READING FOR RICHES: A VYGOTSKYAN ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH WRITING BY D.E.T. MATRICULANTS

by

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DECLARATION

I the undersigned hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the problem of the assumed deficit mind-set brought by some L1 and educated L2 speakers of English to the English output of L2 speakers.

It was hypothesised that insights from the work of L.S. Vygotsky will redress the assumption that non-standard writing of English reflects linguistic and intellectual incompetence.

It was hypothesised further that a word count, the analysis of metaphors used in the writing and an understanding of idiosyncratic expressions are tools that can be used to develop a system of evaluation that would apply Vygotskyan thinking in evaluation methodology.

British and American mainstream evaluation methodology and language theories were compared with Vygotsky and set in a Vygotskyan perspective to establish a methodology for this project.

A sample of essays written by DET matriculants was analysed with the tools mentioned above and it was found that the writers of the essays had achieved self-regulation. This finding suggests cognitive and linguistic competence. Furthermore, if readers of the essays focus on the strategies used to make meaning rather than on the non-standard forms produced then they are likely to approach the writing with a positive mind-set. However, more research is needed before the tools can be incorporated into an evaluation instrument.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

1. AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1. The origin of the study

This study arose out of a confrontation between a college of education lecturer and her first year English class (Faragher and Siyengo 1989). The students claimed that she was expecting them to do things that they could not do. They could not understand the setwork - **Down Second Avenue** by Ezekiel Mpahlele and wanted a summary. The lecturer would not supply the summary and the students rebelled, saying that they were second language students and were being expected to function as if they were first language speakers. Furthermore they were products of the **DET** with all the systematic disadvantages that implied.

No summaries were supplied, but more assistance was. This assistance took the form of a course component, developed by all the lecturers teaching the course, that was designed to build the students' confidence while assisting them to penetrate the setwork. They came to appreciate that learning can be painful but worth it.

Central to this experience is the perception that the students suffered from a serious sense of their own inadequacy and used it to win sympathy and justify not putting effort into fulfilling a task that they perceived as difficult. The assumption by themselves as well as others, that L2 speakers of English, especially products of the DET system, are linguistically less able and therefore intellectually less able, needs to be challenged. These perceptions exist both in the minds of students and of teachers and lecturers.

It is possible to change the mind-set brought by L1 and educated L2 speakers to the English output of speakers of other languages. It is assumed that

this mind-set sees both intellectual and linguistic incompetence in writing such as appears in the data used in this study. The contention of this study is that neither sort of incompetence is necessarily present in such writing.

Readers tend to focus on whether the output is standard English or not, rather than on the cognitive effort used to create it. If the focus were on the forms themselves and what they reveal about the strategies the writers use to create meaning, then deficit assumptions would not be made. Vygotskyan psycholinguistics encourages such a focus; therefore it was decided to place the study in a Vygotskyan perspective to test the following hypotheses in the context of the research material used in the study.

Hypothesis 1 : **Insights gained from Vygotsky will redress the assumption that non-standard writing of English reflects linguistic and intellectual incompetence.**

Hypothesis 2: **A word count, the analysis of metaphors used in writing and an understanding of idiosyncratic expressions are tools that can be used to develop a system of evaluation that would apply Vygotskyan thinking in evaluation methodology.**

To support these hypotheses, a randomly selected sample of essays (hereafter referred to as 'the data') written by students in DET schools in the Cape Peninsula are examined within a Vygotskyan perspective. The tools, to be used experimentally, are a word count and an analysis of metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions. After examination and analysis of the data, a description of how these writers achieve meaning and self-regulation (a Vygotskyan term) is attempted. Some recommendations regarding the implications of this description for evaluation and for education in general are made.

2. RESEARCH METHODS
2.1. THE DATA

2.1.1. Collection

In January 1992 printouts of the matric results were received from 11 DET high schools in the Cape Town area.

They are:

Fezeka High School	11 scripts
Gugulethu Comprehensive	3 scripts
I D Mkize High School	6 scripts
Langa High School	10 scripts
Luhlaza High School	22 scripts
Matthew Goniwe High School	9 scripts
Masiyile High School	22 scripts
Joe Slovo High School	6 scripts
Nelson Mandela High School	7 scripts
Oscar Mpetha High School	8 scripts
Sithembile Mathiso High School	12 scripts
Total	116 scripts

All the DET high schools who wrote matric at the time are included in the sample. Langa Comprehensive is not included because it was confused with Langa High School and Langa High School was duplicated.

1:3 candidates, according to the lists of all those who passed with either an M symbol (matric exemption) or an EE S (pass without exemption), were selected. Candidates with F S (a minimal pass) were not selected. The other criterion was that all the candidates whose scripts were selected had to have a pass in English.

The scripts of the selected candidates were extracted from the DET archives in the Old Mint in Pretoria and photocopied at the DET offices. Some of the photocopying was not very successful, but only one script had to be discarded.

The scripts were sorted into rank order of popularity - some topics attracted more answers than others - and typed into a computer using **Wordperfect 5.1**. The scripts were read and the metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions were marked so that the *Table of Authorities* facility in the wordprocessor programme could generate the lists of metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions that are used for analysis.

2.1.2. Written vs oral texts

It was necessary to collect a sample of data to use for the purposes of exploring the cognitive strategies brought to the task of making meaning in English by L2 speakers. The language the writers used was most readily available in written form because that is the objective reality of the production of such students - it is how what they do is manifested. It is a form of data that is easily collected for analytical purposes.

The only linguistic analysis on Vygotskyan principles that has so far been found is based on oral discourse and texts. It seems that oral discourse is more generally used for such purposes. **Gilbert** (1991:196) states that the spoken word is a means for the creation of knowledge and for promoting its users' linguistic development and it is usually privileged over the written word.

2.1.2.1. Literature reveals consciousness

According to **Bakhtin** the **written** word in literary discourse becomes a model for the reconstruction of individual consciousness (**Kozulin** 1990:181). Language is a tool for turning 'extralinguistic' reality into a 'developing reality'. The writer's self, thoughts, intentions and context are made manifest in his/her written and oral utterances.

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Bakhtin believed that the better genres [1] are used and employed, the more fully individuality is revealed

> (Which) suggests that a superior literary discourse which skilfully combines a multitude of different genres could be the model for a fully developed individual language (**Kozulin** 1990:182).

This view is supported by **Cazden** (1989:122)

While it is not claimed that the texts used in this study are examples of 'superior literary discourse', they are, within the demands of their context, 'a fully developed individual language'. The utterances referred to as 'essays' are speech genres, reflecting a sort of dialogic discourse between the candidate and the examiner. The type of essay and its topic restricts the range of genres that could be used but, again, according to **Kozulin** (1990:182) utterances can be anything from a 'single-word rejoinder to a large novel'.

Kozulin (**Kozulin** 1990:180) asserts that since the development of speech plays an important role in the formation of human consciousness, the analysis of literary discourse may become a methodological tool in the study of not only everyday language; but also of consciousness itself.

In the data, used the essays represent the 'individual consciousness' of each writer. They represent the mental activity - the moving of thoughts in the brain through *inner speech*, to appear as written utterances, as literary discourse. For **Bakhtin**, according to **Kozulin** (1990:180), literary discourse becomes a model for the reconstruction of individual consciousness.

> Literature does not invent life,...It reveals such capacities of human consciousness and communication which remain under-developed or invisible in other media of expression (**Kozulin** (1990:183).

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[1]. Some of the genres mentioned by Kozulin are monologues, dialogues, prose and poetry, greetings, commands, requests, comments, historical narratives and love-letters.

Hence the decision to use this data as a tool to reconstruct the individual consciousnesses of the writers of the sample and develop some generalisations about what underlies the production of the output.

2.1.2.2. How to avoid a 'reduced mean' in the final analysis

There is a tension between this Vygotskyan 'individual' perspective and the proposed result of the study - a collective analysis of a selection of texts by L2 writers - which implies the reduction of the data to a mean.

However, the methodology and rhetoric that are employed will result in an additive picture more than a reduced mean. A compromise will be aimed at to keep within **Lantolf and Frawley 's** (1985:24) stricture that the individual is of primary importance in Vygotskyan theory, and thus instances of the individual discourse are the only legitimate objects of analysis.

Lantolf and Frawley state an objection to western statistical rhetoric that is based on the concept of the mean and excludes the individual. It might seem that the individual is excluded, but what is aimed at here is to achieve a fuller indication of the working lexical vocabulary of the writers in the data, as well as a bank of metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions that any individual might have had access to if such data had suited the individual purpose. To achieve the above aim, individual essays were studied and a collective picture of the words, metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions was arrived at. This argument is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 4.

2.1.3. Limitations and constraints of the use of this data

There are, of course, disadvantages and limitations related to the use of writing for this purpose as well as to this particular source. These constraints include the following: - There is only one piece of data per writer,

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- The data are based on set essay topics,

- The data were written in examination conditions

- The writers are anonymous.

2.1.3.1. The problem of having only one piece of data per writer

The problem is that a single text/utterance may not be considered sufficient data to provide a complete description of any individual's linguistic output. More data, elicited from a range of instruments and in the other language modalities, would be needed. Think-aloud protocols and the opportunity to interlocute with the subjects would assist greatly in guiding the researcher who wishes to determine the psycholinguistic strategies used to make meaning. Think-aloud protocols[2] would also have greatly assisted in understanding more about the processes of *regulation* that led to the *self-regulation* of the completed essays.

2.1.3.2. Limitations of the elicitation instrument

The elicitation instrument is severely limiting, in that the writers had to choose one topic and write on it. It is possible that some of the writers had to tackle topics with which they had no empathy. This could affect the quality of the writing **(Alderson and Clapham** 1992:159). A further limitation is imposed on the analytical tools that are used later in the study: the *word count, metaphor* analysis and analysis of *idiosyncratic expressions*. It is not possible that a limited range of writing topics could generate a full list of ALL the words any one writer could know.

2.1.3.3. The problem of writing in examination conditions

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[2] In the collection of think-aloud protocols, the writers would be asked literally to 'think aloud' as they wrote and these thoughts would be tape-recorded providing more data to guide the researcher.

The stress of the examination context may cause candidates to perform at less than their full capacities. The poor image of the DET examination could also have a de-motivating effect on the candidates, thus diminishing the quality of their products.

2.1.3.4. The anonymity of the writers

This is a drawback because it means that there would be difficulty in acquiring other supporting data to extend the scope of the study in the future. Even if it were possible to trace the individuals through the schools and the examination numbers, they would all have left school already and it would be difficult to find them.

A more important drawback is that it is not possible to find out more about the individual lives of the candidates that would contribute to an understanding of their psychological state in the task, and also to an understanding of what cultural and historical capital they bring to the task.

However there have been studies of school-going black youth that starkly depict the state of affairs in township schools (vide **Bundy** 1993). Such a study provides some insight into the cultural and historical capital the writers bring to their writing as well as contributing to the readers' understanding of their psychological state in the task.

Although the levels of political violence were not as high as in areas like Kwa Zulu-Natal or the East Rand, the 'culture of learning ' was just as much in need of restoration and the level of teacher morale was just as low as anywhere else in the country. (**SAIRR Survey** 1994) Furthermore, 1991 was characterised by high levels of campaigns involving boycotts and stayaways, one of the student writers refers to this and even attempts to problematise the situation. It is interesting

that the content of the essays reflects other socially disruptive events, taxi violence and gangsterism among them.

In spite of the writers' anonymity, it is possible to hypothesise about their personal states because opinions and feelings **are** expressed. Some of the essay topics also involve descriptions of their home circumstances and relationships, so something is revealed about their personal lives as well.

2.2. THE ARGUMENT

After the selection of the data, the argument that the data show cognitive capacity that would not usually be assumed by L1 and educated L2 speakers proceeds.

3. MAINSTREAM VS VYGOTSKY

To show that the data show unexpected cognitive capacity, a Vygotskyan perspective will be developed and set against the assumptions and received wisdom of mainstream L2 research and practice.

3.1. Definition of terms

Some of the terms and concepts that are central to the argument are defined, such as *interlanguage, language, competence*, and *proficiency*. The Vygotskyan concepts of *inner speech, consciousness* and *regulation* are introduced as well as the *cognitive state in the task.*

The terms *interlanguage, language competence* and *proficiency* are developed according to mainstream research and set in a Vygotskyan perspective. Thereafter a preference for a holistic view of language is indicated and a decision made to follow the Vygotskyan perspective.

3.2. The Vygotskyan perspective

In an attempt to develop a description free of deficit thinking, a Vygotskyan perspective is adopted. This perspective should provide an appropriate framework, guidelines and rhetoric. A deficit-free description is more possible within a Vygotskyan perspective, because *inter alia* in this perspective the interest is in the **forms** the writers use to complete the task. The forms are viewed as markers of how speakers relate to the task, rather than as markers of their general linguistic competence (**Frawley and Lantolf** 1985:19).

In this case, the forms are the *words, metaphors* and *idiosyncratic expressions,* as well as the content of the essays. Thus the distinction between correctly and incorrectly produced forms can be ignored, and the forms will all be viewed as markers of how the writers 'relate to the task'.

3.3. Hoped-for results of the adoption of the Vygotskyan perspective

The use of this approach should make it possible to show how the learners in the data make meaning. It should also be more possible to learn about their capabilities by understanding their *cognitive state in the task* than by the focus on error and deficit inherent in the attitudes underlying most other systems of assessment.

The 'dialogue' between writer and DET marker results in a mark being awarded for the writing. In the best of all worlds this mark would be based more on the sort of reading advocated in this study than is presently done and a model free of deficit thinking, that would be to the benefit of all learners and teachers, would be adopted. It is hypothesised that an analysis of the data using *a word count, metaphors* and *idiosyncratic expressions* equips readers with appropriate tools to read affirmatively.

3.4. The analytical tools

The tools of the analysis are *vocabulary, metaphors* and *idiosyncratic expressions.* These tools raise questions about the need for a minimum vocabulary for starting tertiary education. They also lead to the hypothesis that the metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions make certain contributions to a version of English as used by Xhosa-speakers. This version of English is referred to as the Xhosa English Version (XEV) from now on. [3]

Why is it important that *a description free of deficit thinking* be developed?

3.5. A historical perspective on the problem

Roux observed in 1942 that

> the sophisticated African may be able to understand long words and complicated English, but the average rank-and-file cannot. One of the great shortcomings of the African movement [for independence] is the gap between the educated and the half-educated. It is necessary to overcome the snobbishness of the former and raise the cultural level of the latter (**Brown** 1992:81).

3.5.1. A hope for transformation

There is no presumption in this study to 'raise the cultural level' of anyone, but there is a hope to 'overcome the snobbishness' of not only 'the sophisticated African' but all readers who bring a deficit mind-set to writing of the kind in this sample.

The position assumed is intuitive and would need more research than can be done for this study, but nevertheless it is worth saying that there is probably a great

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[3] This usage is derived from the convention that refers to the English spoken by African-Americans as BEV - Black English Version.

deal of unrecognised talent coming out of the DET high schools; and that it is unrecognised because, for whatever reasons, the English that is written does not conform to the 'standard'. If readers could read those texts and hear voices using everything they have to make meaning and make it so that the reader will be impressed, then the readers would be more likely to recognise and acknowledge the potential of these writers. They might also be more likely to give them a chance to develop a writing style that conforms more to the 'standard', more to academic language, and thus gain more opportunity to compete in the economic mainstream of society. In fact it could be argued that these learners should have the opportunity to compete before the acquisition of a 'standard' writing style and that the acquisition of the style will develop as part of the process of competing.

3.6. Changing readers' mind-sets through understanding writing strategies in a Vygotskyan perspective

If teachers, academics and potential employers are to develop an affirmative mind-set towards the writing of DET products, it will be helpful if they are able to understand the strategies the writers use to make meaning and how they achieve *self-regulation*. The readers' minds will then not be focused on the incompetence of the writers as shown by their lexical and grammatical errors, but on the richness of the metaphors and the idiosyncratic expressions. They will then appreciate what the writers are saying and be less distracted by surface errors.

3.6.1. Changing writers' mind-sets

If readers/evaluators developed positive attitudes to L2 writing, the writers should develop more confidence and should therefore perform better. They should then be able to play a stronger role in the reconstruction and development of South Africa because their capacity will have been enhanced.

There is also the possibility that the writers' confidence will be enhanced if they know that their writing will be judged according to different criteria and that the readers they are addressing will read their writing appreciatively. Earlier, reference was made to a group of college of education students' claim that their DET education had disadvantaged them and that they needed extra assistance. It might be argued that when teachers and lecturers show an affirmative attitude to their work, the students will develop greater self-respect and confidence and hence perform better.

This changed approach implies a non-judgemental acceptance and understanding of the strategies they have adopted to perform the task of writing their essays and thus achieve *self-regulation* in that task.

3.7. Matriculants are self-regulated in the writing task

The approach mentioned above can only be developed if an innovative set of ideas and guidelines is brought to bear on the problem. Those ideas and guidelines are taken from Vygotskyan theory. In this perspective, matric candidates are individuals who have achieved *self-regulation,* or *independent strategic functioning* (**Frawley and Lantolf** 1985:20). This is a Vygotskyan term that suggests that the writer has control over his/her world and, in the terms used here, is able to communicate well enough in the essay examination to pass matric.

S/he does this by a process that involves working through *object-* and *other-* regulation to *self- regulation.* This means that in the first instance they are controlled by the environment, and in the second by another person who assists in the completion of the task, whatever the task is at the time and the individual is not yet free of his/her influence. Once the individual has worked through the two processes to *self-regulation,* s/he is independent and in control of the process - in this case the process of writing an essay in the matric examination and doing

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well enough to pass the examination. *Self-regulation* is not an absolute state and the learner still has access to *objects* and *others* when faced with tasks for which s/he might need assistance (**Foley** 1991:64).

It can be argued that the writers wrestle with their ideas and their vocabulary to produce metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions. They use the words, metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions as the *objects* and *others* in the place of the environment and the other person/s, to bring them to the *self-regulation* of the completed, meaningful essays. All of the essays in the sample were written by candidates who passed the examination and were considered to be meaningful products (cf Addendum 2 - the scripts).

It is the aim here to show that it is possible to develop respect and understanding for the sort of linguistic (particularly lexical) strategies that have been used to achieve self-regulation. The essay contents also provide insights to the learners' life-worlds. These insights enrich the reader's appreciation of some of the difficulties under which the writers live and learn.

3.8. Changing Mind-sets and the RDP

There is a new educational dispensation in 1995, but it will take time for the damage done in the past to be redressed. Efforts to bring about this redress are recorded in the reports of the NECC's People's English Commission which reflect the efforts by teachers and students to free themselves from the oppression of the sort of teaching enforced in DET schools. This oppression is born from overloaded syllabuses, oppressive power relations in the classrooms and the curricula, rote learning and transmission teaching (**Peirce** 1990). A middle class attitude to English which values it above all other languages (**McLean** 1992) also contributes as does a corrupt examination system, (**Mathonsi** s.a.) and above all else, the legacy of a social and political system - apartheid - from which rigorous efforts need to be made by individuals to free themselves. Learning to read L2

learners' writing differently and more richly should contribute to this process of liberation.

English, and how learners and teachers view their use of it, is an important concern in liberatory education in South Africa (**Gardiner** 1987). The learners' views on this are expressed in the most popular essay topic that dealt with their attitude to English as the medium of instruction in their schools (cf Chapter 4). Most writers felt that English had had a destructive impact on their culture, but many of those also saw knowledge of English as advantageous in terms of careers and education. The context of the writing, the DET examination, is, however, not likely to generate revolutionary expression. The content of the essays will be further commented on in Chapter 5.

3.9. The relationship between Vygotskyan and mainstream approaches

What has been said up to now might suggest a sort of Vygotskyan hegemony. This is true in so far as it is the model used to develop a methodology for reading the texts affirmatively. However, mainstream approaches to the issues of language and language acquisition and the debates around competence and proficiency are not ignored. The ideas that support the Vygotskyan perspective are incorporated, but the general effect is that of contrasting the mainstream thinking with Vygotskyan thinking.

Some attention is paid to testing and assessment, but as the ultimate purpose of this thesis is to persuade a change of mind-set, not develop an assessment model, this discussion is not taken to its fullest. However a model for assessment of L2 writing could develop out of the thinking proposed here.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MAINSTREAM AND VYGOTSKY

In this thesis it is assumed that the responses of L1 and educated L2 users of English to the data used is negative and based on their education in mainstream[4] thinking about language, competence and proficiency. It is the purpose of this thesis to use Vygotskyan thinking to redress the assumed negative responses mentioned above and to ensure avoidance of deficit rhetoric (**Kachru** 1991:4).

Definitions of terms commonly used in mainstream applied linguistics are given and then set in a Vygotskyan perspective. The Vygotskyan perspective is used to discover what it is that the learners *bring* to the task, and what strategies they use to make meaning. The *quality* of their output is not an issue. What these data reveal is not described as relative to native speakers' (NS) proficiency in the target language (TL).

1. A VIEW OF LANGUAGE

The first issue to be addressed is the view of language, which is appropriately seen as a social force, as belonging to *langue* with its sense of social contract (**Hutchings** 1989). This view combines the notion of subconscious ordering with the idea that social factors and interactions influence the language user's output or *parole.*

What learners can **do** with language is the focus of this study, and how this is examined and analysed is guided by (i) definitions of *language* and *interlanguage,* (ii) the debates around **proficiency** and **competence**, and (iii) what the data show in terms of *vocabulary extent*, the use of *metaphors* and *idiosyncratic language,*

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[4]. This study refers to <u>mainstream</u> research as that dominated by British and American applied linguists to distinguish it from those who follow Vygotskyan principles, which are more closely allied to scholarship emanating from Eastern Europe.

and how these reveal the covert processes contributing to the learners' 'creation of meaning' and the development of cognitive skills (**Auerbach** 1986:419).

1.1. Interlanguage

The writers of the data are all second language English speakers and for this reason the term *interlanguage* is used to describe their output. This concept is well defined in **Ellis** (1986:299):

> Interlanguage is the term coined by Selinker(1972) to refer to the systematic knowledge of a second language which is independent of both the learner's first language and the target language. The term has come to be used with different but related meanings: (1) to refer to the series of interlocking systems which characterize acquisition, (2) to refer to the system that is observed at a single stage of development (i.e. 'an interlanguage') and (3) to refer to particular mother tongue/target language combinations ...

The term *interlanguage* is used without prejudice. It should not be understood to imply that the language used here is faulty or deficient. It is intended to convey the idea, created by Selinker's definition, of a language of its own, 'independent of both the learner's first language and the target language'. It is the system that is observed to be in use by learners living in a predominantly Xhosa-speaking environment at the end of 12 years of schooling in DET schools.

1.2. Fossilisation

In order further to develop the idea that the body of text in this study may be defined as an **interlanguage, a language of its own,** the following observations about variability and fossilisation need to be made. The idea of learners' embarking on a continuum towards the target language takes into account the variable progression involved. This variability is further complicated when the idea of **fossilisation** is introduced. Fossilisation implies that many L2 learners develop fixed interlanguage rules that do not conform to the target language rules (**Ellis** 1986:297). When they have not fossilised, these constructions can be

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called *transitional constructions* and are defined as 'the language forms language learners use while they are still learning the grammar of the language' (**Dulay, Burt, and Krashen.** 1982:121, cited in **Ellis** 1986:59).

In order to develop a description of the written interlanguage produced by DET matriculants, it is necessary to come to grips with the terminology and concepts of mainstream communicative language teaching. Some of the terms used are *language, communicative competence, and proficiency*. They all refer to what users do with *language* and it is therefore necessary first to define *language*, as well as later to define the other terms.

2. LANGUAGE

What follows is an incremental definition of language that draws eclectically on a range of different researchers from **Vygotsky** (1962 and 1986) - who wrote in the 1920s - through **Hymes** (1971) to the most recent writing of **Shaw** (1992) and **Hewson** (1992).

2.1. Langue and Parole

Hewson (1992:581) draws on **Saussure's** definitions of *langue* and *parole*:

> (A) language is a theoretical, not an empirical entity, and to attempt to define it in empirical or positivist terms automatically creates confusions. Saussure, in fact, had long before pointed out that a language, a tongue, *une langue*, was itself not directly observable but only indirectly observable, through its influence on the structure of discourse.

Hewson compares *langue* with the pieces of a child's meccano set and *parole* with the completed model. *Langue* is the grammar of the language, the pieces of the meccano set; it is paradigmatic, while *parole* is the discourse and is syntagmatic; it is the completed model (**Hewson** 1992:584). According to

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Hewson, the finally constructed utterances belong only to parole and the forms they take depend on the user's 'knowledge' of *langue* (**Hewson** 1992:584).

This leads to the conclusion that knowledge of the system *langue* is part of the compound that produces the meaningful utterance *parole* through which the individual constitutes him/herself.

2.2. A social construct

According to **Cazden**, **Hymes** sees language as a social construct, and, in concert with **Bakhtin**, says that language forms are used on an ad hoc basis to cause communication in specific circumstances for specific and unique purposes, and that these forms become generic and therefore common and idiosyncratic (**Cazden** 1989:118). This idea is drawn on when the idiosyncratic forms used in the data are studied.

2.3. Summation

For the purposes of developing criteria on which to base an analysis of the data in this study, it is suggested that it is feasible to construct a view of language that includes the idea of its being **structured** and at the same time **dynamic**, of its **fulfilling individual needs** to communicate and of its being part of **social, historical and ideological forces**.

The view that language is a dynamic, creative construct that incorporates the above qualities is used in the next section in which a decision concerning the use and meaning of the terms *communicative competence* and *linguistic proficiency* is made.

3. COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE or LINGUISTIC PROFICIENCY

When some of the arguments around the divisibility of *competence* and *proficiency* have been examined, the terms will be used to convey their meanings.

3.1. Competence

Competence is the knowledge about language that ALL learners have; described by **Chomsky** (**Ellis** 1986:43-44) as the LAD (Language Acquisition Device), it is a given and is biologically based. **Krashen** (**Ellis** 1986:291) also uses the idea in his acquisition theory and **Hymes** (1971:16) refers to it as *(tacit) knowledge*. Competence has to do with knowledge of grammatical structures, sociolinguistic knowledge, historical /cultural origins, discourse, pragmatic competence, strategic competence (**Taylor** 1988) and the many other things that take place in the brain which contribute to the different acts involving communication through language.

3.2. Proficiency

Proficiency is the *performance*, the *outcomes* that result from the learners' motivation and need to communicate. The two concepts are inextricably linked; without *competence* no person would be able to produce a linguistic artefact, a meaningful contribution to a conversation or a piece of written communication whatever its content. The final article, the result of an act of performance, is what is available for the outside world to judge the person's *proficiency* and to judge it knowing that it is essentially a dynamic concept, that it has to do with process and function and that it is the way *competence* is put to use (**Taylor** 1988).

3.3. Parallel Distributed Processing

The distinction between competence and performance suggests that it will be difficult to describe *competence*, as it is only evidenced in the *performance*. It is, as it were, hidden from view, embedded in the working of the brain and therefore not quantifiable.

