's checking of information, whereas the last two where or when the speaker is expressing feelings or opinions:

- * Indicating inference: So that proves malice, doesn't it?
- * Seeking agreement: They keep coming back, dont they?
- * Inviting confirmation: She is beautiful, isn't she?
- * Expressing doubt: He wasn't here, was he?
- * Expressing opinion: But that makes a mockery of belief, doesn't it?

The usage of tag questions in ESL, reflects only one of the functions listed above, i.e. "inviting confirmation".

A common ESL usage has the following pattern in the construction of tag questions.

- * She is beautiful)
- * She isn't beautiful) isn't it/not so?/né?
- * He was here)
- * He wasn't here)

It is difficult to trace the origin of the tag "né" which is quite common in ESL English tag question forms. It is frequently used in the following languages:

- (1) **Xitsonga**
 - U famba na mina. A ne/a niri?
 - You are going with me. Né?

(2) **isiZulu**

- Uyahambana?

You are going. Né?

(3) **Afrikaans**

Jy gaan saam ry. Né?

You are travelling with us. Né?

(4) **Tshivenda**

U tuwa na nne na?

You are going with me. Né?

It appears that this tag "né" is derived from Afrikaans.

In standard English, if the speaker expects a negative response from the listener, he will use a negative statement with an affirmative question tag.

Mother is going to town, isn't she?

Lucas hasn't gone, has he?

You are late, aren't you?

You aren't the taxi driver, are you?

In standard English, where the tag has a falling tone, it shows that the speaker is comparatively certain that the information is correct, and simply expects the listener to provide confirmation. When it has "a rising tone it indicates a lesser degree of certainty, so that a question tag in standard English functions as a request for information" (Nwaila, 1990: 30).

Finally Celce-Murcia and Larson-Freeman (1983) argue that other languages have something equivalent to the English question tag: for example, French has "n'est - ce pas?" and German has "nicht wahr?" They further claim that native speakers of such languages sometimes latch on to a highly frequent tag form such as "isn't it?", they overgeneralise this form and use it for all cases, which produces deviant forms such as

the ones given earlier in this section. We can therefore conclude that a number of black ESL learners could possibly make this overgeneralisation.

4.1.3.2 Yes-No questions

These types of questions require a "yes" or "no" answer as opposed to the way one supplies information in answering wh-questions which require you to provide information. English forms yes-no questions by means of inversion. For example:

- (a) James is your brother > (Inversion)
- (b) Is James your brother?

ESL learners often tend not to invert and they depend on intonation instead especially at the bottom of the cline. For example the above question in ESL would be:

- (c)* James is your brother?

Inversion is by no means a universal way of forming yes-no questions. Some languages use phrases or particles at the beginning or end of a sentence to signal that what follows or precedes is a yes-no question. Other languages such as black languages signal yes-no questions with a rising tone. For example:

Xitsonga: (↗ = rising tone, ↘ = falling tone):

isiZulu

(1) Wá fámbá? Are you going?

isiZulu: ùyáhàmbà nà? *You go/going

(2) Wá fámbà She is going

isiZulu: úyáhámbá *She/he go/going

(3) Wá fámbà You are going

isiZulu: úyáhámbá *You go/going

- (4) Wà fámhá? Is she/he going?
isiZulu: úyáhámhá ná? *She/he go/going

The concord "wa" or "u" for example, changes according to the tone. "Wa" or "u" with a rising pitch, refers to a third person singular, i.e. she/he. With a falling pitch, it denotes a second person singular, i.e. you. With a level tone, it denotes a second person singular in a statement.

It is evident from the above examples that African languages do not make use of auxiliary verbs. Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman (1983) suggest that all ESL students should be taught that in a yes-no question the auxiliary verb should appear initially and mark the tense of the question. If there is no auxiliary, the copula BE should be fronted and carry tense. If there is no auxiliary or BE verb to carry tense then DO must be introduced to serve this function. For example:

- (d) He likes apples > Does he like apples?

Thus, the application of the subject/auxiliary transformation in sentences without an auxiliary verb or BE copula will result in application of DO-support rule.

For example:

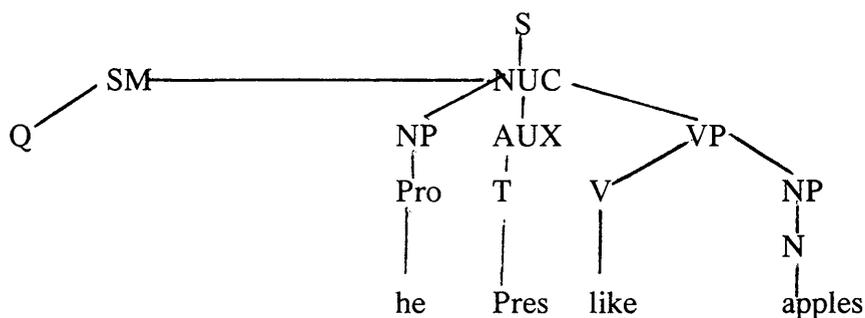


FIGURE 4: THE APPLICATION OF THE SUBJECT/AUXILIARY INVERSION

1. Output of base: Q he pres like apples
2. Sub/aux-inversion: pres he like apples

3. Do support: pres DO he like apples
4. Affix attachment: DO + pres he like apples
5. Subj + Verb agreement: Does he like apples?

The DO auxiliary is added by the DO-support transformation. Such a transformation inserts DO following the tense marker when the tense marker is separated from the auxiliary verb or main verb. The DO-support rule is the most difficult rule for the black ESL learners. If the learners are only taught the inversion rule in English, they are likely to apply it with the inversion of the main verbs instead of fronting a DO-support rule.

- e.g. * Goes Mary home?
* Likes he apples?
* Complete they their homework?

This problem is also fairly frequent in the English spoken by Afrikaners because Afrikaans does not make use of auxiliary verbs too e.g.

Jy gaan huis toe > Gaan jy huis toe?

You are going home > Are you going home?

Afrikaans inverts principal verbs in question forms whereas English makes use of subject/auxiliary inversion.

As we have seen in the example (d) above, the function of the phrase structure rules is to generate the basic structure of a sentence. Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman argue that although the analysis that the phrase structure rules provide is useful in understanding English structure, people obviously do not speak in basic structures. However they argue that their rules are a useful component of grammar if we want to explain how synonymous sentences, those that have the same meaning but different forms, can be derived from the same basic structure. In addition, if a learner asks, "Does Sam can sing?" he is probably reflecting a competence level in which all verbs require a pre-posed DO auxiliary for question formation. He has committed an error which reveals a portion of his or her competence in the target language.

Finally, Ellis (1985) argues that ESL learners' (Yes-No questions) interlanguage is constantly changing. He or she does not jump from one stage to the next, but rather slowly revises the interim systems to accommodate new hypotheses about the target language systems. For example, we have seen earlier in this section that early Yes-No questions are typically non-inverted, but when the learner acquires the subject-inversion rule, he or she does not apply it immediately to all Yes-No questions. To begin with, he or she restricts the rule to a limited number of verbs (auxiliary or principal verbs). Later, he or she extends the rule, by making it apply both to an increasing range of verbs.

4.1.3.3 Wh-questions

Traditional grammarians refer to "yes-no" questions as general questions, whereas Wh-questions are called specific questions since the specific constituent in the underlying questions are being questioned. There are at least nine Wh-questions in English (Celce-Murcia, Larsen-Freeman, 1983: 148).

- (1) Subject NP: What happened, who died?
- (2) Object NP: Who(m) did you see? What did you eat?
- (3) Object of preposition. Who(m) did you talk to? To whom did you talk?
- (4) Adverbials of time, place, manner, reason and means: When did you leave? Where did you go? How did she dance? Why is he crying? How did he get to school?
- (5) Demonstrative determiners: What/Which book do you want?
- (6) Possessive determiners: Whose book is that?
- (7) Quantity determiners: How many cars does he have? How much wine did he drink?

(8) Intensifiers: How smart is she? How fast can he run?

(9) Adjective phrase (state condition): How are you?

There is a fundamental difference between Wh-questions that focus on NP or the determiner of the subject NP and Wh-questions that focus on some element in the predicate, which includes everything in the nucleus of the subject. For example:

(a) Who died? Something in the subject NP is being questioned; i.e. someone died.

(b) Where are you going? Something in the predicate is questioned; i.e. You are going somewhere?

The first example is fairly easy to master, the second one is rather more difficult, and ESL learners trying to produce this sentence are likely to say: Where you are going? or You are going where?

In English, a number of changes take place by the application of a transformational rule called Wh-replacement rule.

Again, as we have seen with "yes-no" questions, the inversion rule is also applicable. An ESL learner who has difficulties in mastering "yes-no" questions, would definitely have problems with Wh-questions.

Modal auxiliaries are also inverted in either "yes-no" or Wh-question forms. Modal auxiliaries are one of the more difficult structures. ESL learners often generalise the verb/subject agreement rule for example, that third person singular present tense verbs in English require an -s ending. They apply this rule also when they make use of modal auxiliaries (can, will, shall, may, must). Modal auxiliaries are distinguished from other auxiliary verbs by their lack of tense with accompanying lack of subject verb agreement e.g.

(c) She can accompany you > Can she accompany you?

(d) He will come tomorrow > will he come tomorrow?

Let us examine the following sample tree diagram and derivation for Wh-questions using the sentence (b) above: Where are you going?

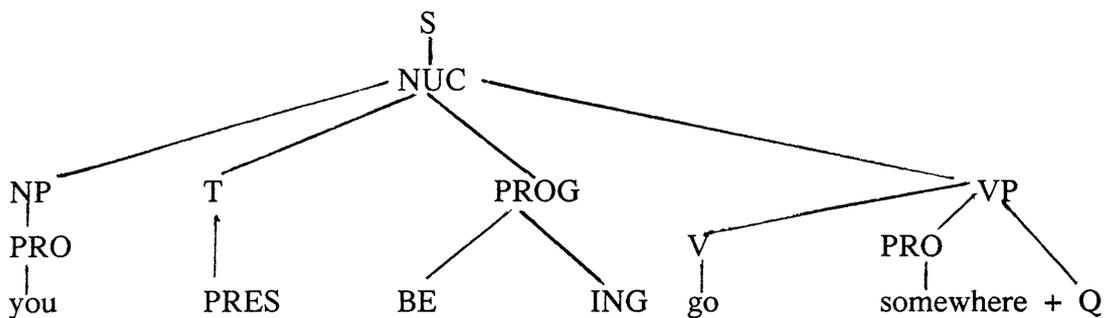


FIGURE 5: DERIVATION FOR WH-QUESTIONS

In English, the first rule to apply in this case is Wh-replacement:

- (1) Output of base: You pres be ing go somewhere + Q
- (2) Wh-replacement: You pres be ing go where
- (3) Wh-fronting: Where you pres be ing go
- (4) Subject/auxiliary inversion: Where be you pres go + ing
- (5) Affix attachment: Where be you pres go + ing

Subject-verb agreement and morphological rules: Where are you going?

On the other hand, African languages only have two major rules to derive the above Wh-question.

For example: Xitsonga (T)

isiZulu (Z)

T: Wena u ya kwihi? (where are you going?)

Z: Uya kuphi?

- Output of base.
1. Wena u ya **kun'wana** + Q (Xitsonga)
Kukhona la uya khona + Q (isiZulu)
You are going somewhere + Q

Park?), for eliciting information (Why are you late for class? What time is it?), and for eliciting vocabulary (What is the meaning of this word? What is this? What is this instrument?).

The verb BE in English is more highly inflected than other verbs and it can express the present through three forms: is, am, are. Past tense forms: was and were. These forms are the ones that are fronted in question forms. African languages as shown earlier in this section do not have the verb BE, but they make use of concords. In this case, the isiZulu and Xitsonga patterns suffice for all African languages as they are both tone languages. For example:

Xitsonga: (↗ = rising tone, ↘ = falling tone):

isiZulu

U tsákílè? Is she/he happy?

újábúlílè?

U tsàkìlè? Are you happy?

ùjàbùlìlè?

The first /U/ with a rising tone, means "she/he".

/U/ with a falling tone means "you" singular.

It should be noted at this point that no one expects a child learning his or her mother tongue or even ESL to produce from the earliest stages only forms which in native adult terms are correct or non-deviant.

The learner's incorrect usage of Wh-questions or Yes/No questions is seen as being evidence that he or she is in the process of acquiring language and indeed, for those who attempt to describe this knowledge of the language at any point in its development, it is the "errors" which provide the important evidence.

Studies drawn on for the description of interrogation are Ravem (1974), Wode (1978) and Butterworth and Hatch (1978). These studies show that there is an early "non-communicative" stage during which the learner is not able to produce any spontaneous

interrogatives, but just repeats a question someone has asked. For example,

Adult: Are you eating fish?

Learner: (repeats): I am eating fish?

Ellis (1985) maintains that the first productive questions are intonation questions, i.e. utterances with declarative word order such as the example given above. This is spoken with a rising intonation.

He further indicates that at this stage there are also some Wh-questions, but they appear to have been learnt as ready-made chunks.

The next development sees the appearance of productive Wh-questions. At this stage, Ellis claims that there is no subject/verb inversion as we have seen from the examples provided throughout this section. The auxiliary verb is often omitted. For example,

(a)* where you are going? instead of "where are you going?"

(b)* what the time? instead of "what (is) the time?"

Furthermore, Ellis claims that somewhat later, inversion occurs in Yes/No questions and in Wh-questions. Inversion with BE tends to occur before inversion with DO.

In addition, Ellis maintains that embedded questions are the last to develop. When they first appear, they have a subject/verb inversion, as in ordinary Wh-questions: e.g.

(c)* I tell you what did happen

(d)* I don't know where do you live

(e)* I wonder what do you want

(f)* Where you are going this afternoon

(g)* Your name is what

It is only later on that the learner successfully differentiate the word order of ordinary and embedded Wh-questions. This of course depends on the availability of competent

ESL teachers, otherwise fossilisation would take place before the learner acquires embedded questions.

Lastly, the development of the rules of interrogation is gradual, involving overlapping stages and the slow replacement of transitional forms.

4.1.4 The English tense aspect system

Whereas tense relates to the time when an activity or state occurs, Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman (1983) maintain that aspect in a language comments upon some characteristic of the activity or state. They further argue that tense and aspect in English can either be viewed semantically or structurally. The verb system of English can be approached in terms of its forms. This in their view refers to inflections and structures it makes use of. In the structural sense one can use the inflections with finite verbs to express past, present or future time. Given this background, they maintain that English has only two tense forms - past and present. They further explain that it does not have a grammatical future tense, since future time is expressed using auxiliary verbs or adverbs of time in conjunction with the present tense instead of a grammatical future tense e.g. work - work-ed (past tense)

I work - I **will** work (future tense)

English therefore, has two structural aspectual markers - the progressive aspect and the perfective aspect. English makes use of the auxiliary BE plus the present participle (-ING) to mark the progressive aspect.

For example:

They complete their homework (present tense, no aspect).

They **are** complet**ing** their homework.

BE ... ING (Present tense + Progressive aspect).

Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman (1983: 61) warn that the language teacher must be concerned with meaning as well as form. They maintain that the meaning of tenses entails a language specific way of dealing with time and the relationship of events and

interlocutors to time.

They argue that over the years, English teachers and some traditional grammarians have blurred the formal distinctions between time, tense and aspect. Instead they have tended to refer to the twelve traditional English tenses.

- (1) Simple present: He walks to school.
- (2) Present progressive or continuous: I am walking now.
- (3) Single past: She walked to school this morning.
- (4) Past progressive: John was writing a letter at 10:00.
- (5) Simple future: Mary will post the letter tomorrow.
- (6) Future progressive: I will be driving my car at 4:00 tomorrow evening.
- (7) Present perfect: I have been a student since 1980.
- (8) Present perfect progressive: I have been ill for two years now.
- (9) Past perfect: He had already completed his homework before I could assist him.
- (10) Past perfect progressive: He had been driving to town before he lost his job.
- (11) Future perfect: I will have finished my homework by 6:00 tomorrow.
- (12) Future perfect progressive: He will have been driving his car to school for a year by the time he finishes his examinations.

ESL learners have a great deal of difficulty in mastering the English tense aspect system because tense systems are language specific. Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman claim that tenses 1 through 8 are more frequent to the ESL learner than 9 through 12. But 9-12 tense systems are still important. They further claim that tenses 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7 should be viewed as the core system. ESL teachers focus exclusively on these tenses.

For example tense 7 (Present perfect) would often be confused with tenses 2 and 3 in ESL usage (Simple present/past tense). This is also frequent in Afrikaans English (B and C):

A: I have been a teacher since 1970.

*B: I was a teacher since 1970.

*C: I am a teacher since 1970.

Tenses 9 to 12 are the most difficult tenses for ESL learners even for educated non-native speakers.

Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman suggest that if one is working with beginning or low-intermediate level students, one may choose to introduce them to the sentence level uses of these twelve tenses. They argue that once the students appear comfortable with these, they should be helped to view tense usage from a higher or discourse level, perspective.

They further argue that from the semantic point of view, the traditional approach to tense and aspect is superior to the structural approach since a greater number of meaningful distinctions can be made using the traditional approach. The structural approach is limited in that it views both tense and time as linear.

← past - present - future →

This structural approach is not useful for the ESL teacher. According to Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman, ESL teachers usually teach one tense at a time with a focus on the form. The learners find it difficult to link one tense to another. Tenses are one of our abiding teaching problems.

Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman point out that black English users (even some whites) normally jump from present tense to past tense to future tense within one and the same discourse. This according to them, may be caused by the fact that they have learned the English tense system bit by bit at the sentence level without learning how the pieces interact in longer discourse. Specific discourse training is needed for black ESL learners, Afrikaans students and also for some English mother tongue speakers.

In 1960 William Bull (in Celce-Murcia & Larsen Freeman, 1983: 68) developed a comprehensive model for explaining the substitutes of the Spanish tense aspect system

at the discourse level. This framework can be applied to any language. It was called the Bull framework. The following are three of four axes of time - present, past and future according to William Bull.

Axis of orientation	A time before the basic axis time	Basic axis time corresponding to the moment of reference	A time after the basic axis time
Future time	Before 5:00 he will have finished all the chores (Future perfect)	He will/is going to eat dinner at 5:00 (Simple future)	After 5:00 he will/is going to watch TV (No distinction form - use Simple future)
Present time	He has played golf since 1960 (Present perfect)	He plays golf (Simple present) or is playing golf at the moment	He is going to play golf next Sunday (Future of the present)
Past time	Before playing golf he had finished all his chores (Past perfect)	He played golf on Saturday afternoon (Simple past)	After playing golf, he went out to dinner with his golf buddies (No distinct form - use Simple past)

TABLE 5: THE BULL FRAMEWORK

Celce-Murcia and Larsen Freeman maintain that each axis has a neutral or basic form and two possible marked forms, one signalling the time "before" the other signalling a time "after" the basic time of that axis. The Bull framework permits an analysis that is like the traditional accounts that meaning has priority over form.

The Bull framework according to them, is more sophisticated and subtle than the usual structural system of the English tense aspect in that it uses the perfective aspect as a tense marker of a time "before" in each of the various axes, with the result that the progressive is analyzed as the only marker of aspect in the English tense - aspect

verbs: e.g.

- * Weak verbs: the past tense is formed with the suffix -d or -t (played, kicked, burnt)
- * strong verbs: no -d or -t but only a vowel change (broke, sang, read, led)
- * mixed verbs: both a vowel change and suffix -d or -t (bought, fought, spent)

When the learning process does not progress normally as a result of for example, poor language teaching and lack of exposure to mother tongue speakers, certain developmental "errors" which occur regularly in first and second language acquisition, become permanent features or fossilized. The present perfect tense has also to be taught to Afrikaans students and it gives some problems with English speaking students too.

ESL teachers therefore have a very difficult task. They need adequate training, support and a thorough theoretical understanding and should be able to adapt to a variety of practical contexts. Some specific training is usually needed for discourse.

The following errors are found mainly at the mesolectal and acrolectal levels of the cline. They cannot be regarded as a new variety. They are errors which must be corrected by the education system.

1. **Non-count as count nouns** (Gough, 1996: 61)

- . You must put more effort into your work > *You must put more **efforts** into your work.
- . She was carrying luggage > *She was carrying **a luggage**.

Some of these errors are found at the acrolectal level of the cline. It does not mean that every ESL user at the mesolectal and acrolectal levels makes the same errors.

2. **Extension of the progressive**

- . Even racism exists > *Even racism is still existing
- . Men dominate the key positions in education > *Men are still dominating some of the positions in education
- . She loves him very much > *She was loving him very much

These errors are also prevalent at the higher level of the cline.

3. Gender conflation in pronouns

- . He came to see me yesterday > *She came to see me yesterday (instead of **he**)
- . He will speak to **her** tomorrow > *She will speak to **him** tomorrow (instead of **he** and **her**)

Some of the black students with high matric symbols have trouble with the gender of English pronouns: **he**, **she**, **his**, **hers**, **him** and **her** as illustrated above (3).

Finally, the multitude of "errors" we have seen in this chapter (c.f. Sections 4.1.1 - 4.1.4) made by some second language users who have been denied good educational opportunities cannot simply be described as a new variety of English. These "errors" exist alongside an "acrolectal" form. In Chapter 9, we focus on ESL teacher education. It is shown that if teachers are adequately trained with adequate resources, a number of these problems will be minimised. At the moment, some of the "errors" are made by the teachers themselves. What needs to be done to rectify the present situation is the restructuring and rationalisation of teacher colleges in South Africa and the establishment of effective ESL teacher in-service training programmes and improvement of pre-service training. There is also a need for retraining of some of the teachers.

4.1.5 Conclusion

Selinker (in Ellis, 1985: 48) noted that many ESL learners - as many as 95% - fail to reach target language competence. In other words, they do not reach the end of the interlanguage continuum. They stop learning "when their interlanguage contains at least

some rules different from those of the target language system". Earlier in this study, we have referred to this as "fossilisation" which occurs in most ESL learners. Ellis claims that fossilisation cannot be remedied by further instruction. It must be stressed that this does not mean that the ESL variety becomes a new language. The point worth mentioning here is that the aim of the ESL learners should be to attain the "acrolectal" level of proficiency which is part of an "educated" form of English close to the international standard English.

Ellis further maintains that fossilised structures can be realised as "errors" or as "correct" target language forms. He further demonstrates that if, when fossilisation occurs, the learner has reached a stage of development in which feature "X" in his or her interlanguage has assumed the acrolectal level of proficiency, then the "correct" form will be attained. On the other hand, he claims that if the learner has reached a stage in which feature "y" still does not reach the "acrolectal" level, the fossilisation will manifest itself as "error" provided that the fossilisation is not lower down the cline. This normally occurs at the "mesolectal" level of proficiency.

Furthermore, Ellis makes a pertinent point that ESL learners' interlanguage system is permeable in the sense that rules that constitute the learner's knowledge at one stage are not fixed, but are open to amendment. It is for this same reason that ESL varieties are not codifiable as highlighted in the preceding chapters. Littlewood (1984) concurs with this view when he says that normally, we expect a learner to progress further along the learning continuum, so that his or her interlanguage moves closer and closer to the acrolectal level and contains fewer and fewer errors. On the other hand, Kachru (1985 - c.f. section 4.1) takes a different view that learner's interlanguage at any level of development (even at the lower end of the continuum) can become a norm for teaching. What Ellis and Littlewood perceive as "permeability" or "errors", Kachru in section 4.1 calls "innovations" by both English mother tongue users and the ESL learners. He gives these two types of what he perceives as "innovations":

- * those initiated by the users of the "inner circle" (i.e. English native speakers)
- * those initiated by the users of the "outer circle" (i.e. ESL users).

We have noted earlier (in section 4.1) that Kachru does not provide the examples to show what he means by "innovations initiated by the users of the inner circle" and the "outer circle". He also does not show how the ESL teacher should deal with this controversy in the classroom situation. Kachru does not mention anything about "fossilization". It is probably implied in his concept of "innovations", "creativity" and his "allowable deviations". These issues are further discussed in section 5.3.

Some of the factors which cause fossilisation have been described earlier in this study:

- * transfer of errors through training (i.e. a rule enters the learner's system as a result of instruction. In other words, it is caused by the teacher)
- * the level of the learner's education
- * the type of teachers the learner is exposed to
- * crowded classrooms
- * shortage of good instructional materials that are appropriate to the various maturity levels of the learners
- * the economic deprivation of the learners. Economic poverty prevents students from acquiring the experiences which accelerate ESL learning. For example, poor nutrition, family breakdown, restricted experiential backgrounds, severe emotional problems and lack of back-up resources at home (reading books, electricity, television etc)
- * poor tertiary education

There is therefore no cogent justification for the label "black English" (excluding accent) in South Africa if we base our judgement on the occurrence of 'errors' discussed in this chapter.

The factors listed above can be overcome or alleviated if skilled teachers are involved. Burt et al (1977: 92) point out that a good ESL teacher "constructs materials that are appropriate for the students' maturity level and the teacher's own teaching styles". They further make a crucial point that eliminating the effects of economic deprivation is the basis for academic success in language learning and all other subjects. They warn that

"as long as students are disadvantaged, their chances for success are slight".

Finally, they argue that eliminating deprivation or at least, finding ways to overcome the debilitating effects of economic deprivation is the main problem today in teaching standard English.

4.2 VIEWPOINTS ON ESL PRONUNCIATION TEACHING

It has been shown in the preceding chapters that accent is no longer regarded as being part of the standard English debate.

The fact that accent is excluded from the standard English package, does not mean that it is less important and that it should be discarded from the ESL curriculum. However, it must be stated that dealing with the concept of "accent" is very contentious, especially in education. This point will be developed later.

"Accent" is often used to refer to phonological differences or "interference" from a different language. Interference is actually a major factor in ESL phonology acquisition.

Phonology is the component of language which deals with the sound system. We also have other components such as "semantics" (the system of meanings), morphology (the rules of word formation), "syntax" (the rules of sentence formation) and the dictionary or lexicon (vocabulary). The expected dictionary of SAE will use lexical items to define SAE.

All these language aspects are important to the ESL learner. The labels which sociolinguists usually use to describe different varieties of English, are mainly derived from "accent" differences. For example, the majority of South African Indians, blacks, Coloureds and Afrikaners have distinct and prominent ESL phonological features which are characteristic of the different and diverse linguistic groups.

