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**REPETITION OVERUSED AS AN ACADEMIC WRITING
STRATEGY: A CASE STUDY OF XHOSA-ENGLISH SECOND
LANGUAGE SPEAKERS**

BY

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**THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
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ABSTRACT

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Title: **Repetition Overused As an Academic Writing Strategy: A Case Study of Xhosa-English Second Language Speakers**

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This study uses close linguistic analysis to investigate how a group of Xhosa English Second Language (XESL) Speakers use repetition as a discourse strategy in their written academic work. The study analyses the nature of their repetition and draws on critical theory to situate repetition in its socio-cultural context. The four primary research questions are: (1) What is the nature of repetition in the essays of XESL Speakers? (2) **In what ways does repetition affect the structure of XESL Speakers' written academic argument?** (3) How do items of cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa to English affect the structure of their written argument? (4) How do XESL Speakers texts differ from the genre, which is considered appropriate written academic discourse, in terms of both structure and sentence level?

This study is primarily based on data in the form of written essays collected in the Faculty of Education, University of the Western Cape, in 1998 and 2005. The case study is also informed by student questionnaires and interviews with lecturers. Halliday's (1989 and 2004) conceptual framework of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), as well as cross-linguistic analysis were used to show the precise forms of repetition at the level of the sentence and discourse.

The analysis shows that the participants used repetition to create cohesion and **coherence within their texts in order to make their writing conform to the university's discourse conventions**. Rather than being a surface feature, the repetition in the **students' texts reflects a lack of understanding** of the deep structure of academic argument. The texts reflect a repetitive, inductive, oral, declarative style more typical of traditional Xhosa genres, of conversational discourse, and of political rhetoric. Based on the findings, the study ends with a description of an intervention strategy, which was designed to address the problem of the over-use of repetition.

DECLARATION

I declare that the study 'REPETITION OVERUSED AS AN ACADEMIC WRITING STRATEGY: A CASE STUDY OF XHOSA - ENGLISH SECOND LANGUAGE SPEAKERS' is my own work, and that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

EBRAHIM ALEXANDER

SIGNED:

DATE:

University of Cape Town

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

XESL	Xhosa - English Second Language Speakers
UWC	University of the Western Cape
UCT	University of Cape Town
AD	Academic Development
ADPs	Academic Development Programmes
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
NLS	New Literacy Studies
PSO	Probing, Sifting and Organizing
DET	Department of Education and Training

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Description of the Study

This study investigates how a group of Xhosa English Second Language (XESL) Speakers used repetition as a discourse strategy in their written academic work. The study analyses the nature of their repetition and attempts to situate repetition in its socio-cultural context.

The study has been conducted within the post-apartheid context in South Africa. In recent years, there has been growing concern and debate among academics at many universities in South Africa as well as the post-apartheid ANC led-government regarding issues of redress, access and success of **English Second Language Speakers, particularly 'Black' students for whom** English is a second language (ESL). Theorists have been concerned about the lack of delivery of quality education at the school level which, in turn, has led to debates about standards at the tertiary level and the consequences for the country (Angéllil Carter and Moore, 1998; Boughey, 2000; Leibowitz and Mohamed, 2000; Ncube, 2006; Ndwande, 2006; Tshotsho, 2006). Research by Scott *et al.* (2007) analyses a total of 2005 higher education enrolments and reports a five-fold difference between the gross participation rates of white (60%) and black (12%) 20-24 age-groups. Based on the 2000 intake into Higher Education, the study shows that only 38% of all first-time entering students graduated within five years. A number of structural

changes have been put in place at the level of government in order to widen access through financial support for students from disadvantaged backgrounds as well as the funding of academic development programmes. At the level of pedagogy, many academics have identified the role of English and literacy pedagogy as central to improving access and success.

This study arose from my own experience as a lecturer. It was while marking the essays of a group of XESL Speakers **that I identified that they 'overused' repetition as a discourse strategy in their essays.** The manner in which they used repetition suggested that they were not proficient in the written **academic genre. Nevertheless, Hasan's (1989) statement that repetition is unavoidable in the sense that it is an 'imperative' in the development of explicit linguistic cohesion and coherence,** helped me to realize the significance of repetition. Hasan shows that repetition is crucial to the development of explicit cohesion and coherence. She defines repetition as repeating the same word(s), clause(s) or sentences and describes repetition **as '... archetypical, since all patterns ultimately resolve into some variety of it** (Hasan, 1990:14).

A number of theorists have provided crucial insights into the nature of repetition and its role in different contexts. Halliday (1989), Hasan (1990) and Martin (1990) highlight the role of repetition in the production of cohesion and coherence between different parts of spoken and written texts. Tannen (1989), Gough and Bock (2001) outline the importance of repetition as a conversational discourse strategy in making and interpreting meaning.

Crucially in the context of this study, Kaschula (2002) points out the centrality of repetition in the arrangement of Xhosa oral poetry, and Paxton (2004) identifies the use of repetition by XESL Speakers in their answers to multiple questions. Although Gough and Bock (2001), Kaschula (2002) and Paxton (2004) have all commented on the over-use of repetition by African language speakers, to my knowledge, no one has conducted a close linguistic analysis of precisely *how* repetition functions as a discourse strategy in the **context of students' essays in the higher education context. Perhaps one** reason why no one has considered the importance of repetition in the context of XESL Speakers academic argumentative writing is that repetition appears to be a surface feature that can easily be addressed. My study will show that repetition in XESL Speakers' **texts reflects** not only an inadequate surface fluency, but also a lack of understanding of the deep structure of academic argument.

In this study, I draw a distinction between repetition when used as information and language acquisition strategy, and the functions of repetition as an argument presentation strategy. To my knowledge, academics are perhaps more familiar with the role that repetition plays as a language acquisition strategy as opposed to knowledge presentation within a specific prescribed argument structure. The essays of XESL Speakers in this study **contained numerous examples of how they presented the 'facts' while paying** scant attention **to how the 'facts'** could be integrated into what is generally considered a well-written academic argument within the prescribed deductive model of argumentation in Humanities. There are many and varied forms of

social and linguistic types of repetition, which may be culturally-specific. In this study, my focus is on explicit forms of repetition as used by a group of XESL Speakers within the deductive model of argumentation.

Although repetition contributes to cohesion, not all forms of seemingly cohesive items contribute to coherence (Crystal, 2005). Crystal (2005:262) illustrates this point: *'A week has seven days. Every day I feed my cat. Cats have four legs. The cat is on the mat. Mat has three letters'*.

Despite the fact that certain lexical items are repeated in the above text: *'days and Every day, cat and Cats. The mat and Mat'* are concepts they are not cohesive because they derive from different texts and contexts and thus refer to different times and social contexts. There are not any semantic or meaning relations among *'days and Every day, cat and Cats, The cat, mat and Mat'*. From this illustration, it is clear that apart from using a linguistic criterion to assess whether repetition is cohesive, one should view it also in its socio-cultural and historical context.

Furthermore, in view of Crystal's (2004:262) illustration about cohesion, it is crucial to distinguish between semantic and conceptual cohesion. Semantic cohesion in this study refers to situations in which certain cohesive devices may share the same semantic value, but are not cohesive, as Crystal (2005) illustrates in the above example. In contrast, conceptual cohesion refers to situations in which cohesive devices are not only present, but they also show a definitive link between and among ideas.

Importantly, cohesion could also result from a sense of shared

knowledge between speaker and listener, or writer and reader (Crystal, 1993). The implication of this is that in second-language contexts, speakers may well be transferring notions of coherence from other linguistic and socio-cultural contexts. At a linguistic level, Xhosa and English are not cognate languages. In addition, theorists have shown that discourse conventions within Xhosa culture are primarily oral and draw on complex and rich traditions that are very different from Western academic genres (Gough and Bock, 2001; Kaschula, 2002). Because of the nature of separate racial and ethnic schooling in South Africa, many of these traditions have permeated into schooling contexts (Paxton, 2004).

Given the significance of the cohesive functions of repetition, the question then arises; whether repetition is unavoidable and XESL Speakers in this study used it inappropriately, and if so, how one assesses repetition when overused as a discourse strategy with a view to developing an intervention strategy. To answer this question, I assumed that one would have to do a systematic analysis of repetition to get an idea of the types of repetition and the manner in which they have overused repetition as in their writing. Based on the outcome of a systematic linguistic analysis, I would then be in position to develop a corresponding, contextually-sensitive intervention strategy.

My study draws centrally on Halliday's (1989 and 2004) conceptual framework of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) to analyse the linguistic features that make spoken and written texts cohesive and coherent. In this

research, I am particularly interested in how XESL Speakers used repetition to appropriate the university discourses as they tried to make their writing conform to the university's discourse conventions. To understand the role of repetition as used by a group of XESL Speakers, I follow the argument of critical linguistic theorists that one should explore the relationship between language and culture because culture plays a pivotal role in how people learn and make meaning. In South Africa, previously the peculiar context of apartheid has meant that the relationship between the cultural context and language learning has tended to be obscured because of a desire on the part of academics to distance themselves from apartheid National Party's attempts to foreground ethnic differences by conflating language and culture. The Nationalist Party presented language and culture historically as immutable entities in which people could not change their identities (Alexander, 2002).

1.2 Context of the Study

1.2.1 The Research Site

This study is based on my work experiences with Xhosa-English Second Language students as a tutor and part-time lecturer in the Academic Development Programme of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa between 1994 and 1998. During this time, I became aware that many undergraduate students in my tutorial groups struggled to integrate educational theories into their academic writing. They often complained that lecturers presented theories in a manner that seemed far removed from their daily life experiences. Because most of

them had been taught narrative writing skills at school, I thought that a good way of initiating them to meet the demands and constraints of academic writing would be to use their experiences in narrative writing as a point of entry. Hence, as part of my master's degree, I designed a heuristic, which I called 'From Theory to Practice' and 'From Practice to Theory' (Alexander, 1994). The purpose of the heuristic was to make explicit the use of theories in academic writing. In the theory to practice exercise, students had to describe their belief system(s). Afterwards, they had to explain how their beliefs influenced their social practices. In the practice to theory exercises, they had to narrate a personal story – something memorable that happened to them. They then had to use a theoretical framework of their choice to interpret their stories, and provide their interpretation.

The objective of this method was to assess whether students could obtain written coherence by conceptually linking the introduction, body and conclusion of their essays. I found these exercises useful in teaching students how to differentiate between theory and practice in academic writing. At the time of that study, I did not distinguish among different English second language speakers (ESLS) Xhosa, Zulu, Afrikaans, Sotho and so on, to assess whether there were differences in the manner in which they constructed cohesion and hence coherence. My subsequent observation that XESL Speakers overused repetition as a discourse strategy helped me to realize the need to differentiate among language groups for the purposes of critical and strategic academic intervention.

UWC, like many other previous universities for 'non-white' people, was

created under the Extension of University Education Act, which permitted only people **of a specified 'race group' to attend certain universities. The apartheid government created UWC for 'Coloured' people, the term used to describe people of mixed ancestry or people it could not easily designate** (Abrahams, 2000). The Nationalist party government officials inaugurated UWC in 1960, in a primary building school in Bellville with 164 students (Walker and Badsha, 1993:2). They relocated UWC to Modderdam Road in **Bellville. Students from mostly working class 'Coloured' communities attended** the university. Although, the university also used English as a medium of instruction, Afrikaans was the principal mode of tuition. From the late 1980s, there was a gradual process of opening UWC up for access to other South African citizens. As part of this process, the medium of instruction shifted to English in 1989 (Volbrecht, 1993). This situation posed major challenges for the university, especially with regard to how to address language-related problems in education.

1.2.2 The Students' Educational Backgrounds

Most of the 'Black' students at UWC in this study come from working class areas and attended previously Department of Education and Training (DET) schools. Former DET schools are situated in apartheid created townships characterized by extremely poor social and educational infrastructures. In this regard, Gough (1996:13) points out that in the case of Black learners and their relationship with English, apartheid education restricted the acquisitional context of English learning and teaching because of overcrowded classrooms,

limited facilities, under-trained teachers, legislated residential and educational segregation from native English speakers. Of equal and critical importance is that teachers, in general, were and still are themselves Black English speakers (Gough, 1996; Vesely, 2000). These conditions prevail, while **everyday interaction in the students' communities and home environments** continually occur in their mother tongue (Gough, 1996; Vesely, 2000).

It is critical to note that the difficulties second-language students face in becoming proficient in academic literacy, are not unique to South African Second Language students. Many of the challenges that South African academic development practitioners face regarding student writing are similar to those experienced in other Anglophone countries in which students have to learn and study through a second language (Mohamed, 2000). However, these difficulties have been exacerbated by the context of poor schooling and literacy development in the home language. In addition, **significant challenges are posed by the disjuncture between the students' home and school cultures and that of higher education.** As Hutchings (1998:117) points out, in practice, many African language students have to organise themselves to learn **'questions of epistemology (questions about the knowledge they may have about a particular language), acquisition of particular discourses, social relationships, lifestyles, as well as issues surrounding access to higher education'.** As many theorists have shown (see for example Hutchings (1998), Thesen and van Pletzen (eds) (2006), gaining access to academic discourse in such contexts, can often produce trauma for students as their home identities are questioned by the institutional culture.

According to Dison and Rule (1996), academic access is made more difficult because discourses differ significantly across disciplines and those differences are not made explicit.

In recent years, South African academics have paid increasing attention to the challenges students face when composing in English across diverse disciplines (Angelil-Carter and Moore, 1998:2; Mohamed, 2000:3). In an attempt to address some of the academic difficulties experienced by students, academics working in diverse disciplines have drawn on the arguments of a range of critical theorists who have shown that English is not neutral and that language and literacy learning is socially situated. My thesis will draw centrally on these notions of literacy acquisition.

1.3 The Politics of English in South Africa

When the ANC became South Africa's first democratically elected government in 1994, they granted, for the first time, alongside English and Afrikaans, **South Africa's nine** African languages equal status through the constitution. As mentioned, previously, English and Afrikaans were the only two languages which were accorded official status as it was part of the colonial tradition. Thus, by giving all language official status, the ANC changed a colonial and apartheid tradition of divide and rule where indigenous languages were only recognised in the homelands. Currently, **South Africa's Bill of Rights** guarantees equal treatment to eleven official languages:

Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the

cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights **(South Africa's Bill of Rights, 1996:4)**

- *Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, by other members of the community –*
- *To enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language;*
and
- *To form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.*

The consequent school language policy advocates instruction through the medium of the home language. However, research has shown that English is still the language preferred and promoted for educational instruction by the majority of South Africans (Vinjevold, 1999; Vesely, 2000; Tshotsho, 2006). There are several reasons why Black English Second Language (L2) Speakers in South Africa choose English as medium of instruction. Firstly, English is linguistically prominent in education because most educational resources are in English (De Wet, 2002; de Kadt, 2002; de Klerk, 2002). Secondly, English is also the dominant language of national and international capital markets. Thirdly, many anti-apartheid activists labelled Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor (Herbert, 1992). Since the apartheid government failed to implement Afrikaans as an official language in African schools, English became the preferred medium of instruction after the Soweto uprising of **1976 when 'Black' students protested against the implementation of Afrikaans** as medium of instruction at their schools. Since its status shifted from having

been the language of the oppressor to the language of national unity and liberation it became a tool to address apartheid-assigned cultural differences (Alexander, 2000). In many contexts, English is perceived as the only viable channel that can be utilised to mediate real, or perceived cultural differences (Kamwangamalu, 2002).

For many South Africans, English is not even a second language, but a third or fourth one. Nevertheless, as Boughey (2000), Kapp (2001) Paxton (2004) and Tshotsho (2006) show, learning and writing essays through the medium of English poses major challenges for ESL students. Since English is the preferred language of instruction for many Black students, I want to argue alongside Ferguson (1992), Kachru (1997) and de Kadt (2002) that we should move away from interpreting English as a European language (Ferguson, 1992), which drives a wedge between us and them (Kachru, 2002). We should instead **pursue the 'World English Paradigm'** (Kachru, 1997:215). This means, in the South African context:

In rejecting the traditional dichotomy between native and non-native speakers, the World English paradigm instead focuses on the use of English for intranational and international purposes. The plural **Englishes shift in the focus to the 'functions of the language in diverse plurastic contexts** (Kachru, 1997:215).

This shift entails developing a close linguistic understanding of how students are mediating between languages and discourses. It entails developing **models of teaching and learning that move away from constructing students' backgrounds only in deficit terms, and instead using an understanding of**

students' home languages and culture to mediate explicitly the development of appropriate academic literacy in English.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

In view of this general and important concern about academic access and lack of resources to support ESL students, the objectives of this study are to:

1. Analyse inappropriate forms of repetition that show, what I call, underdeveloped academic writing capacity.
2. Propose an intervention model, or principles that can be used in small classroom settings to guide academics to address inappropriate forms of repetition.
3. Contribute to bridging the gap between the theory and practice of language pedagogy in ADPs in South Africa.
4. Generate debate, research and influence policy that could focus on the language-specific needs of other groups of English L2 Speakers such as Afrikaans, Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, and so on.

1.5 Research Questions

I divided my initial research question "How does one address the issue of repetition when overused as a discourse strategy by English Second Language students or any other group of undergraduate students?" into 4 primary research questions. The primary research questions would enable me to do a close and systematic linguistic analysis of repetition with a view to

meet my research outcomes (See section 1.4):

1. What is the nature of repetition in the essays of XESL Speakers?
2. In what ways does repetition affect the structure of XESL Speakers' written academic argument?
3. How do items of cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa to English affect the structure of their written argument?
4. How do XESL Speakers texts differ from the genre, which is considered appropriate written academic discourse, in terms of both structure and sentence level?

Answers to the 4 primary questions became the basis from which I address my secondary research question:

5. What strategies can academics use to mediate repetition and other linguistic features that XELS speakers overused as part of their written academic discourse strategy in the discipline of education?

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study is not about the meaning of words. The focus of this study is a close and systematic linguistic analysis of repetition overused as discourse strategy by a group of XESL Speakers to show particularly how repetition contributes to cohesion and coherence which, in turn, shaped the structural outcome of XESL Speakers' **written academic argument**.

1.7 Definition of Concepts

The following concepts are central to this study. It is important that one understands them within the context of the research argument.

1.7.1 Repetition

Repetition in this study refers to lexical items, phrases, clause structures that appear in redundant forms in the text of XESL Speakers (Hasan, 1989). In other words, it refers to situations in which XESL Speakers could have used alternative lexical, phrase and clause forms to express their ideas.

1.7.2 Discourse

Discourse in this study refers to language use either in the form of spoken or written texts (Halliday, 1989 and 2004). It concerns language use beyond the sentence level, which involves how spoken as well as written texts construct identities, and regulate relationships (Fairclough, 2002). The different meanings of discourse are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

1.7.3 Register

Register refers to language variation in diverse social contexts. For Halliday (1989 and 2004), register comprises three categories - tenor (who is involved), field (what is happening) and mode (the part that language plays) of discourse (language use). At a linguistic level, tenor of discourse includes experiential themes, field, interpersonal themes and mode of discourse - the

register type in use. The register concept is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

1.7.4 Genre

The concepts 'register' and 'genre' in spoken and written texts often overlap, particularly in the areas of linguistic variation and analysis of spoken and written texts by linguists. This may happen because, without reference to language variation (register), one is confronted with some difficulty, to discuss disciplinary knowledge (genre) in a given text. We become aware of differences in writing across disciplines because of variation in language use. In other words, we identify written genres with reference to its varieties (registers). In this study, the concepts of 'register' and 'genre' are used interchangeably in order to refer to both variations in XESL Speakers language use as well as disciplinary knowledge, which they possessed in relation to the topic in their written academic essays.

1.7.5 Texture and Structure

Texture, in this study refers to the XESL Speakers' **ongoing selection of** cohesive devices which they used to conceptually link what they have said before and what is to follow (Hasan, 1990). Structure on the other hand, refers to the global message form, particularly its introduction, body and conclusion (Martin, 1990), or what Hasan (1990) refers to as a precipitating event, consequence and revelation.

1.7.6 Literacy

Literacy has previously meant the ability to read and write formal texts. In this study, I follow the arguments of New Literacy Studies, (Gee, 1996; Lea and Street, 1998) that literacy is multidimensional and multifunctional. Since literacy is context-specific, there is more than one form of literacy, which goes beyond mere reading and writing of formal texts. The concept literacy is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

1.8 Thesis Overview

1.8.1 Chapter 1: Introduction and Background to the Study

In this chapter, I discussed briefly the factors that motivated a study into repetition used as a discourse strategy by a group of XESL Speakers. As such, this chapter provides a brief overview of the central issues in the research, the research problem, context and objectives and an account of how I generated the research questions.

1.8.2 Chapter 2: The Theoretical Framework

This chapter reviews the literature that is relevant to understanding the **research problem. It draws particularly on Halliday's** (1989 and 2004) theory of register, the tenor, field and mode of discourse to develop a framework for the analysis of repetition in relation to discourse and to cohesion and coherence within texts.

1.8.3 Chapter 3: An Examination of the Research Methodology

This chapter explains how I used the theory discussed in Chapter 2 to develop the research design and method, which I then applied to test the data in order to answer the primary research questions. I drew primarily on SFG as developed by Halliday (1989 and 2004) as well as research on cross-linguistic transfer in order to develop a rubric for close linguistic analysis of the students' texts.

1.8.4 Chapter 4: The Nature and Effect of Repetition on XESL Speakers' Written Academic Argument

In this chapter, I implemented the analytical model that I developed from the literature in Chapter 2 and the rubric in Chapter 3, in order to identify, describe, analyse and discuss the functions of repetition and how they affect the structure of the students' texts.

1.8.5 Chapter 5: Proposed Intervention Model: Relating Repetition to Texts and Contexts

Emanating from a process of a close and systematic linguistic analysis of repetition used as a discourse strategy by XESL Speakers, this chapter proposes strategies (that are informed and guided by the analysis of data, interviews, questionnaires and literature in this study) that can be used in small classroom settings.

1.8.6 Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter summarises the main findings of the dissertation. It evaluates the contribution of this study to language pedagogy and academic access. It also makes suggestions for further research.

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CHAPTER 2

The Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

As I explained in Chapter 1, in this study, I sought to understand the nature of repetition in XESL students' texts. Central to my study is an attempt to explore the relationship between repetition and cohesion and coherence, and to situate students' texts in their sociolinguistic and socio-cultural contexts.

I review Halliday's (1989 and 2004) and later Hasan (1990) and Martin's (1990) Systemic Functional approaches to language in use (discourse), in the form of spoken and written texts, in particular, in order to develop a framework for understanding how cohesion and coherence are created and to analyse the relationship between cohesion, coherence and repetition. However, I also show that in order to fully understand, and therefore develop an appropriate intervention strategy to address repetition, it is necessary to (1) understand the nature of cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa to English, and (2) to locate students' writing beyond the immediate context of situation. I draw on post-structuralists' notions of discourse to take into account the socio-cultural and educational contexts and use a broad range of South African studies to develop an analytical framework to describe, analyse and explain the nature of repetition in my data.

This study adopts Hymes' (1967), Halliday's (1989) and many subsequent

post-**structuralist theorists' notions** that how people learn to speak and write is generally influenced and shaped by their exposure to the context of situation (the total verbal environment) and context of culture (their present and past experiences) of something in speech or written form. According to Halliday (1989 and 2004), every context of situation and culture places **certain demands and constraints on the individual's participation in speech or writing activities.**

2.2 Locating the Study

Halliday's social approach to language studies has been seminal to the discipline of Applied Linguistics. Halliday (1989) argued that we should not separate language use from meaning because the two are inextricably bound. Halliday (1989) illustrates meticulously that language becomes meaningful when used. Meaning is realized in social contexts because the meaning of a word or sentence may change as the social context changes. In contrast to structuralists for whom words and sentences are the object of analysis, for Halliday (1989 and 2004) texts are the object of analysis. According to Halliday (1989), meaning is encoded in words and sentences; hence, one cannot separate words and sentences. However, rather than treat words as independent entities, one should explore from a linguistic and social perspective, the interrelationship between and among words and sentences through textual analysis. The purpose of textual analysis, which has the interrelationship between words and sentences as its focus is to show how cohesion and coherence unfolds in texts. He reasons that language happens

in social contexts, people are social beings and education is a social process. **It is then, in this regard, that Halliday's framework of SGL becomes** increasingly relevant to this study because XESL Speakers are social beings, who experienced and practised repetition not only in texts, but also in a social as well as educational context(s).

I found Halliday's (1989 and 2004) conceptual framework of systemic functional grammar useful to analyse and discuss the interrelationship between XESL Speakers use of language, in particular repetition and discourse on the one hand, and cohesion and coherence on the other. For this reason, I discuss his model of grammar in greater detail. Whereas **Chomsky's (1957) cognitive grammar model seeks to explain and clarify the** point that all people **have the innate ability to acquire language, Halliday's** grammar explains what people do with their language(s) and how and why they use it in particular ways to achieve a variety of goals. Unlike Chomsky who focuses on how grammars are structurally generated in, and by the mind, Halliday (1989 and 2004) chooses function and purpose as the two **main components responsible for the generation of peoples' grammars.** Halliday illuminates what he means by function and purpose and their role(s) in the generation of a discourse of grammar:

In the simplest sense, the word function can be thought of as a **synonym for the word 'use', so that so that when we talk about** functions of language, we may mean no more than the way people use their language or their languages if they have more than one. Stated in most general terms, people do different things with their language; that is, they expect to achieve by talking and writing, and by listening and reading, a large number of different aims and

different purposes (Halliday, 1989:15).

The quotation illustrates the point that in order to understand how people generate different grammars, we have to place language use as spoken and written texts within social contexts. It is, according to Halliday, the linguistic demands and constraints of social contexts that influence and shape people's choice of discourse (language use), which, in turn, influences and shapes what they consider cohesive and coherent. The underlying question that Halliday sought to address was, **'What makes language use or discourse coherent?** His implicit answer to this question was, cohesive devices, which **normally start with a Theme (the speaker's, or writer's point of departure)** and rheme (all subsequent clause structures related to the Theme). One can link **Rheme structures (clauses) conceptually to a speaker's or writer's point of departure in any given spoken or written texts. This brings me to Halliday's next implied question: 'Where, what and how do we decide to use cohesive devices in order to make discourse in the form of spoken and written texts coherent?'** **Halliday's implied answer to this question is that the types of cohesive devices people decide to use are determined by the linguistic demands and constraints of the context of situation and culture. Halliday substantiates this point:**

A text is characterised by coherence; it hangs together. At any point after the beginning, what has gone before provides the environment for what is coming next. This sets up internal expectations; and these are matched up with the expectations referred to earlier, that the listener or reader brings from the external sources, from the context of situation and culture. (Halliday, 1989:48)

According to Halliday, one would find actors, actions and goals to be achieved, in every context of situation, regardless of the language a person may use. These are universal features found in all languages. Therefore, in my analysis of XESL Speakers written academic argument in which I seek to assess the role of repetition in relation to cohesion and coherence, I have to highlight their points of departure in their essays. As mentioned earlier, **Hasan (1990) refers to a speaker or writer's point of departure as a *precipitating event*, which leads to a *consequence*, and then concludes with a *revelation*.** These three elements are stages in the development of the **discourse. In view of Halliday's notion of the role of context of situation and culture, one can ask the question in the case of XESL Speakers: 'Were their essays cohesive and coherent in terms of the **discipline's** context of situation and culture?'**

Halliday (1989) describes actors as the tenor of discourse, action as the field of discourse, and goal as the mode of discourse. As stated earlier, the tenor is contained in noun and pronoun forms. Nouns and pronouns express interpersonal themes or meanings. Verbs and verbal extension, express the field of discourse. The textual aspects of lexical and conjunctive cohesion have an effect on the mode of discourse. The textual functions of the mode of discourse manifest the tenor and field of discourse. I discuss the textual functions of lexical cohesion in section 2.2 under the headings 'repetition, texture and structure of discourse' and conjunctive cohesion under the heading 'conjunctive cohesion in expository texts' in section 2.3. Halliday

refers to the three modes of discourse collectively as 'register'. Table 1.1 illustrates Halliday's (1989) framework of register analysis of discourse.

Table 2.1 Analytical Framework of Systemic Functional Grammar (Register)

Actor	Action	Goal
Tenor (who is involved) Tenor of discourse	Field (what is happening) Field of discourse	Mode (part language is playing) Mode of discourse
Meanings		
Interpersonal (mood, modality, person, etc)	Experiential (transitivity, naming etc.)	Textual (theme, information, cohesive relations)

Since Halliday's (1989 and 2004) analytical framework is linguistic in orientation, but intended and directed towards revealing the social dimensions of grammar, his approach is fundamentally different from conventional structural approaches, which use grammatical categories, subject (noun), predicate (verb) and object (noun). For example, in conventional grammar, 'The man (subject) kicks (predicate) the ball (object). In contrast, Halliday's focus of analysis would not only be on what is happening in terms of conventional grammar models, but also who is involved, and even more critically, he would seek to explore the historical, social and cultural reasons why the man kicked the ball. He does this, by interpreting verbs as process establishing devices. Different verbs create different meaning processes. Examples of verb forms that indicate existence and possession are 'having' and 'being'. Verb forms that indicate movement and location are 'sending', 'carrying', 'going', 'putting', and so on. In the case

of languages, such as Xhosa and English, which are not cognate, speakers, or writers of the two languages might have a different sense or understanding of existence, possession, movement and location within discourse. Martin (1990) shows **how Halliday's SFG model seeks to** address historical, social and cultural processes in the establishment of meaning.

Martin explains how Halliday's grammar differs from structural models:

By contrast Halliday's **approach to grammar has a number of real** strengths, the first of which is the fact that its basis is semantic, not syntactic: that is to say, it is semantically driven grammar, which, while not denying certain principles of syntax do apply, seeks to consider and identify the role of various linguistic items in any text in terms of their function in building meaning (Martin, 1990: ix).

Table 1.2 augments the above quotation by highlighting the key differences **between a 'socio-cultural driven' - Systemic Functional Grammar and Chomsky's cognitive Universal Grammar model. I show these 'differences' to motivate further why I have chosen Halliday's model to analyse repetition.**

One of the major differences between Chomsky's (1957) Universal Grammar and Halliday's (1978, 1989 and 2004) Systemic Functional Grammar **is that Chomsky follows Saussure's ahistorical approach, while anthropologist Malinowski inspired Halliday's socio-cultural orientation to language use.**

Table 2.2 Key Differences between Systemic and Structural Grammar

	Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar	Chomsky's Structural Grammar
1	Heuristic model of grammar	Algorithmic model of grammar
2	Language as a social event	Language as a cognitive feature
3	Systematic	Structural
4	Functional and Semantic	Structural and Syntactic
5	Paradigmatic Relations	Syntagmatic Relations
6	Language action and reflection	Language acquisition
7	Language as resource for understanding and intervening	Language as reflection of mind
8	Texts as object of analysis	Sentences as object of analysis

Just like Saussure (1916), Chomsky (1957) distinguishes between langue (system of a given language), parole (the speech of one speaker of a particular language) to discuss competence (what a speaker may know about language) and performance (what he does to acquire the language).

Halliday's interest is in the form of spoken or written texts that people use within a particular social-cultural and historical context. Halliday's (1989 and 2004) position is that meaning is formed by a dialectical process; by interaction between an individual's mind and socio-cultural influences that shape choices made by the mind. Halliday explains why one needs to explore language use within social context:

The general notion of context of situation is as necessary for the understanding of English or any other major language as it is for the understanding of Kiriwinian. It is simply that the specific contexts of the culture are different. The activities that people are engaging in may differ from one place to another; but the general principle that all language must be understood in its context of situation is just as valid for every community in every stage of development (Halliday, 1989:8)

Malinowski (1923) was not the only theorist **who influenced Halliday's SFG** framework of textual analysis, which seeks to explain how cohesion and **coherence may function in different cultures. Halliday's emphasis on grammar as in 'use' (function) and 'as a system' in a socio-historical context,** was also influenced and shaped by the ideas of a long tradition of Marxists - critical thinkers regarding the materiality of language - language as a means of production (Volosinov, 1930), and language as culture (Vygotsky, 1962). According to critical linguists the social position people find themselves in in society determines the manner in which they use language as well as have access to it. This latter is critical in the South African context in which many South African academics have emphasized the disadvantaged position that 'Black' students find themselves in, which contributes to their daily struggles involving academic access and the acquisition of university discourses (Angélie Carter and Moore, 1998; Leibowitz and Mohamed, 2000; Boughey, 2000; Tshotsho, 2006; Gough, 1996)

Critical linguistics is particularly useful to address issues of academic access through second language and the functions of language pedagogy. **The aim of critical linguistics is 'recovering the social meanings expressed in discourse by analysing the linguistic structures in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts' (Fowler *et al.* 1979:195-6).** This means that while positivists perceive language as an entity that is distinct from other spheres of life, for Halliday (1989) and associates, Hasan, Martin, Kress and But (1990) language is just one system of meaning making amongst many others, which Halliday argues may include music, dance,

painting, sculptor, and so on. These other systems shape language use and, in turn, people use language to mold them (Halliday, 1989, 2004). Thus, although linguistic, social and cultural factors influence and shape our use of cohesive devices, which are aimed at developing coherent discourse(s), language is the primary system that **people use to 'make sense of experiences and enact social relationships'** (Halliday, 2004:29). This notion that language is a system that interacts with other systems is best expressed by Capra (1982):

The new vision of reality we have been talking about is based on awareness of the essential interrelatedness and interdependence of all phenomena – physical, biological, psychological, social, and cultural (Capra, 1982: 285).

My study is framed within this social view of language. I attempt to understand the manner in which XESL Speakers overused repetition, not only as part of a linguistic system, but critically also a socio-cultural system. In **other words, apart from viewing XESL Speaker's repetition** overused as discourse strategy, as a grammatical feature of choice in their written academic essays, I regard the manner in which they have overused repetition as reflecting their contexts schooling, tertiary education as well as their home culture.

Drawing on his predecessors Malinowski (1923) and Firth (1935), Halliday (1978, 1989, and 2004) maintains that language comes to life when functioning in some environments and that culture plays a role in deciding coherence. However, unlike Malinowski (1923) and Firth (1935) who confined

their analysis and discussion of the context of situation and culture mainly to oral forms of communication, Halliday (1978, 1989, and 2004) includes written forms to show the pervasive nature of context of situation and culture. Crucially, the linguistic and conceptual focus of this study is significantly different. Whereas Halliday (1978, 1989, and 2004) studied, **English First (L1) Language forms, viz. children's fiction, oral narrative, sonnet, autobiography, dramatic dialogue**, in British and Australian contexts, the focus in this study is in a higher educational context in which XESL Speakers have to study in an essentially foreign cultural, linguistic and academic environment.

Therefore, alongside critical theorists and many South African academics (such as Angelil-Carter, 1998; Leibowitz and Mohamed, 2000), I contend that students should be located within their histories and cultures as one seeks to understand the nature of their language use and the connection to issues of accessibility to knowledge. This means that I also acknowledge the identities of XESL Speakers as I seek to analyse and discuss repetition in relation to cohesion and coherence. In this respect, I **follow Kress's (1990:6) lead that 'Institutions and social groupings have specific meanings and values which are articulated in language in systematic ways'**. Moreover, this means, 'The starting point of account is the listener/reader/writer, is seen not as an isolated individual, but as a social agent, located in a network of social relations, in specific places in a social structure' (Kress, 1990:5).

The notion of social agent functioning within social structures also implies

that as writers of academic texts, XESL Speakers were not passive recipients of knowledge, but rather active participants in a situation which they constructed and which, in turn, constructed them. They were participants in a network of social relationships in and outside the university. This view has implications for how one views students in the teaching and learning process. Students from disadvantaged backgrounds are often constructed in deficit notions, whereas many are multilingual students have had to negotiate and straddle multiple discourses (Kapp and Bangeni, 2005; Gough and Bock, 2001). In making students conscious of their agency as well as the norms and values of the discourse through an intervention strategy, they can be helped to make choices as they strive to appropriate university discourses with a view to become fully fledged members of their disciplines. As Clark and Ivanič (1997: 231) point out, we need to make writers aware 'that their discursal choices construct an image of themselves and that they need to take control over this as much as they can; *not* so they can deceive their readers but so that they **do not betray themselves**'.

In view of Clark and Ivanič,s (1997) statement, I endorse the arguments of Halliday (1989) and associates, Hasan (1990), Martin (1990), Kress (1990) and Butler (1990) who all advocate a view of language in use, as a socially-constructed phenomenon in which clauses and sentences are conceived as instances of either spoken or written discourses. From their perspectives, discourses are never fixed and one can therefore adapt them to achieve specific social goals (Halliday, 1989). Since discourse is a socially constructed phenomenon, it follows that I also regard repetition as it appears in the

written academic essays of XESL Speakers as a social construction. Therefore, it is a situation, which can be changed with relevant and sensitive academic intervention and mediation. This notion is encapsulated by Halliday (1989):

In order to incorporate this into our general theory, we need the concept of a variety language, corresponding to a variety of situation: a concept of the kind of variation in language that goes with variation in the context of situation. This therefore is the point at which we need to bring in the notion of a REGISTER (Halliday, 1989:38).

To clarify what he means by register, Halliday (1989:40) cites 'headlines, recipes, legal documents, buying and selling at an auction, communication between doctor and patient' as examples. Although, as Chandler (2000) points out, there has been controversy around the term 'genre', it appears there is close relationship between Halliday's register concept and subsequent work by a range of genre theorists in the field of academic writing.

According to Cope *et al.* (1993), genre theorists who have linguistic analysis of spoken and written forms of language use as their area of interest, **are influenced by Halliday's register model of linguistic analysis.** Therefore, while some academics view register and genre as two distinct phenomena, Cope *et al.* (1993) regard **Halliday's register as the catalyst for genre-based or specialized forms of language studies with educational aims in mind.** Swales (1990:2), whose notion of genre in language studies bears a strong linguistic resemblance to **Halliday's register concept**, states that genre

studies originated in attempts by Barber (1962), Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964) to develop 'language analyses for specific purposes' which, 'historically, began in quantitative studies of the linguistic properties of functional varieties or registers of language'. Therefore, since register and genre studies use similar approaches in their analysis of spoken and written texts, in this study, I use the two concepts interchangeably to refer linguistic variations in spoken and written forms of academic texts. In Chapter 5, I engage with Genre Studies as a field when I present the intervention model.

In this section, I have discussed how Halliday's explanation of cohesion and coherence in terms of tenor (interpersonal themes), field (experiential themes) and mode (textual themes) unfold in discourse. In the next section, I will provide more examples of Halliday's model of register of discourse, particularly textual themes, viz. lexical repetition (Hasan, 1990) and conjunctions (Martin, 1990) in order to demonstrate the role they play in the development of cohesion and coherence in texts.

2.3 Repetition, Texture and Structure

Although I found Halliday's (1989 and 2004) conceptual framework of theme and rheme structures useful to understand how XESL Speakers develop their argument from their initial point of departure, it did not provide an explanatory framework for analyzing overall coherence - how argument structure is sustained cohesively from the introduction of an essay to its conclusion. For this reason, I consulted Hasan's analytical model of texture

and structure. I mentioned earlier, whereas Halliday analyses the **development of cohesion and coherence in children's fiction, oral narrative, sonnet, autobiography, dramatic dialogue, in spoken and written texts, Hasan (1990) does a linguistic analysis of lexical repetition in children's rhymes to show how lexical repetition not only contributes to cohesion and coherence, but also to the development of *texture* and *structure*. In doing this, she expands Halliday's initial categories of register analysis, which involve, as stated textual Themes, the tenor, field and mode of discourse. Hasan (1990:7-28) shows how different types of repetition in the form of parallelism, referring expressions, substitution, ellipsis) contribute to the development of *texture* and *structure* in children's rhymes.**

According to Hasan (1990), although parallel structures are identical in terms of lexis and grammar they are not necessarily identical in every aspect, but rather similar in terms of the lexical elements within clause structures. She notes further that they are similar in number and formal grammatical description. For example, 'The cat sat on the mat.' and 'The boy slept on the bed' are similar or identical in terms of their grammatical construction. Two clauses may also be identical in the sense that they may share the same elements up to a certain point: (1) 'Can you wash it?' and (2) 'Can you wash it clean?' (Hasan, 1990:16). Below is a sample from my data which further illustrates Hasan's point about parallelism and its role in the development of texture and structure:

It was not good in the sense that it provided no opportunity for better

education and life especially for those who are not white. **It means that Apartheid was bad** because it brought Poverty, Unemployment Bantu Education. Many people practice **it** in a wrong way. **It means that Apartheid was good and bad. It was bad** because many South Africans had to leave their belonging country because they were accused of rebelling against the nation.