In sympathy with the idea of linkage, and with the need to explain how learners progress from competence to proficiency, **Spolsky** (1989:150) writes about Parallel Distributed Processing (PDP) which has developed from the work of connectionist theories proposed by **Rumelhart et al.** (cited in **Spolsky** 1989). **Spolsky** points out that current theories have so far failed to show how learners progress from competence to performance and how structural knowledge and rules relate to functional use (**Spolsky** 1989:150). PDP uses new knowledge about the complexity with which the brain functions. It provides an image of a network of nodes of linguistic knowledge through which linguistic, cultural, psychological and sociological threads pass and link to each other (**Richards and Skelton** 1989). It further implies an additive process of acquisition of linguistic knowledge but in random and eclectic paths depending on the individual learners' motivations, needs and knowledge. Furthermore, PDP suggests a model that explains language acquisition more in terms of how learners' brains process a number of inputs simultaneously and produce an utterance that has taken account of them all. In this way PDP further supports the sense the interconnectedness of all the aspects of competence and proficiency leading to varying degrees of self-regulation.

4. THE VYGOTSKYAN PERSPECTIVE

The Vygotskyan concept of **regulation** is fundamental to the argument presented in this thesis. This is defined here to provide a basis for understanding the perspective placed on the terms *language, competence* and *proficiency.*

4.1. Regulation

According to **Foley** (1991:63) the concept of *regulation* is one of the key concepts in the Vygotskyan perspective.

There are three types of *regulation*: *object-regulation*, in which a person is controlled by the environment, when the person's attention is *fixed on an object...and it dominates cognition at that moment* (**Foley** 1991:63); *other-regulation*, when a person is controlled by another person; and *self-regulation* when speech is used to control oneself and others, often by self-directed utterances which indicate mature linguistic ability (**Foley** 1991:63). This last represents the ability to express oneself clearly and cogently, well enough to pass a public examination in a language not one's own.

The concept of regulation should enable readers and evaluators to describe what L2 learners *do* with language from a perspective free of an 'ontological commitment' to what they *should* do (**Frawley & Lantolf** 1985:25).

4.2. Language
4.2.1. Interlanguage

In the Vygotskyan perspective, all interlanguage is a manifestation of how the speaker is attempting to achieve self-regulation in the language task. With self-regulation comes control of one's world. So *transitional structures* which are described as *idiosyncratic* forms reveal the learners' efforts to achieve *self-regulation.* L2 interlanguage shows the learner's strategy for **knowing** the discourse rather than **relating** it, and the peculiarities of L2 discourse are seen as strategies in other- and object-regulation, used by the producers to achieve self-regulation. Therefore the *odd forms* are **functional** for the knower/producer who is attempting to **learn/acquire/use** another language (**Frawley and Lantolf** 1985:23). According to **Frawley and Lantolf** (1985:19) the forms produced in the

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task are all indicative of the learners' 'cognitive states' in the task and all the forms are relevant to their attempts to complete the task. This conforms to the view that interlanguage consists of the users' efforts to use a language and that every form used is meaningful to the user and is part of the attempt to communicate and therefore to achieve self-regulation.

4.2.2. Langue/Parole

In terms of the *langue/parole* issue, *langue* equates with Vygotsky's *inner speech* where the cognitive activity that leads to the formation of the utterance takes place, and *parole* is the revelation of where the learner is, in terms of his/her progress towards *self-regulation.*

4.2.3. Language as a social construct

Vygotsky was more concerned with 'how language systems are utilized in human social interaction' (**Foley** 1991:62-3), than with the systems themselves. Communicating through language is how individuals realise and maintain their individuality (**Foley** 1991:63). It is also integral to a learner's ability to create knowledge and to function socially. Language is the most important tool in formulating the mental processes which are indirectly shaped by forces that originate in the dynamics of communication (**Kozulin** 1990:180-1). Language gives learners control over their world and enables them to create knowledge and develop ideas in concert with peers via the mediation of an adult or a 'more competent peer' (**Foley** 1991:66).

4.2.4. A more complete definition of language

According to Vygotskyans **Luria and Yudovich** (1959:11), language utterances are all influenced by and linked with all the social, historical and psychological components constituting the subject producing the utterance. Language

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incorporates the experience of generations, or, more broadly speaking, of mankind. Thus it is that the data used in this study yield hypotheses, speculation and understanding about the lives and perceptions of the writers.

4.2.4.1. Language and its relation to thought

Luria (1976:99) argues that concrete discursive thought undergoes a radical transformation once the conditions of people's lives change:

> When they acquire some education and participate in collective discussions of vital social issues, they can readily make the transition to abstract thinking. The acquisition of new experience and new ideas imparts added meaning to their use of language, so that words become the principal agent of abstraction and generalisation.

Speech interactions enable people to create knowledge and ideas. Vygotsky argued that thoughts that are not expressed or shared might as well not exist and that when they are articulated aloud, they contribute to the social mediation of learning and enable individuals, through verbal interactions, either with more knowing peers or with teacher /facilitators, to develop intellectually (**Vygotsky** 1986:249).

Furthermore, the knowledge that language is also a vehicle for **thought, cognition and concept formation (Luria and Yudovich** 1959:11), causes readers of meaningful, self-regulated L2 output to assume that meaningful writing is based on intellectual activity that ought to be respected.

4.3. Competence and proficiency

4.3.1. Competence

Vygotskyans see competence as *inner speech*. The role played by inner speech would be the processing of the L2 concepts and their combination with the linguistic knowledge, words and structures already lodged in the brain. In this

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way, words and structures of the L2 are formulated and produced as utterances. What the learner says has already been inwardly debated and formulated and emerges as ideas and concepts ready to be shared and further formed in concert with others.

4.3.2. Proficiency

When the learner's ideas are spoken or written down (externalised), they provide evidence of the cognitive process learners have undertaken to achieve self-regulation.

This is how the learner also demonstrates the development of *consciousness and self-reflection,* which are forms of higher mental activity facilitated through the development of language and concepts. Vygotsky saw human consciousness as activity engaged in reconstructing the environment and representing that reconstruction of the environment. This activity is an effort to reflect, in activity, what is going on in the mind. Thus, reflection is an active effort to manifest the mind's organisational power and it is manifested in the spoken or written word (**Wertsch** 1985). In the Vygotskyan perspective *proficiency* is output that provides evidence of self-regulation, consciousness and reflection. It is telling the reader something about the mind of the writer, not about what the writer can or cannot do in English.

4.3.3. Parallel Distributed Processing

It is suggested here that PDP supports the Vygotskyan model in that it restates the processing role of inner speech in a different metaphor.

4.4. Competence/proficiency in the context of this study

When language acquisition, interlanguage, competence and proficiency are discussed, the components of exposure and motivation are always part of the discussion. They need to be raised briefly here, in the context of the *competence /proficiency* debate. Exposure and motivation need to be examined in a positive, not an apologetic way. The learners whose writing is the basis of this study are assumed to be Xhosa-speakers who live in Cape Town townships where they have little ordinary exposure to spoken Standard English, [5] either in their communities or in their schools. Further, there is little motivation to use English outside the classroom, and even there it is mainly a written language, so that the opportunities for social practice and verbal creation of meaning are limited. They do not need to use English to communicate with either teachers or peers. These factors all militate against their developing the pragmatic, sociolinguistic, discourse, or strategic competencies mentioned above. Their performance/ proficiency is thus largely informed by **knowledge** of grammatical structures - learned formally as discrete information - as well as acquired from practice in conversation and debate and their own historical/cultural origins. The analysis of the data will show that they create meaning in unique and rich ways that reflect unconventional *competencies* that do lead to a *performance/proficiency*, redolent with the idiom used by Xhosa-speakers of English and meaningful in spite of the use of non-standard forms.

The aim is to show that it is possible to read the output of L2 writers with the focus on the richness of the meaning rather than on the errors. It may, however, happen that the terminology in this study veers away from the neutral and objective towards the positive. This may be justifiable in a world where redress is needed to restore the confidence of many English second language users as well

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[5]. Standard English exists only in the abstract, but what the term is intended to convey here is English as it is used by educated English-speaking South Africans.

as to redress the image in mainstream society of their being second-class learners because they are English second language users.

5. <u>CONCLUSION</u>

- The mainstream definitions of *interlanguage, language, competence and proficiency* have been placed in a Vygotskyan perspective.

- The Vygotskyan perspective introduced the concepts of *regulation, inner speech, reflection and consciousness* and transformed the mainstream deficit rhetoric into a rhetoric that provides a way of perceiving L2 English output as meaningful and indicative not of error but of learners' resorting to a range of strategies to make meaning.

- The view of **language**, that is derived from the combined perspectives, is that language is used for communication, for the formation of ideas and concepts, that it is dynamic, structured and coherent and that it originates from a historical, cultural and ideological base. *Interlanguage* is a manifestation of the strategies learners use to make meaning and achieve self-regulation. The forms generated in the interlanguage are indicative of the learners' cognitive state in the task and supply the focus for this study.

- When viewed in a Vygotskyan perspective, the concept of **competence** can almost be equated with **inner speech**, and **proficiency** with **self-regulation**. However, they should be seen as closely connected in something like the image generated in Parallel Distributed Processing. That image is valuable in that it reflects on the idea of learners' resorting to existing linguistic knowledge in order to make new meanings for themselves.

- Comment on a typical mainstream evaluation instrument is included in order to demonstrate how such instruments generate deficit thinking and to provide a starting point for the analytical tools that are used in this study. It is intended

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that these tools should provide a possible model for evaluation in a Vygotskyan perspective.

- The next chapter provides more information about the data and its analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DATA AND THE ANALYTICAL TOOLS

In this chapter consideration is given to the process of analysing the data. In order to arrive at an explanation of the analytical tools that are used in this analysis: (1) an understanding of the writing modality will be developed; (2) brief comment on mainstream evaluation instruments (T-unit analysis and the ACTFL Tests) will be given, and (3) the analytical tools used in this study will be described and justified.

1. THE NATURE OF WRITING

The development of further understanding of the writing modality will provide a context for analysing the written data on which this study is based. The issue of writing in a second language is particularly important in this study as its data were produced by L2 writers.

1.1. The loneliness of the writer

In a study of L2 discourse based on Vygotskyan psycholinguistics, **Lantolf and Frawley** (1985) derived their data from learners telling a story based on pictures. This suggests that someone.was there to hear the story. They do say, however, that the speech that is generated is not dialogic but personal and shows evidence of the users' progress through object- and other- to self-regulation (**Lantolf and Frawley** 1985:41). The data in this present study, on the other hand, were produced without the discourse actively being shared. However, it was not produced completely as monologues - there is the expectation of some sort of response from the marking examiner.

Bakhtin suggests that 'speakers' who write do not write 'monologues intended for no one' (**Kozulin** 1990:182). The writers expect a response although they know that they will not receive it directly or in person.

Vygotsky (1962) develops the idea of the loneliness of the writer. He felt that the fact that the addressee is probably unknown to the writer imposes special requirements. The possibilities of redirecting and expanding remarks in terms of the interlocutor's responses are denied to the writer, who therefore has to deploy his/her ideas more fully and with greater elaboration (**Vygotsky** 1962:99).

1.2. Writing as activity that reflects consciousness

One of the other constraints placed on the writing task that must be borne in mind when working with these data is the psychological factor that Vygotsky explored. He found that children's writing often lagged far behind their level of oral speech (**Vygotsky** 1962:99). He says that writing is a different linguistic function and that it requires a high level of abstraction.

> In written speech, as tone of voice and knowledge of subject are excluded, we are obliged to use many more words and to use them more exactly. Written speech is the most elaborate form of speech (**Vygotsky** 1986:242).

The writers must create the situation and represent it to themselves. This requires a degree of detachment from the actual situation which is difficult under ordinary circumstances, but more difficult under examination circumstances, especially with the added stress of using a language not one's own.

Vygotsky also links the demands made by writing to his theory of inner speech and makes the point that inner speech precedes writing. He believes that this is a difficult transition because inner speech is concentrated and condensed, whereas

> written speech, on the contrary, must explain the situation fully in order to be intelligible. The change from maximally compact inner speech to maximally detailed written speech requires what might be called deliberate

semantics - deliberate structuring of the web of meaning (**Vygotsky** 1962:100).

That the process of writing is conscious and purposeful and produces symbols and hypotheses that demonstrate the writer's ability to create new knowledge for him/herself is suggested by other researchers as well (vide **Hornung** 1987:25, **Kozulin** 1990:184, and **Smagorinsky** 1991:340). According to Vygotskyan psychology, there are two types of metacognition present in human mental activity: these are the types concerned with conscious reflection of one's cognitive state and abilities, and those concerned with self regulation. Although **Lantolf and Frawley** (1985:20) assert that the ability to engage in one kind of metacognitive activity is no reflection of the ability to engage in the other, it will be suggested here that written discourse is the manifestation of both sorts of activity in combination.

Vygotsky was concerned with the issue of *consciousness* and saw human consciousness as activity engaged in reconstructing the environment and representations of the environment. One of the ways in which we represent our environment is in writing. The higher mental activity of representation involves intellect, affect and change. These components all combine in the process of dynamic organisation (**Wertsch** 1985:190) which is integral to Vygotsky's theory of consciousness. Writing is an effort to reflect, in activity, what is going on in the mind (**Wertsch** 1985:188).

According to this view reflection is an active effort to manifest the mind's organisational power and is manifested in the written word. The ability to solve the problems of formulating thoughts and concepts that are being written down is the result of coming to self-regulation via other- and object-regulation (**Foley** 1991:63).

Once the stage of self-regulation has been reached, the learner is able to act to control him/herself and others and the environment. At the stage of self-

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regulation and engaged in a process of conscious reflection in writing, the learner, is combining the two sorts of metacognition.

1.3. Writing in the second language

Vygotsky is concerned with learners using their own languages, ie their L1. For the purpose of this study, it is necessary to hypothesize what the difference would be, if any, when the learners were using another language, their L2. **Cumming** (1989:83-6) suggests that the constraints are more related to the writers' knowledge and ability to manipulate information than their linguistic proficiency. He argues that many of the processes of writing in a second language are comparable to those of writing in the L1 and reports on research done in the analysis of writing in a second language. (vide **Widdowson** 1983; **Zamel** 1985; **Jones** 1985 cited in **Cumming** 1989). His conclusion is that there is no coherent finding as to the actual differences, nor to where the difficulties lie, if there are difficulties, because the studies that have been done have not 'adequately distinguished writing expertise from second-language proficiency'(**Cumming** 1989:86). He concludes that 'writing expertise and second-language proficiency make quite different contributions to the processes and products of writing in a second language' (**Cumming** 1989:118).

He cites a report (**Cumming** 1898:85) by **Freedman, Pringle and Yalden** that argues that the constraints of writing, without full proficiency, in a second language may impose psychological limitations on people's abilities to conceptualize their intended meanings and their organisation as discourse.

Cumming says that knowledge of 'lexical features' is part of second language proficiency - and **Freedman et al** suggest that lack of full proficiency in the L2 could lead to difficulty in the writers' conceptualizing their 'intended meanings'. This would appear to coincide with Vygotsky's views, as he sees an intimate relationship between the 'word' and concepts.

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1.4. Writing in an examination

There is more at issue than writing in the second language for the writers of the data sample in this study. The language in the sample chosen for analysis was generated in the context of a written examination and this fact introduces other constraints into the analysis. It is apparent that certain essay topics are more likely to generate specific vocabulary items than others, as well as metaphors and different idiosyncratic expressions.

1.4.1. Psychological effect

The fact that the writing was done in examination conditions is likely to have an effect on the affective side of language production. (**Alderson and Clapham**:1990:159). This fact is critical, as it can be assumed that the psychologically stressful effect on some candidates will inevitably be to raise their affective filters and interfere with the free operation of their memory and intellect, limiting their production of vocabulary (**Krashen and Terrell** 1983).

1.4.2. The Domain

Another effect of the context of the examination is introduced in **Alderson and Clapham** (1992:158) by one of their respondents. This person introduces the idea of a *domain* which is connected to the learner's life-world and over which consequently s/he can exercise subject-control. This would have an impact on how comfortably the learners in these data interacted with the topics of the set essays. It also has implications for the extent to which the test-taker can effectively control the content of the test-topic. This control includes the ability to place the topic effectively in discourse. If this cannot happen, then the relevant domains will not be engaged and the interlanguage will not be appropriately measured because the writers will not have developed interlanguage appropriate

to that domain (**Alderson and Clapham** 1992:158). [6] Furthermore, their efforts to achieve self-regulation will be rendered more difficult.

This is an important caveat for this study, but when the data are described it will become clear that the learners had a range of choices and considerable support if they chose a subject domain with which they might have been unfamiliar, eg a mining accident.

1.4.3. Authenticity and validity

Following **Bachmann** (1991:689 ff), who also engages with the issue of validity and makes a case for authentic task setting to give greater validity to language tests, it might be possible to argue that the task set in this examination is situationally authentic. If the task is aimed at ascertaining that the candidates can produce coherent, intelligible discourse and it is a valid assumption that most of the students writing matric have ambitions for pursuing their studies,[7] then it is a situationally authentic task. Similarly it might be argued that the task is interactionally authentic in that the choice of topics ought to provide them with a task over which they have content-control and in which they can show their language ability and also get involved in the task itself.

1.4.4. Time constraints

There might also be other inhibiting effects on the production of writing in examination conditions. There are, for example, time constraints which would limit the amount of 'polishing' writers could do to their prose. There would be no

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[6] This does not imply that this study is 'measuring' the interlanguage. This refers to a mainstream activity.

[7] This is argued in spite of **Larson and Jones'** (1984:132) assertion that "writing is the least useful ... of all the language skills to master".

opportunities to engage in *object* and *other-regulation* to assist in reaching *self-regulation.* It would all have to be done in the brain, in its ungrammatical, densely packed, verbal thinking - in the *inner speech* - where access to socially constituted knowledge is gained. The inner speech is where implicit linguistic choices are built into thinking and where problem-solving and concept development take place.

1.4.5. Motivation in the DET context

Motivation is also important in the context of the DET examinations, whose public image is such that most candidates do not have much faith in its validity or in getting a fair deal in the marking and administration of the examination (**Mathonsi** s.a.).

There is a chance that some of the writers in this sample might have brought a demotivated attitude to the task and therefore not have 'done their best'. Nevertheless the assumption underlying this study is that they did do their best and that what they wrote is representative of what they actually do with language.

2. MAINSTREAM EVALUATION EXEMPLIFIED

In a Vygotskyan perspective, writing has been defined as activity that reflects consciousness. The mainstream concepts of competence and proficiency are understood to mean self-regulation. It will therefore be revealing to investigate mainstream evaluation of writing and linguistic proficiency to see if it recognises the qualities and processes that have been described above.

2.1. T-unit analysis

T-unit analysis is used in the mainstream to evaluate particular qualities of written text. **Bardovi-Harlig** (1989) did a study of a selection of essays written by advanced EFL learners. She scored their essays according to syntactic complexity (T-units) and surface errors *(syntactic, morphological and lexical-idiomatic* errors). She found that the interlanguage of these learners showed strong syntax acquisition but incomplete and variable grammar morphemes - most of the errors were in the articles, prepositions and verb tenses. In support of her findings she cites **Larsen-Freeman's** (1983:31) cross-sectional study and says that comparison between that one and her own suggest that

"certain errors in grammatical morphemes seem to be part of L2 production by adults at all levels of proficiency".

2.1.1. T-units and error

If *error* were part of the vocabulary of this study, then the essays in this study's data also manifest incorrect use of the article, verb tenses and especially the preposition system. *Error* is however not part of the vocabulary; instead the term *idiosyncratic expressions* is used. They are recognised as forms that are used by L2 writers that should be viewed *as markers of how speakers relate to the task* **(Lantolf and Frawley** 1985:19). They are part of the writers' interlanguages. There is no acknowledgement by **Larsen-Freeman** or **Bardovi-Harlig** that the idiosyncratic expressions are evidence of the writer's efforts to create meaning with what they know.

2.1.2. The uncertain value of T-unit analysis

In a subsequent article **Bardovi-Harlig** (1992:391) writes of the uncertain value of

T-unit analysis. She stated that

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> ...although the T-unit has advantages for certain language samples, in evaluating the syntactic complexity of compositions written by advanced adult second language learners, T-unit analysis does not seem to reflect accurately the knowledge of the learner...

Here **Bardovi-Harlig** acknowledges that writing demonstrates what the learners know and can do with writing. This suggests that her thinking has moved in the direction that this study takes - the appreciation of what L2 writers actually do with language. She is, however, still concerned with evaluating 'syntactic complexity', which is outside the scope of this study.

T-units have been used extensively in learner language analysis although they were originally designed to analyse oral interlanguage output of young learners. **Perkins** (1980:62) recommends their use for learner language analysis although he also recommends 'a quantification of the rhetorical devices that make a piece of writing hang together'(**Perkins** 1980:67). He develops this idea in a subsequent article (**Perkins** 1983:662) where he points out that

> ...writing quality has a necessary connection with the communication of meaning; however, objective measures, such as the mean length of T-unit, have no necessary connection with the effective communication of the writer's meaning... currently used objective measures do not quantify cohesion, coherence, organisation (presenting, developing, and supporting a thesis), idiom, diction, tone, relevance, or focus - all factors which contribute to good writing.

The critical phrase in Perkins' statement is 'no necessary connection with the effective communication of the writer's meaning' - this perception makes this form of analysis unacceptable in the Vygotskyan perspective as it, too, does not recognise that well-made meaning can be valued in spite of the use of idiosyncratic and non-standard linguistic forms.

2.1.3. T-units and proficiency

There is other evidence that points to T-units being found to be useful for estimating proficiency level. **Larsen-Freeman and Strom** (1977:132) found them

suitable, with some reservations, for use as a basis for their 'index of development', a study designed to develop definitions of interlanguage stages. They found 'an unmistakable trend toward a greater number of error-free T-units as proficiency level increases'. Other research suggests that interlanguage is variable and individual, and defies this sort of definition. [8] T-unit measurement will not be applied to the data in this study because this study is not concerned with discriminating between the individual candidates and judging their level of proficiency nor with comparing levels of development.

2.1.4. A sentence-based tool

T-unit analysis is a sentence-based tool and **Hewson** (1992:582) argues against the Chomskyan view that a language is a set of sentences. He cites **Chomsky**, 'From now on I shall consider a *language* to be a set ... of sentences...' **Hewson** (1992:580 & 583). He also argues that

> a language is a theoretical, not an empirical entity... only observable through its influence on the structure of discourse ... (it is) an instrument for *making* sentences.

Hewson believes that sentences belong to *parole*, that they are totally new constructions, and suggests that they belong to the producer and that person's discourse in a unique way. The meaning of those sentences depends on their linguistic and situational contexts. **Hewson** makes the point that sentences are made up of words that go together, subject to certain constraints, to create meaning, and that this meaning will be enriched when the learner has a richer vocabulary.

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[8] The inference is taken from **Ellis** (1985:125) "Natural language is unstable and so is subject to invasion by new forms. Interlanguage is a special type of natural language in that it is characterized by a very high level of instability. It is subject to constant bombardment by new linguistic forms, many of which are 'taken in', when, to begin with, they exist side by side with existing forms...they float around as alternatives to forms which are already part of the system".

Hewson's point of view conforms more closely to the Vygotskyan perspective, viz. that thoughts and words link and flow and

> as his thought becomes more differentiated, the child is less apt to express it in single words, but constructs a composite whole (**Vygotsky** 1986:219).

2.2. The ACTFL *Guidelines*

The American Council on Teaching Foreign Languages (ACTFL) tests are used to judge the level of linguistic proficiency of L2 speakers. What follows is a summary of responses to the ACTFL *Guidelines*.

The ACTFL proficiency *Guidelines* form a large proficiency evaluation project. When the ACTFL Provisional Proficiency *Guidelines* were published in 1982 they generated much debate and argument about their concepts, especially *proficiency*. The *Guidelines* were developed to establish language proficiency achievement goals for the end of each year of study at all levels, with special attention to speaking proficiency.

2.2.1 Principles of the *Guidelines*

The organizing principle that is reflected in the ACTFL *Guidelines* is the ability to function effectively in the language in **real-life contexts (Liskin-Gasparro** 1984:11-12).

The ACTFL *Guidelines* provide a model for judging a language learner's *proficiency*. Its concepts and terminology have been criticised. Debate and responses to the *Guidelines* seem to have contributed more to the ongoing debate around the nature of *proficiency* than around the testing methodology.

Kramsch, Schulz, Bachman and Savignon and **Lowe** all responded to the Guidelines in a conference session in 1985 with a view to facilitating the 'airing

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of opinions on the pros and cons of "proficiency"' (**Lowe** 1986:396). The opinions expressed developed the concept in various ways.

2.2.2 Terminology

One of the issues taken up by **Bachman and Savignon** (1986) in their critique of the ACTFL Oral Interview was the difficulties the profession encounters in the variety of terminology. They took exception to the use and definition of *communicative competence* and *proficiency* and proposed the use of *'communicative language proficiency'(CLP)* for the language abilities they wish to measure. According to **Omaggio** (1983 cited in **Bachman and Savignon** 1986:382) these abilities include "what it means to *know* a language at various stages of competence ...what a person can typically do with the language at each of these stages" . Describing language performance on language tests, **Bachman and Palmer** (1982:449-65) use the term "communicative proficiency" to refer to language ability: for them this includes language competencies (grammatical, discourse, illocutionary, and sociolinguistic) and skill modalities (receptive/productive, oral/visual). **Bachman and Savignon** argue that, without necessarily adopting **Bachman and Palmer's** specific framework, the term "communicative language proficiency" (CLP) retains the desirable connotations of both communicative competence and proficiency (**Bachman and Savignon** 1986:382).

2.2.3. Interactional Competence and Discourse Coherence

Kramsch makes the point that breaking the language down into *functions, structures and accuracy levels,* as is done in the *Guidelines*, does not show learners how to adapt to new experiences, which is what learning to interact in a foreign language is all about. She points out that the *Guidelines* implicitly maintain that successful communication will take place if the learners have the

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required proficiency, i.e. if they know how to put their point across appropriately, precisely, and correctly, and with the required degree of fluency.

She objects to tests that break down language into functions, structures, and accuracy levels and which do not show how to achieve the synthesis necessary to adapt to new conversational partners, new cultural contexts and new situations. She points out that for such a synthesis to take place, the focus has to be on interactional processes and discourse skills.

2.2.4. Error and norms

The ACTFL view of testing for proficiency by means of discrete definitions has presented language teachers with a number of problems. **Savignon** (1990:207-8) asks what an error is, and what, if anything, should be done when one occurs? What, she asks, is an appropriate norm for learners? How is it determined? How should form and function be integrated in an instructional sequence and how is L2 success to be measured?

In the following section the marking profile used by the DET to grade matriculation examination essays, which includes the data in this study, is discussed.

2.3. The marking profile for the NSC English Second Language Higher Grade Paper 1 (Addendum 3)

This marking profile is an example of something that is used in South Africa to evaluate student writing. It does, in the way it is organised, propose some answers to Savignon's questions. It pays little attention to error, tacitly suggests norms, and places value on content. It has 4 sets of descriptors and while there is only minor mention of attention being paid to error, the criteria express value judgements. There is no concern with the strategies the student has resorted to

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judgements. There is no concern with the strategies the student has resorted to in order to communicate and so it also does not fit into the Vygotskyan perspective.

2.4. Mainstream evaluation and the Vygotskyan perspective

The questions asked by Savignon and the comments on the NSC marking profile, highlight the difference in focus between the mainstream and the Vygotskyan perspective. The questions remain: What is an error? What is a norm? How should form and function be integrated? At the heart of the above responses to the ACTFL *Guidelines* is a concern with the meaning of *proficiency*. All the writers agree that there is a need to define and measure it, and give it a grade. They also divide proficiency up into elements and give each separate element a grade. According to the definitions stated in the previous chapter, in the Vygotskyan perspective the issue is to discover how the learners make meaning.

