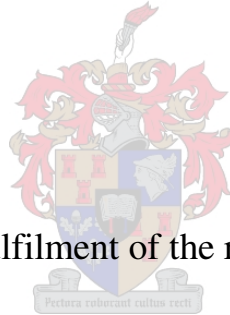


Perceptions of “new Englishes”: Responses to the use of Swazi English in newspapers in Swaziland.

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Declaration:

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

The concept of 'new Englishes' developed as a result of the relatively new perception of English as an adapting and evolving language within increasingly wider global contexts. According to McArthur (1992:688) the term "new Englishes" refers to "recently emerging and increasingly autonomous variet[ies] of English, especially in a non-western setting, such as India, Nigeria, or Singapore." Such varieties of English develop from an English, traditionally recognised as standard, to become distinctly individual: they retain some cultural and linguistic characteristics of the standard English but additionally represent and include many aspects of the culture and language of the country in which the new English functions. These new Englishes are lexico-grammatically sophisticated and as viable as any of the traditionally recognised standard Englishes. The "new languages" are used intranationally and internationally and so are not only a result of intercultural communication; they also facilitate and enable intercultural communication. This thesis investigates (i) Swazi English (SwE) as a 'New English' and (ii) the perceptions that Swazis themselves, as well as speakers from other language communities, have of SwE and its users.

Swaziland is a landlocked country in the northeast region of Southern Africa and one of the last remaining monarchies on the African continent. English was introduced to Swaziland during the 1800's and remained one of the official languages alongside siSwati after Swaziland achieved independence from Britain in 1968. English in Swaziland continued to develop despite increasingly restricted access to input from English first language speakers of British descent thus resulting in SwE developing independently of any external norm. SwE now appears to be a stable variety of English that is not only spoken but also written in newspapers, in government and legal correspondence and in the public relations documents of Swazi companies.

The research for this thesis identifies a number of lexical, syntactic and semantic features of SwE that are different from those of standard British or American English. These features of SwE occur frequently and consistently in newspaper articles. Nevertheless, as indicated by the research results of this thesis, SwE continues to be perceived as an error-ridden second language variety rather than as a new English in its own right. Furthermore, the language prejudice is extended to users of SwE as many judge the intelligence, credibility and trustworthiness of writers of SwE negatively on the basis of linguistic features that cannot be indicators of character, skill or competence. This prejudice gives rise to stereotyping which is a barrier to effective intercultural communication.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASE	American Standard English
BSAfE	Black South African English
BSE	British Standard English
EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
IE	Indian English
L1	First language
L2	Second language
PE	Philippine English
SAPA	South African Press Association
SCE	Swazi Colloquial English
SE	Standard English
SN	<i>The Swazi News</i> (newspaper publication)
SOB	<i>The Swaziland Observer</i> (newspaper publication)
SwE	Swazi English
TOS	<i>The Times Of Swaziland</i> (newspaper publication)
TS	<i>The Times on Sunday</i> (newspaper publication)
UNISWA	The University of Swaziland
WhSAfE	White South African English
WSE	World Standard English

WOB	<i>The Weekend Observer</i> (newspaper publication)
XE	Xhosa English

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a contextual overview of the topic, the research questions, the hypotheses, an explanation of the key terms and an overview of the chapter layout of the thesis.

1.1 Contextual Overview

The Kingdom of Swaziland is a tiny landlocked country in the northeast region of southern Africa. It is bordered by South Africa and Mozambique. It is one of the last remaining monarchies on the African continent. Contrary to appearances the Swazi Monarchy is not absolute. There are two major institutions to which it is responsible:

1) The Likoqo or Inner council which is comprised of 20 to 30 chiefs and commoners who advise the King and 2) The Libandla or Swazi National Council which is a general meeting of chiefs and headmen and all adult Swazi males (Potholm 1972:23). The King is expected to confer with the members of Likoqo on all matters of state. When a decision is made by the Likoqo it is announced to the Swazi nation as an instruction from the King (Potholm 1972:22). This leads to the perception that the Swazi monarchy is absolute. Despite the adoption of a new constitution in 2006 which creates the illusion of a degree of democracy at play in the Kingdom's political structures, power is still securely vested in the hands of His Majesty, King Mswati III and his mother Her Majesty, the Queen Mother Ntombi Tfwala albeit on the advice and counsel of the Likoqo and the Libandla. The population was estimated in 2005 to be 1,172,900

people¹. The official languages of Swaziland are English and siSwati, an Nguni language also spoken in South Africa and recognised as one of that country's eleven official languages. Unlike other African countries which are multilingual and multiethnic, Swaziland is bilingual and culturally homogeneous (Kamwangamalu 1996:296).

English was first introduced into Swaziland in the 1800's as a result of contact between explorers, missionaries and traders from the Cape of Good Hope that had been colonised by the British in 1806. In 1903 Swaziland became a British protectorate and thus English was officially introduced into the Kingdom as the language of administration, government, education and diplomacy. When Swaziland became an independent nation in 1968, English was retained as an official language alongside siSwati. Kamwangamalu (1996:285) suggests that at the time of independence English was firmly entrenched in Swaziland leaving the new government with little choice but to retain it as an official language. Both English and siSwati were afforded recognition as official languages without the domains for the usage of each being prescribed. This, however, has not resulted in a situation of "balanced bilingualism" (Kamwangamalu 1996:286) in which both languages have equal status and are equally mastered and used by all speakers.

While all Swazis speak siSwati, not all Swazis speak English. Although siSwati is the mother tongue of most Swazis, English is the language of education at all levels (Arua 1998:140) and thus fluency in English in Swaziland has become indicative of being

¹ Results of the 2007 Population Census have not yet been published.

educated. English in Swaziland retains a certain prestige as the passport to good jobs and status in the community despite its being largely restricted to the domains of education, business, international trade and diplomacy. Kamwangamalu (1996:295-296) describes Swaziland as a “diglossic state” in which English is the High Language associated with education, prestige and elitism and siSwati is the Low Language associated with cultural solidarity and intimacy among the Swazis.

Swaziland’s history as a British Protectorate and eventually as an independent state means that inherent in the English learned, spoken and written in Swaziland is the influence of British colonialism. Swazi English (SwE), it could be argued, thus has a “paracolonial” (Newell 2001:336) genesis because it developed as a result of British presence and influences in public domains such as schools, government and the media. After Swaziland achieved independence in 1968, SwE continued to develop despite increasingly “restricted access to input” (De Klerk 2003:222) from English first language speakers of British descent thus resulting in the language developing independently of an external norm. SwE is now a “deeply stable” (De Klerk 2003:223) variety of English which is not only spoken but also written in newspapers, government and legal documents and the public relations documents of Swazi companies.

As siSwati is used in South Africa and is recognised as one of that country’s 11 official languages, it is possible to consider aspects of Swazi English (SwE) under the banner of Black South African English (BSAfE). Many of the features of BSAfE as described by De Klerk (2003:224) and Mesthrie (2006:117-142) are features of SwE. However, SwE

continues to be evaluated (often negatively) in terms of so-called “British Standard English” (BSE) which in practice is the English of anglophone countries such as Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom and some speech communities in South Africa. The impact of this negative evaluation leads to stereotyping and prejudice with regard to the Swazi people and their culture. As such the negative evaluation of SwE becomes a barrier to intercultural communication in Swaziland.

1.2 The Research Questions

There are three research questions which this study aims to answer.

- 1.2.1 Can SwE be characterised as a new English according to the definition of “new Englishes” as presented in paragraph 1.5 and discussed in paragraph 2.3 of this thesis?
- 1.2.2 How do people from different speech communities respond to the use of SwE in newspapers?
- 1.2.3 How do people from different speech communities assess journalists who use SwE in newspapers?

1.3 Hypotheses

- (i) SwE is a new English because its features are stable and its use is consistent. There are features of SwE which are lexically, syntactically and semantically different from the features of other Englishes and from the features of standard British or American English. The features of SwE occur frequently and consistently in the writing of newspaper articles.

(ii) Despite the stable form and consistent use of SwE in the newspapers in Swaziland, SwE is viewed critically by speakers of English from other speech communities. Speakers from other speech communities use their own English as the standard against which to assess SwE. Deviations from the expected standard are viewed as errors and as problematic, and not as features of different varieties of English.

(iii) Speakers from other speech communities judge the intelligence, credibility and trustworthiness of writers of SwE based on linguistic features that have no value as instruments for measuring character or skill. The response by speakers of English from other speech communities to the journalists using SwE in newspapers is prejudiced. This prejudice forms a barrier to intercultural communication in Swaziland.

Despite the recognition that English is a global language and that, as a result, new varieties of English are emerging, there are deeply rooted notions of correctness governing the assessment and acceptance (or rejection) of new Englishes especially in traditionally first language English speaking countries such as Britain and America (Honey 1997: 243). These notions of correctness are based on the standard and norms perceived by the assessors as correct or proper English which, in the case of first language English speakers, is thought to be the English of traditionally anglophone countries. English speakers who do not conform to the norms of BSE or American Standard English (ASE) are perceived prejudicially as less competent and less intelligent than those who do conform to the norms of standard Englishes (Svartik and

Leach 2006: 9). Thus globalisation is changing perceptions of Standard English on the one hand but still not overcoming prejudices against speakers of non-native varieties of English on the other hand.

1.4 Research Outline

The research to test the hypotheses outlined in paragraph 1.3 was divided into two parts. The first part of the research involved the examination of articles written by Swazi journalists and printed in Swazi newspapers in order to identify distinctive features of SwE and to assess the stability of SwE by ascertaining the frequency with which those features occur in written SwE. The collection of data for this phase of the research involved the daily examining of all the Swazi newspapers, identifying and noting features of SwE as they occur in the articles in the newspapers and then counting how often these features were evident over a four- week period. The second part of the research investigated the response of people from different speech communities to

(i) the use of SwE in newspapers and (ii) the users of SwE. The collection of data for this phase of the research involved a questionnaire in which respondents were asked to comment on the use of SwE in newspapers, identify those features of SwE which they perceive as confusing, misleading or inappropriate and assess the writer of the articles in terms of intelligence, credibility and trustworthiness.

1.5 Explanation of Key Terms

The extensive literature available on the subjects of English as a Global Language and new Englishes brings with it a vast array of terms used with some agreement and overlap by writers but without consistent application. Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, the following terms have been defined and will be used consistently in order to avoid misunderstanding or ambiguity:

Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle: This is the terminology of Kachru's Conceptual Model of World Englishes (1986 in Hundt 2006: 207). It is the model which is used in this thesis as a premise from which to compare and contrast other models and to differentiate between different Englishes. The Inner Circle refers to those countries in which English is used as a native language. The Outer Circle denotes countries in which English is used as a second language. The Expanding Circle refers to countries to which English has spread and in which English is used as a foreign language.

World Englishes: This refers to all the varieties of English used around the world from broad vernaculars through local standards (endonormative and exonormative²) to the perceived international Standard English (McArthur 1998:6).

Standard English (SE): This refers to the language conventions of British English which proponents of SE argue all English users should aspire to use. Any language

² Endonormative standards are those which are developed within a language as opposed to exonormative standards which are imposed on a language from an external source.

which is not “standard” is thus by definition “sub-standard”. The SE debate is discussed more extensively in paragraph 2.3 of Chapter Two of this thesis.

Standardization: This refers to the process, which is not always deliberate, by which standard forms of English and new Englishes are developed and entrenched.

New Englishes: These are new varieties of English which have endonormative potential and have been or are in the process of being codified.

Non-native varieties of English or second language (L2) varieties: These are languages which are not native to a community but which have established roles, purposes and contexts within the community. These varieties are the seedlings of potential new Englishes.

Dialects: These are spoken varieties of English which may well be the precursors to the development of new Englishes.

World Standard Englishes: These are new Englishes which, by virtue of their long established and thus accepted features, have become standard Englishes. World Standard Englishes, according to McArthur’s (1998:97) Circle of World Englishes Model, include, inter alia, American Standard English, Canadian Standard English, Caribbean Standard English and West, East and South(ern) African Standard(izing) English.

Nativization: This refers to the process by which a local variety of English becomes established and accepted as a new English, as opposed to a second language variety of SE.

Mother tongue: This is the first language learned by a speaker - his or her native language.

First Language (L1) speakers: This refers to people who use their mother tongue as their predominant language.

1.6 Overview of the Chapters

Chapter One provides a contextual overview of the topic, the research questions, the hypotheses, an explanation of the key terms and an overview of the chapter layout.

Chapter Two offers a review of the literature pertaining to the relevant topics: English as a global language, new Englishes, the Standard English debate, perceptions of new Englishes and the assessment of users of new Englishes. Chapter Three covers the research design and methodology of this study. Chapter Four presents the findings with respect to the identification of features of SwE in newspapers and the frequency with which these features occur. Chapter Five provides an analysis of the data collected via questionnaires from respondents from five different speech communities. Finally, Chapter Six offers (i) a discussion of the findings presented in Chapters Four and Five and (ii) conclusions in terms of the hypotheses presented in Chapter One and the literature reviewed in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter offers a review of the literature pertaining to the relevant topics covered in this thesis: English as a global language, new Englishes, the Standard English debate, perceptions of new Englishes and the assessment of users of new Englishes.

2.1 English as a Global Language

The impact of the Internet on global communication has transformed the world into an ever-shrinking “Global Village” of which English has become the “working tongue” (Svartik and Leach 2006:1). Rubdy and Saraceni (2006:5) suggest that English today is a truly global language playing a dominant role as the language of international communication. It is estimated that today more than 320 million people worldwide speak English as a mother tongue (Svartik and Leach 2006:1). Moreover, by the early 2000’s, more than 1.5 billion people worldwide were fluent or competent in English (Crystal in Svartik and Leach 2006:228). Svartik and Leach (2006:6) point out that English did not become a world language on its linguistic merits but rather as a result of socio-historic factors. Graddol (cf. Goodman and Graddol 1996:181) suggests that the unprecedented spread, use and dominance of English worldwide stems, in part, from the mercantile and colonial expansion of the British Empire followed by the global technological and economic dominance of America. Svartik and Leach (2006:6) suggest that other contributing factors include the need for international communication as a

result of modern technology and the need to use English as a preferred lingua franca in countries such as South Africa in which people have many different first languages.

A number of conceptual models have been developed by linguists to describe the spread of English globally and the consequent emergence of new varieties of English or new Englishes. With respect to the research for this thesis, these conceptual models are a useful tool for the discussion of Swazi English as a new English.

The most widely used model is that of Kachru (1986:121 - 140) which conceptualises the global use of English by means of three circles. The first and smallest circle is the Inner Circle which denotes those countries in which English is used as a native language. The next circle is referred to as the Outer Circle and denotes countries to which the language was exported and in which English is used as a second language. The last and largest circle is referred to as the Expanding Circle and refers to countries to which English has spread and in which English is used as a foreign language. This model is so widely used that it has become something of an accepted given. Writers such as Svartik and Leach (2006:231), Michieka (2005:173) and Friedrich (2003:181) refer extensively to the concepts of inner, outer and Expanding Circles without reference to Kachru's original model suggesting that these terms have become part of the linguistic lexis.

A map and branch model was formulated by Strevens in 1980 (McArthur 1998: 95). This model involves a branch diagram superimposed on a map of the world. The branch diagram suggests that varieties of English stem from either British English or American

English which are portrayed as parent languages of all other Englishes. McArthur (1998:95) suggests that this model is useful because it demonstrates both the synchronic and diachronic aspects of the spread of English. The Strevens model was adapted in 1995 by Crystal (McArthur 1998:95) to include the growing number of new Englishes and their probable genesis.

McArthur (McArthur 1998:95) devised a wheel model with hubs, spokes and a rim. The hub represents World Standard Englishes as the core of a circle of other standard Englishes such as African English and American English. The spokes radiate from the hub and divide the wheel into eight regions. The rim of the wheel denotes the “sub-varieties” (McArthur 1998:95) of English such as Aboriginal English and Black English which are recognised as separate varieties which are still linked to standard forms of the language. This model is interesting because it recognises that there are different standards for Englishes worldwide and that new varieties, although linked to standard varieties, are potential new independent Englishes.

Svartik and Leach (2006:225) modified McArthur’s model from a two dimensional circle to a three dimensional, albeit flattened, conical wheel. The hub of the wheel is small because it represents World Standard English (WSE) and, according to Svartik and Leach (2006:225), “nobody actually speaks WSE as their native dialect.” Conversely the rim of the wheel is much larger, representing the extensive amount of variation in English evident in different parts of the English-speaking world (Svartik and Leach 2006:225). The diagram has a conical shape in order to denote a hierarchical

pyramid of standardization. The apex of the cone represents English which is not only standard in that it is relatively uniform (Svartik and Leach 2006:226) but also more prestigious. Svartik and Leach (2006:226) suggest that this English is the goal of education and the language of international communication. It facilitates intelligibility while the languages represented by the rim of the wheel facilitate identity. Svartik and Leach (2006:227) emphasise that this model is not presumed to be empirically accurate – it is simply a conceptual model.

While these conceptual models are all useful to a degree in explaining both the spread and adaptation of English and the evolution of new Englishes, the speed at which the spread and change is occurring means that the lines of demarcation in all these models are becoming less clear and less important (Kachru in Svartik and Leach 2006:226). In addition the English of the Inner Circle countries (also portrayed as those countries at the hub of the wheel) is beginning to lose its status as the standard for English and the normative model for learning English around the world (Svartik and Leach 2006:226). Linguists are divided as to how to characterise these changing patterns of “ownership” of English (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006:5). On the one hand, there is the argument for the polymorphous nature of English worldwide (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006:13), which recognises the autonomy and endonormative potential of new Englishes grouped together under a World Englishes paradigm. On the other hand, there is the argument for English as an International Language (EIL) or English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). The latter proposes that the English used in international communication contexts is a synthetic form of English which combines features of Standard English with features

most commonly shared by speakers of all non-native varieties of English (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006:9). Rubdy and Saraceni (2006:8) suggest that the model of EIL/ELF “liberates L2 speakers from the imposition of native speaker norms as well as the cultural baggage of World English models.” The World Englishes model, however, shifts the emphasis from prescribing a reduced or extended form of SE to advocating a pluricentric model which questions the very concept of a “standard” variety (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006:13).

2.2 New Englishes

McArthur (1998:36) notes that the exploration and colonization of territories by west European countries from the fifteenth century onward resulted in eight west European languages becoming “both the standards and the lingua francas” of the colonised world. English, French, Portuguese and Spanish are “significant forms of communication in no fewer than 183 out of 232 internationally recognised territories” (McArthur 1998:36). In all language contact circumstances, some form of language change is inevitable when languages are used in regions that are geographically and demographically different from the regions from which their speakers came. Thus, as English has spread – and continues to spread – globally, it is being adapted to new cultures, societies and linguistic environments giving rise to the emergence of new Englishes (Svartik and Leach 2006:122). These emergent varieties are in a state of flux and variation but are beginning to be codified – for example there is a dictionary of Malaysian and Singaporean English (Svartik and Leach 2006:123). Rubdy and Saraceni (2006:7) note that in several countries of the Outer Circle local varieties of English have emerged.

These local varieties of English, as a result of a “nativization” process are being institutionalised (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006:7). In 1992 Kachru (1992:355-366) suggested that these new Englishes had endonormative potential. Fourteen years later Rubdy and Saraceni (2006:10) noted that these new Englishes are “lexico-grammatically as sophisticated and functionally viable as any of the traditionally recognized Inner Circle varieties of English.” In addition, these local varieties of English are used intranationally (i.e. in communication between different cultural groups and speech communities within one country) and therefore reflect the features of intercultural interaction (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006:10).

Jenkins (2006:32) notes that much of the change in language results from the adaptation of the language by non-native speakers in order to make the language more appropriate to their own use and contexts. This adaptation, while idiosyncratic on the one hand, is typical of the processes of language adaptation which are universal. Svartik and Leach (2006:222) argue that the evolution of varieties of English into new Englishes has been facilitated in part by the break up of the British Empire which resulted in a post-colonial absence of a unifying state, bureaucracy and culture. In this postcolonial state, English began to adapt outside of exonormative standards to the changing needs of the speech communities in which it was used. Moodley (2000:103) argues that this adaptation of English is rooted in economic reasons and the crucial goal of competitiveness in the global arena. Moodley (2000:103) argues that this is inherently problematic as the languages of the colonisers continue to be valorised as the passport to economic success and wider opportunities. More so, according to Moodley (2000:103) the “new elite” in postcolonial contexts continues to “impose their

‘superior’ European modes of communication on uneducated masses.” From an intercultural perspective, Moodley (2000:104) warns that the adaptation of English and the development of new Englishes “increasingly overrides the cultivation of roots of diversity and the richness of cultural difference.” As such, the concept of new Englishes is not without controversy. Nevertheless, there is definite consensus that new Englishes are being developed, that they are becoming endonormative and that they are in the process of being codified.

Schneider’s (2003 in Mukherjee 2007:161) Dynamic Model of the evolution of new Englishes in colonization processes is a useful conceptual model to apply to the discussion of new Englishes for the purpose of this thesis. The Dynamic Model is based on two factors which are interrelated. The first factor is that the identity constructions of settlers change over a period of time from the perception of themselves as an extension of the culture of their country of origin to a new “regionally based construction of ‘us’” (Mukherjee 2007:161) resulting in the country of origin no longer being perceived as “home”. The second factor is that, over time, the interaction between settlers and the indigenous population changes from being confrontational to being co-operative . These two interrelated factors are precursors to the evolution of new Englishes (Mukherjee 2007:161).

Schneider’s Dynamic Model identifies five distinct stages in the development of new Englishes worldwide. These stages are:

- i) Foundation: During this phase the language of the settlers is imposed on the indigenous people and the language norms of the home country are strictly applied.
- ii) Exonormative Stabilization: There is still a close link between the settlers and their home country and so there is adherence to exonormative standards of English. Some words from the local, indigenous languages begin to enter the English language adding a dimension to the language not shared by English users in the home country. More indigenous people begin to use English because it is the language of power, education and commerce in colonized territories.
- iii) Nativization: During this phase, settlers and indigenous peoples construct a new interlinked identity which is increasingly reflected in the linguistic, social and political reality (Mukherjee 2007:162). A local variety of English emerges with distinctive lexicogrammatical features. At the same time a “complaint tradition” initiated by settlers emerges in response to perceived deteriorating standards and linguistic corruption in the use of the new English (Mukherjee 2007:162).
- iv) Endonormative Stabilization: The process of nativization is completed and new indigenous norms are widely accepted. There is no longer a desire or a need to be orientated towards the “home” country. The new English begins to be codified in dictionaries and is used increasingly for the purpose of creative writing. Mukherjee (2007:163) notes that during this phase the local norms are positively accepted as carriers of local identity and that this is

evident in the issuing and acceptance of labels for the new English e.g. “Swazi English”.

- v) Differentiation: During this phase new sub-national group identities are being developed. The national identity is now stable and thus internal diversification is possible. As a result, new dialects of the new English begin to develop.

Mukherjee (2007:163) points out that Schneider’s model is both abstract and idealised. Nevertheless, it is a useful approach to the evolutionary patterns of new Englishes. Mukherjee (2007:163) also notes that the phases are not clearly demarcated as distinct from each other, rather one phase blends into the other and thus there may be contexts in which aspects of two phases may be evident simultaneously.

There is no shortage of literature with respect to new Englishes. In some instances the literature seeks only to identify and introduce a particular variety of English, focusing on its origin and development without offering any linguistic analysis of its features. In other instances there have been attempts to categorise the deviations from SE by identifying features of the new English and the frequency with which they occur. The research on new Englishes tends to focus on the new English as an oral manifestation although there are some references to the use of new Englishes in local newspapers. The focus of this thesis is on how these new Englishes are being perceived by people from different speech communities. This is an area in which there appears to have been little research to date. Some of the literature relating to new Englishes is discussed

below in order to provide a context in which Swazi English and the perceptions thereof can be discussed.

2.2.1 Argentine English

In Argentina, English was not imposed through colonization but is nevertheless the most widely used foreign language in this country (Friedrich 2003:175). It is given more status in the education system in Argentina than in many other South American countries (Friedrich 2003: 174-175). Friedrich (2003:174) attributes the prestigious status of English to the demands of the job market and Argentina's close historical ties with Great Britain. Friedrich (2003:181) notes that bilingual schools in Argentina are educating Argentines in a variety of English that differs in many aspects from British Standard English and American Standard English. This new variety, according to Friedrich (2003:181) is being validated as a new English by being taught in schools and used in newspapers which implies that it is semi-institutionalised.

2.2.2 Chinese English

Yang (2005:435) introduces "China English" as a "fledgling non-native variety and a late arrival in the Asian English Family." Yang (2005:425) suggests that the nativization of English in China only began in the early 1980's. It is characterized by loanwords, nonce-borrowings and loan translations. Loanwords are lexical items that have been borrowed in their original form from Chinese to China English. This is made possible via Pinyin – a system for translating Chinese ideograms into the Latin alphabet. The loanwords tend to be culture specific with reference to, for example, food, festivals and music. Nonce-borrowings are single occurrences of an item which is used infrequently. Yang (2005:429) suggests that nonce-borrowings mark the beginning of

the borrowing process. Romaine (cf. Yang 2005:430) uses the term “loan translations” to refer to the rearranging of words in the base language, in this case Mandarin, according to the patterns of the other language, in this case China English, resulting in new meaning. Yang (2005:435) suggests that China English is still in its infancy as there are a limited number of borrowed lexical items, the loanwords are all culture-specific and the loan translations are more complex than they may initially appear to be. However, there is little doubt that China English is evolving albeit in a different pattern than suggested by Schneider’s Dynamic Model.

2.2.3 Japanese English

French (2005:371) acknowledges the emergence of Japanese English but argues that the deviations from SE are “errors” which may be gaining some degree of acceptance within the context of Japanese English. French refers to the work of Suenobu and Nagaoka (cf. French 2005:372) who catalogued the morphological and syntactic features of Japanese English. French (2005:372) refers to these features as “errors”, which suggests that he views Japanese English as an error-ridden second language (L2) variety. However, from French’s study of the English writing of Japanese students at Chukyo University, French (2005:381) concludes that it is not practical for Japanese learners of English to speak and write like native speakers but rather that it is practical (and desirable) for Japanese users of English to speak and write Japanese English. Thus Japanese English is recognised as a changing and developing variety of English in spite of the suggestion that its deviations from SE varieties are “errors” (French 2005:371). Suenoba and Nagaoka (cf. French 2005:381) noted that “American workers for IBM take intensive lessons in Japanese English before they come to Japan because they have

difficulties in business negotiations unless they understand it.” This certainly indicates a massive paradigm shift from the premise of SE to an understanding and acceptance of new Englishes. Sakai (2005:321) notes that acceptance of World Englishes has been escalating and refers to the Japanese Association for Asian Englishes (JAF AE), the existence of which indicates an acceptance of Japanese English as a new English.

