

FOSSILIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ENGLISH: AN INVESTIGATION

by

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Malabar, I speak three languages, write in
Two, dream in one. Don't write in English, they said.
English is not your mother-tongue. Why not leave
Me alone, critics, friends, visiting cousins,
Every one of you? Why not let me speak in
Any language I like? The language I speak
becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness
All mine, mine alone. It is half English, half
Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest,
It is as human as I am human, don't
You see? It voices my joys, my longings, my
Hopes, and is useful to me as cawing
Is to crows or roaring to the lions, it
Is human speech, the speech of the mind that sees and hears and
Is aware

(Kamala Das. In Kachru, 1986:49).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem Defined

According to Peirce (1989:401) there are over 750 million speakers of English over the world, and less than half speak it as a mother tongue. English is the medium in which more than half of the world's technical and scientific journals are published, and 80% of the information stored in computers in the world is in English. English is spoken all over the world as mother tongue, second and foreign language in a variety of dialects; in fact, English has become a universal language unprecedented in world history.

Kachru (1986:14) states: "English continues to be used as an alchemy for language modernization and social change. It continues to provide unprecedented power for mobility and advancement to those native and non-native users who possess it as, a linguistic tool". Kachru's view is of importance to the inhabitants of South Africa, as most people here see English as the vehicle for social and political change. *Education*

English is one of the official languages in South Africa. Lanham (1985:244) states that one and a half million blacks in South Africa should be included as part of the English (second language) speaking population. A very important point to bear in mind is the fact that English is the medium of instruction in black schools in the Department of Education and Training (DET) as well as in the self-governing territories in South Africa. English is also the medium of instruction at DET Colleges of Education.

Students at Sebokeng College of Education near Vanderbijlpark are all second language speakers of English. They have all matriculated in DET schools where English is the medium of instruction. Their English is characterized by certain 'deviations' from Standard English. Selinker et al. (1975:140) point out that a group of speakers may speak the same IL, or be at the same level of development, and that there will be mutual

intelligibility among speakers of the same IL. Adjemian (1976:318) states " ... if we were to find a (hypothetical and ideal) IL that had developed overall stability at some point, we may consider it a new pidgin or dialect, or true grammar of the TL". [TL is Target Language].

An important feature of an IL is the concept of fossilization. If a learner's development of his/her IL has stopped at a certain stage, his/her IL can be termed as fossilized. Appel and Muysken (1987:92) point out that the IL of many speakers may fossilize at the same point for a certain structure and a new variety of the TL may then develop as a result. Their observation that massive second-language learning may lead to language change is imperative for this study, as these students are the products of massive second-language learning. (Classrooms in DET schools are invariably overcrowded).

This fossilized IL of a group of speakers may then develop into a dialect, which may in turn develop into a New English if it fulfills the criteria generally accepted for a New English. As far as the English of the black students is concerned the question arises whether we are dealing with an IL which has merely fossilized (with the implication that these fossilized structures may be de-fossilized), or whether we are looking at a New English. Lanham (1985:244) seems to be sure that we are dealing with a dialect: "In a century and a half of learning English as a second language, norms peculiar to B1 E [Black English] have evolved and characterize an acceptable variety of English as a second language".

In terms of this study it is important to determine whether the variety used by black students can be regarded as a New English or not, as the subjects for this study are all teacher trainees and will all use English as medium of instruction when they become teachers. Acceptance of a variety of English in the classrooms, and more important, as the language of writing, will have profound implications on education as such, in the whole of South Africa.

The problems which this study aims to investigate are:

- * Are the students' errors examples of fossilized structures?
- * Is it therefore possible to de-fossilize these erroneous structures?
- * Are these errors fossilized to such an extent that eradication is impossible?
- * Can these fossilized structures therefore be regarded as evidence that the students are speaking a New English?

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to determine whether the IL used by black students at a College of Education can be regarded as fossilized (with the possibility of de-fossilization); or as a developing dialect, i.e. as a New English.

1.3 Hypothesis

The language errors investigated in this study indicate that the students' interlanguage has fossilized to such an extent that it can be regarded as the possible emergence of a new dialect.

1.4 Method of Research

A thorough study of relevant literature on Interlanguage, Fossilization and New Englishes was conducted.

In order to investigate whether the deviant language forms used by the students can be said to have fossilized, grammaticality judgment tests were used. It was decided on written tests because the amount of data may have been too small if free oral production was used (Hyltenstam, 1977:385). In free written essays, learners may have avoided certain deviant structures, or they may not have cropped up at all. The first grammaticality judgment test was written by first year students at Sebokeng College of Education. The test was used to determine whether certain structures have fossilized in the IL of the students. Erroneous structures which were regarded as correct by the majority of the students were

included in a similar test referred to as the posttest, which was conducted at the beginning of the students' third and final year at the college. During the two years preceding the posttest all students had received some kind of English tuition at the College as part of their Diploma courses. Results of the tests as well as possible causes for fossilized structures were noted down and compared with data available in the literature.

1.5 Programme of study

In Chapter 2 the Interlanguage Hypothesis is discussed. Various definitions of the learner's language are presented, as well as the major views about the nature of this intermediate language. In Chapter 3 fossilization as a feature of the Interlanguage Hypothesis is reviewed. Chapters 2 and 3 constitute the theoretical background for the empirical data presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 4 deals with institutionalized varieties of English as well as with New Englishes. Chapter 5 contains the design of the empirical research, as well as the actual test given to the students and the results.

The results are given. These results are discussed in chapter 6. Points of similarity between erroneous structures and structures found in other black languages are given. It is suggested that Black South African English may be an emerging dialect, or a New English. Possible implications for such findings are discussed in Chapter 7, as well as possible areas for further research.

CHAPTER 2

THE INTERLANGUAGE HYPOTHESIS

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain and discuss the term Interlanguage (IL). This chapter as well as the next two chapters will form the theoretical basis to this study.

The term 'Interlanguage' (IL) was first used by Selinker and refers to the learner's intermediate language system. Nemser (1971) calls this system an 'approximative' system. Corder (1971) uses the term 'idiosyncratic dialect' and talks about the learner's 'transitional competence' or 'transitional dialect'. The term 'interlanguage' is most widely used in recent literature.

Various definitions of the term will be looked at, as well as the characteristics of an IL. Features of IL like the concept of fossilization and backsliding are discussed. The relationship between context and IL has important implications for this study, because it ties in with the concepts of backsliding and fossilization.

2.2 Definitions

Various terms have been used to describe the IL systems. These terms will now be discussed.

2.2.1 Approximative Systems

Nemser (1971:116) defines an approximative system as a 'deviant linguistic system' used by the language learner when he attempts to use the target language (TL). The underlying assumptions are:

1. The learner's language at any given time is the product of a linguistic system, distinct from the first and the target language.
2. This approximative system develops in a series of successive

stages, from the first attempt to use the TL, to the most advanced (and nearest to the TL).

3. The approximative system of one learner will roughly coincide with that of another learner at the same level of proficiency, with some variations due to different learning experiences.

2.2.2 Idiosyncratic dialects

Corder (1981a:14) describes the language of the learner as follows: "The spontaneous speech of the second language learner is language and has a grammar. Secondly, since a number of sentences of that language are isomorphous with some of the sentences of his target language and have the same interpretation, then some, at least, of the rules needed to account for the learner's language will be the same as those required to account for the target language. Therefore the learner's language is a dialect in the linguistic sense: two languages which share some rules of grammar are dialects".

This dialect, however, is not necessarily shared with other people, and cannot be regarded as a social dialect. Corder calls this dialect an idiosyncratic dialect and mentions four classes of idiosyncratic dialects, i.e. the language of poems, the speech of an aphasic, an infant's speech, and the speech of the learner of a second language.

2.2.3 Interlanguage

According to Selinker (1972:214), the 'set of utterances' produced by the learner of the Target Language (TL) "is not identical to the hypothesized corresponding set of utterances which would have been produced by a native speaker of the TL", and one has to acknowledge the existence of a separate linguistic system based on the speech of the learner. This system is called Interlanguage (IL).

In order to identify the existence of such an intralingual system, only the following data would be relevant:

1. The learner's utterances in his Native language (NL).
2. IL utterances produced by the learner.
3. Utterances in the TL produced by native speakers of that language.

It is clear that Selinker places a high priority on the relationship between the mother tongue and the target language of the learner. Corder (1981a:67) points out that each of the terms discussed emphasizes a particular aspect of the phenomenon. Interlanguage suggests that the learner's language will show systematic features of both the target language and other languages he may know, most obviously his mother tongue. In other words, his system is a mixed or intermediate one. Approximative system points towards the 'goal-directed development' of the learner's language towards the target language system. Transitional competence (Corder's term) stresses the fact that the learner does have a language which is developing.

Ellis (1986:47) says that the terms interlanguage and approximative systems point to both the structured system which the learner constructs at any given stage of the development, and the series of interlocking systems (the so-called interlanguage continuum). The term 'interlanguage' is used by researchers to indicate both the learner's language at a specific time, as well as the developmental aspects of the language along a continuum. Sridhar (1980:107) advocates the use of the term 'interlanguage' on the following grounds:

1. It explains the indeterminate status of the learner's system as regards his native language and the target language.
2. It emphasizes the instability of such a system.
3. The term 'language' acknowledges the fact that it is a systematic system which can be used for communication.

Appel and Muysken's (1987:83) views seem to be in contrast with Selinker's original concept of what IL is: "Although the term seems to imply it, interlanguage is not a kind of language somewhere between the first and the second language with structural features from both, but rather an intermediate system characterized

by features resulting from language-learning strategies". They place much emphasis on the instability of the IL, and not on the fact that the learner does have a kind of language which he uses, even though it may be far removed from the TL. + f = sent

Corder's statement (1891a:90) that "a revised definition of an interlanguage continuum might now read: a dynamic, goal-oriented language system of increasing complexity" also stresses the developmental aspect of the system.

2.3 The Nature of Interlanguage

Various writers have tried to describe exactly what an IL is. Selinker (1972:211-212) discusses the ideas of Weinreich and Lenneberg regarding the latent structures in the brain which are responsible for language learning. Lenneberg (1967:347-379) describes the latent language structure as one which

1. is an already formulated arrangement in the brain,
2. is the biological counterpart to universal grammar, and
3. is transformed by the child into the realized structure of a particular grammar.

Lenneberg's statement refers to first language acquisition. Selinker proposes that there is an additional latent structure in the brain, referred to as a 'latent psychological structure', which is activated when a person learns a second language. This psychological structure differs from Lenneberg's structure in the following aspects:

1. There is no genetic timetable.
2. There is no direct counterpart to any grammatical concept such as universal grammar.
3. There is no guarantee that this structure will be activated.
4. There is no guarantee that the latent structure will result in the actual mastery of a language.
5. There is every possibility that there may be overlapping between this latent language acquisition structure and other intellectual structures.

Ellis (1982:207) points out that Selinker's idea of a 'latent psychological structure' is not explained with much precision, and that it has not been developed any further.

Selinker believes that the existence of an IL accounts for the fact that very few adults master a second language in such a way that they cannot be distinguished from native speakers of the TL. Adults who succeed in learning a second language have, according to Selinker, managed to reactivate the latent language structure (described by Lenneberg). The successful learners go through psychological processes which differ from those of unsuccessful learners. To Selinker (1972:212), the "notion of 'attempted learning' is independent of and logically prior to the notion of 'successful learning'". When learners attempt to produce sentences in the second language they activate this latent psychological structure.

The successful learner, on the other hand, must have acquired the language without having explicitly been taught the language. The second language learner who will not succeed focuses his attention on one aspect of the language he attempts to learn.

Bialystok and Sharwood Smith (1985:101) discuss the fact that the term IL has been used in a variety of contexts with a variety of meanings. According to them there is no harm in doing so, if IL is to be a cover term for second language learner language, but if it is to be used as a technical term in descriptions of SLA, then its meaning has to be stated explicitly in terms of the product, the learner, and the systems involved.

In one sense IL denotes a product: it is the result of language use. When language errors are studied, the researcher is concerned with IL as a product. The question would then be how far it deviates from the TL norm. If one regards IL as a product, one cannot agree with Appel and Muysken's view of IL not being a language.

The view of IL as a system is motivated by psychological processes. Bialystok and Sharwood Smith (1985:102) believe that there are two

issues which must be taken into account when one looks at IL as a system. The first one is the degree of similarity that one would assume to exist between first and second language acquisition, and the second issue "relates to the organizational structure of the underlying system, whether in fact one should speak of a monolithic system of rules (grammar), or whether the IL product is the outcome of a combination of different knowledge sources available to the learner at the time".

Bialystok and Sharwood Smith (1985:102) interpret Selinker's views as follows: Second language acquisition is distinctly different from first language acquisition; hence the existence of phenomena such as fossilization and language transfer. Backsliding, another phenomenon that Selinker mentions, cannot be seen to distinguish first and second language acquisition, as the 'back' is a slide towards an interim form and not to the L1 form. Backsliding also occurs in L1 acquisition. Selinker, according to Bialystok and Sharwood Smith (1985:102), regards the IL as a single system which has developed through processes such as transfer, simplification, and correct understanding of the TL.

2.4 Characteristics of an Interlanguage

Interlanguage - set by dialect
The characteristics of an interlanguage will be discussed and the relevance of each feature for this study will be indicated briefly.

If interlanguage is seen as a product it can be regarded as a distinct language variety with its own rules. Selinker et al. (1975:140) stress the fact that an IL is not an exact translation of the TL, that it differs from the TL in systematic ways, and that the forms of the utterances of the learner are not random.

Corder regards IL as a system, and therefore describes an interlanguage as a much more individual phenomenon than 'natural languages', hence his term 'idiosyncratic dialect'. Corder (1981a:67) also points out that interlanguages are rarely used for regular communication between speakers: "Interlanguages ... are not socially institutionalized forms of behaviour (except perhaps in rare cases)". A speaker will change his idiosyncratic

utterances if he is not understood.

Interlanguages are therefore usually unstable. Selinker et al. (1975:140) however, point out that a group of speakers may share the same IL, or be at the same level of development, and that there will be mutual intelligibility among speakers of the same IL.

2.4.1 Instability

One of the outstanding characteristics of IL is its instability. Although IL is a language, governed by rules, and describable in linguistic terms (Corder, 1981a:56), the learner's language is changing all the time. As the learner approaches the TL norm he will review his utterances and his 'rule system' will change. *about 1980-1985*

Rutherford (1984:128) states: "IL typically undergoes far more rapid ontogenic change as learning progresses; it is vulnerable or 'permeable' to invasion by features of both native language and target language". Changes in style and register are more dramatic than in native language use. Adjemian (1976:308) also comments on the permeability of the IL: "The penetration into an IL system of rules foreign to its internal systematicity, or the overgeneralization or distortion of an IL rule, is one of the characteristics which defined ILs as being different from all other natural language systems. The property of ILs which allows this penetration or generalization I will call the permeability of ILs".

Ellis (1986:50) calls IL 'dynamic'. The L2 learner changes his language all the time. This development should be seen as a series of overlapping stages as the learner constantly revises existing hypotheses about the target language (TL) to accommodate new hypotheses. Rutherford (1984:41) points out that as the IL develops, the language function remains fairly constant, but the language forms are improved or 'grammaticized'. Therefore Rutherford (1984:134) believes that syntax is the most unstable aspect of IL. The above observations link to the concept of fossilization and mutual intelligibility, because if the learner is understood he may feel that there is no need to improve his language form.

Ellis (1986:75) discusses variability and explains that all language use is characterized by systematic and non-systematic variation. IL is also subject to variability. Systematic variability is determined by the situation and context in which a learner uses the language. Learners' choice of language forms will be influenced by the situation and the linguistic context, i.e. whether the language use is formal or informal. Ellis (1986:97) states: "A low level of monitoring will result in the vernacular style, which is both more natural and more systematic. It is characterized by the use of interlanguage forms that are 'deep' and fully automatized". This is the style often used by black students, as their speech (or writing) is usually characterized by a very low level of monitoring. Free or non-systematic variability, according to Ellis (1986:97) is prevalent especially in early SLA, and will continue as long as the IL develops.

2.4.2 Fossilization

Fossilization is a very complex phenomenon to explain. Selinker (1972:215) says: "Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL will tend to keep in their IL relative to a particular TL, no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL".

Ellis (1986:48) stresses the fact that both correct and incorrect forms can fossilize, and also that fossilization need not be a permanent state, but that second language learners can succeed in producing the correct TL form.

Azevedo (1980:217) states: "An interlanguage is an imperfect, incomplete linguistic system, as well as a set of working hypotheses about the target language. As learning proceeds, some hypotheses are found adequate and retained, others are expanded into more general ones, and still others are dropped as inappropriate. More often than not, however, some inadequate rules are kept in the learner's system".

Fossilization as a phenomenon of IL seems to contradict the concept

of the instability of the IL, and can be linked to the observation made by Selinker et al. (1975) of the stability over time of certain erroneous utterances in the IL of learners. The second observation - that of the mutual intelligibility among speakers of a particular IL - may be the underlying cause for the stability (or fossilization) of the IL. The relevance of this observation for this study will be evident in the next chapter. Klein (1986:151) discusses the possible reasons for the occurrence of fossilization and says: "It may be that fossilized learners know that their rules are deviant; but they still use them for communication, and they satisfy their communicative needs ... fossilized varieties are perhaps reduced in expressive power, but they are easy to handle. So why keep the rules open for revision?"

The issue of fossilization will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

2.4.3 Backsliding

Another characteristic of IL is backsliding. Selinker (1972:215) states that: "fossilizable structures tend to remain as potential performance, reemerging in the productive performance of an IL even when seemingly eradicated".

Some learners may develop their IL towards the TL norm, but certain fossilized utterances may crop up from time to time. These utterances may appear when the learner concentrates on new or difficult subject matter, or when he is under stress, or when he is completely relaxed. The learner may also lapse back when he communicates with other speakers using more or less the same IL. Corder (1981a: 91) has pointed out that even native speakers vary the complexity of their native language (NL), or regress to less complex codes under certain conditions. It is important to note that the 'back' in backsliding means back towards an IL norm, and not towards the speaker's NL (Selinker, 1972:216). Selinker implies that backsliding indicates the presence of fossilization in the learner's language, but Adjemian (1976:316) does not believe that these two phenomena are closely linked. In the case of backsliding the learner knows an active alternative (correct) form,

but due to certain factors (emotional or contextual) he does not use it. In the case of fossilization he does not possess an alternative form.

Adjemian (1976:316) suggests that fossilization occurs as a result of the learner's avoidance strategies. The learner may never have learned the correct form or come across the rule applicable, or he may have found the particular rule of the TL too complicated to use correctly. The learner will therefore fossilize a particular alternative structure.

Adjemian (1976:317) concludes that the phenomenon of backsliding is indicative of an IL which has almost lost its permeability. Fossilization, on the other hand, may point towards a "(relatively total) loss of permeability in a specific function of the IL, but one which for one reason or another, has remained less TL like".

2.5 Origins of Interlanguage

Ellis (1982:207) points that researchers such as Corder, Nemser and Selinker do not say much about the way in which the second language learner starts learning the TL. Corder (1981b:149), however, does say the following about the origin of IL: "The problem of a starting point is ... precisely to determine what use the second language learner does make of his knowledge and experience of language in use when confronted with the task of acquiring and communicating immediately in a second language".

A central issue to Ellis is whether one considers interlingual transfer or intralingual transfer to be prominent. If the interlingual process receives prominence, then Corder's view of SLA as a 'restructuring continuum' seems to be the best explanation of what happens during SLA. Ellis (1982:208) adds that Corder believes that the 'restructuring continuum' is not really convincing, as it does not allow for the fact that the IL of a learner becomes more complex and sophisticated as it develops, and that the continuum cannot therefore be of the same complexity at all points. Corder (1981b:149) points out that the learner does not have a complex system available, and therefore he is not just

restructuring or modifying a system when he is learning a second language. To Corder (1981a:93) second language learning in any particular individual is a mixture in varying proportions of restructuring and recreating.

If one regards the intralingual process to be dominant, L2 learning is seen as a 'recreation continuum', with the emphasis on the creativity of the learner. Like a L1 learner's language develops, the L2 learner's language also increases in complexity, the only difference being that the L2 learner does not begin at a zero point.

Schumann (1978) sees similarities between L2 learning and the process of pidginization. 'Broken language', 'foreigner talk' and 'baby talk' are similar in the sense that they are all simplified versions of the TL. Corder (1981a:90) believes that the pre-pidgin and post-pidgin continuums are also characterized by a process of increasing complexity, but that these differ from the L2 continuum in that the pre- and post-pidgin continuums are both liable to institutionalization or stabilization. When speakers use the language for intercommunication, and the model or target is withdrawn, or speakers have reached the degree of complexity which serves their communicational needs, the language will stabilize. Corder's observation is of particular relevance for this study. The language the black students use cannot be regarded as a pidgin or a creole, but as a language that has stabilized because it has met the communicational needs of its speakers.

Ellis (1982:209) distinguishes between 'simple register' (product) and 'simplification' (process). IL can be viewed either as a 'basic language' (simple register) or as a system which results from a strategy of simplification. IL as a basic language is in conflict with Corder's (1981) view of IL as developing along a continuum. Ellis (1982:210) opts rather for the simplification theory: "... although I take it that simplification of linguistic elements is a logical impossibility in early IL, I shall argue that it is not necessary to reject the notion of 'simplification' entirely as the basis for the learner's first hypothesis".

According to Corder (1981b:149) the second language learner does not acquire a second language by simplifying the code, as one cannot simplify what one does not possess. He adds (1981b:151): " ... if simplification plays any part in second language acquisition as a process or learning strategy, then it is not the target language system which is being simplified but that of the mother tongue, i.e. that which is already known; and the simplification is toward some basic universal language-neutral natural semantax, which represents the starting point for second language acquisition".