The view adopted in this thesis is that language is an indivisible system and that it is inappropriate to measure its success. It is considered to be as important to discover the strategies learners use and how they use the structures of the language, as it is to judge whether the structures are correctly used. There is also an assumption in this perspective that if the text is meaningful and makes sense, it is valid and reveals the writers' *state in the task* and degree of *self-regulation.*

2.5. Mainstream principles rejected

The preceding discussion of T-unit analysis and the ACTFL *Guidelines*, suggests that the principles underlying mainstream evaluation lead to deficit thinking and therefore give a distorted view of L2 writing and speaking, militating against an affirmative attitude. It follows therefore that a different set of principles need to be adopted if L2 output is to be read and evaluated affirmatively.

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3. PROPOSED ANALYTIC GUIDELINES

Guidelines based on Vygotskyan principles and research are proposed in the following section. The process leads to a description of the tools used to analyse the sample of data selected as the basis of this study.

3.1. Focus on the process

Frawley and Lantolf (1985:24) base *their* analysis of L2 output on the Vygotskyan principles of *micro-analysis* and *functional analysis*. According to **Frawley and Lantolf** (1985:24), micro-analysis is done of the actual instances of discourse *by the individual,* and functional analysis is applied to "the linguistic forms of discourse in terms of the roles they play in the *activity of relating a discourse,* not in terms of the forms *as pure forms".*

This places the focus on the processes underlying the production of the data used in this study. It develops an analysis more likely to lead to an evaluation devoid of deficit thinking than an analysis like the ACTFL and ELTS tests[9].

The argument in this study is that it is possible to evaluate output in terms of what is being **done** with the language by examining the vocabulary, the metaphors generated and the idiosyncratic forms used - all of which contribute to the making of meaning.

3.2. The tools

The tools used in this study are (i) a word count, (ii) an analysis of the metaphors generated in the exercise and (iii) a study of the idiosyncratic expressions used in

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[9] The ELTS test is the British equivalent of the ACTFL and was the subject of the research done by **Alderson and Clapham** (1992).

the writing. These tools were chosen to achieve a mentalist rather than a behavioural analysis of the data. In this way the emphasis will be placed on the process of making meaning rather than on the product.

3.2.1. The word count

3.2.1.2. The General Service List

Lexical competence has received attention by teachers and researchers since **West** (1960) developed his seminal General Service List (GSL). This GSL introduced the idea of a minimal functional vocabulary. It is an arbitrary list and is dependent on context and learner needs, but has nevertheless proved to be a useful parameter for writers producing class readers with appropriate plots and action within an accessible word range for beginning English learners. It was the first of its kind, but it established the idea of vocabulary as an important factor in developing meaning in language.

3.2.1.3. The importance of vocabulary development

Other more recent writers have concerned themselves with vocabulary development. **Robinson** (1989) proposed ways of teaching students how to enrich their vocabularies according to the special needs of their circumstances. **Robinson** sees lexical competence as underlying the interacting competencies of grammaticality, sociolinguistics, discourse and strategy. By teaching his students to practise words in 'fluctuating contexts', Robinson believes they will develop self-regulation, because they would have the words, and therefore the concepts to control their worlds (**Robinson** 1989:277).

3.2.1.4. A guideline to lexical competence

The importance of the word count to this study is that it will provide a guideline to the lexical competence of the writers in the data sample. Vygotsky considered the word to be the single most important element in the language. He argued that it encapsulates the concepts and gives them **sense** and meaning. In a psycholinguistic sense the word is readily brought into consciousness as a psychological reality. It is one of the smallest "completely satisfying bits of isolated 'meaning' units into which the sentence resolves itself" (**Sapir** cited in **McNeill** 1987:110). This suggests that whole systems of meaning attaching to a word can easily be brought into consciousness with implications for how the writers in this sample make meaning, inter alia, using words.

3.3. Vygotsky and the word

> The word I forgot
>
> Which once I wished to say
>
> And voiceless thought
>
> Returns to shadow's chamber.
>
> **Osip Mandelstam** (cited in **Vygotsky** 1986:210).

To **Vygotsky**, words are units of thought and without them no ideas can be communicated, conceptualised, developed or explored (**Vygotsky** 1986:255). He believes that our motivations are internalised and developed through *inner speech* where they are transformed through intellectual processes that produce words with meaning and sense (**Kozulin** 1990:187).

3.3.1. Words, meaning and sense

For **Vygotsky**, *meaning* is the static, dictionary meaning, and *sense* the dynamic, volatile impact of the word that changes and develops according to context,

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psychological imprint, user's intent and receiver's perception (**Vygotsky** 1986:245).

but rather realizes itself in them (**Vygotsky** 1986:251) ... The relation between thought and word is a living process; thought is born through words. A word devoid of thought is a dead thing (**Vygotsky** 1986:255).

While at no stage did Vygotsky suggest that words exist as independent units, it is clear that words for him are a fundamentally important unit of meaning and sense and their use in social communication and the creation of concepts and negotiation of knowledge is fundamental. Words get their sense from the sentence, the sentence gets its sense from the paragraph, the paragraph from the book and the book from all the author's works. Words in a sentence can be changed and the sense of the sentence remain the same, but **individual words retain their meanings whatever their context** (**Vygotsky** 1986:245-6). It is clear that words for him are a fundamentally important unit of meaning and sense and their use in social communication and the creation of concepts and negotiation of knowledge is fundamental. For Vygotsky, word meaning is a unit of analysis of *consciousness* and consciousness is related to *reflection*, which is the ability to be aware of one's own awareness. It is a higher-order mental activity that has to do with how we construct and represent our environments (**Wertsch** 1985:188). If a word 'is a direct expression of the historical nature of human consciousness' (**Vygotsky** 1986:256) and 'consciousness is reflected in a word as the sun in a drop of water', then a study of words is a fundamental guide to the use of language and to the psychological, social and historical context of that use.

In his article on vocabulary acquisition for reading, **Crow** (1986:242-3) says that it is very important for writers to have control of the 'web of associations inherent in each word'. This 'web of associations' relates to **Vygotsky's** *sense*, the context and reflection of the world: 'a word is a microcosm of human consciousness' (**Vygotsky** 1986:256). The way in which words are used,

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therefore, reflects the user's life-world and context in unique ways and provides valuable insights into the mental processes underlying their use.

3.3.2. The relationship between words and concepts

Vygotsky quotes Tolstoy on the relationship between concepts and words:

> It is not a word, that is difficult to comprehend, but the concept denoted by this word, which the child does not understand. The word is almost always at hand when the concept is ready (**Vygotsky** 1986:150).

If Vygotskyan thinking about the relationship between words and concepts is adopted, then the concern expressed by **Freedman et al. (Cumming** 1989:85) that less than full proficiency in the second language may impose psychological limitations on people's abilities to conceptualize their intended meanings and the organisation of their thoughts as discourse are unfounded. Words are stored in the learners' minds and become available as the concepts form and demand expression.

Crow believes that concepts are formed and then the words become available. The concepts are formed in the inner speech and must then be articulated in the L2. This can only happen if the words are available, but Crow and Vygotsky both assert that concepts precede words. Therefore, if the words are available and meaningfully used, the concepts will also be available.[10]

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[10] This statement simplifies the situation and does not take into account the distinction between discourse and language. In different discourses different words might have different conceptual values. However, for this study it is not an issue because the texts used are representative of a single discourse - personal perspectives on a range of simple, accessible subjects.

3.3.3. Vocabulary size and the ability to make meaning

Research has shown that there are word count numbers representing active and passive vocabulary size that are minimal for students in certain situations (**Read** 1988).

Words are thus the fundamental basis for communicating richly and the more words in one's active productive vocabulary, the more one will be able to say, and the better. The connection between words and concepts has been referred to above. If learners use many words to describe a single concept, their expression is likely to be diffuse and intellectually weak because so much of the available working space in the mind will be occupied with all the words it has taken to state a single concept. A person's lexical competence is an important component of his/her ability to make meaning.

If this study were concerned with testing and evaluating for proficiency in the conventional way, vocabulary size would be an appropriate measure. **Oller** (1979:94) asserts that vocabulary fluency is a good measure of knowledge of a language, and **Meara and Jones** (cited in **Read** 1988) are reported to have done research on vocabulary size for possible use as a placement test. Conventional reading comprehension or cloze tests inevitably test vocabulary.

In terms of the purpose of this study, however, words are fundamental units and so to analyse the data it is necessary to measure the extent of the vocabulary of the learners in the sample.

4. IDIOSYNCRATIC FORMS

The second tool to be used in the analysis of the data used in this study is idiosyncratic forms.

Instead of claiming that these phenomena indicate the producers' inadequate mastery of the language, we claim that they indicate the producers' resorting to object- and other-regulation in order to regain control over the production (**Lantolf and Frawley** 1985:23).

These forms - the *phenomena* referred to in the above quotation - are indicative of the users' interlanguage and are often described as examples of fossilisation. They may be seen as incorrect forms and structures or explained away as over-generalisations, but they are nevertheless particular to the language used by the writers. It is argued that some of them will become part of a Xhosa-English Variety (XEV), thus bringing together the ideas of interlanguage, fossilised forms and a non-native institutionalised variety of English (NIVE) **Williams** (1989). It is also argued in this study that the language used by these writers is a valid means of communication which requires a degree of flexibility and acceptance of the unusual, on the part of the reader.

4.1. The X.E.V. and self-regulation

Following **Lantolf and Frawley** (1985:23), it is argued that idiosyncratic forms represent the learners' efforts to achieve self-regulation through object- and other-regulation. The idiosyncratic forms of the language are the *object* and *other* used by the learners to gain control.

These forms are forms that are used frequently enough to suggest that they have currency within a defined speech community (**Mfusi** 1992:51),[11] in this case Xhosa-speaking matriculants in the Cape Peninsula and possibly beyond. When the actual words and phrases are analysed, reference will be made to their possible cultural sources - where useful and illuminating - as well as to their assumed intended meanings. It will be argued that such forms could become part of a recognised Xhosa English Version in the way that **Wong** (cited in **Ambrose-Yeoh** 1988:92) observes that in Malaysia

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[11] Mfusi writes about the language used in Soweto.

...new standards of acceptability in the use of English are now increasingly becoming evident which in the past would have been considered aberrant as far as educated native-speaker English was concerned. These new norms are beginning to form the currently accepted model of educated speech within the country.

There is a strong trend among linguists, **Kachru 1991, Fairman 1992, Makoni 1992, Newbrook 1992, Pride 1983, Sure 1992, Tripathi 1992** and **Williams 1989**, to affirm 'nativised' varieties of English or in **Williams'** (1989:39) term: 'non-native institutionalised varieties of English', NIVEs. **Williams** argues that 'prescriptive, written norms' have not yet appeared, but that 'norms of usage and interaction' have and are in widespread use. They might also be called *communicative* norms as opposed to *rhetorical* or prescriptive norms (**Williams** 1989:48). It is forms such as these that are described here as *idiosyncratic*, with the intention of avoiding deficit terminology.

5. <u>METAPHORS</u>

A group of writers - **Di Pietro, Kaput, Nietsche** (cited in **Kessler and Quinn** 1987:179) - describes language as a 'universe of knowledge' and asserts that

> the nature of human thinking is essentially metaphoric and the metaphorising process is the primary means for creating and, especially, transferring meaning from one universe of knowledge to another.

This suggests that the process of creating metaphors could assist L2 writers to transfer their thoughts from their L1 to their L2 - from *one universe of knowledge to another.* Furthermore, the quality of the metaphors and the particular vocabulary used will be adducible as evidence of the process at play in terms of the writer's striving for self-regulation. The metaphors can also be indicative of the socio-cultural life-world of the writer. These insights in turn can assist the analysis of what s/he *does* with language and can also inform the reader of what strategies, psychological and cognitive, are used to create meaning. Sometimes

5.1. Metaphors reflect life

In their endeavour to communicate with the examiner, the writers in this study sometimes resort to the use of metaphor - 'a way of conceiving of something in terms of another...(whose) primary function is understanding' (**Lakoff and Johnson** 1980:37). **Lakoff and Johnson** (1980:46) further believe that metaphors structure more than language: they structure thoughts, attitudes and actions and come from our experience. They assert that this structure is reflected in our 'literal language'. Furthermore, metaphors 'express and convey cultural knowledge' (**Bock and Winburg** 1993:69). From this, one can conclude that L2 writers, like other writers, use metaphor to further their purpose of saying something meaningful. One could also conclude that the analysis of the metaphors generated in L2 writing will reveal much - in the way of cultural experience and psychological and intellectual processes - of what the writers bring to the task of making meaning. **Lee** (1991:125-6) cites **Whorf** in the article in which she uses the idea that the Hopi used time markers to suggest that

> a particular way of understanding reality is manifested in communicative contexts as a distinctive way of talking and thinking about what happens...which results in descriptions of events which emphasize subtly dynamic aspects of situations which may not be given the same attention in another language.

This quotation from **Lee** supports the idea that L2 writers, writing in their particular interlanguage, using their original metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions, create a unique reality that develops from their own experience and reflects the sort of consciousness that Vygotsky attaches to self-regulation.

6. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, L2 writing and the evaluation of L2 output has been placed in a Vygotskyan perspective beside mainstream evaluation instruments. It is clear that the principles underlying the mainstream instruments do not conform to Vygotskyan principles. For this reason, a way of looking at L2 output that does

not generate the sort of deficit perceptions generated by the mainstream evaluations needed to be found. A word count and analysis of metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions are proposed as appropriate tools for alternative analysis. It is hypothesised that analysis of output using those tools will yield an affirmative response to L2 output and also give indications as to the cognitive strategies used by these learners.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ANALYTICAL TOOLS

In this chapter the analytical principles and tools proposed in Chapter 3 are applied to the data sample. A list of words, metaphors and idiosyncratic expressions has been generated from the data and appear in Addendum 4. The word count is used because words are basic to any utterance, metaphors are used because of their imagistic properties, and idiosyncratic expressions are used because they are part of the spoken township idiom and they reflect the writers' interlanguage and life-world. All three tools will jointly inform the reader about what the writers bring to the task.

1. THE WORD COUNT

An extensive motivation for the development of a word list and for some analysis of it was given in the previous chapter and in Chapter 1. What follows is a description of how the word list was arrived at and how it compares with other existing word lists that purport to represent minimum vocabularies for specific purposes.

A comparison between those lists and the one generated out of this data sample will give some indication of the lexical proficiency of these students. It cannot give the full picture because it is not possible that a limited range of writing topics could generate a list of ALL the words any one writer could know. The fact that there is a range of topics and that what will be used is a collective word list at least generates more words than would be the case if only one essay per writer were to be used for collection.

1.1. A description of the word list generated from the data

A word list programme was used to extract a complete list of all the words in the data. It counted a total of 51330 words which was comprised of every single word, including single letters and made-up words.

It gave another statistic: the number of different words - 4204 - which includes all the base words, made-up words and new spellings. So made-up words or words so misspelled that they were unrecognisable, modals, articles and connectives were weeded out. There were 99 proper nouns which are included in the main count, but will be listed separately in the Addendum. They give some insight into the cultural contexts of the subjects. Xhosa/vernacular words were also eliminated from the count but are included in the Addendum as they may be examples of words that have already, or may in time, become part of a Xhosa English Version (XEV).

The focus was on content words: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, but only *base* words within that categorisation were included, which eliminates plurals, tense-marked forms of the verb, and adjectives and adverbs derived from nouns and verbs. The count then yielded a total of 2289 words. The full list of words is appended.

1.2. Problems with the 'collective' method

There are obvious problems with this sort of analysis. Firstly this is a collective vocabulary and conflicts with the Vygotskyan injunction that each learner should be treated as an individual; secondly, the essay topics do, by their specificity, limit the range of vocabulary needed for an adequate response. However, it is arguable that the two problems balance each other - that the collective 'learner' will know all the words in the list, and if each one had written on each essay topic, then the list would have looked much as it does now. In other words, each individual learner is likely to know all the words in the list and more.

1.3. A comparison of this word list and the MAV

An attempt to quantify the vocabulary range represented here will be made by comparing it with **West's** *Minimum Adequate Speech Vocabulary* (MAV) (1960) which was mentioned in the previous chapter. A comparison will also be made between the generated word list and the *University Word List*. **West** generated a list of 1200 words which he describes as the "usable first stage" which can be added to but "is complete and workable as far as it goes" (**West** 1960:38).

A comparison of the MAV and the list of words derived from the data in this study reveals that only 260 words out of the MAV do not appear in the word list. Some of them are archaic, like *gramophone* and would not be expected to appear, while others might not have been generated within the prescribed essay topics, but might yet form part of the subjects' vocabulary. The majority of the words that do not appear, while they might not have wide currency, could still be expected to form part of the subjects' vocabulary as they are basic words.

There are 940 words of the MAV in the word list in this study together with 1331 more words than are in the MAV which suggests that the lexical profile of the data sample is twice as rich as the MAV. Therefore these subjects have a much richer vocabulary than that required for **minimum** social interaction. The MAV is a speech vocabulary but the equivalence between speech and writing has been discussed.

1.4. A comparison of this word list and the *University Word List*

A different picture is displayed when the *University Word List* is introduced and compared with the list in this sample. The *University Word List* is a composite list of words drawn up by **Xue and Nation** (1984) for use in university language programmes. The selection of words in this list is based on **West's** <u>General Service List of English Words</u> (1953) and **Lorge's** <u>Teacher's Word Book of 30,000</u>

<u>Words</u> (1944) cited in **Xue and Nation** (1984) and then compared with two other lists based on words that had been identified by students as being difficult. **Xue and Nation** drew up a list of 737 words that their first year students had either found difficult or would find indispensable in their studies. Of those 737, words 253 words overlap with the list from these data which leaves 484 words on the *University Word List* potentially unknown to the writers in this study. It is likely that many of these words may feature in the subjects' active vocabularies, but that the essay topics did not generate them. These statistics suggest that the learners knew approximately half the number of words they need to know for first year university study across a range of disciplines. This constitutes further evidence of *self regulation*.

1.4.1. Measuring Vocabulary

The justification for using a standard word list is that it provides a yardstick against which to measure the vocabulary of the writers in the data sample. The *University Word List* comes from a different source from the one in this study, but is still a guide as to what might be considered minimal. However, it is not the purpose of this study to gauge the adequacy of the collective vocabulary contained in the data, as that comparison seems to undermine the stated intention of this thesis which is to find out from the writing what the student's *state in the task* is and to find out whether, in terms of the understanding of the term *self-regulation* stated earlier, the writers have reached *self-regulation.*

Mainstream perceptions and perspectives are contrasted with the Vygotskyan ones in this thesis. One of the thrusts of the argument is to test the possibility of bringing a different mind-set to the writing of Xhosa-speakers of English. Therefore the definitions and assumptions of the mainstream mind-set must be described and defined and then examined in the light of the Vygotskyan approach. It is assumed that the L1 and educated L2 English-speakers who will read the data in this study will have a mind-set that will assume linguistic and

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possibly intellectual incompetence in the face of the non-standard forms apparent in the output. The further assumption is made that the Vygotskyan mind-set will enable those L1 and L2 speakers to read and hear the output with appreciation of the strategies used and the positive 'state in the task' of the L2 Xhosa speakers of English. The latter mind-set will also enable readers and listeners to appreciate the 'self-regulation' of the learners and the innovative ways in which they make meaning.

The following remark made by a fourth-year secondary school child in England illuminates how a learner feels when the way s/he talks is rejected.

> Teachers always correct the way I speak and also the way I write. They correct the way I write more than anything. When I write a story and include talking, I write it how I would speak. But sometimes teachers cross it out and put in how they would talk. I don't think they should do that. They should leave it as it is (**Alladina and Edwards** 1991:4).

Generating metaphors is one of the ways in which the subjects of this study 'speak' and make meaning. This study works with the text that represents 'how (they) would speak' when doing their best to impress the examiner, but clearly, what they write also represents their own vernacular XEV.

1.5. The individual vs the collective

The tension discussed earlier between the Vygotskyan demand for the recognition of individuals as social but independent beings recurs here and will also appear in the section following, on **idiosyncratic expressions**. The generated lists of idiosyncratic expressions are also collectivised.

Vygotsky regards a human being as a social being from the outset, involved in a social order of things. Thus society and the communicative act consist, not of socialized individuals in the Piagetian perspective, i.e. as people who have come together and share information verbally, but rather as a society which consists of individuals who have developed from being like everyone else to becoming

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individuals. Speech begins as a shared social activity on the part of the child and becomes a principal means of the mental regulation of individual behaviour (**Frawley and Lantolf** cited in **Foley** 1991:63). Speech is always, in a regulated person, an individual act.

This is a study of individual written speech acts aimed at developing an argument towards the recognition of the potential of the individual writers. It sets out to develop a collective, additive picture of the individuals, while at the same time appreciating and valuing the differences, especially as they appear in the metaphors. The larger numbers of speech acts enable a more comprehensive picture to be drawn, rather than a narrow mean. This is an aspect of the Vygotskyan perspective that should be further problematised, but it is beyond the scope of this study to do so, so it will have to be accepted that this is a tension underlying the project.

In the case of idiosyncratic expressions the collectivised nature of the list is more easily justified because it is in the nature of such expressions that they are commonly used forms.

2. METAPHORS

The ways in which the writers create metaphors in their efforts to communicate are indicative of how they express the concepts and ideas that have formed in their inner speech. Metaphors are essential tools for thinking and speaking about abstract concepts. Without them speech and thinking beyond the concrete level would be impossible (**McNeill** 1987:168).

2.1. Metaphors and the inner speech

Inner speech is relevant for the development of metaphors. It is in inner speech that the smallest units in which imagistic and syntactic thinking come together.

At the same time, imagery grounds and gives meaning to inner speech (**McNeill** 1987:89).

McNeill (1987:164) is mostly concerned with how metaphors are generated. He writes about **Richards'** 'interanimation theory' of metaphor and **Black's** extension and explication of it into 'interaction theory' which involves an understanding of how the primary subject of the metaphor is projected and changed *in parallel* by the implications of the secondary subject. **Levinson** (1983:148) defines it thus:

> Metaphors are special uses of linguistic expressions where one 'metaphorical' expression (or *focus*) is embedded in another 'literal' expression (or *frame*), such that the meaning of the focus interacts with and *changes* the meaning of the *frame*, and vice versa.

Central to this idea is the core image of the metaphor which is generated by *inner speech* and expressed in outer speech. This happens in what **McNeill** describes as a developmental transition from a more primitive state to a more finished state **McNeill** (1987:93).

The linguistic symbols generated in inner speech are *cognitive tools* for creating meaning and for expressing abstract concepts in *semantic complexes* (**Sokolov** cited in **Mcneill** 1987:101). 'Metaphors are the outer expression of these linguistic symbols and **McNeill** (1987:168) argues that *the function of metaphor is to produce images in thinking.* If the metaphors generated in the data in this study do this successfully, then the processes that produce the metaphors are indicative of complex intellectual activity synthesised in inner speech and expressed as metaphors that *produce images in thinking.* They are also indicative of *self-regulation* in that the abstract concepts are present and being communicated in possibly non-conventional ways (yet nevertheless being communicated), so that the reader receives a clear idea of the writer's intention. Furthermore, the generation of successful metaphors indicates the ability to think analogically which is also arguably a complex intellectual process. It involves the construction

of mental models and comparisons that interact and cause reformulation of the communication by the receiver.

2.2. The metaphors in the essays

In the following section some of the metaphors in their contexts are extracted and commented on. Some attempt will be made to connect the content of the metaphors with the possible life-view of the writer and with their pragmatic intention, but the comments will mainly focus on **how** the metaphors enhance the meaning of the texts. This will be done with **McNeill** and **Levinson's** explanations of how metaphors work in mind. A few will be analysed in terms of life-view and pragmatic intention, but most have been included with less comment, as they reveal the individuals' *state in the task* and how the writers have successfully and individually made meaning. There is also an assumption that readers of this work will be able to draw the obvious conclusions about life-view and pragmatic intention.

The metaphors in the essays are dealt with in rank order of popularity of the topics.

2.2.1. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using English as a medium of learning when it is not your mother tongue. Refer mainly to your experience in the classroom and also to wider considerations such as further education, employment and the development of African languages as such.

The metaphors generated in this topic have been categorised under sub-headings according to an analysis not closely linked to the essay topic.

* <u>Metaphors depicting English as a destructive force</u>

In the above essay the metaphors depicting the destruction of their own language were vivid and varied: *African languages are dying/ have no future;* they spoke of *breaking the language, killing the nation* and *attacking our cultures.* The link between language and culture is so closely made that the concepts sometimes seem to be used interchangeably.

English is seen as *an intruding language in your peaceful Xhosa speaking world.* English is destructive and dominating: *their mother languages were stolen from them during slavery, English conquers the African languages;* it causes you *to forget your mother,* it *spoil(s) the minds of African people* and *changes their minds;* it is subversive and *has the power to overcome other languages* ...it is *the language of the imperialists* and has *stolen our love for our African languages; they dump their languages just like rubbish* and *it degrades our culture. We infiltrated English language and lost our mother tongue languages.* They wrote of how their workmates will *undermine your language especially if it is an African language.*

The use of words like *breaking, killing, intruding, stolen, conquers, spoils, overcome, dump, degrades, infiltration and undermine,* all evoke images of the power of English to destroy what is precious. There is also a strong sense of being victims of forces beyond their individual control.

Learning English is often linked to adopting the ways of 'western civilisation' and means that *we cannot stick to our roots.* English is seen as a disruptive force; as an agent of unwished-for change it is even seen as a criminal element. The necessity to be able to communicate in English came *as a blow to our African languages and we are seeing it as something which wants to still are* (steal our) *customs and culture. Beware of it.* English has caused people to neglect their home languages - *African languages are detoriating* (deteriorating) *because they are not cared for.* The sense of failure to nurture their home languages is

expressed often, people become *careless about their mother tongue and care more about the foreign language.* They feel guilty and angry about the power of English.

* Metaphors linking English and social behaviour

Learning English denigrates their own languages; it means that *we must run away from our mother tongue, our language is* (k)*now loosing* (losing) *its dignity* and the *development of this own mother tongue reaches a cul de sac.* The same student who wrote of the *cul de sac,* wrote - *When a person-speaks English very well, he will also like to look like an Englishman. He strips himself of his own culture, his own heritage. He will then ad(a)pt the Western culture, through a small hole opened by 'English'. From this perspective, accepting English at school is attacking our own cultures.* They fear that the *African languages will lose their values* and that they will *lose their future because of being over Westernised.* They worry that students will *turned* (tend) *to isolate their home languages and see the African languages as not important.*

It causes anti-social behaviour and false pride in a spurious social status based on knowledge of English. *There are those who take themselves in a high level of nature because they are speaking English fluently,* and *the child will feel like a better when he mixes his language with English.* Then there is the person who moves away from her nationality because *she thinks she is on top of the mountain when she can speak (e)nglish!* It all testifies to the disruptive effects of English in society.

The metaphors are mixed but meaningful and very expressive. The idea of linking social mobility to language, the idea of the hole in the dyke leading to greater destruction and the idea of culture showing on the outside and being something that can be removed, leaving a person naked, are all there in vivid and provocative language.