Knowles (1987) maintains that the standardisation of pronunciation really began in the

late eighteenth century. He claims that faced with various pronunciations of the same word, elocutionists and orthoepists (those concerned with correct pronunciation) recommended their own pronunciation as the "correct" one and condemned others as "incorrect".

Knowles further claims that agreement in matters of pronunciation seems to have developed in the nineteenth century, especially in the public schools of the south of England. This has led to a widespread acceptance in England of one variety of pronunciation as a standard and this was adopted in the 1920s for broadcasting by the BBC. It is known as Received Pronunciation (RP). RP has had a powerful influence mainly on all regional dialects in England, although relatively few people speak it. RP cannot be pinned down to any region of England. All the former British colonies used Received Pronunciation in teaching and learning as their target or model. It was probably the basis for teaching English pronunciation elsewhere in the world.

Knowles makes an important point that the vast majority of English speakers today (native and non-native speakers) have a standardised variety of English pronunciation. For example, he indicates that in England (and even the Commonwealth countries) their pronunciation is likely to be influenced by RP, but retains some local flavour. In the ESL context the local flavour is caused by fossilisation. Knowles goes on to clarify the difference between 'accent' and other components of the language. He argues that "standard English" refers to the form of the language as a whole, and includes grammar and vocabulary, whereas mainstream announcers in broadcasting systems in the British area of influence use a pronunciation that is close to RP.

4.3 SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ESL PRONUNCIATION DEBATE

The pronunciation of black ESL learners and speakers is markedly different from that of the RP speakers, although RP is supposed to be the model aimed at in schools. Gimson (1980) argues that RP continues for historical reasons to serve as a model in many parts of the world (including South Africa) and if a choice is made at all, the choice is still effectively between RP and American pronunciation.

There is in fact a range of black pronunciation which shows certain phonological features because of the phonological systems of the black languages. These black ESL features or approximations towards RP, depend on the background of the individual speakers. In other words, his or her level of education, lack of or availability of the RP model at home or in the classroom situation.

Many black ESL teachers have become sceptical and disillusioned with pronunciation teaching. There is a misconception that by teaching grammar and lexis, you are automatically teaching pronunciation. It is therefore conceived that there is no need for teaching pronunciation. Both ESL teachers and learners at times feel that it is a waste of the "real English" language teaching time. One of the main reasons which accounts for this pessimistic attitude is lack of success in teaching pronunciation itself.

Deviant black pronunciation is more marked in sentence stress patterns and intonation than in pronunciation shown in individual words. The following sections focus mainly on these two broad phonological areas.

4.3.1 The whole question of stress-timed and syllable-timed languages

The two processes of stress-timed and syllable-timed forms "are co-ordinated in different ways in different languages, and the way in which they are combined produces a language's "rhythm", which is fundamentally a matter of timing" among languages, a distinction is often drawn between "stress-timing" and syllable-timing as to "whether the foot or the syllable is taken as the unit of time" (Richards, 1992: 869).

The concept of "rhythm" is derived from Latin "rhythmus" which means (Richards, 1992: 869):

- * The flow and beat of such things as sound, melody, speech and art.
- * In music, the arrangement of beats and lengths of notes, shown in notation as

bass or groups of beats, the first beat of each bar carrying stress e.g. //dozens of/old/photographs//, "dozens of" takes about the same time to say as "old". In other words, the unit of rhythm known as the foot has about the same duration irrespective of the number of syllables it contains. In a syllable-timed rhythm (black languages), timing is based on the syllable - each syllable carries equal length.

- * In poetry, the arrangement of words into a more or less regular sequence of long and short syllables.
- * In phonetics, the sense of movement in speech, consisting of the stress, quantity and timing of syllables.

All English words have stress patterns which are quite stable when the word is pronounced in isolation. It is also quite disastrous to interpret an utterance in which a word is pronounced with the wrong stress pattern. For example "important" and "impotent".

- * "He is an important guest" could be mispronounced as "He is an impotent guest" (this comment can actually embarrass, hurt or offend the person referred to).

The misplacement of stress patterns could result in provocation, misunderstanding and communication breakdown. Words do not often occur naturally in isolation. They are embedded in the stream of speech. The phonetics of connected speech is the same as that of individual words. In order to be intelligible in speech, the learner has to master the phonetic characteristics of connected speech.

As it is well known, English is not one of those languages where word stress can be decided simply in relation to the syllables of the word, as can be done in black languages - where the syllable before the last - the penultimate syllable is stressed and all vowels have full value.

For example, (isiZulu):

Uyahhamba > he/she is going

Uhambile > he/she has left

In English generally, the function of stress is to mark the meaning words that carry the meaning of the utterance. For example:

I **won't** be **able** to **come** to **school** on **Monday**

In this example, the stressed syllables are much louder, longer, more prominent in pitch and very precisely articulate. The unstressed syllables on the other hand are comparatively obscure. It is widely agreed that the unstressed syllables are a very difficult thing to teach to ESL learners. The difficulties arise for various reasons. In black languages there is no vowel reduction, each syllable is pronounced with the same amount of stress as all the other syllables and the notion of linguistic stress is completely unknown - it just does not apply in these languages.

Brown (1977) argues that the difficulty is that a quite new linguistic concept has to be taught from scratch. She claims that for students who are accustomed to bundling consonants and vowels into successive syllables and pronouncing them all equally distinctly, equally loudly, and equally long, the sudden demand that they should combine some consonants and vowels into stressed syllables and some into unstressed syllables seems pointless and arbitrary. Furthermore, students not used to a stress system will have great difficulty in following spoken native English speech with the rapid flow of unstressed syllables (this is also part of Brown's point).

Roach (1983) claims that weak syllables in English can only have four types of centres (c.f. Figure 9(a)):

a, the vowel Schwa - ə

b, a close front unrounded vowel in the general area of i: and I

c, a close back rounded vowel in the general area of u:ʊ and

d, a syllabic consonant. ɫ

Roach maintains that when we compare weak syllables containing vowels with strong syllables, we find that the vowel in a weak syllable tends to be shorter, or of lower intensity and different in quality. For example, a black speaker of English would use short vowels and reduced vowels in the place of full and long vowels:

interested > **interested**

ESL pronunciation is highly influenced by vowels found in the learner's mother tongue. The diagramme below depicts the primary and secondary vowels found generally in all black languages:

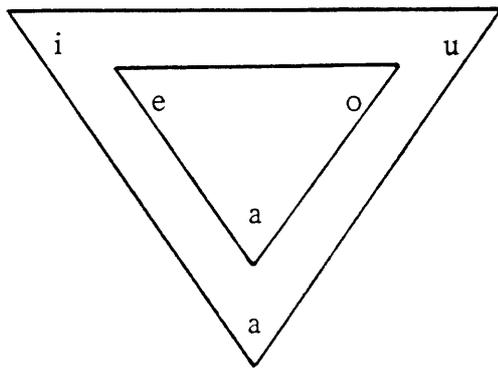
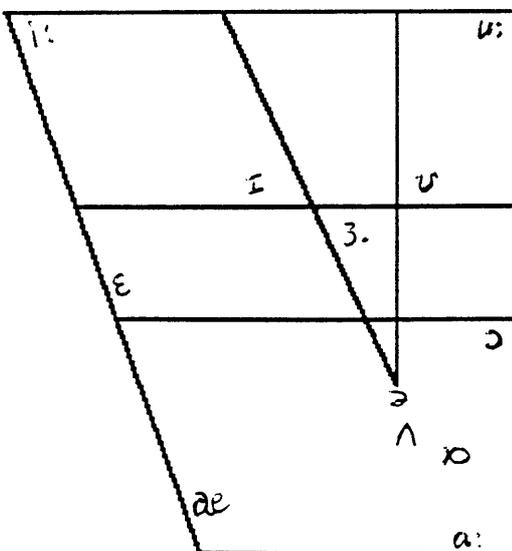
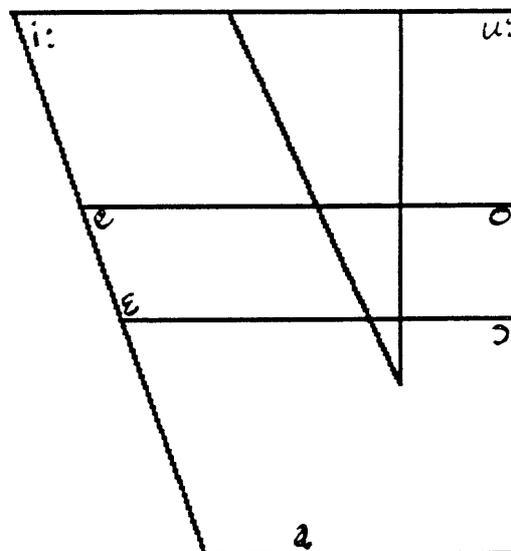


FIGURE 8 : PRIMARY AND SECONDARY VOWELS

RP on the other hand, has the following simple vowel sounds.



**FIGURE 9(a): VOWEL CHART:
RP**



**FIGURE 9(b): VOWEL CHART:
BLACK LANGUAGES**

In figures 9(a) and 9(b), we have the simple vowels of standard English and of the black languages respectively. Black languages do not have central vowels. Black ESL speakers try to find alternative tongue positions approximate to their own system. The problem seems to centre on central vowels because the black languages have tense vowels only.

Problems with the complex vocalic system of English are intensified by the diphthongs. Diphthongs are vowel glides, the movement of the tongue from one position to another is smooth, not a disjointed jump.

Black languages do not have diphthongs. Where two vowels are together a discontinuous jump occurs. The natural tendency in some of the ESL speakers is to eliminate the glide. In other words, diphthongs are turned into simple vowels at the starting point of the glide - for example, "fair hair" becomes /fɛ: hɛ:/ instead of /fɛə hɛə/. This is characteristic of SAE (white) and "Afrikaans English". The following table, compares ESL and Received Pronunciation sound systems and substitution of the RP vowels by fewer vowels found in black languages:

PRONUNCIATION		SPELLING	WORD EXAMPLES
BLACK VOCALIC EQUIVALENT ESL	RP	Standard	
/ a: /	/ ae /	a	cat, salmon
	/ a: /	a ar al ear	after, fast park, arm half, palm heart
	/ ə /	a er or our	about, among letter, father actor, tutor favour, honour
/ ɛ /	/ ʌ /	u o	bus, gun, hut above, come, love

PRONUNCIATION		SPELLING	WORD EXAMPLES
BLACK VOCALIC EQUIVALENT ESL	RP	Standard	
/ɛ/ for /ɜ:/ shortened + fronted	/ɜ:/	ir er or	first, thirst, church serve, stern, fur work, worm
		e ur	bed, pet, red fur
/ɔ/ also shortened	/ɔ:/	aw	yawn, caught, bought
	/ɒ/	o au ou	hot, slot pot, hot, was
/i:/ often shortened	/i:/	ee ie ei oe ea	meet, feet, perceive amoeba, sieze cease, peace, peas meat, heat
	/ɪ/	i e	six, pin revision
/u/	/u:/	oo ue u	food, noon true, blue rude, rubric
		/ʊ/	u o oo

TABLE 6: COMPARISON OF ESL AND RP SOUND SYSTEMS

Titlestad (1996: 50 - his notes) illustrates shortened long vowels in South African Pronunciation. The long, high front, tense vowel [i:] is quite often shortened to [i] and then mistaken for [ɪ] (which is always short in RP).

He further gives examples of shortened long vowels especially by ESL learners:

- * each > itch
- * peace > piss
- * meek > mick
- * beach > bitch
- * field > filled
- * these > this

He demonstrates the confusion that can arise in an ESL context, especially the last example (these/this). The voiced terminal consonant of **these** [z] tends to be unvoiced to [s]. Titlestad maintains that the confusion of these two words is apparent in writing, too.

The long vowel [:] also tends to be shortened. The long central vowel ["] as in **bird** tends to be shortened and fronted to [] as in **bed**.

A few broad features of consonantal differences must be mentioned although the consonants give fewer problems.

We can further illustrate the fact that two languages can have the same set of phonetic segments with different phonemic systems by examining the voiceless stops. English has both aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops. The voiceless aspirated stops [p^h] [t^h] [k^h] and the voiceless unaspirated stops [p] [t] [k] are in complementary distribution in English as is shown by stating the contexts in which they occur:

word initially			after a word initial		
[p ^h]	[t ^h]	[k ^h]	[p]	[t]	[k]
pill	till	kill	spill	still	skill
[p ^h il]	[t ^h il]	[k ^h il]	[spil]	[stil]	[skil]

Both aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops occur in English and black languages, but they function differently in the two languages. In English, the voiceless aspirated

stops as noted above, occur only word initially, whereas the unaspirated stops only occur word medially and word finally. In black languages, these stops are not in complementary distribution but they occur in the same positions in minimal pairs. For example, (Xitsonga):

[P ^h]	[p ^h]	
<u>Ph</u> aka "to receive gifts"	X <u>iph</u> ato	"poem"

[p]	[p]	"ghost"
<u>P</u> aka "pack"		

[K ^h]	
<u>Kh</u> ana "pluck fruit/vegetables"	

[k]	
<u>k</u> ana "draw water"	

The voiceless unaspirated and the voiceless aspirated stops in black languages (e.g. Xitsonga) as noted earlier are not in complementary distribution as they occur in the same positions in the minimal pairs above; they contrast in Xitsonga. Almost all the black languages in South Africa display similar phonemic patterns - they do not show any complementary distribution. This difference between English and black languages does not cause significant intelligibility problems. It is interesting to note that many of the Xhosa English speakers, do not aspirate the voiceless stops which occur word initially e.g. kill [k^hil] and skill [skil] become [kil] and [skil] respectively. However, this does not cause serious intelligibility problems.

It is evident from the examples shown earlier in this study that a lot of intelligibility problems could be created by deviation in vowel sounds and diphthongs. It was noted in chapter 3 that accent or pronunciation does not form part of standard English. Earlier in this chapter (in Section 4.2) it was highlighted that the fact that accent is excluded from the standard English package does not mean that it is less important.

Finally, it is worthwhile to note that RP has a wide range of vocalic sounds, it has about 26 sounds made up of 17 simple vowels and 9 diphthongs. In English spelling,

these are indicated by various combinations of the letters in the spelling alphabet a, e, i, o, u. It is therefore important for ESL teachers to teach these 26 RP vocalic sounds because at the moment, RP is still the only model used in all the commonwealth countries.

4.3.2 Intonation

Black languages are tone languages whereas English is an intonation language. Tone of words in black languages is significant. Tone is semantic, that means it is a factor governing the meanings of words. For example, the concord "u" in "uyakuphi" (you are going where?), with a rising tone refers to the third person, whereas with a falling tone it refers to the second person. Furthermore, many suggestions have been made for ways of isolating different functions of intonations. Among the most often proposed are the following (Roach, 1983: 136):

- * Intonation enables us to express emotions and attitudes as we speak, and this adds a special kind of meaning to spoken language. This is called the "attitudinal function" of intonation. In other words, the same sentence can be said in different ways to express anger, happiness, boredom etc.
- * Intonation helps to produce the effect of prominence on syllables that need to be perceived as stressed. This has been called the "accentual function". This means that for the purpose of emphasis, we place the tonic stress in different positions in a sentence.
- * The listener is better able to recognise the grammar and syntactic structure of what is being said by using the information contained in the intonation. This has been called the "grammatical function" of intonation. This means inventing sentences which when written are ambiguous.
- * Looking at the act of speaking in a broader way, we can see that intonation can signal to the listener what is to be taken as "new" information and what is

already "given". Such functions are examples of intonation's "discourse function". This means that sentences form part of some larger act of conversational interaction between two speakers.

In this study we will only give Roach's examples of accentual and grammatical functions.

A. Accentual function:

- a, / It was very boring /
- b, / It was **very** boring /
- c / It **was** very boring /

For contrastive purposes, any word may become the tonic syllable. In order to accentuate different messages, you stress the syllables of that word.

The majority of the ESL black learners do not make use of this contrast. In black languages, word order is used for this purpose.

B. Grammatical function

- a, / Those who sold **quickly** /, made a profit /
- b, / Those who **sold**, / quickly made a profit /

The difference caused by the placement of the tone unit boundary is seen to be equivalent to giving two different paraphrases of the sentences as in:

- a, A profit was made by those who sold quickly
- b, A profit was quickly made by those who sold.

In English, it is usual to illustrate the grammatical function by inventing sentences which when written are ambiguous, and whose ambiguity can only be removed by using differences of intonation. Some black ESL speakers would not easily detect this ambiguity.

4.3.3 Communicative effectiveness of stress and intonation in black ESL

Today it is widely accepted that, more than in segmental phonology, deviance in prosodic phonology has serious consequences affecting the intelligibility and comprehensibility of spoken English.

The prosodic features are (Lanham, 1984: 60):

1. Stress: auditory prominence of syllables
2. Pitch levels and contours: rise and fall
3. Pause: often momentary breaks in the flow of speech

Lanham maintains that more recently there has been a concern for the communicative effect of error and error gravity, measured against the consequences of error on the comprehensibility of contextualized discourse.

He points out that the significant functions of English stress and intonation are discourse functions. Lanham argues that deviance from native English norms affects "pragmatic" functions by which meaning supplied by lexical semantics and syntactic relations expressed in sentences or utterances in the discourse, acquires communicative value.

"Pragmatics" according to Lanham, refers to:

- * principled ways of incorporating information deriving from extralinguistic context
- * interrelating information units within the discourse
- * illocutionary force given to sentences and sequences of sentences.

Lanham's study of deviance and its consequences in English spoken by South African blacks is based on the comprehensibility of a text (c.f. Text A) read by a black ESL speaker (Lanham, 1984:227-228).

Lanham (1994:218) maintains that the reader of the text is "typical of a large number of black South Africans who, during the past 30 years, have acquired the foundations of English entirely by being taught it by black teachers in school." Lanham also acknowledges that there are black South Africans outside the category of this reader whose control of English prosody approaches that of mother tongue users.

It is also noted that prosodic deviance is not confined to non-native users. Some younger white English using announcers of the South African Broadcasting Corporation deviate from the norms of English stress and intonation.

The reader of the text was a young man who had passed the matriculation examination and was studying English in the first year of a university course. The text was a comprehension passage used in the course and the reader was thoroughly familiar with its contents when he read it. He had had extensive contact with mother tongue English speakers since leaving school.

One reason for choosing the text was that in encoding, the non-native speaker did not incur errors of word choice or sentence structure. By eliminating possible error in lexis and syntax, incomprehensibility became mainly a matter of production. It was ensured that the reader fully comprehended what he was reading; otherwise difficulties with the meaning of a text could have been the source of deviance.

The passage was entitled "Listening to Music". Prosodic cues in English mark off the boundaries of discourse units at three levels:

- * tone unit
- * tone unit sequence
- * paragraph

LISTENING TO MUSIC (Text A)

1. //LISTening to MUSic//is such a MUDDle//that one scarcely KNOWS//how to

- FIRST
2. START //The point to get//clear//in my OWN case// ~ is
desCRIBing it.
3. THAT//during the GREATER part//of EVERY performance//I do NOT attend.//
- NICE SOUNDS
4. The make me think of something else.//i wool-GATHER//MOST
5. of the time//and AM surprised that// ~ OTHERS DON'T.//ProFESSIONal CRITics//
6. can LISTen to a PIECE//as CONSTANTly*//and as STEADily//as IF//they were
- SEEMS
7. READING//a CHAPter in a NOVel.//This to me//an aMAZing feat// and
8. PROBABly//they ONLY achieve it//through intellectual training.// ~ THAT
9. is to say//they FIND in the music//the EQUIVAlent of a plot.//They are
10. FOLLOwing//the ground base//or exPECTing//the THEME//to RE-ENTer//in the
- KEEPS them
11. DOMinant//and SO on//and this //on the rails.//But i FLY OFF//
12. EVERY minute.//After a BAR//or TWO//i THINK//how MUSical i am//or of
- MIGHT
13. SOMETHing SMART//i have said//in converSATION// ~ or i WONDer
14. WHAT// //DEAD//a COUPle of CENTuries// ~ can be FEELing//as the
the comPOSer
- HOW SOON
15. FLAMES//on the ALTar//still FLICKer UP.//Or //an H.E.//
BOMB//would
16. //NOT to MENtion//more obvious distractions.// ~ The
EXTinguish them
17. TILT//of the//soprano's CHIN//or CHINS;// ~ the ANTics of the conDUCTor.//
18. that imPASSioned BEEtle.//eSPECIally when it is //and he
NIGHT TIME
19. WAVes // ~ the affectATION//of the PIANist//when he takes a top
his SHARDS;
20. note with difficulty// ~ as if HE TOO were//a soPRANO;//the BACKS of the
21. CHAIRS;//the BUMPS on the CEILING;//the EXTreme PHYSICAL UGLiness of

22. the AUDience.//a CLASSical AUDience is SUREly the plainest collection
23. of people//ANywhere aSSEMBled//for ANy common purpose.//Contributing my
24. QUOTa, //i have the RIGHT to point this out.// COMPARE us with a gang//of
25. NAVVies//or with an//OFFice STAFF and you will be//upHELD*.

Notes:

- (a) * marks misreading of the text
(b) ~ marks neutral (i.e. level) tone. All other (unmarked) tone units have proclaiming (falling) tone.

Deviance in focus placement in this passage above, occurs where words which are not "informing" in the information flow receive prominence and where words warranting focus are overlooked. The focusing of words which have little or no informing value creates uncertainty in the decoder as to where the information flow is leading.

Deviance in focus and intonation contributed to the failure of listeners to the black ESL reading to identify contrast as the overall function of propositions through which main parts of the discourse are relatable.

The first term in the contrast is first identified in line 2 which was read as:

OWN
//in my case//

The black ESL reading made "own" prominent, but missed the contrastive function of high key.

The comprehensibility of the reading of the passage "Listening to Music" above was tested in groups of competent users of English totalling 15 (13 mother tongue speakers and 2 black South Africans).

The tape recording of the black South African English reading of the text was played

after drawing attention to the title of the passage and indicating that comprehension of the passage was to be tested. After hearing the passage, questions in a written comprehension test were answered and this was followed by the tape-recorded reading of the same passage in native English and the answering of the same questions.

The first of three questions in the test was directed at the global theme of the passage and asked for a statement of: "the main thrust of the passage; an overall statement which would make sense of any single sentence in the passage".

The second attempted to elicit what was seen as the function served by the propositions contained in the passage.

The third question called for an explanation as to how two sentences widely separated in the text were related.

Eight respondents to the black South African English reading indicated that they had not comprehended sufficiently to answer any of the questions; these included the two black South Africans. The remaining seven heard the text as a list of distractions. Global theme and function were not acceptably identified by any.

The responses to the black South African English reading revealed an almost complete failure to convey the coherence of the text and a loss of a good deal of its information content.

There were accent errors in the reading of the text which resulted in unintelligibility, for example "on the rails" (line 11) with no differences in loudness between the three words. All were lower or equal in loudness to preceding unprominent syllables.

At the level of isolated words, errors in accent did not have serious consequences; for example, extinguish (line 16) presented no difficulty to the listeners.

The focusing of words which have little or no informing value creates uncertainty in

the decoder as to where the information flow is leading. Glaring examples of unwarranted focus are:

- * line 4, most
- * line 5, am
- * line 7, seems
- * line 8, that
- * line 13, might

In summing up, a competent or proficient English speaker should be able to produce at least four levels of prominence in spoken discourse:

- * stress
- * phonetically a composite of vowel duration
- * loudness
- * pitch rise of brief duration

However, this does not mean that those who are unable to produce these levels of prominence should be regarded as "incompetent". It is important to note that there are many competent standard English users (excluding pronunciation) internationally who may not produce the above-mentioned prominence levels. These levels are useful as indicated earlier, for the ESL teachers and examiners because they need practical guidelines.

4.4 CONCLUSION

It is important to once more highlight the fact that accent is no longer regarded as being part of the standard English debate. Deviations from English phonology are on the whole easy to detect in ESL black speakers as noted earlier in this chapter, proponents of South African black English tend to focus mainly on pronunciation when they argue for the acceptance and recognition of this "variety". The evidence we have in the field of "black English" largely consists of coinages and other lexical modifications, and the

listing of isolated examples of grammatical divergence.

The following examples indicate some of the reasons which account for deviations from English phonology:

- * that deviant features may be due to conflict between spelling conventions of mother tongue and ESL e.g. Xitsonga "teka" > "take"
- * the influence of hyper-correct pronunciation habits among elite ESL speakers
- * the influence of native English dialectal pronunciations
- * purely mispronunciations. For example, the words "park" and "pack" are quite often confused by many black ESL speakers. They quite often mispronounce the word "park":
 - a, "I want to **pack** my car in the garage", instead of
"I want to **park** my car in the garage".

This is a result, partly, of the shortening of long RP vowels:

[a:] > [ɒ].

In another context, they quite possibly say:

b, The children are playing in the **park** [pa:k] (not in the **pack**).

Generally speaking, this type of communication, the sounds of speech, their making and their comprehension by the listener, must receive more attention than it has hitherto.

However, the problem of promoting pronunciation teaching and learning in South Africa becomes difficult in black education because of limited contact with mother tongue speakers of standard English, limited access to the media and other educational infrastructure.

Furthermore, there are inadequate teaching materials, the lack of a well-defined accent that is to be used on them and the kind of detailed phonetic target that is aimed at. Concerns that are quite often raised by teachers are:

- * Should one teach the English stress patterns?
- * Should one try to teach the glides of diphthongs? Should one teach intonation?
- * Should one be content with tense vowels only and not bother about central vowels?

In other words, which aspects of phonology should the teacher aim at? Gillian Brown (1983) criticises some of the approaches concerned with the teaching of the production of correct stress patterns. She claims that already many teachers use taped or record courses of stress exercises spoken by native speakers. Often students are required to mimic the patterns offered by these courses without having paused to consider just what it is that they are mimicking. She ultimately points out that it is not surprising that these exercises turn out to be fairly fruitless.

In addition, Brown (1983) argues that it is useful to analyse stressed syllable by stressed syllable and some sample patterns before the students begin the mimicking exercise. The aim here is to make the student aware of different ways of marking stress, and to recognise stress and unstress rapidly and accurately enough to help him or her work out the structure of the message he or she is listening to.