Other forms of repetition responsible for the development of texture and structure as already mentioned are: referring expressions, substitution and ellipsis. The progression of structural continuity in the form of parallelism, in instances where words may be co-referential, co-classification or co-extensions, and elliptical are referred to as cohesive ties and are constitutive of the text (Hasan, 1990:71). People form cohesive ties in spoken and written texts when they repeat or substitute words that express similar meanings (Hasan, 1990:71). She illustrates how people connect certain words, clauses or sentences to maintain the structure of text:

1. **Co-referential** 'She' could stand in for 'a little girl'. Hasan (1976) describes two types of reference ties – Exophora (situational) and Endophora (textual). She subdivides the latter into Anaphora (referring to a preceding text). An exophoric reference is a relation that is obvious only **to people sharing a particular situation. For example, 'For he's a jolly good fellow'** (my emphasis). **Only the participants know who the 'he' is that is** referred to in this situation (Hasan, 1976). Endophoric (Anaphoric) reference occurs when we repeat a word or reference so that it connects

spoken or written expressions. For example, 'John saw Mary. He ...' 'He' in this instance refers to John.

2. **Co-classification** happens when two people play, for example, an instrument like the cello. (A) 'I play the cello'. (B) 'My husband does, too'. The two people in categories A and B belong to an identical class because things, processes, and circumstances are identical. Each end of the **cohesive tie refers to a distinct member of this class**' (Hasan, 1990:74). 'Play the cello' is a member of A and 'does' too is a member of B, describing different situational events, but referring to the same activity.
3. **Co-extension** occurs when two words refer to the same general field of meaning - such that gold and silver belong to the general class of chemical elements, viz., metals.
4. **Ellipsis** occurs when 'yours', for example, replaces a word like 'your dog'. Ellipsis is one of the ways we prevent direct repetition of words.

When parallelism, referring expressions, substitutions interact in the form cohesive ties/chains they form cohesive harmony (Hasan (1990). Halliday and Hasan (1976) illustrate two types of cohesive chains, i.e., identity and similarity chains. Identity chains comprise cohesive ties that share the same referent(s), whether the ties are pronominals, reiterations, or instantial equivalents. Similarity chains are ties in which certain categories of identity cannot occur, e.g., same parallel processes, or descriptions. The following are examples of identity and similarity chains (Hoey, 1992:15):

*Once upon a time there was a little **girl**,
and **she** went out for a walk,*

and **she** saw a lovely little teddy bear,
 and **she** took it home,
 and when **she** got home she washed it,
 and **she** had the teddy bear for many weeks and years.

There are three identity chains:

- **1** girl **2** she **3** she **4** she **5** she **6** she
- **3** teddy bear **4** it **5** it, it **6** teddy bear
- **4** home **5** home
- There are two similarity chains
- **2** went out **5** got home
- **4** took **6** had (In this context, both verbs describe possession).

Hasan (1990) asserts that we can obtain greater insights into texts if we abandon the classificatory perspective of cohesion in favour of an integrated approach. By adopting such an approach, one can see that numerous other words may replace one word throughout a text. We should, therefore, interpret each word as part of a whole, because it is when people see the linguistic interconnectedness among lexical items that they are able to make sense of spoken or written texts. Accordingly, it is the combination of ties which is crucial not their description in isolation (Hasan, 1990).

Brown and Yule (1983) challenge Halliday and Hasan's (1976) conception of endophoric (elements inside the text) and exophoric (elements outside the text) as the sole explanation for how people present and interpret coherence. To account for the informal, or what they label as missing links, they argue

that people use a variety of referents that are based on, and derived from a wide variety of experiences. Referents could for example, take the form of mental representations, because often when we are in prolonged discussions, a referent may change its identity. When this happens, we rely on what we can recall about a particular topic in order to relate things in a sense-making manner. Discourse representation, or our representation of the world may also determine what we consider coherent. Brown and Yule (1983) draw on **Samuel Butler's notebook explanation on the paradoxical nature of relations**

to make the point that referents are mere worldly indicators of coherence:

Everything must be studied from the point of view of itself, as near as we can get to this, and from the point of view of the relations, as near as we can get to them. If we try to see it absolutely in itself, unalloyed with relations, we shall find, by and by, that we have, as it were, whittled away. If we try to see it in relations to the bitter end, we shall find that there is no corner of the universe into which it does not enter (Brown and Yule, citing Butler, 1983:x).

In other words, it is possible to show through direct and indirect (circumstantial) evidence, how all things are connected in some way or another. I agree with Brown and Yule (1983) that the manner in which elements in text or a worldly context are cohesive is often not easily visible and identifiable. However, their argument about cohesion and coherence is suggestive of a meta-physical account of reality. As stated earlier, in this study, my focus is on the use of referents that are overt in the written essays of XESL Speakers. I, therefore, I prefer the categories of lexical and conjunctive cohesion as outlined by Hasan (1989 and 1990), Halliday (1989 and 2004) and Martin (1990, 1997) to discuss repetition because they show

how cohesive devices are explicitly used in spoken and written texts.

2.4 Conjunctive Cohesion and the Structure of Expository Texts

Martin (1990) expands Halliday's work on cohesion by contending that cohesion is not only formed through direct repetition of words and clauses, but that conjunctions play a similar role. Conjunctions are autonomous adjunct-like elements. Speakers or writers of texts use conjunctions like lexical repetition to mark the semantic relationships between as well as among sentences (Martin, 1990). Examples of conjunctions are: 'however', 'therefore', 'because', 'notwithstanding', 'alternatively', and 'on the other hand', and so on. According to Martin (1990), speakers and writers of written expository academic texts use conjunctive relations, prepositional phrases, and certain verb forms as they attempt to bring about cohesion and coherence between reader and writer. The role of conjunctions is particularly obvious in the development of logical relations in expository texts. Martin (1990) distinguishes between two types of exposition – Hortatory and Analytical. While writers of texts may use the former to persuade *to*, they issue the latter to persuade *that* (Martin, 1990:17). Examples of Hortatory expositions are found in editorials, letters to the editor, sermons, political speeches and debates, office memos about **employees'** behaviour, and so on. Analytical exposition is more typical of lectures, seminars, tutorials, scholarly papers, essay writing, and examination answers Martin (1990:17)

The primary function of analytical expository texts required within the academic context is to interpret and explain, in other words, to demonstrate

cause and effect. It is mainly about addressing the 'why' questions (Martin, 1990:16). In this context, conjunctions play a key role in the development of cause and effect; addressing the 'why' questions. The excerpt from the study data illustrates Martin's (1990) point about the cause and effect - cohesive relations formed by conjunctions in expository texts:

***Nonetheless,** it would be inappropriate for me to say Apartheid was good instead, I would argue that it was bad because of the following factors. Apartheid created animosity among South Africans, coupled with mistrust and suspicions of each racial group by the other. Apartheid created infrastructural disorder **because** the government was trying to satisfy one section of the society. **Because** of Apartheid, many South Africans died in the process of fighting against it, others were arrested, while others decided to leave their country of origin. **However,** Apartheid was more than just brutalisation of individuals **because** it crippled our economy.*

I now analyse the sample text from the data to show the relevance of Martin's analytical categories to this study

Identification: 'Because' in the sample above is a causal conjunction (Martin, 1990).

Analysis and The purpose/function of causal conjunctions is according

Interpretation: to Martin (1990), to establish causal relations between statements and evidence.

Discussion: The use of conjunctions as in above sample, Martin (1990) explains when in expository texts, the purpose of

the writer is to persuade the reader that his or her argument makes sense. The writer makes a statement than provides a reason (evidence) for his claim.

Conclusion: The excessive use of repetition as used by an XESL Speakers in the above sample becomes a problem because to my knowledge, books which I have consulted and interviews which I have conducted with relevant lecturers (Chapter 4) indicate that the conventions of **writing in academic writing exclude an 'overuse' of conjunctions** to establish causal relations between statements and evidence.

Martin (1990) clarifies that using conjunctions involves relating clauses to one another in a logical manner, in terms of time, cause, comparison, and/or addition. Examples of these are 'because', 'if', 'although', 'so that', 'therefore', and so on. Conjunctive devices can further be subdivided into causal, conditional, concessive, and purposive elements. Examples of expository texts are:

1. **Statement:** *'The best pet in the world is ... a pet rock.'*
2. **Command:** *'All governments should pass firmer laws in the control of firearms.'*

The primary aim of the thesis in the first example is to convince the reader why the argument is well-formulated (Martin, 1990). In the second thesis the purpose is to persuade the reader to do what it recommends. According to

Martin (1990), people can address the 'why' types of questions in English in four ways:

Conjunction: *'Life is very precious; so it should not be lost in this way'*

The writer uses the causal conjunction 'so' to connect the two clauses - the first clause stating reason and the second conclusion (Martin, 1990:19). In this case, 'so' functions as a logical connector with the underlying meaning of the conjunction, 'therefore'

Martin clarifies:

The first clause is now clearly marked as the reason, the second as a conclusion. Setting up two separate clauses, and marking the causal relation between them with a conjunction is the commonest way of reasoning in spoken language. In mature writing, however, it is somewhat rare (Martin, 1990:18).

1. **Prepositional phrase:** *'I am writing because of my concern over the fatalities caused through the misuse of firearms'.*(with *because of* as a preposition and *my concern* as its complement).

Martin (1990) qualifies that in cases where both a preposition and conjunction are present; the preposition determines the nature of the phrase. He provides the following two examples to illustrate further, how a preposition instead of a conjunction can determine the nature of a phrase:

- *They became famous in history for two achievements.*
- *They became famous in history because they achieved two things*

He infers: 'Once again, what comes out as a verb when conjunctions are

used comes out as a noun with prepositions (Martin, 1990:19):

Verb: *'Firearms caused fatalities' Applying a preposition: 'Fatalities occur because of firearms' – Conjunction: 'A lot of people die because too many people have firearms'*

Nouns: *'I feel that all governments should pass firmer laws on the control of firearms, because it would protect wildlife and avoid tragic accidents'.*

According to Martin (1990), there are two reasons stated in the above argument. Firstly, the laws would protect wildlife. Secondly, it would avoid **tragic accidents (Martin, 1990:19). In this instance, the nouns 'government' and 'laws' are** used to code reasoning. Since governments and laws are present, nouns take precedence over conjunctions and prepositional phrases. The causal relation is between the government and laws, on the one hand, and what they should do to protect wild life and avoid tragic accidents, on the other (Martin, 1990:20).

In this section, I have shown how cohesion is formed through repetition by **drawing on Hasan's (1989) analysis of lexical repetition in children's poetry and Martin's (1989) model of conjunctions in expository** texts. In the next section, I discuss the role that politics plays in deciding what would count as coherent texts (Fairclough, 1992).

2.5 Coherence and the Politics of Discourse

Unlike Hasan (1990) and Martin (1990) who agree with and expand Halliday's

conceptual framework of register analysis, Fairclough (1992) accepts **Halliday's** initial conception of the multidimensional and multifunctional nature of discourse to account for cohesion and coherence. His own critical analysis draws explicitly on **Halliday's work. He however, criticizes Halliday for** confining his linguistic analysis to the finished product while omitting the importance of discursive processes, that is, the underlying ideological factors/processes involved in, and behind the production, distribution and consumption of texts. According to Fairclough (1992), these processes play a crucial role in determining what one regards as a coherent text. In **Fairclough's notion of discourse, people's selection of language use and what** is determined as coherent (meaningful) is often influenced by factors that extend far beyond immediate speech contexts. Thus, in his opinion to ascertain what would count as cohesion and coherence in any given texts demands a discussion on the role of politics and ideology. This, in turn, necessitates a type of linguistic analysis, which would seek to expose the political and ideological factors underpinning the surface meaning of discourse (Fairclough, 1992). While one may be able to discuss Halliday without discussing Fairclough, one cannot discuss Fairclough without also **bringing in Halliday's discussion on the multifunctional and multidimensional** nature of discourse because this is, as indicated earlier, what Fairclough uses as a point of departure to generate his notion of the need for a 'Social Theory of **Discourse**' or Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Like many critical theorists, **Fairclough's (1992) main objective is to show** how language use is embedded in ideology and power for social and political

domination. **Drawing on (1) Gramsci's (1971) analysis of hegemony (the unifying elements of dominant power relations) and Althusser's (1971) conception of power relations (ideological and repressive state apparatus);** Fairclough (1992) defines discourse as a form of social practice with political content and intention(s). At another level, Fairclough (1992) invokes **Foucault's (1971) knowledge stratification argument, to account for discourse** as a form of discursive practice. He contends that the notion of discourse as a form of social practice has two implications:

Firstly, it implies that discourse is a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world especially upon each other, as well as mode of representation. This is a view of language use which has been made familiar, though not often in individualistic terms, by linguistic philosophy and pragmatics (Levinson 1983). Secondly, it implies that is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure, there being more generally such a relationship between social practice and social structure: the latter is both a condition for, and effect of, the former (Fairclough, 1992:63).

Therefore, to act upon the world through a critical discourse analysis of texts means that one should critically analyse texts to expose (1) how knowledge is unequally distributed because of social stratification, and (2) hegemonic (dominant power) relations with a view to bring about social changes in society. Thus, **'critical' implies showing connections and causes which** are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change (Fairclough, 1992:9)

Fairclough's work is what Meyer (2001:5) calls, 'a politically engaged discourse analysis'. His work focuses primarily on exposing how power

relations work in hegemonic texts. Widdowson (1998), Pennycook (1999) criticize Fairclough for ignoring how people from different cultural backgrounds may use their knowledge to respond to dominant discourse structures. **Another view is that despite Fairclough's claims of textual analysis, he pays minimal attention to an analysis of how people actually produce and consume texts (Luke, 1997).** In my view, Fairclough (1992) holds an idealistic view of the potential of his CDA model to bring about social change in society.

Pennycook's (1999) and Widdowson's (1998) critiques of CDA's lack of actual textual analysis are crucial. Nevertheless, the strength of Fairclough's CDA is that it not only encourages academics to focus on *how* language is used, but equally importantly, on explaining *why* people choose one form of spoken or written expression over another. Fairclough's model of discourse analysis has several implications for academic development research projects in South Africa. In my view, CDA encourages us to:

- **Respond to students' individual language needs, because they are located in their histories and cultures, which may involve daily struggles around access to academic resources.**
- Move beyond the text in order to address critically the social structures (family, school, community) that influence their literacy-specific (reading and writing) habits.

I have thus far looked at the relationship between discourse and repetition, register and repetition, register and the politics of discourse to account for

cohesion and coherence. In the next section, I discuss the role that social class plays in deciding what constitutes coherence.

2.6 Discourse Coherence and Social Class

My theoretical framework is also informed by the work of the New Literacy Studies theorists Gee (1996) and Street (2003) whose post-structuralist analysis is (similarly to Fairclough) primarily influenced by Foucault's notion of the constructing nature of discourse. As in the case of Fairclough, language use is seen as social practice. Although New Literacy Studies (NLS) do not encapsulate anything about repetition, they are important to this study because they problematize discourse coherence by questioning conventional Western notions of what it means to be literate in modern societies. They foreground the importance of understanding what the concept of literacy actually means for individuals and for understanding notions of literacy in their historical and socio-cultural contexts. In Street's words (2003):

This entails the recognition of multiple literacies, varying according to time and space, but as contested in relations of power. NLS, then, takes nothing for granted with respect to literacy and the social practices with which it becomes associated, problematizing what **counts as literacy at any time and place and asking "whose literacies"** are dominant and whose are marginalized or resistant (Street, 2003:1).

Whereas society conventionally presents literacy as the ability to read and write certain texts, New Literacy Studies foregrounds the different uses of literacy, that is, what people actually do with literacy and how that varies

across contexts. Literacy is conceptualized as a social event. Literacy is thus a set of social practices around texts. Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and inevitably embedded in complex power relations. Some literacies are, therefore, more powerful and visible than others. Critical theorists, in particular, argue the multi-faceted nature of reality by emphasising multiculturalism, multilingualism and multiple literacies (Williams and Chrisman, 1993; Goldberg, 1994; Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (eds), 1995)

Given the vast inequalities in South Africa because of apartheid, problematizing what it means to be literate is critical in the South African educational context, especially when L2 speakers struggle to access or conceptualize in English. It is, as NLS argue, in these contexts that the interpretation of whether academic writing is coherent involves some form of **class and cultural bias, because reading and writing as 'a particular' form of literacy is never neutral** (Gee, 1996; Lea and Street, 1998; Street, 2003). Luke (1997) encapsulates what this means:

The history of literacy education thus is about power and knowledge. But it is about power not solely in terms of which texts and practices will 'count' and which groups will have or not have access to which texts and practices. It is also about who in the modern state will have privileged a position in specifying about what will count as literacy (Luke, 1997:308)

Therefore, for NLS theorists, reading and writing are forms of social practices rather than the only forms of literacy. Unlike Halliday (1989) and Fairclough (1992) who regard spoken and written texts as forms of social practices as

equal to discourse, Gee (1996) distinguishes between discourse (with a small 'd') in texts at a sentence level, and Discourse (with big 'D') and the wider social order (beyond the sentence level). Discourse is bigger than language. It is Discourse per se that is the deciding factor in what and how people use language. There are, according to Gee (1999), multiple Discourses representing different social realities. Discourses' comprise different combinations of 'saying-doing-thinking-feeling-valuing' (Gee, 1999:17). In view of the latter,

[t]here is no such thing as 'reading' or 'writing', only reading or writing something (a text of a certain type) in a certain way with certain values, while at least appearing to think and feel in certain ways. We read and write only within a Discourse never outside all of them (Gee, 1996:xviii).

In Gee's conception, people are socialized into particular ways of using language that are inextricably linked to their home cultures and require them to conform to particular identities and roles. The home socialization process serves as a basis for all other language and literacy acquisition. For this reason, I explore through my analysis of XESL Speakers written texts explore what prior literacy experiences are reflected in their discourse.

In Gee's (1996) notion of 'Discourse', he reinforces Bernstein's (1990) claim that schooling produces and reproduces culturally and ideologically acceptable ways of thinking and behaving as deemed appropriate by certain dominant sectors (classes) in society. He also endorses Bowles and Gintis's (1976) and Apple's (1982), views that schooling is just not about learning

curriculum content, but critically socializes people into dominant or subordinate positions of power. Gee (1996) explains that people normally acquire primary home-based discourses unconsciously in their natural settings (homes). In contrast, they tend to learn secondary Discourses in more explicit ways in institutions outside of the home environment. Students are often treated as having intellectual deficit if their primary discourses are different from the norms and values of the academy (Gee, 1996). Similarly to the constructivist position, he emphasizes the importance of valuing and taking into account the home discourse as part of acquiring and learning the secondary discourse. **Gee's (1996) conception of literacy suggests:**

Acquisition must (at least partially) precede learning; apprenticeship **must precede 'teaching'**: classrooms that do not properly balance acquisition and learning, and realize which is which, and which student has acquired what, simply privilege those students who have begun the acquisition process at home, engaging these students in a teaching process, **while others simply fail** (Gee, 1996:147).

Gough and Bock (2001) make an important contribution to this discussion by illustrating the bias towards Western conceptions of literacy. They argue that primary oral African discourses are often seen as less complex and less cognitively demanding than written, schooled Western traditions. They argue that even though Xhosa oral poetry may be repetitive, there are different levels of linguistic sophistication in different types of poetry. These levels of sophistication in Xhosa oral poetry are in many ways equivalent to the Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) skills needed to function adequately within higher academic contexts as described by Bailystok and

Cummins (1991). Bialystok and Cummins (1991) distinguish between Basic Interpersonal Skills (BICS), that is everyday use of language and CALP, the language skills needed to function successfully in schools. Cummins (1984) situates informal ways of using language largely within what he calls Basic Interpersonal Skills (BICS). BICS is different to the CALP skills students require to function at cognitively demanding levels within higher educational contexts. The Gough and Bock (2001) argument problematises easy, unnuanced distinctions between BICS and CALP, between oral and written, and between formal and informal discourses. This is important for the context of my research into how students draw on primary oral traditions. Although my study can show traces of other discourses operating within students' writing, it problematises any easy classification of students' proficiency in terms of BICS and CALP.

2.7 Xhosa Discourse and English

I have argued in section 2.1 that in order to understand how and why XESL Speakers used repetition, as well as its relationship to cohesion and coherence, one has to explore the role of cross-linguistic and cultural transfer from Xhosa to English. Here the arguments and examples of Gough (1996 and 2000) become particularly relevant. Gough (1996) shows that Xhosa mother tongue speakers often transfer word order, articles, pronouns, and prepositions from their mother tongue to English during conversational interaction as they attempt to acquire the target language. This transfer influences and shapes the manner in which XESL Speakers

express themselves in English conversational discourse. Thus, incoherent forms of verbal expressions happen often at the point of transfer and translation in areas in which English and Xhosa are not cognate (Gough, 1996).

This phenomenon is not unique to XESL Speakers and it is now commonly accepted that second language speakers of English often **transfer/borrow from their mother tongue in their 'struggle' to acquire the target language** (Corder, 1992). To this end, theories on contrastive analysis and creative construction that academics saw previously in opposition, **now include both processes of transfer from the learner's previous knowledge and simultaneously processes of creative hypothesis testing** (Braid, 1999). Despite this, Mitchell and Myles (1998) contend that we have not yet arrived at a comprehensive view of how second languages are acquired/learned. Braid (1999) augments this view by stating that there has been growing research examining second language acquisition in general and acquisition of L2 grammar, in particular. According to Braid (1999), the broad range of research approaches brought three questions into perspective: (1) which structures L2 learners acquire with ease or with difficulty, (2) how and why grammatical development proceeds as it does, (3) ongoing questions on how all of this information fits together. She concludes that since all these questions have not yet been adequately addressed, L2 acquisition research remains a large unfinished jigsaw puzzle (Braid, 1999). In this study, I adopt the position that language transfer/borrow does happen as the L2 speaker attempts to acquire the

target language. Consequently, I use Gough's (2000) examples to show that Xhosa speakers often transfer certain aspects of Xhosa to English during conversational interaction.

A sample from the study data in tabular form below shows what happens when a Xhosa Speaker translates from English to isiXhosa and back into English. Table 2 provides the actual meaning, the translation into Xhosa; the **writer's intended (pragmatic) meaning**. Table 2.3 shows how a Xhosa student in this translated from Xhosa into English and how when translated from Xhosa back into English the meanings would change. Tshotsho (2006) explains:

'Black' students are well aware of their shortcomings regarding academic literacy and resort to all sorts of strategies to cope with academic tasks. One of the strategies in the L2 situation is to fall back on the mother tongue through literal translation. However, in literacy, it is important for a person to translate correctly from L1 to L2 (from English to Xhosa, for example) when writing academic texts. Students use translation as a coping strategy in their academic writing, but they do not have the skill to translate from the L1 to the L2. (Tshotsho, 2006:22)

Table 2.3 Comparison of Actual and Intended (Pragmatic) Meanings

1	Actual	<i>Nonetheless, it would be inappropriate for me to say Apartheid was good instead, I would argue that it was bad because of the following factors:</i>
2	IsiXhosa	Nangona kunjalo, akulungaga ukuba mna ndithi i-Apartheid yayilungile, eyona nto ndingasuka ndiyitsho kukuba yayingalunganga ngenxa yezi zizathu zilandelo:
3	Intended (Pragmatic)	Be that is it may, it is not right for me to say apartheid was good, I can say just say that it was not good for the following reasons:
1	Actual	<i>Apartheid created animosity among South African, coupled with mistrust and suspicions of each racial group by the other.</i>
2	IsiXhosa	I-Apartheid yadala ubutshaba phakathi kwabantu baseMzantsi Afrika, kubandakanya ukugathembani nokujongana kakubi kwentlanga ezahlukeneyo
3	Intended (Pragmatic)	Apartheid created enmity amongst the people of South Africa, this includes mistrust and animosity between the different races.
1	Actual	<i>Apartheid created infrastructural disorder because the government was trying to satisfy one section of the society.</i>
2	IsiXhosa	I-Apartheid yadala ukuphazamiseka kokusebenza kweenkonzo zoluntu kuba urhulumente wayezama ukwaneza iimfuno inxenye yabantu

(Table 2.3 Continued/...)

Table 2.3 Actual and Pragmatic Meanings (Continued)

3	Intended (Pragmatic)	Apartheid disrupted essential social services because the government was trying to satisfy the need of one section of society.
1	Actual	<i>Because of Apartheid, many South Africans died in the process of fighting against it, others were arrested, whilst others decided to leave their country of origin.</i>
2	IsiXhosa	Ngenxa ye-Apartheid, uninzi lwabantu baseMzantsi Afrika bafa bezama ukuyilwa, abanye babanjwa, logama abanye bagqiba ekubeni bashiye ilizwe lokuzalwa kwabo
3	Intended (Pragmatic)	Because of Apartheid, most South African people died attempting to fight it, some were arrested, while others decided to leave their country of birth.
1	Actual	<i>However, Apartheid was more than just brutalisation of individuals because it crippled our economy.</i>
2	IsiXhosa	Kunjalo, I-Apartheid yayingeko kuphathwa gadalala nje kwabantu kuphela kuba yabulala nkqu ezoqoqosho
3	Intended (Pragmatic)	As it is, Apartheid was not only just harsh treatment of people because it also killed the economy

Although we now know that XESL Speakers transfer pronouns, prepositions, articles and so on from their mother tongue, one thing that we do not know is whether repetition is also a feature that they transfer from their mother tongue. To explore this likelihood one should explore the role of the noun in the conjugation of Xhosa morphology and syntax, because Xhosa is a glutinous language (Pinnock, 1994). Glutinous means that prefixes, infixes and suffixes are glued to Xhosa nouns and verbs. According to Dowling (2004), unless one understands the importance of the noun in

IsiXhosa, one will most likely fail to comprehend the nature of IsiXhosa grammar. Unlike English, the IsiXhosa noun comprises a basic stem and a prefix. The prefix is divided further into an initial vowel and the noun prefix. 'A PREFIX is a letter or group of letters which can be added to the beginning of a word in order to change the meaning of the word (Pinnock, 1994:99)'

The root form of the noun always starts with the vowel **-u-**. For example in the word *umfundi* (student), the initial vowel is **-u-** while the stem is **-m-**. A SUFFIX is a letter or a group of letters added to the end of a word (Pinnock, 1994). An example of a suffix is the use of **-azana-** in the phrase a small girl *intomb**azana***. The root is *intombi* (girl). The basic noun is at the centre of Xhosa morphology (form and structure of words) and syntax (ordering of words in sentences). Prefixes, infixes and suffixes are attached to nouns and verbs. Pinnock (1994) explains the functional-position of the noun in Xhosa, 'The subject noun in a sentence acts like the piper calling a tune to which the verb, adjectives and other words in that sentence must dance (Pinnock, 1994: 100)'.
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According to Kaschula (2002), because of the dominant role of the noun in IsiXhosa in generating repetitive morphological and syntactic structures, repetition manifests as a discourse strategy in isiXhosa oral poetry. Just like the sample from my data, the dominant feature of Xhosa oral poetry is that it **is spontaneous and 'unstructured' around the noun**. isiXhosa oral poetry is central to isiXhosa culture and history in that it comments on and raises societal concerns regarding: **'babies and children, boy initiates, women,**

dancing, ancestors, commoners (men), chiefs and heroes, other tribes, clan praises, divining bones, animals and inanimate objects' (Oettle 1973:1, cited in Kaschula, 2002). Out of all of these praises, criticism against the chiefs remains the most important (Kaschula, 2002).

Table 2.4 shows how prefixes, infixes and suffixes are attached to the noun, which gives Xhosa, according to (Pinnock, 1994:117), its glutinous nature.

Table 2.4 Xhosa Noun Class Concords

Class	Noun	Prefix	Subject concord
Class 1	umntu	um-	u-
plural	abantu	aba-	Ba
Class 1a	uMeri	u-	u-
plural	ooMeri	oo-	oo-
Class 2	umlambo	um-	u-
plural	imilambo	imi-	i-
Class 3	ilifu	ili-	li-
plural	amafu	ama-	a-
Class 4	isikolo	isi-	Si
plural	izikolo	izi-	z-
Class 5	inja	in-	i-
plural	izinja	izin-	Zi
Class 6	uluvo	ulu-	lu-
plural	izimvo	izim-	zi-
Class 7	ubulumko	ubu-	bu-
Class 8	ukufunda	uku-	ku-

It may also be a transfer of the IsiXhosa syntax that an XESL speaker structures everything around the noun '**Apartheid**' in a typical sample below:

*Nonetheless, it would be inappropriate for me to say **Apartheid** was good instead, I would argue that **it** was bad because of the following factors. **Apartheid** created animosity among South African, coupled with mistrust and suspicions of each racial group by the other. **Apartheid** created infrastructural disorder because the government was trying to satisfy one section of the society. **Because of Apartheid**, many South Africans died in the process of fighting against **it**, others were arrested, while others decided to leave their country of origin. However, **Apartheid** was more than just brutalisation of individuals because **it** crippled our economy.*

Another reason why the student may have repeated 'Apartheid' was to stay focused on the topic, or it could be that the student lacked knowledge on the topic and command in the use of English, which caused an apparent absence in stylistic variation. Apart from the linguistic aspects of transference XESL Speakers used, Gough (1996:6) suggests one should also consider the social and contextual factors, which may influence the process of transfer from Xhosa to English. Spofana (2001:83) defines social factors as the **conditions in the learner's social environment in which** the language learning process takes place. Social factors are capable of promoting or retarding the **learner's interest to acquire the target language (Spofana, 2001)**. Gough (1996:13) identifies a number of social factors that influence XESL speakers' acquisition of English, viz., apartheid education, English teachers whose mother tongue is Xhosa, lack of support in the communities for the development of English, and insufficient English resources.

The aforementioned points with regard to language studies and academic development in relation to XESL Speakers are still relevant (Siegel, 1999;

Kapp, 2001; Nomlomo, 2001; De Wet, 2002; Tshotsho, 2006). Just as in the case of other indigenous languages, the learning of English for Xhosa speakers is not only complicated by the standardized form of Xhosa, but also by several different regional dialects, viz., isiNgqika/isiRharhabe/isiGcaleka, isiBaca, isiBomvana, isiCele, isiHlubi, isiMpondo, isiMpondomise, isiNtlangwini, isiThembu and isiXesibe (Nomlomo, 2001:77). According to Spofana (2001), Xhosa people regard the standardized form as logical and hence socially acceptable, while they stigmatize non-standardised forms as corrupt forms of speech.

For Pinnock (1994), IsiXhosa cannot be understood when detached from its history and culture. Therefore, instead of talking about IsiXhosa grammar, she refers to her linguistic enquiry into IsiXhosa as '**Xhosa a cultural** grammar'. According to Pinnock (1994) Xhosa is an amalgamation of different ethnic groups who share a common history and culture. It appears from her exposition of Xhosa culture and history that these groups understand each other's language uses by invoking their shared cultural experiences.

2.8 Repetition as Conversational Discourse Strategy

In the previous section, I discussed how repetition is a dominant feature of Xhosa oral poetry. However, it also seems to function more generally as part of conversation and as a feature of classroom discourse. In this section, I discuss some of the functions of repetition, when used as a conversational discourse strategy. Tannen (1989) conducts one of the most comprehensive

studies on repetition in conversational discourse. According to Tannen (1989) conversational repetition is a strategy people often choose to use while attempting to make conversational interaction coherent. In this context, repetition fulfills a number of purposes as people link words and sentences **during conversation: 'It provides a resource to keep talk going, where talk itself is a show of involvement, of willingness to interact, to serve a positive face' (Tannen,1989:54). It emphasizes points (Richardson, 1994), 'it is an efficient language learning activity' because repetition facilitates memorization (Cook, 1994: 133). Cahnmann, (2000:39) notes that in African and African-American oral traditions the teachers use repetition in church and elementary classroom contexts, to enhance classroom talk. In doing this, it encourages students to participate in curriculum activities. The use of lexical repetition in the written narrative mode by different cultural groups, Arab, Japanese, Korean and Spanish, serves as a 'function of topic, cultural background and writing development' (Reynolds, 2001:437). Reynolds (2001) further observes that Spanish–English bilingual speakers/listeners often repeat words/sentences through code switching.**

Although there have not been studies that focus exclusively on linguistic and cultural analysis of repetition in an African context, a number of studies have discussed the functions of repetition in educational contexts. In the schooling context, Malawian school-based classroom learning practices are predominantly oral and characterised by repetition of cognitively undemanding material (Williams, 2006). The choral repetition which students are taught to use as a strategy in meaning making has a social control rather

than cognitive function. Williams (2006) cites Chick (1996) to make the point that both teachers and students participate in the process involving what Chick called **'Safetalk' in South African schools. These schools are** characterised often by a lack of resources, appropriate books for everyone and teachers qualified to teach English. Safetalk, is then the method of **'chorusing, reading as repeating, and writing as copying' that both teachers taught and students learn to hide their 'command of English' (Williams, 2006:40). Similarly, Kapp's (2001) study also illustrates the use of repetition and 'Safe-talk' by Xhosa-speaking teachers in Western Cape township schools.** The classrooms in her study fostered the development of conversational English. Even though the medium of instruction was English, teaching often took place through the medium of Xhosa and teachers repeated the information in English. Teachers provided model answers (focused on factual summary rather than analysis) which learners copied *verbatim*, rote-learnt and reproduced for examinations. Kapp (2004:257) notes that classrooms were predominantly oral and teachers held the belief that writing would flow naturally from oral competence and that the purpose of writing is to record for later reference. Gough and Bock (2001) observe **that in South African 'Black' schools, Xhosa oral traditions underpin teaching** in classroom settings:

Xhosa is viewed as the repository of Xhosa culture and values and the curriculum includes a diet of standard grammar taught in a decontextualised ways, the reading of classical scholars and an overemphasis on narrative **forms of writing, favourite topics including "A Journey By Train" and "My School"** (Gough and Bock, 2001:104).

Apart from the apparent presence of Xhosa oral traditions in XESL Speaker's uses of English at school, Leibowitz (1997) and Boughey (2000) identify a number of other Xhosa oral features at a tertiary level. These include oral forms of debating, church-based preaching and biblical rhetoric (cited in Gough and Bock, 2001:104).

While repetition appears to be a dominant feature in **'Black' schools**, the use of repetition is not unique to L2 speakers. According to DiCamilla and Anton (2002:610), both first and second language speakers of English use repetition to manipulate language use. People learn problem-solving skills, firstly through a social process in which they interact socially with others, which involves repetition (DiCamilla and Anton, 2002: 613). Since repetition is central in the socialization process, it is my contention that one should consider the relationship between repetition and IsiXhosa when developing an intervention model because the mother tongue is the primary medium of socialization. Individuals learn how to behave in particular ways by interacting with others. Hence, the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of socialization are complimentary, particularly if one considers that talk is an important part of socialization, which involves extensive use of repetition, as we become members of a group.

More recent studies show that individuals tend to repeat novel – most recently encountered syntactic experiences although other experiences might be available (Bernolet *et al.*, 2007). Bernolet *et al.* (2007) describe this type of written behaviour as syntactic priming. This type of behaviour is

convenient in situations that demand the acquisition of new knowledge – discourse(s). In almost an analogous manner, Pickering and Ferreira (2008) argue that syntactic patterning is based on, and derived from previously learnt behaviour, i.e., structural priming. **Although ‘repetition is also inversely related to creativity’** it may, however, also prevent an individual from accessing new knowledge because she might adopt an intransigent stance when adopting repetition as a discourse strategy (Pickering and Ferreira, 2008:429)

2.9 Summary

In this chapter, I drew on Halliday, Hasan and Martin to develop an understanding of the relationship between repetition, cohesion and coherence. I drew on post-structuralist notions of how literacy is located **within discourses to argue that to understand the students’ repetition**, one should move beyond the immediate context of situation in which XESL speakers produced their texts, to the external contexts of culture and schooling. In this regard, I have shown that cohesion and coherence are determined by a number of different factors inside as well as outside of texts. Factors inside texts are linguistic devices, theme and rheme structures, lexical items and conjunctions. Factors outside texts on the other hand, can include ideological factors as well as, the role of social class in defining what counts as coherent discourse. However, I also demonstrated that, in the case of XESL Speakers in order to understand cohesion and coherence one has to consider the effects of cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa to English.

In the next section I discuss how Halliday's register model of discourse enabled me to elicit, analyse and discuss the data with a view to proposing an intervention model to mediate the 'problem' of overuse of repetition.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A **'research design'** is **'defined as a set of guidelines and instructions to be followed in addressing the research problem'**. The main function of the research design is to enable the researcher to anticipate what the appropriate research decisions should be so as to maximise the validity of the eventual results (Mouton, 1998:x)

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1, I argued that an understanding of how and why repetition is overused in written academic work is important because repetition contributes to our understanding of the kinds of strategies students use to develop coherent discourse in written academic texts. I emphasized the need **for close critical analysis of students' texts in order to understand the genre** that they are producing at the level of sentence and discourse. Following on from this, Chapter 2 reviewed the work of key critical theorists. In this regard, I drew on Halliday to motivate **for a 'grammar of discourse' approach**. I stressed that repetition in the essays represents instances of discourse. An analysis of the text requires that the XESL Speakers' **texts be situated in the** contexts of situation and culture. In this chapter, I describe the consequent research orientation, the process of selecting my research site and explicate my methods of data collection and analysis.

3.2 A Critical Discourse-Based Approach to Research

For positivists, a phenomenon such as repetition can be explained by reducing it to quantifiable data. In this regard, Cohen *et al.* (2003:18) note that the positivist socially detached position **on research 'reduces human behaviour to technicism'**. In contrast, a critical approach, holds the view that truth is always dependent on a situation, context or position (Gephart, 2005:7) because, as I clarified in Chapter 2, texts are forms of social practices (Fairclough, 1992). The language in which a text is expressed reflects, and in some cases constructs, its context. This understanding of texts as social practice necessitates a qualitative approach, which seeks to describe, interpret and explain texts by situating them. The goal of such research is to make visible hidden socio-cultural practices with a view to influencing change (Fairclough, 1992). My goal as a researcher is to try to use a close linguistic analysis of student writing to attempt to understand the **nature of students'** use of repetition. This includes trying to access the linguistic and cultural sources that students draw on when they write in order to understand their written academic discourse strategies. Ultimately, the goal is to facilitate a process of understanding that will influence literacy pedagogy.

3.3 Generation of Research Questions

Following this theoretical framework, my research focused on five questions:

1. What is the nature of repetition in the essays of XESL Speakers in this study?
2. In what ways does repetition affect the structure of XESL Speakers' written academic argument?
3. How do items of cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa to English affect the structure of their written argument?
4. How do XESL Speakers texts differ from the genre, which is considered appropriate written academic discourse, in terms of both structure and sentence level?
5. What strategies can academics use to mediate repetition and other linguistic features that XELS Speakers overused as part of their written academic discourse strategy in the discipline of education?

3.4 Case Study Research

I have framed my research as a case study. Case study designs have been widely used in Educational research when researching a program, an entity, a person, or a group of people (Cresswell, 1994; Nunan, 1992). The strength of this approach is that it describes and analyses language within real-life contexts. In this sense, the case study approach coheres with my understanding of texts as social practice. The texts are my central data source, but I draw on questionnaires, interviews and previous studies in order to contextualize them. My own knowledge and experience of the research site has also played a crucial role in my conceptualisation of the research problem.

A significant strength of the case study approach is that it facilitates detailed analyses of single phenomena. A drawback of this is that it limits generalisability. It is therefore crucial that case study researchers provide detailed description of both their methods of their research site and context, data collection and analysis in order to ensure that the study may be evaluated and replicated by others in the future (Nunan, 1992).

3.5 The Research Site

As discussed earlier, this study evolved out of my work experiences as a tutor and part-time lecturer in the academic development programme in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa between 1994 and 1998. After the medium of instruction changed to English in 1989, large numbers of African language speakers, particularly Xhosa first language speakers began to enroll. The majority of these had attended former Department of Education and Training (DET) schools in the townships, which are marked by poverty and poor educational infrastructure. As is evident from Figure 1 (below), Xhosa home language speakers now constitute a significant percentage of the total enrollment compared to English and Afrikaans mother tongue speakers.

