South African black teachers/learners attitude towards Standard English

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SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK TEACHERS/ LEARNERS ATTITUDE TOWARDS
STANDARD ENGLISH.

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Applied Linguistics

( With special reference to ESL )

by

CHARLES NWAILA.

September 1990

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from it should be acknowledged.
This study grew out of concern over the declining standard of English among the South African Black teachers and students. This research project is also prompted by the emergence and development of English, which in pronunciation and linguistic structures differs from the standard form which is institutionalized and supposed to be taught in schools.

This abstract overviews the main features of all the four chapters, underlining the links between them. Needless to say, much of the inherent richness and contributions in each chapter will be brief in order to meet the demand of a concise and integrative approach. The author will highlight the major different features in Educated South African Black English (ESABE) and British Standard English (BSE) as well as the attitudes held by these educated Blacks towards the two varieties.

The first chapter identifies the problem which led to this research. This is followed by a section which provides the background to the identified problem. The second chapter, deals with literature review. In this section the researcher gives general background to the research problem. The project describes and synthesizes the major studies related to the dissertation topic.
The third chapter focuses on techniques used for eliciting language attitudes: such as matched-guise/verbal-guise techniques and also the rating scales which are employed on attitude questionnaires. Two tests are administered to elicit informants' perceptions of British Standard English.

The last chapter interprets and discusses the findings relating them to the topic of this study. Finally, the author gives his conclusion based on the results of the tests.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation firstly, to the English Department Staff. My supervisor, Dr M. Tallerman, for her guidance, encouragement and concrete assistance in the writing of this dissertation.

Secondly, to my personal tutor Mr A. Brookes, for his constructive help and support throughout the period of my study, and finally, my lecturers, Mr P. Grundy, Mr L. Malmberg, Mr M. Davenport, Mrs A. Squires, Mrs A. Donaldson and professor C. Jones; for their consistent guidance and for broadening my scope in this field of Applied Linguistics.

I would like to convey my special thanks to my sponsors, The British Council for offering me this opportunity to study in Britain.

I am also indebted to Soweto teachers and students for their ready co-operation when I sent them the questionnaires for this study.

Finally, my gratitude goes to my dearest "helpmate" Sibongile, and my three sons; Artwell, Sifiso and Rhul, for their patience and understanding during my absence from home.

Without the assistance of all these people, this endeavour would not have become a reality.
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1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a multilingual country. The 1980 census data on Home Language showed that there were 24 languages (Human Sciences Research Council, 1985). English and Afrikaans are the only major official languages. There are different education departments arranged on racial basis. We have education departments for Blacks, Indians, Coloureds and Whites.

In Black education, English as a subject is introduced in the second grade, three years thereafter, it becomes the chief medium of instruction in the place of mother-tongue. This prepares the learners for the post primary education which is conducted entirely in English. However, the educators complain of the poor quality of ESL teaching in Black schools. There is a school of thought which contends that during the pre-Apartheid era, in the English mission schools, a good deal of teaching was done by mother-tongue speakers of English.

Subsequently, those Blacks who received their education prior to 1963, were able to get tuition in English which in idiom and pronunciation approximates that of educated British native speakers' standard. This school of thought claims that it is these good old days of pre-Apartheid education that several
Blacks, mostly the senior citizens invoke, when they lament the present decline in the standard of English, with particular reference to the spoken form by young Blacks. This problem is further compounded by the fact that Black ESL teachers are regarded as inadequate because they are non-native speakers who have limited English proficiency, and also that their two year training is of poor quality.

It is argued that most of these teachers are insular in outlook, methodologically unsophisticated and not open to innovation. There are major factors other than methodologies, techniques, qualifications or high level of teacher training, which may affect the quality of ESL teaching in Black schools. It is with this view and concern in mind that this study was initiated.

The primary aim of the author was to explore teachers and learners' perception of British Standard English. This can be demonstrated by the following vignette extracted from a survey conducted by the Retailer group (1987:15), which shows a mismatch between the sales representatives and their customers' expectations. This is a typical and fitting example of a classroom situation in which teachers claim to know what their charges need:
Almost 100% of manufacturers and their sales representatives believe they have a thorough knowledge of their product, whereas only 74% of buyers agree.

Both say they try to be of service 100% of the time, while only 46% of buyers and store managers agree this is true.

In addition, 80% of representatives believe they do a good job promoting their new products, but only 62% of store managers concur.

Finally, 90% of representatives say they are well informed, while only 54% of store managers feel this is true.

Rivers and Melvin (1980:81) reinforce this argument by claiming that:

> Consideration of the harvest in modern terms implies market research, and market research presumes that there are consumers...our consumers are not only students, but also the society of which they are part.

In conclusion, they proceed arguing that some language teachers will have to abandon the authoritarian approach of designing programmes to meet their students' needs, as they see them, in favour of discovering first how the students perceive their own needs.
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

Many languages have undergone a process of standardization resulting in widespread acknowledgement within a given society that one particular variety, the standard dialect, incorporates a formal set of norms defining correct usage. This high prestige standard is usually employed predominantly by the social group(s) with the highest social status in that society. Once this historical process has resulted in universal recognition of the standard, one might expect the other varieties to disappear over a generation or two. However, many regional, ethnic and social class varieties have tended to persist for centuries, surviving strong pressures to succumb in favour of the standard dialects (Ryan, 1979:145; in Giles and St Clair).

English in South Africa, is one of the major languages which occupies an increasingly prominent place in education, politics, business etc. What causes great concern is that there is a variety of English which is emerging among the educated Blacks. Teachers and students use this variety when they communicate. Many of these teachers and learners have no opportunity to interact with the mother-tongue speakers, particularly those who speak South African standard English.
Platt et al. (1984) argue that a basic language insecurity, brought about by past and present attitudes expressed by native speakers or even a foreign educated elite, could contribute in the development of a new variety.

The users of such a variety may perceive it as a language of solidarity. In the S.African context, English mother-tongue speakers determine the correctness of English used by Blacks.

Given the SA milieu, where every racial group has its own schools, residential areas, churches etc.; the need to maintain control over English by its native speakers only, has given birth to the attitude that English belongs to all who use it provided it is used correctly.

Ndebele (1986) protests that you really cannot control what will eventually happen to English in the hands of non-native speakers. He continues to contend that this is the art of giving away the bride while insisting that she still belongs to you.
Platt et al. (1984) argue that several varieties of English exist, and that the teachers know it because they use it. They continue to show that teachers are often instructed by the authorities that it must not exist and that it is their fault that it is still there. This scenario develops hierarchically; lecturers blame high school teachers for the decline of the standard of English, and high schools blame the primary school teachers.

Primary school teachers are stuck with the blame as they have no one to pass the buck to. Thus, this puzzle goes on without much satisfactory results. On the other hand, student needs, aspirations and interests in ESL classrooms have always been ignored.

Mphahlele (1984) complains that teachers churn out notes and study guides which the students eat up voraciously. He claims that teachers only show them how to waylay the examiners. Learners have no opportunity to express their views and to say what they want. Teachers and educators are the only people who design and decide for the learners, on the other hand teachers, according to Mphahlele, are permitted to leave their classrooms in order to be serminared, work-shopped, up-and-down-graded and in-serviced.
When these teachers return to their classes, they inadvertently continue to use their own variety. It has been stigmatized by educators and native speakers as a dialect, a patois, sub-standard etc.

Van Zyl (1987), complains that terms like remedial or even handicapped English, the insistence on non-native speakers' need to catch up, the constant paranoia about "our standards" reinforce the notion that there is something wrong with L2 speakers in SA, and above all that students, not teachers, are the people who must adapt or die.

With this intractable babel conflict in mind, the author seeks to

a. Explore teachers attitude towards Standard English

b. Learners attitude towards Standard English

c. And to describe Educated South African Black English.
1.2.1 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Trudgill (1974) maintains that the difficulty of using purely linguistic criteria to divide up varieties of language into distinct languages or dialects is a problem very common in the study of language and society. The problem of discreteness and continuity, of whether the division of linguistics and social phenomena into separate entities has any basis in reality, or if it is merely a convenient fiction.

Many nations which were once British colonies have realized the importance and the place of English not only as a language of science and technology but also as a language of wider communication. The following are examples from African countries:

Fig.1 ENGLISH USED IN NON-NATIVE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>LEVEL/MEDIUM</th>
<th>MAIN L2</th>
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<td></td>
<td>SECONDARY/TERTIARY</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>SOUTH AFRICA</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>AFRIKAANS</td>
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It is clear from the above table that English has become the most important international language and it is the most commonly taught L2 or EFL in the world today. Strevens (in Platt et al., 1984) gives a figure of over 600 million users of English and half have either picked it up or they have been taught it.

