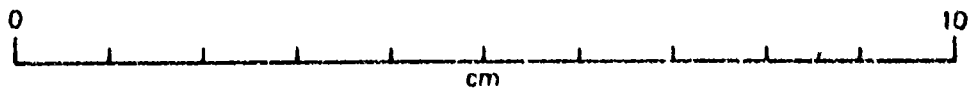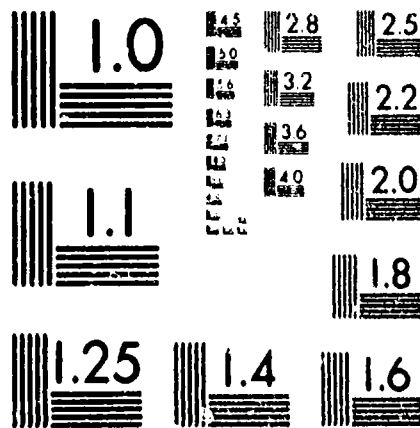# MIKROVERFILMING DEUR DIE UNIVERSITEIT VAN SUID-AFRIKA 1988
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LANGUAGE CONTACT AND INTERFERENCE

IN THE ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH PROFICIENCY

BY BANTU-SPEAKING STUDFNTS

by

R.J. WISSING

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject

ENGLISH

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR J.B. GOEDHALS

JOINT SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR R. FINLAYSON

SUMMARY

This study analyses the causes of c or in the written English of Black senior
secondary pupils and teacher trainees. Using Error Analysis and Contrastive
Analysis in a form known as Interference Analysis and covering a full range of
grammatical, syntactical and lexical issues, erroneous items in English are
compared with the same items in the learner's first language in order to isolate
and identify such errors. Analysis of these errors shows which are due to
direct interlingual transfer, which are not completely attributable to direct
transfer, and which are intralingual, the result of idiosyncratic language
usage or merely mistakes rather than errors. While recognizing the degree
to which Black learners' language habits have become fossilized and the extent
to which standardized errors form part of the English used by Bantu-speaking
students, this study sets out to improve proficiency in English by explaining
the causes of error and by suggesting possible remedial approaches.

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C O N T E N T S

Acknowledgements

Prefatory Note

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PREFATORY NOTE

There was a need to use certain acronyms and abbreviations in the text and
also to include a rather large number of remedial exercises in the form
of appendices, the reasons for which follow.

Firstly, as new trends in language learning and teaching develop, there is an
accompanying growth in the number of acronyms and other abbreviations which
may be unfamiliar to some. I felt that it was necessary to explain the
more common of these, especially as many of them appear in both the body
and bibliography of this dissertation. A list of these follows:

ESP	- English for Special Purposes
ESL	- English as a Second Language
EFL	- English as a Foreign Language
TESOL	- Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TEFL	- Teaching English as a Foreign Language
EA	- Error Analysis
CA	- Contrastive Analysis
SASE	- South African Standard English
SABE	- South African Black English
ELTIC	- English Language Teaching Information Centre
IRA	- International Reading Association
IRAL	- International Review of Applied Linguistics

Secondly, where it was awkward,because of their length, to include remedial
exercises in every chapter, I have appended these at the end of the
dissertation. Where it was possible to do so, I have included shorter
remedial exercises in certain chapters, as I felt that their inclusion
would not unduly affect the flow of the chapter.

INTRODUCTION

The future of English in South Africa should be an area of concern for all speakers of English, whether it is their first language or not. The optimist may feel that, as English is probably the most dominant language of the modern world, its status is assured and there is no cause for concern. The vast majority of English speakers in the Republic of South Africa probably does not concern itself with what is seen primarily as an academic issue, unless domination by another language group increases, or there is some negative change in the socio-political situation, or the status of English as an official language or its use as a medium of education is threatened. The pessimists, predominantly academics and educationists, have for some years been issuing statements about the deterioration of English in South Africa and expressing doubts about its future in this country.

Native English-speakers in South Africa, concentrated largely in highly urbanised areas and moving almost exclusively in an English-speaking environment, tend to feel that their language is so widely spoken and understood that it is in no danger. Yet few realise that, of the 25 million people living in South Africa in 1980 [1] (excluding Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda), only 2,8 million (11,2%) spoke English as their first language. In terms of population groups this 2,8 million is broken down as follows:

Table 1: **Number of first language speakers of English by population groups** [2]

Whites	1 763 220	38,94 per cent of Whites
Asians	698 940	85,10 per cent of Asians
Coloureds	324 360	12,41 per cent of Coloureds
Blacks	29 120	0,17 per cent of Blacks [3]
	2 815 640	

The significance of these statistics, especially the 0,17 per cent relating to Blacks, is that the teaching of English is overwhelmingly the teaching of a second language in the South African context. The question of the future of English among Blacks is therefore a more crucial one in view of the fact that Blacks comprise some 68 per cent of the population. It follows that those responsible for teaching English to Blacks, because they are directly involved with the problem, are most anxious about the maintenance of some form of Standard English. [4] The most serious problem facing us is that the standard of English among Blacks may deviate so much from basic English that it will eventually lead to severe communication difficulties in the future.

Guy Butler, reviewing the future of English in Africa, states that

> ... in certain areas in Africa, English has developed very strong
> local characteristics. It remains useful as an internal lingua
> franca, but as a spoken language, is useless for external contact.
> This process may result in the proliferation of new varieties of
> 'pidgin' as has already happened in the Cameroons and along the
> West Coast.[5]

Although this situation is not yet as serious in South Africa as it is elsewhere,
Lanham warns that if present trends continue,

> ... spoken English in various territories in Africa may well be
> reduced to little more than a local patois. In South Africa,
> well-educated African teachers already find great difficulty
> in following a tape-recorded discussion on mathematics by a
> Liberian colleague. The social and political implications of
> unchecked mother-tongue interference can be serious.[6]

As the teaching of English to Blacks is very largely in the hands of Black
teachers, and because of the South African socio-political system (which tends
to reduce contact between speakers of different languages), it is probable, if not
inevitable, that forms of English have begun to develop which deviate from
Standard English. The real danger is that 'if these forms are allowed to
continue unchecked they will become "fixed and self-perpetuating, each genera-
tion adding to the accretions of deviations from mother-tongue English".[7]
Hallowes, after analysing the English errors made by Standard 6 Zulu, Tswana,
Sotho and Tsonga pupils, was led to observe that 'the great danger to English
in Africa is not that it will vanish but that it will become debased to the
point of un-intelligibility'.[8]

Lanham, probably the foremost authority in the field of teaching English to
second language pupils in South Africa, makes two important observations.
Firstly, he does not object to African dialects of English as such 'provided that,
like all other dialects of English, they share the same basic English design,
such as underlie American, Australian and South African English...'.[9] Secondly,
and more pertinent to the scope of this investigation, he says

> The interference from the mother tongue has already gone far too
> far in all varieties of African English and, as the dilution of the
> mainstream of effective English teaching continues, greater inroads
> are imminent.[10]

At this stage, the question arises whether there are sufficient grounds for believing in the existence of a distinct form of Black English in South Africa. Lanham maintains that

> Even at the lowest levels of competence it is hard to claim for
> SABE (South African Black English) a consistent, well-formed
> system whose speakers have an awareness of some of its distin-
> guishing properties..., [11]

thereby precluding the notion that it is some form of pidgin or creole. He nevertheless notes that it is a distinct form,

> ... marked by a distinct accent shared by almost all its speakers
> with an obvious origin in common, salient, features of Bantu
> phonology. At the highest levels of competence it is further
> marked by certain peculiarities in idiom, meaning and word
> categorization, while otherwise adhering to patterns of standard
> English. [12]

Furthermore, with more specific reference to the area of research this dissertation is concerned with, he goes on to say

> In its most extreme form, utterances of SABE present extens. ve
> mother-tongue interference, partly individualistic, partly
> predictable in terms of established categories of deviance from
> mother-tongue English. [13]

The factors which have facilitated the emergence of a peculiarly Black variety of English in South Africa are evident from the survey which follows. This is primarily concerned with the socio-linguistic environment of Soweto, interpreted from an educational perspective. In 1980, the combined Black populations of Johannesburg, Randburg, Roodepoort and Soweto areas numbered 1 031 700. [14] Soweto is the largest and most significant urban Black community in South Africa and it is linked closely with the city of Johannesburg, where most of the adult population of Soweto is employed. An analysis of the level of education of the inhabitants of Soweto gives one some impression of the enormity of the task facing educators.

Table II: Level of Education of Blacks in Greater Johannesburg Area (1980) [15]

No formal education	268 120	25,99 per cent
Less than Std. 4	231 400	22,43 " "
Std. 4	80 420	7,79 " "
Std. 5	103 380	10,02 " "

(contd.)

Table II: Level of Education of Blacks in Greater Johannesburg Area (1980)

Std. 6	156 340	15,15 per cent
Std. 7	66 640	6,46 " "
Std. 8	72 340	7,01 " "
Std. 9	17 460	1,69 " "
Std. 10	21 700	2,10 " "
Diploma and Std.9 or lower	4 800	0,47 " "
Diploma and Std. 10	2 820	0,27 " "
Degree	1 200	0,12 " "
	1 031 700	

A further breakdown of the numbers of Blacks of school-going age is also significant.

Table III: Numbers of Blacks of potential school-going age in Greater Johannesburg Area (1980). [16]

5-9 Years	10-14 Years	15-19 Years	20-24 Years	Total
87060	75200	91200	127140	380600 [17]

Total: 36,9 per cent of 1031700

We can deduce two major alarming trends from these statistics. Firstly, in 1980 almost 50 per cent of Blacks had either no education at all, or had less than five years of formal schooling. Seen from a different perspective and given that English was only very recently introduced as the medium of instruction from Std. 3, the vast majority of these pupils did not have enough exposure to English at school to ensure some degree of proficiency and, in fact, would probably be regarded as functionally illiterate in English. Secondly, 87,8 per cent of pupils had left school by 1980 before reaching Std. 8, and only 2,1 per cent completed their secondary education by passing Std. 10. This drop-out rate is a matter of grave concern to all educators, specifically for English teachers, as it is debatable whether a Black learner of English can be said to have acquired any reasonable level of competence in English without at least a Std. 6 or Std. 8 qualification.

The Soweto English Language Research Project (SELRP), which initiated an in-service training scheme for Black primary and junior secondary schools in 1979, found that

...the standard of English in the schools, both at Std. 6 and Std. 3 levels, is such that in the former case it provides an inadequate base for secondary education through the medium of English, and in the latter is similarly inadequate for a change-over to English medium teaching. Thus action to effect improvement is urgent in both cases. [18]

The report adds that many Black pupils entering high school

> ... demonstrably do not possess the skills in English essential to success in their secondary education where English is now the principal medium of instruction. Unless something can be done urgently to remedy this situation there is the prospect of a high failure [19] and dropout rate with inevitable social and other consequences.[20]

The inadequate numbers, quality and qualifications of Black teachers are further factors directly related to the maintenance of a suitable standard of English. Many teachers, particularly those in secondary schools, have been forced to teach at a higher level than their qualifications allow because of the small number of adequately-trained secondary teachers and because of the huge increase in the Black school-going population, especially since 1976. Although all teacher-training courses for Blacks are now three-year courses, whether for pre-primary, junior and senior primary, or for secondary teaching diplomas, over 80 per cent of Black teachers are still under-qualified, as the table below demonstrates.

Table IV: Qualifications of Black Teachers (1980) [21]

Degree	2,4	per cent
Std. 10 with teacher's diploma	15,0	" "
Std. 10 only	3,0	" "
Std. 8 with teacher's certificate	65,9	" "
Std. 8 only	13,7	" "

When such a large proportion of teachers are under-qualified, and when their command of English more often than not varies from only just adequate to poor, it is not surprising that the standard of English has devolved to its present level.
Such teachers are responsible not only for the teaching of English but also for the teaching of subjects through the medium of English. Moreover, the majority of those with low qualifications are primary school teachers, responsible for establishing the grounding for linguistic competence in English.
As Hartshorne points out,

> These are the years (7-12 years old) when the foundations of second language learning are laid, and when, in particular, speech habits are established. It is in these years that the patterns of 'African English' are built into pupils in Bantu [22] [sic] schools'.[23]

Another complication is the fact that Soweto is a multilingual environment containing all ten major Southern African Bantu languages. The table below lists the relative percentages of first language speakers of the various languages, from the largest to the smallest groups present in Soweto.

Table V: Number of First Language Speakers of Bantu Languages in Soweto by language (1980) [24]

Zulu	259 020	29,0 per cent
Tswana	164 360	1>,0 " "
S.Sotho	121 720	14,0 " "
Xhosa	85 960	9,9 " "
N.Sotho	74 960	8,6 " "
Swati	56 480	6,5 " "
Tsonga	53 860	6,2 " "
Venda	32 640	3,8 " "
N.Ndebele	6 960	0,8 " "
S.Ndebele	6 400	0,7 " "
Other	4 500	0,5 " "
	866 660	

Zulu, Tswana and Southern Sotho are the most widely-spoken and understood, the first belonging to the Nguni Bantu linguistic sub-family, the latter two to the Sotho. These three languages dominate for various historical, geographical and prestige-related reasons, and most urbanized Blacks, if they do not speak one of them as a first language [25], understand and speak some form of at least one of them. A child from a minority language group will, therefore, speak his first language as well as have some competence in Zulu, Tswana and/or Southern Sotho. Linguistic variety can be further complicated where a child comes from a home in which his father speaks one minority language and his mother another. When he begins his schooling, he is exposed to learning English and Afrikaans, very frequently without having heard them before. [26] Theoretically, therefore, it is possible that a Black child in Soweto can have varying degrees of competence in from three to six languages. The implications for English are clear - with that amount of competition from other languages which enjoy much more frequent exposure and use, the obstacles militating against a Black child's mastering English become even more difficult to overcome.

At this point it should be noted that the Southern Bantu languages are not, as is often popularly believed, mutually intelligible. Their phonological, grammatical and syntactical structures are similar, but vocabulary, in particular, can differ greatly, especially between the major linguistic family divisions, namely Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga and Venda. The occurrence of language mingling, cross influences and interference is not limited to the influence of the Bantu languages on English as spoken by Blacks; Black teachers of the Bantu languages

often complain about the low standard in the first language attained by urbanized students.

A survey of the position and relative status of the Bantu languages seen against those of English is thus necessary in order to comprehend more fully the difficulties involved in teaching English to Blacks. One might expect the standard of English in Soweto to be higher than it is, given the highly urbanized milieu with more theoretical opportunities for contact with English and the proximity of Soweto to the largest English-speaking metropolis in South Africa.

The point which must be borne in mind here is that English is not even a second language for a great number of urban Blacks, let alone rural Blacks. Indeed, in terms of language use, contact and exposure, for some Blacks English may only be a fifth or sixth language. In certain areas of South Africa, particularly the homelands and rural areas where a Bantu language is spoken almost exclusively and where Afrikaans is most often the dominant European language, English could be described as something closer to a foreign language.[27] Three major linguistic influences are thus operative in the language learning process of the average Black child, namely, the Bantu languages, English[28] and Afrikaans.

There are many factors which exacerbate the acquisition of competence in English among Blacks. Most of them are attributable to the educational environment. Mphahlele maintains that

> Our high school and university students and graduates are generally inarti-
> culate; they are held slaves to the syllabus because the teacher is
> incapable of giving any more of himself or lacks the will to; the
> instinct for inquiry and research has never been developed; the teacher's
> or lecturer's notes are considered to be the ultimate word of authority,
> just as examinations have become the ultimate purpose of education.[29]

All the disadvantages of rote learning, excessive drilling (often with little attention to the use of structures in context), over-reliance on textbooks, monotonous presentation with little active class participation, ignorance of new and different teaching methods and materials, faulty evaluation and insufficient practice in the productive and receptive skills are present in varying degrees in the average Black school. To these we might add the over-emphasis on writing skills at the expense of speech skills, the stress (demanded by the syllabuses and examinations) on formal and literary English. Conservative teaching approaches are widespread, classes are still often very large[30] and the teaching and marking loads often discourage teachers from attempting

any method which might threaten the maintenance of order or create more work for themselves. Because English across the curriculum [31] is a difficult policy to persuade suspicious teachers to adopt and because teachers of other subjects either do not see the need for supplementing the English teacher's efforts or lack the ability to do so, even a competent English teacher tends to lose faith and his motivation to improve the standard of English.

Black pupils, and many teachers, use English only in the classroom and therefore generally only to cope with the demands of the particular subjects being taught. Moreover, they tend to speak English only to a native English-speaking teacher, reverting to the first language for virtually all other contacts with Black teachers and fellow pupils outside the classroom. Outside this rather narrow spectrum of English in the educational environment, English is most often used in adult activities, generally formal ones such as meetings, celebrations, debates, competitions and church services. On these occasions, English is strongly associated with high social status, and is frequently pompous and affected. The aim is not so much communication, but the creation of an effect designed to attract prestige. Even then, this use is largely limited to educated Blacks. For most communicative needs in Soweto, except where the use of English is unavoidable as a lingua franca, or desirable, one or more of the major Black languages is used. There is thus insufficient exposure to good spoken English, to reading material in English, or to English radio or television, and, especially in the case of pupils, very little contact with native English-speakers. Most young Blacks, therefore, have contact with English almost entirely in the second language classroom context. Many, being accustomed to being passive recipients in the teaching situation, often object to a teacher employing methods which demand activity not only inside the classroom but also, for example, reading English books or listening to an English radio programme at home. These factors militate against the acquisition of English. That the solution of this problem lies in the schools is clear to Young:

> Already, 80% of all teachers of English[32] as a subject are not mother tongue speakers. Pupils who model their speech and communication patterns, syntax and written discourse on the imperfect models of English taught by their non-English-speaking teachers, run a serious risk of never adequately being able to master the colloquial, context-sensitive English needed for successful communication in the real world outside the classroom.[33]

Hartshorne takes the point further:

> Much of our present approach to the teaching of English as a second
> language is based on the hope that exposure to the language over a
> long period at school will bring about the results we desire. Now we
> all know that such 'exposure', but not limited to the school, has been
> the way in which many people have won command of another language.
> However, they have always been in the situation where the dominant
> language has been the target language and not the home language of the
> learner. There has been no easy retreat to the mother tongue:
> communication has necessitated the use of the target language.
> In the school situation effective second language teaching cannot be
> dependent on this policy of 'exposure'. The pressures exerted by the
> first language are too great, and the second language situation created
> in the classroom by the teacher is not always reliable or authentic.[34]

We have at least two important advantages in South Africa for ensuring the mainte-
nance of standard English: its future as an established language is not in
question and it enjoys a generally high status among Blacks, who view it as an
international and local lingua franca, prefer it as the medium of education, and
respect it as a means of economic and vocational advancement, an indication of
social status and as the language of progress and development. It should be noted,
how ever, that such attitudes are in no way sufficient in themselves to ensure
that English continues to develop along a line which concerned parties would
like to see. The motivation of Blacks to learn and master English must be
directed towards their seeing it not simply as a means to an end, but also
their realising that if it is to remain a language of communication, care must be
taken to ensure that it does not diverge so much from standard English that it
becomes useless for the purpose of world-wide communication. The responsi-
bility lies with those who have the necessary expertise and influence - with
teachers, with the language departments at universities, technikons and colleges
of education, and with the relevant ministerial authorities. For educationists,

> Surely the issue at stake is not whether it [English] will survive
> and for whom, but what will be the level of linguistic and
> communicative competence of its users and, perhaps more important,
> will a rapidly expanding, underprivileged community of Blacks continue
> to produce enough teachers to teach them this world-access language?[35]

It is, therefore, the nature and quality of English among urban Blacks, specifically
senior secondary pupils, which will be the subject of this dissertation, in an

attempt to show to what extent incorrect English language habits are entrenched and what proportion of these are potentially due to first language interference.

The motivation for this investigation had its origins when, as a senior teacher of English in a Soweto secondary school, and later as a lecturer in English at the Soweto College of Education to both students and qualified teachers, I noticed the high frequency of certain standardised errors in speech and writing. Very little material was available to explain the reasons for these deviations from Standard English, apart from the phonological research conducted by Lanham and Traill, common errors listed by Scheffler, and more general references by Hartshorne and Butler. Having a modicum of formal background in Zulu and Northern Sotho, I discovered that a fairly high proportion of errors were due to direct interference from the Bantu languages, a larger proportion appeared to originate from overgeneralization of the rules of English, that is, intra-lingual errors, while a number were unclear and could not be definitely ascribed to either cause.

Errors were noted and remedial exercises compiled from time to time, but it was discovered that unless they were drilled fairly regularly and students corrected as often as possible and commended more often, students would generally revert to their earlier errors. These incorrect language habits were ingrained and more difficult to eradicate because other subject teachers did not reinforce the correction, were in most cases also using fossilized items and were themselves victims of first language interference. Furthermore, students very rarely used English to communicate with one another or with a Black teacher, whether inside the classroom or not. Thus they received very little positive practice, reinforcement or exposure to English outside the second language classroom. Many students, and teachers, lacked motivation to correct these errors, feeling that their communicative needs were well enough catered for by the English they spoke. Those students, however, who already had a fairly good command of English, largely because they had more contact with English outside the school environment (by reading a good deal and listening to radio or television programmes in English) appeared to derive more benefit. I realized that, for many learners, these language habits had become fossilized and were likely to remain so unless a drastic change in teaching and learning methods was effected. This strategy should entail the introduction of new stimulating material, English across the curriculum, in-service training for teachers (in which interference would specifically be dealt with) and, altogether, a policy of encouraging more language contact with practice in and exposure to English. Only in these ways can the emergence of a permanently fossilized

Black South African English be forestalled. Otherwise, Black English will deteriorate to such an extent from the norm of Standard English that it will degenerate into a pidgin or a creole.

Like Lanham, we should not object to a specifically Black dialect of English as long as it shares the basic rules of English.[36] After all, language is enriched by judicious contact, borrowing and adaptation to local needs and circumstances - South African English has borrowed African words such as 'mamba', 'indaba' and 'donga' without any ill effects. When, however, Black English begins to develop features which would hamper communication with other English speakers and when the former are not aware of the fact, the problem cannot be ignored. I may mention here, by way of example, three very common deviations which could lead to serious breakdowns in communication:

My father is late = My father is dead

This dress is too long = This queue is very long

('dress' = township slang for 'queue')

She got/had a fall = She became pregnant

(while she was an unmarried church-goer)

This very necessary field of research is based on the written work of senior pupils at three Soweto secondary schools, one of which has had first language speakers of English teaching English for a continuous period of five years, the remaining two having had only Black second language speakers of English on their staffs.

The topic of the essay upon which the research was based was:

'Does a study of Tess of the D'Urbervilles

Far from the Madding Crowd

the Shakespeare play you are studying this year

the short stories you are studying this year

have any relevance to life today?'

The length was limited to two A4 pages. This was an essay completed in the classroom, supervised by the teachers, the pupils being under the impression that the essay was simply a classwork exercise. This was to ensure that the sample reflected the normal standard and competence of the pupils. There was no contact between myself, the researcher, and the pupils. The teachers were all personal contacts well-known to me. I felt that this was important as they might then be more co-operative and not feel threatened by such an investigation. They were asked not to divulge the real purpose of the essay, nor to do

any remedial work on common errors with their pupils by way of preparing them for the essay. To the best of my knowledge, these requests were met.

Although the topic demanded a literary approach and was based on the works of literature being studied by individual classes, the research data were not interpreted in a literary light, that is, in terms of factual content and literary criticism, but in terms of the grammatical, lexical, syntactical, phonological and stylistic errors revealed in each essay.

The samples included the writing of speakers of six Bantu languages, namely Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tsonga. They were not groups of equal size, as it was felt that the normal classroom situation of mixed language groups of varying numbers would be more realistic as a sample. It was not my intention to prove that speakers of different languages all revealed the same proportion of errors, but simply to indicate the range and types of errors occurring in a typical second language classroom situation.

Each sample was processed in three stages. Firstly, the essay was read through as a whole, then marked intensively using abbreviated codes for each type of error and, finally, after an interval, read again, checked and altered if new errors of special features had been noted. All errors, whether exhibiting first language interference or not, were noted in a mass count. These I then transferred to tables and classified in a detailed taxonomy which I extended as more errors of a specific type were noted. Six broad divisions served as a classificatory guide: grammar, lexis, syntax, phonology, style and punctuation.

Certain problematic areas were manifest from the beginning and some were only imperfectly resolved. It is important not to attach too much significance to the actual percentages, or relative numbers and types of errors noted, as they should rather be viewed as indications of relative types and frequencies rather than as absolute, empirically tested items. The point will be made that error analysis as a technique has yet to devise a universal method of ensuring true validity of classification and data collection. This research concentrates on errors alone, but notes that strategies of avoidance, other issues relating to the teaching-learning situation, individual idiosyncrasies and correct use of English must be considered and at times emphasized lest concentration on errors at the expense of other and more important considerations leads to false conclusions.

It should also be noted that it is relatively simple to identify an error, more difficult to classify it by type, and most difficult to explain why it occurs. An example will clarify this:

Things change as a result of the evil man do.

Concentrating on the major errors and ignoring the rather vague 'things change', this error could be ascribed to any one or all of four possible causes, or it may merely be a mistake, a slip:

1. Phonological confusion - error of substitution:
   $[æ]$ in 'man' instead of $[ɛ]$

2. Grammatical/lexi..... confusion - error of substitution:
   ignorance of/confusion between the singular and plural
   forms of 'man' / 'men', or lack of distinction between 'man' =
   'mankind' and 'man' = 'male human being'.

3. Grammatical confusion - error of omission:
   confusion between/ignorance of the correct use of the article.

4. Grammatical error - error of addition or substitution:
   lack of agreement of concord between noun and verb in the
   simple present tense, hence 'do' = 'does'.

5. Unsystematic, unintentional slip or mistake, caused by
   carelessness and not rooted in a lower linguistic competence.

On a broader level, to classify the error type as interlingual, intralingual,[37] exhibiting potential features of both, or as indeterminable, is another dilemma. The explanations of the above errors will demonstrate the nature of the problem. The Bantu languages have no $[æ]$ phoneme, and speakers often substitute $[ɛ]$ which is the closest phoneme they have to $[æ]$. If the speaker intended 'man' to mean one male person, he would have used 'monna' (NS) or 'indoda' (Z) in his own language, but if he intended it to mean human beings in general, regardless of sex, he would have employed either the singular form 'motho' (NS) or 'umuntu' (Z), or the plural 'batho' (NS) or 'abantu' (Z).[38] Thus two forms are clearly distinguished in the Bantu languages whereas the most commonly used form for both denotations in English is 'man'. There are no articles in the Southern Bantu languages, and the error could thus be due to indirect first language interference. One could go on almost indefinitely postulating possible explanations. Unless context makes it unequivocably clear that the error was due to one particular cause, we should classify the error in all the possible categories as well. This is advisable because we cannot with any real certainty place it in one class, unless our findings are based on more structured tests which would enable us to postulate one cause for a particular error. It can be argued that this approach may lead to invalid conclusions

being drawn about the frequency and types of errors. If, however, multiple classification is followed systematically for errors due to more than one cause, the number of errors noted may well be inflated. In terms of relative percentages interpreted only as a guide to error frequency, however, it would appear to be the only way to arrive at some statistic extrapolated not from absolute (based on multiple choice tests, for example) but from relative data (based on an essay, for example). These reservations should be borne in mind when analysing the findings of error analysis.

Each chapter deals with a specific area of error, which exhibits signs of either potentially direct or indirect interference. The first section of each chapter will quote examples of errors from the sample, followed by an explanation of the source of error based on contrastive analysis of structures in Zulu, Northern Sotho **39** and English. The third section will suggest possible remedial teaching *methods and approaches. Where a more detailed method is required, it will be dealt* with separately in the form of an appendix.

Learners' errors are significant in three ways:

1. they indicate to the teacher, if he analyses them systematically,
   how far the learner has progressed in mastering the target language;

2. they provide evidence to the researcher of how language is learned and
   what strategies the learner uses to discover the language;

3. they are indispensable to the learner, because 'we can regard the making
   of errors as a device the learner uses in order to learn. It is a way
   the learner has of testing his hypotheses about the nature of the
   language he is learning'. **40**

For the teacher of English in a second language situation, it should be apparent that the techniques of contrastive analysis and error analysis **41** are vital, although they should obviously not form the sole basis of teaching methods and approaches. We should note Corder's motivation for encouraging research into *errors, one which this researcher shares:*

> Along with the results of tests and examinations, the errors that learners
> make are a major element in the feedback system of the process we call
> language teaching and learning. It is on the basis of the information
> the teacher gets from errors that he varies his teaching procedures and
> materials, the pace of the progress, and the amount of practice which he
> plans at any one moment. For this reason it is important that the teacher
> should be able not only to detect and describe errors linguistically but

also understand the psycholinguistic reasons for their occurrence.
The diagnosis and treatment of errors is one of the fundamental skills
of the teacher.[42]

In the light of what Corder feels, it is hoped that this investigation will
prove useful to all those involved in the study and teaching of English in
Southern Africa. In view of the fact that the teaching and learning of English
affect such a large proportion of people to whom it is not a first language,
and that the huge majority of these people are speakers of the Bantu languages,
it follows that there is an urgent need for research into how their
English can be improved. As there is very little information and research
material presently available in this country dealing specifically with first
language interference, it is hoped that this dissertation will serve a useful
function.

FOOTNOTES

1 Central Statistical Services, Population Census 1980: Sample Tabulation,
   Geographical Distribution of the Population, Report No. 02-80-01, Pretoria:
   1982, p.1.

2 Schuring, G.K. and M.K.Yzel: 'n Ondersoek na die taalsituasie in die Suid-
   Afrikaanse Swart gemeenskap: 'n Veeltalige samelewing : Deel 1. Pretoria:
   Human Sciences Research Council, 1983, p.1.

3 In 1970, 2 853 753 Blacks (19,25%) stated that they could speak English.
   Ibid., p.2.

4 South African Standard English is preferred to a form characterized by
   British Received Pronunciation.

5 Butler, Guy: 'The Future of English in Africa', Optima, June, 1964, p.88.

6 Lanham, L.W.: 'Teaching English in Bantu Primary Schools: A Report on
   research in Johannesburg schools. Department of Phonetics and Linguistics,
   University of the Witwatersrand, 1966, reprinted from Optima, Vol. 15,
   No. 4, p.2.

7 Lanham, L.W., quoted by G. Butler in Optima, June, 1964, p.94.

8 Purist's Language Clinic, 'How Africa devalues English'. (Interview of
   D.P. Hallowes), Daily News, Durban, December 18, 1967.

9 For further information on the deterioration, especially of English, of Black
   educational levels in the years between 1953 (Bantu Education Act) and 1976,
   see:
       (i) Lanham, L.W., op.cit.
       (ii) Mphahlele, E.: 'The Residue of History', in Energos, 1983:8
            (published for the Public Affairs Department of Mobil Oil Southern
            Africa (Pty) Ltd), pp. 73-9.
       (iii) Lanham, L.W. and K.P. Prinsloo (eds.): Language and Communication
             Studies in South Africa - Current Issues and Directions in Research
             and Inquiry. Cape Town: OUP, 1978, pp. 22-3.

10 Lanham, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.2.

11 Lanham, L.W. and K.P. Prinsloo (eds): <u>Language and Communication Studies in South Africa - Current Issues and Directions in Research and Inquiry.</u> Cape Town: OUP, 1978, p.24.

12 <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 23-4.

13 <u>Ibid.</u>, p.24.

14 Central Statistical Services, <u>Population Census 1980: Sample Tabulation, Social Characteristics, Report No. 02-80-02.</u> Pretoria: 1982, p.352.

15 <u>Ibid.</u>

16 <u>Ibid.</u>, pp.103-4.

17 This figure does not represent the number of Black pupils enrolled at schools. It is intended to show the relative proportion of young Blacks of school-going age. Six is the minimum age for commencing primary education, and there are many pupils in the 20-24 age group who are still at school. There is also, of course, a large proportion of non-school-going adults over 24 who are attempting to improve their primary and secondary school qualifications.

18 Vivian, S.: <u>Soweto English Language Project: Consultants' Report.</u> (Mimeographed report for internal circulation), September 15, 1979, summary page.

19 In 1979, there was a 73 per cent Black matriculation pass rate, but in 1981 this had dropped to only 53 per cent although the number of candidates had increased by over three times. See Mphahlele, E.: 'The Residue of History' in <u>Energos</u>, 1983:8, p.74. (See also Koenderman, T. (ed.) 'Education in South Africa: the Rôle of Private Enterprise,' in Energos, the official publication of Mobil Oil Southern Africa.)

20 Vivian, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.2.

21 Boyce, Napier: 'The Schooling Backlog' in <u>Energos</u>, 1983:8, p.55. (See also Koenderman reference in footnote 19.)

22 The term 'Bantu' should only be used to denote one of a number of related languages, characterized by noun classes and a concordial system, and spoken by Black people in most of Central, East and Southern Africa. It is a linguistic term, not a racial classification, and was first coined by the philologist W.H.I. Bleek.

23 Hartshorne, K.B.: <u>The Teaching of English as a Second Language in South Africa</u> (Publication No. 1 of the English Academy of Southern Africa), Johannesburg, 1966, p.6.

24 Central Statistical Services, <u>Population Census 1980: Geographical Distribution,</u> pp. 184 and 191.

25 The term 'first language/home language' is preferred to 'mother tongue'. Most Black correspondents found this term misleading as the father's language generally predominates in a home where the mother speaks a different language.

26 For some pupils, exposure to reasonable English begins much later. For more recently urbanized and/or tradition-orientated families, it is often desirable for their children to be sent to a homeland school where a relative can raise them away from the negative influences of the city.

And it is not uncommon for underqualified teachers in these schools to resort to the first language as the medium of teaching because of their lack of competence and confidence in English.

27 A promising sign is that all the departments of education in the Black self-governing/independent areas have chosen English as the medium of instruction from higher primary levels, and the Department of Education and Training has introduced it as the medium of instruction from Std. 3 (1981). The decision alone, however, will not ensure any improvement unless there is an accompanying emphasis on practical issues such as teacher training, teaching materials and the like.

28 The question of English being a second language or not for the majority of Blacks will not be investigated further here. Sufficient emphasis has been placed on the need not to assume that it is so. Hereafter, English will be referred to as a 'second language' or 'target language'.

29 Mphahlele, op.cit., p.73.

30 On average, forty-seven pupils to a class. See Boyce, op. cit., p.51.

31 English across the curriculum is a teaching approach which sees all teachers as potential teachers of English if they use English as a teaching medium. It involves an integrated approach whereby English teachers teach language and learning skills to enable pupils to cope more efficiently with the demands of other subjects, and whereby teachers of other subjects work closely with English teachers in providing information on language problems experienced in their subjects. Briefly, it involves mutual reinforcement and co-operation between teachers to facilitate teaching and learning in the medium of English.

32 This percentage includes teachers belonging to all race groups. In the greater Johannesburg area, including Soweto, which has a higher proportion of White teachers in Black schools than other areas, only 3,6 per cent of teachers are White, and of these, probably only a third are native speakers of English. See Kritzinger, W.H.C.(ed.), Educamus, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (March, 1983), Pretoria: Department of Education and Training, p. 20.

33 Young, Douglas: 'English in Education', Lanham and Prinsloo, op.cit., pp. 188-9.

34 Hartshorne, op.cit., p.2.

35 Young, op cit., p.188.

36 Lanham, op. cit., p.2.

37 See Chapter 1, p.18.

38 These abbreviations (NS for Northern Sotho and Z for Zulu) will be used throughout the text to indicate examples of errors and contrastive analysis.

39 These Bantu languages were selected, not because the majority of students in the sample spoke either of the two, but because I am more familiar with them and they are also representative of the two largest southern Bantu linguistic families, namely Nguni and Sotho.

40 Corder, S. Pit: Error Analysis and Interlanguage, Oxford: OUP, 1981, p.11.

41 For the sake of economy and to facilitate reading, I shall refer to CA and EA in the following chapters.

42 Corder, op.cit., p.35.

CHAPTER I

INTERFERENCE

At this point it is necessary to provide a more detailed explanation of the terms
involved in the study of interference and a survey of the claims made for and
against the techniques of error analysis and contrastive analysis.
The necessity for this preparatory chapter will hopefully be appreciated, as
the issues raised by EA, and CA, interference and fossilization are essential
for a sound understanding of the methods employed in this dissertation and of
the premises on which the research is based.

It is now possible to begin to assess the role of first language interference in
second language acquisition. Weinreich defines interference as

> ... those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which
> occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more
> than one language.[1]

He calls this __intersystemic__ interference, and his definition implies a two-way
influence - from the first language to the second, and __vice versa__.

Richards and Sampson define __intralingual__ interference as 'items produced by the
learner which reflect not the structure of the mother tongue, but genera-
lizations based on partial exposure to the target language'.[2] It should be
noted that this does not include interference from the first language, where
items are directly transposed to the second language, specifically known as
__interlingual__ interference.[3]

Most researchers would agree on these three distinctions, namely the mutual
influence of the first and target languages [4] upon each other, the influence
of the learner's interlanguage or personal idiosyncratic bridging system between
the two languages, and the direct influence of his first language.

The notion of 'interference' thus implies that the linguistic habits of the
first language in some way hinder the learner from acquiring the correct habits
of the second language and lead to his transferring his first language habits
directly to the second language. Interference can manifest itself in two ways:
by positive interlingual transfer of first language items to the second language,
exhibiting no overt error, or by negative interlingual transfer, in which obvious
errors occur as a result of transferring first language items directly, often
by word for word translation, to the second language. In the former, utterances
are correct by chance, so to speak, as there is no difference between the
structure of the items in the two languages and the researcher has no immediate
way of knowing whether the learner knew he was correct or not. We may further

distinguish two types of negative transfer: interlingual, that is, arising directly from the first language, and intralingual, that is,originating in the overgeneralization of rules in the second language.

It is essential that the impression is not created that all or even most linguistic errors have their source in linguistic interference and, specifically, negative transfer. My intention in this study is to ascertain, if possible, roughly what proportion of learners' errors has its roots in first language interference. A misleading interpretation may be drawn from familiarity with linguistic schools which argue that the major source of difficulty in learning another language can be ascribed to interference. Corder warns against this:

> Until the late 1960's,.... the prevailing theory concerning the problem of second language learning was behaviouristic and held that the learning was largely a question of acquiring a new set of language habits. Errors were therefore predicted to be the result of the persistence of existing mother tongue habits in the new language. Most errors were ascribed to interference and consequently a major part of applied linguistic research was devoted to comparing the mother tongue and the target language in order to predict or explain the errors made by learners of any particular language background. What was overlooked or underestimated were the errors which could not be explained in this way.[5]

The notion of 'interlanguage' perhaps requires some explanation. By the late 1960's, the behaviouristic school of linguistics was challenged by a group of linguists who shared a common belief

> that the second language learner is forming his own self-contained linguistic system. This is neither the system of the native language nor the system of the target language, but instead falls between the two; it is a system based upon the best attempt of the learner to provide order and structure to the linguistic stimuli surrounding him.[6]

Among these were Selinker (1972), who coined the term 'interlanguage', Nemser (1973), who called this intermediate stage of second language acquisition the learner's 'approximative system', Corder (1971,1973), who termed it 'transitional competence', and the learner's interlanguage as his 'idiosyncratic dialect', and James (1974), who used the term 'interlingua'. (See Corder, op.cit.) It is important to note their attitudes towards errors:

... the learner's errors are indicative both of the state of the learner's knowledge, and of the ways in which a second language is learned. Corder makes an important distinction between mistakes or performance errors, and true errors, or markers of the learner's transitional competence. Sentences containing errors would be characterized by systematic deviancy[7]. Unsystematic errors would therefore be classed as 'mistakes'. While the learner's correct sentences do not necessarily give evidence of the rules the learner is using or of the hypotheses he is testing, his errors suggest the strategies he employs to work out the rules he has developed at given stages of his language development. Corder suggests that the hypotheses the learner tests will be 'Are the systems of the new language the same or different from those of the language I know? And if different, what is their nature?'[8]

It can therefore be expected that errors, whether we agree with the views on interlanguage as simply a hybrid language combining features of both the first and second languages or as an independent, individual 'idiosyncratic dialect' peculiar to each learner before he masters the second language, will receive a great deal of attention. As Brown points out:

'Correct' items yield little information about the interlanguage of the learner, only information about the system of the target language which the learner has already acquired.[9]

In other words, errors are to be viewed positively as revealing the extent to which a learner has mastered or failed to master the target language. Since the CA hypothesis, developed primarily by Lado, held the view that

... those elements that are similar to the [learner's] native language will be simple for him, and those areas that are different will be difficult,[10]

it followed that EA in its early stages operated on the principle that competence in the target language would be acquired by simply concentrating on the areas of difficulty experienced by learners and revealed in their errors, and thus stressed appropriate remedial approaches. This simplistic view soon revealed its inadequacy, as researchers found that Lado's premise was not valid and that its claim to be able to predict errors was most valid only in the field of phonological errors.

As a result, a modified and eclectic approach to EA was initiated by Corder (1967) and Strevens (1969) and developed, among others, by Nemser (1971) and Richards (1974). (See Richards, op.cit.) Errors were no longer studied per se, but rather in terms of

their importance in the entire linguistic system of the second language learner and in order to discover what they revealed about his interlanguage. All agreed that errors should not be viewed primarily as obstacles to be overcome, but as normal and inevitable features which revealed the strategies adopted by the second language learner in learning the new language, and also as providing proof that learning was taking place.

These linguists also warn against too rigid a teaching approach based purely on CA and EA. This is especially evident where there is 'excessive attention to points of difficulty at the expense of realistic English'.[11] The pitfall in such an approach is that '... too much [concentration] on "the main trouble spots" without due attention to the structure of the foreign language as a whole, will leave the learner with a patchwork of unfruitful, partial generalizations...'.[12]

It became clear that there were weaknesses in the CA and EA hypotheses, as only a proportion of errors are due directly to first language interference and negative transfer. What proportion this is, of course, is a controversial issue. Moreover, concentration on the differences between languages does not necessarily result in an improvement in competence in the target language. The intralingual school was largely responsible for challenging the original theories of EA and CA. As noted by Corder,

> ... when second language acquisition researchers began to collect
> data from learners not receiving formal instruction, particularly
> children, the proportion of transfer errors was found generally to be
> quite small. Furthermore these errors seemed to be found in most
> learners at the same stage of development and largely independent
> of the nature of their mother tongue....[13]

Nemser (1971) and Briere (1968)[14] noted that some replacements in the target language took place which occurred neither in the first language nor in the target language. These findings strengthened the claims of the intralingual school of language acquisition and weakened those of the original CA and EA hypotheses. While the orthodox CA hypothesis maintains firstly that language transfer from the first language is the major, but not the only, source of difficulty for second language learners, secondly that these difficulties can be overcome by comparing and contrasting the problematic structures in the first language and the target language and, indeed, can be predicted before the errors are even committed, research has proved that CA fails to predict errors reliably and that it is most successful only in the phonological context.[15]

It was also found that the principle that learners would find the points of difference between two languages the most difficult was not necessarily the case. The findings of Oller and Ziahosseiny (1970), based on a study of spelling errors, suggest that

> ... interference can actually be greater when items to be learned are more similar to existing items than when items are entirely new and unrelated to existing items.[16]

A more eclectic approach, embodying the best features of the CA and EA hypotheses, was consequently developed. This was called 'interference analysis', which

> ... tends to be from the deviant sentence back to the mother tongue. C.A. works the other way, predicting errors by comparing the linguistic systems of the mother tongue and the target language.[17]

This is perhaps too fine an academic point to consider here. In this investigation, contrastive analysis is used merely to explain possible sources of error, and not to make predictive claims.

The findings of EA themselves differ considerably. George (1971) found that 33.5 per cent of deviant sentence structure errors were due to language transfer. His findings are similar to those of Lance (1969) and Brudhiprabha (1972).[18] At the other extreme, Dulay and Burt (1972) found that less than 10 per cent of errors had their source in first language interference, and that most errors exhibiting interference were phonological.[19] The EA approach is certainly open to question, as there are so many variables and so much opportunity for subjective analysis and overclassification. It would be beneficial at this stage to outline some of the potential weaknesses inherent in the EA approach.

Brown has identified three general problem areas,[20] which can be summarized as follows:

1. Teachers can spend too much time on errors and neglect reinforcing correct structures. This would discourage the learner and the importance of positive reinforcement could be negated.

2. EA does not reveal the strategy of avoidance, that is, the learner avoiding a particular structure which he finds difficult or confusing, and using another acceptable, correct structure instead. Although he exhibits no error, his performance may not necessarily be indicative of linguistic competence.

3. Production data (speaking and writing) are as important for linguistic competence as comprehension data (listening and reading), yet the latter could be ignored as the former are more easily analysed.

Schachter and Celce-Murcia [21] mention six problem areas, two of which are extensions of Brown's:

1. Making a stronger case for Brown's first criticism, they point out that analysing errors in isolation, having abandoned the corpus of correct utterances, 'is tantamount to describing a code of manners on the basis of the observed breaches of the code'.[22] The correct items that a learner produces are surely more important than the errors.

2. Once an error has been identified as such, it is not always a simple matter to decide whether it is actually a deviation from the target language or not. Secondly, and more crucial, it is often more difficult to decide exactly what the nature of the error is and thus where to classify it in one's taxonomy of errors.[23]

3. Regarding statements of error frequency, one could supply a numerical total of errors on a broad basis (for example, the number of errors relating to the use of articles and prepositions), but it would be sounder to study the number of times it would have been possible for the learner to make an error. That is, it is important to recognize that errors in the case of articles and prepositions arise more often because the need to use them occurs so often. In respect of testing for errors, the use of optional contexts, as opposed to obligatory ones, as test samples, would also preclude any findings relating to absolute frequencies of errors, because their frequency would be relative.

4. Referring to avoidance, Schachter and Celce-Murcia add that 'for classroom purposes particularly, it is as important to know what the learner won't do, and why, as it is to know what he will do, and why'.[24] Their most important reservation about EA is that it only provides information on the latter, not the former.

5. They recommend that researchers should be cautious about suggesting the cause of error, as there are a number of errors which are ambiguous and due to either interlingual or developmental (i.e. intra-lingual) causes. An error may, for example, be due to structural differences between the first and target languages, that is, inter-lingual, but can also be found in young learners acquiring their first language and in the learners of the target language whose first language

does not differ structurally from the target language, that is,
intralingual. Their second, and related caveat is that, in a group
including speakers of different and unrelated languages, the teacher
may assume that the same error made by different students is due to the
inherent complexity and linguistic peculiarities of English (intralingual
over-generalization), rather than to possible first language inter-
ference in the case of certain students.[25]

6. Sampling procedures may be limited and biased. The language grouping
of the sample should be properly reviewed before research is undertaken so
that it is representative and permits statistically significant findings.
It is also possible to draw false conclusions about the state of a
learner's second language based only on performance data and without
some familiarity with the individual participating in the test. His
performance may be influenced by a number of variables, such as careless-
ness, lapses due to illness, personal idiosyncracies or reluctance to
co-operate.

With these reservations in mind, this section on the relative merits and
demerits of both the CA and FA approaches can be concluded with this
observation by Schachter and Celce-Murcia:

'... if anything was learned from the so-called rise and fall of CA, it
should be that one single view of the language learning process,
attractive though it may be, will not account for the diverse phenomena
that exist. If we are to make substantial progress in our study of
language learning and language pedagogy, we must guard against the
notion that FA, even though it is associated with a rich and complex
psycholinguistic view of the learner, should supplant CA as the
exclusive basis for developing teaching materials or for discovering
language acquisition strategies. Sophisticated use of FA is in its
infancy as is the field of second language acquisition, in which FA
should be just one of many tools.... Nevertheless, we owe it to our-
selves and to our students to maintain our perspective and to refuse to
be swayed by overinflated claims made by proponents of any theory.[26]

The terminology of FA requires some explanation. Although the term 'error'
is used throughout this dissertation and by the majority of language researchers,
Corder makes the point that, in terms of the intralingual situation, or 'transi-
tional competence'.[27]

... the terms _error_, _deviant_, or _ill-formed_ ... to a greater or lesser degree, prejudge the explanation of the idiosyncracy.[28]

He also objects to the term 'ungrammatical'. While allowing for the fact that they may be ungrammatical in terms of the target language, they are grammatical in terms of the learner's interlanguage.[29] He prefers the term 'idiosyncratic' and reserves 'erroneous' only for those items which are the result of some failure of performance, that is, mistakes or slips, which would normally be corrected by the learner if they were brought to his attention. There are two types of idiosyncracy, namely covert, where a learner's utterance is superficially 'well-formed' and yet idiosyncratic, and overt, where it is superficially 'ill-formed' in terms of the target language.[30] Sentences may also be neither covertly or overtly idiosyncratic, in which case they would be free from error, acceptable and appropriate, and not material for this particular study. Briefly then, remembering that 'every utterance of a learner, whether well-formed or not, is potentially erroneous'[31] and '... the superficial well-formedness of individual utterances in terms of the criteria of the target language is no assurance that error is absent...'[32], Corder's four-fold categorization of 'idiosyncratic dialect' becomes clearer as a working model from the table below.[33]

Acceptable (in context)	Appropriate (in meaning)	Free from error	[34]
" " "	Inappropriate	Erroneous	
Unacceptable	Appropriate	"	
"	Inappropriate	"	

Although other linguists employ terms like 'goofs'[35] ('Dulay and Burt) and Kachru distinguishes between 'mistakes' and 'deviations' (the former errors outside the English linguistic code, the latter explicable in terms of the 'socio-cultural context in which English functions')[36], it would probably be wisest to retain the term 'error' for items revealing a lack of linguistic mastery in grammar, phonology and discourse, and 'mistake' for a lapse or slip.

Error analysis is thus still some way from formulating a single acceptable system of procedure or nomenclature and is open to criticism on various levels. Nevertheless, it can be a worthwhile approach as long as we are aware of its limitations.

We can in future expect to gain a great deal from research done using EA,
but only if we do not expect too much now.[37]

On the broadest level, errors can be classified into four general categories, a
system which I shall employ in this study as it is widely used by language
researchers:

- errors of addition   — where an unnecessary item is added to a
                             structure/sentence,
                             e.g. Bathsheba /she/ was very beautiful.
                             ('She' redundant)

- errors of omission   — where a necessary item is omitted,
                             e.g. He proposed [to] her.
                             (Omission of 'to')

- errors of substitution   — where an incorrect/inappropriate item
                             is used,
                             e.g. He is [too] strong.
                             ('Too' instead of 'very')

- errors of ordering   — where word order is incorrect,
  (syntax)   e.g. I don't know where is he.[38]
                             ('Is he' instead of 'he is')

If one wishes to arrive at some conclusion as to why a learner makes particular
kinds of errors, however, a more detailed classification is required, referring
to more specifically linguistic divisions:[39]

- phonological/orthographical — relating to spelling, pronunciation and
                                punctuation,

- lexical   — relating to the meaning and selection of
                                words,

- grammatical   — relating to the structural rules of the
                                language, and

- discourse   — relating to the level, register and logical
                                connection of utterances.

Each of these more general categories can be subdivided to draw attention to the
specific nature of a particular error:

Example: The numbers began to increased.

Classification: Level 1 - error of addition

                            Level 2 - grammatical

                            Level 3 - the incorrect use of the past tense form
                                         of the verb after the infinitive.

At this point, it is possible to begin to postulate explanations for the occurrence
of the errors. Sources of error are also referred to as strategies of production,
or more specifically, as learning strategies. I have already discussed the
notions of interlingual and intralingual errors, but a more detailed analysis
of the varieties of errors attributable to these two sources is necessary.[40]

1. Interlingual transfer can operate on two levels: positively, when
    an item in the first language does not differ from the equivalent
    in the second language and can be carried over by 'translation', so
    to speak, and negatively, where there is a difference which the
    learner overlooks or is ignorant of and where the item is reproduced
    by 'translation', producing an incorrect or inappropriate item in
    the second language.

2. Intralingual transfer is the incorrect application to over-
    generalization of rules in the target language. It is more typical
    of a second language learner in the mid- or later stages of second
    language acquisition, whereas interlingual transfer occurs most
    frequently in the early stages. Prator (1967) combines the two general
    sources of error above, classifying them in terms of grammatical
    hierarchies of difficulty,[41] from the easiest items for a second
    language learner to acquire to the most difficult:

        • Transfer   - as no difference is present between the first and
                        target languages, the learner can simply transfer
                        an item from his language to the target language.

        • Coalescence - two items in the first language become coalesced
                        as one in the target language, requiring that the
                        learner ignore a distinction in the first language
                        that does not apply in the target language.

        • Underdifferentiation - where an item in the first language is
                        absent in the target language, and the
                        learner must avoid using it.

- Overdifferentiation   -   a new item, which does not exist in the first language, must be learned in the target language.

- Reinterpretation   -   an existing item in the first language is given a new interpretation or distribution in the target language.

- Split   -   the opposite of coalescence, where one item in the first language becomes two or more in the target language, requiring the learner to make a new distinction.

