Social and Educational Issues in Jamaica:

with Reference to the Use of Creole and Standard English

in Secondary Schools

by

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ABSTRACT

As the argument of this thesis deals with the polarities of language usage in Jamaica, Part One presents the historical context in which a language 'continuum' came to exist in the society. Then it analyses the systemic contrasts between Jamaican Creole (JC) and Standard English (SE), and the language varieties between these two polar lects.

A case history of Elementary/Primary schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries drew attention to the Creole-Standard debate. Educational administrators misunderstood the nature of the linguistic configuration – denying pupils' Creole the right to exist – while teachers were singularly ill-equipped to help boys and girls acquire English.

Part Two deals with the empirical investigation which centres on a substantially representative sample of 530 Secondary pupils. The study seeks to determine the extent to which the Secondary sector, which is designed for the masses, can achieve two divergent linguistic goals laid down by the Ministry of Education – 'appreciation of Creole' and 'a high level of competence in English'.

The study probes in some depth the concept of 'linguistic focusing' as it seeks to assess pupils' access to English through the printed word and the media. Then it closely analyses their perspectives on language use and attitudes to both languages. Finally, the assessment of two written tasks provides evidence of pupils' productive abilities in English. The data clearly reveal that they have not acquired English, even after eight years of exposure to formal teaching. Indeed, the majority leave school with negative attitudes to JC and a legacy of linguistic insecurities.

The thesis concludes on a hopeful note, however, as it suggests how a new political will, the insights of linguistic scholarship and new vistas in teacher education could combine to resolve the Creole-Standard debate.

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DEDICATION

To: Alfred Ebenezer McCourtie

and

Alice Maud McCourtie

in whose home I first learned to understand the importance of the three Verities: Beauty, Truth and Goodness; and to appreciate books and the magic and power of words.

Ridley Belle McCourtie

and

Robert Kitchener Binger

to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude.

PART ONE

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ISSUES IN JAMAICA

AN 'INSIDER' STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The concerns which are encapsulated in the study grew out of my own indelible memories of language usage in Jamaica. As a child, I repeatedly observed what seemed then to be strange linguistic and extra-linguistic behaviour of certain boys and girls in rural Jamaica. They experienced great linguistic difficulties when they were faced with persons and situations which required the use of English. In addition, there seemed to be related problems which were manifested in their embarrassment and lack of ease, their general sense of discomfort and the inability to look the interlocutor in the face.

A description of Jamaica's linguistic configuration will offer a partial explanation of the observed behaviour. Jamaican Creole co-exists with and shares some lexical similarities with Standard English. However, sharp divergences in phonology, morphology and syntax separate these two linguistic systems. The situation is further complicated by a range of language varieties which all but defy linguistic analysis.

The co-existence of two languages which differ in status inevitably raises other important issues. JC first emerged in harsh, social and historical circumstances as the mother tongue of field slaves. A good deal of stigma has traditionally been attached to it, and a number of negative stereotypes have been perpetuated about the language and its speakers.

Thus, although Jamaican boys and girls live in the present, yet they have inherited the past. It constitutes a past which is rarely if ever discussed, and is rarely regarded as impinging on the present in a number of highly significant ways. Yet one of these is surely the implications for education in a country where the official language and medium of instruction in schools is English, while the language of the majority of

the school population is JC.

The study excludes that minority of the school population for whom English constitutes a first language – those who take the Preparatory, Grammar/High school route. The emphasis therefore falls on the majority of the Creole speakers, pupils for whom the linguistic situation poses enormous problems. Like the boys and girls already referred to in rural Jamaica, pupils may be caught somewhere between two linguistic systems. On the one hand, they may find it difficult to use Creole confidently because of certain prescriptive attitudes towards it. On the other hand, the educational system is hardly geared to help them to acquire the resources of the language so sorely needed in school.

An assessment of the linguistic and political reality of the country leads one to make the following basic assumptions:

1. At age seven, Creole speakers begin Primary school with a high level of competence in their first language.

2. Success in school and the ability to meet the needs of adult life depend largely on the acquisition of English.

3. The linguistic security and confidence (so sadly lacking in those children already referred to) can be achieved only when pupils have the linguistic resources to meet the demands of different social situations.

4. In the foreseeable future, English will not suddenly relinquish its rôle as the official language, the most readily accessible international language and the medium of instruction in schools.

5. Similarly, Creole will not suddenly cease to be the mother tongue of the majority of Jamaicans.

These realities could have pointed educational planners towards a clear goal – one directed to making pupils 'biloquial', 'bidialectal' and finally able to master the modalities in English. However, for more than

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one hundred and thirty years, no clear guidelines have ever emerged for Elementary/Primary schools. The implications of teaching and learning in the Creole-Standard context have never been addressed. The linguistic and psychological needs of Creole speakers have never really been met.

In 1967, the Ministry of Education introduced Secondary education which was meant to redress the imbalances of the past. This new sector, which draws its entire student body on a non-selective basis from Primary Schools, merits some exploration. The research project therefore takes us inside Secondary classrooms and permits us to hear the authentic voices of boys and girls as they tell us how they perceive the linguistic situation in which they have become enmeshed. Close parallels can be drawn between these pupils and the boys and girls of rural Jamaica who awakened my lifetime interest in language usage.

The study challenges the following unfounded assumptions which have informed the 'state' educational sector from its inception:

1. That pupils can achieve a high level of competence in English without obtaining adequate access and exposure to the language to be learned.

2. That teachers can cope successfully with the complex language typology without first acquiring the linguistic expertise which enables them to understand the exact nature of the task which confronts them.

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM: ITS DEMOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC HISTORY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the genesis of the problem by elucidating Jamaica's socio-historical and linguistic heritage, a heritage generated by a number of powerful forces. The chapter will explore

1. aspects of Jamaican demographic history, and

2. those historical forces which determined the contact between British and Africans.

The argument will treat the need for communication between these linguistically and culturally diverse races, and the subsequent emergence of a Creole and 'post-Creole' varieties of language.[1]

The terminology of creole linguistics

Over the past three hundred years, the term 'creole' has evolved a variety of meanings. I begin, therefore, by offering a current definition of the word as it will be used in this thesis, showing its cultural and linguistic applications. Cassidy and LePage (1980:130) in the Dictionary of Jamaican English define the word as "anyone born, or anything grown or produced, in the West Indies or nearby territories, as distinct from one born or something grown elsewhere".

The term was originally applied to people of European descent who were born and reared in a tropical or semi-tropical colony. Long (1774) and Nugent (1801-1805) use the word with this referential meaning. But "anyone born" subsumes other indigenous groups. Long (1774) extends the meaning to include people of African origin and those of mixed African and European ancestry also referred to as 'coloured'.

The second part of the definition, "anything grown or produced", represents a further stage in the historical development of the word. Todd (1974:25) suggests that "gradually, the meaning is extended to include the behaviour, social and linguistic, of creoles". Nugent

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(1801-1805:55-124) uses the word to refer to foods, architecture, social customs and linguistic behaviour in Jamaica. Creole languages are said to have been in existence as early as the fifteenth century.[2] However, Todd (1974) and Chaudenson (1977) observe that it is not possible to say with absolute accuracy when the word was first applied to language.

What then is a creole? Linguists are aware of the difficulties of formulating precise definitions. Todd (1974:1) challenges the assumption that the many-faceted nature of human languages can be encapsulated in a few sentences. She therefore advises that "in a very real sense, the entire book [Pidgins and Creoles] is the definition, and the full nature of pidgins and creoles will emerge only gradually". Mühlhäusler (1986:6) highlights the lack of consensus among linguists when he notes that "problems with the linguistic definitions of creoles are legion and many of the central issues remain unresolved".

The definition of a creole raises questions about a pidgin. For example, Todd (1974:3) explains that "a *creole* arises when a pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a speech community". What then is a pidgin? LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:17) make the following observation:

> We accept the general premise that a pidgin language is one which develops as a *lingua franca*, a trade or common language, between speakers of different languages when they meet under certain conditions.

Bloomfield (1933) and Hall (1966) discuss the language contact situations in which a pidgin first develops. Both linguists postulate a life-cycle during which a pidgin becomes the native language of successive generations of speakers and is then termed a creole. Not all linguists agree on the two-step model from pidgin to creole. Alleyne (1971) sharply criticises this approach. Taylor, D. (1977:151) points out the unsatisfactory nature of a definition which depends on "historical knowledge that may well be lacking (very few such languages are attested in both their pidgin and their creole stages)". Bickerton (1977) adopts a 'language universals approach' to pidgin and creoles.

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He argues that the former represents second-language learning, and the latter first language acquisition.

There is some justification for the argument that a complete diachronic picture of pidgin and creoles is lacking (see Chaudenson, 1977 and Hancock, 1977). It is therefore difficult for a linguist to hypothesise about the development and sequential stages from pidgin to creole cross-culturally. However, it seems reasonable to suppose that in the initial stages of contact, verbal communication was very limited. Speakers may have used any device at their disposal in order to make their meaning understood. In contrast, creoles have served the full linguistic needs of communities for centuries. Although there is a lack of documentation, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that there were diachronic stages in the evolution of creoles.

Caribbean Creoles pose particularly difficult problems of definition and terminology. DES (The Cox Report, 1988b:14) raises this crucial issue: "whether creole varieties are termed 'dialects of' English or are regarded as languages in their own right is a political and ideological question". In the Caribbean context, the words 'patois' and 'dialect' have such negative connotations that I shall use the word language to refer to a creole.

For the purposes of the thesis I have formulated the following broad working definition: *In a contact situation which involves different groups who do not share a common language, a pidgin emerges as a communicative tool. From such interaction over a sustained period, the pidgin becomes elaborated into the mother tongue and the creole language of succeeding generations of speakers.* The thesis will use the term 'pidgin' and 'creole' in the specialised sense employed in current creole linguistics. Some quotations cited also use the term to refer to indigenous people (as outlined on p.17).

The Caribbean: a frame of reference

Since frequent reference will be made to the Caribbean, it seems necessary to delineate this geographical region and place Jamaica in the socio-historical and sociolinguistic context of the region as a whole. Geographically, the Caribbean region (Figure 1.1) falls into the following sub-groups: the Greater Antilles consisting of the four largest islands (Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica and Puerto Rico); the eastern archipelago known as the Lesser Antilles, itself sub-divided into the Leeward and the Windward Islands; and the continental coastlands such as Belize and Guyana, former British territories. The terms Caribbean and West Indies will be used interchangeably in this thesis. The former derives from the name of an all but extinct indigenous people, and the latter from the expectations of Europeans seeking a route to the Far East.

Caribbean societies have shared similar political, economic, socio-cultural and demographic history which has resulted in the current complex socio-linguistic configuration of the region. Three general types or layers of linguistic situations may be identified:

1. In each island or territory there is at least one creole. Spoken by the Afro-Caribbean population, the creole forms the oral, largely unwritten common usage of the majority (see Figure 1.1 for the distribution of Caribbean Creoles).

2. At least one European language co-exists and serves as the official language of government, law, business and industry and the medium of instruction in schools.

3. A few non-European languages, for example Hindi, Urdu, Bhojpuri (a Bihar language), Chinese, and Maya survive among ethnic sub-groups.