Englishes spoken outside America and Britain are contextualized, they subsequently acquire situational names. One approach is that of naming a variety after the nation where it is spoken, for example, Australian English, for English spoken in Australia.

The other view focuses on narrowing down the boundaries within one nation. For example some people would question the use of Caribbean English as there is quite a difference at least in pronunciation between varieties such as Jamaican English and Trinidadian English. Another example would be between Southern and Northern Nigerian English.

Some linguists tend to argue in favour of the first broader view, i.e. naming a variety after the nation where it is spoken. Jibril (1986) claims that at the impressionistic level, an unsophisticated Igbo (Nigerian) speaker of English may appear to be using a variety totally unrelated to that of unsophisticated Hausa (Nigerian) speaker of English.
However, he contends that a careful analysis of the corpus of each speaker is bound to reveal that behind the facade of intonation and voice quality, the two speakers have many consonantal, vocalic and rhythmic features which are different from those of RP.

Platt et al. argue that although there is an undoubted influence from the native languages and different background of the speakers, that there are common features shared by the different varieties within the same nation. They give an example of Punjabi, Bengali, Dravidian English, that they share common features which make them recognizable as belonging to Indian English.

The SA situation takes the middle trend from the above paths. It is easier to label varieties of English because people are racially and ethnically segregated, each group with its own self determination. It therefore, becomes easier to name these Englishes according to nationality or race, as each variety is characterized and flavoured by the native languages of the speakers. For example, there are at least about five identifiable varieties of English in SA. Educated Black, Afrikaans, Indian English, American English and Standard English or British Standard English.
In a recent article on the *Life Cycle of Non-native Varieties of English*, Moag (1982) proposes that new varieties of English go through four stages in their entire period of existence.

The first phase is called "Transportation," which refers to the process when English is brought into a new environment and starts to take root. As soon as the local people adopt it, they begin to use it for various purposes. After a lapse of time, the transplanted variety undergoes gradual change and becomes "indigenized," which according to Llamzon (1986:101) becomes "a new variety of English distinct from the parent imported variety."

Llamzon argues that the contact of the transported variety with other languages in the locality result in structural as well as lexical borrowing, and develops features, including communicative norms. The language fructifies and increases its domain of use by local elites for communication, education, media and for administrative purposes. This is the third stage referred to as "Expansion" phase.
The last stage is called "institutionalization." Kachru (1983:152) claims that it is institutionalized varieties which have some ontological status. He gives the main characteristics of such varieties:

1. They have an extended range of uses in the socio-linguistic context of a nation.
2. They have an extended register and style range.
3. A process of nativization of the registers has taken place, both in formal and contextual terms.
4. A body of nativized English literature has developed which has formal and contextual characteristics which makes it localized.

When English was transported to SA, Blacks were taught by missionaries who used British Standard English. English spoken by these learners was almost near-native. So, the gap between English–English and Black English was narrow. With the advent of Apartheid, missionary schools were dissolved, every race taught its own people, thus, the margin between the two Englishes widened as a result of lack of exposure to mother-tongue English.
According to Moag's framework, Educated SA Black English (ESABE) was expanded through Black newspapers, teachers, etc. Using his model (in Gupta 1986:96) as a frame of reference, the SA situation can be depicted in the following manner to show how this variety is influenced by other languages. This model has been modified by the author:

Fig. 2 MOAG'S LANGUAGE VARIETY MODEL:

The Standard English speakers despise these varieties of English as deficient forms of English. They are branded and stigmatized as interlanguage, patois, and fossilized forms.
In response to this unfounded attitude, Trudgill and Hannah (1982:100) give a statement of principle referring to how much tolerance should be allowed to non-native varieties of English:

*We believe that as long as deviations from English-English in, for example, an African's or an Indian's English are not great, then there is no reason to object to that variety being used in native English speaking areas. Obviously, within Africa or India themselves, the margin for tolerance of deviation can be even wider. Equally, we believe that native English speakers travelling to areas such as Africa or India, should make the effort to improve their comprehension of the non-native variety of English rather than argue for a more English-type English in these areas.*
1.2.2 DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT STANDARD ENGLISH.

Milroy and Milroy (1985) claim that it is difficult to point to a fixed and invariant kind of English that can properly be called Standard Language, unless the written form be considered relevant.

It is argued that the term standard could be used in two different ways: According to Platt et al. (1984) a standard may be considered an ideal towards which one may strive but may not necessarily reach or, on the other hand, it may be considered a one of a pair which signals right or wrong. This therefore, implies that a standard form is conceived to be above a rigid line; anything below this line is perceived as substandard.

Fig. 3 STANDARD AND SUB-STANDARD VARIETIES

a. STANDARD

b. STANDARD

SUB-STANDARD
It is further contended that language is a part of human behaviour and therefore, a part of real life. Kachru (1983; in Cobarrubias and Fishman) maintains that in English when one talks of a language model, the reference is usually to two well documented world English models, namely, Received pronunciation (RP) and General American (GA). Non-native speakers of English often aim at a close approximation of these models. The works of scholars such as Jones (1918) and Kenyon (1924), with little success encouraged such attempts.

Kachru questions the type of the standard which these pronunciation norms should provide. He argues that RP as a model is hundred years old and that it is closely associated with the English public schools. He goes on to contend that the status of RP is based on social judgment and that it has no official authority. RP is considered by non-native speakers of English as an anachronism in present day democratic society. It is further argued that RP provides an accent bar which is perceived as a colour bar by non-native speakers, on the right side of the bar or above the rigid line as in (b), it appears eminently reasonable.
General American English on the other hand refers to the variety of English spoken by about 90 million people in the Central and Western United States and most of Canada (Krapp:1919; Kenyon:1924). Kenyon suggests linguistic tolerance towards various American varieties of English. Kachru (1983, in Cobarrubias and Fishman) concedes that Kenyon is conscious of the harm done by the elitist, prescriptivist manuals for pronunciation and he therefore, challenges the fact that we accept rules of pronunciation as authoritative without inquiry into either the validity of the rules or the fitness of their authors to promulgate them.

Kachru identifies the cause for such easy judgment or quick advice on matters connected with pronunciation that people are influenced by certain type of teaching in the schools, by the indiscriminate use of textbooks on grammar and rhetoric, by unintelligent use of dictionaries, by manuals of correct English; each with its favourite and different shibboleth.
Kenyon's distaste for linguistic homogeneity is evident when he maintains that "probably no intelligent person actually expects cultivated people in the South, the East and the West to pronounce alike". In his view, the panacea for the intolerance of varieties which do not seem to conform to the standard form; is to study phonetics. He clarifies that a student of phonetics "soon learns not only to refrain from criticizing pronunciations that differ from his own but to expect them and listen to them with respectful, intelligent interest".

Therefore, a label such as *Standard English* is a rather loose and pre-scientific label. What *Standard English* is conceived to be depends on acceptance and recognition by the speakers of that variety, of a common core of linguistic conventions; and a good deal of fuzziness remains around the edges. The ideology of *Standardization*, whatever merits there may be in it, tends to blind us to the somewhat ill-defined nature of a *standard language*, and may have some undesirable consequences in that it leads to over-simplified views of the nature of language, evidently held even by highly educated speakers (Milroy and Milroy, 1985:26).
1.2.3 EDUCATED SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ENGLISH (ESABE).

This section will endeavour to describe aspects of the phonological and linguistic structures of this variety of English. The dialogue below borrowed from Mphahlele's (1984) article entitled "Prometheus in Chains: The fate of English in SA" depicts language situation in that context; reflecting the inherent attitudes held by Black educated elites and the English mother-tongue speakers towards non-standard and low prestige variety of English. This English model can be viewed in a continuum, from near-native to near-mother-tongue accent as well as in its idiomatic expressions. This continuum of course, depends on how exposed people are to the mother-tongue speakers as well as non-native educated English speakers.

This variety therefore, is a reflection of the sort of language people are surrounded with and most importantly, their cultural values. For example, acculturation may take place, which means that the 2LL group abandons part of its cultural patterns and adopts the other bit from the target language culture. It can be assumed that this 2LL group would have split views; on one hand those who would prefer nothing less than near-native and on the other hand, those who would like to identify with their groups' style of speech.
Secondly, assimilation may take place, in this case the 2LL group would be in favour of dropping all its culture and adopt the newly aspired cultural patterns. As it is the case in Singapore and it was in the Philippines until the 1970s, people aspired the target language group's modal status to the extent of aping their speech styles.