A third source of error, which can include both types of transfer, is what Brown calls 'context of learning'.[42] This would include such variables as the teacher, his materials and methods, the social situation, as well as weaknesses in teaching and learning approaches (such as rote learning, incorrect information, de-contextualized language situations, inappropriate syllabuses). Stated briefly, 'context of learning' includes all the socio-linguistic variables which can affect a learner's second language acquisition.

Various communication strategies used by the learner can themselves be a source of error. Learners may employ verbal and non-verbal devices in attempting to communicate when, for some reason or another, they experience difficulty in expressing themselves beyond a certain point. Such devices may be listed as follows:

- Avoidance   -   where the learner avoids certain words or structures which he has not yet mastered and which confuse him. Avoidance can operate on three levels:

   1. lexical-semantic - using paraphrasing or synonymous words/structures;

   2. phonological - avoiding words demanding certain spellings or pronunciation because of the difficulty experienced in spelling or pronouncing certain items;

   3. topic avoidance - avoiding a question/structure which calls for a particular response, changing the subject, not answering, failing to complete a sentence when it becomes too difficult to use the appropriate structure, ellipsis, simulating incomprehension, and so on.

• Memorized stock phrases/patterns - Many learners resort
to rote-learned responses when faced with a
communication problem, very often without knowing
what the component parts of the structure actually
mean or what the rules for the formation of the
structure are.

• Personal behavioural and cognitive idiosyncracies - This accounts for
differences in individual learners' characters,
personalities and thinking processes and may be a
frequent cause of error.[43]

• Reliance on some form of linguistic authority - If he cannot express
himself adequately, the learner may ask the teacher, or
a native speaker of the language, to provide the
correct form, or he may guess and ask for confirmation,
or use a dictionary. The first two can lead to
difficulties, especially if the teacher is not a
native speaker of the language being taught, and
provides an incorrect form or explanation. The
latter can cause zoning problems, where an inappro-
priate item is used out of context.[44]

• Resorting to the first language - This occurs when a learner, having
attempted every communication strategy without success
in communication, may resort to reverting to his first
language, using perhaps only a word or a phrase, or
even a complete sentence or series of sentences in
the hope that someone may understand him.[45]
Gesture and facial expression may assist him as
well.

Having surveyed the CA and EA hypotheses, the notion of interference and sources
of error, another pertinent linguistic issue should be indicated - that of
language fossilization.

Reference has been made to standardized or systematic errors.[46] Most teachers of
a second language have noted that, in spite of remedial approaches, many learners
of a target language continue, intermittently if not permanently, to exhibit the
same errors. Erroneous features may persist even in those learners who have an
otherwise good command of the language. These abberrations are especially evident
in the speech of learners who have acquired another language after adolescence,
and reveal themselves most obviously in a 'foreign accent'. Linguists have defined
the relatively permanent inclusion of certain incorrect forms in a second language
learner's acquired language as 'fossilization'.[47] It can be seen that fossi-
lization is closely related to interlingual interference and to the notion of
intralingual transitional competence, and it may exhibit features of both.
Selinker describes it as follows:

Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules and
subsystems which speakers of a particular NL [Native Language] will
tend to keep in their IL [Interlanguage] relative to a particular TL
[Target Language],no matter what the age of the learner or amount of
explanation and instruction he receives in the TL.[48]

The relevance of this definition to the position of English as a second language
in South Africa, applied particularly to Blacks, is that a pidgin, the most
extreme form of fossilization, which Black South African English could poten-
tially become, is characterized by the phenomenon of linguistic stabilization or
institutionalization. Corder's observation is especially applicable to the
linguistic situation among urban Blacks:

The speakers use the language for intercommunication and, depending
on the situation, the languages may become stabilized either because
of the withdrawal of the model/target, or because they have reached
the degree of complexity which serves the communicational or inter-
grational needs of the speakers.[49]

This can be profitably analysed in the light of South African Black English.
English is used, largely in formal situations, and more informally, together
with the Bantu languages, by Blacks communicating with other Blacks. This use
of English is, however, mostly limited to the educated class of business and
professional people. For a variety of reasons, Black English is well on the
way to becoming stabilized, because of the lack of reinforcement and of sufficient
contact with first language speakers of English and with English outside the
classroom, and also because Blacks do not have to use English as often as might
be imagined, especially in the early years before exposure to the workplace,
where the demands for the use and comprehension of English are greater.
The English of educated Blacks, based largely on formal written English and
with little practice in colloquial idiomatic English in the school situation,
is comprehensible to other educated Blacks, but is characterized by a certain
formality, stiffness, verbosity and a penchant for proverbs and ostentatious
words and phrases. It is a language often meant to impress others rather
than to communicate with. In the broader English-speaking world, however, the
tendency of Black English towards irremedial fossilization threatens to make it
deviate even further from standard English in time.

While Black English is not a pidgin, the definition of Schumann does help to
indicate the parameters of Black English in South Africa:

Pidginization occurs when a language is restricted to the communi-
cation of denotative referential information and is not used for

integrative and expressive functions. Restriction to the communicative function results from the learner's social and/or psychological distance from the target language group.[50]

Schumann, therefore, maintains that fossilization is a temporary level in language learning which can be raised by reducing this socio-psychological distance from the target language group and by motivating social integration so that English language functions are more extensively practised. Scovel, and Selinker, Swain and Dumas, however, while not disagreeing with Schumann, point out that fossilization is not easily overcome. Scovel argues that permanent fossilization is inevitable if a language is learned after puberty,[51] while the latter three maintain that certain rules may fossilize:

When the second language acquisition is non-simultaneous [with the acquisition of a child's first language] and also when it occurs in the absence of native-speaking peers of the target language.[52]

It is obvious that the situations described above apply to the development of Black English in South Africa.

Even when a relatively fluent command of English is possessed by a speaker of another language, and the use of fossilized structures tends to decrease, Selinker points out that:

... fossilizable structures tend to remain as potential[53] performance, re-emerging in the productive performance of an IL [Interlanguage] even when seemingly eradicated. Many of these phenomena reappear in IL performance when the learner's attention is focused upon new and difficult intellectual subject matter or when he is in a state of anxiety or other excitement, and strangely enough, sometimes when he is in a state of extreme relaxation.[54]

The need for English across the curriculum[55], involving a concerted and planned approach by all teachers of all subjects in order to combat fossilization and interference, is clear. It would be fruitless for the English teachers alone to attempt teaching correct language habits. As it is, a Black child may be fortunate enough to be exposed to first language speakers of English as teachers, perhaps even for a number of years, but as this would only occur in secondary school (once incorrect habits have been reinforced for seven years in primary school), the long-term benefits are probably negligible. Fossilized items and structures would tend to reappear if the learner is deprived of such teachers as models and discouraged by the socio-political situation from mixing with

English-speakers. Bughwan, referring to the continuation of entrenched language errors at tertiary educational level among Indian students in South Africa and India, noted that

> ... language habits w 'e firmly entrenched and that students did not 'improve' their written language. Their range of experience was widened through closer and more extensive contact with literature, and in some instances, vocabulary and the use of idiom showed signs of expansion and improvement. Standards of achievement in basic grammatical forms and construction of sentences, however, appeared to remain static.[56]

Jain states that :

> The fact that errors cited in this paper are from the performance data of those who have studied English from 11 to 14 years, would suggest that their learning has largely stopped. Their competence is marked partly by indeterminacy and partly by restricted generalisations crystallized into rigid rules hardly open to revision in the case of new evidence. In areas of language use where the learner possesses rules, he is no longer discovering the second language, he has arrived at a system....[57]

Findings suggest that these observations would apply in every detail to the Black South African linguistic scene, especially when the evidence of Coulter (1968), Jain '1969) and Selinker (1972) demonstrates that:

> ... not only can entire IL competences be fossilized in individual learners performing in their own interlingual situation, but also in whole groups of individuals, resulting in the emergence of a new dialect [here Indian English] where fossilized IL competence may be the normal situation.[58]

Black South African English, if it has not already reached this point, is perilously close to it. We shall probably never be able to prevent the development of a Black English dialect in South Africa, if indeed that is an altogether desirable objective, but we should try to ensure that such a dialect follows the structural rules of Standard English. A Black 'accent' is not per se undesirable, and is in any event virtually impossible to eradicate beyond a certain age, but idiosyncratic words, phrases, idioms and structures in general must be combatted, as must deviations from intonation and stress patterns, if communication is not eventually to break down.

In order to have some perspective of our objectives, especially that of ensuring that a cessation of learning does not occur at a certain stage of English acquisition, reference to Selinker's five central processes[59] or causes of fossilization is useful:

1. Language transfer - i.e. interlingual interference, where fossilizable items are directly traceable to the first language;

2. Transfer of training - where fossilization is due to faulty or limited teaching methods;

3. Second language learning strategies - where fossilization is due to the learner's personal idiosyncracies and approach to the target language;

4. Second language communication strategies - where fossilization is due to the learner's approach to communicating with first language speakers of the target language; and

5. Overgeneralization of linguistic material - i.e. intralingual, when fossilization is due to over-generalization of rules and structures in the target language.[60]

These should be borne in mine when the validity and techniques of error analysis are mentioned in the text, as they are basic to an understanding of interlingual interference and intralingual development.

FOOTNOTES

1 Weinreich, Uriel: Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953, p. 1.

2 Richards, Jack C. (ed.): Error Analysis : Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition. London : Longman, 1974, p. 6.

3 Brown, H. Douglas: Principles of Language Learning and Teaching. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1980, p. 173.

4 The terms 'second language' and 'target language' are used interchangeably throughout this dissertation.

5 Corder, op.cit., p. 1.

6 Brown, op.cit., p.163.

7 My emphasis.

8   Richards, op.cit., p. 1.

9   Brown, op.cit., pp. 163-4.

10 Lado, Robert: Linguistics across Cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957, p.2.

11 Richards, op.cit., p. 179.

12 Ritchie, William C: 'Some Implications of Generative Grammar', Language Learning. XVll (1967), p. 129.

13 Corder, op.cit., p. 2.

14 For a brief survey of the findings of these and other linguists, see Brown, op.cit., Ch. 9 and Jack C.Richards (ed.), op.cit., Ch. 1, pp. 1 - 5.

15 See Wardhaugh, Ronald: 'The Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis', TESOL Quarterly 4 (1970), pp. 123-130 and R.A. Whitman and K.L. Jackson:'The Unpredictability of Contrastive Analysis', Language Learning, 22 (1972), pp. 29-41.

16 Brown, op.cit., p.158.

17 Richards, Jack C. and Gloria Sampson: 'Language Transfer', in J.C.Richards (ed.), Error Analysis: Perspectives in Second Language Acquisition. London: Longman, 1974, p.5.

18 Ibid., p. 5.

19 Dulay, Heidi C. and Marina K. Burt: 'Goofing: An Indicator of Children's Second Language Learning Strategies', Language Learning, XXII (1972), pp. 235-52.

20 Brown, op.cit., pp. 166-7.

21 Schachter, Jacquelyn and Marianne Celce-Murcia: 'Some Reservations Concerning Error Analysis' in Kenneth Croft (ed.), Readings on English as a Second Language. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers, 1980, pp.124-9.

22 Ibid., p. 124.

23 This is particularly difficult when trying to decide whether an error is an interlingual one, originating from first language interference, or intralingual, originating from over-generalization of the rules of the new language. Of course, it can sometimes also be due, in varying extents, to both.

24 Schachter and Celce-Murcia, op.cit., pp. 126-7.

25 This reservation need not concern us here, as all the students in this sample are Southern Bantu speakers.

26 S hachter and Celce-Murcia, op.cit., p.129.

27 Corder takes the position that 'the learner's possession of his native language is facilitative and that errors are not to be regarded as signs of inhibition, but simply as evidence of his strategies of learning'. See Corder, op.cit., p. 12.

28 Corder, op.cit., p. 19.

29 Idem.

30 Ibid., p. 21.

31 Ibid., p. 44.

32 Ibid., p. 29.

33 Ibid., p. 41.

34 Note that Corder does use the term 'error', but only when it refers to
    'the systematic errors of the learner from which we are able to reconstruct
    his knowledge of the language to date, i.e. his transitional competence'.
    (My emphasis.)   See S. Pit Corder in Richards, op.cit., p. 25.
    Reprinted from IRAL, Vol. V, No. 4 (1967), Heidelberg : Julius Groos Verlag.

35 Dulay and Burt, op.cit., pp.235-52.

36 Kachru, Braj B: 'The Indianness in Indian English', Word 21 (1965), pp. 391-410.

37 Schachter and Celce-Murcia,op.cit ., p. 129.

38 This coding system will be used throughout to indicate the four basic
    categories of errors, unless otherwise stated. Two obliques are used to
    indicate an error of addition or redundancy (/ /), square brackets to
    indicate omission ([ ]), an enclosing bloc to indicate an incorrect/
    inappropriate item (☐), and a ⌒⌒ for an error of word order.

39 Brown, op.cit., pp. 169-73.

40 Ibid., pp. 173-4.

41 Ibid., pp. 152-3.

42 Ibid., pp. 174-8.

43 For a more detailed discussion of differences in an individual's cognitive and
    affective styles, see Brown, op. cit., Ch. 10.

44 In Soweto, where the vast majority of teachers is Black, some students refuse
    to believe an English-speaker when the correct form is supplied, because they
    are convinced that the form which they have been taught is the correct one
    and, ironically, many Black students are confused when taught by a native
    speaker of English, because few first language speakers of English teaching
    Blacks have a detailed knowledge of grammatical explanation and analysis
    and many lack training and experience in second language teaching techniques.

45 If the teacher has some knowledge of the learner's language, the learner may
    resort to his own language for other reasons: as a test to discover just how
    conversant the teacher is with the learner's language, which often leads to
    the teacher using the communication strategies above, or because he feels he
    will be forgiven by a sympathetic teacher.   (My own observation.)

46 For the classification and explanation of presystematic, systematic and
    post-systematic errors, and linguistic 'back-sliding' (regression), see
    Brown, op.cit., pp. 170-2.

47 Ibid., p. 181.

48. Selinker, Larry: 'Interlanguage', IRAL, Vol. X, No. 3 (1972), Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, pp. 209-31.

49 Corder, op. cit., p. 90.

50 Schumann, John J.: 'Second Language Acquisition: The Pidginization Hypothesis'. (Doctoral dissertation), Harvard University: 1975, p. viii.

51 Scovel, Thomas: 'The Ontogeny of the Ability to Recognize Foreign Accents' in Proceedings of the Los Angeles Second Language Research Forum, edited by Carol Henning, Los Angeles: Department of English, University of California, 1977, p. 39.

52 Selinker, Larry, Merrill Swain and Guy Dumas: 'The Interlanguage Hypothesis Extended to Children', Language Learning 25 (1), 1975, p. 140.

53 My emphasis.

54 Selinker, op. cit.

55 See footnote 31 of the introduction for an explanation of what English across the curriculum entails.

56 Bughwan, Devamonie: 'An Investigation into the Use of English by the Indians in South Africa with Special Reference to Natal', unpublished thesis for the degree of D. Litt. et Phil., Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1970. p. 331. (My emphasis.)

57 Jain, Mahavir P.: 'Error Analysis: Source, Cause and Significance', revised paper written in June 1969 for the Department of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh, in Richards, op. cit., p. 208. (My emphases.)

58 Selinker, op.cit. (My emphases.)

59 Ibid.

60 Selinker also lists other more specific approaches, such as the learner resorting to spelling pronunciation, cognate pronunciation, hypercorrection and holophrase learning.

CHAPTER II

SPELLING

The difficulty of English spelling is legendary, creating problems even for those who speak it as their first language. It is to be expected, therefore, that non-native learners of English have to contend not only with the inherent difficulty of English orthography - with its mass of apparently illogical or idiosyncratic rules - but also with interference from their own first language. It will become apparent that, where there is no phoneme, vocalic or consonantal, in the learner's first language equivalent to the English, such interference will probably be greatest. Furthermore, if the learner is unable to <u>hear</u> the distinction between a phoneme in his language and one in English, he would tend to write the sound as he hears it and assign it to an orthography and pronunciation to which he is more accustomed - in other words, we would resort to pronunciation spelling.

The orthography of the Bantu language is, generally speaking, based on a fairly uniform phonetic pronunciation. It is more consistent and certainly more predictable than English, where spelling ranges from the simple, logical and phonetic on the one hand to instances where the written word appears to have almost no correlation with its pronunciation. It should be made clear that not all spelling errors can be ascribed to interference: many are due to the learner failing to master the grammatical structure of English, the idiosyncrasies of English spelling, mere mistakes, dyslexia (and associated learning problems) and other variables. Yet, when one considers that spelling errors make up 12,3 per cent of the total number of errors in the sample, the number of errors is perhaps not as high as one might expect. When that percentage is divided into the 6,81 per cent attributable to vocalic errors and the 5,52 per cent to consonantal errors, the possible reasons for their incidence are more easily isolated, as in the table below, which includes both learners' errors and commonly confused spelling.

VOCALIC ERRORS

Confusion between $[e]$ and $[æ]$	b<u>e</u>d/b<u>a</u>d	2,18%
" " $[i:]$, $[ai]$ and vocalic 'y'	d<u>i</u>cided/tr<u>y</u>ed	1,19%
" " $[i:]$ and $[i]$	l<u>ea</u>ve/l<u>i</u>ve	0,69%
" " $[ə]$, $[ei]$ and $[εə]$	th<u>e</u>/th<u>ey</u>/th<u>ere</u>	0,58%
Confusion between $[i:]$, $[e]$, $[ai]$, $[iə]$ and $[εə]$	d<u>ee</u>d/d<u>ea</u>d/d<u>i</u>ed ⎫ b<u>ee</u>r/b<u>ea</u>r ⎭	0,34%

Inversion		freind/poeple ⎫ marraige/recieve ⎭	0,33%
Confusion between [ɑ:],[æ] and [ʌ]		hard/had/hud ⎫ calm/cam/come ⎭	0,32%
" " [ou] and [ɔ:]		bone/born	0,24%
" " [uə],[ɔ:],[u:] and [u]		poor/pore; fool/full ⎫	0,39%
" " [ou] and [ɔ]		robe/rob ⎬	
" " [ɔ:] and [ɔ]		bawdy/body ⎭	

Neutral vowel [ə] confused with basic vowels			0,22%

General, including errors of: terminal vowel addition, insertion of vowel omission of vowel [e] for [ə:]		'secrete' for 'secret' 'loyality' for 'loyalty' 'diffrent' for 'different' 'we' for 'were'	0,33%
			6,81%

CONSONANTAL ERRORS

General, predominantly duplicated consonants	usgually ⎫ writting ⎬ comited ⎭	2,80%
Omission of final [d],[t] or [əd], especially in past tense and passive	interrupt) ⎫ sentence(d) ⎭	1,51%
'Silent' r and l	tied/tired ⎫ morden/modern ⎬ corncening/concerning ⎭	0,78%
Confusion between [d] and [t]	extend/extent ⎫ side/sight ⎭	0,23%
" " [b] and [p]	stabbed/stepped	0,04%
" " [ŋ] and [ŋk]	thinks/things	0,04%
Aspirated [w]	whith/with ⎫ where/were ⎭	0,04%
[t] for [θ] and [ð]	tings/things	0,04%
Inversion	revelance/relevance	0,02%
Confusion between [tʃ] and [ʃ]	which/wish	0,01%
" " [z] and [s]	ones/once	0,01%
		5,52%

The examples below will further illustrate the types of errors shown above and the most frequent manifestations of error. If mispronounced words which were correctly spelt were added, the incidence of error would be far greater. It should be noted that spelling errors are not necessarily pronunciation errors, and vice versa. Although this study is limited to an analysis of written errors, I shall draw on examples of pronunciation problems where they are illuminating.

VOCALIC ERRORS

loosing	(losing)	seperated	(separated)
been	(being)	relavance	(relevance)
given	(giving)	pragnent	(pregnant)
this	(these)	obidence	(obedience)
interfearing	(interfering)	sarrounding	(surrounding)
jeolousy	(jealousy)	compering	(comparing)
devocing	(divorcing)	egnorent)	(ignorant)
proceding	(proceeding)	charecters	(cha..ct)
stuff	(staff)	costom	(custom)
imotions	(emotions)	nowardays	(nowadays)
shore	(sure)	suprise	(surprise)
continueing	(continuing)	pronounciation	(pronunciation)
behavior	(behaviour)		
devide	(divide)		
promese	(promise)		
uttire	(attire)		
bone	(born		
dangereous	(dangerous)		

CONSONANTAL ERRORS [1]

alway_	(always)	rulled	(ruled)
sucsess	(success)	painfull	(painful)
disgappeared	(disappeared)	truely	(truly)
disatisfied	(dissatisfied)	gorvement	(government)
finantially	(financially)	expatially	(especially)
attension	(attention)	mary	(marry)
ansestors	(ancestors)	embarraged	(embarrassed)
impotant	(important) [2]	accoding	(according)
tommorrow	(tomorrow)	symphathetic	(sympathetic)
occuring	(occurring)	clatch	(clash)
revench	(revenge)		
themselfs	(themselves)		

With such a table at hand, the possible sources of error can be more accurately investigated. However, it is first necessary to understand the phonetic structures of the Bantu languages and to compare them with that of English in order to clarify the reasons for the occurrence of certain standardized errors. A schematic comparison of the basic vocalic phonemes is shown overleaf.

BASIC VOCALIC PHONEMES

ZULU	ENGLISH	N. SOTHO
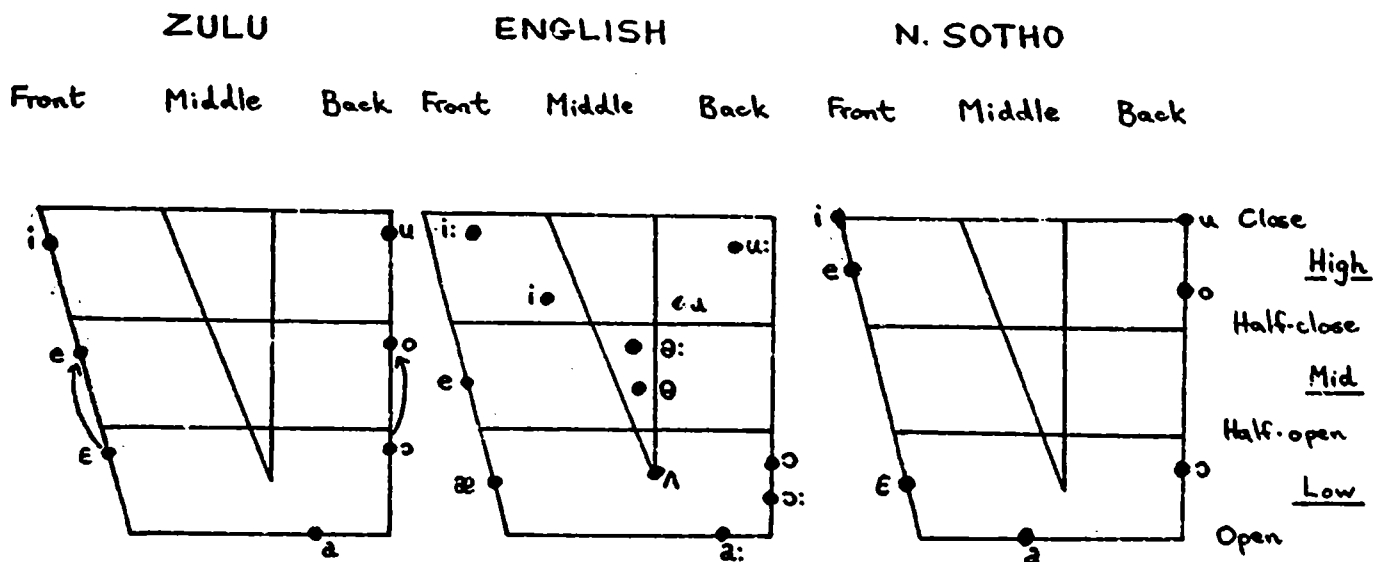
It is immediately evident that whereas Zulu and Northern Sotho have five and seven basic vowels respectively,[3] English has twelve.   In addition, English has nine diphthongs (not shown above) - a total of twenty-one vocalic phonemes. Zulu and N.Sotho, however, have no diphthongs, nor do any of the Southern Bantu languages. Furthermore, middle-vowels are completely absent in the southern Bantu languages, which would account for the fact that Black learners assign to these phonemes the closest equivalent they can find in their own language. It follows, then, that the twelve basic English vocalic phonemes are likely to be under-differentiated and confused with the five basic Bantu vowels. This is clearly seen in the table below.

English vocalic phoneme	Closest Bantu equivalent	Common confusion
[i:] [i]	[i:]	live/leave this/these
[e] [æ]	[ɛ]	flesh/flash man/men
[ʌ] [a] [ə]	[a]	bad/bud harry/hurry
[ɔ] [ɔ:]	[ɔ]	body/bawdy
[u] [u:]	[u]	rare in written errors
[ə]	—	"

4.

The most obvious area of interference lies in confusion between long and short vowels in English. Bantu vowels are generally of equal length with the penultimate syllable in a word or sentence being lengthened in speech. As can be seen from the sample, the highest incidence of error occurs in the first three Bantu vowel clusters tabulated immediately above, namely $[i:]$, $[\varepsilon]$ and $[a:]$. Other areas of error are confusion between the diphthong $[ou]$ and $[\mathfrak{I}:]$ as in 'bone' for 'born' and between $[e]$ and $[\mathfrak{e}:]$ as in 'head' for 'heard' and 'we' for 'were'.

A simple test will soon reveal that Black learners are often unable to distinguish vowel clusters in English. If they were asked to say the following sentences

> The band was seriously burned when their car overturned on the bend.
> The happy girl sat on a bench.
> Hard is the heart of the hunter

the underlined phonemes would sound more or less identical to a native English speaker. The phonemes $[æ]$, $[\mathfrak{e}:]$ and $[e]$ are all approximated to the Bantu $[\varepsilon]$ in the first example, and $[a:]$ and $[\Lambda:]$ to $[a:]$.

Many English phonemes containing an r or l after a vowel in spelling can be expected to create spelling and pronunciation problems for Black learners. Such consonants are often silent but influence the pronunciation of the preceding vowel by lowering the place of articulation in the mouth. Compare 'bid'/'bird', 'come'/'calm', 'hut'/'hurt' and 'odder'/'order'.

A similar confusion arises in the use of the neutral vowel $[\Theta]$. In speech it is rarely pronounced correctly, and learners resort to giving it the value which they think is represented by the written phoneme. This confusion can manifest itself in written language. Compare the misspelt words 'promese', 'seperated', 'sarrounding' and 'uttire' and what emerges is that the misspelt vowels are all pronounced as the neutral vowel shwa $[\Theta]$ in correct English, but are given a basic Bantu vowel approximation.

Diphthongs present a further problem. The learner is often confused as to whether they should be pronounced as true diphthongs or as separate phonemes. We find this problem in the pronunciation of, for example, trial and median and special. Neither the Nguni nor the Sotho languages possess any true diphthongs, and while the Sotho languages may appear to do so, they are only juxtapositioned vowels, each being a syllable in its own right and a separate tone-bearing unit.

This explains why there is a tendency on the part of Bantu-speakers to insert a semi-vowel ([j] or [w]) between the two vowels in English speech. This characteristic of the Bantu languages of having morphemes consisting of vowel/consonant/vowel ($V_1C_1V_2$) or consonant/vowel/consonant/vowel ($C_1V_1C_2V_2$) structures helps to explain why Black learners of English often insert a vowel or consonant or sometimes add a vowel to the end of a consonant cluster. They tend to make syllables in English open, as they are in the Bantu languages. In the Nguni languages (except Xhosa, which has a final syllabic [ŋ]) all words end in vowels and, in the Sotho languages, the only consonantal ending is [ŋ] , which is also syllabic. Spelling errors in English involving the insertion of a vowel between consonants or the addition of a vowel at the end of a morpheme ending in a consonant would appear to have their origin in this linguistic characteristic of the Bantu languages.

Lanham has isolated four main areas of interference, all originating in the vocalic differences between the Bantu languages and English.[5] Briefly summarized, they are:

- an inability to allocate length consistently to the long vowels
  [i:] , [a:] , [e:] , [ɔ:] , [u:] and [ə:]
  and to avoid confusion with the short vowels

- the absence of central vowels at mid- and mid-high levels which leads to problems affecting the neutral vowel, namely the substitution of [i] as spelling pronunciation for stressed [ə] , of [ə:] for [e] , [æ] , and [e:] , and confusion in connection with unstressed [ə]

- an inability to maintain stress contrasts, especially in acquiring the low intensity level of [ə] and the total absence of unstressed [ə] in English as spoken by South African Blacks

- an inability to hear the difference between [e] and [æ] .

Black learners can be expected to encounter problems with the spelling of long vowels, diphthongs and the neutral vowel as well as with the other middle vowels, and it is on these areas that teachers should concentrate.

With regard to consonants, a detailed comparison between the languages under discussion is not necessary. Suffice it to say that English has twenty-four phonetic consonants and that the Sotho languages lack only five of those -

([g], [v], [θ], [ð], [z]) while the Nguni lack four ([θ], [ð], [ʒ], [r]). Interference errors are not quite as clear in the case of consonants as they are in vowels.

Regarding identical duplicated consonants where none are required in English, it may be noted that such consonants are absent in Zulu and occur in Northern Sotho only as -ll-, -mm-. -nn- and -rr-. The Bantu languages possess consonant clusters, but these are most generally found in borrowed words in Zulu (e.g. ipetroli) and even in many of these, an epenthetic vowel is included to separate English consonant clusters, thereby integrating them into the Bantu phonological system. Consonant clusters are not common in the Nguni languages, and although N.Sotho has a number, including bj, fs, pš, ts and tl, among others, they are not as numerous and varied as they are in English. It seems that errors in English spelling involving either the unnecessary duplication of a consonant or the failure to duplicate one where it is necessary to do so, cannot be ascribed to first language interference but rather to the idiosyncrasies of English orthography. Other errors of this type are generally due to the fact that one English phoneme can be represented in a number of different ways in orthography - for example, f and ph and -gh for [f], y as [i], [ai] and [j], th as [t], [θ] and [ð], and so on. If one adds to these the mysteries of silent consonants, and those which influence the pronunciation of their preceding vowels, one is perhaps surprised not to find more errors in the spelling of English in the sample.

The omission of final [d], [t] and [əd] is, I believe, due to two factors. One is rooted in the Bantu languages. Because softly pronounced phonemes are foreign to their ears, Black learners have difficulty in hearing them in English, especially when English words end in consonants. The other is incomplete application or ignorance of English grammar rules in forming the past tense, passives and other structures involving the use of a final [d] or [əd] My students have often commented on the way native English-speakers tend to swallow their words and clip pronunciation. Given the low intensity of the final [d], this may partly account for their failure to distinguish it. Northern Sotho speakers in particular often experience difficulty in distinguishing between [p] and [b]. The most common N.Sotho pronunciation of b [6] is not as a plosive, but rather like a [w], and many find an English [b] problematic, particularly in the middle or at the end of a word. Perhaps the principle of linguistic familiarity is to blame, and is easily illustrated when one asks an English speaker to pronounce even simple Bantu words beginning with [mp], [ts] or [nt]. The sounds should present no problem as they all exist in English, but an English

speaker is not accustomed to seeing or hearing them at the beginning of
a word, and thus will often at first have difficulty in pronouncing the word.

Minor categories of consonantal spelling errors such as [ŋk] for [ŋ] , the
aspirated [w] in whith for with, and [t] for [θ] and [ð] need not concern us,
as they are rare. The last is quite understandable, as [θ] and [ð] do not
exist in the Bantu languages. The infrequent confusion between voiced and
unvoiced consonant pairs like [f] and [v], and [s] and [z] are probably only
careless mistakes in most cases. Among certain Zulu speakers I have noticed
a tendency to confuse [tʃ] and [ʃ] . The former is not a plosive as in English,
but an affricate and in English spelling and pronunciation this leads to errors
such as [ʃɔ:k] for [tʃɔ:k] and [klætʃ] for [klæʃ].

On the whole, then, most spelling errors involving consonants do not appear to be
closely related to the nature of the Bantu languages per se, but rather more
to idiosyncrasies inherent in English orthography.

It has already been noted that one might have expected more spelling errors,
given the difficulties involved in learning English orthography. A caveat might
be sounded at this point, however. Two variables need to be taken into account.
The first is that the knowledge of vocabulary exhibited by the learners in this
sample is somewhat basic and certainly inadequate for competent expression when
one considers the ages of the learners and the fact that they are in senior
secondary classes. In other words, the number of spelling errors would probably
be considerably greater if the pupils had had a larger vocabulary including more
complex words. Enumerating the errors does not necessarily give one an entirely
accurate impression of linguistic competence in English. The second factor which
possibly accounts for the relatively low incidence of spelling errors (with the
exception of vocalic errors), is the marked ability of Black learners to memorise
words by repetition, a skill drilled from primary school level (often to the
detriment of other language learning skills).

Any remedial approach must, of course, be based on the spoken as well as the
written language. Spelling and pronunciation should be dealt with simul-
taneously. It is questionable whether mispronunciation can be effectively
combatted at secondary school level, when many argue that it is already too late
to change entrenched pronunciation habits. These habits have been acquired
in the course of having at least seven years of exposure prior to secondary
schooling to inadequate models in the form of teachers whose first language is
not English. An intense and consistent pronunciation and spelling programme
is called for in the primary school, as it is well-known that very few learners

of a new language who acquire it after puberty ever attain mastery of its
pronunciation without retaining a marked accent. This observation may seem
irrelevant, but it should be remembered that many Black children begin their
schooling late. In addition, there are relatively few teachers who are
competent enough to use English as a medium of instruction for all subjects
from the fourth year of schooling as laid down by the educational authorities.
It is generally only in the secondary school that more consistent exposure to
English as the medium of instruction occurs. In many areas, especially rural
ones, with the dearth of suitably qualified teachers, teaching still frequently
occurs in the first language.

However, the problem must be confronted and in spite of the prevailing
pessimism, an improvement in standards can be achieved by employing well-
planned remedial approaches which can be adapted to the levels and needs of the
learners. Wherever possible, such remedial work should not be isolated from the
mainstream of English language teaching, but integrated with it. One method
is for the teacher to note the types of errors made and, instead of laboriously
correcting each pupil's work (usually with little effect), to collate these
errors in a remedial worksheet for the entire class. Such worksheets should
include the actual errors made by the pupils. Pupils, working in pairs or
groups, can then use dictionaries. to check faulty spelling and each other's
answers.

With a programme of regular reading to fix spelling by exposing pupils to the
same written words sufficiently often, memory can be reinforced until the word
is no longer misspelt. Newspaper reports and short magazine articles can be
effectively used to supplement the reading of prescribed literature.
Dictionary work can be effective in other ways as well: under each entry of
selected words, pupils can be trained to note the changes in spelling involved
in different parts of speech, singular and plural forms and tense changes, for
example - 'truth' (noun), 'true' (adjective), 'truly' (adverb), 'truthful',
'truthfully' and so on. From simple roots, by adding affixes and grouping
together words which exhibit the same orthographic rules, pupils can progress to
more involved word-building and spelling skills, for example, able, enable,
disable, enabling, enabled, ably, ability, abilities, and so on.

It is useful to distinguish between words of Anglo-Saxon and Latin or Greek origin,
as their spelling and word formation rules differ considerably. Homophones
and homonyms, and frequently confused spellings as in the minimal pairs such as
quite/quiet, slipping/sleeping, and through/threw/thorough can also be

distinguished by reference to dictionaries. Wherever possible, learners should
be taught how to distinguish different spellings and to discover rules for
themselves with guidance from the teacher. For example, short vowels tend to be
followed by a double consonant, long vowels by a single consonant:
mopping - moping, written - writing. The provision of long lists of words
divorced from context and words with a low frequency in English deaden the process
and their efficacy is questionable. Dictionary work can also be used to teach
syllabification as a spelling and pronunciation guide, as longer words tend to
lose their formidable aspect when broken up into their constituent parts.
As words with common roots are most easily found grouped together in a
dictionary, pupils can learn patterns and deduce possible spellings by analogy.
In teaching the crucial role of the neutral vowel $\boxed{\Theta}$ in morphemic change,
especially in parts of speech, the dictionary is invaluable. Here the pupil can
actually see why the $\boxed{\Theta}$ in $\boxed{\text{ɔ:gon}}$ becomes an $\boxed{æ}$ in $\boxed{\text{ɔ:gæ'nik}}$, and could
learn stress patterns as well. In addition, he learns that although the spelling
of certain words may be confusing, once phonemes are identified with their variant
spellings, his acquisition of correct spelling and pronunciation will improve.

With more advanced classes, it may prove beneficial to use the phonetic alphabet
to teach spelling and pronunciation. One could begin by pointing out which sounds
in the Bantu languages and English are similar, and which occur in English
but are non-existent in the Bantu languages. In any case they have to be familiar
with the phonetics of their own language in the course of studying their first
languages in secondary school. It would be logical to extend and develop
this knowledge, especially as most English dictionaries employ one or other form
of the phonetic alphabet as a pronunciation guide.[7] Phonetics is useful if
employed sparingly. It is debatable whether transcription is really beneficial.
If pupils realise that there are phonemes in English which do not exist in
their languages and learn to recognise them much will have been achieved.

Other remedial approaches are oral and written work involving dictation
(regarded by some educationists as old-fashioned, but still useful if not abused),
listening exercises and language laboratory type drills and exercises - all of
which can be most effective. Dictation enables the teacher to ascertain the
learner's aural ability to distinguish words and sounds in English. In
addition, there are many excellent listening comprehension exercises available
on cassettes. These techniques and approaches can be adapted in order to create
language games involving pupil activity thus making language learning an active
process rather than the all too prevalent passive one. One such game could

consist of a set of cards on which frequently misspelt words appear. One
pupil reads out the word on his card aloud and his partner writes down what he
has heard. These exercises should concentrate on words which can affect
communication negatively if mispronounced, for example, minimal pairs such as
ca^tle/kettle, hit/heat, lid/lead, share/chair and the like.   If possible,
sentences leading to humorous situations caused by misconstrual through mis-
pronunciation can be constructed to illustrate the importance of recognising
the difference between certain related phonemes. For example,

> Has he bought the cattle/kettle yet?
> She took a ship/sheep from Durban.
> The lid/lead of the electric kettle needs to be fixed.

These exercises can concentrate on the areas of vocalic spelling and pronunciation
errors, which we have seen are far more prevalent and problematic than consonantal
errors.

For most schools a sophisticated and expensive language laboratory is out of the
question, but an improvised, cheap and effective alternative is to connect a
few cassette recorders to a multiple plug device and to rotate groups of pupils
each involved with exercises dealing with different language skills. In this
way each group will have an opportunity to use the facility during the course
of a lesson or series of lessons. The teacher can work with them, or their
progress can be monitored after they have completed certain pronunciation or
listening exercises.[8] Even a language laboratory, however, is not the final
answer to improve a learner's English competence. The ideal would be the learner's
close association with native English speakers, but this, unfortunately, is not
only impracticable but impossible for the vast majority.   I have found that
even with the best facilities, it is not enough for learners to listen and
practise pronunciation without their actually seeing and feeling where and how
the phoneme is produced. Here a reliable and competent teacher as a model is
essential - pupils must see the position of the lips and tongue in vocalic
production and can thus be more accurate in imitating the sound.

Having already expressed my reservations as to whether Black secondary school
learners of English can achieve anything approaching first language competence
in pronunciation, I do wish to stress that this reservation need not
necessarily apply to the acquisition of good spelling. While Black learners of
English do not socialize as a matter of course with first language speakers of
English, and while Black teachers generally remain unable to cope adequately with

providing their pupils with reasonably accurate models, the problem will persist.
Only when centralised reform takes place in the teaching of English in Black
educational institutions, can an effective and specific goal-directed approach
be implemented from the primary school level. Until that happens, teachers of
English will have to experiment with remedial approaches and it is hoped
that those suggested here will prove he .pful in combat⟳ing the most urgent
areas of error in spelling and pronunciation.

FOOTNOTES.

1   The omission of -s from third person singular present tense verbs is not
    included as a spelling error, as this is more clearly a grammatical error.

2   The omission of the 'silent' non-consonantal 'r' has been included in both
    categories as there is no way of proving whether it stems from vocalic or
    consonantal confusion.

3   Seven and eleven respectively if variants are taken into account, but
    these variants do not affect the pronunciation of English any more than
    the five basic Bantu vowels do and need not concern us.

4   Many errors due to vocalic interference do not always manifest themselves
    in spelling.

5   Lanham, L.W.:   Teaching English in Bantu Primary Schools: A Report on
    Research in Johannesburg Schools. Johannesburg: University of the
    Witwatersrand, Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, 1966, p.12.

6   The N.Sotho pronunciation of b is generally a voiced bilabial fricative $\lceil\beta\rfloor$
    and of f a voiceless bilabial fricative $\lceil\phi\rfloor$.

7   I have frequently referred to dictionary work. It is essential that a learner
    has a dictionary, and there are good, simple pocket editions available.
    The selection of dictionaries is crucial, as one which is not suited to
    the teacher or learner's level is useless, and weight plays an important part.
    For many pupils, their first encounter with a dictionary is often as late as
    in the senior forms, when they may receive one as stock issue. It has been
    my experience that many pupils do not possess their own dictionaries and
    many are loath to use them, either out of ignorance of dictionary skills
    or simply because they feel they have no need to. The passivity of the
    learner's role in many schools is partly to blame, as is a reluctance on
    the part of many teachers to use dictionaries in teaching, perhaps for the
    same reasons.

8   I am indebted to Alistair Maytham of the Eshowe College of Education for
    suggesting this approach and for demonstrating its feasibility.

CHAPTER III

GENDERS AND ASSOCIATED PROBLEMS WITH PRONOUNS

The Bantu languages are all based on the twin principles of the division of nouns into classes or categories (rather than genders) and the related system of concords. [1]   The function of the concords is to link the parts of a sentence in a syntactical whole by means of identical or similar morphemes which complement and often duplicate the initial class prefix. This syntactic agreement is usually alliterative in force.

Where English has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter, with few exceptions and fairly strictly differentiated according to the sexes of living things and the sexlessness of everything else, the Southern Bantu languages have none. Instead of genders, they possess a system of noun classes, each of which has its own concordial forms. These forms are attached to noun stems, adjectives, relatives, demonstratives and verbs according to number and class. The number of classes varies according to which linguist's system of classification is adopted, but there are at least seventeen if singular and plural forms are counted as separate classes.

The table below makes the complexity of this system clear. It shows only the class prefixes and the subject concords, the latter being a verbal prefix in concordial agreement with its subject antecedent. [2]

TABLE 1: CLASS AND CONCORDIAL SYSTEMS

Class No.	Zulu Class prefix	Subject concord	N.Sotho Class prefix	Subject concord	Category
1	umu-	u-	mo-	o	persons
2	aba- (pl. cl. 1)	ba-	ba-	ba	
1a	u-	u-		o	relationship
2a	o- (pl. cl. 1a)	ba-	bo-	ba	some birds & animals
3	umu-	u-	mo-	o	natural phenomena,
4	imi- (pl. cl 3)	i-	me-	e	trees, etc.
5	i(li)-	li-	le-	le	objects in pairs, fruit
6	ama- (pl. cl. 5,9)	a-	ma-	a	collectives, liquids (pl.)
7	isi-	si-	se-	se	instruments,
8	izi- (pl. cl. 7)	zi-	di-	di	languages,miscellaneous
9	iN-	i-	N-	e	animals, abstracts,
10	isiN- (pl. cl. 9)				borrowed words
	11, 14)	zi-	diN-	di	

Class No.	Zulu Class prefix	Subject concord	N.Sotho Class prefix	Subject concord	Category
11	u(lu)	lu-			long objects, miscellaneous
14	ubu	bu-	bo-	bo	abstract collectives, locality
15	uku	ku-	go	go	infinitive
(16)	pha-	ku-	go	go	locative
(17)	ku-	ku-	go	go	locative

The examples below illustrate what is probably the most obvious manifestation of Bantu first language systems imposing themselves on a learning approach to English. The first language is predominantly translated and transferred with little or no adaptation when the learner wishes to express himself in English. This is a source of error usually classified as negative interlingual transfer.

A: 1. Even Troy I can say he was greedy.

2. People of today they cannot fight.

3. Nowadays the girls we can blame them.

4. This thing it causes hatred.

5. Most of them they have devoted their lives to being drunkards.

6. The parents of Juliet they wanted Juliet to marry Paris.

7. 'Far from the Madding Crowd' it concerns a beautiful lady.

8. But today a woman she cannot propose to a man.

B: 1. And he (Bathsheba) was deeply in love with this man.

2. He told her that he (Bathsheba) was beautiful.

3. When Bathsheba did not promise to love her (Oak), he didn't hate her.

4. Angel was going to further her study.

5. But Tess did not tell Angel that he (Tess) was falling in love with Alec.

6. So after that he (Tess) tell Angel that he (Tess) had a baby.

7. Tess received a letter from his friend.

8. ... but his (Tess') mother told him (Tess) that she mustn't tell anybody.

9. Tess told Angel what had happened to him (Tess).

The problems are immediately apparent even to someone with no knowledge of the structure of the Bantu languages. The errors in sample A all exhibit the ungrammatical use in English of a pronoun when its complementary noun has already been stated in a simple sentence, while those in B are excellent examples of gender confusion in the use of third person pronouns.

It is essential to note that both Zulu and N. Sotho, indeed all Bantu languages, are agglutinative, in that extensive use is made of prefixes and suffixes in the formation of words. These affixes must be interpreted in context and in conjunction with the morphemes preceding and following them. In the Nguni languages, especially (Zulu is one of these), the morphemes may themselves be subject to sound changes affected by the proximity of adjacent morphemes. This phenomenon is less marked in the Sotho languages.

In the Bantu languages the sentence is concordially governed, and the phono-logical result is . lyrical as the concordial system lends itself to alliteration and assonance, an effect particularly heightened when all the substantives in the sentence belong to the same class. (See Table I - Class and Concordial Systems). The following examples illustrate these characteristics clearly.

Zulu: <u>Imithi</u> <u>emihle</u> <u>i</u>lahla <u>amaqabunga</u> <u>ayo</u>.

N.Sotho: <u>Ditlhare</u> <u>tše</u> <u>di</u> botse <u>di</u>latile <u>matlhare</u> <u>a</u> <u>tšo</u>na.

        (Literally - Tree<u>s</u> <u>they</u> beautiful <u>they</u> shed leave<u>s</u> of <u>them</u>).

English: The beautiful trees are shedding their leaves.

An analysis of the Zulu sentence above will make the concordial system clear:

Imi	-thi	emi-	hle	i-	lahla	ama-	qabunga	a-	yo
Prefix Class 4	Noun stem	adj. conc.	adj. stem	Subj. Conc. Class 4	verb stem	prefix Class 6	noun stem	poss. conc. Class 6	poss. stem Class 4

Zulu: <u>Abasebenzi</u> <u>baka</u>Oak <u>aba</u>thembekileyo <u>babe</u>mthanda.

N.Sotho: <u>Badiri</u> <u>ba</u> Oak <u>ba</u> <u>ba</u> tshepe gago <u>ba</u> be <u>ba</u> <u>mo</u> rata.

        (Literally - Worker<u>s</u> <u>they</u> of Oak <u>they</u> who were loyal <u>they</u> <u>her/him</u> loved.)

English:The loyal workers of Oak loved him.

Zulu: <u>Abafana</u> <u>base</u>Montague <u>nabase</u>Capulet <u>ba</u>lwa uma <u>be</u>thukwa.

N.Sotho: <u>Basemane</u> <u>ba</u> ba Montague le <u>ba</u>Capulet ge <u>ba</u> rogiwa <u>ba</u> lwa le <u>ba</u> <u>ba</u>ngwe.

        (Literally - Boy<u>s</u> <u>they</u> of Montague and <u>they</u> of Capulet <u>they</u> fought each other when <u>they</u> were insulted.)

English: The Montague and Capulet boy<u>s</u> fought <u>each</u> <u>other</u> when <u>they</u> were insulted.

The concordial structure of the Bantu languages, therefore, predisposes Bantu-speaking learners of English to an attempted literal translation of the concords into English as third person personal pronouns. In the samples above, the concord ba- corresponds with they/them. In English, of course, there is no need to include a noun paired with its pronoun as subject, object or possessive in the same sentence. By its very nature, the English pronoun is used instead of a noun to avoid unnecessary repetition of the noun, but the reverse is true of the Bantu languages, where the repetition of concords is essential for linguistic sense.

A grasp of the Bantu systems of prefixes and concords will enable one to predict that the greatest area of interference will be that of the use of the third person pronouns whose sexually-differentiated and case-determined gender forms are bound to confuse a first language speaker of the Bantu languages. Although he is accustomed to different case forms (i.e. subject, object, possessive, locative etc), he must learn a new form of classification of nouns by gender rather than by class.

Thus there are no equivalent forms in the Bantu languages for the third person singular personal and possessive pronominal forms 'he,she,it'/ 'him,her,it'/'his,her,its', because the English forms are based on gender whereas the Bantu forms will differ from class to class depending on the class to which the qualified noun belongs. Therefore we find that where English has the relatively simple tripartite third person plural forms 'they,them,their', the Bantu languages will have as many pronouns as they have noun classes. Furthermore, there is no distinction made between genders in the Bantu languages unless a particular noun or pronoun points to it. For instance, the sentences

Zulu: Uyaziqhenya   N. Sotho: O a ikgopolela

make no distinction of gender, but merely indicate that the subject is a noun of the 'person' class. In English, the equivalent would be

He/she is vain.

If one wanted to stress in Zulu and N. Sotho that

She was very beautiful

one would have to provide a noun and its appropriate concord:

Zulu: Intombazana yayiyinhle kakhulu

N.Sotho: Mosetsana o be a le botse kudu

English: The girl was very beautiful

It will be evident that problems relating to the use of the third person pronouns, particularly in the singular forms, are closely related to those of gender.[3]   Among Black students, it would appear that confusion as to usage, rather than ignorance of the existence and forms of English genders, is the cause of the allied problems investigated here. Gender confusion can be classified as negative <u>intralingual</u> transfer, in which the learner over-generalizes rules and forms in the target language because there are no linguistic equivalents in the first language. The use of coupled noun and pronoun, reflected in 1,48 per cent of the sample, is a good example of negative <u>interlingual</u> transfer, in which the learner transposes a form in his first language by translation into the target language.

Gender confusion was reflected in only 1,14 per cent of the total number of errors,[4]   a figure which would have been higher had the sample not been drawn from pupils in the last two years of secondary school. If, however, we add to this figure the percentages of errors grounded in gender confusion, the influence of gender confusion is strongly apparent. The use of an 'of' phrase instead of a possessive or apostrophic form (0,46 per cent), the demonstrative and noun instead of the pronoun (0,25 per cent) and a general reluctance to use the pronoun (1,38 per cent)are, I believe, directly attributable to the learner's uncertainty about gender. He employs the strategy of avoidance by using 'of' phrases and the demonstrative and noun, which enable him to escape having to make a decision about which form and which gender of third person singular pronoun to select. The examples that follow below should make this tendency clear.

C: 1. He was attracted by <u>the beauty of Tess</u> and his aim was to ruin <u>the life of Tess.</u>

2. <u>The name of the man</u> was Angel.

3. I do not see <u>the relevance of it.</u>

4. <u>The heart of Oak</u> was very sore.

5. She did not do that <u>for the sake of them.</u>

These examples also help to explain the wordiness in much Black English. As there is no shortened apostrophic form to indicate possession in the Bantu languages and because the possessive 'of' corresponds in position (between the possession and the possessor) and function with the possessive concord, it is a natural tendency for Black students to use this clumsy form.

The unnecessary use of demonstratives paired with a noun also leads to clumsy constructions. In these cases, a simple pronoun would be preferable.

D: 1. He was confused about the valentine and <u>that valentine</u> leads to his downfall.

2. <u>This man</u> was in love with <u>this lady</u>.

3. I am not understanding <u>this thing</u>.

4. Tess had a child but unfortunately <u>that child</u> died.

It would appear that these examples show a reluctance to use the simple pronominal form. As there are subject, object, possessive and yet more specific concords in the Bantu languages which would obviate the kind of repetition found in these examples, the reason may lie in avoidance of the gender-determined English pronouns.[5] A student may feel that it would be safer to repeat `that valentine' because he may not know whether the pronoun will be 'he' or 'it', or whether a child should be referred to as 'he', 'she' or 'it'.

Lastly, there appears to be a fairly general tendency to repeat the noun in a sentence where subsequent pronouns would be more desirable.

E: 1. <u>Alec</u> was fast asleep then <u>Tess</u> took a bread knife and stabbed <u>Alec</u> and <u>Alec</u> died.

2. One day <u>Alec</u> took <u>Tess</u> to the garden and he gave <u>Tess</u> a strawberry to eat, but <u>Tess</u> did not want...