Ellis (1982:210) rejects Brumfit's (1978) idea that L2 acquisition can be seen as similar to the acquisition of another dialect or register by L1 speakers. Apart from the difficulty of L2 acquisition, it is usually a much more 'conscious' process, whereas most native speakers are often not aware that they are acquiring another register or dialect. L2 acquisition also requires a new grammar which another dialect or register does not need. The L2 learner possesses the same information as the L1 learner, but he has some additional information as well. The idea that the language learner acquires language from his conception of the world forms the basis of Ellis's (1982:214) first hypothesis in connection with the origins of IL: "The L2 learner utilizes his knowledge of the conceptual organization of events and simplifies their representation in the L2 according to principles of informativeness. He operates a strategy of semantic simplification."

Ellis (1982:215) believes that this obvious observation has been ignored by previous research because the emphasis was never on the initial utterances of L2 speakers, but rather on certain aspects of grammar or syntax.

Ellis's (1982:216) second hypothesis states that the L2 learner knows that language is syntactic, and that he will therefore apply rules of word order, though not always correct for the target language.

The third hypothesis (Ellis, 1982:216) reads that " ... the L2 learner knows that language realizes modality elements as well as propositional elements and actively seeks out how to express those nodal meanings that he considers communicatively useful". The utterances of a L2 learner will reflect his awareness of things such as 'negativity', 'duration' and 'time'.

According to Ellis's fourth hypothesis the L2 learner uses his ability to learn, store and reproduce verbal information to learn 'formulas' which will become useful to him in his communication. Certain environments will be more conducive for the use of formulas than others. When a L2 speaker does not have to use his L2 for everyday communication and only has to use it in a classroom situation, he is more likely to use a large number of formulaic expressions. Such a learner will depend more on learning than on acquisition (in terms of Krashen's definition of acquisition and learning). This is definitely the case with most black children who do not really get enough opportunity to acquire enough of the language before they are required to use it as medium of instruction. (English is the medium of instruction from Std 3 in DET schools). Black students rely very heavily on formulaic expressions.

Ellis (1982:220) points out that the usual sociolinguistic explanation for the continuing development of IL is essentially sound, but that the concept of 'communicative need' needs some refining. "The communicative needs of most learners will include an ability to communicate about displaced activities as well as events located in the immediate environment. The strategy of semantic simplification, however, is only operable when the conversation relates to contiguous activity; it cannot cope adequately with displaced events". According to Ellis (1982:220) IL develops in three overlapping stages:

- Stage 1: Semantic simplification + formulas,
- Stage 2: Semantic implementation + acquisition of some modality elements,
- Stage 3: Acquisition of further modality elements.

Not all learners will progress to stage 3, and learners in stages 2 and 3 are likely to backslide in difficult situations.

2.6 Interlanguage and Context

Selinker and Douglas (1985:190), in their study of Luis, a graduate student in civil engineering, propose that "learners, as language users, in creating ILs, first create 'discourse domains', sometimes very personal ones, concerning various 'slices of life', that are important and/or necessary for these learners to talk and/or write about. Thus, discourse domains, for us, are internally-created contexts, within which, as a result, IL structures are created differentially".

The focus of their study was not on describing and comparing linguistic units per se, but on native/non-native interaction in which the IL user is pushed to the limit of his IL capability. Their study showed learners will display different linguistic behaviour in different discourse domains.

In their study they claim to have linked two separate areas of Applied Linguistics: LSP (Language for Specific Purposes) and SLA (Second Language Acquisition) theory. To them, this merging is a natural development, since notions such as fossilization and backsliding originated in what they call a 'specific-purpose context'. Selinker (1972) proposed that certain features of a learner's language which were seemingly eradicated will crop up again when his mind is diverted to new subject matter.

In conclusion to their study Selinker and Douglas (1985:199) propose the following hypotheses:

1. In creating ILs, a learner creates discourse domains and uses them to develop his/her IL structure(s).
2. The IL learner knows that language is syntactic, assuming that word order is meaningful if this is also true for his L1.
3. Discourse domains influence the syntactic units of IL learning in terms of shape-constraints, placement-

constraints, and choice-constraints.

4. The normal (or unmarked) case for these constraints in IL learning is that they are global to a set of ILs. The marked case is that some of these constraints will be universal to all ILs.

2.7 Conclusion

Ellis (1986:42) states: "Interlanguage was the theoretical construct which underlay the attempts of SLA researchers to identify the stages of development through which L2 learners pass on their way to L2 (or near L2) proficiency". The research done seemed to indicate that there were strong similarities in the developmental stages of different L2 learners. This 'universal route' of development is not really determined or influenced by factors such as age, background, or the circumstances in which a learner acquires the TL. Whether an IL develops towards the TL norm, or whether the IL will fossilize is determined by factors such as age, environment and exposure to the TL.

In this chapter various views of what an IL is were presented. In terms of this study IL will be looked at as a system or a product, and not as a series of developing systems, or as a process. When language errors are studied, IL is regarded as the result of language use (Bialystok & Sharwood Smith, 1985:10). The researcher is therefore concerned with IL as a product. The IL of black students has, to a very large extent, stopped developing because of a number of factors which will be discussed in chapter 3.

In the next chapter fossilization will be discussed in more detail, as the aim of this study is to determine whether the IL of the students has just fossilized, or whether their IL shows indications of developing into a new dialect.

FOSSILIZATION

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter Interlanguage (IL) was discussed. One of the most important features of an IL is fossilization. In this chapter fossilization will be discussed in more detail, as the issue of fossilization is crucial to this study. Preston's observation (1989:104) that "fossilization, the arresting of progress, is like the creation of a new variety" is of particular importance as this is what this study aims to investigate.

Yorio (1985:13) has pointed out that fossilization is both a psycholinguistic and a sociolinguistic phenomenon. He has also commented on the fact that there is very little literature on fossilization, and that one has to turn to "pidginization /creolization literature, the critical period literature, the adult vs children literature, the learning in and out of classrooms literature, the input literature, the error correction literature, and various other assorted literatures in order to begin to put together a picture of what fossilization as a psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic phenomenon might be". Selinker (1972) believes that the most crucial fact that any description of IL must account for is fossilization.

In this chapter the term 'fossilization' is defined in terms of the views of various writers and possible causes of fossilization are discussed. Selinker's five processes are reviewed, and Krashen's explanation of fossilization in terms of his Input Hypothesis is looked at. Sociolinguistic causes, described by Schumann, Kohn and others are subsequently discussed.

Certain learners in certain circumstances seem to be more prone to fossilization than others, and this issue is discussed as it is of particular value to this study. Particular learning strategies seem to influence the onset of fossilization. Another feature of fossilization which is crucial to this study is the fact that

fossilization, once it has set in, tends to persist. This phenomenon is discussed in detail at the end of this chapter.

3.2 Fossilization Defined

When Selinker introduced the term 'fossilization' as a characteristic of the IL of non-native speakers of a target language, he defined it as a mechanism which exists in the latent psychological structure of a person's mind. Kohn (1980:46) refers to fossilization as the "plateau at which students came to rest after studying or acquiring English over a period of time, and the plateau always seemed to be at the intermediate level".

MacDonald (1988:115) states: "Fossilization will reflect the different degrees of mastery, varying from little or no control of a specific aspect of the target language to a postsystematic level, with only occasional appearances of the fossilized form". Lynch (1985:4) states that "fossilization has come to refer to an end of development for the IL in general, without specifying any particular linguistic element, subsystem, or IL competency as described by Selinker".

Ellis (1986:48) points out that most language learners are prone to fossilization. Fossilized structures can be realised as either errors or correct language forms (cf.2.2.4).

Selinker (1972:2) outlined five central processes (cf.3.3.1), which also exist within the latent psychological structure, which can combine to produce 'entirely fossilized competencies'. These same processes dictate to the learner when enough of the TL (Target Language) has been acquired in order to communicate and, along with the fossilization mechanism, halt the development of the IL. These processes can, according to Selinker, be regarded as causes of fossilization. If any, or all, of these processes would combine we may find completely fossilized competencies.

Lynch (1985:4) states that the five processes mentioned by Selinker "dictate to the learner when enough of the TL has been acquired in order to communicate and, along with the fossilization mechanism,

halt the development of the IL". He further points out that fossilization has to refer to an end in IL development in general, and not only to a specific linguistic structure or subsystem, or 'IL competency as defined by Selinker'.

3.3 Causes of Fossilization

3.3.1 Selinker's five processes

Selinker's five processes, which he regards as the causes of fossilization, are now discussed. Language transfer is, according to Selinker (1972:216), the first process which may be responsible for fossilization. Language transfer can be defined as the use of elements from one language (the learner's native language or any other language) while speaking another (the target language). Transfer can be found at all levels: morphology, syntax, vocabulary and meaning. Selinker gives the following examples: the French uvular /r/ in their English IL, and the German Time-Place order after the verb in their English IL. In the case of black speakers Awoniyi (1982:144) refers to the tendency of blacks to pluralise abstract nouns as if they were countable, since there is only a very small distinction between countable and uncountable nouns in African languages (cf.6.2).

Richards (1974:36) also believes that most cases of fossilization are caused when elements of one language are used when speaking another. Sheen (1980:140) states that Negative Transfer (NT)-related errors are more likely to fossilize than any other errors.

Transfer-of-Training refers to the process which would result in teacher-induced errors. Stenson (1974:54) states: "A teacher may inadvertently mislead students by the way he defines a lexical item, or by the order in which he presents material". Selinker (1972:218) mentions the case of Serbo-Croatian speakers who all use *he* in their English IL for *she*, regardless of the fact that the *he/she* distinction exists in Serbo-Croatian. This, he says, is due to the fact that teachers and textbooks always use *he* in drills. A possible example from black speakers may be the emphasis on the

Present Continuous Tense. Although there are no continuous tenses in most black languages, the Present Tense form can also indicate continuation of action. Black teachers invariably place too much emphasis on the use of the Present Continuous Tense.

The third cause, according to Selinker (1972:219), is **Strategies of Second Language Learning**. Very little is known about the strategies applied by learners learning a second language. Corder (1981a:12) believes that the strategies of learning a second language differ from those of learning a first, and points out that the first language learner has an unlimited number of hypotheses about the nature of the language he is learning, which must be tested, whereas the second language learner has only two hypotheses to test: "Are the TL systems the same or different from those of my first language?;" and "If different, what is their nature? " Answers to these questions will then elicit responses from the learners's internal strategies, or what Corder calls his "built-in-syllabus".

Pearson (in personal communication to Selinker, (1972:219)) argues that learner strategies may be culture bound. In many traditional cultures, for instance, chanting is often used as a learning device. Chanting is a distinct feature of especially primary methodology in black schools, and often the teacher would drill the wrong forms into pupils because he/she does not know the correct forms (acquisition of deviant forms, cf.3.3.2).

Simplification of the TL, such as the avoidance of grammatical formations (e.g. articles, past tense forms and plural forms) can also be regarded as an example of such a second language learning strategy. This brings us to Corder's view that a second language learner is unable to simplify that which he does not know (cf.2.5). Richard's (1974:45) term 'assimilation' is perhaps more applicable. He states that the learner will assimilate his existing knowledge of the TL, and in this process a simplification of the TL will take place. Another strategy is that of **Second-Language Communication**. Richards (1974:45) states: "Under communication strategies we may include errors that derive from the fact that heavy communication demands may be made on the second language, forcing the learner to

mold whatever he has assimilated of the second language into a means of saying what he wants to say, or of getting done what he wants to get done". He may simplify the language in order to get his message across. According to Terrell (1989:12) there is evidence that such a 'classroom dialect' which is grammatically short of the target model can indeed develop and fossilize. Richard's and Terrell's views are applicable to the situation in black schools: black teachers, most of the time, speak an IL removed from the TL, and there are heavy communication demands made on the pupils, as English is the medium of instruction from Std 3 onwards (cf.2.5).

Overgeneralization of TL rules: This phenomenon is very common in the IL of learners. Many of the errors found in second language communication are identical, no matter what the mother tongues of the learners are. The learner will apply a rule to areas where it would be incorrect, such as in "What did he intended to say?"

Kirby (1984:66) criticizes Selinker's five processes as being so vague that they could apply to a variety of learning problems: "They do not clarify what is peculiar to learning a language. Considered in terms of illustrative examples, the strategies of second language acquisition, overgeneralisation and strategies of communication show no clear difference. The result in every case is the same: simplification".

Selinker and Lamendella (1978:144) present a modified view of Selinker's original Interlanguage Hypothesis from two complementary perspectives: 1) a macrobehavioral perspective, and 2) a neurofunctional perspective. They argue that the causes of fossilization are both internal and external. Selinker and Lamendella (1978:152) discuss two facets which may influence fossilization: the ability to learn and the opportunity to learn. Not all people have the same ability to acquire a first language, therefore it is possible that not all people will be able to achieve successful non-primary acquisition.

Bickerton (1975:173) has pointed out that a possible source of fossilization may simply be a lack of opportunity to learn the TL.

On the other hand, Selinker and Lamendella (1978:155) state: "Be that as it may, there have been many cases where individual learners have clearly had sufficient opportunity to use and practice the TL in communicative interactions (as well as giving every evidence of a high degree of motivation) and nevertheless persisted with an IL fossilized far from the TL norms. For this reason if no other, fossilization cannot be disposed of as a theoretical issue as a mere lack of opportunity to learn".

It would be difficult to establish whether an individual did have enough opportunity to learn the TL or not. One would have to be able to measure not only the actual contact time, but other factors such as quality of input, corrective feedback, and interaction with native speakers would have to be taken into consideration as well.

3.3.2 Krashen's Input Hypothesis

Krashen (1985: 43) suggests the following causes of fossilization in terms of his Input Hypothesis: insufficient quantity of input, inappropriate quality of input, the affective filter, the output filter, and the acquisition of deviant forms.

According to Krashen (1985:43) an insufficient quantity of input is the most obvious cause for fossilization. Many speakers cannot develop their IL because they may not have any input (i.e. contact with native speakers, or access to material in the TL). Sometimes the learner would receive enough input, but it would be the same input over and over again; it would not contain $i+1$. Krashen (1985:43) mentions the case of the gas station attendant who uses English every day, but hears only a set of phrases such as 'fill 'er up', 'could you check the oil?' etc. - the input consists of routines and patterns, with a limited range of vocabulary, and little new syntax. Such a speaker would use 'formulaic expressions' (Ellis, 1982:218) (cf.2.5). Black students often use formulaic speech, and would use expressions such as "I wonder whether I would be wrong ... " when they want to ask a simple question.

Krashen's (1985:44) "Affective filter hypothesis" accounts for

cases in which sufficient quality and quantity of input are available, but in which full acquisition does not take place. The lower the affective filter, the more acquisition will take place.

Krashen (1985:44) believes that speakers of an IL fossilize because the "acquirer simply does not 'need' any more competence - he can communicate adequately with his current grammatical system". Perdue (1984:26) states that the learner will stop learning when he achieves the communicative success he wants. This happens when the people in the environment (teachers and peers in the case of black education) speak the same IL as the learners; there is therefore no need for the learner to modify or improve his utterances. In order to acquire the TL fully, the communicative needs must be raised, while the affective filter must be lowered. This may mean that the learner should be brought into contact with other speakers of the TL, especially native speakers.

Krashen's (1985:44) output filter hypothesis explains why speakers of a second language do not always perform according to their competence. These learners appear to have fossilized, but may have acquired more correct structures of the TL. Whereas a high affective filter affects acquisition, the output filter prevents acquired rules to be used. Krashen (1985:46) states: "Operation of the output filter may be interpreted as fossilization. In reality, some performers may be better than they appear to be". This may link with Selinker and Douglas's (1985:190) idea of IL and context, i.e. certain speakers may perform better in certain discourse areas, e.g. a learner may perform better when he uses the TL in his work situation than in a purely social situation.

In order for learners to perform their competence, Krashen (1985:45) suggests that anxiety levels should be lowered, and that the focus should be on meaning (i.e. communication) and not on form. It is interesting to note that both Richards (1974) and Selinker (1972) believe that focus on communication may lead to fossilization, in the sense that the learner will simplify the grammar of the TL in order to get his message across. Krashen (1985:45) has found that a focus on communication not only raises

the level of fluency, but also increases accuracy. One may argue that the kind of communication will determine whether fluency is enhanced or not. In the black school situation the 'compulsion' to communicate (because English is the medium of instruction) leads both the teachers and the children to simplify the TL, and because they speak the same IL, there is no need to improve the utterances, and the result is fossilized structures.

The last cause, according to Krashen (1985:47), is the acquisition of deviant forms. If learners are almost exclusively exposed to imperfect versions of the TL, their IL will definitely fossilize at a level far removed from the TL norm. Krashen points out that some learners learn the TL in 'extreme foreign-language' situations, where the teacher, a non-native speaker of the TL, and the classmates provide the only input. It is obvious that the input will be far from error-free, and that it will contain many first language-influenced errors. This is often the case in black schools where pupils in most cases never come into contact with native speakers of English.

Terrell (1989:7) states that he could find no evidence that instructors with fossilized speech would always have learners who are fossilized. If learners are exposed to other sources of input as well, where the instructor's input is countered by input from L1 speakers, learners may not fossilize. In the case of black learners, however, there is little or no opportunity to come into contact with other sources of input.

In another situation, where the learner is confronted with a great deal of incomprehensible input in real situations, he may resort to certain strategies for surviving. Krashen (1985:44) mentions the following: the use of memorized phrases and sentences (Ellis's formulaic speech), the use of first language rules, and by controlling input (by means of frequent topic shifts and excessive use of yes/no questions).

Krashen's causes are not in conflict with Selinker's five processes. They seem to complement each other. Selinker (1972:216) states that language transfer is the most important

cause of fossilization, while Krashen (1985:43) regards insufficient quantity of input as the most important cause. It is obvious that the learner, if he does not receive enough input in the TL, will resort to his L1 to find ways to communicate in the TL. Selinker's (1972:218) transfer of training seems to be the same as Krashen's (1985:43) insufficient quantity and inappropriate quality of input. Selinker's (1972:219) strategies of second language communication tie in with Krashen's (1985:44) acquisition of deviant forms.

3.3.3 Other views

The emphasis in the views discussed so far has been on causes "attributable to neurolinguistic information processing systems" (Selinker & Lamendella, 1978:147) and psycholinguistic features, although certain sociolinguistic aspects, such as second language communication (Selinker, 1972:219) were also discussed. People like Kohn (1980), Vigil and Oller (1976) and Schumann (1976) have described certain sociolinguistic features of second language acquisition that are applied to fossilization. These views are now discussed.

Vigil and Oller (1976:283) see the factors controlling the process of fossilization as 'primarily interactive, pragmatic'. They distinguish between two kinds of information transmitted between source and audience: affective information (usually transmitted in non-verbal terms, such as facial expression, tone of voice, gesture etc), and cognitive, (facts or beliefs usually coded in linguistic forms). The feedback received by the source on how his message is received determines the development of learner grammars. This feedback can be the learner's own self-monitoring of his message. They (1976:284) believe that "As long as some non-excessive corrective feedback is available to prod the learner to continue to modify attempts to express himself in the target language, it is predictable that the learner's grammatical system will continue to develop". If there is no, or very little, corrective feedback, fossilization will take place. Feedback can be positive, negative or neutral, and operates on both the cognitive and affective levels. Negative feedback does not only

mean expressive error correction, but can also include non-comprehension of the other speaker (mother tongue speaker).

Vigil and Oller (1976:289) also differentiate between expected and unexpected feedback. Expected feedback will result in the reinforcement of the grammatical processes used for the message. Unexpected feedback will result in a change of the message into a more acceptable or understandable form. If unexpected feedback occurs very often, the learner may abort all further attempts to communicate.

Fossilization (of both correct and incorrect forms) is seen to be mainly determined by feedback on the cognitive level. Unexpected positive affective feedback, however, will lessen the effect of cognitive feedback. Predominantly negative affective feedback (expected or unexpected) may lead to a refusal of further communication attempts.

Expected positive cognitive feedback will lead to fossilization, whereas expected negative feedback on the cognitive dimension is regarded as the principal de-stabilizing factor in the development of a learner's grammar. That means if the learner is understood even when he does not speak the language very well, his language will fossilize. When he expects that he will not be understood, he may try to change his utterance.

Terrell (1989:3) points out that Vigil and Oller's ideas seem to explain the phenomenon of classroom speakers who speak the second language at a higher level of accuracy than street learners. Very often street learners will fossilize because native speakers are hesitant to directly correct speakers.

Selinker and Lamendella (1978:162) believe that fossilization cannot be explained by extrinsic phenomena alone, and regard Vigil and Oller's (1976:284) view of 'extrinsic' feedback as the major cause of fossilization as somewhat simplistic.

Selinker and Lamendella (1978:156-157) come to the following conclusions as far as the role of extrinsic feedback is concerned:

1. Internal factors control the onset of fossilization.
2. The interactive needs of particular learners constitute the most direct source of fossilization.
3. Selected portions of the learner's utterances may be reinforced via extrinsic feedback.
4. IL learning cannot be explained only in terms of need for particular kinds of feedback.
5. Reinforcement may take place separately for communicative and grammatical correctness.
6. The term fossilization should not be applied to the stabilized NL grammar.