In this case where two cultures are diffused, it is argued that these 2LL people would often strive to reach the target language proficiency, which may not be necessarily attained. Nevertheless, they would insist and claim that they are speaking the prestigious British Standard or General American English.

However, the author does not rule out possibilities of native-like and near-native accent and idiomatic expressions by the 2LL group. The following dialogue gives a clear picture of what has been described above. A situation where the speakers of the two varieties of English still do not acknowledge that ESABE exists.

( The patient is in the doctor's surgery for consultation):

**DOCTOR: What seems to be the matter?**

**PATIENT: I have trouble with my English.**

**D: What's wrong with your English?**
P: Just so many things.

D: Let's start with the basics.

How are your vowels and diphthongs—

Is the motion regular?

I mean like saying "gel" for "girl"
"ben" for "burn", or like those on my side of the tracks who say "feud" for "food", "fuel" for "fool", "pork the core" for "park the car", "naas" for "nice", "waaf" for "wife"— stuff like that?

P: No, my vowels and er— what did you call them? They are o.k. I think.

D: What else can you tell me?

P: I'm having poor syntax and –

D: You mean you have, not having; o.k. go on.

P: It's like this, you see, take the verbs "smile" and "beat".

Now you can beat something or someone, right, but you're supposed just to smile, I mean you can't smile anything, right. I spend sleepless nights wondering why I should beat something and cannot smile anything.

D: Ah, you're talking about transitive and intransitive verbs.

P: Is that what they are called?

D: Yes, it's the idiom of the language.

What about your speech?
P: What about my speech, does it sound funny?
D: No, I mean direct and indirect speech
P: Oh, I see. Now that's another rugged patch - gives me piles I can tell you that. You see I was never given drill in such matters.
D: We'll look at your piles. Do you ever paraphrase or have you ever in your school life paraphrased?
P: What's that?
D: I can see you've never, never mind, we'll prescribe appropriate exercises for you. If you can't rephrase a passage in your own words to simplify it, your English is going to develop the worst kind of verbosity you can imagine and it is malignant. It's like what we call in medical language precis. Let my receptionist give you an appointment pretty soon and we'll run tests to ascertain any leaks and frayed parts and hardened or immobile sections of your English. You need a crash course of about six months, the way I see you now, it could have been worse. Cheer up, we'll straighten you in no time.
Van Zyl (1987) protests that non-standard pronunciation or deviation from narrowly and autocratically defined British English South African hybrid, is labelled as "error" and described, with considerable irritation to "interference" from the native languages: the linguistic equivalence of "you can take the native out of the bush but you can't take the bush out of the native".

On the other hand she maintains that translation of native language idioms into English, and use thereof, is branded unidiomatic and therefore unacceptable usage even when they serve as delightful enrichment of the repertoire of English. For example "to be welcomed with warm hands" etc (c.f. examples below).

As we have seen in the vignette above, Van Zyl argues that by arbitrarily and imperialistically enforcing some transplanted standard of language, culture and idiom we effectively "blast language from the lips of its users or make their use of it appear inconsequential, at best a difficult nuisance, and reduce it to an incoherent stutter". This, ultimately without any doubt have far reaching effects on the 2LL group. She maintains that because of the intimate, inextricable link between thought and language, we thus inhibit vital processes of conceptualization.
It is further argued that because of the alchemical nature of language and self-image, we doom thousands of students to feelings of inferiority, inadequacy, culture shock, and interpersonal dissonance. This is reflected in our society, in our stereotypes of each other in the way we interact and communicate.

Teachers English Language Improvement Project has done extensive work among the Black English teachers (C.f. Section 1.2.4). It has also identified the emerging English variety among Black South Africans. It acknowledges the fact that it exists, and it further advises that while it is not standard, it should not be seen as inferior, but as appropriate in certain situations.

Proponents of this project contend that differences between this dialect and Standard English should be made clear, as well as the situations where each is acceptable.

However, this study in approaching ESABE will be influenced by the fundamental attitude to the question: How different is ESABE from the other varieties (in this case from the standard English)?
There is a great deal of undocumented evidence to indicate that ESABE is different from the Standard form. Of course to say that this variety is a system completely different from the South African Standard English system is absurd. The vast majority of ESABE rules are the same as those of the standard English. But within that overall similarity, there may be subsets of rules which are not easily integrated into the standard English grammar because of limited contact between the language groups.

This section will briefly consider segmental, supra-segmental features as well as the linguistic structures. The following vowel charts show the different vowel systems of the two varieties of English:

Standard English has a stress-timed rhythm. The stressed syllables occur at regular intervals in time. On the other hand unstressed syllables are reduced to fit in-between particularly, in connected speech.
Thus, a series of unstressed syllables can even be elided in fast speech. On the contrary, ESABE is characterized by CVCV syllable order which seems to be transferred from the speakers' native languages. Therefore, when the standard English reduces its vowels to either Schwa or short vowels, ESABE maintains all the vowels in their full forms. This implies that speakers of this variety tend to give almost equal time to each syllable when they speak.

a. Functions of intonation and how these are realised by native and ESABE speakers.

Roach (1985) proposes the following identifiable functions of intonation in the standard English form:

1. It enables the English native speakers to express their emotions and attitudes as they speak, and it is claimed that this adds a special kind of meaning to spoken language. This he refers to as Attitudinal function of intonation.
The English native speakers may express happiness, sadness, anger, boredom etc. using different intonation patterns, while the ESABE speaker would say the same sentence using different strategies. For example, the sentence "I want to buy a new car", if uttered by an ESABE speaker, pleading, angry, sad, happy, proud etc. it will not be marked by intonation patterns. Different facial expressions, gestures as well as body movements would be employed to produce the various illocutionary effects they are intended to. Let us look at the following question and see how prominence is produced:

Interlocutor: What sort of a car would you like to buy?

ESABE Reply: I want to buy a brand new car.

An ESABE speaker simply adds "brand" to indicate and emphasise the type of car s/he wants to buy. The standard form on the other hand would have been: I want to buy a NEW car. The word New is given the greatest prominence. If the question focuses on the subject, the ESABE response would be as follows:

Interlocutor: Who wants to buy a new car?

ESABE Reply: I want to buy a new car.

The interlocutor would deduce meaning from the context. The speaker would beat his chest to indicate that it is him buying a car.
2. The second function helps to produce the effect of prominence on syllables that need to be perceived as stressed, and thus placing of tonic stress on a particular syllable marks out the word to which it belongs as the most important in the tone unit. This is referred to as Accentual Function of intonation.

In standard English the tonic syllable is of considerable importance. The most common position for this is on the last lexical word, i.e. noun, adjective, verb, adverb etc. For example,

a. It was very boring.

b. It was very boring.

Roach claims that for contrastive purposes, any word may become the tone syllable. In ESABE the adjective boring and the intensifier/adverb of degree very, are never marked as it is the case in standard English.

To indicate that it was boring, the interlocutor would deduce the first example through the speakers' disappointed facial expression. In the second example, in order to show the intensity of boredom, the speaker would add another intensifier, i.e. very/much and produce either: It was very, very boring, or It was very much boring.
3. The third function of intonation enables the listener to recognize grammar and the syntactic structure of what is being said by using the information contained in the intonation. This is called the *Grammatical function of intonation*.

Ambiguous written sentences whose ambiguity can only be removed by using differences of intonation are given below:

1. a. *The man who sold quickly* made a profit.
   
   b. *The man who sold* quickly made a profit.

According to standard English, this sentence would have two interpretations, i.e.

a. A profit was made by the man who sold quickly.

b. A profit was quickly made by the man who *sold*.

To disambiguate the above sentence, the ESABE speaker would normally sustain the words focused on. For example,

Interlocutor: *Who made the profit?*

ESABE Reply: *The man who sold quickly...*
Finally, the intonation of question tags (isn’t it, can’t he, aren’t they etc.). Tags in standard English are derived by rule from the basic sentence. For example,

a. You are going with us, aren’t you?
b. You are not going with us, are you?

We can formulate a rule for the derivation of these tags. If the basic sentence is in the positive form, then the tag becomes negative, but if the sentence is in the negative, then the tag becomes positive.

ESABE has its own different rules. The above examples would be:

c. You are going with us, ne’?
d. You are not going with us, ne’?

This tag form is borrowed from Afrikaans. When the tag has a falling tone as in (a) above, it shows that the speaker is comparatively certain that the information is correct, and simply expects the listener to provide confirmation. Example (b) has a rising tone to indicate a lesser degree of certainty, so that a question tag in standard English functions as a request for information. Examples (c) and (d) make use of NE’ tag to indicate the similar purpose described above. The tag NE’ is said with a very high key.
This variety has other distinctive linguistic features which further marks it different from the standard form. Johanson (1985) found certain basic differences between these two varieties in the following areas:

A. Article System:

The 2LL group's native languages do not make use of articles to describe or to show definiteness or indefiniteness. This is reflected in the way in which the definite article is used in their variety of English.