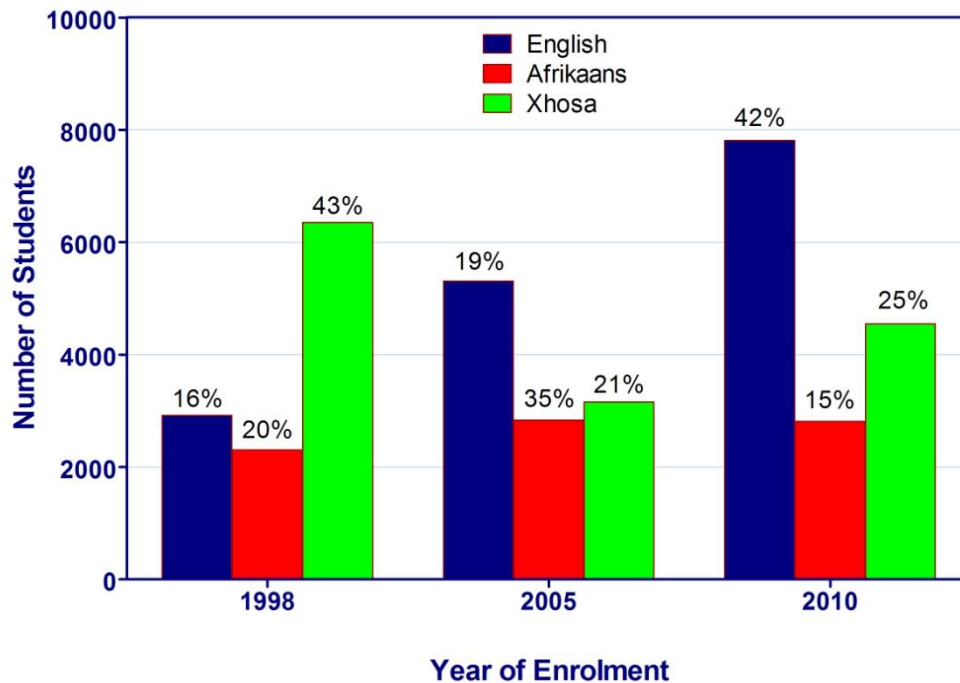


Figure 1. Comparison of the number of Xhosa first language speakers with the number of Afrikaans and English first language speakers enrolled at the University of the Western Cape in the years indicated. The numbers above the bars reflect the percentage of student intake for each language relative to the total number of students enrolled in the specific year.

This situation is constantly posing new challenges for UWC and presumably also other institutions of higher learning as well as for the faculties in terms of how to address the language-specific needs of XESL Speakers.

3.6 Data Collection

3.6.1 Essays

The data I collected in the forms of written scripts and questionnaires occurred in two phases. The written scripts and questionnaires I collected from two groups of XESL Speakers in 1998, and another group in 2005 to whom I applied the same process of data collection. The main reason for collecting data again in 2005 was to ascertain whether my research on repetition used as discourse strategy by XESL Speakers was still relevant.

I designed an essay writing task for two groups of students. The topic for the first group was as follows:

Was apartheid/Bantu education retrogressive (bad) or progressive (good)?

The question I posed to Group 2 also focused on apartheid from a different angle:

Was Bantu Education just or unjust?

I selected these topics because I knew that it would be a topic that students could write about by drawing on their own knowledge, as well as, placing them in a position to apply the theories they were taught in the Faculty of Education.

In 1998, I obtained permission from the course convener in the Department of Education to invite her class of 50 second-year students to participate in the project. These students were registered for the Bachelor of Education degree and would have entered the discipline of Education for the first time in 1998, having completed their entry level examination in 1997. Their ages ranged from twenty to thirty. I addressed the class on 14th September and explained to them that the purpose of my research was to investigate the problems they encounter with academic writing, particularly how to write a coherent argument. Based on the outcome of my findings I would propose an intervention model which could then be used in small classroom settings to assist them with their writing. Consequently, 22 Xhosa home language students volunteered to participate in the experiment. I divided the students

into a control and experimental group.

The first group control (G1) was required to answer the topic in class over a period of 1½ hours. The second experimental group (G2) was required to answer the topic outside of formal class time over two days. Both groups were asked to write 2½ to 3½ pages.

The reason one group had to do an unplanned essay and the other a planned essay, was to determine the extent to which repetitive, conjunctive and other linguistic forms appeared in and affected their written compositions. In other words, I would expect students who planned their essays to eliminate redundant forms of written expression.

Having established that there were no significant differences between the planned and unplanned essays in terms of redundant forms of expression, I repeated the data collection in 2005 (Group 3). This was because I considered that the data I collected in 1998 might be less reliable, because **UWC's educational context, specifically, UWC's educational faculty** assessment methods may have changed. I, therefore, decided to collect additional data to respond to possible changes in the research context.

Hence, in 2005, I collected additional data in the form of written scripts, interviews, and questionnaires aimed at students and lecturers involved in **UWC's ADPs**. At this stage, I was no longer employed at UWC. I therefore **approached a lecturer in UWC's Education Faculty to assist** me with the collection of data. I established that there were only three Xhosa speaking students in her class and that this would not provide an adequate sample.

Subsequently, I managed to solicit the assistance of another lecturer in the Department of Economics and Management Sciences for the collection of additional data. These were nursing students who were home language Xhosa speakers. Their ages correspond to those of Group 1. The lecturer explained the project and obtained their consent to participate in the study. She arranged for 14 XESL students to write the essays in her tutorial class.

3.6.2 Questionnaires

I also asked all the students to complete a questionnaire, which I attached to the essay question. The purpose of the questionnaire was to ascertain whether XESL Speakers were aware of the conventions of written academic discourse and to assess their knowledge of academic essay writing in English.

In the questionnaire, I asked.

1. What languages other than English do you speak?
2. Were you ever taught the various stages that you could go through in an attempt to write a coherent and logical essay?
3. Are you aware that there are tools that enable writers to write logically and systematically?
4. Are you aware that there are numerous books available, which are aimed at guiding you through a process of learning to write in a logical and coherent manner?
5. Did you ever consult any of these books to learn how you can improve your writing ability?

In 2005, I administered the same questionnaire to students as I had done in 1998 with two additional questions:

1. Do you know the differences between English and Xhosa grammar?
2. Do you know what an academic argument is?

In 2007, I administered questionnaires to three lecturers in the faculty of education at the University of the Western Cape in which I posed the following question:

What would be a good written essay answer to the questions?

1. Was apartheid good (progressive) or bad (retrogressive)?
2. Was Bantu Education just or unjust?

The reason for these questions was first **to ascertain lecturers' expectations** of a well written academic essay and then to compare them with the findings in my analysis.

3.6.3 Unstructured Interviews and Informal Discussions

I held unstructured interviews with four lecturers, two at University of the Western Cape (UWC) and two at the University of Cape Town (UCT) while analysing the written scripts between 2003 and 2005. The reason for doing this is that I realized that some expressions used by the sample groups were likely to be culturally-specific forms of repetition. English–Xhosa grammar books do not adequately explain their contextual meaning. Xhosa became a written language only in the 19th century and many areas remain, according to Kaschula (2002), unexplored.

Between 1998 and 2008, I constantly engaged in informal discussions **with professors in UWC's Education Faculty in order to access staff members'** notions of academic writing and academic literacy. From these discussions I learnt that although lecturers were concerned about student writing, there was very little research taking place. I realized the significance of my research, which encouraged me to continue. These interviews and informal discussions seemed crucial to ensure that research question 4 would be answered in a context-sensitive manner and to ascertain whether my research was still relevant.

3.7 Data Analysis

Discourse analysis is paramount **to this thesis and so the students' written** texts are at the centre of my data analysis. My initial analytical method (1998-2002) did not render the kinds of results that would explain how XESL Speakers use repetition because my analysis excluded explicit linguistic elements responsible for the creation of cohesion and coherence. I then designed an analytical method based on **Halliday's grammar of discourse** model, which would enable me to test my research questions which revolve around repetition and cohesion at different levels of data analysis, interpretation and discussion. As previously mentioned, the central pillar on which **Halliday's** (1989 and 2004) register of discourse model rests is the notion that language as spoken and written texts, becomes coherent through **peoples' choices of: ideational theme (verb forms), interpersonal theme (nouns and pronouns) and textual theme (conjunctive forms)**. The manner in which

each theme is organised contributes to the overall cohesion and coherence of either spoken or written texts. In my initial analyses of a typical sample of XESL Speakers written academic texts, I applied **Halliday's** of themes as **expanded by Hasan's (1990)** notion of lexical cohesion, which I have discussed in Chapter 2, particularly the analyses of **repetition in children's rhymes**. The analytical categories she uses to analyze repetition are useful to this study because they show how cohesion unfolds through repetition. According to Hasan (1989:70), the contextual configuration (unity of texts) is decided by two sources, viz., structure and texture. While structure is determined by the situation the text is used in, the texture (textual configuration) is confirmed by the presence of certain semantic and lexico-grammatical relations. If for some reason, certain words are missing we would know that the texture of a certain text does not conform to a prescribed convention.

There is thus a two-way relationship between text structure and textual configuration: the on-going structure of the text defines and confirms that nature of the textual configuration, while the latter acts as point of reference for deciding what kind of elements can appear when, where, how and how often (Hasan, 1989:70).

Hasan (1989) cites the cohesive function of endophoric relations: which parallelism, referring expressions, substitution, ellipsis to establish cohesion and thereby contribute to the development of texture and structure. To explain how texture and structure unfold in written expository texts, I found

Martin's conjunctive categories useful:

At the core of every form of Exposition is some form of reasoning. The function of Exposition is to interpret and to explain, so realising the

cause and effect are important. Expositions are about why. For this reason, we need to look at the ways in which languages like English express reasoning. These grammatical resources have to be deployed effectively if students are to write effective expository texts (Martin, 1990:18).

Martin (1990) shows how conjunctions can be used to generate logical relations in expository texts (Chapter 2). I will apply the following categories to analyze the role of conjunctions - temporal (successive and simultaneous), consequential: causal, conditional, concessive and purposive), comparative (contrast and similarity), additive (addition and alteration) prepositional phrases and verb forms in XESL Speakers' **written academic** discourse:

1. Categorize the repetition of conjunctions, prepositions and verb forms that are used to code reasoning within written argument of XESL Speakers in this study.
2. Present tables of conjunctive, preposition and verb types that they used in an attempt to establish causal relations.
3. Identify and discuss causal effects of conjunctions, prepositions and verb forms in XESL **Speaker's written academic discourse.**

Firstly, I chose to analyze conjunctive relations because the discourse that is under investigation in this study is expository in nature. As stated, writers use conjunctions in expository texts to establish causal relations (Martin, 1990).

While, Hasan and Martin's arguments are important to show how cohesion and coherence unfolds, Gough's research on the cross linguistic transfer of certain elements from Xhosa to English is crucial because it shows the extent **to which Xhosa may 'interfere' with the acquisition of the target language**

(English). These factors, in turn, **may 'force'** XESL Speakers to use repetition as a discourse strategy. For these reasons, I draw on Gough's (1996; 2000) research to structure Step 3. To this end, I setup a typology of tables of **'repetitive' elements in areas** where English and Xhosa are not cognate. In this respect, I drew on Gough's argument (1996:2) that:

I would like to argue that in South Africa a framework for analyzing cross-linguistic transfer differences and similarities, as well as cross-linguistic influences is fundamental for both theoretical and pedagogical purposes. The title of the paper is inspired by the opinion that I received from interviews with African teachers that one needed to know the mother tongue of African students to understand the English they produced in their written work (Gough, 1996:2)

I, therefore, define typology in terms of how (1) group objects according to characteristics, (2) formulate and (3) apply them. In considering these three aspects, I construct in tabular form examples of XESL Speakers' **use of the:**

- Resumptive pronoun
- Incorrect use of articles
- Incorrect use of prepositions
- Improvisations in cases where they could not express themselves appropriately in English

3.8 Triangulation of Data and Findings

Triangulation refers to use of multiple sources to increase the reliability of observations in a single case study. In this study I use three sources as sources of evidence, viz., written scripts, questionnaires administered to XESL

Speakers as well as the unstructured interviews and informal discussions with lecturers. **To test the 'reliability' of repetition as data as well as 'validity' of my findings, I am guided by Nunan's (1992:17) definitions of these two concepts.** Nunan (1992:16-17) divides reliability into two forms – internal and external. **He further differentiates between 'Construct Validity' and 'Internal Validity'.** Construct validity begs the question whether 'the study is actually investigating what it is supposed to be investigating'. I investigated the phenomenon of repetition as set out in my research questions. Internal validity refers to, 'causal relationships' in research. I, therefore, drew on critical theorists who argue that meaning making in the form of language has both a linguistic and social context to show causal relationships for repetition. Firstly, with regard to reliability I consistently asked students the same questions in 1998 and 2005. Secondly, I apply the same format in the collection and analysis of texts. If the analysis was inconsistent with the analytical model then the results would therefore show inconsistent patterns in the presentation, analysis, and interpretation of the data. Thirdly, I consider the written scripts and questionnaires as reliable sources of evidence, because they were *verbatim* representations of the words obtained from the three sample groups (Nunan, 1992).

3.9 Evaluation and Summary of the Research Process

3.9.1 Evaluation of the Research Process

A shortcoming of this study is that I could not, due to time, financial and practical constraints interview the relevant XESL students to find out why they have overused repetition as a written academic discourse strategy. To overcome this obstacle, I attached questionnaires to the essay questions I gave to XESL Speakers to elicit the data. I subsequently also administered questionnaires to relevant lecturers as well as conducted unstructured interviews with Xhosa lecturers. Therefore, the results as well as suggestions to address repetition, I derived mainly from close and systematic linguistic **analysis XESL Speakers' written scripts, complemented by unstructured questionnaires and interviews with lecturers.**

A second shortcoming is that although the 2005 data are comparable with the 1998 data as Xhosa home language speakers at the same institution answered the same question, the fact that the 2005 data were from a different faculty, places limits on my ability to situate these texts in terms of disciplinarity. The main purpose of the 2005 data collection was to establish that there had not been major changes in the way that Xhosa home language speakers use repetition. My data analysis shows that this is indeed the case and the 2005 data are drawn on in Chapter 4, only for the purposes of further illustration.

3.9.2 Summary of the Research Process

Table 3.1 How the Research Process Unfolded (Phase1: 1998 – 2002)

When	What	How	Who with?
1998-2000	Identification of research area	Discussion with students about difficulties in their ways of conceptualizing in written academic discourse	Students in my B.Ed classes
	Questionnaire and essay type question to address the first research question: Why do XESL Speakers use repetition as a discourse strategy?	Structured, planned and unplanned writing sessions	Second year Education students
	Working on a preliminary mode of linguistic analysis	Reading the work of critical applied linguists	Halliday, Fairclough, Martin, Hasan, Kress, Gough.
2001	Interview to gather information in order to address my second research question: What are the reasons for repetition? The question to elicit the data: What role does repetition play in Xhosa culture?	Unstructured	Xhosa PhD Student

Table 3.2 How the Research Process Unfolded Between 2002 and 2008

When	What	How	Who?
2002	Reworking initial mode of analysis which resulted in a reformulation of research questions and hence dissertation structure	Refined reading of the work of critical applied linguists	Halliday and Fairclough
	Interview Is repetition a dominant feature in Xhosa culture?	Unstructured	Xhosa Professor
2003	Interview What are some of the major differences between Xhosa and English grammar?	Unstructured	Xhosa teacher
2004	Interview Is repetition an oral or written strategy in Xhosa?	Unstructured	Xhosa Professor, English mother tongue speaker

(Table 3.2 **Continued/...**)

Table 3.2 How the Research Process Unfolded (Continued)

March 2005	Interview What are the reasons for XESL Speakers' numbers diminishing in education?	Unstructured	Education lecturer
August 2005	Interview	Unstructured Is the university using a different approach since the inception of the Centre?	Coordinator – UWC writing Centre
September 2005	Interview What methods of assessment does the writing centre use?	Unstructured	Coordinator Academic Development Unit UWC
2006	Interview What is the function(s) of repetition in Xhosa oral traditions?	Unstructured	Professor of Xhosa
2008	Interview: The linguistic structure of Isixhosa and repetition	Unstructured	Lecturer of IsiXhosa

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 summarise how the research process unfolded chronologically and how my analytical method changed. The tables indicate where expansion in my analytical method occurred due to changes in my research focus. In the first part of my research, I read mostly theories on second language acquisition and very little on theories dealing with actual analysis of spoken and written texts.

3.10 Ethics

I obtained permission from the UWC to collect the data for research purposes. I undertook a written pledge in accordance with the rules of conducting ethical research, that students will remain anonymous, and moreover, that the data would solely be used for research purposes. I explained to the participants that their participation in the research would be voluntary and would in no way affect their marks.

3.11 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the research site and described the design and methodology I used to collect and analyse the data, which secured the **research process**. I explained how I adapted Halliday's grammar of discourse model: field, tenor and mode as expanded by Hasan's (1990) lexical and Martin's (1990) conjunctive cohesion models to analyse repetition with a view to illustrating its linguistic and socio-cultural significance. I argued that **Halliday's grammar of discourse approach targeted English L1 Speakers**. Thus **to address repetition in a situation in which English I incorporated Gough's** (1996 and 2000) elements of cross-linguistic transfer from English to Xhosa to account for how Xhosa discourse may have interfered with how XESL Speakers' **conceptualized their written academic argument**. In the next chapter, I outline how I have implemented this analytical model to obtain the kind of information aimed at developing an intervention model.

CHAPTER 4

THE NATURE AND EFFECT OF REPETITION ON XESL SPEAKERS' WRITTEN ACADEMIC ARGUMENT

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to address my research questions:

1. What is the nature of repetition in the essays of XESL Speakers?
2. In what ways does repetition affect the structure of XESL Speakers' written academic argument?
3. How do items of cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa to English affect the structure of their written argument?
4. How do XESL Speakers texts differ from the genre, which is considered appropriate written academic discourse, in terms of both structure and sentence level?

Using Halliday's (1989 and 2004) conception of a register of discourse, I argue that the written argumentative essays of XESL Speakers constitute a dialogue within the university's context of situation and culture, and more specifically, within the discourse of the discipline of Education. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, I will use discourse analysis, which draws on Halliday's register model as well as studies on cross-linguistic transfer to illustrate the ways in which the students' texts differ from the genre, which is considered appropriate written academic discourse, in terms of both structure and sentence level. Before identifying and analyzing the features of repetition in the student texts, I start by providing insight into the norms of written

academic argument and assessment within Education.

4.2 Written Academic Argument within the Discipline of Education

There is not a unified discourse within the discipline of Education. Diverse disciplines influence and shape discourses of education. As such, there are Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology, and Economic discourses within the discipline of Education. As a discipline, Education borrows extensively from the Social Sciences or Humanities. Accordingly, a written essay in the discipline of Education adopts the argument structure of expository texts (Martin, 1990). The expository model of argumentation which Winter (1976), Martin (1990) and Hasan (1990) describe is also known as the deductive model of reasoning. This model follows a logical syllogism. It is a model, which Aristotle, the Greek philosopher developed. A logical syllogism adopts predetermined stages to establish whether something is true or false, for example:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------|
| If: | 1. $A = B$ |
| And: | 2. $B = C$ |
| Then/Therefore: | 3. $A = C$ |

Martin focuses only on the structural nature of a written academic argument in the Humanities – *Introduction, Body and Conclusion*. In contrast, Winter (1976) goes into more depth by including evaluative aspects of a typical **research thesis**, "*Situation*: review of the literature; *Problem*: the question(s)

the researcher has chosen to address; *Solution*: answers/proposals of researchers; *Evaluation*: a concluding section commenting on what has been achieved and what remains to be done (Winter, 1976:8). Similarly, Hasan (1990) provides an evaluative perspective of the global structure of a written argument; *a precipitating event, consequence and revelation*.

4.3 Assessment of a Written Argument in the Discipline of Education

Just as there is not a unified discourse within education, there is not a **comprehensive and complete model that one can use to assess students' written academic arguments**. Leki (1995) explains why:

... as writing instructors, we also know that the concept of good writing is context bound, that what is good writing in one instance is not as successful for all circumstances, that different contexts impose different even contradictory constraints on writers (Leki, 1995:24).

Lecturers normally tell students what they expect in an essay and then based on their expectations mark essays accordingly. Research conducted by Boughey (2000) at the University of Zululand - **a 'Black' South African university shows that often there is a mismatch between: (1) students' literacy experiences - how they engage with reading and writing text, and their lecturers' expectations. This mismatch results from (1) the differences between academia's context of situation and the resources students draw on from outside the university, (2) students simply repeat what they have read and (3) they are often deprived of opportunities to develop skills needed for expository texts.**

Writing research has produced a wide range of suggestions, which **provide a perspective on lecturers' experiences**. The two examples below are typical:

Ballard and Clancy (1993:30):

1. *It is expected that your essay will be clearly focused on the set topic and deal fully with its central concerns.*
2. *It is expected that your essay will be the result of wide and critical reading.*

Paxton (2004:126) suggests that students are required to:

1. *... link all the points you make to this main argument.*
2. *... have a main idea around which the paragraphs is built*
3. *To sum up the main argument in the your final paragraph.*

A lecturer in **UWC's** Faculty of Education, whom I interviewed, explained: '*I would look at whether the student answered the question in the introduction. This I feel is the important part of the essay. Then I will look at the structure of the essay, whether each paragraph has a point to substantiate the argument. I will look at the references and also the conclusion. A good written academic essay will therefore have an argument, well structured and good language usage.*'

With different degrees of explicitness, these examples all stress overall coherence. There is a notion of a clear, focused argument structure, based on evidence. Although not made explicit, underlying this is a notion that

students will use cohesive devices which link concepts in a logical manner.

As stated in Chapter 3, in 2007, I administered questionnaires to three lecturers at the UWC. I posed the following question:

1. What would be a good written essay answer to the questions?
2. Was apartheid good (progressive) or bad (retrogressive)?
3. Was Bantu Education just or unjust?

The Sociology of Education lecturer explained that she would evaluate student responses to the two questions as follows:

To the first question, Was Apartheid good (progressive) or bad (retrogressive), I would look at whether the student answered the question in the introduction. This I feel is the important part of the essay. Then I will look at the structure of the essay, whether each paragraph has a point to substantiate the argument. I will look at the references and also the conclusion. A good written academic essay will therefore have an argument, well structured and good language usage. To the second question, was Bantu Education just or unjust. In this essay I feel the student should take a stand and answer the question in the first paragraph, that is the introduction. The students must then substantiate their answer by giving various factors paragraph by paragraph. I will look at various references for the arguments. Then I will look at language usage, coherence, and the conclusion.

A lecturer in the Faculty of Education at UWC explains that he would evaluate students' written responses:

*I would check whether the response was properly introduced, the questions understood and framed, and particularly whether the student can differentiate between good (progressive and bad (retrogressive)). These are tricky concepts. I will then check how they respond to Apartheid in relation to the concepts. I will also look for coherence, flow, and content description. Important is to see whether the student has an adequate grasp (not merely restricted) to Apartheid. The framework above would apply in this case to **Bantu Education. Here I'll look at (1) motives for BE. (2) How organized. (3) ideological purpose and (4) effects. I will be keen to understand how the student deals with B.E. as modernization not simply ideology.***

A lecturer in history of education said that she would evaluate:

The answer should firstly define what Apartheid was and secondly define what progressive and retrogressive mean.

The answer would depend on who is answering the question. A victim of Apartheid would argue that it was bad ie. Politically, economically and socially. The perpetrators of Apartheid and their follows would argue it was progressive ie. politically, economically and socially because they gained from all aspects. Whether Apartheid was good or bad would not depend on the colour of the person answering it. There were people of colour who benefited from it and vice versa. Was Bantu Education just or unjust? The answer to this question like the previous one depends on whether you were a victim of the perpetrator. Looking at it from a human rights perspective the answer to both questions must be bad/unjust.

It is evident from the questionnaires that the lecturers all have a framework which involves a deductive model of argumentation. However, their frameworks contain very little meta-language about what constitutes clear logic at the level of the sentence and at the level of discourse. This is particularly pertinent in a context where the majority of students come from disadvantaged school backgrounds and where English is mainly an additional language. This chapter attempts to identify how students construct their logic using repetition and will analyse how this affects the overall coherence of their argument. **I will illustrate that the students' notions of coherence are at odds with the deductive genre expected within Education.**

4.4 Essay Questions to Elicit the Data

The question that I posed to the two **groups of students: 'Was apartheid progressive or retrogressive?'** seems fairly easy and straight-forward to answer:

1. Yes, apartheid was good (progressive).
2. No, apartheid was bad (retrogressive).
3. Apartheid was good and bad.

The question I posed to Group 2 also focused on Apartheid from a different angle:

Was Bantu Education just or unjust? Again, there are only three possible answers:

1. Yes, Bantu Education was just.
2. No, Bantu Education was unjust.

3. Bantu Education was both just and unjust.

4.5 Analysis

As stated, my aim is to evaluate the nature of repetition and how the lexical and conjunctive repetition at word and sentence level influenced and shaped cohesion and coherence in XESL Speakers' **written argumentative essays**. I start my analysis with lexical repetition in the form of parallelism and substitutions, before I proceed to conjunctive cohesion, viz. causal relations in the form of conjunctions, noun, prepositional and verb forms. I subdivide the structural effect of conjunctions further with a view to discussing their logical functions – additive, consequential and comparative.

4.5.1 Lexical Repetition: Texture and Structure

The purpose of the following sections on parallelism, 4.5.1 on substitution 4.5.2, and 4.5.3 conjunctive forms of repetition is to answer the research question:

1. What is the nature of repetition in the essays of XESL Speakers?

4.5.1.1 Parallelism: Texture and Structure

Group 1: Excerpt from Text 2: Unplanned Essay (Appendix 2)

As stated in Chapter 2, parallelisms are structures of equal grammatical value in terms of number; they express similarity and not sameness (Hasan, 1990:14). Parallelism is a useful strategy to acquire new discourses because

the writer can use a phrase or clause (Fowler and Aaron, 1992). The use of inappropriate forms of parallelism can also indicate that the writer experienced conceptual difficulties with accessing the discourse as in the excerpt from Group 1, text 2 below. I include different examples of parallelism from a few texts to show how often inappropriate forms appear in both unplanned and planned essays of XESL Speakers in this study:

*There was also the Pass laws where it was only 'Black's particularly Africans who were supposed to carry their dompas wherever they go. The youth decided to fight this system and it led to the arrest of many leaders and being imprisoned for almost 27 years to life. **Most people** lost their lives because they were sent to gallows. Apartheid was also introduced in our schools. 'Black' education was not same as compared to white education. Our Schools were not electrified. They were not given sport facilities and there was no PTSA for student and S.R.C. Government took the rule of the school. **People started** to be spies and informers because of Apartheid. **Africans started** to fight each other because there were people who were manipulated by the government to achieve some personal goals. Workers were not given right to expose their grievances. **Most students** left the country and decided to exile themselves because they could not tolerate the Apartheid for example the 1976 uprisings as the medium of instruction, and also 1980's uprisings or riots. Apartheid was progressive to those who benefited from it, most institution did not allowed 'Black' people to enter their premises. People were denied right to learn. Education was taken as the privilege not a right.*

Although, 'people' in 'Most people' lost their lives because they were sent to gallows. and 'People in, 'People started' to be spies and informers because of Apartheid appear semantically the same, the writer expresses two different

ideas. There is no conceptual cohesion- connection between people in **'Most people lost their lives'** and people in **'People started'** to be spies. People cannot first lose their lives then become spies. This would be a contradiction. The same can be said about **'People started to be spies and informers because of Apartheid'** and **Africans started to fight each other ...'** as in the first example, the two clauses are unrelated. They are unrelated declarative statements. In terms of Halliday's conceptual framework of register analysis, the tenor of discourse refers to who is involved (actors) which is reflected in interpersonal themes of mood – declarative, interrogative and imperative, modality – can, may, might, should, will, must, and person - number and nature of people in a situation (Halliday, 1989 and 2004). Interpersonal themes indicate the level of involvement of participants in the text and with one another (Halliday, 1989 and 2004). The excerpts are not incoherent because what the writer said is false. They are incoherent because there is a break in structural continuity. In the first instance, the writer wrote about people who lost their lives, then he wrote about education, then, people started to be spies, **'Africans started to fight each other, and 'Most students left the country'**. He does not explain how these points are connected conceptually.

Group 2: Excerpts from Text 8: Planned (Appendix 3)

Inappropriate uses of parallelism also appear in the planned essays of XESL

Speakers:

The financial assistance of the Bantu pupils was very poor. Therefore they

did not have the necessary facilities to assist them in their education career. Their **social background** also had a major influence on the type or the quality of their education. Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that pupil's **social background** is a far more powerful determinant of their educational attainment; and that **social background** is the major determinant of their economic success. Therefore we can see that the **social background** of the Bantu population, in connection with the economic issues, which were very poor, played an important role in the quality of the **Bantu education**.

We can therefore definitely see that **Bantu education** was not a just form of education. Earnest Barker (1836-1882; 158) defines **justice as that right** order of relationships among persons which guarantees to all of them the external conditions of their personal development" Each person is to have **an equal right** to the most extensive total system of equal **basic liberties** compatible with a similar system of liberty for all" (J. Bowles 1972; 34)

From idealistic perspective, that believe that there must be **rights** or personal and individual perspectives because **every individual's perspective** and personality has to be respected and developed. The main argument of the idealistic perspective is that ones personality has to be respected. Any political community cannot only be ordered by power, individuals perspectives must always be respected. From a Marxist perspective **social class** plays an important role in human development. Social class can therefore be seen as the key phases of human historical development. Marxism sees that to promote **social change**, one has to connect it with politics. From a Marxist perspective education cannot be seen as neutral objective or value free. Education is therefore connected with social change and therefore linked to capitalism, domination and exploitation.

In South African context one can see that there is a notion of capitalism where you find the capitalist, the **middle class** and the working class. One can definitely make a distinction between those who owns, the ownership and the non ownership. There is a specific **class structure** and level of

*development that links to domination and exploitation. This social changes causes high rated conflict in South Africa. If we look at Bowles and Gintis, reproduction theories **we can see** that the structure of social relations in education not only prepare the student for discipline of the workplace, but it develops personal attitudes.*

The clause structure **'Therefore we can see'** in the first paragraph serves what Hasan would call an endophoric function - it links what has gone before to what is still to come; to connect claims in the first, second and third paragraphs. The student used the parallel structures to discuss different contextual issues, viz. **'social background'** in the first paragraph, **'justice'** in the second paragraph **'and social class and education'** in the third paragraph. The purpose of **'Therefore we can see'** (in the first paragraph), **'We can therefore definitely see that Bantu education was not a just form of education'** (in the second paragraph) was to conceptually link **'social background, education and justice'**. In other words, after the writer made statements accompanied by evidence in the form of a formal reference **'Bowles and Gintis (1976)'** he used **'Therefore we can see'** to summarise or to conclude his antecedent claims. The student used **'Therefore we can see'** in the place of traditional transitional discourse marker. It is an idiosyncratic way of using conjunctions, 'Therefore' or 'Hence'.

Despite the inappropriate use of parallel repetition, the student showed an awareness that the different parts of the essay should be connected. Another feature that is missing in this planned essay is an introduction, which

describes the *precipitating event*, a body that explains the *consequences* and finally conclusion stating *revelation* (Hasan, 1990). The result is that the argument lacks coherence in terms of its global structure, but through a closer and systematic analysis one can identify that the student attempts to make conceptual links between the different parts. This comes across in the parts, which appear in bold below:

*The financial assistance of the Bantu pupils **was very poor**. Therefore they did not have the necessary facilities to assist them in their **education career**. Their **social background** also had a major influence on the type or the **quality of their education*** (first paragraph).

*We can therefore definitely see that **Bantu education was not a just form of education**. Earnest Barker (1836-1882; 158) defines **justice as that right order of relationships among persons** which guarantees to all of them the external conditions of their personal development" **Each person is to have an equal right** to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all" (J. Bowles 1972; 34) (second paragraph)*

The student argues that since Bantu pupils received little money from the state for educational purposes, and given their deprived social background, they could not pursue their educational objectives. What the student states about Bantu education and social deprivation is common knowledge. However, his concluding paragraph does not show what Hasan (1990) refers to as *revelation* because he instead introduces a discussion on capitalism without any formal explanation as to how it links to his initial point of departure or *Theme* (Halliday, 1989). He also conflates middle class and class

structure with social changes: **'This social changes causes high rated conflict in South Africa'**. (See paragraph below). At first he shows some understanding of class structures when he refers to **'those who owns the means of production and the non ownership'**. Subsequent clauses deviate from this understanding. They cause a structural break between his initial conception of class and its exemplification: **'If we look at Bowles and Gintis, reproduction theories we can see that the structure of social relations in education not only prepare the student for discipline of the workplace, but it develops personal attitudes'**. Any structural break causes a break in cohesion because ideas about class structures are not conceptually linked **'the workplace and personal attitudes'** in a manner that makes sense to the reader.

The examples above show some similarity to the forms of parallelism evident in the sermons of Xhosa priests as analysed by Kaschula (2002):

See there stands the life of the creator; He of the school.

See there stands the life of the creator; Who calls us to rise.

See there stands the life of the creator; He has ascended.

(Kaschula, 2002: 106)

Kaschula, (2002:123) explains how this may happen:

Firstly, a line may retain the syntax of the previous line but have different words. Secondly, one or more words, either at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of sentence are retained. Thirdly, syntax and words differ but the idea expressed is the same.

To explain the linguistic features of repetition in Xhosa poetry as a form of narration Kaschula (2002) draws on Tannen (1982):

Tannen adds that the written version of the narrative, which is literary rather than expository, combines syntactic complexity expected in writing with features, which create involvement expected in speaking (Kaschula, 2002:67).

This explanation resonates with my data as one can see evidence that students are using involvement strategies similar to those used in speech.

4.5.1.2 Substitutions: Texture and Structure

Students' use of substitutions reflects similar involvement strategies. The texts below are typical examples of how certain XESL Speakers used substitutions to signify the interpersonal nature of their discourse (Halliday, 1989). As stated in Chapter 2, Halliday points out the interpersonal theme occurs frequently in question and answer types of social interaction because of the nature of the discourse. Theme structures of an interpersonal nature **contain minimum information since they are characterised by 'yes and no'** forms of social interaction within a context of situation. In other words, the speaker or writer would respond to a particular question in a manner which shows a one-to-one correspondence between a question and answer. In the texts that follow, the writers provided answers to the question as a given. In other words, their answers do not generate debate, as one would expect to happen within the deductive model of argumentation.

Group 1: Excerpt from Text 4 (Unplanned Essay)

First, and foremost **Apartheid is a system (Nominal Phrase)** of oppression which was entirely means to divide the people of South Africa along racial lines. **It** started in around 1948 when the Nationalist Party colonial government came into power. It is in this regard that the people of South Africa have experienced **this activity (Verbal Phrase)** of racial prejudice.

Apartheid must be seen as an **instrument of oppression (Verbal Phrase)** but we need to note that **Apartheid** was drawn from Colonialism, without colonialism **it** should not have existed. This means that **Apartheid is a symptom of colonialism (Verbal Phrase)** and **it** was bad as colonialism was.

The bad effect of this system was very much destruction, in a sense that **it** was responsible for the deaths in our country. African people are discriminated against by **this system** and defined as inferior. This inferiority made them or deprive them the stake in the country's living standard. Young infants were victims of **this system** in a manner that, they lost their lives at some tender even before they reach breadline stage, and this happens because of Apartheid because their parents were living in bad conditions informal settlements where there are no adequate facilities for proper life. **This** made them to be victims diseases.

The boldface sections show how this student uses substitution to develop texture as part of an ongoing selection of discourse choices. In Hasan's (1990) discussion of texture, substitutions are some of the easiest ways speakers or writers of text can arrange the internal configuration of texts. In this essay, the student repeats 'Apartheid', the Theme to stay focused on the topic.

The student's point of departure is that **'Apartheid is a system of oppression'**. He uses the demonstrative pronoun **'this'** as an all-purpose-connective. The meaning of apartheid is carried along several lines in which **'This'** serves a repetitive function to link ideas that apartheid as a system of oppression which **'divided people'** and discriminated against people. The writer concludes **'So this'** shows the inequalities created by **'this system'**. The word **'this'** in relation to apartheid activities as well as the writer's experiences in apartheid South Africa are therefore a semantic indictment of apartheid; of what apartheid meant in his life. In the student's text, **'this system'** is a substitute for Apartheid system. Similarly, **'Apartheid is a system of oppression'** is used interchangeably with **'This system is bad'**. The constituent structure: **'First and foremost Apartheid is a system of oppression which was entirely means to divide people along racial lines'** is a phrase that can be reconstructed into a sentence as follows:

Apartheid is a system of oppression that divided people along racial lines.

Furthermore, the attributive phrases **'in this regard'** and **'in a sense'**, have the same semantic value in the constituent structure. They have the same number of lexical elements. The only difference between the two phrases is the use of **'this'** as determiner and **'a'** as an indefinite article preceding the relative pronouns **'regard'** and **'sense'**. One of the two phrases could have been used.

'This' is not the only discourse marker that the writer used in a repetitive manner in order to create a frame to slot in information. He used the

impersonal pronoun '**It**' alongside '**this**' to facilitate texture in his argument structure. Below is an example and discussion of this:

Group 1: Excerpt from Text 4 (Unplanned Essay)

*First, and foremost **Apartheid is a system** of oppression which was entirely means to divide the people of South Africa along racial lines. **It** started in around 1948 when the Nationalist Party colonial government came into power. It is in this regard that the people of South Africa have experienced **this activity** of racial prejudice.*

***Apartheid** must be seen as an **instrument of oppression** but we need to note that **Apartheid** was drawn from Colonialism, without colonialism **it** should not have existed. This means that **Apartheid is a symptom of colonialism** and **it** was bad as colonialism was.*

*The bad effect of this system was very much destruction, in a sense that **it** was responsible for the deaths in our country. African people are discriminated against by **this system** and defined as inferior. This inferiority made them or deprive them the stake in the country's living standard. Young infants were victims of **this system** in a manner that, they lost their lives at some tender even before they reach breadline stage, and this happens because of Apartheid because their parents were living in bad conditions informal settlements where there are no adequate facilities for proper life. **This** made them to be victims diseases.*

Group 1: Excerpt from Text 5 (Unplanned Essay)

***Apartheid** was no good in some cases. **It** was not good in the sense that **it** provided no opportunity for better education and life especially for those who are not white. **It** means that Apartheid was bad because **it** brought Poverty Unemployment, Bantu Education.*

*I think if we are talking about Apartheid we also have to look to the opposite of the term which is **democracy**. What are the good and bad about*

democracy. Many people practice **it** in a wrong way. Disrupting and demonstrating things, the useful things because **it is democracy**.

Group 2: Excerpt from Text 9 (Planned Essay)

*In answering the question on whether **Bantu education** was **a just system of education** **it** is noteworthy to keep in mind that a mere yes or no will not suffice. Rather one should look at the extent to which **Bantu education** was beneficial and to what extent **it** was oppressive. In doing so one will thus be able to answer the question on whether indeed **it** was a just system of education. However before doing so background information on how and why **Bantu education** was will be given. **It** is only in the conclusion that the answer to the question will be given.*

Again, as in the previous examples the student made extensive use of parallelism, despite the fact that she planned her essay.

4.5.1.3 Conjunctions: Texture and Structure

As stated in Chapter 2, in spoken or written texts causal relations indicate the relationship between two clauses. Honderich explains how this happens:

In modern philosophy (as in modern usage in general) the notion of cause is associated with the idea of something producing or bringing about something else (its effect). (Honderich, 1995:126)

According to Cook (1993), people create causal relations through a variety of items. Conjunctions are an explicit feature of formal persuasive (rhetorical) texts. I use the classification system of conjunctive elements proposed by Martin (1990:89-90). A writer can use any one of the following to reason (establish causality) in English expository text Martin (1990):

C: Conjunction

N: Noun

P: Prepositional Phrase

V: Verb form

Conjunctions are normally used in clause complexes as indicators of coordination and subordination 'but' (coordination) and, 'if', 'since', 'whenever', 'because', are used by writers of text to demonstrate subordination (Hasan, 1990:8). **Noun forms:** They are part of entities in the English Rank System of grammar (Halliday, 2004). An example of when a noun is used to reason is: 'Firearms cause fatalities' (Martin, 1990:19). **Prepositions:** They form part of the verbal group in the English Rank System (Halliday, 2004), e.g. 'Fatalities occur because of firearms' (Martin, 1990:19). **Verb forms:** Refer to processes in the English Rank System of grammar. For example, 'A lot of people die because too many people have firearms' (Martin, 1990:19). Martin (1990) explains that in order to interpret how, nouns, prepositions, and verb forms function in expository texts, we should reconstruct the phrase, clause or sentences in which they appear and then use conjunctions instead as I did below (Excerpts from Group 1: Text 1):

Example 1: Noun

'This socialist programme' (N) was intended to ensure that each white in South Africa is living a decent life or European style in Verwoerd's words. (PG3).