2.2.4 Philippine English

Bautista (2004:113) notes that since the early 1970’s, there have been several studies which have analysed the grammatical features of Philippine English (PE) and the areas in which the grammar of PE deviates from the grammar of Standard American English which is the exonormative model of English in the Philippines. As early as 1983 Gonzales (cf. Bautista 2004:113) questioned the point at which errors become recognised as standard features of PE. This suggests that PE has long been regarded as a new English. Bautista’s (2004:113-128) study of the verb forms in PE showed that non-standard usage of the modal “would” is a common feature of PE as well as a common feature of Singaporean English and Brunei English. This may suggest the emergence of new regional standards with respect to new Englishes.

2.2.5 Indian English

In post colonial, post independence India, English has been retained as an official language fulfilling a range of intranational functions in fields such as administration, media and education (Mukherjee 2007:158). However, English is not usually acquired as a first language but rather as a second or third language via the education system. New varieties of English have emerged in India which deviate from other varieties of

English (Mukherjee 2007:158). Mukherjee (2007:157-187) applies Schneider's Dynamic Model of the evolution of new Englishes to the development of Indian English (IE) from its foundation phase in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to its present day phase of exonormative stabilisation which is dynamic rather than static: Mukherjee (2007:170) argues that present day Indian English (IE) is characterised by conflicting forces of progression and conservatism. At a structural level the progressive forces are responsible for the innovation of new forms and structures by Indian users of English. On a functional level, progressive forces are leading to an increased range of functions that English fulfils and at the attitudinal level, progressive forces may be increasing the acceptance of IE as a vehicle for the writing of fiction. Conservative forces, however, continue to restrain the evolutionary process of IE at a structural level by retaining established forms of British Standard English and at a functional level by restricting the use of English to informal contexts. In addition, the evolution of IE is inhibited at an attitudinal level by the rejection of English as a foreign language, the language of the coloniser. Despite this paradox, it can be argued that IE is in the phase of Endonormative Stabilization in terms of Schneider's Dynamic Model as the process of nativization is completed although some overlaps may be evident as the phase of Nativization and the phase of Endonormative Stabilisation blend into each other (Mukherjee 2007:170).

2.2.6 New Englishes in Africa

English in Africa is, almost entirely, a colonial legacy. Unlike Argentine English which is not developed as a first language within the country and Japanese English which is developed as a second language for the purpose of market access, English in Africa has

become a first language in many speech communities. In colonised countries such as Kenya and Nigeria, English was imposed on administrative, economic and political structures and quickly entrenched via the education system. In countries such as Swaziland and Botswana which were British Protectorates, English was imposed as the language of negotiation, trade and administration and equally quickly entrenched as the language of the elite and educated via the education systems. As such, English in Africa vacillates between being perceived as the accepted and preferred vehicle of international and, in some cases, intranational communication and being perceived as a “cultural bomb” as defined by the Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiongo (cf. Michieka 2005: 183). Ngugi (cf. Michieka 2005: 183) argues that English in Africa continues a more insidious “colonization of the mind” process in which pre-colonial cultures and histories are erased in favour of a post colonial and post independence history in which English is the language of the educated and the elite. Thus the use of English in African contexts is linguistically, culturally and socially controversial. Unlike Ngugi, the Nigerian writer, Chinua Achebe, has chosen to continue to write in English. According to Bamiro (2006:315), Achebe has always emphasised the need for the development of a new English in the African context.

I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit new African surroundings. (Achebe 1975, in Bamiro 2006: 316)

2.2.6.1 Kenyan English

Michieka (2005:175) argues that English in Kenya is a colonial legacy retained post independence for political and historical reasons. One of those reasons is that English

became the language of instruction in Kenyan schools during the colonial period resulting in the use of English being recognised as a sign of education. Michieka (2005:173) states that Kenya is one of the Outer Circle countries. This suggests that English in Kenya is established as a L2 variety of the British English L1 variety of the colonising country. Michieka (2005:176) suggests that there have been changes in Kenyan English since independence but offers no lexicogrammatical description of such changes. Instead, Michieka offers a sociolinguistic overview of English in Kenya which is useful because it establishes links between Kenyan English and the Englishes of other African countries. Crystal (cf. Michieka 2005:183) suggests that Kenyans are ambivalent and antagonistic towards English. However, Michieka's own (2005) study on the language attitudes of school children in Kenya showed that there was generally a positive attitude towards English in Kenya.

2.2.6.2 Nigerian English

Bamiro's (2006:318) discussion of the features of Nigerian English is centred on the work of the acclaimed Nigerian writer, Chinua Achebe. As mentioned above, Achebe, in contrast to the Kenyan writer, Ngugi, continues to write in English which he adapts in an attempt to contextualise the English language in his culture. Bamiro (2006:317) refers to this adaptation of English as "nativization" or "indigenization" and suggests that Achebe consciously applies strategies such as hybridisation, code switching and relexification in order to achieve this. Hybridisation refers to the use of direct lexical transfers and borrowing from other Nigerian languages, relexification refers to the use of English vocabulary but with indigenous structures and rhythms, and Code-Switching

refers to the incorporation of linguistic features from a second language into the base language (English) (Bamiro 2006:317). Code-switching is culturally bound to objects and domains that are related to food, clothing, transportation, traditional concepts and musical instruments. In addition, Nigerian English is infused with ethnolexemes – words which denote class position. These ethnolexemes are a residue of British colonial English which Bamiro (2006:320) argues were “forms of repressive colonial discourse meant to legitimize the inferior status of colonized subjects.” Another feature of Nigerian English is the use of neologisms – invented words or word groups used to “expand the contextual usefulness of English” (Bamiro 2006: 317).

As Achebe is attempting to use an English which has meaning and relevance in an African context, it might be possible to suggest that Achebe’s strategies are indicative of the features of Nigerian English and not unique to Achebe’s writings although this would need to be empirically investigated. Thus Nigerian English could be considered as a new English in the Endonormative Phase of its evolution as a new English.

2.2.6.3 Gambian English

Very little is known about this variety of English. The Gambia is listed as one of the countries in which West African English is spoken. Like Kenyan English and Nigerian English, Gambian English is a colonial legacy. English was introduced to The Gambia as early as 1588 as a result of trading contacts with Britain. The Gambia became a British colony in 1843 and achieved independence in 1965. English is the official language of The Gambia and is acquired as a second language through formal education

(Peter, Wolf and Bobda 2003: 58). Gambian English has a number of established and relatively stable features which can be identified in both spoken and written texts (Peter, Wolf and Bobda 2003: 48) and which distinguish Gambian English from other varieties of West African English. These features include lexical features in which the English lexicon is adapted to the local socio-cultural background; borrowings from indigenous languages which are unique to Gambian English; code-switching resulting in a hybrid syntactic structure and neologisms which represent phenomena in the spheres of administration, education and law (Peter, Wolf and Bobda 2003: 52-58).

2.2.6.4 Central African Englishes

This refers to the Englishes of Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe which Schmied (1996:302) suggests can be considered as a “cluster variety” different from the Englishes of Southern, East or West Africa. In all three countries English became entrenched during the period of colonization. After independence, no clear language policy was developed and thus English maintained its position of dominance. Schmied (1996:306) suggests that the regional context post independence provides the central reason why these independent African states did not try to abolish the colonial heritage of English. The interrelationship between these states and South Africa meant that they were not immune to the influence of the Apartheid ideology which equated African languages with inequality and underdevelopment (Schmied 1996:306). Thus English, ironically in a postcolonial context, became the language most closely associated with freedom and internationalisation.

Schmied (1996:310-313) describes a number of features of Central African Englishes which are region- or nation-specific, as well as a number of features which can be observed in the Englishes of many other African countries. Region-specific features involve pronunciation and vocabulary. Pronunciation is influenced by mother-tongue interference and the development of a regional lexicon is the result of borrowings, code-switching and hybridisations of indigenous languages. Features shared with other African Englishes include simplification of verb forms, non-standard or omitted prepositions, mixed tenses and non-standard use of plural forms. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four, these features are all features of Swazi English. Schmied (1996:316) describes the linguistic, political, economic and social interrelatedness of Central Africa (Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Southern Africa (Namibia, Botswana, South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland).

2.2.6.5 Black South African English (BSAfE)

English was brought to South Africa by British settlers in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It replaced Dutch and the African languages in all the major public domains. However, these languages remained the language of teaching and learning for the first four years of schooling. Thereafter, English was the language of instruction in mission schools until 1953 and the language of higher levels of education. In addition, the political connotations of Afrikaans, overtly associated with Apartheid practices, led to English becoming the preferred language (preferred over Afrikaans) among the Black population (Makalela 2004: 356).

The identification and recognition of BSaFE as an institutionalised variety of English in South Africa is fraught with socio-political and linguistic complexities. The most obvious problem in a country still battling with the residue of the entrenched socio-political and linguistic ideologies of Apartheid is the application of the label “black”. This label is problematic because it is associated with the Apartheid practice of labeling race and ethnicity (De Klerk 2003: 463). However, De Klerk (2003:463) notes that the use of the term Black South African English is most useful in acknowledging BSaFE as a recognisably distinct variety of English in South Africa. In addition, Van Rooy (cf. De Klerk 2003:463) argues that the term “black” has acquired positive connotations post Apartheid and is a more acceptable term than the linguistically accurate term “Bantu” which has negative connotations. The focus of this thesis is the perceptions of and attitudes towards Swazi English in particular and thus it is useful to note that there are attitudinal responses to the labeling of new Englishes in Southern Africa which may have a bearing on how these new Englishes are perceived and subsequently accepted or rejected and how the users of these languages are judged.

Makalela (2004: 355) argues that the perceptions of BSaFE vacillate between the extremes of dismissing BSaFE as “unimportant” and “a conglomeration of errors” to its acceptance as an “evolved and distinct variety” of English. The more negative perceptions of BSaFE are “older” (Lanham 1967; Lanham and Macdonald 1979) while the positive and accepting perceptions are more recent (Wade 1995, Makalela 1998,

2000).³ This shift in the perception of BSAfE as a new English may well be related to changing socio-political and linguistic perceptions in the post-Apartheid era. However, Makalela (2004:355) argues that South African linguists such as Van Rooy (2002), Wissing (2002) and De Klerk and Gough (2002) still approach the recognition of BSAfE as a new English with caution. De Klerk (2003:464) argues that the cautious consideration of BSAfE as a new English is affected by a) the wide range of differences in the competence of BSAfE speakers from complete fluency to minimal levels of proficiency and b) the restricted information about BSAfE which is based on emphasising its deviances from Standard English. In addition, the multilingual nature of South Africa raises the question of whether BSAfE is a “monolithic entity” (Roux and Louw 2000, in De Klerk 2003: 464) or whether there are a number of different varieties based on the different native languages of the speakers. De Klerk (2003:465) suggests that to group all the varieties of Englishes spoken by South Africans who speak a Bantu language as a first language as BSAfE, would overlook the differences between these Englishes. Thus De Klerk (2003:465) suggests that researchers need to aim for a finer differentiation within BSAfE. De Klerk’s (2003: 221- 243) research, with respect to Xhosa English (XE) as a fully-fledged institutionalised variety of English, characterises some of the features of XE as part of the process of differentiating between the different sub-varieties of BSAfE. Wissing (2002:141) however, argues that there are no major differences between the different forms of BSAfE but concedes that this is a generalisation based on the findings of his one particular (2002) study. Wissing

³ Makalela (2004:355) quotes Wright (1996:153) as suggesting that BSAfE is “an arrested stage in the learner continuum”. While Wright (1996:153) recognizes that this may well be a perception of BSAfE, he qualifies his statement by recognizing that this attitude implies an “acquiescence in an incomplete educational process” which is an unacceptable premise for both proponents of BSAfE and those demanding a quality Education.

(2002:143) concludes that BSAfE should be considered an “interlanguage” rather than a stabilised new English.

Makalela (2004:355) suggests that central to the BSAfE debate is the absence of a codified standard South African English. Instead, British Standard English is promoted as the only authentic English model in South Africa. Makalela (2004:355) is very critical of this, suggesting it has resulted in “linguistic apartheid” which has excluded all those who are “culturally distant from it from any meaningful participation in the political, economic and technological affairs of their country”. Wright (1996:150) notes that there is no standardising body (which he refers to as an “invisible hand”) to ensure that the variety of English developed in South Africa will be internationally or intranationally intelligible. In contrast to Makalela’s argument for the recognition of BSAfE as a new English in its own right, Wright (1996:152) suggests that the restandardising of English to accommodate BSAfE would be a “draconian feat of linguistic engineering”. Wright (1996:152) argues strongly that in order for English in South Africa to enable communication between different speech communities within and outside of South Africa, and to facilitate the effective operation of the country’s economic and educational sectors, it has to be an English that “works”⁴. As such, he rejects BSAfE as a viable new English in favour of Standard English. However, van der Walt’s (2000) study showed that all varieties of South African English are internationally comprehensible. This negates Wright’s argument that SE is central to

⁴ Wright does not offer any explanation of what is meant by “works”. However, the central argument of his paper suggest that SE (established principally by international usage in printed texts) is the English that “works” to enable communication between different speech communities within and outside of South Africa, and to facilitate the effective operation of the country’s economic and educational sectors.

effective international communication. Van der Walt (2000: 150) asserts that assumptions “ about the relative importance of varieties and the very arbitrary borders that separate a ‘dialect’ from a ‘standard language’ need to be questioned.

Makalela (2004: 356) identifies four reasons for the emergence and spread of BSAfE. The first is that of demographic power. The majority of English speakers in South Africa are those whose English is characterised by features of BSAfE. Only about five percent of English speakers are “traditional native speakers” (Makalela 2004:356) and thus their sphere of influence is unlikely to reach the vast majority of BSAfE users. The second factor influencing the emergence and spread of BSAfE is education. BSAfE is spread to students by teachers who speak BSAfE themselves. The third factor is the influence of Bantu language structures which serve as a reference point in the acquisition and use of English (Makalela 2004:357). Makalela (2004:357) refers to this as “creative bilingualism” and suggests that it produces a well-formed and rule-governed variety of English. The fourth factor motivating the emergence and spread of BSAfE is its value in post-Apartheid South Africa. English has become the dominant official language in the media, government, commerce and technology. In addition, English has become the preferred language of the urban Black elite who use it in their homes and opt to send their children to English-medium private schools. Makalela (2004:357) argues that these factors indicate that BSAfE fits the parameters of Kachru’s Outer Circle varieties as it is developed through the education system in an area in which a native variety of English was not spoken by the majority of the population. Furthermore, BSAfE has acquired a range of functions in the public domain, becoming

nativized by the consistent manifestations and use of language features of its own which rely on the underlying structures of Bantu languages. These features include inter alia the use of the progressive form of verbs and the non-standard sequencing of tenses (Makalela 2004: 362).

South African linguists such as Van der Walt and Van Rooy (2002) and De Klerk (2003) have explored the emergence norms for BSAfE. With respect to the research for this thesis, the notion of norms becomes central because determining whether Swazi English is a new English will be based on an investigation of the deviation of Swazi English features from expected “standard” norms. In addition, the research for this thesis will require an evaluation of both Swazi English and the users of Swazi English which will be based on the respondents’ own perceived norms. De Klerk (2003: 221) recognises that concepts relating to norms, standardisation and codification of new Englishes are difficult to define. Van der Walt and Van Rooy (2002) and De Klerk (2003) refer to Gill’s (1999) model of the three phases of development of norms in a new English situation. The first phase is the Exonormative Phase usually in evidence during a pre-independence era and characterised by dependence on external norms (Van der Walt and Van Rooy 2002: 114). The second phase is the Liberation and Expansion Phase which is, in essence, a transitional phase during which external norms compete with the development of new norms leading to confusion for both speakers and hearers and inconsistency in use. The third phase is the Endonormative Phase in which a new standard is adopted and accepted on the “basis of the pragmatic concerns of the needs of the language users.” (Van der Walt and Van Rooy 2002: 114). Van der Walt and Van Rooy (2002: 114) and De Klerk (2003: 478) suggest that BSAfE is in the Liberation and

Expansion Phase of the development of norms, which is by nature a phase characterised by confusion and uncertainty for both speakers and hearers. It is precisely this confusion and uncertainty which may influence the perceptions of different speech communities with respect to BSAfE in general and Swazi English in particular.

2.2.6.6 Swazi English (SwE)

Although siSwati is the mother tongue of the majority of Swazis, English is the language of education at all levels (Arua 1998:140). Considering that siSwati is also widely used in South Africa to the extent that it is recognised as one of the country's 11 official languages, it is possible to consider aspects of Swazi English (SwE) under the generic banner of BSAfE. This would suggest that characteristics of BSAfE as described by De Klerk (2003:224) and Mesthrie (2006:117-142) are inherent in the Swazi English used in Swaziland. However, Swaziland's history as a British Protectorate and eventually as an independent state, may have resulted in the development of some characteristics in the local variety of English spoken by Swazis living in Swaziland which differ from the English spoken by South Africans.

The English learned and spoken in Swaziland will necessarily reflect some effects of British colonialism. Swazi English, it could be argued, has a "paracolonial" (Newell 2001:336) genesis because it probably developed as a result of British presence and influences in public domains such as schools, government and the media. After achieving independence in 1968, it is likely that Swazi English continued to develop

despite increasingly “restricted access to input” (De Klerk 2003:222) from English first language speakers of British descent. Thus the local variety of English has developed independently of an external norm. De Klerk (2003:223) argues that varieties of English (such as Swazi English) which develop independently of external norms are “deeply stable”.

Apart from the studies of Kamwangamalu and Chisanga (1996), Kamwangamalu (1996) and Arua (1998) there appears to have been no further studies of Swazi English as a stable, institutionalised variety of English. Kamwangamalu and Chisanga’s (1996) study offers a sociolinguistic perspective of English in Swaziland. It shows that SwE is a “unique colloquial second-language variety which has been institutionalized and indigenized” (De Klerk 1996:15). Kamwangamalu and Chisanga (1996:291) suggest that the interaction of siSwati and English over a period of many years led to a local variety of English which they refer to as Swazi Colloquial English (SCE) which, they argue, was used as a second language by most Swazis. Kamwangamalu and Chisanga (1996:291) identified SCE as being characterised by borrowing, code-switching, hybridisation, lexical transfer and semantic shift⁵. Examples of these features were collected from Swaziland’s English newspapers. Arua (1998:140) attempted to identify the “phonological, lexical and syntactic characteristics of the use of English in Swaziland” by studying data collected from Swazi newspapers and questionnaires completed by students at the University of Swaziland (UNISWA). In addition, data were collected from examination and essay

⁵ The intended meaning is misunderstood because of the speaker’s use of language or the hearer’s interpretation of the language used.

scripts of students studying at UNISWA. Arua's study identified some of the defining characteristics of Swazi English, many of which are common to BSAfE as described by De Klerk (2003) and Mesthrie (2006). Some of the most prominent features of SwE are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.

2.2.7 Summary

The concept of new Englishes has developed as a result of the relatively new perception of English as an adapting and evolving language within increasingly wider global contexts. New Englishes are varieties of Englishes which, born of the parent language, grow up in the Expanding Circle to become distinctly individual: still retaining some cultural and linguistic characteristics of the English of the Inner Circle countries but representative and inclusive of many aspects of the culture and language of the nurturing country. However, as Jenkins (2006:33) notes, unless the current "gatekeeping" attitudes to language variation change significantly, new Englishes will continue to be regarded as inferior dialects in Outer Circle countries and the features of new Englishes in Expanding Circles will be perceived as L1 transfer errors. The "gatekeepers" to whom Jenkins refers are those who advocate Standard (British or American) English as the only acceptable, grammatical form of English.

2.3 The Standard English debate

The debate surrounding the perceived existence of a SE as the epitome of the language to which all users of the English language should aspire, is neither new nor resolved. For centuries there has been a growing realisation that languages inevitably change; at

the same time, in other circles there has been reactionary concern that it is change which corrupts the language. The purist school argues that “ownership of English lies with native speakers” (Wee 2002 in Mukherjee 2005:159). As such, new varieties of English are deviations from or approximations towards a native variety and users of new varieties of English need to look to native English speakers for norms (Wee 2002 in Mukherjee 2005:159).

Early critics of obvious changes in the English language include John Locke, Jonathan Swift and Samuel Johnson. As far back as 1690 Locke (cf. Crowley 1991:19) cautioned that the “ill use of words” spreads “errors and obscurity”. This “ill use of words”, he acknowledged, does not “corrupt the fountain of knowledge” but rather “breaks or stops the pipes whereby it is distributed to the publick (sic) use and advantage of mankind” (cf. Crowley 1991: 20). Locke also acknowledged the irony that “so hard it is, to show the various meanings and imperfections of words, when we have nothing but words to do it by.” (cf. Crowley 1991: 15)

In 1712, Jonathan Swift (cf. Crowley 1991:30) argued that “nothing would be of greater use towards the improvement of knowledge and politeness, than some effectual method for correcting, enlarging and ascertaining our language” so that the values inherent in the language would be effectively transmitted to future generations (Crowley 1991:30).

Samuel Johnson, in the mid eighteenth century, undertook to produce a dictionary with the intention of ridding the language of its “barbarous corruptions, licentious idioms and

colloquial barbarisms” (Burridge 2004:154). Johnson argued that the dictionary would be the method “whereby the pronunciation of our language may be fixed, its purity preserved, its use ascertained and its duration lengthened.” (cf. Crowley 1991: 60)

Embedded in the arguments of Locke, Swift and Johnson is the realisation that language changes and the argument for a standard English, as postulated by these writers, is less about achieving uniformity in language and more about the need to preserve the values and the culture perceived to be inherent in the language. Crowley (1991: 9) suggests that it is not “proper English” which is being debated but rather “‘Proper English’ values, modes of behaviour and patterns of belief”. Thus the early notions of SE are centred around the idea of language as the vehicle of cultural values, behaviours and beliefs. To speak “proper English” implied that one was “properly English”.

During the eighteenth century there was a call for the establishment of an “elegant and uniform” standard of English. Crowley (1991:193) suggests that this was a possible response to the political division of England and Scotland. Language, it was suggested, might play a role in unifying the two nations. By the end of the nineteenth century there was a shift in the understanding of what “standard” English was. Newbolt (cf. Crowley 1991:195) defined SE as “the variety of speech of a country which, by reason of its cultural status and currency is held to represent the best form of that speech.” Newbolt asserted that education was the key to ideological unity in the United Kingdom and that the teaching of SE should form the basis of this education (Crowley 1991:193).

Newbolt further asserted that SE was “civilized speech” which was “free from provincialisms and vulgarisms” (Newbolt 1921, in Crowley 1991:195). This notion of SE as civilised, free of inflection and ultimately correct has been perpetuated throughout the twentieth century. Marenbon (1987 in Crowley 1991:245) argued that a knowledge of the grammar of SE could alleviate the difficulties experienced when reading Chaucer and Shakespeare. As Crowley (1991:244) points out, this supposition merely denies the significant changes which have taken place in the language and which are, in themselves, the very cause of the difficulties experienced in reading Chaucer and Shakespeare. Marenbon’s paper was published by the Centre for Policy Studies and has a clear political agenda. Its underlying aim is to “construct a certain view of the social order and to propagate it” (Crowley 1991:245). To this end, Marenbon’s argument for a SE is not that different from the arguments posed centuries before by writers like Swift and Johnson.

However, despite Swift’s (in Burridge 2004:155) plea to “fix” the language (Burridge 2004:155) and his emphatic assertion that there is “no absolute necessity why language should be perpetually changing”, English continues to change. This change is, in part, a result of the ever-enlarging Expanding Circle described in Kachru’s model of global English. The rapid spread of English means that many more people in Outer and Expanding Circle countries are using English as a first language and, as such, the notion of a standard English is, at best, blurred.

The problem with standardizing English is that, unlike other languages such as Spanish and French, there is no official body prescribing the norms of the language (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006:5). Rubdy and Saraceni (2006:5) refer to the absence of a prescriptive body as “linguistic anarchy” and note that it has led to a debate between those who argue that standardization requires the implementation of an organised code and those who argue that linguistic diversity is the inevitable result of the new demands made on a language which has taken on a role of global proportions. Thus the question of what is “standard” when applied to a language is complex. Hundt (2006: 206) argues that SE is “not a monolithic entity but shows systematic variation in terms of a regional or stylistic preferences and ongoing change.” Cheshire and Milroy (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1993:3) agree and suggest that standardization is an ongoing process in any language involving the suppression of variability at all levels – spelling, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. However, they do acknowledge that this process is never fully successful. Cheshire and Milroy (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1993:3) also, significantly, note that the term “standard” implies that that which is not standard is sub-standard or inferior. “Sub-standard” or “non-standard” English therefore implies some form of functional inadequacy (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1993:3). Rubdy and Saraceni (2006:6) suggest that Standard English is a variety designed for institutional purposes and, as such, users are expected to conform to its conventions.

During the later part of the twentieth century there was a growing awareness and recognition amongst linguists of non-standard varieties of English. This in turn gave rise to a shift in the understanding of the term “standard” as applied in a linguistic

sense. Burridge (2004:156) argues that the use of the term “standard” when applied to English implied that there were linguistically superior dialects within the language itself. The implication therefore was that non-standard dialects did not “measure up to” SE, nor did non-standard dialects confer the same social prestige or status as SE. In addition, non-standard dialects lacked the backing of an arsenal of prescriptive texts like dictionaries and grammars (Burridge 2004:156 –157). However, the changing perception is that, linguistically, all dialects and varieties are equal as they all possess the “same potential for complexity and richness of expression.” (Burridge 2004:156 – 157) There is also a growing acknowledgement that language is both fluid and flexible and, as such, languages cannot be prescribed as completely regular systems (Burridge 2004:163). Words do not have only one potential meaning – they are used and interpreted according to a variety of factors including context and tone and in a wide range of social behaviours and activities. Householder (Burridge 2004:160) ironically notes that “nothing can be so clearly and carefully explained that it cannot be utterly misinterpreted.”

This has been vigorously debated by Honey (1997) in his book *Language is Power* which, he acerbically notes, will probably not find its way onto any student reading lists (Honey 1997:223). Honey (1997:1) argues that “there is such a thing as SE” which he defines as the language used in books and newspapers worldwide. He acknowledges a few differences between American and British English which, he emphasises, “are the only undisputed models of SE” (Honey 1997: 243). Honey (1997: 3) argues strongly that SE has definite characteristics of commonality, uniformity and correctness codified

in a set of rules and embodied in dictionaries. According to Honey (1997:44), this notion of SE has been disparaged by current thoughts in Education and Linguistics. He slates the work of linguists such as Lebov (1972) in the field of new Englishes as unscientific, defective and unsubstantiated (Honey 1997:23). Honey attacks the concept of language equality as “the new linguistic dogma” (Honey 1997: 8) and argues that “we should not fall into the trap of denying the existence of a ‘standard’ version of anything simply because it is difficult to define or measure.” (Honey 1997: 62) Honey (1997: 35) argues that SE is the language perceived by all – and resisted by some – as the language of literacy and education. As such, it is the language of power. The attempt by linguists who, “with a disingenuousness so colossal it disarms” (Honey 1997: 27), overlook the teaching and learning of SE in favour of accepting new English varieties is not only misguided but disempowering for those to whom it is denied (Honey 1997:42). Despite Honey’s vigorous defence of SE and his vitriolic attack on linguists who subscribe to the inclusive model of new Englishes, there is little doubt that the English language is changing and adapting and that it will continue to do so despite all attempts to define and fix its standard.