2. *At the* Monaghan school there are many pupils.
3. *I like the* fish.
4. *Would you like the* apple?
5. *James is crying.*
This variety makes use of the definite article as in the examples shown above. Brown and Miller (1980) define articles as a class of words including "the" which occurs in NPs preceding a noun NP \((—N)\). However, the class of Proper nouns and mass nouns are not always preceded by articles in standard English.

We can formulate a rule for the above sentences, i.e. "the" always precedes a noun, with the exception of Proper nouns, such as James in (5). But where a proper noun is preceded by a preposition the definite article is used (2).

In standard English, the opposition of "the : a" has been traditionally described as one of "definiteness", the category of definiteness having the terms "definite" and "indefinite". When "a" is used there is no particular case referred to, but "the" on the other hand, is used to refer to a specific case.

B. **Prepositions:**

The 2LL group's first languages do not make use of prepositions, they have other ways of stating spatial relations. The following expressions are common:

5. *I live at Soweto* instead of *I live in Soweto.*

6. *I go to school with a bus* instead of *I travel to school by bus.*

7. *Don't throw me with stones* instead of *Don't throw stones at me.*
C. WH questions:

9. Why are you still here? > Why you are still here?
10. Where are you going to? > You are going where?
   or Where you are going? or You are going to where?

There is no subject/verb inversion and also no WH preposing in question forms. In some cases "to" is elided as in (10) above.

Finally, this chapter raises more intriguing questions which cannot be considered in this project, and thus warrant a need for further research:

1. Whether there are total users of ESABE?
2. Under which circumstances is it used?
3. Who are the users of ESABE?
4. Who qualifies to be called "educated"?
1.2.4 IMAGE OF THE BLACK TEACHERS.

Teachers' image is seen to be waning in Black schools. According to Siwela and Meyer (1985) teachers are viewed as purveyors of a system of education that was not only condemned at its inception, but one that has over almost three decades fanned the flames of both local and international criticism.

Hartshorne (in Siwela and Meyer, 1985:4), one of the leading educationists in SA, argues that "Black teachers do not believe in what they are doing and they don't approve of the system in which they are operating".

In 1981, the Teachers' English Language Improvement Project (TELIP), was introduced because of the growing concern over the standard of written and spoken English by the students. Complaints by educators and employers have been backed up with many examples of the unfavourable impression created by both teachers and learners. Its main objectives were:

1. To determine language needs of Black teachers
2. To define clear target levels of competence based on these needs
3. To develop valid and reliable tests towards these target levels
4. To isolate the major linguistic problem areas common to Black teachers.
TELIP course designers worked on the basis of the following assumptions: that English is the language of power in SA, in the academic world, in the economic sphere and also in the political realm.

*It was assumed that doors would be opened to Blacks if they have a good command of English, that they have little contact with mother-tongue speakers, that they have positive attitude towards English and that they are very conscious of the deteriorating standard of English, passing the blame to the present system of education.*

This project claims that Blacks need to use standard English in a wide variety of situations. Its findings, contribution and its impact are deduced from teachers' feedback. All the teachers involved in this project felt that their performance levels were higher than before. They further claimed that they "*now spoke English with greater ease.*"

It is clear from these results that TELIP did not dig deeper enough to reach the heart of the problem. Teachers alone might not have been the cause of the dropping standard of English. Therefore, the treatment only concentrated on the symptoms rather than the root and the cause of the problem. The author views the entire complexity as triangular in its composition.
The situation teachers find themselves in affect the learners and parents as well. Isolating one component disregarding the other two would yield only short term solutions. Gestalt approach in this case can be helpful, that is, finding out from learners for example, their parents' level of education, their first languages and maybe even the form of English they use with their friends; and of course the most important of all, their needs and aspirations. By so doing, perhaps parents and learners could find learning more meaningful and interesting if they were made part of it.

In search for socio-linguistic and educational solutions, the Department of Education and Training (Black education system), at a certain stage introduced White teachers in Black schools to improve the standard of education. This gesture received both approval and disapproval.
Nkwiti (1987:30) argues that no one denies the fact that the majority of these teachers have the necessary qualifications and expertise to teach English as a L2, but what is being questioned is whether they have the necessary awareness, sensitivity and flexibility to handle this subject in the face of the prevailing socio-political conditions.

He goes on to question whether these teachers do not belong to the clique of White teachers who when referring to their African learners say "your people" giving the impression of knowing how African learners think.

In order to strike a balance between linguistic forms and people who use them, Stern (1983) puts it vividly:

*Teachers have faced the same dilemma that has worried linguists, if they concentrate too hard on linguistic forms and forget the people who use the forms in ordinary communication, they distort the reality of language use. On the other hand, if they overemphasize people and disregard the details of linguistic form, their teaching tends to become superficial and unserviceable.*
1.3 DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT LANGUAGE ATTITUDE.

Several studies have been conducted relating to language attitudes. Description of attitudes is an elusive process, therefore, linguists in their attempt to come up with a plausible definition, adopt different approaches. Anderson (1975:49) defines the concept attitude as a "relatively enduring organization of beliefs, some of which concern language, around a language object, predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner" (C.f. elaborate discussion towards the end of this section).

Oppenheim (1986), views attitudes as a state of readiness, a tendency to act or react in a certain manner when confronted with certain stimuli. He goes on to argue that the individual's attitudes are present but dormant most of the time, they become expressed in speech or other behaviour only when the object of the attitude is perceived.
Attitudes are abstractions, though they can be real to the individual who holds them. Oppenheim contends that while most of us have many attitudes in common, some may have attitudes which few other people have. Oppenheim further argues that most of the time we tend to perceive attitudes as though they are straight lines, running from positive, through neutral, to negative feelings about the object or issue under scrutiny. It is claimed that attitudes have many attributes. So far, we have talked and described their content, namely, what they are about.

Attitudes also have intensity. They might be held with greater or lesser vehemence. Oppenheim claims that there is a U-shaped relationship between the attributes of intensity and of content. This implies that the more extreme attitudes, either positive or negative are usually held with much vehemence, whereas the more neutral position may be defended with far less intensity. Some attitudes however, are more enduring than the others. For example, someone's attitude towards Christianity may be fairly stable throughout life, whereas the same person's attitude to the use of contraceptives may undergo multiple changes.
Similarly, some attitudes may go much deeper than others and touch upon one's fundamental philosophy of life, while others are relatively superficial. Social psychologists make a helpful distinction of different levels of attitudes: calling the most superficial one, Beliefs; the next one Attitudes, a deeper level, followed by Values or Basic Attitudes. A final deepest level, is termed Personality.

Fig. 5 ATTITUDE LEVELS

beliefs

attitudes

values

personality
Anderson (1975) used Rokeach’s model to describe teachers’ values, beliefs and their language attitudes:

Fig. 6 Rokeach’s Attitude Model

Anderson maintains that values are the basis of all beliefs and attitudes, and hence, values are off to the left by themselves. Beliefs deal with all aspect of perceived reality. The continuity of the Belief System is indicated by the series of dots preceding and succeeding Beliefs (2). Linguists and teachers, it is argued, would differ widely with regard to 3a, namely, Descriptive language beliefs, which are the major concern of linguists, while 3b and 3c seem to concern teachers.
2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW.

Language as it is used by people in their everyday lives must, ultimately, be what linguists describe and explain, and the study of language in its social context provides an essential counterbalance to studies in the laboratory and to researches that concentrate on the linguist's knowledge of his own language. Indeed, it is more than this, since there are many aspects of language such as language attitudes and also the mechanisms involved in linguistic change. Empirical studies of language in society have produced some of the most interesting and revealing work in linguistics of the past several years.

This section's focus is on research that has been conducted in the non-native English speaking countries, briefly reviewing work done in different parts of the world, and finally, confine it to a South African context.
2.1.1 STUDIES CONDUCTED IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

A systematic series of studies have been conducted investigating people's perception of various varieties of English, which have produced a well articulated explanation for the maintenance of low-prestige language forms. Platt et al. (1984) give an example of a study conducted with the group of speakers of Caribbean English, Barbadians and Guyanese. They were asked to rate their own English as against other Engilishes. The following findings were obtained:

Tab.1 CARIBBEAN, BARBADIANS AND GUYANESE RESPONSES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEST VARIETY</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OWN COUNTRY</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER WEST INDIAN</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GREAT BRITAIN</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER COUNTRY</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1975, 700 Indian university students and 125 members of the English teaching staff at Indian universities were asked which model of English they would prefer as a teaching model. They were required to rank these varieties in order of preference (c.f. Pratt et al. 1984):

Tab. 2 STUDENTS AND STAFFS' RESPONSES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODEL</th>
<th>STUDENT %</th>
<th>STAFF %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMERICAN ENGLISH</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRITISH ENGLISH</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIAN ENGLISH</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this test 68% of the students are in favour of British Standard English, while only 6% of the staff informants choose this variety.