Reconstruction: Every white South African is living a decent life or

European lifestyle **'because'** the government introduced a socialist programme for whites.

Example 2: Prepositional Phrase

Its (Apartheid) damage was immeasurable

'Because of' (P) *what it did to mental psych.*

Example 3: Verb

*Educationally, Apartheid **was made to be accepted** (verb) by students as a tool that intended to bridge racial tensions.*

Reconstruction: Apartheid was made to be accepted **because (Causal Conjunction)** students used education as a tool to bridge racial tensions.

In view of the above definitions of conjunctions, the purpose of this section is, therefore, three-fold, firstly, to demonstrate how XESL Speakers used conjunctions as cohesive devices, secondly to ascertain whether the manner in which they have used it was convincing as a rhetorical strategy within the written academic argumentative genre. Thirdly, I illustrate the effect of the repetitive uses of conjunctions on the global structure of their essays. I present the original text in typed form thereafter, for analytical purposes to demonstrate how causal relations unfolded, I represent (in the form **'statement-evidence-conclusion' structures**) the manner in which XESL Speaker developed cohesion with conjunctions. I show two examples of how conjunctions were used inappropriately, one from an unplanned essay and one from a planned essay. I first display the original texts and then analyse them.

Group 1: Excerpt from (Original) Text 1 (Unplanned Essay)

Question: "Was Apartheid in your opinion progressive (good) or retrogressive (bad)?"

Answer:

Apartheid simply meant that one has to be separated from others. Out of that word "Apartheid", apart means you will be there! not here. Because of this, its damage is immeasurable especially when it comes to mental psyche.

Furthermore, the question asks whether Apartheid was good or bad. The answer to this question can be illuminated historically. One of the architects of Apartheid, Daniel Malan argued that Apartheid was not racial discrimination, but a weapon to bridge racial tensions, hence South Africa has different racial groups that have to be separated from each other socially, economically and politically.

These arguments were followed by an effective implementation of a socialist programme of Apartheid. This socialist programme was intended to ensure that each and every white in South Africa is living a decent life or European style in Verwoerd's words.

Nonetheless, it would be inappropriate for me to say Apartheid was good instead, I would argue that it was bad because of the following factors. Apartheid created animosity among South African, coupled with mistrust and suspicions of each racial group by the other. Apartheid created infrastructural disorder because the government was trying to satisfy one section of the society. Because of Apartheid, many South Africans died in the process of fighting against it, others were arrested, whilst others decided to leave their country of origin. However, Apartheid was more than just brutalisation of individuals because it crippled our economy.

Sanctions that were applied by the International Community to the Apartheid government of South Africa also impacted negatively to the ordinary people because many South Africans lost jobs, Therefore, they had nowhere to go because most of them were illiterate, unskilled and non-white. The latter was caused by the fact that because of Apartheid they were denied opportunities because of the colour of their skins.

Educationally, Apartheid was made to be accepted by students as a tool that intended to bridge racial tensions. This was made possible by the effective implementation of the Bantu Education Act, that was intended make students subservient not subversive. Its aim was to underdevelop the minds of non-whites.

*In conclusion, it is clear that Apartheid was characterised by chaos. As an evil **system, it couldn't have gone unchallenged, therefore, many South Africans** died in the fight against it. Because of Apartheid, today, the South African government is faced with the challenge reconstruction and redressing imbalances that were created by Apartheid.*

Group 1: Analysis: Excerpt from Text 1 (Unplanned Essay)

Texture	Structure
A	
1. <i>Apartheid simply meant that one has to be separated from others. Out of that word "Apartheid", apart means you will be there! not here.</i>	Statement/Position
2. <u>Because of this</u> (Propositional Phrase), its damage is immeasurable especially when it comes to mental psyche. (Demonstrating Consequence)	Evidence/Conclusion
B	
1. <i>One of the architects of Apartheid, Daniel Malan argued that Apartheid was not racial discrimination,</i>	Statement/Position
2. <u>but</u> (Concessive Conjunction) a weapon to bridge racial tensions, (Demonstrating Counter Expectation)	Evidence/Conclusion
3. <i>Apartheid was not racial discrimination <u>because</u> (Causal Conjunction) it was meant to bridge racial tentions. (Demonstrating Consequence)</i>	Statement/Position
4. <u>hence</u> (Causal Conjunction) South Africa has different racial groups that have to be separated from each other socially, economically and politically. (Demonstrating Consequence)	Evidence/Conclusion
C	
1. <i><u>These arguments</u> (Nominal Phrase) were followed by an effective implementation of a socialist programme of Apartheid ((Demonstrating Consequence)</i>	Statement/Position

Group 1: Analysis Continued/...)

Group 1: Text 1 Analysis (Continued)

<p>2. <u>This socialist programme</u> (Nominal Phrase) was intended to ensure that each and every white in South Africa is living a decent life or European style in Verwoerd's words. (Demonstrating Consequence)</p>	Evidence/Conclusion
D	
<p>1. Nonetheless, it would be inappropriate for me to say Apartheid was good <u>instead</u>, (Contrastive Conjunction) I would argue that it was bad (Demonstrating Counter Expectation)</p>	Evidence/Conclusion
<p>2. <u>because of</u> (Prepositional Phrase), the following factors. Apartheid created animosity among South African, coupled with mistrust and suspicions of each racial group by the other. Apartheid created infrastructural disorder <u>because</u> (Causal Conjunction) the government was trying to satisfy one section of the society. <u>Because of Apartheid</u> (Prepositional Phrase) many South Africans died in the process of fighting against it, others were arrested, while others decided to leave their country of origin. <u>However</u>, (Concessive Conjunction) Apartheid was more than just brutalisation of individuals <u>because</u> (Causal Conjunction) it <u>crippled our economy</u>.</p>	Evidence Conclusion
	Evidence/Conclusion
E	
<p>1. Sanctions that were applied by the International Community to the Apartheid government of South Africa also impacted negatively to the ordinary people</p>	Statement/Position
<p><u>because</u> (Causal Conjunction) <u>many South Africans lost jobs</u>, (Demonstrating Consequence)</p>	Evidence/Conclusion

Group 1: Text 1 Analysis (Continued)

2. <u>Therefore, (Causal Conjunction)</u> <i>they had nowhere to go</i>	Evidence/Conclusion
3. <u>because most of (Prepositional Phrase)</u> <i>them were illiterate, unskilled and non-white. The latter was caused by the fact that</i>	Evidence/Conclusion
4. <u>because of (Prepositional Phrase)</u> <i>Apartheid they were denied opportunities</i>	Evidence/Conclusion
5. <u>because of (Prepositional Phrase)</u> <i>the colour of their skins.</i>	Evidence/Conclusion
F	
1. <i>Educationally, Apartheid was made to be accepted (Verb) by students as a tool that intended to bridge racial tensions. (Demonstrating Consequence)</i>	Statement/Position
2. <i>This was made possible by the effective implementation of the Bantu Education Act, that was intended make students subservient not subversive. Its aim was to underdevelop the minds of non-whites.</i>	
G	
1. <i>In conclusion, it is clear that Apartheid was characterised by chaos. As an evil system, it couldn't have gone unchallenged,</i>	Evidence/Conclusion
2. <u>therefore, (Causal Conjunction)</u> <i>many South Africans died in the fight against it. (Demonstrating Consequence)</i>	Evidence/conclusion
H	
1. <u>Because of Apartheid, (Prepositional Phrase)</u> <i>today,</i>	Evidence/Conclusion
2. <i>the South African government is faced with the challenge reconstruction and redressing imbalances that were created by Apartheid.</i>	Statement/Position

As indicated earlier, conjunctions fall within the category of textual Themes, which speakers or writers use to connect different parts of discourse in a logical manner. This text signifies a typical example of the inappropriate use of conjunctions by an XESL Speaker as rhetorical strategy within the genre of written argumentative discourse. For this reason, I describe and discuss the repetitive nature of conjunctions in some detail. They are typical examples of how conjunctions should not be used as rhetorical strategy in written argumentative discourse; in a listing or all purpose connective **E** (1-5), in certain sections of texts in groups 1 and 2 (Appendices 2 and 3):

The letter **A** refers to the **A**, which I have placed on top at the beginning of an essay (4.7.2) **A** (1) 'declarative statement' (Hasan, 1990): '*Apartheid simply meant that one has to be separated from others. Out of that word "Apartheid", **apart means you will be there! not here!***' (Idiosyncratic Declarative Statement) sets the discussion for the topical Theme 'Apartheid'. 'Apartheid' is the writer's point of departure or Theme in which case the clause in **D** (2) 'created infrastructural disorder' is an example of rheme or comment (Hasan 1990:16). What is immediately apparent in the student's point of departure is the influence of oral discourse: '*... **apart means you will be there! not here!***' in the statement. The exclamation mark after '**there!**' places emphasis on '**apart**'.

The adverbial phrase or prepositional phrase as Martin (1990) would refer to it in the second line, '***Because of Apartheid ...!***' **A** and its qualifying lines **E** (1-5) support the view that apartheid was responsible for 'creating

infrastructural disorder'. The prepositional phrase '**Because of**' was repeated four times with variations – while attached to different types of evidence. Another point of departure (line 12) starts with '**Because of Apartheid**, he proceeds to explain the things that happened. Yet, in subsequent clauses (he continues to use the causal adjunct 'because' which was unnecessary. The phrase '**damage is emmeasurable**', and the elements, '**infrastructural disorder**' and '**brutalisation**' share a semantic relation in that they indicate negativity.

The basic sentence construction **D** (2) is grammatically 'confusing', i.e. the string deviates from the rules of 'normal' English grammar. The subject could have been written, for example: '**Many people died in the process of fighting Apartheid, some were arrested, while others decided to leave the country**'. Instead, the sentence starts with the causative adjunct '**because**'. The subject follows this sentence with the prepositional phrase: '**...in the process of fighting against it**'. Then he separates another phrase with a comma, '**...others were arrested**' and then the simultaneous adjunct, 'while' linking the clause structure '**...others decided to leave the country of their origin**' to the rest of clause.

He divides line **D** into four segments: (1) Because of Apartheid, (2) many people died in the process of fighting against it, (3) others were arrested, (4) while others decided to leave their country of origin. The repetitive form in this text revolves around the word '**Apartheid**', which the subject uses to create a topic chain around a single idea, namely how bad apartheid was.

The causative adjunct 'because' is consequential in this context. The subject attempts to be logical by connecting clauses in terms of 'cause and effect' (Martin, 1990:18). 'Because' is repeated to sustain the argument that apartheid was negative – it is 'overused' in this context as an attempt to introduce evidence in a structure format of 'statement' followed by 'conclusion'. This appears to be the dominant trend of argumentation in many of the unplanned texts which one could perhaps expect. However, there are no major differences in the argument structures of XESL Speakers planned essays. I now show a typical planned essay then compare the unplanned and planned essays in terms of their statement-evidence-conclusion structures. I first present the original text, before subjecting it to a process of statement-evidence-conclusion analysis.

Group 2: Excerpt from (Original) Text 6 (Planned Essay)

Question: *Is Bantu education a just system of education?*

Answer:

In this essay I intend to answer this question by showing that Bantu education is not a just a system of education, by looking at the origins of Bantu education and by showing that it was devised, from the outset, with unjust aims, motives and objectives.

In pre-colonial time there was no mass based schooling for the indigenous people of this country. Schooling was informal and whatever had to be learnt for the day to day survival was done by means of word of mouth. Elder members of the community had great status since they were the ones

responsible for the education of the youth.

*With the arrival of the Dutch and British colonists, schooling became more formal since these colonists brought with them their systems of Western education. They assured that their systems of schooling was the right system for the natives. They needed to justify their colonisation, the dispossession of the land by controlling and making the natives subservient, and education was used as a medium for attaining these objectives. They therefore had to provide schooling to as many people as was possible so that they could have control over a large section of the community. Although more people received education under these colonists than previously, many blacks **showed their disdain for the colonists and their policies by not attending schools.***

At the end of this period of colonisation, after much dissatisfaction and resistance from the blacks, we see the advent of Apartheid and Afrikaner Nationalism, and with this comes the further subjugation of the blacks. The system of Apartheid now becomes the legal vanguard of the Afrikaners through which they can now enforce their separatist policies.

During this period, the expensive and labour-intensive mining industry requires more cheap labour. Labourers require very little skill, only the ability to be able to work very hard and long hours. Education is now provided to thousands of black students with the aim of providing the labour force for the mines.

Due to the great demand for labour on the mines, many blacks find that they have to become migrant workers, meaning that they have to leave their children and families at home for long periods of time. This removal of the father figure from the family has devastating economic, social and psychological consequences for the family left behind, with the result that black children are further impoverished emotionally. Coupled with this is also the dehumanisation of the entire black population in that there are unequal

work opportunities, the fact that they have to carry passes in order to move about and the subsequent harassment and imprisonment if the administration authorities were not satisfied with the passes, and the fact that many black population did not have adequate housing facilities.

Because the education of blacks was not a priority with the Apartheid government, very little money was available to the black education departments compared to vast sums of money given to the white education departments. This lack of funds contributed to the lack of schools and adequate facilities, a shortage of teaching and administration staff and a deficiency in the basic essentials such as text books and stationery.

Based on this, Bantu education is therefore an unjust system of education because it is based on the subjugation of people on the basis of the colour of their skin together with the dehumanisation suffered under the system and the preparation of the black people for the selfish aims of the Afrikaners.

Finally the people of South Africa have decided that Bantu education is an unjust system of education since the time of the colonists, in 1976, 1980 and 1985 communities engaged and challenged the government especially the education authorities. An education based on justice does not need to be challenged for it is inherently for the good and benefit to the people it serves.

Group 2: Analysis: Excerpt from Text 6 (Planned Essay)

Texture	Structure
A	
1. <i>Is Bantu education a just system of education?</i>	Interrogative Statement
2. In this essay I intend to answer this question by showing that Bantu education is not a just a system of education, by looking at the origins of Bantu education and by showing that it was devised, from the outset, with unjust aims, motives and objectives.	Declarative Statement/Position
3. In pre-colonial time there was no mass based schooling for the indigenous people of this country.	Declarative Statement/Position
4. Schooling was informal and whatever had to be learnt for the day to day survival was done by means of word of mouth. Elder members of the community had great status since they were the ones responsible for the education of the youth.	Declarative Statement/Position
B	
1. With the arrival of the Dutch and British colonists, schooling became more formal since (Causal Conjunction) <u>these colonist brought with them their systems of Western education</u> (Demonstrating Consequence)	Evidence/Conclusion
2. They assured that their systems of schooling was the right system for the natives.	Declarative Statement/Position

Group 2: Analysis Text 6 (Continued/...)

Group 2: Analysis Text 6 (Continued)

<p>3. They needed to justify their colonisation the dispossession of the land by controlling and making the natives subservient, and education was used as a medium for attaining these objectives.</p>	Declarative Statement/Position
C	
<p>1. They therefore (Causal Conjunction) had to provide schooling to as many people as was possible so (Causal Conjunction) that they could have control over a large section of the community. (Demonstrating Consequence)</p>	Evidence/Conclusion
D	
<p>1. Although (Concessive Conjunction) more people received education under these colonists than previously, many blacks showed their disdain for the colonist's and their policies by not attending schools. (Demonstrating Counter Expectation)</p>	Evidence/Conclusion
<p>2. At the end of this period of colonisation after much dissatisfaction and resistance from the blacks , we see the advent of Apartheid and Afrikaner Nationalism and with this comes the further subjugation of the blacks.</p>	Declarative Statement/Position
<p>3. The system of Apartheid now becomes the legal vanguard of the Afrikaners through which they can now enforce their separatist policies.</p>	Declarative Statement/Position
<p>4. During this period the expensive and labour intensive mining industry requires more cheap labour. Labourers require very little skill, only the ability to be able to work very hard and long hours.</p>	Declarative Statement/Position

Group 2: Analysis Text 6 (Continued/...)

Group 2: Analysis Text 6 (Continued)

<p>5. <i>Education is now provided to thousands of black students with the aim of providing the labour force for the mines.</i></p>	<p>Declarative Statement/Position</p>
E	
<p>1. <u>Due to (Prepositional Phrase)</u> <i>the great demand for labour on the mines, many blacks find that they have to become migrant workers, meaning that they have to leave their children and families at home for long periods of time.</i></p>	<p>Declarative Statement/Position</p>
F	
<p>1. <u>This removal (Nominal Phrase)</u> <i>of the father figure from the family has devastating economic, social and psychological consequences for the family left behind, with the result that black children are further impoverished emotionally.</i></p>	<p>Declarative Statement/Position</p>
<p>2. <i>Coupled with this is also the dehumanisation of the entire black population in that there are unequal work opportunities, the fact that they have to carry passes in order to move about and the subsequent harassment and imprisonment if the administration authorities were not satisfied with the passes, and the fact that many black population did not have adequate housing facilities.</i></p>	<p>Declarative Statement/Position</p>

Group 2: Analysis Text 6 (Continued/...)

Group 2: Analysis Text 6 (Continued)

<p>G</p> <p>1. <u>Because</u> (Causal Conjunction) <i>the education of blacks was not a priority with the Apartheid government, very little money was available to the black education departments compared to vast sums of money given to the white education departments.</i></p>	Evidence/Conclusion
<p>H</p> <p>1. <u>This lack</u> (Nominal Phrase) <i>of funds contributed to the lack of schools and adequate facilities, a shortage of teaching and administration staff and a deficiency in the basic essentials such as text books and stationery.</i></p>	Declarative Statement
<p>I</p> <p>1. Based on <i>this</i>, Bantu education is <i>therefore</i> (Causal Conjunction) <i>an unjust system of education</i> <u>because</u> (Causal Conjunction) <i>it is based on the subjugation of people on the basis of the colour of their skin together with the dehumanisation suffered under the system and the preparation of the black people for the selfish aims of the Afrikaners.</i></p>	Evidence/Conclusion
<p>J</p> <p>1. <i>Finally</i> <i>the people of South Africa have decided that Bantu education is an unjust system of education since the time of the colonists, in 1976, 1980 and 1985 communities engaged and challenged the government especially the education authorities. An education based on justice does not need to be challenged for <i>it</i> is inherently for the good and benefit to the people <i>it</i> serves.</i></p>	Declarative Statement/Position

As stated in Chapter 2, writers use causal relations to address 'why' kind of questions (Martin, 1990). This is a system, in which one is required to be

'analytical, original, move rapidly forward, have a unified dissertation, avoid unnecessary digressions, and, in essence present only the most essential information (Scollon and Scollon, 1995:98-99). There are many instances in the essays of XESL Speakers in which they digressed from the conventions of the genre, such as the unnecessary insertions of, declarative, interrogative and imperative statements which show the strong influence of oral discourses in their written argumentative discourse in both unplanned and planned essays my emphasis.

The following examples illustrate this point:

Group 1: Excerpt from Text 1 (Unplanned Essay)

'Out of that word "Apartheid", apart means you will be there! not here. Because of this, its damage is emmeasurable especially when it comes to mental psyche'. (Declarative Statement)

Group 1: Excerpt from Text 2 (Unplanned Essay)

'Now who can I say that Apartheid was progressive?' (Interrogative Statement)

Group 1: Excerpt From text 6 (Unplanned Essay)

Was this because of their colour or did they deserve that? (Interrogative Statement)

Group 1: Excerpt from Text 8 (Unplanned Essay)

'But if a 'Black' guy has acted the same as a white guy ie he raped or killed a

white person he will be taken to jail. (Declarative Statement)

I could not understand it because I saw them regularly, but at times they were rude and crude.

Group 2: Excerpt from Text 1 (Planned Essay)

'Therefore outside happenings cannot have an influence on what is going on inside you.' (Declarative Statement)

Group 2: Excerpt from Text 3 (Planned Essay)

'Lets get to the cracks of the matter.' (Declarative Statement)

Group 2: Excerpt from Text 4 (Planned Essay)

'Let there be one education system, let everyone person in S.A. have the same equality and give every student his /her own individual right to learn.'

'The 'Black' people was mainly playballs of he whites, because they choose their' lifestyle, where they must live, how must money they suppose to earn and all sorts of other things which keep them behind others of a great amount of time. (Declarative Statement)

Group 2: Excerpt from Text 5 (Planned Essay)

'Now to get back at the top of education.' (Declarative Statement)

Group 3: Excerpt From text 8 (Planned Essay)

The sad thing is that this propoganda is still stuck on us.

Pay details to little things. (Imperative Statement)

Group 3: Excerpt From text 11 (Planned Essay)

Nowadays we go everywhere we want to, doing whatever we want to

Halliday (1989) demonstrates that conjunctions can be used to show how textual Theme can be extended beyond the clause structure to stretches of discourse (Martin *et al.* 1997). **According to (Martin, 1997:15) 'They give thematic prominence to textual elements with a linking function'. The most critical function of conjunctive cohesion is that it has an organic function because it 'ties whole message forms' (Halliday and Hasan, 1989:81).** Inappropriate application of parallelism, substitutions and conjunctions has a cumulative effect on overall coherence.

In instances, in which they could not make logical connections between paragraphs, the students interspersed their arguments with declarative, interrogative and imperative statements. These statements caused a disjuncture in the logical flow of their arguments. They show that the the discourses XESL Speakers in this study drew on were not only oral, but also emotionally charged. Alongside inappropriate uses of parallelism, substitutions and conjunctions, oral types of cross-linguistic influences from Xhosa to English also disrupted structural continuity in their argument structure. The overall effect of inappropriate uses of lexical repetition, parallelism, substitutions and conjunctions in particular is that XESL Speakers in this study could not contain the structure of the generic form. As I have alluded to earlier, cross-linguistic influences also shaped the outcome of their argument structure. They used the inductive model of argumentation instead

of the deductive one. I discuss this in detail in the next section 4.6.

4.6 Structural Effect of Lexical Repetition

I include a few typical excerpts from planned essays because one would expect planned essays to be carefully structured.

Group 2: Excerpts from Text 1 (Planned Essay)

Question: *Is Bantu education a just system of education?*

Answer:

" Justice mainly refers to bonds, ties and links between people and the idealistic value theory put emphasise on the respect for personality. Justice is that right order of relationships among persons which guarentees to all of them the external conditions of their personal development" My aim with This assignment is going to be whether Bantu education is a just system or not (Introductory Paragraph or Precipitating Event).

Above all, it is clearly that different interpretations of justice can arise. Everybody have good reasons for their opinions, besides it is also difficult to give specific definition of the word 'justice'. According to my believes, something may be just for me, while it may be unjust to another person because of differences in believes and moral values, etc. Therefore, I really don't think that Bantu education is a just system of education. (Concluding Paragraph).

Although it is evident that this student lacks control in English discourse, it is also evident that the essay contains a clear connection between theme (introduction) and what Hasan (1990) refers to as precipitating events.

Introductory Statement: ***'My aim with This assignment is going to be whether Bantu education is a just system or not'***. The consequences of the precipitating event are what she discussed, i.e, various perspectives of justice and education. She then concludes (*revelation*) that she accepts that there are different perceptions of justice: ***'According to my believes, something may be just for me, while it may be unjust to another for person because of differences in believes and moral values, etc'***.

Thereafter, she contradicts herself by stating: ***'Therefore, I really don't think that Bantu education is a just system of education'***. The use of the conjunction 'Therefore' to make a logical connection is misplaced. She should instead have said: 'Although, there may be different views of justice, based on my experience, I believe that apartheid was unjust'.

Group 2: Excerpts from Text 2 (Planned Essay)

Question: *Is Bantu education a just system of education?*

Introduction:

First and foremost before one can answer the question whether Bantu education is a just system of education one has define what a just system of education would look like, for e.g it would include "The equality of treatment, i.e. no discriminating against race, sex, religion , etc (Introductory Paragraph).

This student starts the essay in the manner considered appropriate by lecturers in the discipline (see 4.11). The student defines a just system of education and also answers the question that, in his opinion, a just education

should include: **'The equality of treatment, i.e. no discriminating against race, sex, religion, etc.'** Therefore, anything contrary to his initial position would be unjust. In his second conclusion, he states that Bantu education would be in his opinion acceptable if it meets certain criteria. One must assume that if it meets these criteria it would be just. The student seems to have forgotten that Bantu education was designed to render separate but unequal education to 'Black' people. Setting up criteria cannot change the inequalities created by Bantu Education. The student then proceeds to say:

In conclusion *Positivism states that a just education is shaped according to the truths of science, however an important criticism of positivism is that knowledge and skills are not objective and value free (Concluding Paragraph).*

In conclusion *I feel that Bantu education, like any other educational system requires certain prerequisites for its success. Firstly, it must be acceptable to those for whom it is designed. Secondly, it must not be beneficial to them, but be seen by the people as such. Thirdly, it must be in keeping with the general cultural and economic trends of the time (Concluding Paragraph).*

The fact that this student includes two conclusions is an indication that he did not have a clear understanding of how to connect his conclusion to his introduction and body section of his argument. This reflects the inductive model of argumentation. The inductive model of argumentation is based on the idea of probabilities. Thus, one may conclude with one or more **conclusions based on the 'probable truths' that the evidence** may or may not

have yielded. He repeats conclusions, one in the form of a declarative statement and another in which he evaluates Bantu education. The two conclusions are not connected. It shows further that he did not have an understanding of how to connect ideas cohesively in order to obtain what Hasan (1989) calls global coherence.

There are numerous other planned texts (Group 2: Appendix 3) that show strong oral influences in XESL Speakers academic writing, particularly in the use of interpersonal themes or what Halliday (1989) calls tenor of **discourse**. The 'facts' about the unfairness of apartheid education could easily be identified and hence stated in view of where different racial groups lived, attended schools and the types of work they ended up doing. I show one example, which illustrates how a student lost focus of the prerequisites of the generic form as he states the facts according to the inductive model of argumentation. The inductive model of argument starts typically with an observation, which in contrast to the deductive model starts with a statement or general claim about something (Badenhorst, 2008). The text below is an example of how the student leads his argument from an observation signifying the inductive model of argumentation.

*The SAP evoked the Apartheid for example if a **white guy** has killed or roped the **'Black' person** he will not go to prison. **He** will not be considered guilty for what **he has done**. But if a **'Black' guy** has acted the same as a **white guy** ie he raped or killed a **white person** he will be taken to jail. For example Strydom did not go to jail for killing the **'Black's'** instead they said he is psychotic (Appendix, 2, Group 1, Text 8).*

There are many more examples of these types of oral discourse expressions across texts in the three groups (Appendices, 2- 4). I am merely highlighting one to show how XESL Speakers were drawn into the personal nature of the topic and drew on their subjective experiences of apartheid oppression. In a number of cases, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with what they have said. However, instead of focusing on the presentation of their argument they focused on how much they could say about their apartheid experiences. The validity of their arguments is undermined by the use of unsupported declarative statements.

4.7 Cross Linguistic 'Interference', Texture and Structure

The purpose of this section is to address the third research question:

How do items of cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa to English affect the structure of their written argument?

As stated, the transfer of certain Xhosa linguistic features into English is an indirect form of repetition in a sense that XESL Speakers consistently and repeatedly draw on their mother tongue in areas in which English and Xhosa are not cognate. I present cross-linguistic items in tabular form to illustrate how pervasive they are in XESL Student texts, particularly in areas in which English and Xhosa are not cognate in texts across unplanned as well as planned essays. I will first consider examples from unplanned and planned essays then discuss the effect of cross-linguistic transfer on cohesion in their argument structures. Table 4.1 is an example of cross-linguistic transfer in the use of the resumptive pronoun, pronouns, articles and prepositions

(Gough, 1996).

Table 4.1 Cross-Linguistic Transfer From Xhosa to English in a Typical Text

Transfer	Line	Elements of Cross-Linguistic Transfer
Resumptive Pronouns	12	<i>Those /people had families, dreams for the future.</i>
	13	<i>But they were denied that.</i>
Omission of Article	10	<i>They did not think of ^ 'Black' as having all the senses that they have. 'Black's were treated as if they were animals</i>
Insertion of Article	11	<i>The shooting of the 'Black' when protesting against Apartheid laws...</i>
Insertion of Article	22	<i>The 'Black' were Seen as poor by Whites.</i>
Incorrect Application of Prepositions	1	<i>I should say that Apartheid was good to the people who were not affected (the whites) as they enjoyed life in the expense of the oppressed ('Black's).</i>
	27	<i>In Whites, the Apartheid was good for them.</i>

Inappropriate uses of resumptive pronouns and articles by XESL Speakers in this study affected the flow of interpersonal theme structures. In some cases, this results in ambiguity. For example the omission of 'the' in: *They did not think of ^ 'Black' as having all the senses that they have.* One assumes that the writer is referring to the colour black since he did not qualify black. In another case he inserted 'the' which made black definite. One can only assume that he was referring to 'Black' people.

The tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 below illustrate the dominance of the use of the resumptive pronoun, prepositions and articles appear across texts in the essays of XESL Speakers.

Table 4.3 shows how XESL Speakers apply articles 'incorrectly', or omitted them. Since Xhosa and English are not cognate XESL Speakers tend to confuse the use of articles and prepositions in English. Xhosa speakers use verbal extensions in the place of prepositions (unstructured interview with Xhosa professor, 2006). Prepositions are implied, for example, in the case of 'to do for someone' Xhosa speakers extend the verb 'Enza' with 'ela' to indicate that one is doing something for somebody. The complete structure is 'Enzela'. Often a complete sentence in Xhosa can be very short whereas in English certain parts are clearly discernable. The sentence: 'Where are you going to?' in English can be expressed in what appears to be one word in Xhosa 'Uyapi' (Pinnock, 1994; Dowling 2004). In contrast to resumptive pronouns and articles, which form part of interpersonal themes, prepositions, form part of the English verbal group or experiential themes (Halliday, 2004).

Table 4.2 XESL Students Used of Resumptive Pronouns

Group	Text	Lines	Transfer: Used of Resumptive Pronoun
1	2	16	<i>Most people lost their lives because they were sent to gallows.</i>
	3	12	<i>Those/people had families, dreams for the future.</i>
		13	<i>But they were denied that.</i>
	7	24	<i>... they/ 'Black' people more brilliant and hard workers</i>
	10	11	<i>They/lecturer with English ...</i>
		19	<i>...ever he/she wants to stay especially when he/she is having capable of buying that house he wish to stay to it.</i>
	11	15	<i>For instance if a 'Black' people kill a white people he/she be executed.</i>
16		<i>If is a white man who killed 'Black's he/she released quickly</i>	
2	2	16	<i>... those/people are the white capitalist ...</i>
	9	24	<i>They the aim of the government was to alienate 'Black's ...</i>
3		1	<i>... people /who were controlling South Africa did</i>
	3	3	<i>those / people / who were controlling apartheid they did not thing of other people</i>
		5	<i>Those /people / they use</i>
		7	<i>White / people/ they</i>
	6	2	<i>We / as 'Black's...</i>

Table 4.3 Incorrect Used and Omission of Articles

Group	Text	Line	Transfer: Omission and Insertion of Articles
1	2	12	<i>... but they were affected by the Apartheid</i>
		24	<i>... they could not tolerate the Apartheid ...</i>
		26	<i>People were denied ... right to learn</i>
		33	<i>... which was not considered by the Apartheid</i>
		34	<i>Now the Apartheid is gone ...</i>
	3	10	<i>They did not think of 'Black' ...</i>
		11	<i>The shooting of the 'Black' when protesting against</i>
		22	<i>The 'Black' were Seen as poor by Whites</i>
	4	27	<i>It is Apartheid which dehumanised the African people ...</i>
	6	11	<i>Those / 'Black's were trying to fight...</i>
	8	14	<i>In 'Black' school there are no libraries</i>
	11	1	<i>The Apartheid is regarded as people who were treated unequally</i>
		4	<i>The Apartheid system was very bad.</i>
		6	<i>During the Apartheid system the pupil leave the school</i>
2	3	7	<i>The Provincial administration felt that it was about time to let the Bantu out of their hands, by giving them selfgoverning.</i>
		50	<i>The positivism also believe that in a society where cast exists ...,</i>
		53	<i>The Positivism is against natural ethics</i>
		55	<i>The positivism also believe that science will control the development ...</i>
	7	15	<i>A positivism's idea of justice ...</i>
	10	32	<i>The 'Black' education in S.A. prepare pupil to work in reserves</i>

(Table 4.3 Continued/...)

Table 4.3 Articles (Continued)

Group	Text	Line	Transfer: Omission and Insertion of Articles
3	1	3	<i>The Apartheid government created a huge discrimination</i>
		10	<i>the are also insurances</i>
	2	1	<i>because of the poverty</i>
		2	<i>During the apartheid people did not help each other unless his family or friends but now there is little improvement.</i>
	3	1	<i>No I don't thing that Apartheid was good because of the negative thing</i>
	4	10	<i>During the systems days we were taught the Bantu System (Education)</i>
	5	2	<i>The "architecture" of Apartheid Dr Verwoerd wanted</i>
	6	2	<i>We as 'Black's struggled a lot because of the apartheid.</i>
7	2	<i>Eventhough I did my high school after the apartheid</i>	

Table 4.4 Incorrect Used and Omission of Prepositions by XESL Students

Group	Text	Lines	Transfer: Incorrect use of Prepositions
1	3	1	<i>... as they enjoyed life in the expense of the oppressed ('Black's).</i>
		27	<i>In Whites, the Apartheid was good for them</i>
	4	3	<i>To my opinion Apartheid was retrogressive</i>
		4	<i>... was entirely ... means to divide the people of South Africa along racial lines.</i>
	6	5	<i>It was good because the rate of crime was not high as nowadays</i>
		15	<i>On the other hand our families received skills that they were unfamiliar with them</i>
	7	2	<i>Firstly, those people called them whites made an Apartheid to oppress 'Black's</i>
	10	11	<i>They lecturer with English ...</i>
		62	<i>Also has to do of joining value and value ...</i>
	4	18	<i>The 'Black' community is mainly the working class and the parents didn't have enough money to keep their children on school.</i>
3	1	3	<i>... that are not good in condition ...</i>
		8	<i>not offending any students in these qualifications but on Apartheid</i>
	5	5	<i>This created lot of anger from 'Black's</i>
	7	9	<i>... to send a number of children in good schools</i>
		11	<i>In the school that I went to...</i>

4.8 Structural Effect of Cross Linguistic Transfer

According to Carter and Skates (1990), although nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs constitute 'the greater part' of English vocabulary and 'convey most of the semantic meaning of sentences, meaning making also depends on function

words: prepositions, conjunctions, determiners and expletives' Without function words sentences appear incomplete in English (Carter and Skates 1990:40):

Under the canopy sat a man and a woman waiting for the bus (With function words)

canopy sat man woman waiting bus (Without function words)

Apart from the fact that people use function words to maintain the structure of English discourse, they also form part of verbal processes (Halliday, 1989). Function words link verbs and nouns in a way, which gives discourse coherence. Therefore, without them one cannot get a sense of when, what, how and why something happened: *canopy sat man woman waiting bus* (Without function words). In my opinion, written genres are essentially different forms of directional thought as defined by the nature of their texture and structure. In argumentative genres the writer gives the reader a sense what, how, and why his or her argument takes a particular position or direction, by plotting certain functions words and verbs in a predictable structure.

This is, perhaps where the relationship between functional words and verbs is of critical importance to this study. There are numerous examples in the data that suggest that XESL Speakers experience difficulties in the use of function words due to cross-linguistic **'interference or transfer' from Xhosa to English** in areas in which the two languages are not cognate (Tables, 4.1-4.4). As a consequence, the participants lacked not only control, in linking nouns

to verbs, but even more critically in the development of texture as well as maintenance of structure in discourse. Of greater significance is how XESL Speakers used function words inappropriately in relation to verbal processes. **This could have 'forced' them into a situation in which they had no other choice, but to overuse repetition as a written academic discourse strategy.** Writers use verbs in academically sanctioned ways to give the reader a sense of location and movement of their written argument. Some XESL Speakers used function words and verbal processes in a manner, which shows that they had difficulty in navigating the discourse and therefore in representing and providing the direction to their thought processes. The analogy that I draw with **this is when a writer 'fails' to coordinate the direction of his/her thought processes** because of a temporary inability to control functions words and verbal processes, s/he might end up in a situation in which s/he engages in repetition. This is similar to someone travelling to a particular place in which he gets the signpost that will lead him to his destination mixed up. In situations in which a traveler or writer struggles to find his/her way out of the 'impasse', **s/he might repeat herself or draw on her knowledge of other traveled experiences (discourses) to navigate his/her way.**

4.9 External Discoursal Influences, Texture and Structure

In this section, I show the influence of external oral influences in the form of improvisations, literal expressions and personification of abstract terms on the structure of XESL Speakers essays at a sentence level.

Table 4.5 Improvisations Used by XESL Students

Group	Texts	Line	Improvisations	Type
1	1	12	<i>... while others decided to leave their country of origin.</i>	Noun
	2	7	<i>This system was welcomed by the S.A. parliament and the white citizens because it had and advantage to their side</i>	Verb
	4	11	<i>This inferiority made them or deprive them the stake in the countrie's living standard.</i>	Verb
		12	<i>Young infants were victims of this system in a manner that, they lost their lives at some tender even before they reach breadline stage</i>	Verb
		25	<i>... a division meant to divide</i>	Verb
		30	<i>... with a White man taking decision on the part of the African people.</i>	Verb
		5		
1		11	<i>... many South Africans had to leave their belonging country</i>	Noun

(Table 4.5 Continued/...)

Table 4.5 Improvisations (Continued)

Group	Texts	Lines	Improvisations	Type
1	6	5	<i>It was good because the rate of crime was not high as nowadays</i>	Noun
		13	<i>... even if we were not still born ...</i>	Verb
	7	15	<i>There was a lackage of resources or equipments in 'Black'.</i>	Verb
		17	<i>There was a lackage of teachers in 'Black' schools</i>	Verb
	9	16	<i>The SAUDF was killing, raping and assaulting innocent people out of nothing.</i>	Noun
	10	2	<i>... but due to poorness ...</i>	
	1	3	<i>My aim with this assignment is going to be whether Bantu education is a just system or not</i>	Verb
2	3	6	<i>The Provincial administration felt that it was about time to let the Bantu out of their hands</i>	Verb
		10	<i>Some philosophers reckoned ...</i>	Verb
		23	<i>Lets get to the cracks of the matter ...</i>	

(Table 4.5 Continued/...)

Table 4.5 Improvisations (Continued)

		37	<i>If the word politics comes to one's ears the first thing to think of is conflict between people.</i>	
3		1	For a beginning <i>I would like to look at Bantu Education itself ...</i>	Verb
		4	In my response ...	
		22	<i>The 'Black' people was mainly playballs of the whites</i>	Noun/
	5	7	<i>Now to get back at the top of education</i>	Verbal
	6	3	<i>Schooling was informal and whatever had to be learnt for the day to day survival was done by means of word of mouth.</i>	Verbal
	4	5	<i>Apartheid was painfully (painful) to every 'Black'-race...</i>	Noun
3	5	2	<i>The 'architecture' (architect) of ...</i>	Noun
		7	<i>... whipped out theoretically ...</i>	Verbal
	8	12	<i>the poor education that was thrown...</i>	Verbal

The Collins English Dictionary (1998:572) defines improvise, 'to perform or make quickly from materials our sources available, without previous planning'.

Table 4.6 XESL Speakers Used literal Expressions

Group	Text	Line	Literal Expressions for Transitional Discourse Markers
1		5	Coming to South Africa during Apartheid it was difficult to make relationships with foreign countries...
		32	Look during the year 1990/91 when Zulu's fought Xhosa's that was caused by the government.
2		1	When looking at punishment in a just system of education, you cannot separate your goal from the way you are going to do it.
		3	Then we come to the idea that every class struggle is a political struggle...
		42	Then we come to the idea of Positivism.
		60	Then we come to the idea of justice.
		4	For a beginning I would like to look at Bantu Education...
		5	Now to get back at the top of education
		35	To come back to the positivist perspective
	8	34	We can see that the social background of the Bantu education had negative implications on their educational system.
		35	We can see that any future developments on the poorest section of Republic's population.