Figure 1.1

The Caribbean region and Caribbean Creoles
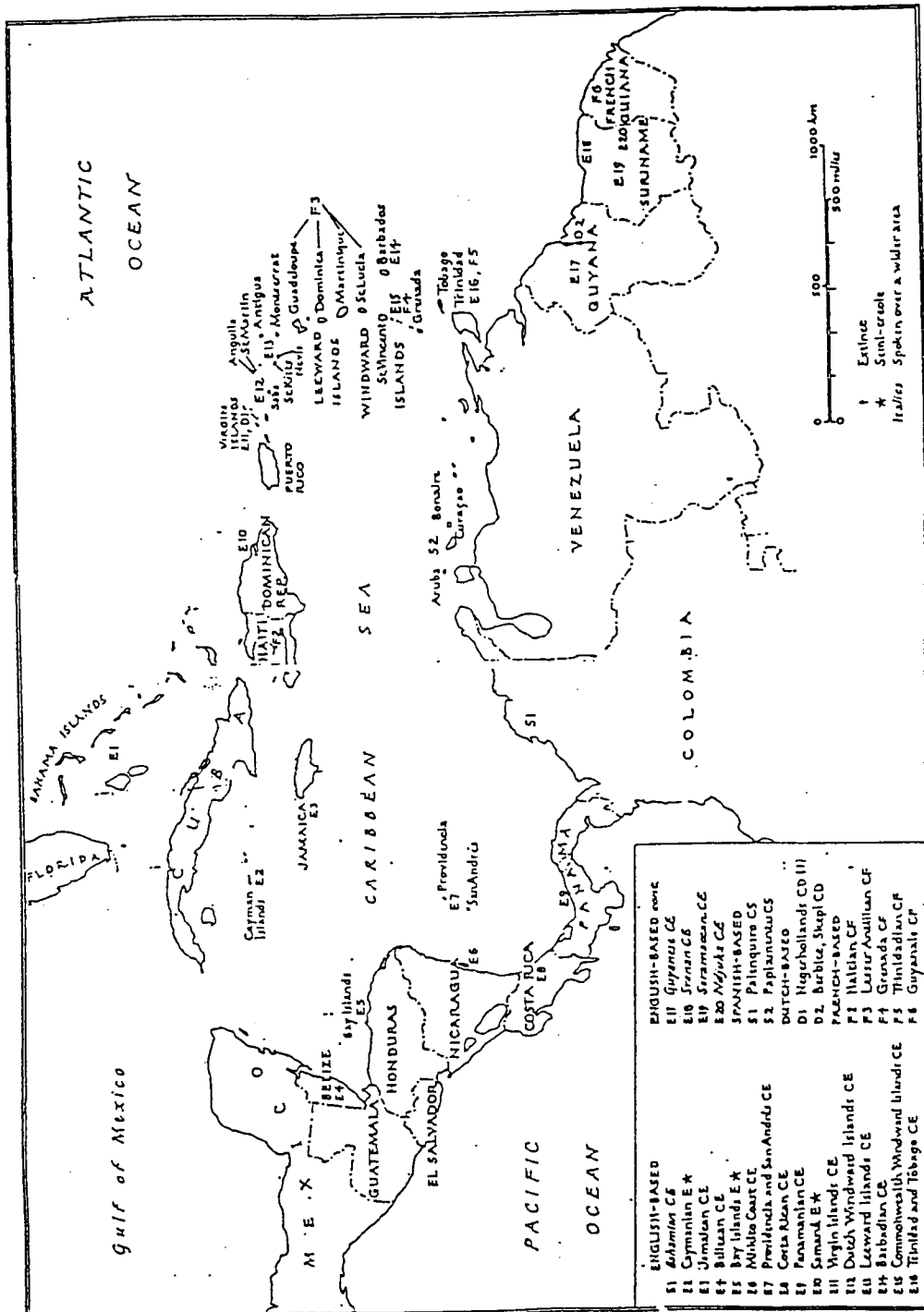
Source: Holm (1988: XIX)

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1.2 DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY

Today in Jamaica, there are no indigenous people in the strictest sense of the word. The following aspects of Jamaican demographic history not only elucidate this statement, but reveal the fact that the island's culture derives from a comparatively recent past:

1. 1494-1655: The extirpation of the indigenous Arawaks and the Spanish occupation of Jamaica.

2. 1655-1962: Conquest and colonisation by the British. Recruitment of Whites from Britain and the British Caribbean.

3. 1656-1807: Enforced migration of Africans as slaves mainly from West and Central Africa.

4. 1838: Emancipation of slaves.

5. 1840-1900: Indentured labour from Africa and Asia, other ethnic groups entering the island in small numbers.

As the period of British colonisation most closely concerns this thesis, discussion will focus on the period 1655 to 1807 thereby emphasising the British and African presence in the island. The remaining aspects of Jamaica's history will be dealt with in outline.

The Arawaks

Documented by Long (1774) and Edwards (1793), the early extirpation of Jamaica's indigenous Arawak population forms an important facet of the island's demographic history. Like these earlier historians, Mintz (1971) suggests that the Arawaks died during the Spanish occupation of Jamaica. No further details are available.

The cultural and linguistic heritage of the Arawaks is very slight indeed. They are said to have spoken the language called Taino and a few words including 'Xayamaca' (the probable derivation of the name 'Jamaica') might have been transmitted by them. Today, there are only a few artefacts, mortuary vessels, middens, an Arawak museum and the Jamaica Coat of Arms which commemorate them.

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The Spanish occupation

The discovery of Jamaica by Christopher Columbus in 1494, paved the way for Spanish settlement and colonisation. During this period, the island was not developed to any appreciable extent. There were no precious metals to be mined, so the small Spanish colony became mainly pastoral and agricultural. Long (1774, I:238) commented on the fact that although the Spaniards had long been in possession of the island they occupied only a very small portion of it. The particular role which the island served was in "supplying the Spanish homeward-bound merchant ships with fresh provisions".

After 161 years of Spanish rule, the island still remained sparsely populated. Up to 1655, the entire population of Spanish settlers, their slaves and a small number of Jews did not exceed 2,500 (Taylor, 1965:45). The coming of the British (discussed in detail in the following section) ended the Spanish occupation[3] of the island.

Today, the Spanish linguistic influence survives mainly in the names of places and rivers. Some of these names have undergone changes. Villa de la Vega (now Spanish Town), Savanna-la-Mar, Rio Bueno, Monte Diablo (now Mount Diablo) are place names. Rio Cobre, Rio Minho, Rio Grande, the names of rivers, have remained unchanged. Neither the Arawaks nor the Spaniards left any significant cultural or linguistic influences on the island.

The coming of the British in 1655 is highly significant whether viewed from a political, economic, social or linguistic perspective. It seems important, therefore, to focus the discussion on the British military and naval personnel who first arrived in the island. An expeditionary force of four thousand soldiers embarked from Portsmouth in December 1654. The soldiers included two regiments of Cromwell's veterans and persons who were forced into service (Long 1774, I:223).[4]

This expedition arrived in the West Indies at the end of January and remained there for some time in order to gather new recruits. Long, (1774 I:223-224) explains that

> on their arrival at Barbadoes, [sic] they beat up for volunteers; and, having raised there four thousand foot, and two small troops of sixty horse, sailed from thence the 31st of March, 1655, for St. Kitt's; where they found one thousand recruits, collected partly from thence and from Nevis, and the other adjacent islands: so that on their departure they were able to muster about ten thousand effective men; including one thousand seamen formed into a regiment of marines.

These ten thousand soldiers and marines fell into two broad categories. There were those who had come to the West Indies directly from Europe. Others had resided in different West Indian islands prior to their recruitment. This differentiation is relevant to the discussion in Section 1.3.

Reasons for the British presence

Historians express the view that the expedition which was sent to the West Indies was part of Cromwell's plan to invade, conquer and so acquire territories to be colonised by English planters. Long (1774, I:221-222) refers to a scheme devised and submitted to Cromwell by one of his advisers.[5] The intention of this plan was "invading and mastering Spanish territories in America". According to Long, Hispaniola and Cuba were named as the first two Spanish territories to be attacked. Dunn (1973) refers to Cromwell's plan of conquest and colonisation as the 'Great Western Design', while Taylor (1965) discusses the whole issue in great depth.

The first step in implementing the plan was the invasion of Hispaniola in April 1655. The attack was a dismal failure. The British were unable to capture the Spanish capital, St. Domingo, and 1,000 men were lost in the unsuccessful invasion. Long (1774, I:232) explains the two key decisions which were taken. These were to

> abandon St. Domingo, and proceed next to the attack of Jamaica; where they either expected to meet with less resistance than at Cuba; or thought it prudent not to return to Europe, without recommending themselves to the Protector by some successful exploit.

After abandoning the attack on Hispaniola, the British troops landed at Passage Fort in Jamaica on the 10th May, 1655. According to Long (1774, I:233) the island was not well fortified, so the "Spaniards fled without offering the least resistance, and left the English in peaceable possession of the fortress". On the 11th May, 1655, the British forces entered the Spanish capital of Villa de la Vega where the Spanish governor surrendered. (For a detailed account of the British conquest of Jamaica see Taylor (1965) and Long (1774, Vol.I).

Settlement during the formative years

The absence of any indigenous Arawaks prior to the British invasion, and the successful attack on the Spaniards meant that the British were in command of the island. The officers and soldiers of Cromwell's conquering forces formed the nucleus of the first permanent inhabitants of an alien environment. The greatest challenges faced by the new British inhabitants were the adjustment to civilian life and the settlement and colonisation of the island. Jamaica possesses superb agricultural resources, so attention needed to be given to planting. However, tropical diseases seriously affected the troops, and there was a very high mortality rate among them. There was, therefore, a great need to get new settlers to augment the white population.

The composition of the expeditionary force has already been given. It is also worth noting the provenance of the white population during the first formative years of the island's history. Long (1774, I:243) throws some light on the whole question of settlement by indicating some of the steps taken to people the fledgling colony. He cites a request[6] sent from Jamaica to Cromwell which asked that

> servants might be sent from Scotland, to assist them in planting; that certain proportions of land might be assigned to the officers and men respectively; and instructions given in regard to establishing the form of civil government.

There was also a request for a reinforcement of well-disciplined veterans from Ireland to be sent with the group.

Long (1774, I:244) gives two examples of the kind of response which was generated in England:

1. The council of state in England ... voted that one thousand girls, and as many young men, should be listed [sic] in Ireland, and sent over, to assist in peopling the colony.

2. In November, the same year, the Protector ordered the council of Scotland to command the sheriffs of the several counties, the commissioners of parishes, and heritors [sic] of lands, that they should apprehend all known, idle, masterless robbers and vagabonds, male and female, and transport them to that island.

New detachments of soldiers came to Jamaica in 1656. A regiment embarked from Carrickfergus in Ireland, and the Governor of Lochbar in Scotland set sail with one thousand men from Port Patrick. In addition, one General Brayne arrived in Jamaica on the 14th December, 1656. Around the same period, Scottish and Irish troops were among the new arrivals. (Long 1774; I:247-263).

Reference has already been made to the recruitment of more than half of the British expeditionary force from different West Indian islands. The pattern of inter-island movement continued after 1655. Jamaica has far more arable land than Barbados and the Leeward islands, so the promise of land in Jamaica was an incentive to potential settlers. In 1656, for example, 1500 men, women and children left Nevis to settle in Jamaica. Barbados, the Leeward islands, Surinam and Bermuda later provided settlers to the island.

Despite the constant waves of new immigrants to Jamaica, the white population did not show a proportionate increase. Dunn (1973:153) suggested that "12,000 Englishmen came to Jamaica in the first six years, yet the population of the colony in 1661 was only 3,470". LePage (1960:17) explained that "in the first twelve years of the island's settlement under the British, therefore, the white population losses due to sickness were barely made good by fresh immigration". The following points summarise the account of early British settlement:

1. The new population represented widely differing social groups.

2. The settlers were drawn from Ireland, Scotland, different parts of England and a number of West Indian territories.

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3. The white population remained small despite continual efforts to increase its size.