According to Selinker and Lamendella (1978:157) there are two kinds of extrinsic conditions which may cause fossilization: interactive feedback and sociocultural factors. As far as feedback is concerned, they believe that internal factors control the onset of fossilization. They say: "It is necessary to distinguish potentially available feedback versus corrective and noncorrective feedback that actually becomes part of the intake of a particular time. External conditions of any type can be relevant to language acquisition only as filtered through the current set of extrinsic and intrinsic learner characteristics". Vigil and Oller (1976:293) state that a 'predominance' of positive expected feedback will cause a certain structure to stabilize, but Selinker and Lamendella once again question the meaning of 'predominant'.

The interactive needs of a particular learner will be the most fundamental source of fossilization. If a particular learner's interactive needs with other speakers of the TL are met, no matter how poor his IL may be, it is very likely that fossilization will set in. Selinker and Lamendella do not agree with Vigil and Oller's idea that negative feedback will cause certain rules to destabilize. Negative feedback is not always easy to establish, and very often a speaker may be unaware of the negative reaction of the listener. A typical utterance may involve 50 rules of linguistic structure at the allophonic, phonemic, morphophonemic, lexical, syntactic and semantic levels. Which of these rules will then destabilize?

Vigil and Oller's feedback hypothesis also implies that an average learner must have an astronomical number of face-to-face interactions to receive the necessary feedback. Many learners, however, learn the TL in the absence of any interaction with other speakers. Vigil and Oller (1976:283) have, however, stated that self-monitoring is also a form of feedback.

Selinker and Lamendella (1978:161) believe that reinforcement may take place separately for communicative competence and grammatical correctness. Feedback may be positive on the communicative level, although the utterance is far from being linguistically correct. They stress the fact that the term 'fossilization' as such, can only be applied to non-primary language acquisition, and not as Vigil and Oller imply, to first language acquisition as well.

Higgs and Clifford (1982:78) believe that the emphasis on communicative competence may also be a cause of fossilization: when students are regularly rewarded for linguistically inaccurate but otherwise successful communication of meaning or intent, the threat of "proactive interference in the form of fossilization looms largest". In a later publication Higgs (1985:7) again emphasises the danger: "Postponing linguistic accuracy is an approach that promises a terminal profile". (Higgs and Clifford regard the terms 'terminal profile' and 'fossilized learner' as synonymous).

Terrell (1989:5) claims that Higgs and Clifford, in personal communication with him, have both explicitly stated that their intention was not to condemn communicative language teaching as such and to suggest a return to accuracy-based instruction. According to Higgs and Clifford (1982:67), many students in government language teaching programmes cannot progress further than a FSI (Foreign Service Institute oral proficiency scale) level 2 or 2+, which may be enough for the students' daily communicative needs. They say (1982:67): "It is important to note that the grammar weaknesses that are typically found in this profile (2/2+) are not missing grammatical patterns, which the student could learn or acquire later on, but are fossilized incorrect patterns". Very often these patterns are the result of simplification strategies

used by learners who have acquired very little of the TL when they try to communicate with native speakers. It is important to note that learners can fossilize at any level along the FSI 0 - 5 scale of oral proficiency.

Van Patten (1988:249) rejects the idea of Clifford and others that communication-first programmes would promote fossilization: "there is no clear-cut evidence for fossilization in communication-first programs and generally the evidence points toward improvement. From this, then, we cannot support the hypothesis that without explicit instruction in grammar and attention to linguistic accuracy in the early stages learners are 'doomed' to fossilize".

Van Patten (1988:256) also points out that Selinker originally indicated that particular aspects of language would fossilize, but that the entire IL of a speaker, or the speaker himself, does not fossilize. This is an important observation, both in terms of the above, and in terms of the anticipated findings of this study. It is obvious that the entire IL of a speaker cannot fossilize, but certain aspects of his IL may be fossilized. If one can also distinguish between individual fossilization (in terms of Corder's 'idiosyncratic dialect') and group fossilization (in terms of the statement of Selinker et al. (1975) that a new dialect may develop) one will also be able to account for other aspects such as the problem with external and internal causes of fossilization.

Higgs and Clifford (1982:67) regard a fossilized learner or one with a terminal profile as a person whose IL has stopped developing in all domains. This makes sense when one considers Ellis's statement (1986:48) that both correct and incorrect structures can fossilize. Van Patten (1988:256) concludes that fossilization may exist at the theoretical level only.

Stauble (1978:29) explores the analogy between SLA (Second Language Acquisition) and the process of decreolization. Both processes develop along a continuum. She claims that fossilization may be caused by the learner's psychological distance from the TL group. This may explain the fossilization of certain structures in the IL of black students, as they almost never have any contact with

native speakers of the TL.

Schumann (1976, 1978) also argues that learners' IL may fossilize when they are at a social and psychological distance from the target group. In his well-known case study of Alberto, an adult Costa Rican, Schumann (1976) suggested that Alberto's English showed signs of pidginization because of its reduced and simplified nature. According to Schumann (1974:146), early second language acquisition resembles a pidgin in the temporary use of an unmarked, simple code. This code can then develop towards a TL norm, stabilize, or develop into a true pidgin. Under conditions of social and/or psychological distance, a pidginized form of speech would persist and fossilization would set in. Such a learner would not necessarily speak a pidgin, but his IL would be pidginized. SLA is seen by Schumann as a process of acculturation. Acculturation is defined as the social and psychological integration into the target language group. Social factors include things such as relationship between the L2 learners and the members of the TL; the cohesiveness and size of the L2 group; the similarity of the L1 and L2 cultures; and the intended length of residency. Psychological factors are cultural shock and motivation.

If psychological and social barriers are removed and the learner begins to use the TL for integrative and expressive purposes, and not only for mere communication, his interlanguage will develop from its initial pidginized state in the direction of the TL norm. Stauble (1978:45) agrees with Schumann that acculturation is necessary for successful language acquisition: "If the second language learner obtains a maximal degree of acculturation, this would result in a maximal linguistic development". Stern (1983:238) mentions a study undertaken among francophone university students studying English in Quebec. The degree of contact with the anglophone community and the students' perceived fear of assimilation or threat to the group identity were the major predictors of proficiency. Klein (1986:36) states: "The social integration factor may, on occasions, have a negative effect. If, for example, a migrant worker is well integrated in and possesses a social identity within his native community, he may shrink back

from becoming integrated into a new language community for fear of losing this social identity - despite an awareness of the concomitant benefits of this new integration. This may be a likely cause of early 'fossilization'".

Corder (1981a:73) regards social contact (or lack of) as a cause of fossilization. When the IL speaker's "interlanguage grammar reaches that state of elaboration which enables him to communicate adequately for his purposes with native speakers, his motive to improve his knowledge or elaborate his approximative system disappears".

Selinker and Lamendella (1978:165) agree with Schumann's ideas on socialization and acculturation: "From our point of view, there is a mutual interaction between 'communication needs' and 'sociocultural needs', such that neither one in isolation can be invoked to explain more than very limited aspects of fossilization". In black education in South Africa the emphasis is on the communication needs for academic purposes, as the children and teachers use the NL very often not only for social communication in and outside the classroom, but also to teach the subject matter. The medium of instruction is, according to most of the students at the college, very often the mother tongue, and not English. Most of the students know the terminology pertaining to a specific subject in English, but they are unable to answer an essay type question in coherent English.

Often people who wish to acculturate with the TL society never manage to become functional speakers of the TL. Fossilization therefore often occurs before communicative needs are met and sometimes after. This, to Selinker and Lamendella (1978:165), is an indication that intrinsic learner characteristics and even genetic factors may play a role in the development (or not) of the IL. Discourse domains play an important role in the manner in which fossilization takes place. In certain domains an individual may fossilize much further from the TL norm than in others, e.g. at his work he may be reasonably fluent/competent, but in social discourse he may have serious problems to express himself.

Macdonald (1988:116) suggests that length of residency in the TL country or community may be factor in fossilization, but Krashen and Seliger (1975) found that length of residency was not a factor in the occurrence of fossilization.

Yorio (1985) points out that comprehensibility may be a cause of fossilization. In his study he asked 19 teachers at Lehman college (10 ESL teachers and 9 teachers from subjects such as Mathematics, Geology, History, Theatre and Black studies) to read through fourteen compositions written by a Korean student. They had to underline any phrase, sentence or group of sentences which they did not understand. Although the compositions were "literally plagued with formal errors" (Yorio, 1985:6) they were found highly comprehensible. Yorio's observation seems to correlate with Krashen's view that acquisition of deviant forms and inappropriate quality of input will lead to fossilization. Learners will see no need to improve their language use if they are able to communicate well.

3.4 Candidates for Fossilization

The occurrence of fossilization has been linked to the age of the learner when he begins to learn the TL. It is generally assumed that adult learners will more easily be prone to fossilization. Lamendella (1977:89) states that children more often want to use the TL as a means of social attachment, acculturation and group identification, and therefore fossilization is less likely to occur in young children.

Selinker (1972) focused his attention on the adult who, for some reason or other, could not achieve native-like competence in his second language. Lynch (1985:2) states: "The typical profile is a L2 learner who arrived in the TL environment at a post-adolescent age, has been living in the TL environment for a long time (8-10 years) and has had little or no formal instruction in the TL ... it is presumed that these learners have acquired enough of the TL to meet their communicative needs and will not be motivated to develop their IL any further".

According to Selinker (1972) the 'latent psychological structure' is activated after puberty, whenever a learner wants to use a second language. Selinker et al. (1975:140) believe that the IL hypothesis can be extended to children acquiring a second language "when the second-language acquisition is non-simultaneous and also when it occurs in the absence of native speaking peers of the TL".

Dulay and Burt (1972:238) suggest that the errors of children learning a second language where native speaking peers are present, are developmental, that is they will be eradicated naturally, and will not fossilize. If children learn the second language without any contact with native speakers, their errors will fossilize. Their statement is of particular significance when dealing with the IL of black speakers, as they usually learn the TL in very isolated circumstances.

Selinker et al. (1975:145) investigated the French IL of twenty English speaking children to focus on three language learning strategies: language transfer, overgeneralization of TL rules, and simplification in order to investigate the issue of systematicity of learner language. They found that the systematicity of the children's IL lay in their consistent use of the above-mentioned learning strategies. It was also obvious that the children shared a common IL. This implies that the same structures will have fossilized.

Apte (1989:97) believes that the following people would be excellent candidates for fossilization:

1. Those who learn the second language in a non-native environment, in a formal classroom setting,
2. those who do not have the opportunity to communicate through the TL while they are in the process of learning the language.
3. Those who need to communicate through the TL for only very specific purposes,
4. those who do not get any corrective feedback nor do they have any occasion to defossilize.

In terms of this study 1, 3 and 4 apply to black students. Black children learn English in the classroom and need the language for very limited purposes. Because they do not come into contact with native speakers and their peers and teachers speak the same IL, they do not get the opportunity to correct their IL.

Higgs and Clifford (1982:68) regard the following as possible 'terminal profile' students:

1. Those students who acquired the target language without any formal instruction in a natural acquisition environment,
2. those who had instructors with low-level L2 skills,
3. those students who studied in programmes where very little emphasis was placed on grammatical accuracy.

Terrell (1989:6) comments on the above and cites examples of people who 'picked up' enough Spanish to be regarded as proficient speakers without having been taught the language formally. He (1989:7) states that he could find no evidence that instructors with fossilized speech would always have learners who are fossilized. This is only possible if learners are exposed to other sources of input as well, where the instructor's input will be countered by input from L1 speakers. As far as emphasis on grammatical accuracy is concerned, it is questionable what grammatical competence involves when the teacher himself does not use the correct grammar. In black education the children are forced to use the language in their other subjects before they have learned enough grammar and vocabulary.

3.5 Fossilization and Learning Strategies

If certain learners are more likely candidates for fossilization than others, it speaks for itself that certain learning strategies may be more likely to produce fossilized learners.

Corder (1981a:12) makes a clear distinction between learning strategies for first and second language learning. According to him, the child learning his first language has an unlimited number of hypotheses about the nature of the language he is learning which

must be tested, whereas the second language learner has only two hypotheses to test (cf.3.3.1). According to Corder's view, fossilization may set in if a learner would form an incorrect hypothesis about the similarity or not of a certain structure to his native language.

Selinker and Lamendella (1978) believe that certain neurolinguistic factors may play a role in the fossilization of certain structures, and that fossilization cannot be accounted for only in terms of learner strategies.

in 5.5.1
Sims (1989:2) points out that the two critical factors in second language acquisition, namely attitude and motivation, may also be linked to fossilization. Generally speaking, black students are very positive towards English, but because they are understood by their peers and teachers, they do not realize that their IL may not be understood by other speakers.

Teaching methodology can also cause, or prevent fossilization. Higgs and Clifford (1982:74) believe that there are two basic ideas to keep in mind to prevent learners from becoming fossilized: 1) linguistic accuracy must be emphasized from the beginning, and 2) free conversation should be avoided before basic linguistic structures are acquired.

Terrell (1989:9) does not totally agree with the above notion, but suggests that a reasonable level of communicative competence would be more desirable to learners than grammatical correctness. He refers to Higgs and Clifford's (1982:75) suggestion of following a 'two-track' curriculum; a communicative track for students who wish to use the language marginally well, and a 'linguistic competence' track for students who wish to use the language professionally. The problem arises when a student wants to switch from one track to the other. According to Terrell (1989:10) the students in the communicative track would have more difficulty to switch over. Terrell (1989:22) believes that neither grammar instruction nor error correction really plays significant roles in the prevention of fossilization: "I hypothesize that the level of target language group identification is the primary cause of

fossilization in adult second language learners and that lack of knowledge of the target language grammar is not the main obstacle to native-like levels of adult second language acquisition".

3.6 Persistence of Fossilization

Sims (1989:1) suggests that fossilization can be divided into a hard perspective and a soft one: Selinker's view being that of hard fossilization, while Schumann would represent the soft perspective. 'Soft' and 'hard' fossilization may represent varying degrees of the same phenomenon. At the one end of the continuum one may find fossilized items which may be fairly easy to eradicate, whereas systematic errors which would require "more remediation time than is practically available" (Sims, 1989:2) would be at the 'hard' end of the scale.

Yorio (1985:1) believes that the creolization studies by Schumann and Stauble, inter alia, suggest that the process of fossilization is irreversible after it has set in and that fossilization is avoidable if the right input is provided, and the learner has integrated in the TL society.

Selinker and Lamandella (1978) distinguish between stabilization and fossilization. According to them, stabilization is observable and non-permanent, whereas fossilization is irreversible and inferred rather than observed. An IL speaker would then be regarded stabilized until proven otherwise. Yorio (1985:21) believes that his subject, K, is stabilized rather than fossilized, and goes on to suggest an appropriate teaching programme to improve his subjects's competence.

Various researchers have discussed the question of the persistence of fossilization. Harley and Swain (1984:309) have found that there is no evidence of 'long-term fossilization of grammatical sub-systems' in the IL of French immersion students. Schumann (1976) found that the IL of his subject, Alberto, was definitely fossilized. Stauble (1978) claimed that her subjects had reached a stage in their SLA that their IL could be described as fossilized.

Bruzzese (1977:244) describes the IL of Angela, an elderly Italian woman who came to the USA at the age of 37. Throughout the years she had increasing contact with English, so it can be assumed that she had acculturized very well. Her IL, however, fossilized at a very low level. He explains (1977:244): "On the surface, this fact argues against the pidginization hypothesis because that hypothesis predicts that when social distance is removed development in the second language should occur. Then the question is why hasn't Angela's English developed?" One explanation may be that social distance is not so important in SLA. Another may be that Angela's acculturation was not as complete as is suggested in her active social life. The fact remains, however, that in spite of improved social contact, Angela was unable to de-fossilize her IL.

Lynch (1985:48), in his case study of Armando, a 51-year-old-native Spanish speaker, found that Armando's IL did seem to have improved over a period of two years: "it appears to be more target like at Time 2, as if Armando was continuing to improve his English". Lynch also doubts the validity of the Acculturation model for SLA, because it would predict that Armando would be a very successful L2 learner, but "in terms of his linguistic development, Armando falls far short of this predicted success. However, given the fact that he may not be completely fossilized linguistically, he cannot be automatically taken as a counter example to the Model's predictions ". Higgs and Clifford (1982:67) stress the persistence of fossilization: "Experience has shown again and again that such fossilized patterns are not remediable, even in intensive language training programs or additional in-country living experience".

Mukattash (1986) tried to determine the role of explicit grammatical explanation and error correction on the IL of eighty fourth-year students in the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Jordan. He came to the conclusion that, in spite of explicit error correction and teaching of grammatical structures over a period of at least six years, the students continued to make basic and elementary grammatical errors. According to Mukattash his research clearly revealed the discrepancy between the learners' spontaneous language performance

and their conscious knowledge of rules and therefore he advocates conditions conducive to language acquisition (as Krashen sees it) in the classroom.

Terrell (1989:8) supports the idea that fossilization will persist:
"It seems to me to be reasonable to claim that learners who have communicated successfully for many years with a reduced form of the target language would have tremendous difficulty in improving their grammatical accuracy in casual speech even with intensive training and high motivation" .

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter fossilization as a feature of IL has been discussed. From the above discussion one can deduce that the term fossilization is a very wide term and that it is used to describe a variety of imperfect ILs of language learners. It is also a very complex phenomenon to define. Views from different researchers may seem to contradict one another, but Selinker and Lamendella (1980:136) point out that seemingly contradictory ideas about fossilization actually address different aspects of this very complex phenomenon. Some linguists have concentrated on the sources or causes, while others have been more concerned about the nature of fossilization. Selinker and Lamendella (1980:137) state: "We have to state categorically that it is our belief that no single ontological factor ... in and of itself could possibly account for more than very limited aspects of fossilization in attempted target language learning".

Most researchers, however, agree that not enough has been done to establish what fossilization really is. Most studies can be regarded as isolated case studies, and no real longitudinal study has been undertaken over a long period of time.

A review of the literature and views of linguists on fossilization seems to indicate that the majority of blacks would be perfect candidates for fossilization. In terms of Selinker's five processes and Krashen's Input Hypothesis it seems as if language transfer, insufficient quantity of input, inappropriate quality of

input and the acquisition of deviant forms would be the most important contributing factors towards a terminal profile (Higgs & Clifford, 1982). The isolation of black pupils (Schumann's social and psychological distance from the target group), the very heavy communicative demands made on them to use English and the fact that the teachers use the same IL as the pupils seem to aggravate the existing problem. Although blacks in general have a very positive attitude towards the learning of English (a critical factor according to Sims, 1989), they do not realize that the IL they speak is far removed from the TL norm.

All these factors prevalent in the education of blacks seem to reinforce the views of Higgs and Clifford (1982), Mukattash (1986) and Terrel (1989) that fossilization, once it has set in, will persist.

In the next chapter the emergence of New Englishes will be discussed. The term 'New English' (NE) will be defined and the distinction between a fossilized interlanguage and a New English will be determined.

CHAPTER 4

NEW ENGLISHES

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter new dialects of English or 'New Englishes' are discussed. The views of Kachru (1982 & 1985), Sridhar and Sridhar (1986) and those of Platt et al. (1984) will be looked at in detail, as these are significant in terms of this study. Institutionalized varieties of English will be discussed to distinguish between English as a foreign language (to be used in highly restricted areas) and English as a second language. The aim is to establish whether the fossilized interlanguage of black students at Sebokeng College of Education can be regarded as an emerging dialect or not.

According to Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:3) Second Language Acquisition in a target language (TL) environment does not develop in the same way as the acquisition of the same language in an environment where there are no native speakers of the TL. The discussion of indigenized varieties of a language is followed by a section on New Englishes in which criteria for a New English are supplied. Reasons are also given why South African Black English can be regarded as a New English. Opinions of researchers such as Lanham (1985) and Buthelezi (1989) regarding South African Black English are presented.

4.2 Institutionalized Varieties of English

In this section the term 'institutionalized variety' is defined. According to Kachru (1985:211) users of English can be viewed from three perspectives:

1. That of a native speaker who uses English as his first language in almost all functions,
2. that of a speaker who considers English as a foreign language and who uses it in highly restricted areas, and
3. that of a non-native user who uses an institutionalized

second-language variety of English.

This institutionalized variety must be distinguished from the 'performance' variety, i.e. where English is used only in restricted areas.

Kachru (1985:211) describes institutionalized varieties as follows: "The institutionalized second-language varieties have a long history of acculturation in new cultural and geographical contexts; they have a large range of functions in the local educational, administrative, and legal systems. The result of such uses is that such varieties have developed nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined sublanguages (registers), and are used as a linguistic vehicle for creative writing in various genres. We find such uses of English on almost every continent, for example, in Nigeria, Kenya, the Republic of South Africa, and Ghana in Africa ... "

A variety of a language can be endo-normative (based on local norms) or exo-normative (based on external norms) (Kachru, 1985:208). If it is exo-normative, it will have a native model (e.g. in the case of English it will have a British or American model), but an endo-normative model will have a local educated variety as model for teaching. Kachru (1985:213) makes an important observation in terms of this study: "The division is not always clear-cut; one finds coexistence of the two, and a wide range of variation between the accepted norm and the actual linguistic behaviour".

Kachru (1982:39) says that an institutionalized variety begins as a performance variety, but the following characteristics eventually will give it institutionalized status:

1. length of time in use,
2. the extension of use,
3. the emotional attitude of users towards the variety,
4. the functional importance, and
5. the sociolinguistic status.

A very important fact to note, especially in terms of the aims of

this study, is that a variety may exist but may not be recognized, by both its speakers and native speakers.

There are a series of overlapping stages in the process of accepting a particular variety as an institutionalized language (Kachru, 1985:213). At first, the localized form is not accepted. This stage is followed by a period in which there is a diffusion of local varieties and when there are conscious efforts to teach an exo-normative model. In the last stage the localized norm is recognized by accepting creative writing in it, and by contextualizing the teaching materials to fit the local situation.