In summing up, we can say that the important thing in pronunciation is not whether a sound can be produced adequately in isolation, but how well it is formed in the phonological contexts in which it occurs in the target language. The learner's task in acquiring a second language is not so much to reach a native speaker's standard of pronunciation. It is unrealistic to expect this. The ESL learner, needs to acquire a pronunciation that is accurate enough for the significant sounds to be distinctive from one another. Pupils must be able to make themselves understood to English speakers

and must be able to understand English speakers.

4.5 THE PRONUNCIATION DEBATE - A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Stern (1992) claims that in learning a foreign language, pronunciation has always been an early obstacle to overcome.

He further argues that until the last decades of the nineteenth century, the majority of foreign language courses did not pay too much attention to this problem. He also points out that pronunciation teaching, if it played a role at all, was thus only a preparatory task for getting as quickly as possible to the real problem of language teaching (the foreign language grammar).

The late nineteenth century reform movement led to a radical change in the approach to pronunciation teaching in that it became a central preoccupation for the early stages of ESL instruction. The main objective for teaching beginners was to give them a "correct" pronunciation, and in doing this the newly invented phonetic notations were given a key role. Others went to the extent of insisting on exclusive use of phonetic script for the first one or two years. They believed that the language should be offered through a phonetic notation avoiding conventional spelling in order to forestall any "contamination" of spelling-pronunciation through misinterpretation of the standard orthography. The new approach had been introduced to encourage a good pronunciation and as a means of avoiding spelling confusions.

During the early years of the twentieth century, some of the enthusiasm for phonetics was lost. Stern (1992) argues that the use of phonetic script in the early stages did not produce the faultless pronunciation that had been expected. Instead, it tended to confuse and irritate language learners who either mistook the phonetic notation for the spelling system of the new language or who had grown impatient with these preliminaries and wanted to get on to "real English".

While phonetics declined in school-level language courses, it continued to develop as

an academic discipline at university level and also in the phonetic training of advanced language learners and future language teachers. In many ways, these courses had a remedial character in that they attempted to eliminate ingrained defects of pronunciation.

Since the 1960's a practical compromise established itself in the teaching of pronunciation which still prevails today. It was recommended that pronunciation teaching must form an important component of the language syllabus.

Much attention was paid to sound discrimination as well as to the productive aspect of pronunciation training. Emphasis was also laid on segmental phonemes, phonemic contrast and contractive analysis.

4.6 BASIC ISSUES IN PRONUNCIATION TEACHING

The sociolinguistic view of language has brought about several important changes in the definition of objectives in teaching pronunciation. The question relating to pedagogical model raised earlier in chapter 3, is pertinent at this point: Which pronunciation model should the teachers adopt for ESL teaching and learning?

In the first place, the tacit assumption of a "native-like" pronunciation as the ultimate objective is no longer seen as appropriate in all circumstances. This point was raised earlier by Valdman in section 3.3.2. Stern (1992) argues that in deciding a pronunciation target, it is now customary to take into account the role of the foreign speaker vis-a-vis native interlocutors. He further maintains that an important consideration is that the learner's pronunciation should be intelligible to the native speaker and that the foreign user should be able to understand what the native speaker is saying. He further stresses that it is usually not necessary for the learner to acquire a native-like pronunciation.

Furthermore, Stern makes a crucial point that it is often more appropriate for a language learner to signal his or her status as a foreigner by his non-native accent than

to make strenuous efforts to appear indistinguishable from native speakers.

Besides intelligibility, another social criterion that has emerged is the acceptability of pronunciation. In other words, it should avoid having features that are offensive, irritating, or absurd in the opinion of both the native and non-native listeners.

The next question relating to the teaching of pronunciation is: how much importance should be attached to phonology, sound discrimination and pronunciation teaching? As pointed out earlier in this chapter, most methodologists accept the principle that pronunciation has an important place in language teaching relative to other areas covered by the ESL curriculum.

Krashen and Terrell (1983) make a strong point against too much attention to the kind of intensive early pronunciation practice that has been favoured by some teachers in the past. They do not seem to be convinced that sustained early pronunciation practice has much effect on ultimate pronunciation.

Another argument for downplaying pronunciation training in language instruction has been advanced by Leather (in Stern, 1992: 113). In his view, too much insistence on correct pronunciation may interfere with the learning of grammar or vocabulary. Leather recommends that pronunciation learning should be considered in the context of the whole ESL programme.

It was highlighted earlier in this chapter that many ESL teachers have become disillusioned with pronunciation training. Lanham (1978: 154) reaffirms this view when he argues that "nowhere is the lack of direction and purpose more in evidence than in the teaching of pronunciation". He maintains that the approach in teaching pronunciation is often fragmentary, the lesson presenting a disarray of bits of information drawn from the pronunciation system. As a result of this "lack of direction and purpose", teachers become disillusioned with pronunciation teaching. The following quotation reflects and summarises this disillusionment (Gilbert, 1984: 1, in Stern, 1992: 114): "The fact is, minimal pair practice alone sometimes seems to yield minimal

results. This may be part of the reason the teaching of pronunciation has fallen into disfavour in so many programmes. Lack of success is discouraging to teachers, and students sometimes feel that pronunciation is an endless succession of unrelated and unmanageable pieces. If the work is so discouraging, shouldn't we just drop it?"

Irrespective of these pessimistic comments, the demand for high levels of pronunciation accuracy is crucial and it does not have to be the same in all types of courses. But regardless of pedagogic context, Stern (1992: 114) gives three universal considerations why pronunciation is important even though it may be difficult to teach and learn. He describes these considerations as:

- * linguistic
- * communicative
- * affective

Furthermore, Stern stresses that the importance of pronunciation teaching does not lie in "sounding like a native speaker," rather, it lies in mastering the grammatical distinctions and the different meanings that are signalled by the phonetic features.

In the South African context, the model of ESL pronunciation teaching has always been RP. The majority of "educated" black ESL speakers have an intelligible accent. It is intelligible firstly to their own English speaking communities and then to the English speaking international communities i.e. standard English but not with RP accent as Quirk (1993) has indicated earlier. It appears that the rhythmic disruptions and incorrect stress are growing phenomena. The following words have been heard incorrectly stressed on the SABC (Titlestad, 1996b: 52 - notes):

Incorrect	Correct
appropriate	ap'propriate
category	cat'egory
interested	in'terested
development	de'velopment
monopolise	mon'opolise

- (1) errors that impair communication significantly
- (2) errors that have highly stigmatising effects on the listener or reader
- (3) errors that occur frequently in students' speech and writing.

4.7 CONCLUSIONS

It was stressed in this chapter that all the described grammatical and phonological deviations from standard English do not signal the beginning of a new English.

We have also pointed out that the ESL learners interlanguage is permeable. This means that a learner progresses further along the learning continuum so that his or her interlanguage moves closer and closer to the target language system and contains fewer and fewer errors. However, it was stated that some errors will probably never disappear entirely. Obvious examples are the pronunciation errors which form part of the ESL learners accent retained by most adolescent and adult learners.

Five fundamental questions arise with regard to the learners' errors in the classroom situation (Hendrickson, 1980: 156).

- * Should learners errors be corrected?
- * If so, when should learners errors be corrected?
- * Which learner errors should be corrected?
- * How should learner errors be corrected?
- * Who should correct learner errors?

What seems to complicate the whole debate is the fact that the literature on error correction in ESL teaching reveals the following unresolved concerns:

- * no current standards exist on whether, when, which or how student errors should be corrected or who should correct them;
- * there are few widely accepted linguistic criteria of grammatical and lexical

corrections in foreign language teaching;

- * much of what has been published on error correction is speculative, and needs to be validated by a great deal of empirical experimentation.

Despite all these constraints, Hendrickson admits that a sufficient body of literature on error correction exists to merit a systematic review.

Corder (1974) advises that our ingenuity should be concentrated on techniques for dealing with errors after they have occurred.

Furthermore we need to clarify the following assumptions held by sociolinguists:

- * the first maintains that if we were to achieve a perfect teaching method the errors would never be committed in the first place, and that the occurrence of those errors is exclusively the sign of the present inadequacy of the teaching techniques;
- * that we live in an imperfect world and consequently errors will always occur in spite of the teachers best efforts.
- * The assumption that errors do not impede "communication" and should not be corrected;
- * The nature of "creativity" and of a "new English".

ESL learners make errors in their interlanguage system. We have pointed out earlier that such systems are usually unstable in given individuals, since there is invariably continuing improvement in learning the target language. In other words, the learner's system is continually being modified as new elements are incorporated throughout the learning process. Such developing systems are evident in learner's errors.

As far as "accent", "pronunciation" and the concept of "standard English" are concerned, it has been discussed earlier in this study that accent or pronunciation is irrelevant to the concept of "standard English" which comprises the popular notions of "grammar" and "vocabulary". Furthermore, Wright (1996:158) argues that "accent as popularly taken, has no adverse influence on effective communication only insofar as it does not disable the underlying system of English pronunciation, which is a major meaning-bearing element in the linguistic system."

Gimson (1980) maintains that when it is a question of teaching English as a second language, there is clearly much greater adherence to one of the two main models. Most teaching textbooks describe either RP or American pronunciation and allegiances to one or the other and tend to be traditional or geographical: thus, for instance, European countries, some Asian and the Anglo-phone Africa (including South Africa) continue on the whole to use an accent derived from RP. One can safely conclude that this is one of the "popular" international models at the moment, especially for educational purposes.

Finally, teachers need to be keenly aware of how they correct student errors and to avoid using correction strategies that might embarrass or frustrate students. Several scholars recommend that teachers record their students' errors on diagnostic charts in order to reveal the linguistic features that are causing students' learning problems. This issue will be developed further in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

QUIRK'S VIEWS REGARDING THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding two chapters (3 and 4), the main focus was on persistent ESL learners' errors. The question of errors has always been a cause of great concern to the ESL teachers and textbook writers. This chapter therefore, seeks to explore various key positions held by sociolinguists regarding the spread of English. In other words, the South African debate around English is part of the international debate.

We have also pointed out that English is generally acknowledged to be the world's most important language. It is spoken as a native language by more than 300 million people, most of them living in North America, the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Caribbean and South Africa (Quirk et al, 1985: 4).

In about twenty-five countries English has been legally designated as an official language, in about ten of these countries it is the sole official language and in some fifteen others such as South Africa and India, it shares that status with one or more other language/s. Most of these countries are former British territories.

We have seen in chapter 2 how English spread to all the different parts of the world. Quirk (1988) provides a useful model. He indicates that language spread is caused and accompanied by

- * population spread (demographic model)
- * spread of ideas (econocultural model)
- * political domination (imperial model).

It was noted earlier that the "emergence of English as the international language in a

large number of domains has implications which are rightly becoming a matter of widespread discussion among both linguists and the general public" (Honey, 1996: 99). Honey argues that in the face of the increasing number of the functions for which English is regarded as more useful or convenient than any other language, and the growth in the numbers of its speakers and learners who may now number as many as a quarter of the entire population of the world, it is only slowly that we are beginning to sort out the practical and theoretical implications. Honey regards English as a "megalanguage". He maintains that it is spoken by millions of people and that it enables these people to participate in the most advanced forms of modern knowledge, including science and technology. He further makes an important point when he says that "other megalanguages like Russian, Japanese and Arabic, on which huge resources have been expanded to enable their speakers to participate in modern science, are now struggling to keep up." For example, he claims that "the textbooks now used for advanced degrees in some Japanese universities are now necessarily in English."

Honey makes an important point when he claims that "credentials of English as a megalanguage are strengthened by the extent of its use in two international domains, information technology and entertainment, especially vocal music." He further argues that neither German nor any other megalanguage poses any threat to that predominance. He maintains that "most of the scientific and technological developments have either taken place in, or been rapidly appropriated by, the Anglo-Saxon world." Standard English or general purpose English is the language of the bulk of conferences and is the language of science. Very many people therefore have good practical reasons for wanting to learn standard English.

However, Odumuh (1994), Ndebele (1987) and Buthelezi (1989/1995) reaffirm Kachru's position noted earlier in this thesis, when they call for the recognition and acceptance of "local varieties" of English taking their place among the other international varieties. They advocate for codification of these local varieties of English.

Unlike Ndebele, Buthelezi and Kachru, Odumuh admits that there are problems of identification, for example, of "Nigerian English". He poses a key question which

indicates the complexity of this issue:

"If Nigerian English exists, what are the parameters for identification?" There seems to be fewer problems identifying those institutionalised varieties "in the sense of being fully described and with defined standards observed by the institutions of state" (Quirk, 1995: 24). As noted earlier, there are two: "American English" and "British English". Quirk maintains that there are one or two others with standards rather informally established, notably "Australian English".

Honey (1996: 114) makes an interesting point about "standard English". He argues that standard English is "superior" to other varieties of English. This of course, is a contentious assertion. We need to explore it further. Dialectologists according to Honey start from the assumption that all dialects are "linguistically" equal. "But what," Honey asks, "do the word "linguistically" mean? And how can it be irrelevant to the evaluation of linguistic equality or adequacy that a particular language or dialect may have a vastly greater vocabulary than another, or greater grammatical or stylistic resources?"

More recently, Ben Rampton (Honey, 1996: 109), a linguist at Britain's Thames Valley University has declared that "it is now quite widely recognised that the idea of linguistic equality was overstated". Joseph (1987 - in Honey, 1996: 110) a supporter of the theory of linguistic equality, at least had the grace to admit that this position in its absolute form is somewhat naive and that the notion of the equal adequacy of all dialects is a dogmatic assertion that has never been tested.

The concept of "standard English being superior" to other varieties or dialects seems to be inappropriate and subjective. Quirk (a letter to Titlestad, 4 October, 1994) gives an appropriate definition of standard English. He claims that standard English is "basically the shared vocabulary of the English speaking countries". It was also noted earlier in this thesis that Quirk uses an alternative concept called the "general purpose English". In other words, what distinguishes standard or general purpose English from non-standard varieties is the fact that standard English fulfils broader linguistic functions than the non-standard varieties. These functions have been illustrated throughout this

thesis.

Nevertheless, Honey makes valid points when he justifies the use of the notion of standard English being conceived as superior. He argues that, the linguistic grounds which make standard English a qualitatively superior variety for the fulfilment of a wide range of functions in modern society are its greater lexical, grammatical and stylistic resources and the fact that the "congruence factor" inhibits speakers of many dialects from incorporating such "educated" linguistic resources into their own dialect. This view is supported by the Chairman of the Cox Committee discussed elsewhere in this thesis when he asserts his personal view that "standard English is superior to the other dialects" (Honey, 1996: 114). He makes the point that the attitude to promote uncodifiable varieties of English "tends to ghettoise the underprivileged", while these advocates of these varieties "themselves would never dream of allowing their own children to speak a (non-standard) dialect" (Honey, 1996: 114).

This latter point was precisely the argument of "The Language Trap" (Honey, 1983 - in Honey, 1996: 114), and a similar point is made by Deborah Cameron in respect of Afro-American intellectuals who claim, with some bitterness, that the promotion of the Black English Vernacular by linguists such as Labov "will be to disadvantage inner-city children". Lastly, Cameron makes a key point that "since nobody else but linguists believe that all varieties are equal, for educationists to act on it was indeed to perpetuate social disadvantage". In South Africa, if we allow black English to be advocated as the language of learning, we will be perpetuating the Verwoerdian philosophy of keeping blacks at the bottom of the pack.

Schmied (1991: 174) takes this debate of developing a local variety further. He argues that a closer look at this debate reveals some of the difficulties involved. There is lack of:

- * a detailed description of the performance varieties at all levels of the continuum
- * the identification of an acceptable level for a standard that would on the one hand be sufficiently close to other standards English especially the international

standard, to ensure linguistic intelligibility, and on the other hand sufficiently distinct from them to convey African culture and ideality

- * the codification of the national variety in dictionaries, grammars or teaching handbooks
- * the propagation of it in the national mass media
- * the acceptance and widespread use of the national variety of English by an educated majority.

The fundamental questions raised throughout this thesis regarding the acceptance and recognition of non-native varieties of English in education, remain unresolved:

- * What do teachers teach?
- * Where do we draw the line between "errors" and the national variety of English?
- * Which language books should the teachers use?
- * How do the teachers deal with the learners' errors?

This debate will be explored further in chapters 6, 7 and 9.

We have also seen earlier in this study that Kachru shows complacency when he settles for a variety of educated Indian English "low" on the cline (Kachru, 1982). He even suggests that this variety would replace the well established institutionalised varieties of standard English (i.e. Standard British and American English). His proposal does not seem to be practical. For example, second language learners who are still at the bottom of the cline do not yet have a "stable" form of the target language. In other words, what do teachers teach? Are there textbooks, grammars and dictionaries? For practical educational as well as functional reasons, learners should aim at the highest level of competence on the cline.

The other difficulty is that we must be able to identify a fixed cut-off point on the cline at the level where the non-native variety's grammar and lexis are stable and identifiable so that we must be able to codify the non-standard variety and make the variety

teachable and codifiable. The teaching of a cline with all its contradictory forms is hardly practicable.

Quirk on standards in his recent House of Lords speech raises the question of "lower" versus "higher" standards of ESL raised by Kachru earlier. "Quirk (1990: 1) makes a pertinent remark that "it is neither liberal nor liberating to permit learners to settle for "lower" standards than the best, and it is a travesty of liberalism to tolerate low standards which will lock the least fortunate into the least rewarding careers."

5.2 THE QUIRK CONCERNS REGARDING THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH

In this section, we explore some of Quirk's concerns about the spread of English and Kachru's reply to these concerns. In his 1985 article, Quirk has attempted to address the controversial issue of standards in the global context. He maintains that during Shakespeare's time, English was not in global use. In those years, it was known exclusively to native speakers. Now English is in daily use all over the world. With the growth of national separatism in the English speaking countries, many foresee a fissiparous future for English. Quirk does not share this view. He argues that "we have increasing dependence on a common technology whose development is largely in the hands of multi-national corporations" (Quirk, 1985: 3). He further maintains that "we have strong world-wide will to preserve inter-comprehensibility in English" (1985: 3). In 1990, Quirk wrote an article reacting to a document which was published by the Department of Education and Science (in London) on the teaching of English in Britain. There was much dissatisfaction in this document with what teachers taught, how they taught and the results of teaching as they showed in the capabilities of the British school leavers. Quirk's main focus in a series of articles has been the question of standard and variation.

Quirk examines the teaching of English outside Britain; specifically in countries where English is not a native language. The main thrust of his paper is to express deep dissatisfaction with, what he calls "liberation linguistics". The concerns expressed by Quirk are a direct challenge on the positions held by many sociolinguists about the

"pluricentricity and multi-identities of English" (Kachru, 1991: 4). Quirk (1990: 9) makes a sharp criticism of "liberation linguistics" advocating as we have seen earlier, that "it is neither liberal nor liberating to allow learners to settle for lower standards than the best".

- (1) His first concern is the fact that the interest in new Englishes has got out of hand and has started blinding both the teachers and taught to the central language structure from which varieties might be seen as varying (Quirk, 1990: 4).

He refers to the Kingman Committee which found that teachers were distracted by the belief that children's capacity to use English effectively in Britain "can and should be fostered only by exposure to varieties of the English language".

- (2) Quirk's second concern refers to what he calls the "profusion" and "confusion" of types of linguistic variety that are freely referred to in educational, linguistic, sociolinguistic and literary critical discussion. He gives the following examples (Quirk, 1990: 4):

- legal English
- American English
- Working-class English
- BBC English
- Black English
- Computer English
- Ashkenazic English

He argues that these varieties are on desperately different taxonomic bases. He gives as an example "legal English" which refers to a style that may be used equally and at times indistinguishably in American English and British English.

On the other hand, he indicates that "Ashkenazic English" is a term which has been used to characterise the usage of Ashkenazic Jews in the United States. He

questions whether it holds for Ashkenazics living in Britain or Australia.

- (3) The third concern which has been fully discussed in chapter 3, involves the distinction between "institutionalised" and "non-institutionalised" varieties of English. In one of his latest articles, Quirk claims that only the American English and British English are institutionalised. In other words, they are "fully described and with defined standards observed by the institutions of state" (1990: 6). He further indicates that most non-native varieties are not institutionalised.
- (4) His fourth concern involves some teachers of English who believe that "any notion of correct or incorrect use of language is an affront to personal liberty" (Quirk, 1995: 26). Quirk goes further to draw an interesting analogy that "if recent history has given us a 'liberation theology', why not also a 'liberation linguistics'?" The trouble, as the Kingman Committee sees it, is that such educational fashion went too far: giving the impression that any kind of English was as good as any other and that denying this, nothing less was at stake than "personal liberty" itself. By contrast, the Kingman Report sees such an educational ethos as trapping students in their present social progress and their geographical mobility.
- (5) The fifth concern involves the widely recognised and justified sociolinguistic and pedagogical notion of ESL and EFL. Quirk argues that his econocultural model of language spread is as applicable in India, Singapore and Nigeria as it is in Japan, Germany and Russia. He claims that there is certainly no clear-cut distinction between ESL and EFL. In order to reinforce his view, Quirk poses a challenging question: "is English used instrumentally and intranationally among Norwegians and among Germans less heavily than among Indians?" He further asks that if that be the case, "is it more a difference of degree than of kind?" (Quirk, 1990: 10).
- (6) The sixth concern refers to English used and taught for local purposes (this concern has been raised in earlier chapters of this study). Quirk (1988) argues that if we accept with Kachru that the majority of India's (estimated) 23 million English users have a norm, that is low on the cline of Englishness, he wonders who gains as a result of this. Students obviously stand to lose.

Regarding the implications of selecting the local variety as a norm in education, he argues that "students, liberally permitted to think their new variety of English was acceptable, would be defenceless before the harsher but more realistic judgement of those with authority to employ or promote them. He further regrets that "they have in effect been denied the command of standard English which ... is more likely to increase the freedom of the individual than diminish it" (1990: 10).

- (7) Quirk (1990: 9) expresses his last concern regarding "the buoyant demand for native speaking English teachers which means that one often finds, in Tokyo or Madrid, young men and women teaching English with only a minimal teacher training, indeed with little specialised education: they are employed because, through accident of birth in Leeds or Los Angeles, they are native speakers of English". He argues that not merely may their own English be far from standard but they may have little respect for it and may well have absorbed the linguistic ethos that is simplified into the tenet that any English is as good as any other.

Finally, the last point could be added as the eighth concern. Kachru does not raise the question of language pockets and mobility of teachers and pupils. Most of all, Kachru does not indicate what the teachers should teach. In South Africa, if we are to have mixed schools, pupils and mobility of teachers, then group characteristics become all the more doubtful.

5.3 KACHRU'S POSITION REGARDING THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH

5.3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to examine some implications of the global diffusion of English focusing on issues raised by Quirk in the preceding sections. Kachru (1985) views the spread of English in terms of three concentric circles representing the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages.

We need to revisit some of the questions raised earlier in this study (Kachru, 1985) regarding the spread of English:

- * Who controls the international norms?
- * What types of innovations and creativity are acceptable?
- * What are the factors which determine a norm for a region?
- * What are the parameters for the acculturation of English?

Kachru examines the above concerns within the framework of his image of three concentric circles.

5.3.2 Kachru's Concentric Circles of world Englishes

Kachru (1985) categorises the world Englishes into three concentric circles namely:

- * the inner circle
- * the outer circle
- * the expanding circle

The inner circle consists of all the native English speaking countries such as Britain, America, Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

We have indicated earlier that in countries where English is a non-native language, the major models for both writing and speech have generally been the standard varieties of the inner circle especially the British and the American English with allowance made for pronunciation.

Ahulu (1994: 26) argues that it is "important for teacher trainers and curriculum designers to know what forms they are recognising and emphasizing as the educational target. He further stresses that "there can be no purposeful and effective teaching/learning without any required standard." Earlier, it was noted that there are linguists who argue strongly for the acceptance and recognition of the non-native

varieties of English. This situation leads us to the second circle, i.e. the outer circle Englishes.

The second circle involves English being used as a second language. Kachru (1985) says that the outer circle needs a historical explanation. He maintains that it involves the earlier phases of the spread of English and its institutionalisation in non-native contexts.

Kachru argues that the political histories of regions where non-native varieties are used have many shared characteristics: these regions have gone through extended periods of colonisation, essentially by the users of the inner circle varieties. He further argues that the linguistic and cultural effects of such colonisation are now a part of their histories and as a result they cannot be wished away.

Furthermore, Kachru claims that in functional terms the institutionalised varieties (British and American English) have three characteristics, first, English functions in what may be considered traditionally "un-English" cultural contexts. Second, English has a wide spectrum of the development and domains in which it is used with varying degrees of competence by members of society, both as an internal and an international language. Third, English has developed nativised literary traditions in the novel, short story, poetry and essay. In other words, Kachru argues that English has an extended functional range in a variety of social, educational, administrative and literary domains.

Abbott (1991) acknowledges that English in each region will have an indigenous lexical set but points out that a certain grammatical, lexical and phonological uniformity is needed which can be provided by what he calls mother-tongue Englishes. He warns of the united scope for mutual comprehension internationally if the main features of each form of English become too divergent.

The third circle termed the "expanding circle", brings to English yet another dimension. The users of English in this circle use it as a foreign language. Kachru (1985) maintains that the geographical regions characterised as the expanding circle do not necessarily

have a history of colonisation by the users of the inner circle. He further highlights that this circle is currently expanding rapidly in terms of numbers. He also alleges that it is the users of this circle who actually further strengthen the claims of English as an international or universal language.

He further indicates that countries such as South Africa and Jamaica are not easy to place within the concentric circles since in terms of the English using populations and the functions of English, their situation is rather complex.

In addition, he states that the outer circle and the expanding circle cannot be viewed as clearly demarcated from each other. He argues that the status of English in the language policies of such countries changes from time to time. What is an ESL region at one time may become an EFL region at another time or vice versa.

These regions according to Kachru (1985) are geographically distant from English-speaking nations of the inner circle and this factor, he cautions, has serious implications for the learning and teaching of English.

Kachru goes on to emphasise that these three circles, bring to English a unique cultural pluralism, and linguistic heterogeneity and diversity which are unrecorded to this extent in human history. With this diffusion he admits that naturally it would bring scores of problems concerned with codification, standardisation, nativisation, teaching and description and a multitude of attitudes about recognition of various varieties and subvarieties of English. In 1965, Kachru talked of the cline with three measuring points:

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

It appears that there is a difference in the logic of the two images - the "cline" and the "concentric circles".