Africans

The second group of permanent inhabitants came from Africa. The agricultural development of the island explains the African presence. The following comment of Mintz (1974:35) highlights the significant differences between the Spanish and British colonisation patterns:

> Between its conquest by the Spaniards and its seizure by the British in 1665, Jamaica remained a Spanish imperial backwater; under Britain, it became the queen of sugar, slavery and mercantilism.

The sugar economy expanded rapidly so as to profit from the European market. Consequently, the small white population could not provide an adequate labour force. The purchase of slaves provided manpower for that particular form of agro-social development - the plantation system. The institution of slavery therefore explains the influx of large numbers of Africans into Jamaica and other parts of the Caribbean particularly from 1700 to 1787.

The provenance of the slaves who were brought to Jamaica is dealt with in depth in LePage (1960) and Curtin (1969). Slaves came from different parts of West and Central Africa. Within the first fifty years of the island's settlement, the Gold Coast (Ghana) supplied the greatest number. Next in numbers were those from Dahomey (Benin). By the time the slave trade was brought to an end in 1807, there had been a massive movement of new populations from the Bight of Benin, Congo and Angola (Cassidy and LePage, 1980:XLI).

One notable feature of the recruitment and migratory pattern of Africans to Jamaica and the rest of the Caribbean, was the sheer scale of the enterprise and the extent of the African presence within a comparatively short period. One result of the massive influx of Africans was the growing disparity in the numbers of these two sectors of the population. Table 1.1 not only shows the actual numbers of British and Africans between the years 1658-1787, but also their

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proportionate representation. Up to 1658, the white population dominated the environment. From 1673 onwards, Africans progressively outnumbered Europeans.

In general, the importance of demography cannot be over-emphasised, since the ethnological transformations which took place in Jamaica, particularly during the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, determined to a great extent both its present racial composition and the complex sociolinguistic configuration referred to earlier. It also seems necessary to point out that since the status of British and African was that of master and slave respectively their relationship; at one level at least, was completely polarised along cultural, economic, political and racial lines.

Table 1.1

Numbers of Negro slaves compared with the white population

1658-1787

Year	Negro Slaves		White Population	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
1658	1,400	23.7	4,500	76.3
1673	9,504	52.7	8,564	47.3
1722	80,000	91.8	7,100	8.2
1734	86,546	91.9	7,644	8.1
1739	99,239	90.8	10,080	9.2
1746	112,428	91.8	10,000	8.2
1754	130,000	91.6	12,000	8.4
1762	146,464	90.7	15,000	9.3
1768	166,914	90.3	17,949	9.7
1778	205,261	91.7	18,420	8.3
1787	210,894	89.4	25,000	10.6

Source: Roberts (1957:33, 36)

The coloured population

At another level, however, there was no simple bi-polar relationship, since there soon emerged a social group generally designated coloured, which owed its genesis both to Europe and Africa. The mothers of the demographic sector were African slaves, while the fathers were Europeans. Ironically, although one parent has been

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African, a great gulf has always separated them from the mass of the African population. Long (1774, I:410) indicates that they "value themselves on their own pedigree, which is reckoned the more honourable, the further it removes from an African, or transmarine ancestor".

The emergence of this new demographic sector is a highly significant aspect of the social and linguistic history of Jamaica. Brathwaite (1971:105) cites the following excerpt from the Journal of the Assembly of Jamaica, which clearly indicates the status of the coloured people, and their place in the social hierarchy:

> The inhabitants of this colony consist of four classes; whites, free people of colour having special privileges granted by private acts, free people of colour not possessing such privileges, and slaves ... all these classes, when employed in the public service, have, as far as it has been practicable, been kept separate. (J A J, IX, 647 of 28 July 1797).

There is no available data on the size of the coloured population prior to 1844. However, as Table 1.2 indicates, they completely outnumbered the white population.

Table 1.2 shows that up to 1871, there were only three social/demographic groups who inhabited the island:

1. The white population, who, though comparatively small numerically, was by far the most powerful sector of the society.

2. Africans accounted for 77.6 per cent of the total population.

3. The coloured sector was numerically the second largest group and constituted 19.8 per cent of the inhabitants of the island.

Indentured labour: Asians and Africans

The next major wave of immigrants into Jamaica came from Asia. After the emancipation of slaves in 1838, there was the need for an alternative labour force. This was met by the recruitment of indentured labourers from China and India. Table 1.2 gives an indication of the migratory pattern, and the proportion of these two racial groups between the years 1881-1943, the East Indians being numerically much greater than the Chinese. The recruitment of Chinese and Indians meant that two

Table 1.2

Racial Composition of the population 1844-1943

Year	Black No.	Black % Total	Coloured No.	Coloured % Total	White No.	White % Total	Chinese No.	Chinese % Total	East Indian No.	East Indian % Total	Others No.	Others % Total	Total
1844	293,128	77.7	68,529	18.1	15,776	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	377,433
1861	346,374	78.5	81,065	18.4	13,816	3.1	-	-	-	-	0	0.0	441,264
1871	392,707	77.6	100.346	19.8	13,101	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	506,154
1881	444,186	76.5	109,946	18.9	14,432	2.4	99	0.0	11,016	1.9	1,125	0.2	580,804
1891	488,624	76.4	121,955	19.1	14,692	2.3	481	0.1	10,116	1.6	3,623	0.6	639,491
1911	630,181	75.8	163,201	19.6	15,605	1.9	2,111	0.3	17,380	2.1	2,905	0.3	831,383
1921	660,420	77.0	157,223	18.3	14,476	1.7	3,966	0.4	18,610	2.2	3,693	0.4	858,118
1943	965,960	78.1	216,348	17.5	13,809	1.1	12,394	1.0	26,507	2.1	2,045	0.2	1,237,063

Source: Roberts (1957:65)

new social groups came to the island. Although they were also associated with the sugar plantations, yet their status, culture and language tended to polarise them from the mass of the population.

The African continent continued to supply a labour force for the sugar plantations even after emancipation. A total of 10,000 liberated slaves and other Africans were introduced into the West Indies as indentured labourers. These came mainly from Sierra Leone, the Kroo Coast and St. Helena during the years 1841-1867 (Roberts, 1957:110).

Other ethnic groups

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century, French refugees from Haiti came to the island. In the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries, Portuguese, other Chinese immigrants and Syrians arrived in Jamaica. (A brief note on contemporary society in Chapter Two, will indicate how the different demographic strands have fitted into today's multi-racial society).

1.3 LINGUISTIC HISTORY

The outline of the settlement history of Jamaica placed the greatest emphasis on Europeans and Africans. This section of the chapter weaves together demographic and linguistic history so as to focus attention again, mainly on these two sectors of the population. The nature of their encounter in the new environment is crucial in understanding how a Creole and post-Creole language varieties emerged. First, it is necessary to comment more fully on the languages which each brought to the contact situation.

The British expeditionary force and the early settlers brought with them seventeenth-century British English. However, some differentiation needs to be made. Certain features of the settlement history already referred to would have largely influenced the nature of the linguistic input in the new environment. For example, the military personnel referred to in the demographic history subsumed different social groups.

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LePage (1960:111-112) in commenting on the social structure during the period of slavery divided the British population into three classes:

Upper class whites: The Governor and his entourage, army officers, big landowners (many of them only occasionally resident in the island).

Middle class whites: Planters, rich merchants, professional men - doctors, attorneys, etc.

Lower class whites: Bookkeepers, artisans, clerks, small traders.

If there is a correlation between language use, language variety and social class, then the first permanent settlers to Jamaica brought linguistic diversity rather than any unitary model of seventeenth-century British English. Regional varieties of seventeenth-century English added to the diversity of dialects[7] among these speakers. Some of the settlers were drawn from the West of England, Bristol and London, while others came from Ireland and Scotland.

The pattern of inter-island movement was also another contributing factor. Cassidy and LePage (1980) have observed, for example, that St. Kitts, Nevis and Barbados were settled in the 1620's; therefore it was likely that by the 1650's the patterns of local speech were already formed. Thus the language of those who had resided outside Great Britain prior to coming to Jamaica, would have been shaped by the environment in which they had previously lived.

African languages

It is difficult to delineate with any exactness the languages which the Africans brought to the contact situation. However, Cassidy and LePage (1980) point to the dominance of the Akan-Ashanti and Ewe languages during the linguistically formative years. Constant references in the literature to specific ethnic groups, and lists of names of slaves advertised by Jamaican workhouses have proved invaluable in linking ethnicity with language (Long 1774, Vol. II; LePage, 1960; Dunn, 1973; Craton, Walwin and Wright, 1976). Table 1.3 gives an indication of some specific ethnic groups, the languages spoken and the

sub-group of the Niger Congo family of languages in which each fits. Thus some clues have been provided as to the linguistic input which on the whole, the Africans brought to the contact situation.

Table 1.3

The principal ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of Jamaican slaves 1655-1807

Ethnic groups	Languages	Niger Congo family groups
Ashantees	(Twi) Akan	Kwa
Coromantees	(Fante/Twi) Akan	Kwa
Fantees	(Fante/Twi) Akan	Kwa
Nagos (Yorubas)	Yoruba	Kwa
Ibos	Ibo	Kwa
Papaws	Ewe/Fon	Benue-Congo
Congos	Bantu group of	Benue-Congo
Mungolas	languages	Benue-Congo
Angolans	" " "	Benue-Congo
Ibibias	Ibibio	Benue-Congo
Chambas	Basaa/"Basari"	West Atlantic
Mandingoes (Benguela)	Manding	Mande

Sources: Greenberg (1966), Dalby (1977) and the help of
an informant, Philip Baker (1985), from the
School of Oriental and African Studies.

Plantation society: the locale of the contact

The plantation assumes a key rôle in any discussion of the emergence of a Caribbean Creole since this was the locale of the contact. Whatever sociological models are used to analyse the society, there is agreement on the vertical stratification and a hierarchical system correlated with occupational status. Beckford (1976:42) acknowledges the uniqueness of the structural features of plantation society which he defines as follows:

> Plantation society is a plural society. It consists of different racial and cultural groups which are brought together only in the realm of economic activity. This single common bond provides the integrative element. The particular nature of this common economic activity determines the force and character of what social integration exists. On the plantation itself the common economic activity is the production of the plantation crop. The plantation owner or manager is the immediate embodiment of the superordinate group in the wider society; and the plantation workers of the subordinate group.

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If the processes which contribute to the transmission and use of language are essentially social, then the structure of a society would exert an important influence on the language contact situation. Mintz (1971:485) gives some support to the statement and observes that "the remarkably rigid nature of the social systems engendered by plantation colonialism, undoubtedly affected in common ways the processes of language learning and linguistic differentiation".

Need for a lingua franca

The development of a labour-intensive sugar industry was the factor which determined the nature of the encounter between Africans and Europeans. At one level, a common language was essential in the master-slave relationship. At another level, the Africans needed to adjust to their environment and communicate with other slaves. The language differential among the Africans themselves would have rendered slave-to-slave speech extremely difficult (see Table 1.3). LePage (1981:3) observed that while the slaves needed a common language urgently there was no "school except that of hard adversity to learn it in". The implication of his statement will become apparent later in the chapter.

Deculturation?

While there is consensus among creole specialists that creole languages did emerge in situations of language contact, the nature of contact situations differs. Important issues such as deculturation, language loss and language maintenance may be determined by the nature of the contact situation. Chaudenson (1977:265) identifies two highly differentiated situations and names the creoles as endogenous and exogenous respectively:

> In the case of the endogenous creoles, the non-European population is relatively homogeneous, remains within its own territory or in adjacent areas, maintains, even under foreign domination, its ethnic identity, its traditions and, by and large, its language. A key feature of exogenous creoles is the ethnic diversity of the servile groups, speaking different languages, and often systematically separated from members of their African group and integrated into a new socioeconomic structure that aimed at their deculturation.