In some varieties the language is used in the following ways (Kachru, 1982:42):

1. The instrumental function, when the language is used as medium of learning in the educational system,
2. the regulative function, when the language is used in the legal system, and in the country's administration,
3. the interpersonal function, when the language is used as a link between speakers of various other languages and as an elitist symbol,
4. the imaginative/innovative function, when the language is used in literature.

The views of native speakers of the language towards these varieties also play a role in the development of the variety. Native speakers have traditionally viewed nativization as a deficiency and not as a difference. Nativization is regarded as the result of linguistic innovations brought about by the localized function of the language, the communicative strategies in new situations, and transfer from local languages (Kachru 1985:213).

4.3 Second Language Acquisition versus Acquisition of an Indigenized Variety

Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:3) point out that most Second Language Acquisition studies do not take data from indigenized varieties of English into consideration when formulating theories about the

acquisition of a second language. Examples of indigenized varieties of English (IVEs) would be Indian English, Singapore English, Nigerian English and Filipino English.

To Sridhar and Sridhar the neglect of IVEs in Second Language Research is a serious matter, as most of the theories are supposed to be applicable to all Second Language Acquisition (SLA), and secondly, because most of the SLA studies have been done on the acquisition of English. They also point out that there are many IVE speakers as well as a great variety of second language forms.

Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:4) further point out that studies on IVEs have remained descriptive and intuitive: "Most studies in the area analyse random examples from student speech (or more commonly writing) without giving a systematic account of such crucial details as the source of the data, the elicitation procedure employed, the regularity and representativeness of the phenomenon in question etc. Although these data can serve as valuable sources of initial hypotheses, their contribution to the dominant research questions in the field of SLA, such as the role of transfer vis-à-vis overgeneralization, remains limited. There is an urgent need for detailed studies of the acquisition of IVEs using systematic data collection procedures, rigorous analytical methods, and explicit reporting conventions".

According to Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:4) a more serious weakness of current IVEs studies is that they uncritically accept the axioms and hypotheses of the so-called 'mainstream' SLA research, and that they just give examples of learner strategies such as overgeneralization and transfer. These hypotheses should be reevaluated in terms of IVEs.

Descriptions of IVEs (Spencer, 1971; Platt et al, 1984; Ngara, 1983) indicate that acquisition of IVEs differ from the 'textbook' descriptions of SLA.

According to Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:5) the following underlying assumptions about the nature of SLA are responsible for the neglect of IVEs in research literature:

1. The main aim of SLA is to acquire native-like proficiency. (Not only as far as pronunciation and grammar are concerned, but also in aspects such as style and register).
2. The input available to the learner is extensive and intensive enough to allow him to acquire the language completely.
3. The whole process of SLA is studied without reference to the type of functions the target language is supposed to perform for the learner and in the learner's society.
4. The role of the first language is only seen in terms of interference with no attention given to the possible contributions it can make towards the communicative function.
5. The learner should try to become a member of the target language culture (that is, the so-called 'integrative motivation' is the ideal type of motivation to ensure success).

Most of the research done in SLA has also been on the acquisition of phonology and syntax at the expense of the study of the acquisition of lexicon and pragmatics.

Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:5) discuss the characteristics of IVE acquisition settings. They believe that the major differences between SLA and IVE Acquisition can be characterized under the following headings:

1. the target of acquisition,
2. the input received,
3. the role of the language in relation to the other languages of the learner,
4. motivation of the learner, and
5. lexical and pragmatic aspects of IVE acquisition.

According to 'mainstream' SLA theory the target of second language learners is to be able to use the language effectively with native speakers. The target of IVE learners is completely different; they learn the language to speak with other IVE speakers. Writers such as Kachru (1982:45), Bamgbose (1971:41) and Sey (1973:1) point out that a variety that comes too close to the standard norm is frowned upon in IVE communities. The native norm is seen to

alienate the speakers from their environment, and speakers feel that the target language should reflect their cultural heritage.

The input that the learners receive is primarily an IVE. The majority of learners are taught by non-native speakers of the target language, and they never come into contact with mother tongue speakers. Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:6) say: "In many rural areas, the learners' only exposure to English takes place in the English class at school. Although the amount of exposure to English available to the learner of an IVE is substantially more than that available in situations where English is learned as a foreign language, it is still much less than what is available to a learner of English in, say, the US".

The input is also restricted. Learners are not exposed to a large variety of styles, structures and registers, especially those of everyday, informal interpersonal relationships. The intake is usually restricted to stilted, academic English.

English is usually not the only language used by these IVE learners, and is therefore never used to fulfil all the linguistic functions of the learner. Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:6) put it as follows: "The model of bilingualism appropriate to the IVE contexts is, therefore, an 'additive' one and not a 'replacive', 'subtractive', or 'duplicative' model".

The functions of an IVE usually overlap those of other local languages in areas such as business and friendship. This overlap is manifested in code-mixing and code-switching.

Instrumental motivation is regarded as the prevalent kind of motivation among IVE learners, and not integrative motivation, which is commonly regarded as the most important motivation for second language acquisition.

According to Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:7) SLA studies have not recognized the distinctive qualities of IVEs, especially as far as "lexicon; collocational possibilities and the ways in which speech acts, such as thanking, complimenting, urging, consoling" are

concerned, even if there is not much deviation from the native grammatical standard.

Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:8) believe that concepts in SLA theory such as fossilization, interlanguage, pidginization and creolization do not really apply to IVE settings.

According to Selinker (1972:214) interlanguage is an intermediate system between the mother tongue and the target language. One aspect of an interlanguage (IL) which is difficult to explain is fossilization (cf.ch.2). Selinker (1972:215-217) discusses the fact that fossilized structures will reappear in the IL of speakers under certain circumstances. He points out that an entire IL competence may be fossilized, not only in individuals, but also in a group, resulting in a new dialect "where fossilized IL competences may be the normal situation. To speakers of such a new dialect, the target may be that new dialect". Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:8) comment that "the acquisitional target for IVE speakers is not the native norm but an indigenized one. Calling the IVEs interlanguages or their structural features fossilizations does violence to both the phenomena and theoretical construct".

To Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:9) transfer plays a major role in IVEs. According to them, the role of transfer in SLA has been downplayed; and they point out that many of the features of IVEs can be related to features of the mother tongue.

Many of the above observations are applicable to other second language acquisition settings. Goldstein (1987:418) studied the English spoken by Hispanic boys in the New York metropolitan area and comments on the fact that the Hispanic boys in her study were aware of the differences between various varieties of English, and that they made conscious choices about which variety they spoke. She (1987:418) states: "... when we review empirical studies of second language acquisition, we observe the implicit assumptions that the target language group to which the nonnative speaker is exposed is homogeneous and that the target language is synonymous with standard English".

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Begin
Beebe (1985:404) points out that SLA studies must regard non-native speakers "not simply as passive recipients of comprehensible or incomprehensible input from native speakers (NSs) but as active participants in choosing the target language models they prefer".

5A
Situation
Because learners choose the kind of English they want to speak, they do not respond to the other sources of input. Goldstein (1987:430) states: "Feelings of identification do play a role in language use, language maintenance, and language acquisition; it is logical to assume that they play some role in the acquisition by nonnative speakers of variants from a particular dialect within a speech community".

Goldstein (1987:431) also comments on fossilization and points out that certain features of a speaker's language may not be errors at all, but may reflect a different dialect: "The subject's target may be black English, and in that case, the language has not fossilized". Goldstein (1987:432) stresses the fact that teachers must make students aware of the difference between the standard variety and their peculiar dialect. She must also point out when which variety is acceptable. A teacher should know which variety is the students' target, and help them to determine whether they need the standard variety for their public lives.

5A
Situation
4.4 New Englishes

Platt et al. (1984:2) state that a New English fulfils the following criteria:

1. It has developed through the education system. This means that it has been taught as a subject and, in many cases, also used as a medium of instruction in regions where languages other than English were the main languages. The degree to which English is used as a medium of education for other subjects varies considerably from nation to nation and from one type of school to another.
2. It has developed in an area where a native variety of English was not the language spoken by most of the population. For various reasons, which will be discussed later, pidgin and

creole languages are not considered to be native varieties of English.

3. It is used for a range of functions among those who speak or write it in the region where it is used. This means that the new variety is used for at least some purposes such as: in letter writing, in the writing of literature, in parliament, in communication between the government and the people, in the media and sometimes for spoken communication between friends and in the family. It may be used as a lingua franca, a general language of communication, among those speaking different native languages, or, in some cases, even among those who speak the same native language but use English because it is felt to be more appropriate for certain purposes.
4. It has become 'localized' or 'nativized' by adopting some language features of its own, such as sounds, intonation patterns, sentence structures, words, expressions. Usually it has also developed some different rules for using language in communication.

According to Platt et al. (1984:6) there are three different situations where a New English can develop:

1. In situations where English is the language of education, but not the language spoken by the community at large. When children come to school they already know another language or languages.
2. In some parts of West Africa an English-based pidgin developed. These pidgins are extremely important languages of communication, and serve as lingua franca among people speaking different languages.

Platt et al. (1984:7) emphasize the fact that pidgins are not New Englishes: "English-based pidgins cannot be considered as New Englishes as they do not fulfil our first criterion. They have not developed through the education system. They were not taught but developed to perform the basic needs of communication among people who would otherwise have had no language in common".

Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:9) also believe that the concepts of pidginization and creolization do not apply to IVEs either.

3. English is sometimes taught to children who speak an English-based creole. A creole develops when a pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a group of speakers. A post-creole continuum originates when people speak a range of speech varieties. The lowest point, or the variety closest to the creole, is called the basilect, whereas the variety closest to Standard English is the acrolect. Mesolects would denote the speech patterns between the basilect and the acrolect. According to Platt et al. (1984:8) some of the mesolects and the acrolect of a post-creole continuum can be regarded as New Englishes: "There are differences in pronunciation and in vocabulary and to some extent in grammatical structure between these Englishes and the kinds of English spoken in Britain but at the 'upper' end of the continuum they can certainly be considered as varieties of English".

Once again it is important to note that these New Englishes developed from a creole through the education system, and not just from a pidgin.

Platt et al. (1984:10) do not regard American English, New Zealand English, Australian English and South African English as New Englishes in the same sense as Ghanaian English or Kenyan English, because these Englishes developed from existing English. People came to the above areas as English speakers and continued to speak English.

4.5 The South African situation

Lanham (1985:242) points out that the South African society is highly heterogeneous and that there are several varieties of English spoken in the country:

1. White mother-tongue English. Lanham distinguishes three main accents, i.e. Extreme South African English; Respectable

- South African English and Conservative South African English,
2. Afrikaans English, a second language to Afrikaans speaking whites,
 3. South African Black English (Bl E) of South Africans with a Bantu language as mother tongue,
 4. Coloured English of the coloured community who traditionally have Afrikaans as mother-tongue,
 5. South African Indian English of the Indian community.

This study is concerned with South African Black English, which, according, to Lanham (1985:244) "is immediately recognized by all in SA society with its prominent pronunciation variables reflecting Bantu-language phonology, idioms and fixed expressions, redefined semantic content, and peculiar grammatical structures. In a century and a half of learning English as a second language, norms peculiar to Bl E have evolved and characterize an acceptable variety of English as a second language".

According to the criteria set by Platt et al. (1984:2) South African Black English is a New English, because

1. it has developed through the education system (English is the medium of instruction),
2. it has developed in an area (in this case in the black townships) where English was not spoken by most of the population,
3. it is used for a variety of functions (in the media, for instance. *The Sowetan*, the newspaper read almost exclusively by Blacks, is published in English. Most of their magazines are also published in English.)
4. it has adopted some features of its own, as is evident in the above quotation from Lanham.

Buthelezi (1989:39) refers to the emerging dialect of English as "South African Black English" (SABE), and points out that one has to distinguish very clearly between interlanguage errors which can be eradicated (e.g. subject-verb agreement) and fossilized structures which can be regarded as distinctive features of the new dialect.

She believes (1989:40) that SABE originated because of the following factors:

1. Educational experience: Blacks have almost all been taught English by Black non-native speakers of English. It seems as if most features of the dialect are teacher-influenced. She states (1989:40): "It is therefore not surprising that learners or speakers of ESL should exhibit fossilised structures in their idiolect. In other words, a vicious cycle is perpetuated whereby learners learn features of SABE directly from the teachers and then reproduce these innocently under the guise of Standard English".
2. Cultural lifestyle and code-mixing: Blacks have their own cultural lifestyle which cannot always be reflected in the existing standard dialect. New words and expressions are consequently coined. Code-mixing is also used, especially to establish group solidarity, and to affirm the socio-economic and educational status of the particular sociolect.
3. Enclosure and group cohesiveness: Laws such as the Group Areas Act and those which prescribed separate education systems promoted a high degree of enclosure among the Blacks. According to Buthelezi (1989:43) the direct result of these laws is "a speech community which lives in an environment characterised by high enclosure and little meaningful contact with the L1 speakers. This in turn promotes group cohesiveness and a negative language learning situation".
4. Religious affiliations: Many Blacks still believe in and worship their ancestors. This is often reflected in literary works and in the press.
5. Overall political experiences: Political activities have given rise to new lexical items or the adaptation of existing expressions and words to express new ideas.

Peirce (1989:413), however, says: "It is clear that the proponents of People's English do not view it as one of the "New Englishes" such as Indian English, Nigerian English, or Singaporean English ... People's English is not distinguished syntactically, semantically, or phonetically from the spectrum of English usage

currently found in South Africa. Thus, it does not operate within a sociolinguistic frame of reference. If it did, it might have been referred to as South African English or Azanian English. The intention, however, is not to distinguish People's English from British English or American English, but People's English from Apartheid English".

4.6 Grammatical Features of New Englishes

Platt et al. (1984:64, 65, 85, 86, 130, 131) point out that there are certain tendencies common to most New Englishes. They are the following:

1. a tendency not to mark nouns for plural,
2. a tendency to use a specific/non-specific system for nouns rather than a definite/indefinite system, or to use the two systems side by side,
3. a tendency to change the form of quantifiers,
4. a tendency not to make a distinction between the third person pronouns he and she,
5. a tendency to change the word order within the noun phrase,
6. a tendency not to mark the verb for third person singular in its present-tense form,
7. a tendency not to mark verbs for the past tense,
8. a tendency to use an aspect system rather than a tense system or to use both systems side by side,
9. a tendency to extend the use of be + verb + ing constructions to stative verbs,
10. the formation of different phrasal and prepositional verb constructions,
11. a tendency to imply rather than explicitly state subject and object pronouns which can be understood from the context,
12. a tendency to use pronoun copying,
13. a tendency to use adverbs such as already, only, even in sentence final position,
14. a tendency not to invert in WH-questions and Yes/No questions,
15. a tendency to use invariant question tags.

Some of these features are reflected in the tests given to the students for the empirical part of the study. These will be discussed in chapter 6.

4.7 The Role Of A New English

According to Platt et al. (1984:13) a variety of factors determines the role that a New English will play in a specific society, and whether it will deteriorate or flourish. The government attitude towards a language is perhaps the most important factor. Goodson and Medway (1990:vii) state: "Changing English (or stopping it changing) has consistently, and across many countries, been a matter with which the state has concerned itself". A language can be promoted by making it an official language or the medium of education.

Twisted Abet Platt et al. (1984:28) point out that English has two important connotations for the 'New Nations': English as a status symbol and English as a language of neutrality. Kachru (1986:6) states that English is very often regarded as the vehicle of 'civilization' and 'light', and says (1986:14) that English is used as an alchemy for language modernization and social change. He (1986:107) also states: "In India, as in other Third World countries, the English language is used to 'integrate' culturally and linguistically pluralistic societies. 'Integration' with the British or American culture is not the primary aim". It has also the added value of giving access to technology and science.

Kachru (1986:8) is convinced of the neutrality of English (at least in the Indian context): "English does have one clear advantage, attitudinally and linguistically: it has acquired a neutrality in a linguistic context where native languages, dialects and styles sometimes have acquired undesirable connotations. Whereas native codes are functionally marked in terms of caste, religion, region and so forth, English has no such 'markers', at least in the non-native context".

Ndebele (1987:11) does not regard English as a neutral language as far as the South African situation is concerned: "... I think

that we cannot afford to be uncritically complacent about the role and future of English in South Africa, for there are many reasons why it cannot be considered an innocent language. The problems of society will also be the problems of the predominant language of that society, since it is the carrier of a range of social perceptions, attitudes, and goals. Through it, the speakers absorb entrenched attitudes. In this regard, the guilt of English then must be recognized and appreciated before its continued use can be advocated".

Peirce (1989:405) discusses 'People's English' and refutes Kachru's view about the neutrality of English: "English, like all other languages, is thus a site of struggle over meaning, access, and power. This struggle takes on different forms in different societies, communities, and organizations". She (1989:410) also says that "Because the People's English Commission made no claim to neutrality and paid little heed to linguistic rules of use in South Africa, People's English represents a pedagogy of possibility for the majority of South Africans and consequently a threat to minority rule".

It is important to look at the role the New English is required to fulfil in a particular society. This role will also to some extent determine the model(s) which will be imitated. Kachru (1986:120) states: "The non-native varieties function in societal, linguistic and cultural networks that are distinctly different from those of America and Britain. Since English is used for intercultural interaction across languages in South Asia and Africa, the result has been a slow process of acculturation; which one might label, for example, South Asianization or Africanization. This is an inevitable linguistic process, which has applied earlier to Latin, Sanskrit, and various other languages. It is a process that is impossible to stop, but perhaps difficult for purists to accept".

The purists will always feel that British English should remain the model, while others will advocate the total emancipation of the New English. Two questions must be asked: Why is English used in a particular country as opposed to the native languages? and Who are the members of this non-native speech community?

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter institutionalized varieties of English or New Englishes were discussed. It was pointed out that Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research studies do not usually take acquisition of indigenized varieties into consideration in their interpretation of research. Most of the hypotheses regarding SLA should be reviewed when applied to the acquisition of an indigenized variety, as the ultimate goal is not the same. The aim in SLA is to acquire native-like proficiency, whereas the aim of a learner learning an indigenized variety is to acquire that particular variety.

According to Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:8) the concept of fossilization should not be applied to an indigenized variety. The so-called 'fossilized' structures would rather be regarded as features of the indigenized variety.

The criteria according to which a language variety can be regarded as a New English were discussed. The isolation of black speakers, the fact that English is used as medium of instruction, and the fact that black English is characterized by certain idiosyncratic features, seem to indicate that South African Black English is a New English. In the next chapter the empirical data are presented to indicate possible variations from Standard English.

CHAPTER 5

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will be devoted to the presentation of the empirical data. The aim of this study is to determine whether the Interlanguage (IL) of black students at Sebokeng College of Education have fossilized to such an extent that we can say that they are speaking a New English (cf.1.1.2).

In this chapter the test and posttest which were given to the students are described. The aim of the test was to determine whether certain structures have fossilized in the IL of first year black students. The aim of the posttest was to determine whether some of these erroneous structures had definitely fossilized or if two years of tuition in English by white lecturers had de-fossilized these erroneous structures. The results of the test and the posttest are given in an integrated way (i.e. results of the same structures of the test and the posttest are given) to establish whether these structures have definitely fossilized. Finally, the results of the same structures given in the test and posttest are compared to see if there had been any improvement.

5.2 Method of Research

5.2.1 Descriptive study

The study undertaken is in the form of a descriptive study. The results can therefore not be generalised, although they may indicate developments in South African Black English in general.

5.2.2 The Study Population

The study population consisted of 271 black students at Sebokeng College of Education. They all passed Std 10 and are all second language speakers of English. 115 were enrolled for the Secondary Teachers' Diploma (STD), 76 for the Senior Primary Diploma (SPTD)

and 80 for the Junior Primary Diploma (JPTD).

The students all hailed from the Orange Vaal Region of the Department of Education and Training, the area in which the College is situated. Most of the students (65%) came from the Vaal Triangle (an urban area), while 35% came from rural areas in the Orange Free State. The ages of the students ranged from 20 - 45 years of age.

5.2.3 Instrumentation

As indicated in 5.1 two tests were administered: a test and a posttest. In order to investigate whether the deviant language forms have fossilized in the IL of the students grammaticality judgment tasks (Tarone & Yule, 1989:175) were used. It was decided on written tests because the amount of data may have been too small if free oral production was used (Hyltenstam, 1977:385). In free written essays, learners may have avoided certain deviant structures, or these structures may not have cropped up at all.

Ngara (1975:12) says the following in connection with the teaching of English: "A very useful exercise and one that can be very exciting for students is one where incorrect and correct sentences and expressions are jumbled together and the students are asked to say which sentences and expressions are incorrect and why".

Rutherford (1987:160) discusses ways of raising grammatical consciousness of learners and advises that much of the actual language content should derive from the work of the learners themselves. One way of doing this is to render judgment on the grammatical correctness of a statement, i.e. the learner is requested to identify the error and to correct it. Interspersed would be correct items. Rutherford advocates that these items should be taken from learner production itself. In the case of the test the items (correct and incorrect) were taken from written work of the students themselves. In the case of the posttest similar structures were used, and correct sentences were interspersed at random.

White (1989:58) states reasons for the use of a grammaticality judgment test: "One way of establishing whether L2 learners' competence includes knowledge that certain forms are impossible is by the use of grammaticality judgment (GJ) tasks, where learners are asked to judge the correctness or otherwise of various sentences".

Krosse (1992:68) believes that grammaticality judgments are regarded by most linguists as performance most directly linked to competence. Ellis (1991:181) on the other hand, points out that there are deficiencies in GJ tasks: learners may use a variety of test-performing strategies like guessing, ensuring that there is a balance between wrong and right sentences, or they may try to finish the test as soon as possible. However, the grammaticality test seems to be the most feasible in the particular circumstances.