His earlier cline, shows the different stages of ESL development from the lowest point when the learner comes into contact with the English language for the first time. This language contact could be between the learner and an English mother tongue teacher or a non-native ESL teacher. It was shown earlier in this study that the growth from the zero point to the highest point of the cline, i.e. the apex, depends mainly on the ESL teacher's ability and the quality of his or her teaching. Kachru's cline of bilingualism concerns ESL learning as a process without separating the first, second and the foreign language learning into different pockets. However, his concentric circles model represent different types of English, i.e. mother tongue, ESL and EFL. He does not seem to indicate any overlap within these three circles. For example, other users of English such as Indians, Coloureds and blacks etc in his model would simply be classified under the "outer circle" as ESL users despite the fact that some of these so-called "non-natives" use English as their first language or home language. To include South Africa in this outer circle is not in fact to heed Kachru himself closely, for he warns that South Africa does not fit neatly into this pattern (Kachru, 1985).

Kachru's Concentric Circles Model is too simplistic. The real situation in different communities is more complex than the mere three "concentric circles".

Furthermore, his model as indicated earlier, does not address the fundamental and central questions:

- * Which variety of English within the "circles" is viable for pedagogical purposes?
- * What does the ESL teacher teach?

The logic of his model must be questioned. Titlestad (1995: 189) raises two concerns regarding these circles:

- * Do the indigenised Englishes of the "outer circle" really become new Englishes in relation to the scope inclusivity and use of the international standard form?

- * The expanding circle is a misnomer. These English foreign language areas basically want to acquire a standard English for international use, not a language for internal use. English is not expanding although numbers might. This is evident from the Eastern European countries which are currently demanding standard English in order to join the "global village" and participate economically, technologically, scientifically etc. with other English speaking countries.

In one of Kachru's earliest articles entitled *Models of English for the Third World: "White Man's Linguistic Burden or Language Pragmatics?"* Kachru (1976) claims that in the multilingualistic and culturally pluralistic context of India, the English language has naturally developed its regional, social and occupational varieties just as a living language is expected to do. He further maintains that the standard or educated variety of Indian English cuts across these regional varieties, in the same way as does standard American English in America or standard Scots in Scotland (1976: 233). It is not clear what Kachru means by "educated variety" - it was noted in chapter 3 that educated varieties of English form part of the general purpose English.

Kachru's comparison between the Indian varieties of English and the American and Scottish English is not clear and is at the same time farfetched because English is a mother tongue for Americans and Scots (with their dialectal differences) whereas it is a second language for Indians especially in India. On the one hand we have the native varieties of English and on the other, the non-native varieties. He fails to distinguish between written variety and spoken. What do schools teach?

Furthermore, Kachru argues that a fraction of Indian English speakers whose aim is to interact with those speakers of English who use it as their first language, certainly have such goals in mind if they desire positions in the foreign service or international business, or if they desire interaction with the international scholarly community, to be proficient in a model which is "very high" on the cline of intelligibility (1976: 235). Kachru's proposal is difficult to implement, especially with regard to the question of the pedagogical models in education. Earlier in chapter 3, we have seen that Kachru

(Quirk, 1988) maintains that on the cline of bilingualism, the models for ESL teaching may be "low" on the cline, and that they exist and work, and they call for the replacement of "pedagogical models" that have become "suspect". Are the new models codified in grammar and textbooks?

On the other hand, in his 1976 article, he maintains that the Indian English speakers whose goal is to interact with mother tongue speakers, should aim for a model which is "very high" on the cline. In other words, he implies that those who do not wish to interact with the English mother tongue speakers should aim at the lower levels of the cline. Again, what is the teacher supposed to teach? To which pupils? In one of his later articles (1991), Kachru shifts from his earlier bidialectal position of condoning basilectal English to be used in education, when he argues that for teaching purposes, one might focus on one specific variety and at the same time emphasize awareness and functional validity of other varieties. This is bidialectalism. It has been shown earlier in this study that bidialectalism does not work - it actually compounds the teachers problems in the ESL classroom.

5.3.3 Indianisation of English

Kachru (1986) argues that Indianisation is mainly the result of the impact of Indian languages on English and of conscious or unconscious innovations in the language to functionally adapt it to the local milieu. Odumuh (1984) reaffirms this view when he says that in Nigeria, the need has often been expressed for a variety of Nigerian English which could be used as a model, both for teaching purposes and for everyday discourse.

Kachru further argues that the processes of Indianisation goes beyond the surface linguistic levels and involves the underlying cultural presuppositions and their linguistic realisations.

Kachru (1985) gives the following linguistic features which characterise Indian English:

* Contextually determined collocations:

- . tiffin carrier < a carrier of a snack or a light meal
- . Himalayan blunder < a grave or serious mistake
- * Hybridisation
 - . Swadeshi hotel < a native, vegetarian hotel
- * Comparative constructions
 - . as low as an elephant, as good as kitchen ashes

The following examples come from Kachru's (1986: 32) selected glossary of Indian English:

- * England-returned < one who has been to England for educational purposes
- * batch-mate < a classmate or fellow student
- * co-son-in-law < any one of several sons-in-law
- * to stand on someone's head < to supervise carefully

Mathai (in Greenbaum, 1993:82) argues that some of the examples of Indian variants of English "are clearly misuses or bad translations of Indian idioms." He indicates that "many of these are regional or heard only at certain levels, and would not be understood even by some Indians." Mathai further argues that the regional standard language, as elsewhere, would in fact tend to be non-regional and represent the consensus of educated speakers world-wide as illustrated earlier by Quirk and Strevens. It has also been argued that English in India constitutes a continuum of competence in language, but of course a similar continuum of competence is observable in native speaker countries. And a continuum or cline again raises the question of how to codify this variety in India illustrating the whole problem of determining what is a local variety or standard in this kind of fluid situation, and once again, the difficulty of what the teachers teach.

Svartvik (1985) has criticised some of Kachru's examples stating they conform to English rules. This situation however, does not reflect anything "new" but merely demonstrates English word formation process. In other words, in different English speaking countries, users coin new words and new idiomatic expressions which name

specific things in that locality. This simply does not signal the beginning of a new variety of English except in a very limited way. However, there are also fossilized forms which may range from the "basilect" to the "mesolect" levels. These fossilized forms also do not indicate the beginning of a new English because they occur at different levels and therefore difficult to codify. It is also difficult for some of the Indian or Nigerian English users to align themselves with anything "lower" than standard English. Kachru refers to this conflict as the users' linguistic schizophrenia. He says that this is shown in a complex love-hate relationship with the language. This means Indian English users have a dilemma when they are faced with the two varieties of English, the local and the international varieties. He concedes that some Indians do opt for standard English. Kachru (1986: 32) maintains that the middle classes prefer English-educated women in matrimony, and he also claims that "England-returned" and "American-returned" grooms are in demand. The reason for this preference is that they see these two countries as being scientifically, technologically and economically advanced. Kachru also admits that all social classes prefer English medium schools for their children.

5.3.4 Kachru's response to Quirk's concerns - "Liberation linguistics and the Quirk concern"

This section examines Kachru's response to Quirk's views described above in 4.2. These concerns were first expressed by Quirk in 1985 at the 50th Anniversary Celebration meeting of the British Council in London.

The main thrust of Quirk's recent papers (1983, 1988, 1990 and 1995) is to articulate his deep dissatisfaction with what he calls "liberation linguistics". Kachru (1990) alleges that the concerns Quirk expresses are an attack on the positions which sociolinguists have taken about the spread of English, its functions and its multinorms.

Kachru (1991) sharply criticises Quirk about his concerns, he refers to Quirk as "a

venerable scholar" whose life-long desire is to maintain what he considers "standards" for international English and the world's need for a functionally successful international language. He does however agree with Quirk that English "is the best candidate at present on offer" (Quirk, 1988/1990). However, Kachru argues that in expressing this concern, Quirk has not only thrown out the bath water, but with it the baby of sociolinguistic realities.

Kachru further accuses Quirk of perceiving the spread of English primarily from the perspective of monolingual societies and from uncomplicated language policy contexts. He argues that the concerns he expresses are far from the realities of multilingual societies and negate the linguistic, sociolinguistic, educational and pragmatic realities of such societies.

Kachru also attacks Quirk by saying that in articulating his concerns, he is not presenting an alternative model for describing and understanding the diffusion, functions and planning of multilinguals' linguistic behaviour with reference to English.

In addition, Kachru thinks that the arguments presented by Quirk contribute towards the development of a framework for what he refers to as "deficit linguistics". He believes that Quirk's "deficit linguistics" entails the following six assumptions:

- * Rejection of the underlying linguistic motivations for the range of variation and suggesting that such variational models are motivated by an urge for linguistic emancipation or what Quirk calls 'liberation linguistics'.
- * Rejection of the sociolinguistic, cultural and stylistic motivations for innovations and their institutionalisation.
- * Rejection of the notion of institutionalisation of the non-native varieties of English (in this case black English is a good example).
- * Rejection of the endocentric norms for English in the outer circle.

- * Rejection of the distinction between the outer circle (ESL) of English and the expanding circle (EFL).

Odumuh (1994: 5) reinforces Kachru's position when "he called for the recognition of the existence of "Nigerian English" as a variety taking its place among other varieties, (he) advocated its immediate codification (i.e. producing a dictionary of Nigerian English and writing its grammar) and did not hesitate to propose using this as a model for teaching in Nigerian schools". Ahulu's (1992) research casts doubt on whether these varieties of English do exist when he gives an example of "Ghanaian English". He argues that the corpus shows no grammatical categories that regularly occur divergently only and never standardly. He maintains that if we accept the general view that there is a distinctive Ghanaian English usage that can be clearly distinguished from standard practice 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."

He further makes an interesting and illuminating observation that "educated Ghanaians do not consistently omit articles in every context where standard practice would require them, nor are non-count norms consistently made to take the regular plural morph whenever they are expected to have semantically plural interpretations."

Unlike Kachru, Odumuh admits as noted earlier in this chapter that there are problems of identification of Nigerian English - he poses a question which indicates the complexity of this issue: "If Nigerian English exists, what are the parameters for identification. We seem to have little problem recognising American English - the hallmarks are spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax and idiom" (Odumuh, 1994: 8).

The crucial question which does not seem to have been resolved is what do teachers teach in Nigerian schools?

Quirk (1995) makes a pertinent point when he says that the trouble as the Kingman

Committee sees it, is that such an educational fashion of promoting local varieties of English went too far, 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. The Kingman Report sees such an educational ethos as trapping students in their present social and ethnic sectors and as creating a barrier to their educational progress and their career prospects.

Ahulu (1992) makes a key point that those with authority in education and 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.

5.4 ABBOTT'S RESPONSE TO KACHRU'S ARTICLE - "LIBERATION LINGUISTICS AND THE QUIRK CONCERN"

It was pointed out earlier in this chapter (c.f. section 5.2) that Quirk's "concerns" were prompted by a document which was published by the Department of Education and Science (in London) on the teaching of English in Britain. There was much dissatisfaction with what teachers taught, how they taught and the results of teaching as they showed in the capabilities of the British school leavers. His main focus has been the question of "standards" and "variation". This debate, he has extended to the other English speaking countries in India, Africa, Europe, America etc.

In his article, Abbott (1991: 55) critically examines Kachru's response to Quirk's concerns, highlighted in section 3.3.1 and discussed earlier in this chapter. He draws our attention to Kachru's views that things have changed linguistically and demographically since imperial days. He acknowledges this view. He further makes an interesting point regarding the diversity of the English speaking community around the world. He proposes an establishment of some sort of "Commonwealth of Englishes" to bring unity among the users of English in the diverse three circles, a partnership of equals in which each can express individual, social and cultural identity in the manner

intelligible to other members. However, he does not show how this proposal can be implemented. Nevertheless, it is interesting and it requires to be explored further.

He makes a point that where intercomprehensibility is needed solely for intranational purposes, a national standard can be formulated so as to ensure that for example, "Hausa English" and "Igbo English" more or less conform to the "standard Nigerian English" laid down. This is where Quirk and Abbott differ sharply because Quirk thinks these labels are misleading (c.f. section 5.2 for full discussion). Ahulu (1992) supports Quirk's position. He claims that arguments rejecting the pedagogic notion of "standard English" and suggestions that all forms of English are equal, have resulted in a confusing proliferation of the labels shown above.

Abbott further admits that in every country today English is seen as a valuable international commodity. He also concedes that there are different vested interests, aims and requirements in Kachru's three circles. Nevertheless, he argues that each has an interest in ensuring the intelligibility of the English used by its adults in international contexts. This point reinforces Quirk's position regarding non-native Englishes.

Furthermore Abbott concurs with Quirk (1990) that the wish to liberate the outer and expanding circles from the hegemony of the native speaker shows a fine anti-imperialist attitude. He acknowledges that the idea of the establishment of standardised nativised Englishes is attractive as a way of fostering national pride. But he argues that there is a "catch". This catch he claims lies in the great difficulty of ensuring intelligibility within and between the outer and expanding circles without recourse to a common model.

Abbott shares Quirk's concern that these Englishes are all subject to the disparate influences of various mother tongues and mother cultures, and he fears that without a shared model they could be held apart and may tend to grow even further apart.

Finally, Abbott warns that the countries of the outer circle could of course devise and promote their nativised Englishes, but this would be to distance themselves from the

huge body of information printed in standard English. He even doubts if the countries of the "expanding circle" would follow suit. He then supports Quirk's standpoint that there is a strong case for using native speaker Englishes as models, he claims that it is one of common sense, even of necessity, and that it is not motivated by linguistic imperialism. He argues for teaching a "genuinely useful" international English without the imparting of *Landeskunde*. In Quirk's article "The question of standards and the international use of English" in *Language Spread and Language Policy* (Quirk, 1988), he emphasises the need for the "econocultural" model of English, the one that brings knowledge and provides international communication. He rejects the notion of *Landeskunde* (a German word) which he says is increasingly undesirable. This means the study of a culture along with the study of a language.

5.5 RESPONSES TO QUIRK'S AND KACHRU'S 1985 PAPERS

The following section focuses on the direct commentaries to both Lord Quirk's and Professor Braj Kachru's papers on the "English Language in the Global Context" in 1985 at the 50th Anniversary celebration meeting of the British Council in London when the debate began.

5.5.1 Kennedy's response to Quirk's presentation

Kennedy (1985) expresses his reservations and doubts about some of the views advocated by Quirk regarding the desirability of a global standard. In response to these, Kennedy argues that the issue of "standards" in countries where English is a native language is fundamentally an attitudinal and especially an aesthetic one. He maintains that the standards which emerge are those of the groups which have power and prestige in the economy, entertainment, the media and the arts.

Kennedy echoes Abbott's and Quirk's concerns regarding the question of "intelligibility". He argues that it is very easy to use English internationally and not be understood. He further acknowledges the validity of Quirk's argument for the recognition of a global standard. However, he doubts whether that is within the bounds

of the possible. What seems to be required in order to attain the global standard, is to improve ESL and EFL teaching. According to Quirk (1995: 27), all the students know perfectly well that their command of standard English is likely to increase their career prospects - and that teachers and taught alike accept the basic conclusion that it is the institution's duty to teach standard English.

Furthermore, he takes issue with Quirk over the statement that there is a "relatively narrow range of purposes for which the non-native needs to use English (even in ESL countries)". He argues that whenever there has been careful research on the use of English in an ESL context, an organic complexity has been revealed in functional range, use and purpose, and that it is what the users of the language do, not what a small élite would like them to do which counts in the end.

The answer to this according to Kennedy is to ask what are the functions beyond a street corner lingua franca that English performs? Also, what academic resources are there if English is removed?

He maintains that the vast majority of users of English tend to adopt local varieties, regardless of the admonitions of English teachers. He claims that even in the case of English native language countries such admonitions may have had, as a primary effect, a lowering of self-esteem rather than a change in language behaviour. Finally he concludes this debate by asking the question: although standards of English may be adopted or encouraged, can they influence significantly the directions English moves in and the use of English in a global context? But this is precisely what keeps it standard. Not regional but global use.

5.5.2 Crystal's response to Quirk's presentation

On the other hand, Crystal (1985) in his response, agrees with Quirk's position on standard English. What concerns him though, is the way the discussion of standards ceases very quickly to be a linguistic discussion, and becomes instead an issue of social identity. Crystal is worried that this social identity perspective is missing in Quirk's

presentation of English as a global language.

Crystal (1985) further elaborates on the question of social origins. He maintains that the notion of "social origin" is evident in the dictionary definitions of the term, i.e. "something established by authority, custom or general consent as a model or example" (Longman Dictionary of the English Language). He argues that the term renews its connection with society whenever there are arguments about usage though often the social assumptions remain below the surface.

He gives the following pertinent example, applicable at a local level: the arguments used by teachers when correcting a child's written English are often couched in purely linguistic terms: "you shouldn't use "ain't" - why? - because it isn't standard English". Crystal argues that this is to identify the problem, not to explain it, and that any follow-up question of the sort - But why do I have to write/speak standard English? leads inevitably to social reasoning (the need to pass exams, to get a job, to qualify as a member of a profession, and so on).

This example leads us to the notions of "appropriateness"; and "correctness". Corson (1994) maintains that we learn criteria of "appropriateness" when we acquire different language varieties. Each variety has its own set of 'implicit recommendations that are purpose related and the use of these recommendations is context specific' (Corson, 1994: 275).

The example given above shows that teachers lack of understanding or tolerance of the non-standard variety of English. The child's expression "ain't" is not appropriate in a formal context. However, it is correct and appropriate in an informal context.

On the other hand, Corson maintains that we learn criteria of correctness when we decide on firm language rules of syntax, semantics and phonology and apply these across all the varieties of a language. When we ignore these rules of a language, we move outside it completely.

Teachers therefore, have to be sensitive to non-standard varieties of English. Learners have to be made aware that their non-standard variety is not inferior but that it is inappropriate for pedagogical purposes.

Crystal finally asks the following intractable and thought provoking questions:

- * the question should not be so much, do people use English internationally, but in what state of mind, with what attitude, do they use it?
- * Are they proud of it, or ashamed of it?
- * Do they see it as a strength or as a weakness?
- * Who do they see themselves being identified with, when they use it, and are they happy to be so identified?

The focus of these questions is on attitudes and perceptions about the English language. Nobody would doubt the validity of these questions. However, language attitudes and perceptions neglect that other vital aspect of language planning; i.e. what language is used for outside native speaker groups.

It was noted earlier that some languages, notably English, "perform valuable functions beyond their groups. English is the language of most books in our significant libraries, a resource that will never be replaced, but is likelier to expand" (Titlestad, 1996 - Langtag Workshop on Language Equity). As the Framework Report of NEPI puts it (1993: 182), our education system especially in South Africa, should "ensure that all South Africans have access to English because it is currently the language of access to further education, and because it is an established lingua franca in South Africa, without jeopardising the use of African languages." Lastly, it was shown earlier that standard English is the shared English of all users world wide.

The following discussion will shed more light with regard to some of these questions.

5.5.3 Greenbaum's response to Kachru's presentation

Greenbaum (1985) admits that Kachru has touched on a large number of important issues in his paper. In response to Kachru's views regarding global English, Greenbaum focuses on standardisation, which in his view is central to the theme of global English.

Greenbaum points out that Kachru has argued in favour of the developing of norms in the "Outer Circle" of English speech fellowships. Kachru claims that in some ESL countries local educated varieties are becoming increasingly recognised and accepted locally as "standard varieties" in their own right, despite the negative response by some non-native speakers of English. But this raises all kinds of questions. For example,

- * are there so called "standard varieties" taught in schools?
- * are there dictionaries and grammar books written in these varieties?
- * are they accepted by education authorities as pedagogical norms?
- * in which sense are they standard?

Kachru seems to be contending for the recognition and acceptance of these varieties and that this should be extended internationally, particularly by those in the "Inner circle" of English speech fellowships i.e. the native English speakers. He does not seem to have considered Greenbaum's questions, even in more recent writings.

Kachru reaffirms Quirk's (1988), Kennedy's (1985) and Abbott's (1991) position regarding the question of intelligibility which in Greenbaum's view is a central issue. However, Greenbaum differs from Kachru's view when he makes the point that even in the British Isles, speakers do not understand each other's English. He further argues that although dialect speakers from different regions may not understand each other, those who use the "shared" standard English will understand one another world wide.

Greenbaum also indicates that at the international level, the differences between the national standards of the "Inner Circle" are relatively few, except for pronunciation. And even the pronunciation differences are not a major impediment, once the speakers

have tuned into each other's system of pronunciation.

Furthermore, Greenbaum raises very crucial concerns which have been raised earlier by Abbott (1991), questioning Kachru's position regarding ESL whether the educated varieties of the "Outer Circle" can assume the status of national standards without reference to the international norms of the "Inner Circle", whether they would diverge too far to remain part of the international standard English.

He goes on to raise his concerns about the learning and teaching of English:

- * Will there be sufficient time devoted to the learning of English?
- * Will the teachers have an adequate command of the language?

One could add to this the question of choices made at the education system about which forms to sanction and which not and how these forms should be supported by textbooks and grammars.

Finally, he sums up his section by stating that if the emerging national standards are to remain intelligible internationally, then the countries of the "Outer Circle" will have to invest heavily in the teaching of English.

5.5.4 Svartvik's response to Kachru's presentation

Jan Svartvik's (1985) response to Kachru's presentation is interesting, especially because he belongs to the so-called "Expanding Circle" (EFL), being a Swede. In a way, his response partly echoes Greenbaum's crucial question raised earlier in this section: "Whether the educated varieties of the "Outer Circle" could assume the status of national standards without reference to the international norms of the "Inner Circle", whether they would diverge too far to remain part of the international standard English."

Svartvik maintains that the Swedish speakers of English regard the "Inner Circle" as their model of English, whether their interests are literary, linguistic or narrowly orientated for specific purposes.

The Swedish peoples' norm according to him is solidly native-speaker based, in spite of the fact that very few EFL-users will ever get close to, let alone internalise, the rules of such a norm. He also recommends that ESL users in the outer circle too, could benefit more from a native-speaker norm.

Svartvik's strong argument in favour of English as an international medium is that it is the most widely used language, and that it will remain usefully so only as long as it remains intercomprehensible.

He further puts his case clearly, when he argues that his preference for the native-speaker norm is based on functional criteria, not on the notion of "correctness" or social status or even admiration of the political systems of the English-speaking nations. He also clarifies his position regarding his recommendation of the "Inner Circle" variety as a model that it is not based on fear of "deviations" (which would occur anyway, even when there is a home-based norm).

His prediction for the future of English in the world today is that it will work in the direction of greater homogeneity. He argues that when discussing norms a distinction

between speech and writing would be made. He makes an important point that English grammar is strikingly homogeneous in the different standard varieties of written English. He argues that examples cited by Kachru, such as "Himalayan blunder", which means "a grave or serious mistake", "black money" (black market), "I telling" (I will tell), "I done tell" (I have told) and "done come" (actually arrived), idiomatic collocations such as "my shoes are biting me" and my "nose is watering" ... show that these innovative examples tend to adhere to standard word formation rules. Mathai (Greenbaum, 1990: 82) argues that many of these type of examples which are referred to as Indian English are regional or heard only at certain levels, and would not be understood even by some Indians. Therefore, these examples raise the question of whether Indian English is in any sense a coherent body of linguistic detail. In other words, Kachru's list of examples does not seem to constitute an Indian English, but an occasional Indian flavouring in relation to the scope of "general purpose English".

He sums up his debate by exhorting the non-native English users to the effect that for them the acquisition of English is an investment worth the effort and the money only as long as the language functions are perceived as a means of international communication for a range of purposes.

Finally, Svarvik concurs with Quirk and he also challenges Kachru's views regarding standardisation of the different varieties of English. He questions the validity of having a variety of norms even for institutionalised outer circle fellowships, considering the likely long term negative consequences for global English.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In order to conclude this chapter, we need to reflect on some of the key issues addressed in the preceding sections. Arguments were advanced for and against two main positions held respectively by Quirk and Kachru:

- * the desirability of a global standard

- * the establishment, promotion and recognition of non-native national varieties of English.

The advocates of the first position, argue that English is the most powerful language in the world today. All the leading countries in the world, especially in the economic arena, make use of English for marketing their goods. World organisations such as United Nations and the Security Council, use a common language (e.g. English). In Africa, the Organisation of African Unity makes use of English too, even though they have expressed or wish for an African language policy, but they do not seem to have made progress.

The only difficulty regarding this position is that it does not provide mechanisms or proposals on how to keep the world Englishes together. Kachru (1991) asks a pertinent question challenging the feasibility of this position: can international codification be applied to a language which has over 700 million users across the globe?

The proponents of the first position advocate that current institutionalised varieties of English should remain the pedagogical norms for outer and expanding circles.

The second position maintains that non-native contexts bring to English a unique cultural pluralism, and a linguistic heterogeneity and diversity. As a result of this, it is contended that these non-native Englishes should be liberated from the hegemony of the inner circle English varieties. Kachru also endorses the variety low on the cline as the pedagogic model. Quirk (1990: 7/1995: 26) dismisses this view and he perceives it as "trapping students in their present social and ethnic sectors and as creating a barrier to their educational progress, their career prospects, their social and geographical mobility". Quirk asks further whether Indian English has been codified and whether there are grammars that make educational use possible. In other words, is the teaching apparatus there and have the necessary linguistic decisions been taken.

It has been suggested (c.f. Section 5.3.2) earlier in this thesis that for English to succeed both as a local and a global medium of communication, its users would need

to acknowledge and acquire, where appropriate, "norms" for both domestic intranational and international communication. Kachru elaborates briefly on the question of "norms". He gives three types of norms especially for the "Outer Circle" and the "Expanding Circle":

- (1) Norm-providing varieties (Inner Circle):
these varieties have traditionally been recognised as models since they are used by the native speakers. Historically, the British variety was generally accepted as the model and it is relatively recently that the American model has been presented as an alternative model. It has been a model in e.g. the Philippines or South America.
- (2) Norm-developing varieties (Outer Circle):
in regions using these varieties there has been a conflict between linguistic norm and linguistic behaviour.
- (3) Norm-dependent varieties (the Expanding Circle):
people who learn English as a foreign language, depend entirely on the Inner Circle as a model. This is also evident in Svarvik's argument earlier in this chapter.

This whole debate comes back to our doorstep in South Africa. South Africa has just rejoined the international community. To meet the needs of effective global communication, we therefore must invest in the teaching of English. However it is also crucial that we should have a model which teachers can aim at.