Chaudenson cites the Portuguese Creoles of Africa (Casamance, Guinea) as examples of endogenous Creoles. In contrast, the Creoles of the Caribbean are exogenous. Chaudenson's model pinpoints the essential nature of the Jamaican contact situation. He hints at the unlikelihood of the Africans being able to maintain their languages.

Access

Central to the discussion is the question of access to the target language or model to be learned. Brathwaite (1971:298) comments on the period and process of "seasoning" when "the slave would learn the rudiments of his new language and be initiated into the work routines that awaited him". If language is context bound, then an unfamiliar environment and new occupations would generate a number of lexical items which would have to be learnt. Despite any token orientation during the period of seasoning, I suggest that a number of factors militated against easy access to English.

The differentials in the status of British and Africans and the hierarchical structure of the plantation system contributed to social distance between master and slave. The majority of Africans therefore had little or no access to the more standard varieties of English and the speech of the ruling elite. The imbalance in the proportion of these two sectors of the population (shown in Table 1.1) further contributed to the peculiar nature of the situation. As Cassidy and LePage (1980:XLI) observe, the Africans came in contact with "comparatively small numbers of poorly educated bookkeepers and overseers from Britain".

The new ethnic group, already referred to as the coloured sector, effected significant changes in linguistic history. Occupying a place genetically and socially above the enslaved Africans, they constituted a middle class. Mintz (1971:486) recognised the linguistic implications of this aspect of social history:

> The linguistic significance of this social differentiation was
> of course considerable, particularly in those Antillean

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societies in which the number of slaves was much greater than that of free (and usually European) inhabitants.

From the beginning, their presence in the society may have created the potential for linguistic discrimination.

In sharp contrast to the masses of the African field slaves, the coloured population had much greater access to European culture and language. Dunn (1973:254) explains that they were "accorded a social rank distinctly superior to pure-blooded Negroes and assigned the favored [sic] inside jobs as domestics and artisans". The differentials in the social/occupational hierarchy of the Africans and Coloureds correlated with the degree of access to English. The language of the coloured population would therefore approximate more closely to English than that of the majority of Africans.

1.4 THE LINGUISTIC CONFIGURATION

There is a marked absence of written records during the crucial years when the Creole began to emerge and subsequently developed. A comprehensive diachronic picture is therefore lacking. The lack of documentation makes it difficult to date the emergence of a Creole and post-Creole language varieties with any degree of accuracy. What is central to the argument of this chapter, however, is that a 'new' language and language varieties did develop. Long (1774, II:426-7) provides a convenient point from which to look back on the linguistic changes that had taken place.

A Creole

Long (1774, II:426) distinguished between the linguistic behaviour of newly arrived Africans and Creoles who were born in Jamaica:

> The Africans speak their respective dialects... The language of the Creoles is bad English, larded with the Guiney dialect, owing to their adopting the African words, in order to make themselves understood by the imported slaves; which they find much easier than teaching these strangers to learn English.

He made us aware that there was an identifiable language used in the island which was not completely intelligible to new African immigrants.

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He implied that it was sufficiently 'stable' that it could be taught by its native speakers. Long (1774, II:427) even described the speech of Creole speakers noting that "they confound all the moods, tenses, cases and conjugations, without mercy". The conclusion to be drawn from his analysis is that a Creole did emerge and co-existed with English - the model against which it was being compared. A new language for multilingual Africans was the inevitable outcome of the language contact as discussed in Section 1.3.

I have already indicated that linguistic diversity, social and linguistic stratification characterised the society. Long (1774, II:426) further identified distinct patterns of language behaviour among those whom he described as "the better sort":

> The better sort are very fond of improving their language, by catching at any hard word that the Whites happen to let fall in their hearing; and they alter and misapply it in a strange manner; but a tolerable collection of them gives an air of knowledge and importance in the eyes of their brethren.

The "better sort" subsumes certain groups who differ from the masses in that they occupy a higher place in the social hierarchy.

One result of this greater exposure to English was deliberate speech modification in the direction of the more prestigious norm. Alleyne (1980:194) suggests that a characteristic of this form of linguistic behaviour is "the rejection of a number of features perceived as being of greatest deviancy from English". The linguistic result of such deliberate attempts to 'improve' speech were/are new varieties of language which are closer to 'educated' English than Creole. The notion of linguistic superiority of both speaker and language variety is implied in the phrase "an air of knowledge and importance in the eyes of their brethren". Once begun, these social and linguistic processes are on-going, fluid and dynamic.

Education and emancipation

Two highly significant socio-cultural and linguistic developments took place in the nineteenth century. The first was the introduction of elementary education in 1833 (discussed in Chapter Three) and the emancipation of slaves in 1838. A unique feature of the post-emancipation period was the establishment of peasant communities. Mintz (1971:490) observes that Missionary bodies, the Baptist and Methodist Churches bought land on which they settled ex-slaves:

> Though we do not know precisely how many Jamaican freed-men were settled in this fashion, between 1838 and 1844, 19,000 ex-slaves and their families removed themselves from the estates and obtained land in free villages (Paget n.d. [1951?]).

The nucleus of village life was a Church, Sunday School and elementary school. The language of Missionaries and other church leaders, the language of the Bible, hymns, liturgy and sermons represented new linguistic influences for the African population. It seems reasonable to conclude that these developments further contributed to the development of post-Creole language varieties.

The reality of the linguistic diversity which develops in any country cannot be easily defined, described or encapsulated in a table. However, Table 1.4 attempts to give some approximation of the linguistic configuration of the island up to the middle of the nineteenth century. This analysis summarises the discussion in Section 1.3 and draws on the account of the education of the white population (see Long, 1774, II:278-281).

Table 1.4

Languages and language varieties in use by 1850.

Language and language varieties	Mode
1. British English of the educated elite	Written Standard
2. Educated Jamaican English	Written Standard
3. (a) Less Standard varieties of English other than (1) and (2) (b) Non-Standard British dialects (c) Varieties of Creoles more heavily influenced by English	Written and Oral
4. (a) Varieties of Creole less heavily influenced by English (b) Creole	Oral Oral
5. New arrivals (in the process of acquiring Creole): African languages	Oral

1.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have given an overview of the demographic history of Jamaica in so far as it created or contributed to the present sociolinguistic configuration. The greatest emphasis was placed initially on the two sectors of the population who played the most dominant rôle in the society after 1655. As the ruling elite, the British had the political power to bring new populations to work on the sugar estates. Of the three groups who came to the island for this purpose, it is the Africans who dominated the discussion, not the East Indians nor the Chinese. Between the years 1844-1943, people of African ancestry have accounted for more than 75 per cent of the total population. These percentages have still remained relatively constant.

The emergence of a new ethnic group of mixed African and European ancestry significantly changed what was virtually a bi-polar social system. The coloured population was accorded a place in the social hierarchy above the African masses. Numerically the second largest demographic sector, they have never accounted for less than 17.5 per cent of the population. Over the years, they have tended to choose

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their partners in order to perpetuate their mixed ancestry.

A sharp correlation exists between language, social structure and demographic groups. As the society began to take shape after 1655, English, the official language, became associated with white ethnicity, social mobility, political power, privilege and socio-economic status. In due course, a Creole emerged in a situation of language contact between Europeans and Africans. A Creole and African languages became associated with those at the lowest levels of the social hierarchy.

Linguistic diversity has always characterised Jamaican society from 1655 onwards. The co-existence of Creole and English, the ability of language to define one's social position and to identify that of others led to further linguistic stratification. One outcome was the development of intermediate language varieties between these two linguistic systems. Social forces such as the introduction of Elementary education, emancipation and the influence of the Church further accelerated the dynamic processes of language transmission and use. The linguistic configuration which emerged could be described as a 'spectrum' of intermediate language varieties between these two languages.

The following interrelated issues which constitute the problem of the thesis are part of Jamaica's socio-historical and linguistic heritage:

1. The co-existence of English, the official language and medium of instruction in schools with Jamaican Creole.

2. The lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic differences between these two languages.

3. The development of intermediate language varieties between JC and English.

These concerns exclude a crucial aspect of the linguistic question - the negative perceptions of creole languages and their speakers. Chapter Two therefore deals with this issue which has largely been ignored - but which has serious implications for education.

CHAPTER 2

NEGATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF CREOLE LANGUAGE AND USER:

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws attention to another aspect of Jamaica's socio-historical and linguistic heritage - one which is directly linked to the concerns already documented on page 40. The very genesis of JC, its co-existence with a more prestigious linguistic system, and its association with the least privileged members of the society, give another dimension to the language issue. Negative criticism of JC and its speakers probably constitutes one of the most insidious aspects of the country's heritage. Yet if we take a historical perspective, it becomes apparent that Jamaica is not unique in this respect.

I strongly posit the view that language usage cannot be considered in isolation from the social behaviour of individuals and groups. This chapter therefore provides evidence that language, the character traits and even the genetic endowment of some creole speakers have been subjected to harsh criticism. First, I present diachronic data gleaned from different cultures. Then synchronic data is offered from certain Caribbean territories. The juxtaposition of diachronic and synchronic data will provide a background for the empirical investigation.

Two interrelated factors may serve to explain this aspect of language behaviour. The particular circumstances of language contact mean that creoles share a part of their lexicon with European languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, French or English. A significant period of time elapsed between the emergence of these linguistic systems, their earliest documentation and the systematic research of these languages. In the case of Caribbean Creoles for example, ongoing scientific investigation by trained linguists can be traced to the 1950's - a time lag of more than two and a half centuries. The insights of modern

linguistic scholarship were therefore unavailable to the earliest researchers. Neither these scholars nor the members of the public understood that they were dealing with separate linguistic systems. Therefore, creoles began to be regarded as 'inferior' versions of those European languages which formed their lexical base. The importance of this statement will become more apparent as the thesis unfolds.

But pidgins and creoles are not the only linguistic systems which have been subjected to adverse criticism. Regional dialects and accents and non-standard languages have also been stigmatised to some extent. However, Todd (1984:234) points out that "no regional accent or dialect of English has been singled out for the scorn that is often attached to pidginised languages, even by their users". If education is concerned with the totality of an individual and not just with learning and cognition, then these issues become central – not peripheral to the concerns of the thesis.

2.2 A FRAME OF REFERENCE

Negative perceptions of Creole languages and their speakers have been manifested in such different ways that a frame of reference must be provided in order to facilitate the discussion. Various views of language need to be considered. Pit Corder (1973:22-27) discusses three approaches which he identifies as language and the individual, language as a social phenomenon, and the linguistic approach to language. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:188-193) suggest that there are four senses in which linguists and laymen use a 'language'. The following analysis attempts to incorporate the approaches of Pit Corder, LePage and Tabouret-Keller.

Language and the individual

Pit Corder (1973) sees language as a phenomenon of the individual, as observable and unobservable social behaviour. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:188) refer to "a supposed property of an individual, his

'native language' (or dialect)". The concept of a native language presents several difficulties, particularly in multilingual societies where a child may be exposed to two or more languages simultaneously. However, for the purposes of the discussion, we may assume that, with the exception of individuals who are severely handicapped mentally, all persons can be said to possess a native language.

Such a language may be regarded as a part of the psyche, enshrining intangibles: a sense of pride, a link with one's cultural heritage and a means of identifying with particular groups. For these reasons, the child whose native language is a creole, is particularly vulnerable as s/he grows up in a society which attaches social stigma to this language. Even the earlier discussions of the origins and acquisition of pidgin and creole languages (dealt with later in the chapter) have been dominated by theories which denigrate both the individual and his language.