In the norm investigations which Platt and Weber carried out among Singapore primary school teachers, 60% wanted a British English model, but it is argued that not all of those who chose it were able to recognize the voices of the speakers of Educated South Eastern English as British, some labelled them as American or Australian.
Taylor's (1973 in Shuy/ Fasold ) investigation of teachers' perceptions of American Black and non-standard English, reveals interesting results. The findings reinforce the need to take teachers' ideas and opinions about language seriously. The majority of teachers in this test tended to show positive to neutral attitude towards non-standard Black speech.

In his investigation, Schmied ( 1985 ) explored stereotyped notions about the four world languages; namely, French, Arabic, English and Kiswahili. He investigated language beliefs concerning the importance of English in Tanzania. Schmied conducted two tests, the first one aimed at stereotyped notions about the above languages. Adjectives such as beautiful, rich etc. were used to elicit informants' attitude towards the four languages. Respondents' responses to these stimuli were measured on a seven point scale of approval.

The second test used statements which the informants were to indicate whether they agreed completely to disagree completely with, and then mark them as in the first test on a seven point scale continuum. This test focused on language beliefs concerning the significance and the role of English in Tanzania.
2.2 STUDIES CARRIED OUT IN SA.

Very little has been done in the area of language attitudes in SA, particularly with regard to Africans' attitudes towards English. The Human Sciences Research Council Institute for Research into Language in SA investigated the language situation in a broad country-wide survey. Between 1973 and 1974, HSRCI explored language attitudes among Afrikaners and the English.

It was discovered that both the higher English and Afrikaans speaking status groups were strongly aware of the functional value of learning a L2, which in this case would be either Afrikaans or English. As far as attitude towards the other official language is concerned, significant region-specific differences occurred. In the Transvaal, especially in Johannesburg, it was found that language emotions ran higher than the other smaller places. Negative attitudes towards Afrikaans by English native speakers were reflected.
In 1979, HSRCI researched attitudes of Coloureds towards English and their native language, Afrikaans, which is also the native language of the Afrikaners. It was found that the language situation in the metropolitan areas was complex. 31% of them regarded themselves as English native speakers, while 33% of the English speaking Coloureds indicated that Afrikaans used to be their home language. The findings reveal that as the educational level and economic status among the metropolitan Coloureds rise, it is claimed that English would possibly become the home language of the increasing number of the urban Coloureds. Both Coloured groups prefer English as a medium of instruction in their schools.

In 1985, Lanham conducted his study with Black students at Fort Hare University. The technique used was matched-guise. A competent bilingual speaker of Afrikaans and English was asked to read a short passage from the Bible, first in an English accent and finally in an Afrikaans pronunciation.
Student judges were not aware of the identity of the reader. Parameters such as status-stressing, solidarity-stressing and integrity-stressing were used to elicit stereotyped notions about different accents (c.f. chapter 3). The native English voice was categorically judged as being more intelligent than the Afrikaans voice. Thus, their reaction was to a person rather than to the language. In this study English carries the social meaning of being better educated, physically weaker than the Afrikaans voice.

Finally, in 1986, Nwaila explored Sowetans' attitudes towards Vernaculars, Afrikaans and English. Two tests were administered; all the tests used seven point Likert scale. The first test was devised to elicit reactions which should be seen as affective stereotyped notions, making use of adjectives such as beautiful, highly developed etc. The second test focused on the importance of English in Soweto. Informants were to respond to statements such as English is a unifying factor in SA. The findings of the two tests show that English still occupies high status in Soweto. 51% of the subjects agree that English is an important language, while 50% of them concede that Vernaculars have a special place and a cultural role to play. All the informant groups down-graded Afrikaans, presumably, because of the socio-political factors.
3.1 TECHNIQUES FOR ELICITING LANGUAGE ATTITUDES.

Attitude measurement has undergone the greatest of technical development. There are various ways of assessing peoples' language attitudes. The most sophisticated instruments known so far are called opinionnaires and attitude scales.

Questionnaires are of necessity, one of the main tools in the evaluation of attitudes. Any rating scale it is claimed has three basic functions. According to Low (1988) the first function is that it provides a number of possible answers to a question. This means that a good questionnaire should conform to some of the basic rules of conversation. The questionnaire designer therefore, needs to think about a wide variety of topics, ranging from conditions under which a respondent is likely to feel that a conversation involving questions is turning into interrogation, to more semantic notions such as the degree to which the responses provided are interpretable.

Its second function is that it permits the questioner to restrict the conversation and focus on just those areas relevant to the subject under consideration.
The final function allows all informants to use the same set of words in their answers. Given those three requirements, it is unfortunate for questionnaire designers that natural language appears to be optimized to deal with complex human reactions. That is to say, natural language is likely to be far from ideal in situations involving precision, lack of ambiguity and clearly defined word boundaries required by the three assumptions for good rating scales.

3.1.1 MATCHED-GUISE/ VERBAL-GUISE.

Matched-guise is the most utilized technique for investigating attitudes. It was developed in Montreal during the 1950s by Lambert and his colleagues. In this technique, judges listen to different voices of the same speaker reading the same short passage. They then rate the voices on a scale or bipolar-adjective scales.
Giles and St Clair (1979) maintain that when authentic matched-guises are not available, the contrasted speech styles are represented by distinct speakers. Cooper (1975) has suggested that the original procedure as well as the adaptation be referred to as Verbal-guise techniques. Matched-guise/verbal-guise normally make use of the following parameters:

1. Status-stressing (well educated, successful etc.)
2. Solidarity-stressing (friendly, approachable)
3. Integrity-stressing (honest, serious).

3.1.2 RATING SCALES.

Many of the rating scales used in questionnaires according to Low (1988), fall into one of two types. The simplest type starts from zero and increases or decreases continuously along a single dimension. Thus, a respondent can be asked to scale whether a specific proposition is of no importance, some importance or very great importance. Scales such as these are called monotonically increasing or just monotonic scales.
Low describes the second type of scale, i.e. mirror image scale, as it involves two sides which are mirror images of each other in all but one feature. For example, strongly agree, agree, disagree and strongly disagree. These are sometimes known as Bipolar scales. Although Bipolar suggests an absence of intervening values. A bipolar scale allows the possibility of a point in the middle where the notion of agreement changes to that of disagreement.

The question arises therefore, based on how this midpoint should be named. For example if we take an agree-disagree continuum, it does not give a neutral person a chance to be uninvolved. Likert in 1932, in a classic paper on rating scale design, and Best (1977) both preferred to use the concept undecided (in Low, 1988). Other scholars use "not certain" and "not sure".

In the present study, five-point Likert scale was used to measure the informants' attitudes. Likert scale may have its disadvantages, but it is less laborious. Likert's primary concern was with uni-dimensionality, that is, making sure that all the items would measure the same thing.
Oppenheim (1966) claims that Likert wanted to eliminate the need for judges by getting subjects in a trial sample to place themselves on an attitude continuum for each statement, running from strongly disagree to disagree, uncertain, agree and strongly agree with a scale of approval ranging from 1-5 (with 3 as a neutral point).

Tab 3 CONTINUUM SCALE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
<th>SCALE VALUES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. DISAGREE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. NOT CERTAIN</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. AGREE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. STRONGLY AGREE</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Oppenheim claims that reliability of Likert scales tends to be good and partly because of the greater range of answers permitted to respondents. This scale constantly makes use of the method of item selection, it therefore approaches uni-dimensionality in many cases.
3.2 METHOD

According to Van Dalen (1979), there is no single method of obtaining data which is perfect; for this reason, he argues that collecting data by more than one method is often a prudent procedure. In this present study, information was gathered through questionnaires. They are used mostly to collect data on phenomena which are not easily observed, such as attitudes, motivation and self-concepts (C.f. Section 3.1).

Questionnaires have a number of advantages. Seliger and Shohamy (1989), maintain that questionnaires are self-administered and can be given to large groups of subjects at the same time. It is therefore, argued that they are less expensive to administer than other procedures such as interviews. When anonymity is assured, subjects tend to share information of a sensitive nature more easily. Seliger and Shohamy claim that since the same questionnaire is given to all informants, the data are more uniform and standard (C.f. Section 3.1).