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* Metaphors linking English and development

As technology has developed, so *many nations have compromised their languages;* this is a different nuance of the idea of destruction of the language. This same student saw the link between language and socio-economic development as the cause of the death of the nation and of *going to the drain*. Although the language of the last expression is idiosyncratic, it shows a good grasp of the English idiom and echoes many of the sentiments of other writers who mourn the shift from traditional culture to modern urban culture as personified in individuals losing their own languages in the learning of English.

* Metaphors suggesting that English can be useful

On the other hand, some advantages were seen in the obligation to learn English - it is *an element of the most accepted Western culture, the way to life.* Then there are metaphors of mixing: it enables us to *be mixed with English-speaking people* and is *an easiest language to link or to combine*.

* Metaphors linking English with education

English is a powerful force for personal development, *that is* in *English,* (we) *learn different kinds of people,* and *other language speaking people,* and *it is a major in all subjects* and *learning different things is the only food that the brain will always admire.* It is an educational *tool in your hand;* it is also described as *the key to other subject;* it is seen as *the solution* and as *a measuring subject.* Learning English has other advantages: *the brain become fresh because it will learn something new*.

* Metaphors which see English as a weapon

The war metaphor comes through again, but positively this time: *learning is one of the most important weapon*(s). It is seen as something that *develops* people who have *been under dark for a long period.* Lack of education and illiteracy are often characterised as evil things and this is often coupled with severe

judgements of the elderly who are not respected. Their lack of education means that their wisdom is not respected.

This sense of the darkness of the past being based on a lack of education is simply expressed in these data, but comes with a sense of cultural inferiority that also engenders the sort of defiant defence of the mother tongue against the incursions of English. There is something psychologically complex happening and it has to do with the effects of colonialism on the psyche of the colonised. There is a need to break out of the colonial mould, but it is complicated when the weapons are those, like the English language, provided by the colonial oppressor.

* <u>Metaphors in which English is seen as a unifying force</u>

English is seen as a political bridge builder - it is useful to *cab this gap* between 'nations' who would otherwise use their languages to dominate. It would also therefore prevent other tribes feeling *inferior with its language*. The idea of national pride being linked to language is an integral part of SA historical consciousness that has been exploited extensively by politicians and it shows in these essays. However, their thinking is more international, and English is seen as a force between countries to *bind them all to speak and agree together*, which is an argument used internationally to promote the learning of English. Here, however, it is seen as an antidote to nationalism.

* <u>Metaphors showing the use of English in career-building</u>

The bridge-building role is a positive role for English to play; it can also build careers and prevent students' having to become *a hard labour* which could be their fate without English. The writer has combined the idea of being a *labourer* with the punishment of *hard labour* meted out by the courts, but the grammatical error heightens the pragmatic sense of the utterance. Furthermore *if you have a*

big business and you don't know English, it is easy your business to fall down.
Here English is a prop for commercial success.

They take the middle ground as well and while they think learning English is all
right, it must not be seen as a *Godlious* language! *Africans are just in the middle
of a tough game* because they have to learn so many languages. Education, or
maybe life, is a *tough game.* That same student thought it was fine to learn
English but said that it should not be to the exclusion of the home languages
which he saw as *special gifts from God.* It is important that *each and every
language be recognised and not be <u>outrooted</u>.* Again the sense of violence is
attached to the demise of the MT, but is coupled with an evenhanded sense of all
languages having a right to exist.

This essay generated another curious comparison in which language was
described as a container - *teaching (an) African children English, is not like
pouring water in the container while the bottom of it is full of holes*, and *language
is a container that keeps each nation's culture and tradition.* Both metaphors
exemplify the way the secondary subject extends the primary one. In the first
case the *container* seems to be more literal and represents the *tabula rasa* child of
fundamental pedagogics. It is used in the context of how important it is to know
English in the wider world and contains the argument that African children learn
English and retain what they are taught. It is complicated by the negative *not like*
but the metaphor creates an image of the child as a container and projects onto
the child the associated implications of a container having water (i.e. knowledge
of English) poured into it.

The context for the second metaphor is that in the absence of a mother tongue
the nation is dead and the metaphor creates an image of a language as a
repository, projecting onto it the implications of the responsibility of being the
ongoing source and store of culture and tradition. It is more complicated than the
first one because of the greater degree of abstractness of the subjects, but there

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is no difference in the degree of success of the two metaphors in terms of **Black's** model described in **McNeill** (1989:164). In both cases clear communication of abstract ideas was achieved by means of metaphors, not necessarily in grammatically correct English but nevertheless, satisfactorily, from the reader's point of view.

Each metaphor also demonstrates an important element of the South African political scene: the first one the sort of power relations typical of the attitudes encouraged by fundamental pedagogics, that keeps children in a subservient position and teachers in the dominant one of being the all-knowing pedagogue. In the second example one observes the way language has been a touchstone for rebellion throughout our history because of its extensive political and nationalist implications.

2.2.2 Write a composition in which the following sentences appear: "But you promised!" she cried. "I will never trust you again."

The subject matter of these essays was fairly varied. In spite of the many predictable *broken hearts,* there were others like the story about a blind girl who had a bad experience in a cinema queue and whose mother *treated her like an egg.* Technically, the comparison is a simile but it is still a comparison rich in implications and worth recording.

* Betrayed Love

There was a 'betrayed love' essay in which the young woman *was forced to grow her child.* The implied comparison between a child and a plant with the added dimension of compulsion tells the reader a lot about the circumstances and attitude of the protagonist.

The idea of babies' being born out of wedlock is also caught by the candidate who wrote that men don't know what love is and that *they count their chickens before they are hatched*. The writer of this essay wrote as a man and said that he decided not to marry the girl after she had his baby because she was uneducated. He felt bad about it and said *it is far better to trust a stone than men.*

* <u>Trust</u>

Also on the trust issue, a girl went to stay with a friend and everything went fine at first, but then things went wrong and she also decided that it would be better to *trust a stone than a person*. One writer gave advice not to trust the girls of Port Elizabeth because *they tackle you down and leave you helpless.* This is an interesting sporting image, with emotional connotations that leave the reader in no doubt as to what happens.

In another one, a man returned to his child and her mother five years later and still had not decided what to do because *the devil was playing with him*. He too, was found to be untrustworthy in a vivid biblical image which is generated by the juxtaposition and parallel development of the primary subject, the indecisive young man reduced to a toy in the hands of the secondary subject, the devil.

A similar theme was *not a prescribed story* but something that happened to a friend. She was warned not to trust a man because *a man is like a choal*(coal) *covered with atch*(ash) - men are dirty and useless

The idea of a *prescribed story* is also drawn straight from the writer's life experience - any story that appears in a book must be a prescribed work i.e. a set-work. There is also a link between prescribed work and fiction as opposed to real life, to what happened to her friend.

* Trouble at a party and on a train

In quite a different direction two friends went to a party on a *red sunny day* and got into trouble there. They wanted to go home but *there was not a single transport.* This also qualifies as an idiosyncratic expression because it is common for Xhosa speakers of English to use the noun *transport* in countable form but it is also metaphoric. They started to walk and were attacked *until I was out of senses*; it sounds as if she ran out of sense in the way she might have run out of breath and seems to reflect the expression knocked *senseless,* linking to *breathless.* It works very well in capturing the idea of not having enough sense, therefore being unconscious: She went to hospital and will never forget the incident because it *comes into focus to me.* The camera idea is a common one and adds to the idiomatic feel although with a particularly Xhosa-speaking flavour because of the non-standard use of the preposition "*to*".

Also in violence mode, someone stepped on a banana skin and went *flying towards the canvass.* A vivid use of the boxing image adds unusual flavour to the writing. A girl whose sister was dragged off a train developed a plan, *to trace their way,* find them all and rescue her sister. Tracing the way with its connotations of maps and copying is a useful comparison. It is also drawn from ordinary English idiom which indicates experience of idiomatic English and deserves to be credited as such.

* Time metaphors and standard idioms

One essay generated time metaphors - *the moment arrived* and *time flowed again.* The same writer wrote that *everything was all set up* and that the *affair should come to a halt.* All are standard English expressions, but the sort of use of metaphor that gives writing a strong idiomatic feel. Like the expressions that *things went smoothly* and that Simon was *not my type.*

* <u>Relationships</u>

Several wrote of relationships. They described how they began and one candidate wrote of how her best friend complained that her studies were boring and that her boyfriend *make her mint fresh.* The toothpaste advertisement connotations are obvious, and 'fresh' and the image works vividly because the reader is forced to contemplate the unreal connection between mint, an aromatic herb, and a relationship between a girl and her boyfriend. Another young woman in Std 5 *began to be a girl* and fell in love with a boy in her class. Normally it would be expected that she already was a girl; presumably there is some significance in the expression - probably the onset of puberty causing her to see the opposite sex with new eyes.

The writers also gave advice that you should *study people,* (presumably as opposed to books) and in that context told of one who had not done so and thought that pregnancy would *drive their marriage to be closer.* This is a telling image bringing together compulsion and marriage. *Driving* has implications of force and works powerfully on the image of marriage with its implications of romance and love. It is a common experience, that young people are forced into marriage by pregnancy, but the use of *driven* gives it added force. A luckier person made *the decisions* or arrangements, and arranged for *a reverend to bind the couple* with all its implications of being tied down. Indeed in the Anglican marriage ceremony there is a ritual whereby the priest symbolically binds the couple with his stole.

Generally the second essay topic did not generate metaphors with the same depth as the first one. It tended also towards more idiosyncratic expressions that worked metaphorically: a *contradiction started between these two family* over a lobola disagreement and *her promised does not turn up* - a promised matric dance dress - or *she looked at me with glinstering eyes* (the child was frightened, being

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abducted from a train). Then *there was a conversation between us* - meaning that there was harmony between us - and we talked.

It seems that better quality of writing is generated by a topic about which the writer has a lot to say and which s/he perceives as being important. The first essay's popularity and richness of metaphors would suggest that is the case.

2.2.3. Your school has organised a speech contest in which you are to take part. your topic is: 'What I like and dislike most about the area in which I live.' Write out your speech.

* Anti-social behaviour

In the first essay in this series, the writer presents two distinct perspectives. In the first place, for him/her *it is bitter* to stand here and speak the truth. This candidate clearly communicates his/her feelings about the bad things that have to be said. Then s/he goes on to write about the anti-social behaviour in the community - amongst other things s/he condemns *blocking the young girls* and sees it as *jungleness.* The idea to be communicated here is *accosting* young girls, but lacking the appropriate vocabulary, the writer resorted to a sporting metaphor which works well. The *jungleness* image is equally clear: wild, primitive behaviour which the candidate compares with animals in the wild. It is a made-up word but exactly conveys the writer's intention and evidences self-regulation in that it communicates what is required to the reader.

* Unity against anti-social behaviour

Another candidate's community *joined hands* and united against gangsterism. This metaphor suggests tight linking between individuals and gives the reader a clear image of what happened.

* Communities and nations

The idea of communities' being *nations* appears in this essay topic as well as in the one on language. It is ubiquitous and therefore should not be overlooked because it is a metaphorisation with a particular meaning deriving directly from apartheid ideology and transferred to the concept of *community*. It is used to refer to racial as well as language communities. The sense of these communities' being separate from each other and belonging to separate *nations*, discrete and responsible only to themselves, may be linked to the success of Dr Verwoerd's bantustan thinking which has permeated the consciousness and culture of even the younger generation. The word *races* is also used interchangeably with *nations* in other essays as is *zones* with *areas,* reflecting the terminology commonly used to define geographical areas in the townships and demonstrating clearly the life experience of the writer.

* *Underestimates* in the area

The candidate who wrote about communities also wrote about littering that *makes the heart sore* and occurs because of a lack of amenities, described as an *underestimate in our area*. The *heart* image is a standard and not very potent image but the *underestimate* concept is an example of a writer using existing vocabulary to produce a concept that adequately communicates the idea of lack of provision.

* Vivid images

This topic, unlike the previous one, generated vivid imagery, for example the writer who found him/herself *most of the time dancing in a corner without an instrument*. This image could be interpreted to suggest a high level of frustration resulting from speaking without being heard. It could also derive from the sense

of political frustration of not having a voice in government at any level (not even at local level where the effects are felt most tellingly).

The area is described as a *cruel squartered* (squatter) *camp* where the writer discovered that *people who stay in zink* (zinc) *houses are as hard as zink materials*. The same houses are elsewhere described as being *very much easy to be torched*, highlighting their fragility and providing a vivid image of the hazards of life in such an area. The area is ruled by Mali Hoza, *with a gun*, a man *who likes swimming in the blood* of the young *comrades* who were *trying to put their people in light of what is happening*. The same candidate wrote about the *war against the taxi driver's organisation* in which the police are part of the corruption, who want us *to become instinct* (extinct). The horror of the situation is foregrounded by the images evoked by *cruel, swimming in blood,* people being *as hard as zink* and *war* leading to extinction. It is offset by the idea of *comrades...trying to put their people in light...* This candidate is not struggling to make meaning with a limited vocabulary but is using the vocabulary s/he has, to create concepts derived from his/her vivid life experience. The communication is vivid, achieved with ordinary, available words, except for 'extinct' which nevertheless conveys the idea adequately. This candidate is self-regulated and in control in this context, as is evidenced by the quality of the metaphors, simply but potently expressed. S/he has also provided evidence of his/her political orientation with the approving comment on the *comrades* and hostile attitude to Mali Hoza who is a well-known 'warlord' and now NP member of the Cape parliament. At the time these essays were written there was ongoing warfare between rival groups of 'warlord's' supporters. The squatter camps where they held sway were indeed *cruel* places to have to live in. All of the above is information that contributes to the understanding of the historical, sociological, cultural and ideological capital this student brought to the task of making meaning out of that essay topic.

* <u>We need to unite</u>

A candidate who wrote less fluently but, expressing ideas about the need to unite, wrote about an *ambrella* (umbrella) *body* and *conspiring an organisation establishment* to *give the youth a better living condition...avoiding them from radicaly tendencies*. This develops an image of a uniting structure, the 'umbrella body', that will establish an organisation that will protect the township youth from radical tendencies. This introduces a confusing combination of ideas between radicals and gangsters. The concept of organisations uniting people and having power to change things is in curious juxtaposition with the idea of radicals and gangsters sharing an identity.

* <u>Speeches</u>

Some candidates took the task of writing a **speech** very seriously and introduced real speechmaking rhetoric. One opened with, inter alia: *As a person who composed of blood and flesh include ears and eyes to see what is happening outside*, inviting his/her audience to believe what followed. Another ended with the hope that the audience will *take the goods and leave the ones you think they wont suit you.* The ideas are commodified in this metaphor and presented almost as gifts for the audience's choosing. These images tell us something about this writer's ideological vision and his/her power to share them or persuade others to take them on.

Then there was the writer who chose to *step down* with the following words *"no matter its tough let us remain tough too."* S/he shows a clear sense of what it means to hold the floor, to be in control of the audience and then to relinquish that control with an appropriate exhortation in the context of his/her preceding remarks about unity being strength.

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* Linguistic innovation

Many metaphors are created through the unusual use of parts of speech used as other parts of speech, for example, *they didn't accept other taxis to rank into their terminas* (terminus). The effect here is to personify the taxis and enable them to act. This is the sort of innovative usage that, with the growing taxi industry, could become standard usage. It also provides information as to the causes of the taxi wars referred to in a previous essay, again providing the reader with information about the capital the writer brings to the task.

* Good things

There are other good things about some areas. In addition to being united they are also *disciplined neighbourhoods* - this idea coming from the rhetoric of liberation organisations and clearly conveying the idea of people behaving within the constraints of a code of conduct, and giving insight into the ideological capital brought to the task. Here it was used in the context of avoiding the opportunities for conflict offered by the ongoing tension between rival taxi organisations.

* Tensions and organisations

This tension is a theme that appeared in most of the essays on this topic which also places the context in time and place. One of the topical issues of the time was the possible demolition of the Nyanga taxi rank in an attempt to limit the tension; one candidate, with his/her neighbours, was *adding our thumbs up* to the idea. The image of the *thumbs up* is the obvious universal symbol of approval, but is also the old ANC salute.

The fact that other kinds of rival organisations also exist and cause tension is reflected in the statement: *they create many organisation with different ambition so that peace can't come.* The sense of conflicting agendas comes through

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clearly in the idea of *many organisation with different ambitions* while the phrasing of *peace can't come* causes the materialisation of those agendas into a barrier to peace which is palpable. There is a mature objectivity about observations like that, that gives the reader confidence that that writer is able to analyse his/her life context in a clear and balanced way. It is evidence of linguistic as well as emotional self-regulation.

* <u>More 'good' things</u>

A good thing about one candidate's area, however, is its beauty, *like a romantic island.* Other good things in other essays were a new school that would provide *a way to education,* a library that is *a development step* and a Parents, Teachers, Student Association that is *in formulation.*

Elsewhere a school *remove the way of darkness that our grandfather live on.* As was said in the previous section, the notion that the old people lived in *dark* times is common and scant respect is paid to the wisdom brought by the elderly. This same candidate saw it as a *tragedy to our parents* that the children want to *role* (rule) them. Her/his solution to the problem is that *our knee must kneel down and pray.* That last might be a slip of the pen, but it is a felicitous one in that it evokes a rich image of a collective *knee* getting down to purposeful prayer.

* <u>Some focus on the schools</u>

The idea of the school being the opening to enlightenment is countered when this candidate compared him/herself with the *other nations* who are busy learning, whereas *they did not give instrument to reach the passing rate they had* in our schools. Available vocabulary is utilised to provide the sense of deprivation of resources - compared with other education departments - experienced in township schools. This candidate has managed, with the use of simple vocabulary, to communicate a clear message of resentment together with a clear

sense of the potential of schools to bring about social and educational transformation. The same candidate problematised the issue of school boycotts which cause them to be *lacking according syllabus*.

Other positive forces mentioned here are the PTSA (Parent Teachers and Students Association) and the library. The PTSA is a unique township phenomenon that other communities have tried to develop. It is part of the current vision for transforming education in South Africa. It is a way of democratising school governance and giving parents and children a more meaningful say in the running of the schools. The fact that this candidate mentioned it is significant, because, although it is a well known term, they have been struggling institutions in some schools. It is possible that s/he had had experience of a functioning one as well as having actually experienced a functioning library. Not many township schools do have functioning libraries, so for a child to speak of one with appreciation of its power, tells something of the child's background.

The most significant observation made by this candidate however, is the one about its being a tragedy that the young people want to rule. In his article about youth in the 1990s, **Bundy** (1993:1) has some pointed observations to make about the role of the young as foot soldiers of the revolution; he quotes <u>City Press</u> (20 April 1986) which writes about 'the shock troops of a nationwide popular insurrection'. Those same children have been described more recently as 'marginalised youth' and Bundy's article presents a chilling picture of the statistics involving young people and violence of all sorts in South Africa. The expression 'com tsotsis' was coined to describe them, comrades who had become *tsotsis* or gangsters.

* <u>Littering</u>

Littering is an issue that appears frequently in these essays and one candidate wrote about how the people who frequent shebeens should not throw *empties* in the street *when they are useless*! An empty beer bottle is indeed *useless*. On the same subject, visitors who litter make our place *a living hell*. The squatter camps are dirty places and so are many other areas in the townships; there are no dustbins and anyway minimal litter removal services are supplied. Even the mention of *shebeens* is indicative of the sort of area they are referring to. These writers come from poverty-stricken areas where dirt, crime and violence are part of their everyday experience.

2.2.4. Describe an incident in which you felt you were treated unfairly.

More cliches appeared in the essays written on this topic than in any of the previous essays - children being *the apple of their aunt's eye,* people looking *like angels* and a patient thinking he/she was on *the highway to heaven*.

* <u>Parental interference</u>

There were also a few *broken hearts*, but these are different; one writer got a broken heart from not being able to do what s/he wanted to do after and during school. The same writer *continued with schooling in delay,* s/he goes on to say *but my parents were behind me everytime,* so the interpretation of the first statement seems to indicate a reluctant scholar being driven by his/her parents. Later on, however, s/he appreciated that her parents showed her/him *the way to life.* This is a theme quite often expressed, of how parents have assisted the child. There is a clear sense of what parents are supposed to do and in one essay the girl behaved badly in that she entertained her boyfriend in her parents' house in their absence and the parents found out. She was justifiably nervous about

their reaction and they were predictably angry. It was the sort of scene with which almost any parent of adolescent children would have been able to identify.

* Unexpected words work well

Another writer, a reformed drug addict, acknowledged that all people are *the offsprings of His mighty deeds* and when s/he tried to help other *young stars* who were under the *fatal cloud of darkness,* his/her assistance was not appreciated by their parents. The metaphor created in the image of people as *offsprings of His mighty deeds* is formed by using unexpected words, *offsprings* instead of *children,* and the idea of these *offsprings* being the result of *mighty deeds* creates a forceful comparison with implications of actual copulative activity, on behalf of God, resulting in actual children.

The *young stars* might be a misspelling of *youngsters* but whatever it is, it works metaphorically to suggest the potential of youth. As for the *fatal cloud of darkness* - drug addiction leads to misery and eventually death and this writer has expertly captured the fact.

There was a significant lack of sentimental religious feeling expressed in these essays, but the one above and the one where *their knee* was going to get down and pray are the exceptions.

* Arrest experiences

One of the writers in this group was arrested at a rent boycott meeting. Life in custody was as *bad as in hell,* they were treated *like terrorists,* and one of the things that happened was *a full boot kick* on his mouth. The pragmatic intention of this last is plain: it was more than just a kick administered with the toe of the boot, it involved the whole boot and was therefore worse. More than one writer described experiences with policemen, which is another predictable element of

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township life, certainly as it was before the elections. It is another piece of sociological information that the writers bring to the task.

* Accidents

One student broke his leg playing football and was taken to the local clinic where he *was swimming in a river of pain.* When one of the nurses criticised him for playing football instead of studying, he was so angry he *felt like eating her with my teeth.* This writer's emotions are plainly expressed in those metaphors, the images are vivid and telling.

In one of the motor accidents *the bus had been stabed* (stabbed) into a big truck, and we (the injured) were *laid on the side of the road like sardins* (sardines). An unexpected but powerful image is generated in the idea of a bus's being *stabbed* by a truck and while people being compared with sardines is not unusual, in this case it is unusual and refers to the fact that they are laid side by side rather than 'tightly packed'. Such vehicle accidents are often part of the content of students' writing and if the statistics given in the media are a guide, they form part of the everyday experience that is brought to the writing task.

One of the writers was *under control* of his/her mother. Another's employer was described as his/her *owner.* Both of those metaphorisations suggest a psychological state of subservience. In both cases, however, the writer rebelled against that power relationship and the rebellion resulted in their feeling unfairly treated.

* Work seekers

More than one student had to look for a job, one because s/he was *running short of school things* and another because of the drought. The latter went to town to engage in *researching of job*. His/her mother did not want him/her to leave, but

s/he *have brocken* (broken) *my mother's words* to go to Johannesburg. S/he was destitute and had no choice - *I have just pure rice grains in the sand or I have put my head in the leon's mouth*. The previous two remarks are confusing; the *rice grains in the sand* must surely be an image of destitution and the *head in the leon's mouth* is presumably the *lion's mouth*, which suggests facing the dangers and risks of Johannesburg. It is difficult to imagine why the two images were joined with *or*. In spite of that confusion, the metaphors taken independently work well.

This candidate generates some other rich comparisons - he describes Johannesburg as a *busy like bee town* and himself as *a bird without a nest*. He becomes sad, he experiences *shameness*, (a term that will be discussed in the section on **idiosyncratic expressions**), and his *heart have drift with bleed sorrowness*. He found no hospitality - *no water have come out for me* and he *felt in money, drought of no shelter, no food*. In spite of his idiosyncratic syntactic and semantic uses, his sense of alienation is potently communicated. This comes through in images of the heart drifting and bleeding from sorrow and the lack of the basics of hospitality - provision of water for drinking and washing. It certainly seems likely that this candidate has been close to those experiences and brings the feelings with him to the task of writing the essay and communicating with the examiner.

Another youngster went to Johannesburg and got a job, but he had to make a large contribution to his landlord's household - the money *I had to spend there gave me a very heavy burden*. He got into worse trouble in the family when he was accused of raping the daughter; he was exonerated however, and felt he had *had a lesson about life*.

2.2.5. Write a composition on a mining accident based on the situation shown in the attached sequence of drawings. Add a conclusion in which you report on the effect the accident had on the safety regulations at the mine.

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This topic was accompanied by a set of drawings depicting the events and providing a context for the candidates.

The writing elicited by this instrument tended not to have the flavour of first-hand experience, which is probably to be expected. Nevertheless, some of them generated potent statements out of apparently strong feelings.

* Accidents

One student wrote about the *falling of the mine walls*; there is a clear understanding of the main source of danger and accidents although the picture prompt involved an accident with the railway carts transporting the coal underground. The cart accident was described as *a trap*, which is an apt description, especially if the communication with the escape routes is broken.

A third person essay spoke about *when people are collapsed by the Mine*. This perspective is an interesting change of aspect and puts the human more firmly in the position of victim and the mine more firmly in the position of guilty party. One of the writers wrote that the *rate of accidents in mines is at its peak* and that children who lose their fathers *suffer a terrible scar.* S/he commented that even the mine buildings are *not prompt to resist weather changes.* The people who work underground are often careless and work *as if its like a days work*, which leads to *the falling of the mine.* This whole essay was written objectively and in the third person, yet with rich images. It concluded with a remark that if more care were paid to safety more people might want to make a career in mining *as one that ensures safety ...rather than a phobia to many young prospective students.*

* The career aspect
The linking of a *career* with a *phobia* sets up an interesting tension in terms of the developing of the primary image by the secondary one, especially if it is

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considered that work on the mines used to be one of the few areas of employment open to the majority of rural blacks, dangerous and relatively unrewarding as it was. It was a sort of rite of passage in rural communities, and the drop in the gold price and shrinking SA economy caused untold hardship in rural communities where most of the men expected to work 'underground' and did not get more 'contracts' (**Blondel and Lamb** 1985:133).

The *cage full of coals* had a *road inside the mine* and when it is full, it is easy for it *to step aside.* The metaphorisation adds action to the image especially in the idea of a cart's being able to step aside off its track. There is some confusion between a *cage* and a *cart* but this is understandable and the meaning is designated by the context. In another case the *trains had fallen*, also providing a clear picture of the event.

2.2.6. Do you consider that the lot of women in South Africa could be improved? If so, discuss in detail why and how this can be done.

This topic generated some very vivid images, among them the statement that a woman won't get a job unless she agrees to be *the boss's night stand.* For this writer women don't see themselves as part of the *business or medical worlds;* they have to *bear children* and do housework. Women are always *victims of law* because *the law will favour* rapists. Little girls are never encouraged to study subjects like motor mechanics because that is the *"man's world"*. Even those who are educated are treated unfairly when *entering the work-field.*

Apart from the last statement the metaphors used above are all standard for this domain, but indicate a familiarity with the appropriate rhetoric. They make full unambiguous meaning and demonstrate self-regulation in this task.

Other metaphors generated by this topic are also unastonishing if revealing of self-regulation - women were not born *to be the tools of men*, they are treated *as*

the property of men, they are responsible for *the building up of their children,* they can *raise their children* without the help of a man, and the thing that most women do is develop *helping organisations* to aid those who can't help themselves. This last is an interesting perception of women's organisations, especially as it follows an observation about how women have been in the forefront of strikes and boycotts.