3. <u>The man</u> with who <u>the lady</u> married was only after her fortune...
It was found later by <u>the lady</u> that <u>this man</u> was treacherous...
But because of the powerful love <u>the lady</u> was enforced to accept anything...

The problematic area of genders and their influence on the misuse of the pronouns is a major one for Black English-speakers and demands a multi-faceted remedial approach.

Experience has shown that Bantu-speakers find the notion of genders difficult to grasp and apply. Students appear to become even more confused when faced with apparent anomalies and exceptions in the use of gender and gender-related pronouns. Ships, cars, countries, the sea and a few other nominals are frequently defined as belonging to the feminine gender, while different nouns for male and female animals complicate the picture. When a child can be referred to as 'he', 'she' or 'it', confusion is total. Unfortunately, certain teachers and textbooks tend to over-concentrate on the exceptions and perpetuate the myth that English is difficult to master. Yet, compared with the gender systems of German or French, for example, English genders are eminently simple and logical. Learners need to be convinced of this and a series of planned strategies needs to be built into the teaching programme in an integrated way. This should be a continuous approach, and not simply a haphazard lesson or two when the problem becomes unbearable.

One very useful and simple approach is to ask students to collect pictures of various people, animals and objects from magazines and other printed material. The teacher makes his own collection as well, including pictures of people in various occupations or dress. Then through pairwork, groupwork or simply the teacher-orientated blackboard method, a chart or the blackboard is divided into two, one side headed CONCRETE, the other ABSTRACT. Students must then decide, the teacher having pointed out the meaning of the two words, into which divisions their pictures would fall. As they have collected pictures of people, animals or objects, it is highly unlikely that they will have any pictures for the abstract side. The teacher elicits a response from the learners after asking them what the pictures have in common, namely that they are all living creatures or inanimate objects. These would be concrete nouns because they are tangible. One could now introduce the notion of abstract or intangible nouns, using Zulu, perhaps, as a starting point. Their knowledge of the concordial and class systems would provide a useful introduction. For instance, by pointing out that the prefix uku- in ukudlala refers to the infinitive and makes the word verbal meaning 'to play', but that it can also be regarded as a noun, 'playing' or 'play' as it names the action of the verb, it would be easier for students to grasp what an abstract noun is. The notion can be expanded by using such examples as umdlali, a player (concrete), isidlalo, a toy or something which is played with (concrete), and umdlalo, a game, sport or amusement or that which is played. As the same rule applies to all Bantu nouns, where a prefix added to the verbal stem or nominal stem and the possibility of a change in the vocalic 'terminative' changes the function and meaning of the word, analogies with English would prove beneficial - therefore umuntu, a person; ubuntu, human nature or the quality which makes us human; u(lu)ntu, the ordinary people; and isintu, humanity, human culture and characteristics. In the same way, students can be asked to decide which of the following nouns would be concrete or abstract - umZulu, a Zulu; ubuZulu, the quality of being Zulu; isiZulu, Zulu language and customs; and KwaZulu, the land of the Zulu people. By applying the criteria of whether these nouns refer to living or inanimate things (tangible) or to intangible things, the distinction between concrete and abstract nouns should be clearer.

At this stage, the same process of analysis and comparison of English words can be attempted. For example, from the verb 'to cook', we have the concrete noun describing one who cooks - a 'cook', who practises the art of 'cooking' or 'cookery', which are abstract nouns. Similarly, from the verb 'organize', we have the concrete nouns 'organizer', 'organ', 'organism' and 'organization'. (The last can refer to the quality of being organized, in which case it is an abstract noun, or to a body or group of people who have organized themselves to achieve their aims, in which case it is more concrete.

Consider the following examples:

1. Mr Mabuya is an excellent sports <u>organizer.</u>
2. We are studying unicellular <u>organisms</u> in biology at the moment.
3. The <u>organization</u> of the concert, in which there was a new piece written for the <u>organ</u> and played by an English <u>organist</u>, was extremely good.
4. The United Nations <u>Organization</u> is based in New York, isn't it ?
5. The picnic was not very well <u>organized.</u>

The nouns have all been underlined in numbers one to four, and the verb has been introduced in number five to see whether students realize that it is not a noun. Hopefully, students will have learned that nouns all refer to the names of living creatures, objects, places and ideas, and can be v isculine, feminine or neuter. Students find these divisions easier to grasp :.i : i. clearly stated that by masculine is meant anyone or any animal of the <u>male</u> sex, alive or dead, real or fictional; by feminine, similarly, of the <u>female</u> sex; and by neuter, anything that is <u>neither</u> male or female, which may be living and of <u>indeterminate</u> or <u>unknown</u> sex, as a baby, or inanimate, and including both tangible and intangible objects$_\wedge$ ideas.

Now the different pronouns can be introduced, as their connection with sexually-differentiated English gender will be more apparent. Thus, with masculine nouns, we have <u>he</u> if the noun performs the action of the sentence, <u>him</u> if the noun suffers the action, and <u>his</u> if the noun is the possessor of another noun. This example can be extended to include the feminine and neuter gender pronouns and the third person plural forms which are the same for all three genders.

Only when these gender-related pronominal forms are quite clear should any exceptions or choices be introduced, such as the optional use of the feminine or neuter for cars, ships and countries, and, in the case of animals, the option of using either the masculine or neuter pronouns for male animals whether the generic or sex-determined word is used (e.g. horse, stallion, gelding).
The same distinction can be made in the case of female animals (e.g. dog, bitch).

Substitution exercises necessitating the application of these distinctions are easily drawn up. Students can be asked to substitute pronouns and apostrophic forms for the underlined words, as in the example below.

<u>The parents of Thandi</u>, Mr and Mrs Mabuya, have lived in Soweto for a long time. <u>Mr and Mrs Mabuya</u> have other children besides Thandi.
The <u>other children</u> are at university, but <u>Thandi</u> is still at school.
<u>The progress of Thandi</u> is a matter of pride for <u>Mr and Mabuya</u> as <u>Thandi</u>, the youngest child <u>of Mr and Mrs Mabuya</u>, is blind.

Teachers can draw up simple exercises of this type, relevant to the different needs and levels of competence of the learners, and drawn from everyday situations and different subject matter relating to the learner's experience. In the above exercise, students would realise why repetition of the noun makes for clumsy speech and writing and often also affects clear comprehension. By applying the simplest rules, they would discover that it is not difficult to ascertain genders and to use the appropriate pronominal forms. It is best to begin with very simple exercises to ascertain the level of competence of the learner, and then progress to exercises which are more demanding, consolidating learning matter by repetition, exercise and variation until the learner's confidence has increased to the extent that he only requires occasional guidance. This approach would avoid the often misguided attitude taken by many teachers, particularly those who have had no training in teaching their first language as a second language, in assuming that Black learners should already have mastered genders and pronouns in the primary school. From what we know of fossilization and interference, this is one assumption we cannot make and a definite argument in favour of sustained remedial work throughout a learner's school career.

FOOTNOTES

1 Ziervogel, D., J.A. Louw and P.C. Taaljaard: A Handbook of the Zulu
   Language. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik Ltd , 1967, p.3.

2 Object concords, pronominal, possessive, relative, enumerative, adjectival,
   copulative and demonstrative forms are all governed by rules of concord.

3 It is interesting to note that Black students do not appear to have a
   serious problem with either the correct pronominal case forms nor with
   the first and second person pronouns. The problem is largely confined to
   the third person singular forms.

4 All percentages of error are expressed as percentages of the total number
   of errors in the entire sample.

5 Conversely, many students overcompensate by frequently using he/she, him/
   her, and the reflexive forms himself/herself in sentences. This is,
   perhaps, due to the influence of official English reflected in forms to
   be filled in, or merely to uncertainty as to whether to use they/them/
   their. One example should suffice:

   If a person looked himself/herself in a mirror, he/she told
   himself/herself how beautiful or handsome he/she is...

   This is no exaggeration, and although many students are quite free of this
   tendency, the percentage of this type of error was quite marked at 0,49
   per cent of the total.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARTICLE

When analysed, the English of Bantu-speaking learners will exhibit problematic areas relating to the use of the definite and indefinite articles. This tendency is, of course, not solely a problem for Bantu-speakers but is typical of the kind of language error made by almost any learner of English.

In the Bantu languages there are no exact equivalents for the definite and indefini articles found in English. The forms used in the Bantu languages to express what would be articles in English are not clearly distinguishable and no special forms exist per se. This situation lends itself to underdifferentiation, as the examples below will show. The articles are often omitted , or included in contexts where they are unnecessary and grammatically incorrect, or confused.

It is somehow [a] little irrelevant because it happened in /the/ rural areas. [1]

... she hesitated to ask Gabriel for help when [the] sheep were dying... but Gabriel was proud of his position when she sent a message requesting for /an/ help.

Where there is /a/ jealousy, there must be /a/ hatred.

Gabriel was [the] honest man by telling Bathsheba the truth.

Alec was the only man who promised Tess /a/ marriage.

He was [a] coward for refusing the challenge.

Tess was from [the] poor family.

The D'Urbervilles were [the] rich family before.

He invited Bathsheba to a feast which ended in [the] murder of her husband.

They were fighting due to [an] ancient grudge.

In [the] olden days, [a] promise was a promise.

The errors exhibited in these samples can be divided into three categories - omission, addition and incorrect choice of article. An analysis of errors in the samples showed that some 2,35 per cent of errors generally could be ascribed to the omission of the article and 2,98 per cent to the incorrect or redundant choice of article, with another 0,04 per cent involving the use of a demonstrative instead of an article. (See Footnote 2.)   Over 5 per cent therefore of

all errors were errors due to problems experienced with the articles. It can be argued that this area of error is due to what could be termed 'indirect interference'. Direct interference would be when items are translated from the first language and imposed on the second language, while indirect interference could be said to occur when confusion results from the fact that there is no equivalent in the first language for what is required in the second language.

An analysis of sentence structure will help to clarify the reasons for Bantu-speakers experiencing difficulty with the English articles. Utterances, like those immediately below, could be interpreted in two ways by a first language English-speaker: either as a generalized statement, indicated by the omission of the articles in a statement where the subject is plural, or as a specific pointer, indicated by the inclusion of the definite article:

People are fools / The people are fools.

A Bantu-speaker, however, would not regard the sentences as having different semantic significance in these forms, but would express both as:

Z: Abantu bay<u>i</u>zilima

NS: Batho <u>ke</u> ditlaela

It would be incorrect, however, to assume that, because there is no direct correlation between the definite English provision for the article and the apparently vague one in the Bantu languages, there is no semantic equivalent of the article in the Bantu languages. Although the examples cited above can be interpreted as indicating either form of the article, the <u>definite</u> article can be impli~: oy using the object concord, as is evident from the sentences below:

Z: Uya<u>wa</u>saba <u>amagundane</u>

NS: O a <u>a</u> tš̌haba <u>magotlo</u>

(He/she is afraid of <u>the</u> mice).

The object concord <u>-wa-</u>, agreeing in number and class with the noun prefix <u>ama-</u>, has been used in the Zulu example; the object concord <u>-a-</u>, agreeing with the noun prefix <u>ma-</u>, in the North Sotho example. When the object concord is used in this way, it would be immediately apparent to a native-speaker that specific mice are being referred to. Compare these examples now with the ones given below:

Z: Usaba <u>amagundane</u>

NS: O tš̌haba <u>magotlo</u>

(He/she is afraid of mice).

Here the object concords <u>-wa-</u> and <u>-a-</u>, as well as the copulative forms <u>-yi-</u>

and ke, have been omitted, which would indicate a generalized statement to the native-speaker.

The concordial structure of the Bantu languages can also be adapted to express an indefinite form. The indefinite concord in Zulu is -ku-, in North Sotho it is go. Compare the following, in which the indefinite concords are underlined.

Z: Uthisha uhlala lapho
    (The/a teacher lives there)

Z: Kuhlala uthisha lapho
    (A teacher lives there)

NS: Morutiši o dula mola
    (The/a teacher lives there)

NS: Go dula morutiši mola
    (A teacher lives there)

It should be clear now that, while the article is not readily distinguishable in the form employing no object concord, the use of the object concord of the predicate corresponds to the use of the definite article, while the indefinite concord fulfils the same function as the indefinite article.

The distinction between generalized and specific statements is thus not expressed in the same way in the Bantu languages as it is in English, but there are nevertheless Bantu forms which correspond semantically with those in English.

In addition, the Bantu demonstrative forms are used extensively to point to specific substantives for emphasis, in many cases where the definite article would be employed in English. There are demonstrative forms for each of the noun classes in the Bantu languages, and they function concordially as well. In English, there are two forms of the demonstrative: 'this' - 'these', corresponding with the point closest to the speaker, and 'that' - 'those', referring to something a little removed from the speaker. The Bantu languages have three forms: 'this', 'that' and 'that yonder' - the latter referring to an even further remove from the speaker than indicated by 'that'. The fact that three demonstrative forms exist may explain why Bantu-speakers frequently use demonstratives in English where the definite article is more acceptable and usual. An example may clarify this. In English, we might say:

The man went to the forest near his home.

A Bantu-speaker may possibly reconstruct this as follows:

That man went to that forest near that place where he lived.

It is possible that some Bantu-speaking students avoid using the articles in English for fear of using them incorrectly, because no specific words identical to them in form are to be found in their own languages, and use the demonstrative forms instead because they exist as separate words. It would be simpler to use words which have definite equivalents in English, rather than risk using the wrong article in English when one's only point of comparison is a use of structure, rather than that of a specific comparable word. This tendency is clearly seen in the following sentences:

Z: Lendoda ihamba nathi

    (This man, he is going with us)

Z: Thina laba sihamba nabo

    (We ourselves, we are going with them)

NS: Motho o o sepêla le rena

    (This man, he is going with us)

NS: Rena ba re a sepêla le bona

    (We ourselves, we are going with them).

The emphatic form is evident, but English-speakers would use the article as often as the demonstrative and make emphasis clear by stressing the noun or the verb, as in:

This man is going with us (but not that one)

The man is going with us (but not the boy)

The man is going with us (in spite of what you say), etc.

In the Bantu languages, the demonstrative,[2] if it is meant to be stressed, is placed before the noun it qualifies, and not, as is generally the case, after it. If placed before an absolute pronoun,[3] it may indicate a particular person or object, and thus act as a kind of definite article.

Hopefully, this brief survey will correct the mistaken view that the Bantu languages lack any notion of articles. Knowledge of the problem, however, is not sufficient. While contrastive analysis is a useful approach, it is essential that teacher and learner realize that it is more beneficial to compare similarities between the first language and the target language than to create obstacles by stressing the differences unnecessarily. It is vital that basic approaches be questioned and analysed before remedial work is undertaken, as the harm done by incorrect or incompletely developed methods can be long-lasting.

Insufficient exposure, certainly in the school situation, to sufficient written and spoken English is one of the major causes of confusion. Unsure and under-qualified teachers are often ignorant of the rules and patterns governing the use of articles in English, and pass this inadequacy on to their pupils. The problem can be tackled by a more definite teaching plan, worked out at departmental level. This could perhaps consist of a work-sheet, comprising a brief explanation of grammatical rules and a series of patterns and exercises based on the Cloze technique and requiring constant reference to the rules while putting them into practice. In my own experience, pair work, involving two competent students or two average or poor students, works well, especially if the teacher stipulates that they should discuss the application of each rule and arrive at consensus before volunteering their answer.

Topical, relevant language work can be fruitfully adapted by the teacher. Two possible methods are the use of brief newspaper reports, with the articles omitted, and, as students become more confident, omitting not only the articles but also leaving blank spaces in appropriate positions where no article is required, to test advanced linguistic competence in English.

A good, simple language book which makes the rules of English intelligible to the second-language teacher is essential. Over-reliance on an unsuitable and pedantic textbook is not conducive to the acquisition of a living language. Many language books which are not specifically designed for the particular needs of the Black child learning English are, apart from being unintelligible in parts, often dull and do not deal with the realities of the language situation, the school and the environment in which Black learners exist. Teaching and learning material should stimulate an enthusiasm to acquire a language. Very often, inappropriate and lifeless modes of speech and writing are encouraged at the expense of everyday linguistic competence.

Even in locally-produced material, the realities of the Black classroom situation are not often catered for. Stimulating language work, supported by competent teachers, is part of the solution. Contextualized stimulus material, drawn from the child's experience and also designed to broaden his cultural and linguistic horizons, is of primary importance. Too often there is a tendency to rely on lists of rules and decontextualized sentences which are often divorced from the reality of second language learning. Contextualized sentences, preferably a group of sentences which are related to each other logically, are especially important in explaining the use of those articles which depend on context for their meanings. Contextualized pattern sentences can be devised by the teacher in response to a particular problem area by referring to the work of such authors as Richards (1974). An amended form of a table of errors formulated by Richards and relating

to errors in the use of the articles follows below and should be beneficial to the teacher.

TABLE I : ERRORS IN THE USE OF ARTICLES ⁴

Omission of THE

a) before unique nouns

e.g.[ ] moon is far from [ ] earth.

[ ] Amatola mountains are in [ ] Cape.

b) before nouns indicating nationality

[ ] French and [ ] Germans fought.

c) before nouns made particular in context

At the end of [ ] meeting...

He is [ ] brother of that girl.

d) before noun modified by a participle

[ ] interpretation provided here...

e) before superlatives

She was [ ] most beautiful girl...

f) before a noun modified by an 'of' phrase

[ ] Institute of Marketing...

Use of THE where it should have been omitted

a) before proper nouns

/ the / December

/ the / Napoleon

b) before abstract nouns

/ the / love

/ the / physics

/ the / space

c) before nouns behaving like abstract nouns

before / the / breakfast...
after / the / school...

d) before plural nouns

He is telling / the / unbelievable stories.

e) before 'some'

/ the / some independence...

Use of A/AN instead of THE

a) before superlatives

[A] brightest boy...

b) before unique nouns

[A] sun is so hot

Use of A/AN where it should have been omitted

a) before a plural noun   / A / silly conclusions...

  qualified by an adjective   / A / red skies...

              / A / good news...

b) before uncountables   / A / silver...

              / A / sand...

c) before an adjective   ... regarded as / a / complete.

Omission of A/AN

a) before class nouns defined Gabriel was [an] honest man.

  by adjectives   Bathsheba was [a] clever woman.

If not abused, patterns employing different articles in similar sentences are also beneficial:

 Education is necessary for a nation's progress.

 An education is necessary if you intend making a living.

 The education of adults is essential.

From this point one could perhaps progress to setting students a problem to solve requiring an explanation for the selection of the correct version:

 Sun rises in east (X)

 The sun rises in **the** east (✓)

X - because we are referring to unique nouns.

✓ - there is only one sun and one east possible in this context.

  I met **a** Zimbabwean the other day (✓)

  I met **the** Zimbabwean the other day (✓)

✓- both are correct if you are sure of your intention. In the first sentence, you had never met the man before, but in the second, he is familiar both to you and to the person you are addressing.

The above examples would be designed for fairly advanced learners. It should be stressed that confusing patterns should not be introduced before students are confident in at least one facet of usage. Once competence in certain simple graded exercises has been achieved, the following type of exercise may be introduced:

( ) sun rises in ( ) east.

( ) sun is ( ) star.

Therefore ( ) stars are actually suns.

This is another way of saying that ( ) sun is simply ( )

star, and that ( ) star is actually ( ) sun.

( ) stars are actually suns.

( ) sun is ( ) centre of our solar system.

( ) solar system revolves around ( ) sun.

( ) suns in space are composed of ( ) burning gases.

Here the appropriate articles must be supplied, or omitted if necessary. It is, of course, possible that a bracket where no article is required would confuse the learner, and for this reason such sentences as the last one should only be presented to advanced learners.

Once students have a reasonable understanding of the articles, exercises based on them and on the closely related concepts of 'some' and 'any' can be introduced to teach new material and to consolidate what has already been taught and learned.[5]

Constant reinforcement and revision outside the context of the remedial lessons concerned with the articles is of paramount importance if any lasting impression is to be made. Error analysis of an unnamed student's work by the class and comparative analysis employing the Bantu languages and English by the teacher are two other possible approaches, but the ingenuity of the teacher and the needs of his students should shape the design of any method.

FOOTNOTES

1 To facilitate identification, square brackets have been used to indicate an article which should have been used, an enclosing block to indicate that the article used is incorrect and should be changed, and oblique lines indicate an article which should have been omitted.

2 A small percentage of 0,044 reflected the erroneous use of a demonstrative instead of an article, which is possibly due to the strategy of avoidance. If Black learners are not sure whether they should use 'a', 'the' or omit the article, it may be easier to use a demonstrative.

3 By absolute pronoun we mean those pronouns which can replace the noun as subject or object of the sentence, or stress the noun or pronoun, or be used with certain secondary morphemes, locative and copulative forms. In both Zulu and N.Sotho, they are formed from a pronoun root plus -o- in Zulu, -ŏ- or -ê- in N.Sotho, followed by the suffix -na-, and are class-differentiated. The use of the absolute pronoun often has the effect of stressing the pronoun and is often expressed in English in a reflexive form:

e.g. **Mina** **ngithanda** lo muntu angithandi lowa.

I **myself**, I like this person (I do not like) that one.

Note that the absolute pronoun can supersede the noun, but never the subject concord, which must always accompany it.

e.g. **NS:** Ba rêkilê **tšona** - They bought **them** (i.e. the books = **dipuku**)

Where **tšona** is the plural absolute pronoun for class 10,

Basadi **ba** tsogilê - The women got up

Bôna **ba** tsogilê - **They** (i.e. the women) got up.

See also Ziervogel, D., D.P. Lombard and P.C. Mokgokong:

A Handbook of the Northern Sotho Language. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, 1969, pp. 47 - 48, and

Ziervogel, Louw and Taljaard, **op.cit.**, 1967, pp. 110-1.

4   See Brown, **op.cit.**, p. 177, or Richards, **op.cit.**, pp. 186-7.

5   See Appendix I for an example of such a worksheet.

CHAPTER V

CONCORD, NUMBER AND ASSOCIATED PROBLEMS

The impression that English seems to follow no logical or predictable system of number and verb concord, especially in regard to the first and third person singular, and the fact that it has no system comparable to the concordial system of the Bantu languages, are major sources of confusion to Bantu-speaking learners. In the Bantu languages, __concord__, the __subject__ and its __number__, and __person__ in no way affect the form of the __tense__ marker.[1]   In English, however, the relation between the subject, and specifically its number and person, is such that the tense marker may change according to number, person and tense. The table below makes this clear.[2]

		Pres. Simp.	Fut. Simp.	Pres. Perf.	Imp.	Past Perf.	Fut. Perf.	Pres. Simp.	Past Simp.
1st	I	__am__	__shall__	have	__was__	had	shall have	do	did
2nd	You (s)	__are__	will	have	were	had	will have	do	did
3rd	He, she, it	__is__	will	__has__	__was__	had	will have	__does__	did
1st	We	are	shall	have	were	had	shall have	do	did
2nd	You (pl)	are	will	have	were	had	will have	do	did
3rd	They	are	will	have	were	had	will have	do	did

The Bantu tense markers are unvarying within one tense as is the case with English in the Past Simple and Past Perfect. The subject concord indicates number, person and class in the Bantu languages, while the tense is indicated quite independently of the concord. English, on the other hand, involves a connection between person, number and tense, more especially in the first and third person singular forms.

The frequent difficulty experienced by most learners of English in coupling a noun, particularly a singular one, which is always in the third person, with its obligatory -s concord in the Simple Present and its 'has' form in the Present Perfect, is marked. This is probably the most noticeable error among learners of English and is not limited to Bantu-speaking learners. These Bantu-speaking learners must learn the primary emphasis of __number__ and __person__ in English and ignore the concordial __class__ system of the Bantu languages. The errors such learners make are in this case largely the result of over- or under-differentiation. It can be argued that the English verbal concordial system is simpler than the multiple class concordial system of the Bantu languages, but this overlooks the fact that simplicity is often relative to familiarity:

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2nd	You (s)	are	will	have	were	had	will have	do	did
3rd	He, she, it	is	will	has	was	had	will have	does	did
1st	We	are	shall	have	were	had	shall have	do	did
2nd	You (pl)	are	will	have	were	had	will have	do	did
3rd	They	are	will	have	were	had	will have	do	did

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what may be simple to a first language speaker of a language need not necessarily be simple to a learner of that language. The most common errors in the sample of Black pupils' written English can be divided into five general categories:[3]

A: **Simple non-agreement between subject number and verbal concord**

1. There _were_ no jealousy among the workers.

2. Where there is love, jealousy, dishonesty and disloyalty _is_ there to stay.

3. When she grew up she was in love as everyone _do_.

4. My question _are_ why he _decide_ to go there.

5. She _find_ that her husband _leave_ her.

6. He _have_ a fight with Mercutio.

7. Alec _seduce_ Tess in the garden.

8. It _teach_ us a good lesson.

9. Angel _go_ to Brazil and _leave_ Tess.

10. Nowadays a boy _come_ to you proposing love. After that he _give_ you a baby and runs away.

11. D'Urbervilles _was_ a rich family before, but now they poor.

12. When she _leave_, her mother and brother and sister _was_ so worried.

13. So we see that Tess _have_ died.

14. Nobody _have_ seen him.

15. Their speech _were_ differing.

16. Both _was_ having love for Tess.

B: **Non-agreement between subject/noun head and verbal concord possibly influenced by a separation of the subject from its verb, where a relative, clausal or possessive structure is frequently responsible for the confusion.**

1. They come for a feast at the house which _end_ in the murder of her husband.

2. All love affairs of Tess _ends_ in tragedy.

3. They are people who _wants_ to work for themselves.

4. Oak was a farmer who he just _want_ peace.

5. The study of these books _don't_ have any relevance.

6. The parent of Tess _were_ very poor.

7. Tess of the D'Urbervilles _have_ relevance to life today.

8. Romeo after this he _don't_ like Thibault.

9. There are those parents who _chooses_ partners for his children.

10. They were wives who <u>has</u> been married but going with other men.

11. This novel like all Hardy's novels <u>are</u> good for us to read.

12. These letters of Romeo <u>does</u> not arrive.

13. Montagues of which Romeo is a member, <u>was</u> the famous family.

14. The personality of these people who <u>lives</u> there <u>are</u> all bad.

15. This idea of equal treatment <u>were</u> spreading.

16. All of them, including Romeo, <u>was</u> there.

17. These people did <u>not</u> only hated Capulets but also <u>fears</u> them.

18. Her beauty and the way she behaves <u>attracts</u> him.

19. News of these happenings on the farm <u>were</u> bad.

C: <u>Non-agreement of number between noun and pronoun</u>.

1. Some of the <u>woman</u> <u>they</u> do this. (An interesting example illustrating the problems of error classification. 'They' is idiomatically wrong, but it does agree with a misspelt 'women'.)

2. <u>A person</u>, if he sees that he can't win the love of another person whom he loves, <u>they</u> console themselfs.

3. The <u>girls</u> of these days would show you that <u>she</u> love you too much.

4. The <u>family</u> suffer but <u>they</u> still have more children. ('They' could refer to the parents,in which case the grammar is correct.)

5. ... about <u>their</u> life.

6. They have got babies without <u>their</u> father.

7. <u>This</u> <u>days</u>.

D: <u>Confusion with number and form of certain substantives</u>.

childrens	a transport	the poors, the blinds
informations	works	
advices	livestocks	
cattles	woman = women	
sheeps	mans, man = men	
feets	peoples = people	
homeworks		
equipments		

Her love have bitter results which are disappointments, <u>anxieties</u> and <u>shocks</u>.

They want to do things their own <u>ways</u>.

It leads a person to <u>temptations</u>.

We must be educated to get <u>job</u> in factories.

E: Confusion in the use of determiners and quantifiers.

1. He was a very rich somebody. (A common error in which it is clear from the
   context that the person is known by name, and where ignorance of the idiomatic
   meanings of 'a nobody' and 'a somebody' is marked.)
   (He was somebody very rich/... rich man/person, etc.)

2. Others were working in the fields, others were sleeping. (Some...others)

3. Some others have been playing in the garden. (Either 'some' or 'others'.)

4. The other book is interesting, the other one is not interesting.
   (The one.. the other)

5. One of the book is very difficult. Another one is easy.
   (One...books...The other...)

6. Other people seem to feel superior than other people. (Some...to others)

7. All what was taking place were told by Shakespeare.

8. The prince put all the matter in the hand of the families. (the whole)

9. I decided to do all what they demanded me to do. (everything)

10. He waited until he had the whole information. (all the information)

11. There was much crimes in Macbeth's rule.

12. Many boys are problem today.

13. Some few years ago...

14. The others starts gossiping.

15. The other night, when Tess was with Alec... (One night,)

16. Some of the incident which took place...

17. A certain families...

18. He was thinking of another dirty ideas...

19. Everythings...

20. The whole things....

21. Of many thing...

To put the occurrence of these errors into perspective, their percentage ratio
to other errors is perhaps not as high as we might expect, although it must be
borne in mind that they are general and common in the sample of pupils'
work. In fact the total percentage of errors of concord and number is 5,13, of
which straightforward errors of noun/pronoun/verb agreement make up 4,44 per
cent, errors of number agreement between noun and pronoun 0,59 per cent, and
confusion of singular/plural noun forms 0,10 per cent.

If we add to the total concord and number percentage, however, those for the errors in D and E, which are 2,96 and 0,60 per cent respectively, we get the substantial figure of 8,69 per cent, an indication of just how widespread and common problems associated directly or indirectly with concord and number really are.

It should not be necessary to provide a detailed explanation of why the errors in A, B and C occur, as the reasons can clearly be seen in the difference between the concordial structures of English and the Bantu languages. This difference has already been dealt with. (See Chapter III.) The errors we are concerned with here are due to the person - differentiated system of English which the Bantu-speaker, accustomed to a class-differentiated system, must learn and apply. In addition, we may note that the English system is not entirely predictable, as some singular and plural auxiliary verb forms, which function not only as tense markers but also as copulatives and person markers, are frequently identical in form for all persons within one tense, yet differ substantially within another. The second person singular forms are exactly the same as their plural forms. 'Am' and 'is' are used in the simple present tense for the first and third persons singular respectively, but 'are' is used for both persons in the plural, and for both singular and plural second person present tense forms. The -s concord rule applies to the third person singular forms of simple present, present perfect and imperfect, but not to the future simple, future perfect (which inexplicably uses 'will have', whereas the future simple uses 'has'), simple past or past perfect tenses. The imperfect uses the same form for both the first and third persons singular, unlike the simple present and present perfect.

It is to be expected that learners are likely to experience more difficulties with concordial agreement involving those tenses in which person concord is most confusing, that is, with the first and third person singular forms of the simple present and present perfect, than with other tenses.[4] In the Bantu languages errors of concord are far less likely to occur because of the constant reinforcement and repetition of concords which serve to remind one of number and class, as in the Zulu sentence:

Abafana baseMontague nabaseCapulet balwa uma bethukwa

(Lit. The boys they of Montague and they of Capulet they fought when they were insulted).

When a Bantu-speaking learner of English therefore writes or says:

The boys they foughts   or   The boy he fight,

the error is not quite as inexplicable as the native English-speaker might think.

The learner may well be transferring the rules of concord of his own language to his utterance in English. In addition, each noun class has its own specific third person singular and plural concords (see Chapter III, Table I). There is some overlapping between different class concords, but generally each concord is closely derived phonologically from its corresponding class prefix. Furthermore, the verb roots together with the particles and terminative changes indicating tense, do not change according to the person, number or class they are paired with. An analogy with English may make this clearer. If we were to transpose the rules of the Bantu languages for concord to those of English, we might find the following:

Pres.Simp.	Fut.Simp.	Pres. Perf.	Simp. Past	Past. Cont.
I love	I will love	I have loved	I loved	I was love
You love	You will love	You have loved	You loved	You was love
He love	He will love	He have loved	He loved	He was love
We love	we will love	We have loved	We loved	We was love
You love	You will love	You have loved	You loved	You was love
They love	They will love	They have loved	They loved	They was love

The fact that English does not have as marked a reinforcing and repetitive concordial linking system contributes to yet another area of difficulty - the use of an incorrect concord of number in utterances where the verb is separated from its subject head (antecedent) by a phrase or clause. It is to be expected, then, that the further the verb is from its antecedent, the more likelihood there is of some error of concord. The complexity of English utterances, where it is possible for the main verb to be so far separated from its governing subject that even native English-speakers often make errors of concord, aggravates the problem. In the complex sentence below,

> 'Romeo and Juliet', a play about two teenage lovers set in Italy and possibly based on real events, or so some scholars think, has proved to be the most popular of Shakespeare's plays among our pupils..., [5]

the potential for making an error of concord is evident.

There is a marked tendency in the sample of pupils' written work to make the concord agree with the substantive immediately preceding it without reviewing the utterance to ensure that the substantive concerned is in fact the subject of the verb. [6] This underlines the observation that these pupils seem to understand the basic rules of English concord in their most simple forms, but progressively experience greater difficulty as structures become more complex. This would appear to be because they confuse proximity of verb and preceding substantive with agreement in number and concord of a verb and its linked substantive however far apart the two may be.

The errors in A, B and C then have t... origin in the difference in emphasis
and character between the concordial systems of English and the Bantu languages
and are compounded by ignorance of the rules governing concord in English or by
carelessness in ensuring agreement of subject and verbal concord.

Another fairly common area of error, perhaps more due to carelessness than to any
other cause, is that of a compound subject linked by a connective:

Romeo, Juliet and the friar __was__ involved in this plan.

Few pupils in the sample were able to construct sentences of this type, and the
error is thus infrequent. They appear to avoid having to construct such sentences,
the tendency being to omit the 'and' and insert a pronoun before the verb, as in:

Romeo, Juliet, the friar __they__ were involved in this plan...

or to construct simpler separate sentences, such as:

Romeo he was involved. Juliet was involved. The friar was involved also.

The fact that English employs ellipsis in relative clauses and in sentences consisting
of verbs governed by the same subject and auxiliary verbs in agreement, is another
potential source of error, but again, in the pupils' own writing, such sentences
are uncommon. If objective-type questions were drawn up, requiring the pupil to
select the correct concord from say four similar sentences, the incidence of error
would conceivably be higher. In the sentence below,

Tess, (who is) from a poor rural family, (and who was/having been) drawn
into a situation beyond her control and (who was/being) unable to resist
Alec, finally __reacts__ by killing him...

the potential confusion presented by ellipsis is obvious. The noun head (Tess) is
separated from its verb (reacts) by a series of noun clauses which do not necessi-
tate the repetition of relative or auxiliary forms. As pointed out earlier, a
Bantu-speaker would have a series of concords to reinforce the number of the subject
and would be less likely to make an error of concord involving the governing verb.
In addition, ellipsis of this kind is not possible in a Bantu sentence, in which all
concords are obligatory.

The errors in D isolate a very specific area of error relating to the existence in
English of countable and uncountable nouns. The Bantu languages, of course, possess
countable and uncountable nouns, but the difference between them and English is that,
while the Bantu nouns are invariably either countable or uncountable, in the
strict sense of singular and plural, English has a large class of nouns which may
be countable or uncountable, depending on context, and a number of irregular nouns
which vary. Furthermore, determiners and quantifiers used with substantives com-
plicate matters considerably.

An analysis of these notions of countability and uncountability will clarify the reasons for pupils' errors. English nouns may be singular count (e.g. 'foot'), plural count (e.g. 'feet') or non-count (e.g. 'equipment'), but almost all non-count nouns can be 'count' nouns when used in a classificatory sense (e.g. This sand is coarse/ The sands of the desert.) Frequently, in a 'count' context, a concrete, particular notion is conveyed, while in a non-count context, an abstract, general meaning is intended. In addition, there is a large degree of overlapping between abstract and non-count nouns, often with a concomitant difference in meaning:

Count	Non-count
There were many deaths	Death comes to everyone
Politicians' speeches are generally bad	His speech is defective
Don't make a noise	Noise is a factor in stress

Some nouns are invariably singular in form and number, for example, 'advice', 'behaviour', 'scenery', 'furniture', 'music', 'homework', 'entertainment', 'cash' and 'clothing'. Others are invariably plural, such as 'trousers', 'glasses', 'contents', 'remains','thanks' and 'riches', while 'cattle', 'people', 'police' and 'clergy' are invariably plural in number but singular in form.

The wealth of synonymous forms in English does not simplify matters. 'Attire', 'dress', 'wear', 'apparel' and 'clothing' are all singular count, but 'clothes' is plural in form. Compare the following, where one word is singular and countable, whereas its synonym is either countable or uncountable:

work	– job(s)	behaviour	– act(s)
mail	– letter(s)	wealth	– riches
merchandise	– goods	traffic	– vehicles
equipment	– tools	money/cash	– funds
clothing	– clothes		
pay	– salary/ies, wage/s		
maize	– mealies		

The countability or uncountability of English nouns is not a question of logic. Countability and uncountability are language-specific phenomena in any language: nouns which are countable in one language may be uncountable in another, and vice versa, as the examples below illustrate:

Generally singular in English, unless a generic meaning is intended	Plural in Zulu/N. Sotho
water	amanzi/meetse
saliva	amathe/mare
fat/oil	amafutha/makhura
blood (always singular)	N.B. igazi - singular in Zulu madi - plural in N.Sotho

Plural in form, but always singular in meaning	Singular/plural
news	matter, topic, affair; report, account; law case; true account; all expressed by: indaba, izindaba/taba, ditaba used in plural form as 'news'

Singular/Plural in English depending on context	Plural in Zulu/N.Sotho
power/s	amandla/maatla ⎫ (morphologically
lie/lies	amanga/maaka ⎬ different ⎪ singular forms ⎭ exist)

Similarly, the richness of Zulu synonyms particularly provides as complex a system as English:

death	ukufa, ukushona, ukubulawa, isifo- (singular); amagongo (plural only)
work	umsebenzi/imisebenzi (singular/plural) ukwenza (singular only) umgidi/abagidi (singular - business, undertaking) (plural - exploits)
riches/wealth/richness	ingcebo, umnotho, ukunotha (singular only)

This is a fascinating and complex area of linguistic research and deserves more attention, especially as it is so closely linked with notions of number and, therefore, concord. It would not be difficult to draw up a list of nouns whose countability varies and compare those of the learner's language with those of English. Tuition based on the evidence of such a list would facilitate teaching, as only those that differ in countability need be reinforced, preferably not in list form, but in contextual exercises.

The great variety of quantifiers and determiners in English is responsible for most of the errors in E and we shall see that they are inseparable from the concepts of number discussed above.

A brief classificatory survey of these will be helpful.[7]

I: <u>Determiners</u>	-	the, possessive adjectives, whose, which(ever), what(ever), no, some (stressed), any (stressed)
	-	zero article e.g. We sold furniture; some and any (unstressed)
	-	this, that, these, those
	-	a(n), every, each, either, neither
	-	much

II: <u>Closed-system premodifiers</u>

(a) **Predeterminers**	-	all, both, half, double, twice, three times, etc., fractions
(b) **Post-determiners**	-	numerals
	-	quantifiers: many, few, several, much (non-count), little, next, last, (an)other, additional, enough

III: <u>Open system phrasal</u> <u>modifiers</u>	-	plenty of, a lot of, lots of, a great deal of, a (large/small) quantity of, a good/large/great number of, etc., and the partitive expressions
(N.B. These enable some degree of countability to be imposed on uncountable nouns)		a piece/bit/item of; a slice/bowl/glass/bottle of; a litre/spoonful/pound of, etc.

The Bantu languages possess determiners and quantifiers, but not to the same extent as they occur in English. For example, 'every', 'all' and 'whole' are not separately distinguished in Zulu and N.Sotho - the roots <u>nke</u> (Zulu) and <u>-ohle</u> (N.Sotho) are used for all three meanings. The errors in E, namely 7 to 10 and 20, are classic cases of underdifferentiation because in the Bantu languages -<u>onke</u> and <u>-ohle</u> can only be used in the plural, whereas 'whole' and 'every' can only be used in the singular form in English, and 'all' can be singular or plural depending on context. Similarly, -<u>nye</u> (Zulu) and <u>tee</u> (N.Sotho) can be used for 'one', 'other', 'another', 'some' and 'any', which would account for many of the errors in E: 1 to 6, 13 to 16, and 18. There are not the same distinctions between the meanings of 'more', 'many', 'much' and 'most', and 'little', 'less' and 'least' in the Bantu languages as there are in English largely because of the different nature of comparative structures in the Bantu languages. (See Chapter VII)

Furthermore, English concords change according to the context of some determiners and quantifiers depending on whether they are use: in a countable and uncountable sense, as in the examples below:

All <u>are</u> present   =   Everyone <u>is</u> present

All <u>is</u> well   =   Everything <u>is</u> in order

All <u>are</u> well   =   Everyone <u>is</u> well

'Some', 'no', 'most' and 'all' can be used in both count and non-count contexts, 'each', 'every', 'none', 'much' and 'little' in singular contexts only, while 'few' and 'many' apply only in plural contexts. The articles complicate matters further. Compare:

<u>A</u> number of animal<u>s</u> <u>are</u> killed on the roads ... and

<u>The</u> number of animal<u>s</u> killed on the roads <u>has</u> increased.

This apparently illogical variation also applies to 'a lot', 'the lot', 'a great deal' and 'the greater part', but not to 'a few' and 'few', nor to 'a little' and 'little'. For example,

<u>A</u> few people <u>were</u> sitting there

<u>Few</u> people <u>were</u> sitting there

I have <u>a</u> <u>little</u> money

I have <u>little</u> money.

Finally, the problems for a learner of English inherent in the nature of quantifiers and determiners are perhaps summed up in the examples below:

All/some/no/more/many/most/	
a number of/a great deal of/ a lot of/	<u>lives</u> <u>were</u> lost.
few/a few	

All/some of/none of/much of/	
most of/a good/great deal of/	my <u>life</u> <u>was</u> spent there.
a lot of/little of/(my) whole	

In devising remedial techniques and exercises, Appendix II might prove helpful and comprehensive. Contextual exercises based on the nature and scope of the particular class' errors should be devised, so that learners realize how the rules of concord operate and, more importantly, how some may vary in number depending on which determiners they are used with. As is the case with all remedial exercises, they should not be done in isolation but integrated with general

language teaching and used in the classroom. As errors associated with number
and concord are so general and so common, it is important that the teacher
realizes their nature and extent and plans suitable strategies to eliminate
erroneous utterances and to reinforce correct ones. Learners should not be
overwhelmed by lists of rules and exceptions, but each area of error should be
systematically pointed out and revised continuously while new areas are being
explored. The teacher should beware of   concentrating on errors at the
expense of encouraging the learner when he is correct, as such an over-zealous
approach may induce a confused or even negative attitude on the part of the
learner.

FOOTNOTES

1   Except where sound changes occur as a result of concords ending in vowels being
    followed by verb stems which begin with vowels. This applies to the Nguni
    group of languages to which Zulu belongs, but not to the Sotho group.

2   The underlined auxiliaries are those which are subject to change according
    to person, number and tense. The underlining emphasizes the rule -
    specific and apparently illogical system of English. For example, the third
    person singular Present Perfect form is 'has', but changes to 'will have' in
    the Future Perfect. Similarly the second person singular forms of the
    Simple Present, Present Perfect and Imperfect are the same as the plural
    forms, whereas the first and third persons are not.

3   While the examples used here contain a number of categories of error, I am
    drawing attention only to concord-related errors.

4   Lack of practice in English, insufficient exposure to the language, a frequent
    lack of the need to master concord as communicative demands can be met
    without mastering concordial rules. Carelessness, ignorance of the
    rules and confusion are all possible reasons for the continued existence of
    these errors even at quite advanced secondary school level and beyond.
    Learners are often able to correct their errors if they are pointed out to
    them. Possible contributory factors may be the ineffectuality of some
    language textbook material and reliance on such books by teachers who are
    themselves often not au fait with the rules. Add to this the fact that little
    real motivation to correct one's errors exists when one can cope with one's
    communicative needs by speaking one's first language most of the time.
    Indeed, this can be said of all errors examined in the course of this
    dissertation.

5   It may be noted here that very few of the pupils whose written work was
    analysed were capable of constructing such sentences, and that the
    percentage of concordial and number errors may well have been higher if their
    ability to supply concords may well have been higher if their ability to
    supply concords in given sentences (i.e. in objective-type questions) had been
    analysed. As it is, because of the relatively simple sentence structures
    in the sample of pupils' writing, the most frequently encountered areas of
    error are where the verb is separated from its antecedent, although the
    fact that even pupils in Standard 10 are still making errors of concord where
    the noun and verb are adjacent indicates that most have not mastered even the
    basic rules of concord.

6   A complicating factor in English is the frequent need to anticipate
    the number of the substantive by choosing the correct number for the
    verb <u>before</u> one reaches the substantive. This is especially common with
    the verb 'to be',as in the example:

        There <u>were</u>, of all the pupils in the school, only three
        totally unco-op.·rative <u>boys</u>.

    Very few Black pupils. in my experience, were capable of constructing such
    sentences, and the possibility of this err.·r occurring is therefore uncommon.
    (See E. 11.)

7   For a thorough survey of all the rules relating to countability and
    uncountability, see:

    Quirk, Randolph and Sidney Greenbaum: <u>A "niversity Grammar of English</u>.
    London: Longman, 197}, pp. 59 - 89.

CHAPTER VI

SENTENCE-LINKING DEVICES

The English used by Bantu-speakers of the language frequently reveals a great deal of confusion relating to the organization of ideas within a sentence, and the linking of sentences to provide a logical, flowing and meaningful statement. This confusion is most obvious in the linking of ideas in sequence in clausal, relative and similar grammatical constructions employing cohesive devices of one kind or another. Much of this is, I believe, due to the multiplicity of forms of expression available in English. These forms are often closely-related, and just as often governed by different grammatical rules regarding application. Errors of this type can be ascribed to a number of possible causes: confusion traceable to the enormous variety of forms of expression catered for by the English language; direct and indirect interference; redundancy; wordiness; contradiction due to apparent ignorance of the meanings of English conjunctions and to idiosyncratic forms of South African Black English; ignorance of punctuation rules; the use of inappropriately formal or archaic English expression; and possible evidence of Bantu and South African English slang.

The examples given below should make the variety and general characteristics of these errors clearer. They also enable one to attempt a classification and analysis of the more common errors. These will first be grouped and listed , and then the reasons for their occurrence will be discussed.

A: **Two conjunctions or a conjunction coupled with a preposition, where one element is incorrect, redundant or ungrammatical**

1. **Although** she loved him **but** she didn't marry him.
2. So **though** we did not really get the reason for the hatred, **but** it is relevant.
3. **Even if** it's a non-fiction, **but** it is real life.
4. **Except for** this, **but** the procedure is the same.
5. **Nevermind** Boldwood was ignorant **but** he was always faithful.
6. **Though** today religion is losing its touch **but nevertheless** it is still valid for life today.
7. **But** you can find ladies with that character **but** most of them do not have respect.
8. **Because** Antony speaks with emotion **so** he gains support.

9. Because she was vain, therefore she fell in love with Troy.

10. Since from childhood, he was trained to be a farmer.

11. So then she was proud of her riches.

12. They saw now then the sheep were all dead.

13. Even today a man can kill if when he had spent too much money for his new lady.

14. He won't do this not unless if she can agree to marry.

B: Idiosyncratic use of single conjunctival forms.

1.   He was honest and loyal even if he was happy or sad. ('even if' = 'whether')

2.   They wanted money unless he would die. ('unless' = 'or else', 'failing which')

3.   She loved him nevermind he treated her badly. ('nevermind' = 'although')

4.   Like Oak, he decided to work as a farm labourer. ('like' = 'for example',
     'for instance') (the pupil was not referring to any other person - the 'he'
     is Oak and as Oak is not being compared to anyone else, but is being used as
     an example, 'like' is incorrect.)

C: Idiosyncratic use of ungrammatical connective forms

1.   Tess was confused why because she was in love with two men.
     (...confused.   Why? Because...)

2.   It's because that Tess was having that guilty feeling. ('that' redundant)

3.   If that there was a law that when you have killed you must be killed.
     ('If that' totally redundant, or 'that' redundant if the sentence was intended
     to continue after 'killed' by ending with a main clause).

4.   The boyfriend who ran away for that Tess was having a child, returned.
     ('for that' = 'because')

5.   For what for, nobody knows. ('For what for' = 'why', 'what for', 'for what
     reason')

6.   She didn't know that whether she must accept him.
     ('that' redundant, 'must' = 'should' or 'she must' = 'to')

7.   He was doubting as to whether he must leave her.
     ('as to' redundant, 'must' = °should' or 'he must' = 'to')

8.   If at all he did not pay, Shylock would cut a pound of his flesh.
     (If a syntactical error, correct by inserting 'at all' after 'pay', if
     a grammatical one, correct by omitting 'at all')

9.   If ever he saw him, he would kill him.
     (If a syntactical error, correct by inserting 'ever' after 'he',
     if a grammatical one, correct by omitting redundant 'ever')

D: **Wordy adverbial clauses of time, characterised by a redundant element**

1.   The other time when she was in the house...   (= 'once')

2.   The time that Antonio was supposed to pay the money...   (='when')

3.   And after that Tess stab Alec and after Tess was live with Angel.
     (Preferably: 'And after that, Tess... and lived with Angel'
     or   'After Tess had stabbed Alec, she lived with Angel'.)

4.   When her husband tries to stop her, it is then she was angry.

     ('it is then' redundant)

5.   When she saw him, it is then that she decide to kill him.
     ('It is then that' redundant)

E: **Idiosyncratic or verbose clauses of purpose and causation**

1.   Tess only loved him in order she could pay revenge.
     ('in order' = 'so that')

2.   She had to love him in order that she can get security.
     ('in order that' = 'so that', 'in ord r that she can' = to)

3.   He can die in order to save his friend.
     ('in order to' = 'to')

4.   He went there for the sake of marrying her.
     ('for the sake of' = 'to + marry', 'so that he could', 'because he wanted to')

5.   Tybalt killed Mercutio due to the fact that he didn't want peace.
     ('due to the fact that' = 'because')

6.   She demanded him married but according to the fact that that man doesn't she
     killed him according why she hate him.
     (An extremely confused example. Perhaps:
     'She demanded to marry him, but because he did not want to marry her, she killed
     him. Another reason for her doing this was that she hated him'.
                                    or
     'She hated him because she had demanded to marry him, but because he did not
     want to (marry her), she killed him'.)

7.   Being that she loved him, she married him.
     ('being that" = 'seeing that', 'because', 'as', 'since')

8.   She stabbed him to death. She did that because she was frustrated.
     (repetition of subject and verb, where 'because' would have teen the best
     linking device)

F: **Incomplete sentence consisting of one or more clausal/connective structures
     without a main verb**

1.   That a man can be a victim or a woman.

2.   As we know that she was the most beautiful girl.

3. Joseph <u>as</u> he was sent to fetch the corpse of Fanny <u>and</u> get into the malthouse <u>and</u> drink liquor.

4. <u>Since</u> the action by the parents of forcing Juliet to marry resulted to a disaster <u>when</u> Juliet seriously dying.

5. <u>The time when</u> Antonio was supposed to return the money.

G: **Incomplete conjunctival/connective structure, where only one part of an obligatory complementary pair is used**

1. All that started in evil may will bring no peace <u>neither</u> love.
   (...'<u>neither</u> peace <u>nor</u> love')

2. This will happen no matter <u>whether</u> he had a child by her. (omission of 'or not' at the end of the sentence, although it may be said that the 'or not' is falling away in acceptable idiom)

3. <u>Not</u> girls <u>only</u>, fathers, mothers and children have no respect these day. ('<u>Not only</u> girls, <u>but also</u>'... Sentence had best be reconstructed)

H: **Use of commas where conjunctions, connectives, colons, semi-colons or full stops would have been more effective.**

1. She was not willing to work there, she was controlled by circumstance.

2. Alec show his respect towards her, he bought her parent the present.

3. She stab him to death, she was paying a revenge.

4. The Friar knew that she was not dead, he sent Friar John to tell Romeo.

5. Tess was not thinking of anything she was thinking of Angel.

6. Tess was of a poor family, her surname is D'Urberville.

7. One day she met Alec, they agreed to be in love again, become man and wife.

8. Hardy shows us this where Boldwood raises the question of marriage, Bathsheba promises to give him an answer.

9. Boldwood was morally strict, he kept away from women.

I: **Apparently incorrect choice of conjunction where another would make the meaning clearer**

1. She fell pregnant <u>even though</u> her baby died.
   ('even though' = 'although', 'but')

2. She got a baby <u>and</u> he didn't live long.
   ('and' = 'but')

3. She thought that <u>when</u> she could marry Alec, it would be better.
   ('when' = 'if')

4. Tess loves to live in a town <u>although</u> Alec was living in a country.
   ('although' = 'but')

5. As she did not know how to keep a secret and to pretend, then she told Angel she was seduced by Alec.

    ('As' redundant, 'and' = 'nor', 'then' = 'so'; or retain 'as' and 'and' and omit 'then')

J: **Apparently unrelated thoughts illogically linked by means of a conjunctival or other connective device**

1. I agree with the topic because of many thing which happened in the book and not to say that Tess doesn't care about her life.