Language as a social phenomenon

Pit Corder (1973:25) regards language in this sense as the "possession of a social group, an indispensable set of rules which permits its members to relate to each other". A shared language and an understanding of the norms of usage, make it possible for human beings to share meanings and interact with each other.

The linguistic approach to language

Here, the concern is with scholarly objective descriptions of phonology, morphology, lexis and syntax, for example. This approach is theoretically the most complex, advanced and abstract and the least concerned with human beings and society. The work of professional linguists, grammarians and lexicographers contributes to the scientific study of language. But, professional linguists form only a small proportion of the population of a country and their informed views take a long time to reach and influence others.

The linguistic systems in a community

A number of languages may be in use in a particular island, territory or community. In this sense, an individual can refer to English, Greek, Italian, Hebrew and Hindi as languages in use in England. Yet these constitute a very partial picture of the linguistic configuration of this country. Here, English assumes an important role as the language by which the country is governed, official business conducted and the one used within the entire educational system. In Jamaica, for example, English serves similar roles, but an important distinction needs to be made. While Greek or Italian or Hindi receive international recognition, the same cannot be said about JC. Traditionally it has been regarded as a 'broken', 'bad' and 'corrupt' variety of English.

The co-existence of a creole with a European language which shares its lexicon raises questions about what is a 'proper', 'correct' and 'good' language. Stubbs (1983:20) emphasises that "no dialect is inherently superior or inferior to any other". Assumptions about the inferiority of creole languages and/or their speakers are endemic and are often expressed by the powerful and influential. It is therefore difficult for some members of a community to establish parity between the language which they habitually use, and the more 'prestigious' varieties in their community.

2.3 ADVERSE CRITICISM: A DIACHRONIC VIEW

Adverse criticism of creole languages and their speakers can be cited from many parts of the world where European-based pidgins and creoles emerged. Thomason and Elgibali (1986:321) cite a reference to an eleventh-century manuscript, where a traveller al Bakari complains that "the Blacks have mutilated our beautiful language and spoilt its eloquence with their twisted tongues". The language in question may have been a pidgin Arabic developed on mediaeval Arab trade routes in

Northern Africa. (See Thomason and Elgibali, 1986:317-349).

Creole specialists agree that pidgin and creole languages have been very poorly documented in the past. Hymes (1971) expresses the view that the scant documentation is an indication that these linguistic systems were not considered worthy of serious study. DeCamp (1971a:31) supports Hymes' statement and he notes that

> historians in the eighteenth century 'described' the Caribbean creoles. But such early accounts were generally limited to invectives and parodies, providing little information beyond the fact that the author had contempt for the pidgin or creole.

Jamaica: eighteenth and nineteenth-century views

The written records of influential individuals who might have been powerful in shaping opinions in the formative years of Jamaican society merit some attention. Cassidy (1961:21) documents the unfavourable comments which two historians made about Creole speech in Jamaica. The first is Edwards (1796), who described the speech of the Maroons[1] as a "barbarous dissonance of African dialects with a mixture of Spanish and broken English". The second is Dallas (1803) who compared the speech of Maroons and Negroes, and concluded that both groups spoke "a particular dialect of English, corrupted with African words".

Edwards implied that the phonology of Creole speech was neither aesthetically pleasing nor easily intelligible to Europeans. Dallas's use of the word "corrupted" refers to the lexis of JC and throws into sharp relief the notion that some languages are 'pure' while others are 'mixed' and 'corrupt'. But such descriptions of a linguistic system are really abstractions from the social behaviour of speakers. The use of the word "barbarous" moves the discussion away from language as a system to the status, the lack of education and the perceived low level of civilisation of Creole speakers.

The white population: Creole usage

The analysis of language usage in Chapter One showed that the vernacular was also used by some members of the white population. This aspect of linguistic diversity did not escape the attention of certain members of the aristocracy. DeCamp (1977:8) points out that

> eighteenth-century accounts were filled with criticisms of the speech of the children of European colonists growing up in tropical colonies and learning the 'barbarous dialect' of slaves and other natives.

Thus the criticism of the language behaviour of Blacks was extended to members of the white population, whose speech fell short of the norms of 'educated English'.

A keen observer of the manners and mores of the island, Lady Nugent, the wife of one of Jamaica's governors, frequently made observations about language and society. Lady Nugent (1801-1805:98) singled out the linguistic behaviour of a particular individual for criticism:

> The Creole language is not confined to the negroes. Many of the ladies, who have not been educated in England, speak a sort of broken English, with an indolent drawling out of their words, that is very tiresome if not disgusting. I stood next to a lady one night, near a window, and, by way of saying something, remarked that the air was much cooler than usual; to which she answered, 'Yes, ma'am, *him rail-ly too fra-ish'*.

More than half a century later, the speech of both White and Blacks was still the object of censure and disapproval. Cassidy (1961:23) cites the following observation made by Chambre (1858):

> There is scarcely a black in a hundred who speaks pure English, and the white people take no pains to correct them. Sometimes they even adopt the barbarous idiom of the negro, thinking to make themselves understood.

Although the linguistic behaviour of these two demographic sectors had been ridiculed, yet essential differences - along three dimensions - the social, psychological and linguistic - set them apart. The first has already been discussed in some depth in Chapter One. When the Negro population used this Creole they were in reality using the main speech form available to them. No real element of choice existed. On the

contrary, when the Whites used the "barbarous idiom" they were exercising freedom of choice. The use of the word "sometimes" further reinforces the distinction between choice and necessity, habitual and occasional speech behaviour. The quotations cited also pointed to a distinction between monolingualism on the one hand, and 'bilingualism'[2] on the other. Many Whites could elect to use a more stigmatised variety of language when the occasion seemed to demand it, while at the same time retaining their more 'prestigious' language varieties. It seems very likely that the psychological impact of criticism would be felt much more keenly by those at the lowest end of the social hierarchy - those with the most limited linguistic repertoire.

France: a nineteenth century view

The misunderstanding of the nature of human language and the processes by which pidgins and creoles were acquired have also contributed to the perpetuation of dangerous and misleading assumptions. Bertrand-Bocandé (1849:73) cited by Meijer and Muysken (1977:22) gave the following description of Portuguese Creole spoken by Africans in Guinea:

> It is clear that people used to expressing themselves with a rather simple language cannot easily elevate their intelligence to the genius of a European language. When they were in contact with the Portuguese and forced to communicate with them, speaking the same language, it was necessary that the varied expressions acquired during so many centuries of civilization dropped their perfection, to adapt to ideas being born and to barbarous forms of language of half-savage peoples.

Bertrand-Bocandé was one of the early exponents of the 'incomplete learning theory' - a theory which had serious implications for the individual and his language. Similar ideas have also been expressed in other European societies as well as in North America (see Holm (1988:21-23) and Dillard (1972:11). Two hypotheses emerged from his remarks. First, that the native language of the Africans in Guinea constituted a simplistic system. Secondly, that a causal relationship existed between the genetic endowment of these Africans and their ability to grasp

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complex European languages.

Stubbs (1983:30-31, 68-71) refutes the "primitive language myth" which establishes a correlation between 'primitive' people and their simple language. Although linguists might provide conclusive evidence of the complexity of linguistic systems, the myth still remains. Stubbs (1983:31) concedes that

> the primitive language myth often lives on in pernicious form, in the unfounded belief that the language of low-income groups in rural or urban industrial areas is somehow structurally 'impoverished' or 'simpler' than SE.

So far, I have shown the negative ways in which some individuals perceive creole languages. As Hymes (1971:3) points out, "their origins have been explained, not by historical and social forces, but by inherent ignorance, indolence, and inferiority". If we dismiss these judgments as prejudicial and linguistically untenable, we do not thereby nullify the possible social/psychological effects on the lives of creole speakers.

Some theories from early creole research: 1868-1933

The word 'early' is being used to draw attention to that period which pre-dates the development of creole linguistics as the term is currently used by language specialists. The work of three Caribbean researchers will be briefly dealt with in turn, Russell, Thomas and Van Sertima. Russell (1868:22) was the first to research Jamaican Creole. Here, he hinted at the difficulty of the linguistic system:

> Should any pupil ... feel himself so much at home in the Etymology of the 'language' as to attempt Syntax, which I have neither the brain, energy or courage to face, I wish him with all my heart success.

The distinctive characteristics of JC and the differences which he uncovered between JC and English possibly explain the tone of exasperation which emerges from the quotation.

Thomas (1869:1) regarded the "French Creole of Trinidad as a dialect framed by Africans from an [sic] European tongue". In dealing with what he called Orthoëpy[3] and Orthography, he noted that a language

contains words which foreigners find difficult to pronounce:

> In attempting to pronounce such words, a foreigner will
> make as near approximations as his vocal habitudes will
> allow: and when - as in the case of Africans in the West
> Indies and America - a barbarous nation adopts a foreign
> speech, these approximations will be a prominent feature
> in the dialect thus formed.

The theory of imperfect learning is implicit in the use of the word "approximations" which refers not only to phonology, but also to the lexis and syntax of French Creole. Thomas attributes the distinctive characteristics of the Creole to the Africans themselves. "Barbarous nations" not only censures the 'uncivilised' learners but hints at their intellectual inferiority.

Van Sertima (1905:4-5) described the Creole of British Guiana as "English corrupted" with "no words of its own", characterised by "severe simplicity". He expressed the view that the physiology of the Negroes in the West Indies and North America, together with certain character traits constituted major impediments to language learning. He criticised the carelessness and ignorance of these Negroes, their untrained organs of speech which were incapable of reproducing English sounds, and ears unattuned to sensitive listening. In this way, he has done what Stubbs (1983:25) refers to as expressing "moral disapproval" "backed up with pseudo-linguistic arguments". Van Sertima's work has also incorporated the primitive language myth, and the incomplete learning theory: both denigrating the individual and his language. Geographical space and racial/cultural differences separated Bertand-Bocandé from Thomas and Van Sertima. However, the hypotheses expressed by the French military officer bear remarkable similarity to the views of these two Caribbean researchers.

Controversial issues

Pidgin and creoles raise a number of controversial issues. The remarkable similarities between creoles in widely disparate geographical areas have led linguists to adopt a number of theoretical positions to explain the linguistic phenomenon. However, it does not fall within the

scope of the thesis to address the complex issue of pidgin/creole genesis. The intention at this point is to deal in outline with the 'baby-talk theory' as it appeared in the work of some of the earlier researchers. The controversial issue of creole genesis has generated a huge corpus of literature which spans a period of almost a hundred years. Today, the hypotheses which had been advanced to support the particular theoretical position of certain scholars will now seem implausible. One important caveat therefore needs to be made. It is not the intention to present a distorted view of pidgin/creole genesis. The baby-talk theory is being used because it provides diachronic evidence which is relevant to the argument of the chapter. First, very brief reference will be made to the two major theories now current.