The following categories were included in the test and in the posttest:

1. Articles.
2. Nouns.
3. Adjectives.
4. Prepositions.
5. Pronouns.
6. Verbs.
7. Adverbs.

The complete test and posttest are included as Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

5.2.4 Procedure

The test was done at the beginning of the students' first academic year. The posttest was done at the beginning of the students' third and final year at the college. 265 students wrote the posttest (6 students failed or left the College). The test consisted of 53 items. The students had to read through all the sentences and decide whether they were correct or not. If they decided that a sentence was incorrect they had to write the correct sentence. The posttest consisted of only 25 items (cf. Appendix 1 and Appendix 2).

During the two years preceding the posttest all students had received some kind of English tuition at the College as part of their Diploma courses. The majority of students who take the Senior Primary or the Secondary Diploma Course have to take 'English as Medium of Instruction'. All students taking the Junior Primary and the Senior Primary Courses have to take Academic English as a major subject, as well as English Didactics. English competence is addressed in all these courses, although the emphasis may vary. Lecturers invariably try to eradicate errors which consistently crop up in the English of the students. In 'English as Medium of Instruction' the emphasis is on improving the students' English competence, whereas Academic English would include the study of literature. In English Didactics competence is also addressed to some extent, although not always very explicitly. A schematic representation will explain the situation more clearly:

Junior Primary	Senior Primary	Secondary
Academic English	Academic English	Academic English (optional)
English Didactics	Medium of Instruction	Medium of Instruction
	English Didactics	English Didactics

In the posttest only those errors which had high affirmative support in the test, or errors which seemed to be most peculiar to the IL of the students, were tested. Some of the incorrect sentences in the test which were evaluated as correct by the students were not included in the posttest, as they seem to be errors which are not specific to the IL of black students only.

The posttest was done to see if two years of tuition (English is taken by all the students) would not have an effect on the fossilized structures. All the English lecturers at the College are white second language speakers of English, and do not speak the same IL as the black students. The posttest had to establish

whether time, formal tuition in English as well as exposure to English across the curriculum (all subjects except black languages are presented through the medium of English by white lecturers) could eradicate the fixed errors in the IL of students.

Both tests were written during a double period during class time, and students were not told about the test beforehand. The students were given enough time to complete the tests.

5.2.5 Scoring

If a student indicated that a given incorrect sentence was correct, it was marked as an error. The same was done when correct sentences were indicated as incorrect. All other errors and or changes to sentences were ignored. Percentages were then calculated. In the posttest all correct sentences were ignored in the scoring.

5.3 Explanation of Test and Posttest Items and Results

In this section the items and the results are presented. The grammatical rule in each case is first given, which is then followed by the prediction of a possible error. This prediction is formulated in the form of a hypothesis. The results of both the test and posttest for each item are given to establish whether the hypothesis was supported or refuted in the test and the posttest. Results are presented in table and graph form. Finally a comparison between the same structures given in the test and the posttest is presented.

1. ARTICLES

Articles can be divided into definite (the), and indefinite (a, an) articles. IL speakers often tend to use articles indiscriminately.

Hypothesis 1:

Black students often 1) use a definite article where they

should use an indefinite one; 2) use an indefinite article where they should use a definite one; 3) insert an article where they should not; 4) omit an article where there should be one.

TEST Item 1

I am the fourth child in our family and my sisters have spoiled me. (Correct). 18,1% had this item incorrect. (This means that 18,1% regarded this correct sentence as incorrect and tried to correct it). 81,9% had the item correct. (That is they regarded the sentence as grammatically correct). This result is evidence against hypothesis 1.

TEST Item 2

Sarah is the good dancer and would like to become a professional dancer. (Incorrect). 57,9% had this item incorrect. (This means that 57,9% regarded this item as correct). 42,1% saw the grammatical error in the sentence and corrected it. This result supports hypothesis 1.

POSTTEST Item 25

I had to attend the important meeting, but was too sleepy to concentrate on the proceedings. (Incorrect). 91,4% had this item incorrect. 8,6% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 1.

TEST Item 3

People must realize that smoking is health risk and that smokers endanger other people's lives as well. (Incorrect). 86,3% had this item incorrect. (They judged the sentence to be correct). 13,7% regarded the sentence as incorrect and corrected it. This result supports hypothesis 1.

POSTTEST Item 17

Drinking too much is health risk for everybody, but for a teacher it can make him lose his job. (Incorrect). 88,3% had this item incorrect. 11,7% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 1.

TEST Item 4

I attended boarding school as my parents lived in a rural area. (Correct). 48,7% had this item incorrect. (They tried to correct the sentence). 51,3% realized that the sentence is correct. This result refutes hypothesis 1.

TEST Item 5

My Matric results gave me a courage to apply for a bursary. (Incorrect). 80,1% had this item incorrect. (They regarded the sentence as correct). 19,9% regarded this item as grammatically incorrect and corrected it. This result supports hypothesis 1.

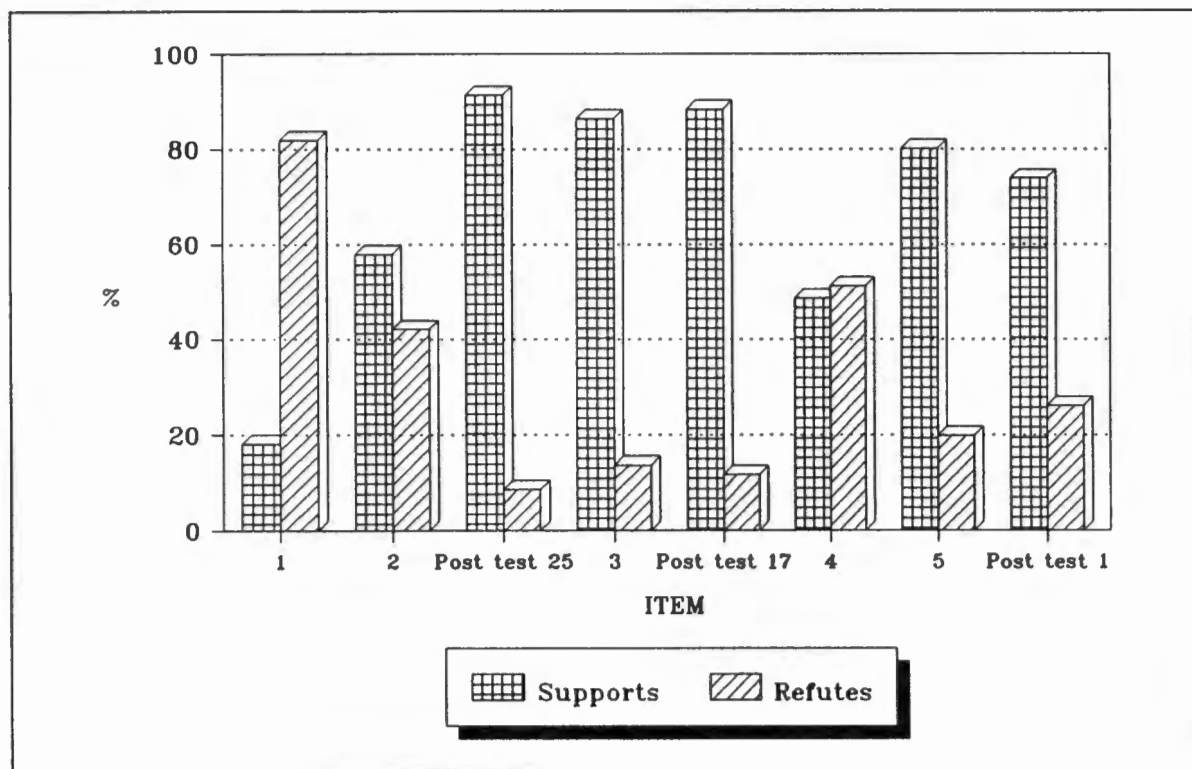
POSTTEST Item 1

My mother's tenacity gave me a courage to study hard. (Incorrect). 73,9% had this item incorrect. 26,1% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 1.

Of the eight items tested 6 results (75%) seem to support the hypothesis. It seems as if these errors crop up in fixed expressions such as 'a courage' and 'health risk'. The results of the posttest support the hypothesis, as well as the view that these expressions may be fixed. The results (of both the test and the posttest) are reflected in table 1 and graph 1.

Table 1: Articles

ITEM	SUPPORTS HYPOTHESIS (%)	REFUTES HYPOTHESIS (%)
TEST 1	18,1	81,9
TEST 2	57,9	42,1
POSTTEST 25	91,4	8,6
TEST 3	86,3	13,7
POSTTEST 17	88,3	11,7
TEST 4	48,7	51,3
TEST 5	80,1	19,9
POSTTEST 1	73,9	26,1



Graph 1: Articles

2. NOUNS

Uncountable nouns are always singular like *advice* and *money*, and as such take the adjective *much*.

Hypothesis 2:

College students often add a plural uncountable nouns and then use many.

TEST Item 6

Much money is spent on research to find a cure for Aids. (Correct). 40,9% had this item incorrect. (They corrected this sentence). 59,1% judged the sentence as grammatically correct. This result refutes hypothesis 2.

TEST Item 7

I am very grateful to my former Biology teacher, because he gave me many good advices. (Incorrect). 91,2% had this item incorrect. 8,8% saw that the sentence contained an error. This result supports hypothesis 2.

POSTTEST Item 9

The teachers at the school gave her many advices to apply for a bursary. (Incorrect). 76,6% had this incorrect. 23,4% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 2.

TEST Item 10

Thabo asked me to accompany him to the party, but I had many homeworks and refused to go. (Incorrect). 76,4% had this item incorrect. 23,6% judged the sentence to be incorrect. This supports hypothesis 2. Three of the four items (75%) support the hypothesis. Once again it is the suspicion that we deal with fixed expressions: *advices* and *homeworks*. The posttest supports the view as far as *advices* is concerned.

Hypothesis 3

Black students often use the word somebody when they actually mean person.

TEST Item 44

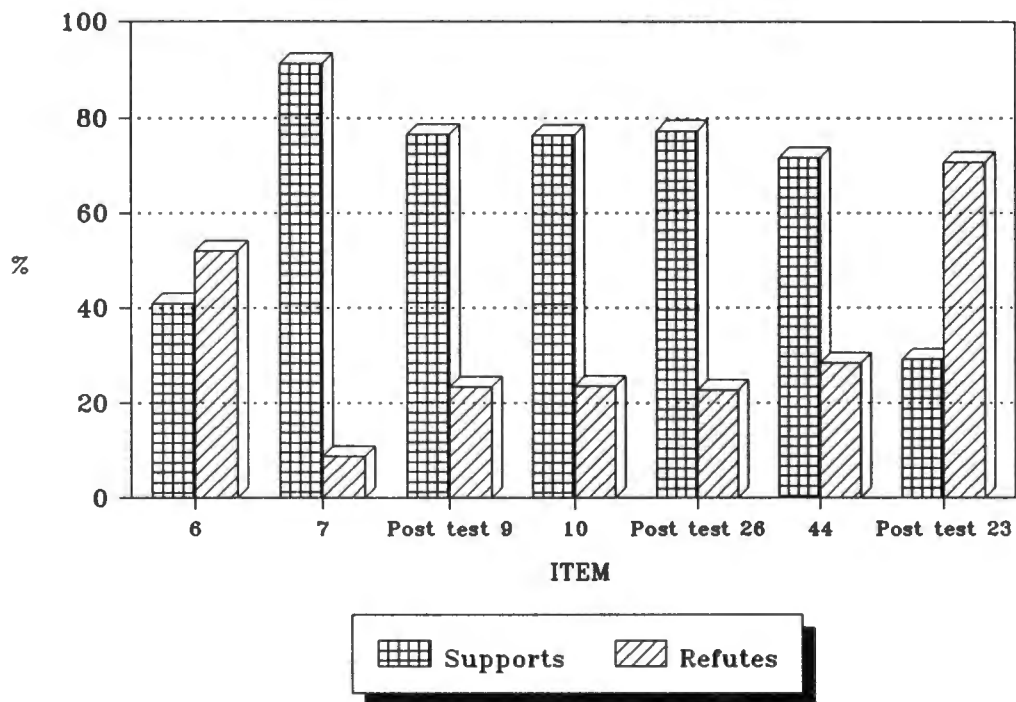
I am a friendly somebody who likes to talk to many people. (Incorrect). 71,6% had this item incorrect. 28,4% corrected the sentence. This result supports hypothesis 3.

POSTTEST Item 23

I am a somebody who likes friends and parties. (Incorrect). 29,3% had this item incorrect. 70,7% had this correct. This result does not support hypothesis 3. It may be that two years of instruction had managed to eradicate this fossilized structure. The results are reflected in table 2 and graph 2.

Table 2: Nouns

ITEM	SUPPORTS HYPOTHESIS (%)	REFUTES HYPOTHESIS (%)
TEST 6	40,9	51,9
TEST 7	91,2	8,8
POSTTEST 9	76,6	23,4
TEST 10	76,4	23,6
POSTTEST 26	77,3	22,7
TEST 44	71,6	28,4
POSTTEST 23	29,3	70,7



Graph 2: Nouns

3. ADJECTIVES

Demonstrative adjectives agree with their nouns in number.

Hypothesis 4:

Black students tend to use these with an adverb of time. (These nowadays is a fixed expression in Black English)

TEST Item 8

These nowadays children do not respect their superiors and they can be quite rude to old people. (Incorrect). 58,3% had this item incorrect. (They regarded the sentence as correct. 41,7% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 4.

POSTTEST Item 2

These nowadays my mother is the only breadwinner.

(Incorrect). 64,9% had this incorrect. 35,1% had this correct. This supports hypothesis 4. In the posttest more students regarded the item as correct as in the test.

TEST Item 9

These are the things I like: chocolates and ice-cream, sweets and chips. (Correct). 73,1% had this item incorrect. 26,9% regarded this item as correct. This supports hypothesis 4. Both these items support the hypothesis that Black students do not know how to use the demonstrative adjective *these* correctly.

Some is used before plurals and uncountable nouns and is usually used in affirmative sentences and in questions when the answer is expected to be in the affirmative. "*Few* denote scarcity or lack, and have almost the force of a negative" (Thomson & Martinet, 1980:29).

Hypothesis 5:

In the IL of Black students some few is used to indicate some or a few.

TEST Item 48

When the lecturer gave me back my first test I saw that I had made some few mistakes. (Incorrect). 81,5% had this item incorrect. (They regarded the sentence as correct). 18,5% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 5.

POSTTEST Item 10

She has already applied to some few companies. (Incorrect). 73,4% had this incorrect. 26,6% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 5. Both the test and the posttest support hypothesis 5.

Hypothesis 6:

Blacks do not use the expression some ...other but use other...other instead.

TEST Item 51

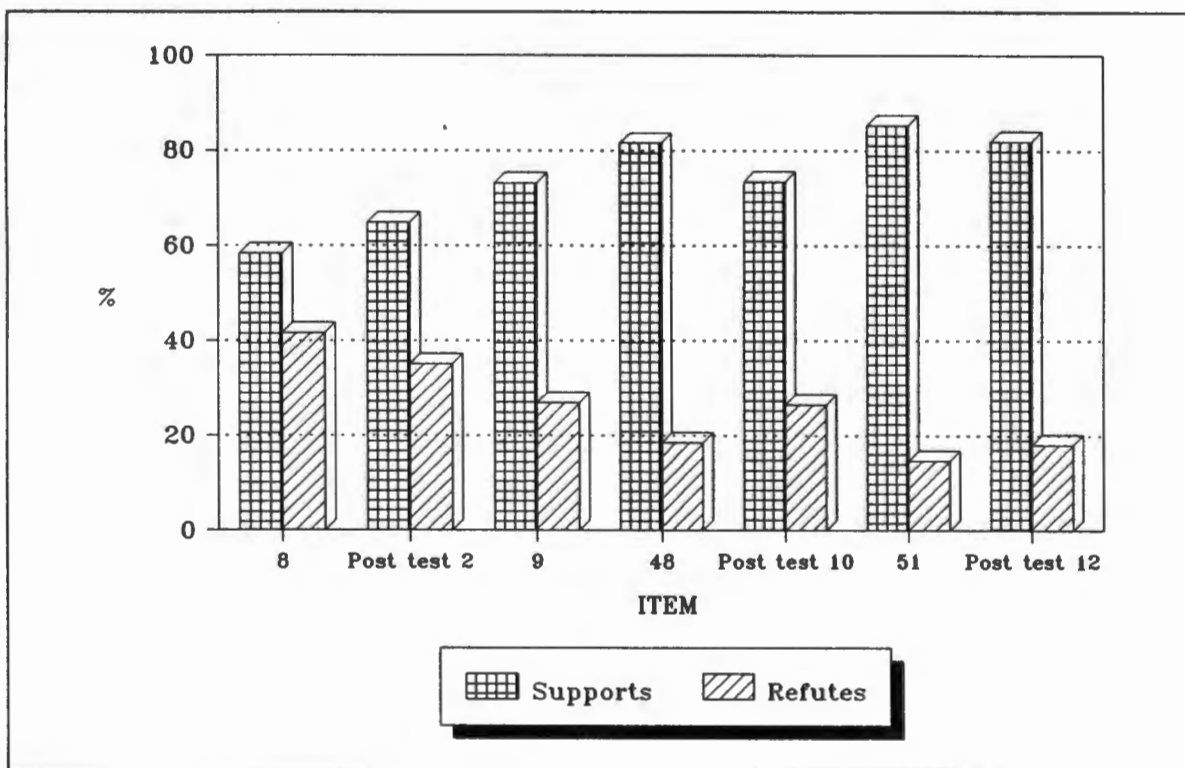
Other people were dancing while others were preparing food for the guests. (Incorrect). 85,2% had this item incorrect. 14,8% judged this sentence to be incorrect and corrected it. This result supports hypothesis 6.

POSTTEST Item 12

Other people are rich and do not need bursaries, but others need money. (Incorrect). 81,9% had this item incorrect. 18,1% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 6. The items in the test and the posttest support the hypothesis. The results are reflected in table 3 and graph 3.

Table 3: Adjectives

ITEM	SUPPORTS HYPOTHESIS (%)	REFUTES HYPOTHESIS (%)
TEST 8	58,3	41,7
POSTTEST 2	64,9	35,1
TEST 9	73,1	26,9
TEST 48	81,5	18,5
POSTTEST 10	73,4	26,6
TEST 51	85,2	14,8
POSTTEST 12	81,9	18,1



Graph 3: Adjectives

4. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are short words normally placed before nouns or pronouns (Thomson & Martinet, 1980:69). Verbs and prepositions usually form an expression (Thomson & Martinet, 1980:295).

Hypothesis 7:

In the IL of black students 1) wrong combinations of preposition and verb are formed; 2) sometimes a preposition is omitted.

TEST Item 11

The students discussed about their work with the lecturer. (Incorrect). 69,7% had this item incorrect. 30,3% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 7.

POSTTEST Item 19

Therefore he should discuss about all his problems with his colleagues. (Incorrect). 60,8% had this incorrect. 39,2% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 7.

TEST Item 12

I had to fill many forms before I was accepted as a student at this college. (Incorrect). 94,5% had this item incorrect. (They judged the sentence as correct). 5,5% judged this sentence as incorrect. This result supports hypothesis 7.

TEST Item 13

The crowd cheered up the soccer player as he was dribbling the ball past his opponent. (Incorrect). 95,9% had this item incorrect. 4,1% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 7.

POSTTEST Item 18

A teacher should be able to cope up with many difficult situations. (Incorrect). 81,5% had this item incorrect. 18,5% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 7.

TEST Item 14

As I am very good at Mathematics, I decided to take it as a subject. (Correct). 46,5% had this item incorrect. 53,5% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 7.

TEST Item 15

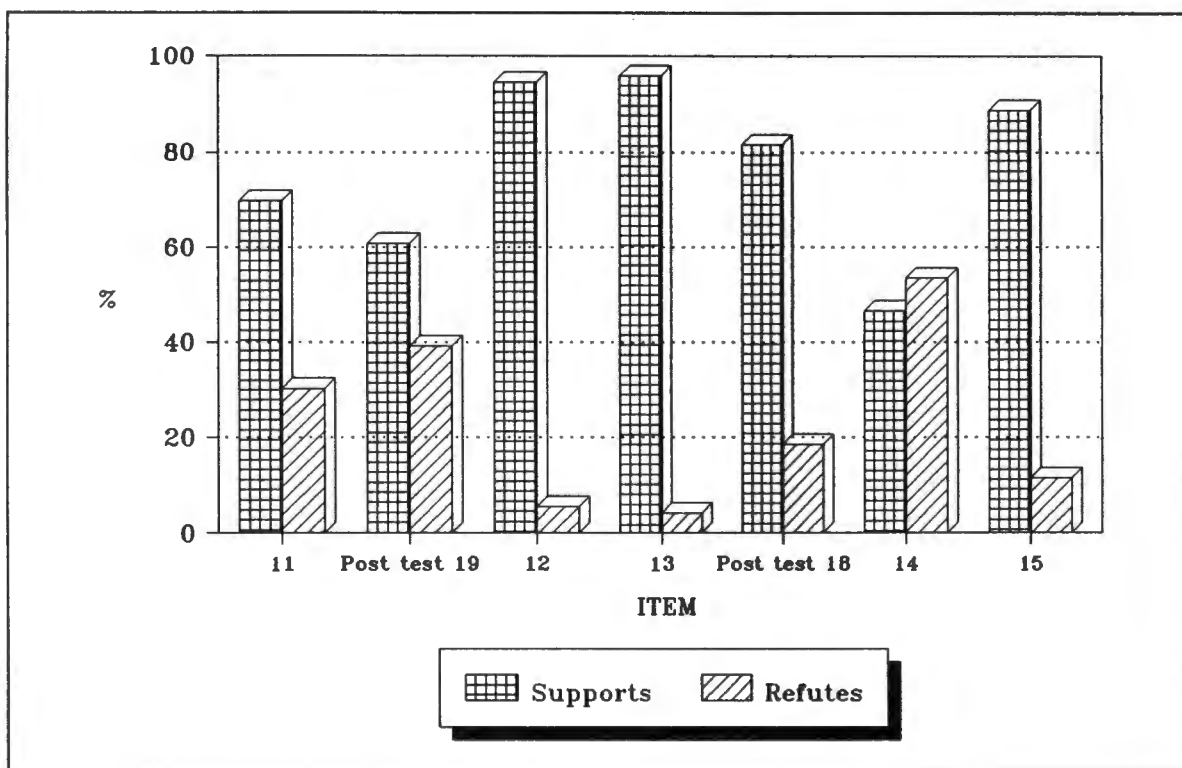
It was announced in radio and television that people must be vaccinated against flu. (Incorrect). 88,6% had this item incorrect. (They regarded the sentence as correct). 11,45%

had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 7.