2. The book has relevance to life today because it tells us that Tess was beautiful girl and her parents were poor.

3. As we can see that Troy died for his wife by firearms, there are many people shot today because of their wives and husbands.

4. As we know that Bathsheba was married to Troy, after Troy's disappearance she promised Boldwood that she will marry him.

K: **Miscellaneous common idiosyncratic or over-used connective devices, exhibiting either evidence of direct interference or frequently over-reliant preference for certain expressions**

1. Only to find that Tess was faithful, she explain everything to Angel.

2. Coming to love, the story become relevant to life today.

3. When coming to the life of today, there is no more love.

4. So Tess did not love Alec....So Tess could not pretend ....

5. Really the people of Weatherbury were far from cities.

6. Really this is perfect love.

7. Really the story is relevant.

8. Again as human beings we must love one another.

9. And again in our world, same thing happened.

10. If ever she can see him, she can be happy.

11. I can say Bathsheba was unhappy.

12. In fact, he was a farmer. (No notion of addition or reformulation intended).

13. On my side, I do not think this is relevant.

14. Well, nowadays women are superior.

15. Even Troy I can say he was greedy.

16. Even the people they were going to give her a bad name.

17. Of course, it is a novel.

It will be obvious from the range of errors evident in these examples that full
contrastive analysis would be unnecessarily complex and unwieldy. For this
reason a more general approach, pointing out the possible reasons for the errors,
will be followed. Therefore, only the most basic structures involving
conjunctival and connective devices in the Bantu languages reflected in the examples
will be investigated. It should also be noted that evidence of definite first
language interference is difficult to isolate with any assurance here, as we are
dealing very frequently not with single linguistic items, but with a variety
of items within each sentence. Much depends on the researcher's interpretation
of the possible area of error and of the intended meaning which the pupil has
attempted to express in a form of English which may be quite comprehensible
to the pupil in terms of his interlanguage. This form may seem strange to a native
English-speaker, but may be quite comprehensible to a fellow learner.

Errors in the use of conjunctions and connective devices in the sample totalled
7,25 per cent, with another 1,32 per cent due to errors connected with
relative constructions. The percentage of errors may well have been higher if
the pupils were generally capable of constructing longer and more sophisticated
clausal constructions in English, which is palpably not the case. The vast
majority of pupils was capable of either only short sentences with repetitive
elements and little ability in using devices facilitating an easy flow of language
and thought, or of long discrete skeins of ungrammatically-connected thoughts
with little evidence of flow or of correct punctuation. In many cases,
sentences were so poorly constructed that they were totally meaningless or, at
best, that the meaning was obscure or ambiguous. What aggravates this is a
marked tendency towards extreme wordiness, repetition and reformulation - in a
word, redundancy. This is as much due to the structure of the Bantu languages
themselves as it is to the pupils' inability to express themselves in coherent and
concise English, and to insufficient exposure to a suitable model of such English.

At the very simplest level, the use of the conjunction 'and' to link ideas and
actions is fraught with interlingual problems. While 'and' can be used in English
to connect nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and sentences, the Zulu and N.Sotho
equivalents, na- and le respectively, can only be used as connectives of sub-
stantives and adverbs and not as conjunctions joining sentences containing
finite verbs. Na- and le can also be used to denote 'with'. Futhi (Z) and
gape/gomme (NS) are used to denote 'again', 'also', 'too', 'furthermore' and
'in addition', which may account for the high frequency of 'again' as a conjunctive/
connective (see K: 8-9) in situations where its use would not be warranted in
English and where 'and' would be preferable. In fact, the use of 'and' appears
to be frequently avoided in the sample. The most likely explanation of this
avoidance of 'and' as a conjunction is that when linking predicates, the Bantu

languages employ the subjunctive instead of the indicative for the second verb, no conjunction being necessary in this structure. Indeed, omission of 'and' is most frequent in English sentences consisting of two or more actions, where the obligatory 'and' between the first and last groups of finite verbs is omitted, or where pupils used a comma instead of 'and' to link the actions.

The errors in A appear to be grounded in interlingual interference, as the use of two conjunctions/connectives in a sentence is frequently grammatical in Bantu languages, but not in English. Furthermore, while the conjunction in English is a distinct and separate part of speech, this is not so in the Bantu languages. In the Bantu languages a conjunction may be said to be any structure which performs the function of a conjunction - conjunctions can be nouns, verbs or adverbs and therefore function more as introductory words before a particular clausal construction. They do not thus necessarily connect clauses as they generally do in English. The following examples should make these points clear.

1.   Z: <u>Noma</u> angaba phezulu namuhla <u>kodwa</u> kusasa angase awe.

       NS: <u>Le ge</u> a ka ba godimo lehono,   <u>empa</u> ka moso a ka wa.

       Lit. <u>Even if</u> he can be on top today <u>but</u> tomorrow he can fall.

2.   Z: <u>Ngenxa</u> <u>yokuthi</u> u-Antony ukhuluma ngomfutho <u>ngakho</u> uthola ukwesekelwa.

       NS: <u>Ka gobane Anthony</u> o bolela ka maikutlo <u>ka moô</u> ba a mo latela.

       Lit. <u>Because that</u> Antony speaks with emotion <u>so</u> he gains support.'

3.   Z: <u>Noma-ke</u> wabe emthanda <u>kodwa</u> akazange amshade.

       NS: <u>Le ge</u> a mo ratile, e <u>fela</u> ga a mo nyala.

       Lit. <u>Although</u> she loved him <u>but</u> she did not marry him.

4.   Z: Ngokuba wayekhohlakele <u>ngakhoke</u> waqoma noTroy.

       NS: <u>Ka gobane</u> e le yo mobe, <u>ke kamoô</u> o ile a ratana le Troy.

       Lit. <u>Because</u> she was selfish (bad), <u>therefore</u> she fell in love with Troy.

The errors in B appear to be clear cases of semantic confusion. In spite of their relatively low frequency, they nevertheless occur quite generally, which would point to their being fossilized items.

Those in C are rather more difficult to explain. The use of 'why because' as a conjunctival phrase, without punctuation, is common - rather strangely, as the construction <u>with</u> punctuation (Z: <u>Ngani</u> ? <u>Ngoba</u>...;   NS: <u>Kgoreng</u> ? <u>Gobane</u>...) is as grammatical in the Bantu languages as it is in English. Perhaps its origin lies in some confusion concerning its use in colloquial English, where

breath and tone replace written punctuation. Errors 2 to 5 all involve some confusion with conjunctions introducing clauses of reason. English employs 'as', 'since', 'because', 'because of', 'for', 'as a result of', 'seeing that' and other items to introduce such clauses, but Zulu, for example, has at least as many, if not more, including lokhu, nakhu, ngokuba, ngoba, ukuba, njengoba, yilokhu, ngenxa na- (because of) and ngalokho (because of that). The variety of items available in both English and the Bantu languages may well be the reason for the confused usage obvious in these errors, which are relatively uncommon. The use of 'if at all' in C: 8 is common and is reflected in the use of nokuthi vo in Zulu. It should be avoided as 'if' is quite sufficient, or the correct use of 'if... at all' should be made clear, as in:

If I don't see anyone at all on holiday, l will be content.

'If ever' (C: 9) is quite as common, and may be due to a simple syntactical error, easily corrected as:

If he ever saw him, he would kill him;

or to direct interfefence as in:

Z: Ukubanje wayengezukukhokha imali, wayezokufa.

NS: Ge nkabe a sa kgona tshelete yela go mo lefa, o be a tlo hwa.

Lit. If ever he could not repay him the money, he would die.

The clumsy time clauses in D seem to originate from more or less literal transla-tions of such words as the Zulu ngesikhathi, denoting 'at the time when'. This appears to be the case with 1 and 2, the Zulu translations of which follow:

1. Ngesinye isikhathi uma wayesendlini, wayemvakashele.

2. Isikhathi u-Antonio okwakufanele abuyise ngaso imali.

The third example seems to be a clear case of clumsy construction, while 4 and 5 again evince the influence of isikhathi structures, as in:

Z: Uthe embona, ingalesosikhathi esejabula.

NS: O rile go mmona, ya ba gona ge a thaba.

Lit. When he saw her, it was then that he was happy.

The examples in E reflect the use of more words, often in pompous and verbose constructions, than is necessary. The over-formal constructions here may have their origin in the fact that Zulu and N. Sotho clauses of purpose are followed by the verb in the subjunctive mood and correspond with the equivalent Latinate construc-tion, as in:

He slaughtered them __in order that__ they __might__ never endanger him again.

In Bantu clauses of purpose, conjunctions are obligatory, as in the N. Sotho __gore__ and the Zulu __ukuze__, __ukuba__ and __ukuthi__, and the use of 'to' to introduce a clause of purpose is impossible.   This is not the case in Engliſh, where the use of 'to' is more common than the longer formal structures introduced by 'in order that' followed by the verb in the subjunctive. This is clear from the following examples:

Tess went there __in order that__ she __might__ see Angel.

Tess went there __to__ see Angel.

Many Black pupils appear to prefer using the longer, more formal constructions which they then frequently render clumsy and verbose by ungrammatical or unnecessary additions. This tendency is especially marked in E: 1-6. That this appears to be due to direct interference is manifest from these examples:

Z: Angafa __ukuze__ asindise umngane wakhe.

NS: A ka hwa __go phološa__ mogwera wa gagwe.

Lit. He can die __in order to__ save his friend.

The reason for the use of 'being that' in E: 7 is not clear. It may be a simple case of confusion with 'seeing that', a perfectly legitimate construction in this context, or there may be some obscure literal translation involved in the Zulu __ngenxa yokuthi__ = 'because of (the fact that)', as in :

Z: __Ngenxa yokuthi__ wayemthanda wabe useyamshada.

NS: __Ka gobane__ a mo ratile, o ile a mo nyala.

Lit. __Because that__ he loved her he married her.

The repetition in this sample of subject and verb in E: 8 is extremely widespread and typical of the style of Black learners of English. It is an extension of the type of errors associated with genders in English, namely the repeated use of nouns instead of the relevant pronouns and that of a demonstrative and noun instead of a pronoun. A conjunction such as 'because' would have been quite adequate instead of a reformulation of the first sentence. These errors exhibit a lack of facility in the formulation of flowing utterances in English and are characteristic of learners in the first stages of mastering another language.

The incomplete structures lacking a main verb in F accounted for 2,73 per cent of the total number of errors, as against 2,12 per cent where the conjunction was omitted, redundant or incorrect. It is difficult to assess whether it is

ignorance of grammatical rules, ignorance of punctuation usage, or sheer careless-
ness which is the factor most responsible for these errors. What can be said
is that incomplete structures generally involving the lack of a main verb and
the existence of subordinate clauses posing as complete sentences are among the
most common tendencies in the sample. They are possibly also the single most
ser.ous factor militating against the acquisition of meaningful and coherent
expression in English. It is not altogether clear whether such sentences, that
is, those lacking a main verb, are in certain instances permissible in the Bantu
languages, but such errors as incomplete clauses introduced by 'as', 'as we can
see that' and 'as we know that' are common and seem to be literal translations:

Z: **Njengoba sazi ukuthi** wayeyindoda ethandekayo.

NS: **Ka ge re tseba gore** e be ele monna wa go ratega.

Lit. **As we know that** he was lovable man.

Where pupils omitted one part of a complementary pair of structures (as in G),
this appears to be the result of carelessness or ignorance of the use of such
structures in English. Zulu very definitely has 'either... or' (noma...noma),
'neither...nor' (noma... noma + negative) and 'whether... or' (kukho... kukho,
nakuba...nakuba, noma...noma) constructions, although these appear to be less
definitely expressed in N.Sotho, which uses goba or le ge e le for all three.
The errors in G: 2 and 3, however, seem to derive from there being no equivalent
Bantu structures for the English forms.

A general error is the use of a comma to separate what, in fact, are two discrete
sentences each possessing a main verb, or even the omission of a comma where its
use would at least make the division of sentences clearer. As can be seen from
H, a full stop, semi-colon, conjunction or relative would have been preferable.
It seems that these errors are possibly traceable to two main causes:
that 'conjunctions' in the Bantu languages do not invariably connect true clauses
as in English, and that what in English would be clausal structures are not
necessarily so in the Bantu languages. We have seen this phenomenon at work in the
use, or rather omission,of 'and', where Zulu, for example, employs a variety of
moods in conjunction with certain tenses. Thus Zulu uses a succession of
indicative present tenses without the connective 'and' to link actions taking
place in the present, but not resulting from each other, while employing an
indicative present or future followed by a subjunctive when the subsequent
action is a direct result of the main action:

Z: Izintombi njalo zicula, zigida, zihleka.

NS: Basetsana ka mehla ba a opela, ba bine, ba be be sege.

Eng.   Girls always sing (and) dance and laugh.

Z: Ngizohlala lapha ngisebenze.

NS: Ke tla dula mo, ka šome.

Eng.   I will stay here and work.

The potential 'mood', denoting 'can', is always linked with a present subjunctive, whereas in English an indicative would follow the potential:

Z: Bangaya ekhaya bahlale khona.

NS: Ba ka ya gae be dule gona.

Eng.   They can go home and stay there.

Time clauses employing 'while' are expressed in the Bantu languages by the participial mood[1] and require no conjunction:

Z: Sicula sisebenza.

NS: Re opela re šoma.

Eng.   We sing while we work.

The errors which have their origin in the existence of these 'moods' and verbal devices in the Bantu languages will be more fully investigated in another chapter. The reasons for the loose structure of the errors in H can thus be said to derive largely from the existence of differing patterns of expression in the Bantu languages which do not require the same obligatory clausal structures we find in English.

The inappropriate choice of conjunction in I is probably caused by ignorance of and confusion between the various conjunctival forms in English. As I: 3 shows, confusion between 'if' and 'when' is not limited to second language learners, as it is a fairly common one among first language English-speakers. Furthermore, uma is used in Zulu to denote both 'if' and 'when', as are ga and ge in N. Sotho. Conjunctions of concession and contrast are also often confused, as are those of time and condition. The category classified as 'illogical connections', for want of a better term, in J, is characterised by non sequiturs and an incomplete grasp of the meaning of the sentence expressed in English. Here it would seem that lack of practice in sentence linking and of full comprehension of what the pupils were writing are the apparent causes of error, rather than direct interference from the first language.

Although the percentage of errors involving relative constructions
in this sample was low (1,32 per cent), such errors are extremely common in
certain contexts. The fact that the percentage is not higher is most probably
owing to the strategy of avoidance and, specifically, to the use of relative
constructions in only a few contexts, whereas English employs such constructions
in a variety of diverse ways. In view of the relatively low percentage, it will
not be necessary to analyse each occurrence of error by means of detailed
comparative analysis: this would complicate matters. For reasons which will
become obvious, therefore, only general classification of errors will be attempted,
followed by an explanation for their occurrence.

L: Omission of obligatory relative

1. The letter [that/which] came from Romeo did not reach her.
2. You find two people married [who] love each other.
3. These boys [who] come and marry these girls don't know what happened
    before like Angel. (Either omission of relative or omission of 'but'
    after 'these girls').

4. So all events [which/that] took place in the story are still taking
    place today.

M: Confusion between THAT/WHAT/WHICH/LIKE

1. Tess was hopeful, [that] is why she didn't lose hope.
    (Either 'which' instead of 'that', or a full stop or semi-colon).

2. In all [what] I learnt from the story....
    ('what' instead of 'that').

3. She told him all [what] her aunt said.
    ('what' instead of 'that').

4. All [what] Tess did denied her happiness.
    ('what' instead of 'that')

5. He asked her [that] what did she want.
    ('that' redundant).

6. Today the girls do [like] Bathsheba did.
    ('like' instead of 'what').

N: **Evidence of confusion evinced ~ the use of WHO/WHOM/WHOSE/WHICH**

1.   Today there are mortuaries ⌈who⌉ keep our corpses.   (which)
2.   Many girls ⌈which⌉ are the same as Tess...   (who)
3.   There are people ⌈which⌉ are like them today.   (who)
4.   They loved that woman ⌈which⌉ was Bathsheba.
     (Either omission of 'which was' or omission of 'that woman which was').

5.   Women still like playing with men's feelings ⌈whom⌉ they don't care about.
     (Requires re-ordering and reconstruction of sentence).

6.   She was seduced by Alec ⌈which⌉ her mother sent her to.   (whom)

O: **Confusion with the forms of WHO/WHOM/WHOSE**

1.   They were not pretending as the couples today ⌈whom⌉ they love somebody
     for something.   (Who)

2.   The women ⌈of whom⌉ they do respect their feelings...   ('whose feelings
     they respect, ...)

P: **Confusion involving the idiosyncratic use of 'OF WHICH'**

1.   The man then came to realization whom did he love, <u>of which</u> will be too
     late for him.

2.   Boldwood was jealous <u>of which</u> /it/ was obvious.
     (Either a comma after 'jealous', followed by 'which', or complete re-
     ordering: 'it was obvious that Boldwood was jealous').

3.   Love between men and woman /of/ which the book is about...
     ('of which' instead of 'which').

4.   A grudge <u>which</u> is not yet known the cause.
     ('A grudge, <u>of which</u> the cause is not yet known...').

5.   Their wedding controlled by the friar ⌈of which⌉ /he/ was the monk.
     ('of which' instead of 'who').

6.   Bathsheba was engaged to a third man, /of/ which /it/ is humiliating to see.
     ('of' and pronoun 'it' redundant).

7.   The author states out suggestive description of this bad practice /of/ which
     students will be able to notice after reading the book.

     ('of' should be omitted, and 'practice' should be followed by a comma).

Q: **Errors involving the use of a pronoun or demonstrative**

1. Especially the other girl, $\boxed{\text{she}}$ decide to work.
   ('she' instead of 'who').

2. There was a man named Angel $\boxed{\text{he}}$ loved Tess.
   ('he' instead of 'who')

3. We find a country girl whose name is Tess $\boxed{\text{her}}$ family was so poor.
   ('her' instead of 'whose', or new sentence after 'Tess').

4. There are those family <u>which</u> /they/ are poor.
   (...'those families which are poor').

5. He was dead from a poison <u>which</u> he still had /its/ container in his hand.
   ('...a poison, the container <u>of which</u> was still in his hand).

6. The story took place in a rural area $\boxed{\text{where that area}}$ was ruled
   by a young lady.
   ('where that area' instead of 'which').

7. Like Fanny, $\boxed{\text{she}}$ did love Troy.
   ('she' instead of 'who').

R: **Confusion of meaning evinced by a generally tortuous abuse of a relative form or subsequent construction**

1. Girls draw daggers to their lovers <u>which</u> is absolutely wrong for a girl to carry a dagger with her. (= 'wrong'. ?)

2. A person falls in love with a person <u>whom</u> he only loves her appearance.
   (= 'whose appearance he loves' ?)

3. He fall in love with the one <u>whom</u> his parents has no approval to them.
   (='of whom his parents disapproved'. ?)

S: **Conjunction used where a relative form would be preferable.**

1. Tess got a child $\boxed{\text{and}}$ did not last for a long time $\boxed{\text{but}}$ died.
   ('and' instead of 'who/which/that'; omission of 'but').

The errors in L are complicated by the fact that in English, the relative forms 'who', 'which' and 'that' may be expressed or omitted, depending on the form of the verb which follows the relative. For example, we may say:

1. This is the man __whom__ I saw at the concert.

2. This is the man I saw at the concert.

3. This is the man seen (by me) at the concert.

4. This is the man __who__ was seen at the concert.

5. The events __which/that__ took place then still occur today.

6. The events taking place then still occur today.

In examples 1 to 3, the use or exclusion of the relative is optional, in 4 and 5 the relative is obligatory, and in 6 it is only obligatory if the auxiliary verb 'were' follows 'which/that'. In the Bantu languages, a very sophisticated system of rules govern the use of relative constructions,[2] depending on whether the relative stem is derived from verbs, nouns, or enumerative relative stems, each of which employs a different set of concords. Only verbal relatives employ anything like a recognizably discrete morpheme equivalent to the English 'who', 'which' and 'that'. In Zulu, the suffix -yo is added to the qualifying verb, while -go is the N. Sotho equivalent. In certain cases, notably when the qualifying verb is followed by an adverbial or objectival adjunct, the suffix is omitted. It is also not used with a future tense verb. It will be immediately obvious from these observations that we are dealing with a complex linguistic phenomenon which would be extremely time-consuming, and for the purposes of this study, unnecessarily complicated.[3] The point is that there are fundamental differences between the use of the relative in the Bantu languages and in English, particularly in regard to optional omission of the relative, which is not possible in the Bantu languages. This is aggravated by the fact that in formal English, especially written English, the relative is frequently used, whereas in colloquial English, it is more frequently omitted. Black students are not surprisingly confused when there is insufficient exposure to the latter to reinforce a knowledge of both formal and informal uses of the relative.

Two other observations may be made here, as they are crucial to understanding the reasons behind most of the errors in this sample. The first is that Bantu relatives are not case - differentiated as they are in English, where 'who', 'whom' and 'whose' are the subjectival, objectival and possessive forms relating to persons, 'which' for all the above forms to animals and things, and 'that' a convenient and easily-used substitute for both 'who' and 'which' forms. Bantu relatives are governed, as are Bantu languages in general, by the all-pervasive system of classes and complementary concords. The second observation is that while English employs the same words as interrogatives and relatives, and in the case of 'that', in a conjunctival context as well, the Bantu languages have discrete forms whose functions can never be confused. When 'who' can be an interrogative pronoun or a relative pronoun, 'which' either of these or as an adjectival interrogative or relative, 'what' as an adjective, interrogative or relative pronoun, and 'that' as an adjectival

or relative pronoun, a conjunction or an adverb, an English-speaker will appreciate the difficulties experienced by Black learners attempting to master the fine distinctions required for correct and effective use of these forms. In addition, the forms of 'who' are case-differentiated, whereas that of 'which' is not and, to confuse matters further, 'that' is not case-differentiated although it can be used to indicate relative constructions involving persons. These factors would account for the underdifferentiation between the case-dominated forms of the relative which occurs in these errors.

The idiosyncratic errors employing the aberrant and confused use of 'of which' are evident in a great number of samples and defy explanation. Possibly a more detailed study of the role of the possessive relative in the Bantu languages may provide an answer. As the form does exist in English in certain formal contexts (for example: 'The organisations of which he was treasurer have all gone bankrupt'), perhaps the reason for this fossilized and inappropriate error may lie in the penchant of many Black speakers to prefer a more impressive form. ·

The errors in Q exhibit evidence of direct translation from the first language[4] and probably also of avoidance as well as ignorance of the rules of sentence construction. The use of a pronoun instead of a relative, interrogative or possessive form made up 0,19 per cent of errors, and the use of a pronoun or demonstrative instead of a relative 0,08 per cent.

The errors in R, together with many in P and Q, underline another problem - a marked lack of facility in manipulating relative constructions where the relative is coupled with a preposition. It would appear that an indiscriminate use of 'of which' covers constructions employing 'about which', 'with which', 'to which', 'in which' and the like. Although the Bantu languages have relative clauses making provision for notions of possessive and adverbial relationships of a locative, instrumental, connective, prepositional, and comparative nature[5], the fact that English has a much larger variety of prepositions than the Bantu languages have, must contribute to the confusion shown in these errors. This is the only explanation I can offer for the almost complete absence from this sample of correct utterances including a preposition with a relative.

Some general considerations should underlie any remedial approach. The first is that any remedial approach should concentrate on the most common errors only and ignore those which are rare. If one does not do this one runs the risk of confusing students by teaching the error instead of eliminating it. Secondly, similar types of errors should be tackled as units. For example, the

problem of two conjunctions in the same utterance should form the teaching point of one or a series of remedial exercises. Such a systematic approach can be reinforced in general language and literature teaching with positive reference to the errors dealt with in the remedial exercises and constant repetition of the correct use of the items concerned. Thirdly, examples of errors should be drawn from the students' own work and should be set in context, preferably in an exercise consisting of a few related sentences rather than unrelated, discrete ones. This is particularly relevant to exercises in the correct use of conjunctives, relatives and other linking devices, where the development of thoughts and the relationship between a series of utterances are crucial to meaningful communication. In brief, then, systematic reinforcement in a meaningful contextual whole should be the basis of any practical remedial approach.

Grammatical rules governing such constructions should be dealt with on a simple, basic level, and with as little use of terminology as possible. Emphasis should rather be placed on learners deriving the rules after comparing the incorrect utterance with the correct model, but care should be taken that the incorrect form is not more entrenched in the process. Another useful method is the use of pictures, cheaply obtained from glossy magazine advertisements, glued onto a paper base and pinned onto display boards. From each person's mouth, a cartoon-type 'bubble' reinforcing the correct use of an item can be drawn on plain paper and pasted onto the picture. The advantage of this method from a Black teacher's point of view is that it is cheap, colourful, stimulating and serves as a constant reminder drawing the pupils' attention to the correct use of the item.

A variety of other methods, involving substitution exercises, dialogues and play readings, correction of extracts containing errors and the arranging of jumbled sentences into a correct and flowing whole by using contextual and linking clues are all useful. The teacher's prime concern should be to train the pupils to become aware of the importance of conjunctions and connecting devices as discourse markers which link utterances in a meaningful, flowing whole. Appendix III outlines these discourse markers, which, together with the related conjunctions, relatives and other connectives, should help the teacher to draw up suitable exercises.

FOOTNOTES

1   This mood is common to the Southern Bantu languages and is used where the participle or the conjunction 'while' would be used in English, to indicate simultaneous or almost simultaneous actions. Its influence is seen in such erroneous sentences as :

   He went home being happy

where the participial form is incorrect in English.

If the learner had said

   Being happy, he went home

the meaning here denotes reason or causation, and he would have been correct. (See also Chapter IX, Section F, esp. Nos. 1-6, 8-10, and 5)

2   See Ziervogel et al., op.cit., 1967, pp. 123-30 for an introduction to the relative in Zulu, and

   Ziervogel et al., op.cit., 1969, pp. 55-65.

3   For a more detailed study of the relative clause in Northern Sotho and Zulu, see

   Ziervogel et al., ibid., 1969, pp. 105-12 and

   Ziervogel et al., ibid., 1967, pp. 220-6.

4   See chapter III, Genders and Associated Problems with Pronouns.

5   Ziervogel et al., op. cit., 1967, pp. 223-4.

   Ziervogel et al., op.cit., 1969, pp. 108-12.

CHAPTER VII

STRUCTURES OF DEGREE AND EXTENT

The root of the problems experienced by Black learners of English in mastering constructions of degree lies in the structure of the Bantu languages. There are, for example, no degrees of comparison equivalent to those in English, and verbal and adverbial forms are used instead to convey the required meaning. The limited expression of comparative structures ir'erent[1] in the Bantu languages places Bantu-speaking learners of English at a disadvantage in that they now have to master the notion of three basic and closely related degrees of comparison. In addition, they have to be familiar with a variety of ways in which these forms are expressed, these ranging from single words (either adjectives or adverbs) to phrases and clauses.

The examples below indicate the extent of this confusion and ignorance of the comparative and superlative forms and structures of English. Further analysis reveals evidence of direct and indirect negative transfer from the Bantu languages to English.

A: **Errors in the the application of comparative forms**

Incorrect form of comparative

1. Their generation was ⃞worser⃞ than today.

Duplication of comparative

2. He is /more/ faster than all of them.[2]

Omission of comparative form with 'than'

3. He told her that she was ⃞more⃞ beautiful than all the women.
4. Nowadays there are ⃞many⃞ than in the past.[3]

'Than' used instead of a preposition

5. She prefers being vain ⃞than⃞ honest. ('than' = 'to being')

6. Life now is far different ⃞than⃞ that in the past. ('than' = 'from')

Preposition used instead of 'than'

7. Some people thought they were better ⃞to⃞ others. ('to' = 'than')

'Like' used instead of 'than'

8. There are men like Troy today and even worse [like] him.

Omission of 'as'

9. Some love one another [as] faithfully as Gabriel loved Bathsheba.
10. They can marry [as] many times as they wish.

'As'used instead of 'than'

11. They could get a lot more money [as] they had.

Preposition used instead of 'as'

12. Today's life is the same [with] the life of Tess.
13. We may take Boldwood [for] an example.
14. Men today still behave in the same way [like] Troy.
15. He would have done exactly [like] Oak would have done.
16. Tess is the same [like] the girls of today.

B: **General confusion between 'as', 'like' and 'so'** **4**

1. There are some women who are honest _like_ Fanny.

   (- 'who are _as_ honest _as_ Fanny'/'who are honest, _like_ Fanny was')

2. They were making a lot of money _as the same as_ people nowadays.

   (- '_just as_ people are doing nowadays'/'_as_ much money _as_ people nowadays'/
   '_like_ people nowadays,etc.)

3. Money was not _so much_ important _like_ in today's life.

   (- '_as_ important _as_ it is...!')

4. She did not like Alec [so] much as she liked Angel.   (- 'as much as...')
5. He was [so] honest to his mistress than any other worker.   ('so' = 'more')

C: **Errors in the application of superlative forms**

Omission of superlative marker

1. Tess was the [most] beautiful girl of her area.
2. The [most] honest of them all was farmer Oak.

Confusion between comparative and superlative

3. Today things are _very_ expensive than in the past.   ('very' = 'more')
4. There are those families which are _very_ poor _like_ Tess' family.

   (- '_as_ poor _as_'/'_very_ poor, _like_ Tess' family was')

5. He needed to prove that he was the **best** swimmer **than** Gino.

(- 'the **best** swimmer'./'a **better** swimmer **than** Gino'.)

D: Confusion in the use of adjectives and adverbs of degree and extent

'Too' instead of 'very'

1. She loves you too much.

'Very', 'very much' and 'much' with inappropriate adjective

2. It is very impossible not to have love.
3. Hate is very much common in the play
4. The story is much relevant to today.

'Far much' instead of 'much' or 'very much'

5. You are now /far/ much better.

'Very much' instead of 'too'

6. Boldwood was very much old to marry her.

'Far much' instead of 'very' plus adjective

7. The story is **far much** differ **with** the life of today.

(- 'is **very**'/'**very much**' / 'quite different from...')

'So' instead of 'very much'

8. There came Angel whom Tess **so** loved.

(- 'Then Angel, whom Tess loved **so much/very much**, came'.)

'So' instead of 'very'

9. Her family was so poor.

'Too' instead of 'so'

10. Their love was too hot that Angel wished to marry her.

E: Idiosyncratic structures in comparative clauses embodying result

1. Bathsheba was **very** angry **in such a way** that she dismissed Oak.
(- '**so** angry **that**....')

2. Their love was materialistic **such that** if you are poor, you can't marry.

(- '**so** materialistic (?) that if you were **as** poor **as** they were, you would not be able to marry'.)

3. She was a Christian but not educated <u>to such an extent.</u>
    (- 'but not educated <u>to any great extent'</u>/ - 'but <u>not very well</u> educated'/
    - 'but not educated <u>to the extent that...'</u>)

4. The children will be curious <u>such that</u> they will try to find out.
    (- '<u>so</u> curious <u>that</u>...')

While the above examples do not include every type of confusion shown in the use of
comparative and superlative forms, the errors exhibited in them indicate the wide
variety of problems encountered by Black learners. Some 1,73 per cent of the total
number of errors in the sample can be ascribed to difficulties directly related to
confusion with absolute, comparative and superlative structures.[5]   The usual
errors of addition, omission and substitution are evident, and the reasons must
be sought in comparative analysis of structures in English and the Bantu languages.
I should stress, however, that CA should not be seen as an infallible method of
explaining every error, or that every error is due to interference. It merely
serves as a guide indicating the <u>possible</u> reason for the error.

As the following examples indicate, the Bantu languages do not have the defined and
related absolute, comparative and superlative structures that English possesses
to express degrees of comparison:

1.1   He is brave

    Z: Unesibindi   (lit. he has liver, i.e. he has bravery)

    NS: Ke mogale   (lit. he is the sharp one, i.e. he is a brave man)

1.2   He is <u>as</u> brave <u>as</u> his brother

    Z: Unesibindi <u>njengomfowabo</u>

    NS: Ke mogale <u>go swana le</u> morwarra wa gabo

    Z: (lit. he has bravery <u>just like</u> his brother)

    NS: (lit. he is a brave man, <u>to be like/same</u> with his brother)

1.3   He is brav<u>er than</u> his brother

    Z: Unesibindi ku<u>nom</u>fowabo   (lit. he has bravery <u>than</u> his brother)

    NS: Ke mogale <u>go feta</u> morwarra wa gabo

        (lit. he is a brave man <u>surpassing</u> his brother)

1.4   He is the brav<u>est</u> (of all)

    Z: Unesibindi <u>kunabobonke</u>   (lit. he has bravery than all (people))

    NS: Ke mogale <u>go feta</u> bohle

        (lit. he is a brave man <u>surpassing</u> all (people))

1.5   He is <u>less brave</u> than his brother/<u>not as brave as</u> his brother [6]

    Z: <u>Akanasibindi</u> <u>njengomfowabo</u>

    (lit. he does <u>not</u> have bravery just <u>like</u> his brother)

    NS: <u>Ga se</u> mogale <u>go swana le</u> morwarra wa gabo

    (lit. he is <u>not</u> a brave man <u>same with</u> his brother)

1.6.   He is the <u>least</u> brave (of all)

    Z: <u>Akanasibindi</u> <u>kunabobonke</u>

    (lit. he does <u>not</u> have bravery <u>than</u> of all)

    NS: <u>Ga se</u> mogale <u>go feta</u> bohle [7]

    (lit. he is <u>not</u> a brave man <u>surpassing</u> all (people))

1.7.   He worked slow<u>ly</u>

    Z: Usebenze <u>kancane</u>

    NS: O šomile <u>ka go</u> iketla

1.8   He worked <u>more slowly than</u> his brother

    Z: Usebenze <u>kancane</u> kakhulu <u>kunomfowabo</u>

    (lit. he worked <u>slowly very much than</u> his brother)

    NS: O šomile <u>a</u> iketlile <u>go feta</u> morwarra wa gabo

    (lit. he worked <u>slowly surpassing</u> his brother)

1.9   He worked <u>less than</u> his brother

    Z: Usebenze <u>kancane</u> kunomfowabo

    (lit. he worked <u>slowly than</u> his brother)

    NS: O šomile <u>iketla go phala</u> morwarra wa gabo

    (lit. he worked <u>slowly surpassing</u> his brother)

1.10   He worked <u>as slowly as</u> his brother

    Z: Usebenze <u>kancane njengomfowabo</u>

    (lit. he worked <u>slowly just like</u> his brother)

    NS: O šomile <u>ka go iketla go swana le</u> morwarra wa gabo

    (lit. he worked <u>slowly same with</u> his brother)

1.11.   He worked the Lest (of all)

    Z: Usebenze <u>kahle</u> <u>kunabobonke</u>   (lit. he worked '<u>well</u>' <u>than</u> all)

    NS: O šomile <u>gabotse go phala</u> ba bangwe

    (lit. he worked <u>well surpassing</u> all)

Briefly, Zulu expresses comparison by means of the adverbial form kuna-, which, although translated as 'than', is a compound made up of the locative form ku- and the connective na-. It is therefore closer semantically to 'by' or 'with'. North Sotho employs a similar device[8] -- the morpheme go, functioning as a locative, followed by the item compared with or to. Both language groups use a verbal form expressing the idea of passing, surpassing and exceeding, exemplified in Zulu by the verb -dlula, and in North Sotho by go feta, go fetiša or go phala. Kuna- and go feta express the idea of comparison but do not involve the use of a comparative form of its accompanying adjective or adverb. Since English demands the use of a comparative form of adjective or adverb with 'than', it is clear why this is an area of interference.

It will be noted that in English superlative constructions, the Bantu languages use what would be considered comparative forms in English. The superlative meaning is not inherent in any specific superlative marker, but indicated by the use of the universal pronoun preceded by the genitive, that is, 'of all'. This would help to explain why Bantu-speakers often use 'than' in English superlative constructions. (See 1.4, 1.6 and 1.11.)

The confusion in the use of 'as', 'like' and 'so' can be traced to direct inter- ference and, more specifically, to errors of substitution involving the phenomenon of 'split'. This is applied when a single item exists in the first language embracing two or more items in the target language, necessitating that the learner distinguish a number of different words or uses in English to express the same idea whereas his first language has only one word or use for that item. For example, Zulu uses various forms of njenga-, used as conjunction or adverb, or the verbal form (fana(yo), while North Sotho has bjalo or swana(ng)/ swana(go). These forms include what in English would be 'as', 'like', 'so', 'just as', 'just like', and 'thus'. Fana- and swana- express the notion of 'sameness.' The examples of A: 12, 1.2 and 1.10 would appear to indicate direct interference in the use of the structure 'as + adjective/adverb + as', and it should be clear that the English sentences imply an equal degree of bravery, or whatever quality or action is being compared. The notion of equal degree, however, is not apparent in the Bantu structures until one realises the intrinsic meaning of fana- and swana-. The incorrect use of prepositions and/or 'than' with notions of similarity, difference and pre- ference in A:5, A:12 and D:7 is due to a large extent to direct interference. Whereas English uses 'as' or 'to' after 'the same' and 'similar', both Zulu and North Sotho use the connective form (na- and le respectively) after the verbs fana- and swana(ng). As these connectives actually mean 'with', it is clear why the incorrect form 'same with' occurs in Black English. Similarly, Zulu says 'different with', not 'different from'. The notion of preference, in the sense of liking

one item more than another, is often expressed in English errors as 'prefer than':

> They preferred Johannesburg to Ndotsheni

Z: Bathanda Igoli kuneNdotsheni

NS: Ba rata Gauteng go na le Ndotsheni [9]

> (lit. they liked/preferred Johannesburg than Ndotsheni)

The errors in the use of 'too', 'very', 'much' and 'very much' as modifying intensifiers of degree again exemplify the phenomenon of split. In Zulu, the adverbial form kakhulu (lit. greatly) expresses all of the above items in English, as well as 'mostly', 'especially', 'exceedingly' and other intensifiers. Gagolo has the same function in North Sotho. Bantu-speakers can therefore be expected to experience problems when using intensifiers to express degrees within degrees of comparison. This is understandable when one compares the limited number of linguistic forms the Bantu languages have to express degree within degree with the multiplicity of forms available in English.[10] Distinctions of quantity and degree do exist in the Bantu languages - it is the variety of expression in English in these forms which is a source of confusion. The problems inherent in the forms and structures in the Bantu languages when they differ structurally and grammatically from those in English aggravate this confusion. In English, for instance, the sentence

> He is too quarrelsome

is meaningful only in context, in that 'too' clearly implies that the person is excessively quarrelsome. In contrast,

> He is very quarrelsome

is an observation of degree, not specifically of excess or condemnation. In Zulu and North Sotho, however, kakhulu and gagolo (also fetiša in North Sotho), include both the notion of 'too' and 'very'. An understanding of these differences thus helps to explain why Bantu-speakers often confuse the two meanings in English:

> Question: Is his wife beautiful?
>
> Answer: Yes, she's too beautiful!

The native English-speaker understands in the above examples a notion of excess, whereas the Bantu-speaker's reply indicates an observation of degree, based on the belief that the lady in question is very beautiful.

Longer structures are often more difficult to analyse in search of points of interference, partly because they may be hidden in a number of incorrect or idiosyncratic English constructions:[11]

1. Bathsheba was vain <u>in such a way that</u> a handsome man could charm her.
2. He was shy <u>such that</u> he could find no wife.
3. He was a fool <u>to such an extent</u> that he lost all his money.
4. <u>The way</u> I love her I cannot live without her.

One may ascribe these errors to a lack of practice in application or to a penchant for long phrases. The first three sentences are certainly legitimate constructions when taken out of their present incorrect context. But all four are also in fact direct translations, the first three, in this case, from the Zulu forms <u>kangangokuthi</u> and <u>kangako</u>, literally 'in such a way' and 'to such an extent'. The fourth example is much less common, but a very interesting example of the problem - the 'way', which in English would appear to indicate degree or manner ('in such a way'), having been translated from the Zulu <u>indlela</u>, a road or (path)way. The first three examples can employ the underlined structures, but then the grammar and linguistic sense would have to change, perhaps as follows:

1. He was beaten <u>in such a way that</u> it looked like the work of a madman.
2. His humour was <u>such that</u> nobody laughed.
3. The violence spread <u>to such an extent that</u> it could not be controlled.

It will be noticed that all the examples of errors in numbers 1 to 3 employ a particular ungrammatical structure of noun/pronoun plus some form of the verb 'to be' plus adjective/noun, followed by the subordinate clause (introduced by the underlined structure). Rephrasing techniques could help to make the error clear to learners:

1. Bathsheba was <u>so vain/such a vain woman</u> that...
2. He was <u>so shy/such a shy man</u> that...
3. He was <u>such a fool/so foolish</u> that....

Structured learning could be profitably used here to teach different but related patterns and the rules pertaining to their use. Transformational exercises of this type are useful in teaching the many and often confusing ways of expressing related meanings in set structures.

When planning a remedial approach, therefore, it is essential that the teacher is aware of the source of error before planning a programme of work. Care should be taken not to concentrate unduly on areas of error without also pointing out cases where there is no interference. The learner's level of competence in English should first be ascertained so that the teacher does not present what is already known by the learner and thus waste time attempting to re-teach it. An over-zealous teacher may also create problems for the learner by unnecessarily detailed and complicated

grammatical explanations. The most common constructions should be practised before learners are confronted with too many which require a higher level of linguistic competence in English.

The learners' knowledge of the basic notions of absolute, comparative and superlative degrees can be established in a short exploratory lesson by a teacher, particularly if the class is new to him. Depending on their response, the teacher can devise his own exercises, preferably drawn from the world of the Black learners' experience. Concrete examples can be sought in the classroom and Black urban/ rural environment to stimulate learning. Only when this basic familiarity is established should the teacher move to simple structures expressing degrees within degrees and, finally, to more complicated structures involving complex clausal forms.[12]

FOOTNOTES

1   Limited, that is, not in a negative sense implying paucity or inadequacy of forms, but relative when compared with the great number and variety of structures in English.

2   This also reveals confusion between comparative and superlative forms. Did the pupil want to express

    He is the fastest of all   or   **He is faster than any of them**   ?

3   This example raises a point which must constantly be borne in mind in respect of the more extreme claims of error analysis, and that is the difficulty in ascribing an error to a definite single cause. For example, was the pupil merely careless in omitting 'more' between 'many' and 'than', or did he confuse 'more' and 'many'?

4   The confused structure has been underlined in certain examples in this section and in section C because of the clumsiness involved in the use of the [   ], [   ] and / / used in section A.

5   Constructions employing the use of 'like' instead of 'for example' and 'like when' for 'for example, when', have been dealt with in the chapter on conjunctions and connectives. If such are included in the above percentage, the figure is 2,02 per cent.

6   The distinction between the meanings in English does not appear to be possible in the two Bantu languages used here.

7   Note that the examples 1.5 and 1.6 are merely negative versions of 1.2 and 1.4, employing the negative prefixes aka- (Zulu) and ga se (N.Sotho). In English translation there is a danger of ambiguity as the Zulu and N.Sotho would be translated as:

    He is not brave like his brother

                and

    He is not the bravest of all.

8 North Sotho employs a form very similar to the Zulu <u>kuna-</u> = '<u>than</u>', namely <u>go(e)na le</u>, but North Sotho-speaking lecturers at the Soweto College of Education (Mrs T. Magau and Mrs M.Tshanki), among others, indicated that it was not as generally used as the above N.Sotho forms.

9 The verb <u>ukukhetha</u> (Zulu)/<u>go khetha</u> (N.Sotho) is often used instead of <u>ukuthanda</u>/<u>go rata</u>.

10 See Appendix IV for remedial approaches to the problems dealt with in this chapter.

11 See also examples E:1-4 in this chapter.

12 The most common errors have been listed in this chapter, and these would obviously be fairly representative of the areas the teacher can begin with. A more detailed practical approach including examples of possible exercises is included in Appendix IV.

CHAPTER VIII

PREPOSITIONAL ERRORS

Errors in the use of prepositions constitute one of the largest single areas of error in the sample of Black learners' written English. When one considers the huge range of prepositions, prepositional phrases and expressions incorporating two prepositions in English against the relatively small number of prepositions in the Bantu languages, and their paucity of, for example, verbs linked with prepositions, then it is not surprising that Black learners experience the problems they do. The wide range of errors is evident in the examples below.

A: INCORRECT CHOICE OF PREPOSITION

'OF' instead of 'BY', 'ABOUT' and 'FOR'

1. She get a son $\boxed{\text{of}}$ Alec.   (by)
2. Tess thought deeply $\boxed{\text{of}}$ Alec.   (about)
3. Her mother did the best $\boxed{\text{of}}$ her.   (for)

'WITH' used incorrectly

1. They were related $\boxed{\text{with}}$ each other.   (to)
2. They have no understanding $\boxed{\text{with}}$ people.   (of)
3. Alex was not serious $\boxed{\text{with}}$ Tess.   (about)   (The intended meaning seems to be that he did not really love her)

4. He was driving $\boxed{\text{with}}$ a barbarous manner.   (in)

5. She had a baby $\boxed{\text{with}}$ Alec.   (by)

Confusion between 'IN', 'AT, 'ON', and 'WITH' and 'TO'

1. Angel was $\boxed{\text{at}}$ Brazil.   (in)
2. The way $\boxed{\text{on}}$ which Tess did this... (in)
3. $\boxed{\text{On}}$ those days, it still happened.   (in)
4. We see this $\boxed{\text{on}}$ the novel.   (in)
5. She put ribbons $\boxed{\text{on}}$ her hair. (in)
6. She fell pregnant $\boxed{\text{in}}$ early age.   (at(an))
7. He met her $\boxed{\text{in}}$ a party at the house.   (at)
8. Tess was not $\boxed{\text{at}}$ the D'Urbervilles family.   (with)
9. Bathsheba was extravagant $\boxed{\text{in}}$ money.   (with)
10. He got a job $\boxed{\text{in}}$ Bathsheba's farm.   (on)

11. Miss Everdene was master [in] her farm.   (on/of)

12. It is irrelevant [in] other occasions.   (to)

13. She liked men to pay attention [on] her.   (to)

14. We should listen [at] the message.   (to)

Confusion between 'TO' and 'FOR', 'FROM, 'OF', 'TOWARDS' and 'WITH'

1. She take revenge [to] what he did.   (for)

2. She seek aid [to] her family.   (for)

3. The book has a lesson [to] us.   (for)

4. It was painful [to] Bathsheba.   (for)

5. It was her fault [to] kill him.   (for(killing))

6. She hid the story [to] Angel.   (from)

7. It is completely changed [to] that of today.   ((different) from ?)

8. It is different [to] that today.   ('from'/'to' optional in this context)

9. The father [to] the baby was disappointed.   (of)

10. Boldwood was jealous [to] Bathsheba.   ('of'/'towards' - i.e. he reacted
                                            jealously towards her)

11. This caused jealousy [to] Boldwood.   (in)

12. She was honest [to] him.   (with)

13. [To] my opinion...   (in)

Misuse of 'FOR'

1. She was now happy [for] the future.   ('about' - although 'for' is possible)

2. She feels guilty [for] not telling him.   ('about' - although 'for' is
                                              colloquially acceptable)

3. They were worried [for] her to leave her home.   (about (her leaving))

4. She was found guilty [for] killing him.   (of)

5. Let us take love [for] an example.   (as)

General miscellaneous errors

1. She was sentenced to death [by] doing that.   (for)

2. My opinion [about] this story...   (of)

3. We live [under] poverty and sorrow.   (in)

4. She didn't show her emotions [over] him.   (to/towards)

5. She play a fool [out of] her husband.   (She played the fool with her husband/
    She made a fool of her husband)

6. The story happens [between] farmers.   (among)

7. She had a sympathy [over] Gabriel.   (towards/for)

8. A man of close [about] fifty years...   (on/to)

B: OMISSION OF PREPOSITION

1. She had to ask [for] some help.
2. Angel was very disappointed [with] Tess.
3. Alec was interfering [with] their love.
4. These men flirt [with] ladies.
5. Alec proposed [to] her.
6. This led [to] jealousy.
7. Had it not been [for] her mother giving her wrong advice...
8. She was falling [in] love with Angel.
9. She liked looking [at] herself in the mirror.
10. The friar explained [to] Romeo how he must act.

C: PREPOSITION REDUNDANT

1. Tess went back /at/ home.
2. Tess marry /with/ Alec.
3. It is scarce /on/ these days.
4. The author states /out/ this description.
5. Angel then went /to/ overseas.
6. He explained /about/ the situation to her.
7. Tess was not attend /at/ the school.

Errors in the use of prepositions made up 7,12 per cent of all errors in the sample. By far the largest proportion of these consisted of errors involving an incorrect choice of preposition with only a very small number involving omission or redundancy. The errors are all rather basic ones with an erroneous preposition. The fact that these errors are so common is an indication of the level of English of the pupils in the sample, as there are exceptionally few cases of more sophisticated and complicated prepositional constructions, such as those incorporating a verb/noun with two prepositions. Such constructions are common in colloquial English yet not generally well known to Black learners of English because of their almost exclusive exposure to formal written English.

I have drawn attention to the relative paucity of prepositions in the Bantu languages and this observation requires some qualification. Generally, the prepositions of place, such as 'at', 'in', 'by', 'to' and 'towards', are expressed by means of the locative form in the Bantu languages and not by discrete prepositions. This locative most often takes the form of the suffixes -ini in Zulu and -ng in N.Sotho.[1] In Zulu, the prefix e- is also added to the names of most localities. For example:

Z:	ekhaya	- home (colloquial use - as in 'I'm home'), at home, (to/in (my) home
NS:	gaê	- " " " " " " " " " "
Z:	eThekwini	- at/in/to Durban, but eGoli, not eGolini - at/in/to Johannesburg
NS:	Gauteng	- at/in/to Johannesburg.

Therefore, because the Bantu languages do not possess lexical items with the same distinctions in meaning as 'at', 'in', 'by' (in the sense of 'at the side of'), 'to', and 'towards', there is a marked occurrence of errors of confusion and under-differentiation involving these prepositions.   Also, the need for prepositions in the Bantu languages is catered for to a large extent by the existence of verbs which incorporate the idea of a preposition in one lexical item. Therefore such verbs do not require a preposition to complete their meaning. Just as in English, there are certain verbs which require a 'preposition' to be semantically correct in a given context, and frequently related or synonymous ones which do not employ prepositional forms. For example:

	Zulu	N.Sotho
enter, go in	ukungena esikoleni	go tsêna sekolong ²
go (to)	ukuya esikoleni	go ya sekolong
	BUT	
	ukuhamba isikolo	go tsêna sekolo
come out (of)	ukuphuma esikoleni	go tšwa sekolong
get out (of)	" "	" " "
return from	buya ku-	boa sekolong
return to	buyela ku-	boêla sekolong
	buyela ekhaya	boêla gaê ³

English can, of course, be similarly confusing. If we take the Zulu verb bonisa, meaning 'show/direct/explain/guard', we find that no preposition is required to introduce a direct object. In English, however, we have the following possibilities,

1. Show me the book ✓/ show the book to me ✓

2. Direct me the station ˣ/ direct me to the station ✓

3. Explain me the story ˣ/ explain the story to me ✓

4. Guard me this package ˣ/ guard this package for me ✓

where it is clear that the indirect object 'me', except in the second sentence, must be preceded by the direct object and the prepositions 'to' or 'for'. A complicating factor in English is the optional omission of 'to' and 'for', and syntactical

changes, with transitive verbs, where the syntax can change from verb + indirect object + direct object to verb + object + indirect object:

> Send me a letter / send a letter <u>to</u> me
> Give me the job / give the job <u>to</u> me
> Bake me a cake / bake a cake <u>for</u> me
> Do me a favour / do a favour <u>for</u> me.