2.4 Perceptions of New Englishes and their users

Rubdy and Saraceni (2006:5) argue that the changed world-English landscape has led to the questioning of the application of British and American standards to linguistic settings and suggest that the use of English by non-native speakers can no longer be judged against the language use of native English speakers. To continue to do so is to impose a form of “linguistic imperialism” (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006:7). Nevertheless,

there are those like Honey (1997) who argue that failure to impose a standard on the use of English is leading to a degeneration of the language. It is quite evident that language change elicits a vast array of differing attitudes from those who consider language change as creative and innovative to those who decry it as an unacceptable recognition of error-ridden second language varieties. Gupta (2006:99) notes that users of written English are judged by their skill in SE which is often not linked to their birth, nationality, ethnicity or native speech community. Gupta (2006:98) also notes that “disapproval of non-standard varieties of English is not the prerogative of the formerly colonized.” Svartik and Leach (2006:9) suggest that varieties of English are often subject to value judgements based on the assumption that some kinds of grammar are “correct” and others “incorrect”. In addition, there is an assumption that SE is superior to other Englishes.

With respect to BSAfE, De Klerk (2003:227) suggests that the range of the levels of competence with which a Bantu mother tongue speaker uses English explains why Black varieties of English in South Africa are perceived negatively in comparison with more accepted varieties of English. Bamgose (cf. De Klerk 2003: 226) argues that “to insist on native variety feature norms is to negate the very existence of non-native varieties, since many of the linguistic features likely to be stigmatised by comparison with native English are the very indexical markers of the non-native varieties”. De Klerk’s (2003) examination of Xhosa English (XE) as a variety of BSAfE suggests that XE does merit being considered as a new English. However, De Klerk (2003:240) recognises that the influence of native English norms still result in some of the major

indexical markers of non-native varieties of English (such as XE) being stigmatised. Gough (1996:58) noted that new Englishes are often stigmatised varieties of English and that it is, ironically, the users of the new English who deny its institutionalised existence. Kachru (cf. Mukherjee 2007:170) refers to this phenomenon as “linguistic schizophrenia” in which speakers of new Englishes “accept English as an integral part of their linguistic repertoire but at the same time reject the local variant at hand.” With respect to Indian English, D’Souza (cf. Mukherjee 2007:170) commented on the widespread intranational use of this variety of English juxtaposed with a self-critical attitude towards deviations from Standard British English. Park and Wee (2008:12) note that the Singaporean Government has recently expressed concern about the popularity and use of Singlish – a local variety of English. There appears to be a fear that Singlish will develop into a pidgin English, understood by 3 million Singaporeans but not the rest of the world with disastrous consequences for Singapore’s economic development. The emergence of indigenous norms should be indicative of the success of Singlish as a new English but instead steps are being taken by the government to eliminate it. It would appear that the use of English, far from being a unifying force, becomes divisive and runs the risk of “entrenching classist and elitist attitudes and divisions” (Branford 1996:43). Thus the perception of new Englishes in intercultural and intracultural contexts becomes as important as the recognition and acceptance that a new English is, in fact, in use. Branford (1996:44) argues that, in South Africa, English has long been perceived by black parents and learners as the goal of education. However, the English to which he refers in this context is the English of native English speakers in South

Africa which is modelled on British Standard English and endorsed by the English Academy of South Africa (Makalela 2004:355).

Beyond the acceptance and perception of new Englishes is the question of how the users of these Englishes are perceived. Very little work appears to have been done in this particular area. Some linguists (Cheshire and Milroy 1993; Wardhaugh 1999) have drawn brief conclusions based on their studies of perceptions of non-standard Englishes. Cheshire and Milroy (1993:14) argue that since SE in the United Kingdom is used by the more powerful and influential people in society, it is regarded as an indicator of being cultured and educated and therefore is considered to be proper and correct. The fact that SE is the form taught to non-native speakers reinforces its status as the only “correct” English (Cheshire and Milroy 1993:14). The implication is that non-standard varieties of English are not autonomous, separate entities but rather corruptions of SE grammar which are just “plain ‘wrong’” (Cheshire and Milroy 1993:15). Cheshire and Edwards (1993:42) found that speakers whose accents reflected “received pronunciation”⁶ were perceived to be more intelligent and more competent than speakers who have regional accents. “Ignorance, prejudice and a lack of understanding of standard and non-standard varieties of English have tended to compound the problem of linguistic inequality in the British Isles.” (Cheshire and Milroy 1993: 31) Wardhaugh (1999: 22) commented that attitudes towards a speaker can differ according to the accent adopted by that speaker. Interestingly, Wardhaugh (1999: 23) notes that this is a not a phenomenon confined to English and suggest that the speakers of Arabic would

⁶ An accent of English identified as characteristic of educated speakers in the south of Britain (Matthews 1997:309).

show some attitude change with regard to the accent adopted by the speakers. It may be possible to argue, given the generally negative perception of new Englishes, that the perception of users of new Englishes may result in stereotyping which, in turn, gives rise to prejudice which is a barrier to intercultural communication and relationships.

Hinton (2000:7) explains that there are three important components of a stereotype. The first is the identification of a group of people according to a specific characteristic. The second component is the attribution of an additional set of characteristics to the group. These additional characteristics may stem in part from the (often limited) experience, belief systems and attitudes of the ascribing individual or group. The third component of a stereotype is the attribution of stereotypical characteristics. In terms of the perception of new Englishes and the attribution of stereotypes a possible scenario would thus involve the identification of a group according to the English they use, e.g. journalists in Swaziland who use Swazi English. Additional characteristics would then be attributed to those journalists based in part on the differences between their English and the English of the reader. In that the reader probably perceives his or her language as being standard, the conclusion drawn is that Swazi journalists do not use standard English. The third component of the stereotype in this scenario would be the attribution of stereotypical characteristics: for example, Swazi journalists who do not use standard English are poorly educated, inexperienced and probably unintelligent because they cannot speak SE “properly”. While this scenario is hypothetical it does serve to illustrate that stereotypes arise from the limitations of human cognitive processes (Hinton 2000:9). Human beings construct simplified pictures of the real world which

are not based on direct knowledge or experience. These pictures provide a mechanism by which human beings cope with the world and the people in it. These pictures and the stereotypes which result from them are inherently faulty since they are almost certainly inaccurate (Hinton 2000: 9). "Stereotypes reflect the 'perceived realities' of groups in terms of the specific context of a person's judgment" (Hinton 2000:121). Ingroup similarity and outgroup discrimination is accentuated by the stereotype. Hinton (2000:124) argues that "when making a categorization between one's own group and an outgroup, an individual will show ingroup favouritism". Thus the construction of stereotypes is closely linked to the need for social identity (Hinton 2000:113). Hinton (2000:113) suggests that it is in one's "self interest to perceive our own group as more favourable to and distinct from other groups as this will give us a positive social identity." The tragedy of stereotyping apart from its being a simplification of the real world is that it is closely linked to prejudice. Prejudice can be described as a hostile attitude towards a person or group based on that person's perceived group membership and the stereotypes attributed to that group (Allport 2000:22). Allport (2000:24) suggests that there are two essential and interrelated aspects of prejudice. The first aspect is an attitude of disfavour which is related to the second aspect which is an overgeneralised belief.

Stangor and Schaller (2000:69) suggest that language provides a basic mechanism for the categorization of groups. Groups become categorized according to the language they speak which then becomes the basis for stereotyping and prejudice. Wardhaugh (1999:47) argues that groups do not willingly give up their language to adopt the

language of another group, and suggests that “language is like ethnicity, religion and territory. It is something that many are willing to fight for and, if necessary, to die for.” There is a strongly held belief within groups that their language is essentially appropriate to them. This is often extended to the belief that one language is “better” than others (Wardhaugh 1999: 47).

Stangor and Schaller (2000:69) note that “despite the clear importance of language as a basis of stereotyping, empirical data has not been as abundant or as integrated into other approaches to stereotyping as it might be.” Bosch and De Klerk (1996:231) suggest that the lack of empirical evidence regarding language attitudes could be attributed to the methodological difficulties of researching attitudes given that attitudes, by virtue of being latent dispositions can only be inferred and cannot be directly observed (Bosch and De Klerk 1996:33). Nevertheless, Bosch and De Klerk (1996:32) acknowledge the importance of language attitude studies in highlighting the perceptions and stereotyped reactions of both speakers and hearers from different speech communities. Bosch and De Klerk (1996:231) argue that all members of particular linguistic communities have stereotyped ideas about the use of language which influence “sub-conscious attitudes to languages in general, to the speakers of those languages and to non-native speakers of a particular language to learn the language in question.” Bosch and De Klerk (1996:234) cite a number of studies which attempt to assess attitudes towards a language. Very few studies have attempted to research attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or variety thereof. However, it is important to note that very often attitudes towards a language reflect the attitudes towards the speakers of that language. Friedrich (2002:

444) found that students in Brazil and Argentina did not acknowledge non-native varieties of English (including their own). Instead they aimed to learn the native English of Britain and America. Friedrich (2002:444) argues that this native English in a Brazilian and Argentinean context is both unrealistic and unnecessary, leading to feelings of failure and frustration for the students when faced with English in the real world as opposed to in a teaching and learning context. The implication inherent in both the goals and attitudes is that personal and communicative success is dependent on being proficient in British or American English. Mesthrie (2002:99) examined the text of a popular radio series, *Applesammy and Naidoo*, aired in Natal in the 1940's. Mesthrie (2002:100) points out that the text of this comedy is based on a stereotype of South African Indians. While greatly overgeneralizing and distorting features of South African Indian English, a parallel social stereotyping occurs. The Indian characters are portrayed via their use of language as "ignorant and less than law abiding". Mesthrie (2002:110) refers to the language ascribed to the Indian characters of *Applesammy and Naidoo* as a "Mock Language" which, he argues, is used as "a tool to dominate the 'other' by symbolic means." Delamere (1996: 279) found that accent and error in L2 speech resulted in cultural prejudices being exhibited by American respondents in her study. The absence or presence of errors in the second language variety also elicited different stereotypes. Delamere (1996:292) concluded that errors can either enhance or hinder communication depending on a speaker's accent, which provokes a stereotype with regard to the speaker's worth and status. A key factor in the evaluation is thus the attitude of the listener towards the accent of the non-native speaker. Delamere (1996: 293) found that the effect of the stereotype evoked by the non-native accent had a more

powerful effect on the listener than the presence of errors in the speech. Chalhoub-Deville and Wigglesworth (2005:383) investigated the perceptions of teachers from different Anglophone countries towards the oral performance of non-native speakers. They found that there were no significant differences between the perceptions of different groups of native speakers. The role of the perception of new Englishes in the attributing of stereotypes and hence the development of prejudice is fraught with complexities and difficult to research because it is both sensitive and prone to investigator bias. Nevertheless ongoing research is essential to the facilitation of effective intercultural communication in an increasingly shrinking global context.

2.5 Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter provides the background to the central research concerns of this thesis. The concept of new Englishes and their development provides a context in which Swazi English (SwE) can be considered as a new English. The features of SwE identified for this study are presented in Chapter Four of this thesis. The discussion with reference to standards and norms provides a backdrop against which new Englishes are measured and the recognition and acceptance (or rejection) of new Englishes, in general, and SwE, in particular, is affected. The debate surrounding what constitutes Standard English provides some insight into the controversy surrounding the emergence and development of new Englishes which has bearing on the way in which people who use new Englishes are perceived by people from other speech communities. The research of this thesis attempts to gauge the response of different speech communities to the use and users of SwE. For this reason the notions of standards and

norms becomes critical. The standards and norms of the language use of each respondent in the study provide the basis from which his or her judgement of SwE and the users of SwE is made. This judgement is often prejudicial (as demonstrated in the findings of this study, presented in Chapter Five). Thus the literature pertaining to prejudice and stereotypes provides a theoretical platform from which the perception of respondents from different speech communities to SwE and to the users of SwE can be considered. In the next chapter, the research design and methodology of this study will be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the research design and methodology of this study will be discussed.

While there is a fair amount of literature relating to new Englishes, the literature pertaining to Swazi English (SwE) in particular is scant. Apart from the studies of Kamwangamalu and Chisanga (1996), Kamwangamalu (1996) and Arua (1998) there appears to have been no further studies of Swazi English as a stable, institutionalised variety of English. There have also been no new studies of SwE in the past ten years. The first part of my research, therefore, aims to re-examine the features of SwE identified by Kamwangamalu and Chisanga (1996), Kamwangamalu (1996) and Arua (1998) and then expand the discussion on the features of SwE in order to assess whether SwE is indeed a stable new English. This will address the first research question posed in Chapter One of this thesis

The second part of my research aimed to investigate the responses of people from different speech communities to the use and the users of SwE. There have only been a few studies which focus on attitudes to language use in Southern African communities, partly because this is an aspect of language-in-society which is difficult to investigate because it is both sensitive and prone to investigator bias. The studies that are relevant here, were discussed comprehensively in the previous chapter. There appears to have been no such study conducted with reference to SwE and the users of SwE. In an increasingly shrinking Global context, the need for the study of language attitudes

becomes more pressing because language attitudes have a direct bearing on the effectiveness of intercultural communication and relationships.

As stated in paragraph 4 of Chapter One, the research questions which this thesis aims to answer are:

1. Can SwE be characterised as a new English according to the definition of new Englishes as presented in the clarification of terminology in Chapter One and discussed in paragraph 2.3 of Chapter Two of this thesis?
2. How do people from different speech communities respond to the use of SwE in newspapers?
3. How do people from different speech communities assess journalists using SwE in newspapers?

The research for this thesis is divided into two parts. The first part of the research involves the identification of the main features of Swazi English (SwE) and the frequency (i.e. how many times these features were noted and counted in a four-week period) with which these identified features occur in Swaziland's newspapers. The second part of the research involves investigating the responses of members of different speech communities to SwE and to the users of SwE.

3.1 Identifying the main features of SwE as evident in printed media

There are five newspaper publications in Swaziland, all of which are printed in English. There is no longer a siSwati news publication. The Times Group owns and publishes *The Times of Swaziland* (TOS) which is published daily, *Swazi News* (SN) which is

published on Saturdays and *The Times Sunday* (TS) which is published on Sundays. These publications are generally thought to be more accepting of the monarchy and less critical of the government than those published by the Observer Group. The Observer Group publishes the *Swazi Observer* (SOB) which is published daily and *The Weekend Observer* (WOB) which is published on Saturdays. These two publications are more left wing and critical of the monarchy and government which has led to their being banned on more than one occasion. Each newspaper published by The Times Group and by The Observer Group has its own editorial team and journalists.

Over a period of six weeks in November and December 2007 I read the newspapers daily and identified the recurring features of SwE. These features were identified according to their deviation from the norms of the English of L1 English speaking South Africans. Norms are the sets of patterns of speech which are common to a particular speech community in particular contexts (Matthews 1997:246). The norms of the English of first language English speaking South Africans are rooted in the standards of British Standard English (BSE) which were introduced to the country with the arrival of British Settlers in 1820 (Mesthrie 2006:116). This “extraterritorial ‘transported’ English” (De Klerk 1996:10) changed in form and function as it spread to various groups of speakers of other languages. The South African English which conforms most closely to the norms of BSE is the English of a small minority of South African English speakers - about five percent of the population according to Makalela (2004:356) - but it is the established language of government, business, technology, education and the media (Branford 1996: 47-48). Mesthrie (2006:116) notes that this

variety of English, which he labels White South African English (WhSAfE) in order to differentiate it from Black South African English, is the language aimed at in the classroom because it is the language of textbooks and the language expected in the “upper echelons of the education system” (Mesthrie 2006:116). As a speaker of WhSAfE, I was cognizant therefore, at the outset, of my own personal bias at play in the process of identifying features of SwE. Anything that “sounded” wrong, created confusion or appeared alien to me was noted. This intuitive identification of features of SwE is based on (i) my own membership in a WhSAfE speech community, (ii) my primary and secondary education in schools in which WhSAfE was the dominant language and the grammar of BSE was normative and (iii) my tertiary education in institutions in which WhSAfE provided the basis for academic language. My subsequent experience as an English teacher greatly enhanced my sensitivity to the norms of WhSAfE. I initially noted seventy-nine possible features of SwE which were different from WhSAfE on a lexical, syntactic and/or semantic level. In two non-consecutive two-week periods in February and March 2008 I counted the frequency with which the seventy-nine identified features occurred in the first ten pages of all the newspapers. I restricted my investigation to the first ten pages of each publication as these are the pages in which local and national news is reported. The remaining pages of each publication contain international news reports from Reuters and the South African Press Association (SAPA) - articles that are not written by Swazi journalists and therefore are not of special interest in my investigation. I then identified those features of SwE which recurred more than ten times in the four-week period in the corpus described above.⁷ I concluded that features occurring less than ten times

⁷ I have subsequently discovered that some of the features I had identified as different from or alien to my own English were, in fact, perfectly acceptable forms of British Standard English. My intuitions were developed on the basis of exposure to WhSAfE; the historical link between Swaziland and Britain and the British influence on the Swazi education and judicial systems, explains the normative effect of BSE in this context.

were possible typing errors or grammatical errors. Another possible reason for the infrequent occurrence of some features of SwE is that they are, as yet, speech bound. These are features of SwE such as the interchange of gender pronouns which, although prevalent in spoken SwE, have yet to become established features of written SwE. The infrequency with which they occurred in newspaper articles suggested that these features of spoken SwE, although beginning to emerge in written form, do not yet warrant being considered as established features of written SwE. I identified the remaining thirty-three items as features of SwE because of the frequency with which they occurred in the given corpus in the four-week period. A discussion of these features follows in Chapter Four.

3.2 Investigating various responses to Swazi English and to the users of Swazi English

In order to conduct the second part of the research, I designed a questionnaire (attached as Addendum 1) in which subjects were asked to respond to questions relating to the language use of journalists. Three articles were used in the questionnaire. Two of the articles (Text A and Text C) were written by Swazi journalists and the other one (Text B) was a reprinted SAPA article possibly written by an American journalist although this detail is not given. The aim of the questionnaire was threefold:

- 1) to identify those features of SwE which subjects considered to be unusual, different from their own English or incorrect;
- 2) to elicit an evaluation of a Swazi journalist and a non-Swazi journalist from each respondent so that the response of the group from a particular speech community could be compared to the responses of the groups from other speech communities; and

- 3) to elicit an evaluation of SwE as a new English from each respondent so that the perception of SwE held by each group from a particular speech community could be compared to the perceptions of the groups from other speech communities.

The questionnaires were issued to possible subjects from five different speech communities:

- 1) WhSAfE speakers living outside Swaziland,
- 2) WhSAfE speakers living in Swaziland,
- 3) English mother tongue speakers from Anglophone countries such as Britain, America and Australia,
- 4) Non-native English speakers from other African countries such as Nigeria, Uganda, Malawi and South Africa (Afrikaans first language speakers and Xhosa first language speakers), and
- 5) Swazi English speakers living in Swaziland.

The subjects are all professional people with a tertiary education. They include inter alia doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers, ministers of religion and business people. There are ten subjects in each of the five groups mentioned above.

The answers from each subject were correlated with the answers from other members of that group and an average score was obtained. The use of averages enabled the study to move beyond the listing of features of SwE which were perceived as problematic to an

analysis of those features as indicative of an established variety of English in Swaziland. The use of average scores allows for a qualitative analysis of these features and their acceptability to English speakers from other speech communities. The analysis of the data is presented in Chapter Five and a discussion of the data presented in Chapters Four and Five follows in the final chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FEATURES OF SWAZI ENGLISH

Pertinent features of Swazi English (SwE) have been identified and categorised by Kamwangamalu and Chisanga (1996:291) (see discussion in paragraph 2.3). The examples they provide of SwE are taken from Swaziland's English newspapers. It is interesting to note that at the time of Kamwangamalu and Chisanga's study a siSwati edition of *The Times of Swaziland, Tikhasi*, was published daily. This siSwati publication was discontinued in 2006 ostensibly owing to a lack of backing from advertisers who preferred to advertise in the English edition. Advertiser preferences are directly linked to circulation numbers so the discontinuation of a siSwati publication indicates that the support of readers was also lacking. This indicates the increasing entrenchment of English in general and SwE in particular as a written means of communication in Swaziland. Arua (1998) expanded on the earlier work of Kamwangamalu (1994), Kamwangamalu and Chisanga (1996) and Kamwangamalu (1996). However the attempts to describe SwE in order to establish it can be regarded as a new English have, thus far, been relatively superficial and impressionistic.

Before investigating the responses to SwE by people from different speech communities, it was first necessary to identify the features of written SwE and the frequency with which they occur over a period of time in Swaziland's newspapers. This was done to assist in an attempt at establishing whether SwE is indeed a New English with unique characteristics and widespread usage. As discussed in paragraph 3.1, I

identified the features of SwE discussed below by scrutinizing 50 editions of Swaziland's newspapers and then noting the frequency (the number of times the feature was used) with which the identified features occurred over a period of two non-consecutive two-week periods. The features of SwE identified and noted as occurring frequently in Swaziland's newspapers are discussed below. The lexical features will be discussed in section 4.1, the syntactic features in section 4.2 and the semantic features in section 4.3.

4.1 Lexical features of SwE

Table 1 below summarises the lexical features of SwE as identified in articles in Swaziland's newspapers.

LEXICAL FEATURES OF SwE	FREQUENCY IN FOUR WEEK PERIOD
Borrowing of siSwati words	89
Use of <i>wondered</i> to mean "questioned" or "queried"	18
Use of <i>lamented</i> to mean "criticised"	18
Creation of new words from existing words	52
Use of <i>yet</i> to mean "although"	26
The use of <i>even</i> to mean "and also"	11
Use of <i>failed</i> to mean "did not" or "was unable to"	26
Use of <i>back</i> to indicate the past	11
Use of <i>fresh</i> to mean "new" or "immediately after"	10

Table 1: Lexical features of SwE identified in newspapers

In sections 4.1.1 to 4.1.9 each of the features that have been identified will be discussed, giving the particular linguistic and/or situational context in which each typically occurs and (where appropriate) explaining how this is different from standard English structures and uses. Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 refer to typical language contact processes namely borrowing and hybridisation, on the one hand, and new creations on the other. Section 4.1.3 describes how particular words are used in ways which seem to be curious in comparison to their standard English usage.

4.1.1 Processes of word formation

4.1.1.1 Borrowing of siSwati words

Borrowing entails the integration of linguistic units from one language into another in such a way that the borrowed words become part of the linguistic system of the other language (Kamwangamalu and Chisanga 1996:292). As is illustrated in (1) to (3) below, in SwE these borrowings are siSwati words that refer in particular to cultural ceremonies, food and drink and to the socio-political context. As there is no exact English equivalent, these siSwati words have become part of the lexicon of SwE.

- (1) *...Thikazi said that they delegated relatives of this person to inform him that he was wanted at the Umphakatsi. SOB 04/02/08 p.8*
(The word *Umphakatsi* refers to the Royal enclosure at the Queen Mother's Palace)
- (2) *The other one is that of a soldier who threatened to shoot himself, ... during last year's buganu ceremony at Buhleni Royal Residence. TOS 14/02/08 p.8*

(*Buganu* refers to the traditional beer brewed particularly for ceremonial purposes)

- (3) ... *the presentation was made on behalf of the community by July Mncina who claims to be the indvuna of the area.* TOS 10/03/08 p.5
(An *Indvuna* is a chief or headman of an area)

4.1.1.2 Hybridisation

The borrowing of siSwati words into SwE is often accompanied by a process of hybridisation (Kamwangamalu 1996: 302). This happens when, for example, siSwati verbs are combined with the English past tense morpheme “- ed” to create words of with siSwati stems and an English tense suffix (see (4) below). These words are then used in SwE without an explanation or translation. Kamwangamalu (1996:302) refers to this as the “swazification of English”. Such contractions are typical of language contact phenomena (Murray 1997:317). Given the assumption that the new formation is understood by readers and the frequency with which such “new” words are used, it can be argued that a range of similarly formed hybrid words constitute a stable feature of SwE.

- (4) *Girl (16) tekaed by her uncle.* SOB 13/02/08 p.13

The siSwati verb *teka* refers to a Swazi cultural tradition in which a man takes a wife without her prior knowledge or consent. The woman in question would be taken to the home of the man and, the following morning, her face would be smeared with red-ochre to show that she is now a wife of the man. Neither her opinion nor her permission (nor the permission of her family) would have been sought. The woman is then said to have been *tekaed*.

Furthermore, a woman is married to a man in Swazi cultural law following the discussion between the two families and the agreement of the Lobola (bride price). At the Lobola ceremony a younger sister of the bride (usually a girl who is pre-pubescent) will be given to the groom as an *inhlanti* (Kuper 1963: 21). There is no equivalent for the word *inhlanti* in English. Its literal translation is “little fish”. However, it is understood to mean a “junior wife”. On reaching puberty the *inhlanti* is often *tekaed* by the groom as another wife. There is no English equivalent of this practice and so the siSwati word *teka* has been hybridised to form a new word *tekaed* which is part of the SwE lexicon.

A similar kind of hybridization is illustrated in the verb *bulala* which in siSwati means “to kill”. In this case there is not only contraction of a siSwati stem *bulala* and an English morpheme *waed* (as in the SwE form “bulawaed”) but also a metaphoric extension of the meaning. As is illustrated in (5) below, the word is now used to mean “to be promoted or appointed (usually by Royal decree) to a position for which one is not qualified and in which one is expected most likely to fail”. A person who is *bulawaed* cannot refuse the appointment and therefore his or her career or any other prospects of advancement are effectively “killed” (Kamwangamalu 1996: 302).

(5) ... *the correct euphemism being that he has been bulawaed*. SOB

13/02/08 p.13

4.1.2 The creation of new words

The process of new word formation occurs frequently, as illustrated by the examples in (6) to (9) below, when a verb is nominalised, i.e. adapted or used in such a way that it functions as a noun, or conversely when a noun is verbalised.