Today, the similarities between creoles have been attributed to linguistic universals or to substrate theory. The focus is reflected in Muysken and Smith (1986) Substrata versus Universals in Creole Genesis. The two theoretical positions may be represented schematically in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1

Schematic representation of Universalist

and Substrate hypotheses

Universalist hypothesis	Substrate hypothesis
universal principles	native languages
+	+
European vocabulary	European vocabulary
↓	↓
Creole	Creole
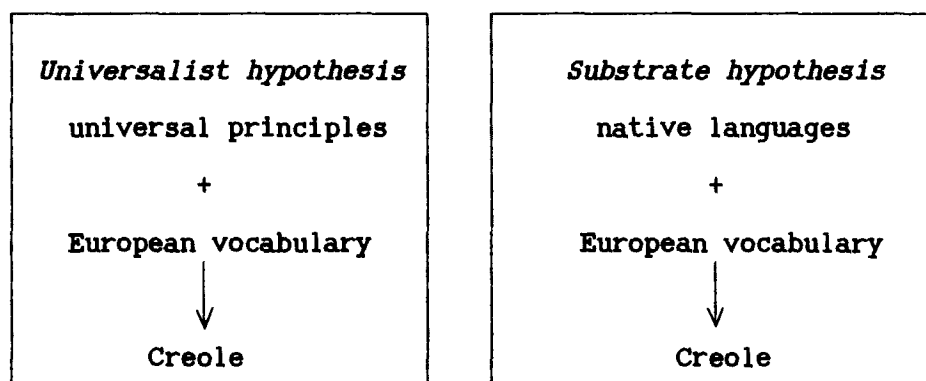
Source: Muysken and Smith (1986:1)

The concern to find plausible hypotheses to explain the origins of pidgin/creole languages has led some linguists to focus attention on the innateness of language and on universal principles of language acquisition. As Alleyne (1980) points out, no agreed typology of

linguistic universals exists. Consequently the subject is treated in different ways by different researchers. Bickerton, one of the great exponents of language universals, argues that there is an innate bioprogram which determines the form of human language and that there is an interaction between the bioprogram and the target language (see Bickerton, 1981, 1984).

Traditionally, European languages were accorded a very dominant role in the formation of a creole. This view appears, for example, in the work of Bloomfield (1933) and Hall (1966). Alleyne argues that the African contribution to the genesis and subsequent development of Afro-American creoles has been regarded as marginal. He puts forward a strong case for the African contribution which he sees in terms of certain "continuities"' and "transmissions" which resulted from the particular circumstances of language contact and language change. (See Alleyne 1971, 1980, 1986). Other linguists argue for a synthesis of substrate and universalist theories (see Muysken and Smith 1986).

The baby-talk theory

The proponents of this theory argued that Europeans deliberately simplified their language when speaking to non-European slave, servant or trade contact. The underlying assumption was that indigenous people were incapable of learning the complex morphology, syntax and lexis of English, French, Portuguese or Dutch. Each pidgin or creole therefore began as baby-talk, similar to the language adults sometimes use in addressing children. It was assumed that simplification operated at two levels: as the process by which these languages evolved, and as product, that is - the modified European language which resulted.

The baby-talk theory was explicitly stated in the work of Schuchardt.⁴ Gilbert (1980:7) cites a reference to Schuchardt (1909a:69) in which the latter specifically viewed simplification as both process and product:

> All radical simplification ... of a language is a product
> of its native speakers; it is very similar to the way

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> child language is based upon the simplifications which
> adults use when speaking to children (Ammensprache, lit.
> 'nursemaid talk'). Or if I may use a metaphor, it is not
> the foreigners who chip out single stones from a nice,
> tight building in order to build themselves miserable
> hovels, but it is the building's owners themselves who
> hand them the pieces for this purpose.

Schuchardt made an interesting, if somewhat unusual analogy between a "nice tight building" (a European language) and "miserable hovels" (creoles).

This theory appears in the work of other leading linguists – though with some degree of variation. Jespersen (1922:225) sought to explain the emergence of new English-based linguistic systems which he described as "those deviations from correct English, those corruptions of pronunciation and those simplifications of grammar". First, he suggested that it was the Europeans who had a tendency to "meet the 'inferior' races halfway in order to facilitate matters for them". Jespersen criticised what he referred to as the one supreme axiom of international philology, that is, the proper way to make a foreigner understand what is said is to use broken English. He pointed out that such a strategy was totally unsuitable for those who had not yet mastered the complexities of the particular European language since it retarded rather than aided language acquisition.

Using Beach-la-Mar spoken in the Pacific as an example, he concluded that the particular form of that language was attributable to two main causes. The first was the difficulty inherent in learning a totally different language. The second centred on the obstacles which the linguistic behaviour of English-speaking people presented to the learners. Jespersen (1922:225) concluded that the language which emerged was closely analogous to a baby's speech:

> The analogy of its imperfections with those of a baby's
> speech in the first period is striking, and includes
> errors of pronunciation, extreme simplification of
> grammar, scantiness of vocabulary.

Bloomfield (1933:472) presented a somewhat extreme view of the baby-talk theory.

> Speakers of a lower language may make so little progress in learning the dominant speech, that the masters, in communicating with them resort to 'baby-talk'. This 'baby-talk' is the masters' imitation of the subjects' incorrect speech. There is reason to believe that it is by no means an exact imitation, and that some of its features are based not upon the subjects' mistakes but upon grammatical relations that exist within the upper language itself. The subjects, in turn, deprived of the correct model, can do no better now than to acquire the simplified 'baby-talk' version of the upper language. The result may be a conventionalized *jargon*.

According to Mülhäusler (1986) Bloomfield's behaviourist views compelled him to establish a virtual equivalence between the baby talk input and the learner's pidgin. Bloomfield's views have influenced a number of scholars.

The theory persists in the work of Hall (1966:5,86) who summarises the major issues which were raised by other proponents of the theory. Then he completes his analysis in the following way:

> So the European would conclude that it was useless to use 'good language' to the native, and would reply to him in a replica of the latter's incomplete speech, adding also some of the patterns of baby-talk commonly used by mothers and nurses in his own country.

The notion of slaves, trade contacts and servants trying to acquire a European language and failing miserably, forms a permanent part of pidgin/creole studies. Given the permanence of the written word, these ideas were all too readily available to detractors of creoles.

Although modern linguists do not support the baby-talk theory, they cannot completely ignore it since it has formed part of the literature for more than a century. Consequently, creole specialists who attempt to review the state of the debate or advance new ideas on pidgin/creole genesis can hardly avoid making references to this theory for one reason or another. See, for example, Todd (1984), Mülhäusler (1986), Holm (1988) and Romaine (1988).

The scorn to which pidgin/creole languages have been subjected manifested itself in yet another way. For a long time, there have been influential people who have sought to discourage academics from pursuing

the study of these linguistic systems. Aub-Buscher (1969:iii) lends

some support to the view, as she observes that the study of these

languages

> has become a respectable occupation for linguists only
> within the last few decades; the time is not very long
> past when any preoccupation with their features was taken
> as a sort of aberration, because only 'proper', literary
> languages were considered worthy of serious attention.

DeCamp (1977:9) cites the example of Schuchardt, who was warned by

a colleague that he should abandon "this foolish study of funny dialects

and work on Old French if he wished to further his academic career".

DeCamp also recalls that when he began working on Jamaican Creole in

1957 he received a similar warning. LePage (1961:118) reports two

questions in the same vein:

> "Was there any utilitarian value in the study of Jamaican
> Creole? Might that study not have a deleterious effect on
> the advent of Standard English in the schools?"

2.4 THE CARIBBEAN: A SYNCHRONIC VIEW

By reaching back to the past, it has been possible to highlight

some of the forces which may have influenced the way creole languages

and their speakers have been perceived. The data documented in Section

2.3 might have no relevance to the politically independent Caribbean

territories today. On the other hand, sharp criticism of creoles and

their users may have become tenets of the culture in the region. The

following examples drawn from Antigua, Trinidad, Jamaica and Guyana will

indicate the extent to which views have either changed or been

perpetuated.

Reisman (1971:409) gives the following assessment of the climate of

opinion in Antigua:

> In the Antiguan situation one 'accepts' with 'respect'
> both the status system - with its concomitant self-
> definition as 'low' - and the total superiority of the
> standards and values of English culture, all other values
> and forms of expression being described in terms of an
> *absence* of the quality under discussion.

In 1975, the Ministry of Education and Culture in Trinidad and

Tobago published a new syllabus for Primary schools. The recommendations were based on the advanced views of indigenous Creole linguists and language teaching experts. The syllabus explicitly stated that the Creole was a language with a rule-governed system which differed structurally from the language pupils were expected to learn. It suggested that a Primary school pupil cannot be expected to have a working knowledge of English. Consequently, teachers were asked to encourage pupils to express themselves creatively in the language most familiar to them.

Soon after its publication, a number of letters appeared in the press condemning the syllabus in general and the recognition of the Creole in particular. Carrington and Borely (1977) document the letters and comments of prominent Trinidad citizens as well as the articles which these two educators themselves wrote in defence of the proposals of the syllabus (see Carrington and Borely 1977:1-66).

Adverse criticism was levelled at the Creole itself. Members of the public used highly vituperative language to deny its status. Educational authorities were accused of betraying the values which they themselves should enshrine. The character traits of Trinidadians who both spoke and encouraged Creole usage were subjected to the harshest invective. Members of the public blamed the media for airing such deeply offensive matters.

Finally, scorn was poured on the syllabus itself. For example, Carrington and Borely (1977:18) cite a letter in the Trinidad Guardian, 28 December 1975, in which the writer, Bowen, complains bitterly that the "main point of the syllabus is to encourage the child to wallow in the incorrectness and sloppiness of the vernacular". The use of terms such as "wallow" and "sloppiness", vividly convey the contempt with which the writer views the Creole.

Writing in the Daily Gleaner, 4 April 1983, Burgess, a well known Jamaican journalist, discusses a "dialect which treats as irrelevant basic linguistic considerations such as number, person, case and

gender". He refers to the shame and disgust which follows this speech form which can only be described as "un-English", which is English debased by mispronunciation, bad grammar and jargon. The presence of "un-English" is ascribed to a lack of self-discipline, and the "influence of patois defiled by ... the gibberish of Rastafarians".

In an attempt to draw a striking contrast between the language spoken by participants at the International Law of the Sea Conference held in Montego Bay, and the un-English of Jamaicans, Burgess (1983:5) notes:

> It is hoped that Jamaicans were impressed by the quality of English spoken at the recent Montego Bay Law of the Sea Conference by representatives whose native language was not English. Given our bad manners, our loud speech in public interlaced with coarse words, our rampant indiscipline, we run the risk of being regarded as belonging to a country in which the language spoken is best described as Yahoo-lish.

His invective denies the fact that JC constitutes the mother tongue of the majority of the population. Two decades after Independence, he distances himself from the masses as he expresses his affinities with European language and culture.

Rickford (1983:3) has also indicated that, as a Guyanese, he has been constantly exposed to the sharp criticism of Creolese (Guyanese Creole). He cites two examples in support of his claim. The first is a comment made by Stroud (1975) who described the Creole language in a Guyanese poem as "the speech of illiterate underdogs striving to imitate the sound of their masters".

The second example is contained in the Guyanese Sunday Chronicle, 15 February, 1981:4, in which the

> Home Affairs Minister Stanley Moore said that too many Guyanese used Creole so as to escape proper English. He dubbed Creolese as vulgar, rough and ready mode of expression.

The harsh judgment expressed about a pidgin language and its speakers in the eleventh-century, bears remarkable similarity with those documented in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. A comparison of diachronic and synchronic data lead to the following conclusion. In the contemporary Caribbean, it is the West Indians themselves who now

denigrate the character traits of creole speakers and the languages which form a living link with their past.

2.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have shown the degree of scorn with which some historians, politically influential citizens and researchers have regarded creole languages. The similarity of views which have been expressed in different countries has been remarkable. Negative perceptions of creole languages which have been generalised to their speakers have remained relatively constant throughout the ages. Adverse criticism has vitiated every perspective from which we may approach these languages. Creoles have not been regarded as linguistic systems. Instead, as Hymes (1971:3) so aptly puts it, "they have been considered, not creative adaptations, but degenerations; not systems in their own right, but deviations from other systems".

Concern to explain pidgin/creole genesis led to the development of the incomplete mastery and baby-talk theories, according to which genetic cultural/racial and linguistic inferiority of 'primitive' and 'barbarous' people were used to explain the sharp divergences between a creole and the European language which forms its lexical base. Although these theories are no longer supported by linguists, yet they form part of the written records. We cannot nullify the fact that language and the individual, language as social phenomena were perceived in a very negative light. It seems highly unlikely that a comparable body of historical data exist. where such negative criticism has been levelled at any other vernacular, regional dialect or accent.