Collins dictionary (1998:667) explains literal as, 'in exact accordance with or limited to the primary or explicit meaning of a word or text' Collins gives, dual, factual, actual as examples of literal expressions.

Table 4.7 Personification of Abstract Concepts by XESL Speakers

Group	Text	Line	Personification of Abstract Terms
1	5	8	<i>During the Apartheid time people were afraid of demonstrating things as a results the nation was not in chaos like today.</i>
	7	4	<i>The constitutional in South Africa at the time of Apartheid was oppressed 'Black's people because 'Black' were unable to come to urban areas</i>
	11	1	<i>The Apartheid is regarded as people who were treated unequally.</i>
2	2	22	<i>However idealism feels that the aim of education is individual development...</i>
	3	24	<i>Positivism feels that the idea of justice changes as society changes...</i>
		50	<i>The positivism also believe that in society where cast exists, justice consists in treating everyone according to cast.</i>
		53	<i>The positivism is against cultural ethics.</i>
		55	<i>The positivism also believe that science will control the development and therefore shape the idea of justice...</i>

Table 4.7 Personification of Abstract Concepts (Continued/...)

Table 4.7 Personification of Abstract Concepts (Continued)

	7	13	<i>According to a positivism theory, the form of knowledge is believed to be the scientific description of information.</i>
		15	<i>A positivism's idea of justice changes as society changes but society doesn't always change for the better.</i>
		18	<i>According to the educational system in South Africa, the system is based upon Apartheid and separate development.</i>
	10	51	<i>Idealism Sees the following in a just education system.</i>
	11	20	<i>According to class, Bantu Education was divided according to groups having qualities of the same kind.</i>

Collins dictionary (1998:850) defines personification as the attribution of human characteristics to things; abstract ideas etc. Unlike cross items of linguistic transfer and improvisations, which indicate a lack of control of English, personification shows a lack of control of the discourse within a specific genre.

Table 4.7 shows the different types of improvisations XESL Speakers used which reflects their difficulties in acquiring certain English noun and verb forms. According to Rutherford (1987), learners in the process of acquiring a second language bring two types of prior knowledge to the production of texts, viz., 'knowledge that' and 'knowledge how'. In the former situation, the learners have some idea of what shapes the target language, whereas in

areas that are unfamiliar to them, they may improvise to fill in the missing parts. My contention is that they improvised in situations in which they struggled to draw from their repertoire of experiences forms of English required by the discourse. In cases like these, they draw on external discursual experiences. Their difficulties manifest in different stages of the written argumentative discourse. Table 4.6 shows how the writer used tautologies, perhaps due to uncertainty about how he should have used certain concepts. Tables 4.7 shows the use of literal expressions in the place of conventional discourse transitional markers, table 4.8 illustrates personification of abstract concepts and underdeveloped proficiency in the use of what constructivists calls the subject-specific language.

4.10 Structural Effect of External Discursual Influences

My study cannot account for students' use of these expressions. Nevertheless, Rutherford's (1987) notion that learners' knowledge about certain language structures plays an important role in the strategies they adopt to acquire the second language, provides a useful framework for accounting for the use of o improvisations, literal expressions and personification. The errors committed in the target language might not necessarily be flaws in learners' native language. The grammatical rules that are violated in one language are not necessarily applicable to another language; the grammatical violations are thus language-specific (Rutherford, 1987). The rules of a particular language can therefore not be evaluated independently of the structure of that language. Language rules are very

much structure- dependent. Mitchell and Myles (1998) state that learners work their way through a number of developmental stages. Specific stages of development that have been identified by linguists are:

1. Systematicity and variability do occur in second language acquisition, i.e., mistakes are often patterned and therefore by no means lacking in the system.
2. Learners' surface expressions can be linked to underlying rule systems and can therefore create authentic utterances, even if their language structures seem primitive compared to the target language.
3. Learners undergo a process of fossilization, i.e., at some stage in their second language development their L2 system freezes at some deviant stage.

4.11 Questionnaires Administered to Students (1998)

As stated in Chapter 3, in addition to written scripts to address my research questions, I also administered questionnaires to ascertain the extent to which XESL Speakers were aware that writing is a language and knowledge-based skill. Many researchers in language teaching and writing programmes argue that knowledge about how language works as well as knowledge about the subject under discussion facilitates the development of good writing skills (Henning *et al.*, 2002:ix). Since writing is implicitly a language and knowledge-based skill, I posed the following questions to elicit the data, which enabled me to ascertain the extent to which XESL Speakers were aware of this. (Table 4.9).

It is evident from the questionnaires (2005 and 2008) Table 4.9 and 4.10 that most the students were unaware that writing is a language and knowledge-based skill. The fact that they do not consult books on writing, shows further that they have very little meta-sense of the requirements of academic writing.

Table 4.8 Writing as a Language and Knowledge-Based Skill

Questions	Subjects										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
What languages other than English do you speak?	X	X A	X Z S	X Z T	X Z	X A	X Z	X	X Z	Z St	X Z
Were you ever taught the various stages that you go through when attempting to write a coherent and logical essay?	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Are you aware that there are tools that enable writers to write logically and systematically?	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Are you aware that there are numerous books and writing resources available, which are aimed at guiding you through a process of learning to write in a logical and coherent manner?	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Have you ever consulted any of these books or resources to learn how you could improve your writing ability?	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No

Abbreviations: Xhosa (X), Zulu (Z), Swati (S), Tswana (T), Afrikaans (A), Sotho (St)

Table 4.8 shows the languages other than English spoken by the sample group and their knowledge about writing as a language and knowledge-based skill.

4.12 Questionnaires Administered to Students (2005)

This third group attended mostly former 'Coloured' and model C schools whereas the first and second groups attended former Department of Education and Training (DET) schools. 'Coloured' schools were reserved for students classified as 'Coloured' under apartheid. Former model C schools were previously 'Whites-only' schools that changed to their present status catering for mostly middle-class learners from diverse 'racial' and cultural backgrounds. The purpose of this questionnaire was to provide the reader, as in the case of the previous questionnaires, with some insight into the background languages of subjects and their knowledge of academic writing.

Table 4.9 Writing as a Language and Knowledge-Based Skill

Questions	Subjects														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
What languages do you speak besides Xhosa and English?	Z A	Z S	T Nd St S	T A P			Z		A	Z A	St Z V SP		Z	A	A
Were you ever taught the various stages involved in writing a coherent and logical essay?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Are you aware that there are tools that enable writers to write logically?	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Are you aware that there are numerous books available, which are aimed at guiding you through a process of learning to write in a logical and coherent manner?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Did you ever consult any of these books to learn how you can improve your writing ability?	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Do you know the differences between English and Xhosa grammars?	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Do you know what an academic argument is?	NC	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

Abbreviations: Xhosa (X), Zulu (Z), Swati (S), Tswana (T), Afrikaans (A), Sotho (St), Ndebele (Nd), Pedi (P), Venda (V), Setswana (SW) and Sepedi (SP), Not Certain (NC).

Table 4.9 shows the languages XESL Speakers spoke besides English.

4.13 Interviews: Repetition and Isixhosa Speakers

In this section, I discuss what Xhosa mother tongue speakers had to say about the use of repetition by Xhosa speakers. In an interview (2001), I conducted with a PhD Xhosa-speaker, she said that she **was 'forced' into using oral** methods of learning strategy which involved extensive use of repetition in both primary and secondary school. This view is consistent with interviews which I held with a Xhosa teacher and two Xhosa professors and with research conducted by Williams (2006); Kapp (2004); Kaschula 2002; Gough and Bock (2001) and Kapp (2004) cited in Chapter 2. One of the professors explained that the main reason why Xhosa speaking people use similar forms of linguistic expression is that they draw on oral strategies to remember and recall information. Hence, African cultures rely a lot on spoken forms of repetition when constructing meaning. In March 2006, I attended a seminar in Durban, South Africa in which I noticed in a paper delivered by a Xhosa PhD student, the of use discourse markers in a similar manner to that of the XESL Speakers in this study.

Below is an excerpt from her paper, which she granted me permission to use:

*The complexity above relates the fact that human identities cannot be neatly dichotomized as either modern or traditional (Nyamnjoh, 2001). **For instance**, in this study **there were instances** where the parental participation revealed the thin line that sometimes appeared to divide modernity and tradition. **There were instances** where parents straddle the ethnic and the modern worlds but would accept sacrificing either permanently. **These are the instances** which Bhaba (1994) explains post colonial identities are not about negation of the Other, but the negotiation and the renegotiation of spaces and temporality between Others. While **in some cases** modernity and tradition seem to in agreement. In cases such as these, one could argue that the SASA's assumptions about parental identities were relatively accurate. This may imply that even though individuals are ascribed different positions by different discourses (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). And thereby granting hegemony to one discourse. However, **there were also instances** where fragmented identities of individuals indicated visible conflicting struggles. **In such instances** uneasiness between modernity modernity embedded in SASA and the traditional life's world of parents was very apparent. With respect to point above, **there were instances** where a degree of tension between the manner in which parents identities had been idealized by the SASA and parents' individual realities arose. **In instances such as these**, the individual parents' realities seemed to be at odds, with what SASA expected of them. **In such situations**, "African culture and tradition"¹ enjoyed what Laclau and Mouffe (1985) referred to as possibilities that include modern principles and ideals in favour of tradition.*

The types of repetition at sentence boundaries in the above at the beginning of sentences resemble forms of lexical repetition – parallelism found in my

data (4.5.1.1).

4.14 Summary

In this chapter, I addressed my first, second and third fourth research questions regarding the nature and effect of repetition, as well as, elements of cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa on XESL Speakers' **English written** academic argument.

I identified parallelism, substitution, conjunctions as key forms of repetition and argued that they are used to achieve textual cohesion. The findings show that the manner in which XESL Speakers used lexical repetition (parallelism, substitutions and conjunctions) did not lead to global coherence in the prescribed deductive model of argumentation (Sections 4.5.1.1, 4.5.1.2 and 4.5.1.3.). The use of repetitive strategies – parallelism, substitutions and conjunctions disrupted structural continuity. The overall effect of lexical repetition, parallelism, substitutions and conjunctions is that XESL Speakers could not contain the structure of the genre.

To answer my third research question, I analysed the effect that items of cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa, as well as, other external influences had on XESL Speakers' **written academic argument structure**. Cross-linguistic transfer from Xhosa created ambiguity in the functionality of XESL Speakers' argument structure. In other words, the omission of articles, incorrect used of

prepositions and resumptive pronouns had an effect on the direction of their thought and hence argumentation structure (Tables 4.1 – 4.5).

The questionnaires showed that students lacked the necessary meta-linguistic knowledge to coordinate lexical repetition within the genre form.

I argued that in places in which the students could not meet the constraints and demands of the argument structure or the required discourse they drew on external discourse sources. Their discourse strategies exemplify an over-reliance on external linguistic and cultural sources, which are not commensurate with the requirements of well written academic argument in the discipline of education (Tables 4.1- 4.8).

Kress argues that:

The discursive history of each individual bears the traces of the discourses associated with the social places, which that individual has occupied and experienced. These form, like sedimentary layers, the linguistic experience and potential of the speaker. It can be seen how individuals from similar social positions, with similar social histories, have significantly similar linguistic experiences and therefore similar forms of language available to them (Kress, 1990:11)

The research on Xhosa oral poetry, sermons and on schooling in former DET schools, all point to the prevalence of oral traditions that encourage repetition as a dominant medium of expression. While my study cannot provide definitive answers about the discourses that inform students' repetition and cross-linguistic transfer, I argued that the participants deployed a repetitive,

inductive, oral, declarative style typical of traditional Xhosa genres, of conversational discourse and of political rhetoric.

In the view of the above, I propose in the next chapter an intervention model that lecturers can use as guide in small classroom settings to address **inappropriate use of repetition, students' lack of meta-linguistic knowledge**, as well as, **the mismatch between lecturers' and students' expectations of a well written essay**.

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CHAPTER 5

Proposed Intervention Strategy - Relating Repetition to Texts and Contexts

The skill of writing depends not only on practice and effort but also on an understanding of the structures of our language, the conventions acceptable to readers, and the techniques for revising. (Carter and Skates, 1990:iii)

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I conducted a close and systematic analysis of repetition to answer my research questions regarding the nature and effect of repetition on the global structure of XESL Speakers' **written academic** argument. In this chapter, I address my fifth and final research question: What strategies can academics develop and use to mediate unnecessary repetition and other linguistic features that XELS Speakers overused as part of their written academic discourse strategy? I propose an intervention model to mediate XESL Speakers' **inappropriate uses of repetition, their** lack of meta-linguistic knowledge as well as **the mismatch between lecturers and students'** expectations of well-written academic essays.

I used **Halliday's conceptual framework that repetition informs and shapes** texts cohesively. By relating repetition to various texts and social contexts, I argue that one needs to explain to students how cohesion and coherence works not only in texts, but critically also, how academic context determines

what would count as coherent written academic argument. The intervention model, which I propose is based on the theoretical framework that underpins this study, the findings based on an analysis of XESL Speakers' overused strategy of repetition as well as my experience as an academic practitioner. It reflects a situated approach to language and literacy acquisition and, as such, is not proposed as a generic solution to address the problems of ESL academic writing.

5.2 Rationale for a Socio-Cultural Pedagogy of Writing

The role of repetition in the development of structure at both sentence and argument level has largely been overlooked in current models of writing pedagogy. **As Ivanič (2004) points out, there have been a range of both social and asocial approaches to the teaching of writing.** The social approaches view writing as a form of social practice and, therefore, consider the socio-cultural and political contexts within which students as writers function. The asocial models, on the other hand, confine their pedagogical strategies to a focus on individual mental processes/ cognition.

In general, South African approaches have tended to mimic international English-second language approaches despite a very different context of schooling and culture in relation to English language practices. Despite curriculum shifts, structural approaches, which focus on explicit-teaching of grammar, have tended to remain dominant in classrooms. There has been

considerable debate about such approaches, particularly in the second-language context. Widdowson (1991) argues that such approaches focus on

'knowing':

Here items of language, words and sentences, are presented and practised in a way which is intended best to help the learners internalise them as forms containing meaning within themselves, as semantic capsules. The assumption is that once learners have achieved this semantic knowledge, then they will be able to use it pragmatically (Widdowson, 1991: 157).

The pre-occupation with decontextualised grammar teaching in such approaches has often meant that (particularly English second-language) students struggle to communicate effectively. Consequently, Communicative Language teaching approaches to second-language teaching have been advocated in schools in recent years. These approaches stress constructivist methodologies that are learner-centered and focus on helping students to use the language in real-life contexts. However, communicative language approaches have often been weak in terms of methodology and have been criticized by theorists like Widdowson (1991) for their lack of focus on explicit teaching of grammatical form and for their assumption that students automatically learn grammar as they write. In the South African context, Kapp (2004) has critiqued South African ESL syllabi for the focus on a weak form of communicative language teaching, which stresses basic oral, functional everyday uses of English that **do not facilitate students' use of the language** to produce cognitively demanding written discourse.

Another approach to addressing student writing problems would be a learner-centred process writing approach. Process approaches have been popular in South African academic institutions and have recently also been included in school curricula (alongside genre approaches). Such models encourage students to do multiple drafts to **address 'inappropriate' uses of repetition**, because learner-centered models view writing as a 'process' that involves trial and error (Johns, 1997). These models encourage students to express themselves freely until they discover for themselves what is 'wrong' in their writing (Johns, 1997). Theorists such as Cope and Kalantzis (1993) have critiqued process approaches for their lack of explicit mediation and for the middle-class assumption in process approaches that working-class students will instinctively have a notion of audience and purpose. Whilst the stress on writing as a process that involves drafting and re-drafting through trial and error is important, it is clear from the data presented in Chapter 4 that the participants in my study did not have sufficient meta-linguistic understanding of the form that they were supposed to produce and how it is located in the discipline. They lacked knowledge of written academic writing in Humanities both at the level of the sentence and in terms of discourse. They tended to use a repetitive, inductive, oral, declarative style more typical of traditional Xhosa genres, of conversational discourse and of political rhetoric. Students need to know how academic texts establish and articulate authority. They need to understand how the literacy practices that characterize particular

discourses are inextricably linked to the norms and values that characterize that discourse. They need to appreciate how written genres differ conceptually among academic disciplines and how these differences relate to knowledge construction in the discipline.

I agree with Ivanič (2004: 221) that there has in some senses been a false separation between the different approaches to writing and that there is **a case to be made for a 'multilayered' approach, which combines elements** from the social approaches with those of the a-social approaches. In particular, South African approaches have seldom taken into account the linguistic and cultural specificities that African language learners face as they attempt to become fluent in academic discourse.

It seems crucial both to teach students the appropriate academic form (as advocated by genre theorists) and to engage them in critical awareness of how academic contexts influence what counts as coherent written academic argument as advocated by New Literacy Studies theorists like Gee and Street. In my view, **it is essential for students to know not only 'the what and how',** but also the 'why'. They need to understand the dialectical interplay between their texts and the social context of academic writing. This, as I have alluded to, in Chapter 2, means that students as writers of texts need to know the context of situation (the total verbal environment) and context of culture (their past and present experiences of academic writing) within which they

function. In view of the above, I adopted **Halliday's (1978; 1989; and 2004)** social view of language as a starting point to generate a socially situated **approach. In my opinion, Halliday's Functional Systemic** Framework of grammar has the capacity to generate a writing pedagogy which combines elements from other approaches to the teaching of writing. Halliday (1978; 1989; and 2004) argues that how, when and why people use certain language forms involves a dialectical process of understanding how writers act and reflect on contexts. Furthermore, writers use diverse strategies to act and **reflect on situations. Therefore, one should analyze 'good or bad' written texts** (essays) in relation to the requirements of a text, written or spoken and context(s). Halliday explains this phenomenon of acting and reflecting, thus:

Stated in most general terms, people do different things with their language; that is, they expect to achieve by talking and writing, and by listening and reading, a large number of different aims and different purposes. We could attempt to list and classify these in some way or other, and a number of scholars have attempted to do this, hoping to find some general framework of scheme for classifying purpose for which people use language (Halliday, 1989:15)

Genre theorists have drawn on Halliday's notion of the socially situated nature

of language to classify text types:

Part of what it means to be a member of a culture is knowing the difference, and knowing how to talk about the difference, between riddles and jokes, tragedy and comedy, musicals and thrillers. Genre is, amongst other things, a matter of discrimination and taxonomy: of organising things into recognisable classes. In this respect, it belongs to much larger group of classifying activities that permeate every aspect of daily life, from informal and ad hoc ones like sorting out dirty

dishes from clean ones, to more formalized ones like planning a meal or buying the right set of tools for a job. All of these activities involve the use of knowledges, which are embedded in the flow of everyday practices (Frow, 2005:51).

The underlying argument in the above quotation is that students need to know the differences among genres to respond appropriately in spoken or written form within specific context(s). In my analysis in Chapter 4, I illustrated that XESL Speakers lacked genre knowledge of written academic writing in Humanities both at the level of sentence and discourse. They used repetitive, declarative oral forms of spoken discourse which, to my knowledge, resembles linguistic features of South African anti-apartheid protest political discourse.

While grammar-based models follow a decontextualised method to teach and learn grammar, as mentioned earlier, Halliday's (1989, 2004) register based theory advocates the use of a dialectical method to explore and explain the dynamic and interactive relationship between text and social context. As stated in Chapter 2, according to Halliday (1989), speakers or writers of texts generate and apply various grammar(s) to meet the demands and constraints of the context of situation.

For Halliday (1989 and 2004) and associates Hasan (1989), Martin (1997), Martin and Rose (2003), lexis and grammar are the same. In other words, lexis - people's choice of words and sentences reflect - their grammars

as required by the context of situation and culture within a specific genre. In this context, as explained in Chapter 2, grammar is not static; rather it is a dynamic process, which involves production according to the expectations of a particular spoken or socially situated written genre form. Lexis can also refer to the prior literacy experiences and discourses students draw on when learning to read and write in a specific genre. Given this situation, academics should, therefore, make students aware of the types of discourse that are appropriate in a specific social-context.

Since grammar is also a matter of choice and not only rules, it follows that one cannot only use a traditional grammar-based approach to address repetition when overused as a discourse strategy by students. To understand different types of repetition. Genre theorists would argue that to address the problem of repetition, teachers should know how (by virtue of grammatical choices) the form that students produce differs from other written genres (Cope *et al.* 1993; Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1995). Therefore, in order to facilitate a dialectical approach which involves action and critical reflection as a pedagogical strategy with a view to addressing the issue of the overuse of repetition as discourse strategy as a written academic argument, I agree with Martin (1990:81) that:

- 1. Teachers should have explicit knowledge about what they require in writing in their subject as far as types of texts are concerned.*

2. *Teachers should make use of their knowledge of text structures to make a **positive assessment of students' writing.***
3. *Teachers should make explicit to students what is involved in different types of writing.*

While I agree with the above views of Martin (1990), one should also consider the different histories of countries, in particular their cultural and linguistic differences. In the United States of America (USA) and Australia genre theory developed as more and more foreign second language English speaking students entered predominantly English-medium universities (Swales, 1990). While genre theory in the USA draws extensively, but not exclusively, on the arguments of New Rhetorical Studies (Swales, 1990; Johns, 1997) in Australia genre theorists rely predominantly on the work and arguments of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) model as a form of intervention (Martin, 1990; Martin, 1997; Martin and Rose, 2003). Halliday does not distinguish between analysis and intervention. He views his model in itself as a form of intervention. In the South African context, considering our apartheid history as well as our eleven official languages, we need a model that not only touches upon universal aspects of written academic genres, but critically on specific language features that are peculiar to certain language and cultural groups. Crystal clarifies for me why such considerations are perhaps necessary:

We convey meaning not by single sentences but more complex exchanges, in which participants' beliefs and expectations, the knowledge they share about each other and about the world, and the situation in which they interact, play a crucial part (Crystal, 2005:260).

In this section, I have evaluated the strength and weaknesses of genre, learner-centred and grammar-based models to mediate repetition when overused by undergraduate students. I argued that unlike learner-centred and grammar models, genre-based and social practice models would not only critically analyse the texts within which students used repetition, but also the context which influenced and shaped students' use of language. In the next section, I explain how genre theorists would, in my view, enter a discussion on the over-use of repetition as a written academic discourse strategy.

5.3 Mediating Inappropriate Uses of Repetition

A key part of developing meta-linguistic awareness of genres entails, drawing on communicative language teaching and learner-centred approaches to facilitate a process whereby students speak about their writing experiences. My main reason for advocating such a strategy is that one should not only consider the specific requirements of the text, but equally the demands of the social context. This means that students should develop a meta-linguistic awareness of differences among genres. According to **Ivanič**:

Academic Socialization' is a conceptualization of literacy based on the belief that there are different literacies in different contexts, so that students need to learn the specific characteristic of academic writing, and of the disciplinary culture into which they are entering (Ivanič,

2004:222)

Therefore, when entering the disciplinary culture students will learn by speaking about their writing experiences the differences between speech and writing forms and how the one form informs and shapes the other. At the same time, they will learn that to speak according to the conventions of **particular genres can strengthen one's written expressions in that generic form**. In such situations, teachers can make a difference in the attitudes and lives of learners by what they themselves do (Purkey, 1970). Therefore, teachers also need to talk about their writing experiences so that students can learn from them. Similarly, Halliday (1989) advocated modeling and explicit mediation:

A teacher is often called on to judge the coherence of a text. Most **typically, perhaps when evaluating the pupil's writing; and very often all the pupil is told is 'this doesn't hang together – when he needs to know why it doesn't hang together, and how it could be made to do so**. Without an understanding of the linguistic resources involved, it is impossible to give the explicit help that is needed (Halliday, 1989:48)

In my experience of working with undergraduate students there is often a misconception that lecturers write perfect essays the first time, every time. A writer might be fluent in one form of discourse (language use) in a particular discipline, but may struggle to conceptualize in another. Williams (1995) illustrates this point:

I once discussed these matters at a seminar on legal writing. At the end, a woman volunteered that I had recounted her academic history. She had earned her Ph.D in anthropology, published several books and articles, and been judged a good writer. But she became bored with anthropology and went to law school, where during her first few months she thought she was developing a degenerative brain disorder: she could no longer write clear, concise English prose (Williams, 1995:12)

A number of studies suggest that universities should enter into dialogue with students to address their concerns and issues about academic writing (Kapp and Bangeni, 2005) because, as a range of critical theorists have shown, **students' views on the writing process are often at odds with those of universities.**

After students have spoken about their writing experiences on different aspects of repetition, the next step is to locate repetition in its social and linguistic contexts so that students can get a sense the different ways people may use repetition as a discourse strategy. This is particularly critical in the case of Xhosa speaking students, because as I have demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4, Xhosa is intrinsically a glutinous language which makes extensive use of repetitive grammatical forms (Pinnock, 1994). For students to engage in debate with a **university's norms and values as it relates to academic writing**, they would need the necessary meta-linguistic knowledge. Genre and literacy theorists argue that students require knowledge associated with the use of different genre types as well as knowledge related to the social context within which they learnt to write.

5.3.1 Meta-Linguistic Knowledge, Text and Social Context

In the previous section (5.3), I argued that talk is a key aspect of learning how to use the discourse. Another aspect of developing meta-linguistic knowledge is that the way they use language (what I will refer to as issues inside the text) is inextricably connected to the culture and social context of the discipline (what I refer to as issues outside of the text). Although students need to be taught the form in explicit ways, they need to be constantly reminded of the dialectic between text and context. To become aware of issues inside of texts, they should develop a linguistic sense of repetition:

Figure 1. Diagrammatic 'Interflow' of Issues Inside of Texts

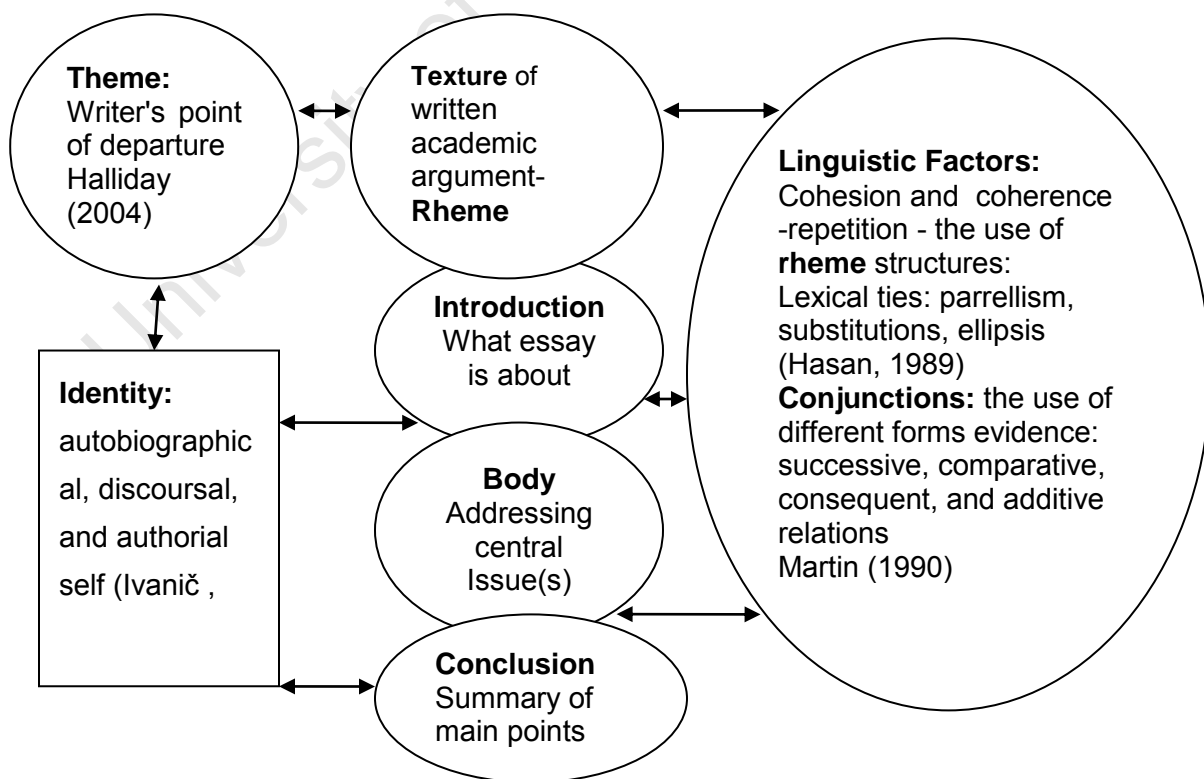


Figure 1 shows the factors inside of texts that may influence coherence from the perspective of literacy and genre theorists. The texture of academic writing – theme and rheme structures starts with introduction, then the initial claim(s), or statement(s), assumption(s) develop into a structured argument (the body) followed by a summary of the key points (the conclusion).

Students should learn that one of the critical requirements along which written genres are organized is cohesion (Halliday and Hasan, 1989; Halliday, 2004) and furthermore, that the form and type of cohesion may differ across genres (Halliday, 1989). Hasan (1990) refers to form and different types of cohesion as developing 'texture'. For Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995:13) developing texture means students should learn how to use their knowledge about genres. Swales (1990:52), on the other hand advocates that we should use our knowledge of genres to develop 'form and content', so that we may realize how to achieve the 'communicative purpose' of a specific genre. The development and application of a genre-based strategy therefore has to be based on an understanding that the nature of the linguistic texture of each genre may differ, depending on the context (Hasan, 1989). In this regard, Rosen (2006:3) notes 'Different types of writing express different types of thinking'. Students, therefore, need to learn that different genres require different thinking strategies.

5.3.2 Repetition and Textuality

All good writing must have continuity. The sequence must be self-evident. A reader should be able to see how each statement follows from statements that have come before it and leads to those that come after. A coherent paper reveals its own internal consistency by showing how the assertions are related (Gelderman, 1984:31)

The general/prescribed structure of an essay in the Humanities is Introduction, Body and Conclusion. While the notion of Introduction, Body and Conclusion appears to be straight forward, it is a surface representation of the deeper underlying deductive model of argumentation, which is far more complex. In order for students to learn how to use repetition as a discourse strategy within the deductive model of argumentation, lecturers/academic practitioners should focus on the cohesive role(s) of repetition in the development of textuality within the inductive as well as deductive models of argumentation. It is my opinion that students need a linguistic facility that would enable them to analyse repetition when they have used it excessively as a written academic discourse strategy in their argument structure. *Previewing, skimming and scanning* are useful reading techniques to acquire certain discourses, particularly in the planning stages of an essay (Scholes and Comley, 1985; Wegman and Knezevic, 2002; Kirn and Hartman, 2002).

Students need a linguistic tool that would enable them to evaluate successive drafts. In this respect, I propose, what I call a Probing, Sifting and Organizing (PSO) strategy. Each aspect of the strategy calls for students to

engage critically with a particular text at different stages of development their argument. In the probing stage, students investigate and compare their writing style - repetition with other writers within a specific genre. They should do this by sifting through their essays for the types of repetition I have classified and identified in Chapter 4. Sifting would enable them to see which types of repetition –conform or deviate from the prerequisites of a well-written academic argument at both a linguistic and cultural level. At the organizing stage, students must organize and re-organize their argument structure in terms of the conventions of specified grammar to meet the **demands of the university's context of situation and culture**, within the prescribed generic form.

One way of starting a process of comprehension through critical reading **before doing (writing), is by following writers' points of departures** theme structures), experiential interpersonal and textual (Halliday, 1990; 2004). One then analyses **how writers' rheme structures are conceptually link to the** Themes. Students should follow how their written argument unfolds, by focusing on the main concepts (noun and pronoun forms), their use of evidence to develop the interpersonal, experiential and textual *Themes* in question (Halliday, 1989 and 2004). They should:

1. Learn how to link theme and rheme conceptually - headings and subheadings, all subsequent clauses, lexical, conjunctive ties and

modalities, so that their essays conform to 'acceptable' university criteria of a well-written essay.

2. Assess whether their argument structures conform to the conventions of referencing sources in the discipline in question by reading and comparing their essays with other already 'accepted' written arguments styles of in-text citations.

It is abundantly clear in this study that the manner in which XESL Speakers used lexical and conjunctive repetition at the beginning, middle and end of sentences caused a lack of continuity in their argument structures. Furthermore, XESL Speakers' excessive use of conjunctions created disjointedness in the logical presentation of their argument structure. For this reason, they need practise in how to use conjunctions appropriately and strategically in order to structure their arguments coherently. While the aforementioned points are useful to guide students into learning how to write an academic argument in the discipline of Education, they should also be made aware that: '... acquiring the deep structure of the disciplines and becoming critical members of the discourse is a process, and has to be continually addressed within the context of the disciplines over time' (Kapp and Bangeni, 2005:126).

In this section, I have discussed the issues inside texts that students should reflect on if they are to understand how repetition contributes to cohesion and

coherence. In the next section, I discuss the role of identity in the development of texture. The purpose of the next section is to make students aware of how their identities and ideas are influenced and shaped constantly by society and how, in turn, society influences and shapes their identities and ideas while they construct their argument(s).

5.3.3 Repetition, Texture and Identity

In the broadest sense all writing is about yourself. Even your laundry list. Wise readers have always known that words reveal the person: Napoleon studied an officer's writing before promoting him to high rank. Every kind of prose - exposition, argument, description - tells us something about the writer: in choice of subject matter, breadth and depth of knowledge, the skill with which the material is shaped and explored (Kane and Peters, 1986:3)

In the previous section, I have argued that students should learn how repetition contributes to the development of cohesion and coherence – the development of texture and structure. The purpose of this section is to discuss the role of identity in the production of texture and ultimately the nature of texts. Students should learn that individuality influences and shapes the outcome of genres. By individuality, I mean that writers draw on their personal, cultural and linguistic experiences to use discourse markers in specific ways in order to assert their identities in text (Martin and Rose, 1993). **Ivanič (1997) suggests that students analyse the presence of writers'** autobiographical, discursal and authorial self, as they learn to read and write different texts. The autobiographical identity is the one that 'writers bring with

them'. The authorial identity is 'the impression the writer conveys' about **himself** (Ivanič, 1997:24-26). **The discorsal identiy is the writers'** demonstration of self in text through generic, discourse and stylistic choices. This is important because, as I have shown in Chapter 4, XESL Speakers often struggled linguistically to integrate or assert their identities in a manner that **conforms to the expectations of the generic form. Ivanič summarizes what it** means for writers to present the three different aspects of their identities in texts:

The three aspects of the identity of an actual writer change, perhaps quite radically, from one act of writing to the next. A writer's autobiographical self is constantly evolving over time. A writer may construct a quite different discorsal self from one text to another, depending partly on different demands of different occasions for writing. A writer may be relatively authoritative in one text and relatively **unauthorative in another** (Ivanič, 1997:29)

According to Ivanič (2004:225) Identity, like writing is a socio-political practice and, **therefore, open to 'contestation and change'.** **In this sense, the** representation of identity connects to issues beyond the text. As alluded to earlier, another often overlooked strategy in learning **about asserting one's** identity in texts in the university's context of situation and culture, is that this process could involve a potential clash in values for students. (Street, 2003). Finally, with regard to the development of texture and structure, when students see that their mistakes or errors are not universal, but rather context-specific they may want to experiment with their writing. In this way,

they will become more confident about their abilities as they mature as academic writers within a specific genre.

In this section, I have discussed the role of identity in shaping written academic texts. In the next section, I look at the role of mother tongue influences on the development of texture and structure.

5.3.4 Repetition and IsiXhosa Grammar: Mother Tongue Influences

In Chapter 4, I illustrated the specific features of students' home languages and aspects of culture in their texts. It seems important for academic practitioners to learn some of the fundamental differences between Xhosa and English at the level of syntax and grammar. The examples, which I provide do not constitute an exhaustive list. Their function is but to illustrate key differences between Xhosa and English grammar which are useful for lecturers to know. Xhosa is part of the Nguni language group (Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, and Swati), which is comparable to the Germanic branches of the Western language and European classical languages. Xhosa was codified in the early 19th century, focusing on clustering of the alphabet and grammatical constructions, viz., Syntax, Morphology and Word Classes. Prior to this period, meaning was predominantly constructed in oral form.

In IsiXhosa, the noun and verb comprise a stem, and prefix and suffix. There are certain distinct differences in the spoken and certain written words of Xhosa. The initial vowel of any given word is omitted in the spoken form (Mackenzie, 2004).

Table 5.1 Conjugation of Some IsiXhosa Noun Forms:

Conjugation of Noun Forms		
Example	Spoken Word	Written Word
Pupils	Bafundi	Abafundi
Greeting	Kubulisa	Ukubulisa
Horse	Ihashe	ILhasi
Mother	Mama	Umama
Father	Bawo	Ubawo
Sister	Dade	Udade
Brother	Bhuti	Ubhuti

There is no dual form in Xhosa only singular and plural – to separate the use of *is* and *are*. Table 5.2 shows some verb forms containing singular and plural prefixes.

Table 5.2 Conjugation of Some IsiXhosa Verb Forms

The prefixes appear in bold and are underlined:

Conjugation of Verb Forms		
Example / English	Singular / Question	Singular Answer
How are you?	<u>U</u> phila njani?	<u>N</u> diyaphila I am fine
		<u>Nam</u> diyaphila I am also fine
Example / English	Plural / Question	Plural / Answer
How are you many?	<u>Nina</u> Niphila njani	<u>S</u> iyaphila We are fine
		<u>Nathi</u> siyaphila We are also fine

It is important to note is that even in the case of two people responding in Xhosa to a question they would say 'we' instead of the 'two of us'. Another difference between Xhosa spoken and written forms is the Phonology. The pronunciation of the words is determined by stressed and unstressed syllables. Every vowel is stressed – hence the rhythmic sound of the language (Mackenzie, 2004):

- Pupils

Abáfúndí

- Greeting Úkúbúlísá
- Horse **IÍlínháshé**

Just as in the case of other Nguni languages, the noun in Xhosa also precedes the adjective. Grammatical variations of certain words would occur depending on the context within which it is used (Mackenzie, 2004). The word *love* below is an example of a grammatical variation

- Labour of love Ukusebenza ngokusithandela
- Make love to ncokolisathandela
- Love story Ibali ngothando

Notice where the word *love* (stem) appears in Xhosa. Apart from individual differences (idiolects) there are also linguistic and form variations between urban and rural speakers of Xhosa (Kaschula and Anthonissen, 1995).

- Rural Urban
- Gutsha (Sheep) Gusha (Sheep)
- Ninji (Many) Ninzi (Many)

According Pinnock (1994), IsiXhosa people develop their grammar from the repetition of the noun stem. This makes it intrinsically repetitive. Since IsiXhosa grammar is repetitive in nature, it becomes, in my view, imperative to touch upon the differences between English and IsiXhosa grammar when

addressing the issue of repetition in the written arguments of XESL Speakers.

The important characteristic of IsiXhosa is that any word which has a relationship with a noun in a sentence shows that relationship through 'concordance' or matching. This concordance occurs essentially through sound. The words of sentences are made to match and agree with each other through alliterative sounds called concords. There are subject concords and object concords. Concords are also used with descriptive and possessive words as well as adverbs. Alliteration is the repetition of the same letter or syllable in any number of words immediately following each other or at short intervals in the same sentence. This is only moderately used in English (Pinnock, 1994:97).

According to Pinnock (1994) repetition develops as isiXhosa speaking people expand noun and verb forms into clauses and sentences by attaching prefixes and suffixes.

5.4 Issues Outside of Texts

In the previous section, I have discussed the issues inside text that influence **and shape students' written academic argument. After students have learnt** how cohesive devices (repetition), identities and mother tongue influences shape the texture and structure of texts, they now possess meta-knowledge, which they can use to guide their doing - reading and writing in the disciplines. They should now be engaging in the types of task-based exercises that consolidate their genre knowledge about cohesion, and coherence within a particular argument structure. Task-based exercises aimed at consolidating the use of a particular argument structure should include comparative lessons and exercises, such as analysis, interpretation, and discussion on the use of

repetition in poetry, political speeches as opposed to the types of repetition in argumentative writing in the discipline of education. In such situations, students may want to know why it is necessary to practise constantly in order to develop their writing skills within a particular genre form. In this regard, it may be necessary to explain to them that the purpose of any literacy pedagogy is to create critical language awareness, particularly the purpose of academic writing in modern industrialized societies. In the words of Halliday and Hasan:

Language is a political institution: those who are wise in its ways, capable of using it to shape and serve important personal and social **goals, will be the ones who are 'empowered' (to use a fashionable word):** able, that is, not merely to participate effectively in the world, but able also to act upon it, in the sense that they can strive for significant social change' (Halliday and Hasan, 1989:x)

A practical strategy is to discuss how writing is literally 'a means of production' (Volosinov, 1930). An analysis of this quotation by Kress (1982) regarding the economic and social relevance of writing as a means of production in modern industrialized societies would in my opinion be useful to **address the 'why' kinds of questions:**

It is quite clear, and reasonably obvious, that the exclusion from the consumption of messages - being unable to read - carries with it heavy penalties in terms of exclusion from a wide range of knowledge, activities and hence power in society. Conversely, the ability to produce written messages is equally necessary for sharing in and contributing to knowledge and to ideological activity, and for gaining a measure of power. Hence, the unequal distribution of the uses of and participation in reading and writing have fundamental social, economic and political consequences. Inability to use and control the forms brings with it the

exclusion from the benefits associated with the exercise" (Kress, 1982:9).