- (6) *The judge said Section 87(1)(a) made reference to goods liable to forfeiture if they are being exported, manufactured or warehoused.*
SOB 12/03/08 p.2

- (7) *The Times Report Study (TRS) was not targeting or witch-hunting anybody, ...* TOS 19/03/08 p.9

- (8) *The court also ordered for the ejectment of the respondents from the church property.* SOB 11/03/08 p.7

In example (6), the noun “warehouse” has been used as a verb and can be identified as such by the morpheme “-ed” added to create a verb “warehoused” meaning “stored”. Similarly, in example (7), the noun “witch-hunt” has been modified to form a verb “witch-hunting”. Conversely, in example (8) the verb “eject” has been adapted to form a noun “ejectment” meaning “eviction” or “removal”. In other instances, similar sounding words have been adapted or used in non-standard ways as is illustrated in (9) below.

- (9) *Magagula said, following the injuries, Xolile would suffer permanent disability and scarification for life.* TOS 12/02/08 p.8

In this utterance the word “scarification” probably is intended to mean the scarring of the young girl and not the ongoing process of inflicting small cuts into the skin which is the SE interpretation.

4.1.3 New functions for specific words

4.1.3.1 The use of *availed*

In example (10) below the word *availed* is used to mean “made available to” as is illustrated (10) below. In SE the word *availed*, used as a verb would mean to “use something to your advantage or benefit”.

- (10) *Instead the company availed information to the effect that the striking workers had lost more than 2.2 million in two days.* TOS

18/03/08 p.2

4.1.3.2 The use of *yet* to mean “although”

In SE, the word *yet* functions as an adverb of time, as an adverb used to add emphasis to words such as “another” or “again”, or as a conjunction to introduce an adverbial phrase or clause in contrast to or offering information contrary to that stated in the main clause. In SwE, the word *yet* functions mainly as a conjunction joining two related parts of a sentence and meaning “although” as illustrated in (11) below or “but” as illustrated in (12) below. The SwE use of *yet* is not inappropriate in SE but it is used more frequently than alternatives such as “but” or “however” which would be preferable in SE in the given contexts.

- (11) *They said this was entertainment, yet they were faced with more serious issues and challenges.* TOS 06/02/08 p.9

- (12) *We are grandmothers now having to nurse our ailing husbands and hungry grandchildren yet our resources are almost non-existent.* SOB 11/02/08 p.9

4.1.3.3 The use of *wondered* to mean “questioned”, “queried” or “asked” is illustrated in (13) and (14) below. While the use of the word *wondered* in SwE does not deviate from its appropriate use in SE, it does suggest a definite semantic shift away from a connotation of surprise in SE to a connotation of query and accusation in SwE.

- (13) *“How could I be vindictive to people I did not know,” he wondered.* WOB 09/02/08 p.7

- (14) *“Why has he failed to buy me furniture all this time,” wondered the minister.* TOS 10/03/08 p.3

4.1.3.4 The use of *lamented* to express “criticism” or “disappointment” is illustrated in (15) and (16) below. Like the use of the word *wondered*, the use of *lamented* in SwE is not used in a way that is inappropriate in SE. However, it is used much more frequently in SwE to express criticism or disappointment. This use of *lamented* in such a context and with the particular connotation of complaint is a stable feature of SwE.

- (15) *President of the Union, Charles Matsebula, lamented the poor attendance ...* SOB 17/03/08 p.5

- (16) *Dlamini further lamented the scenes of violence witnessed on an almost daily basis...* SOB 13/03/08 p.2

4.1.3.5 The use of *even* to mean “in addition to” or “as well as”

In SE the word *even* can function as an adverb, adjective or verb. In SwE, on the other hand, the word *even* functions as an adverb meaning “and also”. Syntactically, a SE construction involving the word *even* is different from a SwE construction involving the same word as demonstrated in (17) and (18) below. In (17) the word *even* suggests that the message was also conveyed to workers in Nhlanguano while in (18) the word *even* would convey that the water was being supplied as recently as yesterday.

(17) ...*Sipho Manana told The Times that they had since relayed the message to the other workers, even in Nhlanguano.* TOS 18/03/08 p.2

(18) *Another alleged that a fire tanker was supplying the companies with water even yesterday.* SOB 14/03/08 p.7

Possible SE alternatives to the examples illustrated in (17) and (18) are suggested in (19) and (20) below:

(19) *Sipho Manana told The Times that they had already relayed the message to the other workers including those in Nhlanguano.*

(20) *It was also alleged that a water tanker had been supplying the companies with water as recently as yesterday.*

4.1.3.6 The use of *failed* to mean “did not” or “was unable to”

While the use of this verb is not ungrammatical in SE, it is the frequency with which it is used in newspaper articles and the diversity of meanings which it assumes that suggests that it is a stable feature of SwE. The SwE use of *failed* is illustrated in (21) and (22).

(21) ... *the means to get comment from the administration failed ...* TOS

06/02/08 p.9

- (22) *He further submits that the respondents in the matter failed to understand what in camera proceedings are and the effect of such.*

TOS 13/02/08 p.7

SE alternatives to the use of the word “failed” are suggested in (23) and (24) below.

- (23) We were unable to get a comment from the administration.

- (24) He also suggested that the respondents in the matter had not understood what was meant by an “in camera” proceeding and how it would affect them.

4.1.3.7 The use of *back in* to indicate the past

This is possibly a borrowed American expression. Its origin is unclear but it is used regularly in SwE instead of the past perfect verb tense as is illustrated in (25).

- (25) The workers ... made huge sacrifices back in February 2005... WOB
15/03/02 p.2

In SE the past perfect tense of the verb would be used and the word “back” omitted as is illustrated in (26) below.

- (26) The workers had made huge sacrifices in February 2005.

4.1.3.8 The word *fresh* is used in SwE to mean “new” or “immediately after”

In SE the word *fresh* functions as an adjective meaning “cool”, “clean”, “not tired” or “not salty” as illustrated in (27) to (30) below:

- (27) There was a fresh [cool] breeze blowing.
- (28) There was fresh [clean] linen on the bed.
- (29) He felt fresh [not tired] and relaxed after his nap.
- (30) The water in the river was fresh [not salty].

In SwE, however, the word *fresh* is used literally to mean “new” resulting in a use which is grammatically acceptable in SE but not standardly used. This use of the word *fresh* in SwE is exemplified in (31) to (33):

- (31) *Dlamini was fresh from prison after hacking a male nurse of Hlathikhulu.* TOS 11/03/08 p.4
- (32) *It turns out that the E30 million⁸ ... year will pay for fresh designs for the hospital ...* TOS 20/03/08 p.2
- (33) *Five of the suspects were expected to appear for a remand hearing, while the other was a fresh appearance.* TOS 14/02/08 p.4

4.2 Syntactic Features of SwE

In the following section a number of typical syntactic features of SwE which are evident in the local newspapers are discussed. Each feature is explained and discussed in relatively lay terms, using the terminology reminiscent of “purist” judgements of non-standard features of English (cf. “dangling” modifiers and “convoluted” sentence structure). The use of such terminology does not indicate a judgemental evaluation of SwE – the idea was simply to draw on terminology that is popularly used and easily

⁸ The “E” in “E30 million” refers to Emalangeni, the currency of Swaziland

accessible to non-linguists. Table 2 below summarises the syntactic features of SwE as identified in Swaziland's newspapers and the frequency with which these features occurred in the corpus. Each of these features is illustrated and discussed in the following section.

SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF SwE IN NEWSPAPERS IN SWAZILAND	FREQUENCY WITH WHICH FEATURE OCCURRED IN A FOUR WEEK PERIOD
Number references and non-standard plurals	46
Mixed tenses	90
Non-standard use of the infinitive	17
Non-standard adverb placement	92
The use of the progressive form of verbs	89
Non-standard use of co-ordinating conjunctions	14
Non-standard sentence construction	100
“Dangling” modifiers	43
Non-standard, elaborate sentence construction	113
Omissions	83
Anti-deletions	44
Excluded articles	21
Non-standard use of “where”	15
“last week” to denote time	16
Non-standard use of prepositions	215
“is/was from” meaning “coming from”	16

Table 2: Syntactic features of SwE identified in newspapers

4.2.1 Nominal and adjectival constructions

4.2.1.1 Indicating number: naming numbers and using non-standard plurals

Thwala (1996:34) notes that in siSwati number (i.e. singular or plural) is marked on nouns by the addition of a prefix. For example, the siSwati word *inja* means “one dog” while the word *tinja* means “many dogs”. Conversely, in SE, number is marked on nouns by the addition of a suffix (*-s*, *-es*) unless in particular cases a noun has an uninflected plural (for example, *sheep* and *fish*) (Hurford 1994:54) or its inherent grammatical number is plural (for example, *men* and *children*). In SwE, the attaching of the suffix *-s* to nouns with an uninflected plural or nouns with an inherent plural grammatical number, as illustrated in (34) to (37) below, may be the result of (i) transferring the siSwati rule that governs the indication of number nouns to SwE or (ii) uncertainty about the SE rules and thus overgeneralisation of those rules to contexts where they do not apply. Thus nouns like *underwears* (35), *shades* (36) and *Bails* (37) which have inflected plurals in SE (*underwear*, *shade* and *bail*) nevertheless acquire a suffix in SwE in order to denote the plural form. Similarly nouns like *equipments* (34) which have an inherent plural grammatical number in SE (*equipment*) may also acquire a suffix in SwE. This use of an “inappropriate” plural marker occurs frequently and can thus be considered as a stable feature of SwE.

(34) *The media personel (sic) were shown a few modern equipments, ...*

TOS 06/02/08 p.4

(35) *Mduduzi Tsabedze of Lavumisa appeared before Nhlangano
Magistrate Musa Nxumalo for having robbed one Lungile Nhlabatsi
of a number of items including two of her underwears ... SOB*

14/03/08 p.6

(36) *Two of the young men who had spotted the two had gone to rest under the shades of the trees nearby ... SOB 06/02/08 p.3*

(37) *Bails are paid at the treasury ... SOB 15/02/08 p.2*

4.2.1 Verb Constructions

4.2.1.1 Mixed Tenses

Tenses which are marked on the verb in siSwati can be described as remote past, past, present, present continuous, immediate future and remote future (Thwala 1996:159 – 160). Table 3 below illustrates the siSwati verb tenses:

Remote Past Tense	<i>ngahamba</i>	“went (a while ago)”
Past Tense	<i>ngihambile</i>	“went (a short while ago)”
Present Tense	<i>hamba</i>	“go”
Present Continuous Tense	<i>ngiyahamba</i>	“am/is/are going”
Immediate Future Tense	<i>ngitawuhamba</i>	“Will go (shortly)”
Remote Future Tense	<i>ngiyawuhamba</i>	“Will go (in the future)”

Table 3: siSwati Verb Tenses

In siSwati there is no explicitly marked perfect tense. Verb tense is marked either by a prefix (as in the remote past, present tense and future tense) or by a suffix (as in the immediate future tense) (Thwala 1996:160). This is illustrated in Table 3 above. It is

possible that the mixing of tenses in sentences in SwE may be related to the absence of a morphologically marked perfect tense in siSwati which may result in a simple verb tense construction in SwE. The use of present and past tense markers interchangeably in SwE as illustrated in (38) and (39) below is used to such an extent that it is a feature of SwE, albeit one which appears not to be regular or rule-governed.

(38) *Quoting the Bible in Genesis 37, Verses 16 – 21, the Priest spoke in length about how the world needed people who would always be focused on their dreams and never wavering from them.* WOB
09/02/08 p.4

(39) *It was a brave Amos Sikhondze from the SEC who saved the day, gallantly climbing up the tower and used a rope to bring the girl down.* TOS 14/02/08 p.3

4.2.2.2 The use of the infinitive form of the verb instead of a finite form in SwE is closely linked to the mixing of tenses. In SE, the infinitive is a form of a verb that is not marked for tense and that is used in very particular kinds of linguistic contexts (Hurford 1994: 108). The addition of auxiliary verbs to an infinitive verb in SE is used as a means of denoting tense. In siSwati there is no infinitive form of the verb. Verbs in siSwati are made up of a root word (the verb in the present tense, e.g. *Hamba* meaning “go”) and a number of affixes which denote, inter alia, tense and number (cf. Table 3) (Thwala 1996:100 –102). In SwE the infinitive is often used to denote the continuous or perfect tense and is used in conjunction with other verb tenses in the same sentence as illustrated below.

- (40) ... which made people to think that the riot was still going on. TOS
19/03/08 p.7
- (41) Acting Zombodze Headman, Timothy Velabo Mthethwa, in an
interview yesterday, confirmed to have heard about Mvuso's ailment.
TOS 14/03/08 p.4
- (42) She states that the child's eye was eventually certified as
permanently damaged or have vision to have been permanently
impaired. SOB 13/03/08 p.8

4.2.2.3 The use of the progressive form of verbs

Makalela (2004: 359) points out that "the temporal logic in Bantu languages does not conceptually distinguish the view of present time in terms of habituality and progressiveness" as is illustrated in (43) and (44) below:

- (43) Le ndvodza iyahamba iya edolobheni.
The man goes to town. (habitual)
- (44) Le ndvodza iyahamba iya edolobheni.
The man is going to town. (progressive)

In philosophical terms this suggests that in siSwati time is viewed as a conceptual whole. It is possible that the overuse of the progressive aspect of verbs in SwE reflects this "Bantu language logic" (Makalela 2004:59). Van Rooy (2006:37) notes that the extension of the progressive aspect to stative verbs in particular has been identified as a

characteristic of a variety of new Englishes worldwide. The examples in (45) and (46) below illustrate the use of the progressive form of verbs in SwE.

(45) *She said she knew these ministries because she was working closely with them, ...* SOB 11/03/08 p.8

(In SE this sentence would be written as: She said she knew these ministries because she worked (or had worked) closely with them.)

(46) *Police Commissioner Edgar Hilary was this week violating the legislation ...* TS 23/03/08 p.3

(In SE this sentence would be written as: Police Commissioner Edgar Hilary violated the legislation this week.)

4.2.3 Non-standard Sentence Construction

4.2.3.1 Non-standard adverb placement

The unmarked (i.e. preferred) order in SE is one in which the verb precedes adverbs of manner. Although it is not ungrammatical for the verb to follow such adverbs, it is marked in SE and is usually used to create emphasis. In SwE on the other hand, the inverted order appears to be unmarked as is illustrated in (46) and (47) below.

(47) *He strongly felt that someone had to die for doing this to his friend ...* SN 16/02/08 p.2

(48) *It is said that Khumalo rushed for help and found her heavily bleeding after she had been stabbed in her left breast.* TOS 08/02/08 p.14

The non-SE placement of adverbs of time that have the form of prepositional phrases, is illustrated in (49). The SE placement of this phrase is indicated in (50).

(49) *The lawyer was on Friday granted free bail (sic) after he appeared at the Manzini Magistrates court.* TOS 17/03/08 p.4

(50) *The lawyer was granted bail after he appeared at the Manzini Magistrates court on Friday.*

4.2.3.2 “Dangling modifiers” such as those underlined in (51) and (52) occur frequently in SwE (43 examples were counted in 50 newspapers). Although they can be interpreted by a SE speaker, these dangling modifiers sometimes allow additional (unintended) interpretations for the SE reader. Unfortunately these additional meanings are sometimes inappropriate (e.g. humorous in an otherwise serious context).

(51) *Moba said she discovered she had in actual fact been shot at twice at the hospital.* TS 16/03/08 p.3

(52) *While being shoved into the back of the van, the officers were seen assaulting him with fists and open hands.* TOS 11/03/08 p.5

4.2.3.3 Non-standard use of conjunctions

In SE co-ordinating conjunctions are used to link two semantically related clauses, i.e. clauses that are topically clearly related. In SwE co-ordinating conjunctions are used to link the verb in the clause it introduces to the subject or object in the main clause. In example (53) below the word “but” indicates that the verb “watched” is linked to the object “worker’s spirits” in the main clause. A SE alternative is offered in (54) to

illustrate how the use of the conjunction in SwE differs from the use of the conjunction in SE. In example (55) “and” links the clause it introduces to the verb “question” in the main clause. The SE alternative is provided in (56).

(53) *This move did not deter the worker’s (sic) spirits as they regrouped a few minutes later, but watched the patrolling officers.* SN 15/03/08 p.4

(54) This move did not deter the workers’ spirits as they regrouped a few minutes later and watched the patrolling officers.

(55) *They should also question whether the country has the right calibre in the cabinet team to create a conducive environment for greater investment in the kingdom that would offer better wages and compete with the growing economies of our neighbours and how they can get the best team to do the job.* TOS 18/03/08 p.2

(56) They should question whether the country has the right people in the cabinet to create an environment conducive to greater investment in the Kingdom that would result in better wages and more competition with the growing economies of our neighbours. They should also investigate ways to get the best team for the job.

In the SE alternative to (55) presented in (56), the co-ordinating conjunction “and” has been omitted and the clause it had introduced rewritten as a new sentence. This shows the link to the previous sentence more clearly than the co-ordinating clause introduced by “and” in the SwE example in (55).

4.2.3.4 Non-standard use of “where”

In SE the word *where* at the beginning of a sentence or a clause functions as a relative adverb, as is illustrated in (57) below.

- (57) She would like to live in a place where it never snows. (*Where* functions as a relative adverb introducing a clause modifying the verb “live” in the main clause.)

In SwE the word *where* is used in non-standard ways as a relative pronoun as in (58), and as a relative adverb of time as in (59).

- (58) *The High Court has ordered that the applicants of the E50 million suspects where they seek an order permanently staying criminal prosecution against them be consolidated and heard simultaneously.*
*TOS 19/03/08 p.4*⁹

(In SE this sentence would be written as: The High Court has ordered the applications of the “E50 million suspects” in which they seek an order permanently staying criminal prosecution against them, to be consolidated and heard simultaneously.)

- (59) *Mtegha’s appointment comes at a time where the Prime Minister’s fight against corruption in the country has seen some high profile individuals make court appearances.* SN 16/02/08 p.2

(In SE this sentence would be written as: Mtegha’s appointment comes at a time when the Prime Minister’s fight against corruption ...)

⁹ In this sentence “the E50 million suspects” was the label given by the media to a particular group of civil servants arrested for fraud.

4.2.3.5 Non-standard, elaborate sentence structure

This feature of SwE is highly problematic for a SE speaker. Structuring and presenting information in this manner is directly related to Swazi Cultural practices of including as much information in a description as possible. To exclude some information may be regarded as rude or disrespectful. Even death notices in the newspaper will often contain elaborate information about the deceased's family and place of work – much more than is conventionally given, for example, in newspapers in South Africa. A siSwati speaker will use a number of autonomous phrases, combined to form one speech unit, to construct a description or explanation in siSwati. It is possible that this practice of including as much relevant information as possible, underlies the written SwE language practice of packing a large amount of information into a very long sentence which is, according to SE norms, poorly structured in terms of conjunction, embedding and concord. Either the rules of discursive coherence and cohesion are disregarded, or the writer may not be sufficiently in control of the cohesive requirements of SE norms.

(60) *Eyebrows have been raised in regard to the discovery made by the little boy's friends who, the previous day had enjoyed swimming with their friends only for them to first found his clothing on the bank when they returned the following day, and they got the shock of their lives when later as they went about swimming, they found their friends body trapped in the mud of the same day with a serious injury on the forehead. SOB 14/02/08 p.10*

(61) *Shongwe alleges that the son would have not married at the time when he was ordained and was born with teeth and who happened to be Khuthanakwezwe Vilikati as his successor after his death. SN 15/03/08 p.10*

- (62) *It was said that some prince, known to this newspaper but cannot be revealed due to the sensitivity of the matter, had requested the headman to bring another cow, which does not belong to the king, as a gift.* TOS 10/03/08 p.5

4.2.3.6 Omission of words

In SwE, words are often omitted from a sentence when they are implied. Prepositions are also sometimes omitted on the assumption that the relations they articulate are already obvious. This may be related to the absence of prepositions in siSwati grammar. (Prepositions are discussed in more detail in paragraph 4.2.5). In (63) below the word “up” has been omitted, while in (64) the preposition “in” has been omitted.

- (63) *They were all taken to the safe room and locked and they were helped by a factory manager.* TOS 20/03/08 p.4

- (64) *Another director of a pub down the valley ...* TOS 13/03/08 p.3

4.2.3.7 Anti Deletions

This term was coined by Mesthrie (2006:111) to refer to the properties of syntactic “deviations” that are characteristic of L2 varieties of English. It refers to the restoring of a word that would have been deleted in SE, the retention of some words that would otherwise be deleted in non-standard English or the insertion of “additional grammatical morphemes into the standard English structure.” (Mesthrie 2006:111)

In example (65), the pronoun *it* has been restored as object of the verb *deserve*. In SE the pronoun *it* would have been deleted as it is understood. In example (66) the word *what* has been inserted as a noun as part of the subject of the verb *specified*.

(65) *The minister, in his address, urged the stakeholders who were tasked with seeing that those on the list deserved it to be there to soldier on despite the hostility they were faced with.* TOS 20/03/08 p.10

(66) *Since the order was backdated to October, this means those who were paid less than what the order specified have to be paid back the monies owing to them.* TOS 11/03/08 p.5

4.2.4 Articles

In SE, the article is used to modify a noun (Hurford 1994:19). There are many languages which do not have articles at all, such as Russian or Polish (Hurford 1994:19). In siSwati, nouns are modified by a prefix which marks for number and class (Thwala 1996:17). These prefixes are not equivalents of articles and there is thus no article system in siSwati on which SwE can draw. This may well have influenced SwE in which either the exclusion or the non-standard inclusion of articles in order to add emphasis is evident. Articles are sometimes omitted in obligatory contexts or included where SE would omit them. In the latter case, the articles are used in order to add emphasis.

4.2.4.1 Omission of articles

In examples (67) to (69) below articles have been omitted.

(67) *It was also suggested that there was need to have school fees regulated ...* SOB 20/03/08 p.4

(68) *Joe Dlamini ... said they wanted young people to take active interest in the walk.* SOB 12/02/08 p.13

(69) *The drama unfolded at 9 am after these men, who had come to seek audience with the headmistress ...* TOS 11/03/08 p.7

4.2.4.2 Insertion of Articles

The insertion of articles seems to have the function of emphasis, as is illustrated in (70) and (71) below.

(70) *Others who spoke were representatives of the Manzini Wanderers Football club, a Mrs Nxumalo councillor from Ward 12 and a Simelane from Mndvoti's Nyakatfo Transport.* WOB 16/02/08 p.4

(71) *... vandalism became the order of the day at a protest action by kombi and bus conductors ...* TOS 18/03/08 p.2

4.2.5 Non-standard use of prepositions

A total of 215 instances of the non-standard use of prepositions in SwE were counted in the 50 Swazi newspapers scrutinized for this thesis¹⁰. However, despite the prevalence of this feature there were no observable patterns of use and thus no obvious rules governing the use of prepositions in SwE. Prepositions in SE occur before a noun phrase to express relationships in time or space between things and events (Hurford 1994:191). In addition, in SE the prepositions *of*, *to* and *by* are instrumental in determining the case of the noun they precede and thus influence the grammatical

¹⁰ It should be noted that even advanced L2 speakers of all languages often use an incorrect preposition.

structure of clauses (Hurford 1994:192). In SwE no such relationship between noun case and preposition is evident. There are no prepositions in siSwati grammar and this may well influence the non-standard use of prepositions in SwE as illustrated in examples (72) to (80) below.

- (72) ...*our success is rooted on giving the people value for money.* SOB
04/02/08 p.8
- (73) ... *he punched me on the face.* TOS 14/02/08 p.11
- (74) ... *he was misunderstood on his statement ...* TOS 04/02/08 p.4
- (75) ... *would allow him to graduate on the same year ...* TS 10/03/08 p.7
- (76) ... *spent E28 million into this project...* SOB 11/03/08 p.8
- (77) ... *the cigarettes are under detention ...* SOB 12/03/08 p.2
(This means that the cigarettes had been confiscated)
- (78) ... *kept abreast with further development (sic) ...* TOS 11/03/08 p.2
- (79) ... *showered praises to His Majesty ...* WOB 09/02/08 p.3
- (80) ... *Some people ... were in the scene...* TOS 18/03/08 p.4

4.2.5.1 The use of *is/was from* meaning “coming from” or “on the way back from”

In SE *from* is a preposition which assists in denoting, inter alia, place, time, distance or origin. In SwE *from* acts as an auxiliary verb, e.g. in *from collecting* meaning “had been collecting”, or as a finite verb e.g. in *from House on Fire* meaning “coming from”. Mesthrie (2006:137) refers to this feature as the “deletion of a verb of motion” and notes that it is a feature of Black South African mesolect. The use of the word *from* in SwE is illustrated in (81) to (83) below:

(81) *The bakkie was from a meeting at Moti next to Tri Cash.* SOB

15/02/08 p.3

(82) *Police PRO Superintendent Vusi Masuku said the kombi was from collecting the children from the high schools in the area ... when the accident happened.* SN 16/02/08 p.3

(83) *The man, who was with three female passengers, was from House on Fire heading towards Luyengo ...* SOB 12/03/08 p.10

4.2.5.2 The use of *last week* ... to denote a specific time

In SwE the preposition *on* is omitted from prepositional phrases involving the names of days of the week. This is illustrated in (84) to (86) below.

(84) *Last week Thursday, students from the campus delivered a petition to the school administration ...* TOS 12/02/08 p.6

(In SE this sentence would be written as: On Thursday last week, students from the campus delivered a petition to the school administration ...)

(85) *The protest action by the textile workers ...began last week Monday (sic).* TOS 13/03/08 p.2

(In SE this sentence would be written as: The protest action by the textile workers ... began on Monday last week.)

(86) *The famous treason trial involving Prince Mfanisibili will this week Tuesday return to court.* TS 10/02/08 p.5

(In SE this sentence would be written as: The famous treason trial involving Prince Mfanisibili will return to court on Tuesday this week.)

4.3 Semantic features of Swazi English

Table 4 below summarises the list of the semantic features which I identified and counted in the corpus.

SEMANTIC FEATURES OF SwE	FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE IN A FOUR WEEK PERIOD
Use of non-standard adjectives	20
Semantic shifts in the use of idiomatic phrases and figures of speech	154
Vague or non-standard time references	36
Tautology or redundancy	30
Word choice leading to ambiguity	209
Archaic or hi-falutin word choice	65
Use of informal register	47
<i>one</i> used emphasis	10

Table 4 Semantic Features of SwE identified in newspapers

This is not an exhaustive list of semantic features of SwE but rather an attempt to illustrate the semantic differences between SwE and SE. The terminology I have used to describe these features is relatively lay because it does not come from semantic theories but rather from language teaching, often second language teaching (with which I am familiar), in which a prescriptive approach is prevalent. Each of the identified semantic features of SwE is discussed and illustrated in Sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.7 below.

4.3.1 Use of non-standard adjectives

In example (87) below, the noun *women* has been used as an adjective instead of the word “female” which would have been used in SE.

(87) ...*the King acknowledged the willingness of the women population*
... TOS 10/03/08 p.11

The following example highlights the use of an adjective to qualify an inflected plural noun without any addition to the noun phrase. The SE usage would include the addition of “amount of” so that the adjective “huge” would then qualify the noun phrase “amount of luggage”.