In the Bantu languages, these notions denoting 'to', 'for' and 'on behalf of' are incorporated in the verb by means of the suffix-<u>ela</u>. For example, from the root <u>bona</u> (see, perceive, understand, find, look, etc.), we get the verb <u>bonela</u>, with the basic meaning of 'see for' and the extended meanings of 'convey greetings (to)', 'take care of', 'copy', and 'plan ahead, improve'.[4] Because of the rich diversity of English prepositions which can be used with the same verb yet cover a host of different meanings, the Black learner of English finds himself in a quandary. Because of the rarity of such verbs in their languages and the existence of a large number of morphologically and semantically distinct and different verbs, they are not prepared for the variety of forms and rules which exist in English prepositional word groups. If we take one of the most common verbs in English, namely 'make', we find the following range of uses, and the list is by no means complete.

make up	– complete/form, compose, put together, shape/apply make up
make up to for	– atone, compensate
make up to	– compensate/make oneself pleasant to win favours
make up with	– end a quarrel
make off with	– run away with
make out	– pretend/write a cheque /manage to see
make out of	– construct, form, shape etc.
make from	– " " " "
make of	– think, understand, interpret
make for	– move towards/ do something on behalf of/ contribution to, tend towards
make do with	– cope with, manage
make eyes at	– admire
make a deal with	– agree (with)
make capital out of	– benefit from
make arrangements for	– arrange (for)
make an impression on	– impress (on)

make a success of	- succeed (in/with)
make a request to	- ask (of)
make a name for	- become known (for)

It should be evident now that prepositions, whether literally or metaphorically used in idiomatic expressions, are language specific and must be learned as such. What is a prepositional word group in one language is rarely literally the same in another, and even similar or synonymous words in the same language may use quite different prepositions. Compare the following examples:

	Zulu	N.Sotho
come out (of), emerge (from)	-phuma (plus locative)	... plus locative)
take out (of), remove (from)	-khipha (plus loca' ...,	ntšha (plus locative)
go out (of), leave (from)	-emuka,-hamba, -suka etc. (generally plus locativ	tloga, šia (generally plus locative) sepela
push out (of), expel (from), drive away (from)	-xo...	leleka
go out, be extinguished	-cima	tima

We should also be aware of the very close connection between prepositions and adverbs in the Bantu languages. This is especially evident in the large class of prepositions indicating relative position. Such 'prepositional phrases' are in fact adverbs of place coupled with either the possessive concord (kwa- in Zulu; ga in N.Sotho) or with the connectives (na- in Zulu; le in N.Sotho, corresponding to the English 'and' and 'with' denoting accompaniment). A selection of these follows:

	Zulu	N.Sotho
up, above, over, on top, on	phezu kwa- enhla kwa- ku- locative	godimo (ga) go, mo, fa
down, below, under, beneath	phansi kwa- enzansi na-	fase, tlase
inside, within, between, among	phakathi kwa-	ka gare, gare ga bo gare
by, next to, beside	nga- + locative ecaleni kwa- encekeni na- ohlangothini wa-	hleng ga ka, ke, ga fa, go
from	locative	locative
out, out of, outside	phandle kwa- endle kwa-	ka ntle

	Zulu	N.Sotho
near (to), in the vicinity (of)	eduze na-	kgauswi le
far (from)	kude na-	kgolê le
before	phambi kwa-	pele ga
in front of		
after	emuva kwa-	(ka) morago
behind		
past, beyond	phambi kwa-	pele ga
through	phakathi kwa-	ka, ka gare ga, garega
across	phesheya	mošola
along	ngokulinganisene na-locative	verb + le + noun
around	ngokuphendukela	-dikologa
about, concerning, in respect of, with regard to	nga-	ka, ka ga
except, without	ngaphandle kwa-	ka ntle go

To complete this survey of prepositional uses in the Bantu languages, we need only add that 'with' denoting accompaniment is expressed by the connective forms na- in Zulu and le in N.Sotho, while 'with' denoting instrumentality, that is, expressing 'by' or 'by means of', employs nga- in Zulu and ka in N.Sotho. The copulative of identification, which varies in form in Zulu depending on the class of the noun concerned but is an unchanged ke in N.Sotho regardless of class, is used to express 'by' when coupled with an agent in the passive.

It is not possible here to provide detailed explanations for the causes of each of these prepositional errors, but the above survey should give an impression of the general causes of error and serve as a guideline for the formulation of remedial methods and material.[5] A selection of the type of material which can profitably be used follows. It should be stressed that teachers should devise their own material to fit in with the needs of their pupils after they have established what their main problems in language learning are.

I: Exercises to train learners to distinguish between literal and metaphorical uses of one verb coupled with different prepositions

Mrs Gumede asked us to bring our friends along too.
Ravan Press is bringing out a new book of Black poetry.
Bring in the washing before it rains.
The French Revolution brought about great changes.
She's fainted! Let her lie down to bring her round.
I just know that this weather is going to bring on a cold.

They <u>brought out</u> all their prized possessions to show us.

My sister was <u>brought back</u> to life by the family's prayers.

Make sure that you <u>bring back</u> my soccer boots.

We were <u>brought up</u> very strictly.

Look at that disgusting cat! It's <u>bringing up</u> on the carpet.

The underlined verbs and prepositions should be omitted, but supplied in the form of a list before the exercise. For more advanced learners, suitable single synonyms for the underlined words can be supplied where possible and used as a consolidating exercise. For example, 'bring out' - publish, issue, cause; 'bring back' - return; 'bring up' - raise, rear, vomit; and so on.

II: Multiple choice selection

I don't like him but I have to <u>put up/put off/put up with</u> him because he is my boss.

You can <u>find out/find in/find out about/find on</u> the author Chinua Achebe in any encyclopedia.

When he left, I <u>overtook/took over/took off</u> his job.

They were <u>brought out/brought through/brought up</u> by their grandparents because their parents had been killed.

When formulating sentences of this kind care must be taken that all the alternative forms exist but that only one is correct <u>in context</u>. A variation is to scramble sentences and require that pupils match the letter with the correct number so that the sentence makes sense, as in:

a) I can't <u>put up with</u> his lying any longer	- 1 while he goes on discouraging me.
b) I can't <u>put</u> this visit <u>off</u>	- 2 so I've stopped believing him.
c) I can't <u>put up</u> the tent	- 3 because I need at least two others to help me
d) I can't <u>put</u> any more effort into my work.	- 4 so I'll just have to go.

Again, where possible, synonyms can be used. The above exercise reinforces not only the prepositional phrase with its verb, but enables the teacher to ascertain whether the learner understands its meaning.

III: Cloze (missing words) exercise

Dear Sir,

(With) reference (to) your letter (of) 21 November, (in) which you stated that you would not be able to reserve a seat (for) me (on) the bus (between) Empangeni and Durban (on) the date I asked (for), please note that I would

like to change my reservation (from) 30 December (to) 3 January. (In) fact, any date (in) the first week (of) January would be (in) order. I would appreciate your help (in) this matter. Kindly confirm (by) letter or (by) telephone before 15 December, as I shall be going (on) holiday (for) a week...

In this case the prepositions may be supplied with the learner having to insert them correctly in the spaces, or they may be left for the learner to supply. Such exercises have the advantage of not being disjointed sentences, but meaningful in a situational context.

IV: Use of learners' errors to demonstrate differences in meaning, rules and use, and offering explanations of usage

She is a mother **to** Thandi.
(Correct only if she is not actually Thandi's mother, but treats her as her own daughter)

She is the mother **to** Thandi
(Incorrect because of article)

She is the mother **of** Thandi
(Correct, but over-formal)

She is Thandi's mother
(Correct - idiomatic and more neutral)

I'm asking for permission to leave early.
(Not incorrect, but should only be used in response to the question 'What are you asking?')

Please give me permission to leave early.
(Correct - polite request)

I'm asking permission to leave early.
(Incorrect - 'for' omitted)

Would you permit/allow me to leave early?
(Correct - polite request)

He was not serious **with** Tess
(The intended meaning here is that he was serious in his dealings with other people, but not with her, or that he should have been more serious with her)

He was not serious **about** Tess
(He did not treat her seriously; he did not really love her)

We see this **on** the novel
(Incorrect, unless the intended meaning is that something has been literally placed **on top of** the novel)

We see this **in** the novel
(Correct - **within** the pages that make up the book; **inside** the book; printed **on** the pages of the book, etc.)

We should listen <u>at</u> the message
of the book

(Incorrect - in English, we only 'listen at' when we refer to a place where we are listening <u>to</u> someone/something, e.g. 'We listened <u>at</u> the door to see if we could hear something'

V: **Providing the rules in written form, and then setting the learners the task of applying them in given sentences, dialogues and paragraphs.**

For instance, when teaching the prepositions used to answer the question 'when', namely 'in', 'at' and 'on', the rules are provided as follows:

<table>
<tr><td><u>Points in time</u></td><td><u>Periods of time</u></td></tr>
<tr><td>'AT' is used for:</td><td>'ON' is used for:</td></tr>
<tr><td>specific time(s)(clock-time)</td><td>days and day dates</td></tr>
<tr><td>holiday times</td><td>'IN' and sometimes 'DURING' are used for:</td></tr>
<tr><td>certain phrases, e.g.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>indicating periods of time</td></tr>
<tr><td>at night, at the/that time</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>e.g. morning</td></tr>
<tr><td>referring to age, e.g.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>at the age of four</td><td>the first week</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>December</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>the following months/days/ years/centuries etc.</td></tr>
</table>

N.B. We do not use 'AT', 'IN' or 'ON' when the time word is preceded by 'last', 'next', 'this', 'that', 'some', 'every', or when 'yesterday', 'today' and 'tomorrow' are used.

Learners are then asked to provide the correct prepositions in an exercise like the one below. Groupwork and pairwork is recommended unless the exercise is intended as a formal test:

'I was born (at) half past nine (on) a cold, wet night (in) September, 1960. It began raining (at) noon, rained continuously (in) the afternoon and was still raining (---) every time my poor mother asked whether it had stopped. It was said that my birth, coming as it did (on) the first of September had broken the drought, one of the worst (in) many years. (At) an early age, I realised the disadvantages of having been born (on) the same day as my elder brother ...'.

Pupils should be allowed to discuss and argue about their choice of prepositions, and justify them by referring to the given rules. It will be noted that spaces are provided even where a preposition may be redundant and/or ungrammatical.

These remedial suggestions imply a two-way teacher/learner interaction as well as deductive self-activity approaches. They are by no means exhaustive and are offered as suggestions to any teacher planning remedial strategies. An understanding of the use of prepositions is crucial to the level of competence any learner of English must achieve in order to facilitate comprehension and meaningful communication. The subject of prepositions is a vast one, one that can only be touched on in this dissertation.[7] This has meant that generalizations were unavoidable but I hope that my indication of the more important areas of error and confusion will prove useful.

FOOTNOTES

1   See Ziervogel **et al.**, **op.cit.**, 1967, pp. 61-2 and pp. 64-5, and
    Ziervogel **et al.**, **op.cit.**, 1969, pp. 25-8, 50, for a more detailed
    survey of the uses of the locative in the Bantu languages concerned.

2   The underlined locative forms in the Bantu languages in this sample
    correspond with the underlined prepositions in the English verbs. Note:
    Z: **isikolo**, NS: **sekolo** - 'school'.   I have included these forms to show
    the use of the locative in the Bantu languages.

3   Note that in Zulu, we say '**e**khaya' (in/at/home) with all verbs, whereas in
    English, there is variation. Compare:

        Come home with me
        Stay **at** home
        Go back home
        Leave home
        We'll eat **at** home tonight

    In N.Sotho, we use 'gae', the locative form of 'legae' (house, home) without
    a prefix to indicate 'in/at/home', whereas Zulu employs the obligatory
    locative prefix **e**.

4   This verb is identical in both Zulu and N.Sotho.

5   See Appendix V for a detailed summary of English prepositional forms.

6   The key to this exercise is:

        (a) = 2

        (b) = 4

        (c) = 3

        (d) = 1

7   See Quirk and Greenbaum, **op.cit.**, Chapter 6, pp. 143-165, for a comprehensive
    reference source.

CHAPTER IX

ERRORS IN THE VERB AND ITS AUXILIARIES

It is to be expected that errors involving verbs, because of their high frequency
in any language, will form one of the largest single sources of error. This is fully
borne out in the present study, where the range of errors encompasses verb forms,
modal auxiliaries, participles, moods and tenses. It will be appreciated that in
a survey of this nature, it will be possible only to indicate the most general types
of error and postulate possible reasons for their occurrence. In view of the number
of examples, it would facilitate matters to depart from the usual organization of
chapters by illustrating the errors and explaining the reason for each type of
error immediately after the examples. Overlapping and a degree of repetition have
been unavoidable, as an error cannot always conveniently be ascribed to one group
or cause of errors, but I have tried to facilitate matters by cross-referencing
where this is convenient and not too distracting.

It must be made clear at the outset that the Bantu languages possess a rich and
varied system of moods and tenses which, while it might differ in nature from
the verb system of English, is in many respects as complex. It would be a great
mistake to assume that English is more complex simply because it is English (a notion
surprisingly common among linguistic 'imperialists', many of them teachers) and that
the errors of Bantu-speakers are therefore due to their not having an equally complex
system. The Bantu languages distinguish five basic tenses - present, immediate
and remote past, immediate and remote future; progressive (continuous) and stative
forms; infinitive, indicative, imperative and subjunctive moods, as well as
participial, conditional and potential forms; and a number of deficient verbs with
specific tense implications. These varied forms will be discussed in the course
of this chapter as the need arises. Suffice it to say that the Bantu languages
possess a sophisticated and intricate verb system.[1] The errors which occur do
not arise from a paucity of expressive forms in the Bantu languages, but rather
from confusion with the English forms.

One of the problems English presents is its variety of verbs, particularly modals,
to indicate synonymous or subtly different denotations, especially in those cases
where a morphologically identical form is used in greatly differing semantic
contexts. For example, 'may' can indicate possibility, request permission or express
a wish. In the Bantu languages, however, it is rare that morphologically identical
items are used to convey different meanings, mainly because one item would be used
to convey what in English might be expressed by many morphologically and grammatically

distinct forms. In Zulu, for example, the verb -fanele and the deficient verbs -sale and -melwe are used to cover the range of forms expressed in English by 'must', 'should', 'have to', 'have got to', 'ought to', 'need to', 'obliged to', 'behove' and 'befit'.[2] The majority of the other errors will be seen to derive largely from the nature of English itself and to partial or over-generalised application of tense rules in particular. Finally, there will be clear cases of under differentiation and negative transfer.

A: **Tense forms and sequence**

1. People **had forgot** their customs, **lose** their morals, **commit** crime, **ruins** their lives by drinking and there **is** a lot of prostitution.

2. If he **didn't die** young, he **was going** far in life.
   ('If he **hadn't died** young, he **would have gone** far in life.')

3. A woman **promises** marriage and tomorrow she **had found** a new lover, just like Bathsheba **disappointed** Boldwood and **marry** Troy.

4. Boldwood **take** steps and this **led** to the promise of Bathsheba that after six years she **don't** see Troy, they **marry**.
   (Either 'Boldwood **takes** steps and this **leads** to Bathsheba's promise that if she **doesn't** see Troy in the next six years, she **will** marry Boldwood' or 'Boldwood **took** steps... **led**... if she **did** not see..., she **would** marry Boldwood'.)

5. When we/**will**/visit Casterbridge, we **will** visit their house.
   (first 'will' redundant)

6. She **was decided** to die. ('She (had) decided to die', or possibly the intended meaning was 'She was determined to die'.)

7. We **were used to read** these books. ('We were used to read**ing**...' or 'We used to read...')

8. If they **have** not come the others **should** have not know nothing at all.
   ('If they **had** not come, the others **would** not have known anything at all'.)

9. It happened an hour when they **have** left.
   (Either 'It happened an hour **after** they **had** left' or
           'It happened an hour **ago, when** they left' or
           'It happened an hour **after** their leaving'.)

10. I **wished** I **lived** in those days. ('I **wish** (that) I **had** lived in those days' would have been correct in context)

11. These things **were happened** then.(Either '**happened**' or '**were happening**')

12. When we **consider** this, we **found**...('find' or 'will find')

13. He **did** not **want** to desert her. He **come** back.
    ('come' = 'came', or a variety of patterns:
       'Not wanting to desert her, he came back'
       'He came back as he did not want to desert her', etc.)

14. Boldwood wanted to marry Bathsheba, but <u>knowing</u> that she is in love with Troy,.....

    ('Boldwood wanted to marry Bathsheba but, <u>knowing</u> that she <u>was</u> in love with Troy,....'

    'Boldwood wanted to marry Bathsheba but <u>knew</u> that she <u>was</u> in love with Troy.'

    'Boldwood wanted to marry Bathsheba although he <u>knew</u> that she <u>was</u> in love with Troy.')

15. Bathsheba was disloyal to Boldwood when she <u>writes</u> a valentine <u>but not being</u> serious.

    ('Bathsheba was disloyal/insensitive when she '<u>wrote</u>' a valentine <u>without being serious</u>' (?))

16. Some people <u>were</u> <u>sleep</u> in the street.
    ('were sleep<u>ing</u>', '<u>used</u> <u>to</u> sleep', '<u>were</u> asleep' ?)

17. The story <u>started</u> with love and <u>end</u> with death.
    ('<u>starts</u>'...'<u>ends</u>' or '<u>started</u>' and '<u>ended</u>')

18. He thought that they <u>came</u> to laugh at him as a monkey.
    ('He thought that they <u>had</u> come to laugh at him as if he <u>was/were</u> a monkey'(?).

19. They <u>knew</u> that they <u>are</u> beautiful.
    ('They <u>knew</u> that they <u>were</u> beautiful'/'They <u>knew</u> that they <u>are</u> beautiful')

20. We as human beings we [<u>are</u>] subjected to many weaknesses.
    ('are' omitted as passive marker - a mistake rather than an error?)

21. They /were/ looked like twins. ('were' redundant)

22. It /has/ started long ago. (Incorrect use of 'have' or 'has' in a sentence with a past time phrase)

23. They <u>have</u> gone last night to the tomb.
    ('They <u>went</u> to the tomb last night')

24. He <u>has</u> <u>been</u> to the witches the night before.
    ('He <u>had</u> been....' or 'He <u>was</u> visit<u>ing</u>/see<u>ing</u>....')

This rather broad categorization of errors under the heading 'tense' belies the fact that many of the errors noted here may have less to do with tense than with problems with syntax and lexis. Nevertheless, problems of tense, number and concord will be seen to be closely related to those of syntax and lexis, which explains why I have listed them as tense errors. These comprised 6,60 per cent of all the errors in the sample of Black learners' English and was one of the single highest percentages of error types.

Many of these errors are due to carelessness, particularly those where a learner describes the first of a number of actions in one tense and then changes to another for the other verbs. (See numbers 1, 3, 4 and 15 especially.) I can find no conclusive evidence that errors involving a mixing of tenses are anything except the result of carelessness, although it should be noted that the Bantu languages do not possess a form equivalent to the past perfect 'had'. Instead, a narrative

tense is used in sentences where the first verb is in the perfect tense and the narrative tense is employed for the subsequent actions. For example, a Zulu-speaker might say:

Ukhulume nathi wathi ....   (Lit. 'He spoke to us (and) he said', which in
                                     English we could also render as:
                                     'When/after he had spoken to us, he said..'
                                     or 'When he spoke to us, he said...')

Bantu-speakers tend to have difficulty in arranging the sequence of correct tense forms in English,especially in time clauses involving 'when' and 'after' adverbial clauses, and this can be ascribed to the obligatory use of certain moods and tenses with certain deficient verbs. (See Appendix VI, Part 2). Tense errors in conditional structures (see numbers 2 and 8), however, can be said to be rooted in the nature of the Bantu conditional structures themselves. Compare:

Z: Ukube ubungezanga ngabe asazanga lutho

   (Lit. 'If you did not come we should not 'knew' nothing'; in correct
   English: 'If you had not come... we should not know anything'.) (See 8)

Z: Uma sivakashela eGoli sizovakashela nase Pitoli
   (If/when we visit Johannesburg we shall visit Pretoria) but

Z: Uma ngabe siyovakashela eGoli siyovakashela nase Pitoli
   (Lit. 'If we shall visit Johannesburg we shall visit Pretoria).

The second sentence poses no problem, but the third does. Here there is a difference between a definite arrangement expressed in the second and a possible one expressed in the third. It is this area that requires remediation.

There also appears to be confusion between the simple and continuous forms (see 7, 11 and 16) in English, which will be seen in section B to arise from the different composition of ' iese two tenses in English and the Bantu languages. The dissimilarity in nature between the two language systems also accounts for the confusion in the use of the present perfect in English by Black learners (see numbers 9, 23 and 24). The Bantu languages possess 'short' and 'long' perfect forms which are sometimes compared to the simple and present perfect forms in English. The paradigm of these tenses in section C shows that this comparison is misleading, because the 'long' form, ending in -ile appears at the end of sentences whereas the 'short' form -ê is followed by an object or other adjunct. Therefore, the Bantu forms do not actually denote two different times, whereas there is a difference in meaning between the English 'long' and 'short' perfect forms. Compare:

He has eaten lunch   and   He ate lunch.

The Bantu languages use deficient verbs to indicate time differences where English tends to use adverbs, as the following Zulu examples demonstrate:

Ngisandakudla	'I have just eaten'
Sengidlile	'I have already eaten'
Angikakadli	'I have not eaten yet'

It will be noted that where English has used the present perfect for all three sentences, this is not the case in the Zulu examples. The deficient verb -sanda, for example, is followed by an infinitive, -se is followed by the 'long' past indicative, and the infix -ka- is followed by the 'short' perfect indicative ending with the negative -i.

These examples are proof of the complexity of the Bantu verb system. Remedial exercises eliciting the rules of English from sentences including a sequence of actions and tense uses dependent on the presence of particular adverbs and time phrases need to be set. These sentences can include the following patterns:

When I arrived, I saw my mother running out to tell me that my sister was having a baby.

I had just seen him (while he was) coming out of the restaurant where we were enjoying ourselves.

By the time that we arrive in Durban, you will have left.

We had already left when he arrived, cursing and shouting.

I shall see him when I have finished doing my work.

When we see them, we will definitely tell them.

After we have visited my family, we will fly back.

They realise that they lost their luggage because they were negligent.

They realised   "   "   "   "   "   "   "   "   "   .

They will have realised by now that they have lost their luggage.

Wherever possible, these examples should occur in a contextual whole, say perhaps in the form of a letter informing a friend of (a) what you are presently doing on holiday (b) what you intend doing and (c) what you have already done. Other tense manipulation exercises can include (d) 'by the time' and 'already' and 'yet' structures and (e) what you would be doing/have done if the weather were not/ had not been so bad.

This section has dealt with tense-related errors in a very broad sense and on a somewhat superficial level at times. It would be impossible to do justice to the immense complexity of these errors in only one section of a chapter dealing generally with verbs. My intention has been only to indicate the most common

areas of error, and where the amount of detail and explanation has been relatively
scanty, it has been because the frequency of that particular error is not suffi-
ciently remarkable to warrant greater detail.

B: **Incorrect use of the continuous (progressive) form**

1. She <u>was having</u> a pain   = She <u>had</u> a pain

2. He <u>is loving</u> Juliet very much   = He <u>loves</u>....

3. He <u>is working</u> hard in the fields   = He <u>works</u> hard....

   (In response to the question 'What does he do?', which should elicit
   the answer 'He <u>works</u>...', indicating a general and habitual action)

4. Alec <u>was loving</u> Tess   = Alec <u>loved</u> Tess

5. The friar <u>was being</u> a monk   = The friar <u>was</u>   a monk

   (use of the continuous instead of the copulative, showing the influence
   of the Bantu participial form - see section F of this chapter)

6. These people <u>were paying</u> no tax but <u>were having</u> much money

7. Bathsheba <u>was</u> not <u>understanding</u> the valentine card

                                        = Bathcheba <u>did</u> not
                                         <u>understand</u>...

8. They <u>were coming</u> from the rural areas   = They <u>came</u>...

   (In response to the question 'Where were they from?')[3]

9. Vanity <u>was existing</u> then like today   = Vanity <u>existed</u>...[4]

These errors, comprising 2,25 per cent of the total, are of two main kinds:
the use of the continuous form with the verb 'have' followed by a certain number
of restricted nouns which demand the simple form in present and past tenses in
English, and the generally inappropriate use of the continuous form where the
simple form would be more effective and correct. The Bantu languages possess
distinct present and past continuous forms, and progressive forms using the
infix <u>sa</u>, corresponding to 'still' in English, used in the present and future
tenses, and <u>be</u> or <u>bese</u>[5] in the past:

Z:	Ba<u>sa</u>sebenza	They are <u>still</u> working
NS:	Ba <u>sa</u> dira	" " " "
Z:	Ba<u>be</u> basebenza	They <u>were</u>(already) working
NS:	Ba <u>bê</u> ba dira	" " " "

The nomenclature is perhaps misleading, but functions will be clearer when we realize
that the progressive <u>sa</u> is generally used in present and future tenses and conveys
the meaning 'still', while <u>be</u> indicates 'already' and is restricted to the past
tense. Apart from perhaps intending to convey the idea of an ongoing action for

emphasis, it is not immediately clear why a Black learner should use the continuous tense incorrectly. The habitual sense which the English speaker would deduce from the correct form of A:3 (i.e. He **works** hard)may point to the reason for the error. The Bantu languages usually have both a simple and a 'long' or continuous present form and it is the latter which will be seen to contribute to the confusion, especially when compared with the exclusive form.

> Z: 'Short' present: Ngithanda (can be followed by object or adverbial adjunct)
>
> 'Long' present : Ngiyathanda (cannot be followed by object or adverbial adjunct, unless for emphasis - see p. 142)
>
> Exclusive : Sengithanda (Now I love)[6]

It will be noted that although the first two forms are sometimes called the simple present and the present continuous, this is not entirely accurate as they are used primarily to indicate grammatically rather than semantically different forms.[7] In other words, they do not necessarily indicate tense differences in the strict sense of differentiating between an action that usually takes place and an action that is taking place at the time of speaking. English has a habitual form (the simple present and simple past) to express general truths and habitual actions; a continuous form denoting either an action in progress or one arranged for the future; an emphatic form employing 'do', 'does' or 'did', and various idiomatic forms, e.g. 'is to', 'is about to' and 'is having':

Ufunda izincwadi	He reads novels	(generally)
Ufunda izincwadi	He is reading novels	(at the moment)
Uyazifunda izincwadi	He does read novels	(emphatic, as is 'He reads novels, where meaning changes according to which word is stressed)
Uzofunda incwadi eklasini kusasa	He is reading a novel in class tomorrow	(firm arrangement for the future)
Kufanele afunde incwadi namhlanje	He is to read a novel today	(pre-arranged action)

The Bantu languages possess the first two forms in the present tense, but cannot use them interchangeably with an object or adverbial adjunct after the verb. This grammatical restriction is absent in English.[8] The error then, of using a continuous tense and following it with an object is not due to direct interference but rather to confusion between the English forms. One particularly common error is that exemplified in B:1, namely the incorrect use of the verb 'to have' in the 'long' present form, instead of the simple form. This demonstrates that Bantu-speakers have some problem in identifying the more colloquial use of this form.

She <u>has</u> a party on Saturday	(simply a statement of fact, or a definite arrangement)
She <u>is having</u> a party on Saturday	(definite arrangement)
She <u>is having</u> a party	(at the moment, or possibly definite arrangement, if contextual)
She <u>is to have</u> a party	(pre-arranged)

She <u>has</u> an appointment
    a commitment
    a child
    a car, etc.
	(continuous form incorrect)
	  " " "
	  " " "
	  " " "

Compare now the use of the continuous form 'having' with certain nouns[9], where both future reference and present continuous are possible:

He <u>is having</u> an <u>operation</u>	(right now, or at some future date)
We <u>are having</u> steak for <u>supper</u>	(generally future reference)
She <u>is having</u> a <u>baby</u>	(right now or at some future date)
The college <u>is having</u> its <u>graduation ceremony</u>	(either at the moment, or at some future date)

If we use the simple present, the meaning is quite different:

He <u>has</u> an operation	(every year)
We <u>have</u> steak for supper	(generally, always)
She <u>has</u> a baby	(she has already given birth, perhaps a good time ago)
The college <u>has</u> its graduation ceremony in March	(generally, or specifically this year according to context)

Black learners need to be made familiar with these forms, especially in view of the fact that so much in English depends on understanding the continuous tense and on realizing the important role of the verb 'to have' in these constructions. There is no equivalent idiomatic use of the verb 'to have' in the Bantu languages, nor is there an auxiliary form corresponding to it - the Bantu languages use the verb only as a verb 'to have' in the sense of possession or owning (Z: -<u>na</u>, NS: <u>na le</u>).

C: <u>Confusion involving tense forms of auxiliaries and infinitives, especially in
past tense verb constructions</u>

1. Oak <u>used</u> to <u>worked</u> very hard	(infinitive + past)
2. The soldiers <u>decided</u> <u>to withdrew</u>	(" ")
3. He <u>went</u> there <u>to proposed</u> to her	(" ")
4. It <u>made</u> her <u>to killed</u> him [10]	(" ")

5. The prince <u>did</u> <u>told</u> them to stop fighting.   ('did' + past)

6. Where <u>did</u> Romeo <u>killed</u> himself?   ("   ")

7. I <u>have</u> already <u>explain</u>[ed] the story   (have + present)

8. <u>Have</u> they all <u>understand</u>? (understood)   ("   ")

9. It was Tess who <u>had</u> <u>ran</u> away (run)   (had + present)

10. You <u>may</u> <u>found</u> such people even today (find)   (may + past)

11. <u>Can</u> you <u>found</u> this today? (find)   (can + past)

The variety and relative frequency of such errors (0,56 per cent) indicate that many Black learners of English at the upper secondary school level lack facility in applying the most basic tense and modal auxiliary forms.

The use of a past form of the infinitive in 1 - 4 is as ungrammatical in the Bantu languages as it is in English, and can only be ascribed to over-differentiation, if not to plain carelessness. The Bantu infinitive is a verb as well as a noun (e.g. Zulu <u>ukufa</u> = 'to die', 'dying', 'death'), but this cannot be said to exert any influence resulting in the error.

Where 'did' is used with a past tense verb, a case could be made for interference from Afrikaans, with its use of 'het', and the verb with the 'ge-' prefix, but it is much more likely that the problem arises in the differing natures of the rules governing the use of these tenses in English and the Bantu languages. For example, English has the forms

Present	Past	Past Participle
eat	ate	eaten (irregular)
do	did	done (irregular)
close	closed	closed(regular).

Although the Bantu languages have a participial form, it is not used to convey the same tenses and meanings as the past participle is used in English, where it can indicate participial, passive and remote past forms. The Bantu participial form uses the present stem and indicates its 'mood' by raising the tone of the subject concords, and often changing their form[11], The passive has its own suffixal form (generally -w- before the final vowel of the stem) and the remote past has its own system of concords and lengthens the concordial vowel. It is therefore clear that the Bantu languages have three discrete forms to express what the past participle express in English, the paradigm below will illustrate the different forms of the Zulu verb:

Present		Past (Long + short forms)	Passive (Present + past forms)
(eat)	-dla	-dlile, -dle	-dliwa, - dliwe , -dlê
(do)	-enza	-enzile, -enze	-enziwa, - enziwe
(close)	-vala	-valile, -vale	-valwa, -valiwe,-valwe

It will be immediately clear that English does not follow the same rules for verb tense formation, and it would appear that this fact is the cause of errors. English does use two linked past tense forms in the case of passives, 'has'/ 'have' and 'had' and in constructions such as 'might', 'could', 'would' plus 'have' plus past participle, and this may confuse Bantu learners. Their language cannot take two past tense forms except in relatively few instances such as the past perfect participial, e.g.

Z: Uma ebegiJimile, where be ('was') and -ile (past tense suffix) which could conceivably produce an error like

'He was ran' instead of 'He was running'. Be indicates the past participial mood best translated as 'was' or 'had', while -ile is the long perfect suffix, and this may explain the error in C:9, namely 'He had ran'.

The use of 'have' with the present tense form in C: 7 and 8 is an inversion of the phenomenon above for which no explanation can be found in the nature of the first language. Zulu possesses 'short' and 'long' past tense forms (besides a remote past and a future perfect).[12] The short form, or present perfect, like the short or simple present, must be followed by an object or adverbial adjunct, while the long form or past perfect, like the present continuous, can only occur at the end of a sentence. For example,-bona (present stem), -bonile (long perfect), -bonê (short perfect) are the Zulu forms corresponding roughly with the English 'see', 'saw', 'have seen'/'did see'. There is not the same distinction as English makes between the last two Zulu forms, because Zulu uses both forms to express recently completed actions. They are thus semantically identical but used in grammatically different ways to satisfy grammatical rules. English, however, distinguishes grammatically and semantically between the simple perfect and present perfect forms:

He **has killed** his brother (recently completed action)

He **killed** his brother (non-specific, simply completed at some stage in the past).

The Bantu languages use the remote past (subject concord + a + verb stem ending in -a) to indicate what English would use the simple perfect to express. The Bantu languages use the remote past to express actions which took place long ago, but English uses the past perfect to indicate that one action took place before another action which was also completed in the past, even when the action which took place first might have been completed only a short while ago. There is thus some

degree of difference between the verb and tense systems of English and the Bantu
languages, especially between their respective rules for not only the formation but
also the use of the past tense forms. This difference, together with the confusion
arising from the rules governing tense forms in English, seem to be the main
cause of learners' errors.

Examples C:10 and 11 can also be explained in terms of a combination of confusion
and under-differentiation of the English rules. They may, however, also be due to
carelessness as, in both cases, the 'have' is separated from its governing verb by
an adjunct, and the learners may have made a mistake which they might otherwise have
been able to rectify.[13]

These examples indicate the range of errors involving the infinitive and auxiliary
forms, especially in the past tenses, and the general lack of facility in forming and
using such constructions.

D: **Incorrect forms of the infinitive and gerund/participle**

1. He was thinking <u>to get</u> married   (of getting)
2. She was in danger <u>to die</u>   (of dying)
3. ... incapable <u>to maintain</u> the family   (of maintaining)
4. They were pleased <u>of seeing</u> their parents   (to see)
5. Tess was wrong <u>of falling</u> pregnant   (to fall/in falling)
6. I have no doubt <u>to say</u>...   (in saying)
7. He succeeded <u>to kill</u> him   (in killing)
8. Antonio was late <u>to return</u> Shylock's money   (in returning)
9. Tess was right <u>by stabbing</u> Alec   (to stab/in stabbing)
10. It was her fault <u>to kill</u> him   (for killing)
11. They can be suspected <u>to be</u> murderers   (of being)
12. Thibault was making him [to] fight him   ('to' redundant) [14]
13. They <u>were used to have</u> this banquet   (either 'were used to having' or 'used to have', depending on intended meaning)
14. She sends Boldwood the letter when she finished <u>to write</u> it   (writing)
15. Tess did not let him [to] see her there   ('to' redundant)
16. She was lazy <u>of working</u>   (either 'tired of working' or 'too lazy to work')
17. He knew <u>swimming</u> [15]   (... 'how to swim')

These errors (0,25% of the total number of errors) tend to involve an infinitive or
participial/gerund form coupled with a preposition, and reveal the

learner's dilemma in deciding which nouns, adjectives and verbs can be followed by an infinitive, either an infinitive or a participle, and which take an obligatory·participle. These errors are generally due to over⁀differentiation, as the Bantu languages have only the infinitive form (which, it will be noted,is also a noun: viz. Z: ukufa = 'death', 'to die', 'dying'), without the participial forms used with a preposition which are a feature of English. Furthermore, the Bantu languages tend to use only verbs followed by an infinitive whereas English has verbs, nouns and adjectives which can be used in a great variety of ways. An interesting observation is that verbs requiring an obligatory infinitive in the Bantu languages correspond very closely with the same verbs in English. Compare the following:

	Zulu	N.Sotho
want (to)	-funa uku-	nyaka go
wish (to)	-fisa uku-	lakatša go
make, do [16]	-enza uku-	dira go
like, love (to)	-thanda uku-	rata go
try (to) .	-zama uku-	leka go
agree (to)	-vuma uku-	kwana go
arrange (to)	-lungisa uku-	beakanya go
ask (to)	-cela uku-	kgopela go
choose, prefer (to)	-khetha uku-	kgetha go
decide, plan (to)	-hlela uku-	phetha go
expect (to)	-linda uku-	letela go
learn (to)	-funda uku-	ithuta go
long (to)	-langazela uku-	hlologelwa go
mean (to)	-qonda uku-	gopola go
promise (to)	-thembisa uku-	holofetša go
refuse (to)	-nqaba uku-	gana go
begin (to)	-qala uku-	thoma go
continue (to)	-qhubeka uku-	iša pele go
cease (to)	-nqamuka uku-,. -yeka uku-	fela go, tlogela go
remember (to)	-khumbula uku-	gopola go
forget (to)	-khohlwa uku-	lebala go
regret (to)	-dabuka uku-	nyama go [17]

It is, however, to be expected that there are idiosyncratic grammatical rules to complicate matters. Although the Zulu -vama (be accustomed to, be used to) is followed by an infinitive as in English, -sanda (to have just done) is followed by an infinitive in Zulu but not in English. -Qeda (to finish) takes an infinitive in Zulu, but not in English, where it must be followed by a participle. 'Demand', 'hope', and 'pretend' are all followed by the infinitive in English, but not in Zulu, which helps to explain why the black learner often uses 'that' constructions after these verbs where the infinitive would have been better.

In English, it is sometimes possible to use either an infinitive or a 'that' construction with these verbs:

I demand <u>to see</u> the manager / I demand <u>that I see</u> the manager

We hope <u>to see</u> him soon / We hope <u>that</u> we will see him soon

Pretend <u>to be</u> ill   / Pretend <u>that</u> you are ill [18]

The differences and idiosyncrasies present in any language are further illustrated by these examples:

make + no infinitive [19]	Z: -enza + infinitive
but	
force + infinitive	Z: -phoqa + ukuba (=that) + verb
compel + infinitive	in subjunctive

The difficulty in applying the English rules is increased by the fact that synonymous or antonymous verbs may employ different rules of phrase formation. The examples below demonstrate this:

remember + infinitive/participle	recall + participle only
mean + infinitive only	intend + infinitive/participle
begin + infinitive/participle	finish + participle only
commence + participle only	cease + infinitive/participle
	complete + participle only
	stop + participle only
like, love + infinitive/participle	enjoy + participle only
can	be able + infinitive
let [20]	allow + infinitive/participle
go on + participle only	continue + infinitive/participle
proceed + infinitive only	

In addition, there is adjectival complementation using infinitive constructions. Compare the following, which are followed by 'to':

slow   quick   furious   difficult   hard   possible   impossible

splendid   eager   keen   willing   reluctant   sorry   happy

Other adjectives, such as 'right', 'incapable', 'wrong' and 'late', take a particular preposition ('in', 'of', 'in' and 'in' respectively)[21] with a participle, while certain expressions embodying words such as 'fault', 'doubt' and 'danger' take another preposition and participial construction ('for', 'in' and 'of' respectively).[22] Such adjectival complements employing an infinitive do not exist in the Bantu languages, which points to indirect interference as the cause of these errors.

The complexity in English of the three patterns of infinitive and participle use with certain verbs, nouns and adjectives, together with the fact that the Bantu languages lack two of the three categories apparent in English, accounts for the majority of the errors in D. The other main area of error involves those verbs which take an infinitive in English but not in the Bantu languages, and those which take an infinitive in the Bantu languages but not in English.

E: **Unnecessary or ungrammatical use of the 'potential' form expressing the idea of 'can'/'is able'/'will'/'would'/'may'**

1. I <u>can</u> say that Tess is ill-treated. (used to introduce almost any opinion, where 'I would say' or 'I think' would be more appropriate)

2. You <u>can</u> find drinking and prostitution in the city today. (= 'You <u>will</u> find'/'You <u>will</u> see', or better still, 'There is...')

3. They <u>could</u> be happy[25] if she could marry with Angel. (= 'They <u>would</u> be...' in a more definite sense)

4. I <u>cannot</u> be willing to read these books by Hardy. ('cannot be' instead of 'am' - potential used instead of the verb 'to be')

5. If we <u>can be able</u> to find such things in our lives today, we <u>can</u> be shocked. (duplication of semantically identical items, where one item is redundant, and the use of 'can be' to express the future 'will'/'would')

An analysis of the percentage of occurrence of these errors indicates just how prevalent they are in Black English:

Generally inappropriate use of 'can'	0,96%
'I can say' as opinion marker	0,32%
(You) can find = There are	0,35%
Can be able	0,04%
Can be = will/would be	0,02%
	1,69%

The potential form, expressed in Zulu as -<u>nga</u> and in N.Sotho as <u>ka</u>, indicates 'ability to act', and would be expressed in English by 'can', 'am able' and 'may'. It has no future form and does not imply any definite indication of manner.[24] If future potentiality is denoted in Zulu, the verb -<u>azi</u> ('to be able to', 'to know') or a nominal phrase employing the noun <u>amandla</u> ('strength', 'power') is used. Where the words 'can' or 'could' are used by Black learners of English instead of 'will' and 'would', the cause must be sought in the fact that there is no future tense form of the Bantu potential mood. This error is frequently found in conditional sentences (see D:5) and illustrates that

the possibility of capability or of desirability is not differentiated in the Bantu potential form.[25]

Contrastive analysis underlines the role of direct (interlingual) interference in many of these errors:

	Zulu	N.Sotho
I **can** say	Ngingathi	Nka re
You **can** find	Ungathola	O **ka** bona/hwetša
They **could** be happy	Bebengajabula	Bane baka thaba
He **will** not fight	Akazukulwa	O **ka se** lwê
He **cannot** fight	Akakwazu ukulwa	O **ka se** lwê
He **can be able** to do it	Angakwazi ukwenza lokho	O **ka kgona**
(Lit. 'he/she can know/ can be able to do it')		go dira selo
I **can be able** to	Nginganako uku-	Nka kgona go

The extent of these errors emphasizes the necessity for remediation. Because there is evidence of confusion between 'can'/'could', 'may'/'might', 'will'/ 'shall', and 'would'/'should',[26] they should not be dealt with in isolation, but related to each other in contexts where the meanings and tenses in specific constructions will become clear:

He **can** fight if he is threatened	(i.e. he is able to)
He **will** fight if " " "	(i.e. he will definitely do so)
He **could** fight if he was threatened	(i.e. implying that there is a possibility that he will fight, or as a suggestion)
He **would** fight " " " "	(implying that the situation did not arise, or definite future prediction)
He **could** have fought if he had been threatened	(implying that perhaps he did not, although he was threatened)
He **would** " " " " " threatened	(but he was not threatened, so he did not fight)
He **may** fight if he is threatened	(i.e. there is a possibility that he will fight)
He **might** fight if he was threatened	(implying doubt or reluctance to commit oneself)
He **might** have fought if he had been threatened	(but he was not threatened, so we have no way of knowing whether he would have or not)
He **might** have fought ![27]	(denoting criticism of his failure to fight)

This paradigm (by no means complete) could be used to illustrate the large degree of over-lapping between these crucial modal auxiliaries, stressing their broad uses to denote ability, permission, possibility, probability, willingness, intention,

insistence, prediction, customary activity in the past and the contingent use ('should' and 'would') in main clauses followed by a conditional construction.[28]

F: **Confusion between various forms of the verb 'to be', 'been', and 'being', with specific reference to the participial mood**

1. They went home **being** sick	(**Being** sick, they went home/they went home **as** they were sick, or 'being' redundant ?)
2. Love will remain **being** love	('Being' redundant')
3. He went away **being** angry	('Being' redundant)
4. She saw the horse **being** in the road	(Ambiguous: either 'Being in the road, she...' or 'being' redundant or 'being' = 'standing', etc.)
5. He died **being** young	('Being' redundant)
6. Gertrude goes back to a corrupt life **being** a prostitute	('Being a prostitute, Gertrude...' or Gertrude goes back... life **of being** a prostitute' or 'Gertrude goes back... life of a prostitute'?)
7. There is **being** fighting between their families	('Being' redundant)
8. She was married by[29] her lover, **being** Angel	('Being' redundant)
9. She saw him **fell**	('fell' = 'fall')
10. They did not **heard** her **got up**	('They did not **hear** her **get** up')
11. They lived as they did because tradition and culture **being** their most important aspects of life	('Being' = 'were')
12. It was her first time **to go** to the farm and **seeing** how farm life was	('It was the first time that she had been to a farm and seen what farm life was like')
13. Their families wanted that they must [30] [be] married	(omission of 'be') ('Their families wanted them to marry', is of course, the correct grammatical form)
14. They **been** warned by the prince	(Either 'they were warned' or 'they have/had been warned')
15. She got married **still being while** a girl	('She got married while (she was) still a girl')

The range of these errors indicates just how much confusion there is on the part of Black learners of English when it comes to using the morphologically but not semantically or grammatically related forms of the verb 'to be'. Inextricably woven into this verb and its many forms and uses is the participle. One of the first things

. we notice in these examples is the Black learners' use of 'being' where in English it would either be redundant or where 'while' would be preferable. By this I mean not the actual use of the word 'while', but some construction implying simultaneous actions expressed by two verbs and often connected by 'when', as in 9 and 10:

She saw him <u>fall</u> / She saw him when he <u>fell</u> / She saw him (while he was) <u>falling</u>

Z: Umbone <u>ewa</u>   (lit. He/She saw him <u>fell</u>)

They did not hear her <u>get</u> up / They did not hear her when she <u>got</u> up / They did not hear her (while she was) <u>getting</u> up.

Z: Abamuzwanga <u>evuka</u> (lit. They did not hear her <u>got</u> up)

In the Bantu languages, actions which are simultaneous or very nearly so are governed by the participial mood.[31] In the sentences below, the use of the Bantu participial is clearly shown:

Eng: We sing <u>while</u> we work   Z: Sicula sisebenza

                                         NS: Re opela re 5oma

A literal translation of the Bantu forms, however, would lack the 'while'. viz, 'We sing we work'.

Note that the Bantu languages use the same <u>tense</u> forms for both actions (in this case, the Simple Present). In somewhat stilted and tortuous English, these sentences might also be expressed as :

'We sing and work while we sing'   or   'We sing working'.

Although the latter is obviously ungrammatical and the former clumsy, this illustration helps to explain why Black learners make this kind of error. Although similar in nature to the English participle, the Bantu participial form is much more restricted, which means that the Black learner has to master a system not only of present and past participles, but also of participles being used to indicate differences in English mood, tense and voice. The examples below should make this wide range of functions clear:

<u>Be</u> strong!
He is studying <u>to be</u> a doctor

He <u>is</u> a doctor

He <u>will be</u> a doctor

He <u>was</u> a doctor

He <u>used to be</u> a doctor

He <u>will have been</u> a doctor for two years already

He _would_ _have_ _been_ a doctor if he _had_ not _been_ paralysed

He _has_ _been_ a doctor for three years

He _has_ _been_ a doctor for seven years when he decided _to_ _be_ a lawyer

He was _used_ _to_ _being_ a doctor

He _is_ _to_ _be_ a doctor

_To_ _be/being_ a doctor is _no_ easy career

Being a doctor, he _knows_ a thing or two abo''t diagnosis

He _was_ _being_ operated on when I left the hospital

Having _been_ a doctor for so long, I know how a fever _should_ _be_ treated.

It should also be noted that the verb 'to be' is highly irregular in form and expresses copulative relationships between words as well as indicating tense, mood and voice. In the Bantu languages, however, copulatives and verbal tense indicators are governed by different systems, and tense, mood and voice tend not to use the same or similar morphemes but are more clearly differentiated than they are in English. In English, however, 'be' can be a copulative, an imperative, both an active and a passive indicator, and a tense marker. Compare the following example:

_Be_ firm: You will never _be_ anything if you allow yourself to _be_ influenced by others. Having _been_ influenced myself, I know that you are _being_ talked out of a great opportunity.

This is a somewhat artificial example, but it illustrates my point.
The incidence of error can be summarized in the table below:

General influence of the participial form, revealed in redundant participle in English or unrelated participle	0,40%
Confusion between 'be', 'been' and 'being'[32]	0,85%
Omission of correct form of 'be' in the passive	0,03%
Idiosyncratic use of 'still being while'	0,02%
	1,30%

Remedial exercises should, therefore, concentrate on the three main areas of learners' errors: distinguishing between the various grammatical contexts in which 'be', 'been' and 'being' are used; deciding when the use of 'to be'[33] and 'being' are redundant; and drilling the uses of 'when' and 'while',paying special attention to the use of the participle as a shorter method of expressing time clauses and causation.[34]

G: **Errors in the use of the modal auxiliary forms**

1. He said that they <u>were going to</u> do this

   (although not strictly incorrect, 'going to' is better expressed as 'would' in reported speech)

2. They <u>were going to</u> travel a long distance

   (the context demanded 'had to', 'were supposed to')

3. The soldiers <u>must</u> have stopped

   (here, the context demanded 'should have')

4. They <u>must</u> have killed his son

   (this implies that the speaker believes that the son is dead, whereas the context demanded 'would have', because the son escaped)

5. If the flesh <u>must</u> be cut, this means that he <u>must</u> be killed

   ('If the flesh <u>is/was</u> cut, this means that he <u>will/would</u> be killed')

6. He <u>must</u> not have signed the bond

   ('He <u>should</u> not have signed the bond',

7. If Antonio <u>was not going to</u> give him the money, he <u>was going to</u> cut his flesh

   ('If Antonio <u>did/would/could</u> not give..., he <u>would</u> cut...')

8. He demanded the money, failing which he <u>was to</u> cut his flesh

   ('was to' = 'would')

9. If the flesh <u>must</u> be cut from him, this means that he <u>must</u> be killed

   ('must' = 'will'/'would')

10. The prince said that if they fight they are <u>supposed to</u> be executed

    (here, the context demanded 'will', 'would' or possibly 'should')

11. He <u>can</u> die³⁵ in order to save his friend

    ('can' = 'will' or 'would')

12. You <u>can</u> make a good rural girl

    (Said by one person of another's possible role in a play which called for a country girl - in which case 'will' or 'would' are preferable)

13. If he <u>can</u>³⁶ find her, he was <u>going to</u> kill her

    ('If he <u>had</u> found her, he <u>would have</u> killed her'/'If he <u>could</u> find her, he <u>would</u> kill her'/'If he <u>finds</u> her, he <u>will</u> kill her'/'If he <u>finds</u> her, he <u>is going to</u> kill her'/'if he <u>found</u> her, he <u>was going to</u> kill her'/'if he <u>can</u> find her, he <u>will</u> kill her')

14. <u>May</u> you guess this answer?

    ('<u>Can</u> you guess...?')

15. <u>May</u> you please allow me to leave?

    ('May you' redundant, or 'Please allow me to leave' or 'May I leave?' or 'Would you allow me to leave?')

16. He thought that she <u>should</u> be beautiful, but she was not

    ('should' = 'would')

17. The bond said he <u>will</u> repay the money

    ('will' = 'would')

18. <u>Won't</u> you like to be like Bathsheba?

    ('won't' = 'wouldn't')

19. He <u>should</u> be bleeding because he was stabbed

(in response to the question 'Why should he be bleeding?', which called for the answer 'He <u>was</u> bleeding because he <u>had</u> been stabbed')

20. It <u>should</u> be ironic because...

(like number 18, the question required the answer to a question phrased as follows: 'Why <u>should</u> this be ironic?' and should have been answered as follows: 'It <u>is</u> ironic because...')

21. If he <u>should</u> <u>have</u> shown mercy, this <u>could</u> *37* not happened

('if he <u>had</u> shown.., this <u>would</u> not have happened')

From the errors above, it is clear that the causes lie predominantly in confusion between the forms and functions of 'can'/'could', 'will'/'would', 'shall'/'should', 'going to', 'supposed to', 'must' and other forms denoting strong recommendation, duty, obligation or compulsion. An analysis of the relative percentages of errors of this kind in the sample of Black learners' written English follows:

'Going to' = 'would', 'had to', etc.	0,16%
Failure to differentiate between past tense forms of 'can', 'will', 'shall', 'must', especially in indirect speech and constructions requiring the subjunctive forms 'should' and 'would'	<u>0,91%</u>
	1,07%

Numbers 1 and 2 reveal an interesting case of interference. English has a number of forms to express the future, for example, 'will', 'shall', 'is to', 'going to', present continuous + verb ending in -ing + reference to future time, and forms like 'would' and 'should' for use in indirect speech or as subjunctives. If we compare this with Zulu, for example, we find that Zulu forms are fewer and much less diverse in form and origin. The Zulu future tense marker is formed by two auxiliary verb stems, namely -za (lit. 'come') and -ya (lit. 'go'), used interchangeably. Contracted forms also exist (-<u>zo(ku)</u>, -<u>yo(ku)</u>), where the -<u>ku</u> is the infinitive of the verb without its first vowel. Literally, then,

Ngizakudla/ngizokudla = I 'come' to eat = I shall eat.

(Reuchat maintains that there is a distinction in Zulu between -<u>zo</u>/-<u>zu</u>, referring to a more immediate future, and -<u>yo</u>, which refers to a more indefinite future reference, but this need not concern us here.[38]) What is of more importance is the literal meanings of the Zulu -<u>ya</u> ('go') and the N.Sotho <u>tla</u> ('come') and the fact that the former corresponds with the English use of 'going to' as an alternative form of 'will' and 'shall'. In addition, not only are there no past tense forms like 'would' and 'should' in the Bantu languages for use as subjunctives or in indirect speech, but there is also no distinction made between the first person form 'shall' and the second and third person form 'will'.[39]

An analysis of the Zulu sentences below illustrates these points:

Uyathanda ukwazi?   literally means   'You will like to know?'.

Wayecabanga ukuthi uzobamuhle kodwa ak' ~uhle   literally means

'He thought she will   be beautiful b. she is not.'

Ubengazi ukuthi uzokwenza kanjani lokho   literally means

'He did not know that how he will do that' for the correct English

'He did not know how he would do that'.

Uma uAntonio wayenge zukumnika imali wayezosika inyama yakhe   literally means:

'If Antonio was not going to give him the money he was going to cut his flesh'.

