

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the interpretation of the data from the test and aims to answer the questions posed in chapter 1, namely:

- What are the attitudes of English first language pupils, Afrikaans first language pupils and Sotho first language pupils towards BSAE?
- Are these attitudes based on linguistic deviations from the standard variety of English or are they based on racial bias?

After a few general observations, the results of the statistical analysis for the video input and the sound input are tabulated separately and then discussed. The first discussion deals with the personality traits listed in questions 1 - 11 in the questionnaires (Appendix 1). The purpose of these personality traits was to determine personal attitudes of the test population towards the different accents presented in the test material. The personality traits were presented in the questionnaire on a four-point scale, with 1 at the negative end and 4 at the positive end.

This is followed by a discussion of the responses to question 12, which was a question requiring a more subjective response from the test population. They had to indicate the

extent to which they would have found each speaker likeable, had they been given the opportunity to meet them. The response expected of the test population to this question was more subconscious and affective, and less based on rational explanation, as it dealt with attitudes towards particular language stereotypes (Schmied, 1991: 164).

The statistics of question 13, in which test persons had to indicate their choice of a possible occupation for each of the four speakers, are presented and discussed next. The data and discussion of the video input are presented first, followed by those of the sound input. This chapter is concluded with general comments on certain variables which might have had an influence on the results of the test.

4.2 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

4.2.1 General observations

The test subjects completed their evaluation of the accents contained in both the video recording and the sound input in satisfactory fashion. No questionnaires had to be rejected and a total of 106 were submitted for analysis. The number of questionnaires for the three language groups in the visual and sound input categories were as follows:

NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES FOR EACH TEST		
	<i>VISUAL INPUT</i>	<i>SOUND INPUT</i>
Sotho first language	11	22
English first language	17	8
Afrikaans first language	23	25
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>55</i>

4.2.2 Results: Questions 1 - 11 on personality traits of each speaker

4.2.2.1 Video input

Tables 1 to 4 contain the results of the three language groups' evaluation of questions 1 - 11 on the questionnaire, relating to the personality traits of each of the four speakers in the video recording.

TABLE 1: COMBINED AVERAGE RESPONSE OF ALL THREE LANGUAGE GROUPS

SPEAKER	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
P1	2.39	0.30
P2	2.69	0.42
P3	3.05	0.36
P4	3.04	0.50

**TABLE 2: AVERAGE RESPONSE OF SOTHO, ENGLISH AND
AFRIKAANS FIRST LANGUAGE PUPILS**

	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
SPEAKER	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV
P1	2.60	0.21	2.43	0.35	2.27	0.26
P2	3.02	0.35	2.55	0.30	2.64	0.45
P3	3.02	0.42	2.96	0.37	3.13	0.33
P4	3.36	0.32	3.05	0.39	2.87	0.58

Tables 3 and 4 show the Cohen d-values, which indicate the effect size of differences between the four speakers' personalities as evaluated by the pupils of each language group:

- * 0.2 - small effect, no significant difference
- ** 0.5 - medium effect, which might show a significant difference
- *** 0.8 - large effect, which indicates a significant difference

**TABLE 3: COMBINED D-VALUES OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
SPEAKERS FOR ALL THREE LANGUAGE GROUPS**

	P1	P2	P3	P4
P1	---	0.64**	1.38***	1.25***
P2	---	---	0.73**	0.81***
P3	---	---	---	0.02
P4	---	---	---	---

**TABLE 4: D- VALUES OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPEAKERS
EVALUATED BY SOTHO, ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS PUPILS
SEPARATELY**

COMBINATION OF SPEAKERS	SOTHO PUPILS	ENGLISH PUPILS	AFRIKAANS PUPILS
P 1 AND P 2	1.0***	0.22	0.90***
P 1 AND P 3	1.10***	0.96***	2.20***
P 1 AND P 4	2.20***	1.24***	0.98***
P 2 AND P 3	0.04	0.78**	1.02***
P 2 AND P 4	0.90***	1.04***	0.63**
P 3 AND P 4	0.83***	0.25*	0.46*

Cronbach Alpha coefficients are used to indicate the extent to which the averages are a fair reflection of the composition of the data, in other words, whether the statistics used are reliable. The cut-off point is 0.5, with any average lower than 0.5 being ignored and averages of more than 0.5 being regarded as useful.

The Cronbach Alpha coefficients for the speakers in the video recording are as follows:

P1	-	0.44	P3	-	0.66
P2	-	0.77	P4	-	0.81

The coefficients for P2, P3 and P4 are reliable, since they all exceed the cut-off point of 0.5. The coefficient for P1, however, is below the cut-off point and, therefore, unreliable.

If one looks at the means that pupils from each language group assigned to each

personality trait in questions 1 - 11 for each of the speakers, it becomes clear why the Cronbach Alpha coefficient for P1 seems unreliable:

**TABLE 5: MEANS ASSIGNED FOR EACH PERSONALITY TRAIT FOR
SPEAKER 1**

QUESTION	PERSONALITY TRAIT	SOTHO PUPILS	ENGLISH PUPILS	AFRIKAANS PUPILS
1	EDUCATED/ UNEDUCATED	2.27	1.82	1.91
2	HONEST/ DISHONEST	3.18	3.00	2.57
3	FRIENDLY/ UNFRIENDLY	2.91	2.71	2.43
4	GENEROUS/ SELFISH	2.91	2.35	2.61
5	INTELLIGENT/ UNINTELLIGENT	2.91	2.00	1.83
6	RELIABLE/ UNRELIABLE	2.82	2.71	2.72
7	ATTRACTIVE/ UNATTRACTIVE	1.73	1.65	1.17
8	POLITE/ IMPOLITE	3.00	2.88	2.48
9	RELIGIOUS/ NOT RELIGIOUS	1.91	2.47	2.48
10	GOOD PARENT/ BAD PARENT	3.00	2.35	2.57
11	STRONG/ NOT STRONG	2.73	2.76	2.74

The three groups of respondents did not evaluate P1 negatively on all accounts, but rated him high on certain personality traits and low on others. They acknowledged that his pronunciation reflected little education, yet they regarded him as an honest person, friendly, generous, reliable and polite. He was judged to be unattractive and not religious, yet the respondents regarded him to be a good parent.

Interpretation of data on the video input

Considering the phonological properties of the accents of each of the speakers in the video recording, one would expect an objective evaluation to rank them in the following order from most acceptable to least acceptable on a scale from A to D:

- A - P3 (standard SAE, white speaker)
- B - P4 (acrolectal BSAE with close resemblance to SAE)
- C - P2 (typical mesolectal BSAE)
- D - P1 (strongly accented basilectal BSAE)

This was indeed the order in which the combined average scores of pupils from all three language groups placed the four speakers (Table 1). However, looking at the scores of the three language groups separately, a different scenario is revealed:

**TABLE 6: ORDER IN WHICH THREE LANGUAGE GROUPS RANKED
VARIOUS SPEAKERS**

	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
POSITION	SPEAKER	MEAN	SPEAKER	MEAN	SPEAKER	MEAN
A	P4	3.36	P4	3.05	P3	3.13
B	P2 & P3	3.02	P3	2.96	P4	2.87
C			P2	2.55	P2	2.64
D	P1	2.6	P1	2.43	P1	2.27

From the table above the following aspects become evident:

1. English pupils evaluated BSAE (P4) slightly more positively than standard SAE, assigning an average of 2.96 to P3, as opposed to the 3.05 assigned to P4. This marginal difference is reflected in the 0.25 d-value for P3 and P4 (Table 4), which indicates that no significant difference was perceived between the language used by the two speakers. This could probably be the result of the English pupils showing their appreciation of the Black speaker's language. Being English first language speakers themselves, it was probably their way of acknowledging the speaker's proficiency in their own dialect. It could also indirectly be the result of the recent sociol-political restructuring in the country. BSAE used to have relatively low status, and even more so when compared with white SAE; however, the emergence of an urban, educated black middle class who supports English, has caused BSAE to gain in in-group status (Smit & Wissing, 2000: 11). By ranking their own accent lower than that of the black SAE speaker, the English pupils could be acknowledging the attempts of black pupils to move upwards in society.

This trend among the English pupils is in contrast with previous studies (Cooper, 1989; De Klerk & Bosch, 1993; Smit, 1996) where standard SAE has always been rated higher than other varieties of SAE. However, Nortje (1995: 34) found in her study on language attitudes that the English pupils devaluated their own accent with regard to traits such as personal integrity and social attractiveness.

2. Sotho pupils made no distinction between the non-standard black speaker (P2) and the white standard speaker (P3), assigning the same mean of 3.02 to both accents. They display a similar appreciation of typical mesolectal BSAE and standard white SAE. This view is supported by the small d-value of 0.04 which reveals differences perceived between P2 and P3.

The data can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, Sotho pupils allowed their cultural loyalty to influence their judgement, causing them to rate P3 the same as P2. Secondly, it could be that they regarded the mesolectal BSAE as of such a standard as to compare favourably with standard SAE. They display a similar appreciation of typical mesolectal BSAE and standard white SAE. The implication is that they are viewing BSAE in an increasingly positive light. This view is supported by the small d-value of 0.04 which reflects differences perceived between P2 and P3. In her study on the attitudes of three generations of Xhosa women towards English, De Klerk (1997: 114) also detected a tendency in the youngest informant to view English as decidedly positive, believing that the ability to read and write would open up all kinds of opportunities with slight regard to

the level of proficiency achieved.

3. Sotho pupils ranked the black standard speaker (P4) higher than the white standard speaker (P3), with a mean of 3.36 compared to 3.02.