Of the seven items six (85%) support the hypothesis. It would seem that the students have a problem with prepositions. *Discuss about* and *cope up* or *cheer up* seem to be fixed expressions. The results are reflected in table 4 and graph 4.

Table 4: Prepositions

ITEM	SUPPORTS HYPOTHESIS (%)	REFUTES HYPOTHESIS (%)
TEST 11	69,7	30,3
POSTTEST 19	60,8	39,2
TEST 12	94,5	5,5
TEST 13	95,9	4,1
POSTTEST 18	81,5	18,5
TEST 14	46,5	53,5
TEST 15	88,6	11,5



Graph 4: Prepositions

5. PRONOUNS

Hypothesis 8:

Black speakers do not always distinguish between masculine and feminine he and she, but use them interchangeably.

TEST Item 24

Mary did not want to lend me his dress to go to the party. (Incorrect). 62,7% had this item incorrect. 37,3% had this item correct. This supports hypothesis 8.

Hypothesis 9:

Very often they use a personal pronoun in the place of a definite article.

TEST Item 20

If you need help, you can count on my support. (Correct). 30,9% had this item incorrect. 69,1% judged this sentence to be correct. This refutes hypothesis 9.

TEST Item 21

It was my first time to visit the zoo. (Incorrect). 91,9% had this item incorrect. 8,1% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 9.

POSTTEST Item 15

It was my first time to have a friend at university. (Incorrect). 76,5% had this incorrect. 23,5% had this correct. This result supports hypothesis 9.

Hypothesis 10:

Black students tend to repeat pronouns.

TEST Item 22

Some of the students at the college I was with them at school. (Incorrect). 69,4% had this item incorrect. 30,6% saw the sentence as incorrect and corrected it. This result supports hypothesis 10.

TEST Item 23

Here are four apples: take them along to school. (Correct). 47,9% had this item incorrect. 52,1% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 10.

TEST Item 25

Alpheus found the cave where the murderer was staying in it. (Incorrect). 52,8% had this item incorrect. 47,2% had this

item correct. This result supports hypothesis 10.

TEST Item 26

Take the bag in which I have put the clothes. (Correct). 20,7% had this item incorrect. 79,3% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 10.

TEST Item 27

Some of the spectators they became wet when it started raining. (Incorrect). 23,9% had this item incorrect. 76,3% judged the sentence as incorrect. This refutes hypothesis 10.

POSTTEST Item 13

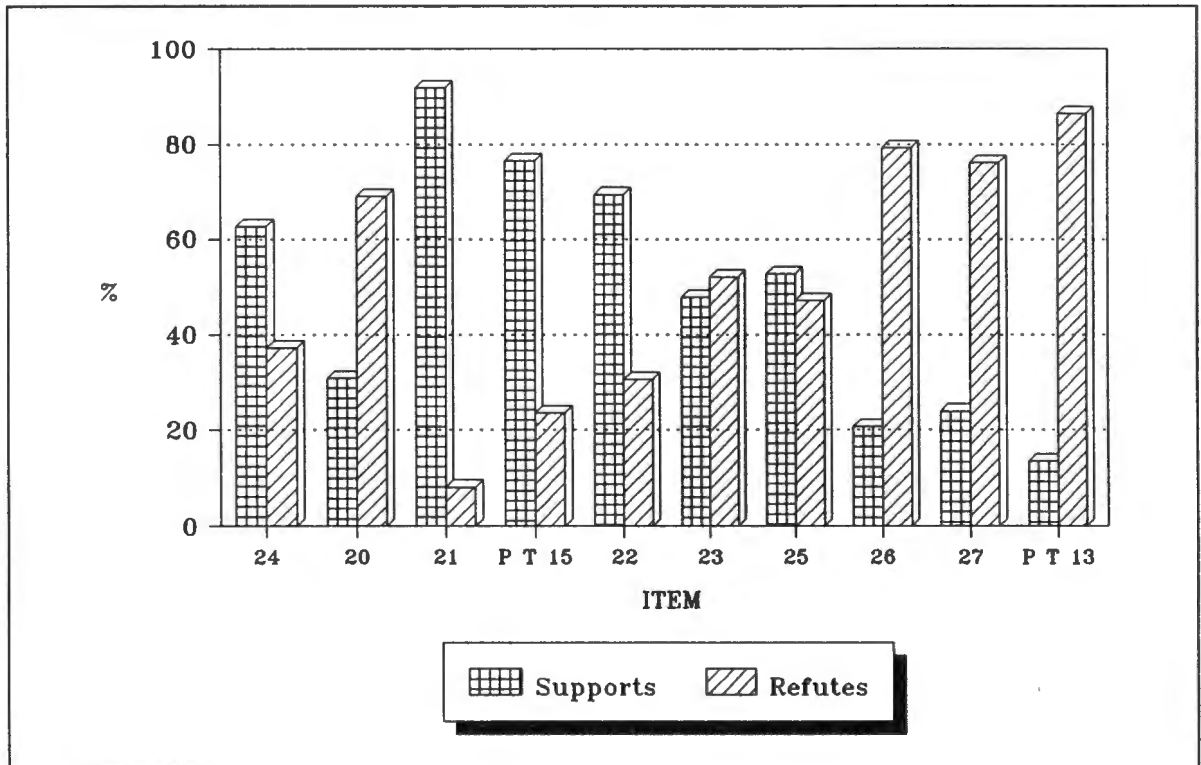
My friend he is already attending the University of the North. (Incorrect). 13,5% had this incorrect. 86,5% had this correct. This result does not support hypothesis 10. Once again it may be that tuition had managed to de-fossilize the errors in the use of pronouns.

Of the six items two (33%) support the hypothesis that black students tend to repeat pronouns. The item in the posttest does not support the hypothesis, so it may be the structure has de-fossilized. The results are reflected in table 5 and graph 5.

Table 5: Pronouns

ITEM	SUPPORTS HYPOTHESIS (%)	REFUTES HYPOTHESIS (%)
TEST 24	62,7	37,3
TEST 20	30,9	69,1
TEST 21	91,9	8,1
POSTTEST 15	76,5	23,5
TEST 22	69,4	30,6

TEST 23	47,8	52,2
TEST 25	52,8	47,2
TEST 26	20,7	79,3
TEST 27	23,9	76,1
POSTTEST 13	13,5	86,5



Graph 5: Pronouns

6. VERBS

Hypothesis 11:

In sentences where either the gerund or the infinitive may be used, black students tend to use both.

TEST Item 16

When I refused to give him the money, the man started to beating me. (Incorrect). 13,3% had this item incorrect. 86,7% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 11.

TEST Item 17

John likes going to church on Sundays. 25,8% had this item incorrect. (Correct). 74,2% had the item correct. This refutes hypothesis 11.

From the above it is clear that the hypothesis was proved false.

Continuous Tense:

Continuous Tenses are used to indicate action taking place at a certain time.

Hypothesis 12:

Black students use the Continuous Tenses where they should use the Present Indefinite.

TEST Item 18

My mother is having only standard eight and does not earn a lot of money. (Incorrect). 74,5% had this item incorrect. 25,5% had this item correct. This supports hypothesis 12.

POSTTEST Item 3

My mother is having only standard eight and does not earn a lot of money. (Incorrect). 73,9% had this incorrect. 26,1% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 12.

TEST Item 19

When Lydia knocked at the door, I was working on my assignment. (Correct). 23,6% had this item incorrect. 76,4% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 12.

It seems as if *is having* (to indicate possession) is a fixed expression. Of the three items two (66%) support the

hypothesis.

Auxiliaries: Can is used to express permission or possibility. Can can also be used in the place of am able as in can you type? (Are you able to type?). (Thomson & Martinet, 1980:120)

Hypothesis 13:

Blacks use both can and able in one sentence.

TEST Item 28

Would you buy me a new dress if you can be able?
(Incorrect). 51,3% had this item incorrect. 48,7% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 13.

TEST Item 29

Teenagers can look after their smaller brothers and sisters.
(Correct). 30,6% had this item incorrect. 69,4% had this item correct.

This refutes hypothesis 13. Can be able seems to be a fixed expression.

Hypothesis 14:

Black students often use the past participle form of the verb to be where they should use another form of the same verb.

TEST Item 30

The old man staggered out of the house been fatally wounded.
(Incorrect). 69% had this item incorrect. 31% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 14.

TEST Item 31

It has been a long time since they brought us some food to eat. (Correct). 22,5% had this item incorrect. 77,5% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 14. Of the two items one (50%) supports the hypothesis.

Concord:

Hypothesis 15:

Third person singular s is often omitted.

TEST Item 32

A teacher usually writes out his lessons beforehand. (Correct). 23,9% had this item incorrect. 76,1% had this correct. This refutes hypothesis 15.

TEST Item 33

If one smoke too much, one may get lung cancer. (Incorrect). 72,7% had this item incorrect. 27,3% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 15.

The above results are inconclusive. Perhaps students forget the third person singular *s* when it is used in connection with one.

Present Perfect:

Hypothesis 16:

Black students often omit the past participle form when they use a perfect tense. They often insert an auxiliary like am in a past tense construction.

TEST Item 34

She has planned her route of escape very carefully. (Correct). 33,6% had this item incorrect. 66,4% had this correct. This refutes hypothesis 16.

TEST Item 35

I have decide to become a teacher as I like children very much. (Incorrect). 48,3% had this item incorrect. 51,7% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 16.

TEST Item 36

I am matriculated at Moghaka High School last year. (Incorrect). 60,9% had this item incorrect. 39,1% had this item correct. This supports hypothesis 16. Two of the three items (66%) refute the hypothesis. It may be that the construction *am + past participle* has fossilized.

Past tense forms:

Hypothesis 17:

Students often use wrong past tense forms, especially when the words do not have a past tense form.

TEST Item 38

When I realized that they had been spreading rumours about me, I cutted all ties with them. (Incorrect). 74,9% had this item incorrect. 25,1% had this item correct. This supports hypothesis 17.

TEST Item 39

Our soccer team beat the team from Transvaal College in the match last Saturday. (Correct). 43,2% had this item incorrect. 56,8% had this item correct. This refutes

hypothesis 17. The results are inconclusive.

Negatives and Interrogatives:

Hypothesis 18:

Students often use wrong negative and interrogative constructions.

TEST Item 37

Jabulani did not wasted time when he heard that his mother was dying. (Incorrect). 41,3% had this item incorrect. 58,7% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 18.

TEST Item 40

Did he asked permission from the Rector to go home early? (Incorrect). 61,6% had this item incorrect. 38,4% had this item correct. This supports hypothesis 18.

TEST Item 41

Had she received a certificate before she started teaching? (Correct). 29,9% had this item incorrect. 70,1% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 18.

Infinitive:

Hypothesis 19:

Black students often use an infinitive plus a present participle.

TEST Item 42

I told them to be locking the doors as well. (Incorrect). 21% had this item incorrect. 79% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 19.

TEST Item 43

She said she wanted us to attend the important meeting the next day. (Correct). 39,1% had this item incorrect. 60,9% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 19.

Hypothesis 20:

To make a party is a fixed expression in the IL of Black students.

TEST Item 50

We made a big party when my brother turned twenty. (Incorrect). 84,5% had this item incorrect. 15,5% had this item correct. This supports hypothesis 20.

Conditional:

Hypothesis 21:

Students do not use the correct form of the conditional.

TEST Item 52

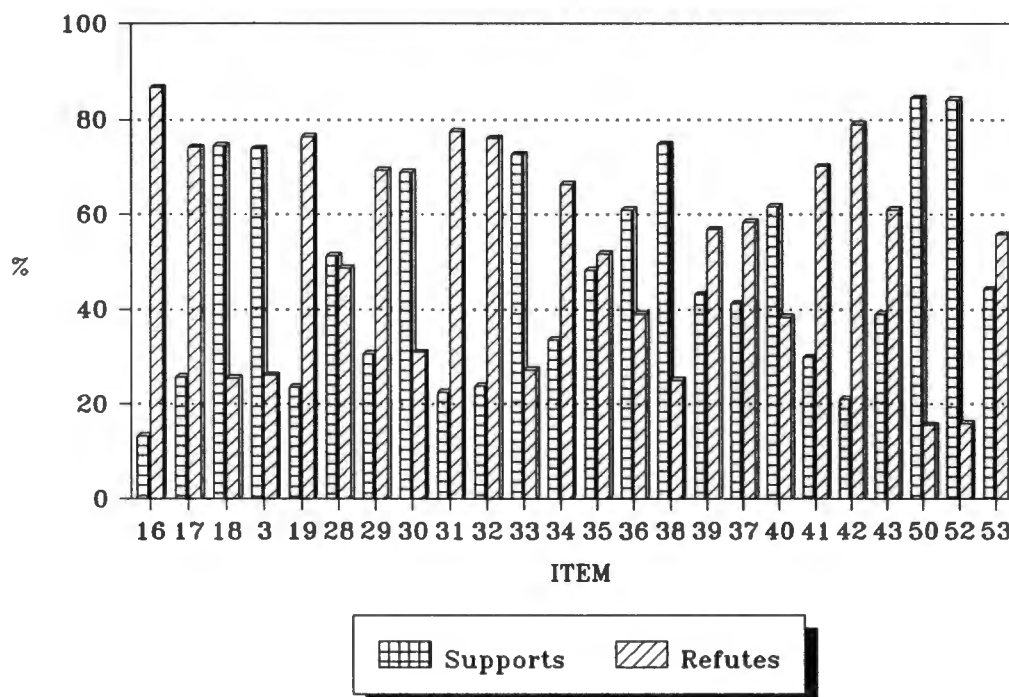
If it was not for Education many people would have suffered. (Incorrect). 84,2% had this item incorrect. 15,8% had this item correct. This supports hypothesis 21.

TEST Item 53

If I were rich, I would buy my parents a big house. (Correct). 44,3% had this item incorrect. 55,7% had this item correct. This refutes hypothesis 21. It seems that the last item is a more obvious form of the conditional, and therefore most students knew the correct form. The results are reflected in table 6 and graph 6.

Table 6: Verbs

ITEM	SUPPORTS HYPOTHESIS (%)	REFUTES HYPOTHESIS (%)
TEST 16	13,3	86,7
TEST 17	25,8	74,2
TEST 18	74,5	25,5
POSTTEST 3	73,9	26,1
TEST 19	23,6	76,4
TEST 28	51,3	48,7
TEST 29	30,6	69,4
TEST 30	69,0	31,0
TEST 31	22,5	77,5
TEST 32	23,9	76,1
TEST 33	72,7	27,3
TEST 34	33,6	66,4
TEST 35	48,3	51,7
TEST 36	60,9	39,1
TEST 38	74,9	25,1
TEST 39	43,2	56,8
TEST 37	41,3	58,3
TEST 40	61,6	38,4
TEST 41	29,9	70,1
TEST 42	21,0	79,0
TEST 43	39,1	60,9
TEST 50	84,5	15,5
TEST 52	84,2	15,8
TEST 53	44,3	55,7



Graph 6: Verbs

7. ADVERBS

Hypothesis 22:

Black students tend to use too instead of very.

TEST Item 45

Sarah would like to work in a restaurant as she likes cooking too much. (Incorrect). 78,9% had this item incorrect. 21,1% had this item correct. This supports hypothesis 22.

Hypothesis 23:

The adverb of time presently has to them the meaning at this moment.

TEST Item 46

Presently I am a student at Sebokeng College and I hope to pass at the end of the year. (Incorrect). 90% had this item incorrect. 10% had this item correct. This supports hypothesis 23.

Hypothesis 24:

Recently they regard as connected only to the remote past.

TEST Item 47

I have not seen him recently; but I hear that he has passed Matric. (Correct). 58,3% had this item incorrect. 41,7% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 24.

Hypothesis 25:

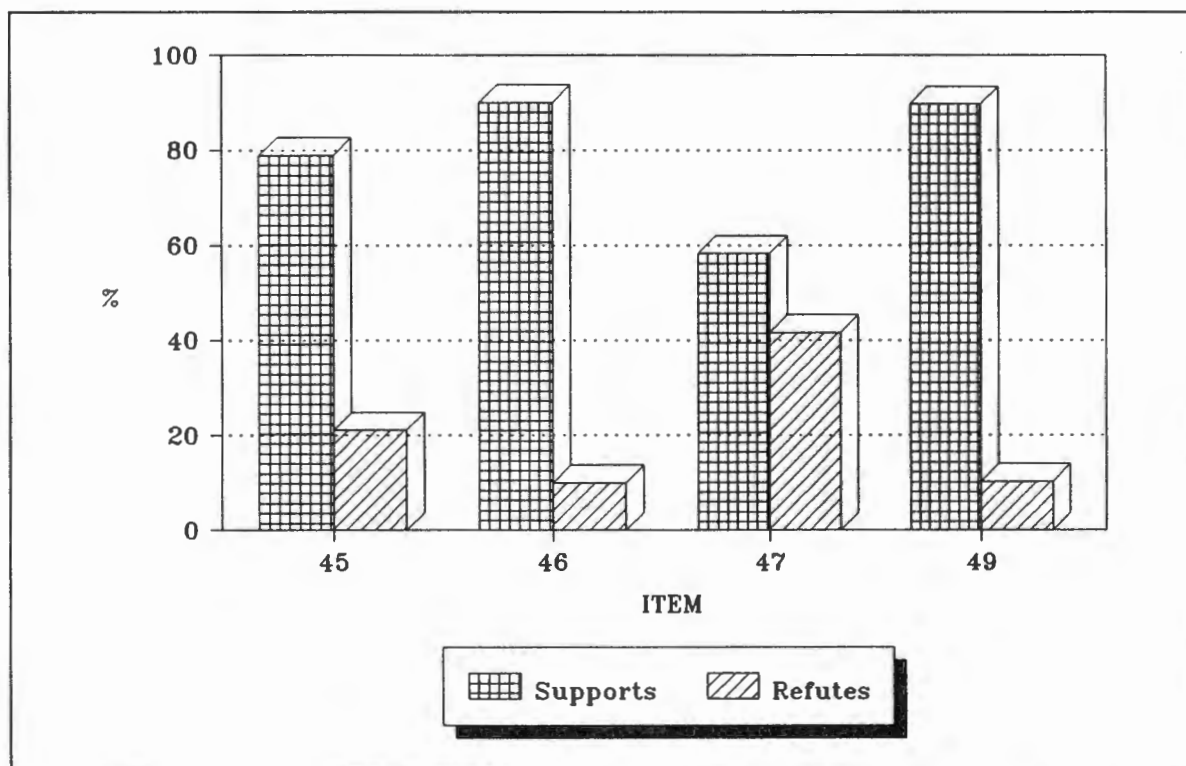
Slept late has to the students the meaning went to bed late.

TEST Item 49

We had much work to do and slept late, but woke up as usual at six o' clock. (Incorrect). 89,7% had this item incorrect. 10,3% had this item correct. This result supports hypothesis 25. The results are reflected in table 7 and graph 7.

Table 7: Adverbs

ITEM	SUPPORTS HYPOTHESIS (%)	REFUTES HYPOTHESIS (%)
TEST 45	78,9	21,1
TEST 46	90,0	10,0
TEST 47	58,3	41,7
TEST 49	89,7	10,3



Graph 7: Adverbs

5.4 A Comparison: Test and Posttest Results

A comparison between the same structures in the test and the posttest revealed the following:

1. ARTICLES

Test: Item 2: *Sarah is the good dancer...* (57,9% of the students regarded this item as correct).

Posttest: Item 25: *I had to attend the important meeting...* (91,4% of the students regarded this item as correct).

Test: Item 3: *People must realize that smoking is health hazard...* (86,3% regarded this item as correct).

Posttest: Item 17: *Drinking too much is health risk ...* (88,3% regarded this item as correct).

Test: Item 5: *My Matric results gave me a courage ...* (80% of the students regarded this item as correct).

Posttest: Item 1: *My Mother's tenacity gave me a courage ...* (73,9% regarded this item as correct).

The results seem to be more or less the same, except in the case of the first structure where more students accepted the wrong structure in the posttest.

2. NOUNS

Test: Item 7: *...he gave me many advices ...* (91,2% regarded this as correct).

Posttest: Item 9: *... teachers gave her many advices ...* (76,6% regarded this item as correct).

Test: Item 44: *I am a friendly somebody ...* (71,6% regarded this as correct).

Posttest: Item 23: *I am a somebody ...* (29,3% regarded this item as correct).