One candidate used two lush similes, comparing women to *rivers which provide us with sources of life* and *trees which bear fruit that feeds the nation.* This person felt that women are the only people who can bring about peace in our country which had turned into *"little Kuwait".* This last demonstrates an unusual knowledge of international politics but the others, while presenting evidence of self-regulation, are standard and unsurprising. The writers on this topic all present an image of women as downtrodden, idealised and disempowered. All suffer from the triple oppression of gender, race and class but nevertheless have some potential for power in the world.

The above analysis attempts to show how these writers, all matric students in 1991, created meaning and put points and arguments across vividly and purposefully by generating metaphors, many of which were original and derived from their personal life experiences. Some were not original, but even then they revealed knowledge of the discourse appropriate to the particular subject domain, which is also evidence of self-regulation.

Many of the metaphors were constructed in idiosyncratic forms which have already been mentioned and are analysed and described below.

3. IDIOSYNCRATIC FORMS

Idiosyncratic forms are those that are fossilised into what is termed here a Xhosa-English Version, or in **Williams'** words: a 'non-native institutionalised variety of

English' (NIVE). They are the norms of usage and interaction or *communicative* norms referred to earlier and are part of the XEV as it is used in people's daily lives.

Some are less institutionalised than others, but as the research to establish the degree of institutionalisation has not been done yet, it is proposed here that the fact that they are written down and have been encountered many times over the years in student writing constitutes them as communicative norms. Where they are unusual forms, they will be noted as such.

The items in the list that follows are not listed in any particular order but they are terms that are used generally in a variety of circumstances. The categories that follow the list are syntactically more specific and will be indicated as such.

3.1. Generally used terms

3.1.1 The use of the word *most* as an intensifier is common, probably because it conveys the meaning of whatever it is, being *more than* it is in its normal form. Some examples of this are *:*

* the British were the _most invader_ of the world countries.
* the _most disadvantage_ of English.
* as we know this is the _most part_ which need literacy ie communication.
* black people are the _most people_ who love their traditions.
* the _most thing_ which I dislike in my area.
* it is wise to make sure it (English) is the _most language_ taught in schools.

3.1.2. Another way of expressing intensity is the use of the adverb *too* in the sense of *very:*

* maybe you are lost in town and there are _too many_ white people.
* if you use English _too much_ ... and forget your own language.

3.1.3. Yet other tactics are developed for expressing greater intensity

* *how she was afraid to tell* she was pregnant.

* *we are forced and bound.*

3.1.4. The concept of excellence is often expressed as perfection

* if you want to be <u>perfect,</u> meaning *very good.*

* it is a <u>major in</u> all subjects.

* <u>*number one*</u>

* are of <u>*first class*</u>

3.1.5. Different tactics are adopted for adding emphasis -

* *he doesn't finish even one sentence.*

* *it is not that much important.*

* *it is useful such that = it is so useful that...*

* *understand even a single word.*

* *we can be very much pleased.*

* *some few questions.*

3.1.6. In order to express the concept of *the year before last* the form

* *last of last year* has been generated and occurs in this set of data, but *last of last week/month* is also common - it means the *year/month/week before last.* There is also *the other Friday* meaning *last Friday*.

3.2. Lexical idiosyncrasies

3.2.1. The word *bored* is often used to indicate irritation or frustration

* if we're <u>*bored*</u> *about the fight* ie fed up with fighting.

* it was where they <u>*became bored*</u> they had persuaded my supervisor that I was a thief and she did not listen to them.

3.2.2. Worried is used to mean *sad* or *upset* as was the child who was disappointed about her matric dance dress *and she was <u>worried</u>*.

3.2.3. *Regret* has become a verb that means *rejected*

* *I feel so <u>regreted</u>,* it is also common for applications to be *regretted*.

* *to regreat*(regret) *your mother tongue*.

3.2.4. *Provision* is the food and drink a person takes on a journey.

* *my parents made <u>a provision</u> for me*.

3.2.5. A car can also be defined as *a transport;* (this has already been commented on in the section on <u>Metaphor</u> but it is common and needs inclusion here too).

* *there wasn't even a single transport*.

3.2.6. The use of *wear* to mean *dress* is common currency:

* *<u>wearing</u> as angels* meaning to be dressed as angels. Also commonly used is: I get up in the morning and I *wear* my clothes.

3.2.7. *Denied* can also mean *refused*

* *Mother <u>denied</u>.* She refused me permission...

3.2.8. *Advice* is often used in a plural form

* *she gave me some <u>advices.</u>*

3.2.9. Common in spoken English is *somebody* meaning a *person*

* *an eighteen year old <u>somebody.</u>*

3.2.10. *To voice out* means to say something, especially in the context of a meeting where it is important to express an opinion.

* *I am justified to <u>voice out</u> the dislikes about my area*.

*   Employees need to speak English to be able to *voice out* their views to
their employer.

3.2.11. Must is sometimes used as a noun - *it is a matter of must* is commonly
heard, also
*   *it is a must* that someone must be understood by other tribes.

3.2.12. *He is not ashamed of a blind girl* meaning he is not *sorry for* a blind girl;
(this expression is also commonly used). There isn't another example in these
essays, but *a/shame* is often used in the sense of *sorry.*

3.2.13. *people are moving up and down* in the sense that they are
strolling/walking/ambling past.

3.2.14. *she got their child* - had their child.

3.2.15. *suffer from long distances* - one of the problems experienced by people in
the rural areas.

3.2.16. *that side* - in that place, usually accompanied by hand and arm gestures.

3.2.17. *the name called a stupid* - a denigratory term in which the adjective
stupid is used as a noun

3.3. One from two

There are also groups of expressions with similar constructions. Some arise from
certain conditions in the MT, like the creation of single words from two words,
eg. preposition + word, which in the Xhosa-English version are written and
conceived as one word, because in Xhosa the prepositional marking is always in
the form of a prefix. Examples of this are *inlove* which actually has its own

meaning - a couple *inlove* are, by definition, sleeping together. Other examples are *infact, incharge, inbetween, infront, inorder, invain and inwhich.*

There are other types of phrasal words like *blacknaming,*(not a common one) *cleanup, didnot, endup, eversince, forinstance, gamereserves, goodlooking, lefthand, longrun, longtime, someonelse, watchout, oneday* and *otherday.* There is a logic here, in that the two words express a single concept.

3.4. *Made to* and *finish* + Infinitive

Some expressions arise from the construction *made to* + infinitive :
* to make students <u>to be used in speaking</u>
* for making me <u>to dislike my area</u>
* made me nearly <u>to commit suicide</u>
* made my friend <u>to think</u>
* made them <u>to unite</u>
* make by all means <u>to satisfy me</u>
* make her <u>to drive</u>;

also *finish* + infinitive
* finish <u>to learn</u>.

3.5. Ways of making comparisons

When making comparisons in the absence of the 'correct grammatical knowledge' - writers often resorted to: *a very quite (quiet) area <u>in</u> all other areas.*

3.6. Sense without structural words

It is true that if all the functional/structural words in a text are replaced with 'nonsense' words, the text will still make sense. If, however, the content words are so replaced, the text will not make sense, which is why the difficulties

experienced by these learners with the English preposition system does not always interfere with their pragmatic intention.

* *There are nuns who sponsor pupils about their clothes*
* *they got a ride to home*
* *they repeated... for several times*
* *it is easy to those...*
* *...for having a say to anything*
* *... in overseas*
* *... in tertiary level*
* *it is difficult especially to us blacks*
* *marry to a wealthy person*
* *...music in a high volume*
* *... so that we can be used in speaking English*
* *... to ask any question to him*
* *which resulted to criminals* (which made criminals..)
* *nearer to home*
* *promise every woman they love about marrying*
* *are of first class*
* *convinced her of marrying her*
* *ask it - ask for it*

All the above utterances are evidence of writers using what they know to make meaning.

3.7. Intonation, generalisation and time

There are other factors like (i) Xhosa intonation, (ii) generalisation, and (iii) difficulties in defining **time** = **when** that also cause the creation of idiosyncratic expressions.

3.7.1. In terms of intonation, confusion is caused between *bit/beat, this/these, live/leave, neating/knitting, ship/sheep.* Those are just examples generated in

these data. There are many others in general use as well as ways in which intonation influences spelling e.g. *upscorned = abscond.*

3.7.2. Generalising commonly appears in interlanguage - *blacknaming, cultureless, debateful, evilness, jungleness,* (already mentioned) *leadered* (led), *speakable language, once upon in time, forms have to be filled, fail rate, good paying jobs, I was very crossed* = I was very cross, *in a very bad way* = badly, *in a wrong way, to have a typical example, were schooling, workless, you must be watchout* = careful.

3.7.3. Ways of expressing time, the word *when* often seems to elude these writers, so they make use of other methods: *by the time they were sending, the time I went to Form 2.*

This is a small sample of the *communicative norms* used by L2 speakers to achieve communication and self-regulation in the writing task. What is evidenced is that the producers of the texts in the data sample have created meaning, often originally, but also often within norms that are current in their speech community.

This chapter set out to reveal in some detail the techniques, linguistic strategies, linguistic and content knowledge and personal experience that the L2 writers in this sample of data have brought to the writing task. Any L1 or L2 English-speaker who reads the essays should, by focusing on the richness of the metaphoric content, be able to redress the impression created by the non-standard structures and expressions and appreciate the richness of the content and concepts that are communicated through the metaphors.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. AIM OF THE THESIS

The purpose of this study is to explore the possibility of examining L2 learner writing in a way that focuses the reader on cognitive strategies that learners use rather than on learners' errors. Such a way of seeing learner L2 writing seems to be offered by Vygotsky theory relating to language and cognition. This theory is outside the mainstream (typically British and American) approaches to language. Hence this study is breaking new ground in the attempt.

The motivating force behind the study is the concern of many people, including the researcher, that L1 and educated L2 speakers focus on the surface of writing output, especially on errors, and if errors are present, assume that the writer is incompetent linguistically and intellectually. Many realise this is not the case, that learners can be quite capable linguistically and intellectually though they still commit errors in the L2. The researcher wanted to challenge this negative mind-set, perhaps by demonstrating an alternate way of seeing L2 learner output. The cognitive theory of **Vygotsky** (1962,1986), being well respected and non-mainstream, seemed to offer one way.

Vygotskyan theory was used to re-examine theoretical constructs at the base of mainstream instruction and evaluation. It was pointed out that mainstream theory did not maintain a holistic view of language, and that it maintained a deficit approach in evaluation.

Vygotsky focuses on the cognitive processes the learner uses, especially their strategies for creating meaning. These strategies include using metaphor as well as the learner's progression from object- and other- to self-regulation. His theory

allows a view of a different kind of competence, one of competent cognitive activity below the surface of linguistic output.

Tools from **Vygotsky's** theories were adapted for use in analysing the data, which was a representative sample of 116 matric essays of successful 1991 DET students. These students were writing in English as their second language and they produced some non-standard English. The three major tools used were a word count, metaphor, and idiosyncratic expressions.

Two hypotheses were generated:

Hypothesis 1 - **Insights gained from Vygotsky will redress the assumption that non-standard writing of English reflects linguistic and intellectual incompetence**

Hypothesis 2 - **A word count, the analysis of metaphors used in writing and an understanding of idiosyncratic expressions are tools that could be used to develop a system of evaluation that would apply Vygotskyan thinking in evaluation methodology.**

2. FINDINGS

It was found that the student writing showed evidence of cognitive competence via word count (vocabulary), use of metaphor (strategy for making meaning richly) and idiosyncratic expressions (creative language use). The innovative use of words, the creation of original metaphors and judicious use of idiosyncratic expressions all, it was argued, represent evidence of self-*regulation*, which for **Vygotsky** is a mature, competent learner.

Further evidence of self-regulation is that many of the writers were also able to analyse their world and make sensible recommendations as to what is needed to improve it.

The demands of the writing task can be said to have been fulfilled. The writers have done this - achieved self-regulation - via object- and other- regulation. By the use of words, metaphors and the idiosyncratic expressions they needed they have communicated with their readers.

Taking into account (1) that language is dynamic, (2) that interlanguage is a system of its own and demonstrates what the learner can do to make meaning at the time, (3) that competence and proficiency, like langue and parole are linking and interdependent concepts, (4) that written output represents a higher form of cognitive activity and (5) that the data in this study, like all data have limitations, it can nevertheless be said that the agents, the DET matriculants in the study, showed a level of conceptual development in the way they generated metaphors. They showed knowledge of a language sufficiently like mainstream English to communicate and make meaning in a variety of writing tasks to be considered to be *self-regulated* and mature learners, at least in this task. Therefore Hypothesis 1 was supported.

In the case of Hypothesis 2 It was shown that the tools can be used successfully for analysis of a large group of L2 learner essays. Whether these tools can all be used to develop a system of evaluation that would apply Vygotskyan thinking in evaluation methodology to individuals may still be possible but is not at this stage supported.

A word count of key words is not practical for regular use in the classroom or exam marking. Evaluation must be done of individual work, yet this analysis was done on the learners as a group. The interpretation of such analysis for a given individual must still be developed. Further research is needed here.

However unintelligible the writing may be, studying the forms used from a Vygotskyan perspective provided insights into what linguistic strategies the writers employed in their effort to make meaning. Simply acknowledging that

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they had **tried** to say something appropriate and meaningful is a step away from deficit rhetoric.

In his commentary on **Bakhtin, Kozulin** (1990:183) states that according to **Bakhtin,** literature reveals aspects of human consciousness that other media of expression do not. The data in this study reveal a great deal about the 'extralinguistic' reality of the writers.

All these things are written about in rich metaphor and idiosyncratic expressions that accurately reflect the writers' experiences and cognitive *state in the task*. The writers' 'state in the task' suggests a level of consciousness that has enabled them to tell stories, factual and fictional; present arguments, based on direct experience and hypothesis and communicate accurately enough to make meaning for an ordinary reader and an examiner who has awarded each writer a passing mark.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS

3.1. An instrument for the evaluation of L2 writing should be developed. Such an instrument could include the use of a metaphor index and bring an understanding of idiosyncratic expressions to bear on the writing.

3.2. This instrument itself will need to be studied extensively and somehow validated against existing measures.

3.3. Aspects of Vygtoskyan analysis of L2 writing should be introduced to teachers and lecturers of English in schools and tertiary institutions with a view to developing affirmative mind-sets towards the XEV in teachers and learners. This action should increase learners' capacity and raise the levels of education to make a greater contribution to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the

programme that aims to transform the country and redress the wrongs of the past. It could also enhance the working of the multi-cultural classroom.

3.4. This research could be used to convince the learners themselves that they are not inadequate, just in process.

3.5. It could also be used to revise the attitude of employers to L2 speakers and writers and their intellectual competence.

3.6. Deficit thinking based on an attitude to language errors could be changed through contact with this research.

3.7. Attitudes to other NIVEs in South Africa as well as other L2 speakers, regardless of the L1 or L2 could also be affected.

4. FUTURE RESEARCH

Some of the following areas of possible further research are proposed:

4.1. Follow up work should be done to establish more fully the writers' *state in the task*, including oral interviews and the use of think-aloud protocols during the writing process.

4.2. The issues of the development of hypotheses, coherence, flow and voice need to be explored within the Vygotskyan perspective as potential tools for analysis.

4.3. Research should be done to ascertain the relationship between the degree of linguistic self-regulation demonstrated in the data in this study and the linguistic demands of first year study in particular at tertiary institutions.

4.4. Much wider research needs to be done into establishing the viability of the XEV postulated here and a richer analysis of its forms.

4.5. There are two additional crucial concepts in the Vygotskyan perspective that need to be explored in relation to this study, they are the *zone of proximal development* and a richer discussion of *language as a mediational tool.* This exploration could shed additional light on one of the underlying concerns of this study which is to identify and enhance learner potential, or at least not to preclude it. While not studied here perhaps these concepts could also contribute to a new way to evaluate L2 writing.

4.6. Xhosa linguists could shed light on the relationship between the L1 and some of the idiosyncratic forms. This would enable a researcher to differentiate between L1 interference and the innovative use of language.

The thesis with its innovative approach could possibly have the effect of changing the pedagogical atmosphere in South African educational institutions. This could redress the assumptions that lead to prejudice and negative perceptions about the capability of students drawn from the historically disadvantaged sectors of the population.

If the above happens this work will have contributed to the reconstruction of South Africa in that the learning potential of students studying in their L2 will have become more visible and hopefully they will have a better chance of competing in the social and economic mainstream.

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ADDENDUM 1

The Examination Paper

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS EN KULTUUR
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
ADMINISTRASIE: VOLKSRAAD
ADMINISTRATION: HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

NASIONALE EKSAMENS
NATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

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N0015(i)/1991
NOVEMBER 1991
NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE
ENGLISH 2ND LANGUAGE HG
FIRST PAPER

MARKS: 100   TIME: 1½ HOURS

NB: THIS QUESTION PAPER CONSISTS OF TWO SECTIONS. BEGIN EACH SECTION ON A
      NEW PAGE.
      READ ALL INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY AT THE BEGINNING OF EACH SECTION.

SECTION A: COMPOSITION

Write ONE of the following compositions, 300 to 400 words in length
(approximately 1½ to 2 pages). You are advised to spend about 60 minutes on
this section.

Write down ONLY the number of your answer in the middle of the page.
e.g. Question 1. A title is NOT required.

Please write NEATLY and LEGIBLY and only BETWEEN the margins.

The indiscriminate use of capital letters in sentences is NOT acceptable.

Make sure that your answers are of the required length AND TO THE POINT.

1.   Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using English as a medium of
     learning when it is not your mother tongue. Refer mainly to your
     experience in the classroom and also to wider considerations such as
     further education, employment and the development of African languages as
     such.

2.   Do you consider that the lot of women in South Africa could be improved?
     If so, discuss in detail why and how this can be done.

-2-

3.	Write a composition in which the following sentences appear:
	"But you promised!" she cried. "I will never trust you again."

4.	Your school has organised a speech contest in which you are to take part.
	Your topic is:. 'What I like and dislike most about the area in which I
	live.' Write out your speech.

5.	Describe an incident in which you felt you were treated unfairly.

6.	Write a composition on a mining accident, based on the situation shown in
	the attached sequence of drawings. Add a conlusion in which you report
	on the effect the accident had on the safety regulations at the mine.

SECTION B: LETTER OR SHORT PIECE OF WRITING

Answer ONE of the following questions in approximately 150 words (i.e. about
three-quarters of a page). Begin your answer on a new page. Spend about 30
minutes on this section of the paper.

7.	INFORMAL LETTER

	It is ten years after you left school. You are considering organising a
	reunion of your former matric classmates. Write a letter to one of your
	former matric friends, with whom you have had contact occasionally during
	the past ten years, and suggest the idea of a reunion to him/her. State
	clearly what you have in mind: the date, time and venue as well as the
	kind of party you propose to organise. Also ask his/her assistance in
	contacting all your classmates.

						OR

8.	FORMAL LETTER

	Write a letter to your local Town Council complaining about littering in
	your area. Describe the situation, identifying areas where littering
	usually takes place and offer suggestions for solving the problem.

						OR

9. <u>REPORT</u>

You are a researcher for a road safety council. Write a report on the causes and prevention of road accidents. You may use the notes below as a basis for your report. Add as many extra details as you wish. Make use of relevant headings.

The seriousness of the problem
Drivers and driving
Attitudes of people
Unroadworthy vehicles
Remedies

/30/

TOTAL: 100

---ooOOoo---

The Mining Accident
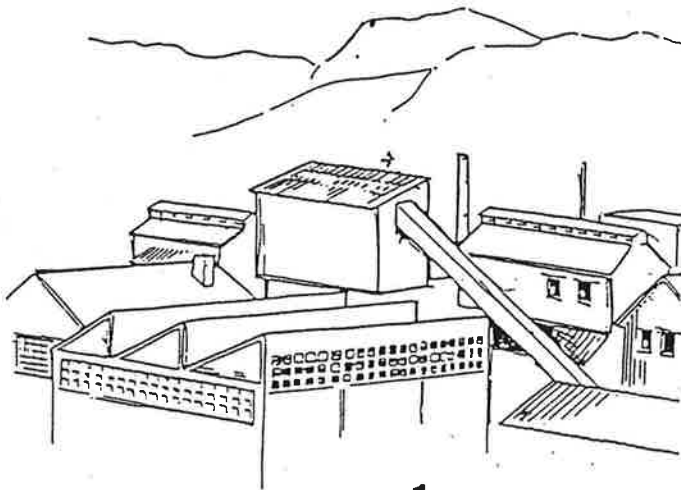
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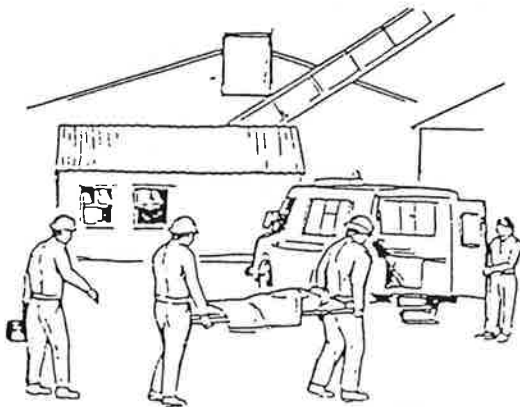
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6

ADDENDUM 2

A Sample of the Scripts

The following scripts were selected on a random basis, ie 1:3 approximately. Where a script was not complete or too dark to have been reliable others were substituted.

(4) CANDIDATE 651138 CENTRE 1783
QUESTION 1 C=10 O=9 V=9 L=10 =38

Advantages and disadvantages of using English as a medium of learning

Every nation got it's own language in which a newly born grow up using at home and amo-ng his community. His culture is taught to him or her in his or her mother tongue. He is taught to accept it as it is, in that way he wont be cultureless among other nations.

The problem starts when the child starts going to school because when goes there he must start using another language which he was not taug-ht to use at home. It's more difficult when he have to use it in all other languages and subjects. The child turns to be tense and doesn't want to participate in the classroom discussions. Hence you'll find a STD 10 pupil who cannot speak english. It forces the pupil to adopt a new way of living and you'll find other black trying to make themseives black Americans.

In the older generation like my grandmother, she never went to school but when she had to come to the urban areas, she was forced to speak a language she never heard of. You'll find the english speaking people exploiting those who can't speak english. They pay them a small salary which is under the breadline because he cannot question the baas. English degrades our culture as Africans because the more you use english the more you become westernised.

It can be advantageous at some insta-nces such as many of us in Africa we have many languages. You'll find in many countries more than ten languages are used in one country. To us here in SA it's better to use English than Afrikaans because you'll find urban Afrikaans is not the same as farm Afrikaans. But in some places you're forced to use afrikaans. English helps us to understand one another. It makes our communication better because I can talk with other tribesmen without having to learn their language.

You'll find many of us can write english more than talking. It even made learning better than before ie. in the early seventies where our brothers were forced to accept Afrikaans as a medium. Since then you'll find the rate of learning has

increas among the Africans because english is better than afrikaans the langwags of oppression because we are forced to speak it as is english.

QUESTION 5
C = 5 O = 6 V = 6 L = 6 = 23

It was on a tuesday morn when me and my little sister were in the minibus actually on our way to Port Elizabeth. We were paying a visit to our aunt who is very fond of us, and we believe that "we are the apples of her eyes."

We started the road at 18:00 p.m. When we were at George something terreble happened, a quick jacob came across our way, and our minibus was on a very high speed and when the driver tried to hold the car-brakes all the people at the front seat went through a windscreen.

At the very same time another fast minibus came at our back and when it started to brake it was also too late and it had terreble collide with our minibus. I didn't know then what happened after what.

It was on a third day when I woke up from coma since the accident. I didn't know where I was, but I was sure of one thing I was'nt at my bedroom and nor in my sister's chamber people like angels wearing as angels were looking at me, they were on a very sweet mood, I heard one when she said "Oh shame poor Lady bird, she open her eyes"

Where I was? I didn't even think of a hospital all I was thinking of was that maybe that's my highway to heaven or I was already in heaven the angels had come to greet me I smiled and tried to greet them but the voice didn't came out, I then tried to wake up but I was unable to do so. "Doctor Wet, your plan worked" said another gentlemen with broad smile just as if his teeth were about to come out. Doctor Wet? Oh then I must be in Hospital I thought.

In two weeks time I was better very better in so much that I was able to talk and eat but not walking and I was transferred from George hospital to Groote Schuur hospital here in Cape Town, for my benefit to be close to my family, and that was so great for me.

When my mother told me that, as the accident happened far away from houses the first people to come on our way pick-pocked us and lieve us just like that, until the second day whereby a old lady was driving passing there saw us and phoned the policemen and ambulance all other people died except me my little sister and two guys who were sitting with us at the back sit. I said "The first people who pick-pocked us and liave us treated us unfairly.

QUESTION 1
C = 9   O = 9   V = 8   L = 9   = 35

In the whole world there are different living organisms in different species. For an
example dogs, birds, cats, etc, all these organisms, do, Communicate in their own
ways and they can understand each other. say for instance a dog barks at other
dogs, so they can communicate that way. but what I keep thinking of is that, are
cats dogs and birds having different languages like Man does? I wonder!

Speaking of Man "Human Being" with his or her ways of communication, It is
known that people are speaking different languages with their own styles.
Because of this, it is difficult to communicate with someone speaking a different
language from yours. so it was proved that people can speak different languages
if they learn, and it was found that the language that can be understood and be
learnt easily is "English".

Since it was found as a Medium of Commu-nication, it was found as a Medium of
learning in our schools as well, But this Medium has its advantages and
disadvantages to people like myself because it is not my Mother tongue.
Advantages.
at school we are taught in English. What I think is that, it is good to be taught in
english because we are learning two things at the same time, let's say it's
Biology, so we will be doing english and Biology at the same time. if one doesn't
understand an english term he/she will ask it in english and that person will know
the meaning of the word. and if we are speaking it, it brings joy and excitement
to us as we speaks it. you find that if you make use of it, it helps when one goes
to further education that is where the big thing comes, because you meet many
people. some can't even speak a language you are familiar with, he can only
speak his own language and English.

That is where you can use it, making friends of different races. and you know
what is funny, when you speak to a person of a different race, you even forget
about the colour and race you treat each other as Human beings. same thing
happens in the world of employment.

the disadvantages
if you are using english too much you notice that you become used to it and
forgeting your home languages. like at we are doing Xhosa, because it is our
home language we are getting problems with it, noticing that we are mixing it
with english. Another thing is that we are forgetting our african traditions. It
changes our lives, that is why sometime we get aguements with our parents.
that thing had never happened before.

QUESTION 6

C = 7   O = 10   V = 7   L = 7   = 31

On these days technology is advancing at an incredible rate. Prompt messures are being developed in this country, but the rate of accidents in mines is at its peak. Everyday radios are bluring no of people traped or crushed in the mines, especial gold mines. Wifes are forced to be widows and children to suffer a terreble scar.

Take the outer look of the mining building itself, you may find the building material is not prompt to resist weather changes. Those are not strong and safely they crumble and are weak, as nature is taking its course. Down there in that heart of the earth, you will find our fathers bizzy digging carefree without noticing any dilemma before their eyes.