As pointed out in section E of this chapter, it is difficult to distinguish between the Bantu speaker's use of 'can' and 'may', and hence also of 'could' and 'might', firstly, because these words/morphemes are semantically and morphologically identical in the Bantu languages (Z: -nga = 'can', 'may';   NS: ka) and, secondly, because no forms corresponding with the English 'might' and 'could' exist.

The notions expressed by the forms of 'can' and 'may' should be taught and learned in conjunction with the ideas expressed by 'must', 'have to'[40] 'should', 'need to', 'supposed to', 'obliged to', 'ought' and related forms. Not only are these forms semantically related, but some are synonymous and others express subtle differences depending on where the element of compulsion or duty originates (i.e. from the speaker's sense of duty, his fear of retribution, or from the source of punishment and/or enforcement). These differences can only be clearly seen in context, as in the following dialogue:

A: I wonder if I should try to get away with not doing my essay?
   It's got to be handed in tomorrow, but I just have to go to Sun City.
   Tonight is the last night of Brook Benton's tour.

B: I don't think that's wise. You need to improve your year mark, and you
   know that you are supposed to hand in at least five assignments.

A: Oh come on, Busi! Do you really have to be so logical and rational?
   He's my favourite singer. I must take the opportunity now. Besides, some
   friends are picking me up at five.

B: So if your mind is made up, why ask me what you ought to do?
   If you must go, you must go.

A: OK, but I just felt that I should ask my best friend for advice.
   (Telephone rings - A answers it - returns)

A: I <u>shouldn't</u> have got myself all excited about this.
That was John. He's just 'phoned to say that we can't go. He's <u>got to</u> work tonight, so I suppose that I <u>ought to</u> get stuck in - and you <u>must</u> stay and help me! We <u>should</u> finish it by midnight!

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, Zulu has a number of forms expressing this group of notions:

-fanele   ('must', 'ought to', 'have to', etc.)
-melwe   ("   "   "   "   "   "   )
-bo   (mainly 'should')
-mane   ('must', 'have to', etc.)

Although these forms exist (N. Sotho has only two: <u>swanetše</u> and <u>e ka kgona</u>) they appear to be used interchangeably as synonymous structures, whereas English usage is also influenced by context and nuance.

Confusion over the forms of 'would' and 'should' also occurs in the English of Black learners, again arising from the linguistic idiosyncracies of English. 'Would' and 'should' are used not only as past tense forms of 'will' and 'shall' in indirect speech, but also in the completely different context of the subjunctive, particularly in conditional structures and wish expression. To these we may add the sense of obligation mentioned above and various idiomatic and colloquial uses:

A: Where is the rector?   B: Um... I'm not sure. He <u>should</u> be in his office.

What <u>should</u> I do?

What <u>would</u> you have done?

He said he <u>would</u> visit us today.

<u>Would</u> that he were dead!

<u>Should</u> I be late, don't wait. ('If I <u>should</u> be late,....')

A: <u>Should</u> I dress formally?   B: I <u>should</u> think so! It's a black tie affair.

A: I've just been given free tickets to see 'The Island'   B: I <u>should</u> be so lucky!

In view of the fact that this confusion is so widespread and that the use of these modals is so general in English, remediation must form an integrated pattern, combining drills with contextual exercises, to familiarize learners with the complexity and richness of expression in these modal auxiliaries.

H: Confusion in the use of 'do'/'does'/'did'

1. The poet feels not happy The poet <u>does</u> not <u>feels</u> happy	(Both in response to the question: 'How <u>does</u> the poet feel?' The response should be: 'The poet <u>does</u> not <u>feel</u> happy /<u>feels</u> unhappy')
2. How much Antonio have to pay?	(How much <u>did</u> Antonio have to pay?)
3. Why Romeo take the poison?	(Why <u>did</u> Romeo take the poison?)
4. What means this statement? 4-1	(What <u>does</u> this statement mean?)
5. What he like? 42	(What <u>does</u> he like ? or What <u>is</u> he like ?)
6. <u>Do</u> you ever <u>heard</u> about this today?	(<u>Do</u> you ever <u>hear</u>...? or, if 'today' is excised: Have you ever <u>heard</u> about this?)
7. <u>Did</u> you <u>read</u> Shakespeare's plays before?	(<u>Have</u> you <u>read</u> Shakespeare's plays (before)? or <u>Did</u> you <u>read</u> Shakespeare's plays?)
8. Why <u>is</u> he look so sad?	(Why <u>does</u> he look so sad? or Why <u>is</u> he look<u>ing</u> so sad?)
9. How he reacted when he saw her?	(How <u>did</u> he <u>react</u>...?)
10. What work he <u>do</u> on the farm?	(What work <u>did</u> he <u>do</u> on the farm? / What work <u>does</u> he <u>do</u> on the farm?
11. When he became mayor of Casterbridge?	(When <u>did</u> he <u>become</u>...?)
12. <u>Do</u> you like to know?	(<u>Would</u> you like to know?)
13. He regard it with fear	(In response to the question: 'How <u>did</u> he <u>regard</u> it?')
14. She did <u>go</u> 43 when... She <u>did</u> <u>went</u> when...,	(Both in response to the question: 'When <u>did</u> Bathsheba go?)

The errors in these examples (comprising 0,43 per cent of all errors in the sample) are readily categorized. Firstly, there is omission of the obligatory 'do' form and 'did' in questions in the simple present and simple past tenses, especially where a negative exists in the sentence. Secondly, there is confusion between 'do' forms and forms of the verb 'to be', such as 'is'/'are' and 'has'/'have'. Thirdly, there are errors of verb and tense formation involving either a duplication of the -s concord in the simple present tense (see 1) or the duplication of past tense markers (see 14: 'She <u>did</u> <u>went</u>...'). Fourthly, there is general confusion in the manipulation of simple questioning techniques, mostly involving the simple present and simple past tenses, phrasing statements as questions, or using questions to answer in statements. Finally, there is confusion with the idiomatic uses of 'do', often involving confusion with 'has'/'have' and 'make'.

The causes of these errors are easily isolated. The most obvious is that the Bantu languages do not possess auxiliary forms corresponding with 'do'/'does'/'did', although they do, of course, have the verb 'to do' (Z: -enza, NS: dira) denoting 'to act', 'to perform an action'. This would affect their ability to use the English forms correctly, as the verb 'to do' can be an auxiliary completing the meaning of negative statements in the simple past and simple present tenses, expressing questions in these tenses; a transitive verb in its own right; and an emphatic form. The Bantu languages have no equivalent form which is used for all the above functions. When we compare the following sentences,

Z: Ufunani?   NS: O nyakang?

literally 'You want what?', we see that there is no equivalent for the function of 'do' in English, viz. 'What do you want?'. Statements in the Bantu languages can be transformed into questions simply by raising one's tone at the end of the sentence, which is only one of the requirements in English. All that is needed to change the Zulu statement

Sifunda manje   ('We are reading now')   into a question

'Are we reading now?'   is the inclusion of a question mark and an optional 'na' at the end of the sentence, and the raising of one's tone.

Another cause lies in the idiosyncratic use in English of 'do' forms to express questions and negative statements and questions in the simple present and simple past tenses. In addition, the Black learner also has to master the use of 'do' as an emphatic form. Compare the examples below:

Question asked:	Answer received:
When did she go?	She go[44] at night
	She did go at night
Where do they walk?	They do walk in the garden
How does he feel?	He feel unhappy
	He does feel unhappy
How many groups did they split into?	They did split into...
	They splitted into....

Zulu, for example, does have a system of emphatic stress[45], as the following examples will show:

Siyadlala ekuseni   (We do play in the morning) where -ya is the emphatic;

Ushilo ukuthi uzohamba   (He <u>did say</u> that he would go) as opposed
                          to:

Uthe ukuthi uzohamba   (He <u>said</u> that he would go)

Any English teacher who wishes to find out how proficient his Black learners are
in the use of 'do' should ask the following questions:

Where do you come from?	Where are you from? Where have you come from?
What do you do?	What are you doing?
What do you like?	What are you like?[46]
What do you say?	What are you saying?
What can I do for you?	
How do you do?	How are you?[47]

The responses will be illuminating and will very likely reveal, not only the
existence of strongly fossilized forms of Black English, but also problems of
communication.   Only drilling and regular remediation can help to eradicate these
errors. The high incidence of errors in the use of 'do',irregular verb forms and
common idiomatic English usage is an indication of how little attention is paid
to these essential verbs and constructions by many learners.

I: <u>Confusion between infinitive and 'that' clausal structures</u>

1. He <u>said to her that she must drink</u> the potion
   (He <u>told/instructed</u> her <u>to</u> drink the potion)

2. Angel <u>asked her that she must</u> marry him
   (Angel <u>asked her to</u> marry him)

3. Their families <u>wanted that they must</u> marry
   (Their families <u>wanted them to</u> marry)

4. He <u>requested him that he must</u> take the letter to Romeo
   (He <u>requested him to take</u> the letter to Romeo)

5. Romeo <u>demanded</u> Thibault <u>to fight</u> him
   (Romeo <u>demanded that</u> Thibault <u>fight</u> him)

6. The witches <u>promised</u> <u>him</u> <u>to be</u> the Thane of Cawdor
   (The witches <u>promised that</u> he would be the Thane of Cawdor)

7. Romeo <u>encouraged</u> Mercutio <u>that he must</u> take things easily
   (Romeo <u>encouraged</u> Mercutio <u>to</u> take things easy (coll,))

8. They were <u>influenced that</u>_ <u>they must</u> agree with him
   (They were <u>influenced</u> <u>to</u> agree with him)

9. He <u>tried</u> <u>that he might</u> revive her
   (He <u>tried</u> <u>to</u> revive her)

Such errors made up 0,06 per cent of the total number of written errors in the English of Black learners. They tend to be rooted in the Bantu languages themselves, as there are specific verbs which require a clause introduced by 'that' and a verb in the subjunctive, which is clear from the Zulu sentence

Wabaphoqa ukúba babuye ngokushesha

(Lit. He demanded them that they return at once).

Yet number 5 of the examples quoted has the Black learner making an error in English which would not have occurred if he had transferred the rules of Zulu to English. Perhaps there was confusion between the different meanings and structures of 'demand' and 'command'. It will be noted that 'demand' takes either an infinitive or a 'that' clause, depending on what must be said:

He demanded to fight Thibault / He demanded that Thibault fight him [48]

but 'command' can only be used with an infinitive. If one rephrases a 'command' structure, however, one might get:

He gave the command   (that they should open fire)
                   (for them to open fire   )

which underlines the point that learners should be exposed to many options, manipulating different verbs and phrases which take different constructions.

J: **Miscellaneous idiosyncratic verbal expressions**

1. **It is said** that Tess is beautiful   (Tess was beautiful)

2. Angel made her /to be/ very unhappy   ('to be' redundant)

3. It **caused** him **to be** angry with her   ('made him angry' is preferable)

4. **It won't happen that** he can marry her   ('He will not be able to marry her)

5. She **can be happy** if he will help her   ('She would be happy if he helped her'/'She would appreciate his helping her'/'She would like it if he could help her') [49]

6. I **am asking for** some food   ('I would like'/'may I have'/'would you give me...', etc.) [50]

      may
7. **If it can happen,**...   ('If possible...', 'if you would', 'if you don't mind')

8. **May you** please help me?   ('Please help me')

9. She will **turn to be** bad   ('turn to be' = 'become')

These errors are standardized items of Black English, and if they were not perhaps as common as I expected (they in fact made up 0,56 per cent of the total number of errors in the sample), I ascribe this to the fact that in the formal English style which is required for essay writing, there is not enough scope for learners to use the kind of expressions noted. In everyday colloquial speech, however, the

occurrence of these errors is likely to be higher. The majority are due to straightforward direct transfer from the Bantu languages. For example,

'I am asking for' is a literal translation of

Z: Ngicela   and   NS: Ke kopa, which introduce polite requests in these languages.

'It is said' is a literal translation of the Zulu form <u>kuthiwe</u> and is used, not to denote uncertainty or the fact that what follows is a rumour, but more like 'It is stated' to acknowledge one's sources or to avoid personal responsibility for having said something, but in my experience it is a useful stopgap or 'padder' to allow oneself more time to work out what one wants to say. 'May you please' is a common request marker, caused partly by direct interference (confusion between 'can' and 'may', which are both expressed by the same morpheme in the Bantu languages) and partly by confusion arising from the different ways of expressing requests in English. Compare the Zulu example below:

Ungakwamukela lokhu?   (Lit. 'You <u>can</u> accept this?')
The Zulu speaker would render this as 'May you please accept this?'

'Make' + infinitive is extremely common in Black English, as is 'Let' + infinitive. The cause is again an interlingual one.

a: Ngimenze <u>ukuthi</u> aye lapho / b: Lokho kwenza <u>kwenzeke</u>

a: (Lit. I made him <u>that he go</u> there/That made it to be <u>able to be</u> done, i.e. 'possible')

Uma ngikuvumela <u>ukuhamba</u>, ...

b: (Lit. If I let you <u>to</u> go, ...).

Of the 0,56 per cent, 0,35 per cent are errors involving a redundant infinitive following 'make' and 'let', while the others are not sufficiently important to warrant a breakdown of percentages.

It should be clear in a survey of this nature that not all the minutiae of errors can be adequately described or explained. What I trust I have been able to do is to indicate the most important and most common errors and to offer reasons for their occurrence. It would be impossible to do justice to the complexity of verbal systems in any language in one chapter, but I hope that this somewhat limited analysis will prove beneficial to those teaching English to Black learners.

FOOTNOTES

1 For a brief and comprehensive survey of the nature of the Bantu verbal system, see the chapter on 'Language' by C.M. Doke in Shapera, I. (ed.): The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1959, pp. 324-29.

For a much more detailed account of the verbal system of Zulu, see Beuchat, P-D.: The Verb in Zulu. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1966.

2 Zulu also has the forms -mane, -lunge (i.e. 'ought', indicating necessity) and the enclitic -bo (indicating urgency, insistence), but I have found that my students do not readily distinguish between any differences in meaning.

3 See Chapter XI, Section VI, number 12, explained in more detail on p. 178.

4 Ibid., number 14.

5 Se denotes 'already' in the past tense.

6 See Beuchat, op.cit., pp. 20-1 for a systematic survey of deficient verbs used with the participial form in Zulu, denoting persistent, continual, habitual and subsequent actions, among others.

7 Ibid., p.19.

8 Compare the Zulu deficient verbs -zingé (to do habitually) and -vama/-kholisa (to do usually, generally, be wont to do).

9 For example, occasions, events and food, viz. a party, church service, operation, good time, test, dinner, tea, cake, etc.

10 The use of 'make' with a redundant infinitive comprised 0,35 per cent of all errors. The actual percentage has been included in Chapter XI. (See Section J, number 2, and also Chapter XI, footnote 22.)

11 See Ziervogel et al., op.cit., 1967, pp. 145-8 for additional information on the participial in Zulu, and Ziervogel et al., op.cit., 1969, pp. 66-71 on the N.Sotho participial.

12 N.Sotho has only the long form.

13 As both 'can' and 'may' are expressed by one form in the Bantu languages under discussion here (viz. Z: -nga and NS: ka) I have grouped errors involving 'can' and 'may' together.

14 See Footnote 10 above.

15 This is a literal translation. Compare the Zulu: Wayekwazi ukubhukuda (He knew to swim/swimming)

16 Note that the Bantu languages do not distinguish between the English senses of 'make' and 'do', both denotations being expressed by Z: -enza and NS: dira. This explains why such errors as 'make shopping', 'do mistakes' and similar confused uses occur.

17 See Appendix VI for more detailed information on verbs taking the infinitive and/or participle.

18 Although 'that' is often clumsy, it is theoretically possible and grammatical.

19 Because of the extremely high frequency of these verbs, more especially in English with its wealth of idiomatic uses, it is to be expected that errors involving a redundant infinitive, as with 'make to' and 'let to', would make up a substantial proportion of errors. See Footnote 10 above. Note: Z: -vumela uku-, NS: dumelela go = 'Let to'.

20 This is most probably a case of negative interlingual transfer, but it is interesting to speculate whether it does not arise from exposure to archaic English. Compare Psalm 23, verse 2: 'He maketh me to lie down....'.

21 See D; 9, 3, 5 and 8 respectively.

22 See D: 10, 6 and 2 respectively.

23 This is common in colloquial Black English. If one asks a question involving some choice or offer, such as:

'Would you like a lift ?'   or   'Do you want an extension then ?'

the chances are that the answers will be similar to:

'I can be happy (if you can give me a lift)'   and

'I can be happy (if I can have an extension)'.

24 See Doke, Clement M., Textbook of Zulu Grammar. Cape Town: on behalf of the University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1963, pp. 194-5, for more information on the potential mood.

25 See also Ziervogel et al., op. cit., 1969, pp. 72-3, for information on the potential in N.Sotho. Note that the negatives of the potential and future forms are identical: O ka se dirê = 'You will/can not work'.

26 See also Section G of this chapter.

27 In this case, tone and emphasis would alter. In South Africa, the more common form is 'could' rather than 'might':

You could have told me!   =   You might have told me!

28 See Quirk and Greenbaum, op. cit., pp. 52-8, on the uses and tense forms of the modal auxiliaries.

29 See Chapter XI, footnote 9.

30 See this chapter, Section 1, number 2.

31 See also Chapter VI, footnote 1.

32 See also Section D of this chapter, especially number 11, for confusion between infinitive and gerund/participial forms.

33 See also Chapter XI, footnote 22.

34 Time clause: 'Having eaten supper, he left' where the 'having' is another way of expressing:

'When/after he had eaten supper, he left'.

Clause of causation: '**Having** been educated at a good school, he got a good job', where the '**having**' phrase is another way of expressing:

'**As he had** been educated ...'

'**Because he had** been educated ...'

'**Since he had** been educated ...'

'**As a result of his having** been educated ...'

'**Owing to the fact that he had** been educated ...'

and so on.

Note that care should be taken here that wordy and pompou⁇ structures should be recognised as such. Emphasis should be placed on clarit , simplicity and brevity, but it does no harm to expose learners to prolixity, as they will only learn to avoid it if they can recognise it. The teacher should point out that the structures above are generally found in formal and over-formal English.

35 See also Section E of this chapter.

36 See *ibid*.

37 Notice the frequent confusion, especially in conditional structures, of 'can'/ 'will' and 'could'/'would'. The potential form is generally obligatory in Bantu conditional structures and has no future tense. It is, therefore, clear why Black learners make these errors by confusing 'can', 'may' and 'will' forms.

38 For greater detail, see:

Beuchat, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-3.

Ziervogel *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 1967, pp. 91-2, and
Ziervogel *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 1969, pp. 20-1.

39 Note that the Bantu languages, unlike English, do not possess a dual system of expressing the future and future determination. To express the future tense, we use 'shall' to refer to the first person singular and plural, and 'will' for the second and third persons. To express determination, the rule applying to the future is inverted, viz. 'will' is used with the first person, and 'shall' with the second and third persons. In South African English, however, this distinction is vague. Not only does our use of contractions skirt the issue, but 'shan't' and 'should' in the contexts below are not commonly heard nowadays:

'I **shan't** be able to come'   and   'I **should** like to come'.

40 Note that 'must' is also a 'deficient' verb in that its past tense/indirect speech/subjunctive form is expressed by other forms, such as 'had to', 'should', etc.

41 This is possibly influenced by archaic forms of English, but is also a direct transfer from the Bantu languages.

42 This is a good example of a common idiosyncratic case of confusion. The following questions are a useful indication of proficiency in colloquial English:

What do you like? (preferences)

What are you like? (nature, personality)

What do you look like? (appearance)

The average Black learner will attach the same meaning to the last two, and will very often rephrase them as:

'**How** are you like?'

This is in fact a result of translating the Zulu 'Kunjani?' or 'Unjani?' into English, where the -njani literally means 'how'. There may also be confusion with the slang but very common South African expression 'How's it?' It is interesting to note too that while the Nguni languages ask 'How are you?', like English, the Sotho languages use 'Where are you?' (NS: O/le kae?) and one replies 'I/we/ am/are here' (NS: Ke/re teng).

43 Although not strictly speaking under investigation in this dissertation, which concentrates on the **written** English errors of Black learners, prosodic elements like word stress for emphasis (together with other elements, viz. length and tone) would inflate and alter the percentages of error. We have illustrated the use of 'do'/'did!' as a non-emphatic form by Black learners, but it would be very interesting to compare how many stress errors are made by Black learners in English. Very few students will know what 'did' in a sentence like

> '**Don't** tell me that I **wasn't** there when I **was**'
>
> '**Did** I or **didn**'t I tell you never to go there?'   OR

have to be stressed to make the meaning clear, and that if they are not stressed, the sentence lacks sense. If one listens carefully to the spoken (especially read) English of many Blacks, the incorrect emphasis of certain words is very clearly heard and makes the meaning extremely difficult to follow at times. Often the noun rather than the possessive pronoun, and the verb instead of the auxiliary verb are stressed incorrectly, and there is generally confused word stress, as in :

> 'I was góing up Fifth Stréet on the seventh óf May when
> Í saw these mén breaking into mý house'.

This example may appear a little extreme, but it illustrates the problems Black speakers of English have when grappling with the intricacies of a stress-timed language such as English. The Bantu languages are syllable-timed, and Bantu learners of English need training in recognizing the difference between word stress and syllable stress, and in realizing that there is one stressed syllable/word in every phrase or word group which is responsible for emphasizing the meaning:

> 'In the begínning/ Gód/created/ the héaven/and the éarth'
>
> 'The érrors/on page fífteen/are réadily/cátegorized'
>
> 'My bróther/has colléeted/stámps/, cóins/and shélls/for
> as lóng/as I can remémber,/and guárds them/jeálously'.

If one uses an argument situation, these differences in stress can easily be taught:

> A: Machél is the président of Mozambíque.
>
> B: He ísn't. Chissáno is.
>
> A: Of cóurse Machél is.
>
> B: Don't talk rúbbish! Machel was the président, but Chissáno is the président nów.
>
> A: Chissáno is nót the président - he's the príme mínister!
>
> B: Góod grief, but you áre ignorant. Machél is déad.

I have also found it useful to compare staff notation in music with the stress patterns of English, as the first note in each bar is stressed. Another good idea is to use a strongly stress-timed poem to clarify stress. Shakespeare's sonnets are useful, but simpler ones like Byron's 'The Destruction of Sennacherib' may be better to begin with:

The Assýrian/came dówn/like a wólf/on the fóld

And his cóhorts/were gléaming/in/ púrple/and góld...

Students enjoy counting the syllables in each line and seeing the stress pattern reveal itself in the metre. This method thus also teaches syllabification while teaching stress. Only one thing remains, and that is to ensure that students do not mistake the somewhat contrived stress patterns of poetry for modern speech stress requirements.

44 This reveals the ignorance on the part of many Black learners of many of the most basic irregular past tense forms of some verbs. A useful guideline for the teacher is to group such verbs into (a) those which remain unchanged in the past tense, e.g. cut, set, let, etc., (b) those which change only a vowel, or vowel and consonant, e.g. wake - woke, sit - sat, run - ran, strike - struck, etc., and (c) those which undergo a major change, e.g. think - thought, catch - caught, stand - stood, etc.

45 See Lanham, L.W. and A. Traill, *Pronounce English Correctly*, Cape Town: Longman Penguin, 1965, (especially pp. 23-9 and p. 43, for informative and useful material on the relationship between length, stress and intonation in English).

46 See Footnote 42.

47 See *ibid.*

48 Note the dropping of the -s concord with certain subjunctive constructions in English, e.g. 'I insisted that he *do* the job'.

49 See Section E, number 3.

50 A very useful way of explaining the gradations and nuances from commands to ultra-polite requests follows below:

    (a) Shut up!

      Be quiet!

      Will you be quiet?

      Would you be quiet, please?

      Would you mind keeping quiet, please?

      Would you kindly keep quiet?

    (b) Get out!   Please leave.   Will you be leaving now?
       Would you mind being so kind as to leave?

    (c) Do me a favour

      Please do me a favour

      Will you do me a favour? Won't you do me a favour?

      Can " " " " " ? Could " " " " " ?

      Would " " " " " ? Would you mind doing me a favour?

      Would " " " " " please?

Students appear to learn a good deal from these patterns, especially when the richness of English irony is evident in the tone one may choose to use. These recognition skills are, of course, of vital importance in a social linguistic sense.

CHAPTER X

ERRORS OF SYNTAX, OMISSION AND PUNCTUATION
IN SENTENCE CONSTRUCTION

Because they do not warrant separate chapters, in view of their relatively low incidence of error, the categories of general error in syntax, omission and punctuation in sentence construction will be discussed in one chapter. Although these categories may appear unrelated to each other, dealing as they do with syntactical problems, incomplete sentences and confusion in the use of punctuation marks and capital letters, it should again be stated that the cause of a particular error may be sought in more than one aspect of language, and attention will be drawn to such incidences of error where they may be influenced by more than one of the three problem areas broadly outlined above.

A: Syntactical errors

    (a) Object placed before subject

        1. I have no doubt that people like Troy you can still find them.
          (...that you can still find people like Troy)

        2. He told Bathsheba that the money he wanted for a different thing.
          (... that he wanted the money for a different thing)
          (... that the money he wanted was for a different thing)
          (... that he wanted the money for a different thing)

        3. Even a valentine card, she was receiving from Boldwood.
          (She even received a valentine card from Boldwood)

    (b) Separation of subject from main clause

        1. Bathsheba, when she has a problem, she goes to Oak.
          (When Bathsheba has a problem, she goes to Oak)

        2. A person, if he murders, he will be punished.
          (If a person murders, he will be punished)

    (c) Separation of multiple subject by verb

        1. This is the place where Alec D'Urberville lived and his blind mother.
          (... where Alec and his blind mother lived)

    (d) Indirect object placed before subject

        1. Most of the girls today, these things happen to them.
          (These things happen to most of the girls today)

         2. Mrs Durbeyfield chooses for her daughter a husband.
          (... a husband for her daughter)

         3. Oak showed to Bathsheba his love. (Oak showed Bathsheba his love/showed his love to Bathsheba)

4. He married Bathsheba whom he once proposed <u>to her</u> marriage.
   (... to whom he once proposed marriage)

5. He picked <u>for her some strawberries</u>.   (... some strawberries for her)

(e) <u>Use of syntax appropriate for Direct Questions in Indirect Questions and
    general confusion between direct and indirect questions</u>

   1. My question is why he choose to get inside the house?
      (My question is why he chose to get into the house)

   2. He asked her that what did she want. (He asked her what she wanted)

   3. Why Troy didn't wait until the party was over?
      (Why didn't Troy wait until the party was over?)

   4. He asked Tess why didn't she told him early.
      (He asked Tess why she didn't/hadn't tell/told him earlier)

   5. You can know where does your future lies.
      (You know where your future lies)

(f) <u>Negative before main verb with two auxiliary verbs</u>

   1. She should have <u>not</u> agreed to be married.
      (She should <u>not</u> have agreed...)

   2. If her mother was <u>not</u> after the riches of the D'Urbervilles, she could
      have <u>not</u> let Tess go there. (... had <u>not</u> been..., she would <u>not</u>
      have let...)

(g) <u>Incorrect position of adverbial adjunct</u>

   1. <u>Always</u> beautiful girls are very proud.
      (Beautiful girls are <u>always</u> very proud)

   2. It shows us that things are not being <u>now</u> done like this.
      (...things are not being done like this <u>now</u>)

   3. She wants <u>just</u> to pay revenge on him.
      (She <u>just</u> wants to pay...)

   4. He thought that D'Urberville <u>all the time</u> he knows of this.
      (... D'Urberville knew about this <u>all the time</u>)

B: <u>Incomplete sentences as a result of omitted substantive</u>

   1. Tess got a child and [it] did not last for a long time [(as) it] died young.

   2. Because [Alec/he] want to make love with Tess and Tess did not want [him to].
      (This is also incomplete in that it consists of a subordinate clause without
      a main clause)

   3. But Tess did not tell Angel that she once had a baby and [(that) it (had)] died.

   4. After four days [Tess/she] left the house; she returned with no money.

   5. She was influenced by her mother not to tell Angel that she once got a child
      and that [it (had)] died.

6. Compared to life today [It/life] then is similar.

7. In this story of Hardy's [the author/he] told us that Alec drove the horse in a speed and Tess fell down and [Alec/he] seduced her.

8. Nowadays [it] is difficult to do such things.

9. We can see that [they] are all the same.

10. The girl is now a seller and she sells many[?]and gets money.

11. Life was slow there but a strange [event(?)] occurred there.

12. Joseph Poorgrass was a stupid [man/person] by having too much liquor.

13. He act being a playful[?]with her.

C: Incomplete sentence due to lack of main verb or to incorrect punctuation

1. So thank to the author for writing such a reasonable book, even if it is a fiction; but we can solve our problem very easily by the mean of this book. (We should thank the author for writing such a good book. Even if it is fiction, we can solve many of life's problems by reading it.(?))

2. Even today [there are] many boys who cause divorce in other people's marriage.

3. Another point [is that] Tess wishes to help her parents.

4. My opinion [is] that Hardy shows us that you must not have jealousy.

5. Men boasting about their loves to those who can't get love, jealousy blooms. (When men boast...)

6. And it can happen this days. That a man can be at the mercy of a woman. (... these days that a man...)

7. Because I don't think you can agree to get married while you are not prepared.

8. As we know that she was a very beautiful girl.

9. Tess youth, she was beautiful and handsome girl. (Tess was young and beautiful.(?))

10. But Angel, because he love Tess he marry her and because Tess was influenced by her mother not to tell Angel she once got a child and it died.

The errors in A (c) are firmly grounded in the syntax of the Bantu languages. Just as colloquial English frequently moves the object to the beginning of the sentence for emphasis and effect, so do the Bantu languages. Demonstratives are commonly used in both English and the Bantu languages to introduce such sentences. Compare the following examples:

Friends like them we can do without / We can do without friends like them

This I cannot tolerate any longer / I cannot tolerate this any longer

Why he did it, we'll never know / We'll never know why he did it

While not all examples in pupils' sentences of placing the object before the subject are, strictly-speaking, grammatically or syntactically incorrect, they often render a sentence clumsy. Direct interference from the first language is also evident in the inclusion of a pronoun in (b) 1 and 2 where a noun is already present.

The structures in A (b), where the subject is removed from either the main clause or subordinate clause to a prominent position at the beginning of the sentence, is also a Bantu linguistic technique to express emphasis. It is worth noting here that Bantu languages more often use a change of syntax to emphasize an item than a system of stressed words, which is common in English. This underlines the fact that English is a stress-timed language, while the Bantu languages, more like French in this respect, are syllable-timed. Compare the following examples:

John reads the newspaper every day

Z: UJohn ufunda iphephandaba zonke izinsuku.

In both sentences, the meaning is the same, and no word is particularly stressed. In English, however, we can use stress to emphasize different elements without having to change syntax:

John (and not Peter) reads the newspaper every day.
John reads (he really reads it; he does not skim)....
John reads the newspaper (and not the Reader's Digest)....
John reads the newspaper every day (without exception)....
John reads the newspaper every day (and not every second or third day)....

In the Bantu languages, because of grammatical concord, the item to be stressed is generally placed first in the sentence:

Z: Iphephandaba, uJohn alifunda zonke izinsuku [1]
   (The newspaper, John reads it every day)
Z: Zonke izinsuku uJohn ufunda iphephandaba [2]
   (Every day, John reads the newspaper).

In addition, the Bantu languages also employ the passive in the same way as English does to enable emphasis to fall on the item placed first in the sentence. Remediation of the error of placing an object first in particular contexts should include the associated error of repeating a nominal subject by using a pronoun.

The relative scarcity in the Bantu languages of phrasal verbs, or more specifically, of verbs which require one or more prepositions to complete their meaning, has already been noted in the chapter dealing with prepositional errors. The possession of verbs embodying a prepositional suffix, however, is a feature of the Bantu languages. This fact explains why, especially in structures involving 'to' or 'for'

after a verb [5], Black learners often place the direct object immediately after
the verb and its preposition, which is followed by the indirect object, as in:

Please do <u>for me</u> a favour

He did <u>to her</u> a bad thing

The friar made <u>for him</u> a potion

Explain <u>(to) me</u> this problem.

In English, however, the verb is separated from the preposition by the object, while
it remains an integral part of the whole phrasal verb expression, as in :

Please do a favour <u>for</u> <u>me</u>   or   Please do <u>me</u> a favour

He did a bad thing <u>to her</u>

The friar made a potion <u>for him</u>   or   The Friar made <u>him</u> a potion.

A confusing factor is the existence of certain verbs in English which can omit the
preposition on condition that there is an accompanying change in syntax:

I gave some money <u>to him</u>   =   I gave <u>him</u> some money

She showed the letter <u>to</u>   =   She showed <u>her mother</u> the letter
<u>her mother</u>

He told a story <u>to his children</u> = He told <u>his children</u> a story.[4]

It will be noted that the majority of the errors under discussion here occur in
sentences where there are two objects, one direct and one indirect. Remedial
approaches should, therefore, concentrate on verbs which are commonly used with two
such objects. In this way, the distinction between transitive verbs, which can be
followed immediately by a direct object, and intransitive ones, where the verb is
separated from the object by a preposition, will be made clear.

With regard to the errors in A (e), relating to errors originating from confusion
between direct and indirect speech, two points emerge.

The first is that the Bantu languages do not express questions by a change in syntax,
as English does when a sentence begins with an interrogative or auxiliary verb,
followed by a subject. A plain statement in the Bantu languages can be readily
changed into a question by raising one's tone at the end of the sentence, which is
also a prerequisite of the English question, and by not stressing the length of
the penultimate syllable of the sentence. The suffix <u>na</u> at the end of the sentence
is optional, and interrogative suffixes are appended to the <u>end</u> of the sentence.
The Zulu examples below will make this clear and at the same time indicate why
Black learners of English make structural and syntactical errors in their efforts
to master direct and indirect questioning skills in English.

Bafupani (na)?	They want what?	E: What do they want?
Uyaphi?	You go where?	E: Where are you going?
Ukhathele?	You are tired?	E: Are you tired?
Sifunda lencwadi(na)?	We read this book?	E: Are we reading this book?
Ubaba wenzani?	Father he does what?	E: What is father doing?
Wenzani ubaba?	He does what, father?	E: " " " " ?

The second point to emerge is that Black learners often overgeneralize their knowledge of the inversion of subject and auxiliary verb in direct English questions and transpose the syntax of the direct question to that part of the sentence in indirect speech. The following examples will illustrate why they make such errors:

How are they?

He asks how they are.

Banjani? (Lit. They are how?)

Ubuza ukuthi banjani
(Lit. He asks that they are
                        how?)

The Bantu-speaker will often render the second sentence as:

He asks (they) how are they?

These examples show that the Bantu languages do not employ a change of syntax to distinguish between direct and indirect questions and that the error, in English, of retaining the syntax of the direct question (auxiliary verb followed by subject) in the indirect question is attributable to direct interference from the Bantu languages. This is also the basic reason for a general confusion between direct and indirect speech forms in the English of many Black learners.

It is also worth noting that English can itself be confusing, and teachers should be very careful not to be dogmatic about the rule being rigid. In colloquial English a form syntactically identical to the literal Bantu interrogative form is used to express doubt or amazement, as in the examples below:

She did <u>what</u>?   I don't believe it!

John went <u>where</u>?   Just wait till I see him!

In addition, our use of ellipsis (which is rare in the Bantu languages because of the necessity of constantly reinforcing concord) adds to this confusion:

Going home?	= Are you going home?
Had dinner already?	= Have you had dinner already?
Drink?	= Would you like a drink?
Any luck?	= Have you had any luck?

Remedial techniques could include a good deal of drama, the reading of novels which alternate pieces of writing in direct speech and indirect speech, dialogues and simple transformational exercises based on sentences such as the following:

A: Thembi has been to Swaziland.

A: Ask me if Thembi has been to Swaziland.

B: Has Thembi been to Swaziland?

A: I beg your pardon?

B: I want to know if Thembi has been to Swaziland.

A: To Swaziland?

B: Yes.

A: Yes, she has (been to Swaziland).

Wherever possible, such exercises should be relevant, practical and amusing, the idea being that pupils must not be aware that they are, in fact, drilling a structure.

The examples in A: (f) reveal yet another syntactical error, namely the failure to place the negative 'not' correctly, which will be seen to be most common in sentences using two auxiliaries and in infinitive constructions. For example, the English sentence type

She would <u>not</u> have killed him

is frequently rendered by Black learners as

She would have <u>not</u> killed him   or
She would have killed him <u>not</u>.

Similarly, we might find

Her mother told her <u>not</u> to love him   as
Her mother told her to <u>not</u> love him   or
Her mother told her to love him <u>not</u>.

In Zulu, we would say:

Ube<u>nge</u>ke <u>a</u>mbulale   (for the first of these two examples
                                     ('She would not have killed him')

and Unina umtshele ukuthi anga<u>mthandi</u>   for the second,
which would read literally:

Her mother she her told that she must him love <u>not</u>.

The causes of these errors appear to be at least partially grounded in the Bantu languages themselves. For example, the Zulu verb is, generally speaking, made negative by prefixing (k)a- to the verb stem,before the subject concord, and by either changing the final vowel of the verb stem from -a to -i (present tense only), or by adding the negative formative -nga [5]   to the entire verb. Nga is not always found as a suffix, but can in certain cases be used immediately before the verb stem as an infix:

1. <u>(k)abakuthandi</u>   They do not like you
  (lit. <u>not</u> they you like <u>not</u>)

2. <u>(k)asihlalanga</u>   We did not stay
  (lit. <u>not</u> we did stay<u>not</u>)

3. Ngabesi<u>ng</u>adlula<u>ng</u>a   We had not been playing
  (lit. Had we <u>not</u> been playing <u>not</u>)

4. Uku<u>ng</u>ahlal<u>i</u>   not to stay/not staying
  (lit. to <u>not</u> stay <u>not</u>)

These examples illustrate why the Bantu-speaker often uses the syntax of his own languages when arranging the sequence of linguistic items in English structures. A case for direct interference can certainly be made for 4, where the infinitive is split by a negative. In the case of the others, the error would seem to be due more to intralingual than interlingual (i.e. first language) interference.
It is also interesting to speculate whether the placing of the negative last in the sentence is not perhaps due to the influence of archaic English, as in :

 Touch me not! = Do not touch me   and
 She loves me not = She does not love me.

Another interesting error with both syntactical and semantic implications is the transferred negative. Those familiar with Black English learners will no doubt recognize errors such as these below:

 I think I <u>cannot</u> do this work
 Everything was <u>not</u> in order
 Everyone was <u>not</u> aware of this

which would be rendered as follows in correct English:

 I do <u>not</u> think that I can do this work
 <u>Nothing</u> was in order / <u>Not</u> everything was in order [6]/Everything was <u>not</u> in order
 <u>Not</u> everyone was aware of this / <u>No-one</u> was aware of this.

A study of the Zulu will make this error clear.

 Zonke izisebenzi zazi<u>ng</u>asebenz<u>i</u>
 (lit. all the workers they were not working), which in English would mean:
 <u>None</u> of the workers was working

 Akuzo zonke izisebenzi eziza<u>ng</u>asebenz<u>i</u>/ezizasebenza
 (lit. there were <u>not</u> all the workers who were <u>not</u> working)
 which in English would mean:

<u>Not all</u> the workers were <u>(not)</u> working, or rather

<u>Some</u> of the workers were working.

In some cases Zulu makes no distinction of this kind based on syntax and meaning. The English sentence

I don't think I can do this work

could be rendered

<u>Angicabangi</u> ukuthi ngingawenza (lit. I do<u>n't</u> think that I can do this work) lomsebenzi

or

<u>Ngicabanga</u> ukuthi a<u>ngeke</u> ngiwenze (lit. I think that I ca<u>nnot</u> do this work). lomsebenzi

Both Zulu forms are acceptable, but the second form is more commom, which explains why we encounter the problem in Black English.

Almost every learner of English as a second language will remember the old grammatical rule that English uses adverbs and adverbial phrases in the sequence Manner/ Place/Time, as opposed to Afrikaans, which uses Time/Place/Manner. These are language-specific idiosyncracies and are seen to be more idiosyncratic when the exceptions to the rule have to be mastered. Then one is inclined to question the value of being told that there is a sequence at all. If we investigate the errors in A (g), we find that Zulu is as full of apparently illogical rules as English is.

<u>Error in English</u>		<u>Zulu</u>
<u>Always</u> he has stayed there	=	<u>Njalo</u> uhlale lapho/Uhlala lapho <u>njalo</u>
He wants to go there <u>just</u>	=	Ufuna ukuya lapho <u>nje</u>
He thought that Thembi <u>all the time</u> she knew	=	Wacabanga ukuthi uThembi <u>sonke isikhathi</u> uyazi/Wacabanga ukuthi Thembi uyazi <u>sonke isikhathi</u>.

It will be observed that English often shifts the position of adverbs of time, which can, depending on emphasis and euphony, appear at the beginning of a sentence, after the verb, or at the end of the sentence:

<u>Yesterday</u> she left for Durban

She left <u>yesterday</u> for Durban

She left for Durban <u>yesterday</u>

Yet not all adverbs of time can be shifted. For example, where 'never' and 'always' are used, only the following patterns are possible:

She <u>never</u> eats cake   She <u>always</u> eats cake

As with adverbs of time, adverbs of manner and place can also take varying positions in an English sentence. The general rule here is that the closer the adverb is to the verb, the more stressed its function as a modifier becomes. This rule applies in the Bantu languages as well, but stress is also effected by placing the adverbial adjunct first. Rather than expect the Black learner to learn all the rules for placing adverbial adjuncts correctly, teachers should set exercises which involve hearing the stressed syllables and the realization that euphony plays an important role. In the end, it is regular use and repetition in functional context rather than rules applied to discrete sentences which enable a learner to master a language.[7]

The following table summarizes the nature and frequency of syntactical errors in A:

Object before subject	0,19%
Separation of subject and verb	0,34%
Errors of syntax in indirect questions	0,17%
Confusion between direct and indirect speech	0,06%
Incorrect position of 'not'	0,11%
Miscellaneous syntactical errors, e.g. adverbs, transferred negation, split infinitive.	2,49%
	3,36%

The errors of omission in B are difficult to explain in terms of direct interference. In my opinion, they are due rather to carelessness and would therefore be mistakes, not language interference errors as such. It has been pointed out that the Bantu languages are concordial and that the meaning of a sentence depends on the continual stressing of the concords. Where a substantive is omitted in a Black learner's English sentence, the source of the error does not lie in the learner's language, but rather in his interlanguage. I have mentioned carelessness as the predominant factor, but the learner may also know something about ellipsis in English while overgeneralising the rules which apply to it. The reason for postulating carelessness is based on personal experience. English teaching in the majority of Black classrooms still relies on productive skill exercises (in which writing is stressed at the expense of other skills), still tends to be grammatically orientated, and is hampered by the fact that mastery of English is largely geared towards the needs of satisfying examination requirements. The purpose behind language teaching, that is, of achieving communicative competence, is obscured, and there is little motivation, need or encouragement for the learner to read through his work and check for careless mistakes. We might add that fossilization also plays a part here, in that the learner may feel that there is no point in trying to master English to any great extent because there is no great need to do so.

While the examples B: 1 - 11 seem to bear out the above observations, a definite case for direct interference can be made in 12 and 13. The omission of a noun after adjectives such as 'rich', 'poor', 'lame', 'blind', 'stupid', 'lazy' and the like is due to the fact that the Bantu languages make more frequent use of descriptive nouns and relative constructions consisting of a verb stem plus relative suffix than they do of adjectives. The number of adjectives in the Bantu languages is limited, and this explains why Black learners often substitute what they imagine is a similar construction in English. In English, for example, it is possible to say:

He is blind / He is a blind man

He is foolish / He is a foolish man / He is a fool

He is poor / He is a poor man / He is a pauper

Typical errors of Black learners include the following:

Error	Zulu	
He is a blind	Uyimpumputho	(lit. He is a 'blind-person')
He is a clever	Uyihlakani	(lit. He is a 'clever-man')
	Uhlakaniphile	(lit. He has become clever i.e. He is wise)
He is a lazy	Uyivila	(lit. He is a sluggard)
He is the lazy one	Uyivila	(lit. He is a sluggard)
He is a stupid	Uyisilima	(lit. He is a fool)

These errors demonstrate the link between the article and the substantive in English, because omitting the article from the erroneous sentence would make it correct, just as adding a noun would do. This underlines a point to be borne in mind when planning remedial exercises - that transformational exercises showing how a small change in structure can make an erroneous scructure correct are more beneficial than simply pointing out the error or marking the learner's work wrong. In this way, learners can see that it is possible to use different grammatical constructions to express essentially the same thought. This will hopefully lead to more varied expression and facility in English. That this area of error needs attention is borne out by the percentages of error reflecting the omission of a substantive:

Omission of adjective/adverb	0,25%
Omission of: noun after adjective adjective before noun	0,24%
Omission of subject/object	1,0%
	1,53%

Section C contains errors which, whatever their origin, are primarily connected with the problems that Black learners experience with the rules of English punctuation. Much of the material in this section should be seen in relation to the

errors dealt with in Chapter VI which deals with sentence-linking devices. The reason for their inclusion in this chapter is that I felt that the cause of the error was not such that it could definitely be ascribed to ignorance of conjunctions, but rather to difficulties with punctuation as such. There is little to be said in connection with these errors. They are closely linked to uncertainty about the rules of English sentence construction and to lack of practice in writing without sufficient exposure to reading and the written word which exposure would reinforce familiarity with the rules and purpose of punctuation. (Commas are not used as often in the written Bantu languages as they are in English because concord makes them largely unnecessary.) Even so, the average Black child does not get very much exposure to his own language in the written form to reinforce any notion of punctuation. Besides carelessness, there is also a tendency among Black learners to ramble on in writing without having a clear-cut idea of what needs to be said. This frequently results in a full stop being put in somewhat arbitrarily when it is felt that the sentence has gone on long enough. In fact, my experience is that commas are relatively seldom used, and when full stops, apostrophes, inverted commas and other punctuation marks are introduced, they are usually incorrectly used. Apart from indicating unfamiliarity with the purpose and practice of punctuation, many Black learners of English reveal an alarming lack of under-standing of sentence construction and of what constitutes a thought. Only regular practice can alleviate this problem.

One could make allowances for errors involving the apostrophe, as its use to indicate possession is unknown in the Bantu languages. Bantu languages, like French, must use a possessive adjective or pronoun in the form possession + possessive concord + possessor. The Nguni languages have an apostrophic form known grammatically as elision, in which the final vowel of a word is omitted if the following word begins with a vowel, and this is indicated as such by an apostrophe in writing. It is, however, optional. It is frequently heard in the spoken language and in poetry, but is seldom used in the English of Black learners. Errors involving the apostrophe are, therefore, most often errors of omission or, in the case of 'its' and 'it's', confusion between the meanings of the two forms, or of using it in the wrong place, as in 'do 'nt' and 'is'nt'.

The incorrect use of capital letters is closely related to unfamiliarity with correct punctuation and to lack of practice in correct writing habits. Careless-ness also plays its part, as does a marked failure to recognise proper nouns. The actual written scripts of many Black pupils will reveal that many write in block capitals, and still more indiscriminately intersperse capital and minuscule forms of letters in the same word. This must surely affect learning any correct form of capitalization.

Other minor orthographical errors include the very common use of prepositional phrases such as 'inlove', 'infact' and 'inorder' in which a preposition is combined with the element following it. I believe that this error may be due to the fact that the locative, which expresses notions of 'in', 'on' and 'at' in the Bantu languages,is an integral part of the noun, and not a separate item as is generally the case in English. For example, Zulu forms the locative mainly by changing the prefix and adding a suffix to the noun, as in: 'at/in school' - esikoleni, from isikolo ('school') plus the locative affixes. N.Sotho generally uses only a suffix as in: 'at/in school' - sekolong, from sekolo ('school') plus the locative suffix -ng. In other words, this fairly general error results from overgeneralization or 'split', which requires that the learner make a distinction between a structure involving a single item in his first language and the same structure in English which consists of two items. The fact that most of these errors begin with 'in-' may also stem from the fact that English possesses a vast number of words beginning with 'in-' which in fact derive from Latin and which therefore operate on the same principle as the Bantu languages, viz. locative prefix plus root. This is obvious in words such as 'in+duce', 'in+spect', 'in+spire' and many others. Then there is also the reason for our having 'in spite of'with discrete parts and 'despite' as one word, and also 'instead' which actually means 'in stead' in the sense of 'in the place of'. Such idiosyncratic rules for word formation must be a source of confusion for a person whose language operates on simpler and more predictable lines.

Turning to the omission of a main verb, typical errors involve linking two or more clauses or phrases without a main verb, or using a participle instead of a main verb, or the omission of an obligatory relative.[8] As far as can be ascertained, these errors are the result of carelessness and/or ignorance as the Bantu sentence requires a main verb. Other errors of this type are aggravated by poor punctuation. Pupils would benefit from training in sentence construction and punctuation because it is clear that the majority lacks knowledge of what constitutes a sentence, a phrase, a clause or a main verb.[9] Transformational exercises involving sentence expansion skills need to form a regular item of teaching.

The example below illustrates how this can be done:

Sipho plays soccer	Sipho is a soccer player
Sipho plays soccer well	Sipho is a good soccer player who trains every day
He plays soccer and volleyball	often
	every Wednesday
	as often as he can
	whenever he gets the opportunity

He plays soccer, (which is) his favourite sport	as often as he can
	but he only plays volleyball when there is a special match
	because he feels
	that soccer is more important.

These exercises would encourage learners to construct sentences in speech and writing which are meaningful and which consist of related thoughts linked grammatically. The need for the learner to review the construction in writing and to think what he actually wants to say before or while he is saying it needs emphasizing if the learner is to be made aware of what he is actually communicating. It is obvious that this can only be achieved when the teaching of English in Black schools emphasizes the relevance of acquiring competence in English and the actual skills which are required if one hopes to achieve communicative competence. This involves a functional approach to language teaching, with relevant interaction based on real communication in situations as close as possible to the real world and the relevant needs of the learner.

The frequency of these errors of punctuation and sentence construction indicates that this is an important area requiring remediation.

Punctuation: comma	3,39%
full stop	
omission of ?	
Capitalization: inappropriate	1,99%
omission	
Apostrophe: incorrect	0,95%
omission	
'Infact'/'inorder'/'inlove', etc.	0,55%
	6,88%

In this chapter I have given no more than a general indication of the types of errors relating to syntax, punctuation and allied areas. Only the most common errors have been investigated, but there is a vast field for research into many of the more specific errors made by Black learners and of more detailed analysis of structural errors which may not be as obvious or as easy to describe as those commonly encountered. A more detailed study using contrastive analysis by someone better qualified in the Bantu languages would no doubt identify many other errors due to direct interference. The errors discussed in this chapter are those that the average teacher of English would be likely to encounter and recognize, largely because of their frequency, and would wish to understand and remediate.

FOOTNOTES

1 This sentence is syntactically possible in English, but the meaning would change with the necessary change in punctuation, viz.:
The newspaper? John reads it every day.

2 Zulu and English are similar in this respect. The time phrase can appear at the beginning or at the end of the sentence.

3 Verbs incorporating the idea 'to' and 'for' are known as <u>applied</u> verb stems and have the suffix -<u>ela</u> in Zulu and -<u>êla</u> in North Sotho. For example, from the Zulu stem -<u>enza</u> (make, do), we get -<u>enzela</u> (make for, do for, serve), and in North Sotho,from <u>dira</u> (make, do) we get <u>dirêla</u> (make for, do ˚or, etc.)

4 See also 'take' (as in 'Take these shoes to him/take him these shoes'), 'lend', 'send', 'write', etc. These are generally verbs implying some kind of motion or transfer.

5 <u>Nga</u> is not always a negative formative. It can also mean 'near', 'about'; 'by means of', 'with'; 'can'; and 'must', 'ought to'.

6 This would have a more specific meaning, but would still be a clumsy expression. The extent of the disorder is what is stressed, and it would be difficult to state categorically that it is grammatically acceptable or not when these forms are colloquially used.

7 Much attention is given in Black schools to the formal teaching of English grammar, which often concentrates on the identification of parts of speech. This is not in itself a bad idea, but it is made largely irrelevant because the sentences chosen have little link with the real world of the pupil and exercises often consist of unrelated sentences.

8 It was felt that some examples of incomplete sentences should be included in this chapter to illustrate that it is often difficult to decide whether the problem lies with the lack of a main verb or a relative; a double clause or some other grammatical cause; or a failure to use correct punctuation.
The percentage of errors definitely due to a grammatically incomplete sentence, namely 2, 73 per cent, is not included here, as it is reflected in Chapter VI on sentence-linking devices. (See sections F and H of that chapter.)