Ashworth (1985) argues that standard English is the best model to employ where English is used as an international language. However, she suggests that a local form of English may be the preferred model where English is used for intranational purposes. It is difficult to negotiate between the two varieties in the practicalities of teaching. Instead of teaching the two varieties, it is advisable to strive for the international standard proficiency. Those who fail to attain the highest point on the cline, may not

be intelligible to other users of standard English, but they are usually understood by their immediate community. In this case, they would have limited access to technological and scientific advancement, provided through standard English. In any case, the intranational model is not codified for teaching purposes and it will actually look after itself in terms of everyday use. It does not need to be taught.

Quirk (in a recent article in *The Times* - 12 July 1993) highlights "the apparently wilful misconceptions that make it easier to keep the classroom available for class war. There is the myth highlighted earlier in this thesis by Quirk, for example, that standard English entails a particular accent - talking posh. It does not. He argues that only a trifling minority of standard English speakers have such an accent and standard English is spoken equally well by Bill Clinton, Paul Keating, Virginia Bottomley and John Smith - not to mention Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk".

The issues raised and discussed in this chapter relate to the spread and diffusion of English within the framework of the various language functions that must be fulfilled in society. The following summary of the points are examples of language functions with special reference to South Africa (Titlestad, 1995 and 1996a-Langtag Opening Address):

- * The needs of both English and the other ten major South African languages noted in chapter 2 must be met. Fortunately, the new Constitution provides for the development and promotion of black languages. This includes the question of initial literacy and the medium of instruction in education.
- * We must strike a balance between sensitive nationalistic feelings and the reality of language function in society.
- * South Africa needs a lingua franca or even more than one, in order to facilitate internal communication. English at the moment plays this major role. However, a certain uniformity of usage is encouraged in order to maintain "intelligibility".

- * There is also a need for an international language. In order to keep abreast of the world developments, not least with the rest of Africa, we need standard English. In other words, the future of English as an international language rests on the practicability of teaching the language.
- * English is the home language of 3,5 million South Africans.
- * The need to have access to the majority of books in our major libraries.
- * The requirements of the law and of legislation must be met. This requires a standardise language rather than an evolving poly-model which is 'unstable' and difficult to codify.
- * The requirements of government, of parliament and of civil service must be met. Government departments in different regions must communicate with one another in a standard from of language or languages.
- * English is currently a significant language in parliament (97% of speeches).
- * The needs of business and commerce must be met. The International Monetary fund brings different communities of the world together. And they need a common language to put the financial positions of their respective countries. They definitely need a standardized international language in order to understand each other.
- * There is a need for secondary and tertiary education. English is becoming more and more the main language of tertiary education.
- * The needs of science and technology must be met. There is again, a strong international dimension to this, and standard English is required. Modern technology makes use of standard English, for example in their manuals and the labels.

English provides access to the print and electronic media.

for these language functions can only be provided and fostered by effective communication systems. These functions are relevant to all English speaking countries in the world. In addition, Quirk (1990: 8) makes a crucial point when he gives the following as an example:

"A colleague of mine who this year spent some time working in Kenya told me in a letter: There is heated debate here as to whether there is such a thing as "East African English" or whether the local variety of English is just the result of the increasing failure of the education system".

These questions are relevant in our South African context and could be asked with reference to South African "black English". South African black English is being developed as a result of the increasing failure of the now scrapped Bantu Education system, this failure appearing to be the main contributing factor towards the declining quality of English in black education. This is not to suggest that specific varieties of South African black English will not emerge, indeed such features may already exist. If these can be accurately described we cannot simply use them as ESL models. The debate raises further questions: How extensive would these variant forms be? Would they constitute a new English? And there would still be the essential uses of the traditional standard. Those who argue in favour of "black English" being used as a pedagogical model are merely completing Verwoerd's purpose in Bantu Education, which was to limit the black populations access to South Africa's chief source of knowledge.

Quirk (1991) gives a very pertinent analogy with reference to the concentric circles model outlined earlier by Kachru. He compares the Englishes in the three different circles to a planetary system. He maintains that "the non-native Englishes are held in orbit by the gravitational pull of a central cluster of mother tongue standard Englishes. Each

that it loses

(including accent)
(Quirk: 29) affirms
that native and non-
native Englishes constitute their

require students to
develop an arena. They
identify specific functions

learners could opt for
Quirk suggests that all
Englishes are social and
cultural progress, their
development of English,
and that they increase the
(Quirk: 26).

learners should not
be required to bring it
to a level more than
necessary - where on
this basis

CHAPTER 6

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEVIANT ESL FEATURES - THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapters (4 and 5), we have seen the different positions held by sociolinguists regarding the status of the English language in the global context. The main focus of the debate was whether English around the world could be centred on a global standard English or whether the "Outer Circle" Englishes could develop their own independent norms. Most importantly, deviant black ESL features have been discussed and it was concluded that these persistent deviant features are "errors" rather than a development of a new English.

Our goal in this chapter, is to obtain sufficient background and an overview on the psychology of the second language learner and the learning process so that our ESL teaching can become more effective. As a result of this we hope that deviations between South African ESL and standard English, excluding accent, will become minimal in future. However some aspects of lexis can be acknowledged. We must admit that an element of bidialectalism already prevails. For example, one cannot deny "Soweto English" in its own sphere. The problem is the model in education.

Learning a second language can either be productive or useless. One's efforts can end in the acquisition of "native-like" proficiency or a stumbling repertoire of "fossilized" forms. Kachru (1985) claims that a "new English" develops at this point. He argues that "we can therefore regard the new English as a sort of communal interlanguage somewhere between the target language and the mother tongue" (c.f. section 6.1.1 - figure 11). Kachru however, fails to indicate the point on the continuum at which a new English begins for codification purposes. He does not explain how he would distinguish between errors and a new English. And he does not tackle the educational complexities that arise.

One of the major differences between first and second language acquisition is the fact that all normal human beings achieve proficiency in their first language, but manifest great variation in the degree to which they acquire second languages.

The whole issue involves the question of how one goes about learning or acquiring a target language and how a teacher goes about teaching it. In order to be successful, a learner need not have a special inborn talent for learning languages. Both learners and teachers simply need to "do it right".

While the research continues, enough has been learned to suggest that the learner's contributions can help to improve current teaching practices.

We hope that the information about the second language learning processes that is discussed in this chapter will help teachers devise effective lessons and develop materials that enhance ESL developmental tendencies. Such information and knowledge should begin to help teachers understand why ESL students perform well or badly.

The reasons for the occurrence of deviant forms, different from standard English ones are manifold. Several of them have been fully discussed in chapters 4 and 5. This section examines some of the second language acquisition theories. Second language acquisition is a complex learning process. It is slippery in every way. A glance at the last two decades or so of research and practice in language teaching yields a clearer picture.

It would perhaps be more interesting to examine these issues within the framework of "interlanguage theory" which addresses them in broader terms. The concept "interlanguage" was coined by Selinker (1969, 1972). It means the interim grammars constructed by second language learners on their way to the target language. Craig (1971: 375) refers to it as an "interaction area". He maintains that its existence is dependent on the cross influences from the two extremes (mother tongue and the target language).

This section will focus on various uses of this term "interlanguage" and its educational implications. It will also examine research related to this concept and finally, focus on second language acquisition errors.

6.1.1 Interlanguage theory and fossilization

Selinker argues that there are different development processes between L1 and L2. He maintains that in the process of L2 acquisition there is a likelihood of "fossilization". He defines fossilization as "the state of affairs that exists when the learner ceases to elaborate the inter-language in some respect, no matter how long there is exposure, new data, or new teaching". Fossilization, it is argued, results from language transfer or other processes. For example, strategies of communication may influence some individuals so that they stop learning the target language once they have learned enough to communicate. Selinker argues that the development of L1 acquisition does not result in fossilization because it is inevitable, whereas there is no such inevitability about the learning of a second language. Corder (1981) argues that the learning of the mother tongue is part of the whole maturational process of the child, while learning a second language begins only after the maturational process is largely complete in their mother tongue. In the South African ESL context, especially in black education, this happens at ten when pupils enter into the higher primary phase. All content subjects at this level are taught in English.

The fossilized forms will be referred to as "errors" in this present study. The making of "errors" as we have seen in chapter 4, is a process followed both by children acquiring their mother tongue and by those learning a second language. This study centres on the crucial question whether language "errors" committed by ESL learners in education should be corrected or considered as a new English.

Corder (1981) maintains that there have always been two justifications proposed for the study of learner's "errors": the pedagogical and the theoretical justification. The pedagogical justification according to him implies that a good understanding of the nature of error is necessary before a systematic means of eradicating them can be found

whereas theoretical justification claims that a study of learners' language is itself necessary to an understanding of the process of second language acquisition. He further says that the teacher has been on the whole more concerned with how to deal with these areas of difficulty than with the simple identification of them.

Corder maintains that in the field of methodology there have been two schools of thought in respect of learners' errors. Firstly, the school which maintains that if we were to achieve a perfect teaching method the errors would never be committed in the first place. He therefore concludes that the occurrence of errors is merely a sign of the present inadequacy of our teaching techniques. The philosophy of the second school however, is more convincing and it states that we live in an imperfect world and consequently errors will always occur in spite of our best efforts.

On the other hand, Corder (1981) maintains that the spontaneous speech of the **second** language learner is a "language" and has a grammar. He further argues that since a number of sentences of this "language" are isomorphous with some of the sentences of his or her target language and have the same interpretation, then some, at least, of the rules needed to account for the learner's "language" will be the same as those required to account for the target language.

Corder (1981:15) claims that the learner's language should be called a "dialect" in the linguistic sense (which means two languages which share some rules of grammar):

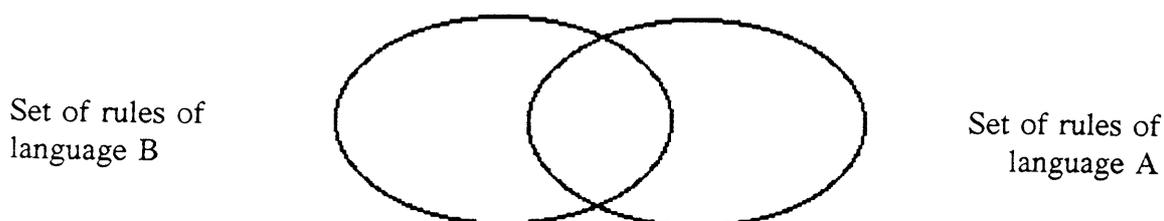


FIGURE 11: RULES OF THE ESL LEARNER'S LANGUAGE AND THAT OF THE TARGET LANGUAGE

Corder goes on to indicate that the ESL learner's dialect is unstable in that its conventions are not shared by a social group.

Selinker (in Corder, 1981: 17) has proposed the name interlanguage for this class of idiosyncratic dialect, implying thereby that it is a dialect whose rules share characteristics of two dialects or languages, whether these languages themselves share rules or not (c.f. Figure 12 below):

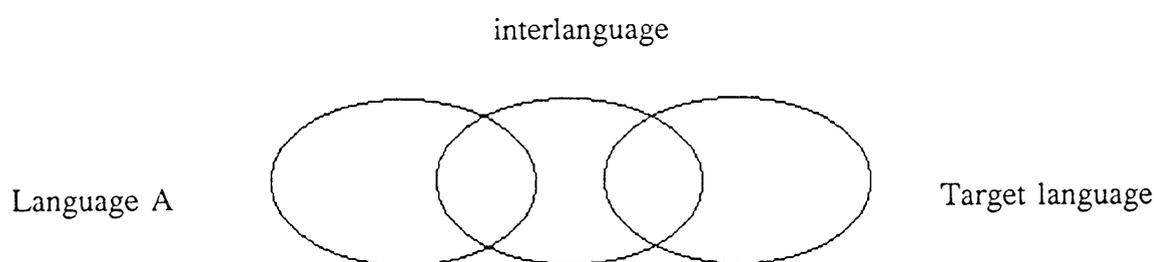


FIGURE 12: LEARNER'S INTERLANGUAGE

Various alternative terms have been used by different researchers to refer to the same phenomenon; Nemser (1971) refers to "approximative systems" Craig (1971) to "interaction area" and Corder (1981) to "idiosyncratic dialects" and "transitional competence".

These terms reflect two related but different concepts. According to Corder, interlanguage refers to the structured system which the learner constructs at any given stage in his or her development. Second, the term refers to the series of interlocking systems which form the interlanguage continuum.

Ellis (1985) gives the following assumptions underlying interlanguage theory. They are:

- * at any given time the approximative system is distinct from the L1 and ESL

- * the approximative systems form an evolving series
- * that in a given context situation, the approximative systems of learners at the same stage of proficiency roughly coincide.

Ellis argues that both L1 and ESL learners make errors in order to test out certain hypotheses about the nature of the language they are learning. Corder (in Ellis, 1985) saw the making of errors as a strategy, evidence of learner-internal processing.

We have pointed out earlier in this study that a black English variety in the South African context is not codifiable because it is unstable. This means that it is in the process of development from one point of the continuum to another. It is actually "impossible" at the moment to have a fixed and stable point where it can be codified.

Turning back to "errors", we must therefore make a distinction between those errors which are the product of certain circumstances and those which reveal the learner's own underlying knowledge of the language to date, or what is called "transitional competence" (Corder, 1981: 16).

Corder (1981) argues that the "errors of performance" will characteristically be unsystematic, whereas the "errors of competence" will be systematic. He further advises that it will be useful therefore to refer to "errors of performance" as mistakes, reserving "errors of competence" to systematic errors of the learner from which we are able to reconstruct his or her knowledge of the language to date, i.e. his or her transitional competence. Finally, Nsakalo Lengo (1995: 21) makes a useful distinction between errors made by native speakers and non-native speakers. He maintains that "many of the deviant forms produced by uneducated and less educated native speakers are regarded as non-standard, while foreign language learners' errors are mostly accounted for in terms of their learning stages. Their utterances are tested against the norm for the standard variety of the target language".

6.2 ERRORS IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Corder (1981) maintains that in the course of learning a second language, learners will produce utterances which are ungrammatical or otherwise ill-formed, when judged by the generally accepted rules of the language they are learning. Ahulu (1994) makes this point very clear when he argues that in fact, there is no "Ghanaian English", but only a set of "errors" that ESL learners throughout the world are likely to make. Kachru, as is explained in Chapter 5, conceives of the term "errors" to mean "creative modifications" of standard English. This section seeks to explore this concept much further.

Corder points out that there are a number of ways in which teachers have regarded, and still do regard, the errors made by learners. He claims that they may consider them as being an unfortunate but inevitable sign of human fallibility. For example, lack of attention or poor memory on the part of the learner, or, if they are modest enough, some inadequacy in their own teaching. In other words, errors arise because there has not been enough effort on the part of the learner or enough explanation or practice on the part of the teacher.

Corder further makes a pertinent point, that there is no need to analyse the nature of the errors, since greater and repeated efforts will correct them. Furthermore, he argues that it is just a random event, and if teaching and learning as highlighted earlier in this study, were maximally efficient, errors would be minimised. In the South African context if ESL teaching and learning can become "maximally efficient", there would be no need to put labels such as "black English" to the English language because the differences between the ESL and standard English will be negligible, especially in grammar and lexis (which are the main components of standard English).

Brown (1987: 268) maintains that researchers and teachers in recent years have come more and more to understand that second language learning is a creative process of construction of a system in which learners are consciously testing hypotheses about the target language from a number of possible sources of knowledge:

- * limited knowledge of the target language itself
- * knowledge about the native language
- * knowledge about the communicative function of language
- * knowledge of language in general.

Brown (1987: 170) unlike Corder, defines the term "error" to mean "noticeable deviation" from the adult grammar of a native speaker, reflecting the interlanguage competence of the learner. Kachru (1985: 18) on the other hand, as noted earlier has a completely different view of this concept. He conceives of the term "errors" to mean creative modifications of standard English.

Brown further defines a "mistake" as a performance error that is either a random guess or a "slip" in that it is a failure to utilize a known system correctly (Brown, 1987: 170). All people make mistakes, in both native and non-native language situations. Brown argues that native speakers are normally capable of recognising and correcting such "lapses" or mistakes which are not the result of a deficiency in competence, but the result of some sort of breakdown or imperfection in the process of producing speech.

Brown gives a pertinent example when he says if an ESL learner asks: "Do you can ride a bicycle?" He argues that he or she is reflecting a competence level in which all verbs require a pre-posed "do" auxiliary for question formation. He further points out that he or she has committed an "error", most likely not a "mistake" which reveals his or her level of competence in the target language.

There are different ways according to Brown, to describe the progression of linguistic development that ESL learners manifest as their attempts at production successively approximate that of the target language system. Unlike Kachru's cline of bilingualism, or Schmied's and Patkowski's models discussed earlier in chapter 3, Brown (1987) focuses on what ESL learners do in terms of "errors" alone in the process of second language acquisition.

The first is a stage of "random errors", a stage which Kachru calls a "zero point"; and

Schmied refers to as a "basilect" stage. This stage is characterised by wild guesses and overgeneralisations. For example, the word "child" in the plural form could become either "childs" or "childrens", said by the same learner within a short period of time. This stage indicates a level of experimentation and inaccurate guessing.

The second stage is called "emergent stage". This stage finds the learner growing in consistency in linguistic production. This stage is almost similar to Schmied's "mesolect" stage and Kachru's "semi-educated" stage. The learner at this stage begins to discern a system and to internalise certain rules. These rules may not be "correct" by the target language standard. Brown argues that generally, the learner is still at this second stage, unable to correct "errors" when they are pointed out by someone.

His third stage is called a "systematic stage" in which a learner is now able to manifest more consistency in producing the second language. Brown maintains that while these rules in the head of the learner are still not well-formed, they are more internally self-consistent and more closely approximate to the target language system. The most salient differences between the second and the third stage is the ability of the learner to correct their errors when they are pointed out. Brown gives an example of an ESL learner at the third stage conversing with the native speaker of English:

Learner: I was write my homework when Sam arrived
NS: (laughing) I was write?
Learner: Oh, no, I was writing my homework.

The fourth stage in the development of interlanguage is called the "stabilisation" stage. Here the learner has relatively few errors and has mastered the system to the point that fluency and intended meanings are not problematic. This stage according to Brown, is characterised by the learner's ability to self-correct. It is at this stage where "fossilization" takes place, a concept which was defined earlier in this chapter. We have noted earlier that English at this "systematic stage" becomes "standard English" or an "educated" form of English.

At this point, we need to relate this chapter to the main debate and the key argument of this present study. "Fossilisation" which refers to "relatively permanent incorporation of incorrect linguistic forms into a person's second language competence" (Brown, 1987: 186) occurs at different points (especially at the basilect and the mesolect levels) of the competence continuum. We have seen in the preceding chapters that the "apex" (acrolect level) of the second language learners depends on a number of factors. Most importantly, it depends on some of the questions which were posed earlier in this study:

- * What is the teacher's native language?
- * What is the teacher's experience and training?

If an ESL teacher is a non-native speaker and inadequately trained, the possibility is that his or her learners' highest point of competence on the cline would be a distance away from the target language. Kachru as we have seen earlier in this study, seems to incline towards this basilect level. Quirk on the other hand, is readier to see the need on a global scale for an international standard and is far more critical of the logic by which some sociolinguists argue about new forms of English.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

We can draw certain conclusions about the strategies adopted by the learner in the process of language learning. In this sense, error analysis is part of the methodology of the psycholinguistic investigation of second language learning.

Corder (1981) takes this issue further, arguing that since infants learning their mother tongue have been shown to follow a similar course of development, we may speculate that the second language may have some optimum course which represents the most economical route between the first and second language.

Corder (1981) also makes the important point that the practical aspect of error analysis is its function in guiding the remedial action we must take to correct an unsatisfactory state of affairs for learner or teacher. He reiterates the point that has been raised

throughout this study that if teaching and learning were maximally efficient, errors would be minimized.

It is also important to note that even if good programmes for training teachers are developed, many current problems of teaching standard English in an ESL context remain. We need to realise that ESL is best learned in situations that permit maximum face-to-face interaction and much individual attention. An important point was raised earlier namely, that black students in South Africa do not have these opportunities in crowded classrooms and there is a shortage of good instructional materials appropriate to the various maturity levels of the students and their levels of English.

However, if committed pupils and skilled ESL teachers are involved, and adequate facilities are provided, some of the above problems will be overcome. This is reaffirmed by "The Star" editor (28 December, 1994) when he says that "what is missing in all too many of our black schools is a culture of learning and/or teaching".

Brown (1987) also warns that second language learning is not a set of easy steps that can be programmed in "a quick do-it-yourself kit". It is a complex process involving a seemingly infinite number of variables and factors. Furthermore, he claims that so much is at stake that academic courses in second and foreign languages are often inadequate training grounds, in and of themselves, for the successful learning of a second language. He further makes a crucial point that few if any people achieve fluency in a target language solely within the confines of the classroom.

What we have seen from the preceding chapters (3, 4), are grammatical and phonological "deviations" which do not affect intelligibility. In order to avoid further deviance, it was suggested that something has got to be done to address the issues raised in this chapter. For example:

- * lack of skilled ESL teachers and appropriate role models
- * inadequate ESL resources
- * separate residential areas

- * poor teacher training
- * little understanding by teachers of second language acquisition theories
- * lack of effective ESL in-service training
- * overcrowded classrooms.

But some of the issues in Brown's point of view, can be adequately resolved if we look at the teaching process as the facilitation of learning and we know something about the intricate web of factors that are spun together to affect how and why one learns or fails to learn a second language. Brown (1987) suggests that an ESL teacher can begin the quest for an understanding of the principles of second language learning and teaching if he asks the following questions:

- * Who does the learning and teaching? The answer to this is simply learners and teachers.

More importantly:

- * Who are these learners?
- * Where do they come from?
- * What are their native languages?
- * What are their levels of education?
- * What are their socio-economic levels?
- * Who are their parents?

The answers to these questions are more revealing. Many of the learners who go to the former Department of Education and Training schools, come from a low socio-economic background. The majority of their parents are illiterate. As a result of this situation, learners receive very little language support from their homes. Very few of these homes have books. Many of them do not have electricity. All these factors have a bearing in learning the second language.

Brown asks a second set of crucial questions about the ESL teacher:

- * What is the teacher's native language?
- * What is the teacher's training and experience?
- * What is the teacher's knowledge of the second language and its culture?
- * What is the teacher's philosophy of education? Most importantly, how do the teacher and the student interact with each other as human beings engaged in linguistic communion?

In black schools, teachers and learners share the native languages. However, what seems to be most important are questions two and three. This issue has been highlighted throughout this study, especially the fact that most of the black ESL teachers have received inadequate training to teach English as a second language.

These questions have been handled in broad terms in order to show the diversity of issues involved in the quest to understand the principles of language learning and teaching in our schools. Unless these issues are addressed adequately and effectively, ESL will deviate more and more from the norms of standard English.

6.4 THE ESL TEACHER'S POSITION WITH REGARD TO THE LANGUAGE DEBATE

In the preceding chapters (3, 4, 5 and 6), a number of concerns were raised and discussed (we are going to list only six of those, central to this thesis):

- (1) Is there a codifiable variety of black English in South Africa apart from specific phonological features?
- (2) Should we consider individual errors made by individual ESL users, who have been denied decent educational facilities and opportunities, as a new English?

- (3) Is an error/mistake a learner's "error" or part of a new language?
- (4) Are there implications in opting for a non-standard "uncodifiable" variety of English in education?
- (5) Where would one fix the so-called educated black English on the "cline of bilingualism" and does this constitute a new English?
- (6) What are the specifically black features of educated black English?

These issues are at the centre of a hot debate which continues to haunt and confuse the ESL teacher. Ultimately, it is the teachers who remain right at the centre of these concerns.

6.4.1 ESL teacher's dilemma

To simply concede that there is a distinct black variety of English from standard English apart from pronunciation, leaves broad areas of controversy. An ESL teacher for example,

- * is not trained to teach this variety of English
- * it is not codified or perhaps not even codifiable at the moment. This means that it does not have its own dictionary, textbooks and grammar
- * it is not well researched and documented.

Pronunciation as shown in chapter 4, also raises some problems for the ESL teachers and pupils.

The next question facing the ESL teacher (if the black variety of English exists), relates to standard English. What does he or she do with the two varieties of English in the ESL classroom situation. We have seen (in chapter one) how bidialectalists approached this dilemma. Schafer (1982) as noted earlier provides three alternatives:

- * eradication of the non-standard variety
- * encouraging the two varieties
- * acceptance of the non-standard variety as a separate but equal language.

There is obviously no need to "eradicate the non-standard variety". One needs to return to the notion of "appropriateness" which Morse (1973) examined when studying standard English and non-standard Jamaican English. He argues that the Jamaican's native locutions are appropriate for purposes of communication in their native community, they are right and standard English is inappropriate; but since the territory within which they are appropriate is limited and the territory within which standard English is appropriate is world-wide and since moreover no books or magazines and no newspapers outside their native community are written in their native idiom, they must develop some acquaintance with standard English if they are to get through college. This view is also shared by Quirk (1985, 1988, 1993, 1995).

The second option encourages bidialectalism. It has been indicated in chapter one that because of social pressure against both the standard and non-standard varieties, bidialectalism becomes ineffective in the classroom situation. We also noted that non-standard varieties are not codified and teachers are not trained to teach them. It is therefore important for the teachers to have some kind of guiding policy by which to discuss the non-standard varieties.

Time is not available to teach both the standard and non-standard varieties especially if the differences are considerable. A number of questions arise concerning non-standard varieties of English:

- * How extensive are these non-standard varieties or language pockets of English?
- * The mobility of teachers and pupils becomes a problem and language pockets a complicating issue.

The last option is concerned with a kind of bidialectalism or the "acceptance of both

standard and non-standard varieties as separate but equal languages". This is plausible. In other words, non-standard does not mean inferior. We need to consider the implications of accepting the two varieties as separate but equal languages. There would be no problem for the teacher as long as these varieties fulfil their respective functions described in chapter one. In other words, as long as the non-standard variety is not used for pedagogical purpose. A non-standard variety will be a barrier to the "highly prized" goal of standard English as stated earlier; which opens opportunities and better prospects and ensures the function of English as an international medium of communication.