The data seems to indicate that reverse racism was at work in this case. The SAE speaker served as a controlling factor in the evaluation of the accents presented in the video clips. Had the Sotho pupils judged the speakers on their language properties, they should have rated P3 higher, or at least the same, as P4, since both speakers were standard English speakers; instead, they rated P3 lower than the standard BSAE speaker and the same as the non-standard BSAE speaker (P2). The fact that they rated P4, the standard BSAE speaker, higher than P3, the white SAE speaker, indicates that they strongly identified with P4 and probably regarded him as a kind of role model - this is the kind of language proficiency they would like to achieve.

These results correlate with those of De Klerk and Bosch (1993) from their research on the attitudes of English, Afrikaans and Xhosa first language speakers towards English. The Xhosa pupils also rated the accent of their mother-tongue speaker the highest. These results also emphasised the Sotho pupils' subconscious affective preference for their first language speakers, showing that they feel most positive towards a first language speaker speaking standard BSAE.

4. Afrikaans pupils evaluated the white standard speaker (P3) most positively with a mean of 3.13, followed in descending order by the black standard speaker (P4 - 2.87) and then the two non-standard speakers (P2 - 2.64; P1 - 2.27). They rated the speakers in terms of the acceptability of their accents, seemingly without any racial prejudice. It could be argued that their preference for the white standard speaker was in itself indicative of racism. Yet a study of the d-values for P3 and P4 indicates a small effect size of 0.46, while the d-value for P2 and P4 shows a larger effect size of 0.63. Had the Afrikaans pupils based their evaluation on racial prejudice, the effect size between P3 and P4 would have been much more significant.

The white speaker was not an Afrikaans first language speaker, therefore, the same subconscious preference for a first language user, as was the case with the Sotho pupils, does not apply here. None of the speakers in the video recording represented an Afrikaans English accent. It could be argued, then, that the Afrikaans pupils failed to really identify with any of the speakers they saw and, therefore, they could give a more objective evaluation of each speaker's accent.

The data above indicates that both Sotho and English first language pupils regard BSAE in a more positive light than standard SAE. Afrikaans first language pupils regard BSAE more negatively than standard SAE, although the difference is not significant enough to blame it on racial prejudice. The data provided by the three language groups, therefore, supports the first hypothesis to the extent that there are indeed differences in the attitudes

of each group towards BSAE; however, the English first language pupils turned out to be the most tolerant towards mesolectal BSAE in particular.

Considering the Cohen d-values which indicate the effect size of differences between speakers, one would expect a small effect size between P3 and P4, since both are standard English speakers. On the other hand, a large effect size is to be expected between non-standard speakers such as P1 and P2, and standard speakers such as P3 and P4.

Looking at the combined d-values of the three language groups in Table 4, this was indeed the case. Again the three language groups revealed significant individual differences.

The following aspects from Table 4 can be emphasised:

1. English pupils perceived no significant difference between the first two non-standard black speakers, P1 and P2, and a d-value as low as 0.22 was recorded. However, they did make a distinction between P1 and P4, (d-value 1.24) as well as between P2 and P4 (d-value 1.04). The difference between the latter two d-values indicates that the English pupils indeed noticed some differences between the two accents.
2. In spite of differences in accent, Sotho pupils made no distinction between P2 and P3 - the non-standard BSAE speaker and the white SAE speaker - probably due to racial bias towards their own speaker's accent. Another explanation is that they attached standard SAE prestige to the accent of P2, which would explain why they

chose the occupation of teacher (Table 18) in this case. This is supported by the opinion of De Klerk and Gough (to appear) when they say that prescriptive concern for correctness (in BSAE) has declined and tolerance and mutual respect have led to more emphasis on getting the message across rather than on elitist requirements regarding concord or tense. The data above suggest that the Sotho pupils are gaining confidence in BSAE.

3. In contrast with the English and Afrikaans pupils, who saw the differences between P3 and P4 as having small effect, the Sotho pupils' evaluation reflects a large effect size.

Again it could probably be ascribed to reverse racism: the BSAE speaker's language seems to be regarded much more favourably than the white SAE speaker's standard language. Even though the two samples are both representative of standard SAE, the large effect size between the two speakers indicates that the Sotho pupils did not rate them as such, showing a more positive attitude towards their own accent, while at the same time rating the white standard speaker exactly the same as the mesolectal black speaker.

The data provided in the analysis of responses to the video recording both confirmed and disproved part of the second hypothesis. The Afrikaans pupils' evaluation seemed to have been based on linguistic variations, unlike the evaluation of the English pupils. Instead of the Afrikaans pupils being racist in the evaluation of the speakers, the English and the Sotho pupils seemed to be influenced more by racial perception in their judgements.

4.2.2.2 Sound input

Tables 7 to 11 contain the results of the three language groups' evaluation of questions 1 - 11 on the questionnaire, relating to the personality traits of each of the four speakers overheard on the tape recording, but without seeing their faces, as was the case with the video recording.

TABLE 7: COMBINED AVERAGE RESPONSE OF ALL THREE LANGUAGE GROUPS

SPEAKER	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
P1	2.28	0.49
P2	2.76	0.51
P3	3.16	0.48
P4	2.94	0.59

TABLE 8: AVERAGE RESPONSE OF SOTHO, ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS FIRST LANGUAGE PUPILS

	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
SPEAKER	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV
P1	2.44	0.44	2.14	0.48	2.19	0.52
P2	3.01	0.41	2.60	0.53	2.59	0.52
P3	3.22	0.48	3.15	0.35	3.11	0.53
P4	3.29	0.42	2.57	0.54	2.76	0.59

Tables 8 and 9 show the Cohen d-values, which indicate the effect size of differences

between the four speakers' personalities as evaluated by the pupils of each language group.

- * 0.2 - small effect, no significant difference
- ** 0.5 - medium effect, which might show a significant difference
- *** 0.8 - large effect, which indicates a significant difference

TABLE 9: COMBINED D-VALUES OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPEAKERS FOR ALL THREE LANGUAGE GROUPS

	P1	P2	P3	P4
P1	---	0.70**	1.19***	0.77**
P2	---	---	0.65**	0.33*
P3	---	---	---	0.35*
P4	---	---	---	---

TABLE 10: D- VALUES OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPEAKERS EVALUATED BY SOTHO, ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS PUPILS SEPARATELY

SPEAKERS	SOTHO PUPILS	ENGLISH PUPILS	AFRIKAANS PUPILS
P 1 AND P 2	1.0***	0.48*	0.56**
P 1 AND P 3	1.47***	1.42***	1.01***
P 1 AND P 4	1.25***	0.44*	0.59**
P 2 AND P 3	0.44*	1.02***	0.71**
P 2 AND P 4	0.68**	0.09	0.25*
P 3 AND P 4	0.12	1.53***	0.55**

Cronbach Alpha coefficients are used to indicate the extent to which the averages are a fair reflection of the composition of the data, in other words, whether the statistics used are reliable. The cut-off point is 0.5, with any average lower than 0.5 regarded as unreliable and averages of more than 0.5 regarded as useful.

The Cronbach Alpha coefficients for the speakers in the tape recording are as follows, indicating that the statistics are reliable:

P1	-	0.73	P3	-	0.80
P2	-	0.81	P4	-	0.86

Since all the figures are above 0.5, it indicates that all the averages are fair reflections of individual items on the questionnaire.

Interpretation of data on the sound input

Table 6 indicates that the combined scores of the three language groups placed the speakers on the sound input in the expected order of acceptability of their accent - P1 was assigned the lowest score, then followed P2, then P4 and the white standard speaker, P3, was rated the highest. As in the case of the video input, the separate ratings of the Sotho and English pupils arranged the speakers in a different order of acceptability:

**TABLE 11: ORDER IN WHICH THREE LANGUAGE GROUPS RANKED
VARIOUS SPEAKERS**

	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
POSITION	SPEAKER	MEAN	SPEAKER	MEAN	SPEAKER	MEAN
A	P4	3.29	P3	3.15	P3	3.11
B	P3	3.21	P2	2.60	P4	2.76
C	P2	3.00	P4	2.57	P2	2.59
D	P1	2.44	P1	2.14	P1	2.19

From the data above, the following aspects become evident:

1. Sotho pupils rated the black standard speaker (P4) the highest with a mean score of 3.29, and the white standard speaker was rated slightly lower at 3.21. The d-value of 0.12 (Table 10) indicates an insignificant difference perceived between the language of P3 and P4, acknowledging the quality of P3's language usage. The video data revealed a more significant difference in this case, which implies that not seeing the face of the speaker helped to reduce the effect size of differences perceived between speakers. Pupils seemed to be able to make more objective judgements when not seeing the images of the speakers. The support of the Sotho pupils for BSAE is similar to that revealed by the data from the video input.
2. Other than in the case of the video input, Sotho pupils made a distinction between P3 and P2, rating the latter lower at a mean of 3.00. In the video input (Table 6) the Sotho pupils rated P3 and P2 exactly the same. This indicates that the pupils

who listened to the sound input, evaluated P3 on his language properties - they were not influenced by the sight of a white speaker and the consequences of comparing him to the non-standard Black speaker. Even though the d-value for P2 and P3 indicates a small effect size of 0.44, it is still different from the one from the video data, which is 0.04.

Sotho pupils evaluated P1 the lowest and P4 the highest, while P3 was rated second best. One would, therefore, expect a larger effect size between P1 and P4 than between P1 and P3. In reality the analysis showed a smaller d-value (1.25) for P1 and P4 than for P1 and P3 (1.47), which corresponds with the d-value reflected by the combined scores of the three language groups. The differences between the accents of the two black speakers were correctly perceived to be less significant than the differences between the black and the White speaker's accents - yet they still rated P4 higher than P3. It seems as if the Sotho pupils were fully aware of the linguistic differences between the various speakers, but because of (subconscious) racial prejudice towards their own kind, their scores did not reflect objective ratings. The fact that they rated P4 higher than P3 indicates their subjectivity in relation to BSAE speakers. Again, as in the case of the video recording, this subjectivity could relate to the Sotho pupils' identification with the black standard speaker and the fact that they regarded him as their role model.