Down in the mine shaft, Firstly there is less oxygen if any. a person might easly get suffocated, Noxious gases during the process of mining, explosives. In asbestos mines workers are inhaling asbestos gas, how toxic is it! All of them in the long run would suffer bronchial diseas. In iron ore mining explosions are reported, due to the suface area of the metal. Surface area is one of the facts that increase rate of reaction.

Even the miners are used to such situations, they would work without care, as if its like a days work. They might work drunk, or without the company's procedure. That too can lead to the falling of the mine or one of the workers get seriously physical hurt, or traped beneath a rock. How fast would aid come? that may take ages to reach the spot. May-be the time help come, the person might be already dead. Sometimes a group of people got trapped for many days in a mine tunnel, others may get lost in the mist for their entire lives. Mostly help and first aid are being considered as prompt and efficient as possible. The are mine hospitals with registered doctors and nurses, who are capable to deal with such situations. Once the victim has got all medical attention and his family being alerted, the company have got to support the man's family and pay him all his asets.

Precautions and Regulations are being established by the company, safety boots, helmets, good ele-ctrical lights even mine scientists are there to detect the situation etc. But why so many accidents as prompt and efficient precautions are being taken. Is it because of the iliteracy of the labours who could't read well. The issue need to be taken seriously, the bosses must make sure that workers are evenly sure of safety messures. To be strict of coming to work drunk or any other use of drug. That way we might take a career in mining as the one that ensures safety, prosperity and a rewarding one, rather than a phobia to many young prospective students.

QUESTION 2
C = 9 O = 7 V = 6 L = 5 = 27

First I believe that woman where not born to be the tools of man but to be his assistance in order to make life easy in the modern world. Resently in world population statistics, it has been proved that woman are as twice more than as man; but due to their dispriviledge way of life the world proved to have no progress.

Fortunately the first world countries had a remedie to this by involving woman in the world of work. America and Britain have made much progress Economically; Military and also in the world of Science because they had allow the majority of their population i.e woman's to take part in such fields.

In the third world countries including South Africa there is much exploitation to weman's from labour exploitation to sexual exploitation. In South African population it has shown that at about 37% of women are succesful in their lives as compared in America when there is a 20% difference ie 57%.

In South Africa illiteracy was a root cause of this disaster therefore first thing that must be done to this country is to give wemen a proper education where weman can play a vital role in building the country's wealth.

South Africa is facing a crisis of over population in years to come; this also means that we are running out of resources e.g Economy. This kind of crisis is to be cured if the majority of our population i.e wemon can take part in education to feel such gaps that will cost everyone's lives.

In countries of Africa were I've learned this incident e.g Ethopia people were hungry due to the lack of manpower because the weman's are very backwards and this cost much of Ethopea's economic growth and Social life.

In South Africa what can be done is to put most of the country's capital in building resources were most of weman can get proper education because we cannot deny the fact that we depend on them because they are in mayority.

The one and foremost important thing is to take out certain legislation that restricts weman e.g weman cannot go underground i.e on a mine and also certain issues that involved our population weman have to be there in great numbers e.g Politics of South Africa.

QUESTION 4
C = 10 O = 10 V = 10 L = 6 = 36

I am living in the Western Cape in a Township called Newcrossroad. Necrossroad was named after the people who were living in a well known Crossroads squattercamp. It is still existing today. The people in Crossroad do not have facilities like water and toilets.

We move from Crossroads and we were taken to a new township and it was called Newcrossroads. It was a very beautiful township with new schools and parks. You know where there is people; they destroy everything. There were lights and we walk in the streets until 9 in the evening.

But now it is not like that. The area is dirty and the lights are not bright as they use to be. Sometime we had a problem of taxes. They are doing their thing on the other
hand. They are fighting. People are killed when their are going to work. Children are killed when they are going to school.

On the other hand motor drivers are driving in a very bad way. They do not think that it is a township and people; dogs; children are moving up and down. They think that they are driving in a free way. But all we live and wake up in the next day and go to school without having been hurt.

What I like about my township is that. There were time were there is a fight between our township and the other one. Many children from my township were schooling in the other township which we were fighting with. When we are going to school they wait for us and others were stabbed.

It was a very bad time because we had to stay in our homes and not to go to school. The people of my township do not tolerate that. They joined hands and they had a meeting. They discuss this issue and come into one thing that they must go and talk to the people of that othe township.

That did not make any defference because that gangster keep on beating us and stabbing us. They call up on a stayaway, they go to that gangster and they beat them. After that we go to school without any fear that there are people who will beat us. The people of my township are united.

QUESTION 4

C = 11 O = 10 V = 9 L = 9 = 39

In our school speech contest I am going to take part. The topic I am going to talk about is, what I like an dislike most about the area in which I live. If you are a bonified resident of the place I'm living in you find yourself most of the time dancing in a corner without an instrument.

I live in a cruel squartered camp just near Swartklip, it is in Khayelitsha by the name Site B. I never know that the people who stay in zink houses are as hard as zink materials. The place is leadered by the mayor Mr Mali Hoza. The uneducated leader. How does he know school when he is uneducated. This mayor is ruling with a gun. That is something I dislike very much. The youth of that area organised their political organisation trying to put their people in light of what is happening. What I like with the comrades is that they don't like us to kill one another. They unite the nation as we are black. We believe in that huminity is for God and God is for us all.

The youth tried to fought the place's ruling system and we succedded. Mr Hoza and his followers killed many people out of their patrolling. They wanted the people to be their slaves, but that we fought and we succeded. There is no peace at all at that place. when the other thing fails they promote the other. They like swimming in the blood that is the way they are living. For instance mr Hoza and his people once killed the leader of the National congress, because they saw that he was working for the people by the people. the next thing their party was put to an end by the people.

What I like there is that there is no money that goes to the government unnecessary. The people of the place are united. Now there is the war against the taxi driver's organisation. The people are unhappy because you are the next door of a taxi driver you are not safe. This I would call it the war because it has been taking place for the long time. This started when the other organisation Western province taxis association's taxis were burnt in this place I am living in. They were burnt by the other taxis association which they call Lagunya which the reason we don't know. They again burnt our homes. There is no peace at all in this palce. Everybody wants to lead. We again find that the police are the people who cause all this corruption. They want us to become instinct, so that we can not find and rule our land as before. I dislike the area I live in.

QUESTION 3

C = 12 O = 9 V = 9 L = 9 = 39

My story takes place in rural areas at Umlazi district. There were two families they both respect each other. It was the family of Ndaba and Bongo. As the time goes by, Bongo group got a problem.

They had lived for five years not paying home tax and the Government decided to consficate their land. They had no money to pay the fees that government wanted. At the same time NDaba group was well to do family. Wife of Mister Bongo decided to go to the NDaba family to seek help.

Fortunately for her, Mister NDaba decided to help the lady under certain circumstances. He asked if she can give her daughter to his son and he was not to pay Lobola. Lady Bongo decided to admit all that because of the problem she was engaged. This was a verbal agreement. There-after she went to the Government telling him to wait for a while.

The lady had a very beautiful daughter, at the same time NDaba had a very ugly deformed son. She talked to her daughter, on account of seeing the problem that her home faced, she admitted easily. Lady Bongo gave her daughter to NDaba group. By doing that, she intended to get help from NDaba. The contracdiction stated between these two family.

NDaba did not want to help the lady with the money he promised to give her. The lady tried to convince him but the man was stubon in hearing. NDaba told him that if it was the case, she can take her daughter back. This was a problem to the lady because it was a shame for the wife to be seen a girl again.

She tried all but invain and the man was agressive on the other hand.

She cried and at last she said, "But you promised!", "I will never trust you again."

QUESTION 6
C = 8 O = 7 V = 8 L = 9 = 32

My father was a mine worker near the city of Joha-nnesburg for about ten year. The accident happened last year. When he told us about this accident he said "The day was very hot which maked him to became very bored. The accident happen at twelf o'clock midday it happen like this.

The small carages which we push in a railway line from underground to the other point where it is going to be put out by other machineries, has just immidiate-lly slip out of the railway line, just imagen it was full of coal and it is very dull under ground, the light on our helmates is not very bright to see in front of you.

The small coal carage slip out of the railway line and a collition more of them happen, which makes the worker to fall under the carages full of coal. But fotunately no worker was seriously injured exce-pt me who was been sqeeze between two of this carages full of coal. The supervisor call the ambulans which took us to the hospital. I undergo a serious operation in my right leg.

The doctor said I am not be able to work for a period of two years but the firm is going to pay me until I get allright again. The doctor keep me in the hospital for about three months, and allways go for a checkup after every month at home.

Some of the workers who were slightly injured are very afraid to go and work in a mine again, they said they do not wanted to lose their life they still have a lot of children which they must suport and their wife did not even work.

It is not good to work in a mine but you earn a lot of money so a person rather be careful in a mine". My father end up in that words and I think he advise many people about mining work.

(29) CENTRE 2291   CANDIDATE 6706100837088
QUESTION 1
C = 10 O = 8 V = 8 L = 9 = 35

INTRODUCTION: 1.   The effect English have on students when its being used
                      medium of learning.

CONTENT: 2.   Problems encountered in classroom
                 3.   The role English have on employment
                 4.   The role it have in communication
                 5.   The disadvantage it have on African languages.

Conclusion
                 6.   My general feeling about English

English being used as medium of learning can have disadvantages and advantages
on the student. Only in the case that it is not your mother language.

I would like to have a typical example of the Xhosa of the Blacks, of which it is
compulsory to use English as medium of learning. This create problems for the
student and even the teacher. It is difficult to understand easily what the lesson
is about. It is because back at home you dont speak English, you speak Xhosa
which is your mother language. The teacher ask a question no one respond. It is
not because you don't know the answer, its because you cannot express yourself
in English. It create a problem then for the teacher. The teacher than think you
have not understand the lesson. If he cannot proceed. As a result he dont finish
the syllabus at the end of the year.

The usage of English does not only have its disadvantages, but have also its
advantages when you apply for a post or job. You have to make sure that the
person who will receive the letter must be able to read and understand it. So
English is then the solution, because all of us does learn English Blacks and
Whites. By writing English you are sure that the person will be able to read the
letter.

English also plays a very important role in Communication. Africa for example
consist of various groups of different languages. But all over Africa people are
learning English. By so doing you can go from North to South if you can speak
English you have no problem. You have the tool of communication.

A nother disadvantage English have is the development of the African languages.
An African language is known by its race only an example SiSuthu is known by
Sothos, Xhosas dont know Sotho, but we are all Africans. In the min time all of
us knows English which is a foreing language.

123

We Black nations must be also given the write of learning with our own languages. English must be done also, but just as the whites do. Learning it by doing only gramma. I even believe its why Blacks have such a high fail rate.

QUESTION ONE
C = 12 O = 10 V = 10 L = 12 = 44

English is the medium of communication because it is the only language that can be easily learned. People everywhere use English to communicate with people of another nation. It is advantageous to know English in order to communicate with the outside world. If English was not the medium of communication, then people would not be able to communicate with each other.

As a medium of learning Enlgish is right because it is not difficult and children learn to express theirselves in English at early stages. They also grow up with English as their second language. In first world countries almost ninety percent of the resident speak English. At school and at home children are encouraged to speak in English. Even grown-ups who failed to attend school in their youth are now taught English at night schools.

At school all subjects are taught in English except African languages. That is a very good foundation for students who want to further their education. In Tertiary level even African languages are taught in English. Also those students who go straight to work after matric are at advantage with their English because they started learning it when they were still young.

Everywhere around the world people are taught English. In Third world countries people are also taught English a new South Africa is being built. This is done by developing the countries that have been under dark for a long period. English is very helpful for businessmen who trade with countries abroad. At least a person must know English in order to express his feelings to the world.

Everything that has advantages also have disadvantages. Though English is helpful to people, it can also be harmful. People tend to forget their tongues when they know English. That as a fact is killing the nation. People don't care about their mother tongues once they know English, saying that they are useless. They cannot be medium of communication but they are useful.

African languages are detoriating because they are not cared for. People forget about their ancestors and how they struggled to create their language. They dump their languages just like rubbish, as if it has no value. People even forget their traditions because of this English, they practise western cultures which does not belong to them.

People are supposed to learn English as well as improve their own languages. African languages need to be improved. They are the pride of Africa and they need to be adored. Children must be taught their mother tongue and also English while they can still catch easily. Everything must have a limit and not be

overdone. If people can obey the rules of the world, then everything would go right.

There is nothing wrong with English being the medium of learning, what is wrong is regarding English as a Godlious language. It is not Godlious and will never be. People must just take English as any other language. There is nothing harmful in knowing English but people must be careful not to forget their own languages because in that way they are degrading their languages.

QUESTION 6
C = 11 O = 10 V = 9 L = 10 = 40

My brother Vusi was working in a coal mine, in Johannesburg. He was only twenty years old and he went to work there because there were no jobs available in our township so he was forced to go and work there.

In these mines they were divided according to their working times. Vusi was working at night. His job was to push the heavy small carages, which were loaded with coal. These carages were pushed like a railway, they had strong iron wheels like that of a train and there was also a railway line in which these carages moved. Vusi did all this job underneath the ground and it was very dark under the ground. They had to wear strong helmets with an electric light on top of the helmet.

One night it was Vusi's time to go to work. They quickly wore their clothes, their strong shoes to protect them from being hurt by the stones which were everywhere underneath the ground. In this shift Vusi had a group of about five men. They were taken to the ground flow where they work by a lift. When they arrived under the ground, they putted the carrages next to each other in a trailway line like track. After that they loaded the carages with coal.

They did this work singing songs. The place where they worked had an electric lamb to give bright light for them. When all the trollies were fully loaded. Each men now pushed each carage so that it can give way to the outside gate where other mine workers took them and unload the carages.

Vusi was busy pushing these loaded carages when suddenly the iron wheel of the carage moved out of the track. The carage fell also on the other side and all the coal fell out of the carrage. Vusi who was pushing also fell to the side, which the carage was felling through. Vusi cried for help but he   fell of the coals.

The other men heard his cry and they quickly ran to give help. They tried to wake him but Vusi couldn't stand up, he was unconciouce. One of the men quickly call to their heard office where they phoned the ambulance. While he was doing that the other men were busy trying to put Vusi down of the coals and they putted him on the ground and they gave him breath and cool air.

Suddenly the ambulance men came, they putted him on a stretcher and they rushed him to hospital where he was helped to gain concious. The doctors operated him, on the cuts which were on his face and they also cutted his hair on the places where he was hurted so as to operate them.

Vusi stayed at the hospital for two weeks under the care of the nurses. And when he was beter Vusi went back to work.

I would blame the accident to the mine owners, Vusi was pushing the heavy loaded carage alone there should have been two or three men doing that and that in the mines the must be machines to push the loaded carages not human being.

(39) CENTRE 938   CANDIDATE 854933
QUESTION 1 C = 10 O = 9 V = 9 L = 10 = 38

English is a language which we may communicate with as different nation;
speaking different langua-ges. In schools we study different subjects but many of
them are taught in English. It is the language that gives many people chances to
get jobs privileges which are of first class and travelling. If you travel to the
countries which are out of your territorial borders; you'll find that they speak
different language. The language that you may use to communicate with them is
English.

Every nation and every country has got its official language but English is also
present. This language has got some disadvantages. When the country reaches
a transition period whereby the government and the country become independent;
there will be a forced used of English. If you do not understand it you will find
that you are lost and lonely. You will only speak with people of your language.
There is also another disadvantage. English is the Western language. By
speaking English that means we are not proud of our mother tongue languages.
That means we've adopted the Western civilisations and left ours. Who will
speak our own languages? Instead of going back to our roots we go further with
the Western styles.

English damaged our mother tongue languages because you will find that if
someone speak his/her own language he doesn't finish even one sentence
without including English. Many pupils fail their mother tongue languages
because they are used in foreign language. They loose their future because of
being over Westernised.

Yes; there are many advantages of knowing English. Now we are in a transition
period where things are changing in our country. The use of English will be the
key of your future. In these days we demand to live with foreign language
speaking people, If you are familiar with English you will deserve that we are
living in urban areas where people are mixed in different societies. We are
communicating with English. In every government offices the language which is
used and is compulsory is English. If you want to live a luxurious life by working
in good paying jobs; you must understand English very well. Many jobs are of
people who originate from Europe. They are those who create job opportunities,
so we must understand English in order to communicate with them.

English is a language which is easy to understand and is used world-wide. If you
like to travel; even in Africa; you will find that English is important. The reason is
that; we as African; we're mostly under European cou-ntries due to the Partition
of Africa. And we infiltrated English language and lost our mother tongue
languages. English is important to everyone who is alive in this modern world.

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QUESTION 3
C = 8 O = 9 V = 6 L = 7 = 30

One Friday at school we were told of having matric ball. I told my elder sister, and she promised me that she will bought a new dress and new shoes, so that I will be beautiful like other girls. But her promised does not turn up.

My parents passed away two years ago, we are staying with our elder sister as a gurdian. Since I'm a matriculate student at school we were told of having matric ball since we are leaving school and start with tertiary institution next year. When I arrived at home I told her what we were told at school. And she told me that I must not worry myself I will look nice like other girls.

When I met one of my friends I told her with excitement, that my sister is going to bought fancy clothes for me. And I was happy that I will look like other girls who are staying with their parents. Two days before the matric ball I heared my sister talking to her friend that she don't have money to buy clothes for me. I couldn't believe my ears because it was recently that she told me I must not worry. I asked myself how she can done that to me because she knows she's the only person I can rely on.

The day before the matric ball we are having breakfast and I asked her "why she is no longer talking about matric ball clothes and when we are going to bought them?" She told me with an soft voice that she don't have money to buy new clothes. I was very dissapointed, and I was crying and I said to her "But you promised me" how can you do that at the last moment what I'm going to do. She tried to make an apology and I don't want to hear anything from her.

The whole day I was crying my heart was very hurt I could not believe even today how I forgive her. She was extremely worried and she tried to ask a person to lend her money, but it was too late for that. I told her that my friend and other people they knew that I'm going to be beautiful at the matric ball will laugh at me. After that my friend arrives at home to show me her dress and she asked mine. I was hurt again and I wouldn't talk I was crying. After a longtime I told her I'm not going because my sister dissapoints me at the last moment. And she was worried. I told my sister that she must not bother herself about me and I said to her "I will never trust you again."

QUESTION 1
C = 7 O = 8 V = 7 L = 8 = 30

It was a very hot Saterday, when my school was going to a day tour. We were told to bring towels, mugs, plates and a fork and a knife. We arrived at school at 8 a.m. On our way we saw many kinds of animals and walking passengers. My mother gave me some money to buy delicious things on the way.

On our way to Cape Town we saw many things on the road. We have sing many songs. Our teacher told us not to stand while the bus is on motion. We first go to the museum, after that we go to the habour of Cape Town where we saw many interesting things. Our teacher had asked the manager if we can climb one of the ships. He allowed us to go through the ship first. Then we were told to go on groups of ten.

We go to Musenburg after that, where we have make a big braai. Some of us going to swim in the big sea. I enjoyed the rubber tube very much. After that we were told to go and eat as much as we want to, because we were going home after that.

On our way home our bus get into a big accident where many of us get injured. It happend near the NI at Paarl. The bus had been stabed into a big truck. The driver of the truck had pass through the wrong line. The driver of our bus died and many of us get injured.

I have broke my left leg and my right arm. There was people from the life savers who called the polic and the ambulance. It took a very long time for them to get there. The police had take measures on the road. There was only blood on the black tar road. Another by broke his neck And my English teacher broke his ribs.

The ambulans had came after a long time while we were waiting. We were laid on the side of the road like sardins. I prayed that we must not die now to give a better statement for the police. The driver of the truck were drunk and he was very wrong. He was kept in the police car, while the ambulance had took us to hospital.

In this hospital we were not threatened very well. The pains go through my leg that I even don't feel any pain later. The nurses of these hospital did not care a lot of other people. They were sitting in the staffroom, while people are dying. We were told by another patient that many people died there, because those people dont care.

QUESTION 1
C = 10 O = 10 V = 9 L = 10 = 39

English can be the medium of Learning because the country's around the world use it as a medium Language to contact with other people of another country. In education we also Learn our subjects by English. English is not a difficult Language but not too easy to those people that is not their mother tongue.

For me it is difficult to speak English because it is not my mother tongue but I try to speak it well because it is the only launguage that I can use when I apply for a job or admmision.

In the classroom I have many problems about my tense and my English teacher try to help me and I always read papers books to develop my knowledge in English and it work for. It was difficult for me to speak English in the classroom when the teacher told us to do so.

I know that the further you learn English the more you have a knowledge of it. If you want to know something don't be lazy and shy. I was very atonish when children younger than me speak good English more than me of cause they practise and they are not shy they speak it whenever they use wrong tense.

It is not right to speak it the whole day in the school because some people can not willing to speak it because they have a little knowledge of it.

It is wise to try to use it as a medium of Learning because in tertiary education they use it as a medium language. I think everybody can try to speak it is not good to translet someone every word that he says.

Jobs need people who speak English if you did not speak English you can stand to lose a job. The employee's have many problems that need to solve but they did not solve because they also need a translator to translated for them and they stand to lose their rights.

It is not right to forget your mother tongue and concetrate to other peaple's tongue. If you forget your mother you prefer to forget about your culture and customs.

QUESTION 3
C = 4 O = 7 V = 8 L = 8 = 27

It was last year's school June holiday. I promised my young sister to take her to the cinema. I promised to take care of her for that it was going to be a late show and it was going to be out at four o'clock in the morning.

We caught a taxi to the cinema and the were no troubles in the train but only two of us.

Then the train was between CapeTown station and SaltRiver station entered seven men. One of them had a 9mm gun and others had showed no wepons. The man with a gun pointed it to me and other draged my young sister.

The train arrived at Pinelands station and they started to drag her out of the train.

My sister looked at me because she knew that the only person who could help was me. She looked at me with glinstering eyes as they pull her out of the train.

"But you promised!" she cried. "I will never trust you again." I looked at her with simpathy and knew that she was very young, she does not know when and when not to fight.

I had a plan in my mind, it was to trace their way and call the police.

I followed them all the way to their hidings and I had to make sure that no body sees me. I watched them carefully so that if they could ascape the police, I could discribe them as they are.

They bit her, kicked and did everything that a law braker could do.

At last they reached their destiny. It was in one of the old buildings wich was about to be destroyed. I called to police and they came as quick as a man could do.

The police arrested all of them and gave us a ride to home. When we reached our family, the young girl looked at me and repeated the words that she said in the doors of the train. I had to explain to her that I called to police to help but she did not trust me.

I still remember her words when she said that she would never trust me again, even now she does not trust what ever I tell her, she believes that I am a coward.

(54) CENTRE 609   CANDIDATE A6907025639089
QUESTION 1
C = 10 O = 10 V = 9 L = 9 = 38

English is fairly important. But it is not easily to be understand. The most thing wich is a trick in English is that some words in English have lot of meanings. So those who are not speak English every day, they have difficulties in it. For example we blacks we are not always speaki-ng it.

Some of us speak English well becau-se they are educated. But some of them the have problems too. So English I may is not good for us in that sense. Take for instance. In the classroom some pupils do have the ability to do their school work well, the problem is that they do not follow the teacher. That is they do not understand what is going on in the text.

In a true sense English conquers the African languages. If you go outside every body speaks English. Even who he speak his language he mix it with English. So if I may pass and go to University or Technicon I will have a problem in English. Because there will be no teacher who will assist me.

But in the world of today English is the best. Because of that we are living in the scientific world, English has to be known. English is the most easiest language in the world. For example some languages have long sentences. But when you enterprit that in English it will be few words only.

English is fairly good even in the working class. Because in our country there are different languages so we communicate by English. Even in Universities too. So I regard English as the best and perfect language wich can be used as the medium language of learning and of communication too.

QUESTION 1
C = 9   O = 10   V = 9   L = 9   = 37

Since the beginning of communication between nature more especialy the human being there were various languages which were and still are used today by different races of the world. During the ancient times when the distribution of men around the earth was limited; people of the same country were only aquinted with their mother language only.

Now as the time goes by; people started to migrate around the earth and started to learn other people's languages. Since Britain was the powerfull country during those times and the British people were the most invader of the world countries, English became the most well known and international language all over the world.

The Africans were taught english for the benefit of the white man. It is said that they learnt english just to communicate better with the white man. But nowaday's we dont learn englis just to communicate better which the white man only; we learn to speak with every body all over the world.

In South Africa the Africans are just in the middle of the tough game because of the excess languages which are compulsory to every body. It should have sounded better if it was english and your mother language but another foreign language. But as the matter of fact english seems good as the medium of learning to every body in the universe.

The english speaking people are fundimenta-lly lucky because their language was recognised as the universal language on earth. And it is advantageous to teach student from Sub A up to the last degree using english for the benefit of plenty. Since english is the international language; by learning and knowing it; it seem you know almost every language on earth. And it is good to learn english because if one looks and thinks twise; she/he will find than every were in the world people are speaking english unless the convesation is between the people of the same land and same language.

So it will be a wise thing to proceed using english in the classroom to all the coming generations of the world. It must be used in the classroom; outside; at work and at almost every where in the world. But please dont forget you mother language; more especially the African; But excluding the black Americans because their mother languages were stolen from them during slavery. So the only know english and the language of that specific country.

The South Americans must proceed using english as the universal language. But the black south Africans must be proud of their mother languages. They must be

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aware of the fact that their languages are the special gifts from God they have to use.

QUESTION 1
C = 8 V = 9 O = 8 L = 8 = 33.

In our country we use English as a medium learning - when it is not our mother tongue. In our schools we learn all subjects in English. World as whole use English as an official language.

English language have its disadvantages and advantages. It have an influence in the culture of our country. In our tradition also it have its influe-nce.

It come from Western countries. It arrived with Western civilisation in our country. Black people are the most people who love their traditions and culture. When it arrived it destroyes all that Black conciousness.

It changes the minds of African people. African people now they practice the Western civilisation. Their culture is dieing because of the Anglicization. When it arrives the African people drink liqour and smoke cigerates. To day they are drunkers.

Youth have no respect to their olders. They don't no what is wrong and what is right. They do an illegal things in public. English have an influence on every thing in our country.

English have its own advantages. We learn English in our schools to have a bright future. It create schools in our country where each and every children go to build his or her own future.

It is very important in each person because without English you can't go any where. You can't get a better job. A person who have not go to school or even get a matric level he or she could become a hard labour.

It is very important in a communication with people in other countries. It is very important to learn and know English. If you have a good art and sport if you don't know English you can't use them.

You have a big business and you don't know English. It is easy your busness to fall down. If there is a busness course you can't hear what have said because people there they speak English. It is very important to know English but it doesn't mean that you must practise Anglican culture.

(64) CENTRE A413   CANDIDATE 6706270571082
QUESTION 1
C = 9 O = 6 V = 6 L = 6 = 27

Composition Scheme
1. Introduction
2. Experience in the classroom
3. Further education
4. Employment
5. Development of African languages

Using English as a medium of learning is an advange and can be a disatvange to other nations.

I've experienced so much trouble in our class this year that I finally decided that its time for me to speak out my piece of mind I am a Tswana and came to Cape Town to complete my matric. Now in our school we are combined, I mean its a combination school. The fact is, originally this place is occupied by Xhosa speaking people. You know that the medium language is English, so I told myself I won't encounter problems. You were not there, everytime that I wanted to speak to someone I was supposed to speak English. Maybe a teacher is teaching there in front of you, you are following him step by step all of a sudden he has changed to Xhosa and you can't hear him any longer. So, I told myself this is junk, to to cling to one language. Why can't we learn every language we find here in South Africa.