Coming back to our South African situation, one has to admit that ESL is characterised by the persistence of peculiar forms and usages that can be found at almost all the levels of the "cline of bilingualism". Several factors which account for these deviations have been highlighted earlier in this study:

- * poor ESL teacher training (c.f. chapter 9)
- * inadequate resources
- * overcrowded classrooms (c.f. chapter 8)
- * limited exposure to "educated users" of English
- * poor library facilities

Earlier in this study, it was emphasised that these "deviant usages" do not necessarily produce a new English. Let us look at the following deviant usages:

(1) Are you * **discussing** about me?
talking
writing
reading

(2) He * **convinced** the electorate to vote for him
persuaded
forced

paid

- (3) I am going to * **eat** my holidays in Durban
spend
- (4) James likes * **crying**
complaining

Deviant examples such as "discussing" (1) and "convinced" (2) above are collocation errors. Examples (3) and (4) are errors which are specifically the result of mother tongue interference. All the above errors can be rectified if they are detected before they become fossilized. Furthermore, they do not cause communication problems. It is also difficult to characterise these errors (1, 2, 3 and 4) as "non-standard black English" because it is not every black user of English who make these errors and it is also not easy to determine a fixed point on the cline of bilingualism where one can place the user of the above errors.

Furthermore, if we opt for a non-standard English especially in education, the implications will work against us. A non-standard English may not fulfil the major language functions described earlier in this study. For example:

- * the needs for tertiary education
- * the requirements of the law and legislation
- * the needs of business and commerce
- * the needs of science and technology
- * access to libraries and the media.

The following pertinent questions raised in chapter 4 still need to be briefly explored here:

- * Should learner errors be corrected?
- * Which learner errors should be corrected?
- * If so, when should learner errors be corrected?

- * How should learner errors be corrected?
- * Who should correct learner errors?

The debate on non-standard varieties of English centres on these questions. What compounds the whole issue is the fact that many ESL teachers' English needs attention too. As noted earlier, Buthelezi expresses her concern when she says that "a vicious cycle is perpetuated" whereby learners acquire features of SABC directly from some of their incompetent teachers and then reproduce them innocently.

A number of steps have to be taken in order to address this "vicious cycle". (A holistic approach has to be pursued):

- * Reviewing of the ESL curriculum, especially at the tertiary and primary institutions where the foundation is laid
- * Retraining of some of the teachers - especially at the primary school level
- * Establishment of school-based teacher development programmes to empower and instill confidence in these teachers
- * Retraining of some of the tutors at the tertiary institutions, especially at colleges of education.

This issue will be explored further in chapter 9. At the moment an ESL teacher is faced daily with these intractable questions. Hendrickson (1980) points out that before correcting student errors, teachers should be able to consider whether the errors should be corrected at all, and if so, why. He goes on to indicate that when students are not able to recognise their own errors, they need the assistance of someone more proficient.

An increasing number of ESL educators suggest that only errors that impede the intelligibility of a message should receive top priority for correction. This approach has long term consequences. Errors which are left unattended to are likely to result in

fossilisation.

Finally, Wingfield (in Hendrickson, 1980) advises that the teacher should choose corrective techniques that are most appropriate and effective for individual learners. He lists five such techniques:

- * the teacher should give sufficient clues to enable self-correction to be made
- * the teacher corrects the script
- * the teacher deals with errors through marginal comments and footnotes
- * the teacher explains orally to individual learners
- * the teacher uses the error as an illustration for a class explanation.

6.4.2 Conclusion

Errors have played an important role in the study of language acquisition in general and in examining ESL. Researchers are interested in errors because they are believed to contain valuable information on the strategies that people use to acquire a language. If errors are not detected or corrected, they become fossilised. It has been noted earlier in this thesis that Buthelezi argues that these fossilised forms become what she calls "South African black English". In his 1985 article, Quirk has attempted to challenge the notion of what he calls "liberation linguistics" as we have seen earlier in chapter 5. Quirk makes a sharp criticism of liberation linguistics advocating that it "is neither liberal nor liberating to allow learners to settle for lower standards than the best". One of his main concerns is the fact that the "interest in new Englishes has got out of hand and has started blinding both the teachers and taught to the central language structure from which varieties might be seen as varying" (Quirk, 1990: 4).

Schools therefore must prepare pupils for future tertiary education. The Kingman Report as noted in Section 5.3 states that the fashion of promoting local varieties of English traps students in their "present social and ethnic sectors and that it creates a barrier to their educational progress and their career prospects."

Errors therefore, should be seen to be an indicator of the learners' stages in their target language development. From the errors that learners commit, one can determine their level of mastery of the language system (Lengo, 1995: 20).

The success rate of the ESL learners will therefore depend on the following factors described throughout this study:

- * the qualifications and experiences of the ESL teachers
- * availability of resources
- * manageable classes
- * learners' exposure to standard English.

Finally we conclude by citing Titlestad's advice (1995) that for all students, command of standard English is likely to increase their access to the bulk of books in major libraries and their access to the media and is essential for future academic training. He also warns that teachers and learners should accept the basic conclusion that it is the institutions' duty to teach standard English. This concept of the "teacher's dilemma" will be explored further in section 9.6.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE DEBATE IN MULTILINGUAL COUNTRIES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.2 THE CASE OF THE CARIBBEAN: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

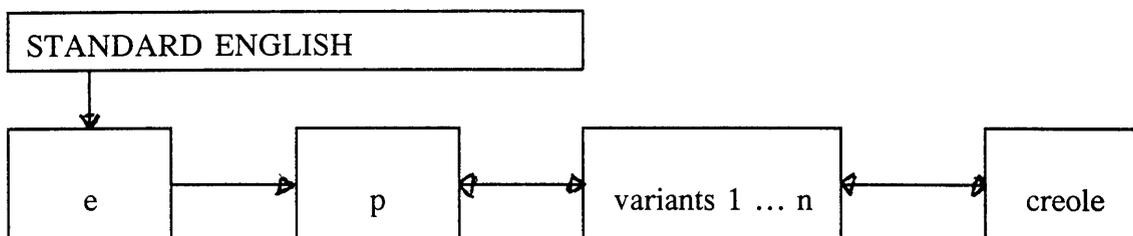


FIGURE 13: CRAIG'S MODEL OF STANDARD AND JAMAICAN ENGLISH (CREOLE)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.2.1 Language and social mobility in Jamaica

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.2.2 Educational implications

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.3 CONFLICTING VIEWS ON NON-STANDARD ENGLISH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

at the top of the cline.

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

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

7.4 CONCLUSION

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

7.5 THE CASE OF INDIAN ENGLISH

7.5.1 Introduction

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

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

Mesthrie posits four main possible sources of Indian ESL features:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.5.2 A brief historical background

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

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

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

* the missionary stage

- * the local demand
- * education policy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.5.3 Indian English

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.5.4. The Indianization of English

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

English, Gujerati English?

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

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

7.6 CONCLUSIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

necessary.

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

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

CHAPTER 8

EMPIRICAL WORK

8.1 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

British and American English.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.2 METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

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

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

8.2.1 Survey research method

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

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

- * describing the nature of existing conditions

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.3 DEFINING THE POPULATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

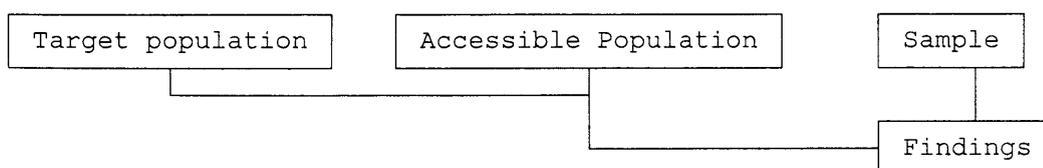


FIGURE 14: THE ACCESSIBLE POPULATION

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

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

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

8.4 DATA-GATHERING INSTRUMENTS

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

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

8.4.1 Questionnaires

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

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

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

8.4.2 Effective questions or statements in questionnaires

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

(1) Make items clear

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

(2) Avoid double-barrelled questions

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

(3) Respondents must be competent to answer

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

(4) Questions should be relevant

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

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

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

(6) Avoid negative items

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

(7) Avoid biased items

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.5 PRETESTING

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

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

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

8.5.1 The survey

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

languages.

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

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

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

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

8.6 ANALYSES OF DATA AND INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

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

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

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

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

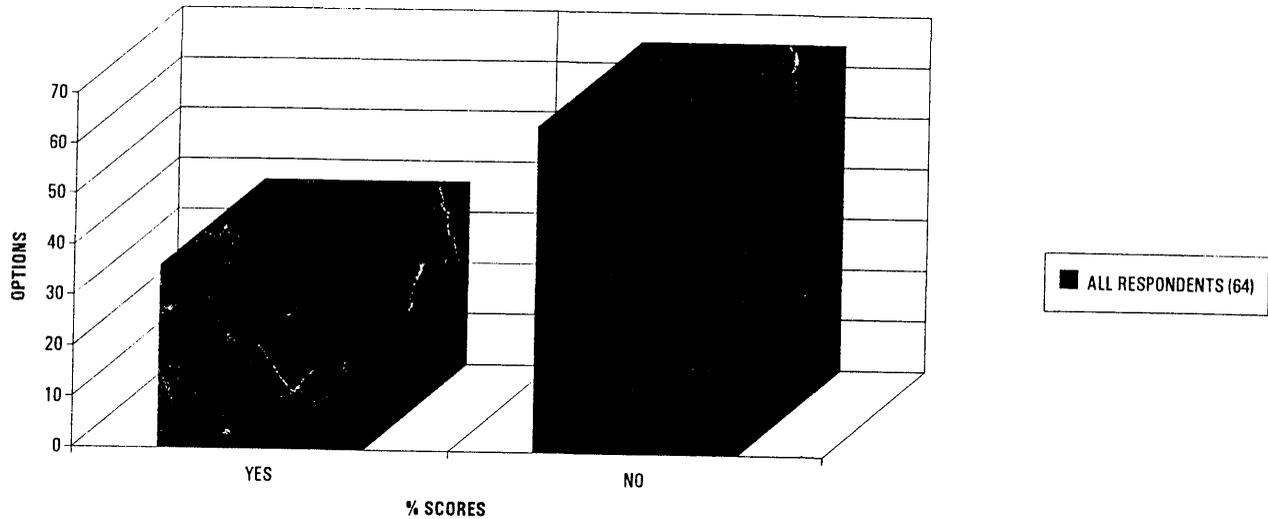


FIGURE 15: HAVE YOU EVER HEARD OF SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ENGLISH?

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

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

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

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

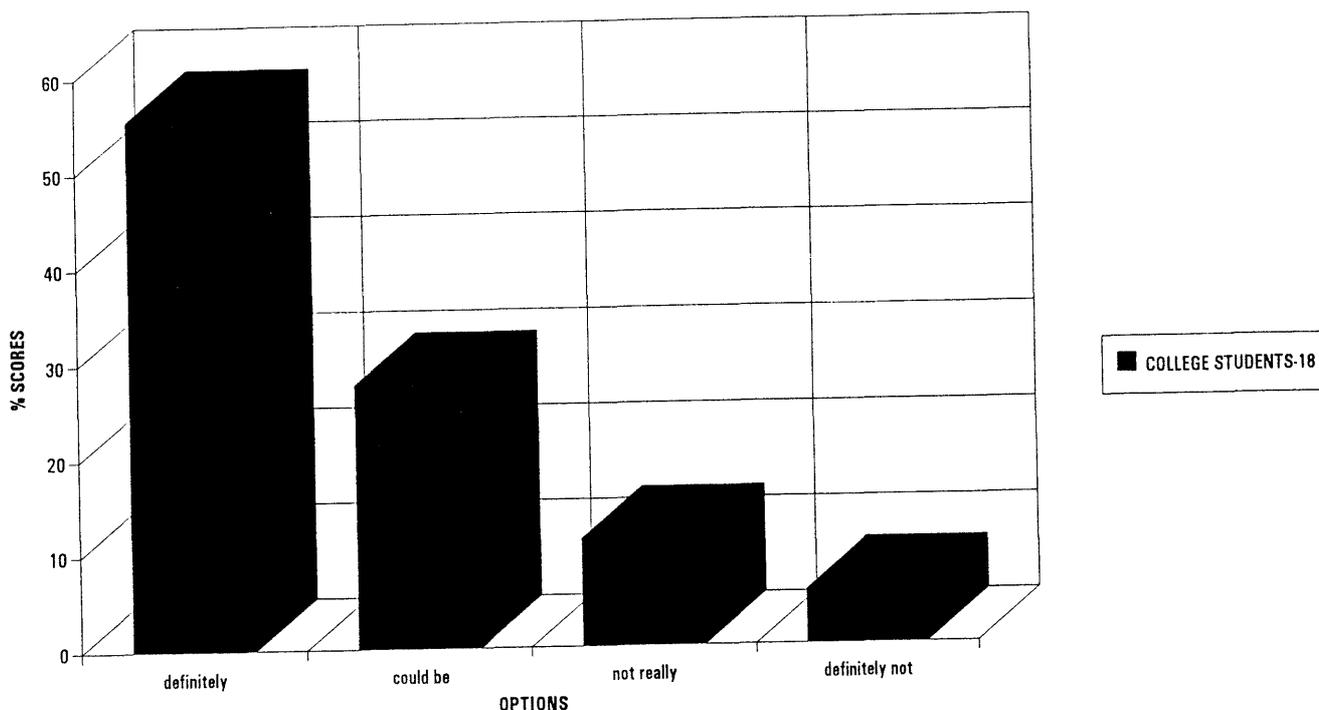


FIGURE 16: NOT SPEAKING ENGLISH IS A DISADVANTAGE

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

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

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

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

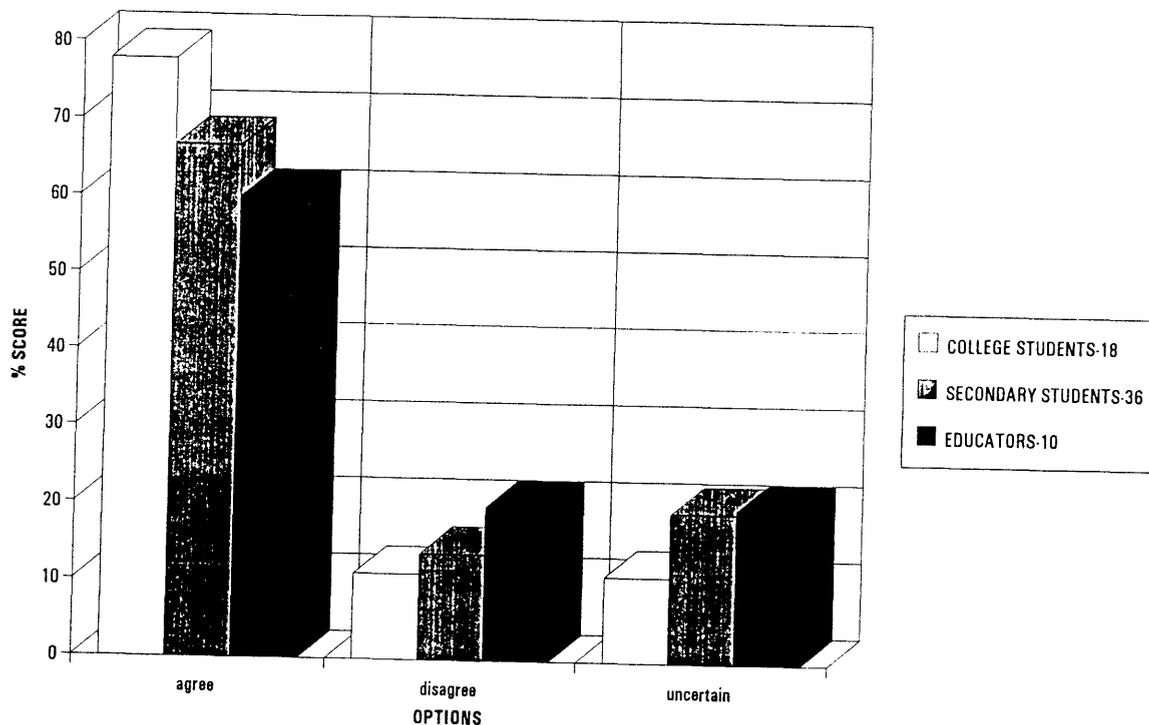


FIGURE 17: BLACK LANGUAGES MUST BE DEVELOPED SO AS TO BE USED BROADLY IN FUTURE

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

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

8.6.1 The present status of English in South Africa

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

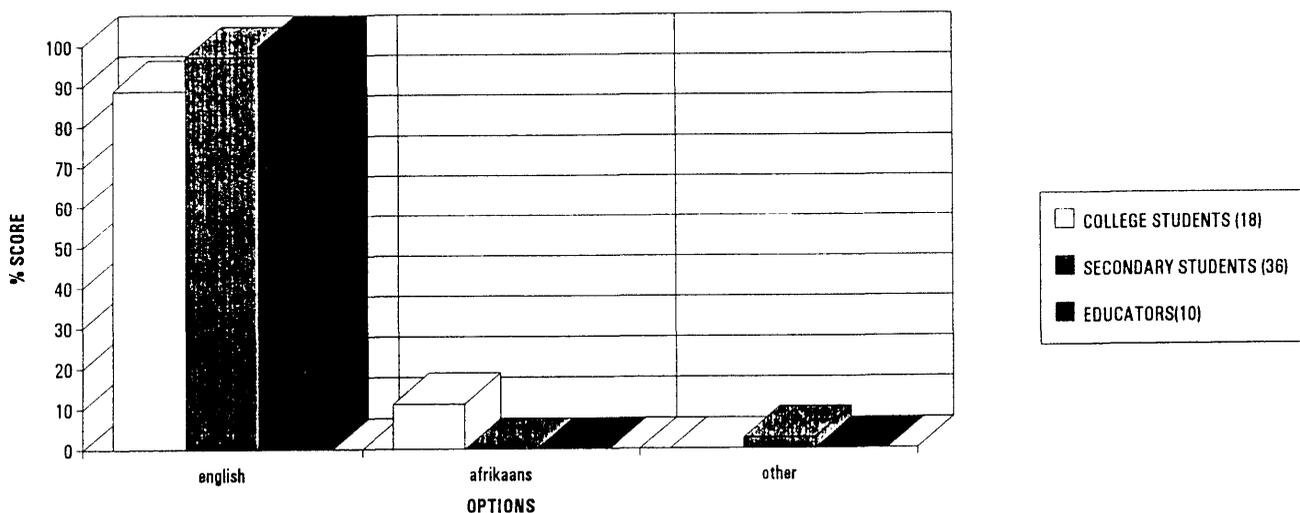


FIGURE 18: LANGUAGE PREFERRED WHEN SPEAKING TO MY DOCTOR

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

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

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

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

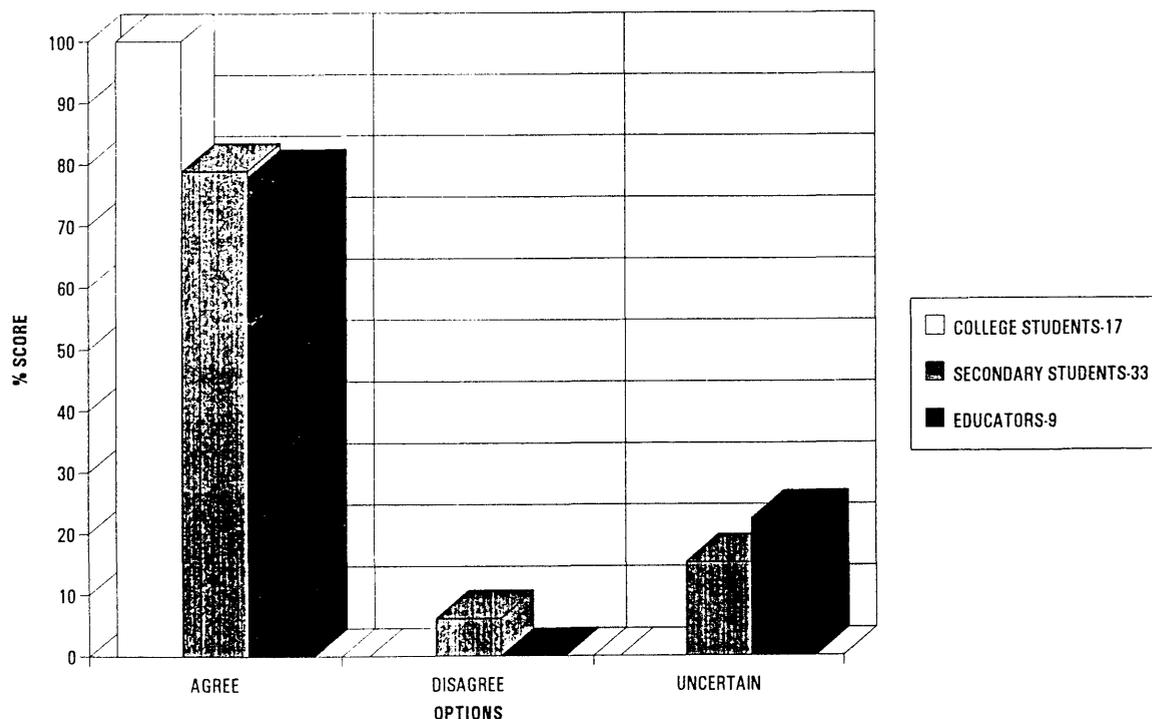


FIGURE 19: ENGLISH IS A UNIFYING LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

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

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

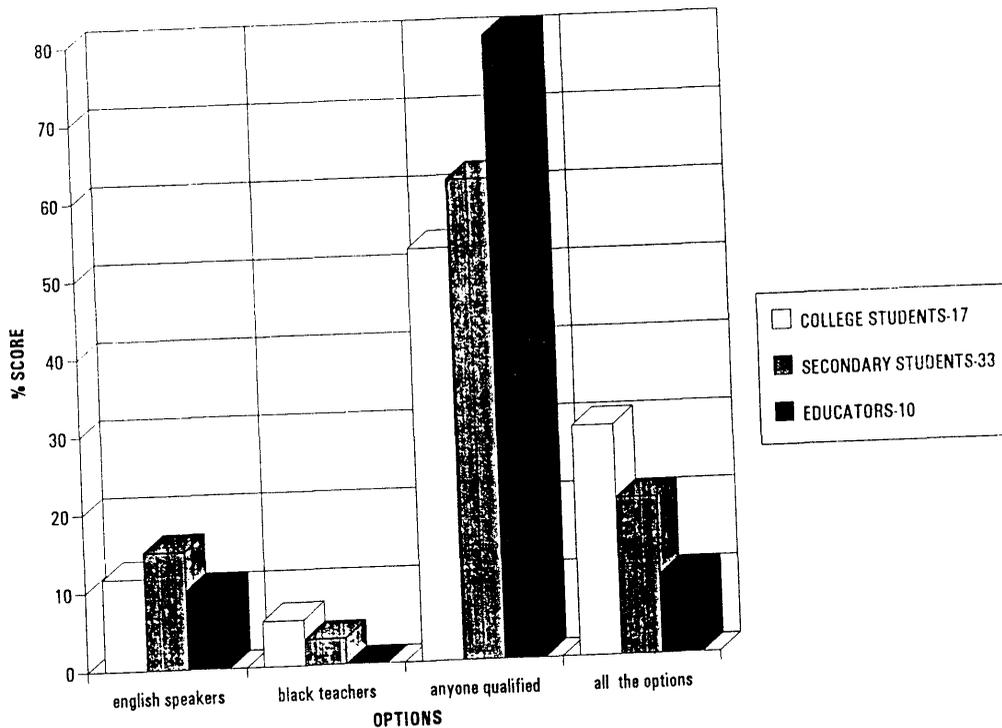


FIGURE 20: WHO SHOULD TEACH ENGLISH IN BLACK SCHOOLS?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Black	Coloured	Indian	White
R17	R40	R40	R128

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

Black	Coloured	Indian	White
R146	R498	R711	R1211

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

Black	Coloured	Indian	White
R2184	R3700	R4600	R5400

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

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

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

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

TABLE 7: POPULATION STATISTICS

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 9: PUPIL:TEACHER RATIOS (1991)

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

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

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

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

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

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

service education and further education.