Another interesting difference between the data from the video and that of the sound input, is that the Sotho and Afrikaans pupils who watched the video recording generally awarded a higher mean average to the speakers than the

average awarded by the pupils who listened only to the sound track. The physical appearance of a speaker, therefore, seems to be a variable which influences the perception of a listener.

3. The English pupils rated P3 the highest with a mean of 3.15; they rated P2, the non-standard speaker in second place with a mean of 2.60. Consequently, they rated P4, the black standard speaker, lower in third position, with a mean of 2.57. The order in which they heard the speakers could probably explain why they rated P4 lower than P2. They heard P4 immediately after they had listened to P3, the white standard SAE speaker, and, in comparison with P3, they probably perceived P4 as much less of a standard speaker than he really was. The insignificant difference between P2 and P4 (2.60 vs 2.57) could be an indication of a failure to judge each black speaker's accent on its own merit and a tendency to revert to the stereotypical attitudes towards black speakers of SAE. Schmied (1991: 164) mentions that expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity; the English pupils in this case failed to acknowledge the linguistic differences between the mesolect and the acrolect and reverted to stereotypical judgements.

Their scores reflect less tolerance towards BSAE than those of the English pupils who watched the video, as they rated the white speaker higher (3.15 vs 2.96) and two of the black speakers lower (2.14 and 2.57 vs 2.43 and 3.05). This is supported by a comparison between the video data's mean average for the speaker they favoured, P4, which was 3.05; the same speaker was awarded a 2.57 mean

average in the sound test. This seems to indicate that the images of the speakers do contribute to the overall scores for each speaker. It may be that non-verbal aspects of communication contribute to the interpretation of meaning. When such non-verbal aspects are absent, ratings drop because interpretation becomes difficult.

4. A large effect size was recorded between the speaker rated first (P3) and the speaker rated third (P4), namely 1.53, but the combined d-value (Table 9) showed a small effect size of 0.35. The d-value for P2 and P4 is 0.09, reflecting an insignificant effect size. Yet the English pupils ranked P2 slightly higher than P4, the acrolect speaker. The small d-value supports the view that the English pupils were unable to distinguish the different accents of P2 and P4, and merely rated them both lower than P3 as a result of stereotypical notions about BSAE. The English pupils' preference for the standard variety of English corresponds with the findings of previous studies like those of De Klerk and Bosch (1993) and Cooper (1989).
5. All three groups consistently rated P1 the lowest and obviously had no difficulty in identifying it as the basilect.
6. The Afrikaans pupils rated the speakers in order of acceptability, showing the same overall response as those who watched the video recording. The d-values which reflect the differences perceived between speakers (Table 9) are very similar to those of the three language groups combined (Table 8).

From the data presented, it becomes clear that the response of the English pupils to the sound input differed from the response to the video input. In the latter, the English pupils favoured the black standard speaker; in the former, they preferred the white standard speaker. Without the visuals, the English pupils seemed to become more racist in their evaluation of the speakers' accent, since they failed to make a distinction between the acrolect and the mesolect - something which did not occur in the data on the video recording. The Afrikaans pupils, like the English, also favoured white SAE, but they showed some sensitivity towards the black accents in making definite distinctions between the three varieties. The Sotho pupils, as with the video recording, rated acrolectal BSAE the highest. In the case of the sound track, however, they made a much clearer distinction between P3 and P2, indicating that without the visuals they could make a more objective evaluation of the speakers. The data supports the hypothesis that the three groups of pupils will have different attitudes towards BSAE, with the English pupils showing slightly less tolerance than those who watched the video recording.

The data provided furthermore proved the hypothesis correct insofar as Sotho pupils made their evaluations subjectively, being the only group out of three to rank P4 - the black standard speaker - the highest. Although the English and Afrikaans pupils ranked P3 - the white standard speaker - first, the combined d-value of 0.35 for P3 and P4 is too small to blame racism for their choice.

4.2.3 Results: Question 12: Social attractiveness

Question 12 of the questionnaire (Addendum 1) was as follows:

Would you like this person?					
Very much	.....	.....	.....	.....	Not at all
	4	3	2	1	

The purpose of the above question was to determine the social perceptions of the test population with regard to each speaker, thereby noting any overt racism present in their evaluation of the speakers in the video recording and on the sound input.

The first BSAE speaker in both the recordings (P1) represents a basilect; the second BSAE (P2) uses mesolectal English, while the last BSAE speaker (P4), uses English which closely resembles standard English and can, therefore, be classified as an acrolect. P3 was a White standard SAE speaker. The voices on the tape recording were arranged in the same order as the speakers on the video recording.

4.2.3.1 Video input

**TABLE 12: AVERAGE SCORES FOR THE EVALUATION OF QUESTION 12
OF EACH LANGUAGE GROUP**

	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
SPEAKER	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV
P1	2.60	0.19	2.38	0.30	2.31	0.22
P2	3.01	0.29	2.63	0.23	2.76	0.37
P3	3.02	0.38	2.98	0.36	3.17	0.30
P4	3.36	0.25	3.09	0.30	2.95	0.49

Table 12 shows the Cohen d-values, which indicate the effect size of differences between the four speakers' personalities as evaluated by the pupils of each language group.

- * 0.2 - small effect, no significant difference
- ** 0.5 - medium effect, which might show a significant difference
- *** 0.8 - large effect, which indicates a significant difference

**TABLE 13: D- VALUES OF DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL PERCEPTION
AMONG SOTHO, ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS PUPILS**

COMBINATION OF SPEAKERS	SOTHO PUPILS	ENGLISH PUPILS	AFRIKAANS PUPILS
P 1 AND P 2	1.41***	0.83***	1.22***
P 1 AND P 3	1.11***	1.70***	2.87***
P 1 AND P 4	2.96***	2.40***	1.31***
P 2 AND P 3	0.03	0.97***	1.11***
P 2 AND P 4	1.14***	1.53***	0.39*
P 3 AND P 4	0.83***	0.31*	0.45*

Other than in the case of the previous eleven questions, question 12 calls for a subjective response from the test population and in-group identification is expected to play a role in their responses. In order to study the attitudes of each language group towards each speaker, it is essential to look at the order in which each language group ranked the speakers with regard to question 12. Considering the phonological properties of the accents of each of the speakers in the video recording, one would expect an objective evaluation to rank them in the following order from most acceptable to least acceptable on a scale from A to D:

- A - P3 (standard SAE, white speaker)
- B - P4 (acrolectal BSAE with close resemblance to SAE)
- C - P2 (typical mesolectal BSAE)
- D - P1 (strongly accented basilectal BSAE)

**TABLE 14: ORDER IN WHICH THREE LANGUAGE GROUPS RANKED
VARIOUS SPEAKERS IN QUESTION 12**

POSITION	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
	SPEAKER	MEAN	SPEAKER	MEAN	SPEAKER	MEAN
A	P4	3.36	P4	3.09	P3	3.17
B	P3	3.02	P3	2.98	P4	2.95
C	P2	3.01	P2	2.63	P2	2.76
D	P1	2.60	P1	2.38	P1	2.31

The following conclusions can be drawn from the data provided above in Tables 11, 12 and 13:

1. The Sotho and English pupils displayed the same positive attitude towards BSAE, rating P4 (the black standard speaker) higher than P3 (the white standard speaker), in spite of the fact that the latter uses less accentuated English than the former. Question 12 was set up as subjectively as possible, with the result that the pupils responded more emotionally, making fewer objective distinctions about the accents used.
2. The Afrikaans pupils rated P3 more positively, showing a more negative attitude towards BSAE.
3. All three language groups consistently rated P2 and P1 in third and fourth position

respectively, indicating that their language usage makes them less socially acceptable than the two standard speakers. The Sotho pupils made a very small distinction between P2 and P3 (3.01 and 3.02 respectively), which could be an indication that, as was the case with the video data for the first 11 questions, they found the mesolectal English of P2 also quite acceptable.

4. A closer look at the d-values of each language group reveals the following information regarding the effect sizes of differences between the four speakers as perceived by the test population:

4.1 Sotho pupils:

- They distinguished between the different accents of P1, P2 and P4, as indicated by the large effect sizes of the following combinations: P1 and P2 - 1.41; P1 and P4 - 2.96; P2 and P4 - 1.14.
- They ranked P3 second and P2 third, but the effect size of 0.03 indicates that they perceived an insignificant difference between the two speakers' accent. The English and Afrikaans pupils' responses revealed large d-values of 0.97 and 1.11 respectively for these two speakers, which clearly indicates their subjective preference for white SAE above BSAE. The Sotho pupils' failure to acknowledge the difference between the language of P2 and P3 indicates that they preferred the language and voice of P2 above that of P3 - after all, they decided that P2's occupation was that of a teacher (Table 18). This argument is further supported by the d-values of the three groups for the combination of P3 and P4. Both the English and the Afrikaans

pupils' responses revealed a small effect size of 0.31 and 0.45 respectively, indicating that there were minor differences between the two standard speakers. The Sotho pupils' responses revealed a large effect size of 0.83, indicating that they perceived the language of P3 as being of much lower status than that of P4, while at the same time reducing it to similar status to the non-standard language of P2 - the latter would also account for the aforementioned insignificant effect size (0.03) reflected by the differences perceived between P2 and P3. Because this question called for a subjective response, it can be argued that in-group identification of the Sotho pupils with P2 countered the effect of his pronunciation.