(88) ... *he needs them to help his sister carry huge luggage* ... SOB
14/02/08 p.4

In SE the phrase *too much* can function as an adjective of degree qualifying nouns in which degree is observable or inherent as is illustrated in (89) below:

(89) There was too much ice on the road for driving to be safe.

In SwE the use of *too much* as an adjective modifying verbs in which degree is not observable occurs regularly, as is illustrated in (90).

(90) *He said such an option carried too much political connotations* ...
TS 23/03/08 p.4

4.3.2 Semantic shifts in the use of idiomatic phrases and figures of speech

It is perhaps this feature of SwE that is at once the most distinctive and at the same time the most complex to define. Written SwE is very descriptive and has an almost lyrical quality as statements and facts are frequently qualified by the addition of detailed explanations in the form of idiomatic or figurative illustrations. However, it is exactly in

the use of this figurative language that semantic deviations from SE occur: writers of SwE often afford figurative language and idiomatic expressions meaning which differs from the meaning conventionally ascribed to the same figurative language by speakers of SE. Schmied (1996:313) notes that these “complex problems of idiomaticity” are a common feature of African Englishes and suggests that it is in this sphere that African Englishes develop their particular “flavour of expressiveness”.

(91) ... *as her feet are peeling off*. TOS 17/02/08 p.10

My investigation revealed no siSwati or SE idiom or saying from which this expression may have been translated or derived. In context it appears to mean that the woman’s feet were very painful after she had walked a long way.

(92) *Most traders complained that the customs department was very secretive with declaration codes which are said to be as hard to get as a teardrop in the ocean*. TOS 19/03/08 p.9

(93) *The fuel price taking a hike tonight ...* TOS 11/03/08 p.2

(94) *However, the rod cannot be spared on the protestors themselves ...*
SOB 20/03/08 p.8

(95) *The minister has further called upon the directors of the companies suspected to have acquired trading licences illegally to come forward before they engage a gear that would result in their businesses being shut down.* SN 22/03/08 p.4

(96) ... *the fleet of flats that he owns...* SOB 13/03/08 p.3

4.3.3 Vague time references

The references to approximate or unspecified time in SE is not conventionally suggested by the use of the word *around*, which in SE functions as an adverb of place as in “Don’t leave it lying around” or as a preposition as in “I go for a walk around the block”. In SwE the word *around* functions as an adverb of time instead of the more conventional (in SE) word “approximately” as is illustrated in (97) and (98) resulting in a derived impression of vagueness for the SE reader.

(97) *This was around 10.30 pm.*¹¹ TOS 12/02/08 p.3

(98) *The applicant in her founding affidavit, alleges that sometime around February 2006 she and the respondent engaged in a love relationship ...* TOS 14/02/08 p.8

4.3.4 Tautology and Redundancy

In SE tautology refers to the needless repetition of words which do not make the meaning of a phrase or clause any clearer or more forceful. Redundancy is the use of different modalities (i.e. kinds of speech acts or the degree of certainty with which something is said) to communicate the same information. O’Grady, Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1996: 636) point out that “all communication systems make use of redundancy, and human communication is no exception.” In SwE the needless qualification of terms, as is illustrated in (99), and the repetition of words, as illustrated in (100) and (101), appear to the SE reader to be tautological. It is possible however,

¹¹ This construction is also used in SE to suggest an approximate time when the actual time is unknown or not clear. In SwE it is used regardless of whether a more specific time reference is available.

that the apparent tautology in (99) to (101) is used by the writer to ensure clear and unambiguous meaning possibly because he or she is a L2 writer or because he or she knows that the readers are L2 speakers of SE.

(99) ... *disturbed by a bus which was following from behind*. SOB
20/03/08 p.3

(100) *The auction sale will be on February 29 ...* SOB 06/02/08 p.10

(101) *At the centre of the illegal issuance of the illegal trading
licences...* SN 23/03/04 p.4

4.3.5 Non-standard, inappropriate or unusual choice of words

Non-standard, inappropriate (according to SE) or unusual choice of words in SwE writing often leads to a perception of ambiguity or absurdity on the part of SE readers. Some examples of such word choices are provided in (102) to (105) .

(102) *The request is necessitated by the fact that, following the unclad
shooting of our members and a vendor, ...* SOB 17/03/08 p.2

(103) *He said they would only shoot dogs that gnaw a people while
straying outside their bounds.* WOB 15/03/08 p.6

(104) *The bank's main aim was to achieve a lean and efficient top
management structure...* TOS 17/03/08 p.3

(105) ... *he suffered a swollen head and his leather jacket was torn*. TOS
12/03/08 p.5

4.3.6 Archaic or excessively formal word choice

Archaic or “hi-falutin” (over-sophisticated) word choice in SwE is probably related to the formal British Standard English to which Swazi learners are exposed in their textbooks and other study materials. Archaic or “hi-falutin” word choice in SwE is illustrated in (106) and (107).

(106) *Both Mamba and Masika said they were desirous to be admitted to bail.* TOS 13/02/08 p.2

(107) *Gibson Cracker Hlophe said this was not the first the Dlamini family had been befallen by a tragedy.* SOB 15/02/08 p.6

In example (108) below the use of the word “prayers” in this context appears erroneous. However, it is a legal term carried over from the British Legal system which was implemented in Swaziland prior to independence in 1968 and which still exerts a great deal of influence on the current judicial system in the Kingdom. The word “prayers” refers to the petitions brought before the court. It is however, an archaic term which may cause a perception of absurdity in SE readers of the newspaper.

(108) *Government Attorney John Magagula said on this basis alone the prayers should be dismissed with costs ...* TOS 13/02/08 p.7

4.3.7 Use of informal register

The informal register of some newspaper articles is perhaps the most surprising feature of SwE in newspapers because it often appears to the SE reader to have been used inappropriately. In example (111) below the informal register created by the use of the

idiomatic phrase “run-of-the mill” would be interpreted by SE speakers to suggest that the rape was “ordinary”, a meaning not at all intended by the writer. This is hugely problematic in terms of gender sensitivity issues and the HIV/AIDS pandemic with which Swaziland is faced. Sadly, the use of informal register by SwE writers often results in a pragmatic shift for the SE reader resulting in humour or outrage that was not intended by the writer.

- (109) *The Swaziland Industrial Development Corporation wants out of partnership with Kirsh Holdings (Pty) Ltd at the Swazi Plaza.*
TOS 10/03/08 p.2
- (110) *He said he would not be surprised to hear that one of his supervisors chucked out the women because this was a respectable establishment.* TOS 13/03/08 p.3
- (111) *Justice Maphalala said the facts of the present case had taken a different sheen because this was not a run-of-the-mill rape case.*
SOB 14/02/08 p.11

4.4 Summary

This chapter has offered an overview of some of the most obvious lexical, syntactic and semantic features of SwE. It is by no means exhaustive and it is clear that, in isolation, each of these features may well be considered as simply a deviation from the rules of “standard” English leading to the view that SwE is nothing more than a poor attempt at SE. However, given the frequency with which the identified features occur and the diverse linguistic constructions in which they appear, it is clear that they are not simply

errors but rather stable features of a new English. Bamgose (cf. Jenkins 2006: 32) points out that, when considering features of new Englishes, it is important to decide which of those features are, in fact, innovations of the language and which are simply errors. Innovations are regarded as accepted variants of the parent language while errors are perceived as unintentional or uneducated mistakes. Unless the features of a new English are seen as acceptable variations of the parent language, a non-native variety of English cannot receive recognition (Bamgose, in Jenkins 2006: 32).

CHAPTER FIVE

RESPONSES TO TYPICAL FEATURES OF SWAZI ENGLISH IN THE MEDIA

5.1 Introduction

The analysis of data in this chapter is qualitative. The responses of each group with respect to Swazi English (SwE) as a new English and the users of SwE are analysed and discussed. The response of each group is then compared with the responses of the other groups in order to highlight the differences between the groups and the possible prejudicial perceptions of each group.

5.1.1 The respondents

All the respondents have a tertiary education qualification and work, or have worked, in a professional capacity. It is of course possible that readers with less formal education and with less metalinguistic awareness of language standardisation and norms, would have different responses to the ones collected in this study. Nevertheless, the research was confined to respondents with a tertiary qualification in order to provide suitably fixed parameters for the study. Also, the study works with the assumption that a relatively uniform group with a high level of formal education will be more able than less educated people (who may form a more heterogeneous group) to identify and evaluate deviations from their own language norms and standards in discourse. My interest here is not only in the respondents' ability to recognise language variation, but also in how they respond to variants that differ from the standards that they adhere to themselves.

The respondents are either known to me or to people in close contact with me. I identified the five speech communities (as described in paragraph 3.2) and then looked for people who met the group and educational criteria. I approached the respondents individually myself or via a mutual acquaintance. In total I issued 90 questionnaires of which 53 were returned. The three eliminated questionnaires were not completed.

The occupations and the age distribution of each group are mentioned to show that the respondents come from diverse occupations and age groups. The age distribution of the respondents is illustrated in Figure 5.

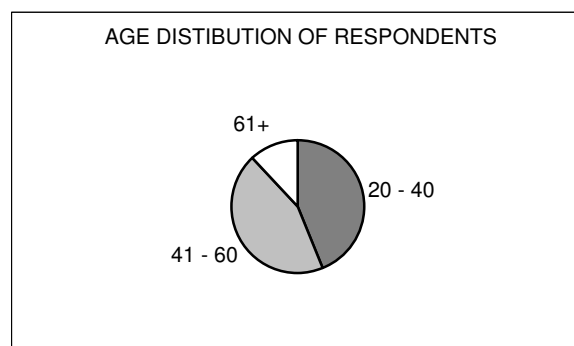


Figure 5: Age distribution of respondents

5.1.2 Data analysis for each Group

The respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire (attached as Addendum A). The questionnaire provided three Texts – A, B, and C – written by different journalists. The respondents were asked to underline any instances of confusing, misleading or inappropriate language use in all three texts. In addition, the respondents were asked to evaluate the journalists in terms of their credibility, trustworthiness and intelligence.

The analysis of the data for each group is twofold. The first part analyses the group's response to selected utterances typical of Swazi English (SwE) in newspapers. The second part involves analysing the respondents' perceptions of the journalists who wrote Text A and Text B. The journalist who wrote Text A, is a Swazi woman currently employed by The Observer Group. The journalist declined to answer questions about her qualifications and work experience without offering any reason for doing so. Thus the respondents' conclusions as to the writer's qualifications and experience are drawn from the text only, categorised in terms of their attitudes but not compared to what is factual. The article in question, which appears in the questionnaire as Text A, was printed on page 6 of *The Swaziland Observer* on 8 February 2008. Linguistic and textual features of the second article, Text B, indicate that the journalist who wrote it is an American. The name of the journalist was not given as this article was released by the South African Press Association and reprinted in *The Times on Sunday* of 13 January 2008. The respondents were asked to give their impressions of the skills and abilities of the journalists who wrote Texts A and B. A comparison of the different groups' responses to Texts A and B, which exhibit differences in English norms, will show how readers respond to the different language varieties and will also highlight that perceptions of language use often form the basis of prejudice against the speaker or writer.

5.1.3 Features of SwE referred to in the analysis

Below, the specific features of SwE, which appear in Text A and were discussed in Chapter Four, are briefly listed and illustrated.

i) Non-standard, elaborate sentence construction

(112) *The deceased, who was in the company of other members of the gang who later fled the murder scene, is said to have earlier in the evening attempted to kill a member of the community.* Lns 3 – 6

(113) *Instead in his drunken stupor, he is said to have shouted the other names of his friends, who had long fled and shouted even louder that he did not care about the crowd's beatings because the fact that he was a member of the kamdodi gang could not be changed.*
Lns 30 – 33

ii) Omission

(114) *... outran the gang and rushed home to report.* Ln 8

iii) Non-standard adverb placement

(115) *... is said to have earlier in the evening attempted to kill member of the community.* Ln 5

iv) Non-standard number reference

(116) *The form five pupil said he had thought the gangsters were only two ...* Ln 16

v) Non-standard use of prepositions

(117) *...the things they had endured in the hands of the gangsters.* Ln 22

(118) *... translated to I am a member of the Kamdodi gang ...* Ln 26

vi) Word choice leading to ambiguity

(119) ... *the deceased kept on saying* ... Ln 23 –24

(120) ... *the deceased would not beg for forgiveness despite the heavy beatings*. Ln 34 – 35

vii) Non-standard adjective

(121) ... *uncalculated judgement*... Ln16

viii) The use of siSwati words

(122) ... “*ngiwakemdodi vele noma ningangentani*” ... Ln 25

ix) Idiomatic phrases

(123) ... *on the spot* ... Ln 9

(124) ... *is said to* ... Lns 5, 8, 21, 23, 24, 28, 30, 35

The features of SwE which appear in Text C and not in Text A are:

x) Non-standard time reference

(125) ...*Prince Mfanisibili said at around 1974* ... Ln 9

xi) Omission of a preposition

(126) ... *the two-day ceremony that started Saturday last week* ... Ln 8

xii) Neologisms

(127) ... *staffers* ... Ln 15

The responses of the different groups to these features are analysed and then compared.

5.1.4 The Analysis of the responses to writers

In the second part of the analysis of group responses, the responses assessing the journalists who wrote Text A and Text B are considered. The respondents had been asked to rate the journalist/writer for his/her likely performance in categories that are neither empirically observable nor objectively measurable, such as intelligence, reliability and credibility. Such judgements are inevitably based on the assessment of the language use in the articles written by each journalist. The rating options ranged from 1 (which was very good), to 6 (which was very poor). A “can’t say” option was also offered. This section of the questionnaire aimed to investigate the possible prejudices of respondents to a writer on the basis of their use of a non-standard variety of English.

5.2 Group 1: White South Africa English (WhSAfE) Speakers not living in Swaziland

5.2.1 Group composition

Referring to educational and professional sophistication, this group was made up as follows:

1a - Teacher

1b Accountant

1c Businessman

1d Biokineticist

1e Teacher

1f Film Officer

1g Landscape Architect

1h Businesswoman

1i Teacher

1j Forester

5.2.2 The response of Group 1 to Swazi English in newspapers

Regarding the acceptability of SwE in general terms, 7 of the 10 members this group said that SwE was acceptable when spoken but not when written. Respondent 1a and Respondent 1d said SwE was acceptable in both written and spoken forms. Respondent 1e did not answer this question. There was little consensus within the group as to what they considered to be the most obvious feature or characteristic of SwE. Two respondents - 1c and 1i - said that the most obvious characteristic was that “SwE is confusing” No further qualification of the term “confusing” was offered. This may be because the word “confusing” is used in the instructions given on the questionnaire. Three respondents – 1b, 1g and 1h - identified “poor grammar and sentence structure” as the most obvious feature of SwE. As no further qualification of “poor grammar” was offered it could be concluded that the “poor grammar” highlighted by these respondents is grammar, which is different from the norms and expectations of grammar in their own speech. An example of what might typically be perceived as “poor grammar” by non-SwE speakers is illustrated in (128).

(128) *It is said that Khumalo rushed for help and found her heavily
bleeding after she had been stabbed in her left breast. TOS*

In BSE or WhSAfE the same information would probably be conveyed as in (129).

- (129) Khumalo allegedly rushed to get help and found her bleeding heavily as a result of a stab wound to her chest.

Respondents 1a, 1d and 1f felt that the use of siSwati words in the text was the most obvious feature. Other characteristics identified by members of this group included the “inaccurate use of sayings and idioms” (1g), “inaccurate punctuation” (1h) and “quaintness” (1j). The use of the word “inaccurate” clearly indicates that Respondent 1g perceives the language use of the Swazi journalist as incorrect. The example in (130) illustrates the language use which the respondent perceived as incorrect:

- (130) *The court also ordered for the ejectment of the respondents from the church property. SOB 11/03/08 p.7 (= 8)*

The BSE or WhSAfE equivalent of (130) would be the sentence in (131).

- (131) The court also ordered the eviction of the respondents from the church property.

The judgement of the SwE example in (130) is made in terms of the respondent’s own language norms illustrated by the sentence in (131) which he/she would consider correct.

Respondent 1j said that SwE “reflected a haphazard thinking process”. This respondent works with the assumption that language represents thought and that his own variety of English reflects a natural clarity of thinking and, as such, sets the norm not only for

good language but also for logical reasoning. Thus he concludes that, since the Swazi journalist's language use differs significantly from his own, the thought processes of the Swazi journalist must be inadequate. The respondents' choice of words to identify the features of SwE are in themselves indicative of their general attitude towards SwE in newspapers – words like: “lacking”, “poor”, “confusing”, “inaccurate” and “haphazard” all convey a degree of disapproval of the language used in the newspaper articles.

Six members of the group felt that SwE is not acceptable or recognisable as a stable variety of English. The reasons given for such a judgement include its being “confusing” (Respondent 1c), its being “amusing despite serious content” (respondent 1b), its “lacking in sincerity owing to poor use of language” (Respondent 1h) and its “not following accepted grammar rules”(Respondent 1i). In response to the question regarding the acceptance of SwE as a stable variety of English Respondent 1j wrote:

Assuming that these are typical examples and basing my judgement on my own biased standards, then definitely no – at least in a predominantly English-speaking community. However, the quaintness of expression seems to reflect abysmally poor editing as much as ineptitude on the writer's behalf.

Four members of the group – 1a, 1d, 1e and 1f - said that SwE was an acceptable form of English. Two of these four respondents qualified their acceptance of SwE by suggesting that its acceptability lies in the fact that it is used and understood within Swaziland (1a and 1e) where it “functions as a dialect much like Caribbean or African American English” (1e). Respondent 1d felt that SwE was acceptable as a variety of English but only when used in Swaziland. The majority of this group's responses clearly indicate a negative attitude towards SwE in newspapers.

In the Text A, the feature identified by the largest number of group members (7 out of 10) as problematic was the non-standard manner of reference to numbers, as illustrated in (132) below.

(132) *The form five pupil said he had thought the gangsters were only two ...* Ln 16 of Text A (=116)

In addition, more than half the respondents (6 out of 10) identified the following features as problematic by underlining the relevant parts of Text A:

- i) The inverted adverb/verb construction
- ii) The non standard use of prepositions
- iii) Convolutd sentence structures
- iv) Word choice leading to ambiguity

Only 3 of the 10 respondents in this group identified the use of siSwati words as problematic. This is possibly because this particular group may, by virtue of their living in South Africa, be familiar with the same practice in other official languages of South Africa. In fact, using “loan words” from a contact language is a regular feature of language use in any multilingual community and it is so pervasive that it is mostly accepted as “normal” and unobjectionable. Respondents would therefore be less likely to find the inclusion of words from a Bantu language problematic. This indicates that speakers accept as “normal” those things with which they are familiar. All of the features identified by this group as problematic are frequently occurring features of SwE, as discussed in Chapter Four. These features could be considered as stable because they occur frequently and are used consistently. However, the respondents in this group drew negative inferences about SwE as a valid variety of English on the basis

of these features. Consequently, it can be concluded that these features are a primary factor in the invalidation of SwE as a stable new English by this group. The response of Group 1 to SwE in Text A and Text C are illustrated in Table 6 and Table 7 below.

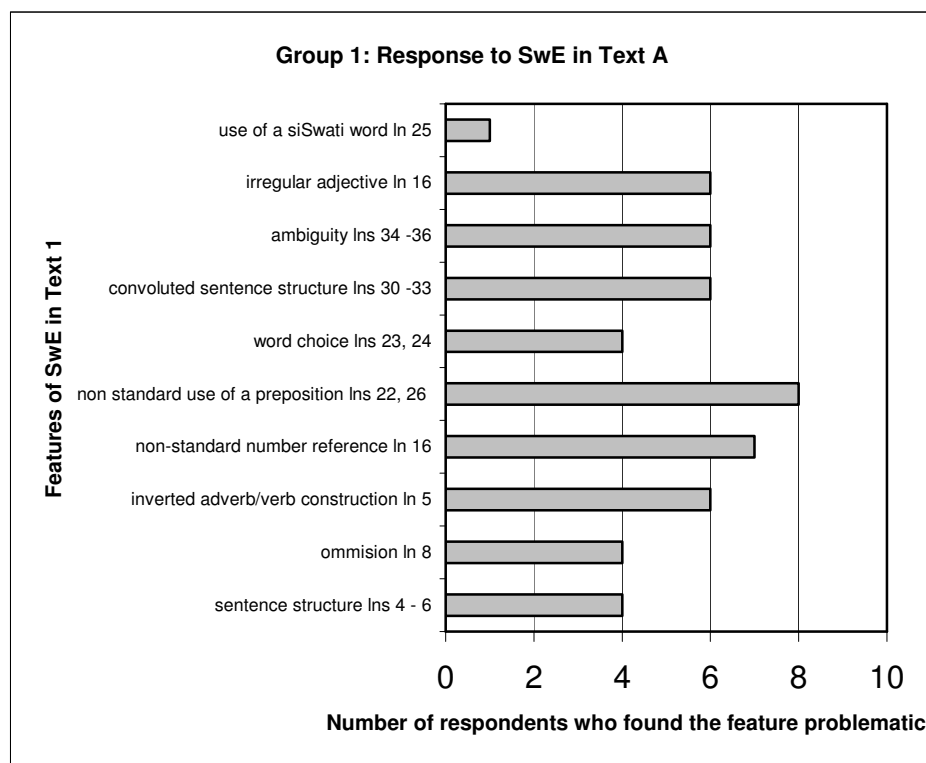


Figure 6: Group 1: Response to SwE in Text A

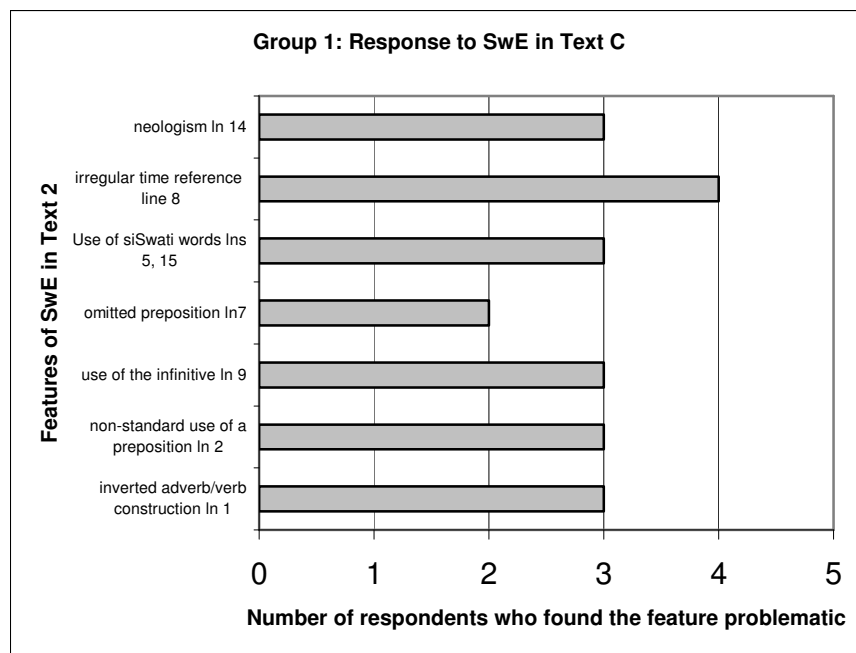


Figure 7: Group 1: Response to SwE in Text C

5.2.3 The response of Group 1 to the writers of Text A and Text B

The results of this section of the questionnaire clearly indicate a negative prejudice towards the Swazi writer. The Swazi journalist was rated by all 10 respondents as being a L2 speaker of English. In contrast, 6 respondents said that the non-Swazi journalist was a L1 speaker. The education of the Swazi writer was rated as being on the lower end of the scale with 6 respondents answering that the Swazi journalist had completed no more than O' Levels. In contrast, 6 respondents credited the non-Swazi journalist with some kind of tertiary qualification. Three respondents guessed that the non-Swazi journalist had a degree in Journalism. Figure 8 below illustrates the discrepancy

between the ratings given for the Swazi journalist and the ratings given for the other (possibly American) journalist.

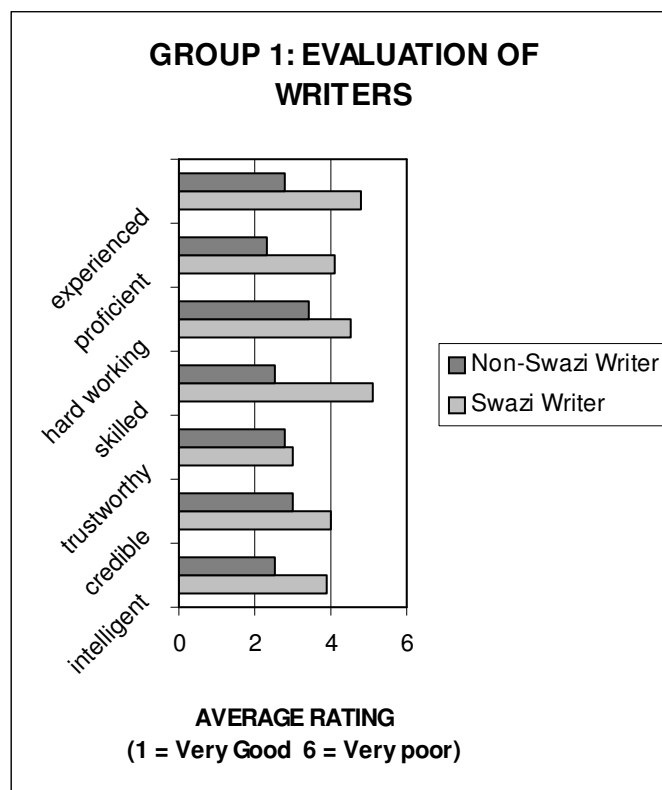


Figure 8: Group 1: Evaluation of Writers

The findings indicate that the journalists' use of English resulted in a prejudicial perception of their educational qualifications. However, there is no evidence in the writing of either journalist that could be considered indicative of educational qualifications. Both writers use idiomatic expressions which are markers of their English either as SwE (133) or American English (134):

(133) ... *Kamdodi gang* (Text A Ln 26)

(134) ... *a cheque-cashing store a block away*. (Text B Ln 4)

There are differences between the two journalists' writing styles. The writer of Text A uses long, narrative sentences, as illustrated in (135) below, to create a sense of story, possibly to evoke an emotive response from the reader, whereas the writer of Text B uses shorter, less detailed sentences, as illustrated in (136) below, to convey the facts in order to inform the reader.