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

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

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

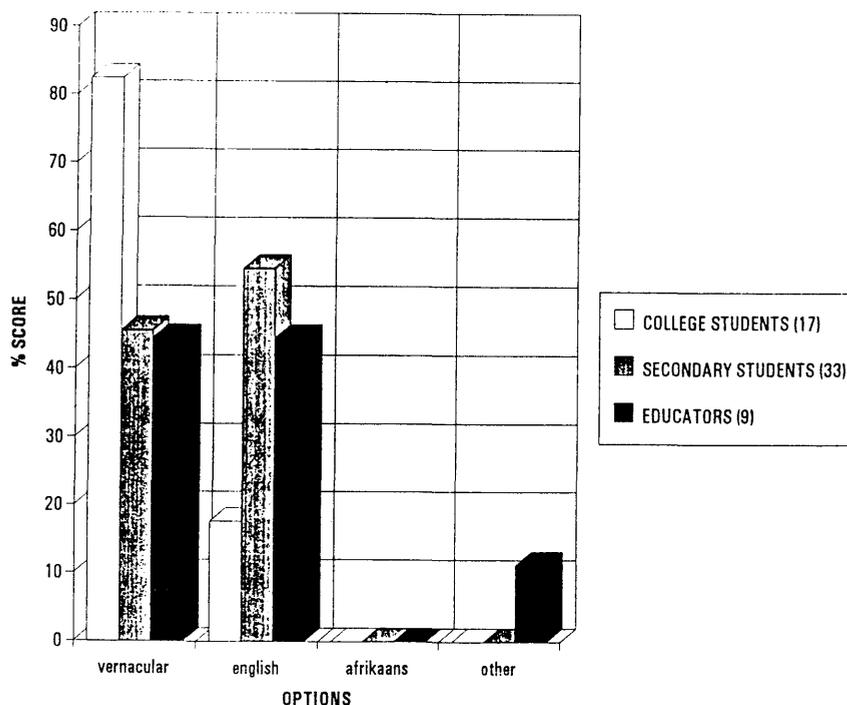


FIGURE 21: LANGUAGE I EXPRESS MYSELF BETTER IN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

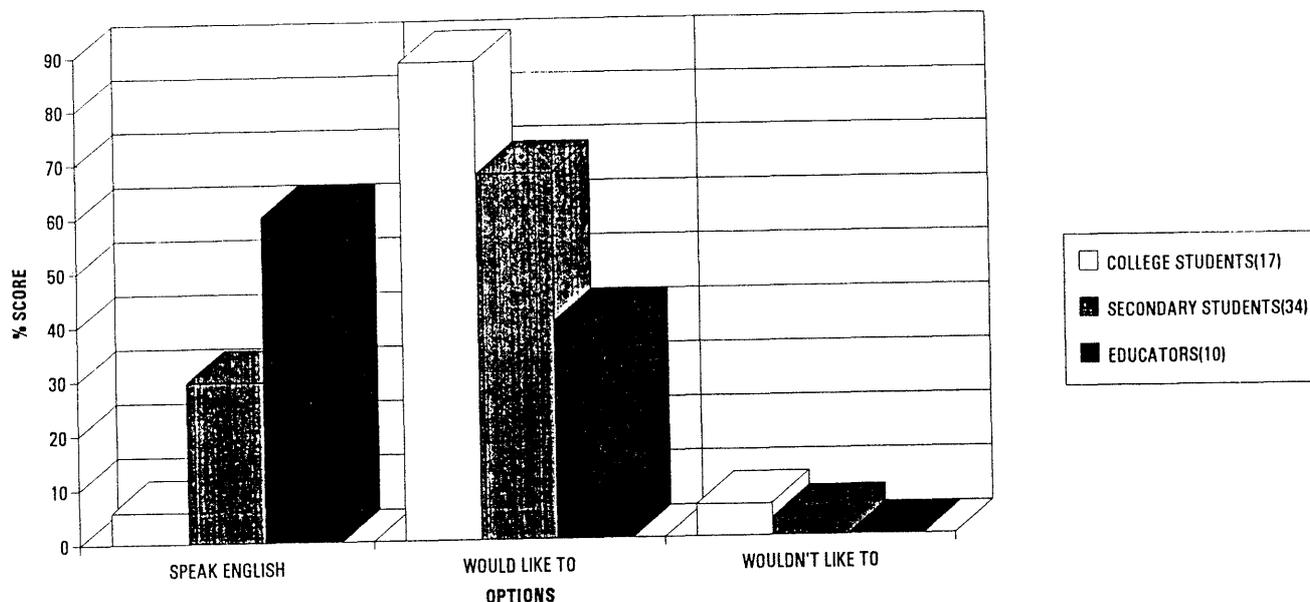


FIGURE 22: WOULD YOU IMPROVE YOUR ENGLISH IF GIVEN MORE OPPORTUNITY?

8.6.2 Language in education

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

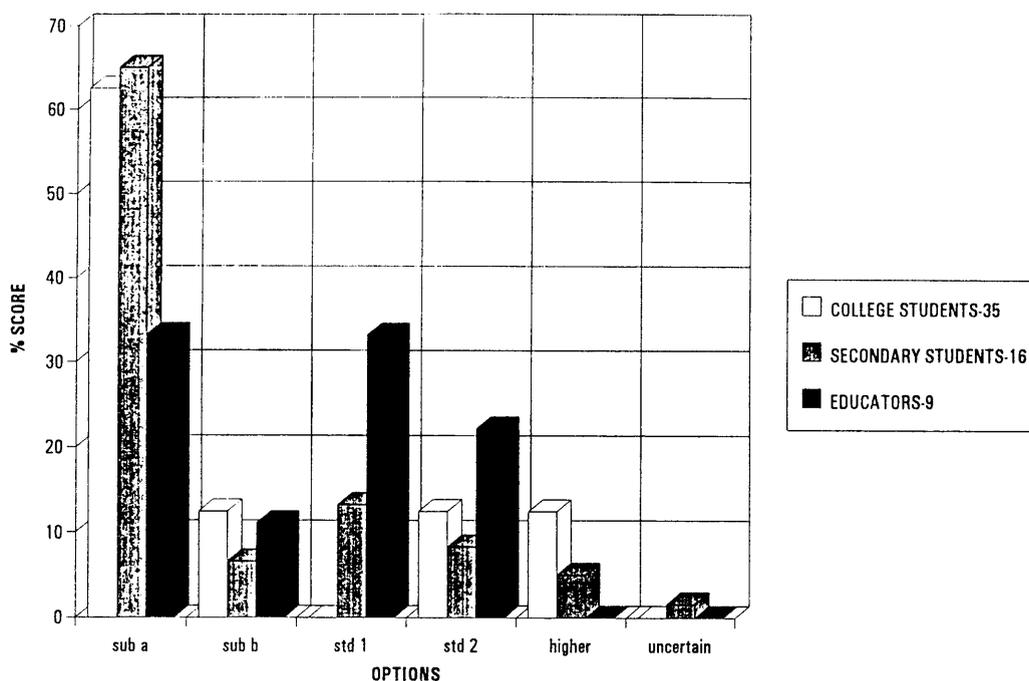


FIGURE 23: AT WHICH LEVEL SHOULD ENGLISH IN BLACK SCHOOLS BE INTRODUCED AS A LANGUAGE OF LEARNING?

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

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

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

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

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

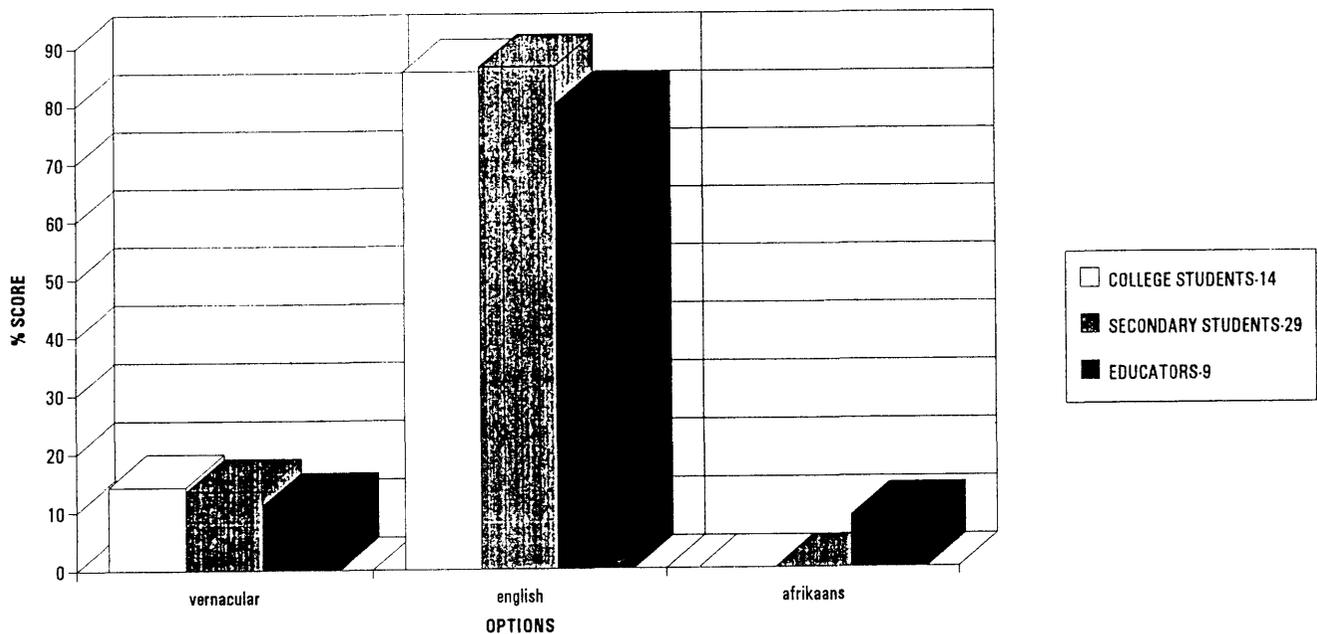


FIGURE 24: LANGUAGE(S) THAT SHOULD BE USED FOR LEARNING AT PRIMARY LEVEL

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

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

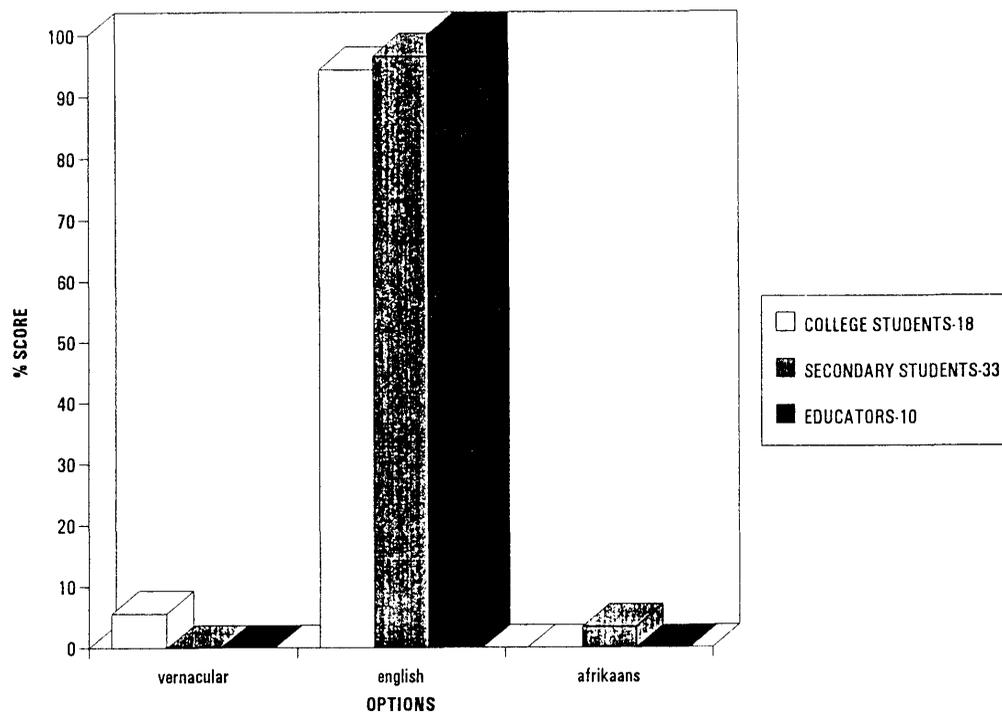


FIGURE 25: LANGUAGE(S) PREFERRED FOR LEARNING AT TERTIARY LEVEL

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

- * underfunding of black education
- * inadequately trained teachers

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

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

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

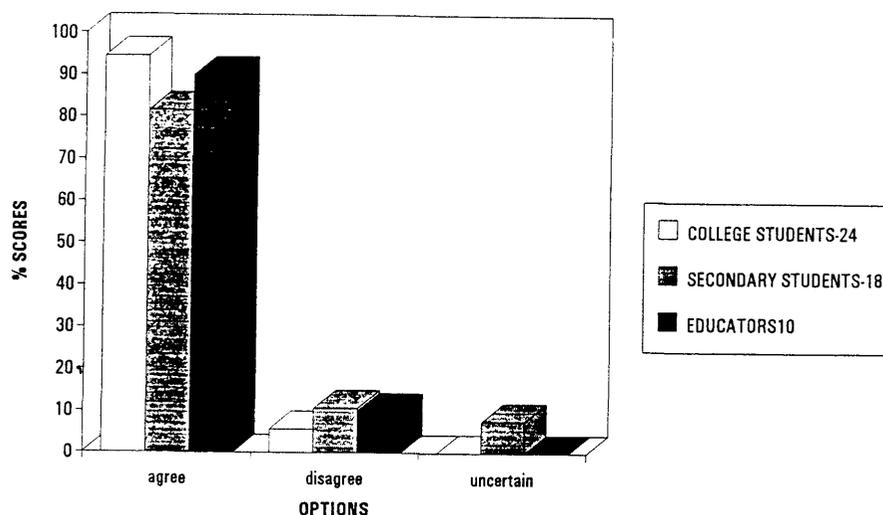


FIGURE 26: MORE ENGLISH IN-SERVICE TRAINING IS REQUIRED IN BLACK SCHOOLS

8.6.3 Language options in black education

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

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

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

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

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

OPTION 1: Straight for English, Afrikaans or mother tongue

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OPTION 2: Gradual transfer to either English or Afrikaans

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OPTION 3: Sudden transfer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.6.4 Gauteng language in education policy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8.6.4.1 New Language requirements for 1995

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

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

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

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

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

8.6.4.3 Implementation plan

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

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

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

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

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

8.7 CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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
Education & 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 exacerbate 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:

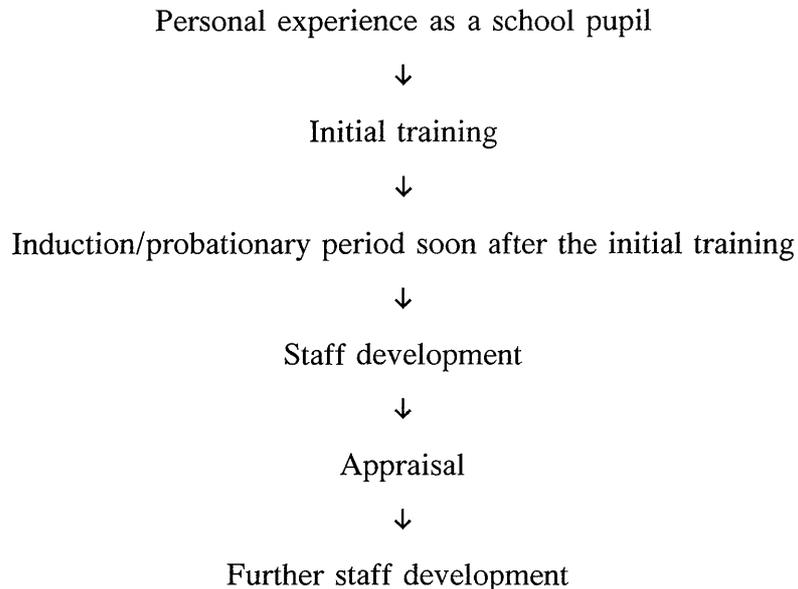


FIGURE 27: IMPROVED TEACHER TRAINING CONTINUUM

What seems to exacerbate 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. Sprout (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.

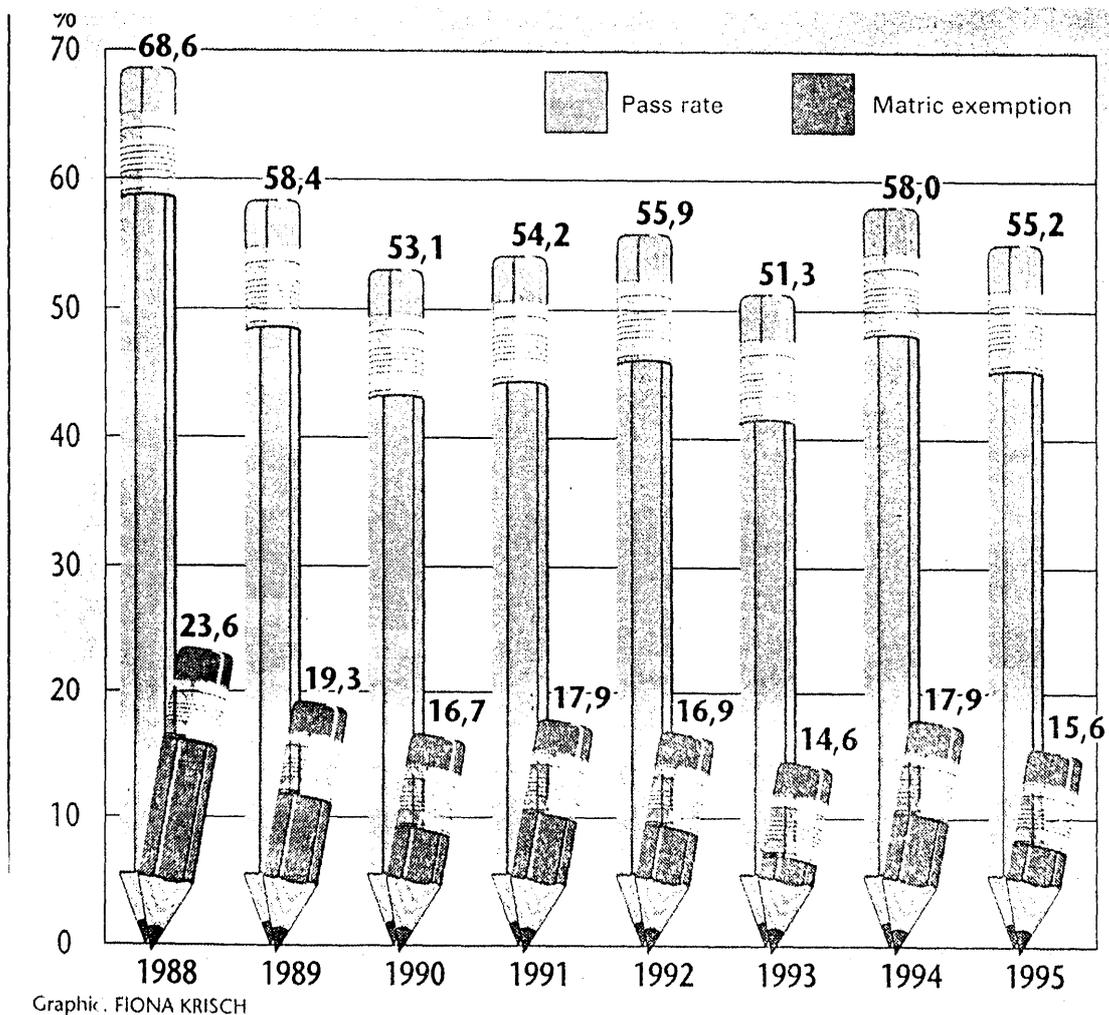


FIGURE 28: MATRIC PASS RATES (SUNDAY TIMES, 31 DECEMBER 1995)

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 education 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:

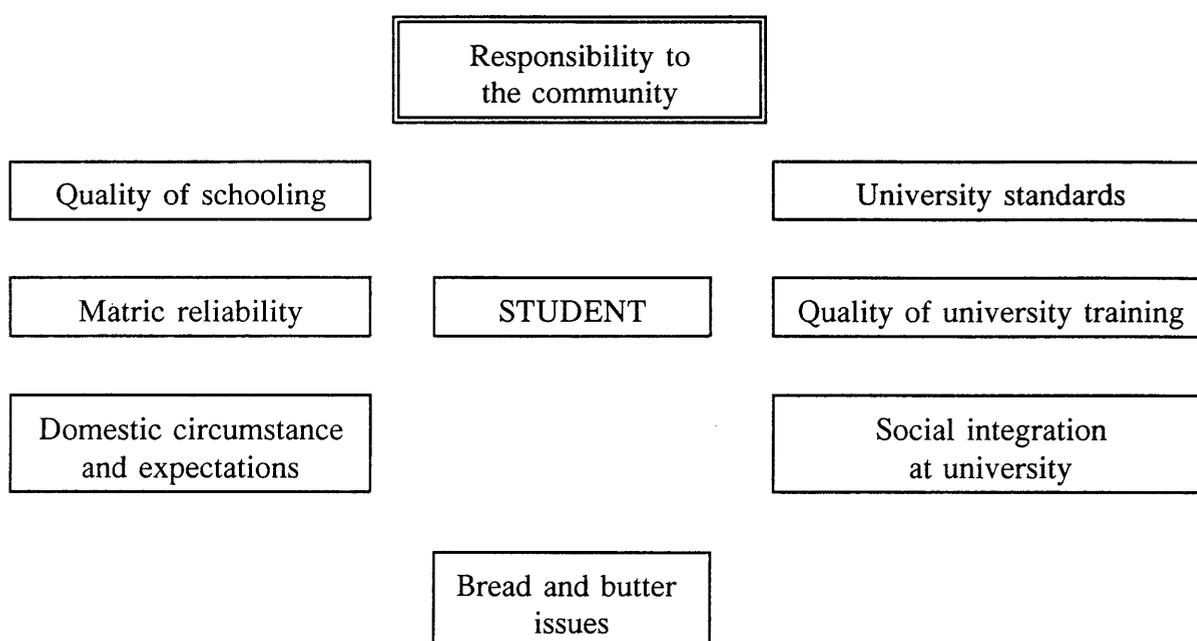


FIGURE 29: FACTORS WHICH DETERMINE THE STUDENTS' SUCCESS

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 Hutchings'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 structurally" 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 exacerbate 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):

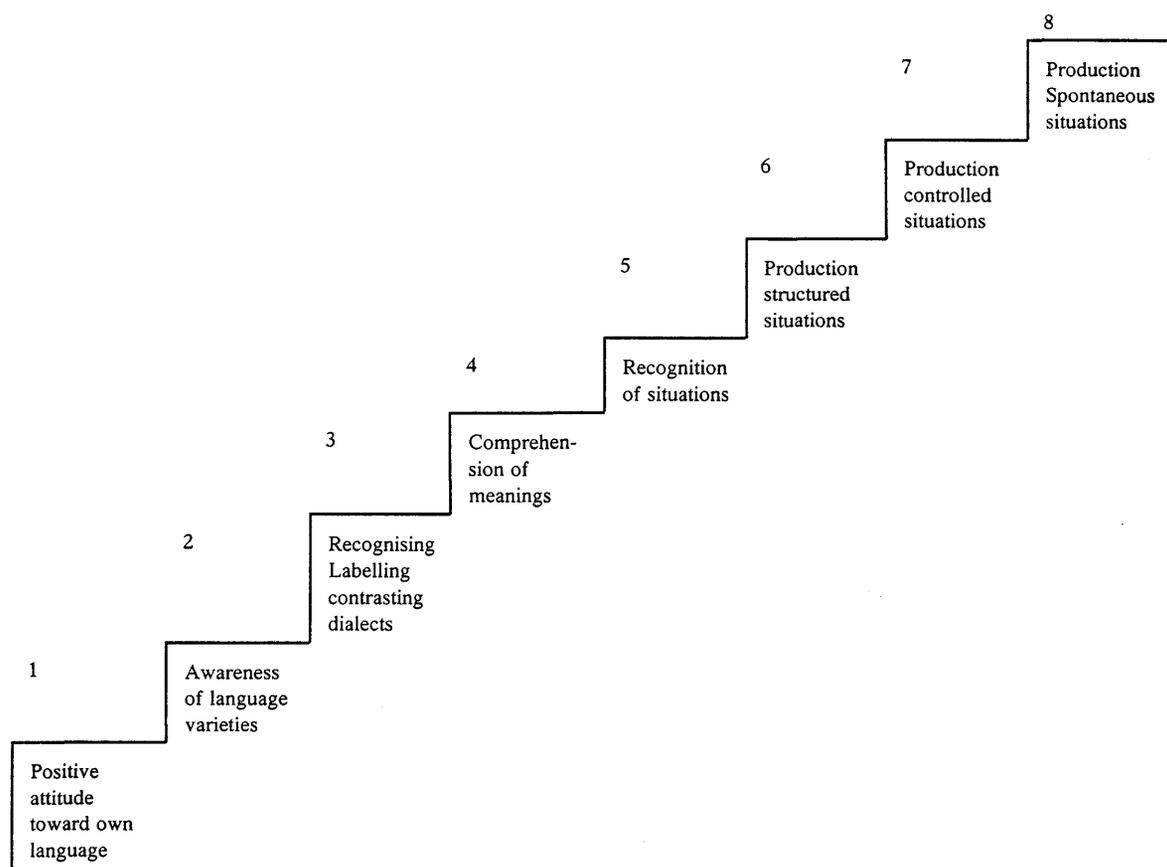


FIGURE 30: TAYLOR'S STAIRCASE TO SUCCESS IN STANDARD ENGLISH

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 causes 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 language - 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.

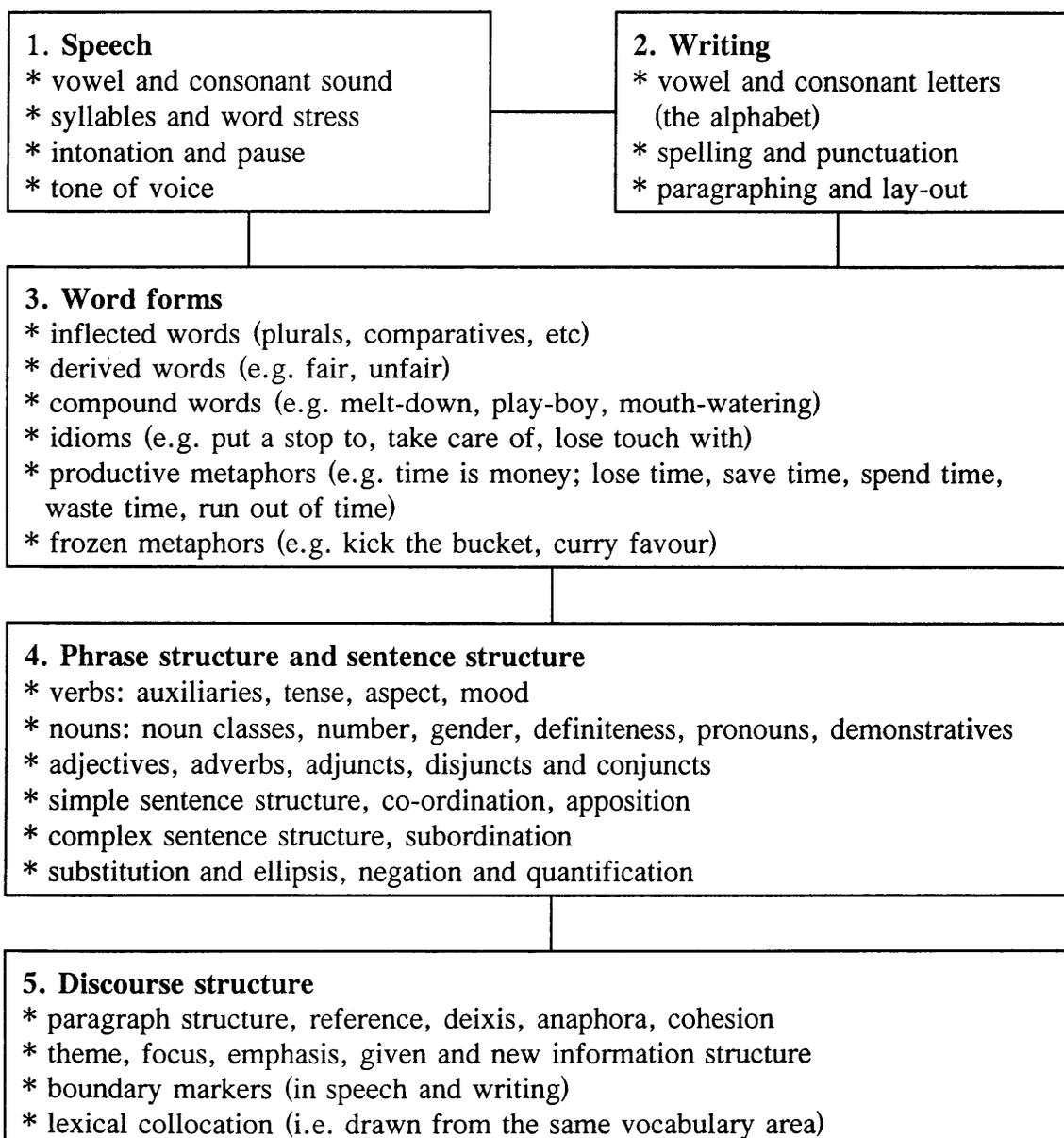


FIGURE 31: BROWN'S FORMS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

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).