4.2. English pupils:

- Their bias towards BSAE is clearly indicated by the d-values for P1 and P3, P1 and P4, as well as P2 and P3 and P2 and P4. They rated P4 (the black standard speaker) higher than P3 (the white standard speaker). Their attitude is supported by the various d- values revealed by their responses. The d-value for P1 and P3 (1.70) is lower than that for P1 and P4 (2.40), showing that they perceived a smaller difference between the accents of P1 and P3, and a bigger difference between the language used by P1 and P4. The same accounts for the d-values for P2 and P3 (0.97) and P2 and P4 (1.53), which again indicate that they perceive the black standard speaker's language more positively than that of the white standard speaker.
- The differences perceived between P3 and P4 reflected a small effect size, which is to be expected, as both were standard SAE speakers. The other d-values involving P3 indicate that the English pupils perceive the status of the

white speaker's language as lower than that of the black speaker. The d-value for P3 and P4 shows a small effect size of 0.31, indicating that the English pupils perceived insignificant differences between the language used by the two standard speakers. Both the Sotho and the Afrikaans pupils' responses revealed a larger effect size in this case. The small effect size reflected by the English pupils' responses could be explained in two ways. Because of reverse racism, the English pupils deliberately or subconsciously rated P3 lower, thereby bringing it closer to the level of P4's language. Or, because of the socio-political situation in the country, they rated the language of the black person higher, more positively, and thereby they subconsciously raised the status of the black speaker's language to a level similar to that of the white speaker's language. Either way, it would account for the small variation perceived between P3 and P4.

4.3 Afrikaans pupils

- The Afrikaans pupils ranked the speakers in a different order than the other two language groups, showing definite preference for the white standard speaker. They ranked the speakers in a descending order which correlates with the linguistic characteristics of each speaker's language. They reacted more positively to the white standard speaker and the d-values used to indicate differences between him and the other speakers are higher than the same d-values for the Sotho and English pupils (Table 12). Compare the d-value of 2.87 reflected by the combination of P1 and P3, to the corresponding d-values of the Sotho pupils (1.11) and the English pupils (1.7). The Afrikaans pupils perceived a large effect size of 1.11 between P2

and P3, whereas the Sotho pupils found the differences insignificant (0.03) and the English pupils' responses reflected a slightly lower d-value of 0.97. The data indicates that the Afrikaans pupils were guilty of traditional racism by favouring white SAE above BSAE. This white racial identification might have been reinforced by the individual speech properties of each speaker.

- Where the Sotho and English pupils perceived big differences between P2 and P4 (the d-values are 1.14 and 1.53 respectively), the Afrikaans pupils regard these differences as much smaller at a d-value of 0.39. It could be because the Afrikaans pupils rated the standard language of P4 lower than the language of P3, thereby displaying a stereotypical response to race when they ignore the finer differences in the language of the two speakers.

It seems as if racism features stronger in the case of question 12 than in questions 1 - 11, since the d-value revealed by the Afrikaans pupils' responses for the same speakers was 0.63 (Table 4).

Sotho pupils show an obvious preference for BSAE and in general their scores were higher than those of both the English and the Afrikaans pupils. Their average mean score for the four speakers was 3.00, while the English and Afrikaans averages were 2.77 and 2.80 respectively. This coincides with their preference for BSAE revealed by data on questions 1 - 11 for both the video recording and the sound track, showing that BSAE is gaining in-group status and that its speakers are no longer ashamed of being associated with it. It correlates with De Klerk and Gough's observations (to appear) that BSAE is enjoying increasing prestige.

4.2.3.2 Sound input

Tables 15, 16 and 17 indicate the data regarding the test subjects' evaluation of question 12 for each speaker in the sound input.

TABLE 15: AVERAGE SCORES FOR THE EVALUATION OF QUESTION 12 OF EACH LANGUAGE GROUP

	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
SPEAKER	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV
P1	2.46	0.35	2.19	0.47	2.20	0.46
P2	3.03	0.32	2.68	0.49	2.69	0.43
P3	3.18	0.45	3.13	0.30	3.11	0.49
P4	3.26	0.33	2.71	0.45	2.79	0.54

Table 15 shows the Cohen d-values, which indicate the effect size of differences between the four speakers' personalities as evaluated by the pupils of each language group.

- * 0.2 - small effect, no significant difference
- ** 0.5 - medium effect, which might show a significant difference
- *** 0.8 - large effect, which indicates a significant difference

**TABLE 16: D- VALUES OF DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL PERCEPTION
AMONG SOTHO, ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS PUPILS**

COMBINATION OF SPEAKERS	SOTHO PUPILS	ENGLISH PUPILS	AFRIKAANS PUPILS
P 1 AND P 2	1.63***	1.00***	1.07***
P 1 AND P 3	1.60***	2.00***	1.86***
P 1 AND P 4	2.29***	1.11***	1.09***
P 2 AND P 3	0.33*	0.92***	0.86***
P 2 AND P 4	0.70**	0.06	0.19
P 3 AND P 4	0.18	0.93***	0.59**

As was the case with the video input, it is essential to look at the order in which each language group ranked the speakers with regard to question 12. Considering the phonological properties of the accents of each of the speakers in the video recording, one would expect an evaluation based only on pronunciation to rank them in the following order from most likeable to least likeable on a scale from A to D:

- A - P3 (standard SAE, white speaker)
- B - P4 (acrolectal BSAE with close resemblance to SAE)
- C - P2 (typical mesolectal BSAE)
- D - P1 (strongly accented basilectal BSAE)

**TABLE 17: ORDER IN WHICH THREE LANGUAGE GROUPS RANKED
VARIOUS SPEAKERS IN QUESTION 12**

POSITION	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
	SPEAKER	MEAN	SPEAKER	MEAN	SPEAKER	MEAN
A	P4	3.26	P3	3.13	P3	3.11
B	P3	3.18	P4	2.71	P4	2.79
C	P2	3.03	P2	2.68	P2	2.69
D	P1	2.46	P1	2.19	P1	2.20

The following conclusions can be drawn from the data provided above in Tables 15 and 16:

1. The Sotho pupils perceived P4 (the black standard speaker) as being the most acceptable. In contrast with the video input, where the English pupils rated P4 more acceptable than P3, both the English and Afrikaans pupils preferred P3 (the white standard speaker). The English pupils who listened to the sound input had, therefore, not been influenced by the sight of a white person among blacks, as was probably the case with the video recording, and they were able to give a more objective evaluation of each speaker.
2. All three language groups perceived P1 and P2 as the least acceptable, rating them last and second last.
3. A closer look at the d-values of each language group (Table 15) reveals the following information regarding the effect sizes of differences between the four speakers as perceived by the test population:
 - 3.1. Sotho pupils:

- They were able to distinguish between the accents of the various black speakers, as becomes clear from the large effect sizes recorded between P1 and P2 (1.63) and P1 and P4 (2.29). The differences between P2 and P4 were perceived as being smaller and an 0.7, medium effect size was recorded.
- As in the case of the video input, the pupils ranked P3 in second place, with P2 in third place. The differences between these two speakers were rated small with a 0.33 d-value. The English and Afrikaans pupils' responses revealed large d-values of 0.92 and 0.86 respectively for these two speakers, indicating a clear distinction between non-standard BSAE and standard SAE. The Sotho pupils' failure to acknowledge the difference between the language of P2 and P3 can be attributed to cultural prejudice, or it could simply be their way of acknowledging that the mesolectal English of P2 is as acceptable to them as standard SAE.
- They recognised the lack of significant differences between the languages of P3 and P4, both standard SAE speakers, as indicated by the small, insignificant d-value of 0.18. In the video input, the same d-value was an inflated 0.83, probably caused by the very sight of a black and a white speaker being compared. The pupils who listened to the sound input seemed to have been more objective in their evaluation of the language properties of P3 and P4.

3.2 English pupils:

- They evaluated the speakers in the sound input from a racist point of view; as soon as they perceived P4 to be a black speaker, they downgraded him. The d-values show only two exceptional scores, namely those of P2 and P4, and P3 and P4.
- The 0.06 d-value reflected by the response to P2 and P4 reveals that the English speakers perceived insignificant differences between these two speakers' language. It corresponds with previous data which also signifies that they displayed some racism by not being able to think differently about the two black speakers, and they fail to give credit to the standard BSAE speaker. The scores assigned to P2 and P4 are indicative of a subjective response, as they seem to feel the same about the two speakers.
- The d-value for P3 and P4 is 0.93 and indicates significant differences perceived by the pupils. The mean scores which they assigned to P3 and P4 (Table 14) differed with a figure of 0.42. It is also possible that they rated P4 lower, because they listened to him immediately after having heard P3, the white standard speaker, which made him seem less of a standard speaker than he actually was.

3.3 Afrikaans pupils:

- Their scores (Tables 15 and 16) correlate surprisingly well with those of the English pupils, indicating that the input with sound enabled test persons from both groups to evaluate the speakers similarly when a more subjective response, asking for fewer distinctions based on language properties, is required. The same accounts for the correlation of the two groups' data on

questions 1 - 11 for the video input and the sound input. In the former, the mean averages from the two groups differed substantially (Table 2), especially with regard to P3 and P4. In the sound input (Table 8) the mean averages show a much closer correlation. The physical appearance of a speaker, therefore, serves as an important variable in an evaluation of his accent.

As with the video input, the Sotho pupils clearly displayed a preference for their own accent. They awarded higher mean scores to speakers throughout the evaluation of question 12. The average mean score of the Sotho pupils was 2.98. The English and Afrikaans pupils' average mean scores were 2.68 and 2.70 respectively. The latter two groups favoured white SAE, perhaps displaying similar cultural prejudice as the Sotho pupils.

4.2.4 Results: Question 13: Most likely occupation of each speaker

Question 13 on the questionnaire (Addendum A) required the test population to assign a possible occupation to each of the four speakers in the video recording and on the sound input. In the analysis the following values were assigned to the different occupations. The descending order of the values represents a decrease in the status and level of education/training required for each occupation:

doctor	-	5	farm foreman	-	2
teacher	-	4	farm worker	-	1
shop assistant	-	3			

The highest frequency of each occupation chosen by the respective language groups is listed below as percentages, first for the video input and then for the sound input.