Figure 2: Diagrammatic 'Interflow' of Issues Outside of Texts

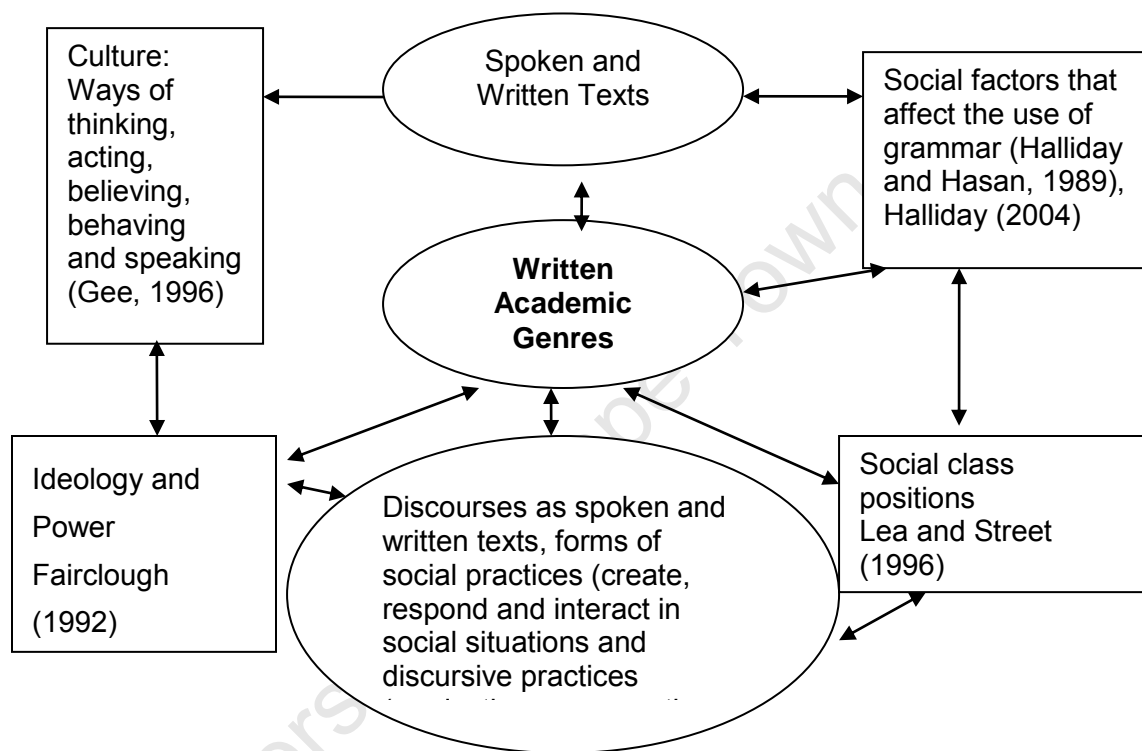


Figure 2 summarises everyday flow among different factors that are central in the production of discourse types and, which in turn, influence and shape the creation of spoken and written genres. At the centre of the diagram is the genre surrounded by key e issues outside of texts (culture, ideology and social class) that may have an impact on discursive practices - how people produce, consume and distribute texts (Fairclough, 1992). Clearly concepts

such as 'culture' and 'ideology' overlap. In addition, although I make the distinction between inside and outside of the text, students have to be made aware of the dialectical relationship between text and context.

A dialectical approach requires an emphasis on the constant interplay **between the text(s) and context(s)**. 'Outside', viz. **political, social, economic** and cultural issues that may influence and shape the structure of a written academic argument may differ from one country to another because of their different histories.

5.5 Debating Contextual Relevance

Debating contextual relevance is a continuation of the point which I made earlier of the need for universities to enter into dialogue with students, particularly when they come from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. It also sheds light on what, when, how and why people produce, consume and distribute texts; the last point, which I discussed in the previous section. A discussion about evaluating facts from a historical – contextual perspective may be useful to introduce students to debates about relevant and irrelevant statements or arguments. For example, historical facts such as dates, names of people, and names of places can be either correct or incorrect. These things do not change with time. Ideas or facts that are relevant or irrelevant may change with time and space. In other words, what might have been true a few hundred years ago in a particular place may currently be false. A simple

example is that a few hundred years ago people believed that the earth was flat; the sun rotates around the earth, and therefore concluded that the earth was the **centre of the universe. Galileo disproved these 'facts' and now we** know that the earth is a sphere, the earth rotates around the sun, and that the earth is not the centre of the universe.

Thus, at a particular time, and place people believed the first theory to be true, and hence relevant. Today such a theory is irrelevant, as we are planning, and doing further research about our universe. As a historical fact, the flat theory that people held of the universe is true; i.e. if you were to ask whether people really believed that the earth was flat, the answer to this question would be yes. As a scientific fact, the theory is false. Cultural norms and values may be relevant to one group of people or individual, but may be irrelevant to another group or individual. We all adhere to some form of rituals as we live from day to day. These are the habitual processes that we internalize, develop and adopt to make sense of our world. Sometimes the environment that we find ourselves shapes our norms and values.

When writers make certain statements or claims these must be supported by evidence to validate – to prove how relevant they are to their argument(s). Kane and Peters (1986:309) identify 'common knowledge, specific examples, and statistical data' as forms of evidence. For example, it is common knowledge that the Nationalist Party instituted and maintained apartheid in South Africa. The types of evidence we use to support a particular statement

varies from one discipline to another.

5.5.1 How 'Good' Writers Sustain Contextual-Academic Relevance

Good writers learn to differentiate between relevant and irrelevant statements in the construction of arguments and are not afraid to revise their work so that it conforms to the literacy of the discipline. They focus on meaning, by distinguishing between revisions and editing. Good writers apply revision as a process of modifying the text, in order to refine the meaning and the structure of the argument. Editing, on the other hand, is a process of correcting surface errors, such as spelling, punctuation and grammar. The poor writer only edits, and fails to comprehend that meaning in terms of what she has said might need to be clarified (Murray and Johansen, 1991). Krashen (1984) comments that good writers go through a process, which involves repeated planning, rescanning and revising. Good writers pause between the various stages of composing and are not afraid to rearrange and restructure certain sections of their work in order to clarify meaning. They are aware of their readership. They may start by creating '*writer-based prose*', but as they go through the various stages of revising, they turn their writing into '*reader-based prose*' that takes the knowledge and expectations of the audience into consideration (Flower, 1984). For students to know how to use specific written discourse strategies with the view to sustain relevance, they need to know differences between the two

main argument structures in 'Western' formal logic.

5.5.2 Argumentative Genres in Western Formal Logic

Argumentation differs from persuasion by being more rational. It is aimed at clarifying a topic rather than at moving a reader. Its function is to make the reader see things in a particular way rather than to make the reader do something. Argumentation is especially important to the student of writing because it offers the principles of organization that inform most academic prose. The basic structure of (1) a thesis to be argued, and (2) the evidence to support the thesis and very specific ways of reasoning from evidence - especially the logic of cause and effect - is at the heart of all research in the humanities, the social studies and the sciences (Scholes and Comley, 1985:12)

After students have learnt the role of repetition in developing textuality and identity in different genres, they should now move to engage in the specific uses of repetition within written argumentative genres. The reason for this is that an analysis of XESL Speakers argument structure, particularly the use of conjunctions shows that they did not know how to draw logical inferences from information (Chapter 4). **The result of this 'incorrect' way of logical sequencing and inference drawing was that they conflated strategies used in the inductive model of argumentation with deductive one.**

The deductive and inductive structures of argumentative essays differ fundamentally from other written forms. Kane and Peters (1986) group the various types of essays into three - narrative, description and exposition. According to Kane and Peters (1986) if a writer tells us **what** happened in a story, then, he is writing a narrative. When he writes **how** something looks,

then, he is describing it. When, he writes to explain **how** and **why** something happened, then, he is writing an exposition - argument. The purpose of exposition is to interpret, inform, and persuade the reader about something (Kane and Peters, 1986).

For students to know how to address the Introduction, Body and Conclusion aspects through formal written academic discourse, they need to **know also how the two main argument structures work in 'Western' formal logic** (Badenhorst, 2008). This would place them in a position to understand how something becomes true or false, relevant or irrelevant pieces of information. In **'Western' formal logic, people use two argument structures to argue why something is true or false, relevant or irrelevant – the deductive and inductive models of argumentation**. Students can easily conflate these two models, since both have similar **objectives of establishing 'the truth'**. People use the inductive model in legal forms of argumentation to establish the facts supported by direct or indirect (circumstantial) evidence (Kleyn and Viljoen, 2000). The deductive model of reasoning uses, in contrast a logical syllogism. As discussed earlier, the simplest form of logic is the syllogism developed by the Greek philosopher Aristotle. It follows a set pattern of steps to establish whether something is true or false.

Example 1:

If: 1. $A = B$

Example 2:

If: 1. A cow has four legs

And:	2. B = C	And:	2. A table has four legs
Therefore:	3. A = C	Therefore:	3. A cow is a table

Example one is consistent whereas two is not, but is a clear contradiction.

One can see that the structure proposed by Aristotle is straightforward and deterministic. Since, the argument that a cow is a table is false. The cow is animate and the table is inanimate. Even if both cow and table were animate, as in the case of sheep and a cow, the conclusion still would have been false because a cow and sheep are similar in the sense that they are animals, but not the same because they are different species of animals. Students can **learn to apply Aristotle's logic to see whether** their (1) Introduction, (first premise), (2) Body (second premise) and (3) Conclusion are consistent in terms of the claim(s) it makes. In other words, they can use this framework to ascertain whether what we are stating is relevant or irrelevant within the context of the argument. As indicated earlier, another important feature of argumentative genre is the development of texture. - Students need to be taught meta-knowledge about how conjunctions link the Introduction, Body, (headings and subheadings) and Conclusion on a conceptual level (Martin, 1990). Moreover, conjunctions play a key role in *adding, inferring, and comparing* evidence (Martin, 1990:90). Students need to know the specific role of different conjunctions (Table 5.3). Many students in this study used **certain conjunctions, in particular 'because' as an all-purpose** connective

(Chapter 4).

Table 5.3 Conjunctive Categories (Adapted from Martin, 1990:90)

Type	Conjunction	Function
Successive and Simultaneous	When	To add information/ Mostly use in narrative writing
	While	
	After	
	Before	
	Then	
Consequent Relations	Because	Infer from evidence
	If	
	Although	
	So that	
	Therefore	
Comparative Relations	Whereas	To compare evidence
	Like	
	Similarly	
Additive Relations	And	To add evidence
	Or	
	That is	
	For example	

Table 5.3 illustrates key differences between the deductive and inductive models of argumentation.

Table 5.4 Diagrammatic Presentation of Deductive and Inductive Models of Argument

	Deductive	Deductive (Syllogism)	Inductive Argument (Facts)
Introduction (Opening)	Premise 1	Apartheid was discriminatory	He stole the car (Fact)
Body (Evidence)	Premise 2	The Nationalist party divided the people of South Africa into different racial and ethnic groups. They introduced the group areas and separate amenities acts to keep the different racial groups in different residential areas, to attend different schools with the aim to perform ultimately unequal work (Kallaway, 1988). People were treated unequally based on colour differences (Kallaway, <i>et al.</i> 2001). The purpose of Apartheid was to, ' dwarf the minds of 'Black' people ' (Molteno, 1988:12)	Two people saw him drove away from the scene of the crime in the car
			The car was found in his driveway
			He drove to work in a car - similar to one he allegedly stole
			He never had a car He does not have a valid driver's license. He is unemployed, and therefore, he does not have the money to buy a car He wanted to borrow a car to drive to Knysna
Conclusion	Concluding /Summary	Therefore one can infer that Apartheid was discriminatory	The evidence strongly suggests that he had the motive to want to steal the car.

5.6 Repetition and Genre Modeling

For writers to make things happen (i.e.) to publish, to exert and influence on the field, to be cited), they must know how to strategically utilize their understanding of genre. (Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1995:3)

In the previous section, I discussed the two main argument structures academics used in Western formal logic to reason viz. the inductive and deductive model of argumentation. I illustrated the functional role of conjunctions in these two models. In this section, I demonstrate how one can use genre-modeling strategy to explain how lexical and conjunctive forms used in the inductive and deductive model of argumentation. Academics working in academic development at the University of New South Wales in Australia implemented a model in which they teach students how to use a Systemic Functional Linguistic framework to analyse different genres. They focus on tenor (who is involved), field (what happened) and textual themes (mode or linguistic features of particular genres to discriminate between appropriate and inappropriate uses of language (White, 2010).

According to White (2010), the genre-modelling technique has been very successful in teaching students how the deductive model of argumentation works in practice. Therefore, after students have analysed their texts cohesively, they can now learn to model (Stage 1) their texts in terms of accepted conventions of the genre. In Stage 2, the students do a joint construction with the lecturer, followed by Stage 3, independent construction and finally Stage 4, critical literacy. The lecturers make the structure of the genres explicit. For example, the structure of a triumph narrative would be, abstract, orientation, complication action, evaluation,

result/resolution and coda – a general overview of what transpired (White, 2010:6). The typical structure of expository texts is thesis, preview, arguments and reiteration/reinforcement (White, 2010:4).

In this way, lecturers can systematically go through the essays of students so that they can learn how, from a position of underdeveloped writing capacity to a position of developed writing proficiency; they can address inappropriate uses of **language as discourse strategy**. Although White's (2010) strategy of genre modeling is useful, it should have been preceded by linguistic analysis. This study for example, based on the finding of my analysis, suggests strongly that specific issues that lecturers need to attend through a process of genre modelling are how:

1. **Students'** use of lexical repetition: parallelism, substitutions and conjunctions to hedge different parts of their argument structure.
2. Cross-linguistic from Xhosa to English, viz., the use of articles, resumptive pronouns and prepositions influence and shape their arguments at a sentence level,
3. The influence of external discursal influences in the overall structure of their argument,

An excerpt from text 6 under section 4.8.6 shows the relationship between texture and structure – how the one influences and shapes the other. One can systematically use this method to evaluate a student's essay through a process of genre modeling while paying, particular attention to the use of lexical repetition, cross-linguistic transfer and external discursal influences to see whether the argument structure conforms to university discourses.

Group 2: Excerpt from Text 6 (Planned Text)

Texture	Structure
A	
5. <i>Is Bantu education a just system of education?</i>	Interrogative Statement
6. <i>In this essay I intend to answer this question by showing that Bantu education is not a just a system of education, by looking at the origins of Bantu education and by showing that it was devised, from the outset, with unjust aims, motives and objectives.</i>	Declarative Statement/Position
7. <i>In pre-colonial time there was no mass based schooling for the indigenous people of this country.</i>	Declarative Statement/Position
8. <i>Schooling was informal and whatever had to be learnt for the day to day survival was done by means of word of mouth. Elder members of the community had great status since they were the ones responsible for the education of the youth.</i>	Declarative Statement/Position
B	
4. <i>With the arrival of the Dutch and British colonists, schooling became more formal since (Causal Conjunction) these colonist brought with them <u>their systems of Western education</u> (Demonstrating Consequence)</i>	Evidence/Conclusion
5. <i>They assured that their systems of schooling was the right system for the natives.</i>	Declarative Statement/Position

Group 2: Except from text 6 (Continued/...)

Group 2: Excerpt from Text 6 (Continued)

<p>6. They needed to justify their colonisation the dispossession of the land by controlling and making the natives subservient, and education was used as a medium for attaining these objectives.</p>	<p>Declarative Statement/Position</p>
C	
<p>2. They therefore (Causal Conjunction) had to provide schooling to as many people as was possible so (Causal Conjunction) that they could have control over a large section of the community. (Demonstrating Consequence)</p>	<p>Evidence/Conclusion</p>
D	
<p>6. Although (Concessive Conjunction) more people received education under these colonists than previously, many blacks showed their disdain for the colonist's and their policies by not attending schools. (Demonstrating Counter Expectation)</p>	<p>Evidence/Conclusion</p>
<p>7. At the end of this period of colonisation after much dissatisfaction and resistance from the blacks, we see the advent of Apartheid and Afrikaner Nationalism and with this comes the further subjugation of the blacks.</p>	<p>Declarative Statement/Position</p>
<p>8. The system of Apartheid now becomes the legal vanguard of the Afrikaners through which they can now enforce their separatist policies.</p>	<p>Declarative Statement/Position</p>
<p>9. During this period the expensive and labour intensive mining industry requires more cheap labour. Labourers require very little skill, only the ability to be able to work very hard and long hours.</p>	<p>Declarative Statement/Position</p>

Group 2: Excerpt from text 6 (Continued/...)

Group 2: Excerpt from Text 6 (Continued)

10. <i>Education is now provided to thousands of black students with the aim of providing the labour force for the mines.</i>	Declarative Statement/Position
E	
2. <u>Due to (Prepositional Phrase)</u> <i>the great demand for labour on the mines, many blacks find that they have to become migrant workers, meaning that they have to leave their children and families at home for long periods of time.</i>	Declarative Statement/Position
F	
3. <u>This removal (Nominal Phrase)</u> <i>of the father figure from the family has devastating economic, social and psychological consequences for the family left behind, with the result that black children are further impoverished emotionally.</i>	Declarative Statement/Position
4. <i>Coupled with this is also the dehumanisation of the entire black population in that there are unequal work opportunities, the fact that they have to carry passes in order to move about and the subsequent harassment and imprisonment if the administration authorities were not satisfied with the passes, and the fact that many black population did not have adequate housing facilities.</i>	Declarative Statement/Position

Group 2: Excerpt from text 6 (Continued/...)

Group 2: Excerpt from Text 6 (Continued)

G	
<p>2. <u>ecause</u> (Causal Conjunction) <i>the education of blacks was not a priority with the Apartheid government, very little money was available to the black education departments compared to vast sums of money given to the white education departments.</i></p>	Evidence/Conclusion
H	
<p>2. <u>This lack</u> (Nominal Phrase) <i>of funds contributed to the lack of schools and adequate facilities, a shortage of teaching and administration staff and a deficiency in the basic essentials such as text books and stationery.</i></p>	Declarative Statement
I	
<p>2. Based on <u>this</u>, Bantu education is <u>therefore</u> (Causal Conjunction) <i>an unjust system of education <u>because</u> (Causal Conjunction) it is based on the subjugation of people on the basis of the colour of their skin together with the dehumanisation suffered under the system and the preparation of the black people for the selfish aims of the Afrikaners.</i></p>	Evidence/Conclusion
J	
<p>2. <u>Finally</u> <i>the people of South Africa have decided that Bantu education is an unjust system of education since the time of the colonists, in 1976, 1980 and 1985 communities engaged and challenged the government especially the education authorities. An education based on justice does not need to be challenged for it is inherently for the good and benefit to the people it serves.</i></p>	Declarative Statement/Position

5.7 Addressing Lecturers' and Students' Expectations

The purpose of this section is to discuss lecturer feedback as a specific and critical issue, which involves students' **and lecturers' expectations of a well-written** essay. As stated earlier, lecturers play a fundamental role in the development of student academic literacies – particularly the acquisition of written academic skills.

Inappropriate marking and lecturer feedback are two of the areas in which lecturers can discourage students from interpreting writing as a potential emancipatory process. Marking plays a crucial role in the initiation of students into academic culture. If lecturers focus too much on grammatical errors, they break down students' self-esteem. Instead of feeling 'liberated' students may feel inadequate, and, therefore, 'oppressed'. In such contexts, students may end up thinking that grammatical errors are the direct result of a cognitive or intellectual deficiency. Therefore, Braddock *et al.* (1963), Mckay (1984), Murray and Johansen (1991), and Hirvella and Belcher (2001) note that too much attention to grammar has done very little to improve student writing. As mentioned already, lecturers tend to focus on grammatical errors, because these are easily identifiable, whereas issues such as unfamiliarity with the topic, lack of relevance, and poor organization are not (Mckay, 1984).

Students should learn that making mistakes is part of the writing process as they attempt to express themselves clearly (Connor, 1987). At the same time, they should learn that making meaning is not a given, but part of a process in which one focuses on grammar, content, form, organisation - constant writing, rewriting, proofreading and editing.

In order to get students to a point where they critically reflect on their writing, Parkerson (2000) suggests that a one-to-one consultation, viz., making the student comfortable, posing questions about the writing experience, ensuring ownership, understanding the role of grammar, recognizing cultural differences, giving written feedback and recapping at the end of the sessions. Henning et al. (2002) argue that working in small-group structures implies that the complexities in learning how to become academically proficient writers can be addressed effectively. They contend further that the process of academic enculturation or literacy necessarily includes that students must appropriate the discourse for emancipatory purposes, which Freire and Maschedo (1987) explain to mean:

As a narrative for agency, literacy becomes synonymous with an attempt to rescue history experience, and vision from conventional discourse and dominant social relations. It means developing the theoretical and practice conditions through which human beings can locate themselves in their own histories and in doing so make themselves present in their struggle to expand the possibilities of human life and freedom (Freire and Maschedo, 1987:10).

5.8 Summary

In this chapter, I addressed final research question:

What strategies can academics develop and use to mediate unnecessary repetition and other linguistic features that XELS Speakers overused as part of their written academic discourse strategy?

I drew on genre - **social practices' theorists as well as** my own analysis of the relationship between Xhosa and English, and with a view not only to differentiating between appropriate and inappropriate uses of repetition, but also to developing a

corresponding intervention strategy. My argument is that one can only understand why, what how and when repetition as discourse strategy is inappropriate when you analyse its function(s) in relation to the requirements of a particular text, as well as its social contexts. As such, I have shown that unlike learner- and grammar- based models, genre and literacy-based frameworks relate texts to contexts and vice versa, in order to explore the general as well as specific aspects of language use. These models do not dichotomize theory from practice, or individuals from society. The notion of being able to reconstruct text for the purposes of cultural and linguistic socialization and adaptation is particularly important for English Second Language (ESL) speaking students who come from socially disadvantaged communities in which they had very little exposure to the 'correct' use of English in spoken or written form. My research shows that in view of the fact that:

1. XESL Speakers overused repetition as a discourse strategy,
2. They showed a lack of meta-linguistic knowledge,
3. There **is a mismatch between lecturers and students' expectations of a well-written academic essay.**

For any model to address repetition critically, lecturers and students should know something about:

- Different types of repetition and their purposes in different genres,
- The conventions of an argumentative genre compared to other genre forms,
- The primary differences between English and Xhosa grammar and finally,
- The values and norms that underpin lecturers' **and students' expectations**

regarding a well-written academic argument in the discipline of education at a particular university.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I summarise my research findings and assess the implications for language pedagogy and academic access in South African higher educational contexts. The question that one should ask is whether knowing anything about repetition, particularly in relation to its various cohesive functions, would enhance language pedagogy in a way that it makes written academic discourse accessible to novice academic writers. The answer to this question is emphatically 'yes'.

My study has drawn on the work of Hasan (1990) to illustrate the way **repetition is a form of patterning**. The students' texts bear the imprint of their home discourses, including schooling, Xhosa traditions and public oral rhetoric. I have suggested that in the absence of sufficient knowledge of English and of explicit socialization into academic genres, they have fashioned their own approximation of the new discourse. As such, they have woven different textual tapestries of linguistic and cultural meaning drawing on the resources of their home language and home norms and values. I have drawn on the work of a range of critical theorists to argue that ultimately, repetition is socially situated. One produces spoken and written texts in a way that makes linguistic and cultural sense to the listener/reader within a specific genre form that carries the norms and values of a particular social context.

In this study, I have identified three types of repetitive forms that influence and shape the structural outcome of XESL Speakers' **written academic argument**. The first type of repetition identified is direct, in the sense that it is directed towards developing cohesion in spoken or written texts. (Chapter 4, sections, 4.5.1.1, 4.5.1.2 and 4.5.1.3). The second and third types are indirect linguistic and cultural forms (Chapter 4, sections 4.7 and 4.9). The findings show that in case of the first types of lexical repetition – parallelism, substitutions, and conjunctive forms, XESL Speakers often overused them in a way that disrupted the logical flow of the deductive argument structure. Their logical flow resembles linguistic features and styles of argument typical of the inductive model of argumentation. To compensate for their struggles at both a linguistic and discursive level, and in an attempt to approximate the prescribed genre, they resorted to more familiar resources – indirect forms of repetition in the form of cross-linguistic transfer from their mother tongue (omission of functional words articles and prepositions) and improvisation strategies (improvisations and personification of abstract terms). I have shown through a systematic linguistic analysis of repetition that XESL Speakers repeat a variety of oral expressions and items of cross-linguistic transfer **from their mother tongue, which did not correspond to the discipline's context of** situation and culture. XESL Speakers had not been taught the meta-linguistic knowledge to navigate and manage adequately the expository genre required within their discipline.

Given the indisputable fact that repetition is, as Tannen (1989) says at the heart of how to learn a discourse, as well as the critical importance of expository texts in modern societies, knowledge about how repetition works in expository

texts holds great potential for influencing and shaping language pedagogy with a view to facilitate written academic access.

In the next sections, I discuss the implications of repetition for language pedagogy and academic access in higher education context with reference to Chapter 4.

6.2 Repetition and Language Pedagogy

My argument has been that because repetition is closely associated with cohesion and coherence, and involves discourse acquisition and development, it is simply not enough to tell students that their writing does not make any sense, or that their arguments are incoherent. Students need to know why their writing does not make sense or why it fails to communicate meaning. Lecturers should show students how their writing deviates from common expectations of a well-written academic essay. One does not expect lecturers to become experts in language-related issues. They should possess, however, at least a basic functional knowledge of cohesion, coherence, discourse and written genres to assist and guide students when learning how to discourse.

Lecturers can benefit in terms of their own writing development by facilitating the writing of their students, and students will definitely benefit if their lecturers have interrogated their own writing practices, and are able to share these, where appropriate, with students (Leibowitz, 2000:15).

I have argued that we can learn substantially from repetition, in particular how to use causal relations by comparing the different ways first and second language speakers of English as well as novice and experienced writers use repetition as a written academic discourse strategy. Since repetition is unavoidable, the difference

between the use of repetition by successful academics and unsuccessful academics, in particular novices in the field of academic writing, is that it appears that 'successful' academics repeat 'appropriate/relevant' forms of discourses, compared to 'unsuccessful' academics. By successful academics, I mean those whose write arguments are considered **acceptable to the university's context** of situation and culture.

Apart from reasons, which I have given based on the outcome of my analysis, XESL Speakers overuse of repetition may have happened also because students who attend the university are not necessarily interested or motivated, to become academics i.e., people who read and write academics papers as an imperative and integral part of their daily life experiences. Students may have an instrumental motivation to obtain a degree for economic purposes - to secure a job which does not require academic argumentative writing skills. They may fail, therefore, to see the relevance of learning to write academic papers and read academic books. For the majority of students, to read and write academic essays may be a temporary arrangement and, or adjustment until they have completed their degrees. After they have graduated in their respective fields, they may seldom or never write the types of written academic arguments they have been exposed to, at university. However, whilst they are at the university, they should adhere, in my opinion, to **the culture of the university's context of situation** and culture in order to discourse in a meaningful way. Trimbur highlights the communicative aspect of writing very well:

Writing is an activity individuals and groups rely on to communicate to

others, organize their social lives, get work done, entertain themselves, and voice their needs and aspirations (Trimbur, 2005:xxxv)

Therefore, to acquire the skills as articulated in the above quotation involves processes of socialization into a particular culture, which, as I have stated, involves repetition in one form or another. However, to use repetition in linguistic and culturally acceptable ways within the context of academic writing, students may have to take on another identity as Gee (1996) explains. In a world that is culturally hybrid, particularly in what is now called the information age, we have multiple identities because we operate in multiple linguistic and social contexts. Thus, at different stages of our lives we may have to reinvent, negotiate and manage our identities in a way that makes it possible to interact with people from diverse linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds in an ever-changing world. Learning to write an argument which is predominantly western in orientation, I would argue is not any different than taking on new **identity as Ivanič (1997)** suggests. I do not advocate that students should unquestionably be assimilated into the dominant discourses; they should in my view adopt a critical stance when exposed to new forms of knowledge – a stance in which they constantly question the validity of truth. In other words they should constantly evaluate their experiences against external influences:

There is a naïve view in our culture that it is possible to distinguish form from content, and that factual writing deals with content and can be judged simply in terms of how truthful or close to the facts it is. Hopefully we have now looked closely enough at factual writing that you can see just how **naïve this view is. There are no 'facts' out there against which we can** measure the truthfulness or accuracy of a text. Facts are created by language as we speak or write. Factual writing is an interpretation of the world, not its reflection (Martin, 1990:49).

Moreover, Johns (1997:17) contends, 'In the reading and writing of every text, there is a place for individual interpretations, purposes, and voices, and we should encourage students to experiment within, and outside, textual boundaries, and conventions'

6.3 Repetition and Academic Access

Like many other previously British colonies, South Africa finds itself in a paradoxical situation regarding the use of English as a medium of instruction (Alexander, 2000). For many South African citizens English is not even a second language, but a third or fourth one. Given the dominance of English because of its international currency and prevalence, many Xhosa Speakers choose English to further their studies. Alexander (2000:3) calls this predicament, 'English Unassailable, but Unattainable: The Dilemma of Language Policy in South African Education'. Although, the ANC-led government promulgated policies to give equal status and educational effect to South Africa's 11 official languages, in practice very little is happening on the ground to promote multilingual education. Two of the main reasons are the lack of academic resources in the mother tongue languages, as well as, qualified people to implement multilingual education (Alexander, 2000).

In 1997, the ANC introduced outcomes based education (OBE) to address, among other things, the issue of teaching learners in their mother tongue (Jansen, 1999). According to Jansen (1999), there is a mismatch between the theory of OBE and what is happening on the ground. One of the main reasons for this situation is that the ANC did not consider the legacy of apartheid education. They ignored the fact

that communities are not equally well resourced. Communities did not have equal intellectual resources and capacity to implement OBE successfully. OBE was philosophically too complex for teachers to interpret and implement. Therefore, to improvise, the ANC-led government introduced the Revised Curriculum Statement (RCS), which kept many of the key elements of OBE of specific outcomes, but eliminated much of the philosophical jargon. Currently, the ANC-led government has again **embarked on a process of what is termed 'refining' the RCS** to develop a new programme called Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS). Unlike OBE and RCS this time, students and teachers will get texts and work books. However, despite these curriculum adjustments, social, economic and political challenges in education prevail.

Critical linguists have demonstrated the ways in which language is connected to power. In South Africa, the legacy of the Nationalist Party use of language to dominate is still present. Some academics attribute the inequalities in education not only to apartheid, but also critically to the role language plays in shaping identities, as well as determining access to academic knowledge in a post-apartheid South Africa. They recognize language, among other modes of communication, as the primary method through which we access, and explain everything else (Angell-Carter and Moore, 1998; Ridge, 2000; Thesen and Pletzen, eds **2006**). **Ndebele's** argument is salient:

The deliberate use of language to give legitimacy to the social and political reality of apartheid has been one of the most observable features of the system. The power divide between rulers and ruled, the oppressors and the oppressed, played itself out even within the domain of language in which we had the namers and the named. If the

success of the namer in naming is a function of the namer's power, then ultimate challenging the manifestation of apartheid in linguistic dominance will be a function of the success of the liberation struggle (Ndebele, 1995:3).

Kapp has pointed out that '... although language alone will not alter power structures, it acts as a powerful social marker, or gatekeeper (1998: 24). Nevertheless, her ethnography has also shown that people desire English: 'Many also recognize its status in South Africa and internationally in terms of access to **future power and mobility**' (Kapp, 1998:24). Therefore, in view of the prominent role of English, certainly, it is dangerous to abstract language absolutely from the context individual speech utterances. It is disastrous to abstract it from culture and history (Aitchinson, 1976:65)

In retrospect, this dissertation has the potential to contribute to language studies in several ways. This study explored and analysed how one group of XESL Speakers overused repetition as a discourse strategy in the discipline of education. When using a systematic functional approach to grammar, XESL students are not viewed as empty vessels that are supposed to be filled with knowledge, but as individuals who bring their prior literacy experiences with them. They are located within their histories and cultures. Therefore:

1. Lecturers should not only guide students in how to write, but even more critically share their writing experiences with students; in this way they may demystify the spaces where the learning and teaching of writing take place.
2. When spaces of learning and teaching writing are demystified, students should be encouraged to experiment with writing. In this way, students learn to

engage critically with the factors outside and inside of the text that shape their knowledge boundaries (what they know and their assumptions) – as well as their identities.

3. By linking the linguistic imperatives with social factors that influence and shape their writing, students learn how to engage with knowledge and identity critically, which is essential for growth in any discipline and for the process of becoming independent, critical academic writers.

6.4 Outcomes Achieved

With reference to the outcomes in Chapter 1:

Since my study involved applied language research in which I focused on theory, analysis, and application of repetition as a discourse strategy, it contributes to bridging the gap between the theory and practice of language pedagogy in ADPs in South Africa.

By showing how XESL Speakers construct meaning in a specific written academic genre through the use of lexical and conjunctive repetition, this study has the potential to generate debate, research and influence policy that could focus on the language-specific needs of other groups of English Second Language speakers such as Afrikaans, Sotho, Tswana, and Zulu in different genres.

Finally, based on the critical analysis of the data, I achieved my last outcome of developing an intervention strategy to address the problem of repetition in XESL Speakers' **academic writing**.

The scope of this dissertation does not allow for the application of the intervention model/ strategy. This is a challenge for further research and collaboration.

6.5 Recommendations for Further Research

Researchers can investigate whether XESL Speakers' overuse of repetition as a discourse strategy is genre-specific by analysing the use of repetition in other disciplines in the Humanities. In addition, as alluded to earlier, they can adapt and refine the analytical model, which I designed, as a basis for further analysis, discussion, and research. While conducting this research, I held constant discussions with staff members in the Faculty of Education at UWC to ascertain the relevance of my research arguments. They indicated that my research is very relevant and there is a need to broaden the research so that it can include other ESL speakers.

6.6 Final Remarks

When I started this dissertation, I thought that I would find straightforward answers to my research questions. However, in my analysis of XESL written texts, I noticed spelling errors, problems with starting sentences, imprecise sentence order and many examples of conversational, as well as, colloquial/conversational English in the writing style of XESL Speakers. These phenomena appeared pervasively. In my analysis, I focused specifically on explicit and systemic forms of repetition.

Although I found similarities in the use of repetition in Xhosa oral poetry and the written academic discourse of XESL Speakers there is neither any qualitative nor quantitative way that I could verify the origin of repetition. By drawing on the data and research by Pinnock (1994) and Kaschula (2002) and many others, I could only provide plausible reasons for the use of repetition as a written discourse

strategy by XESL Speakers.

While writing this dissertation, I also realised that learning to think when writing in a particular genre depends not only on certain cultural ways of doing things or the accessibility of resources, but equally importantly on our willingness to change to innovative ways of constructing, analysing and interpreting our existence. We learn new ways of using words, but always within certain boundaries. As much as rules, at times, can potentially constrain spoken or written expression, the absence of rules to govern language will lead to even greater confusion. Critical theory has made us aware that concepts such as 'politics', 'culture' and civilization can mean many different things to different people, depending on who is using it, for whom and why. Therefore, we can only attempt to minimise the ambiguity of our discursal behaviour and actions by defining concepts as we use them. Crystal perhaps illuminates this point better:

I know an artist who has spent his whole life painting a still life, in innumerable versions, in order to get it right. I know another who continually repaints a scene, in various lights and circumstances, in order to obtain fresh insights into it. There is no end to the process. It is always the next work, which will achieve the longed-for resolution. The study of language is no different (Crystal, 2005: Preface)

The above quotation illustrates that writing like any art form can be taught. However, like many art forms writing needs practise and revision. In this study, I have pointed out when, what, how and why certain forms of repetition need revision so that students can move from a position of underdeveloped writing capacity to a level of writing proficiency when they find themselves operating within a particular context of situation and culture.

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APPENDIX 1

EXAMPLES OF FIRST ANALYTICAL METHOD

Text: 1

- (A) Opening statement:** "Apartheid played a crucial role in language studies, in that it not only divided people along separate ethnic and racial lines but also along language lines" (first paragraph)
- (B) Evidence:** "The languages, like respective population groups were given various positions of importance and power from Afrikaans and English on top of the scale to African languages at the bottom" (first paragraph)
- (C) Conclusion:** "This influenced the social variables i.e. the motivations to learning a language and the attitudes to the first language speakers" (first paragraph)
- (A) Statement No. 2:** "The Apartheid land policies often were related to language". (Second Paragraph)
- (B) Evidence:** "This caused the Nama speaking people to speak Afrikaans in Namaqualand".
- (C) Conclusion:** "This is an example of a forced variable, causing Afrikaans to replace Nama".
- (A) Statement No. 3:** "In the 1970's Apartheid has caused many people to feel inferior and afraid to make mistakes in speaking a second language" (Third Paragraph)
- (B) Evidence:** "This can be a Xhosa speaking afraid to make mistakes in speaking a second language"
- (C) Conclusion:** "This is a legacy of Apartheid yet to study and overcome"

Text: 2

- (A) Opening Statement:** "First of all Afrikaans, as the language of power and oppression in the past the language of the politically and economically dominant minority was the modus operandi of the modus videndi for an ethnic nation" (First Paragraph)
- (B) Evidence:** None

(C) Conclusion: "My speculation is that its status will continue to change, as it is sought to become an integral part of the linguistic spectrum of the new South Africa"

(A) Statement No. 2: "The English language, now widely used is probably bound to become the lingua franca of the nation in relation to the fact that the majority of the educated masses (not very much unfortunately) can express themselves in a certain form of English" (Third Paragraph)

(B) Evidence: Lack of evidence to support the preceding statement.

Conclusion: None

(A) Statement No. 3: "Lastly multiculturalism, in a nation that beckons and strives for reconciliation and tolerance, will be an asset to the new nation"

(B) Evidence: None

(C) Conclusion: "The question is however ambiguous to interpret, because it could either refer to Apartheid and its effects on language learning studies in the past, or Apartheid and its effects into the future as in what will change in the language learning field now that Apartheid has ended" (Last Paragraph)

Text 3

(A) Opening Statement: None

(B) Evidence: None

• **Conclusion:** None

Text 4

(A) Opening Statement: "Apartheid is a pain..., that makes, or rather forcefully separates people from each other" (First Paragraph)

(B) Evidence: "For instance, there would be a superior language in which everyone would have to learn, that would dominate above all other languages" (First Paragraph)

(C) Conclusion: "Therefore it would mean that people would try to acquire this language" (First Paragraph)

(A) Statement No. 2: "There could also be positive and negative effects if one language had to dominate" (Second Paragraph)

- (B) Evidence:** "The positive effects would be, that one would find the language of the people which is their mother tongue, could be similar to that of the dominant language". (Second Paragraph)
- (C) Conclusion:** "...and therefore one could understand and read things in that language because of similarities". (second paragraph)
- (A) Statement No. 3:** "Another view of Apartheid, on language learning studies would be that people of superior race would not want to learn other languages". (Third Paragraph)
- (B) Evidence:** **None**
- (C) Conclusion:** "Therefore, people would only learn what is theirs and not look on expanding their language skills". (Third Paragraph)
- (A) Statement No. 4:** "Due to Apartheid, in this country at the moment one finds that, there is a vast majority of people – who were suppressed, who are able to speak more than two languages". (Last Paragraph)
- (B) Evidence:** None

Table: 4 Score of Students in Three Categories of Analysis

Group	1 (Test) (¹n = 11)	2 (Test) (²n = 11)	3 (Control) (³n = 11)
Repetition at sentence boundaries	3	8	8
Thematic progression	10	11	11
Framing claims	10	11	11
Coherence in terms of Syllogistic structure	7	5	9
Total	30	35	39

APPENDIX 2

Group 1

Question: "Was Apartheid in your opinion progressive (good) or retrogressive (bad)

Group 1: Text 1

Apartheid simply meant that one has to be separated from others. Out of that word "Apartheid", **apart** means you will be there! not here. Because of (P) this, its damage is immeasurable especially when it comes to mental psyche

Furthermore, the question asks whether Apartheid was good or bad. The answer to this question can be illuminated historically. One of the architects of Apartheid, Daniel Malan argued that Apartheid was not racial discrimination, **but (C)** a weapon to bridge racial tensions, **hence (C)** South Africa has different racial groups that have to be separated from each other socially, economically and politically.