I think it will be an advantage for us all to further our education by learning several languages. It will be easier for us to communicate. Furthermore I think we will not depend on one language as a medium of learning.

When coming to employment we find that so many pepople are not employed because they cannot express themselves. Many of these people are illiterate people. In our country, South Africa you've got to speak English to survive. So, by not knowing it, it can be a disadvantage.

Oh! its a disgrace when you talk of the development of African languages. African languages will never develop in this country, because we Africans, are not proud about our languages. We cannot stick to our roots. We are adopting western civilisation more than we are supposed to. Its rare to find a black man who is educated speaking his own language. The only language you can hear him speaking is this English so never ever will our languages develop.

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QUESTION 4
C = 13 O = 10 V = 10 L = 9 = 42

"Mr. Chairman, Principal, teachers, students and observers in general, I appreciate this opportunity that you have given me to talk about the "likes and dislikes about the area in which I live". Though the topic is a little bit tricky I intend to put forward my views towards it.

"To make my speech I may start by reffering to the dislikes that most prevail in the area. They goes as follows:
(i) Our community has been and is still exposed to unhealthy instances, that being a threat, not only to us, but to a future generation.
(ii) Secondly; there isn't much support of the young youth in a way of stimulating them towards realising their role towards developing the rising threat of unhealthyness.
(iii) The third point, which is part of my dislikes, affects me in a direct manner, it goes, as the parents and teachers have shifted away from their role in helping us as students in a way of showing us the way to development, it sounds as if they have given up hope on us.
(iv) The fourth, and the last point, is the manner into which students have forgotten their role in the development of the countries future. That is proved by their unseriou-sness in studies. At this point I would like to stress the fact that students must realise that their struggle is based on education whilst the parents are remaining tough on the other forms of struggle.

"Now I am going to turn to my likes about this area. I can adress them as follows:
a. The manner into which our Principal, Mr Ngema, and his staff are struggling to improve the facilities of this school, I congraculate them very strongly.
b. the projects that this community has formed towards cleaning the area is one point that I cannot forget.
c. The building of a new school near this school is what will ensure that the students of this area have a way to education. That is also what I like.
d. It is also impresing to find that a Parents, Teachers Student Association is in formulation, so as to ensure the continuing communication inbetween the parties involved.
e. A library that is just to be oppened is also what I refer to as a development step, for the simple reason that our youth as well as the comming generation will have a way to education.

"In conclusion I would like to give a word of advise to this community, it goes as if we can work together, as a parent to his child, and as a child to any parent, there is nothing that cannot be possible to achieve, as politicians used to say "unity is strength". At this point I would like to step down living the following

words "no matter its tough let us remain tough too.' Thank you very much ladies
and gentlemen. Thank you."

QUESTION 3
C = 6 O = 5 V = 6 L = 6 = 23

It was during the December summer holidays we'd just finished our exams. I had plans for that day that I was going to fetch some parcels from the Post Office then later I was going to town to see a movie. I finished my house chores, wash up and left. As I was leaving a friend came by and offered to accompany me to the Post Office. I said no problem. So we went together to the Post Office.

On the way I explained to him that later in the afternoon I'll be off to town to see a movie. So he insisted that he want to come along too. So we arranged were we will meet. Everything was all set up. I came back from the Post Office he took a different direction and headed (illegible) The moment arrived I went to our meeting place I was a little early but he soon got there. We bought our tickets, saw the movie and went home.

It didn't end there instead it became a habit. When there was something interesting he would call me and tell me about it. We would then make arrangements and go there together. The courtship resulted in a mutual affair. I can say we already had an affair but me I only took it as just a friendship between me and him. We went to other places besides seeing movies. We dined out, went to the sea, go to an aquarium. Almost everywhere together.

We did things that couples do. The end of the summer holidays was near and the results came out we both had passed. He wanted to pursue his education so he was to go to a university somewhere in Natal. Then I was to complete my matric because I was in standard nine. So he went away to school and I remained behind to do my matric. Before he left he promised to write to me and call if it could be possible. Then we would see each other when school closes for holiday winter that was it.

He did write for the first after a month telling how everything had worked out well for him and the life at a university. He also said how he longed for home. Well it wasn't long school were closed in June for winter holidays. I had hoped he would call and tell me he was back but he didn't. Fine I did not call too. I couldn't feel anything that was wrong. The following week it was to be my birthday and he knew that. Just as my birthday got closer he called me I was so surprised and glad at the same time.

Well all he could say was "come to my place to collect your gift for your birthday". I said fine I'll be there. The day came I went to fetch my gift. I could not belief it when I saw what he had got me. Red roses and card also a box of chocolate. I thanked him and then went home. Time flowed again schools reopened. He went back and I countinued with my studies. This time I did not

receive any letter. I wrote but I wasn't answerd. I don't know what was going on.

I stopped writing maybe he'll call to explain if anything was wrong. He didn't, now what? Didn't he say he would write and call. Well maybe people change like seasons you never know. Summer was here once again obviously schools would be closing. Well I wrote my exams and finished. School closed and so did Universities. He came back too but not in my sight. When he did finally show up, he said he had news for me. I was so anxious to hear what he had to say, but the tone in his voice said something was not well.

Before he could say anything I asked him about his promise, why didn't he write to me. He tried saying something which I couldn't hear. "But you promised! I cried "I will never trust you again." He just stood there staring at me. Anyway what had he to say to me. I asked? He was sorry and he still is but now he thought this affair should come to a halt. What? I couldn't believe what I was hearing but I guess I had too because he repeated these words. So someone made him forget about me and about his promise to me. If the is anything you should not trust in this world its a human being.

QUESTION 1 C = 8 O = 9 V = 8 L = 8 = 33
Scheme

1. English as a medium of communicating and learning.
2. Advantages
3. Disadvantages
4. Conclusion

Around the world people are using english as a medium of communicating and learning langua-ge. There are different kinds of people for example Chinese, Japane-se, Indians, Americans, Africans and so on. This people speak different languages and in order to understand each other they are using english as a communicating language.

Here in our school we are in diffe-rent nations for example Xhosa, Twana and Sotho speakers. We are in the same classroom and in order to understand our teacher he or she have to speak english. As we are friends when we are expressing ourselves and we want to understand each other we have to speak english. Sometimes you find out a parent whom you have to work for his or her children do not know english. He or she have to go and search for the job. He do not know how to communicate with the employer and can not get the job. His family suffer a lot. But if the employee and the employer understand each other they can manage to work together.

As any other thing it also has its disadvantages. Whereby people are using it a lot and forget about their mother tongue. You find out that most time a person have to speak the foreign language more than his or her mother tongue. At school you find out that it's difficult to express yourself in english and the teacher have to punish you for that. Although they know that it is not your mother tongue. There are other African poets whom are trying to develop African languages.

I think in order to balance the things we have to speak a foreign language when it is necessary and most of the time we must not forget our mother tongue. Those who do not know english have to learn it in order to prepare themselves in the coming future.

QUESTION 1 (actually 2)

C = 9   O = 8   V = 6   L = 7   = 30

In this days I think lot of women could be improved in South Africa, because firstly we must consider that cost of living had reached the sky and that show us a man cannot be a breadwinner, whereas before a woman was suppose to live at home and look after children, especially in black rural areas.

South Africa is a underdeveloped country, to make it to developed, that is in our hands, and we women must help to make South Africa to be developed. Women cannot just sit down and watch the country sinking, they must also donate to make the country to success.

Women can be given jobs which are done by men and they can be technollogical advised, and it was said by the other proffesor that women are better judges than men and that proves women can do better jobs.

To make our country to success liberation must given to everybody whereas is a man or a woman and consideration must also be given, not to certain people. Women must open organisation and clubs were they can have a chance to negotiate about their improves and protests must be held against who said no liberation for women. To firms who do not want to give jobs to women must be sued.

If women want to succes they must get used of birth control so that she can be able to work any time without worrying about the children, because if she get too much children she cannot show the world that a woman can do better jobs than men because she would get worried about her children and not consider her job properly. It would be said that it was useless to improve the standard of women.

Many countries had improved the standard of living because women were part of it not only men. Technollogical advise must degently be given without doubt and skills. It was proved that women are many people found in South Africa than men, this shows the people that jobs must be given to everyone not to men only.

Women can do whatever they want to do, they have the power like everyone for instance Margaret Thatcher is the example to South African women, who was the Prime Minister of Britain for many years. Forward to the improvement of women of South Africa.

(75) CENTRE A413   CANDIDATE A792107
QUESTION 1
C = 8 O = 6 V = 6 L = 8 = 28

To be persued to learn and know something strange it seems unfair. English has been found to be an international langauge, which has to be used.

But it has many advantages in furthering ones education, and in employment. At school it is a major in all subjects, it has changed to look like a mother tongue. We have lost our African languages, only one subject is been taken in an African language.

In furthering ones studies that is through English, that a person can succeed. The bosses and masters there on top will not be able to talk to someone who approaches them speaking Sotho or Xhosa etc. Only through the medium of English you are able to do so.   This is a competitive world having a good education means having a tool in your hand that is English.

Two African people approach each other talking different African languages they will not understand each other unless they communicate in English. It is really a sad thing for an African not to understand other African. But there is no alternative only through English people can understand each other. In meetings, sports, concerts etc only one tool is made used of that is English.

To be employed one has to talk English so that the boss can understand. Other illiterate people are considering to be living in a strange world if when they have to find jobs they have to speak English. Other employers are trying to learn African languages so that the gap between them and their employees can be bridged up easily.

Big companies, insurance companies and others are using English to be able to make contacts with their customers. A customer has to know English and to be able to speak it if he/she needs something. Advertisements are made concerning finance and ones health and that is through English. To be able to make contacts with the outside world one has to talk English.

This came as a blow to our African languages and we are seeing it as something which wants to still are customs and culture. Beware of it.

QUESTION 1
C = 12 O = 12 V = 10 L = 13 = 47

Learning is one of the most important weapon for the development of a Country. The country communicate well with other countries only if it has developed through education. Different languages should be taught in each an every country so that it can communicate with them. In one country it usually happen to have different kinds of nations who live in it and they are speaking different languages as their mother tongue. Learning the language of the other nation it means you will also learn their culture and the way of living. It will mean that you learn different kinds of people in the world. Learning different things is the only food that the brain will always admire. If you train your brain to learn new and different things it will always be eager to learn.

The only institution that brings about learning of different languages and such other things is the school. In our school english had dominated all other languages and it has been taken as the medium of learning. English is an international language that all countries use to communicate with others. English is the most important language to the future of individual and also the entire country. At school all subjects are taught in English except other languages. That is not accidentaly because what you learn in school is what you will use in your future and you must communicate it with other persons. Countries are differ in their cultures and languages but English bind them all to speak and agree together. The nice periods during the school session are the English period. The brain become fresh because it will learn something new. The tertiary institutions also use English as their medium of learning. Tertiary institution is where you get trained for the field you want to follow. They use English because you have to communicate with your coelleagues at work with it. In the education certificate the individual should have the English language. It is advantageous to know, understand and also speak English.

It usually be of disadvantage to the nations of which their mother tongue is English. They usually get difficulties at school because most of the subjects are taught in English. They turn to have an attitude towards the language and it become difficult to understand. Every subject at school you have to understand so that you can pass it well. Students like to fail at school not only as if they are stupid but the lack of understanding of the language. If you are not understanding the language in which the subject is taught it become differ to understand the lesson.

Employers get difficulties to communicate with their employees because they do not understand the language he use. If the employees disagree with the employer, they take an action against that to show him that they disagree because they can not communicate well with him and voice out their views.

The country can not develop if the language English is not taught because it can organise other countries to invest in it because they will not understand each other.

QUESTION 3

C = 13 O = 10 V = 9 L = 10 = 42

In Zola Budd high school where I was doing my junior certificate, there was a girl of 15 years called Petronella. Petronella was doing standard five but she was my best friend where as I was doing Std 6.

When she passed Std 5 she told me that she got a boyfriend. I said to her that it is not a good thing to have a friend of that kind at her age. Petronella told me that her studies are boring and her boyfriend make her mint fresh.

One morning Petronella came to me smiling, she was so happy that day. I asked her if why is she so happy. She said "Do you know that we are writing next month" I was shocked of what she was asking to me, because it's not her first year at school. I never saw her so happy for the exams.

You know what Petronella told me? She said "I will not write the exam." I asked "Why" She said "My friend, Patrick, my boyfriend said to that I must not write it." I asked again "Why" "Patrick said he will marry me." She said. I was so worried, I asked her if she trust that Patrick she was telling me about. Petronella cried and went to tell his boyfriend that I said she musn't trust him. That was the end of our friendship. Then Petronella's friend was Patrick and I had to find another friend.

Petronella left school. Her parent didn't know she is not at school because she was not staying with them. When I was doing Std 8 and she was suppose to be doing Std 7. I had that she is having a baby and there is some troubles between them. Petronella was very frastrated.

Patrick got another girlfriend. Petronella hearing that Patrick has got another girlfriend she went to ask Patrick for that. Patrick did not refuse. "When will you marry me, Patrick." said Petronella. "Petronella my friend next month I will marry but I will not marry you." said Patrick.

"Who will you marry." she said. "The girlfriend you were asking me about." he said. "What about me." Petronella said "You will be my wife, don't mind, but I will not marry you. I know you love me and I love you too but I will not marry you." he said. "But you promised" she cried. "I will never trust you again."

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QUESTION 3
C = 10 V = 9 O = 9 L = 11 = 39

During the past five years, I was falling inlove with another girl from Port Elizabeth. She was called Grace. We have met each other while we were at Port Elizabeth with the school choir. She was loving very much and I was loving too. We have trusted each other so much.

While we were building our relationship she promised me not to fall inlove with another man and asked me to promise too. I tried to compromise(?) because I knew that it wont happen in that way she was leaving very far from me. I heard that attitude of not trusting the girls of Port Elizabeth waiting for her boyfriend in Cape Town.

By the day I left Port Elizabeth, she asked to me to promise again and did so. On the way back home, I was sitting with another girl who was in the same school with me she asked me about the girl I was staying with in the Hotel. I told her everything she willing to know. She started by saying don't never ever trust because I know her very much. They were at the same school last while they were doing standard nine. She told me her that she is Grace and she is staying in Zwide with her boyfriend. I was frightened about the information, but I asked her where was while I was there she said "he was in Johannesburg with the rugby club."

When she told me this I said to myself let me forget about her and deal with the one next to me then. She ended by saying don't never trust the girls of Port Elizabeth they will tackle you down at leave you helpless. I said to her that let me forget about her there is nothing more than that. She agreed with a smile in her face. I asked her about the drink she rejected and said she is worried about the who play games with a handsome guy like I started to know what is in his mind. On the way back I started to say what she provoke me to say, because I was loving her so much but I was affraid of her.

All the past years Grace was writing letters and I was replying them without no hesitation. On the following year my parents died on the car accidents and then I decided to have somebody who I going to stay with because I was alone in the very big home. I met my uncle and let me take the wife so that the house will somebody who will take care of it.

As my uncle told me I did what he asked me do. I consulted Mary, the girl which I met in the bus because we were both inlove more than ever.

On the following year Grace not knowing that I'm married she decided to come in Cape Town and visit for her holiday. She didn't tell me that she is coming. I heard the car stopping in front of the gate. I quickly went to the gate and asked

her where is coming from and where is she going to because I don't need anybody to disturb me in my house and my wife she cried " and said "But you promised. I will never trust you again." She run out of the gate and take the taxi back home with a disappointment.

QUESTION 4
C = 7 O = 7 V = 6 L = 6 = 26

"Principal, teachers and students I'm greeting to you all. I'm feel to small to stand in front of you. I'm not going to be long. As we know that today we are gathered here today about this contest we held here today. Fortunately I was elected to be one of the participators of this contest.

I'm so happy to see this Hall full of people today. This thing show the interest they had. I'm going to make a speech about what I like and dislike most about the area in which I live. I say I don't want to make a long speech but according the topic I will take time to finish.

We know about our situatuation. Firstly our education is poor it is of the things I dislike. Our school condition are bad the lack of books, desk and other activities. Every year we heard about the budget of the school, but the money which support us is not enough weres other nation they have better schools and schools are full of activities.

We are people we leave the classroom, we boycott. Why we don't fight against our bad condition whereas we at school. We stay away about couple of weeks and all the time we lacking according syllabus. We must try to look these things.

We waste time and at the end of the year we are going to write exam, what are we going to write wheres we leave the school about couple of weeks or months. The next thing we do not get even a single one after wasting the lot of time.

The other nation are busy learning because they have everything in their schools. The next think they are going to compare our passing rates. They fogget about they did not give instrument to reach the passing rate they had.

What I like is this we try to learn under bad condition and we succede. We are poor and we accept that, and we are health wheres we eat mealies(?). The brain we have we use it. The parents encourage us to learn because they are proud about our future. That is the end of the topic Thankyou."

(94) CENTRE A855 CANDIDATE A 7106265421089
QUESTION 4
C = 6 O = 5 V = 7 L = 8 = 26

First of all I would like to advice my community to stop littering in the street.
This causes so many problems in our social living like children are playing there
and they will catch germs and infections. The council will not afford to clean up
everyday the same waste which they have the day before. We must try to keep
our zones clean and that will make the council to work more easy. And also
those who leave in bangalos they must be considered by the house own not to
litter in the passenger. There is a drain in every house back so they must pour
water there not in the street. Also these people who have shebeens must not
throw those empties in the street when they are useless. Because some of the
people have cars, children are playing with those piecies of glasses and they are
dangerous to them. So I suggest that shebeens should be abolish in our
community because some people lost their lives there and the noise at night while
some of us are going to work the next morning. The boys must stop smoking
dagga at the corners of the street because the people are afraid of them and also
stop robbing the people. I don't like to see them gambling here in our area. I
hate to see girls being drunk and also scolding people passing the street. And
also those adults who drink too much and strolling in the street. I hate to hear
music in a high volume. I hate those who are horsebreaking when the people are
at work and the young people who left from school to stay in the township. I
dislike those people who sell drugs to young children. The people who did not
want to work what they want to do is to steal.

QUESTION 5
C = 9 O = 9 V = 9 L = 9 = 36

During the year's were I was in Ngqamakhwe in a rural area. Lot of drought occured, so the soil is hard dry. Everything was lifeless because of the environment. I have leave with my mother and sisters and brothers and that particular instant. Starvation, diseases, death has happened to us. I am in mind of leaving, the place where I was, for the researching of job. There were also no jobs no cure so its why I have to decide like that. Mother denied, she wants me to stay home.

I have come to a solution for pleading for Mum to release me according this atmosphere and hunger. My mother made other alternative by telling me that, she have offered me with every thing such as giving me growth and education. So there was that misunderstandi-ng between me and my mother. I have tried my all most best to tell my mother of the danger we where in now. My mother have change his mode to be angry against me. She wishes me about the difficulties of the world outside.

I have brocken my mother's words, but thinking that I will endure any obstacle in front of me. According to my thoughts I have just pure rice grains in the sand or I have put my head in the leon's mouth. In the way to Johannesburg. I have hicked to be appeared in that particular place, because I have no money for the vehicles costs. I have tried my almost best but I have got a luck to be lifted to Johannesburg, with no complains.

It was my first time to reach such a busy like bee town, pupils, vehicles, noises causes this transports. In this instant thing like to change to me. There was no one who take care of me. I was a bird without a nest in that moments. I am also in confusion because I have no direction or remedy who can give me cure according to the way, in which I am set in. I think that I have spent the whole day by not getting no direction where I must settle.

Things becomes bitter and bitter to me like the gall. My memory have go back now to the setting i.e. to my background. I have felt now in my shameness of the word of my mother by not recognising it. So in that instant my heart have drift with bleed sorrowness. There was nobody ones who show his patienness to me. They just past aside me will I am tired of walking all over that town searching for survivies no water has come out for me. I have felt in money(?) drought of no shelter, no food.

I am in a way of finding me, that I am treated in an unfairly manner according to my deeds in needs. I give me that opportunity to blame myself that of what I have done to give me such treatment amongs the world difficulties. I have decided to go back for my survival, in the world occassion. I have never forgot

that the word's of the parents are as much greatful as anything expense in the world.

(101) CENTRE A 855   CANDIDATE A 7206240421087
QUESTION 4
C = 9 O = 9 V = 9 L = 9   = 36

I like the place I live in and at the same time I dislike it, because people do things that are not nice to others.

What I like about the place I live in is that, it is a wonderful place with a lot of people who live there. This place is situated near the sea. When it is hot, we can feel the sea breeze moving around us. There is a lot of playgrounds for children. The children play there the whole day, and nothing disturbes them. People of this place are united. We like to do concerts every month, and then the money which was made at the concert is donated to churches; schools; and other places that need money. Children of this place love going to school and church.

What I don't like about this place is that, when people have visitors, they don't tell them what is done or not done here at our place. These visitors are ruining our wonderful place, they are making it a living hell. These people should be told that we don't go around and litter, we don't throw dirty things at sea, we don't let our dogs dirty another people's places, we don't bit our kids without a good reason, we don't spy on another people's things. These people should not do these dirty things when they are visiting their friends or else they won't be welcomed at our place.

When our area is dirty, we organise the children to go around every corner and clean anything which is dirty. The children started at sea because there were so many dirty tins and other things that were thrown in the sea. Some of the fishes died because the water was so dirty and unhealthy for them. When the children cleaned everthing at sea, we started to feel and smell the clean sea breeze than when the sea was dirty.

The visitors now know how we operate in our area. If someone wants to visit us, he must go by our rules so that we can keep the area clean and tidy. Some of the visitors learned that we don't pollute air in our area only because we wan't to breathe fresh air and keep our bodies clean, fresh and healthy. We hope that people will do the same in their areas.

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(106) CENTRE A 855   CANDIDATE A 7102175297081
<u>QUESTION 1</u>
C = 10 O = 7 V = 7 D = 10 = 34

The use English as a medium of learning is a wonderfull idea. In the classroom
we have to speak, write, learn most of the subject in English.

Most of us are living with our parent in white areas. To communicate we have to
use English as a medium whereas it is not our mother tounge language. Most of
black children attend school in white's school. Although there are some black
children, but they have to use English.

In these days there are white teachers in Black schools. Therefore we can't use
our mother tounge to communicate with a white teacher. We can't use our
mother tounge to read, write even when we speak Biology, Physical Science etc.
In Universities, College lessons are addressed in English, so that even if your
mother toung is, Sotho, Swazi, Zulu, Xhosa etc you can understand what the
lecturer is saying at that moment.

Let's say you are applaying for a job or a scholarship the form which a being sent
to you are written in English and they have to be filled in English. Even if you
did'nt get the form or you are being told to come and have an interview, how can
your go to an interview if you do'nt know English.

Imagine someone who does'nt know English meets another person from China
how can he/she communicate with that person. Even an Afrikaner has to use
English to communicate with a person from England. English is a great medium
for communication more than your mother tounge, whereas most of black say it
destroy our culture and traditions.

The disadvantage of this English is that we have forgotten about our culture,
traditions we are moving with the western civilisation. In the oldern days the so
called "Inkosi" leader of the location use to ride horses when they attend meeting
to town but now they ride car even aeroplains if possible.

To sum up we as blacks must use English as a medium language whereas it is not
our mother tounge. Whites are busy learning to speak and write our own mother
tounge.

(110) CENTRE 1783 CANDIDATE 796289
QUESTION 1
C = 9 O = 9 V = 10 L = 10 = 38

English is used as media learning in our schools. In the offices and in the conferences English is used. Everybody is forced to know English inorder to communicate with other person. South Africa consist of a number of illiterate people more than literate, so it is difficult to them to speak English.

Our country consist of multi-racial and multilinguist and because of that it is forced to use use English. Some of our uneducated people are able to speak English because they work to white people who speak English only. Some of our educated people lost their mother language because their associated themselves as Whites because they are able to speak White language. Most parents send their kids to White schools so that they can learn English from their lower standards. The result of that is that their kids lost their language and it become difficult to interpret English from their mother toungue. They even lost their culture and adopt the Western culture.

In our days it is hopeless to find a job without knowing English. Most job even if it required an unskilled labours but English is very important. It is difficult to our people to find work because of English. In the courts most of our people need an interpreter and they can be deceived because they do not understand English. This resulted to the oppression of our people without a fault. In the offices we use English to communicate with one another. Our people need to be accompanied when they visiting ofices so that the person could interpret what will going to be say whether its a secret.

In our school people receive schoolerships and leave the country. When they were in overseas they are forced to use English. When they return back they pretend themselves as if they can't speak their mother toungue within five years their spent in overseas. They obtain the overseas languange and they culture. They regard themselves as inferior and regard whites as superior. We are dominated by English almost every where in the world. Cecil John Rhodes once said that "English man is the first race in the world" and that is why we use English in the place of our mother tongue.

QUESTION 2
C = 16 O = 12 V = 12 L = 13 = 53

Historically women are seen as being inferior to men in each an every society. That has grown to each of them to such an extent they regard it as a fact not a habit. They are exploited as a sector and sexually. You will find that in many countries illiteracy affects women mainly. The reason is that they don't see themselves being part of business, medical world etc because to them that is mens world. They are seen as people who have to do housework, bear children and look after everything in their homes.

Coming to South Africa, the same habit is prevailing. Women have no rights specifically for them. The rate of rape, sexual harassment and battering of women, is very high. It happens that women are always victims of law. You'll find that a high percentage of rapist go out freely in jails because in many cases the law will favour them. Women are not regarded as people who can be involved in the political arena. Even their ideas are suppressed and not taken into consideration. Women organisations are very weak and ineffective. There are also organisations for women where they teach themselves high quality skills of caring for their house, because they see themselves as being inferior than men. Even in schools ar pre-primary level girls are taught to sew, cook and wash dishes. They are given dolls to play with as they will be mothers of tomorrow. They are never given heavy stuff to play with or even to lift up because they are said to be light. In primary level they are encouraged to do needle-work, home-economics but never motor mechanics, electricity or technical-drawing because that is a "mans world".

Those who are fortunate to be educated are treated unfairly when entering the work-field. Although she qualifies as her menfolk in a certain job but she will receive a less salary than him because of being a woman. If she deserves a promotion she won't get it unless she gets involved with the men in the higher authority. She won't even get a job though she had applied and with good references unless she agrees to be the boss's night stand. Many men divorce and reject their children without supporting them and not punished by the law for that. You'll find that many women had resorted in being prostitutes secretly in order to support their families. They have resorted to corrupt mechanism of trying to get money so that they can be recognised in society.

Seeing that South Africa is negating it will be best if the women question should be placed high in the agenda. Affirmative action should be taken in developing women. Sexism should be abolished and strict measures should be practice to those pursuing it. Education should be compulsory for all men and women. Women should play a vital role in politics, business, social development of the country. They should be given a chance to express their views and abilities

without any intimidation. House should share amongst the members of the family regardless of sex.

Nothing should be dictated upon them on how to run their lives. They shoud be involved and encouraged to be part of the security forces and be taught the defence skills. Each an every law of the country should apply to both men and women evenly. They should also be given a chance to stand for the government post if they have the qualities needed. If those things can be done I should think South African women could be improved and be a good assistance in developing the country.