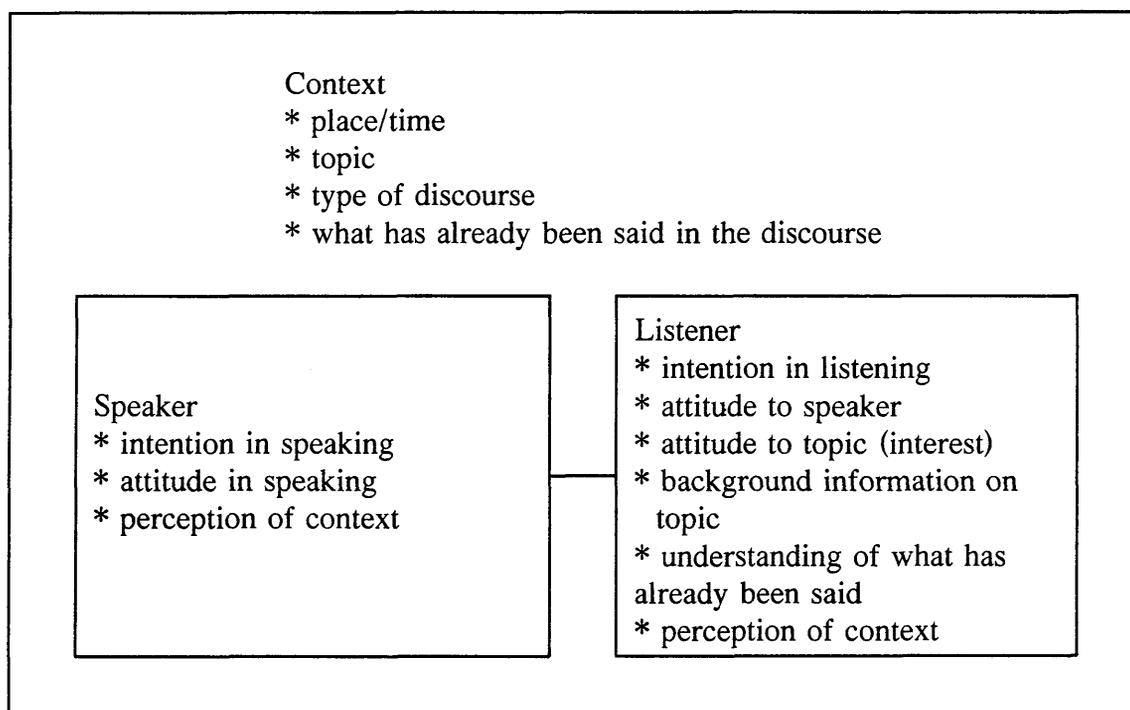


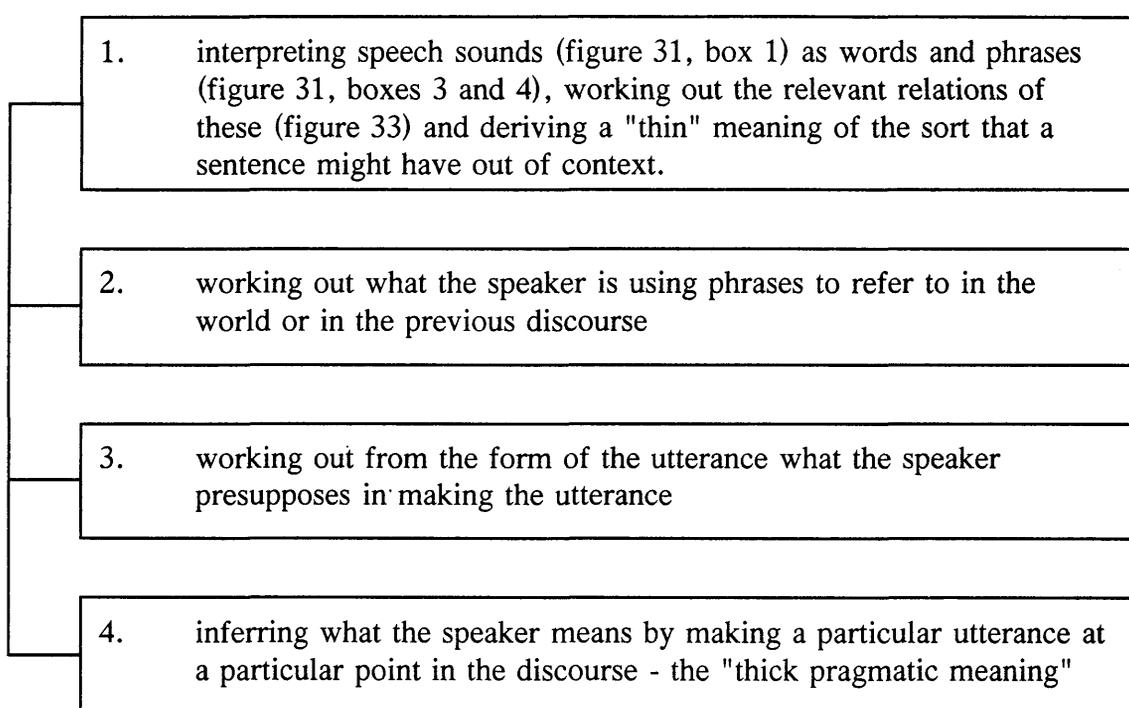
FIGURE 32: BROWN'S COMMUNICATION PROCESS

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.



(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 language; 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):

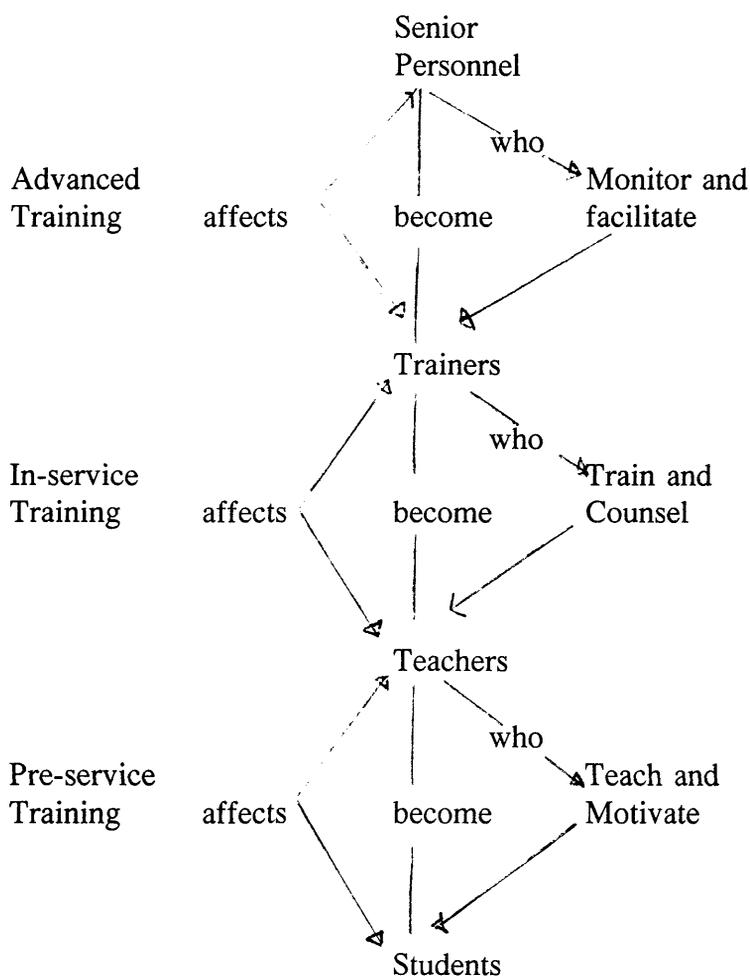


FIGURE 36: AN INTEGRATED SYSTEM OF TEACHER EDUCATION

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 Ghanaian 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: Linguistic Imperialism, (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.

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PRETESTING

QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH PROJECT

1. PARTICIPATION IN THE PROJECT

Your co-operation in this questionnaire is very important. Please be totally honest in your response. Your contribution will help to review and improve the state of English language teaching in Black schools in South Africa.

2. CONFIDENTIALITY

The information that you provide will be treated confidentially. Therefore your name or the name of your institution should not appear on the questionnaire. The findings of the research will be processed and they will form the basis of a research publication and a formal thesis for the Doctor's degree in English language teaching.

3. GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

Please read each question and statement carefully before you answer it. A number of possible answers are provided; select the answer you feel best fits your situation and then circle the appropriate code.

EXAMPLE

Which language do you think is best in South Africa

Mother tongue	1
English	2
Afrikaans	3
Other	4

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	
Q01	<input type="checkbox"/>

PART 1: BIOGRAPHICAL AND EDUCATIONAL DATA

1. Respondent Number:
2. Date of completion:
3. What is your sex?

Male	1
Female	2

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	
Q01	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q02	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q03	<input type="checkbox"/>



4. What is your age in years?

18 - 25	1
26 - 36	2
37 - 46	3
Over 47	4

5. What is your highest professional qualification?

PTC	1
SEC	2
SED	3
STD	4
UED	5
Other	6

6. What is your highest academic qualification?

Standard 8	1
Standard 10	2
BA	3
Bachelor's degree +	4
Master's degree +	5
Doctor's degree +	6

7. Where is your school or institution situated?

Soweto	1
Atteridgeville	2
Selborne Circuit	3
Other	4

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

Q04

Q05

Q06

Q07



8. What is your profession?

High School student	1
College student	2
Primary school teacher	3
Secondary school teacher	4
Primary school principal	5
Secondary school principal	6
Senior DET official	7
Other	8

PART 2

9. Which language(s) do you speak at home?

Mother tongue	1
English	2
Afrikaans	3
Mother tongue and English	4
More than two languages	5

10. The language I prefer to use when speaking to my doctor is:

English	1
Afrikaans	2
An African language	3

11. I think I speak South African Black English.

Agree	1
Disagree	2
Uncertain	3

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

Q08

Q09

Q10

Q11



FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

12. People in South Africa do not speak British Standard English.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q12

13. More teaching time should be allotted to the teaching of African languages in schools.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q13

14. Which language(s) do you think should become National Language(s) in the New South Africa?

Afrikaans	1
English	2
Any of the African languages	4
All the South African languages	5

Q14

15. If you speak good English it means that you are educated.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q15



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16. I am able to express myself better in:

Mother tongue	1
English	2
Afrikaans	3
Other	4

Q16

17. Before I speak English I first of all have to think in my mother tongue.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q17

18. I think I speak British Standard English.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q18

19. Do you think English, Afrikaans and African languages should be made equal in the future?

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q19



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20. Which language(s) should be used as a medium of instruction at secondary and tertiary levels?

An African language	1
English	2
Afrikaans	3

Q20

21. Which English do you think is "good English"?

British Standard English	1
American English	2
South African Black English	3
South African Standard English	4

Q21

22. I wish I could speak English like the English.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q22

23. I enjoy having discussions with Blacks who speak English the African way.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q23



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24. African languages must be developed so that they can be used broadly in the future.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q24

25. I sometimes find it difficult to pronounce certain English words.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q25

26. Which English do you think you speak?

South African Black English	1
South African Standard English	2
British Standard English	3
Other	4

Q26

27. I think English in African schools should be taught by:

English mother tongue speakers	1
Black English teachers	2
Anyone who is qualified to teach English	3
All the above	4

Q27



28. White people in South Africa should learn at least one African language.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

29. Which radio or television channel(s) do you prefer?

English channel	1
African channel	2
Afrikaans channel	3
All the above	4

30. I have difficulty pronouncing some English vowels.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

31. English is a unifying language in South Africa.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

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Q28

Q29

Q30

Q31



FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

32. It is funny to speak English with an African flavour.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q32

33. By just listening to a taped voice, I can immediately guess that person's home language group.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q33

34. English in Black schools should be used as a medium of instruction from:

Sub A	1
Sub B	2
Standard I	3
Standard II	4
Higher	5
Uncertain	6

Q34

35. African schools should use:

British Standard English	1
American English	2
South African Black English	3
South African Standard English	4

Q35



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36. English should be maintained as an official language in the future.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q36

37. I think my English is quite good.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q37

38. I would be very pleased if my mother tongue could be used at my workplace.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q38

39. Have you ever hear of South African Black English?

No	1
Yes	2

Q39



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40. I think it is a waste of time teaching African languages in Black schools.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q40

41. Radio Metro and Radio Bop presenters speak very good English.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q41

42. My favourite newspaper is:

Sowetan	1
Star	2
Citizen	3
Other	4

Q42

43. If your voice is taped on a cassette, would you prefer to be identified as an African person speaking English or as an English mother tongue speaker?

As an English mother tongue speaker	1
As an African person speaking English	2

Q43



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44. All languages must be given equal status in the New South Africa.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q44

45. Do you think the issues addressed in the questionnaire are important?

Uncertain	1
Yes	2
No	3

Q45

46. What do you think about the length of this questionnaire?

Too long	1
Just the right length	2
Too short	3
Uncertain	4

Q46

47. Indicate below any other additions you would like to make to the questionnaire. Any recommendations will be highly appreciated.

.....

.....

.....

.....

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.....

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.....

Thank you very much for your participation and contribution in this study.

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

RESEARCH PROJECT

1. PARTICIPATION IN THE PROJECT

Your co-operation in this questionnaire is very important. Please be totally honest in your response. Your contribution will help to review and improve the state of English language teaching in Black schools in South Africa.

2. CONFIDENTIALITY

The information that you provide will be treated confidentially. Therefore your name or the name of your institution should not appear on the questionnaire. The findings of the research will be processed and they will form the basis of a research publication and a formal thesis for the Doctor's degree in English language teaching.

3. GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

Please read each question and statement carefully before you answer it. A number of possible answers are provided; select the answer you feel best fits your situation and then circle the appropriate code. (At times you may agree with more than one answer, in this case you can circle more than one code).

EXAMPLE

English	1
Afrikaans	2
Other	3

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Q01	<input type="checkbox"/>

PART 1: BIOGRAPHICAL AND EDUCATIONAL DATA

1. Respondent Number:
2. Date of completion:
3. What is your sex?

Male	1
Female	2

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Q01	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q02	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q03	<input type="checkbox"/>



4. What is your age in years?

18 - 25	1
26 - 36	2
37 - 46	3
Over 47	4

5. What is your highest professional qualification?

Primary Teachers Certificate	1
Secondary Education Certificate	2
Secondary Education Diploma	3
Secondary Teachers Diploma	4
Other	5

6. What is your highest academic qualification?

Standard 8	1
Standard 10	2
BA	3
Bachelor's degree +	4
Master's degree +	5
Doctor's degree +	6

7. Where is your school or institution situated?

Johannesburg	1
Pretoria	2
Northern Transvaal	3
Other	4

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Q04

Q05

Q06

Q07



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8. What is your profession?

High School student	1
College student	2
Primary school teacher	3
Secondary school teacher	4
Primary school principal	5
Secondary school principal	6
Senior DET official	7
Other	8

Q08

PART 2

9. Which language(s) do you speak at home?

A Black African language	1
English	2
Afrikaans	3
A Black African language and English	4
More than two languages	5

Q09

10. The language I prefer to use when speaking to my doctor is:

English	1
Afrikaans	2
An African language	3

Q10

11a Have you ever heard of South African Black English?

Yes	1
No	2

Q11



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11b I think I speak South African Black English.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

12. What do you think "Standard English" means? Please define.

.....
.....

Q12

13a More teaching time should be allotted to the teaching of African languages in schools.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q13

13b Please give reasons for your answer:

.....
.....

14. If you speak good English it means that you are educated.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Q14

15. I am able to express myself better in:

Mother tongue	1
English	2
Afrikaans	3
Other	4

Q15



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16. As a child, did you speak English outside the classroom?

Before you were 12 years of age	1
When you were between 12 and 18 years of age	2
Not sure	3

Q16

17. Except for the period of childhood referred to in the previous question, have you had any other experience of using English because of the environment in which you lived or worked?

Where you lived	1
Where you worked	2
Not sure	3

Q17

18. What is the highest educational qualification you have in English?

None	1
Primary school	2
Junior Certificate	3
Senior Certificate	4
University/College	5

Q18

19. At what stage in your life did you obtain a good knowledge of English?

Never	1
Pre-school	2
In Primary school	3
In High school	4
After leaving school	5

Q19



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20. Do you read more English books?
For relaxation

Always	1
Sometimes	2
Not at all	3

Q20

21. Do you at times feel that you can express yourself better in English than in vernacular?

Yes, often	1
Yes, occasionally	2
No, never	3

Q21

22. If you find that you can express yourself better in English, when does it occur?

When explaining something in connection with your work	1
When you are very excited or angry	2
When you are with your friends	3

Q22

Give any other area of language use in which you prefer to use English.

.....

.....

- 23a In your opinion, what should the official language of South Africa be?

English and Afrikaans	1
English only	2
Afrikaans only	3
English and one Black African language	4
Afrikaans and one Black African language	5
Some other possibility	6
All eleven major languages	7

Q23



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23b Give reasons for your choice

.....
.....

24. If you do not often have the chance to speak English, do you think that given more opportunity to do so, you would make greater use of English?

Not applicable, I already speak it often	1
Yes, I would like to speak it more often	2
No, I don't think I would really try to speak it more often	3

Q24

25. Do you ever feel you would like to improve?

Your English pronunciation	1
Your grammar	2
Vocabulary	3
No aspect of English	4

Q25

26. Do you think that you place yourself at a disadvantage if you do not speak English?

Yes, definitely	1
Yes, it could be	2
No, not really	3
No, definitely not	4

Q26

27. Do you only want to be able to read and understand written English, or do you also want to speak it well?

Only to read it well	1
To write it well	2
To speak it well	3
All the above	4

Q27



28a Do you think it is a good idea for black families to

Send their children to English medium schools	1
Send their children to English and Afrikaans schools (dual medium)	2
Send their children to English, Afrikaans and Black schools	3

28b Give reasons for your answer:

.....
.....

29. Before I speak English I first of all have to think in my mother tongue.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

30. I think I speak standard English.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

31a Do you think it right that English, Afrikaans and African languages have been made equal?

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

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Q28

Q29

Q30

Q31



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31b Why do you think so?

.....
.....

32. Which language(s) should be used as a medium of instruction

(a) at primary level?

An African language	1
English	2
Afrikaans	3

Q32

32. (b) at secondary level?

An African language	1
English	2
Afrikaans	3

Q33

32. (c) at tertiary level?

An African language	1
English	2
Afrikaans	3

Q34

33. Should any of the languages in 32 be replaced by another language at a later stage?

Yes	1
No	2

Q35

If yes, which language and at which stage?

.....
.....



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34. Which English do you think is "good English"?

British Standard English	1
American Standard English	2
South African Black English	3
South African English	4

Q36

35. I enjoy having discussions with Blacks who speak English the African way.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q37

What in your opinion, are the features of the African way?

.....

36. African languages must be developed so that they can be used broadly in the future.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q38

37. I sometimes find it difficult to pronounce certain English words.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q39



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38. Which English do you think you speak?

South African Black English	1
South African English	2
British Standard English	3
Other	4

Q40

39a I think English in African schools should be taught by:

English mother tongue speakers	1
Black English teachers	2
Anyone who is qualified to teach English	3
All the above	4

Q41

39b Why do you think so?

.....

40. White people in South Africa should learn at least one African language.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q42

41. Which radio or television channel(s) do you prefer?

English channel	1
African channel	2
Afrikaans channel	3
All the above	4

Q43

42. I have difficulty pronouncing some English vowels.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Give examples of words in which you find the vowel sounds difficult.

.....

43. English is a unifying language in South Africa.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

44. It is peculiar to speak English with an African flavour.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

45. By just listening to a taped voice, I can immediately guess that person's home language group.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

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Q44

Q45

Q46

Q47

46a English in Black schools should be used as a medium of instruction from:

Sub A	1
Sub B	2
Standard I	3
Standard II	4
Higher	5
Uncertain	6

b Why do you think so?

.....

47. The kind of English taught in the class in African schools should be:

British Standard English	1
American Standard English	2
South African Black English	3
South African English	4

48. English should be maintained as an official language in the future.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

49. I think my english is quite good.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

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Q48

Q49

Q50

Q51



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50. I would be very pleased if my mother tongue could be used at my workplace.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q52

51. We need more English in-service training, especially in Black schools.

Agree	1
Not sure	2
Disagree	3

Q53

52. I think it is a waste of time teaching African languages in Black schools.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q54

53. Radio Metro and Radio Bop presenters speak very good English.

Fully agree	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Uncertain	4

Q55

54. My favourite newspaper is:

Sowetan	1
Star	2
Citizen	3
Other	4

Q56



55. If your voice is taped on a cassette, would you prefer to be identified as an African person speaking English or as an English mother tongue speaker?

As an English mother tongue speaker	1
As an African person speaking English	2

56. Do you think the issues addressed in the questionnaire are important?.

Uncertain	1
Yes	2
No	3

57a What do you think about the length of this questionnaire?

It is very long	1
It is not so long	2
It is OK	3
Uncertain	4

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Q57

Q58

Q59

57b Indicate below any other additions you would like to make to this questionnaire. Any recommendations will be highly appreciated.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you very much for your participation and contribution in this study.

APPENDIX C

TABLE 6: RESULTS

Table 6.1: Status of English in South Africa		Frequency	Scores %
Q10. The language I prefer to use when speaking to my doctor:			
1. English			92,4
2. Afrikaans			0
3. Other			7,6
		65	100

		Frequency	Scores %
Q15. I am able to express myself better in:			
1. Vernacular			55,9
2. English			42,4
3. Afrikaans			0
4. Other			1,7
		59	100

		Frequency	Scores %
Q20. Do you read more English books for relaxation?			
1. Always			32,8
2. Sometimes			65,6
3. Not at all			1,6
		64	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q43. English is a unifying language in South Africa.		
1. Agree		87
2. Disagree		4,8
3. Uncertain		8,2
	62	100

Table 6.2: The status of black languages

	Frequency	Scores %
Q9. Which language do you speak at home?		
1. Black languages		56,9
2. English		7,7
3. Afrikaans		1,6
4. Vernacular and English		23
5. More than two languages		10,8
	65	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q13. More teaching time should be allotted to the teaching of black languages		
1. Agree		52,5
2. Disagree		36
3. Uncertain		11,5
	61	100



	Frequency	Scores %
Q15. I am able to express myself better in:		
1. Vernacular		55,9
2. English		42,4
3. Afrikaans		0
4. Other		1,7
	59	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q29. Before I speak English, I first of all have to think in my mother tongue:		
1. Agree		28,4
2. Disagree		65
3. Uncertain		6,6
	60	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q50. I would be very pleased if my mother tongue could be used at my workplace:		
1. Agree		42,6
2. Disagree		40,9
3. Uncertain		16,5
	61	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q52. I think it is a waste of time teaching vernaculars in Black schools:		
1. Agree		23,4
2. Disagree		62,6
3. Uncertain		14,0
	64	100

Table 63: English in Education

	Frequency	Scores %
Q32:(a) Which language should be used as a medium of instruction at primary level?		
1. Vernacular		13,5
2. English		86,5
3. Afrikaans		0
	52	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q32:(b) at secondary level?		
1. Vernacular		1,7
2. English		98,3
3. Afrikaans		0
	57	100



	Frequency	Scores %
Q32:(c) at tertiary level?		
1. Vernacular		0
2. English		96,5
3. Afrikaans		3,5
	58	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q39 I think English in Afrikaans schools should be taught by:		
1. English mother tongue speakers		15,0
2. Black English teachers		3,4
3. Anyone qualified to teach English		61,6
4. All the above		20
	60	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q46: English in Black schools should be used as a medium of instruction from:		
1. Sub A		65,0
2. Sub B		6,6
3. Standard I		13,4
4. Standard II		8,4
5. Higher		5,0
6. Uncertain		1,6
	60	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q47: The kind of English taught in the class in African schools should be:		
1. British Standard English		17,3
2. American Standard English		8,7
3. South African Black English		12,0
4. South African English		62,0
	58	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q51. We need more English in-service training, especially in Black schools:		
1. Agree		81,6
2. Disagree		7,7
3. Uncertain		10,7
	65	100

Table 6.4: The need for more English skills

	Frequency	Scores %
Q24: If you do not have the chance to speak English, do you think that given more opportunity to do so, you would make greater use of English?		
1. Not applicable, I already speak it often		29,5
2. Yes, I would like to speak it more often		67,2
3. No, I don't think I would really try to speak it more often		3,3
	61	100



	Frequency	Scores %
Q25: Do you ever feel you would like to improve:		
1. Your English pronunciation		26,1
2. Your grammar		13,1
3. Your vocabulary		52,2
4. No aspect of English		8,6
	46	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q27: Do you only want to be able to read and understand written English or do you also want to speak it well?		
1. Only to read it well		0
2. To write it well		0
3. To speak it well		8,5
4. All the above		91,5
	59	100

	Frequency	Scores %
Q49. I think my English is quite good:		
1. Agree		62,9
2. Disagree		20,9
3. Uncertain		16,2
	62	100



Table 6.5: English as an official language

	Frequency	Scores %
Q23. In your opinion, what should the official language of South Africa be?		
1. English and Afrikaans		6,7
2. English only		30,6
3. Afrikaans only		0
4. english and one vernacular		30,6
5. Afrikaans and one vernacular		0
6. Some other possibility		5,0
7. All eleven major languages		17,1
	59	100