(135) *Instead in his drunken stupor, he is said to have shouted the other names of his friends, who had long fled and shouted even louder that he did not care about the crowd's beatings because the fact that he was a member of the kamdodi gang could not be changed.* Text A Lns 30 – 33 (=113)

(136) *Two elderly men have been arrested for wheeling a dead friend through the streets in an office chair and trying to cash his cheque.* Text B Lns 1 – 2

Each of the categories respondents were asked to assess, refer to positive personal and professional qualities of journalists. In every category the Swazi journalist was rated lower than the non-Swazi journalist. There is an obvious difference in the group's ratings of the intelligence, credibility and skill of the journalists, with the non-Swazi journalist being viewed far more favourably. However, there were also 16 "can't say" responses to the questions, 6 to the question of how trustworthy the Swazi writer is and 4 to the question of how trustworthy the non-Swazi writer is, 4 to the question of how hardworking the Swazi writer is and 5 to the question of how hardworking the non-Swazi writer is. This group used the "can't say" option more often than any of the other groups. This might indicate a greater awareness (i) that one cannot blindly read

characteristics such as trustworthiness and industriousness off language usage and (ii) that the prevalent negative prejudice towards other groups (in this case non-native speakers of English) is unwarranted in the changing socio-political context of post-Apartheid South Africa. Nevertheless, the average rating of the Swazi journalist is still lower than the average rating of the non-Swazi journalist, indicating towards the Swazi journalist that is most probably based on little more than her use of SwE. Such a negative evaluation of the journalist based on linguistic features that are not appropriate instruments for measuring skill, character or intelligence is taken as confirmation of unwarranted prejudice.

5.3 Group 2: White South Africa English (WhSAfE) Speakers living in Swaziland

5.3.1 Group Composition

This group represents the same speech community as Group1, i.e. WhSAfE speakers. However, unlike the respondents in Group 1, all the respondents in Group 2 are resident in Swaziland and therefore are in daily contact with both written and spoken SwE. This group was included in the study in order to investigate whether regular contact with SwE would have any influence on the assessment of the language and the evaluation of the journalist.

This group was comprised of the following respondents in terms of their occupation:

2a Teacher

2b Project Manager

2c Auditor

2d Teacher

2e Civil Engineer

2f Engineer

2g Civil Engineer

2h Businesswoman

2i Civil Engineer

2j Teacher

5.3.2 The response of Group 2 to Swazi English in newspapers

When asked to consider the acceptability of SwE in general terms, 5 of the 10 respondents said that SwE was acceptable both in written and spoken form and 4 of the respondents felt that SwE was acceptable only in spoken form. Respondent 2c felt that SwE was not acceptable either in spoken or written form. Respondents in Group 2 were thus more accepting of SwE in spoken and written form than respondents in Group 1. In terms of written SwE, however, 6 of the same respondents who found SwE acceptable also found SwE to be unprofessional. Respondent 2b felt that SwE was professional and 3 respondents did not answer this question. This apparent discrepancy between the acceptance of the language per se (9 respondents found it generally acceptable) and the evaluation of SwE as professional (6 found it unprofessional) is indicative of an ambivalence towards SwE in this group. This may be because members of this Group hear and read SwE on a daily basis creating a degree of familiarity with the language use which enhances its acceptability. However, when asked to consider the use of SwE in more formal contexts – as implied by the word “professional” – there is less acceptance from members of this group.

There was greater consensus within this group as to the most obvious features or characteristics of SwE than among the members of Group 1. Respondents 2a and 2c said that SwE was a “direct translation from siSwati to English” despite the fact that they are not L1 speakers of siSwati and thus cannot actually make this judgement. Six of the respondents felt that the most obvious feature or characteristic of SwE was its verbosity. Respondent 2f said that SwE was “overly verbose” while Respondent 2d characterised SwE as “verbose and convoluted”. Respondent 2b felt that SwE involved “embellishments of the story which turn something tragic into something comical”. Respondent 2g commented that SwE involved “the elaborate use of words when it is not necessary”. Both Respondents 2e and 2h felt that the most obvious feature of SwE was “words not used in the correct context”. Respondent 2e noted that these words were often “old English and hi-falutin”. Respondent 2d felt that there was “a link between education in the language and a certain kind of snobbery i.e. it looks clever on paper to use convoluted sentence structures and vocabulary”. As English is an official language in Swaziland and the language of education, government, international trade and diplomacy there may be some merit to the suggested perception that sophisticated English indicates a higher level of education and thus marks intelligence. However, the respondent’s own bias is evident in the choice of her words: “snobbery” and “looks clever”. Respondent 2i suggested that urban SwE was acceptable while rural SwE was “poor”. The term “poor” was not qualified by the respondent.

Five of the respondents said that they would not accept SwE as a stable variety of English. The reasons given were that “English should be kept pure” (2c), SwE is “not grammatically correct” (2f and 2a), SwE is “verbose and convoluted” (2d) and that unless SwE “is improved it will tend towards another dialect i.e. Queen’s English versus Cockney” (2i). Two of the respondents felt that SwE was acceptable to some extent but “not in official publications or on an academic level” (2a) or when written (2g). Respondent 2h recognised that contact with SwE might influence its acceptability: “If you have an understanding of Swazi people on a daily basis you might find it an acceptable form of English.” Two of the respondents felt that they would accept SwE as an acceptable and stable variety of English. Respondent 2j said that SwE was a “good and clear level of English” while Respondent 2e said SwE “was a better variety of English than the one used by Americans”.

The graph presented as Figure 9 below indicates specific features of SwE, which the respondents in Group 2 considered to be problematic in Text A of the questionnaire. No features were identified in Text C.

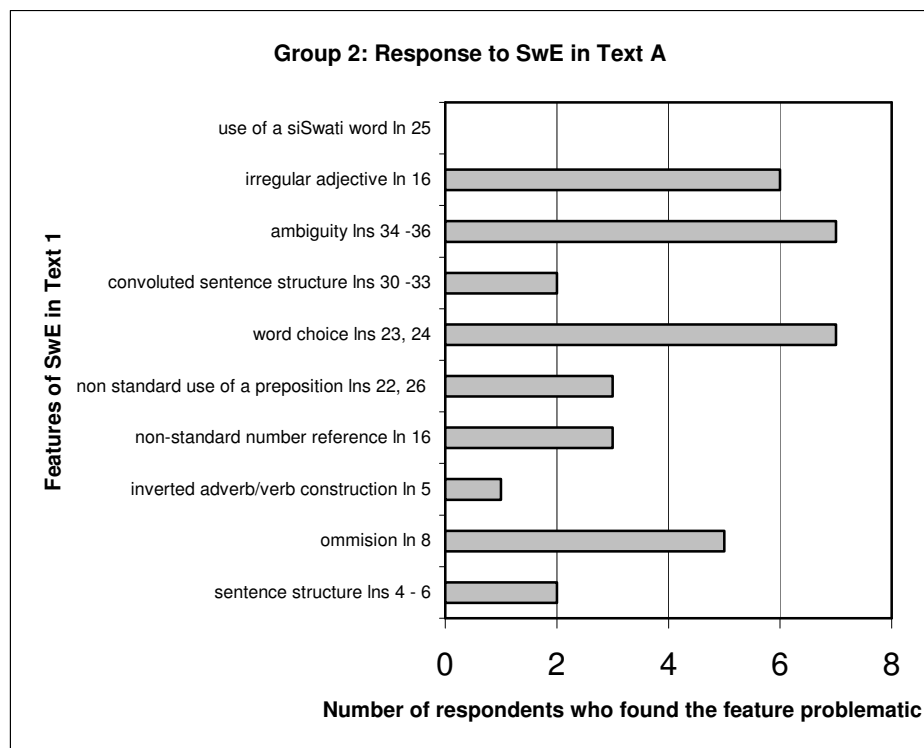


Figure 9: Group 2: Response to SwE in Text A

The data gathered shows that, in general, Group 2 was less concerned with notions of correctness than Group 1 but was no more accepting of SwE as a stable variety of English than Group 1. This suggests that regular contact with this variety has influenced the perception of SwE by respondents in Group 2: SwE is perceived by the majority of Group 1 as grammatically or semantically incorrect whereas the majority of Group 2 perceived SwE merely as embellished and convoluted. Regular contact with the language may have minimised the sensitivity speakers have to variance of grammatical features of SwE from those of WhSAfE. The grammatical features of SwE have become more familiar to Group 2 and so pose less of a problem, on the levels of structure and meaning, to members of this group than to members of Group 1.

The feature of SwE most identified by this group as problematic was a choice of words that renders particular utterances ambiguous. Examples of this feature are illustrated in (137) and (138) below.

(137) ... *the deceased kept on saying* ... Lns 23-24 (=119)

(138) ... *the deceased would not beg for forgiveness despite the heavy beatings* ... Lns 34 – 35 (=120)

In Section C, question 2 of the questionnaire, the majority of the group identified non-standard, elaborate sentence constructions as the most obvious feature of SwE yet only two respondents identified this feature in the Text as problematic. In addition, this group rated syntactic features of SwE such as the non-standard adverb placement and the non-standard use of prepositions as less problematic than Group 1 did. This indicates that Group 2, by virtue of its contact with SwE, is more accustomed to and thus less negative towards the syntactic features of SwE. However, the group is generally more critical of features of SwE, which affect meaning, such as non-standard word choice. Some examples of meaning affected by word choice are provided in (139) –141).

(139) *Senate president Gelane Zwane has decried the moral degeneration which she said was currently obtaining in the country.* WOB 09/02/08 p.2

(140) *The request is necessitated by the fact that, following the unclad shooting of our members and a vendor, ...* SOB 17/03/08 p.2
(= 102)

(141) ... *he suffered a swollen head and his leather jacket was torn.*

TOS 12/03/08 p.5 (=105)

5.3.3 The response of Group 2 to the writers of Text A and Text B

The writer of Text A was judged to be Swazi by 9 out of the 10 respondents in this Group. Respondent 2j judged the writer to be African. This accurate identification of the writer's nationality indicates a familiarity with SwE, which occurs frequently and consistently in publications in Swaziland.

All 10 respondents identified the writer of Text A as being an L2 speaker of SE and the writer of Text B as an L1 speaker of SE. This indicates a clear differentiation on the part of the respondents between the language use in Text A and the language use in Text B. The writer of Text A was identified by 7 respondents as having some tertiary education – either a Diploma or a Diploma in journalism. Only 1 respondent in Group 1 suggested that the writer of Text A may have some tertiary education.¹²

However, the Swazi writer was still rated lower than the non-Swazi writer in every category. The relatively negative evaluation of the Swazi writer's intelligence, credibility, skill and work ethic has to be based on the writer's language use in Text A as previously explained. Thus, as for Group 1, there is a clear indication of prejudice in the response of Group 2 to the Swazi journalist, based on the perceived linguistic merits

¹² An advertisement appearing in **The Times of Swaziland** on 18 August 2008 invited applications for the position of a journalist with the Times Group. The required qualifications listed were a “university degree or a minimum diploma in journalism from a recognized institution” (TOS 18/08/08 p.35). As these advertisements appear periodically it is possible that respondents in Group 2 may be aware of the required qualifications for journalists in Swaziland.

of the writing. The response of Group 2 to the writers of Text A and Text B is illustrated Figure 10 below.

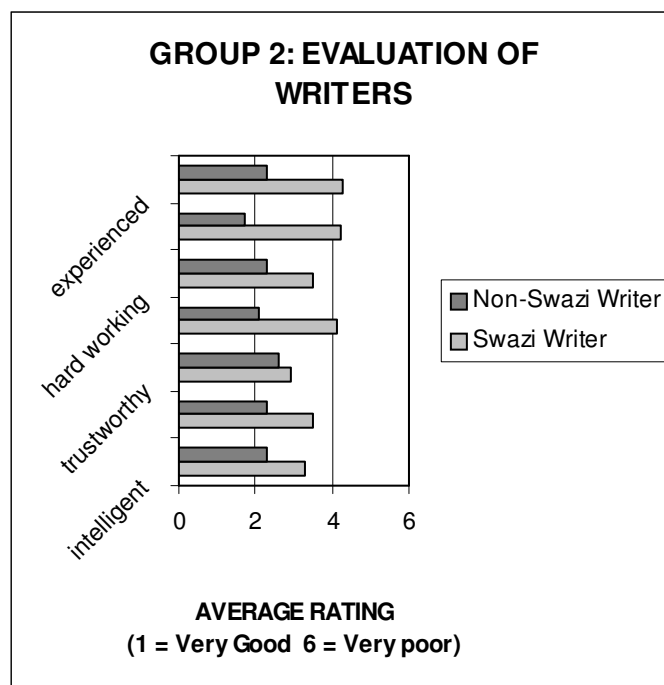


Figure 10: Group 2: Evaluation of Writers

5.4 Group 3: First Language English Speakers from Inner Circle countries

5.4.1 Group Composition

The respondents in this group were all born in the Inner Circle Countries identified in Kachru's Conceptual Model of World Englishes (1986:121 - 140). The respondents in this Group are thus all English L1 speakers from countries in which English is a native language. Seven of the respondents are resident in Swaziland and two (3f and 3j) have never been to Swaziland. Respondent 3c has visited Swaziland briefly on holiday.

Below, the nationality of each respondent has been included along with their occupation. The respondents in this group are:

3a Minister of Religion, Scottish

3b Project Director for UNICEF, American

3c Office Manager, British

3d Primary school teacher, Irish

3e Medical Doctor, American

3f Banker, British

3g Attorney, American

3h Teacher, British

3i Librarian, Australian

3j Environmental Manager, Welsh

5.4.2 The response of Group 3 to Swazi English in newspapers

In response to the questions on the general acceptability of SwE 7 respondents from this group of 10 felt that SwE was acceptable when spoken but not when written. Respondent 3i felt that SwE was not acceptable in either spoken or in written form, while respondent 3f felt SwE was acceptable when written but not when spoken. This was surprising as this respondent is a Banker from The Isle of Jersey who has never been to Swaziland and therefore is unlikely to have had any contact with spoken SwE. It is possible that his previous contact with speakers with a non-standard English accent from African countries has affected his perception of spoken SwE. However, this supposition is unsubstantiated owing to a lack of more detailed information. Respondent

3c did not answer these questions. Instead a note of explanation was attached to the questionnaire in which the respondent suggested that this section was “incredibly difficult to answer”. However, the respondent suggested that SwE “is all good and well (spoken and written) within Swaziland” but that “what needs to be asked is whether or not it is a viable language outside of Swaziland.”

With respect to the question of whether or not SwE is professional, 8 members of this group said that it was not professional. Respondents 3c and 3f did not answer this question. This would correlate with the number of respondents (7) who felt that SwE was acceptable when spoken but not when written. It appears that respondents in this group were more accepting of the idea of spoken SwE than written SwE, possibly because written SwE deviates significantly from the grammatical rules and norms of the English used by these respondents.

The respondents in this group appeared more accepting of spoken SwE, possibly because of their own exposure to many different English accents and varieties within their own countries. This could explain their less critical (compared to Groups 1 and 2) stance towards spoken SwE: it would be regarded as an accented L2 variety of English rather than as a new English.

When asked to comment on the most obvious or characteristic features of SwE, 8 members of this group were critical of SwE. Four respondents labelled SwE “confusing” three of whom suggested that SwE was also “inappropriate”. None of the

respondents qualified the terms “confusing” and “inappropriate”¹³. Respondent 3a suggested that the most obvious feature of SwE was its “confused use of tenses”. This respondent, together with Respondent 3g, felt that there was a lack of clarity in SwE with respect to the topic and the grammatical subject of sentences. Respondent 3g said that SwE is “confusing because I cannot tell who the writer is referring to”. Respondent 3b felt that the most obvious feature of SwE was “the improper use of grammar and words” while Respondents 3e and 3j commented on the use of very long sentences and the inclusion of “non-relevant” information. Respondent 3c did not answer this question. Only Respondent 3f responded positively suggesting that SwE was “clear and understandable”. On the whole this group was critical of SwE, highlighting perceived “errors” as the most obvious characteristics of SwE.

With respect to the acceptance of SwE, 5 members of the group said that they would not accept SwE as a stable and acceptable variety of English. Reasons offered included its “poor grammar” (3b), it “does not abide by many regular English rules” (3g) and its being “difficult to understand” (3i)¹⁴. Respondent 3a suggested that SwE was not acceptable as a stable variety of English as it “needs to be much more up to speed and less of a throwback to colonial straightjackets”. Respondent 3d did not give a reason for not accepting SwE as a stable variety of English. Five members of the group said they would accept SwE as a stable variety of English but four of those added qualifications to their acceptance. Respondent 3c said SwE was acceptable “within Swaziland”;

¹³ As the word “confusing” is used as part of the instructions in the questionnaire, it is possible that the respondents might merely be using the word as supplied to them in the questionnaire.

¹⁴ Vander Walt’s (2000) study showed that non-South Africans claimed that they could not easily understand South African varieties of English but that their performance on the comprehension test showed that they had actually understood these varieties a lot better than they thought they had.

Respondent 3e said that it was acceptable but “only when spoken as it is not necessary to have perfect English to communicate”; Respondent 3h felt that SwE was acceptable but that “it needs more precision” and Respondent 3j found SwE acceptable but said that SwE “in journalism appears compromising, cluttered and unnecessarily long-winded”. Only respondent 3f said that SwE was unconditionally acceptable as it is “clearer and more succinct than many examples I come across in my work”. The acceptance of SwE by this group seems to be rather a patronising tolerance of a different form of English than an unequivocal acceptance of SwE as a stable and acceptable variety of English. The graphs presented as Figures 11 and 12 below indicate those features of SwE in Text A and Text C of the questionnaire, which were identified by this group as being problematic.

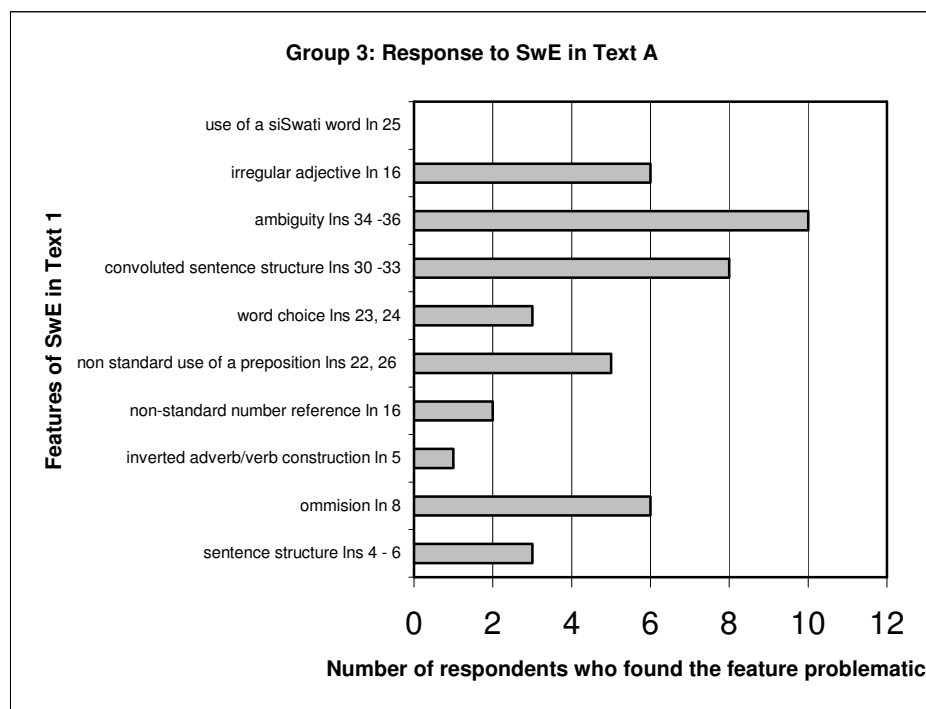


Figure 11: Group 3: Response to SwE in Text A

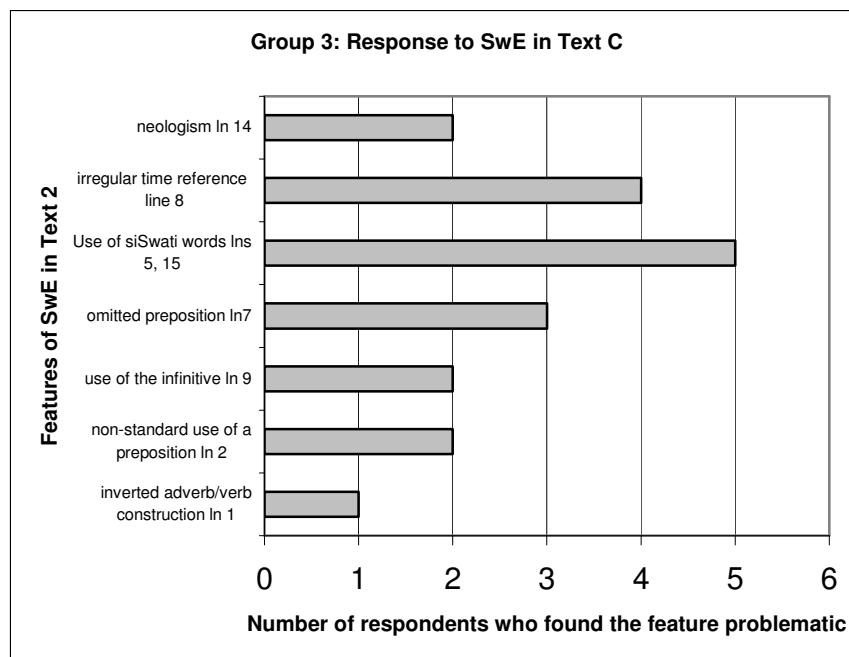


Figure 12: Group 3: response to SwE in Text C

The feature in Text A identified as problematic by the largest part of this group was the ambiguity created by the choice of words. All 10 of the respondents in this group highlighted this feature as being problematic. The convoluted sentence structures in the text were highlighted by 8 of the respondents as being problematic, while the omission in line 8 of Text A was identified by 6 respondents as problematic. The feature identified the least by this group as problematic was the inverted adverb/verb construction in Ln 5 of Text A.

In Text C, 5 of the respondents highlighted the use of siSwati words and the use of Swazi names as problematic. In Text A, none of the respondents identified the siSwati words as being problematic, most likely because the English translation of the siSwati words was placed in brackets alongside the original in the text. In Text C no such

translation was offered and thus the feature was problematic for this group. Unlike the respondents in Groups 1 and 2, the respondents of this group would be far less familiar with other Southern African languages and so the insertion of Bantu words into an English text poses more of a problem for respondents.

In Text C, 4 of the respondents also highlighted the non-standard structure used in time reference as problematic. In addition, 3 respondents found the omission of a preposition in line 8 of Text C to be problematic. This omission may well appear to be a non-standard time reference i.e. “Saturday last week”.

This group underlined all of the features highlighted in paragraph 5.1.3 of this chapter as typical features of SwE, problematic.

5.4.3 The response of Group 3 to the writers of Text A and Text B

The writer of Text A was judged to be Swazi by 7 of the respondents in Group 3. Two respondents thought the writer was South African and 1 respondent did not answer this question. The nationality of the writer may well have been inferred from references made to SwE in the questionnaire. As was the case for Groups 1 and 2, the writer of Text A is judged by the majority of Group 3 as having only a basic education, with 7 respondents judging the writer to have O’Levels. Respondent 3i thought the writer had a diploma of some kind while respondents 3b and 3h felt the writer had a diploma in journalism. In contrast, only 2 of the respondents rated the writer of Text B as having only O’Levels. The other 8 respondents felt that this writer had some tertiary education,

with two of those respondents crediting the writer with a degree in journalism. Four respondents felt the writer of Text B had a diploma in journalism. Once again, the educational qualifications of the writers were judged on the basis of their use of English in each text. As was the case for Groups 1 and 2, the results of this section show a clear prejudice towards the Swazi writer. In every category of personal and professional characteristics, the writer of Text A is rated lower than the writer of Text B. Four respondents said “can’t say” when asked to rate the Swazi writer’s intelligence but only 1 respondent said “can’t say” when asked to rate the intelligence of the non Swazi writer. This may indicate possible prejudice of the respondents because there is a positive bias towards the writer whose language most resembles their own, and a negative bias towards the writer whose language deviates most from the norms and standards of their own. However, the use of the “can’t say” option may also indicate that the respondents using this option consider it not possible to evaluate the writers on the basis of their language use. The importance of the “can’t say” option is that it highlights an ambivalence in the respondents who are reluctant to evaluate the writers either as a result of an awareness of possible prejudice towards the writer or bias towards the language or as a result of not feeling equipped to make a value judgement based solely on the use of language.

The responses of Group 3 to the writers of Text A and Text B are presented as Figure 13 below.

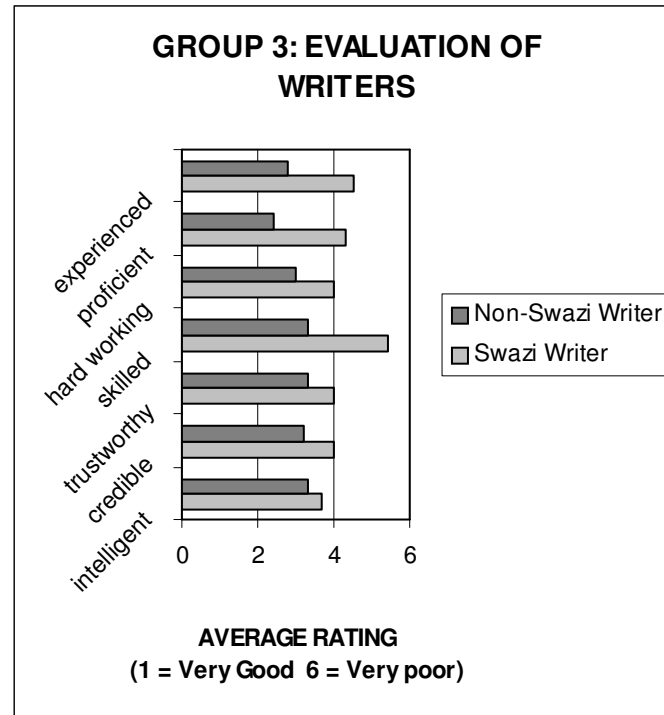


Figure 13: Group 3: Evaluation of Writers

5.5 Group 4: Non-native speakers of English

The respondents in this group all learned a language other than English as their mother tongue. Although they all have learned English as a second language, they live and work in circumstances which require them to use English extensively. This group of respondents was included in this study to investigate possible differences between English L1 speakers and English L2 speakers in the perception of SwE and users of SwE.

5.5.1 Group composition

The professional status, country of origin and mother tongue of each respondent is provided to illustrate the diversity of Group 4 as a whole. Three of the respondents (4a, 4b and 4h) are resident in Swaziland.