In the case of nouns there was a decrease in the number of students who regarded these structures as correct, especially in the last case.

3. ADJECTIVES

Test: Item 8: *These nowadays children ...* (58,3% of the students regarded this item as correct).

Posttest: Item 2: *These nowadays my mother ...* (64,9% regarded this as correct).

Test: Item 48: *...I had made some few mistakes...* (81,5% regarded this as correct).

Posttest: Item 10: *...applied to some few companies...* (73,4% of the students regarded this item as correct).

Test: Item 51: *Other people were dancing, while others ...*
(85,2% regarded this as correct).

Posttest: Item 12: *Other people are rich, but others need money ...* (60,8% regarded this as correct).

There was a decrease in the number of students who regarded the sentences as correct, except in the first case.

4. PREPOSITIONS

Test: Item 11: *The students discussed about their work ...*
(69,7% of the students regarded this item as correct).

Posttest: Item 19: *Therefore he should discuss about his problems ...* (60,8% regarded this as correct).

Test: Item 13: *The crowd cheered up the soccer player...*
(95,9% regarded this item as correct).

Posttest: Item 18: *A teacher should be able to cope up ...*
(81,5% of the students regarded this as correct).

There was a slight decrease in the number of students who regarded the wrong sentences as correct.

5. PRONOUNS

Test: Item 21: *It was my first time to visit the zoo ...*
(91,9% regarded this item as correct).

Posttest: Item 15: *It was my first time ...* (76,5% of the students regarded this as correct).

Test: Item 27: *Some of the spectators they became ...*
(23,9% regarded this as correct).

Posttest: Item 13: *My friend he is already ...* (13,5% regarded this item as correct).

Once again there was a decrease in the number of students who regarded the sentences as wrong. (Item 27 and Item 13 of the posttest refute the hypothesis).

6. VERBS

Test: Item 18: *My mother is having only standard eight ...*
(74,5% regarded this item as correct).

Posttest: Item 3: *My mother is having only standard eight*

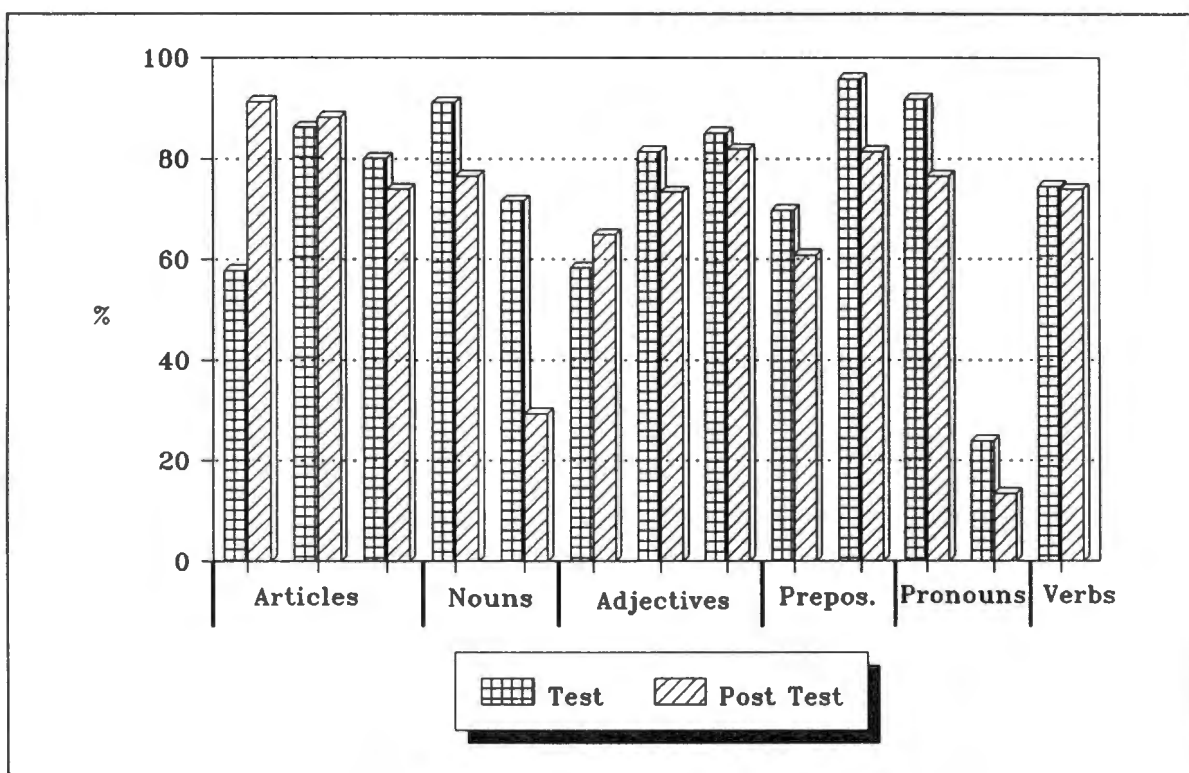
... (73,9% regarded this as correct).

As far as this particular structure is concerned, the results are more or less the same. In most of the posttest items the percentage of support was slightly lower. It therefore seems as if there was a slight improvement. The results of the posttest, however, still indicate that those particular structures are still regarded as correct by most of the students.

Table 8 and graph 8 reflect a comparison of the results of the same structures given in the test and the posttest.

Table 8: Comparison: Test and Posttest

CATEGORIES	TEST SUPPORTS (%)	POSTTEST SUPPORTS (%)
Articles	57,9	91,4
	86,3	88,3
	80,1	73,9
Nouns	91,2	76,6
	71,6	29,3
Adjectives	58,3	64,9
	81,5	73,4
	85,2	81,9
Prepositions	69,7	60,8
	95,9	81,5
Pronouns	91,9	76,5
	23,9	13,5
Verbs	74,5	73,9



Graph 8: Comparison: Test & Posttest

5.5 Conclusion

After the results of the test were evaluated it was decided to have a shorter posttest, and not to include many of the items which appeared in the test, as they did not seem to be typical of the students' IL. The structures which had the highest percentage of affirmative support in the test, were included in the posttest.

There are certain discrepancies in the test, i.e. some structures which are correct were regarded as incorrect by the majority of the students. This may have influenced the results (whether a hypothesis was supported or not), but the findings as far as many of the 'fossilized' structures are concerned, are important. The results of the test will be discussed in the next chapter.

There were twenty-five hypotheses posed as regards to the recurrent errors in the spoken and written work of black students. Sixty percent of these hypotheses were supported by the results. In the case of hypothesis 3, the test supported the hypothesis, but the posttest refuted it. It therefore seems as if tuition, or exposure to the correct structure, has resulted in the eradication of that

particular error. The same appears to have happened in the case of hypothesis 10. In some cases (like in Item 2 of the test and Item 25 of the posttest) the percentage of support increased, which may give an indication of the extent to which such an error has fossilized. The results of the test will be discussed in the next chapter.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

In the discussion of the results of the test and the posttest the erroneous structures are linked to similar structures found in the work of other researchers. Jordens (1980:195) points out that most studies in IL have been concerned with the identification and classification of errors in terms of the target language. In this study errors have been identified in terms of TL norms and then compared to other varieties of the TL, i.e. New Englishes. Possible causes for some of these deviant structures are given. An attempt is made to distinguish between mistakes and deviations. The concept of fossilization as opposed to the idea of an emerging dialect is reviewed. Finally, the findings of the study are supported by the views of researchers such as Ndebele (1987), Pierce (1989), Buthelezi (1989) and Meerkotter (1987).

6.2 Explanation of test results

It is very difficult to explain each and every error and to decide what the source of a specific error is. Should one describe these as errors or rather as deviations? Are we dealing with fossilized structures, or are we looking at a New English? (cf.1.1). The answer to such questions will have far-reaching effects on teaching. (The difference between mistakes, errors and deviations will be discussed in 6.3).

Bamgbose (1971:41) states that the problem posed by the existence of more than one variety "is probably most keenly felt by examiners of English who are forced to decide between right and wrong English it is difficult to decide what standard of education should be used to define the educated members of the society. How much local variation should be accepted? What is genuinely a local variant and what is merely an error?" Bamgbose (1971:41) believes that the problem of standard is easier when one deals with written English. In spoken English one has to contend

with problems of intelligibility and acceptability. These problems may be very relevant to written English as well.

Many deviations found in this study can be regarded as errors, similar to errors which crop up in the interlanguage of second language learners of English all over the world, (e.g. the omission of third person singular *s*, wrong past tense forms, and the wrong conditional) while others are similar to deviations which are prevalent in the English of speakers in the rest of Africa (cf.4.5). Buthelezi (1989:39) points out that one can distinguish between IL errors which are unstable, and fossilized structures which are features of South African Black English.

These deviations will now be discussed in terms of support found in the literature:

1. **ARTICLES** (Table 1 and graph 1 in previous chapter).

The following test and posttest items were regarded as correct by the students:

TEST

Item 2: *Sarah is the good dancer and would like to become a professional dancer.* (57,9% of the students regarded this item as correct).

Item 3: *People must realize that smoking is health risk and that smokers endanger other people's lives as well.* (86,3%).

Item 5: *My Matric results gave me a courage to apply for a bursary.* (80,1%).

POSTTEST

Item 1: *My mother's tenacity gave me a courage to study hard.* (73,9%).

Item 17: *People must realize that smoking is health risk and*

that smokers endanger other people's lives as well. (86,3%).

Item 25: *I had to attend the important meeting, but was too sleepy to concentrate on the proceedings. (91,4%).*

Kirk-Greene (1971:133) says of Nigerian English: "A marked case of local transference occurs in the non-use of the article, mostly the definite but on occasions the indefinite too ... Sometimes, of course, the opposite phenomenon occurs, and a redundant article appears".

He cites the following examples:

He won by strong majority.

He gave me tough time.

Examples of redundant articles are:

Before I say a cheerio.

Discuss matters in the public.

Sey (1973:29) supplies the following examples from Ghanaian English:

I am going to cinema.

I am going to post office.

Bokamba (1982:81) mentions two possible sources for these deviations: transfer from the native languages, as most African languages do not have overt articles; and analogy from Standard English itself, especially from expressions such as *I am going to school*. He believes that interference from African languages is the most important influence.

2. NOUNS (Table 2 and graph 2 in the previous chapter).

Students regarded the following expressions as correct:

TEST

Item 7: *I am very grateful to my former Biology teacher, because he gave me good advices. (91,2%).*

Item 10: *Thabo asked me to accompany him to the party, but I had many homeworks and refused to go. (76,4%).*

POSTTEST

Item 9: *The teachers at the school gave her many advices to apply for a bursary. (91,2%).*

Bokamba (1982:82) regards the 'redundant pluralizations of countable nouns' as very 'troublesome'. Kirk-Greene (1971:134) says "The redundant pluralisation of English uncountable nouns is a not uncommon example of a transferred morphological construction in primary sentence building". He gives the following example from Nigerian English:

I lost all my furnitures and many valuable properties.

Sey (1973:26) quotes the following examples from Ghanaian English:

*The teachers will be given the respects they deserve.
I was in charge of all correspondences.*

Gamaroff (1986:105) quotes the examples:

furnitures, cattles, fruits, practices, and advices from the English of Tswana speakers.

Kirk-Greene (1971) draws his examples from letters and published novelettes, so the implication is that this is the way advanced speakers use the language, whereas Sey (1973) takes his examples from the speech and writing of pre-university speakers.

Bokamba (1982:82) believes that the source for these

deviations lie in the semantic inconsistencies of English itself. African languages do make a distinction between countable and mass nouns, but the range of mass nouns is much more limited in African languages. Nouns such as *fish*, *chicken*, and *lamb* are always countable in most African languages.

Sey (1973:19) says the following about Ghanaian English: "A type of error which occurs often even at the higher stages involves grammatical markers: the use of the plural morpheme with uncountable nouns; the continuous tense form *-ing* with imperfective verbs (these are verbs which do not normally collocate with the *-ing* form except in special idiomatic cases); the subjunctive mood involving the anomalous finite verbs *shall*, *will*, *can*, and the past tense form; exceptional modes of negation; e.g.:

The storm caused many damages.

The man is having a baby.

I will like to thank you for your kindness."

Ngara (1983:36) regards errors such as *advices* and *an advice* as examples of overgeneralization of rules. (The over-application of the rule governing the singular and plural form of nouns).

In the test the students regarded item 44 as correct: *I am a friendly somebody who likes to talk to many people.* (71,6%).

In the posttest, however, only 29,3% regarded the following sentence as correct: *I am a somebody who likes friends and parties.*

The use of the word *somebody* to mean a person occurs in Nigerian English as well, as quoted by Kirk-Greene (1971:133): *You are a big somebody.*

3. PREPOSITIONS (Table 3 and graph 3 in the previous chapter).

Prepositions are often used incorrectly or omitted. In the test students regarded the following items as correct:

TEST

Item 11: *The students discussed about their work with the lecturer.* (69,7%).

Item 12: *I had to fill many forms before I was accepted as a student at this college.* (94,5%).

Item 13: *The crowd cheered up the soccer player as he was dribbling past his opponent.* (95,9%).

Item 15: *It was announced in radio and television that people must be vaccinated against flu.* (88,6%).

POSTTEST

Item 19: *Therefore he should discuss about all his problems with his colleagues.* (60%).

Item 18: *A teacher should be able to cope up with many difficult situations.* (81,5%).

Bamgbose (1982:106) cites examples such as: *voice out an opinion, discuss about and congratulate for from* Nigerian English. Spencer (1971:30) gives the examples of *dress up* (getting dressed), and *on seat* (meaning in the office) from West African English. Kirk-Greene (1971:138) quotes *to cope up with my work* from Nigerian English. Ngara (1975:7) also quotes the example of *to cope up with my work*: "This is a very common mistake in English speaking Africa from Cape Town to Freetown. Perhaps it should be accepted as a feature of 'African English'". He regards these errors as the result of incomplete learning.

Sey (1973:46) points out that errors in prepositions as far as Ghanaian English is concerned, can be divided into three categories:

1. the wrong prepositions used
2. a preposition used where one is not required,
3. a preposition is omitted where one is required.

Sey (1973:47) also quotes the example of *to cope up with work* and *discussed about*. Buthelezi (1989:54) explains that South African blacks use the verb *discuss* intransitively with *about*, which may be the result of overgeneralization.

4. PRONOUNS (Table 5 and graph 5 in the previous chapter).

The following items were regarded as correct by the students:

TEST

Item 22: *Some of the students at the college I was with them at school.* (69,4%).

Item 25: *Alpheus found the cave where the murderer was staying in it.* (52,8%).

Item 27: *Some of the spectators they became wet when it started raining.* (23,9%).

Bokamba (1982:83) mentions the interposing of an independent subject pronoun between a subject noun and the verb as another deviant form. The following examples were taken from Bantu language speakers:

The boys they like to play outside.

Robert he is currently employed by the Unesco.

According to Bokamba the source may be the redundancy found in the subject-verb agreement system in Bantu languages. He (1982:8) points to another deviation: "the occurrence of

resumptive anaphoric pronouns in non-subject relativization":

The book which I bought it is lost.

The guests whom I invited them have arrived.

Bokamba (1982:84) states that these structures are so widespread in West and East African English that the deviation is most probably caused by transference from the mother tongue. Ngara (1975:5) calls these errors "literal translations from the mother tongue".

5. VERBS (Table 6 and graph 6 in the previous chapter).

The items which were regarded as correct by the students are:

TEST

Item 18: *My mother is only having standard eight and does not earn a lot of money.* (74,5%).

POSTTEST

Item 3: *My mother is having only standard eight and does not earn a lot of money.* (73,9%).

Gamaroff (1986:105) notes the excessive use of the Present Progressive among Tswana speakers. Bamgbose (1971:38) recorded the use of the Present Progressive Tense in the speech of educated Nigerian speakers, especially the expression *are having* as in *They are having a king*.

Kachru (1986:40) also quotes the example:

Mohan is having two houses from Indian English.

The following item was regarded as correct:

Item 28: *Would you buy me a new dress if you can be able.* (51,3%).

Ngara (1983:36) says that the deviant for can be able is caused by the overgeneralization of the rule for can. (As in can walk, can be done, etc.)

6. ADVERBS (Table 7 and graph 7 in the previous chapter).

The following items were regarded as correct:

TEST

Item 45: *Sarah would like to work in a restaurant as she likes cooking too much.* (78,9%).

Kirk-Greene (1971:137) mentions the fact that West Africans use too for very, like in *I am too happy*, and *I like French too much*.

Item 51: *Other people were dancing while others were preparing food for the guests.* (85,2%).

Ngara (1975:4) states that the expression *the others ... the others* is common to all the Southern Bantu languages.

Buthlezi (1989:55) believes that this error occurs as a result of mother tongue interference, because in some black languages like Zulu there is a construction with two similar elements.

Item 46: *Presently I am a student at Sebokeng College and I hope to pass at the end of the year.* This sentence was regarded as correct by the students. (90%).

Gamaroff (1986:134) points out that Tswana speakers of English use *presently* in a sentence like *Mr Opperman is presently owning a hair salon* to describe something in the present.

6.3 Mistakes or Deviations?

Kachru (1982:45) distinguishes between 'mistakes' and 'deviations'

in the following way: "A 'mistake' may be unacceptable by a native speaker since it does not belong to the linguistic 'norm' of the English language; it cannot be justified with reference to the sociocultural context of a non-native variety; and it is not the result of the productive processes used in an institutionalized non-native variety of English. On the other hand, a 'deviation' has the following characteristics: it is different from the norm in the sense that it is the result of a productive process which marks the typical variety-specific features; and it is systemic within a variety, and is not idiosyncratic".

According to Kachru's definitions cases where the majority of students accepted an incorrect form can be regarded as deviations. With reference to the test most of the errors in the section on verbs (tenses and concord) were regarded as mistakes and were therefore not repeated in the posttest.

Kachru (1986:28) believes that these "innovations and their semantic extensions or restrictions are ... indicative of acculturation of English in new sociocultural and linguistic contexts, and reflect its acceptance as a vehicle of non-native social norms and ecological needs".

6.4 Fossilization or a New Dialect?

The aim of this study was to determine whether the recurring language errors in the IL of the students can be regarded as fossilized (cf.1.1). According to the findings of the empirical study, it seems as if many of the structures have fossilized in the IL of the black students tested.

Selinker (1972) has identified the phenomenon of fossilization as the most crucial problem in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory. Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:8) point out that IL usually denotes an unstable system, whereas the fossilized structures in Indian English that Selinker mentions "are stable characteristics of the variety and not only of the learners' languages and have persisted across generations ... For the majority of speakers of Indian English the so-called 'fossilized' structures are 'normal'

structures, and they have no others in their competence".

Long (1985a:83) believes that natural language teaching of the sort advocated by Krashen and Terrell can have the unfortunate side effect of leading to early fossilization of a simplified code. He also (1985:87) believes that SLA through 'natural' language teaching cannot be likened to pidginogenesis as the latter is characterized by the immediate use of a simplified code to satisfy basic communicative needs and by restricted and deviant input.

Richards (1974:46), however, finds similarities between pidginization and some cases of second language learning: "We frequently find instances of a similar process in a normal second language setting. The communicative demands made on the second language may far outpace the speaker's actual competence in the second language, thus the speaker may have to create the means of expressing relations for which the language course has not prepared him".

Appel and Muysken (1987:181) comment: "In the imperfect second language learning theory creoles are the crystallization of some stages in the developmental sequence. The speakers of the proto-creole simply did not have sufficient access to the model, and had to make up an approximative system".

In black society there are basically three main causes for the emergence of a deviant system or dialect:

1. the deviant input,
2. the lack of any contact with native speakers, and
3. the heavy communication demands put upon the speakers before they are competent. These factors do not only account for the deviant forms in their English, but also explain their dependence on formulaic speech (cf. 3.3.1, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3).

Appel and Muysken's (1987:92) observation is of vital importance for the findings of this study: "When the interlanguage of many learners fossilizes at the same point for a certain structure, a new variety of the target language may develop. Massive

second-language learning fosters language change".

Selinker et al. (1975:150) comment on the IL of English children in French immersion classes: " ... the fact that children in French immersion classes may live isolated from francophones their own age level leads us to ask to what point this IL will evolve towards a pidgin or dialect of its own. Pidginization occurred historically at least in the sociolinguistic setting of language contact. Thus we may in fact be witnessing here one of the major mechanisms of language change in the development of a new dialect in French".

It is obvious that the issue is not whether the deviations constitute fossilization or a developing new dialect, but that it must be accepted that massive (Appel and Muysken's term) second language teaching leads to fossilization which may give rise to a new dialect.

Adjemian (1976:318) writes about the permeability or not of an IL and states: "An interesting conjecture at this point might be that if we were to find a (hypothetical and ideal) IL that had developed overall stability at some point, we might be able to consider it a new pidgin or dialect, or true grammar of the TL" (cf.2.4.1 and 2.4.3).

It seems as if the permeability of the IL of the black students at Sebokeng College has almost completely been lost, and therefore a new dialect may be emerging.

Preston (1989:104) states that fossilization (he calls it the arresting of progress) is like the creation of a new variety. If a specific community observes their interlanguage as a distinct autonomous medium of communication, fossilization will be regarded by that community as a positive phenomenon, as it reveals the community's increasing compactness. Group solidarity may then not only influence fossilization, but also strengthen it. An individual may experience fossilization as a negative phenomenon, especially when it removes him from a target group.

Macdonald (1988:122) distinguishes between phonological fossilization and nonphonological variation: "There can be fossilization in the second language of preadolescents who live in the ethnic community. This fossilization is primarily phonological in nature and is related to the age at which the child begins acquisition of the second language. In contrast, nonphonological variation does not appear to be the result of fossilization. It, as well as some phonological variation, is influenced by the sociocultural environment to which the child is exposed". According to Schumann (1976, 1978) the sociocultural environment can be seen as one of the causes of fossilization.