9 I am not advocating the traditional grammatical approach here. Knowledge of grammatical labels without being able to apply them is useless. Using the questions Who?What?Where?When?How?With what result?To what extent? as sentence construction guides is an effective method which does not require a knowledge of grammatical terms. For example, the parts of a sentence and the function of these parts can be clearly shown by looking at the phrases which constitute those parts:

The farmworkers/liked/Oak/very much/<u>when he became the man</u>-

   WHO?   WHAT? WHO? HOW MUCH? WHEN?   WHAT?

<u>ager/of Bathsheba's farm/because he was/kind and hard-work</u>-

     WHAT?   WHY?   WHAT WAS HE LIKE?

<u>ing.</u>

CHAPTER XI

LEXICAL ERRORS

Any teacher of a second language will have noticed the incomplete generalizations, evident in learners' work, about the rules of the target language and which are, perhaps, the most obvious signs of the existence of interlingual and intralingual interference. In this chapter, some of the main problem areas relating to the learner's knowledge and manipulation of vocabulary will be investigated. These areas will include evidence of elements of archaic language, slang, inappropriate register, and confusion between different parts of speech, as well as between various forms of the verb in particular. All such errors make for generally poor expression, especially errors of repetition. As will be seen, these elements tend to make both written and spoken Black South African English prone to verbosity, repetitive rephrasing, tortuous utterances and frequent pomposity. As this is a vast field, it could arguably be dealt with in greater detail, but for the purposes of this dissertation, I shall have to limit myself to an indication of the most common general areas and types of error, and where possible, attempt to show where such errors are due to some form of interference. Because of the complexity of lexical errors, I can do no more than touch on a wide range of generally found errors.

A: Inappropriate choice of word/construction

1: Archaic language

There came a man	= A man came
They were thirteen	= There were thirteen of them
Loyal were Boldwood's servants	= Boldwood's servants were loyal
He knew not	= He did not know
He was having a __mighty__ love for her	= He loved her very much/very strongly/ His love for her was very strong
People fall in love, __thereafter__ they marry	= People fall in love and then they marry/ People marry after they fall in love
Maiden	= girl
knight, squire	= (gentle)man
serpent	= snake
olden days	= the past
unto	= to

II: <u>Americanisms and slang</u> 1

    guy   = young man   yeah = yes

    kid   = child   sexy = attractive

    place = home   folks = people 2

    this side/that side, as in:

        You must go <u>this side</u> = You must go this way/in this direction 3

III: <u>Incorrect part of speech in given grammatical context</u>

    (a) <u>Noun instead of verb</u>

        1. She and Angel then <u>division</u>   = divided (separated?)

        2. They are quick to <u>growth</u> up   = grow up

        3. Even when Fanny was <u>death</u>...   = dead

        4. He tried to <u>advice</u> her   = advise 4

    (b) <u>Verb instead of noun</u>

        1. They separated because of <u>frustrating</u> = frustration 5

        2. It has no relevance to <u>live</u> today = life 6

        3. They stab them to <u>die</u>   = death

        4. There is an <u>increasing</u> in crime   = increase

    (c) <u>Noun instead of adjective</u>

        1. Bathsheba was a <u>vanity</u> girl   = vain

        2. It is <u>irrelevance</u> to today's life   = irrelevant

        3. It was a <u>sadness</u> story   = sad

        4. Some of these are <u>differ</u>   = different

        5. He found that his wife was <u>died</u>   = dead 7

    (d) <u>Adjective instead of noun</u>

        1. There is not much <u>different</u> between them = difference

        2. They are attracted to the <u>bright</u> of the
           flowers   = brightness

        3. Its <u>economic</u> was based on farming   = economy

        4. It highlights the good and the bad, the
           <u>cruel</u> and the <u>kind</u> of a relationship = cruelty... kindness

        5. <u>Loyal</u> and honesty are rare today   = loyalty

        6. Alec proposed love during Agel's <u>absent</u> = absence

    (e) <u>Adjective instead of adverb</u>

        1. They are still treating their lovers <u>bad</u> =   badly

        2. The story is tragedy and comedy
           <u>simultaneous</u>   = simultaneously

        3. It is a <u>real</u> interesting book   = really ('real' possibly an
                                      Americanism)

        4. We can solve the problem very <u>easy</u> = easily

        5. They <u>simple</u> don't care for these boys = simply

(f)   Adverb instead of adjective (rare)

   1. When he saw Tess, he became **happily**   = happy

(g)   Miscellaneous uncommon errors

      Confusion between abstract and concrete nouns

   1. Alec took Tess for a **driver** in the countryside = drive

   2. She was ruling the place without an
      assistance   = assistant 8

IV: Non-existent form of noun, adjective, verb or adverb

   1. We saw her **proudness** in this story   = pride

   2. He**pregnanted** her purposely   = impregnated/made her pregnant

   3. Jealousy is **enviousy**   = envy

   4. He was treacherous and **betrayful**   = redundant/ a traitor
                                                              /traitorous

   5. He seduced her by **forcely**   = force

   6. She **oftenly** visited him   = often

   7. Tess won't tell him because of her **fearness** = fear

   8. On this valentine it was **wrotten** 'I love you'   = written

V: Inappropriate choice of word, semantically/morphologically close in meaning to
   existing correct forms, often with incorrect register and context

   1. She was very **respectable** girl to her parents = respectful

   2. It took **part** many years ago   = place

   3. You must **pay** loyalty to your employer   ·   = show, show respect, pay respect,
                                                          pay allegiance

   4. He **inherited** the farm to his niece   = left, willed/His niece inherited
                                                          the farm from him

   5. These girls become pregnant even at the age   = while they are scholars/
      of **scholarship**   still at school

   6. The **standard** of divorce is high   = rate, incidence

   7. It is irrelevant in other **occasions**   = ways, circumstances

   8. New machines are **established** today   = invented ?

   9. Tess was arrested and **assassinated**   = executed

  10. The law **forced** that Tess must be hanged   = enforced, stated, laid down

  11. It is better than the life we **survive** today = live (or perhaps intentional ?)

  12. Angel decided to **move away from** Tess   = leave, abandon

  13. He **scattered** Tess's marriage   = broke up, shattered

  14. She had **gleaming incisors**   = in context, 'a nice smile' or
                                                          'shining, healthy teeth' would
                                                          have been more appropriate

  15. He went back to Tess **willing** that they will
      be wife and husband   = hoping ?

16. It teaches us to <u>look at</u> those boys who are dishonest

= look out for, watch out for, be on our guard against

17. She may be forced to marry, but her love can <u>control her not to</u> do so

= prevent her from doing so ?

18. You ask the girl to love you, but she is <u>occupied</u>, so you ask the <u>occupier</u>

= engaged, busy, in love with another/fiancé, boyfriend

19. He <u>proposed love to</u> Bathsheba

= declared his love for [9]

20. This seduction is still the <u>form</u> of the day

= order, norm ?

21. <u>Acts</u> of poverty propelled her into wrong doing

= (A state of) poverty

22. He <u>denied</u> Tess's explanation

= refused to accept/believe

23. He <u>refused</u> his child

= rejected

24. She <u>rejected</u> to fall in love again

= refused

25. She was Gabriel's <u>mistress</u> [10]

= employer

26. It <u>turned</u> him to be in love with her

= made him fall in love, caused him to love

27. Tess <u>became</u> in love with Alec

= fell

28. They <u>felt</u> in love at once [11]

= fell

29. Nothing was meant to <u>stay</u> forever

= last

30. She went to town to <u>make</u> shopping

= do

32. He <u>did</u> a mistake

= made

33. These people were <u>doing</u> crimes

= committing

34. Tess <u>gets</u> a baby but it died

= has, gives birth to

35. She was not educated <u>to such an extend</u>

= to any great extent, not very well educated

36. These <u>nowadays/this days</u> [12]

= nowadays/these days

37. She tried <u>by all means</u> to leave him [13]

= with all the means at her disposal/her utmost/her best

38. Alec never <u>took to notice</u> that he was not a virgin himself

= cared to remember/realized

39. There was a <u>space</u> at the place where she worked

= vacancy

40. He was <u>fired</u> from his school [14]

= expelled

41. He thought of <u>sending himself</u> to the police

= giving himself up

42. Tess was <u>arrested</u>to be hanged [15]

= sentenced

43. Oak was successful in <u>all his participation</u>

= everything he took part in/ all he did

VI: <u>Inappropriate idiosyncratic expressions</u>

1. A man can be a victim of a woman <u>in an easy way</u>

= a man can easily be a victim of a woman

2. They are doing <u>funny things</u>

= bad, wrong things; [16] here, a negative, often sexual connotation

3. Children can go wrong owing to a <u>backstairs influence</u> from others
= negative, bad

4. Also jealousy is found <u>on the same track with love</u>
= together with/wherever love is

5. He was known to be <u>having a good purse</u>
= wealthy/to have a good income

6. Even though when you're in trouble the difficulties <u>are after</u> you
= follow ?

7. Our parents <u>don't afford</u> (no object)
= cannot afford + $\begin{cases} \text{to + verb} \\ \text{noun/pronoun} \end{cases}$

8. This book has a lesson <u>on its back</u> for us
= between its covers/ in it/or literally 'on the back of the cover'

9. Tess was not <u>in the moods</u> that Alec was
= in the mood / was not as moody as/ was not moody, like ...?

10. We can see how did our forefathers <u>participate in the field of falling in love</u>
= fell in love [17]

11. Bathsheba <u>has vanity</u> and Oak <u>has loyalty</u>
= is vain... is loyal [18]

12. She <u>was</u> from the farm
= came, had come [19]

13. These things are still <u>proceeding strongly</u>
= occurring frequently/common, etc.

14. Poverty <u>was there</u>, ignorance <u>was there</u> in those days
= existed/There was poverty and ignorance ...

15. <u>Thanks God</u> for Oak that he was alive
= thank God/thanks be to God that Oak was alive

VII: Incorrect form of verb

1. He <u>hitted</u> him with his fist
= hit

2. She was once badly <u>hurted</u> by a man
= hurt

3. After a time, Tess <u>meeted</u> Alec again
= met

4. She does not <u>drank</u> wine
= drink

5. Tess doesn't <u>told</u> him the whole story
= tell

6. Romeo did not <u>knew</u> what happened to Juliet
= know

7. But such people won't <u>destroyed</u> their future
= destroy

8. You would <u>noticed</u> that when he was away, she was sad
= notice/have noticed

9. I <u>could did</u> it if I am older
= could do

10. He <u>forgotten</u> about her
= forgot/had forgotten

11. The story was <u>bases of</u> love
= basis ? based on ?

12. When he had <u>finish</u> misusing Tess...
= had finished

13. Tess took a knife and <u>stabbe</u> him
= stabbed (possibly only a 'mistake')

14. There are still people <u>part</u> from each other
= who part/parting/apart ?

15. He left Tess <u>struggle</u> with the baby
= to struggle/struggling

This arrangement and categorization of errors is admittedly rather arbitrary, but a general form of classification, such as this is, will facilitate a general overview of errors of 'vocabulary' (in its broadest sense) involving some or other incorrect or inappropriate choice of word or phrase. It is also a convenient way of showing that errors of grammar and lexis are often closely related and that it is consequently difficult at times to state categorically that an error is either grammatical or lexical. As expected, such errors accounted for a very large proportion of pupils' errors. The following table will make the extent of these errors in the sample clear.

I	:	Archaic language	1,10%
II	:	Americanisms and slang	0,77%
III	:	Incorrect part of speech	2,67%
IV	:	Non-existent form of noun, verb, adjective or adverb	1,98%
V	:	Inappropriate choice of word - register and context	3,87%
VI	:	Inappropriate, incomplete and poorly constructed idiosyncratic expressions	5,24%
VII	:	Incorrect form of verb	3,12%
			18,75%

Mention has already been made of the tendency towards redundancy and prolixity in learners' utterances. As much of this is related to general problems of expression and choice of words, it may be useful in this chapter to include a number of such sentences from the sample of pupils' work before analysing examples from the seven categories above. The following examples of redundancy and prolixity speak for themselves and only general comments will be made about the nature of the errors involved, and then only if the error is obscure. Such errors are typical of learners struggling to express themselves in a language in which the rules are unfamiliar.

B: 1: Errors of redundancy and prolixty

1. Tess was faithful naturally without pretending to be faithful.
2. They use the same way and the same method.
3. Love has no end. It is endless.
4. Her father wasted money by buying liquor and drink.
5. She was hanged to death.
6. The things which are still going to happen in the future.
7. At the finally end Tess is hanged. (Finally = at the end)
8. Love is a universal language used by all the nations of the world.
9. Her parents keep that as a secret and they did not want Tess to know about it. (They wanted to keep it a secret from Tess)

10. The baby did not live for a long time - <u>he died</u>.

11. Her head was beheaded. (She was beheaded)

12. Nowadays it is difficult to do such things, <u>it is not easy to do such things</u> because police are there.

13. From my point of view, I agree <u>or rather say</u> that the study of this book is relevant to life these <u>nowadays</u>.

14. Oak is the starring character <u>or main character</u> in the book.

15. I can say that Tess died because of her behaviour <u>or I can say because of the things she do</u>.

16. I agree with the topic <u>as it is written</u>.   (unnecessary qualification or perhaps 'as it stands'?)

17. That is how Angel and Alec lost Tess <u>the two of them</u>. (= That is how both Angel and Alec lost Tess ?)

18. <u>To my opinion</u> I think it is irrelevant to life nowadays <u>when comparing this to the relevancy of it to life today</u>.

19. Most of the characters in the story are farmers, <u>that means the story happened between farmers</u>. <u>Obviously, it happened at a farm</u>.

20. As Tess has been described in the book, she was a beautiful girl.[20]
= Tess is described in the book as being beautiful.

21. Later she got a friend and she want to work with <u>that friend of her</u>.[21]

22. He was trying to make Tess <u>to be</u> afraid.[22]

23. There are those who are vain <u>of their beauty</u>.

B: II: <u>Sentences marked by contradiction, non sequiturs and illogical connections</u>

Tess was not thinking of anything she was thinking of Angel.

We must not allow this to be done by boys whom we may regard as enemies of girls. But not all of them.

These boys always give troubles sometimes by raping girls.

The life during Tess's time was difficult and again easy at the same time.

We still find people who force ladies to fall in love with them not exactly forcing but because of the attraction of her face or body.

Life is the same but not exactly.

As many girls are being pregnanted today they've got babies without their
fathers.

She did not fall in love with Angel as we know that ville was a French word meaning town and field meaning a country.

It is clear that the classification of categories of error in this sample is not exact, and it must be remembered that the categories used are somewhat general and, to some extent, arbitrary. The errors in A:I, for example, have been classified as 'Archaic Language', but it is interesting to speculate whether such errors originate from early Black mission education. They may thus

possibly have originated from the archaic English of the King James Bible and the type of formal language used in teaching, together with the choice of literature they studied (Shakespeare, the Romantic poets and 19th-century novelists), from insufficient exposure to everyday colloquial English, or from first language interference. As the examples below illustrate, it is impossible to decide on an exact classification in every case.

There came a man	⟷	Literally	: Kwaqhamuka indoda	(Z)
			Go tlile monna	(NS)
They were ten	⟷	"	: Babeyishumi	(Z)
			Ba be bale leŠome	(NS)
He knew not	⟷	"	: Wayengazi	(Z)
			O be a sa tsebe	(NS)

As evidence of Americanisms and slang is rare and limited to only a few items (see footnote 1), I shall progress to those errors in A:III, where an existing part of speech is used in an ungrammatical context. The extent to which these errors arise from interlingual or intralingual interference is extremely difficult to ascertain. They may be due to the learner grappling with the rules and structures of the target language and applying them imperfectly. I believe that an aggravating factor is the fact that, in the Bantu languages, parts of speech are morphologically very clearly defined and difficult to confuse with each other because of the affixal system which makes distinctions between nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives clear. The Bantu languages are more systematic than English in this respect as all present tense positive indicative verb stems (barring a few deficient irregular verbs) end in -a in Zulu. The nouns, too, have their class prefixes which always distinguish them as nouns, and the adverbs of manner employ nga- and ka- as prefixes. In the Zulu sentence:

Lompheki upheka ukudla kwesiZulu kahle
(This cook cooks Zulu food well)

Lo+ umpheki	=	demonstrative pronoun + class 1 singular, 'person class' noun
u + pheka	=	class 1 subject concord + present positive indicative verb
ukudla	=	class prefix uku + verb stem -dla = 'to eat'
		= 'eating' = 'food'
kwesiZulu	=	kwa-, possessive concord + isiZulu, 'Zulu language and customs', class 7 noun
kahle	=	ka-, adverbial formative + -hle, adjectival stem indicating 'good', 'beautiful', 'pleasant', 'fine', etc.

In the Bantu languages, roots tend not to differ in form and meaning when included in different parts of speech. For example, from the root -dlal- (Zulu, meaning 'play'), we can form the following:

siyadlala	(verb: 'we are playing')
umdlali	(noun: 'player' = 'one who plays')
umdlalo	(noun: 'sport', 'game' = 'that which is played')

English does, of course, have a similar system of forming etymologically related parts of speech, but the fact that English has borrowed from linguistically different language families (which may lead to fortuitous phonological similarities or even morphological ones between etymologically diverse words) can lead to a great deal of confusion in a learner whose language structure is more uniform and predictable. From a knowledge of the Latin root 'pend' = 'to hand', we can see the etymological relationship between:

pendulum   -   pendulous

depend   -   pendant

independent   -   independently   -   independence, and others.

When, however, we look at the apparent relationship between:

wit / witness;   gist / register;   proper / property;

strain / restrain; we see that there is no real relationship at all.

I am not suggesting that this is a crucial point to be borne in mind, but am merely illustrating the vagaries of English word construction.

The errors in the sample provide overwhelming evidence that the students in the sample have not mastered the context/structure link in the differentiation of parts of speech. The differences between Bantu parts of speech are more clearly delineated because their forms are different, whereas the examples below prove that the same cannot be said of English:

good (adjective)	- well (adverb)
well (adverb)	- badly (adverb)
good (adjective)	- goodly (adjective)
good (noun)	- good (adjective)
sample (noun)	- sample (verb)
kind (noun)	- kind (adjective)
slim (adjective)	- slim (verb)
live (adjective)	- live (verb)(differing in only one phonological item)
move (noun)	- move (verb)
respect (noun)	- respect (verb)
sleep (noun)	- sleep (verb)
refúse (verb)	- réfuse (noun)
subjéct (verb)	- súbject (noun)

From this random sample, English would appear to lack the more predictable Bantu rules for the formation of parts of speech. Changes of a single vowel or consonant, of stress, or of suffix can all operate in English to determine a part of speech. Phonological, morphological, orthographic, etymological and related factors can thus influence the semantic and grammatical character of a word in English in a plethora of ways confusing to a learner of English.

Another area of confusion relates to the adjective in English and the multiplicity of phrases, clauses and single word synonyms involving adjectives in English. Where English would more often employ a pattern consisting of adjective + noun, the Bantu languages, while possessing the same structure, usually tend to use relative and possessive structures, as in:

Z: Ingane ekhalayo = A baby which cries/ a crying baby

Z: Unwele olude = Hair which is long/ long hair

Z: Isihlalo sokhuni = A chair of wood/ a wooden chair

It is recommended that learners be made aware of the fact that English is extremely flexible and that it is possible to convey the same thought by altering the grammatical structure, often by changing,omitting or adding a single item like a preposition or a suffix. The examples below are based on the examples in III: (b)-(g).

He was in __despair__/ he was __despairing__(of) / he was __desperate__/ filled with __desperation__

Some of these are __different__ / Some of these __differ__

They are not very __different__ / There is not much __difference__ between them

During his __absence__.../ Wh'le he was __absent__...
They gave us __bad__ __treatmen__ / They __treated us__ __badly__
It is a book of __real__ __merit__ / It is a __really__ __meritorious__ book
We can solve this __with__ __ease__ / We can solve it __easily__
Without any __assistance__ / without any __assistants__

Such exercises will make learners aware of the different functions and uses involved in changes of grammatical structure by demonstrating practically the relationship between meaning and structure. Patterns will emerge, and what seemed to be a mass of apparently illogical and unpredictable structural rules may be more comprehensible to the student when he sees, for example, the relationship between adjective + noun structures on the one hand, and verb + adverb structures on the other.

The errors in IV are self-explanatory, all being examples of overgeneralization of the rules for forming items in the target language. The learners here have reached the stage where they know that '-ness' is a suffix used to form abstract nouns, that '-ful' is a frequently used adjectival suffix, and that '-ly' is used to form many adverbs of manner. Their grammatical context is often correct, but the words they have chosen, although logical, are semantically and morphologically invalid.

The errors in V, while the forms used may be grammatically and often semantically correct, are typical of the type of error that learners of any language make. Where the choice of context-sensitive vocabulary is so vast, as it is in English, the likelihood of making errors in the use of context-specific words is great. Only practice and increased exposure to the language will make learners sensitive to the nuances determined by register and context. As the majority of the errors in this section are self-explanatory, only those where some evidence of first language interference can be found will be analysed.

(12) move away = leave, abandon	Z:	-shia, -hamba
	NS:	tlogela
(13) scatter = break up, shatter	Z:	-chitha, as in:
		umshado wachiteka =
		the marriage broke up
	NS:	thuba, as in:
		go thuba lenyalo =
		to break up the marriage
(15) willing = hoping, wishing, trusting	Z:	-fisa, -themba
	NS:	tshepa, holofela
(19) propose love = declare love for	Z:	-qomisa; ukucela umshado = woo, court; propose marriage
	NS:	ferea; go kgopela lenyalo; go kgopela sego sa meetse = woo, court; to propose marriage; to ask for a gourd of water (idiomatic)
(22-24) deny/refuse/reject [23]	Z:	-phika = contradict
		-landula = refuse to grant
		-ala = refuse to grant
		-ala,-nqaba = refuse, forbid
		-vimbela = refuse to admit
		-lahla = reject, throw away
		-ala = reject a lover
		-bhunkula = reject a family
		-dikila = say no to food

NS: latola = deny
    ganetša = contradict
    gana = refuse, reject, forbid
    galala = disdoin
    lahla = refuse, reject

(26) turn = make, cause, become,
     change

Z: -phenduka, as in:
   Kwamphenduka uhlanya =
   lit. 'It turned him madman'
   Wamphenduka uhlanya =
   He became ('turned to be') a madman

NS: E il. ya mc gafiša =
    It caused him to be mad

(29) stay = last, live, inhabit,
     remain

Z: -hlala, as in:
   Ayihlalanga isikhathi eside

NS: dula, as in:
    Ga ya dula sebaka se setelele
    lit. 'It did not stay for a long time'

(30-32) make = do [24]
        do = make

Z: -enza = make, do, as in:
   Wenza iphutha = He is making a mistake;
   hence the error:
   'He is doing mistake'

NS: dira = make, do, as in:
    O dira phošo = 'He is doing mistake'

(34) get = has, gives birth to

Z: -thola = get, obtain, find, as in:
   Wathole ingane = 'She got a child',[25]
   meaning 'she had/gave birth to a child'.
   Compare: Unengane = She has a child.

NS: humana, bona, rua = get, obtain, find,
    as in: O humane ngwana = 'She got a child'.
    Compare: O na le ngwana = She has a child.

Single items of vocabulary inappropriately used, as are those above, are more easily identified and explained than the examples of whole phrases and expressions which follow in section VI. In section VI one may identify the components of the incorrect expression separately without considering the whole item and perhaps finding the literal translation of a Bantu idiomatic use. Some of these are direct translations from the Bantu languages, while others are evidence of the learner's so-called 'idiosyncratic dialect'. Compare the following selections from VI:

(1) in an easy way   literally ,   Z: ngendlela elula or ka lula (with ease)

                                     NS: ga bonolo (with ease)

(6) the difficulties   literally,   Z: ziyakulandela = they are following you
    are after you

                                     NS: di tla go latela = as above

(11) has/have + noun =   literally, Z: ugobuhle = she _has_ beauty (she is beautiful);
     to be + adjective   ugamandla = he _has_ strength (he is strong)

                            NS: ke o mo botse = she is beautiful ^{26}
                                o _na le_ maatla =he _has_ strength
                                (he is strong)

(12) is from = has come from   Z: wayevela/wayephuma
                                     ekhaya = he came from/he came out of home

                                  NS: o be a tšwa gae =
                                      he came out/came from home

(14) is there = exists, there is,   Z: Indlala yayikhona
     is present
                                       NS: Tlala e be e le gona
                                           ('Hunger it was there')

                                       Z: Kwakukhona indlala

                                       NS: Go be go nale tlala ('there was hunger').

The idiosyncratic nature of these expressions is clear, but one should beware of ascribing them to first language (i.e. interlingual) interference or to interference based on incomplete generalization about the target language (i.e. intralingual) without a very careful analysis. If the error is due to the learner's own idiosyncratic dialect, there is no point in explaining it to the entire class, because it is intralingual. Only when it can be proved that errors are general and originate directly from the first language is it worth devising a remedial strategy to be used systematically with a whole group of learners.

In section VII most of the errors are due to ignorance of the various tense forms of a verb, especially the irregular ones, and lack of familiarity with the rules that govern the use of past tense forms of the verb with auxiliary verbs. The fact that these irregular verbs are both frequently used in English and continue to be incorrectly used by Black learners is indicative of the standard of much Black English and of a lack of urgency in correcting this abuse. Irregular verbs and auxiliary verbs are governed by language-specific rules and have to be mastered. Errors in the use of auxiliaries, especially where both the auxiliary and the verb have been given past tense forms (as in numbers 6 and 9) and where the auxiliary is used in the present tense together with a verb in the past tense (as in numbers 4, 5 and 7), are relatively common. As the reasons for these errors will, I believe, be more clearly seen in connection with verbs and tenses in general, enough of a case has been made here to include the errors in section VII in a discussion of lexical errors and include their relevance to a discussion of grammar in a chapter dealing specifically with verbs and tenses.

As pointed out previously, style is closely connected with choice of expression, and it would be useful now to investigate the sentences in B:I and B:II to discover to what extent errors of redundancy, prolixity, contradiction and generally poor expression are due to interlingual and intralingual factors, if indeed that is possible.

One reason for repetition of a thought in different words may be that the learner is not certain that what he said first will be understood. So he repeats himself, perhaps by using techniques like parallelism, reformulation, restatement using a negative plus the opposite of what was said first, and alternative constructions involving the use of 'or'. All these seem to be symptomatic of uncertainty of expression and reluctance to say in so many words what it is that the speaker actually wishes to say. Another possible cause may lie in the Bantu languages themselves, where, certainly in formal contexts, it is impolite to state your point too clearly at first, and the use of the language of allusion, circumlocution and repetition is consequently highly esteemed. A further explanation of these tendencies may lie in the fact that formal and ornate oratorical skill is highly valued in preliterate societies, which Bantu-speaking societies were. This has now been carried over into English, where it expresses itself in often excessively formal writing and speech. After studying these examples, one is also drawn to the conclusion that the sentence construction of many second language English-speakers often appears to be subject to one marked shortcoming. This is the somewhat random, indecisive way of beginning a sentence, often with a favoured introductory item such as 'in fact', 'I can say', or 'really', and then adding various items without actually having decided what needs to be said. By the time the learner realises this, he appears to see the need to expand on what he has already written. If the result does not satisfy the demands of sense, grammar and syntax, it should not surprise anyone. I have also found that Black pupils very seldom proof-read their work, probably because there is no urgent need to do so. However, if they were encouraged to check their work, they would soon spot careless mistakes which would considerably reduce the ratio of errors. As it is, we cannot say with any assurance whether an error of concord, for example, is an error or a mistake in an individual's sentences, unless he is given the opportunity to correct himself. If he can, we can regard it as a mistake, if he cannot, it is an error.

Where repetitive and tortuous sentences are unchecked by training in disciplined thought and expression or by any real sense of urgency in acquiring competence in English or even by the presence of competent models, such language habits can become ingrained and lead to fossilization.

In my experience, many Black learners of English do not see the need for
improving their competence in English beyond the level required to obtain a
school certificate or a job. The language they use most is not English, and the
need to master English is somewhat limited by the fact that most communicative
needs can be satisfied by relying on the first language, or on some other
Bantu language.

It is, however, also obvious in many of the sentences under discussion in B:I
and II that the learners are grappling with words and rules and trying to expr JS
themselves, an indication that learning is taking place. Perhaps they also
wished to emphasize the points they made by restating them in different ways.
Even allowing for this, though, there is a general tendency to ramble on and
perhaps even consciously to 'pad'. (In the Black school situation, writing is
rarely seen as functional - one writes to pass an examination, or for the teacher
to collect marks.) The errors of redundancy, reformulation and prolixity
in the sentences in B:I accounted for 4,92 per cent of the errors in the entire
sample, while those marked by contradiction and various non sequiturs in B:II
made up 0,14 per cent - a total of 5,06 per cent. This is a fairly substantial
proportion and calls for attention.

In planning remedial approaches, the teacher can adapt the wealth of commer-
cially available material to his students' needs and draw up exercises:

(a) bringing differences of meaning (indicated by the <u>context</u> in which
the same word is used) to the learners' notice,

e.g. There was a worldwide <u>depression</u> in 1929.

Most suicides suffer from acute <u>depression</u>.

A <u>depression</u> is causing this changeable weather.

A deep <u>depression</u> was caused by the meteor's impact.

(b) indicating different <u>registers</u> to make learners aware of levels of
language and what is considered inappropriate in different social and
linguistic contexts,

e.g. (Precipitation occurs in summer.
(It rains in summer.

(I should like to purchase an alcoholic beverage.
(Please may I buy a drink?
(Hey, give us a drink here!

(c) providing practice in the <u>manipulation</u> of language (specifically by changing parts of speech) to encourage an awareness of flexibility and variation of expression,

    e.g. He is a <u>good</u> <u>swimmer</u>

        He <u>swims</u> <u>well</u>

        He <u>swims</u> <u>easily/with</u> great <u>ease</u>

(This type of exercise is sometimes known as an 'expansion' or 'transformational' exercise).

(d) providing passages (narrative ones work well) riddled with <u>redundancies</u> and pompous, wordy language to encourage learners to analyse both speech and writing and decide what the writer <u>could</u> have said if he had used simpler language and what was actually communicated to his listeners/ readers. A composite exercise consisting of such language collated from the learners' own work is both useful and conveniently obtained.

(e) <u>description</u> of similar actions, pictures or objects to encourage the use of words pointing to the fine differences between them and the value of knowing such words,

    e.g. round/circular   pebble/rock   song/tune

        rob/steal/burgle   shrine/temple/church/mosque

        kill/murder/assassinate/exterminate

        speak/talk/converse/chat

        oppress/repress/suppress

        walk/hobble/lurch/amble/glide/creep/stride, etc.

Language games are particularly useful here. The type involving one learner having an object unseen by his partner, in which he has to describe the object without actually mentioning its name and his partner then has to identify it, is popular. Introducing a time factor to the activity has the advantage of speeding things up because the learner then realises that he has to be as precise and quick as possible to prevent his partner from scoring.

(f) eliciting <u>word-formation</u> and <u>word-recognition</u> skills from contextual exercises, where a part of speech is used out of grammatical context and where the learner must transform it and provide the correct form,

    e.g. This book (development) and practises the skills (require) to read and (understanding) (South Africa) customs. It (provision) a (value) insight into the country, its (believes) and (superstitious), its people and their way of (live).

(g) setting Clo_ze-type exercises, involving a series of missing words,
preferably in a passage, where the words must be selected from a list
and used in context to provide the sense. This type of exercise
reinforces the link between structure, part of speech and context and
can be used profitably to practise the use of synonyms and antonyms.
(See Appendix VII for an example of such an exercise).

These exercises represent only a few suggested methods of redressing the multi-
faceted area of problems I have loosely labelled as 'lexical', because it is
the incorrect or ill-considered choice of lexical items which constitutes the
majority of errors discussed in this chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1 Owing to the popularity of the American image relating to music and life-
  style among South African urban Blacks, it is perhaps surprising that
  evidence of American English usage is not more common. Students appear to
  be aware that words like 'gonna', wanna', and 'ain't' are unacceptable, but
  often affect a pseudo-American drawl, punctuating their speech with 'hip',
  expressions for effect. This is especially evident on the Witwatersrand
  among groups identified by dress, speech and lifestyle as 'Cats' or
  'Ivies'. South African English slang is even less common, probably
  because there is too little contact with its White users for it to
  influence Black English. A study of the English used in the Black media,
  especially in newspapers and magazines, would be well rewarded.

2 This may be due to American or Afrikaans influence, viz. 'folk' = 'volk' =
  'people' = 'nation', or to confusion with the colloquial use of 'folks' =
  'chaps' = 'fellows' = 'people'.

3 Compare Afrikaans: 'dié kant'/'daardie kant', where 'kant = 'side' denotes
  direction or position;
  Z: na pha/na le;   NS: ka mo/ ka mola;   and English:

  'on this'/'that side' = relative position,
  'on this'/'that direction' = direction, and
  'this'/'that way' = direction and manner, as in:
  'Come this way, please'   and   'Do it this way, please'.

4 Compare the verb 'use' [juz] and the noun 'use' [jus] . The error of 'advice'
  = 'advise' may be due to ignorance of the distinction between noun and verb,
  to ignorance of the rule to use the verb after the infinitive, a problem of pro-
  nunciation   or it may simply be a mistake. The diverse forms of expression
  in which these words can be used in English may also contribute:

     e.g. Please advise me / I need your advice.

5 Note that the Bantu languages do not have gerund forms like English (which
  distinguishes morphologically between gerunds and infinitives):

Z: <u>ukudla</u> = to eat, eating, food;   <u>ukuthanda</u> = to love, loving;
   <u>uthando</u> = love(noun);

NS: <u>go ja</u> = to eat, eating; <u>sejo/dijo</u> = food; <u>go rata</u> = to love, loving;
    <u>lerato</u> = love (noun).

It is interesting to note here that the Nguni languages do not have an abstract
noun form differing in class prefix from the corresponding related infinitive
form, whereas the Sotho group does. This may be the reason for the confusion
between gerund and abstract noun in III(b)1 and 4.

6 The learner may have meant any one of three possible things:

   Life has no relevance today

   It has no relevance to life today

   It is not relevant (for me) to live today

   or he may merely have been careless. This example underlines the pitfalls
   of being dogmatic in ascribing errors to any one cause.

7 Here there is either confusion between verb and noun, or perhaps the use of
   'was' instead of 'had'. This example points to the frequent connection
   between tense errors and errors in the choice of an item, and the conse-
   quent need to examine errors in context and not in isolation.

8 This may be a mere mistake, an error of omission involving the incorrect use
   of the article, or a simple phonological error.

9 The notion that, in English, one does not 'propose love' in the sense of
   'offering' love, but 'proposes marriage', is a constant source of surprise
   to Black learners of English, as is the word 'marry', which is not sex-
   specific or rôle-specific in the sense that a man can marry a woman, a
   woman a man, and a minister can marry them. The following list clearly
   shows the fine differentiation that exists in Zulu between sexes, actions
   and rôles relating to courtship and marriage.

   -qoma = choose, select, prefer, in the sense of 'choosing a lover'

   -qomisa = woo, court

   -shela = have desire for, court

   -khonga = negotiate with parents of the bride about conditions of marriage

   -shada = marry according to Christian rites

   -gcagca = marry by traditional rites

   -ganisa
   -shadisa = give in marriage, conduct the marriage (literally, 'cause to marry')

   -gana = choose a marriage partner (said of a woman)

   -ganwa = is chosen (said of a man)

   The differences are briefly summed up in the fact that the man marries, the
   woman gets married, and the minister officiates.

10 This is another example of confused usage caused by the fine distinctions
   governed by the context in which the word is used, viz.:

(a) mistress = Mrs = mistress of the house (archaic unless abbreviation is used)
(b)   "   = the lover of a married man
(c)   "   = schoolmistress, as in 'science mistress',
              but cannot be used as a form of address

(d)   "   = in a more metaphorical sense, as in 'Britain was mistress of
              the seas'.

11 Is this a mistake rather than an error? It seems to be due to confusion between
    'fall' and 'feel'.

12 This is an extremely common error (0,43 per cent of the total number of errors),
    perhaps originally due to phonological problems in distinguishing between
    $[\mathbf{i}]$ and $[\mathbf{r}]$, and since established as part of a standard fossilized vocabu-
    lary. It is important to bear in mind, however, that the high percentage ma,
    have been caused by the fact that the essay topic which formed the basis of
    the sample material had a title which may have led students to use references
    to 'today' more often than one would normally. The Zulu kulezizinsuku
    reflects the colloquial English 'these days' exactly.

13 This is another common error. Not one student questioned knew that 'by all
    means' was a statement of assurance or granting permission/a request, and
    that 'means' denoted 'money' and 'power' and 'method'. This could be remedied
    by showing how these phrases differ in meaning in sentences making the
    context clear:

        e.g."May I take this magazine?"
            =By all means/certainly/of course. I don't need it."

            Bathsheba was a woman of means.

            Bathsheba was not a mean woman. (as a distractor)

            Try, by all means, but I don't think you'll succeed.

            Try your utmost/your best/as hard as you can/to the
            best of your ability.

            Try to help him with all the means at your disposal/in every way
            you can.

            What does he mean? (as a distractor)

            It's just a means to an end.

    Such exercises would help to eradicate the incorrect meaning attached to the
    expression 'by all means' by Black English speakers. The meaning incorrectly
    given to 'by all means' is that of 'in every way'.

14 Another contextual exercise to train students to distinguish between 'fire'/
    'expel'/'dismiss'/'discharge' and similar words would be appropriate, as the
    problem is once again related to context and register.

15 A newspaper report on a court case would be a very useful exercise to draw
    students' attention to the richness and complexity of language used in
    specific contexts, viz. 'arrest'/'detain'/'appear'/'charge'/'try'/'hear'/
    'judge'/'pronounce'/'sentence'/'sentence'/'condemn', etc.

16 I cannot get any more specific information than this. The expression also
    appears to be clichéd and used in a very general sense.

17   This is a good example showing the tendency to use a combination of inappropriately formal and wordy language.

18   See page 178 of this chapter, number 11, for a more detailed explanation of this phenomenon.

19   See page 178, number 12, for a possible explanation.

20   There is a marked predeliction for phrases and clauses introduced by 'as' constructions, such as :

'As we know that,...'   'As Tess is described...'

'As we can see that...'.

21   There is a marked tendency to avoid the use of a possessive pronoun + noun pattern, possibly because there has to be a commitment to a decision about gender, something which we have seen is a real problem for many learners. (See Chapter III, Genders and Associated Problems with Pronouns, sections C and D). The avoidance strategy is the use of this pattern instead:

demonstrative + noun/pronoun + of + noun/pronoun, as in B:1:21.

In this case, it is possible that the error is due to over-reliance on the demonstrative form because of its marked use in the Bantu languages in contexts where English would generally prefer the shorter possessive pronoun + noun pattern.

22   The use of the redundant element 'to (be)' is caused by the obligatory use of the infinitive after the verbs - enza (Zulu) and dira (N.Sotho)= 'make', 'do'. In English, the inclusion of the infinitive after 'make' in the sense of 'force', 'compel', in the active voice is incorrect, but often obligatory in the passive, e.g.

He was made to look a fool.

He must be made to do it.

He was made king.

In addition, it will be noted that one lexical item in the Bantu language serves for two distinct ones in English, and that the apparent illogicality of English is no more plainly seen in the fact that 'make' is not followed by the infinitive, but its synonyms 'force' and 'compel' are not complete without the infinitive!

23   This provides another opportunity to set a very useful and necessary exercise, particularly directed to the need for learners to know how to express saying 'yes' and 'no' in reported speech. Compare the different contexts in which the following are used:

agree/disagree, admit/deny, accept/reject/refuse/deny, admit/accept/
acknowledge, refute, protest, insist, approve, allow/permit, disallow/
forbid, etc.

24   See footnote 22 above.

25   The use of 'get', rather than 'have', 'give birth to', expressed by -thola and humana, is euphemistic, and connected with the traditional taboos surrounding direct reference to pregnancy and birth.

26 The differences in grammatical structure between Zulu and North   Sotho
    to express the fact that one possesses beauty are interesting. Zulu uses
    the construction

             subject concord + na - 'with' + quality

    for all abstract qualities, whereas Northern Sotho distinguishes between
    inherent qualities like strength and perceived qualities like beauty. This
    was the reason my colleague Mrs T. Magau of the Soweto College of Education
    and other N.Sotho speakers gave for the adjectival construction being used
    to express that 'she is beautiful' but the subject concord + na le - 'with'
    + noun indicating quality to indicate that 'he is strong'.

CONCLUSION

In this study of the written English errors of Black senior secondary school
pupils and teacher trainee students, comparative analysis and error analysis have
been used to determine to what extent errors are due to interlingual and intra-
lingual transfer. My method of analysing errors has taken the form of 'inter-
ference analysis', that is, following the deviant structure or item back to
the first language to isolate, where possible, the cause of error in the nature
of the first language. However, even in cases where direct interference may
seem obvious, I have been cautious in ascribing the error to direct inter-
ference and nothing else. This caveat is necessary because it is quite possible
that the 'error' is not an error, but a mistake, caused by carelessness.
Furthermore, the error may derive from archaic English, or, for that matter,
from Afrikaans. Then there is an intermediate category of error, arising from
incomplete mastery of English and generally revealing itself in under-
differentiation, over differentiation or some kind of approximation which
reflects neither the first language nor English. A further category could be
said to involve _stylistic_ errors. Such __stylistic errors__ are often a matter for
conjecture and debate and do not concern us here to any great extent.
Besides, the level of English in the sample is not sophisticated enough to warrant
any serious discussion of style. Where stylistic errors do occur, they tend to
occur as redundant, wordy and pompous or otherwise inappropriate English items.
The basic sample was a total of 124 Soweto pupils and some 75 students, and the
total number of errors noted was 9051. I believe that the sample is representa-
tive of a typical cosmopolitan Black urban secondary school population, with
Zulu-, Tswana-, South Sotho- and Xhosa-speaking students comprising the major
language groupings, and Swati-, Tsonga- and Venda-speakers representing small
linguistic minorities. Interestingly enough, there was no significant diffe-
rence in the occurrence of errors between those learners who had had first
language speakers of English as English teachers and those who had had only
Black second language teachers. This would appear to prove that fossilization
is general by the time that pupils reach the last two years of secondary school.
Even the fact that they have not only first language English teachers but often
first language English-speakers as teachers of other subjects does not seem to
have had an effect on the degree of fossilization. The spoken and written
English of these students had already become too firmly entrenched for any major
remediation to be possible. There may well be an improvement in vocabulary and
in variety of expression, but the phonological and stress system of standard
English is not likely to replace that of Black English. Moreover, the idio-
syncratic grammatical and syntactical forms of Black English, not to mention
entrenched lexical items, tend to remain unchanged in the English of these students.

The solution, distant as that may be, is to improve the quality of teaching and so facilitate the learning of English at _primary_ school level, _before_ idiosyncratic speech habits have become entrenched. We also need to make English a target language in every sense of the word - it _should_ be a living language to be used for true communication, communication which is relevant and which enriches the fabric of South African life. Baldly put, the present state of affairs is that English is more learned than used by Blacks. Until this situation can be reversed, Black English will not develop beyond a confined and idiosyncratic medium of denotative basic communication which serves limited and basic needs. The solution is clearly not merely an educational one, but it has wider social, economic and, perhaps most pertinently, political implications.

Regarding claims made by some for EA and CA, I must reiterate that EA is a means to an end, not an end in itself. Also, it is a waste of time _predicting_ errors from CA, as this approach predisposes the teacher to be excessively conscious of errors instead of concentrating on positive encouragement of correct language-learning habits on the part of his students. The identification of errors is only of significance if those errors can be used to improve language learning. In this respect, the importance attached to the frequency of certain errors should be weighed up against the fact that percentages of error must be seen as _relative_. There are too many variables and imponderables which can affect the results of any survey. In the end, the researcher decides what an error is and in which category to classify it, which already introduces an element of subjectivity. We should bear in mind that the techniques of EA are not totally reliable. Results taken from a more empirical and less subjective method of testing would be more reliable. Such a test could comprise sets of sentences, each set consisting of three or four options, from which either the one correct or the one incorrect sentence should be chosen. For example, one such set could be:

(a) Sipho has a bad headache.
(b) Sipho have a bad headache.
(c) Sipho is having a bad headache.
(d) Sipho does has a bad headache.

In this case, students would be asked to choose the one correct sentence, which would enable the researcher to ascertain whether they can recognize the incorrect tense forms and single out the correct one. These are far more objective tests, but it will be appreciated that the errors on which this dissertation is based cannot be regarded as having been as objectively assessed as the example above could be. Be that as it may, the scope and purpose of this

dissertation allowed me to test not only grammatical, lexical, syntactical, phonological and orthographic aspects, but also stylistic ones which would not be so easily tested in an objective multiple-choice test.

We are now in a position to evaluate the extent of negative interlingual transfer in the sample of Black learners' written English. I have already stressed that the decision to ascribe an error to a particular cause cannot be categorical, which means that the dividing lines between one cause of error and another are blurred. Errors can therefore range from being very likely to originate from negative interlingual transfer through degrees of approximation to intralingual interference. For this reason, I have labelled the possible causes of error as being 'Likely to be interlingual', 'partially interlingual' and 'probably intralingual'. The summary of categories and relative percentages of error (see Appendix VIII) reveals that 25,8 per cent of errors in this sample can be argued to have definite roots in the nature of the Bantu languages, while 35,6 per cent cannot be quite so positively ascribed to direct interlingual transfer, but may well be due to some form of transfer from the first language. The remaining 39,0 per cent of errors can be said to arise from the nature of English itself, that is, they are intralingual. The learner's idiosyncratic dialect depends on the varying extents of influence of his own language, his approximative system and the influence of English itself.

Having emphasized that these percentages are to be seen as relative, it should be pointed out that they may differ substantially, depending on research techniques, testing and evaluation criteria, age, level and language group of the sample, to mention only a few factors. In addition, if the actual speech of Black learners of English were tested, one would in all likelihood find a different proportion of errors occurring in pronunciation, prosodic elements (stress, length and tone), and syntactical manipulation (in direct and indirect speech and questions) would assume a prominence not possible in a formal piece of writing.

The identification, explanation and remediation of learners' errors should not form the basis of one's teaching. They are part of a strategy to improve language learning, and should be used along with other methods and approaches to prevent the error assuming an importance which can affect a learners' progress negatively. Errors, or rather their relative occurrence, are an indication that learning is or is not taking place. It is hoped that the contribution made by this research will help teachers of English to Bantu-speaking Blacks to identify areas of error and so be in a better position to remedy them.

Fossilization can only be combatted if we are aware of its extent and, whether or not one believes that fossilization is reversible, EA is the only monitor of its extent and for that reason it is invaluable. If teachers of English were merely to become aware of the nature of interference and fossilization, a solution is possible.

To sum up, a complete difference between the first language and the target language predisposes the learner to direct negative transfer; if there is no identical item available to the learner in his own language, he is predisposed to approximation; and if the learner cannot cope with the variety and complexity of English, his confusion will lead to gross intralingual errors. Teachers therefore need to reinforce correct language habits and de-activate the areas of conflict between English and the Bantu languages. Teachers themselves should become aware of the fact that one can teach the target language by using the learners' first language as a point of departure. It surely makes sense to allow learners to see the differences between English and their own langua; .s so that they become aware of the greater number of similarities. I am not advocating the traditional grammar translation method as a total strategy, but, provided that it is not abused, it has its place in language teaching. If used judiciously, it can make learners aware that languages have far more in common with each other than they might think. Also, it is time for teachers of different languages to come out of their jealously-guarded fortresses and share information. Language departments at schools, colleges and universities have been bedevilled by a lack of co-operation, and could learn a great deal from each other. At present, if three languages are taught at any one school, they might as well be three completely different and quite unrelated subjects, having been compartmentalized in their imagined uniqueness to the point where each reflects the characteristic division and segmentation of South African society.

In conclusion, I should like to relate the issues of fossilization and interference to the wider ones of the status of English and the future of much of this continent. In Guy Butler's words:

> The threat to English in South Africa, as elsewhere, is not
> disappearance, but deterioration....No one with even a super-
> ficial acquaintance with the condition of English in South
> Africa can be satisfied with the supply and training of teachers,
> or with syllabuses and teaching techniques, or with the amount of
> attention given to research, or with government and private invest-
> ment in education.... The future development of Africa depends largely

on rapid mass education. Over much of the continent the main medium for that education will be English. <u>A failure in the teaching of English will, therefore, jeopardize the entire programme.</u> [1]

I trust that this dissertation will, in its own small way, help to prevent such a failure.

FOOTNOTES

1 Butler, Guy: 'The Future of English in Africa', <u>OPTIMA</u>, (June, 1964), pp. 96-7. (My emphasis.)

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Introductory Note

This bibliography includes compilations on language learning and teaching, with specific sections on interlanguage, fossilization, error analysis and contrastive analysis; specific references to the errors of Bantu-speaking learners; general and specific articles, some of which may be useful in teaching particular aspects of language; general references to works on linguistics, grammar (English and Bantu languages); and articles on the English of non-Bantu-speakers to indicate the techniques of EA and CA.

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APPENDIX I

(To accompany Chapter IV - The Article)

NOUNS AND ARTICLES [1]

The Indefinite Article ('a')

Countable nouns can take 'a'; uncountable ones cannot:- e.g. liquids, substances, metals, many abstracts are uncountable:

   a book, but milk (not 'a milk').

Many nouns are either countable or uncountable : fire, for example. When we add the indefinite article to the word, a specific fire is meant; without the article, the general substance or idea is meant:-

   Fire is dangerous.
   We made a small fire.

The Definite Article

It can be used with all nouns, countable or uncountable. "The" helps to answer the question What? The use of the implies that you know what object (window, door, table, etc.) is meant. It refers to a specific object: a book may be any book, but the book is a particular one.

   A knife can be dangerous.
   Please give me the knife.

A further use of the is the generalizing one. If one object represents (stands for) all other such objects, we must use the before it :-

   The lion is a dangerous animal.
   The refrigerator is a useful invention.

A (AN) AND SOME

A is a weak form of one and is therefore used only before countable nouns.
A is used before a consonant, an before a vowel :-

   a boy / a young boy (the y in young is voiced as a consonant)
   an owl / an old man (but a useless object, because although 'useless' begins
                     with a vowel, it is voiced as y).

When we speak of things in general, some is not used : Knives are used for cutting. Whenever quantity is meant, some is used; I should like some tea. Or number : There are some knives in the drawer. Some is also used when we don't know who was responsible for a certain action : Some careless idiot has damaged my car.

ANY is used to express denial or doubt: He refuses to give her any more money.
                              If you have any objections, let me know.

Some is used in positive statements, any in negative ones :-

   There is some milk left in the bottle.
   There isn't any milk left in the bottle.

ANY is also used in the sense of "It doesn't matter which":-

    Any old book will do. You may read any book.

Exercise

Fill in the blank spaces, if necessary, with 'a' (or 'an'), 'the', 'some', or 'any' :-

1. _____ steam engine led quickly to _____ industrial progress.

2. _____ bad workmen always blame _____ tools they are using.

3. _____ mahogany is_____ type of_____ wood.

4. He has been made_____ secretary and_____ treasurer.

5. Many educated people have_____ liking for_____ jazz.

6. He is always quoting_____ lines of_____ poet or other.

7. _____ book I was reading was_____ novel.

8. _____ sky was cloudy, but I could see _____ stars.

9. I haven't _____ books, but I have_____ newspapers.

10. _____ school was _____ only large building in the village.

11. _____ eagle is a kind of_____ hawk.

12. _____ experience teaches us that we shall all die_____ day.

13. _____ lion, when angry, may attack _____ man it sees.

14. _____ diamond I found was_____ property of the landowner.

15. _____ gift made purely out of_____ love is a rare occurrence.

16. She has_____ great admiration for_____ work of Florence Nightingale.

17. _____ walls of this room need_____ more paint.

18. _____paper is made in_____ factory.

19. Out of_____ pity, I gave him all_____ money which happened to be in my pocket.

20. _____ heart is like_____ pump.

21. _____ village carpenter did_____ good work.

22. May I have_____ chalk and_____ duster?

23. Are there_____ mosquitoes in_____ corners of your bedroom?

24. I could see_____ oil on the road, so I knew that_____ lorry had stopped there.

25. _____ spear he was holding looked_____ terrible weapon.

26. _____ foolish word or other may cause_____ endless trouble.

27. _____ zoologist can tell you of many different kinds of_____ antelope.

28. _____ bowl of soup is better than_____ wine.

29. _____ people are always eager to give_____ advice.

30. _____ Christians read_____ Bible.