Rebuke and moral censure have also been directed at creole speakers with the result that - according to Hymes (1971) - the stigmatised becomes convinced that the stigma is deserved. The supreme irony is that in Jamaica, some members of the community now view the Creole in the same way in which the educated élite did in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. It is also very ironical that some Jamaicans have

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been so conditioned that they deprecate the only language with which they can communicate.

Our concern with the education of the whole person makes us aware that Jamaican children whose first and only language is Creole face unique problems in the educational system. Such pupils may begin school with the linguistic insecurity which stems from a criticism of their language, and in a sense, of themselves. The Creole-Standard teaching/ learning situation could present a psychological barrier to these boys and girls.

Now that attention has been drawn to this facet of the language question, Chapter Three will prepare us further for the positioning of the Creole in education. It will add some substance and concreteness to JC by showing that it has a complex rule-governed system. More importantly, Chapter Three will reveal the differential which exists between (JC), pupils' home language and English, the medium of instruction in schools.

JAMAICAN CREOLE: A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter develops the main introductory argument of the thesis that significant differences exist between Jamaican Creole (the mother tongue of the majority of the population) and English, the official language, and medium of instruction in schools. Although both languages share a common core of vocabulary, there are sharp divergences in phonology and syntax. In support of my argument I shall

1. present some evidence of the distinctive characteristics of Jamaican Creole,

2. analyse the significant differences between Jamaican Creole (JC) and Standard English (SE), and

3. use the concept of a 'continuum'/'post-creole continuum' to discuss the intermediate language varieties between JC and SE, and so complete the analysis of the linguistic configuration.

Standard English

I begin by defining Standard English and indicating how it will be used in the thesis. Stubbs (1986:83) observes that

> in Britain, Standard English is a central issue of language in education, since Standard English is a variety of language which can be defined only by reference to its role in the education system.

In the West Indian context, LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:83) remind us that

> the only written language is the standard literary language, the only grammar taught and the only usage regarded as correct is that of the standard variety.

Proficiency in Standard English therefore determines success in examinations. The importance of SE in Jamaica is the inevitable outcome of almost three hundred years of British rule, Britain's role in the island's educational system and overseas examinations serving as a

passport to success and social mobility. The educational link with Britain was further cemented by the establishment of the University College of the West Indies in 1948, with special relationship to the University of London with a predominantly British staff and external examiners.

The introduction of the Caribbean Regional Examination (CXC) in 1979, and the gradual phasing out of the General Certificate of Education could have affected the standard of the written work expected in examinations. Such is not the case. The examination was devised as a suitable replacement for the overseas examinations and as a means of selecting students for higher education. It is not intended for the masses. CXC remains the preserve of Grammar/High schools. Lest any false assumptions are made regarding expected language usage, the rubric of examinations papers states: "Write in Standard English".

DES (The Kingman Report 1988a:14) further expands our view of the nature of Standard English:

> It is important to be clear about the nature of Standard English. It developed from one of the Middle English dialects (East Midlands - the dialect first printed by Caxton) to become the written form used by all writers of English, no matter which dialect area they come from. It is the fact of being the written form which establishes it as the standard. And it is the fact of being the written form which means that it is used not only in Britain but by all writers of English throughout the world, with remarkably little variation.

The pertinent aspects of standardisation may be summarised as follows:

1. It is the written form of a language which establishes it as a Standard.

2. The written mode is used internationally with very little variation.

In the thesis, the term Standard will also include spoken English although the concept is much more difficult to define. The demographic and linguistic history in Chapter One indicated that English was the official language and that of the British ruling elite and the higher socio-economic groups. The influence of spoken British Standard has

therefore been felt not only in Secondary, Tertiary and Higher education but also in the Church, the Civil Service, commerce and the legal system. Even after Independence in 1962, there are complex factors which influence the spoken word as Roberts (1988:22) indicates:

> Jamaica exhibits a great deal of complexity in this area with several contending forces: there has been and still is a considerable and increasing movement of Jamaicans of all types in and out of the USA; there are traditional and strong links with Britain and the English language; there is a very strong love and promotion of things Jamaican and Jamaican Creole, but there is also a very vocal anti-Creole element in the society; there has always been a significant amount of foreign tourism on the north coast of the island.

Spoken Standard English is modelled closely on the vocabulary, morphology and syntax of the written form of the language, although the pronunciation of even the most educated Jamaicans differs from prestigious English accents. DES (The Cox Report, 1988b:24) points out that

> in general, speakers of SE in different parts of the British Isles and elsewhere in the world may use the same *grammar* and *vocabulary*, but different *pronunciations*.

'Different pronunciations' inevitably raise questions about the social aspects of SE, since its use marks membership in certain social groups. DES (The Cox Report 1988b:24) points out that

> on purely linguistic grounds, [SE] is not inherently superior to other *non-standard dialects* of English, but it clearly has social prestige.

In Chapter One, I discussed the genesis of what was virtually a new society from 1655 onwards, and established a link between language, social structure and demographic groups. Today, the poorest, the least educated Jamaicans have in their heads a concept of a Standard against which they tend to measure and denigrate their speech. In this way, in the words of LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:191) English becomes a "prescriptive standard used as a yardstick". In the thesis, I use the term Standard in the linguistic sense to refer to the spoken and written mode. The word will also be used in the social sense, that is, as a 'yardstick' against which language and speakers are measured.

3.2 LINGUISTIC CONTRASTS SEPARATING JC AND SE

This section addresses the significant contrasts between JC and SE, while noting two major constraints to the discussion:

1. There is a large volume of available data.

2. It seems impractical to include extensive examples in a single chapter of the thesis.

Therefore, I shall offer selected examples so as to demonstrate the systemic nature of the contrasts between SE and JC, while at the same time sharply delimiting the data offered. The word 'systemic' is being used in the same sense in which Stubbs (1986:237) defines it: as the "adjective corresponding to a linguistic *system*".

There are different levels of language description. From these, I have chosen to deal with lexis, phonology, morphology/syntax. Lexis is dealt with first because words form the basis of the discussion of other levels of language. Some phonological rules which serve to reinforce morphology/syntax can be highlighted if these levels of language are treated in the order outlined.

3.2.1 LEXIS

In general, the vocabulary of a creole is mainly derived from the language of the 'dominant' European group. The word dominant is being used here to refer to English, French or Portuguese speakers who exerted the greatest socio-political power in the original contact situation. Like other English related/derived creoles, JC shares a common vocabulary core with English. However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the lexical items in each language. Many words, phrases and idioms in the repertoire of the Creole speaker are completely unintelligible to users of English. The converse applies equally.

The major source of JC lexicon is derived from British seventeenth and early eighteenth-century non-Standard dialects. The Dictionary of Jamaican English (DJE) excludes words common to both languages, but

records different ways in which lexical items in English and JC differ from modern SE. The 15,000 entries in the DJE represent a large corpus of lexical items many of which have undergone major phonological, morphological or semantic changes. Some are archaisms and no longer in use. Still others are derived from the Arawak, Amerindian, Spanish, African, Portuguese, French, Hindi and Chinese languages. Table 3.1 gives a breakdown of 840 entries in DJE under the letter 's' and illustrates the nature of JC lexicon.

Table 3.1

Derivation of JC lexical items beginning with the letter 's'.

Derivation	Number	%
1. SE - JC unchanged	20	2.38
2. African and other languages (i) Combinations: that is, words derived from two or more languages (ii) Africanisms (iii) Other languages	 13 32 22	 1.55 3.81 2.62
3. Words derived from English: archaisms, variants by phonology, morphology and semantic change	 753	 89.64
	n = 840	100 %

Examples of JC lexicon in current use

The following examples are chosen because they occur in JC speech with a high degree of frequency. For most of the items cited, there are no known stylistic variants, no alternative forms of expression easily available to Creole speakers. The following headings used are self explanatory. The information will therefore be presented without further comment.

Words derived from English (now archaic in SE):

beknown	< 'beknown'	: well known, familiar
sweet	< 'sweet'	: tipsy, slightly drunk

Words derived from English but semantically changed in JC:

ignorant	< 'ignorant'	: ill-mannered, extremely angry
tea	< 'tea'	: breakfast, a peasant's or rural Jamaican's first meal of the day

Words derived from English but phonologically changed in JC:

kya	< 'care'	: care
shuorans	< 'assurance'	: impudent, rude

Compound words formed from SE lexical items:

Kyari-go-bring-kom	< 'carry-go-bring-come'	: gossip, tale bearer
hand-migl	< 'hand + middle'	: palm

Words of non-English origin:

maaga	< Portuguese, Spanish 'magro'	: thin, lean, meagre
leginz	< French, 'legumes'	: a bunch of vegetables tied in a bundle used for making soup
say, seh, sey	< Twi 'se'	: to say, to tell

In JC, all three variants of 'say' are used with a verb:

> JC: mi hear say im kom

> SE: I heard that he has come

Chaka-chaka	< Ga, 'tyaka'; Ewe 'tsaka'	: to mix, be mixed : JC: very untidy, disorderly

The important aspects of lexicon may be summarised as follows:

1. There is a common core of lexical items shared by both languages. DJE cannot reveal the extent of the overlap since the linguistic situation is fluid, dynamic and changing. New words are being added while others are being discarded.

2. Although the lexicon is mainly derived from English, much of it

remains unintelligible to SE speakers.

3. Vocabulary items represent a daily barrier in JC - SE communication.

4. JC words carry with them phonological laws quite distinct from contemporary SE.

3.2.2 PHONOLOGY

In order to explain the distinctive phonological features of JC, Cassidy and LePage (1980:xliii) suggest that the following process might have taken place:

> In general terms, it seems evident that the phonetic structure of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century English dialects was reinterpreted through the matrix of the phonology *either* of West African languages such as Twi or Ewe, *or* of a Portuguese-West African pidgin; that the resultant pidgin was rapidly Creolized, becoming the native language of Jamaican-born slaves; that subsequently Scots and, at a further remove until the nineteenth century, educated southern British English, have acted as model languages for the Creole, the educated version of which, as used by middle-class Jamaicans, has acted in turn as a model language for the uneducated version. We cannot reconstruct the process with any accuracy.

The reinterpretation of the phonetic structure of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century English dialects through the phonology of West African languages did indeed yield certain demonstrable phonological rules. Here, the constraints to the discussion which were mentioned on page 62, seem particularly relevant. The reality and extent of the sharp divergences between the two languages cannot be meaningfully encapsulated in these pages. For a detailed account of historical phonology of JC and the differences with SE, see Cassidy and LePage (1980:xxxvii-xl and xlii-lxiv). Other important sources include Alleyne (1980:35-76) and Wells (1973).

Reduction of consonant clusters

The extensive phonological contrasts between JC and SE documented in the sources cited pose serious problems in all the modalities (although these issues cannot be meaningfully explored here). However, the following examples give some indication of potential problems for Creole speakers who attempt to write in SE. Final clusters consisting

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of a consonant and a dental stop frequently lose the dental stop. Note
that [t] may be lost after a voiceless consonant and [d] after a voiced:

JC: san, uol, fren   SE: sand, old,   friend

JC: sen, spen   SE: send, sent;   spend, spent

JC: wes, bes, rus   SE: west, best,   rust

JC: lef, expec, direc SE: left, expect, direct

This rule applies both at the lexemic and at the morphemic levels, an
important consideration in the formation of the SE past tense.