4a Music Teacher, Uganda, Luganda

4b Agronomist, The Netherlands, Dutch

4c Personal Assistant, Nigeria, Mwaghaval

4d Administrator, Nigeria, Yoruba

4e Personal Assistant, Nigeria, Yoruba

4f English Teacher, Nigeria, Yoruba

4g Evangelist, Malawi, Chichewe

4h Accounting student, Zimbabwe, Shona

4i Civil Engineer, South African, Xhosa

4j Business Analyst, South African, Afrikaans

5.5.2 The response of Group 4 to Swazi English in newspapers

There was a significant discrepancy in the evaluations given by the respondents of this group with respect to the general acceptability of SwE. Three of the respondents felt that SwE was acceptable both when written and when spoken. Two respondents felt that SwE was acceptable when spoken and not when written and three respondents felt it was acceptable when written and not when spoken. Two respondents felt it was not acceptable in either written or spoken form. The concern regarding SwE in spoken form is surprising given that the majority of the respondents do not live in Swaziland and

would, therefore, have little or no experience of spoken SwE. However, it is possible that, like the respondents of Group 2, an evaluation is being made based on the respondents' own experiences of non-standard English in their speech communities. Only 4 of the respondents responded to the question regarding SwE as professional. All 4 respondents felt that the use of SwE in local newspapers was not professional. The other 6 respondents did not answer this question.

When asked to identify the most obvious feature or characteristic of SwE, 3 respondents focused on spoken SwE suggesting that the most obvious feature of SwE was its pronunciation. Respondent 4g felt that Swazis have “problems pronouncing a’s”. Since this respondent is a Malawian living and working in Malawi, it is difficult to know how he arrived at this evaluation of SwE. Respondent 4i felt that the “accent of SwE showed Swazi nationality”. Respondent 4b, who lives and works in Swaziland, felt that the most obvious feature of SwE was “vowel inversion i.e. long vowels shortened and short vowels lengthened and the resultant tendency to confuse the spelling e.g. morden for modern”. Since this respondent is familiar with SwE in spoken form, the evaluation of pronunciation as its most obvious feature is most likely based on the respondents' own experience of SwE on a daily basis. Respondents 4a and 4h felt that the most obvious feature of SwE was that it is “directly translated from siSwati without considering tenses” and that this direct translation “is not always correct” despite the fact that these respondents are not L1 speakers of siSwati and thus cannot actually make this judgement. Respondent 4j felt that the most obvious feature was that “they don’t use tenses properly”. Respondent 4e felt that the most obvious feature of SwE was “the use

of traditional language”. Respondents 4c and 4d offered a more positive evaluation of the features of SwE, suggesting that it “developed the background of the story” and had “the ability to communicate with written expression”. There appears to be more concern within this group with the way SwE sounds (i.e. the non-standard pronunciation of words) than with its grammatical correctness, which was the main concern for the L1 English groups.

Four respondents in this group did not find SwE to be an acceptable and stable variety of English. The reason offered by respondent 4g was “because of its pronunciation”. Respondent 4a supported this by suggesting that SwE is not acceptable because “it is pronounced with a Swazi accent which changes the meaning”. Respondent 4g is a Malawian who does not live in Swaziland so the basis for his evaluation is unclear. However, respondent 4a is a Ugandan who lives and works in Swaziland and so it is possible that his evaluation of SwE is based on his own experience of SwE. SwE would sound very different to the English learned by the respondent in another formerly British governed African country, i.e. a largely different speech community. Respondent 4j felt SwE was not acceptable but conceded that it is used to “convey their message even if it is in a different manner”. Respondent 4b said that SwE would be acceptable if it were to be “defined and somehow described” in order to avoid a “state of Happy Anarchy in which everyone says/writes what he likes”.

Five of the respondents in this group said that SwE was acceptable as a stable variety of English. Respondent 4c said it was “well-accepted and proper English”. Respondent 4d

felt it was acceptable “when written” and Respondent 4e said it was “acceptable within the community” in which it is used. Respondent 4i felt that SwE was “acceptable to a certain degree when taking into account that it is used as a second language”. Respondent 4h said that SwE was “a form of communication which an English speaking person can understand and derive meaning”. Respondent 4f did not answer this question. There are more respondents in this group who would accept SwE as a stable variety of English than in the 3 L1 groups. This may be because the respondents in this group would be more empathetic to a non-native variety of English given their own experiences as L2 speakers.

Five of the ten respondents did not identify any features of SwE in the texts in the questionnaire as problematic. The feature identified as problematic by 4 out of the 5 respondents who did find something problematic in the texts was the use of siSwati names in Text C. The use of siSwati words in Text A was identified by 2 of the respondents as being problematic. This may be because an English translation of those words is not offered in Text C whereas a translation is offered for the siSwati words used in Text A.

Most of the features identified in paragraph 5.1.3 of this chapter were identified by at least 1 but no more than 2 of the respondents as being problematic. The features which were not identified by any of the respondents were the non-standard adverb placement in Text A and the omission of a preposition resulting in a non-standard time reference in Text C. Respondents in this group were more accepting and less critical of SwE than

the respondents in Groups 1, 2 and 3. This is possibly because the respondents in Group 4 are themselves all L2 speakers of non-native Englishes.

5.5.3 The response of Group 4 to the writers of Text A and Text B

The nationality of the writer of Text A was judged by 5 of the respondents as Swazi, by two of the respondents as South African and by 1 of the respondents as English. Respondents 4d and 4e did not answer this question. The writer of Text A was thought to be a second language speaker by 8 respondents and a first language speaker by 2 respondents. The same two respondents felt that the writer of Text B was a second language speaker while 5 other respondents in the group said the non-Swazi writer was a first language speaker.

Regarding education, 6 of the respondents credited both the Swazi writer and the non-Swazi writer with having had tertiary education. This can be taken as a less prejudicial response from Group 4 (than from the L1 groups) towards the educational qualifications of the writers. Although the Swazi writer was rated lower than the non-Swazi writer in all but one category, the differences between the average ratings for these two journalists are marginal compared to the more definite differences noted in the ratings of the writers by the respondents of the L1 groups. The non-Swazi writer was rated marginally less skilled than the Swazi writer by this group although 3 respondents answered “can’t say” to this question. The averages of the evaluation of each journalist is presented as figure 14 below.

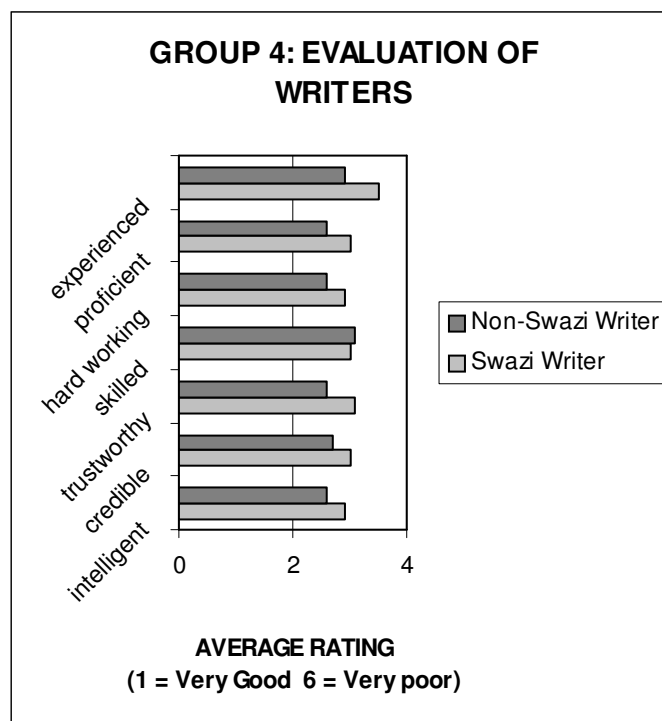


Figure 14: Group 4: Evaluation of Writers

In general this group's response was less critical of SwE and of the Swazi writer than the responses of the L1 groups. However, as in the L1 groups, respondents in this group did evaluate the writers based on linguistic features which are inappropriate instruments for measuring skill, character and intelligence and thus there is evidence even in this group of prejudice based on the use of English.

5.6 Group 5: Speakers of Swazi English

All the respondents in this group are Swazi citizens and mother-tongue siSwati speakers. All of them completed their primary and secondary education in schools in Swaziland. These respondents were included in the study as all of them group have

learned SwE at school and used SwE daily in the contexts of their professional responsibilities.

5.6.1 Group Composition

With respect to the professional status of each respondent, the group is composed as follows:

- 5a Bank Clerk
- 5b Human Resources Manager
- 5c Administrative Assistant
- 5d Personal Assistant
- 5e Teacher
- 5f Civil Engineer
- 5g Student (at university in South Africa)
- 5h Personal Assistant
- 5i Environmentalist
- 5j Financial Accountant

5.6.2 The response of Group 5 to Swazi English in newspapers

Unsurprisingly, there was greater consensus within this group than within the other groups with respect to the most obvious features of SwE. Unlike the respondents from other groups who made this claim, these respondents are actually in a position to make this claim as they are L1 siSwati speakers. Three of the respondents said that “direct translation” (i.e. the transfer of L1 features into the L2) from siSwati to English was the

most obvious feature of SwE. Respondents suggested that the direct translation of siSwati into English “distorts the grammar of English” (5g) and “distorts the whole sentence or meaning, throwing the whole thing out of context” (5j). Two of the respondents felt that the most obvious feature of SwE was the use of “siSwati words” (5b) and the use of “slang words borrowed from siSwati” (5e). Respondents 3b and 3f said that the most obvious feature of SwE was that it was “confusing and ambiguous”. This was not qualified by either respondent. Respondent 5i felt that the most obvious feature of SwE was “ill-constituted sentences”. Three respondents did not answer this question.

Six respondents said they could not accept SwE as an acceptable and stable variety of English. Respondent 5b said “Definitely not! The mixture of languages brings confusion”. Respondent 5c suggested that “they should change our English writing to be proper English which does not include siSwati.” This respondent does not qualify who the “they” is to whom he refers. It was interesting to note that this respondent accepts ownership of SwE by referring to “our English” but then suggests that it is not “proper English” because it “includes siSwati”. This respondent apparently identifies SwE as different from other standard Englishes with which he would have contact and against which he would measure his own SwE. Respondents 5e and 5f felt that SwE was not acceptable because “it would make communication difficult as not everyone would understand.” Respondent 5f also felt that SwE was not acceptable because it is “very ambiguous and misleading” resulting in “communication not being achieved.” Respondents 5a and 5g said that SwE was acceptable “within Swaziland”. Respondent

5g said that SwE “cannot be accepted by the international community because the phrases translated from siSwati to English would not be understood.” Respondent 5i felt that SwE was acceptable but “not in professional documents.” This respondent also questioned “if American English is accepted as a language worldwide – why not Swazi English?” This response offers a new perspective of SwE as acceptable compared to the other dismissive responses in the group. This response is countered somewhat by respondent 5j who suggested that SwE was not acceptable because “it is unfair to ruin another nation’s language” and that “Swazis should learn the correct English and use it.” This respondent is clearly of the opinion that there is a “correct” English to which Swazis should aspire. Two of the respondents did not answer this question. Thus 6 out of the 8 respondents who answered the question rejected SwE as a stable and acceptable variety of English. It is possible that the respondents have evaluated SwE in terms of British Standard English which is the parent language from which SwE has developed and which is still the language of the textbooks and curriculum of the education system. The nature of this study does not make it possible to investigate in detail the possible sociolinguistic factors influencing the response of this group to SwE.

There was very little identification of features of SwE in the texts given in the questionnaire. Four of the respondents did not identify any features of SwE as problematic. The other six respondents identified only one or two features. The feature identified most frequently as problematic was the inclusion of siSwati words which was noted by three respondents. The following features were not identified as problematic by any of the respondents: omission of words, the non-standard use of prepositions, the

non-standard adjective, the omission of a preposition resulting in a non-standard time reference and the use of a neologism.

Despite the majority of the respondents' rejection of SwE as acceptable and stable, very few features of SwE were identified as problematic by this group. This suggests that the respondents in Group 5 are familiar with SwE and that SwE poses little or no problem for them either structurally or with respect to interpretation when used in newspapers. In spite of the apparent ease in understanding SwE and being least critical of the features of SwE in newspaper articles, this group was the least accepting of Swazi English as a stable variety of English.

5.6.3 The response of Group 5 to the writers of Text A and Text B

All the respondents in Group 5 accurately identified the writer of Text A as Swazi and all 10 suggested that the writer was a second language speaker of English. This indicates a definite perception that SwE is second language variety of English rather than a new English that could also be the L1 of a speech community. Six respondents judged the writer to have some tertiary education. This group was divided as to the likely nationality of the writer of Text B. The writer was judged to be American by 4 respondents, English by 2 respondents, South African by 1 respondent and Swazi by 1 respondent. Two respondents did not answer this question. Four of the respondents felt that the writer of Text B was a second language speaker of English while the other 6 judged the writer to be a first language speaker of English. Five of the respondents felt that the writer of Text B had some tertiary education.

This is the only group in which the educational qualifications of the Swazi writer were evaluated as tertiary by more respondents than was the case for the non-Swazi writer. However, the Swazi writer was still rated lower than the non-Swazi writer on every category of personal and professional characteristics. The average ratings of the writers by the group are presented in figure 15 below.

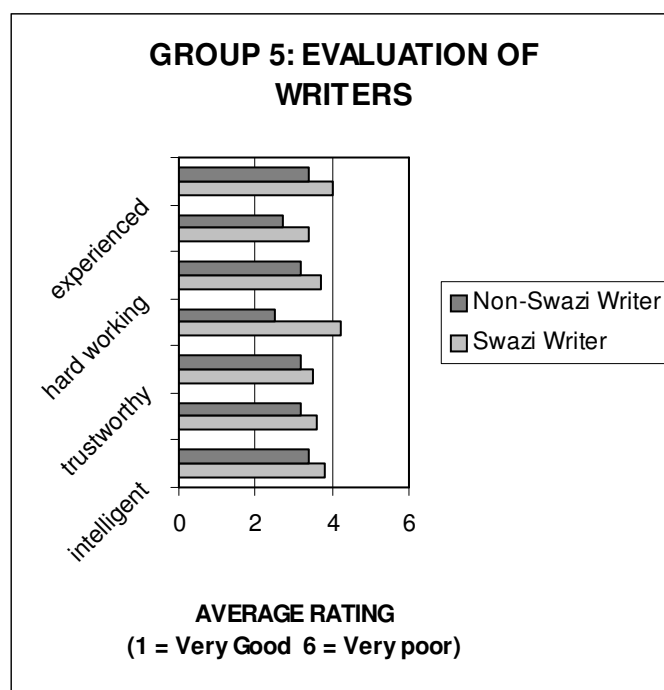


Figure 15: Group 5: Evaluation of Writers

Fewer respondents used the “can’t say” option with respect to the categories of evaluation for the Swazi writer than the non-Swazi writer. This indicates a greater willingness to evaluate the Swazi writer. The respondents and the writer are of the same nationality and use the same variety of English (i.e. SwE) and thus the willingness to evaluate the writer may be rooted in a confidence based on familiarity. The negative

evaluation of the Swazi writer on the basis of language use shared by the respondents is supported by the findings of Gough (1996:58) who notes that users of the new Englishes often deny its institutionalised existence. Kachru (cf. Mukherjee 2007:170) refers to this phenomenon as “linguistic schizophrenia”. Like all the other groups, this group also evaluated the writers based on linguistic features that have are not appropriate instruments for measuring skill, character or intelligence. Thus there is evidence in this group, as in all the others, of a prejudice towards the intelligence, credibility, trustworthiness and reliability of the Swazi writer based solely on this writer’s use of English. As the Swazi writer uses language which is not identifiable as BSE (the language of textbooks and thus the perceived language of the educated), she is negatively evaluated by her peers who, ironically, use the same language.

5.7 Summary

5.7.1 The overall response to Swazi English

The data presented above revealed that there is a discrepancy between the groups regarding the acceptability of SwE in general. There is a greater overall acceptance of SwE when spoken and not written than there is of SwE in both spoken and written form. Groups 1, 3 and 5 showed a definite tendency towards accepting SwE as a spoken language variety. Groups 2 and 4 accepted SwE as a written and spoken language variety. Respondents from Group 4 are less critical and more accepting of SwE in general, possibly because of their own experience as L2 English speakers. The Swazi respondents of Group 5 were least accepting of SwE in both spoken and written form.

Figure 16 below presents the different responses of the groups to SwE.

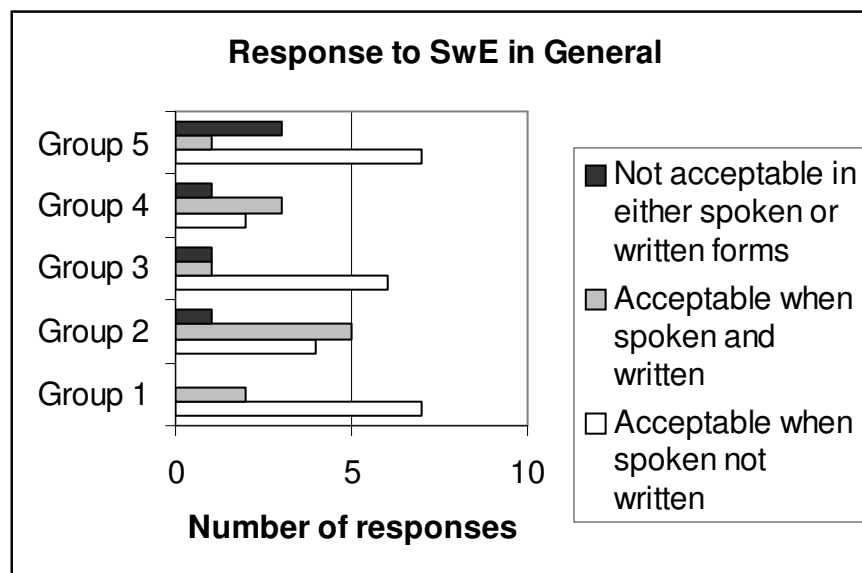


Figure 16: Response to SwE in general

5.7.2 The response to Swazi English in newspapers

Each of the examples of SwE excerpted from Texts A and C in the research questionnaire and presented in paragraph 5.1.3 was identified by at least some of the respondents as problematic. The feature of SwE most frequently identified as problematic was “word choice leading to ambiguity”. Forty-two of the 50 respondents found this feature problematic. Other frequently identified features included:

- a) Non-standard, elaborate sentence constructions (identified by 20 respondents),
- b) The non-standard use of prepositions (identified by 24 respondents),
- c) The omission of words (identified by 17 respondents) and
- d) The non-standard use of an adjective (identified by 16 of the respondents).

The feature of SwE least frequently identified as problematic is the use of a neologism.

This feature was identified as problematic by only six of the fifty respondents.

5.7.3 The response to the writers of Text A and Text B

Every group in the study rated the Swazi writer as a) most probably having less education than the non-Swazi writer and b) as less intelligent, credible, trustworthy, hardworking, proficient and experienced than the non-Swazi writer solely on the basis of the written text. This negative evaluation of the Swazi journalist is based on linguistic features that are not appropriate instruments for measuring skill, character or intelligence and consequently, it can be argued that the evaluation is indicative of a prejudice.

The data in this study have shown that there is a prejudicial response to the use of language in all the speech communities investigated. There appears to be some acceptance of SwE as a new English – more so for spoken SwE than for written SwE. The writer using SwE was, nevertheless, evaluated negatively in areas such as skill, credibility, proficiency and intelligence. As the evaluation is based on the perceived linguistic merits of the writer's language use, it is clear that the prejudicial response is closely linked to the writer's use of language. A discussion of these findings with respect to the research questions and hypotheses presented in Chapter One and the literature discussed in Chapter Two will follow in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

There are three hypotheses which the research of this thesis aimed to test, set out in paragraph 1.3 of Chapter One. These hypotheses are interdependent because the second and third hypotheses are formed on the basis of the first hypothesis. The research was divided into two parts: (i) An investigation into the features of SwE in newspapers which may mark SwE as a new English and (ii) a questionnaire aimed to gauge the response of people from different speech communities to the use of SwE in general and in newspapers in particular and to the users of SwE. Each part of the research was not dedicated to testing a specific hypothesis but was rather aimed at gathering data which would address all of the hypotheses. The hypotheses are discussed below in terms of the findings of the research and a conclusion is reached with respect to the validity of each hypothesis.

6.1 Swazi English as a “new” English

The first research question was “Can SwE be characterised as a new English according to the definition of “new Englishes” presented in this thesis?” The hypothesis proposed in response to this research question was that SwE is a new English because its features are stable and its use is consistent. There are lexical, syntactic and semantic features of SwE which differ from those of other Englishes and from those of standard British or American English. These features of SwE occur frequently and consistently in the writing of newspaper articles.

6.1.1 The first supposition: Swazi English as a new English

New Englishes were defined in paragraph 1.5 as Englishes with endonormative potential which are in the process of being codified. There are a number of factors emerging from the literature reviewed in Chapter Two of this thesis which characterise new Englishes and which can be applied to Swazi English. Four such factors are discussed below.

Firstly, New Englishes emerge as a result of English being “exported” to countries and used widely as a second language (Kachru 1986 in Hundt 2006:207). English was introduced to Swaziland during the colonial expansion of the British Empire during the 19th century. When Swaziland became a British Protectorate in the early part of the 20th century, English became entrenched as the language of education, trade, diplomacy and the media. The English used in Swaziland as a British Protectorate was governed by the norms of Standard British English by virtue of the close involvement of British expatriates in the governmental, educational, industrial and diplomatic sectors in Swaziland. English thus quickly became the second language of the Swazi people.

Secondly, the spread of English globally has resulted in English being adapted to new cultures, societies and linguistic environments (Svartik and Leach 2006: 122). This adaptation of English gives rise to a new non-native variety of English specific to the region in which it is manifest. After Swaziland achieved independence in 1968, SwE continued to develop despite increasingly restricted access to input from English first

language speakers of British descent thus resulting in the language developing “independently of an external norm.” (De Klerk 2003:222) The emergent English, referred to as SwE, is characterised by lexical, syntactic and semantic features that “deviate” from the lexical, syntactic and semantic norms of Standard British English and WhSAfE, which are the Englishes to which SwE is most frequently compared. These features are discussed in detail in Chapter Four of this thesis and referred to, in conclusion, in paragraph 6.1.2 below.

Thirdly, new Englishes have their origins in second language varieties of English which are not native to a community but which have established roles within that community. SwE is not only spoken but also written in (e.g.) newspapers, government documents and the public relations documents of Swazi companies. It is also the medium of education as Swazi teachers are using SwE in the classroom as a first language where “English” is the only medium of instruction in government schools from grade three onwards and in private schools from pre-school grades onwards.

Fourthly, second language varieties of English become new Englishes via a process of “nativization” during which the local varieties of English become institutionalised (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006:7). As SwE is used in written form in newspapers, government documents, public relations documents of Swazi companies and schools etc, it can be argued that SwE is in the process of being nativized and thus in the process of being established as a new English.

Schneider's Dynamic Model of the evolution of new Englishes, which is discussed in paragraph 2.2 of Chapter Two, identifies five stages in the evolution of a language (2003 in Mukherjee 2007:161). It is noted, however, that these stages are not clearly demarcated as distinct from one another but rather that one stage tends to blend into another stage resulting in an overlap in which aspects of two stages may be noted. SwE, it could be argued, is both in the phase of nativization and the phase of endonormative potential. The phase of nativization is characterised by the emergence of a local variety of English with distinctive lexicogrammatical features. The findings of the investigation into the lexical, syntactic and semantic features of SwE in Swazi newspapers (presented and discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis) clearly indicate that a local variety of English has emerged and is in use in Swaziland. This local variety of English has been termed "Swazi English" (SwE) – a term which is widely applied and understood. Of the 50 respondents who answered the research questionnaire in which the term Swazi English is used and which asks questions about Swazi English, only one respondent said that he "did not know what Swazi English is". This suggests that the term is widely understood to refer to a variety of English in the same way that the terms "Nigerian English" or "American English" refer to varieties of English used elsewhere in the world. The issuing and acceptance of a label for a new English is an aspect of the phase of Endonormative Stabilization. Other aspects of the phase of Endonormative Stabilisation are that the new English is perceived as a carrier of local identity and that it is used in creative writing. The label "Swazi English" does carry a local identity as the new English is clearly marked as a Swazi entity – unique to Swaziland. In addition, SwE is beginning to be used in creative writing both by students at school in Swaziland

and by Swazi journalists writing articles for the daily newspaper publications in Swaziland. However, it cannot be argued that the process of the nativization of SwE is complete. Although there is some emergence of indigenous norms, they are not widely accepted and SwE is yet to be formally codified. Thus, SwE appears to vacillate between the Nativization Phase and the Endonormative Stabilisation Phase, in the process of evolving as a new English.

Gill (cf. De Klerk 2003:221) has developed a model for the consideration of the development of norms in new Englishes, which is explored more fully in paragraph 2.2.6.5. In terms of this model, it could be argued that SwE is in the Liberation and Expansion Phase of the development of norms. This is a transitional phase that is characterised by external norms competing with new developing norms, which often leads to confusion and inconsistency. The investigation of features of SwE in newspapers revealed that, while there is definite evidence of non-standard lexicogrammatical features in SwE that are different from similar constructs in more standard Englishes such as Standard British English, there is little evidence of any norm governance of these features. Although occurring frequently, the features of SwE emerge inconsistently in the lexical, syntactic and semantic constructs of written SwE in newspapers.

6.1.2 The second supposition:

The features of Swazi English are consistent and stable features of a new English

In Chapter Four of this thesis, the 33 features of SwE identified in and extracted from Swazi newspapers were discussed. The frequent occurrence of these features suggests that SwE has emerged as a local variety of English with distinct lexicogrammatical features.

6.1.2.1 Lexical Features of SwE

The findings of the research indicate that the most dominant lexical features of SwE are borrowings and hybridisations that pertain to cultural ceremonies, food, drink and socio-political structures for which there is no English translation of the siSwati term (see section 4.1.1 of Chapter Four). Borrowings and hybridisations of siSwati words are used consistently and frequently and thus could be considered a stable feature of SwE.

The non-standard use of words such as “wondered” (see paragraph 4.1.3.3) and “lamented” (see paragraph 4.1.3.4) does not necessarily involve deviations from the grammatical norms of BSE or WhSAfE but rather involves the use of these words in contexts, which differ from the contexts in which they would be used in SBE or WhSAfE. These words are used consistently in non-standard ways and thus represent a stable feature of SwE.

The creation of new words appears to be another consistent and stable feature of SwE (see paragraph 4.1.2). These words are often created by the adaptation of a noun to form a verb by the addition of a morpheme or a suffix. In the word “warehoused” (see example (6) in paragraph 4.1.4 of) the morpheme –ed has been added to create a verb, which means “stored”. In SBE or WhSAfE the word “warehouse” would be used as a noun and not as a verb. Similarly, the word “ejectment” (see example (8) in paragraph 4.1.2) has been adapted from the verb “eject” by the addition of the suffix. In SBE or

WhSAfE the word would be “ejection”, “removal” or “eviction”. However, there is no evidence to show that these newly created words are used again in other contexts or in ways that are consistent. Thus it could be argued neologisms in SwE are created as part of a process in which a norm is possibly emerging but is not as yet defined.