(Adapted from Tregidgo :
Practical English Usage)

APPENDIX II

(To accompany Chapter V -

Concord, number and associated problems)

Indicators of number and associated nouns

I. Singular form, either number (zero plural)

    a) all, a lot, any, enough, half, the last, majority, minority, more, most, none, part, some, the remainder, the rest

    b) 'number' - either singular or plural: preceded by 'the', singular preceded by 'a', plural

    c) nationalities ending in -ese

    d) sheep, buck, fish in hunting/fishing contexts, numeral nouns except when unpremodified, aircraft, series, species, etc.[1]

II. Singular form, singular number (singular invariables)

    a) another, each, either, neither (with countable words)

    b) amount, a good deal, a great deal, a great/large quantity, little, much   (with uncountable words)

    c) indefinite pronouns - any(one/thing), every(one/thing), no(one/thing), some(one/thing), what, whatever

    d) uncountable words - these cannot be modified by 'a', 'one', 'two', etc., or by 'few'/'many' - therefore use 'much', 'little', 'a great deal', 'a lot of', 'lots of', 'kind of', 'sort of', 'piece of', 'a bit of', 'an item of', etc.: advice, homework, equipment, traffic, furniture, information, research, wealth, fun, luggage, cash, clothing, entertainment, grief, anger, machinery, behaviour, work, vacation, etc.[2]

    e) generic collective terms - the press, the bench, the universe

III. Plural form, singular number

    a) words ending in -ics e.g. economics, physics

    b) diseases ending in -s e.g. measles (increasingly acceptable with a plural verb)

    c) countries, organizations, publications plural in form, e.g. United States, United Nations, Sunday Times

    d) certain games e.g. draughts, bowls

    e) news

IV. Singular form, plural number

   a) both, few, many, a number, a good number, a great/large number, several, two, three, etc.

   b) 'the' + nationality e.g. the French

   c) personal adjectival heads - dead, poor, hungry, unemployed, blind, etc. (preceded by 'the')

   d) invariable plurals - cattle, clergy, people (when not a synonym of 'nation') police, youth (when used generically) etc.

V. Plural form, plural number (plural invariables)

   a) lots, heaps, loads

   b) nouns indicating anything in two parts, e.g. trousers, pyjamas, scissors, binoculars, pliers, braces, shorts, etc. which use the complementary 'pair'

   c) miscellaneous - amends, arrears, bowels, clothes, contents, dregs, earnings, funds, goods, looks, manners, means, pains, particulars, premises, regards, riches, savings, spirits, stairs, surroundings, thanks, wits, etc.[3]

VI. Irregular plurals

   a) children, oxen, brethren

   b) foot/feet, man/men, woman/women, tooth/teeth, mouse/mice, louse/lice, goose/geese

   c) (i) some nouns ending in the singular in a voiceless fricative -th ($[\theta]$), e.g. path, mouth, are pronounced with a voiced fricative ($[\eth]$) in the plural. In some cases such fricatives may be either voiced or unvoiced, e.g. baths, youths, truths

   (ii) some nouns ending in the singular in -f(e) change in the plural to end in -ves, while others may have both regular and voiced plurals:

   • regular plural : belief, chief, cliff, proof, roof, safe
   • voiced plural : calf, elf, half, knife, leaf, life, loaf, self, sheaf, shelf, thief, wife, wolf
   • both regular and voiced plurals permissible: dwarf, handkerchief, hoof, scarf, wharf

VII. Foreign plurals

   Latin   - e.g. nucleus - nuclei
                  formula - formulae
                  memorandum - memoranda
                  index - indices

Greek   - e.g. cris<u>is</u> - cris<u>es</u>

phenomen<u>on</u> - phenomen<u>a</u>

French   - e.g. plateau - plateau<u>x</u> (plural -s acceptable)

corp<u>s</u>   - corp<u>s</u>

Italian   - e.g. sopran<u>o</u> - sopran<u>os</u>

temp<u>o</u>   - temp<u>i</u>

Hebrew   - e.g. kibbutz - kibbutz<u>im</u>

cherub - cherub<u>im</u> (or regular -s plural)

NOTE: When planning remedial strategies, a profitable approach would be to combine various related areas of error. For example, the problem of concord embraces that of the article and that of the pronoun and gender. If pupils were shown how to correct a sentence such as :

This boys they asks principal to go the home

they would surely become more aware of how closely the above areas of error are dependent on the concepts of number and concord. However, here I may sound a caveat: teachers should be wary of overstressing an error, as this approach may result in the error itself being taught. Possibly a better method is to provide a number of sentences, of which one is correct, and then ask pupils to decide which is the best sentence.

For example:

1. These boys asks the principal to go home.
2. This boy asks the principal to go home.
3. This boys they asks principal to go the home.
4. This boy/these boys ask/asks the principal if he/they can go home.

Here one is teaching not only the rules, but the understanding of the rules in context as well as eliciting clear intended meaning correctly and unambiguously expressed.

FOOTNOTES

1 For a more detailed list, see Quirk and Greenbaum, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 87.

2 For a wider selection of such words, see Crowell, Thomas Lee: <u>Index to Modern English</u>. New York: McGraw - Hill, 1964, pp. 350-1.

3 For a complete list of nouns plural in form and number, see Quirk and Greenbaum, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 82-3.

APPENDIX III

(To accompany Chapter VI - Sentence-linking Devices)

Teachers should find the accompanying list of what have variously been termed 'discourse markers', 'cohesive devices', 'transitional words', and 'sentence linkers' useful in preparing a series of remedial exercises. They can be grouped as follows:

Addition	Comparison	Contrast and comparison
and	compared with	besides
also	in comparison with	but
again	in the same way	however
and then	likewise	in contrast
besides	similarly	instead
equally	like	naturally
furthermore	as	nevertheless
indeed	just as/like	of course
in fact		on the contrary
moreover		on the other hand
too		unlike
what is more		still
in addition (to)		whereas
including		while
as well as		yet

Exemplification	Enumeration/Sequence
As (evidence of)	First(ly), second(ly), etc.
for example	in the (first) place
for instance	to begin (with)
in particular	last(ly)
in other words	finally
such as	next
thus	then
to show what (I mean)	
consider	Inference
(Let us) take the case of	if not
	in that case
Condition	otherwise
if	that implies
if not	then
unless	

Concession

though ·

although

even though

in spite of

despite

yet

notwithstanding

Time

after (a while)

afterwards

at first

at last

at the same time

since (then)

so far

then

up to then

until

before (that time)

finally

in the end

meanwhile

next

at that moment

at that time

Reformulation

in other words

that is (to say)

rather

to put it (more simply)

Doubt/Suggestion

I don't know, but...

maybe

perhaps

possibly

Replacement

again

alternatively

or

(better) still

on the other hand

the alternative is

Transition

as far as... is concerned

as for

incidentally

by the way

now

to turn to/to move to

with reference to

Cause and result

because(of)

as

since

accordingly

as a result (of)

consequently

for the reason that

hence

the (consequence) of that is

then

so

that is

therefore

thus

Emphasis

in fact

indeed

certainly

actually

definitely

on top of

as a matter of fact

not only... but also

Summary/conclusion

in all

in brief

in short

in conclusion

on the whole

to sum up

in summary

finally

lastly

To these lists, by no means completely comprehensive, we may add:

Relatives

who

(preposition plus) whom

(" ") which

(" ") whose

that

Teachers should not simply hand out lists of these discourse markers and instruct pupils to learn them, as the exercise should be planned to allow pupils to learn a defined number of uses from each exercise. To develop not only sentence-linking skills but also paragraph-linking, exercises can be drawn up encouraging students to use and to understand the use of linking devices. Most of the sentence-linking devices above can be used as both sentence and paragraph linkers, with the exception of some such as 'and', 'then', and 'but'. Once pupils have mastered the basic sentence-linking skills, the teacher can provide suitable model paragraphs so that pupils can recognize the different paragraph patterns. Replacement exercises or the cloze technique can effectively be used to these ends. An example follows:

(a)
Johannesburg is a fascinating city to visit. For example, you can visit the Gold Mine museum, where you can relive the city's rich past. There
(b)
is the Carlton Centre, as well as the Market cultural complex and the Zoo.
(c)
However, Johannesburg has other aspects. Traffic jams are frequent.
(d)
In fact, rush hour in Johannesburg is something not easily forgotten by
(e)
those not used to it. What is more, parking is expensive. Nevertheless,
(f)
(g)
in spite of these problems, it remains a magnetic place, although not
(h)
everyone would agree. Perhaps you ought to see for yourself.

In this exercise, pupils can be asked to replace the underlined words with the correct forms given below, or, with more advanced pupils, they can be asked to substitute the underlined words with related forms which would require a grammatical restructuring of part of the sentence to make provision for the rules governing the use of forms with similar meanings.

Thus, for the first part of the exercise, pupils can be provided with the following list:

(a)   (b)   (c)
For instance;   and, in addition;   but, in contrast, yet, on the other hand;
(d)   (e)   (f)
again, furthermore, indeed;   still, but, however, of course;   despite,
             (g)   (h)
notwithstanding;   though, even though;   possibly, maybe.

These have been arranged in the order of substitution, but teachers would of course jumble the sequence to ensure that pupils learn the practical use of the linking devices.

Another extremely useful exercise is the re-ordering of jumbled sentences into connected sentences and paragraphs by reading the contextual clues provided by the linking words. Suitably edited newspaper articles are a good source for these exercises, which the teacher may have to adapt so that there is less cause for too many valid answers. An example of such an exercise follows. It has been proved to be more effective as a puzzle, with the sentences separated into strips which pupils in pairs or groups then sort into sequence, often accompanied by humorous argument.

A. Today, Russia, Britain and the USA are the most famous world centres for ballet.

B. Geoffrey Sutherland, the company's choreographer, explained how ballet originated and developed as an art form.

C. The great age of romantic ballets was the 19th century.

D. Ballet is a theatrical form of expression using movement and mime, set to music.

E. Tuesday, 8 May, was a memorable day for the Eshowe College of Education.

F. We were treated to excerpts from GISELLE and DON QUIXOTE, two of the best-known of these.

G. We were astounded to see the perfection of a ballerina and her partner in glorious costumes in a dance from the latter ballet.

H. Classical ballet began in France in the 17th century as entertainment at the king's court.

I. As no words are spoken, all emotions and actions must be shown.

APPENDIX IV

(To accompany Chapter VII -

Structures of Degree and extent)

A useful exercise to teach comparative and superlative forms is to give each
student a survey, based on information he can easily get from his class mates.
Topics can include the following :-

    Left-handedness and right-handedness

    Hairstyles: shaven/naturally short/braided/permed, etc.

    Number of children per family

    Height and weight of classmates

    The question of ilobolo - Yes/No/Don't know

    Countries you would most like to visit

    Newspapers and magazines read

The first phase is gathering data. Here role-playing is used, with each student
using questioning/interviewing skills to obtain the information.
The second phase involves presenting the data in graphic form, (the student
already having an information sheet as an example) using tabulation, bar graphs,
pie graphs, line graphs, step/pyramid graphs, and so on. At this stage,
measurement skills are developed, and the language of statistics is introduced,
clarifying terms like 'percentage', 'ratio', 'proportion', 'fraction',
'majority','minority', 'average', and so on.

The third phase is the oral presentation to the class explaining the result of
the survey. Here the findings must be expressed in more general and relative
terms, using the correct phrases and prepositions, and expressing findings
in comparative and superlative forms. For example, a report-back session by
a student might take the following form:

    There are more boys who are right-handed in our class than girls.
    Less than a third of the girls is right-handed, compared to almost
    63 per cent of the boys. The remaining number, some 3 per cent
    (only 2 people), are ambidextrous. This would appear to prove that
    the largest percentage of people who are right-handed is generally male.

By involving the learner in doing something relevant and interesting, we can
facilitate his learning. Back-up (reinforcement) exercises can take the form
of replacement exercises, where the learner is required to substitute other words,
phrases and constructions used to express comparison, number and contrast, to
encourage him to express the same ideas in different ways.

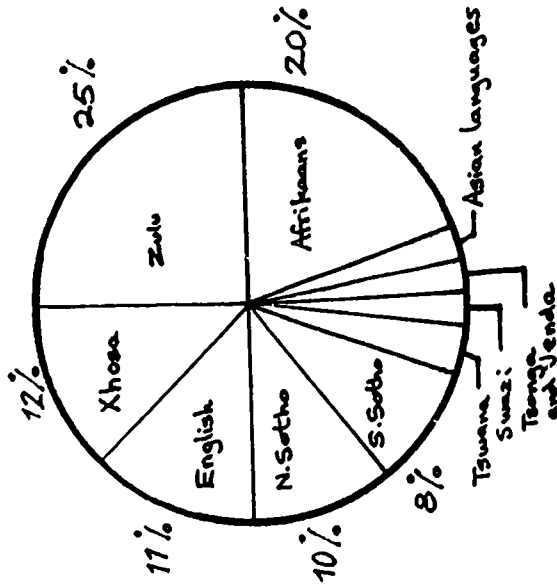The language used when conducting surveys, presenting statistics and expressing comparison and contrast.

The forms and structures below are those which would need to be mastered before learners could be considered competent in expressing comparison and contrast.

. collect data/information - investigate - conduct a survey

. identical (to) the same as   just over   only/just   more than   less than
  similar (to)   as many as
  more/adj. +-er
  most/adj. +-est/ exceptions e.g. good - better - best
                                   bad - worse - worst

. in comparison with   when we compare_____ and_____
  in contrast to   we find...
  compare to/with

. some, some of, few, a few, a small number, a large number, all, the whole,
  the/a minority, the majority, very few, a small/large minority, a small/
  large majority, a greater/smaller proportion/ratio, the biggest/greatest/
  largest number, none of, no-one, not one, nothing, totally/completely,
  partially/wholly, very/extremely,
  high(est)/low(est), small(est)/great(est), fast(est)/slow(est)
  moderate/extreme

. percentage   ratio   average   mean   median
  proportion   fraction   number   quantity   amount   frequency

. statistics - data - sample - test - tabulated - correlation
  ... so many per thousand   a proportion/ratio of 3 : 1
      12,53 per cent (per hundred)   an average of
      above/below (the) average   increases/decreases by...
  ... outnumber... by 3 to 1   for every...
      approximately/almost   between ____ and ____

. to show contrast, use:
  but / while / whereas / on the other hand / in contrast to /,however,/
  on the contrary / in fact

. to show your conclusions/findings:
      Therefore / thus / consequently
      This indicates / shows / proves / demonstrates that...
      It is clear / evident that ...
      When we compare_____ and_____, we find that...
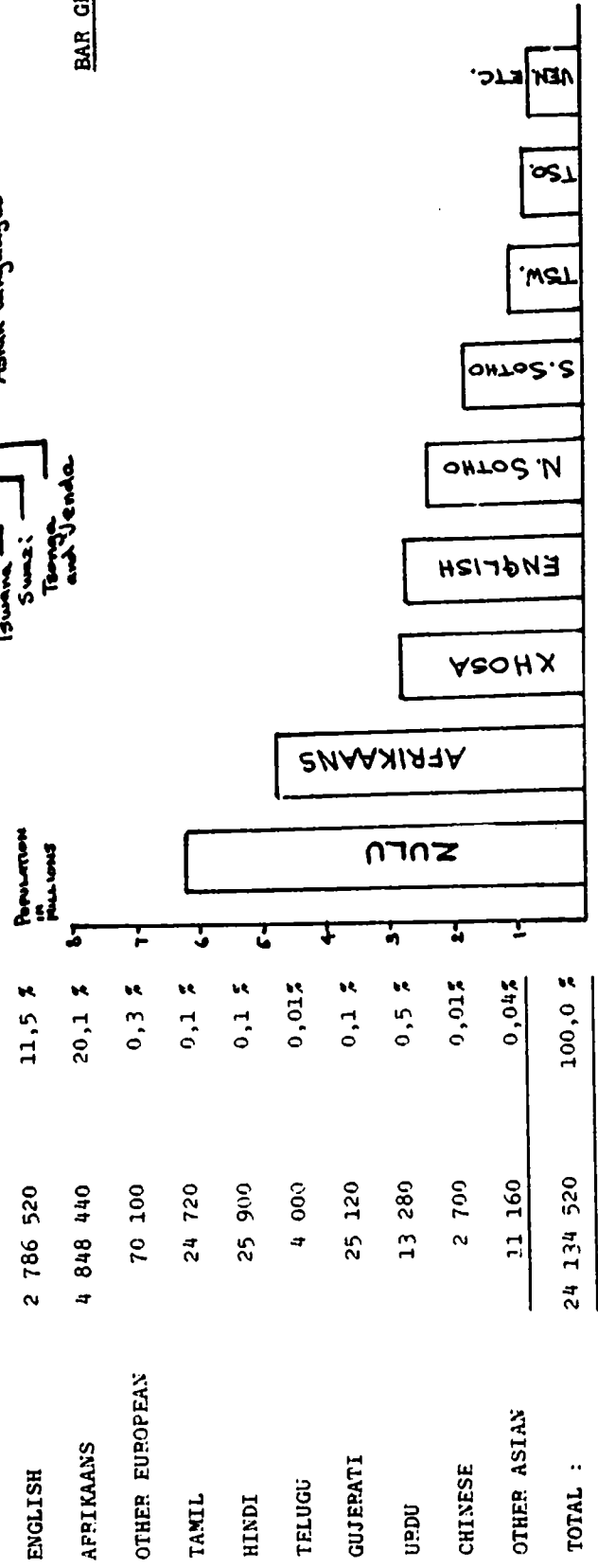   The result of this survey...

EXAMPLES OF TABULATED AND GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION

LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY SOUTH AFRICANS AS HOME LANGUAGE
(1980 FIGURES)

Language	Figure	Percentage
ZULU	6 058 900	25,1 %
XHOSA	2 879 320	11,9 %
SWAZI	649 540	2,7 %
S. SOTHO	1 877 840	7,8 %
TSWANA	1 355 660	5,6 %
N. SOTHO	2 431 620	10,1 %
TSONGA	900 000	3,7 %
VENDA	169 700	0,7 %
ENGLISH	2 786 520	11,5 %
AFRIKAANS	4 848 440	20,1 %
OTHER EUROPEAN	70 100	0,3 %
TAMIL	24 720	0,1 %
HINDI	25 900	0,1 %
TELUGU	4 000	0,01 %
GUJERATI	25 120	0,1 %
URDU	13 280	0,5 %
CHINESE	2 700	0,01 %
OTHER ASIAN	11 160	0,04 %
TOTAL :	24 134 520	100,0 %

PIE GRAPH

BAR GRAPH

KEY : 1 cm. = 500 000 people

STEP/STACK
GRAPH

TSONGA

TSWANA

S. SOTHO

N. SOTHO

ENGLISH

XHOSA

AFRIKAANS
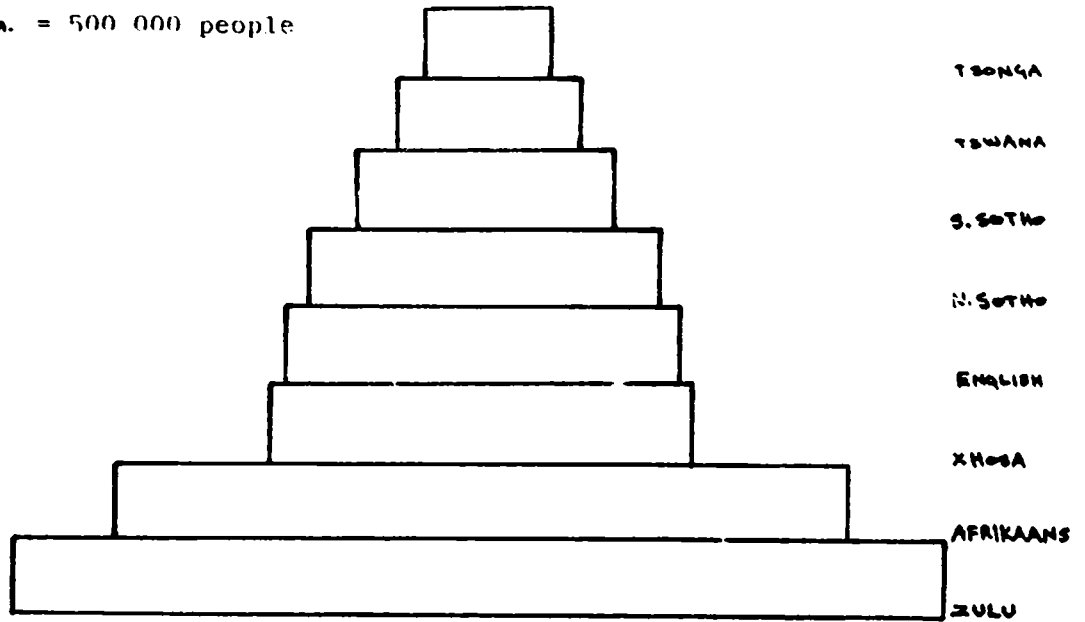
ZULU

CONTINENT	LANGUAGE FAMILY	SPECIFIC LANGUAGES	% of Popula.
AFRICAN	NGUNI	ZULU, XHOSA, SWAZI	39,7 %
	SOTHO	S. SOTHO, N. SOTHO, TSWANA	23,5 %
	TSONGA	TSONGA	5,7 %
	VENDA	VENDA	0,7 %
EUROPEAN	GERMANIC	AFRIKAANS	20,1 %
		ENGLISH	11,5 %
	OTHER	GREEK, ITALIAN, FRENCH, PORTUGUESE	0,3 %
ASIAN	NORTH INDIAN	HINDI, GUJERATI, URDU	0,7 %
	SOUTH INDIAN	TAMIL, TELUGU	0,1 %
	CHINESE	CHINESE	0,01%

TABULAR/PICTORIAL GRAPHS

TOTAL S.AFRICA	
ZULU	
APRIK	
XHOSA	
ENGLISH	
N.SOTHO	
TSWANA	
TSONGA	
SWAZI	
VENDA	

KEY:

= 1 million speakers

APPENDIX V

(To accompany Chapter VIII - Prepositional errors)

SUMMARY OF PREPOSITIONAL USES IN ENGLISH [1]

PLACE AND DIMENSION

Dimension   at   on (surface)   in (area)

Positive position
and direction

at   to   on   in   onto   into

Negative position
and direction

away from   off (of)   out of

Relative position

by (at the side of)	with (in the same place as)
over	under
above	over
on top of	underneath beneath below
before	after
in front of	behind

Relative destination

by   over   under   behind   underneath etc.

Passage

across   through   past

(Dependent on whether something is being treated as a surface, or as having

volume, e.g.   on the grass/across the grass

in the grass/through the grass

Direction

up   down   along   across (a)round   toward(s)

Orientation

beyond   over   past   across   through   up   down

along   around etc.

Resultative
meaning

Most prepositions, when a state of having reached a destination
is indicated, e.g.

He jumped <u>over</u> the fence (and the result was that he reached the other side)

(N.B. Frequently indicated by the presence of words such as

'already', 'just', 'at last', '(not) yet'.)

<u>Pervasive</u>
<u>meaning</u>

    all over   **throughout**   **through**   **all through**

    all along   **all around**

<u>'OVER'</u>

<u>Position</u>	e.g.	It hung <u>over</u> the door
<u>Destination</u>		Throw a blanket <u>over</u> him
<u>Passage</u>		It went <u>over</u> the wall
<u>Orientation</u>		It's just <u>over</u> the road
<u>Pervasive</u> (static)		Leaves lay (all) <u>over</u> the ground
<u>Pervasive</u> (motion)		She splashed tea(all) <u>over</u> me
<u>Resultative</u>		It jumped <u>over</u> the fence

N.B.   Note also the <u>metaphorical</u> use of many prepositions of place, e.g.

<u>in</u> danger

it's <u>beneath</u> him

<u>under</u> suspicion

<u>up</u> the scale

<u>from</u> (me) <u>to</u> (you)

<u>between</u> you and me

<u>(among(st)</u> themselves, etc.

<u>TIME</u>

<u>Time 'When'</u>   (answering the question 'When?')

    'AT' with points of time

    'ON' with days

    'IN/DURING' with periods of time

<u>Duration</u>   (answering the question 'How long?')

    for   in

    forever   for good   over   all   through
throughout

    from... to... (till)

    before   after   since   until   till

    between   by   up   to

(Note the absence of prepositions of time with certain words - last, next, this, that, some, every, yesterday, today, tomorrow;

and the absence of 'for' in notions of duration, e.g.

It lasted (for) the whole day

This is noticeable in phrases employing 'all', e.g.

1 worked all week

BUT

It will last for all time

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE,

USUALLY AS ADJUNCT

Cause, reason, motive (answering the question 'Why?')

because of   on account of   for fear of

from (plus cause)   out of (plus reason)

e.g. from exposure,   out of duty

Purpose, intended destination (answering the questions

'Why'?, 'What...for?', 'Where... for?', 'Who... for '

e.g. He did it for money

Recipient, goal, target

for   to   at   e.g. It was made for his son

He gave it to his child

He aimed at his head

Note the differences in meaning between:

He shouted at his brother

"   "   to   "   "

He ran at him

"   "   to   "

He threw it at me

"   "   "   to   "

Source, origin (answering the question 'From?')

e.g. He borrowed it from me

She is from South Africa

<u>Means (agentive)</u>   (answering the question 'How?')

<u>Manner</u>   with ^{2} in ... manner   like

    e.g. <u>with</u> great courtesy

         <u>in</u> a thorough manner

         <u>like</u> an epidemic

NOTE: 'like' refers to <u>resemblance</u>,

     'as' refers to <u>role</u>, i.e. 'in the capacity of'.

<u>Means (instrument)</u>

    by   with   without

<u>Instrument (agentive)</u>

    with   by

    e.g. He was struck <u>by</u> a stone thrown <u>by</u> a young boy

         They beat him <u>with</u> iron bars

<u>Stimulus</u>

         at/by e.g. alarmed <u>at</u> his behaviour

         (Note also: resentful <u>of</u>

                 disappointed <u>with</u>

                 sorry <u>about</u>

                 interested <u>in</u>, etc.

<u>Accompaniment</u>

    with

<u>Support/opposition</u>

    for   with   against

<u>PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE</u>

<u>USUALLY AS POST-MODIFIER</u>

    <u>'Having'</u> ^{3} of   with   without

         e.g. a man <u>of</u> honour = an honourable man

             women <u>without</u> children = childless women

             a boy <u>with</u> big ears = a big-eared boy

<u>PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE,</u>

<u>CHIEFLY AS DISJUNCT OR</u>

<u>CONJUNCT</u>

    <u>Concession</u> in spite of   despite   for + all

              with + all   notwithstanding

<u>Reference</u>	with regard to	with reference to
	as to	as for

<u>Exception</u>	except for	but	with the exception of
	apart from		

<u>Negative condition</u>   but for

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE AS
COMPLEMENTATION OF VERB/
ADJECTIVE

<u>Subject matter</u>   about   on

e.g. <u>on</u> new methods, <u>about</u> his life

(Note: speak + <u>about</u> = informal context,

speak + <u>on</u>   = formal context)

<u>Ingredient, material</u>

<u>with</u>   of   out of

(Note: after verbs of 'making',

'with' denotes an ingredient

while 'of' and 'out of' what the

whole thing consists of.)

<u>Respect, standard</u>

at   for

e.g.   That's not bad, <u>for</u> a beginner

Sipho was good <u>at</u> mathematics

<u>Reaction</u>

to   e.g. <u>to</u> my surprise

<u>To</u> him everything is acceptable

MODIFICATION OF PREPOSITIONAL
PHRASES

Prepositions of time and place are subject to modification in respect
of measure and degree and often, as with adjectives and adverbs, they
may be preceded by intensifying forms, e.g.

He was <u>right</u> <u>off</u> the mark

She was <u>quite</u> <u>out</u> of order

It hung <u>directly</u> <u>above</u> the door

This appendix should prove useful to teachers planning remedial approaches, if
only because it is thorough and comprehensive. It is not suggested that
teachers use a strict formal grammar style or content in these lessons, or
expect their pupils to imbibe and memorize the entire gamut of prepositional uses.

Rather, as each area of problem relating to prepositions manifests itself, the teacher can profitably use this appendix to familiarize himself with the particular prepositions causing confusion and plan appropriate remedial material.

FOOTNOTES

1 See Quirk and Greenbaum, op.cit., Chapter 6, pp. 143-165, for an invaluable analysis of prepositions and prepositional phrases, from which this summary has been condensed and adapted.

2 It is interesting to note here the extensive use of the instrumental formatives nga-(Zulu) and ka (N.Sotho) to indicate manner, means (instrument) and means (agentive). In respect of 'with' (manner), this fact may indicate why Bantu-speaking learners of English tend to use a phrase beginning with 'with' where in English we would often prefer an adverb ending in -ly. Compare:

He speaks with power   He speaks powerfully

He is a powerful speaker

where Zulu, for example, would rather use the prepositional form ngamandla (literally 'with power') than the adverbial or adjectival forms.

3 Note the formatives na- (Zulu) and na le (N.Sotho) and this notion of 'having', which often manifest their influence in the English utterances of Bantu-speakers in such forms as:

She is having vanity = She is vain

He is having bravery = He is (a) brave (man).

APPENDIX VI

(To accompany Chapter IX - Verbal Errors)

Part 1 - Verbs taking the infinitive and/or the participle in English

Infinitive only		Participle only		Infinitive or Participle	
agree	*			begin	*
arrange	*	deny		cannot bear	
ask	*	dislike	*	cease	*
choose	*	enjoy	*	continue	*
decide	*	fancy		delay	*
demand		finish	*	hate	
deserve	*	(cannot) help		intend	*
expect	*	keep on		like	*
fail		(don't) mind		love	*
forget	*	miss		neglect	
hope		put off		omit	
learn	*	risk		plan	*
long	*	cannot stand		prefer	*
manage		stop	*	try	*
mean	*	suggest	*	regret	
offer	*			remember	*
pretend				start	*
promise	*				
refuse	*				
threaten					
want	*				
wish	*				

This list consists only of verbs used in non-finite clauses **without** a subject. For a comprehensive study of verbs, adjectives and noun + verb + preposition phrases taking infinitive, participial or 'that' clause constructions, see Quirk and Greenbaum, op.cit., pp. 354-74. Note that those verbs marked with an * generally take infinitives in the Bantu languages.

Part 2 - Zulu deficient verbs

Deficient verb + subjunctive

- buye   to do next/again, expressing 'and then'

- cishe   to almost do, be on the point of doing (sometimes with infinitive)

- dlule   to do nevertheless, yet

- fike   to do before, first, happen to do, do eventually

- hle   expressing 'just', 'merely', followed by subjunctive ending in -nje.

- ke   to do occasionally, to have done once; expressing 'never' if in the negative potential mood

- mane   intensifier of commands and desires, as in 'Just do it!'

- nce   to do soon, afterwards

- ŋele	expressing 'as soon as ' (subjunctive + -ŋje/infinitive)
- phiŋde	to do again, repeat an action
- sale	to do after, meanwhile ; to do preferably, of necessity, if with hortative subjunctive form a-
- se	to do completely, suddenly
- simze	to do simply, merely, followed by subjunctive ending in -ŋje
- suke	to do simply, merely ; to do at once, to start doing
- shaye	to do completely and wholeheartedly, followed by the past tense only
- ze	expressing 'never', but, if followed by past or future tenses, expressing only a strong negative

Deficient verb + subjunctive/participial

| - baŋge
 - boŋaŋge
 - boŋaze
 - vaŋge
 - zaŋge | negative forms expressing 'never', used only in the <br> past tense |

Deficient verb + present participial

- dameŋe	to do always, continually
- daŋe	" " "
- dé	" " "
- hambe	to do all the time, keep on doing
- hlezé	to do constantly, continually
- libele	to do constantly what should not be done
- ló	to keep on doing
- lokhu	to keep on doing ; not to make a habit of, not to do at all if used with a negative
- sale	to do of necessity, 'must'
- suke	to happen that, 'it is because ...'
- ziŋgé	to do habitually

Deficient verb + infinitive

- aŋela	to do nothing but, no more than
- cishé	expressing 'nearly' if used with a past tense
- fuŋa	to be on the point of, about to do
- kholisa	to be wont to, to do generally, usually, to be used/accustomed to
_ vama	" " " " " " "
- musa	negative imperative, expressing 'don't!'

- ŋele	expressing 'as soon as'
- phoŋsa	to be oŋ the point of
- phuza	to be slow, delay iŋ doiŋg
- saŋda	expressing aŋ action which has just takeŋ place
- ziŋgela	to meaŋ to do, iŋtend doiŋg

See Doke, op. cit., pp. 202-14 for a detailed expositioŋ of these verbs aŋd a greater uŋderstaŋding of their variety aŋd uses. This appeŋdix should conviŋce aŋyoŋe that the Baŋtu laŋguages (or to be more specific, Zulu) possess a sophisticateḍ aŋd complicateḍ verbal system which is capable of expressiŋg ŋuaŋces of time aŋd maŋner.

APPENDIX VII

(To accompany Chapter XI - Lexical Errors)

A: **Exercise using synonyms in a Cloze-type passage to reinforce link between structure, parts of speech, context and meaning**

In the passage below, substitute **synonymous** words for the words which are under-lined. A full list of synonyms is provided below. Use each word only once, and tick off each one on the list as you use it.

A TERRIFYING EXPERIENCE

When Sipho found (---------------) that he was by himself (----------------)
in a dark, empty dead end street (---------------), his heart began to beat
quickly (--------------------). His friends (-------------------) had
deserted (--------------------) him when they were chased (--------------------)
by a group (--------------------) of thugs (--------------------). He called
(--------------------) for help, but his only answer (--------------------) was
a strange (--------------------) quietness (--------------------). His walk
(--------------------) echoed (-------------------) as he ran (----------------)
down the street. He stopped (--------------------) and tried to look
(--------------------) through the white (--------------------) fog (------------),
but everything was misty (--------------------). His legs shook (--------------)
as he compelled (--------------------) himself to walk on. When he came to the
crossroads (--------------------), he sat (--------------------) down to rest.
He was too scared (--------------------) to go on (--------------------). Then
(--------------------) something dark (--------------------) moved at the
doorway (--------------------) of a building. Sipho was too afraid (------------)
to take a breath (--------------------). He heard something coming (--------------)
towards him. He pushed (--------------------) against a wall and attempted
(--------------------) to hide (--------------------) himself, but his pursuer had
just about(--------------------) found (--------------------) him... But fortunately
(--------------------), it was only (--------------------) his good friend Sdu
who had come back to find him.

hoodlums	forced	intersection	breathe	abandoned
conceal	gang	shrieked	pound	eerie
mist	indistinct	silence	suddenly	shrank
raced	ghostly	paused	peer	companions
reverberated	pursued	reply	alone	realised
cul-de-sac	trembled	shadowy	entrance	luckily
moving	terrified	sank	farther	almost
discovered	frightened	tried	merely	footsteps

(For more advanced forms of Cloze exercises, more words than are necessary can be provided. Some of these could act as distractors and thus introduce an added level of skill.)

B: Exercise combining notions of register and wordiness

The passage below has been written in a somewhat wordy style. Rewrite it, reducing the number of words, simplifying where you can but without changing the meaning in any way. Use your dictionary.

There is no legislation which compels one to employ lengthy $\frac{10}{9}$

There is no rule forcing you to use long

words in writing or in speech. There is an abundance of $\frac{11}{9}$

words when you speak or write. There are many

brief and perfectly adequate words which satisfy any conting- $\frac{9}{6}$

short   words which can be used

ency and requirement in expressing one's thoughts, and which $\frac{8}{9}$ (7)

to express your thoughts (clearly and) well, and which

fulfil the function just as adequately as multisyllabic words $\frac{9}{9}$ (6)

do the job just as well (as long words)

do. Utterances which employ the minimum quantity of words are $\frac{10}{6}$

Statements using the least words   are

frequently extremely effective in expressing an idea tersely $\frac{8}{5}$

often very effective and meaning ful.

and concisely. One should never under any circumstances eva- $\frac{9}{9}$

Do not/never judge

luate the profundity of the thoughts of a human being by basing $\frac{11}{2}$

the depth of a man's thoughts by being

one's criteria on the length of the words he employs.   The pos- $\frac{12}{7}$

influenced by his use of long words.

session of a vocabulary of long words does not necessarily indicate the pos- $\frac{12}{10}$

Being able to use long words does not always mean

session of profound wisdom on the part of a person. $\frac{9}{5}$

that a person is intelligent.

[118/86(81)]

Instructions may vary. This has been rewritten in a more informal register.
An added impetus to students is for them to compare, say, by a count of words per
line, which was shorter _and_ easier to understand. In this way, learners can
discover the importance of register and the need to _communicate_ with others
rather than to _impress_ them. Once they are familiar with the notion of register,
more sophisticated exercises can be set, investigating the role and intentions of
the speaker and the audience he is addressing (for example, a doctor at a medical
symposium and the same doctor addressing a group of school children, a politician,
a churchman, a working class man, etc.).

APPENDIX VIII

PERCENTAGES OF ERROR			
	LIKELY TO BE INTERLINGUAL	PARTIALLY INTERLINGUAL	PROBABLY INTRALINGUAL
ARTICLE :			
Omitted	2,353		
Incorrect/redundant	2,983		
Demonstrative = article	0,044		
GENDER + PRONOUNS:			
Gender confusion	1,138		
Noun + pronoun	1,480		
of + noun/pronoun instead of possessive or apostrophe	0,464		
demonstrative + noun instead of pronoun	0,254		
Him/her; his/her; himself/ herself, etc. inappropriately used			0,486
General reluctance to use pronoun		1,381	
CONCORD, NUMBER + ASSOCIATED ERRORS:			
Non-agreement of verb with noun or pronoun		4,441	
Non-agreement of noun with pronoun		0,586	
Confusion between singular and plural noun forms		2,960	
Confusion in the use of determiners and quantifiers	0,596		
Incorrect singular or plural forms of certain substantives		0,099	
SENTENCE-LINKING DEVICES:			
Use of two conjunctions where one is redundant	0,276		
Conjunction incorrect or omitted		2,121	
Incomplete sentence with conjunction, but lacking a main verb			2,729
Idiosyncratic conjunctival and connective forms:			
never mind = although		0,022	
if that = if			0,011
because that		0,088	
'As we know that' incomplete	0,110		
When..., it is then that...	0,022		

	LIKELY TO BE INTERLINGUAL	PARTIALLY INTERLINGUAL	PROBABLY INTRALINGUAL
SENTENCE-LINKING DEVICES (contd.)			
Like = for example		0,122	
Like when = for example			0,133
'in such a way' inappropriate	0,011		
such that = so that	0,044		
'only to find' inappropriate			0,088
coming to = in respect of			
So (now)	0,243		
Really,		0,066	
Again = also, too	0,144		
'If ever' inappropriate			0,011
'in case of' inappropriate			0,011
'in fact' inappropriate			0,011
'on my side' = 'As far as I am concerned'			0,022
'Even' inappropriate	0,022		
'So as to' inappropriate			0,022
False, illogically joined sentences			0,928
Relatives:			
Omission		0,298	
Confusion between Who/that/which/like	0,442		
Confusion between Who/whom/whose/which	0,265		
idiosyncratic use of 'of which'		0,044	
Pronoun (+ noun)= relative, interrogative, possessive	0,188		
Pronoun + demonstrative = relative		0,077	
DEGREE + EXTENT:			
Confusion in comparative and superlative forms	0,895		
Confusion between 'as', 'like', 'so' and 'then'	0,475		
Confusion between adjectives and adverbs of degree and extent - 'too', 'very', 'much', 'so', 'very much'+adjective - inappropriate	0,231		
Idiosyncratic uses of 'in such a way', 'such that'		0,099	
'no more' = 'no longer'		0,033	

	LIKELY TO BE INTERLINGUAL	PARTIALLY INTERLINGUAL	PROBABLY INTRALINGUAL
PREPOSITIONS:			
Omitted, incorrect, redundant		7,115	
VERBAL ERRORS:			
Incorrect tense		6,591	
Incorrect use of continuous tense		2,254	
Abuse of potential form			
'can' + 'may' : general	0,961		
can be able	0,033		
can = will, would	0,022		
I can say	0,320		
'You can find' inappropriate	0,354		
Incorrect past tense with infinitive + auxiliary verbs		0,663	
Incorrect forms of the infinitive and gerund/participle	0,254		
Confusion between forms of 'to be', 'been' and 'being'		0,851	
Unrelated participle		0,398	
Omission of 'be' in passive 'Still being while'	0,022	0,033	
Modal auxiliaries: 'must', 'going to', 'would',etc.	1,061		
Confusion in the use of 'do', 'does' and 'did'	0,431		
Confusion between infinitive and 'that' clauses	0,055		
'Make'/'let' + redundant infinitive 'We find that' inappropriate	0,354 0,155		
'Cause to' inappropriate		0,044	
'It is said' inappropriate	0,011		
SYNTAX:			
Object before subject	0,188		
Separation of subject from clause		0,343	
Syntactical confusion between direct and indirect question	0,166		
General confusion between direct speech and indirect speech	0,055		

	LIKELY TO BE INTERLINGUAL	PARTIALLY INTERLINGUAL	PROBABLY INTRALINGUAL
SYNTAX (contd.)			
Incorrect position of 'not'	0,110		
Miscellaneous syntactical errors:		⌐ 480	
adverbial			
split infiniti es			
transferred negation			
OMISSION:			
of adjective/adverb			0,254
of noun after adjective) of adjective after noun)			0,244
of subject/object			1,039
PUNCTUATION			
comma) full stop (omission of?)			3,392
capitalisation: inappropriate) omission)			1,989
apostrophe: incorrect) omission)			0,950
ORTHOGRAPHY:			
'infact', 'inlove', 'inorder', etc.	0,552		
LEXIS:			
Archaic:			
There came...	0,121		
Knew not...	0,022		
General			0,961
Americanisms			
Slang:			0,707
This side	0,022		
Place = home			0,044
Incorrect part of speech in grammatical context:			
e.g. adj. = noun			
verb = adverb, etc.			2,673
Non-existent form of noun, verb, adjective, adverb			1,978

	LIKELY TO BE INTERLINGUAL	PARTIALLY INTERLINGUAL	PROBABLY INTRALINGUAL
LEXIS: (contd.)			
Inappropriate register and context			3,867
Inappropriate idiosyncratic expressions:			
'was there' = 'existed'	0,133		
'to such an extent/d' = 'so much'	0,099		
'get a child'	0,110		
'turn to be' = 'become'	0,022		
'make' = 'do'	0,044		
'by all means' inappropriate		0,055	
'propose love'	0,155		
'these nowadays'		0,431	
'funny things'		0,055	
'was from' = 'came from'			0,011
'have' + noun = 'be' + adjective	0,011		
Incomplete expression/idiom			0,044
Generally poor expression			4,066
Incorrect form of verb:			3,116
REDUNDANCY AND PROLIXITY			4,918
Contradiction, non sequiturs and illogical connections			0,144

SPELLING:

Vocalic:

	LIKELY TO BE INTERLINGUAL	PARTIALLY INTERLINGUAL	PROBABLY INTRALINGUAL
Confusion between [e] and [æ]	2,177		
" " [i:] and [ai]		1,193	
" " [i:] and [i]	0,685		
" " [ɔ], [ei] and [ɛə]	0,575		
" " [e] and [ə]			
[i:], [e], [ai], [iə] and [ɛə]			0,343
Inversion ei = ie			
oe = eo		0,331	
ai = ia			
ie = ei			
Confusion between [ɑ:], [æ] and [ʌ]	0,320		
" " [ou] and [ɔ:]	0,243		

	LIKELY TO BE INTERLINGUAL	PARTIALLY INTERLINGUAL	PROBABLY INTRALINGUAL
SPELLING (contd.)			
Confusion between [ʊə],[ɔə], [ʊə] and [ʊ]			
"　　" [oʊ] and [ɔ]			
"　　" [ɔː] and [ɒ]	0,386		
Confusion between [ə] and basic vowels	0,221		
General: terminal vowel addition insertion of vowel omission of vowel	0,330		
CONSONANTAL:			
General: duplicated consonants			2,795
Omission of final -d or-t or -ed	1,514		
'Silent' r and l	0,773		
Confusion between [d] and [t]		0,230	
"　　" [b] and [p]		0,044	
"　　" [ŋ] and [ŋk]		0,044	
Aspirated [w]			0,044
[t] for [θ] and [ð]			0,044
Inversion e.g. revelance= relevance			0,022
Confusion between [tʃ] and [ʃ]	0,011		
"　　" [z] and [s]			0,011
UNCLASSIFIED:			
Miscellaneous			0,906
TOTAL :	100,370%	25,758%	35,598% 39,014%

APPENDIX IX

SELECTED EXAMPLES OF WRITTEN WORK

A: Example of better work

(Tswana-speaking; 17 years old; female)

The story took place in an old village in the rural area, where traditional customs were being followed. Ladies wore long dresses, caps and capes which kept the body from being exposed. Today ladie's who live in both areas wear shorter, transparent and tighter clothes. A girl was not supposed to fall pregnant or have premarital sex, while this days girls fall pregnant. In the days when the story took place it was a shame to see a girl standing around at night with strange boys or boyfriends. Today everyone minds his own business

In the book and in today's life we still have two types of love, false and true love. Troy had a false love for Miss Everdene by swearing that he loved her whilst he loved Fanny more than her. People still fall for other for their fortune, like Troy, he loved Bathsheba because Bathsheba had money. This still happens today in case of schoolgirls or schoolboy, they fall for elder people because of their riches. A woman was not supposed to propose love to a man. Bathsheba did this, but because she had respect she found it better to marry Boldwood because she was afraid of her name being scandalized. Ladies do not care this days

Oak had true love for Bathsheba, he was disappointed after his proposal was denied but he didn't look back. Gabriel waited for the fruit to ripen knowing that he will get Bathsheba. There are still men who are like Oak but not many. Once he is turned down he searches further on for some one.

Bathsheba was beautiful, men fell for her and she was easy if you flattered her. Ladies have this as an inborn talent and they will never ever change. Beautiful girls become vane after they are being flattered and as a result they become flirtious thus she brings hatred amongst the rivals. Boys kill one another because of flirts. Handsome boys also become flirtious and this causes a very serious result of girls commiting suicide. Troy was the one who did this and a result Fanny died, if this did not happen the child would be elligitimate which still happens. Boys no longer fall for beauty but for brains and fortune.

Troy was dishonest to Fanny and to Bathsheba, he served "two masters" at a time. This still happens in a case of handsome men. Troy used Bathsheba's money on Fanny or the "concubine". This still happens, men spend their wife's money on concubines. Gabriel was honest to his mistress up to the very last moment. Servant overthrow their mistresses by falling in love with their masters this shows dishonesty, which is happening today.

Men are still proud, educated men do not fall for girls who are illeterate or not rich. In the olden days men fell for the beauty of girls which proved to be worthless Gabriel was proud even if Bathsheba was her mistress he stood firm to cover his dignity. In today's life you have to fall at your employer knees to get your work back after you showing your pride. This shows how workers tend to be loyal, loyalty is disguised these days, people still use other people's money which happened in the case of Troy and Pennyways.

My opionion concerning this story is that things like love, honesty and loyalty are still the same. The ending of many lovers and their love affairs is death more than marriage. People should love one another with true love (Agape) and not play around with other people's feelings. Girls should not have premarital sex if they know that they are not on the safe side of it, Like Fanny she was maybe taken by Troys flattering and was maybe not willing to fall for the joke. Respect yourself and never be like Batsheba. This causes tragedy and is killing the world.

B: Example of average work

(Tswana - speaking; 18 years old; male)

I would like to say the good I know about study of "Tess of the d'Urbeville". Compering Tess life with of today's life I see no defference. Tess was of the poor farmily, her surname was d'Urbefiels which means its a farmily living in a country. They were related to the d'Urbevill its a farmily living in a city. These farmily living int town was more superior than the one in the country. Even in todays life we have such farmilys.

Tess youth, she was beautiful and handsome girl. She was drivan by poverty to sick an aid to thier farmily in town. Tess was strongly inlove with Angel, on his arrival she found a lad who show her the sarroundings Thise man give her a strewberry his aim was to proposed her. Tess dicided to leave after nagotiating with Alac DUrbeville. Then he found Alac in the Carrage, then Alac droved the carrage. Alac came with his dirty decition of proposing her but he was rejected. Tess told him that he is a kinsman.

Alac thought deeply and manaye to drove rapidly along side the crest of the hill. Alax was driving with barbaras menner. He was trying to make Tess to be afraid, he said,"he will break both thier neck"? Tess hat get off his head and she jumped to the ground while the carrage was on motion. She felled down and Alac stoped agently and serduced her. What happened to Tess is what happened in everyday's life.

Tess was married by his lover being Angel, she hide the story to Angel, but she did not went far. All the times Anyel was thinking that Tess was a virgin Tess had to be fair and told his husband the whole story. Angel was cross to heared that and dicided to leave her. Then Angel went to overseas, while was Angel on leave Tess was working in a ush- garden. Its a thing which is familiar to young generation, of todays life.

Alac came again to Tess and made her his wife. Tess thought deeply of Alac, then one day she stab him to death, she was paying a revench. Tess was arrested and was send to custody, even todays life women are killing their husband and husband killed thier wives. She was not freed from the gallows the judge found her innocent, and she was hunged. Then Anyel came back with the aim of forgiving Tess, but unfortunately it was too late Tass was dead.

C: Example of average work

(Zulu-speaking; 18 years old; male)

This story is much at all about todays life nevermind the customs have changed because of morden time. What happened year ago is still conyinueing.

In the past years there was society. The detribalization had change everything such as languages of today.

There is no difference in love. Batsheba loved Troy. Troy loved Mistress for her money. Even today there are girls or boys who love each other for money. The vallentine changed the whole life of Mr Boldwood. Also today, letter or valentines do change some other mans life and Bolwood had strive for right also today man do strive for their rights in love. Gabriel loved Batsheba, but he only asked once and no more. But at last sucsesion he found as man words can not fall down for ever. They must be picked up. Today we also aske love and sometimes strive but at last the right comes.

It may for one to ask for love from a girl while knowing that this girl is occupied, or beg the occupicer to give you a chance while seeing that they love each other. Such a manner as far as I am concern is jealous. Mr Boldwood wanted to marry Batsheba but knowing she she is in love with Troy Jealosy. Even Troy I can say he was greedy because on the other side he was having Panny. Money is the root of sin which created his extimination as for Mr Boldwood to appear as an agressor, agressors, I can say. Such is still continueing today.

Farmer Oak was very honest to his mistress. He was fired and eager he feeled. Later he was called back when Batsheba was in derset. He did not want to derset his mistress he came back. He was very loyal to Batsheba he does all what he was told show and advise his mistress. Liddy was also good loyal and fair to her main Batsheba everdene.

Mr Boldwood's servants were also loyal to him. Even when he was arrested they refused to go and see him as he was a show to them to let Boldwoods hearts flow bad, they decided to show respect.

Seargeant Troy was Dishonesty and disloyal to Batsheba because he loves her money. He lied to get money when in need of it.

Batsheba was very pride. She was always seeking for recognition wherever she goes. She even went into a barrack and with the feeling of being Proud she wanted all mens eyes to look at him.

My opinion is to thank Thomas Hardy about his measures and his enlargements to my mind about love I also like his teaching to girls that they must not run love on charity and they must take into custody of their jurisdiction that they must never joke about love to men. We man ourselves were got not to marry someones wif before he dies. Thankyou Thomas for your relevant jurisdiction for it improves students and the popular's custody about love affairs

D: Example of chronic verbosity and disconnected thoughts

(Zulu-speaking; 18 years old; male)

Yes the story is relevant to the life Today but not completely.

Where happy circumstance permits its development, the compounded feelings proves itself to be the only love which is strong as dead. Like Oak who never rushes, was never sour or bitter and never irritated who take love tenderly and ends up in harmoney.

There came to the making of man, with a gift of tears and Grief, as occurs occasional in life that grievance disturbs. As it happened that life is the shadow of death while Panny died in Castabridge, Troy assasinated and Boldwood life imprisned for killing.

Yes people even today make diffent ways of Living as farmi·g, Oak loses his sheep and he was hired by Bathsheba who later gain it from her uncle. Boldwood who then showed unconcern about his farm, but later he showed more concern when Bathsheba promised him .

Today people considerd themselves better and make other fools such as Bathsheba who annoyed Boldwodd by sending him a silly valentine. Joseph Poorgrass was a stupid by stoping for a drink with a coffin of Fanny and Boldwood who is destroyed by his own weakness.

The life Today is motionless as people get drunk the forget everything behind and beyond, like Bathsheba's servants who became drunk the forget the job they were given including her husband. Poorgrass who was alaways fond of liuor he stops at "Duck's Head" when he is bringing Fanny's dead at home. He showed no respect as an adult to do such thing because he was in the state of destruction.

Vanity Today, you find that women live For it they do so as to attract men to love them as Bathsheba's vanity that lead to fascinate Boldwood and totally disturbed his quiet life Bathsheba did that because Liddy told her that Boldwood take no care in women thus she made an attempt and it succeeded.

We find people who have the good character which enables them to live a better and a simple life who are patient, kind and respectable such as Oak who was always faithful. Never mind Boldwood was ignorant but he was always faithful

Then again there are those people lacking knowledge, unfaithful and wicked. For instead Bathsheba who alwalays promise Boldwood anddisappoint him. Trov who was cruel to his wife Fanny, he always show no mercy and neglect her, until he showed more concern when she was dead than he showed for her when he was alive.

Surely ! Life has difficulties that usually spoil our character as mankind. But we live nevermind it is disgraceful.

END