These arguments were followed by an effective implementation of a socialist programme of Apartheid. This socialist programme (N) was intended to ensure that each and every white in South Africa is living a decent life or European style in Verwoerd's words.

Nonetheless, it would be inappropriate for me to say Apartheid was good instead, (C) I would argue that it was bad because of the following factors (P). Apartheid created animosity among South African, coupled with mistrust and suspicions of each racial group by the other. Apartheid created infrastructural disorder because the government was trying to satisfy one section of the society (P). Because of Apartheid, (P) many South Africans died in the process of fighting against **it**, others were arrested, whilst others decided to leave their country of origin. **However, (C)** Apartheid was more than just brutalisation of individuals because it crippled our economy (P).

Sanctions that were applied by the International Community to the Apartheid government of South Africa **also** impacted negatively to the ordinary people because many South Africans lost jobs, (P) **Therefore, (C)** they had nowhere to go because most of them

were illiterate, unskilled and non-white **(P)**. **The** latter was caused by the fact that because of Apartheid **(P)** they were denied opportunities because of **(P)** the colour of their skins.

Educationally, Apartheid was made to be accepted **(V)** by students as a tool that intended to bridge racial tensions. **This** was made possible by the effective implementation of the Bantu Education Act, that was intended make students subservient not subversive. **Its** aim was to underdevelop the minds of non-whites.

In conclusion, it is clear that Apartheid was characterised by chaos. As an evil system, **it** couldn't have gone unchallenged, therefore, **(C)** many South Africans died in the fight against it. Because of Apartheid, **(P)** today, the South African government is faced with the challenge reconstruction and redressing imbalances that were created by Apartheid.

Group 1: Text 2

This assignment will try to explain the disadvantage and advantages of Apartheid in S.A. **Firstly** I will define the concept Apartheid and **secondly** I will try to focus why there was Apartheid here in South Africa. **Thirdly** I will give the opinion of the citizens of **this** country and my own opinion.

Apartheid is the system of dividing people according to the race, Gender, Social Status and their Culture. The Apartheid system was introduced by Dr. Hendrick Verwoerd to eliminate 'Black' people. The main cause **(N)** of Apartheid was to show the world that 'Black's were deprived opportunities to prove themselves that got the potential. **This** system was welcomed by the S.A. parliament and the white citizens because it had an advantage to their side **(P)** people were dispossessed of their land were sold or removed by force where their forefathers used to stay. There was also a Native Act which was passed by the parliament. **This** act focused on the grounds that 'Black's are inferior and **it also** make sure that 'Black's are judged according to their Colours. There was **also** a group areas act which segregated whites from 'Black' people. Whites were situated far from 'Black's because it alleged that 'Black's are criminals and thieves **(P)** now **they** could not stay with whites. **This** did affect only Africans even the Coloureds although **(C)** **they** did enjoy some privileges but they were affected by the Apartheid **(C)**. Apartheid **also** introduced there so called "Homelands" which means divide and rule where most people were not allowed to come to the urban areas.

There was **also** the Pass laws where **it was only** 'Black's particularly Africans who were supposed to carry their dompas wherever **they** go. The youth decided to fight this system and **it** led to the arrest of many leaders and being imprisoned for almost 27 years to life. **Most** people lost their lives because they were sent to gallows. **(P)**. Apartheid was **also** introduced in our schools. 'Black' education was not same as compared to white education. Our Schools were not **electrified**. **They** were not given sport facilities and there was no PTSA for student and S.R.C. Government took the rule of the school. People started to be spies and informers because of Apartheid. **(P)**. Africans started to fight each other because there were people who were manipulated by the government to achieve some personal goals. **(P)**. Workers were not given right to expose. their grievances. Most students left the country and decided to exile themselves because they could not tolerate the Apartheid. **(P)** for example the 1976 uprisings as the meduim of instruction, and **also** 1980's uprisings or riots. Apartheid was progressive to **those** who benefited from **it**, most institution did not allowed 'Black' people to enter their premises. People were denied right to learn. Education was taken as the privilege not a right.

I would'nt agree with people who are saying that Apartheid was good with the reasons **(N)** I have stated above shows that Apartheid was bad. Most people lost their beloved ones, others didn't get the chance to go to the school because **(P)** **they** had to fight many women were killed and others being detained without trial Africans were killing themselves. Now who can I say that Apartheid was progressive? Eversince **this** country was ruled by the Apartheid government **(N)** nothing has been achieved for more than 48 years in power. The only thing that Apartheid achieve is the "blood of innocent people". even the world proved to be against the Apartheid and the sanctions were imposed over S.A. Apartheid was bad and we will never go back to **it** now we have to support this new law by Called Democracy which gives people the right to vote, express anger which was not considered by the Apartheid. Now the Apartheid is gone and the only the left is lift up our arms and march forward Carrying Democracy and preach **it** all over the world. we will not allow people to be ruled with iron fist again. peoples languages and Cultures were seen as inferior and their Religion was not Considered **it** was associated with satanism. **Those** Groups areas act, Native acts and land acts should not occur again.

Group1: Text 3

I should say that Apartheid was good to the people who were not affected (the whites) as

they enjoyed life in the expense of the oppressed ('Black's). **In this essay I am** going to use the term "Black" to refer to all the people that were oppressed in South Africa. Apartheid was of course retrogressive for them. I will give the reasons from the statement I have mentioned above.

First of all Apartheid made a difference between people. **For instance (P)** that of superiority and inferiority. Whites regarded themselves as superior than the 'Black's. **But (C)**this was done intensionally. 'Black's were denied good education which would be of advantage to them to get good jobs their labourers. **They** did not think of 'Black' as having all the senses that **they** have. 'Black's were treated as if **they** were animals.

The shooting of the 'Black' when protesting against Apartheid laws shows or implies that whites did not respect the life the 'Black's. **Those** people had families, dreams for the future. **But they** were denied that.

Maybe being 'Black' for Whites meant to be untidy as the places for "White Only". **For instance (P)** in the beaches, bars and schools. A 'Black' child was not allowed to attend White schools.

There were **also** Universities specially meant for White. **Because (P)**. a 'Black' person was not expected to go to a university whereas there were teaching colleges and theological colleges available

In the urban areas 'Black's were given very small houses to rent. The rent was **also** high. Which meant that **although (C)** you were paid less by your employer you have **also** to pay a high rent for small houses despite the number of your family members.

The 'Black' were seen as poor by Whites. **But (C)** there were **also** Whites that were poor. I remember reading a book by Nelson Mandela "Long Walk to Freedom" Where he says that he was in Cape Town and saw a White man in one of the streets. He felt sympathy for the man and tried to offer some coins to him **but (C)** he refused to take **it**, only **because Mandela was a 'Black' man (P)**.

In Whites, the Apartheid was good for them. **They** got better jobs, earn enough money. **They** were **also** living in big beautiful houses. **They** have acces to everything and did not share **this** with 'Black's. The Whites were the privileged **because** even the government that was in power was theirs (P).

To conclude I should say the Apartheid was good to the Whites **because it** did not affect them **(P)**. **But** for 'Black's **it** was bad. And the 'Black's were the majority of the country. **Therefore it (C)** means the whole country was in terrible condition.

Group 1: Text 4

In this assignment, I intend to focus on the topic of Apartheid as a policy in South Africa prior to the 1994 elections. In dealing with the topic I, I'll provide an extensive and intensive outlook of the subject and provide the definition and **its** historical background in our country and the reaction around **it**. To my opinion Apartheid was retrogressive (bad)

First, and foremost Apartheid is a system of oppression which was entirely means to divide the people of South Africa along racial lines. **It** started in around 1948 when the Nationalist Party colonial government came into power. **It is in this regard (P)** that the people of South Africa have experienced **this** activity of racial prejudice.

Apartheid must be seen as an instrument of oppression **but (C)** we need to note that Apartheid was drawn from Colonialism, without colonialism **it** should not have existed. **This means (P)** that Apartheid is a symptom of colonialism and **it** was bad as colonialism was.

The bad effect of this system was very much destruction, in a sense that **it** was responsible for the deaths in our country. African people are discriminated against by **this** system and defined as inferior. **This inferiority (N)** made them or deprive them the stake in the country's living standard. Young infants were victims of **this** system in a manner that, **they** lost their lives at some tender even before **they** reach breadline stage, and **this** happens because of Apartheid **because(P)** their parents were living in bad conditions informal settlements where there are no adequate facilities for proper life. **This made (V)** them to be victims diseases.

The brutal actions of the state apparatus leaves a lot to be desired. During **these** days the security forces trained to practice brutal activities against the African people. Whilst they were trained to defend and ensuring comfortability for the White people. **According to the law (N)** the task of **these** forces is to defend the nation **but (C)** in our country that was not the case, **they** aim only to ensure that whites are living in paradise. **So (C) this** shows that inequalities created by **this** system.

In terms of education (P) Apartheid created high illiteracy rate in our country more and more on the side of the African people. **This** system is bad in this regard in a sense **it** created the system of education that africans to be jobseekers **but (C)** not to develop their communities. Our African people were trained or educated to be able to speak the language of oppressors in the workplace. **This** was done **due to (P) the selfish interests of the European** for their own self enrichment. **It** was at his stage that Africans were regarded as economic tools to make the European masters rich and health whilst their subjects are struggling to make their ends meet.

It is this Apartheid system which is creator of tribalism in this country. **It** created **this** through its strategy of divide and rule. **It** is clear that Bantustan system was nothing else but a division meant to divide the African people along the traditional, Culture norms and values. **Hence (C)** today we have the Bantustans like Venda, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei etc. **these** were created focusing on the languages spoken by **those** people in those areas.

It is Apartheid which dehumanised the African people in **this** country. **These** people were relegated to second rate citizens. **They** were regarded as commodities, their lives were owned by the White people in sense that **they** were deprived an opportunity to take decisions about their lives. **It is in this regard (P)** that councils like the native affairs were created with a White man taking decision on the part of the African people.

In conclusion (C) to show that Apartheid was bad peace has never been seen in the country. People were treated brutally. **Because of Apartheid (P)** our people were massacred brutally e.g. Sharpsville and Langa massacres and the Soweto ones. For the first in the history of **this** country people like sobukwe and other were jailed for challenging Apartheid regime, and **this** was the violation of human rights.

Lastly Apartheid was defined as a crime against humanity internationally by the UN. general assembly in 1983. **This** shows that **it** was nothing else but a violation of human dignity and discrimination of man by man.

Group1: Text 5

Apartheid was no good in some cases. **It** was not good in the sense that **it** provided no opportunity for better education and life especially for those who are not white. **It** means that Apartheid was **bad because it brought Poverty Unemployment, Bantu Education (P).** I think if we are talking about Apartheid we **also** have to look to the opposite of the term

which is democracy. What are the good and bad about democracy. Many people practice **it** in a wrong way. Disrupting and demonstrating things, the useful things because it is democracy (P). During the Apartheid time people were afraid of demonstrating things as a results the nation was not in the chaos like today. In terms of crime and misbehaviour (P) Apartheid played a vital role because the government (N) then was dealing very effectively with those crime and chaos perpetrators.

It means that Apartheid was good and bad. **It** was bad because (P) many South Africans had to leave their belonging country because (P) **they** were accused of rebelling against the nation. If we mention the bad or the disadvantages of Apartheid. fortunately we can reference **it** with countries which are still using Apartheid as the governing weapon even today. In Nigeria, People were killed and are still killed. Ken Saravino was killed by Nigerian government. Coming to South Africa during Apartheid, **it** was difficult to make relationships with foreign countries. Now foreign countries have relations with South Africa and **they** are coming and invest here. After that job opportunities are available. During Apartheid era many South Africans were killed. Students were killed in Soweto 1976. Some people were imprisoned. If there was not something like that **those** people could literacy and do things for our country. For instance (P) Dr. Mandela. He is a gift Person. If he was imprisoned is **it** open secret that his life could be useful for the nation but unlikely he was in jail and now he is old and he deserve retirement. It means (P) that Apartheid killed the bright future of the nation. Apartheid unlike democracy if someone is challenging the other or government decision he killed or imprison.

It brought darkness for African people because it created divisions among South Africans (P). Now a Coloured Person that he/she is better than Indian or 'Black' people. **That is** not good. People should learn that **they** are equal. Apartheid **also** brought or made African people to be enemies. Look during the year 1990/91 when Zulu's fought Xhosa's that was caused by the government use same people to fulfil **it** needs.

If there were no Apartheid. Our country today can be in the same level with the United States because (P) people would be literate and now there can no higher rate of crime and higher rate of unemployment. Some people lost their dignity because of Apartheid (P). **They** lost their dignity in the sense **they** were discriminated. Discrimination was among themselves. Human rights were not respected. Womans rights were not respected. To show that Apartheid was bad. The party which Practised **it** is now talking about changing

its Principles. Today the National Party is in the Process to change the style. **They** saying that **they are the New Party which can be supported even by 'Black' people. They** are making apologies to the victims of Apartheid. All that shows that Apartheid is not good. **It** is something which should not been used **because it dehumanise people (P)**. People were putted in Robben Island as if **they** are not the people. **In conclusion**, Apartheid was a bad thing. **It** is not good. All people are equal even the law specify that all people are equal.

Group 1: Text 6

This essay focuses on the Apartheid regime the question is whether **it** was progressive or retrogressive. The writer has to decide on these bases. Apartheid was not entirely retrogressive **but it (C)** was bad on one hand and on the other good.

During the years of Apartheid people used to respect the law **because it was strict (P)**. **It** was good **because (P) the rate of crime was not high as nowadays**. **It** was also good **because (P) education was important though (C) it** was only good for certain pupil. Boer and White children were getting a better education than African children. **It** was also retrogressive for poor 'Black's **because they did not receive a good treatment (P)** in work places, schools and socially **they** were always discriminated.

As we can hear now in the truth commission program Apartheid was bad **because most innocent people died (P) because of hatred between both groups (P) that is** Whites and 'Black's. **There** was also which we called organisation groups who were always fighting each other and that **resulted in (P)** us assuming that Apartheid was bad. **Those 'Black's were trying to fight for their rights. Boers under estimated the ability of 'Black' people and they** started oppressing them. Whites were afraid of loosing their good positions., that is why **they** acted like that.

As far as psychology is concerned I can say that Apartheid was bad **because it affected us psychologically (P)** even if we were not still born **because our fathers and mothers were always crying while carrying us (P)**. The way our grandfathers were killed and the way our elder brothers were tourchered makes one feel forced and bound to admitt that Apartheid was entirely bad.

On the other hand (C) our families received skills that **they** were unfamiliar with them.

They also received money although **it** was going hand in hand with ill-treatment. Some 'Black' children have skills of being Doctors but because they were not offered that difficulty to study (P) now **they** are mine workers some are street kids those are the results of Apartheid. "Was **this** because of their colour or did they deserve that?" People who received a better life were **those** who were enduring the pains of oppression in Urban areas and **those** who were in rural areas were abandoned by Apartheid government. In rural areas there is a lack of good facilities like electricity, schools etc. The government of Apartheid is a little good but (C) mostly retrogressive.

Group1: Text 7

According to my opinion or views I will not say Apartheid was bad thing or a good thing. **Firstly, those** people called them whites made an Apartheid (N) to oppress 'Black's. But (C) it didn't work that way, the more **they** oppress 'Black' the more 'Black' got power and intelligent. The constitutional in South Africa at the time of Apartheid was oppressed 'Black's people because (P) 'Black' were unable to come to urban areas. That law made 'Black's to live in poverty because (P) its whereby we get industries companies to work.

The time Whites come in South Africa **they** gave the 'Black' community a confusion about the money **they** get if **they** sell their farms cattles, sheeps, goats and others. **They** promise them to stay just few days to help them, but instant of help **they** oppress them. Whites introduced jesus christ as the saviour to 'Black' people. Whereas they want them to ignore their forefathers, ancestors and even their God Qamata. **They** introduced schooling to 'Black' children and forced them to forget by what their parents told them Like now children don't know how to cook, take care / look after domestic animals on fields, and even how to hunt animals whereas **it** was 'Black' people's culture.

Apartheid was a bad thing **this** way. Students in all South Africa forced to read and write learn Afrikaans. **They** forced Afrikaans to be the official language in everyone is South Africa. **They** was a lackage of resources or equipments in 'Black'. In whites school they were full equipment. **They** was a lackage of teachers in 'Black' schools because (P) 'Black's were not allowed to go to universities. Whites divided our provinces in state like Ciskei Transkei Venda and Bophutswana. If you from Ciskei Resident you have to produce your passport.

'Black's were not allowed to cross board without dompas. This dompas (N) was made for

'Black's only. Whites used chief; like president to kill those people who are political minded 'Black's were only live in squatter areas, with one flat 16 people. **They** shared one toilet and Kitchen.

But in my opinion they 'Black' people more brilliant and hard workers. Now most of African know many language Afrikaans English and other African Language whereas whites only know Afrikaans and some English. We know hard work.

Group 1: Text 8

In my opinion Apartheid was retrogressive. In South African Context people were divided according to their colours and the needs of the people were served according to their colours.

In the Apartheid era white people were dominating in this country. **They** regarded 'Black' people as inferior and regard themselves as superior. 'Black's are Kaffirs, lazy, and wealth of **this** country was shared according to their needs.

The SAP evoked the Apartheid (**V**) for example if a white guy has killed or roped the 'Black' person he will not go to prison. He will not be considered guilty for what he has done. **But (C)** if a 'Black' guy has acted the same as a white guy ie he raped or killed a white person he will be taken to jail. For example Strydom did not go to jail for killing the 'Black's instead **they** said he is psychotic.

'Black' people in **this** country are given Bantu Education. The department of education was divided into four groups. The department of education and training was for 'Black's, the house of assembly was for whites, house of delegates was for indian etc.

The Apartheid government provided little money to the 'Black' education and provided little resources for us. In 'Black' school there are no libraries, laboratories, classrooms are overcrowded. In the 'Black' school especially in the first four years of primary, mother tongue is practised that is the mother tongue is used as a meduim of instruction.

In the Apartheid era white pensioners received more money from government than 'Black' people. White people hold high posts like being members of parliament, detectives etc, **but 'Black' were not given a chance to hold those jobs (C), because they** think we are stupid, inferior, lazy (P) and so **its** impossible to perform **those** duties. What they know is

to take our parents to work for them, and to make us slaves.

Group 1: Text 9

One can say that Apartheid was retrogressive. **It** was a form of oppression to others and degradation of human dignity. The people who were the targets were 'Black's, Indians and Coloureds as the government was unfair in distribution of resources.

Moreover the first priority by the government was mainly focused on whites in jobs, schools and recreational activities. The majority of whites starts to learn early within few years, I mean from sub a to standard seven while '**Black**' starts from sub a to matric. **But (C)** still the job positions would be not similar as whites majority in management control. The government promotes cheap labour amongst 'Black's. In recreational activities as compared town creches, playgrounds and facilities **they** were, quite differ from those of 'Black's in townships.

Another issue that was very bad was that Apartheid brought violence, prejudice between people. **Those** who fought for human right were regarded as terrorists of which **they** were struggling for solidarity and equality. Many political organizations were established for opposition of ideologies. From that fact **those** who were oppressed start to fight for their freedom. That made 'Black's aware that Apartheid was a very bad system imposed to others.

Many lives were lost during the era inside and outside the country. The former MK, Apla and Azapo cadres were side by side fighting against the government. The SAUDF was killing, raping and assaulting innocent people out of nothing. Our parents working in force were regarded as informers of which some were not and killing of innocent polices was wrong. Our parents in that job were to serve the community and support their families **but (C)** not the oppressors or informers all of them. That era has also left scar in the memory of our loved ones.

Socially the majority of 'Black's lived in shacks whereas there is space in towns **but due to the group (C) areas act (N)** they were not permitted to be in towns or white areas, bars etc. The first preference was on whites than non-whites. That shows Apartheid had others in a very bad kind of situation.

The country was not even supported or no investment by other rich countries and the job opportunities were low. We did not even been affiliated to the international associations and games due to Apartheid.

To conclude, one might say that Apartheid was bad due to the oppression of others. **It** left scars that would be hard to be healed. People died and violence became outrageous. There is hatred between people today **because of Apartheid (P)**.

Group 1: Text 10

Apartheid was not good, especial in concerning with education. There are some people who are interested in education **but due to poorness (P)** of his/her family that makes them not go further with studies.

There are some bursarys and loans institution but due to Apartheid they cannot help you if you are a 'Black' person. **Even though (C)** you have given for Bursary and try for loan **they** cannot give you **they** are just going to ask some surities of which **they** know that 'Black' people are offered for job opportunities, **firstly they** are going to give whites. **For example (P)** if may you have an appointment for interview maybe 10 people were selected so in this ten people five 'Black's and five white, **They** are just going to take from the 'Black's just to shut their mouths. **So (C)** that is unfair.

Again I can say Apartheid was progressing bad in **this** way of lectures. **Although (C)** there are so many languages around the world at least **this** one which is chosen so that the people can be able to communicate **for example** here in South Africa in English as an International language. **But (C)** lecturers do not follow that actual some. **They** lecturer with English **but (C)** also interpreting it with Afrikaans so that makes people felt Deprived. What worries me so much is this kind of Violence expecially toward young people. **This** child abuse expecially sexually one. The government or the state does not mind so much if **the child whom is raped is the 'Black' one. But (C)** is the white one **they** try by all means to find the perpetrator and punish him for what he has done to the child.

Even to the adult when there is killing if 'Black's were killed it is the minor to them. **They** just force them to fight against each other that is civil war. Even the houses that we are staying in them are different to the white one. I prefer a human being to stay where ever

he/she wants to stay especially when he/she is having capable of buying that house he wish to stay to it.

Group 1: Text 11

The Apartheid is regarded as people who were treated unequally. The people who exploited economically, socially and politically. The people who have no right in her birth world.

The Apartheid system was very bad. I will focus my point in schools, in the society and in the laws of the country. During the Apartheid system the pupil leave the school at early ages. **In terms (P)** of Education they were doing Bantu Education. **They** were told about the European affairs. **They don't know about their nations history. They don't know about their whereabouts. They** were separated from other people because of their colour. **They** were as inferior people **they** also regarded as primitive people. The laws of this country was against them **because of (C)** their country. Who are these people ? **They** are the 'Black' people of the South Africa. **For instance (P)** if a 'Black' people kill a white people he she be executed. If is a white man who killed 'Black's he/she released quickly. I was **also** asking myself what is the difference, because I see two people who looked similar.

APPENDIX 3

Group 2

Question: "Do you think Bantu Education is a just system of education?"

Group 2: Text 1

" Justice mainly refers to bonds, ties and links between people and the idealistic value theory put emphasise on the respect for personality. Justice is that right order of relationships among persons which guarentees to all of them the external conditions of their personal development" My aim with **This** assignment is going to be whether Bantu education is a just system or not. **In order** to look at a just system of education or not. **In order (P)** to look at a just system of education, I'm also going to include other perspectives like Marxist Views as well as Idealism as a means of counter argument.

Every human being have their own way of how **they** interpret what is just or unjust. **Therefore (C)** different people have different meanings for justice. My interpretation of justice is the rights of human beings. **However (C) its** important to ask the following question. Does Bantu education give the 'Black's the rights they deserve as human beings? I'll definitely say no, Bantu education was not only introduced to educate the 'Black's, **but (C)** mainly to separate them from the whites. The government actually wanted 'Black's to be group on their own, **therefore (C)** Bantu education also educate 'Black's to be the subordinate in society. The quality, oppertunities and advantages of the 'Black's education were not the same as **those** of the whites, **because (P)** overcrowding of 'Black' schools were a common feature. **Moreover**, 'Black' schools were also poorly equipped and the quality of education was very low. **Thus, (C) it** is clear that Bantu education did not provide conditions in which education could flourish. 'Black's were not able to decide for themselves what kind of education system **they** desired, **because (P)** they were under government control. **Therefore (C)** Bantu education was actually an oppressed system because **it** promoted Apartheid, which I believe was a unjust law. Bantu education was **also** introduced **because of** the need of cheap, unskilled labourers (P). **Therefore (C)** the government educated (N) 'Black's for a lower position in society.

Eventually, 'Black's did accept. **This** kind of education and **they** started to protest against

it. The boycotts of 1976 is a clear indication of the conflict that existed between the government and the students because of Bantu education (P). To me, Bantu education is **an unjust system and now I'll look at it** from a Marxian perspective.

According to Marx a just system of education is where there is no hierarchy, **it's non-exploitative and there's also** no conflict. Marx said that a just system of education should give people equal opportunities to receive schooling. He **also** made that statement that a just system should be egalitarian and liberating. **In other words (P)**, people with the same capabilities should get the same education and people should not accept everything that are told to them. Marxism has to do with moral education, where there is moral insight and respect for others. The system create conditions which enable individuals to develop their capacities fully. **But (C) Bantu education did not promote respect for others and it did not create conditions which develop the individual's capacities to the full.**

The counter –argument against Marxism is Idealism. Idealism on the other hand see people as a moral entity, **therefore (C)** justice must be based on a moral entity for the betterment of society. Justice has to do with ordering of people **so (C)** that everyone can develop to their potential, which is a idealistic interpretation of justice. **Nevertheless, (C) the individual's consciousness is the source for the idea of justice.** Idealists say that the individual is the one that needs to be protected and not the society. Bantu education does not create an external condition for the individual to develop, besides there was no chance for 'Black's to develop freely **because they were oppressed (P)**. **According** to idealism, the aim of education is to enable the individual to develop, by creating learning conditions **so that people's capacity can develop without hindering each other. In other words, (P)** to give people the insight into their own moral choices. The moral component has to do with respect for other people. When looking at punishment in a just system of education, you cannot separate your goal from the way you are going to do **it**. When you decide to hit someone, then you are showing disrespect towards that person. **Rather** give him or her extra work, for example homework. **It** is important for education to be moral. If education is moral, **then** your punishment must **also** be moral. **However (C) it** is important to realize that education is a moral education.

To me, the main counter-argument has to do with Marxism, where society cannot decide for others in what is just or unjust. Each and everyone must have the right to make their own decisions. Your moral values come from inside, because you were born with it (P).

Therefore (C) outside happenings cannot have an influence on what is going on inside you. Each and every person thinks differently than you do, **therefore (C)** you are distinct from society, which means (P) that you do not have to change if society changes. **However, (C)** you should have your own free will and you must be able to decide for yourself.

Above all, **it** is clearly that different interpretations of justice can arise. Everybody have good reasons for their opinions, **besides it** is also difficult to give specific definition of the word 'justice'(P). **According** to my believes, something may be just for me, while **it** may be unjust to another person because of (P) differences in believes and moral values, etc. **Therefore**, I really don't think that Bantu education is a just system of education.

Group 2: Text 2

First and foremost before one can answer the question whether Bantu education is a just system of education one has define what a just system of education would look like, **for e.g it** would include "The equality of treatment, i.e. no discriminating against race, sex, religion , etc.

2) **It** should include freedom of choice, i.e. being able to express one's freedom of choice, for e.g not being forced to learn another language.

3) to respect the rights of others.

4) A just system of education should **also** incorporate religion and moral principles which vary from one group to another.

5) **It** should **also** include a scientific approach to education and providing scientific skills to all.

6) And **finally** a just system should include co-operation i.e between different groups with different ideologies in order to work towards a more harmoneous furture.

Therefore (C) in conjunction with the definition of a just system of education, I feel that Bantu education is an unjust system of education because **it** violates all the principles and laws of a just system of education (P), for eg it does not respect the rights of individuals, **it** does include freedom or equality of opportunities.

And in order to (P) understand why Bantu Education was unjust , we have to look at why **it** was introduced and how **it** was implemented for eg. when Dr. H.F. Verwoed said "My Departments policy is that Bantu Education should stand with both feet in the Reserves and have **its** roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society...There's no place for him in the

European community above the level of certain forms of labour... for **this** reason **it** is of no avail for him to receive training which has as **it's** absorption in the European Community – Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in **which he was not allowed to graze”**

From **this** quotation we can see the states total disrespect for the 'Black' man and how the state intended to rob the African of education, cut him off from the mainstream of modern culture and shut him into spiritual and intellectual ghetto. And the state used the school or education (N) as a tool for Apartheid for eg they forced the 'Black's to learn white man's language which included english and afrikaans and no respect for shown for the 'Black' man's language.

The state **also** controlled the curriculum and 'Black' students had no say in what **they** wanted to learn, for e.g in history text books 'Black' tribes were described as being uncivilized and barbaric.

The state also encouraged gutter education with the subsidies **they** handed out, for e.g **much more money was spent in white education than on 'Black' education and result of this they** had better facilities, textbooks, etc.

Another important factor is that the teacher-pupil ratio in 'Black' schools is much higher than the teacher-pupil ratio in white schools and this influenced (C) the quality of education the students received because in 'Black' schools teachers were often overworked and burnt out (P). All these factors resulted in appalling conditions in 'Black' schools which resulted in high percentages of dropouts in 'Black' schools.

These school dropouts worked on mines and factories for low wages and under appalling conditions which flamed the fires of capitalism which is what the state wanted.

And according to Karl Marx capitalism is based on an unjust system where a small group of people own the means of production, **those** people are the white capitalist; and the workers sell their resources for money.

Similarly we can refer to Bowles and Gintis who said that capitalist own the means of production and that there was class conflict between the workers who sold their resources and the capitalist and **this** class conflict was important to encourage progress.

Bowles and Gintis also stated that children from poor families were encouraged into cheap labour by the type of education they received and **this** resulted in a vicious cycle of poverty. A similar comparison can be made to South Africa's educational system, where

the system encouraged children to encourage capitalism by learning them to obey orders., to walk in straight lines, not to talk back etc.

For e.g Dr. Verwoerd said " No pains are spared to ensure that African children will never suffer from 'unhealthy white ideals' and **also** encourage daily cleaning of school grounds etc and **it** is **these** acts that rear the 'Black' in the direction of cheap labour, and Dr. Verwoerd **also** stated his intentions clearly when he said "what is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when **it** cannot use **it** in practice? .That is quite absurd"

And according to the marxian school of thought, education should be egalitarian and liberating and no conflict in class only if there is a classless society. **However (C)** idealism feels that the aim of education is individual development and to create conditions to encourage **this** development, i.e. in other words a just education system would have a very strong moral component for e.g. respect, etc i.e. society should allow each individual to develop their full potential.

Also according to idealism the aim of education is to develop moral choices and Bantu education never gave the 'Black' population any moral choices, **neither** did **it** create conditions for individual development, **it** instead served as an instrument for creating ensuring the continuance of a voteless, rightless and ignorant community whose main aim purpose in life, apart from reproducing their kind is to minister to the whites.

Positivism feels that the idea of justice changes as society changes (the historical development) and society doesn't always change for the better. **In addition** science will control the development and therefore shape our idea of justice.

In conclusion Positivism states that a just education is shaped according to the truths of science, **however (C)** an important criticism of positivism is that knowledge and skills are not objective and value free.

In conclusion I feel that Bantu education, like any other educational system requires certain prerequisites for **its** success. **Firstly, it** must be acceptable to **those** for whom **it** is designed. **Secondly, it** must not be beneficial to them, **but** be seen by the people as such. **Thirdly, it** must be in keeping with the general cultural and economic trends of the time.

All these 3 requirements are absent in Bantu education. There is not a single section of the African population to whom Bantu education is acceptable. None sees **it** as bestowing

benefits of any kind. All of those living in the most remote corners of the country, have rejected **it**, everywhere the government has had to rely on threats and intimidation.

The people see Bantu education as part and parcel of the imposition of Bantu authorities, enforced re-tribalization the pass system and the schemes of forced removal of whole communities, and the so called stabilization scheme.

All of these are seen as measures for the rigid control of people, and the measures that create pauperization and ensure regimented labour force., **thereby** encouraging capitalism and the vicious cycle of poverty and inequality . **in addition** Bantu education was education for subordination.

I believe that Bantu education is definitely an unjust system of education **because there is nothing just or humane about using people.** **(P)** destroying their lives and making them die for their freedom.

Group 2: Text 3

Bantu education has to do with the intellectual, moral, emotional development of a individual, **but (C)** most important the socio-economic development. Our society is a capitalist of nature and **it** is thus inevitable that there would be contradictions of material life.

The economy has **its** own injustices. That bring us to the question of justice and injustice, what do I perceive it to be. In **this** essay one is going to look into characteristics of Bantu education and whether **it** serves our interest or not. Services rendered:

To whom and whose interest?

The Provincial administration felt that **it** was about time to let the Bantu out of their hands, by giving them selfgoverning. When reading any extract relating to Bantu Education one **always finds a "we", which in this** case represents the whites. The commission consisted of whites only and I should think that the findings was very much unfair. The question arises why **it** was unfair. Some philosophers reckoned that thinking is our art. The whites in **this case was trying to think for the 'Black's as if they don't have the capability to think** for ourselves. There might be an answer for that. **They** wanted to stay in control with less responsibilities.

Why Bantu Education?

The Bantu child differ physical and psychological from other children of other cultures. They argued that **it** is unfair to lead the child from the known to the unknown and **this** rule suffice for every child from other social groupings too.

On the other hand (P) one should not forget that Bantu was very much different than the rest of the social groups. The administration also determined the needs of **this** children. Only the basics was good enough. Emagine what **it** was doing to a child already **deprived from many things due to his social order. The state control the influx of Bantu's in tertiary institutions by setting higher standard which he knows wouldn't be met. Due to (P)conditions at their schools.** The availability of teaching aids and a lot of other external factors. Lets get to the cracks of the matter.

The Law

This in itself is brought into life by a certain social group. **According** to Marx all social phenomenas are determened and moulded by economic relations. Inequalities starts / resulted from **this** relations. Our society is capitalist of nature and **it** is **thus (C)** inevitable that there would be contradictions of a material life. Just is a relative term and **it** can be explained only when the contradictions is understood. In a capitalist society you always find different classes, which consist of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The latter was **the one that was stripped from his occupation and were integrated into the bourgeoisie's wage – labourers** when we apply **this** idea to the education, we would find that Bantu education prepares the children to become wage – labourers, rather than moving up the ranks.

According to Marx the basic dissertation of his position is that the primary forces in human life are economic, chiefly the relations arising out of the economic production. The goal is to be realized, partly by recognizing the class structure of society and the inevitable conflict of classes, and thereafter by working toward the abolition of classes and their economic base, namely the private ownership of the means of production.

The mode production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society came in conflict with the existing relations of production.

Marxism is base in the man's social relation arising out of economic production –the material conditions of life.

Then we come to the idea that every class struggle is a political struggle. If the word **politics comes to one's ears the first thing to think of is conflict between people**. There is **also** a saying that politics is a dirty game. People does not play according to rules. The Administration has **its** rules and the comen and change **it** the way **it suits them**. **Who's** rules is **it** then? Theirs and they just use **it** to control the Bantus.

Then we come to the idea of Positivism. **According** to positivism values are not important in human life, **despite** the emphasis on science. **But** positivism insists that they be understood scientifically within the context of human life.

Lucien Levy – Bruhl is a spokesman for positivism's view of social ideals. He argues that he rejects natural law theories of ethics and justice with the argument that elementary knowledge of sociology shows the ideals of justice grows out of social realities and he also shows how the rule of justice develops in societies. He **also** admonishes societies to follow the positivist endorsement of science.

He support his argument by facts that the progress of human societies depended chiefly on discovery of new scientific truths **since they** were transmitted from generation to generation. There were a certain number of texts exist which testify that there was a conscience at that period, open to the idea of justice and to respect for the rights of others, and also to the duty of assisting others and of protecting the weak.

The positivism **also** believe that in a society where cast exists, justice consists in treating everyone according to his cast. The common conscience begins to acknowledge that the claims of the proletariat are just.

There actions is based on social reality ought to be guided not by abstract ideal which claims to have an absolute value and merely expresses the exactions of the conscience today – but the results of science when science has determined for each of the obligations of the conscience how it was established.

The Positivism is against natural ethics. **They** believe that the idea of justice changes as society changes (historical development) **Society doesn't always change for the better**. The positivism **also** believe that science will control the development and **therefore (C)** shape an idea of justice.

The just education experience is shaped according to the truths of science. **Example** the problem solving to see knowledge as objective. To have that kind of education that have the right answer. There critique is that the knowledge and skills are not objective and value free.

Then we come to the idea of justice. They said justice is an idea of joining and fitting e.g.

man and man in an organized human relations.

Also has to do of joining value and value. **It** is also seen as an reconciler.

In the case of Bantu Education man and man is joined and also people with the same value system. **According** to me **it** is not just, **because** much as **it** put people of the same background together **they** do not give the children much of a choice who to mix with and which standard to adapt. **They just impose a standard on the 'Black's. They** knew that **'Black's would not be satisfied, therefore (C)** was there laws to protect their interest. Labour, groups, area acts and a lot of other related laws. In the schools the made sure that **they** place a principle that serve their interest and inforce the habits **they** want **'Black's to have.**

The idea of justice resides in all minds and it is based on morality. As we know moral standard differ from person to person. We find three types of justice.

Distributive justice, Corrective justice, Communicative justice. The scale is used as a symbol of justice. Principals tip the scales for the administration. There is also another **phenomena to take into consideration which is "Treat like cases alike and different cases differently" (Hart, 1961)**

That bring the complexity of justice idea into question. What criteria does one use to identify the likeness of a case?

They (Aministration) end up passing laws that suit them the best and it might not be what suits the people which the law is applicable.

Bantu Education make sure that children socialize which is definitely a need for the child, **but (C) with whom had to be the child's choice. Compulsive education is not education for its own sake, but (C) the status quo need partly literate skilled workers.** In the curriculum we find traces of sexism and racism which are discriminatory ideologies. **They** are the people who determine who teaches what and who get promotion to senior administrative posts. Curriculum options is affected by pressure to conform to social conventions. Text books is a reflexion of the dominant ideology. The content is input-centred and standardize. All the above mentioned is pre-determined and does not give the teachers much choice. **This** education system is bureaucratic and does leave room for adjustment and constructive criticism.

My own view is that we can compare justice into a South African context. The South African education system is unjust and unfair in some case. All pupils at all schools should have the same oppertunities which implies that there should be one education for every pupil. Justice can be defined in many ways. What is morally right to one does not mean

that justice is being served. **Therefore (C)** there are many aspects that links with justice.
But (C) this education system needs a change in order to be just.

Conclusion

In the line with argumentation I should say that Bantu Education was just to those that supplemented **it, but (C)** most definitely not for the recipients. At least they gave us the idea of being critical and does not take things without making sure **it** will serve our interest.

Group 2: Text 4

For a beginning I would like to look at Bantu Education itself, **its influences on the 'Black' pupil/student and the responses of the wider 'Black' community.** **Then** I would like to look at possible counter arguments, like what the idealists say about justice and What Marx about **it**, to get more clarity and to go in more deeply into **this** situation.

Then I respond to Marx as my main counter argument. In my response I would like to stress the possible changes in **this** type of education system and the education is South Africa as a whole.

Bantu Education

As from my point of view I would say, No, **because** with **this** type of education the 'Black's receive (P), and the way they as education department is treated, I would say **it** is unjust. **This** is certainly caused (V) by the Apartheid laws and regulations of South Africa. At **this** very moment the economic level of the South African community, especially 'Black's is not equal, so is the education systems as well. Bantu education is introduced to give the 'Black's some sort of education, **but (C)** the economic support from the government wasn't there that's why **this** education system is on a lower economic level. **Although (C) they** have the most pupils. More pupils need more money to look at every individual at a specific bases of life development. Bantu Education was implemente to create a workforce which restrain the underpriviligde to become part of the ruling structure.