4.2.4.1 Video input

TABLE 18: THE MOST LIKELY OCCUPATION OF EACH SPEAKER AS ASSIGNED BY EACH LANGUAGE GROUP

	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
	OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY	OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY	OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY
P1	SHOP ASSIST.	63,6%	FARM WORKER	58,8%	FARM WORKER	39,1%
P2	TEACHER	54,5%	TEACHER	75,0%	TEACHER	69,6%
P3	DOCTOR	54,5%	DOCTOR	47,1%	DOCTOR	73,9%
P4	DOCTOR	90,9%	DOCTOR	70,6%	DOCTOR	65,2%

Person 1: (basilectal BSAE)

The Sotho pupils classified P1 as a shop assistant, while the English and Afrikaans pupils regarded him as a farm worker. A shop assistant is thought to enjoy more status than a farm worker; the results, therefore, correlate with the Sotho pupils' consistently more positive attitude towards BSAE.

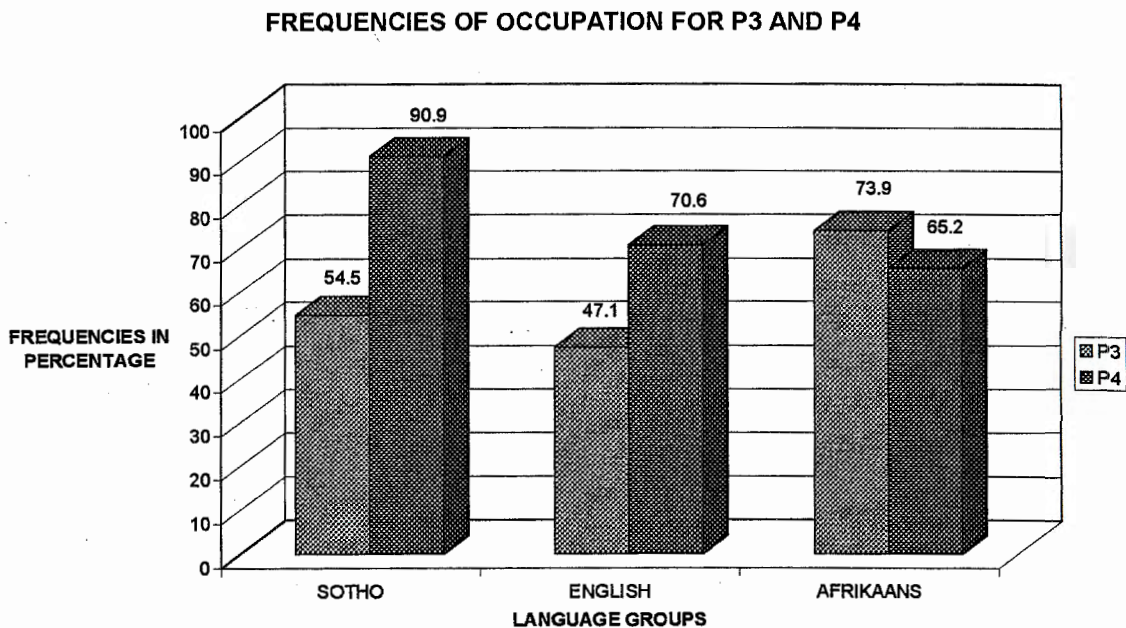
Person 2 (mesolectal BSAE)

All three language groups indicated that they perceived this speaker as being a teacher. The higher status assigned to him by the choice of this possible occupation correlates with his

language properties and indicates that all three language groups can distinguish his accent from that of P1. It would seem then, as if mesolectal BSAE is gaining in status and becoming more acceptable as a language of wider communication. The choice of teacher as occupation for P2 is quite significant, since it reveals a lot about the *de facto* standard variety of BSAE - teachers have a special position as transmitters of attitudes and as role models for English second language learners.

Person 3 (white standard SAE) and P4 (acrolectal BSAE):

All three groups chose the occupation of doctor for both these speakers, but with varying frequencies. Graph 1 below indicates the percentages of each group:



GRAPH 1: FREQUENCIES OF OCCUPATION FOR P3 AND P4

From the information on the graph it becomes clear that the majority of Afrikaans pupils regarded P3 as having higher status than P4 - 73.9% judged him to be a doctor, while only

65.2% chose this occupation for P4. Their preference for white SAE could be an indication of stereotypical racism and correlates with their consistent preference for white SAE displayed in the previous two categories of the questionnaire. Both the Sotho and the English pupils judged P4 to be the one with the higher status - 90.9% of the Sotho speakers and 70.6% of the English pupils chose him above P4. The high frequency of the Sotho speakers in this case again emphasises their preference for BSAE, while the English pupils clearly acknowledged the level of proficiency gained by P4 as a black speaker.

It seems as if the three language groups have definite ideas of the language associated with a particular occupation. Various previous studies using occupation as a way to determine language attitudes revealed inconclusive results (Cooper, 1989; Nortje, 1995). The occupation chosen for a particular speaker will be indicative of the status awarded to that particular person, and, therefore, reflects the test person's attitude towards the speaker's accent.

From the data presented above, both the Sotho and the English pupils chose the occupation of doctor for P4 with a conclusive majority (90.9% and 70.6% respectively). Given both groups' preference for BSAE in the personality questionnaire as well as in question 12, it is clear that they associate the status of doctor with the acrolectal accent of P4 more so than with the standard SAE accent of P3. Once again the data indicates the increasing status assigned to BSAE. In contrast then with previous studies, the results on the possible occupation for the standard BSAE speaker as well as the mesolectal BSAE speaker seem to be conclusive in the case of the video input.

4.2.4.2 Sound input

**TABLE 19: THE MOST LIKELY OCCUPATION OF EACH SPEAKER AS
ASSIGNED BY EACH LANGUAGE GROUP**

	SOTHO PUPILS		ENGLISH PUPILS		AFRIKAANS PUPILS	
	OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY	OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY	OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY
P1	SHOP	61,9%	FARM	50,0%	FARM	56,0%
	ASSIST.		WORKER		WORKER	
P2	TEACHER	85,0%	TEACHER	57,1%	TEACHER	54,2%
P3	DOCTOR	36,8%	DOCTOR	62,5	DOCTOR	52,0%
P4	DOCTOR	52,6%	DOCTOR	37,5%	DOCTOR	28,0%

Person 1 (basilectal BSAE):

As was the case with the video input, the Sotho pupils classified P1 as a shop assistant, while the English and Afrikaans pupils regarded him as a farm worker. A shop assistant is thought to enjoy more status than a farm worker; the results, therefore, correlate with the Sotho pupils' consistent positive attitude towards BSAE, to the extent that they regard basilectal BSAE as having higher status than that assigned to it by the other two language groups. The English and Afrikaans pupils' choice of the occupation of farm worker for P1 correlates with their consistent ranking of P1 in the lowest position throughout the test, clearly indicating that they regard basilectal BSAE as having low status.

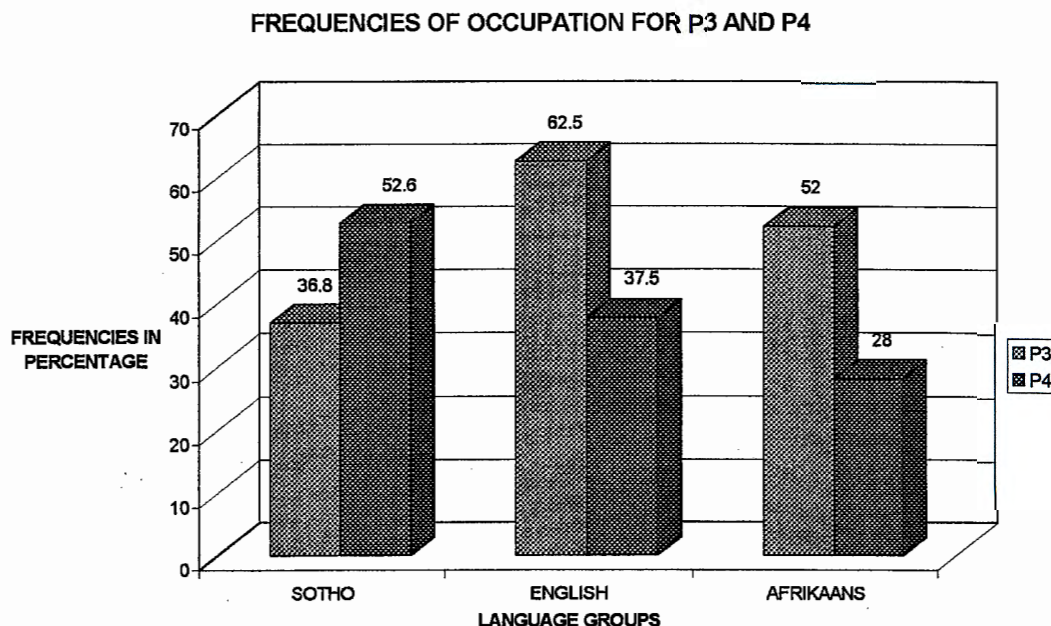
Person 2 (mesolectal BSAE):

All three language groups indicated that they perceived this speaker as being a teacher. The higher status (compared to P1) assigned to him by the choice of this possible occupation correlates with his language properties and indicates that all three language groups could distinguish his accent from that of P1. The majority of the Sotho pupils (85%) chose this occupation for P2, compared to the 57.1% and the 54.2% of the English and Afrikaans pupils. The Sotho pupils felt much more positively about this speaker than the other two language groups. This percentage also differs substantially for the same speaker in the video input - only 54.5% of the Sotho pupils in the video input chose the occupation of teacher for P2. It is possible that the speaker's physical appearance influenced their choice when they watched the video, even though he was dressed in a suit.

Person 3 (white standard SAE) and P4 (acrolectal BSAE):

P4 was assigned the highest status by 52.6% of the Sotho pupils, while both the English pupils and the Afrikaans pupils chose P3, with percentages of 62.5% and 52.0% respectively.