QUESTION 3
C = 13 O = 10 V = 10 L = 10 = 43

A 44 year-old truck-driver, Bill Tompson, was driving a truck. He was pulling a trailer-tank with 30 000 litres of petrol. He was taking the petrol to the city. He had been driving trucks for 25 years.

As he entered the city, a car which was coming opposite tried to overtake another car which was in front of it. The car didn't see the truck. The truck-driver, Bill tried to get away from the way. He managed to get away from the truck. As he was getting back on his way, he saw a stationary car right in front of him.

In this car there was a woman. This woman was just stopping to drop her daughter near the school-gate. As Bill was pulling off the way the trailer, full of petrol, fell on top of the car. The petrol-tank burst into flame.

Under the petrol, there lied a girl trapped. Bill got out of his truck after he had called fire-brigades. He managed to take a woman out of the car. He tried to pull the girl but she was terribly trapped.

The firemen arrived. A man called Kurt Smith went under the trailer to rescue the girl. There were flames in the girls feet. As Kurt tried to pull her, he noticed that flames are getting closer to the whole body of the girl. He was wearing a fireproof coat and he covered the girl with his body to protect him from flames. The girl asked him, "May you please not leave alone here. I'm, scared". Kurt said, "I will never leave you here. I promise."

The fire was now about 100 metres high. There were a lot of people standing 50 metres away from the fire, watching. the firemen were trying by all means to get rid of the fire.

After a while, another fireman called Kurt and told him that they are going to change him and put another man. The girl cried as she was getting weaker and weaker. Kurt kept her talking. He noticed that she is losing power. He decided to go out and get oxygen-tank for the girl. "But you promised not to leave me!" she cried. "I will never trust you again."

Kurt decided not to go. The flames of fire were now getting close to them. The firemen tried to lift up the trailer. The others were pulling the girl. They pulled off the girl and the girl was saved but she was unconscious. She was taken to hospital as soon as possible. That is where she gained consciousness.

She got well. Her and her mother went Kurt's house to thank him for what he has done for them.

ADDENDUM 3

MARKING PROFILE FOR NSC ENGLISH SECOND LANGUAGE HIGHER GRADE PAPER 1

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Composition Letter	70 – 56 / 30 – 24	55 – 49 / 23 – 21	48 – 42 / 20 – 18	41 – 35 / 17 – 15	34 – 28 / 14 – 12	27 – 21 / 11 – 9	10 – 14 / 8 – 6	13 – 0 / 5 – 0
CONTENT	20 – 16 / 8 – 7	15 – 14 / 7 – 6	13 – 12 / 5	11 – 10 / 4	9 – 8 / 4 – 3	7 – 6 / 3 – 2	5 – 4 / 2	3 – 0 / 1 – 0
Depth; substance; knowledge	impressive	meaty	some substance	adequate	insubstantial	thin	shallow	empty
Interest; originality; insight	rivetting	stimulating	interesting	a glimmer	predictable	trite; inane	dull	void
Interpretation; relevance	focussed	accurate	sound	acceptable	loose	faulty	confused	wrong
ORGANISATION	16 – 13 / 7 – 6	12 – 11 / 5	10 / 5 – 4	9 – 8 / 4 – 3	7 – 6 / 3	5 / 3 – 2	4 – 3 / 2 – 1	2 – 0 / 1 – 0
Coherence; fluency	impressive; obvious	clear and fluent	quite coherent	some lapses	some confusion	confusing	pretty meaningless	
Cohesion	obvious	present	some markers	few markers	no markers	————————————————————→		wrong markers
Structure; organisation	intelligent	well organised	main ideas stand out	signs of sequencing	loosely organised	disorganised	incoherent	too little to organise
Paragraphing – introduction and conclusion – topic sentences – unity	skilful; striking	good	sensible	some control	unhelpful	faulty; illogical	————————————→	
VOCABULARY	16 – 13 / 7 – 6	12 – 11 / 5	10 / 5 – 4	9 – 8 / 4 – 3	7 – 6 / 3	5 / 2	4 – 3 / 2 – 1	2 – 0 / 1 – 0
Range; depth; aptness; sophistication	exceptional	very good	good	average	weak	poor	dismal	nothing there
Register	spot on	appropriate	acceptable	some lapses	inappropriate	unacceptable	no idea at all	————→
Word form	faultless	minor lapse/s	few errors	some errors	poor control	even worse	mangled	
LANGUAGE USE	18 – 15 / 8 – 7	14 – 13 / 6	12 – 11 / 5	10 – 9 / 5	8 / 4 – 3	7 – 6 / 3	5 – 4 / 2	3 – 0 / 2 – 0
Sentence Structure	variety used effectively	variety used well	some complex, used well	simple, used well; no complex/ faulty complex	several errors	major errors	no idea	————→
Errors	virtually error free	few serious errors	some errors but meaning clear	several errors but meaning O K	frequent errors; meaning affected	dominated by errors; meaning distorted	errors render it meaningless	————→

1. Each piece of writing is given four marks – one each for content, organisation, vocabulary and language use, with maximums of 20, 16, 16 and 18 respectively for composition and 8, 7, 7 and 8 for the letter or other task.

2. It is not possible to pay full attention to both content and expression at the same time. Each piece of writing is therefore read twice – holistically and quite rapidly both times.

3. After the first reading marks are given for content and organisation and after the second reading for vocabulary and language use.

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The Word List

abhorring
able
abnormal
abolish
abortion
about
above
abroad
absolutely
absorb
academic
accept
accident
accommodation
accompany
according
account
accounts
accused
achieve
achievement
acquainted
acquire
across
act
action
active
activities
actually
adapt
add
address
administrations
admire
admit
adopt
adored
address
adrift
adult
advantages
advantageous
advance

advertised
advertisements
advice
aeroplanes
affair
affect
affiliated
affirmative
afford
afraid
afternoon
age
agenda
aggravated
ago
agree
agreement
aggressive
agriculture
arguments
aid
aim
air
alarm
alerted
alive
all
allow
alright
allays
almost
alone
along
aloud
already
also
alternative
alternative
although
always
amazed
ambition
ambrella

ambulance
among
amount
amputated
ancestors
ancient
angels
anglican
anglicization
angry
animal
another
answer
anxious
any
anybody
anyone
anything
anyway
anywhere
apart
apartheid
apologize
apology
appear
appearance
apples
application
apply
appointed
appointment
appreciate
appreciation
approach
approved
aquarium
archaeology
area
arena
argue
arm
arms
army

around
arranged
arrangement
arrested
arrival
arrive
art
article
asbestos
assets
ash
ashamed
ashtrays
aside
ask
asleep
aspect
assimilated
assist
associate
association
assured
ashtray
astonish
astronomy
atmosphere
attack
attempts
attend
attitude
attracted
aunt
authority
avail
avoid
awake
awarded
aware
away
awful
baby
because
back
background
backwards
bad

bags
bail
balance
ball
banana
bank
bank robber
barks
base
basic
battering
be
beach
bear
beat
beauty
beautiful
become
bed
bedroom
bee
beg
began
begin
behave
beings
belief
believe
belong
belongings
beneath
beneficial
beneficiary
benefit
besides
best
betrayed
beware
beyond
bible
bicycles
big
bill
bind
bins
biology

bird
birth
birthday
bit
bitter
black
blacks
blame
bleed
blessing
blind
blocking
blood
blow
blurring
boarding
body
bombastic
bongo
booked
books
boot
borders
boring
born
borrowed
boss
bother
bottom
bound
box
boy
boycott
boyfriend
bragged
brain
brake
bread
breadline
breadwinner
break
breakfast
breath
breathe
breeze
bridged

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brigades
bright
brilliant
bring
broad
broken
bronchial
brother
brought
bucket
bud
budget
build
building
bungalows
burden
burglars
burial
burn
burst
bus
business
bus stops
busy
butcheries
buy
cab
cafe
cage
call
came
camp
candidate
candles
canvass
capability
capable
capital
captain
car
car-brakes
card
care
career
carefree
careful

careless
carriage
carry
cars
case
cashier
catch
cats
cattle ·
cause
cell
centre
century
ceremonies
certain
certificate
chairman
chamber
chance
change
channel
chanting
charge
charity
charm
chatting
cheat
checked
checkup
cheeks
chickens
child
childhood
childless
children
china
chocolate
choice
choir
choke
choose
chores
chronological
church
cigarettes
cinema

circumstances
citizens
city
civic
civil
civilisation
civilise
claim
clashes
classroom
class
classmate
clay
clean
cleaning
cleanup
clear
clever
climb
cling
clinic
close
closer
clothes
cloud
club
clumsy
co-operate
coal
coat
colleagues
collapsed
collect
collective
college
collide
collision
colour
coma
combination
combine
come
comedy
comers
comfort
command

commandment
commit
committing
commitment
common
communicate
communication
communicative
communities
compare
companies
companions
compartment
compensate
competitions
competitive
compiled
complaining
complete
complicated
compliment
composed
composition
comprehending
compromise
compulsory
comrades
concern
concert
concentrate
conclusion
condemn
conditions
conduct
conference
confess
confession
confidence
confiscate
conflict
confrontation
confused
congratulate
congress
conquers
conscious

consciousness
consequences
consider
consideration
consist
conspiring
consulted
contact
container
content
contest
continue
contradiction
contribute
control
conversation
convince
cook
cool
cope
copied
corners
corporal
correspondence
corrupt
cost
council
counsellors
count
counter
country
couple
course
court
courtship
cousin
covered
coward
cracks
crash
crazy
create
creation
creator
creature
creche

crime
criminals
crisis
criticisms
crossed
crossroads
crown
crucial
crucified
cruel
cruelty
crumble
crushed
crutches
cry
cultivation
culture
cure
cursing
curtail
custody
customer
customs
cuts

dagga
daily
damage
dancing
danger
dangerous
dark
darkness
darling
date
daughter
day
days
dead
deal
dealings
dear
death
debate
decades
deceived

decide
decision
declared
decrease
deeds
deep
defence
definitely
definition
deformed
degrades
degree
delay
delicious
demand
democracy
demolished
deny
department
departure
depend
deposits
depressed
describe
deserve
designed
desk
desperate
despite
destabilise
destination
destiny
destroy
detect
detention
deteriorating
determination
detribalised
develop
development
devil
dialogues
diamond
dictated
die
differ

difference
different
differentiate
difficult
digging
dignified
dignify
dilemma
dined
diploma
direct
directly
directors
dirty
disadvantage
disadvantageous
disagree
disappear
disappoint
disaster
disastrous
discharge
disciples
disciplined
discos
discourage
discovered
discuss
discussions
disease
disgrace
dish
dislike
dismissed
disperse
distance
distinction
distinguish
distort
distributed
distribution
district
disturb
divided
division
divorce

do
doctor
dog
dolls
domestic
dominate
donate
donkeys
door
doubt
down
drag
drain
dream
dress
drift
drink
drive
driver
drop
drought
drown
drug
drunk
dry
dual
due
dull
dump
dust
duty
dynamite
dynamic
each
eager
early
earn
ears
earth
earthquake
easy
east
eat
echoing
economic
educate

education
educational
educationist
effect
effective
efficient
egg
eight
eighteen
either
elder
elected
electrical
electricity
electrified
element
eliminate
else
embedded
emergency
emotion
employ
employee
employer
employment
empties
empty
enable
encounter
encourage
encouragement
end
endure
engaged
engine
english
englishman
enjoy
enough
ensure
enter
enterprise
entertainment
entire
environment
envy

equal
equipment
erosion
escape
especially
essays
essential
established
establishment
esteem
estimate
ethnicity
even
evening
evenly
event
everybody
everyone
everything
everywhere
exactly
exalting
examination
examine
example
exceed
excellence
exercise
excess
excited
excitement
excluding
executive
exemption
exhausted
exist
existence
expect
expense
expensive
experience
explain
exploitation
explores
explosives
expose

express
extending
extra
extreme
eyes
face
faced
facilities
fact
factorise
factors
faculties
fail
failure
fair
fall
familiar
families
fancy
far
faraway
farm
fashioned
fast
fatal
father
fault
favour
fear
fed
feeble
feel
fees
feet
fellow
female
fertiliser
fetch
feud
few
field
fight
figuring
fill
final
finance

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find
fine
finger
finish
fire
fire brigade
fireman
fireproof
firm
first
fishes
fit
flags
flame
flesh
flies
floor
flow
flowers
fluently
fly
focus
follow
followers
fond
food
football
forbidden
force
forefathers
foreign
foremost
forever
forget
forgive
fork
form
formulation
forsake
forth
fortunate
forward
fought
found
foundation
four-roomed

fractured
free
freedom
freely
frequently
fresh
friend
friendliness
friendship
frighten
front
fruit
frustrated
fulfilling
full
fun
function
fundamental
funds
funeral
funny
further.
furthermore
future
gain
gall
gambling
game
game reserves
gangsters
gaol
gap
garage
gas
gate
gathered
gave
general
generation
generosity
genius
gentle·
gentlemen
genuinely
germs
get

gift
girl
girlfriend
give
glad
glasses
glossary
go
goal
goats
god
gold
gold fields
gold mines
good
goods
gossip
government
govern
grace
gradual
graduated
grains
grammar
grammatical
grandfather
grandma
grandmother
grapes
grasp
grassroots
grateful
great
green
greet
grey
grief
ground
group
grow
grown-ups
growth
grumbling
guard
guardian
guess

guests
guide
guilt
gun
guy
habit
harbour
hair
half
hall
halt
hand
handed
handle
handsome
hang
happiness
happen
happily
harassment
hard
hardly
harm
harmful
hatched
hate
have
head
headed
health
hear
heard
heart
heaven
heavy
held
hell
helmet
help
helpful
helpless
hence
here
heritage
hesitation
hiked

hide
hiding
high
highway
history
historically
hold
hole
holiday
home
home economics
homework
honest
honoured
hood
hope
hopeless
housebreaking
horses
hospital
hostel
hot
hotel
hour
house
housewives
housework
housing
however
hug
human
humanity
humiliate
hunger
hurry
hurt
idea
ideal
identity
ideologies
ignore
ill-treated
illegal
illegible
illiteracy
illiterate

imagine
immediately
immoderate
imperialists
important
impossible
impressing
improve
improvement
incident
include
income
incomplete
incorrectly
increase
incredible
independent
indirect
indispensable
individual
industry
ineffective
infections
inferior
infiltrated
influence
inform
information
inhabitants
inhaling
injured
innocent
inshore
inside
insist
instance
instant
instead
instinct
institution
instruction
instrument
insufficient
insult
insurance
integrate

intellectuals
intelligent
intend
intensive
intention
interaction
interest
interfere
international
interpret
interval
intervention
interview
intimidation
introduced
introduction
intruding
invader
invest
invitations
involve
involvement
iron
island
isolate
issue
jail
jealous
job
jobless
joined
joking
journalism
journey
joy
jubilation
judge
juice
junior
junk
just
justice
justified
keep
keeper
key

kick
kid
kill
kind
king
kit
kitchen
knee
kneel .
knew
knife
knock
know
knowledge
labour
lack
ladies
laid
lamb
land
language
large
last
late
laugh
laughter
launch
law
lawyer·
lazy
lead
leader
leant
learn
least
leave
lecturer
left
leg
legislation
lend
less
lesson
let
letter
letting

level
liberation
liberty
library
license
lie
lied
life
lifeless
lifesaver
lifetime
lift
light
like
limit
line
link
liquor
listen
literacy
literate
litres
litter
little
live
loaded
local
location
lock
logic
lonely
long
longed
look
loose
lord
lorries
lose
loss
lost
lot
loud
love
lovely
lover

luckily
luggage
lunch
luxurious
lying
machine
machinery
made
magistrate
main
major
majority
male
malnutrition
man
manage
manager
manner
manpower
marched
marriage
marry
marvellous
masses
master
material
mates
maths
matric
mats
matter
maybe
mayor
mealies
mean
measure
mechanics
mechanism
media
medical
medium
meet
meeting
member
memory
men

menfolk
mental
mention
menu
mercilessly
met
metal
metres
midday
middle
midnight
mighty
migrate
military
milk
millions
mind
mine
mineral
miners
minibus
minister
minor
minority
mint
minutes
miserable
missing
mist
mistakes
mister
misunderstanding
mix
mixture
mode
modern
mom
moment
money
month
mood
more
morn
morning
mortality
most

mother
motion
motor
motor car
mountain
mouth
move
movement
movie
mugs
multilingual
multilinguist
multiracial
mum
museum
music
must
mutual
name
nation
national
nationality
nature
naughty
near
nearby
nearly
neat
necessary
necessity
neck
need
needlework
negating
negative
neglect
negligence
negotiate
neighbour
neighbourhood
neither
nest
netball
never
nevertheless
new

newcomers
news
newspaper
next
nice
night
nine
no
nobody
noise
noon
normal
normalize
north
note
nothing
notice
novel
now
nowadays
noxious
nucleated
nuisance
number
nuns
nurse
nutritional
oath
obey
obliged
observers
obstacle
obtain
obviously
occasion
occupied
occur
off
offence
offer
office
officer
official
offspring
often
old

once
only
open
operate
operation
opinion
opportunity
opposite
oppressed
oral
order
ore
organisation
organisms
origin
original
originate
orphan
other
otherwise
ourselves
outer
outside
over
overall
overcome
overdone
overjoy
overseas
overtake
overtly
own
oxygen
oxygen tank
packed
packer
page
paid
pain
painful
pair
paper
paralyse
parcels
parent
park

part
participants
participate
particular
parties
partition
partners
pass
passenger
passes
passionate
passive
past
patient
patrolling
pay
payment
peace
peaceful
peak
pension
people
percentage
perfect
performance
perform
perhaps
period
permanently
person
perspective
persuade
petrol
phenomenon
phobia
phone
photocopied
physical
pick
picnic
pictures
piece
pity
pizza
place
plan

planet	prescribe	provide
plate	presence	province
play	present	provision
playgrounds	president	provoke
pleaded	press	public
pleasant	pretend	pull
please	pretty	pulse
pleasure	prevail	punish
plenty	preventing	punishment
poets	price	pupil
point	pride	pure
police	primary	purpose
policeman	prime	pursue
policy	principal	push
polishing	principles	put
politely	prison	qualifications
political	prisoners	qualities
politicians	privileges	quality
politics	probably	quarrel
pollute	problem	quarter
poor	procedure	question
popular	proceed	queue
population	process	quick
poring	produce	quiet
port	production	quit
posed	profession	quote
possession	professional	race
positive	professors	racism
possible	programmes	racist
post	progress	radical
post offices	project	radio
pour	promise	rail
power	promote	railway
practice	prompt	rain
practise	pronouns	raise
praise	proper	rand
pray	property	rank
pre-primary	proposal	rape
preach	prospective	rapist
precautions	prosperity	rare
prefer	prostitutes	rate
pregnancy	protect	reach
pregnant	protective	reaction
premises	protest	read
preparations	proud	ready
prepare	prove	real

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realise
realistic
reality
reason
rebuild
receive
recently
recognise
recover
recreational
red
reduced
refer
references
refreshments
refuse
regained
regard
regime
region
registered
regret
regularly
regulation
reject
rejoice
relations
relationships
relatives
release
relieved
relish
reluctant
rely
remain
remedy
remember
remove
renewed
rent
re-opened
repairing
repeat
reply
responsibility
report

represent
representatives
request
required
rescue
researches
resentment
resident
resist
resolve
resorted
resourced
respect
respective
respond
responsibility
rest
restricts
result
retard
return
revenge
reverend
revolve
rewarding
ribs
rice
rich
rid
ride
right
ring
riots
rising
river
road
rob
robber
robe
rock
role
romantic
roof
room
room-mate
root

rose
rough
round
rubber
rubbish
rugby
ruining
rule
run
rural
rush
sacrifice
sad
safe
safely
safety
sake
salary
sand
sanitation
sardines
satisfactory
satisfy
save
saviour
sawing
say
scandal
scar
scarce
scene
scheme
scholarship
school
science
scientific
scientists
scolding
scoring
scream
sea
sea breeze
search
seaside
seasons
seat

seconds
secret
secretary
sector
security
see
seek
seem
select
self
self confidence
sell
seminars
send
sense
sentence
separate
sergeant
serious
serve
services
session
set
settle
settlement
several
severely
sew
sewage
sewerage
sex
sexism
sexual
shackle
shaft
shaking
shame
share
shebeens
sheep
shelter
shift
ship
shiver
shocked
shoe

shop
shore
short
shortage
shot
shout .
show
shutting
shy
sick
side
sight
sign
significance
silence
similar
simple
simultaneously
since
sing
single
sink
sinking
sister
sit
site   .
situated
situation
skilful
skills
skin
skull
sky
slave
slavery
sleep
slightly
slip
slippered
slowly
small
smell
smile
smoke
smoothly
soccer

social
socialism
societies
soft
soil
soldiers
solution
solve
sometime
somewhere
son
songs
sore
sorrow
sorry
sort
sounded
sounds
source
south
space
spare
speak
speaker
special
species
specific
spectrum
speech
speed
spelling
spend
spies
spilt
spirit
spite
split
spoil
spoke
sponsored
spontaneously
spoon
sport
spot
spread
spreading

spy
squeeze
squared
squatter
squatter camp
stabbed
stability
staff
staffroom
stages
stages
stand
standard
staring
stars
start
starvation
state
statement
station
stationary
statistics
stay
stayaway
steal
step
stick
still
stimulating
stole
stone
stop
story
straight
strange
street
strength
stress
stretcher
strict
strike
strips
stroll
strong
struggle
stubborn

student
studies
study
stuff
stupid
style
subject
succeed
success
such
sudden
sued
suffer
sufficient
suffocated
suggest
suicide
suit
suitable
suitcase
sum
summer
sun
superior
supermarket
supervisor
supper
supplies
support
suppose
suppressed
supreme
sure
surface
surgery
surprised
surrounded
survival
sweet
swim
swollen
syllabus
symbol
sympathy
system
table

tablets
tackle
take
talk
talkative
tank
taps
tar
tarred
task
taught
tax
taxi
tea
teach
teacher
teaching
tears
technical
technikon
technology
teenager
teeth
telecommunication
telephone
television
tell
tendency
tense
term
terrible
territorial
terrorists
tertiary
tests
textbook
text
thank
there
thereafter
therefore
thief
thing
think
thorn
thought

thousand
threat
through
thoroughly
throughout
throw
thumbs
ticket
tidy
tile
till
time
tins
tilled
tired
together
toilets
tolerate
tomorrow
tone
tongue
tool
top
topic
torched
totally
tough
tour
tournament
towels
town
township
toxic
trace
track
tractors
trade
tradition
tragedy
trailer
train
trained
transferred
transition
translate
translator

transport
trap
travel
treasure
treatment
tree
trembling
trial
triangle
tribe
tribesmen
trick
tricky .
trolley
trouble
truck
truck driver
trust
trustworthy
truth
try
tube
tunnel
turn
tutor
twins
type
typical
ugly
umbrella
unable
unaware
uncle .
unconscious
under-privilege
underdeveloped
underestimate
undergo
underground
undermine
underrated
understand
uneducated
unemployed
unfair
unfortunately

unhappy
union
unit
unite
unity
universal
universe
university
unload
unnecessary
unnoticed
unpleasant
unskilled
untidy
upset
urban
urine
use
usage
usual
vacancy
vain
valid
value
vanished
various
vehicles
verbal
vicinity
victim
view
vigilant
violate
violence
visit
vital
vocabulary
voice
volume
vote
wages
waist
wait
wake
walk
walls

wandering
want
war
warm
warned
wash
waste
watch
watchmen
water
waving
way
weak
wealth
weapon
wear
weather
week
weekend
weeks
weep
welcome
well
western
wet
wheel
where
whereas
whereby
wherever
which
while
white
whole
wide
widows
wife
willing
windscreen
wines
winter
wipe
wise
wish
withdrawn
withstood

woman
wonder
wonderful
wood
word
wore
work
worker
world
worldwide
worry
worse
write
wrong
wrote
yard
year
yelled
young
youth
zinc
zones

XHOSA WORDS USED

ingolovane/ngolovane	the trucks used underground to transport rock
inkosi	chief/term of respect for a man
lobola	bride price
ngubo	blanket

PROPER NOUNS USED

Africa
Afrikaans
Baragwanath
Bloemfontein
Brackenfell
Britain
Cape
Cape Town
Cecil
China
Crossroads
Daliwonga
December
Elizabeth
Elsie
English
Ethiopia
Europe
Fanakalo
France
Friday
George
Groote Schuur
Indians
Jacob
Japan
Jesus
Jock
Johannesburg
John
Julia
June
Khayelitsha
Kimberley
Kurt
Kuwait
Kwa Mashu

Lagunya
Laura
Lenin
Leon
Lungi
Lungile
Mali Hoza
Margaret
Mary
Masilo
Monday
Muizenberg
Mxolisi
New Crossroads
Ngema
Ngqamakhwe
Nobuhle
Nomzamo
November
Nyanga
Paarl
Patrick
Peggy
Peter
Petronella
Phumulo
Pinelands
Rhodes
Salt River
Saturday
September
Simon
Simpson
Sindi
Sesotho
Smith
Solly
Sotho

Sunday
Suthu
Swartklip
Swazi
Thabo
Thatcher
Thursday
Tompson
Transkei
Tswana
Tuesday
Tygerberg
Umlazi
Umtata
Veronica
Vusi
Wednesday
Williams
Xhosa
Zibaca
Zola
Zulu
Zwide

ADDENDUM 5

The Metaphors

The metaphors were marked in the text by hand and then using the Table of Authorities facility the list was generated

a breadwinner at home	145
a child grown under urban influence and a child grown in rural areas	130
a cruel squartered camp	21
a disciplined neighbourhood	71
a full boot kick	23
a living hell	134
a man is like a choal covered with atch	59
a new South Africa is being built.	39
a red sunny day	27
a tragedy to our parents	112
a very heavy burden	145
adding our thumbs up	71
admmision.	61
afraid to face my parent's eyes	103
African languages are detoriating because they are not cared for	39
African languages are dying	106
African languages have no future	62
Africans are just in the middle of the tough game	74
all in vail (vain)	124
an element of the most accepted Western culture	98
an old fashioned way of sewerage	29
as bad as in hell	23
as if its like a days work	12
At home I am the only child	103
attacking our own cultures	98
bangalos	123
base	31
be mixed with English speaking people.	62
bear children	146
become a hard labour	80
become embedded in every child's mind	98
bitter to me like the gall	128
Black conciousness	80
blacknaming	65
blocking the young girls	11
borrowed words	56
breaking the language	33
broken heart	8, 65

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ADDENDUM 6

Idiosyncratic Expressions

The list of idiosyncratic expressions was generated in the same way as the list of metaphors.

	12, 39
a ride to home.	136
according the topic	152
according this atmosphere	154
are of first class	132
bit = beat	156
bored	126
cultureless	118
denied, = refused	154
dispriviledge	122
easy to those	135
fail rate.	127
feel = fill	122
getting problems	120
good paying jobs	132
have to be filled in English	157
he doesn't finish even one sentence	132
he/she will ask it	120
I will have a problem in English	137
if she get too much children	145
in a very bad way	123
in overseas	158
in so much	119
in such fields	122
In Tertiary level	*
inbetween	141
inlove	150
inorder	158
instinct = extinct	124
invain	125
it is a major in all subjects	*
It was my first time	154
leadered	124
leave = live	153, 154
leave = live	*
leaving = living	150
living = leaving	141
longtime	133

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