However, a problem with questionnaires is that they are not appropriate for subjects who can't read and write. There may be no assurance that the questions used have been properly interpreted and understood by the subjects and therefore answered correctly.
Questionnaires can also vary in their explicitness. Unstructured questionnaires, those with a low degree of explicitness, will include open questions to which the informants will be expected to respond in a descriptive manner. Those of a high degree of explicitness, the structured questionnaires, may require the subject to mark responses, to check agreements or disagreements, or to select among a number of alternatives. Structured questionnaires are considered to be more efficient than the open ones, and can also be scored by machines.

Two types of tests were designed and administered at four high schools and one teacher training institution in South Africa. Because language attitudes and language teaching involve primarily, teachers and students, a sample was selected from this population. The focus of this dissertation was on primary, secondary school teachers and teacher trainers; teacher trainees and standard ten high school pupils who could at least read and interpret the research questions; which were fairly simplified, bearing in mind the diverse educational levels of the subjects. As indicated earlier on this section, that questionnaires alone cannot provide all the answers, since the designer usually begins with certain assumptions which determine the questions or statements which should elicit informants' implicit attitudes.
Therefore, Rivers and Melvin (1980) maintain that even a section for free response may not provide sufficient information because not all informants can articulate a clear idea of what they would like or their aspirations (C.f. Chapter 4).

They finally suggest that a questionnaire needs to be supplemented by teacher observation and attentive listening to students and the community.

3.2.1 PROCEDURE:

3.2.2 TEST I

In this test 65 teachers and high school pupils volunteered as subjects. 51 of this number was composed of pupils and 14 teachers. They were all urban teachers and pupils. The teachers' ages ranged from 30 to 50 while pupils were between 18 and 23. This test was split into the following sub-sections:

A. Which English do you think is best?
B. Which English variety do you prefer to be taught in Black schools?
C. Rate these varieties in order of your preference.
Below each of the above items, respondents were provided with five varieties of English which are familiar to them. For example:

**VARIETIES**

1. *British Standard English*
2. *Educated South African Black English*
3. *Educated South African Indian English*
4. *Educated South African Afrikaans English*
5. *American English*

Informants were supposed to put a cross in the appropriate box. The order of these varieties was changed in each of the three sub-sections (C.f. Appendices for the complete questionnaire).

3.2.3 TEST 2

This test involved three groups of 70 informants. 18 teachers, 21 trainees and finally, 31 high school pupils. The same age groups as in test 1, were engaged in this test. This test's intention, is to examine the subjects' implicit attitude towards the five English models given above. It also explores informants' motivation for learning Standard English.
Dulay et al. (1982), give two kinds of motivation; 
integrative motivation, which is the desire to achieve 
proficiency in a new language in order to participate in 
the life of the community that speaks the target language. The 
other one is instrumental motivation, which involves the desire 
to achieve proficiency in a new language for utilitarian 
purposes, such as to get a decent employment.

The subjects were to respond to 16 statements by putting a cross 
on a five point scale continuum ,and they were to indicate their 
degree of agreement.

3.2.4 ANALYSIS OF DATA

The analysis of the first data involved sorting out 
informants' responses according to varieties they prefer. The 
focus was on two variables; teachers and pupils. Their results are 
shown in percentages in the following tables for each sub-section 
( C.f. Appendices for a complete questionnaire ):
Tab. 4 TEACHERS AND PUPILS' RESPONSE TO:

A. WHICH VARIETY DO YOU THINK IS BEST?

T: TEACHER INFORMANTS
P: PUPIL INFORMANTS
T: PERCENTAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>T: %</th>
<th>P: %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. BRITISH STANDARD</td>
<td>14 92.9</td>
<td>50 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. EDUCATED SA BLACK ENGLISH</td>
<td>14 7.1</td>
<td>50 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. EDUCATED SA AFRIKAANS ENGLISH</td>
<td>14 0</td>
<td>50 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. EDUCATED SA INDIAN ENGLISH</td>
<td>14 0</td>
<td>50 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. AMERICAN ENGLISH</td>
<td>14 0</td>
<td>50 38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tab. 5 TEACHERS AND PUPILS’ RESPONSE TO:

B. A VARIETY YOU PREFER TO BE TAUGHT IN BLACK SCHOOLS.

I: TEACHER INFORMANTS

P: PUPIL INFORMANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>T</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 6 TEACHERS AND PUPILS’ RESPONSE TO:

C. RATE EACH VARIETY IN ORDER OF YOUR PREFERENCE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>T</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

60
About 8 pupil informants did not respond to this test. Only 43 responses were codified. One teacher subject did not respond, so only 13 cases were considered. Their lack of response could probably be attributed to ESL difficulties. They might have had problems with the words rate and preference.

The second test was administered in order to reinforce the first one. The 16 statements were reclassified according to +British Standard English, +Educated South African Black English, +American English, +Educated SA Afrikaans English, +Educated SA Indian English, and finally, +intelligibility oriented arguments. Almost the same data analysis procedure that was used in test 1 was employed here as well. The following six tables show informants' responses to the above categories of statements (c.f. Appendices for a clear picture of the 16 statements):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Informant Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tab. 7 +BRITISH STANDARD ENGLISH STATEMENTS:

ST: STATEMENTS  T: TEACHERS  T/T: TEACHER-TRAINEES  P: PUPILS
D: DISAGREE  N: NOT SURE  A: AGREE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST.</th>
<th>T:</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>T/T:</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>P:</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>72.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 8 +EDUCATED SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ENGLISH STATEMENTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST.</th>
<th>T:</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>T/T:</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>P:</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>47.6</td>
<td>14.2</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33.3</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
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<td>38.8</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>16.1</td>
<td>58.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
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<td>27.8</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>33.4</td>
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<td>52.3</td>
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<td>28.5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tab. 9 +EDUCATED SOUTH AFRICAN AFRIKAANS ENGLISH STATEMENTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>T/T: D N A</th>
<th>P: D N A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
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<td>83.4 11.1</td>
<td>5.6 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>77.8 22.2</td>
<td>0 21</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 10 +AMERICAN ENGLISH STATEMENT:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>T/T: D N A</th>
<th>P: D N A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
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<td>5.6 11.1 83.4</td>
<td>20 10 10 80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 11 +EDUCATED INDIAN ENGLISH STATEMENT:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>ST.</th>
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<th>T/T: D N A</th>
<th>P: D N A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>77.8 11.1 11.1</td>
<td>20 55 20 25 28 50 7.1 42.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tab.12 INTelligibility ORiented STATEMENT:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST.</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>T/T</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12.18</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When interpreting and discussing these findings of the two tests in the next chapter, the author will focus only on British Standard English, ESABE, American English and finally, on Intelligibility oriented arguments.
4.1 INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS.

Moag (in Platt et al. (1984:170), maintains that "it is widely acknowledged that speakers of the new Englishes are loath to recognize the distinctive character of their English and rather insist that they speak one or other of the major English as a Native Language varieties."

It is generally contended that it would be desirable for educated African users of English to maintain their African personality by stripping it of all traces of affectation and artificiality. It is further argued that educated Africans lose some of their African identity in their efforts, in using a language which is alien to them, to ape native speakers.

Most of those who refuse to accept and recognize the fact that there is ESABE variety may be genuinely worried about the implication of accepting a local English model as an appropriate variety, particularly in language teaching. There is fear that, in time, such a model may degenerate into a different language. This study will review the findings of the two tests, bearing in mind Moag's claim above. Test 1A, reveals 92.9% teachers' overwhelming consensus that British Standard English is the best variety. There is a wide margin between pupils' responses and that of the teachers. Only 56% of the pupil informants concede that British Standard English is the best (C.f. Table 4).
Pupils are also divided concerning this test. 38% of them perceive American English as their favoured variety. Not even a single teacher respondent is in favour of American English. Both the informant groups are not keen to support ESABE variety, only 7.1% of the teachers and 6% of the pupils agree that this variety is the best (C.f. Table 4).

Test 1B, focused on informants' preference of an English variety which should be taught in Black schools. We see almost a unanimous agreement among the teachers, i.e. 78.6% of them select British Standard English as an appropriate model which could be used in schools. Only 56.8% of the pupils rate British Standard English above the other varieties, followed by 25.4% in favour of American English, and finally, 13.7% prefer ESABE (C.f. Table 5).

When respondents were asked to rate the English models in the order of merit, in test 1C, 76.9% of the teachers strongly agree that British Standard English should be placed at the top of the list. A remarkable thing on this test is that, for the first time, about 23% of the teachers regard American English as best variety.
Eight of the pupil informants failed to respond to this last test, so, only 43 responses were considered. 55.8% of them choose British Standard English as their best English model. 20.9% consider American English to be superior to the other varieties (C.f. Table 6).