Graph 2 below indicates the frequencies of the occupation for each speaker as chosen by the three language groups:



GRAPH 2: FREQUENCIES OF OCCUPATION FOR P3 AND P4

Once again the Sotho speakers showed a definite preference for BSAE, the majority assigning the occupation of doctor to P4, the standard BSAE speaker. In contrast with the 90.9% frequency of occupation for P4 from the video input, the frequency percentage of the Sotho pupils for P4 in the sound input is much lower at 52.6%. If one looked at the mean average the Sotho pupils assigned to P4 throughout the test, it becomes evident that the mean averages in the video input for each category were consistently higher than the mean averages assigned for the sound input. Having an image of a person to go with a particular accent clearly functioned as a variable in the test population's evaluation of each speaker, causing them to assign a higher mean average for certain speakers in the video input. Non-verbal aspects such as appearance and perhaps even body language probably contributed to the higher mean averages assigned to the speakers in the video input.

The English and Afrikaans pupils assigned the highest frequency to P3, showing that they preferred the white SAE speaker. Both groups regarded P4 as a doctor, but with very low frequencies - 37.5% and 28% respectively. This could be an indication that the judgements of these two groups are not very clear-cut. Due to a lack of social interaction or experience with black employees, they could be uncertain as to which occupations a person with this type of linguistic ability could find himself/herself in. It could also be an indication that they are not sure of the status attached a person who speaks SAE as well as P4. Yet another explanation for the low frequencies could be the order in which the speakers were judged. P4 was evaluated immediately after P3, the standard white SAE speaker and might therefore have been judged more harshly in comparison.

If one compared the video input and the sound input for the Sotho pupils it becomes evident that the image of the speakers was a variable which had a considerable influence on the choice of occupation. Of all the pupils who watched the video, 90.9% indicated that P4 was a doctor; in the sound input, the frequency is much smaller at 52.5%. The same accounts for the English speakers, who favoured P4 in the video, but they preferred P3 when they only had the voice of the person to listen to. It would seem as if the data on occupation of speakers in the sound input is inconclusive with regard to P3 and P4, but it reveals conclusive evidence that mesolectal BSAE is acceptable to all three language groups and gaining status.

4.3 GENERAL COMMENTS

De Klerk and Bosch (1993: 223) are of the opinion that one cannot expect a simple relationship between attitudes and behaviour, because not all behaviour is consistent, there are a multitude of factors in any context and people's cognitive and emotive attitudes sometimes clash with each other. In this study there were also a "multitude of factors" which may or may not have had an influence on its outcome.

- People like to appear prestigious and they sometimes try, consciously or unconsciously, to give socially desirable answers (De Klerk & Bosch, 1993: 222). An English pupil might have answered the questionnaire in such a way so as to appear pro-BSAE, even if he/she is not.
- The physical context of the test, as well as the purpose, will have an influence despite precautions taken to the contrary.
- In asking the test population to rate the accent of speakers, the voice and the accent of the speaker cannot be separated. In the case of the video input, the image of the speaker serves as an additional variable which is an inseparable part of the speaker.
- In contrast to previous studies where the matched-guise technique was used, this study employed recordings of informative news interviews with ordinary members of the public. The language samples are, therefore, representative of real-life SAE and less artificial than recordings made of a person reading the same passage in different accents.
- The testing procedure is artificial, even if the speech samples are not. The speakers are not seen or heard in a natural context and the speech samples are also presented

out of context.

- The topic under discussion by each speaker varies and it might have had an influence on how they were evaluated. P1, for example, was an eye-witness to a murder, while the other three speakers talked about business matters.
- The first language spoken by the three groups of respondents might have influenced their responses, especially in the case of the Afrikaans pupils. The Sotho pupils watched or listened to three black first language speakers from their racial group using BSAE; the English pupils watched or listened to three black first language speakers and a white English first language speaker from their own ethnic group, using their own first language; the Afrikaans pupils watched and listened to all four speakers - none of them Afrikaans first language speakers or a member of their own ethnic group - using what is to them a second language.

In Chapter 5 a general conclusion and summary of the results of this study are presented, with suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter a general conclusion and summary of the results discussed in Chapter 4 will be presented. Recommendations are made for future studies in this field.

5.1 CONCLUSIONS

Keeping in mind the format of the test used in this study, the data from the questionnaires and the preferred accent of each language group for each category can be organised as follows:

TABLE 20: SUMMARY OF ACCENT PREFERRED BY THREE LANGUAGE GROUPS

	VIDEO INPUT			SOUND INPUT		
CATEGORY	SOTHO	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	SOTHO	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS
QUESTION 1 - 11	BSAE	BSAE	SAE	BSAE	SAE	SAE
QUESTION 12	BSAE	BSAE	SAE	BSAE	SAE	SAE
QUESTION 13	BSAE	BSAE	SAE	BSAE	SAE	SAE

As was the case with Nortje's (1995: 34) and De Klerk and Bosch's study (1993: 218) this study revealed that one of the non-standard groups, namely the Sotho pupils, showed solidarity with their own sociolinguistic group and were more positive towards their own accent throughout, in both the video and sound input. The English pupils had ambivalent attitudes: those who evaluated the speakers in the video input, regarded BSAE more

positively than white SAE in all three categories of the questionnaire; in the case of the sound input, SAE was preferred. The Afrikaans pupils showed more solidarity with the white SAE speaker, even though he was an English first language speaker and not an Afrikaans first language speaker.

5.1.2 The attitude of the Sotho pupils towards SAE

The Sotho pupils' highly positive attitude towards BSAE can be ascribed to various factors:

5.1.2.1 In her study on the attitudes to English in a multilingual university, De Klerk (1996 (b): 125) states that, apart from being visibly different from other cultural groups, ethnic groups such as the Sotho pupils owe considerable loyalty to their own sociolinguistic groups. The data presented in Chapter 4 indicates a group-identity feeling with their own ethnolinguistic group and its distinct variety of English.

5.1.2.2 The Sotho pupils displayed a subconscious affective preference for a first language speaker speaking the language which is under evaluation (cf. De Klerk & Bosch, 1993: 218).

5.1.2.3 The socio-political changes in South African during the past decade led to a change in the distribution of power - the previously oppressed majority groups now started an upward movement on

basically all levels of society - including the educational and linguistic spheres.

5.1.2.4

Attitudes towards BSAE are rapidly changing and the stigma associated with non-standard varieties of English in the past is being replaced by a growing assertiveness and confidence in the value of, among others, BSAE. Perceptions of its status, authority and persuasive appeal are changing (De Klerk & Gough, to appear). This view is supported by De Klerk's study (1997: 114) of the perceptions of English from women across three generations. The younger members showed a markedly positive attitude towards English.

5.1.2.5

Emphasis on democratic language rights and an awareness of the linguistic difficulties in the country have caused a decline in the prescriptive concern for correctness, while tolerance and mutual respect seem to have led to greater acceptance of varieties of English (De Klerk & Gough, to appear).

5.1.2.6

Since English is regarded as the language of wider communication and proficiency in English as a prerequisite for success, the Sotho pupils display a willingness to acquire it. They are also willing to give credit to Sotho speakers who have already accomplished this task, as became evident from the high values they used when

rating the three BSAE speakers.

5.1.2.7

Coetzee-Van Rooy (2000: 253) points out that for South Sotho pupils the language emphasis is on communication. They also regard language proficiency largely as conversational language proficiency (as opposed to a more literacy-related concept of proficiency), which could explain why they rated the mesolectal and acrolectal BSAE in the video and sound recordings so highly.

5.1.3. The attitude of the English pupils towards SAE

The English pupils' ambivalent attitude towards SAE can be attributed to the following reasons:

5.1.3.1

They share the same class with the Sotho pupils, who also take English as a first language in school. Consequently, as Nortje (1995: 35) mentioned, they may want to show solidarity with their classmates and be accepted by them. This could account for the fact that they displayed a more positive attitude towards BSAE while rating their own SAE accent lower.

5.1.3.2

Because of the recent integration of schools, the English pupils are aware of the disappearance of social and ethnic barriers, and they could be of the opinion that the "in-thing" to do is to be more positive about the other ethnic groups in their school.

5.1.3.3

As was the case with the Xhosa speakers who were learning English in Nortje's study (1995: 36), it is also possible that the English pupils are aware of the difficulties which their Sotho classmates are experiencing in English first language studies, and therefore they are more sympathetic towards the Sotho speakers and more tolerant of non-standard varieties in their language.

5.1.3.4

Another reason for the positive attitude displayed towards BSAE by English pupils, could simply be the fact that they want to acknowledge the level of proficiency achieved by the black acrolectal speaker and they give credit to his efforts by rating BSAE higher than their own dialect.

5.1.3.5

The physical image of the speaker presented in the video input might have served as an additional variable which made the English pupils more aware of the factors mentioned above. P4 was dressed very professionally in a suit and he appeared relaxed and confident in the interview. It seems as if this additional dimension of physical appearance persuaded the English pupils to acknowledge his success in a business world previously dominated by whites. Without the actual image of the speaker, he was regarded as just another BSAE speaker in the evaluation of the sound input (Tables 8 and 11) and was even rated slightly lower than P2 (2.57 vs 2.6). In the video input P2 also appears in a suit,

but he was rated considerably lower than P4 (Table 2 - 2.55 vs 3.05), indicating that the English pupils made a clear distinction between mesolectal and acrolectal BSAE.

5.1.3.6

Nortje (1995: 41) furthermore states that closer contact between the English and Xhosa pupils possibly led to acceptance of the other culture and familiarity with the non-standard accents; the same could be said of the closer contact between the English and Sotho pupils involved in this study.

5.1.3.8

As De Klerk and Bosch (1993: 225) point out, the English pupils probably feel secure in the knowledge that English is an international communication medium and they do not feel threatened by the increasing status of BSAE. Therefore they can afford to be generous in rating BSAE higher than standard SAE.