Goldstein (1987:431) states very clearly that the target of learners may not be the standard variety, but Black English, for instance, in which case one cannot speak of fossilization, because the target was a non-native variety.

Berns (1988:37) explains how the languages of the colonizers were adapted to the circumstances of the local inhabitants: "The results of this adaptation, or nativization, are distinct sub-varieties of English, for example Nigerian English ... Each subvariety has its own distinguishing features, not only in the obvious features of pronunciation ... but also in lexical items, syntax, meaning and uses".

Edwards (1985:19) says: "A dialect is a variety of a language which differs from other varieties in terms of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (accent). Dialects are often distinguished from languages on the basis that unlike the latter, they are mutually intelligible". He (1985:20) does not believe that mutual intelligibility is a valid criterion, as there are degrees of intelligibility.

Petyt (1980:20) suggests that two other criteria supplementary to the intelligibility notion should be provided: if groups who differ in speech patterns share a common written form, they may be said to speak different dialects. This may be the case in South Africa, where there may be a variety of spoken dialects of English, but the written form (in literature and in the press, e.g. in *The*

Sowetan) is still Standard English.

Gregory and Carroll (1978:7) comment on the fact that many English and Canadian speakers of French control both a standard and a non-standard dialect in different situations. This is referred to as a diglossic situation. Ferguson (1971:16) defines diglossia as follows: "Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard) there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learnt largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any other sector of the community for ordinary conversation". This may also happen in South Africa among some black speakers if they are aware of a form other than the one they use every day. The number of blacks who are able to use more than one variety may be only restricted to those who have been taught the standard variety and they may use the other variety when they speak to other blacks.

The second criterion Petyt (1980:20) mentions is that of political allegiances. Very often language varieties are not considered as dialects, because they are not mutually intelligible, but because they are spoken by people in one political state, they are referred to as dialects.

6.5 The Findings of This Study

Spencer (1971:28) writes about English in West Africa and points out that it is very difficult to establish how widespread a particular local variety of English is: "There is certainly a sufficiency of terms and expressions peculiar to the use of English in this region to justify the term West Africanism even if it is not in many cases easy to say how widespread they are or how permanent they are likely to be".

It is not possible to decide on the basis of the findings of this

study that there is an emerging dialect of English in South Africa, because the study population was too small. If, however, the results of this study are compared to what researchers such as Lanham (1985), Buthelezi (1989) and Zotwana (1989) say about the existence of a Black South African dialect (cf.4.5), and what Kachru (1982, 1985 & 1986) and Platt et al. (1984) say about the characteristics of a New English (cf.4.4) the case for an emerging dialect may seem stronger.

Buthelezi (1989:38) says that there is an "emerging dialect of English used by some Blacks" (cf.4.5), whereas Zotwana (1989:274) states that the Black Consciousness Movement of the sixties contributed to the development of "the Black South African English".

Ndebele (1987:13) says: "Firstly, South African English must be open to the possibility of its becoming a new language. This may happen not only at the level of vocabulary (notice how the word 'necklace' has acquired a new and terrible meaning) but also with regard to grammatical adjustments that may result from the proximity of English to indigenous African languages ".

Peirce (1989:413) regards this whole issue from a political point of view and states that 'People's English' is not a New English such as Indian English as it does not operate within a sociolinguistic frame of reference. People's English is different from 'Apartheid English,' and not different from British English (cf.4.7).

Meerkotter (1987:143) also links the status of English in South Africa to the political situation: English should become the lingua franca as "such a situation could unify all the citizens in a Southafricanised version of English". By 'Southafricanised version' he seems to mean Black English (1987:140): "The emergence of Black English as a different but not necessarily inferior variation of English in South Africa is continued by the constant and ever increasing flow of poetry, prose and drama which carry the spirit of Black consciousness".

Adendorff (1991:72) states: "What emerges, therefore, is the perception that a new South Africa needs its own English - an English that is useful, an English that promotes unity, and an English, I might add, that will express solidarity with the rest of Africa and with the commonwealth".

Luzuka (1987:160) stresses the fact that English can become an African language: "What is, therefore, urgently required is for English in Africa to be liberated from the Oxbridge linguistic museum. As a major all Africa language English must strive for independence from Britain, cast off those chains that render it lame, submissive, apologetic".

Whether Black South African English will develop further and gain more status will be determined to a very large extent by the political development in this country over the next few years. Petyt (1980:21) points out that the power and social prestige of the speakers will determine the status of the dialect.

6.6 Pedagogical Implications of an Emerging Dialect

Platt et al. (1984:164) stress the teacher's dilemma: What must they teach? Standard English or the New English? Teachers need a model. Platt et al. (1984:164) suggest that terms such as appropriate and inappropriate should be used rather than correct and incorrect. There is a difference between learning English as a foreign language and learning it in a country where it is used as medium of instruction and where it has already been established as a variety in its own right.

Two perspectives should be considered (Platt et al., 1984:163):

1. An established New English can be considered a functional variety, used for many communicative purposes in the community.
2. Many of the New Englishes are still developing varieties. Children who speak other languages at home have to be taught English as a subject. If the New English is chosen as model, it should be the variety spoken by educated speakers of that

New English. That poses another problem: How does one define an 'educated' speaker?

The education authorities can decide to keep Standard English as standard, or to accept local varieties. Kachru (1985:213) states: " ... it is possible to choose between an idealized exo-normative model and an institutionalized endo-normative model". According to Kachru (1985:213) the development usually follows a series of overlapping stages: At first the local model is not accepted, and this is followed by a period in which there are some degrees of success in teaching the standard variety (the exo-normative model)(cf.4.2). "The third stage shows less discrepancy between the norm and the behavior: the localized (educated) norm is recognized by contextualizing the teaching materials to fit the local sociocultural situations, by recognizing the intranational uses of English, and by accepting local creative writing in English as part of national writing".

It remains to be seen whether South African Black English will ever become a fully institutionalized variety, but it is evident that the variety exists, and that it will not easily be eradicated, even if the South African society becomes completely integrated.

6.7 Conclusion

Sridhar and Sridhar's (1986:12) comment that SLA studies do not take cognizance of the differences between SLA in a TL environment and the acquisition of an indigenized variety (IVE) stresses the fact that much more research should be done on IVEs (cf.4.1 and 4.3). Studies which have been done in the field of indigenized varieties have been mainly "descriptive and atheoretical, rather than based on rigorous and systematic empirical research". The observation is supported by the lack of empirical data with which to compare the findings of this study.

Findings by researchers such as Bamgbose (1971), Sey (1973), Kirk-Greene (1971) and Bokamba (1982) seem to rely to a very large extent on anecdotal evidence or evidence found in speech and writing of the inhabitants of certain countries (cf.4.3). Yet this

evidence proved to be invaluable to the findings of this study, as they serve to reinforce the conviction that the various erroneous structures presented in the tests deviate so much and so consistently from Standard English that recognition of a distinct variety or dialect will become necessary in future.

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to give a summary of the study undertaken. The answer to the question stated in the purpose of the study: has the language of black students fossilized to such an extent that de-fossilization is impossible?, cannot be given in unequivocal terms. It is therefore suggested that more research should be done to establish whether these deviances also characterize the English spoken by blacks in the rest of South Africa.

7.2 Summary and conclusion

The incentive for this study emerged from the realisation of the startling regular recurrence of the same grammatical errors in the spoken as well as the written English of black students at Sebokeng College of Education over the years. In spite of consistent efforts to eradicate these errors their occurrence remained unacceptably high. The conviction grew that these deviant structures were so embedded in the IL of students that they were regarded by most black students as the norm.

The main aim of the study undertaken was therefore to determine whether certain deviant expressions have fossilized to such an extent that the emergence of a distinct dialect, or New English has to be acknowledged. It was hypothesised that the students' IL has fossilized to such an extent that a distinct dialect was developing (cf.1.3).

A thorough study of literature on Interlanguage (IL) revealed that IL can be regarded as a process (Selinker, 1972 and Rutherford, 1984) or as a product (Corder 1981a). Selinker et al. (1975:140) point out that IL can be seen as a product if a group shares the same IL and if there is mutual intelligibility among speakers of the same IL. In this study IL was therefore regarded as a product.

Selinker (1972) believes that fossilization is one of the most crucial issues of IL. Specific causes of fossilization, such as the acquisition of deviant forms, insufficient quantity of input (Krashen 1985), psychological and social distance from the target group (Schumann 1976), and emphasis on communication (Selinker & Lamendella 1978) seem to be applicable to the situation in which black students learned English. They therefore appear to be good candidates for fossilization. Fossilization also seems to persist. Case studies by Bruzzese (1977) and Stauble (1978), inter alia, reveal the persistence of fossilization once it has set in. Mukattash (1986) found that explicit grammatical teaching over a period of six years could not eradicate the grammatical errors made by his students. The views of Kachru (1982 & 1985), Sridhar and Sridhar (1989) and Platt et al. (1984) on institutionalized versions of English and New Englishes serve as justification for the assumption that the IL black students use can be regarded as an emerging dialect of English.

It was decided to use a grammaticality judgment test to determine whether certain incorrect structures are regarded as correct by the students. The sentences used for the test were taken from the written work of students, and correct sentences were added. Sentences were grouped into seven grammatical categories. Twenty-five hypotheses were formulated with regards to the erroneous structures.

After the data in the test given to the students were analysed it was decided to give a posttest on some of the structures tested in the original test. Some of the hypotheses posed in the research were proved to be false, but the majority of the hypotheses (15 out of 25 hypotheses = 60%) proved to be correct. It therefore seems as if certain deviant expressions have definitely fossilized to such an extent that de-fossilization is not possible, and that one can assume that a distinct dialect is developing.

This assumption is supported by evidence found in the literature on similar 'deviations' found in other parts of Africa, as well as in New Englishes world wide.

As far as the problems stated in Chapter 1 are concerned, the results of the test and the posttest seem to indicate that most (two-thirds) of the erroneous structures in the students' IL fossilized to such an extent that de-fossilization was impossible. The hypothesis given in Chapter 1 was supported by the findings of the empirical study.

The question whether the fossilized expressions of black students should be regarded as mere fossilization, and therefore as an issue which may be rectified or eradicated, or whether these utterances should be regarded as elements of a New English, does have important implications for education in South Africa.

Bamgbose (1991:102) says that the question of the model taught at school level has become increasingly important: "English as a second language in African countries has developed its own characteristics. The teaching corps has been largely indigenized and, in most secondary schools, one cannot even find a native speaker of English. This means, in effect, that those who determine standards of correctness are second language speakers whose usage differs from that of native speakers". Bamgbose believes that the indigenized version should be accepted, both as spoken and written language. The opinion expressed by Appel and Muysken (1987:11) may provide an additional reason why South African Black English may become a recognized indigenized New English: "Language is not only an instrument for the communication of messages ... with its language a group distinguishes itself. The cultural norms and values of a group are transmitted by its language. Group feelings are emphasized by using the group's own language and members of the outgroup are excluded from its internal transactions". Group solidarity linked to the growing number of black speakers of English may precipitate the general acceptance of South African Black English.

7.3 Recommendations for further research

Although this study is a descriptive study and the findings are limited to a small number of students at a specific institution, the indications are that at least a few of these expressions are

used by the majority of blacks throughout the whole of South Africa. Future research should endeavour to establish whether there are indications of a widespread use of these (and other) deviant expressions in order to find if it is possible to speak of a distinct South African Black English.

Another important aspect which is pointed out by Sridhar and Sridhar (1986:3) is that the study of indigenized varieties of English (IVEs) should not rely on findings from most Second Language Acquisition studies as they are two different phenomena. In South Africa we should therefore, as far as the study of black English is concerned, focus on the findings of IVE research. This area of research has been much neglected, and in South Africa there is much scope for further research in this area.

The complicated issue of medium of instruction in South African schools is far from being solved. The chances are very good that English will remain the medium of instruction for the majority of pupils in South African schools. Very little research has been done on the influence of language proficiency on the academic performance of pupils, and as the poor matric results of, especially the black pupils, are a major concern of many educationists, this issue need to be looked at in great detail. One aspect of this would probably be to consider the acceptance of a variety of English as medium of instruction (which is perhaps what is happening in the classrooms at the moment). Future research should, on the other hand, try to establish whether a diglossic situation may be the alternative, where the 'low' variety will be the spoken language, and the 'high' variety will be accepted as the language of education.

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APPENDIX 1

TEST

ENGLISH TEST

Some of the following sentences are correct and some are incorrect. Indicate whether the sentence is correct (C), or wrong (W).

ITEM 1. I am the fourth child in our family and my sisters have spoiled me.

ITEM 2. Sarah is the good dancer and would like to become a professional dancer.

ITEM 3. People must realize that smoking is health risk and that smokers endanger other people's lives as well.

ITEM 4. I attended boarding school as my parents lived in a rural area.

ITEM 5. My Matric results gave me a courage to apply for a bursary.

ITEM 6. Much money is spent on research to find a cure for Aids.

ITEM 7. I am very grateful to my former Biology teacher, because he gave me many good advices.

ITEM 8. These nowadays children do not respect their superiors and they can be quite rude.

ITEM 9. These are the things I like: chocolates and ice-cream, sweets and chips.

ITEM 10. Thabo asked me to accompany him to the party, but I had many homeworks and refused to go.

ITEM 11. The students discussed about their work with the

lecturer.

ITEM 12. I had to fill many forms before I was accepted as a student at this college.

ITEM 13. The crowd cheered up the soccer player as he was dribbling the ball past his opponent.

ITEM 14. As I am very good at Mathematics, I decided to take it as a subject.

ITEM 15. It was announced in radio and television that people must be vaccinated against flu.

ITEM 16. When I refused to give him the money, the man started to beating me.

ITEM 17. John like going to church on Sundays.

ITEM 18. My mother is having only standard eight and does not earn a lot of money.

ITEM 19. When Lydia knocked at the door, I was working on my assignment.

ITEM 20. If you need help, you can count on my support.

ITEM 21. It was my first time to visit the zoo.

ITEM 22. Some of the students at the college I was with them at school.

ITEM 23. Here are four apples: take them along to school.

ITEM 24. Mary did not want to lend me his dress to go to the party.

ITEM 25. Alpheus found the cave where the murderer was staying in it.

- ITEM 26. Take the bag in which I have put the clothes.
- ITEM 27. Some of the spectators they became wet when it started raining.
- ITEM 28. Would you buy me a new dress if you can be able?
- ITEM 29. Teenagers can look after their smaller brothers and sisters.
- ITEM 30. The old man staggered out of the house been fatally wounded.
- ITEM 31. It has been a long time since they brought us some food to eat.
- ITEM 32. A teacher usually writes out his lessons beforehand.
- ITEM 33. If one smoke too much, one may get lung cancer.
- ITEM 34. She has planned her route of escape very carefully.
- ITEM 35. I have decide to become a teacher as I like children very much.
- ITEM 36. I am matriculated at Moghaka High School last year.
- ITEM 37. Jabulani did not wasted time when he heard that his mother was dying.
- ITEM 38. When I realized that they had been spreading rumours about me, I cutted all ties with them.
- ITEM 39. Our soccer team beat the team from Transvaal College in the match last Saturday.
- ITEM 40. Did he asked permission from the Rector to go home early?
- ITEM 41. Had she received a certificate before she started

teaching?

ITEM 42. I told them to be locking the doors as well.

ITEM 43. She said she wanted us to attend the important meeting the next day.

ITEM 44. I am a friendly somebody who likes to talk to many people.

ITEM 45. Sarah would like to work in a restaurant as she likes cooking too much.

ITEM 46. Presently I am a student at Sebokeng College and I hope to pass at the end of the year.

ITEM 47. I have not seen him recently, but I hear that he has passed Matric.

ITEM 48. When the lecturer gave me back my first test I saw that I had made some few mistakes.

ITEM 49. We had much work to do and slept late, but woke up at as usual at six o' clock .

ITEM 50. We made a big party when my brother turned twenty.

ITEM 51. Other people were dancing while others were preparing food for the guests.

ITEM 52. If it was not for Education, many people would have suffered.

ITEM 53. If I were rich, I would buy my parents a big house.

APPENDIX 2

POSTTEST

ENGLISH TEST

Indicate whether the following sentences are correct (C) or wrong (W).

ITEM 1. My mother's tenacity gave me a courage to study hard.

ITEM 2. These nowadays my mother is the only breadwinner.

ITEM 3. My mother is having only standard eight and does not earn a lot of money.

ITEM 4. My sister wants to complete school, as she likes studying too much.

ITEM 5. Her average symbol for the last examination was a B.

ITEM 6. She believes she can be able to get a degree at a university.

ITEM 7. I do not know when she will go to university, as she is presently in standard seven.

ITEM 8. She is a clever girl, but she will need money to study.

ITEM 9. The teachers at the school gave her many advices to apply for a bursary.

ITEM 10. She has already applied to some few companies.

ITEM 11. I hope that she will get a bursary to complete her studies.

ITEM 12. Other people are rich and do not need bursaries, but others need money.

ITEM 13. My friend he is already attending the University of the North.

ITEM 14. He is studying to become a teacher.

ITEM 15. It was my first time to have a friend at university.

ITEM 16. Qualified teachers are skilful in teaching than unqualified teachers.

ITEM 17. Drinking too much is health risk for everybody, but for a teacher it can make him lose his job.

ITEM 18. A teacher should be able to cope up with many difficult situations.

ITEM 19. Therefore he should discuss about all his problems with his colleagues.

ITEM 20. Many teachers are dedicated people who will do anything for their pupils.

ITEM 21. Pupils do not always realize that teachers love them and therefore punish them sometimes.

ITEM 22. When I complete my diploma, I am going to make a big party.

ITEM 23. I am a somebody who likes friends and parties.

ITEM 24. We had much work to do and slept late, but woke up as usual at six o' clock.

ITEM 25. I had to attend the important meeting, but was too sleepy to concentrate on the proceedings.

SUMMARY

The English of black students at Sebokeng College of Education is characterized by a number of deviant structures which consistently crop up in their written and spoken work. The aim of this study is to determine whether these deviances have fossilized, or whether they can be regarded as developmental errors.

Literature dealing with interlanguage and fossilization is reviewed in order to establish a theoretical basis for the empirical research. Interlanguage studies reveal that interlanguage (IL) can be regarded as a process or a product. When language errors are investigated (as in the case of this study), IL is regarded as a product.

Fossilization as a feature of IL is a very complex phenomenon. One of the reasons may be that it has to be explained in both psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic terms. There are many factors which may give rise to fossilization. Many of the causes of fossilization mentioned by the various researchers are applicable to the situation in which black students have learned English. The views expressed by many researchers that group fossilization (i.e. when a group shares the same IL with the same distinct features) may lead to the formation of a new dialect, lead to the study of literature on new varieties of English (the so-called New Englishes).

Researchers claim that there are specific circumstances which lead to the development of a New English. Most of the criteria for the development of a New English are applicable to the circumstances in which blacks learn and use English.

A grammaticality judgment test and posttest were administered to establish which erroneous structures have fossilized in the IL of the students. The results of this empirical study were then compared to features of English varieties found in Africa.

The results of this study seem to indicate that the IL of black students at Sebokeng College of Education has peculiar features

which were not eradicated by two years of tuition by lecturers who do not speak the IL the students use. One can therefore assume that these erroneous structures will remain in the English of these students, and that this may signify that a distinct dialect is developing.

Swart studente by Sebokeng Onderwyskollege se Engels word gekenmerk deur 'n aantal foute wat in al hul geskrewe en mondelinge werk voorkom. Die doel van hierdie studie is om te bepaal of hierdie taalfoute versteen het, en of hulle slegs ontwikkelingsfoute is.

Literatuur oor intertaal en taalverstening word bespreek as 'n teoretiese agtergrond vir die empiriese studie. Intertaalstudies wys daarop dat intertaal as 'n proses of as 'n produk beskou kan word. Wanneer taalfoute bestudeer word (soos in die geval van hierdie studie), word intertaal as 'n produk beskou.

Taalverstening is 'n baie komplekse verskynsel. Een rede daarvoor mag wees omdat dit verklaar moet word in psigolinguistiese en sosiolinguistiese terme. Daar is baie faktore wat aanleiding kan gee tot taalverstening. Baie van die oorsake vir taalverstening kom voor in die omstandighede waaronder swart studente Engels aanleer. Die mening van baie navorsers dat taalverstening van 'n groep aanleiding kan gee tot 'n nuwe dialek, het gelei tot die studie van nuwe variasies van Engels (die sogenaamde "New Englishes").

Volgens navorsers is daar spesifieke omstandighede wat aanleiding gee tot die ontstaan van 'n Nuwe Engels. Die meeste van hierdie kriteria vir die ontwikkeling van 'n Nuwe Engels stem ooreen met die omstandighede waarin swartes Engels aanleer en gebruik.

'n Grammatikaliteitsoordeeltoets (Grammaticality judgment test) en opvolgtoets is gedoen om vas te stel watter foutiewe strukture versteen het. Die resultate van hierdie studie word dan vergelyk met ooreenstemmende strukture in ander variasies van Engels in Afrika.

Die resultate van hierdie studie toon dat die intertaal van swart studente by Sebokeng Onderwyskollege sekere kenmerke het wat nie deur twee jaar se onderrig deur blanke lektore uitgeskakel kon word nie. Dit kan dus aangeneem word dat hierdie foutiewe strukture wel

versteen het, en dit mag dui op die ontwikkeling van 'n nuwe
dialek.