Taking the average responses of the three sub-tests, 82.8% of the teachers regard British Standard English as the best variety. 9.7% of them think that ESABE variety is their appropriate English model. 7.6% is in favour of American English. On the other hand 56.2% of the pupil respondents agree that British Standard English is good for them, while 28.1% select American English as their leading English model and finally, only 7.3% are in favour of ESABE variety.

The following reasons could be advanced to justify the mismatch between teachers and pupils' responses. The first and the chief reason which seem to account for these conflicting views is the socio-political factor. According to Schumann's study on Social Distance as a factor in SLA (1978), he claims that if the Second Language Learning group has separate schools, churches, recreational facilities, residential areas etc.; a bad language learning setting will be created, the 2LL group will not be keen on learning the target language. This is pertinent to a South African situation.
Pupils' responses are not surprising, given the S.A context where pupils play more of a leading role in political activities than the teachers.

Several of these pupils aspire for an American English model which is not part of the political scenario prevailing in the country. The second contributory factor is the influence of the American films, music, African BOP, television presenters who use American accent.

In summary, Platt et al. (1984), claim that

"When attitudes towards English and a suitable model for English are more systematically examined in a new Nation, it is noticeable that there is by no means a consensus among speakers as to the best English model for their country."

The second test involved 70 informants (c.f. Chapter 3), 31 of them were pupils, 21 teacher-trainees, and 18 teachers. As we have seen in the first test, it is not easy to measure language attitudes. Researchers always depend on what informants say are their beliefs and feelings. "In Nwaila (1986), I argued that through the use of questions or by getting people's expressed reactions to statements or questions, a sample of their opinions and beliefs is obtained and that from this statement of opinions or beliefs, one can infer or estimate the informants' attitudes."
It must be pointed out though that the process of inferring attitudes from expressed opinions has many limitations. Respondents may conceal their attitudes and express socially acceptable opinions and beliefs. It is also possible that they may not be consciously aware of or know how they feel about an issue under consideration.

However, even though there is no perfect method of describing and measuring attitudes, the description and measurement of opinion may be closely related to informants' real feelings or attitudes.

The main aim of this test was to examine the respondents' perception of British Standard English, Educated SA Black English, Educated Afrikaans English, Educated Indian English and American English. The chief purpose above all was to explore the status of British Standard English (C.f. Chapter 3).

The first category of the arguments to be addressed will be those that are pro-British Standard English. (C.f. Table: 7). 61.1% of the teachers responses to "If my English is good, I'll be able to make friends easily" (S2), show their positive attitude towards the target language and its mother tongue speakers.
According to Dulay et al. (1982), this statement is "integrative oriented", which implies that the respondents have the desire to achieve proficiency in British Standard English in order to participate in the life of the target language group. 60% of the teacher trainees also concede with the above argument. Contrary to the teachers and trainees' responses, 87% of the pupil respondents in extreme agreement with the statement that if they improve their English, they would make English friends easily. On the surface, this response appears to be contradicting the findings of the first set of tests in which their reactions to British Standard English was almost marginal.

However, we can interpret this argument bearing in mind their response to (S3); i.e. "Basically, I am satisfied with the way I speak English" and (S10) "I would like to speak British Standard English". About 55.1% of them agree that they are not satisfied with their level of proficiency in English. 72.4% aspire to acquire British Standard English model. This variety is conceived as a vehicle for social mobility.
The argument that "English should be taught by English people from SUB-A" (S4), sparked conflicting points of view. 50% of the teachers and 60% of the trainees, reject this proposal for obvious reasons. It is a direct challenge to their profession. Pupils on the other hand are not sure about the side they would like to take. 44.4% support this argument while the equal number of the other pupils; 44.4% reject it, leaving about 11.1% in the buffer zone.

The response to "Black teachers should teach English pronunciation close to Standard White English" (S8), is unquestionably acknowledged by 72.3% teachers and 70% pupils, while 42.8% teacher trainees seem to be wary and dubious about the argument. Only 23.8% of these informants are in favour of the proposal.

Teacher trainees', quarrel with (S8) and (S10) above is not surprising, considering the fact that they come into contact with native English teachers for the first time at the teacher training institutions, at the time when some of these trainees pride themselves of having obtained high matric symbols in English. When they are confronted with the stigmatization of their form of English, perceived as "different" and "deficient," they become disillusioned. This situation may result in Social distance factors as described earlier in this chapter. Thus, the 2LL group's enthusiasm to attain mother tongue proficiency might diminish.
+ ESABE statements were considered as a second category of arguments. 50% of teacher informants agree that "In Black schools English should be taught by Blacks" (S1). This argument links up well with (S4) that "English should be taught by English people from SUB-A", as we have seen above, 50% of the teachers reject it.

It is therefore, evident that in principle a fair number of teacher informants do not object to English mother tongue speakers teaching English in Black schools, provided that they complement the Black teachers, hence 27.8% of them agree that it would be a good idea to have them in Black schools.

The following statements ignited contradictory responses from teacher informants:

"Basically, I am satisfied with the way I speak English" (S3)

"I would like to speak British Standard English" (S10)

66.7% claim that they are satisfied with the way they speak English while on the other hand, 88.9% aspire to speak British Standard English. It is interesting to note that these teachers speak a different kind of variety from that spoken by an average educated mother-tongue speaker of English (C.f. Table 8).
Geographical boundaries on residential areas are evidence enough to account for differences in the varieties spoken by the separate groups. The teachers further deny that "Many Blacks prefer to speak English with African pronunciation" (S6). Only 33.4% of them agree. 38.8% are not sure. Their response is also consistent with the results of the following statement, which states that "I like Black singers who pronounce English the African way" (S16).

Once more, only 33.4% support the statement while 38.9% are not sure. It is clear from these results that teacher informants do not align themselves with their own variety.

Trudgill (1974) refers to this type of people as "over reporters" i.e. they claim to speak a prestigious model when in fact they are not. This could also suggest that most of these informants may not be perceptive enough to realize that they speak a different type of English from that spoken by South African English native speakers, British or American speakers of English.
The last category is a *+Intelligibility* argument. All the three informant groups strongly agree that it is not difficult for them to understand English native speakers. 88.9% teachers, 85.7% trainees and 82.1% pupils claim that they have no intelligibility problem. This therefore, raises many questions such as *whom should 2LL group be intelligible to?* To another speaker of the same social class? To a speaker of another social class or does it mean intelligible to a speaker of another variety? (C.f. Tabl.12).

Kachru asks the following searching question:

*Who is the judge for determining intelligibility in various varieties of English— the users of the varieties themselves, or the idealized native speakers?*
CHAPTER 5

5.1 CONCLUSION.

Bouchard Rayan (1979, in Giles and St Clair) claims that a host of studies conducted in several societies have demonstrated that the varieties of a particular language tend to enjoy differential prestige. He goes on to argue that even the speakers of such low prestige styles frequently view those styles unfavourably. A question which emerges from this study is: Why do people keep their low status varieties when they know that it may well be in their economic and social interests to acquire a variety of high prestige?

Milroy's (1980) notion of social network attempts to answer the above question. Social network theory claims that varieties of language are subject to maintenance through pressure exerted by informal ties of kin and friendship. It is argued that the informal pressures are likely to be strong when the personal ties involved are dense and multiplex. A network is said to be dense when in a given group of people, virtually everybody knows everyone else.

Multiplexity on the other hand, endeavours to measure the strength of the ties that exist between individuals within the network. The degree of network multiplexity is probably highest when the group concerned is territorially based, for example, in low status groups.
Whereas density is based on whether X knows W, Y,Z and whether they know one another, while a multiplexity measure estimates the number of capacities in which X knows W or Y or Z. Thus, X may know Y as a friend, colleague or even as a relative.

It is therefore argued that density and multiplexity of networks constrain the behaviour of individuals within the networks. If a member of a close-knit working class group begins to adopt speech that is not exactly the common speech of the network, that person may be rejected by his own group. This member of the group would under normal circumstances value the moral, political and practical support of the network peers, and thus opt for their familiar speech patterns. It is further contended that if a member of a low prestige group opts for the standardized or high status form, this individual will be opting for status rather than solidarity.