6.1.2.2 Syntactic Features of SwE

Some of the syntactic features of SwE, such as the non-standard adverb placement (see paragraph 4.2.3.1) and the use of the progressive form of verbs (see paragraph 4.2.2.3 of Chapter Four) are used consistently and appear to be becoming stable features of SwE. The adverbial construction in SwE is more often than not placed in front of the verb construction it qualifies whereas in BSE and WhSAfE the adverbial construction is usually placed after the noun construct it modifies. Compare (142) to (143) as an example of this feature.

(142) *The Matsapha Industrial sight (sic) was yesterday turned into a war zone.* WOB 15 –16/03/08 p.3 (SwE)

(143) The Matsapha Industrial Site was turned into a war zone yesterday. (BSE and WhSAfE)

In SwE, the progressive form of verbs is frequently used. Some examples of this are:

(144) *Police Commissioner Edgar Hillary was this week violating the legislation.* TOS 23/03/08 p.3 (= 46)

(145) Police Commissioner Edgar Hillary violated the legislation this week. (BSE and WhSAfE)

The majority of the identified features however, while occurring frequently, are used with little or no consistency. For example, while there is significant evidence of the non-standard use of prepositions in SwE (see paragraph 4.2.5), the use of these prepositions is not consistent and, therefore, not stable. The syntactic features of SwE identified in Chapter Four are perhaps most indicative of the vacillation of SwE between the Nativization Phase and the Endonormative Stabilisation Phase of the evolution of new Englishes.

6.1.2.3 Semantic Features of SwE

The semantic features of SwE identified in the research were presented and discussed in paragraph 4.3. This aspect of SwE is neither norm governed nor stable. None of the identified features appear to be used consistently and thus these features cannot be accepted as stable. In addition, these features in SwE cause a semantic shift, which often results in ambiguity, confusion or an inappropriate message from the non-SwE reader's point of view.

6.1.3 The validity of Hypothesis 1

The findings of the investigation support the hypothesis that SwE can be identified as a new English. There is evidence which shows that SwE has lexical, syntactic and semantic features, which differ from the features of BSE and WhSAfE. In addition,

there is evidence to support the claim that these features appear frequently in the use of SwE in newspapers. It is, however, acknowledged that not all of these features are applied consistently and therefore cannot, as yet, be considered as stable features of SwE. Nevertheless, this inconsistency supports the suggestion that SwE is in a transition phase between the Nativization Phase and the Endonormative Phase proposed by Schneider's Dynamic Model of the evolution of new Englishes. The features of SwE are not always used consistently and therefore it is not possible to suggest that they are, as yet, norm governed. However, it is possible to argue that particular norms are emerging. Some features, such as the non-standard adverb placement are used consistently albeit in the absence of a prescribed norm. In terms of Gill's model of the development of norms in new Englishes, SwE is in the Liberation and Expansion Phase of the development of norms. This phase is characterised by confusion and inconsistency in the use of the language and the application of its features. This is evident in SwE. Thus there is evidence to support the conclusion that SwE is emerging as a new English with features that differ from those of "standard" Englishes. Although the features of SwE are clearly evident, they are not yet used consistently and therefore, as yet, cannot be considered stable or norm-governed.

6.2 Acceptance of SwE as language in the media

The second research question was: "How do people from different speech communities respond to the use of SwE in newspapers?" The hypothesis proposed in response to this question was that despite the stable form and consistent use of SwE in the newspapers in Swaziland, SwE is viewed critically by speakers of English from other speech

communities. Speakers from other speech communities use their own English as the standard against which to assess SwE. Deviations from the expected standard are viewed as errors and not merely as features of a different variety of English.

Fifty respondents, ten from each investigated speech community, completed the research questionnaire attached as Addendum 1. The speech communities investigated were WhSAfE speakers not living in Swaziland, WhSAfE speakers living in Swaziland, English L1 speakers from Inner Circle countries (as defined by Kachru 1986 in Hundt 2006:207), English L2 speakers from other countries and Swazi English speakers living in Swaziland. The findings of the investigation of this hypothesis are presented and discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

6.2.1 The first supposition:

Swazi English is viewed critically by members of other speech communities

There was a critical response to SwE by the majority of the respondents in each group except the English L2 speakers from other countries. Respondents in the L1 groups (WhSAfE speakers not living in Swaziland, WhSAfE speakers living in Swaziland and English L1 speakers from Inner Circle countries) were particularly critical of the grammar and sentence structure of SwE as it is exemplified in the newspaper articles presented in the research questionnaire. Some of the words used by the L1 speakers to describe SwE were “confusing”, “poor”, “inaccurate”, “overly verbose” and “convoluted”. These words clearly convey negative and critical attitudes to SwE. Of the three L1 groups, the group of WhSAfE speakers

living outside of Swaziland was the most critical of SwE. Six of the nine respondents from this group rejected SwE as a new English.

The group of English L2 speakers from other countries were least critical of SwE with only 4 respondents in this group rejecting SwE as a new English. The acceptance of SwE by this group may well be due the respondents' own experiences as L2 speakers.

The group of Swazi speakers of SwE was surprisingly critical of SwE. One of the assumptions underlying the second hypothesis was that SwE speakers would be least critical of their own use of English. However, the majority of the respondents in this group (6 out of the 8 who answered this section) rejected SwE as a new English. Negative words such as “confusing”, “ambiguous”, “distorted” and “improper” were used by the respondents in this group to describe SwE. Nevertheless, despite the overt criticism of SwE and its rejection as a new English, the SwE speakers identified the least number of features of SwE in the texts in the research questionnaire as problematic. This suggests that the SwE speaking respondents are familiar with SwE and that SwE poses little or no problem for them either structurally or in interpretation when it is used in newspapers. In spite of apparent ease in understanding SwE and being least critical of the features of SwE in newspaper articles, this group was the least accepting of Swazi English as a stable variety of English. This suggests that the SwE speakers are not sure which aspects of SwE are “incorrect” or “inappropriate” but assume (or believe) that many aspects of SwE are “incorrect” or inappropriate”. Whereas the other groups judged SwE based on the linguistic features that they

observed in the SwE excerpts, the group of SwE speakers judged their own variety of English based on a belief that their variety of English is more inferior to (more) standard varieties of English. These findings concur with the findings of other research with respect to attitudes to emerging new Englishes, which are discussed in more detail in paragraph 2.4. Gough (1996:58) noted that it is, ironically, the users of the new English who deny its institutionalised existence. Kachru (cf. Mukherjee 2007:170) refers to this phenomenon as “linguistic schizophrenia” in which speakers of new Englishes “accept English as an integral part of their linguistic repertoire but at the same time reject the local variant at hand”. The findings of this investigation clearly indicate that SwE is viewed critically by speakers of English from other speech communities, as well as by speakers of SwE themselves, even where there is little ambiguity or difficulty in assigning meaning.

6.2.2 The second supposition: Speakers from other speech communities use their own English as the standard against which to assess Swazi English

It is reasonable to assume that each respondent’s own frame of reference with respect to language use would have provided the basis for the judgement of SwE, and there is indeed evidence in the findings of this study to support this assumption. The norms of the English used (or perceived as being proper) by each respondent provided the benchmark for the assessment of SwE.

The respondents in the L1 English groups were most concerned with the grammar of SwE, describing it as “poor”, “inaccurate”, “incorrect” and “improper”. One respondent said that SwE was acceptable but “only when spoken as it is not necessary to have

perfect English to communicate” (3e). The implication is that there is a “perfect English” and that the respondent perceives his own variety to answer to this norm. SwE is thus evaluated in such terms. Of all the L1 groups, the group of WhSAfE speakers living in Swaziland was the least concerned about the grammar of SwE (although there was reference to the “poor and confusing” grammar of SwE by respondents in this group). These respondents found the perceived verbosity of SwE, the non-standard, elaborate sentence structures and the inappropriate choice of words most problematic, arguing that these features lead to ambiguity and misunderstanding. Since respondents in this group live and work in Swaziland, it is possible that regular contact with SwE has minimised their sensitivity to the non-standard grammatical features of SwE. As the grammatical features of SwE have become more familiar to respondents in this group, these features pose less of a problem at the levels of structure and meaning to this group than to the other L1 groups.

The respondents in the group of L2 English speakers from other countries were more critical of the pronunciation of SwE than of its grammatical structure. The concern regarding SwE in spoken form is surprising given that the majority of the respondents in this group do not live in Swaziland and would, therefore, have little or no experience of spoken SwE and given the fact that the respondents only received excerpts of written SwE in the questionnaire. However, it is possible that their evaluation of spoken SwE is based on their own experiences of accented Englishes used in their speech communities.

The Swazi respondents were overtly critical of SwE, describing it as “confusing”, “ambiguous” and “ill constituted”. There is a suggestion that SwE is not “proper English” because it includes the use of siSwati words. It is possible that the respondents evaluated SwE in terms of British Standard English, which is the parent language from which SwE developed and which is still the language of the textbooks and curriculum of the education system in Swaziland. As such, the critical evaluation of SwE by Swazis could be the effect of normative judgement that typically occurs in language education in schools. However, there was very little identification of features of SwE in the texts given as part of the questionnaire. The feature identified most frequently as problematic was the inclusion of siSwati words. Thus, despite the majority of the Swazi respondents’ rejection of SwE as acceptable and stable, they identified very few features of SwE as problematic. In spite of their apparent ease in understanding SwE and their being least critical of the features of SwE in newspaper articles, this group was the least accepting of Swazi English as a stable variety of English. This would support the findings of Mukherjee (2007:162) of a “complaint tradition” which emerges in response to perceived deteriorating standards and linguistic corruption in the use of a new English in the Nativization Phase of its evolution.

6.2.3 The third supposition: Deviations in SwE from the expected standard are viewed as errors and as problematic and not as features of a different English

The research questionnaire requested the respondents to identify any aspects of the language use in the newspaper articles provided which they considered to be confusing, misleading or inappropriate.

Every respondent in the L1 groups identified most of the features of SwE listed and discussed in paragraph 5.1.3 as problematic features evident in the newspaper articles attached to the questionnaire. The respondents in these groups used words such as “incorrect” and “inaccurate” to describe the features of SwE and thus it is reasonable to conclude that there are notions of “correctness” influencing the assessment of SwE by L1 speakers of English. Thus the features of SwE are perceived by the L1 speakers as errors and not as features of a new English.

Five of the ten respondents in the group of L2 speakers from other countries did not identify any features of SwE in the texts in the questionnaire as problematic. The inclusion of siSwati words was the feature of SwE most identified by respondents in this group as problematic. This is possibly because siSwati would be unfamiliar to most of the respondents, hence the apparent difficulty in understanding the use of siSwati words in a SwE text. There was very little identification of problematic syntactic or semantic features of SwE by this group. It can therefore be concluded that the L2 English speakers from other countries do not perceive the features of SwE as errors or as problematic. This might be because they are not judging SwE in terms of a perceived norm of correctness or because they are, as L2 speakers, not certain about the “norms of correctness”.

Similarly, very few of the Swazi respondents identified features of SwE as problematic. The feature highlighted as a cause for concern was the use of siSwati words. This suggests that the respondents in this group are familiar with SwE and that SwE in

newspapers poses little or no problem for them either structurally or with respect to interpretation. Although SwE has developed independently of an external norm it is in a transition phase between the Nativization Phase and the Endonormative Stabilisation Phase of its evolution as a new English. Norms governing SwE, while beginning to emerge, are not yet recognised or defined. Therefore, it is difficult for SwE speakers to identify features that deviate from a norm hence the focus on the use of siSwati words as problematic. The “complaint tradition” (Mukherjee 2007:162), which is characteristic of the Nativization Phase of the evolution of new Englishes, is evident in the perception of the Swazi respondents that SwE is not acceptable while at the same time being unsure of why it is unacceptable. Similarly, the confusion and uncertainty that characterises the Liberation and Expansion Phase of the development of norms as described by Gill (cf. De Klerk 2003: 221) is evident in the response of SwE speakers to notions of correctness as implied in the research questionnaire.

The respondents in the L1 groups clearly identified the features of SwE in the texts provided in the research questionnaire as errors while the L2 speakers were less inclined to do so, focusing on the lexical feature of borrowed words rather than the syntactic or semantic features, as problematic.

6.2.4 The validity of Hypothesis 2

The findings of the investigation and the conclusions drawn in response to those findings support the hypothesis that despite the stable form and consistent use of SwE in the newspapers in Swaziland, SwE is much criticised by speakers of English from other

speech communities. The findings also show that L1 speech communities are more critical than L2 speech communities.

Of the 40 respondents from the four (non-Swazi) speech communities, 21 said that SwE was unacceptable either in written or spoken form or in both. L1 respondents used words such as “inaccurate”, “inappropriate” and “poor” to describe the use of SwE. The response of the L1 speakers to SwE suggest that SwE is viewed as grammatically incorrect, and thus error-ridden, because it does not conform to the expected English norms of L1 speakers. In contrast, the L2 speakers from other countries were far less critical of SwE, suggesting that it “developed the background of the story” and had “the ability to communicate with written expression”. Far fewer “errors” were identified by this group in the SwE texts. Instead, the inclusion of siSwati words was perceived by some as problematic, possibly because no English translation was provided in the text. As such, the response of L2 English speakers from other countries did not support the hypothesis as SwE was not viewed critically by this speech community. However, there is evidence in all the non-SwE groups that speakers from other speech communities use their own English as the standard against which to assess SwE. The L1 groups focused on the grammatical “incorrectness” of SwE, as many of the features of SwE presented in Chapter Four do deviate from the norms of BSE and WhSAfE. This justifies a conclusion that L1 speakers consider the features of SwE to be errors rather than features of a new English.

The hypothesis is thus valid as there is evidence that respondents from L1 speech communities view SwE critically, despite its consistent use in newspapers. These respondents also use their own English as the standard against which to assess SwE and perceive the features of SwE as errors rather than as features of a new English. However, the respondents from the L2 speech communities (other than the SwE speech community) were less critical of the grammatical structure of SwE and were more concerned about its pronunciation. Considering that pronunciation is not a feature of SwE which can be observed in newspapers, the findings of the investigation do not clearly support the hypothesis. In addition, very few features of SwE were identified by the respondents from the L2 speech communities as problematic, which negates the third aspect of the hypothesis which suggested that speakers from other speech communities would view deviations from the expected standard as errors and as problematic and not as features of a different English. Nevertheless, there was some evidence to suggest that the respondents from L2 speech communities use their own English as the standard against which to assess SwE, thus supporting the second aspect of the hypothesis.

Taken together, the findings show that despite the stable aspects of form and consistent use of SwE in the newspapers in Swaziland, SwE is viewed critically by speakers of English from L1 speech communities. They consider the deviations in SwE from their expected standard as errors and as problematic, rather than as features of a different English. In addition, speakers from both L1 and L2 speech communities use their own English as the standard against which to measure SwE.

6.3 Evaluating journalists on their use of English

The third research question was: “How do people from different speech communities respond to journalists using SwE in newspapers?” The hypothesis proposed in response to this question was that speakers from other speech communities judge the intelligence, credibility and trustworthiness of writers of SwE based on linguistic features in their writing even though they have no objective value as instruments for measuring character or skill. The response by speakers of English from other speech communities to the journalists using SwE in newspapers is certainly prejudiced. This possibly forms a barrier to intercultural communication in Swaziland. To test this, two texts were provided as part of the research questionnaire. Text A was written by a Swazi journalist and Text B by a journalist from an L1 English speech community. The 50 respondents from different speech communities were asked to rate each journalist for his/her likely performance in categories that are neither directly observable nor objectively measurable on the basis of the information that the respondents received in this study, such as intelligence, reliability and credibility.

Research by Cheshire and Milroy (1993) and Wardhaugh (1999) (see paragraph 2.4) indicate that the intelligence of speakers is judged according to their accent. Cheshire and Edwards (1993:42) found that speakers whose accents reflected “received pronunciation” were perceived to be more intelligent and more competent than speakers who have regional accents. Wardhaugh (1999:23) indicates that this is not a phenomenon confined to English. A similar study with regard to the speakers of Arabic showed attitude change in relation to the accent of the speakers. In the study reported in

this thesis, the focus was on the way in which the intelligence, credibility and reliability of users of written SwE is perceived by English speakers from other speech communities. The respondents from other speech communities were only provided with two articles written in SwE and one article written in a (more) standard variety of English. The respondents in this study had to have made their evaluations regarding the intelligence, credibility and reliability of the writers on the basis of the writers' language use as no other information about the writers was provided. A comparison of the responses to the two articles which exhibit different English norms show how readers respond to the different language varieties. These responses also highlight that perceptions of correctness often form the basis of prejudice against the speaker or writer of alternative Englishes. As reader judgements of character are based solely on the language use in the articles each journalist had written, the findings show clear evidence of prejudice against a writer on the basis of their using English which is normatively different from the English used by the respondents.

The Swazi writer was rated by the majority of the respondents as most probably having less education than the non-Swazi writer. The educational qualifications of neither of the writers was provided, thus judgements regarding the possible level of education of each writer had to be based solely on the one article he/she had written that was provided in the research questionnaire. In addition, based on the written text, the Swazi writer was rated as less intelligent, credible, trustworthy, hardworking, proficient and experienced than the non-Swazi writer by every group in the study. As this negative evaluation of the journalist is based on linguistic features that objectively have little or

no value as instruments for measuring skill, character or intelligence, it can be argued that the evaluation is prejudiced. Barna (in Jandt 2003:74) notes that stereotyping and prejudice are barriers to effective intercultural communication. Such barriers are often inherent in the thinking of the communicators and are thus difficult to recognise and address. Stangor and Schaller (2000:69) note “the clear importance of language as a basis of stereotyping” despite the lack of empirical data. Bosch and De Klerk (1996: 231) suggest that the lack of empirical data could be attributed to the methodological difficulties of researching attitudes. Attitudes, by virtue of being latent dispositions, can only be inferred as opposed to being directly observed. Nevertheless, Bosch and De Klerk (1996:232) acknowledge the importance of language attitude studies in highlighting the “perceptions and stereotyped reactions of both speakers and hearers.” The studies of Friedrich (2002), Mesthrie (2002) and Delamere (1996) that are discussed in paragraph 2.4, highlight the role of the perception of language use in the formation of stereotypes and the perpetuation of prejudice, something which is confirmed by the findings of the study reported in this thesis. Jandt (2004:98) illustrates that stereotyping impedes empathetic intercultural communication because observable group characteristics and assumptions about the group based on widely held beliefs are applied to individuals. Stereotyping is closely linked to prejudice which is a hostile attitude towards a person or group based on that person’s perceived group membership and the stereotypes attributed to that group (Allport 2000:22). While the findings of the current study provide clear evidence of prejudicial attitudes towards users of SwE, the impact of such prejudice on intercultural communication was not directly investigated. Nevertheless, the literature on the impact of stereotyping and prejudice on intercultural

communication makes it possible to hypothesise that intercultural communication in Swaziland will be negatively affected by the prejudice towards SwE and its users. Admittedly, further research is needed to investigate this hypothesis.

6.3.1 The validity of Hypothesis 3

The findings of the investigation clearly show that the use of language influences the evaluation of writers in categories that are neither directly observable from the information provided nor objectively measurable, such as intelligence, reliability and credibility. The Swazi writer, using SwE, was rated lower on every category investigated when compared to the non-Swazi writer who used a (more) standard variety of English. Thus it can be concluded that Hypothesis 3 is valid because speakers from other speech communities do judge the intelligence, credibility and trustworthiness of writers of SwE based on linguistic features of the writer's language use. In addition, the findings of the investigation support the hypothesis that the response by speakers of English from other speech communities to the journalists using SwE in newspapers is prejudiced. However, the study did not extend to investigating the impact of this prejudice on effective intercultural communication in Swaziland. That prejudice towards the users of SwE impacts negatively on intercultural communication in Swaziland is inferred from evidence in the literature rather than demonstrated conclusively by the findings of this study.

6.4 Conclusion

The findings of the study reported in this thesis show that SwE can indeed be identified as a new English. There is clear evidence of distinct lexicogrammatical features in the written use of SwE and some evidence of emerging norms. Nevertheless, SwE is criticised by speakers from L1 speech communities who perceive the features of this variety to be errors or deviances from their own English norms. This perception of SwE results in a prejudicial perception of users of SwE, which most likely impedes effective intercultural communication.

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ADDENDUM 1

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

(This is for analysis purposes only and will remain strictly confidential).

1. Please state your name (for verification purposes only).
2. What is your nationality?
3. In which country were you born?
4. What is your mother-tongue (the first language that you learned to speak)?
5. Which other languages do you know? For each language rate your proficiency on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is very good and 5 is very weak.

Other Languages	Proficiency

6. What is your profession?
7. In which age bracket are you? (Please tick the appropriate block.)
 - ☐ 20 – 40 years old
 - ☐ 41 – 60 years old
 - ☐ 61 + years old

SECTION B: LANGUAGE EVALUATION

Please read all the newspaper extracts attached and underline any aspects of the language use that are, in your opinion, confusing, misleading or inappropriate.

SECTION C: WRITER EVALUATION

Please refer to extract A when answering the following questions.

1. What do you think the nationality of the writer of this article is?

2. What sort of education level do you think this writer has achieved (please tick where relevant):

- a) O Levels
- b) Senior Certificate with Exemption
- c) Diploma
- d) Degree
- e) Diploma in Journalism
- f) Degree in Journalism

3. Do you think this writer is a

- a) First language speaker of English?
- b) Second language speaker of English?

4. How intelligent do you think this writer is?

Very intelligent					Very Dull	Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6	

5. How credible do you think this writer is?

Very credible					Not credible at all	Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6	

6. How trustworthy do you think this writer is?

Very trustworthy					Not trustworthy at all	Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6	

7. How skilled as a journalist do you think this writer is?

Very skilled					Not skilled at all	Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6	

8. How hardworking do you think this writer is?

Very hardworking					Very lazy	Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6	

9. Rate the writer in terms of English language proficiency.

Very proficient					Incompetent	Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6	

10. Rate the writer's experience as a journalist:

Very experienced					Inexperienced		Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6		

Please refer to extract B when answering the following questions.

1. What do you think the nationality of the writer of this article is?
2. What sort of education level do you think this writer has achieved (please tick where relevant):
 - a. O Levels
 - b. Senior Certificate with Exemption
 - c. Diploma
 - d. Degree
 - e. Diploma in Journalism
 - f. Degree in Journalism
3. Do you think this writer is a
 - c) First language speaker of English?
 - d) Second language speaker of English?

4. How intelligent do you think this writer is?

Very intelligent					Very Dull		Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6		

5. How credible do you think this writer is?

Very credible					Not credible at all		Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6		

6. How trustworthy do you think this writer is?

Very trustworthy					Not trustworthy at all		Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6		

7. How skilled as a journalist do you think this writer is?

Very skilled					Not skilled at all		Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6		

2. Please describe what you consider to be the most obvious feature or characteristic of Swazi English?

.....

.....

.....

.....

3. Would you accept Swazi English as a stable and acceptable variety of English? (Please give a reason for your answer).

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire!

ADDENDUM 2

A

MOB LYNCHES kaMDODI THUG

A 22-year-old man of Kwaluseni, who is widely believed to be a member of the infamous ‘kaMdodi’ gang, was brutally murdered on Tuesday evening by an angry mob.

The deceased, who was in the company of other members of the gang who later fled the murder scene, is said to have earlier in the evening attempted to kill a member of the community.

However the community member who was identified as Bongumenzi outran the gang and rushed home to report. His brothers are said to have rushed to pursue the gang on the spot where their brother had left them.

Unfortunately, they were not armed and one gangster stabbed one of the brothers in the upper eye and back. Narrating the ordeal, the stabbed boy, who is also a pupil in one of the prominent high schools in Manzini, said he never imagined that the gang would stab him. “If it were not for the speedy intervention of my other brothers who found the gangsters stabbing me, then I would have died ” he said. The form 5 pupil said he had thought the gangsters were only two but his uncalculated judgement nearly cost him his life and little did he know that some of them were hiding in a nearby grove of overgrown grass where they strategically waited to pounce on him.

Community members and other people who happened to be passing by the scene are said to have resorted to mob justice as a way of avenging all the terrible things they had endured in the hands of the gangsters.

The mob is said to have been further infuriated by that the deceased kept on saying he was fine with the punitive methods they used. He is said to have shouted “*ngiwakamdodi vele noma ningangentani*” (loosely translated to I am a member of the Kamdodi gang and I don’t care what you do to me).

The deceased member of the gang is said to have never begged for the mercy of the mob, even after realising that they intended to kill him.

Instead in his drunken stupor, he is said to have shouted the other names of his friends, who had long fled and shouted even louder that he did not care about the crowd's beatings because the fact that he was a member of the kamdodi gang could not be changed.

After realising that the deceased would not beg for forgiveness despite the heavy beatings, the mob is said to have decided to leave the man because by then the police had also not arrived on the scene.

B

MEN PUSHED CORPSE ON CHAIR

Two elderly men have been arrested for wheeling a dead friend through the streets in an office chair and trying to cash his cheque. David Dalaia and James O'Hare were seen pushing Virgilio Cintron's body from their apartment to a cheque- cashing store a block away.

Hell's

"Hell's Kitchen has a rich history but this is one for the books," police spokesman Paul Browne told The Times. "The witness saw the two pushing the chair with Cintron flopping from side to side and the two individuals propping him up." The men left Cintron's body outside the store and went inside and tried to cash his cheque worth about \$180. The store's clerk, who knew Cintron, asked the men where he was and O'Hare told the clerk they would go and get him, Browne said.

Crowd

Meanwhile, a police detective having lunch at a restaurant next door noticed a crowd forming around Cintron's body. The detective called the Uniformed Police Department officers who arrested Dalaia and O'Hare at the store. Cintron's body was taken to the hospital morgue. The medical examiner's office told police it appeared Cintron, aged 66, had died from natural causes. Dalaia and O'Hare, both 65 years old, were being held by police and faced cheque fraud charges.

C

Prince Mfanasibili represents king

Prince Mfanasibili was last week asked by His Majesty, King Mswati III to represent him in South Africa during a traditional ceremony by the Ndabele King, Mabhoko III.

Ceremony

The prince said he had the honour to represent the king during the ceremony in his capacity as *lincusa* for the Ndabele Royal household, a position he was given by the late Sobhuza II. The prince was a guest of honour during the two-day ceremony that started Saturday last week. Prince Mfanasibili said at around 1974 the then Ndabele king, Mabusebesala asked for King Sobhuza II's daughter, Siphila, to marry his son Cornelius. He said the Ndabele king wanted the Swazi princes to give birth to a son who would be heir to the throne.

"Indeed the Swazi Princess gave birth to Mabhoko who then became king of the Ndabele. So that is how the Swazi nation got to have ties with the Ndabele royalty and last week's event had more to do with strengthening those ties," the prince said. Also present were staffers from the Swazi Secrets to showcase products that can be made using the traditional brew, buganu.