The influences on the 'Black' pupil /student

All the pupils of South Africa still don't have the same opportunities as other would like to have, that's why changes have to come quickly. **Due to (P)** the lack of facilities **it** is impossible to get the 'Black' student on the same level of development as the white student. During the years of Bantu Education only specific subjects were taught, only to restrain them from knowing something. **It's** only in the late seventies that **they** introduced subjects like maths and science, **because (C)** before **this** was done the government feel that **it's** timewasting and unsufficient to teach 'Black's subjects like that. **They** feel that **it** wouldn't help them in their development. **Also** did the government choose their text books for them and money wasn't spend on upgrading the schools to give the pupil the ability to learn better and without disturbances.

The 'Black' community is mainly the working class and the parents didn't have enough money to keep their children on school. **That's why (P)** many 'Black' people only have sub-primary and primary education and most of them cannot even write or read. After 'Black' people completed school, there is discrimination at the workplace, the school, on the street and even in their own community and that let to the downfall of the moral of 'Black's

The responses of 'Black's

Bantu Education was implemented to create a workforce which restrain the underpriviligde to become part of the ruling structure. The 'Black' people was mainly playballs of the whites, **because (P)** they choose their lifestyle, where **they** must live, how must money **they** suppose to earn and all sorts of other things which keep them behind others for a great amount of time. The government did that **because (P)** they knew that the 'Black' people will one day open their eyes and say what **they** have to say. During 'Black' education **they** responded to the unsifficient schoolsystem, like schoolboycotts, marches by parents and their children. **This** was done because **they** were tired of Apartheid and wanted to show the government that the are the same, except for money, lifestyle and the colour of their skin.

Marx's viewpoint of justice

According to Karl Marx Justice is based on economic relations and for the capitalist mode of production. Economics lay the foundation for many things in life like social, political, law, spiritual and sport related cases. In the economic relations **according** to Marx, there must be no inequalities, no class conflict, no exploitation and no form of any hierarchy. Marx

projected a future in which man could achieve a society which would be adequate to his nature. **This** goal is to be realized partly by recognizing the class structure of society and the inevitable conflict of classes, and thereafter by working toward the abolition of the classes and their economic base, namely the private ownership of the means of production. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of **the social, political and spiritual processes of life. In the education system of the 'Black's** there are class conflict, exploitation of Bantu Education students to be workers and a hierarchy like a state who controls education.

The Idealist's perspective

Idealism defines justice as the right order of relationships among individuals which guarantees to all of them the external conditions of their personal development. The idealists concentrated on laws which forbid you to do things on your own. Idealism sees every individual in a moral sense and **it** also strive to better society. **They** see people with a sense of justice and everyone knows what is wrong and what is right. So is the same in education. There must be laws to develop pupil laws who have respect for others dignity and there must be insight to your own moral choices. Justice in education must be based on previous experiences to develop individuals without disturbing the development of others. The education law was not decided by the people themselves to see if **it** is just or unjust. Bantu Education were implemented by the state without considering the ethics of the specific groups involved.

Own perspective

Education based on economic basis will still be in favour of a just education system. The working class still provides the mode production and still they get no respect for **it**. The working class is still the biggest class and need the biggest just education system. There must be no inequalities, **but still it exist (P)** and **therefore (C)** Bantu Education is unjust.

It can't be just because (P) there are too much inequalities in relation to other education systems. Bantu Education is exploited to channel pupils in certain directions which make **it** impossible to develop their optional potential. There is still a hierarchy who controls the **masses and make unjust decisions for people who don't have a say. Changes have to be made and it** have to be done very urgently. Let there be one education system, let everyone person in S.A. have the same equality and give every student his /her own

individual right to learn.

Conclusion

Here I try to pinpoint how unjust Bantu Education is and some possible changes that have to take place.

Group 2: Text 5

To answer the question whether Bantu Education was a just system of Education or not I am going to look at **it** through a Positivistic perspective and use the Marxist perspective as a counter argument. **Thereafter** I will respond to the main counter arguments and give my answer to the question of whether Bantu Education is a just system or not.

Positivistic Perspective

This perspective makes use of science as a source of justice, and to change society. Whenever society changes, so will **its** justice change. If we take for example the case where someone stole something. If **this** act took place in the early centuries, his hand would probably be cut off whereas if **it** took place in our century he would get a fine or go to jail depending on the nature of the crime. Now to get back at the top of education.

"The importance and value of formal school education became more enhance, **because (P)** those lacked education came to regard it as magical power, opening doors to formerly undreamed of teaches and opportunity. **Those** who did not have an education like the others , surely wanted education, **because (P)** there was certain priviledges to **it** like a job, money and a roof over one's head. **However (C)** the education which was provided was subjective i.e **it** taught the 'Black' person that he was under the white person, the white person was superior. The education which he received was that of basic skills and to obey whatever he is told. He was not taught to ask questions.

Since (C) he was not taught to ask question he did not have the ability to think critically. Ask himself why things are the way they are. **Those** did ask questions and questioned the idea of **this** kind of Educational system were regarded as being trouble makers. **They** were actually the ones who begin thinking of changing society. **Although (C)** they were not encourage in the system to participate in any scientific activities **so (C)** that their thinking abilities could not be promoted to higher levels there were some who manage to

do just that. Without being able to think critically and develop their logical skills the individual could not take control of their individual life in society. **This** education system did not encourage **these** things i.e scientific activities and thinking logical etc.

Marxist Perspective

“Problems of financing, the pupil teacher ratio, overcrowded classes, poorly qualified teachers and badly equipped schools”

According to this perspective equality is possible on an economic base. In other words if everyone is economical equal than **they** will receive equal education which will then make the education just, **since (C)** everyone is getting equal education.

However, (C) this is not the case with the Bantu Education system. **Since (C)** many ‘Black’ people received a workers class education **they** could not be economical equal to the white and as a result they would not be able to receive equal education. The work **they** could get with their qualifications not good. The system of education favours the upperclasses because **they** are the ones that actually gains anything in the sense that **they** get more workers to work for them and in **this** process increase their total profits.

If we look at the ‘Black’s in S.A. **it** seems almost impossible for them to reach the same economic bases of the white. **They** are therefore not in an equally good position to receive equal education. The educational programme used by the Bantu educational system was not part of the socio economic plan for development. The children of parents did not stay long in school in order to go out and work. The general orientation of the schooling was academic and the teachers was not sufficiently involved in the broader planning of the general development schemes for the Bantu.

Response

The Marxist perspective says that in order (P) to get an equal education everyone should be on an equal economic base. **This** seems very far fetch, **because(P)** one cannot expect a worker who work in an factory to on the same economic base as a doctor or businessman. **Furthermore** the explanation of schooling cannot be located in a capitalistic mode of production **because (P)** before **this** mode of production was brought into view education was already there

Since (P) there should be an equal education system for everyone one cannot expect everyone to be on the same economic level.

To come back to positivistic perspective where scientific methods is used to change society in order to make it just. The education in school should encourage the student not to accept everything that is being fed to him in class. He should have to know why and what is being taught to him. And that, that is being taught to him should be as near to the truth as possible so that he could exercise his critical thinking ability. Make his logical conclusion to what is being taught to him.

Conclusion

My answer to the question of whether Bantu Education is just or not, is: No **it** is not a just system of Education.

Group 2: Text 6

Is Bantu education a just system of education?

In **this** essay I intend to answer **this** question by showing that Bantu education is not a just a system of education, by looking at the origins of Bantu education and by showing that **it** was devised, from the outset, with unjust aims, motives and objectives.

In pre-colonial time there was no mass based schooling for the indigenous people of **this** country. Schooling was informal and whatever had to be learnt for the day to day survival was done by means of word of mouth. Elder members of the community had great status since **they** were the ones responsible for the education of the youth.

With the arrival of the Dutch and British colonists, schooling became more formal **since (P) these** colonist brought with them their systems of Western education **They** assured that their systems of schooling was the right system for the natives. **They** needed to justify their colonisation the dispossession of the land by controlling and making the natives subservient, and education was used as a meduim for attaining **these** objectives. **They therefore (C)** had to provide schooling to as many people as was possible **so (C)** that **they** could have control over a large section of the community. **Although (C)** more people received education under these colonists than previously, many 'Black's showed their disdain for the colonist's and their policies by not attending schools.

At the end of **this** period of colonisation after much dissatisfaction and resistance from the 'Black's , we see the advent of Apartheid and Afrikaner Nationalism and with **this** comes the further subjugation of the 'Black's. The system of Apartheid now becomes the legal vanguard of the Afrikaners through which **they** can now enforce their separatist policies.

During **this** period the expensive and labour intensive mining industry requires more cheap labour. Labourers require very little skill, only the ability to be able to work very hard and long hours. Education is now provided to thousands of 'Black' students with the aim of providing the labour force for the mines.

Due to (P) the great demand for labour on the mines, many 'Black's find that **they** have to become migrant workers, meaning that **they** have to leave their children and families at home for long periods of time. **This removal (N)** of the father figure from the family has devastating economic, social and psychological consequences for the family left behind, with the result that 'Black' children are further impoverished emotionally. Coupled with **this** is also the dehumanisation of the entire 'Black' population in that there are unequal work opportunities, the fact that **they** have to carry passes in order to move about and the subsequent harassment and imprisonment if the administration authorities were not satisfied with the passes, and the fact that many 'Black' population did not have adequate housing facilities.

Because the education of 'Black's was not a priority with the Apartheid government, **(P)** very little money was available to the 'Black' education departments compared to vast sums of money given to the white education departments. **This lack (N)** of funds contributed to the lack of schools and adequate facilities, a shortage of teaching and administration staff and a deficiency in the basic essentials such as text books and stationery.

Based on **this**, Bantu education is **therefore (C)** an unjust system of education **because** it is based on the subjugation of people on the basis of the colour (P) of their skin together with the dehumanisation suffered under the system and the preparation of the 'Black' people for the selfish aims of the Afrikaners.

Finally the people of South Africa have decided that Bantu education is an unjust system of education since the time of the colonists, in 1976, 1980 and 1985 communities engaged and challenged the government especially the education authorities. An education based on justice does not need to be challenged for **it** is inherently for the good and benefit to the people **it** serves.

Group 2: Text 7

Is Bantu education a just system of education?

I would like to discuss education in a Marxism, Idealism and a postivism's view along with what a just education system entail. I would also like to raise my view as to if Bantu education is just or not

According to Karl Marx, different forms of materialism are found viz historical, dialectical or economic materialism. Marx's basis dissertation stated: "the primary forces in human life are economic, chiefly the relations arising out of economic production – law government, justice, property, even our social consciousness are determined and moulded by economic relations" Materialism are opposed to idealism, which view that the mind is the most basic reality.

An idealistic value theory relies on the respect for personality. **According** to Barker, justice is that right order of relationships amongst people that guarantees them external conditions of their personal development. **This** position is a form of self – realization theory raised to the social level and **justice is thus (C) and ideal of concrete rationality for society.** Justice does not have an exact meaning. What is considered just in one society, may not be considered just in another society.

The terms "social justice" are used to tend to be applied only to economics and to be use only to denote a just distribution of economic duties. Idealism is thus (C) concern with what ought to be as in contrast with what actually is. Idealists believe that actions should be governed by moral values and principles **rather (C)** than by personal gain or pleasure. Idealism is opposed to both materialism and positivism.

According to a positivism theory, the form of knowledge is believed to be the scientific description of information. Man must thus rely on his senses to gain knowledge and man should **also use observation and experiences.** A positivism's idea of justice changes as society changes **but (C) society doesn't always change for the better.** They believe that science will control and develop the idea of justice.

Lucien Levy – Bruhl stated: "to be truly rational our action on social reality ought not to be guided by an abstract ideal ...but by the results of science"

A just educational system should have the same economic level, one department in education freedom and should have equal treatment.

According to the educational system in South Africa, the system is based upon Apartheid and separate development. There is different aims content, language mediums, education reinforces divisions between groups. Syllabuses and text books are written from a white **man's viewpoint**. **There was a denial of access to state educational institution on grounds** of race, religion, culture and language.

The economically disadvantage groups must provide their own resources. No help was offered from the state. Deliberate use of the education system was used to indoctrinate children to belief that Apartheid is the only acceptable policy.

Different groups of people viz., African, Coloured, Indian groups, were denied an opportunity to take effective part in major decision making processes of the educational policies and ministration.

As the facts stated above Bantu education **isn't a just system at all** because (P) people doesn't have any vote or say in what is important to them. Bantu education tries to mould people into things that they are not and it also try to convince people that they are inferior and that should do what they state expect of them.

In conclusion, according to Marxism there should not be any class conflict. Idealism speaks about justice in the individual, and the positivism belief is that values are important in human life and that science will control and shape the development idea of justice.

Marxism, Idealism and positivism each has the own educational viewpoint, **but** none of **it** are being applied into the Bantu educational system, **thus** proving that Bantu education has an unjust system.

Group 2: Text 8

Before 1953 Bantu education was mainly in the hands of the churches and the missionaries. **They** were responsible for administration and financial issues. Bantu education did not have the pattern of segregation which was introduced by the government, **therefore (C) it** was not co-ordinated with the activities of **this** department. There was no definite policy, no uniformity in planning and no co-ordination. The old education system of the Bantu did not train them, as students, to serve their own

community.

The financial assistance of the Bantu pupils was very poor. **Therefore (C) they did not have the necessary facilities to assist them in their education career.** Their social background also had a major influence on the type or the quality of their education. **Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that pupil's social background is a far more powerful determinant of their educational attainment; and that social background is the major determinant of their economic success.** **Therefore (C) we can see that the social background of the Bantu population, in connection with the economic issues, which were very poor, played an important role in the quality of the Bantu education.**

We can **therefore (C)** definitely see that Bantu education was not a just form of education. Earnest Barker (1836-1882; 158) defines justice as that right order of relationships among persons which guarantees to all of them the external conditions of **their personal development** "Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of **equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all**" (J. Bowles 1972; 34)

From idealistic perspective, that believe that there must be rights or personal and individual perspectives **because every individual's perspective and personality has to be respected and developed (P).** The main argument of the idealistic perspective is that ones personality has to be respected. Any political community cannot only be ordered by power, individuals perspectives must always be respected. From a Marxist perspective social class plays an important role in human development. **Social class can therefore (C) be seen as the key phases of human historical development.** Marxism sees that to promote social change, one has to connect it with politics. From a Marxist perspective education cannot be seen as neutral objective or value free. **Education is therefore (C) connected with social change and therefore (C) linked to capitalism, domination and exploitation.**

In South African context one can see that there is a notion of capitalism where you find the capitalist, the middle class and the working class. One can definitely make a distinction between those who owns, the ownership and the non ownership. There is a specific class structure and level of development that links to domination and exploitation. **This** social changes **causes (V)** high rated conflict in South Africa. If we look at Bowles and Gintis, reproduction theories we can see that the structure of social relations in education not only

prepare the student for discipline of the workplace, **but (C) it develops personal attitudes.**

In South Africa there are the so called "whites" which, in most cases fits in with the capitalist class. The capitalist class consists of those who owns the means and the forces of production. There are a limited quantity of 'Black's and Coloured people fits in the with the non ownership level. These people fits in with the middle and the working class. These people mostly forfill jobs such as nurses, teachers and factory workers.

To conclude I disagree with the fact that Bantu education can be seen as a just form of education. In a multi-racial society one has to concider and respect the different cultural-groups viewpoints. We can see that the social background of the Bantu education had negative implications on their educational system. **They** had an demand for increasing educational facilities.

We can see that any future developments on the poorest section of the Republic's population. **They** are the ones who are caught in a circle of low incomes and decreasing economic opportunities in the economic sector.

From my point of view, I suggest that the real income of Bantu people must be increased to enable them to meet the cost of their future intentions.

Group 2: Text 9

In answering the question on whether Bantu education was a just system of education **it** is noteworthy to keep in mind that a mere yes or no will not suffice. **Rather (C)** one should look at the extent to which Bantu education was beneficial and to what extent **it** was oppressive. In doing so one will thus be able to answer the question on whether indeed **it** was a just system of education. **However (C)** before doing so background information on how and why Bantu education was will be given. **It** is only in the conclusion that the answer to the question will be given.

The Bantu education act was passed in 1953. The principle involved in the construction of the act will be better understood as **it** was founded on the history of education introduced to these people. **Thus (C)** the socio-political influences of Western control over these people played a great role in the construction of the Bantu education system.

The Bantu Education act provided the government with control over education. Furthermore various changes followed the implementation of the Bantu education act, such as 'Black' schools being taken out of the hands of the church. **Furthermore** syllabus revision was centralized. **Moreover** schools were as far as possible reorganized on a fragmented tribal bases. **In other words (P)** schooling was to contribute to the revival of 'Bantu Culture' and brought into line with 'Bantu social institutions' (P. Christie pp142)

It's important for one task what developments led to **this** new interest in 'Black' schooling. One important National development which coincided with **this** specific period was the rise of the manufacturing industry. **This** ultimately led to an increase demand for workers with some level of literacy as well as semi-skilled and skilled workers. **However, (C) a number of 'Black' job –seekers with clerical skills could not be absorbed into this particular racist structure of employment which prevailed.** The people were seen as a threat to the white workers, which had the privileged positions.

It has been suggested that part of the aim of Bantu education was initially to reduce the number of 'Black' people with medium academic qualifications. **Thus (C) 'Black's could basically only function as teachers in the Bantustan Bureaucracies.** (P.Christie p143) **It** is noteworthy that by doing so **it** would increase the number of workers, with limited skills and at the same time would not threaten a white working class. **It** has thus been argued that Bantu education was designed partly due to economic demands of the labour market. **Thus (C) Bantu education was designed to remove all 'Black' people physically from the context in which wealth was owned and controlled and resettle them in separate places of subordination.** **They** the aim of the government was to alienate 'Black's from resources such as land.

It can also be said that 'Black's were provided with an education as a means to control them simultaneously schools were set in teaching 'Black's "the love for labour" **hence (C) it provide the Government with Manual workers.** **Thus (C) will white education was geared towards industry and Bantu education towards manual labour.**

It is noteworthy **however (C),** despite the fact the introduction of Western education through mistrusted and oppressed indigeneous people became a great factor of value to many Africans. **Furthermore** new horizons to social and economic development were opened for 'Black's in possession of formal school education. **Moreover it** released many

Africans from their dependence on agricultural economy, **however (C) it** must enabled Africans to gain a position of influence and hierarchy (P.C. Luthuli 1982 pp79). **However (C)** the fact that Bantu education was unjust in so many ways the little did is hardly significant to note. **Notwithstanding** that Bantu Education was based on the premise of social control. **It** can **also** be said that Bantu education served the reproduction needs of capitalism.

It is obvious that Bantu education was devised to enforce racial differentiation which have been determined by the demands of racial capitalism under the regime. Through education whites were encouraged to develop attitudes values and overall social consciousness that would promote positions of leadership and management. **In contrast** Bantu education was devised to ensure a cheap labour force with the emphasis on manual skills and attitudes promoting passivity conducive for subservience. **It** is evident that Bantu education were oppressive, racist and served the needs of the capitalism. **Thus (C)** in answering the question on whether Bantu education was a just system of education I can say without hesitation that **it** was not.

Group 2: Text 10

Introduction

Justice can be define in different ways. "Justice is a fundamental theme in social life. The theme of justice underlies the claims of legitimacy made by a society's social and political institutions. When those claims begin to lose their force institutional and social changes is likely to follow. At the same time, one need to look no further than daily social interaction to appreciate the pervasiveness of the concern for and the impact of the theme of justice.

We can distinguished between or among various different kinds of justice such as retributive justice, justice in compensation for, and punishment of injuries, distribution of goods and services.

Just can **also** be the way of joining or fitting, the idea of bond or tie. **Therefore (C)** we recognize a number of different values as necessary to an organized system of human relations. There is a value of equality and co-operation. All these values are present in all systems of law, **but (C) it** are present in different periods of time, process of adjustment and readjustment between the claims.

As I note from reading in of Kant, Elements of Justice, that justice will satisfy law to us, **then it** finally ties and obliges us to law. **In order (C)** that law may be valid and **it** is enough that **it** should satisfy the canon declaration, recognition and enforcement by a constituted authority acting on behalf of the community. Law is not ethics, and legality, or obedience to law, is not the same as morality.

Therefore (C) I see justice as an order of persons and of principles regulating the distribution of rights to persons, which is measured and determined by **this** final and ultimate value.

Bantu Education

In **this** period there were important changes, which set up a pattern for the education in South Africa. With the development of trade and industries the education change. **This** happened just after the discovery of diamonds and gold. The old education system was no longer adequate. **The reason for this was because (N)** the government did no longer have the money, facilities or teachers to provide a large scale for compulsory schooling. **This** education in South Africa could not meet the changing needs of the society. Many of the defeated Africans did not like the system of education. **They** see **it** as a way of forcing English language and Culture on them and destroying their own language and culture. **This** period also shows that education is an area of political struggle.

To me Bantu education is not a just system. The reasons why I say so **is because** of the following. **The budget for Bantu education in South Africa is not equal (P)**. The Bantu education system got less money from the budget, unpaid or under paid teachers, unqualified teachers, huge number of people, pupils at the schools, the low pass rate, the subject allow pupil to fir into a certain layer of the economic system. The little bit of education caused the cheap labour, **because (P)** unskilled 'Black' labour was needed.

There were no democracy, **therefore (C)** Bantu education linked to Apartheid and **this** was part of a racist plan. Of the education that was unequal only a small amount of 'Black's was able to go to universities. **The reasons for this (P)** was the amount of dropouts who was used for cheap, unskilled 'Black' labour, that is the reason why whites had more opportunities.

The 'Black' education in S.A. prepare pupil to work in reserves. As we can see of the above

information, Bantu education system is inefficiency, neglected, corrupt, etc.

Bantu education had to control resistance but in 1952 they became part of the unjust laws. The reasons for the resistance was of the pass laws, group areas act, trade unions, act banning and a strict policy of segregation according to racial differences.

Main –argument

The reproduction theory of Marxism had a protest against the injustice of capitalism. He attacked the demand for a fair distribution of the proceeds of labour. Economic relations are regulated by legal conceptions, on the contrary legal regulations arise from economic ones. **Marx's theory also** explained the standard against capitalism is to be evaluated. **Thus (C) the only applicable standard of justice is the one inherent in the relevant economic system.**

“Resources are allocated according to needs, regardless of individual contributions”
Therefore (C) the need is likely to predominate when people have an empathetic identification with one another. A final form is where justice of rules or laws, is likely to appear where participants are strangers with a clear conflict of interest.

Therefore (C) the discussion on Bantu Education that not a just system in South Africa can be based on Marx's reproduction theory.

Counter –argument

Idealism start on the opposite site. The source of justice lays in individual conscience and determines justice. Some philosophers says that people is born with a sense of justice. If justice is something you are born with, so what you have is inner moral. **Therefore (C) we have to make moral choices. People's moral choices differ and law should try and establish the moral minimum, then people can make their own moral choices.** Idealism sees the following in a just education system. People are basically moral / spiritual beings, that is what are separating people from animals. **Therefore (C) education must develop it, then we can have a just education.**

A just education is allowing each person to develop his own interest. Teachers should create these conditions at school, and help the students/pupils right. That would help to

develop the child's self-realization aim of just education, spiritual infoldment and self-perfection.

Conclusion

In my research I discovered that Bantu Education is not a just system. As one can see and learned that Marx's work is that **it** expressed a protest against the injustices of capitalism. **Each mode of production has its own mode of distribution and its own** normative standards of justice. **This** interpretation of Marx's position on distribution justice presented initially and extended, has not gone unchallenged. Therefore Marx raised issues that are **relevant to the Bantu Education that is not a just system. Marx's theory also implies that** both formal and material justice principles were tied to specific types of societies and **thus** (C) to judge one society, or relations within **it**, by the justice principles derived from another was meaningless.

Idealism is just the opposite of Marx's theory in the contextual of Bantu Education. Bantu Education had a social control over the semi-skilled people. **Also** Bantu Education was a buffer of the middle class to stand between working and capitalist class. All the arguments shows that **it** is not a just education system.

Group 2: Text 11

In this essay, I am going to talk about Bantu Education, how **it** came about historically. I am **also** going to discuss the interests of Bantu Education, what were **they** for, and who created them. My main argument will be based on whether I think that Bantu Education was a just system of education or not, and I am **also** going to discuss the counter-arguments, that is the responses of other conceptions of justice.

Bantu Education was introduced in 1953 by National Party. **According to Verwoerd's** speech, "all consider that intrinsic to an understanding of African Education is the citation of Verwoerd's notorious speech when introducing the Bantu Education Act of 1953, with **its** stress on segregation in education and the education provided for whites as "forbidden pastures" from which Africans must be prohibited", (Apartheid Education and popular struggles; 1991; P35).

According to Louis Althusser, (Class notes); "the role of education in capitalist country is

to reproduce capitalism in the society, what is also reproducing is inequality and injustice. Capitalism is a world system, defined in terms of production for the world market, whether wage – labour is employed or not. Capitalism promotes the development of some areas at the expense of others.

I think that Bantu Education is not a just system of Education, **because (C) Bantu Education is divided according to class; gender and economy.** Bantu Education was exclusively and strategically targeted towards the middle and lower levels of labour force. Bantu Education educate people for exploitation. The function of Bantu Education is to provide capitalists with a workplace which has the personality, attitudes and values which are most useful to them.

Taking the positivist point of view, Bantu Education is regarded on a hierarchical principle of authority and would, for example, teachers have to give orders, and and pupils obey **those orders**. "Students have little control over the subjects **they** study or how **they** study them", (Kagen, M; 1975; p47). All **this** system discouraged people from deciding on their own lives. **This** principle, prepares them for relationships within the workplace where if workers are to stay out of trouble, **they** will need to defer to the authority of supervisors and managers.

As Bantu Education was also divided according to gender, boys and girls were separated where as **they** were in the very same schools. Girls were taught to cook; dress-making and laundering, women's place was mostly seen as being in the kitchen as domestic servants. "The Education of 'Black' women was largely aimed at socialisation into domestic roles, both in their homes and as servants on other peoples' homes.", (handout; p198). Boys were taught carpentry; shoe-making; printing and gardening.

According to class, Bantu Education was divided **according** to groups having qualities of the same kind. 'Black's attended in their schools and whites in their own schools. Bantu Education also divided different groups **according** to different Departments of Education. The standards of Education in these different schools were not equal, and this made 'Black's to feel inferior and stop attending schools," it is possible that class differences would be more evident among pupils during the compulsory phase of schooling; arguably; social class may influence pupils to drop out of school earlier', (Christie, P, 1990; p115).

Bantu Education **also** taught manual skills and **this was meant for 'Black's to work hard.** Manual training was above all meant for 'Black's to be under whites and that **they** must

find a very low wage. The relation between Bantu Education and economy and **also** the Educational strategies of the regime have been sketched in very broad terms. These relations and strategies have been categorised as an education that serves the needs of **capital, or as the education for 'Black' South Africans for oppression.**

In Secondary schools, curriculum for narrowly vocational education was being used, **"inspectors of schools have always resisted the inclusion of shorthand and typing as school subjects on the grounds that **this** may involve reiterative skills training and not the development of the mind or spirit", (Educational Policy –making; 1975; p64).** Bantu Education is structured in a way that **it** mould student preferences to economic needs. Bantu education was meant for pupils to memorise, and memorising means to forget what you have been taught, and **this** simply means that one will not be in the position of helping the society although one sees oneself as one who is educated.

In conclusion, I can say that Bantu Education was an unjust system **because of the inequalities that **it** provided among the groups; race, class and gender (P).** **'Black' pupils** were not given the chance to say what **they** wanted to say, and were also not in a **position to decide for themselves, even today in the South African context, 'Black's are not** given a chance to vote in Parliament for what **they** want. **Those** who do things that are wrong according to the government, are being placed in jail.

APPENDIX 4

GROUP 3

Group 3: Text 1

In this essay I will argue about the opinion which I believe that **Apartheid** was never progressive (good) **but (C)** retrogressive (bad).

The following fact later be discussed in this essay (i) discrimination, (ii) Education and working conditions.

The Apartheid government created a huge discrimination in this country by separating other **South Africans** from the White people by distancing **them** and putting **them** in the communities that are not good in condition and secondly naver and I mean naver allow any social relationships between **them**.

Even the public Toilets and restaurants where different.

Other South African where given a limited standard of education.

Only the rulling party was allowed in the parlament.

Where the country's decision are usually made or taken.

Other people where only allowed to qualify educationally by becoming Teachers, nurses and police, not offending any students in these qualifications but on Apartheid day these qualification where there only one we can choose from.

The working conditions in today's government are much better than the conditions in the apartheid system.

The labour in the democratic government us much more formal, the are also insurances like UIF which is the money that one earns when they are no longer working.

Group 3: Text 2

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No apartheid was not good at all in previous years **many people** was suffered **because of (P) it they** were not felt comfortable, others were suffered **because of (P)** the poverty.

During **the apartheid** people did not have humality **but (C)** those days passed off.

Apartheid was killing more people **because of (P) it**.

In those days people did not help each other unless his family or friends **but (C)** now there is little improvement.

This was only in South Africa in other country's it was not like South Africa from the democracy the people was improve at least not so much **but (C)** is continuing to improve now.

Group 3: Text 3

No I don't think that Apartheid was good **because of (P)** the negative thing, people who were controlling South Africa did.

First of all our economy, during apartheid was very poor, we did not have an economy which is stable.

During **apartheid** those people who were controlling **apartheid** they did not thing of other people feeling especially those who are not white.

When it come to building houses, they don't build good house for 'Black's.

Those/ people they use to go around where '**Black**' people stay and shout **our people** without saying anything.

People who were controlling that apartheid it shows that they did not like '**Black**' people by not allowing **them** to same schools with them.

White people they had their own toilets and same with '**Black**' people they had their own toilet, **because of (C)** white people did not want to share their thing with '**Black**'s.

If you are a 'Black' person you must not study to become an Accountant you must study become a teacher or Nurse.

Group 3: Text 4

What I think is that in every essence of the word it was bad and there is no other way.

I personally didn't experience it first hand but from what I read and seen on TV it was really provoking.

For me as a 'Black' I see no positive side to it **because (C)** only the white people benefited from it and they are still doing so.

Most people these days talk about forgiveness my question is why forgive someone for something he deliberately done and didn't have remorse for doing [it] and now suddenly that the 'Black' man is in power we should forgive each other.

Apartheid was painfully to every 'Black'-race even if you did not experience **it but (C)** the thought and the witnessing of your fellow brother or sister being tormented was unbelievable, we were made to feel like strangers in our fathers land, our country of birth, for what?

Pleasures and luxuries that doesn't define our 'Black'ness our culture, heritage!

How many talented 'Black' were disadvantaged by the **system** countless, so for me to even think about it kind of brings rage out of me and still **Apartheid** is still rife and we turn a blind eye on **it**.

What **Apartheid** did was to put, program and get this mental state into 'Black' people that White is pure and 'Black' is evil and has no place in this world what **it** lead to was 'Black' people being rebellious and hating the white people.

The saying that some people (White) were not favouring **Apartheid** is just a slap to the face, they all sometime in their life used to their advantage and after all this they come and make publicity stunts that they were against the system, in my words/opinion all white people were racist are racist and still will be racist its' like a genetic syndrome that eats incorporated into them.

During the systems days we were taught the Buntu System (Education) while they sat in classes in did subjects they are reaping rewards now.

Our own profession was being teachers, nurses all the jobs in public services were for 'Black' people and these you hear a lot of people saying that in some countries lack 'Black' – People, how do your expect 'Black' – People in those industries if they were reserved for White people only?

Obviously there is going to be a shortfall of 'Black'-people, we were disadvantaged by the system and there is nothing positive that can come from it.

Group 3: Text 5

Apartheid was bad, for both 'Black' and white people.

The "architecture" of Apartheid Dr Verwoerd wanted the "whites" to have a better life at the expense of the "Black's" but little did he know when two different people are combined they can produce better and powerful things working together.

Apartheid did not give a chance for South African people to broaden their horizons.

People only stuck to what they know; Secondly **Apartheid** was meant for "Black's" to be on **one place** and "whites" on the other side.

This created a lot of anger from the 'Black's because (C) they did not have the luxuries that the whites had.

They felt like they were robbed in their own home.

Apartheid still exists in South Africa although it was whipped out theoretically there are signs of it.

For example in Model C Schools African languages are third languages.

Group 3: Text 6

Apartheid in my opinion is bad **because (C)** people undermine each other.

We as 'Black's struggled a lot because of (C) the apartheid, There were places where 'Black's could were not allowed to go to, places which were for whites only.

We were treated like nothing.

When there was apartheid a 'Black' person couldn't even go to the schools of the whites. First 'Black's didn't go to school and then there was school for 'Black's and for whites separated.

If a 'Black' person went to study to a white's school the will be treated like dirt.

If a 'Black' person went to a white's place he will be beaten up or killed and 'Black's were treated like dogs and they were not human beings according to whites.

'Black's did not have anything, businesses belonged to the whites.

Everything belonged to the whites.

They took the land from the 'Black's and made it theirs and told the 'Black's what they should do and what they shouldn't do, and 'Black's were the slaves for the whites.

Even now **although (C)** there is democracy but still there is apartheid.

But not all people have apartheid.

And I don't think apartheid will stop.

Everywhere you go there are **those/ people** who still have apartheid.

Group 3: Text 7

In my opinion apartheid was bad looking at the difficulties I had to go through in order to get education.

Even though (C) I did my high school after the apartheid time, the past years still had negative impact on the subjects we do.

I personally did my high school learning in a more high rated schools in Kwazulu Natal

but (C) I had to do certain subjects as some of the subjects were not to be done by certain people.

Even though (C) I went to a good school my parents had to work day and night in order to pay my school fees.

Personally I think my parents wouldn't have to suffer like that if it wasn't for the apartheid backyard.

I think they would have had a better job and education to successful afford to pay for my studies.

Looking at the situation of other households and they suffer to educate their children.

In some instances you find a 17 year old have to live school and find a job **because (C)** there is not enough money to educate.

You later find a previously advantaged household having the means to send a number of children in good schools.

Another negative effect of apartheid is in sport.

In the school that I went to rugby was a sport for everyone **but (C)** the difference was in the selection of the 1st team to represent the school.

Our first team was basically chosen according to colour and it was the white people who had the privilege to play for the 1st team.

You find a 'Black' or coloured playing for the province of Natal but (C) not playing for the 1st team of the school.

Lastly the issue urban and rural areas.

I not sure whether the discrimination of rural people is based on the apartheid simply **because (C)** you find people of the same race looking down at each other have no respect at all for the people at the rural areas.

Group 3: Text 8

The apartheid system only focused on one specific race, the whites.

That **caused (V)** our country not to grow.

Everything and every decision made was not benefit to all.

I believe that the apartheid system (N) destroyed a lot of confidence non-white people believed that they were not good enough and that they would never amount to anything.

This is only **because (C)** they were constantly reminded of that,

This caused (V) people to lose their identity, the 'Black' people especially felt humiliated to be 'Black' and our skin colour was never embraced.

The sad thing is that this propaganda is still stuck on us.

As much as we try to change the perception it will take a lot of years and energy to completely erase that, **but (C)** the good news is that there's humungous change and improvements.

Our forefathers and especially our parents suffered a lot **because (C)** the system was strong at their teen years.

You couldn't go anywhere, your road of education was narrowed.

Dreams to them were nothing **because (C)** they knew that it could never happen, they were constantly haunted by the sad reality.

Our brightest people who dreamed of becoming the world's renowned doctors could never achieved that because of (P) the poor education that was thrown to them.

People might say that the apartheid system is completely over, **but (C)** I say "look around you; Pay details to little things"

It might not be as big a before but its still there.

Listen to the news, they tell you the honest story of the system.

I might not be as affected as others, **but (C)** I've actually witnessed the horrific truth of it.

The sad thing that I witnessed is that my grandmother was affraid of being near the white people.

I couldn't understand it because (C) I saw them regularly, **but (C)** at her times they were rude and crude.

I do condemn the people who fought through the struggle and made our country what it is today in just ten short years.

I believe though it's up to an individual to change oneself.

If you are a true boere who still believes in the old system then no amount of effort from the government will change you.

I'm optimistic though, I believe that we just need to take baby steps to finally live in a safer more loving country.

Group 3: Text 9

Apartheid! was it good or bad?

The issue that is going to be discussed in this essay is the impact of apartheid, was it progressive meaning good or was it retrogressive meaning bad?

My own personal opinion is what this essay is about.

I feel that I was not really affected even though some of my relatives were.

Firstly I would like to state the simple fact that when I was growing up I did not really feel the impact of apartheid, **because (C)** the schools I went to were as a young boy in my kindergarden years, were Roman Catholic (spoke English).

Than from their I progressed to mostly coloured dominated schools for a couple of years.

Lastly for the latter years of my schooling from grade 8 – grade 12, I attended multiracial schools (white dominated).

So as far as education is concerned I didn't really feel any oppression **due to (P) the apartheid government.**

The second point is about my living conditions the way I grew up and were grew up.

I had most of the things I needed when growing up, my parents catered for me and provided all the necessities.

I'm not saying everything was smooth sailing, but than again nothing ever is.

There is always somewhere were I lacked but I can't really blame the previous government.

Group 3: Text 10

In my view I think it was retrogressive **because (C)** so many things like our parents and our brothers and sisters were not treated in a nice manner or way, they were treated like they are animals or some rejects **because (C)** they were not allowed to we the same things which white people we.

'Black' people had to work around carrying the dompas and it was not a nice way to treat other people.

And even if a 'Black' man and a white man were to apply for the same job and same position and maybe the 'Black' person is more qualified then the white person but then with employ the white person **because of (C)** his/her skin colour.

Even in the public transports like a train, ship, etc. the whites had their own side where 'Black's were not allowed to enter.

And even police officers were not allowed to fair **because (C)** they could just hit a person because of his/her skin colour and even in jobs wise of you were white you were already employed at any job that you want **but/because (C)** you are a 'Black' person you had to struggle to get what you want.

But (C) I don't really know much about Apartheid.

Group 3: Text 11

I feel as though Apartheid was retrogressive.

Firstly our grandparents were ill treated.

They had no sense of freedom.

The suffered just to feel like humans.

Nowadays we go anywhere we want to, doing whatever we want to do.

Apartheid has no affected me **but (C)** it has affected my parents and grandparents.

When they talk about, it feels so inhuman.

I do not think that I could have the strength to go through something like that.

Government is trying so hard to make "Black" people feel equal again.

There are some who feel unequal though but I feel as though they are stuck in past memories not wanting to let go of the past.

I attended a so called "white" school and in the 'Black' "Black" community you are

labeled as a "coconut" because you maybe have a "white" accent or you go with "white" people.

People are afraid of change and I feel that they use anything in their power to prevent change.

Although (C) we cannot run away from the past, we can try and make the future the best **so (C)** that it becomes the best past ever.

Group 3: Text 12

To me, Apartheid did not really affect me.

Born in 1986, I was not really in the Apartheid era.

In my life, I was never (as I can recall) called a kaffir or discriminated against **because (C)** I was a 'Black'.

From a very young age, I was in a "coloured" chreche, "coloured" primary (from sub A to st. 1) after that, I move to a "white" primary then to a "white" or "model c" high school.

So (C) to me, apartheid was one of those phases I did not feel.

My family members are educate, those who are not educated are not **because (C)** in Eastern Cape it was known that the less the women knew, the better.

My parents are university graduates, **so they didn't feel the "ubuntu" schooling.**

So, (C) the only reason I know why they are not educated, is **because (C)** they got married at a young stage.

Group 3: Text 13

Apartheid a nightmare, a war that dived people from loving one another.

Still **apartheid** exist now and effects our lives like it did in the past.

Can **apartheid** be distinguished in the future?

We are so naïve to think that **apartheid doesn't exist anymore, but (C)** we are wrong.

It was bad in the past and still is now.

Firstly racism was the biggest issue that was raised, and still is.

'Black' and White, that was how people were distinguished.

'Black's don't mix with whites.

Whites shouldn't marry 'Black's **because (C)** it wrong.

Well we are all human beings and have the same blood running through our veins no matter what the colour of our skins.

Secondly people now are still racist.

They are repeating what happened in the past.

Crime and violence between each other.

Group 3: Text 14

Apartheid unfortunately had not affected me as I was born after the wars that occurred.

I was born and was only 4 years old when were liberated from separation.

To me I feel that apartheid was both retrogressive and progressive as there were good and bad things that come from it.

The retrogressive past was the limited rights that 'Black's under went and the fact they were not able to do what they like, when they would want to do it.

The progressive side was that most 'Black's that were affected by apartheid understand the power of education, unity and pride.

In that when they have achieved same thing they have achieved it they cherish it, **because (C)** it was earned.

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