Giles and St Clair (1979) reinforce the view that in many social interactions, speakers desire their listeners' social approval. One tactic is for the former to modify their speech in the direction of the latter, a process called speech convergence. On the other hand there might arise situations where the speaker might wish to dissociate himself from the interlocutor, presumably because of certain stereotypes or attitudes held by the person concerned, thus accentuate their linguistic differences, a process known as speech divergence.
Milroy and Milroys' (1985) study in inner-city Belfast suggests that it is quite rare among the working class to have a person prefer status to solidarity. Social network theory seems to have provided some insight into why low status, local and regional varieties have such a strong capacity to persist despite the institutional pressure that favour standard English. It is therefore important that these implications should be understood by educators and language planners.

Kachru (1983, in Cobarrubias and Fishman) contends that the non-native Englishes, institutionalized or not, are linguistic orphans in search of their parents. The other problem is that even when the non-native models of English are linguistically identifiable, geographically definable and functionally valuable, they are still not necessarily attitudinally acceptable. Kachru reaffirms this view by propounding that there is an accent bar which continues to segregate the non-native speakers of English.

He argues that the acceptance of a model should depend on its users. He maintains that the users of a model must demonstrate solidarity, identity and loyalty towards their language variety.
Most ESL teachers, according to Van Zyl (1987) are stalled in one of two colonial stages. She calls the first "Guarding the Tower" Stage, in which teachers feel called upon to guard the golden heritage of a precious culture, the product of centuries of refinement and embellishment.

The second stage is called "Converting the Natives," this stage regards learners as empty vessels, ready to be filled with knowledge. It is argued that the teachers' main purpose will be to carry the technology of advanced literacy to the inhabitants of an underdeveloped country.

Finally, Kachru closes this argument by his remarkable and thought provoking comment:

"The non-native speakers themselves have not yet been able to accept what may be termed "ecological validity" of their nativized Englishes. One would have expected such acceptance given the acculturation and linguistic nativization of the new varieties. On the other hand the non-native models of English such as RP or General American; are not accepted without reservations. There is thus a linguistic schizophrenia, the underlying causes of which have yet to be studied" (Kachru, 1983:157; in Cobarrubias and Fishman).
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APPENDIX A: TEST 1

(1) Which type of English do you think is best? Answer by putting a cross (X) in one of the boxes.

American English
Afrikaans English
South African Black English
South African Indian English
British Standard English
None

(2) Which type of English would you prefer to be taught in Black schools? Answer by putting a cross (X) in the relevant box.

British Standard English
South African Black English
American English
Afrikaans English
None

(3) Rate these types of English in order of your preference from the best to the worst.

Afrikaans English
South African Indian English
American English
British Standard English
South African Black English
(1) Which type of English do you think is best? Answer by putting a cross (X) in one of the boxes.

American English
Afrikaans English
South African Black English
South African Indian English
British Standard English
None

(2) Which type of English would you prefer to be taught in Black schools? Answer by putting a cross (X) in the relevant box.

British Standard English
South African Black English
American English
South African Indian English
Afrikaans English
None

(3) Rate these types of English in order of your preference from the best to the worst.

5. Afrikaans English
4. South African Indian English
3. American English
2. British Standard English
1. South African Black English
(1) Which type of English do you think is best? Answer by putting a cross (X) in one of the boxes.

American English
Afrikaans English
South African Black English
South African Indian English
British Standard English
None

(2) Which type of English would you prefer to be taught in Black schools? Answer by putting a cross (X) in the relevant box.

British Standard English
South African Black English
American English
South African Indian English
Afrikaans English
None

(3) Rate these types of English in order of your preference from the best to the worst.

Afrikaans English 5
South African Indian English 4
American English 2
British Standard English 1
South African Black English 3
(1) Which type of English do you think is best? Answer by putting a cross (X) in one of the boxes.

- American English
- Afrikaans English
- South African Black English
- South African Indian English
- British Standard English
- None

(2) Which type of English would you prefer to be taught in Black schools? Answer by putting a cross (X) in the relevant box.

- British Standard English
- South African Black English
- American English
- South African Indian English
- Afrikaans English
- None

(3) Rate these types of English in order of your preference from the best to the worst.

1. Afrikaans English
2. South African Indian English
3. American English
4. British Standard English
5. South African Black English
(1) Which type of English do you think is best? Answer by putting a cross (X) in one of the boxes.

American English
Afrikaans English
South African Black English
South African Indian English
British Standard English
None

(2) Which type of English would you prefer to be taught in Black schools? Answer by putting a cross (X) in the relevant box.

British Standard English
South African Black English
American English
South African Indian English
Afrikaans English
None

(3) Rate these types of English in order of your preference from the best to the worst.

5 Afrikaans English
4 South African Indian English
3 American English
2 British Standard English
1 South African Black English
Do you agree with the following statements? Answer by putting a cross (X) in one of the boxes. Eg, if you disagree completely put your cross in box 1, if you agree completely put your cross in box 5.

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Indicate with a cross (X) where necessary:

Age: [ ] Under 20 | [ ] 20 - 30 | [ ] Over 30 |
Sex: [ ] Male | [ ] Female |
Profession: .................................................
Do you agree with the following statements? Answer by putting a cross (X) in one of the boxes. Eg, if you disagree completely put your cross in box 1, if you agree completely put your cross in box 5.

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Indicate with a cross (X) where necessary:

Age: [ ] under 20 | [ ] 20-30 | [ ] over 30 | X |

Sex: [ ] Male | [ ] Female | X |

Profession: [ ] Teacher | [ ] Other | X |
Do you agree with the following statements? Answer by putting a cross (X) in one of the boxes. Eg, if you disagree completely put your cross in box 1, if you agree completely put your cross in box 5.

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Age: <under 20> X <20 - 30> X <over 30>

Sex: <male> X <female>

Profession: Teacher
Do you agree with the following statements? Answer by putting a cross (X) in one of the boxes. Eg, if you disagree completely put your cross in box 1, if you agree completely put your cross in box 5.

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Sex: [ ] male; [ ] female

Profession: [ ]
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Age: 
- under 20: X
- 20 - 30: X
- over 30: 

Sex: 
- male: X
- female: 

Profession: 
- student: X
Do you agree with the following 16 statements? Number or putting a cross (X) in the box for which you agree completely put your choice to be completed. Turn over your paper and enclose your answer in box 5.

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Indicate with a cross (X) where necessary:

Age: Under 20 X 20-30 X 31-40 X 40-50 X

Sex: Male X Female

Profession: Student X Teacher
Do you agree with the following statements about the ways in which English is taught in Black schools? Place a cross (X) in the box that represents the degree of agreement with each statement. If you disagree, put the X in the bottom box.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
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<td>4. English should be taught by English people from S.A.</td>
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<td>5. Afrikanders speak English beautifully.</td>
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<td>6. Many Blacks prefer to speak English with Afrikaans pronunciation.</td>
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<td>7. I enjoy listening to Indians speaking English.</td>
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<td>8. Black teachers should teach English pronunciation close to standard White English.</td>
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<td>9. To speak English with an Afrikaans pronunciation means being less educated.</td>
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<td>10. I would like to speak British Standard English.</td>
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<td>11. TV Bop Black news-readers speak English beautifully.</td>
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<td>12. When English people speak I find it difficult to understand them.</td>
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<td>13. If there were a Black government in S.A., English should remain the language of government and administration.</td>
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<td>14. I wish Black pupils could be taught the old &quot;Royal Reader&quot; English.</td>
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<td>15. I like Black people who speak English like English people.</td>
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<td>16. I like Black singers who pronounce English the African way.</td>
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Indicate with a cross (X) where necessary:

Age: [ ] under 20 | [ ] 20 - 30 | [ ] 30 - 40 | [ ] over 40 | X | 1

Sex: [ ] Male | [ ] Female | X | 1

Profession: [ ] Lecturer | [ ] Other | X | 1
Do you agree with the following statements? Please put a cross (X) in one of the columns corresponding to your degree of agreement. If you are unable to decide, completely put your cross in box 5.

1. In Black schools, English should be taught by Blacks.
2. If my English is good, I'll be able to make friends easily with English-speaking people.
3. Basically, I am satisfied with the way I speak English.
4. English should be taught to English people from S.A.
5. Afrikaans speak English beautifully.
6. Many Blacks prefer to speak English with Afrikaans pronunciation.
7. I enjoy listening to Indians speaking English.
8. Black teachers should teach English pronunciation close to standard White English.
9. To speak English with an Afrikaans pronunciation means being less educated.
10. I would like to speak British Standard English.
11. TV Bop Black news-readers speak English beautifully.
12. When English people speak I find it difficult to understand them.
13. If there were a Black government in S.A., English should remain the language of government and administration.
14. I wish Black pupils could be taught the old "Royal Reader" English.
15. I like Black people who speak English like English people.
16. I like Black singers who pronounce English the African way.

Indicate with a cross (X) where necessary:

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