5.1.3.9

A study on attitudes towards French Canadians at a time when they were demanding political rights revealed that accent can be accepted and favourably evaluated when the non-standard speaker's group is demanding equality and recognition (Nortje, 1995: 41). The struggle of the Sotho pupils to fit in and become a part of the so-called "privileged" society could be regarded sympathetically by the English pupils, causing them to express their sympathy and support by judging the acrolectal English much

higher than the white speaker's English.

- 5.1.3.10 The English pupils who evaluated the sound input showed solidarity with their first language speaker and a resulting stereotypical judgement of the BSAE varieties in the tape recording by failing to show sensitivity towards the different varieties of BSAE.
- 5.1.3.11 This trend to evaluate the standard SAE accent more positively correlates with previous studies such as those by De Klerk and Bosch (1993) and Cooper (1989).

5.1.4 The attitude of the Afrikaans pupils towards SAE

The positive attitude of the Afrikaans pupils towards SAE can be explained as follows:

- 5.1.4.1 They acted in a slightly racist fashion by showing a consistently positive attitude towards standard SAE.
- 5.1.4.2 Their attitude reflects the value system that they had been confronted with for many years of schooling in schools where the standard variety of English has been taught.
- 5.1.4.3 It is feasible that the ideologies of apartheid and all its implications are still ingrained in the Afrikaans pupils, having been handed down to them by the older generation. Consequently, their

political or racial affiliations will colour their judgement of a black speaker's English.

5.1.4.4 Their positive attitude towards standard SAE and the resulting negative evaluation of (standard) BSAE might also be indicative of an unwillingness to accept the socio-political changes in the country and the consequent changes in their own school environment.

5.1.4.5 If, as was mentioned above, closer contact between the English and the Sotho pupils resulted in mutual tolerance of non-standard English varieties, then the same cannot be said of the Afrikaans pupils. In none of the categories presented in the questionnaire did they rate BSAE more positively than standard SAE. However, Afrikaans pupils consistently rated the BSAE speakers P4>>P2>>P1, indicating some consequent awareness of linguistic differences between the three BSAE speakers.

5.2 EXTENT TO WHICH AIMS OF THE STUDY HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED

The following aims were formulated in Chapter 1:

5.2.1 To determine what the attitudes of English first language pupils, Afrikaans first language pupils and Sotho first language pupils are towards deviations in

pronunciation of BSAE.

5.2.2 To determine whether the attitudes revealed are based on linguistic variations from so-called Standard English or whether they are based on racial bias.

These aims led to the formulation of the following hypotheses:

- * English first language pupils, Afrikaans first language pupils and Sotho first language pupils will have different attitudes regarding deviations in the pronunciation of BSAE, with the English first language pupils being the least tolerant.
- * Attitudes of English first language pupils will be based on linguistic variations from their own standard pronunciation, whereas the attitudes of Afrikaans first language pupils and Sotho first language pupils might be politically/racially biased.

Table 20 contains a summary of the attitudes of the three language groups as revealed by the data from the questionnaires. The Sotho pupils had a consistently positive attitude towards BSAE, having rated the acrolectal speaker, P4, the highest in both the video and the sound input (Table 5 and Table 11). The Afrikaans pupils favoured the standard SAE accent above the acrolectal BSAE speaker in both the video and the sound input (Table 5 and Table 11), while the English pupils had ambivalent feelings. They favoured the acrolectal BSAE above the white standard speaker in the video input, but displayed a more positive attitude towards SAE in the sound input (Table 5 and Table 11). The first hypothesis is supported in the sense that the three language groups indeed displayed

different attitudes towards BSAE. However, it proved to be the Afrikaans pupils who were the least tolerant of deviations in accent and the most consistently negative towards BSAE. The English pupils who evaluated the video input, together with the Sotho pupils, were the most tolerant of deviations in the accent of the BSAE speakers and they rated P4 the highest.

The second hypothesis is supported by the data from the questionnaires. Not only the Afrikaans pupils, but also the English pupils were at times guilty of making judgements based on racial bias, or displaying stereotypical notions towards BSAE. From Tables 5 and 11 it is quite obvious that the Afrikaans pupils failed to give credit to the proficiency of P4, rating him much lower than P3 and not much higher than P2. Table 10 clearly indicates that the English pupils refused to acknowledge the differences between the mesolectal speaker and the acrolectal speaker, the d-value for P2 and P4 having been only 0.09. The d-value for P3 and P4, however, shows beyond any doubt that they perceived significant differences between the white standard speaker and the BSAE acrolectal speaker. The Sotho pupils showed clear racial prejudice in the consistently positive way they evaluated BSAE, and the correspondingly negative attitude towards standard SAE.

This positive experience of their proficiency in English was also revealed in the language acquisition planning research conducted by Coetzee-Van Rooy (2000).

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As was the case with the studies of Cooper (1989) and Nortje (1995), this study cannot provide general conclusive evidence that the occupation of a speaker is indicative of his status. Although it is true in the case of the video input, the same is not true for the sound input. More research is necessary in order to provide more conclusive evidence.

Another aspect which deserves more attention is the role which the physical appearance of the speaker plays during an evaluation of his/her accent. It is clear from the data provided on the video input in the questionnaire that there are significant differences between the data from the video input and that of the sound input.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE: GROUP 1 (VIDEO)

PERSONAL DETAILS:

1. GRADE:
2. MALE: FEMALE:
3. AGE:
4. HOME LANGUAGE: Sotho:
English:
Afrikaans:

INSTRUCTIONS:

You will see four people in the video recording, talking about different topics. Try to determine what each person is like according to the personality characteristics listed. There is a four-point scale between the two opposing points, for example:

pretty	.....	.....	.....	.....	ugly
	4	3	2	1	

Use a cross (X) to mark the space which you feel is most appropriate to your perception/opinion of each speaker, eg:

			X		
pretty	.....	.....	.....	.....	ugly
	4	3	2	1	

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP
AND COOPERATION!!!!**

PERSON NUMBER: 1

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PERSON? (Mark with a cross: X)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1. | Educated | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uneducated |
| | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 2. | Honest | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Dishonest |
| 3. | Unfriendly | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Friendly |
| 4. | Selfish | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Generous |
| 5. | Intelligent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unintelligent |
| 6. | Reliable | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unreliable |
| 7. | Attractive | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unattractive |
| 8. | Polite | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Impolite |
| 9. | Religious | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not religious |
| 10. | Bad parent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Good parent |
| 11. | Strong | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not strong |

12. Would you like this person?

Very much Not at all

13. What do you think would the most likely occupation of this person be?
Tick (✓) ONE of the following as your choice:

- doctor
- farm worker
- shop assistant
- farm foreman
- teacher

PERSON NUMBER: 2

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PERSON? (Mark with a cross: X)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1. | Educated | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uneducated |
| | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 2. | Honest | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Dishonest |
| 3. | Unfriendly | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Friendly |
| 4. | Selfish | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Generous |
| 5. | Intelligent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unintelligent |
| 6. | Reliable | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unreliable |
| 7. | Attractive | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unattractive |
| 8. | Polite | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Impolite |
| 9. | Religious | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not religious |
| 10. | Bad parent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Good parent |
| 11. | Strong | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not strong |

12. Would you like this person?

Very much Not at all

13. What do you think would the most likely occupation of this person be?
Tick (✓) ONE of the following as your choice:

- doctor
- farm worker
- shop assistant
- farm foreman
- teacher

PERSON NUMBER: 3

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PERSON? (Mark with a cross: X)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1. | Educated | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uneducated |
| | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 2. | Honest | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Dishonest |
| 3. | Unfriendly | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Friendly |
| 4. | Selfish | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Generous |
| 5. | Intelligent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unintelligent |
| 6. | Reliable | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unreliable |
| 7. | Attractive | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unattractive |
| 8. | Polite | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Impolite |
| 9. | Religious | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not religious |
| 10. | Bad parent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Good parent |
| 11. | Strong | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not strong |

12. Would you like this person?

Very much Not at all

13. What do you think would the most likely occupation of this person be?
Tick (✓) ONE of the following as your choice:

- doctor
- farm worker
- shop assistant
- farm foreman
- teacher

PERSON NUMBER: 4

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PERSON? (Mark with a cross: X)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1. | Educated | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uneducated |
| | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 2. | Honest | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Dishonest |
| 3. | Unfriendly | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Friendly |
| 4. | Selfish | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Generous |
| 5. | Intelligent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unintelligent |
| 6. | Reliable | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unreliable |
| 7. | Attractive | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unattractive |
| 8. | Polite | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Impolite |
| 9. | Religious | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not religious |
| 10. | Bad parent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Good parent |
| 11. | Strong | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not strong |

12. Would you like this person?

Very much Not at all

13. What do you think would the most likely occupation of this person be?
Tick (✓) ONE of the following as your choice:

- doctor
- farm worker
- shop assistant
- farm foreman
- teacher

QUESTIONNAIRE: GROUP 2 (SOUND TRACK)

PERSONAL DETAILS:

1. GRADE:
2. MALE: FEMALE:
3. AGE:
4. HOME LANGUAGE: Sotho:
English:
Afrikaans:

INSTRUCTIONS:

You will hear four people in the tape recording, talking about different topics. Try to determine what each person is like according to the personality characteristics listed. There is a four-point scale between the two opposing points, for example:

pretty	.....	.....	.....	.....	ugly
	4	3	2	1	

Use a cross (X) to mark the space which you feel is most appropriate to your perception/opinion of each speaker, eg:

			X		
pretty	.....	.....	.....	.....	ugly
	4	3	2	1	

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP
AND COOPERATION!!!!**

PERSON NUMBER: 1

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PERSON? (Mark with a cross: X)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1. | Educated | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uneducated |
| | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 2. | Honest | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Dishonest |
| 3. | Unfriendly | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Friendly |
| 4. | Selfish | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Generous |
| 5. | Intelligent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unintelligent |
| 6. | Reliable | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unreliable |
| 7. | Attractive | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unattractive |
| 8. | Polite | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Impolite |
| 9. | Religious | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not religious |
| 10. | Bad parent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Good parent |
| 11. | Strong | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not strong |

12. Would you like this person?

Very much Not at all

13. What do you think would the most likely occupation of this person be?
Tick (✓) ONE of the following as your choice:

- doctor
- farm worker
- shop assistant
- farm foreman
- teacher

PERSON NUMBER: 2

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PERSON? (Mark with a cross: X)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1. | Educated | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uneducated |
| | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 2. | Honest | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Dishonest |
| 3. | Unfriendly | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Friendly |
| 4. | Selfish | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Generous |
| 5. | Intelligent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unintelligent |
| 6. | Reliable | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unreliable |
| 7. | Attractive | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unattractive |
| 8. | Polite | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Impolite |
| 9. | Religious | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not religious |
| 10. | Bad parent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Good parent |
| 11. | Strong | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not strong |

12. Would you like this person?

Very much Not at all

13. What do you think would the most likely occupation of this person be?
Tick (✓) ONE of the following as your choice:

- doctor
- farm worker
- shop assistant
- farm foreman
- teacher

PERSON NUMBER: 3

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PERSON? (Mark with a cross: X)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1. | Educated | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uneducated |
| | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 2. | Honest | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Dishonest |
| 3. | Unfriendly | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Friendly |
| 4. | Selfish | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Generous |
| 5. | Intelligent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unintelligent |
| 6. | Reliable | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unreliable |
| 7. | Attractive | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unattractive |
| 8. | Polite | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Impolite |
| 9. | Religious | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not religious |
| 10. | Bad parent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Good parent |
| 11. | Strong | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not strong |

12. Would you like this person?

Very much Not at all

13. What do you think would the most likely occupation of this person be?
Tick (✓) ONE of the following as your choice:

- doctor
- farm worker
- shop assistant
- farm foreman
- teacher

PERSON NUMBER: 4

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PERSON? (Mark with a cross: X)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| 1. | Educated | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uneducated |
| | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 2. | Honest | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Dishonest |
| 3. | Unfriendly | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Friendly |
| 4. | Selfish | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Generous |
| 5. | Intelligent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unintelligent |
| 6. | Reliable | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unreliable |
| 7. | Attractive | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Unattractive |
| 8. | Polite | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Impolite |
| 9. | Religious | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not religious |
| 10. | Bad parent | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Good parent |
| 11. | Strong | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Not strong |

12. Would you like this person?

Very much Not at all

13. What do you think would the most likely occupation of this person be?
Tick (✓) ONE of the following as your choice:

- doctor
- farm worker
- shop assistant
- farm foreman
- teacher

SUMMARY

AN ASSESSMENT OF HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PRONUNCIATION OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH

South African English (SAE) represents a conglomerate of many different varieties, which used to be identified by ethnic labelling. One such variety is Black South African English (BSAE), the English of English second language speakers whose first languages are Bantu languages. It used to be looked at as a minor second language variety, deviating from the norm, usually difficult to comprehend and generally unimportant. This point of view has changed since the democratisation of South Africa, reflecting the immense socio-political changes (Smit & Wissing, 2000: 10). Closer contact between people from various cultures caused a decline in the prescriptive concern for (linguistic) correctness and the stigma associated with the non-standard varieties in the past has been replaced by growing confidence in BSAE (De Klerk & Gough: to appear). The role of BSAE has undergone dramatic changes since the democratic elections in 1994, but the question is whether the attitudes of South Africans towards BSAE have changed for the better, or not.

The focus of this study is the attitudes of speakers from different home language backgrounds towards BSAE. Are there differences in attitude even after the so-called democratisation of the country, and are these differences based on linguistic deviations of BSAE from the norm, or are they based on the skin colour or race of the speaker?

Pupils from Sotho, English and Afrikaans first language backgrounds were asked to rate four speakers objectively on a personality questionnaire. The four speech samples represented a basilect, a mesolect and an acrolect of BSAE, with standard white SAE as the controlling factor. Both video input and sound input were used in order to establish whether the sight of a black/white speaker influences a person's evaluation of BSAE/SAE.

The results of the video input revealed that the Sotho pupils, as well as the English pupils, rated acrolectal BSAE the highest. The Afrikaans pupils showed a preference for standard white SAE. The Sotho pupils elevated the status of mesolectal BSAE by rating this speaker very similar to the standard white SAE speaker. This seems to reflect a newfound pride in the English language of their own kind.

The results of the sound input revealed that the Sotho pupils, as was the case with the video input, showed a preference for acrolectal BSAE, while the English and Afrikaans pupils all rated the standard white SAE speaker the highest. The responses of the Sotho pupils in both the video and the sound input reflect cultural loyalty and can probably be ascribed to their identification with the acrolectal speaker as their role model.

The English pupils in the sound input test rated the mesolectal BSAE speaker higher than the acrolectal BSAE speaker, which seems to indicate that they were unable to distinguish between the two accents and merely rated them lower than the standard white SAE because of stereotypical notions about BSAE.

The results indicated that pupils from all three language groups were, to some extent, guilty of racist judgements in evaluating SAE. The Sotho pupils consistently rated acrolectal BSAE the highest; the Afrikaans pupils did the same with standard white SAE. The English pupils preferred BSAE in the video input, but supported standard white SAE in the sound input. This seems to indicate that some of them have, to a certain extent, become more lenient and less critical towards BSAE.

It became quite evident from this study that BSAE is evaluated most positively among black speakers, and in certain cases, also among white SAE speakers.

OPSOMMING

'N EVALUERING VAN HOËRSKOOELLEERLINGE SE HOUDING TEENoor DIE AKSENT VAN SWART SUID-AFRIKAANSE ENGELS

Suid-Afrikaanse Engels (SAE) bestaan uit 'n verskeidenheid variëteite wat aanvanklik op grond van etnisiteit geklassifiseer is. Een van hierdie variëteite is swart Suid-Afrikaanse Engels (SSAE), wat gepraat word deur tweedetaalsprekers wie se moedertaal 'n Bantoetaal is. SSAE is vroeër beskou as 'n onbeduidende tweedetaalvariëteit wat baie van die standard verskil het, moeilik verstaanbaar was en oor die algemeen onbelangrik was. Hierdie siening het verander sedert die demokratisering van Suid-Afrika en dit is ook 'n refleksie van die enorme sosio-politiese veranderinge wat sedertdien plaasgevind het (Smit & Wissing, 2000: 10). Nouer kontak tussen mense van verskillende kulture het gelei tot 'n mindere mate van voorskriftelike maatreëls vir sogenaamde "korrekte" taalgebruik en die stigma van die nie-standaardvariëteit van die verlede is vervang met 'n toenemende mate van selfvertroue in SSAE. (De Klerk & Gough: ter perse). Die rol van Engels het dramaties verander sedert die demokratiese verkiesings in 1994, maar die vraag is of die houding van Suid-Afrikaners teenoor SSAE ook ten goede verander het, of nie.

Hierdie studie fokus op die houdings van verskillende moedertaalsprekers teenoor SSAE. Is daar wel verskille in houding na die demokratisering van die land, en word hierdie houdings gebaseer op taalkundige afwykings van die Standaard, of op die ras of velkleur van die spreker?

Leerlinge wat moedertaalsprekers is van Engels, Afrikaans en Sotho is gevra om vier Engelse sprekers in 'n video- of klankopname objektief te beoordeel. Die vier sprekers se taal was voorbeelde van 'n basilek, mesolek en 'n akrolek van SSAE, terwyl 'n Blanke standaardspreker as die kontrolefaktor gebruik is.

Die resultate van die video opname het getoon dat die Sotho leerlinge sowel as die Engelse leerlinge die akrolek van SSAE die hoogste geag het. Die Afrikaanse leerlinge het 'n voorkeur getoon vir standaard blanke Engels. Die Sotho leerlinge het ook hoër status aan die mesolek toegeken deur dit baie dieselfde as standaard blanke Engels te beoordeel. Dit blyk dat daar 'n nuutgevonde trots is onder die Sotho leerlinge vir die Engels van hul rasgenote.

Die resultate van die klankopname het getoon dat die Sotho leerlinge weer die akrolek verkies het, net soos in die geval van die video opname. Beide die Engelse en Afrikaanse leerlinge het standaard blanke SAE verkies. Die reaksie van die Sotho leerlinge in beide die video en die klankopname weerspieël kulturele lojaliteit, waarskynlik omdat hulle kan identifiseer met die akrolek spreker en hom as hul rolmodel beskou.

Die Engelse leerlinge het in die klankopname die mesolek hoër aangeslaan as die akrolek, wat daarop dui dat hulle nie onderskeid gemaak het tussen die twee aksente nie, maar hulle bloot ondergeskik aan SSAE geag het as gevolg van stereotipe vooroordele teenoor SSAE.

Die resultate het duidelik getoon dat SSAE baie hoër aansien onder Sotho sprekers geniet en dat die leerlinge van al drie taalgroepe hulle in 'n mindere of meerdere mate aan rassistiese vooroordele skuldig gemaak het. Die Sotho leerlinge het deurgaans die akrolek hoër aangeslaan

as standaard blanke SAE. Dieselfde geld vir die Afrikaanse leerlinge wat deurgaans standaard SAE verkies het. Die Engelse leerlinge het die akrolek verkies in die video opname, maar met die klankopname het hulle tog standaard blanke SAE verkies. Dit dui daarop dat hulle meer buigsaam en minder krities is teenoor SSAE.

Die studie het duidelik getoon dat SSAE deur swart sprekers, en in sommige gevalle ook deur blanke sprekers, baie positief ervaar word.