Cassidy and LePage (1980:lxii) note that "In English dialects final
/d/ is frequently lost after /l/ and /n/ (EDG,§307), and final /t/ after
/s, k, p, f/ (EDG,§295)". In the examples cited above, the phonological
deletion rules are operating and apply also to contracted verbs for
example:

JC: doan, kyaan   SE: don't, can't

Deletion of (-t, -d)

In a number of situations, morphosyntax and phonology apparently
work to reinforce the deletion rules. The whole corpus of SE verbs
whose past tense forms are realised by the addition of (-d, -t, -ed)
must be reviewed in the light of this phonological rule. Since these
verb forms have no simple equivalent in JC, and the so-called simple
past of SE must be translated into the tense-aspect structure, then the
form of the JC verbs themselves will remain uninflected, for example:

JC: yuus   SE: used

JC: ekspek   SE: expected

JC: laas   SE: lost

JC: wie   SE: weighed

JC: meja   SE: measured

JC: waak   SE: walked

These implications for morphosyntax will be dealt with in Section 3.2.3.

[Θ] and [ð]

The sounds which are represented by the English digraph 'th' do not really exist in Jamaican Creole. The unvoiced fricative [Θ] becomes the stop /t/ in all positions, as in the following examples:

JC: tin, tik, mout, notn   SE: thin, thick, mouth, nothing

Similarly, the voiced fricative becomes a stop /d/ in all positions, for example:

JC: de, briid, bada, den   SE: the, breathe, bother, then

What this means is that no phonological distinction is made between SE thin, and tin, then, and den - a fact which has certain implications for the Creole speaker in the school system. LePage (1981:5) notes that

> this is a feature of contact varieties of English in
> many parts of the world - and even in some dialects of
> the British Isles. The distinction made in Received
> Pronunciation between thin and tin, and between then
> and den, is quite a rare one in the world's languages,
> and does not exist in most of the Akan languages.

[h]

JC [h] differs from SE /h/ in that the former does not have the status of a phoneme as in SE. In JC usage, there would be no minimal pairs such as: hair, air, hear, ear, his, is, has, as to show the use of the grapheme. Initial [h] is usually deleted in unemphatic contexts and used as 'hypercorrection' in emphatic contexts. For example, the JC form of the word 'woman' would normally be 'uman'. Hypercorrection and the use of [h] creates the word [human].

So far, the aspects of phonology which have been presented emphasise the contrasts between JC, British seventeenth and early eighteenth-century English, and modern SE. But African tonal languages may have contributed to certain distinct patterns and sequences of sounds in JC and other creole languages. Bailey (1966:75) identified what she described as three "terminal contours" in sentences: falling, rising and high level. Alleyne (1980:69) comments on the characteristic "accent" of Afro-Americans, which is "the combination of pitch and

stress patterns that gives to Afro-American speech its special rhythm and melody". He summarises the early Afro-American phonological system and draws attention to two pitch levels which give rise to two contours - nonhigh and high. Holm (1988:137) comments on the "intonation of creole and post-creole languages [which] differs markedly from that of their European lexical-source languages".

'Intonation contours' significantly affect sentence meaning. The following examples illustrate this particular feature of JC speech:

JC: (falling) dis man gùd   SE: This man is good.

JC: (rising) dis man gűd   SE: Is this man good?

JC: (high level) dis man gūd   SE: How good is this man!

Use of intonation contours yields three different interpretations of one JC sentence: a declarative statement, a question and an exclamatory sentence.

Intonation contours also mark possession and lexical sub-categories such as gender:

JC: man cow   SE: man's cow, male cow (bull)

JC: gyal fren   SE: girl's friend, girl friend

The following JC sentence 'Mieri tell di gyalfren' can yield four different SE sentences:

1. Mary told the girl's friend.   3. Did Mary tell the girl's friend?

2. Mary told the girlfriend.   4. Did Mary tell the girlfriend?

The conventional ways of framing questions in SE are not used in JC.

The discussion of phonological contrasts shows their effect on morphology, syntax and semantics of JC words. These contrasts constitute another block between the JC speaker and his/her acquisition of SE.

3.2.3 MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS

The syntax of JC differs sharply from SE in a number of ways. Root vowel shifts and inflectional endings which change the shape or form of a word to indicate person, number, case and tense do not really occur in

JC. Instead, the syntactic system depends on word order, sentence melody, the use of certain adverbs, and a range of syntactic particles. Alleyne (1980:77) has commented on the similarities in syntactic structures in all the Afro-American dialects which he has compared and accounts for them in this way:

> There is, however, greater uniformity among them in syntax than in phonology. This is what one would expect from a language contact situation in which continuities from a native set of speech habits are being progressively eliminated or overlaid. There is a general rule in contact situations that lexical continuities from the native language are usually the first to be replaced; characteristic syntactic patterns and, finally, allophonic features are the last to resist elimination and/or replacement or restructuring.

In this section, the emphasis will be placed on the following word classes: nouns, pronouns and verbs. A speaker's ability to produce and create an infinite number of sentences rests heavily on a knowledge of and facility in the use of these three word classes.

Nouns

In JC, the noun itself never changes to indicate plurality. A post-nominal marker 'dem' corresponding etymologically to the SE third person plural pronoun 'them', denotes plurality in most instances. However, Bailey (1966) more clearly delineates the types of nouns to which the post-nominal marker is usually applied. Proper nouns can take the plural particle 'dem'. The terms 'Mieri dem' and 'Samwel dem', for example, refer to 'Mary and others', 'Mary and company'; 'Samuel and others', 'Samuel and company'. Bailey (1966:26) notes that "the plural involved here is that of a heterogeneous group of which the person mentioned is the focus".

The large class of words generally designated as count nouns not only takes the plural marker discussed above, but is nearly always associated with 'di', deriving from the SE definite article 'the'. The following examples with their SE English equivalents will illustrate the principle being discussed.

JC: di buk dem	SE: the books
JC: di man dem	SE: the men
JC: di gyal dem	SE: the girls
JC: di kyaat dem	SE: the carts
JC: di giet dem	SE: the gates
JC: di pikni dem	SE: the children

Plurality is also achieved by the use of numerals as in

JC: six kyaad	SE: six cards
JC: trii baal	SE: three balls
JC: ten eg	SE: ten eggs.

In other circumstances, certain pre-nominal quantity words are used such as 'tumoch', 'nuf', 'huol heap a', 'plenti' as in the following examples:

JC: huol heap a mango	SE: a large amount of mangoes
JC: nuf pus and dawg	SE: many cats and dogs
JC: tumoch fren	SE: too many friends
JC: plenti pitieta	SE: many/plenty potatoes

The examples cited show that JC does not commit itself to the conventional distinctions between singular and plural nouns which occur in SE.

Possession - nouns

In JC, possession is rendered syntactically by the juxtaposition of possession and possessed with the marked absence of the morpheme 's' in the noun phrase, as in the following examples:

JC: Jan mango	SE: John's mango
JC: Samwel hat	SE: Samuel's hat
JC: Mieri bwai pikni	SE: Mary's son

Possession is also indicated by the use of the particle 'fi' (derived ultimately from 'for') somewhat similar to the periphrastic possessive. It is used where SE requires the complement of the verb 'to be', as well as in noun phrases:

| JC: dis wan a fi Jan | SE: This one is John's |

JC: fi mi sista buk   SE: My sister's book.

The nouns discussed in these sections represent, at one level at least, a core of lexical items common to both languages. Here the similarity ends. The linguistic contrasts demonstrate the sharp differences in the way plurality and possession are realised in each language.

Pronouns

On the whole, there are fewer forms of JC personal pronouns than in SE. Tables 3.2 and 3.3 respectively will give the comparative syntax in three cases for both languages first in the singular, then in the plural. Possessives will be dealt with separately.

Table 3.2

The comparative morphology of the singular form of personal pronouns

Person	Subject Nom. Case		Object Accusative Case		Possessive	
	SE	JC	SE	JC	SE	JC
1st person	I	mi	me	mi	my	mi
2nd person	you	yu	you	yu	your	yu
3rd person	he	(h)im	him	(h)im	his	(h)im
	she	(h)im	her	(h)im	her	(h)im
	it	(h)im/i	it	(h)im/i	its	(h)im/i

Table 3.3

The comparative morphology of the plural form of personal pronouns

Person	Subject Nom. Case		Object Accusative Case		Possessive	
	SE	JC	SE	JC	SE	JC
1st person	we	wi	us	wi	our	wi
2nd person	you	unu	you	unu	you	unu
3rd person	they	dem	them	dem	them	dem

LePage (1981:9) states that ("unu is a word introduced from West Africa to remove the ambiguity of English you. Other dialects do this by using, for the plural, 'you-all', or 'all you', or 'amongs-you'").

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Possession - pronouns

The two forms of possessive pronouns include mi, you, him, wi, unu, dem, and the periphrastic possessive formed with the particle 'fi'. 'Uon' is sometimes added for emphasis as Table 3.4 shows.

Table 3.4

Possessive pronouns

JC: mi	fi mi	fi mi uon	SE: my, mine
JC: yu	fi yu	fi yu uon	SE: yours
JC: h(im)	fi h(im)	fi im uon	SE: his, hers
JC: wi	fi wi	fi wi uon	SE: our, ours
JC: ʊnu	fi unu	fi unu	SE: yours
JC: dem	fi dem	fi dem uon	SE: theirs

SE pronouns represent another word class which is not known to JC speakers.

Predicates/verb phrases

In dealing with morphology and syntax, I have placed the greatest emphasis on predicates and verb phrases. These are important, as they represent what Alleyne (1980:77) refers to as "'core' elements in syntactic structures", and DES The Kingman Report (1988a:13) as "a word class (i.e. verb), which functions as the nucleus of each sentence". The predicates/verb phrases in creole languages are characterised by a number of distinctive features which differentiate them from the languages which form their lexical base. (For a detailed analysis of Jamaican Creole syntax, see Bailey (1966) and Alleyne (1980) for the comparative syntax of certain Afro-American Dialects).

The basic forms in JC

In Jamaican Creole, the basic form of SE verbs is that which appears in verb phrases and predicates. Thus the unmarked forms of verbs, for example 'sliip' (sleep), 'iit' (eat), 'waak' (walk) are used

with all possible subjects.

JC: mi sliip	SE: I sleep
JC: yu sliip	SE: You sleep
JC: Jan sliip	SE: John sleeps
JC: im/it sliip	SE: He, she, it sleeps
JC: wi sliip	SE: We sleep
JC: unu sliip	SE: You (pl.) sleep
JC: di pikni dem sliip	SE: The children sleep
JC: dem sliip	SE: They sleep

Thus the morpheme 's' is not used in JC either to show plurality in nouns, or as an inflectional ending for verbs. What this means, is that the creole speaker faces enormous problems in using the present tense appropriately, and in using the 's' morphemes when required in SE.

Use of adverbs and syntactic particles

While the basic SE verbs remain unmarked, however, a number of JC syntactic particles - unknown in English - assume very great importance. Alleyne (1980:80) observes that "verb phrases characteristically have particles preposed to the predicate, and by their occurrence, absence, or combination, express aspect, tense, or mood (imperative and conditional)". Referring to the Afro-American dialects which he compares, Alleyne (ibid.82) explains that "aspect is part of the basic structure of the verb phrase in all but imperative sentences. All dialects have two aspects: perfective and non perfective".

Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect is rendered by the use of syntactic particles 'a' and 'de' placed before the predicate.

JC: mi a waak	SE: I am walking
JC: Ruoz de kom	SE: Rose is coming
JC: di biebi de krai	SE: The baby is crying
JC: mi ben de iit	SE: I was eating.

Habitual aspect

In Jamaican Creole, aspect is unmarked when it is habitual. However, the use of certain adverbs of time such as 'sometimes', 'usually', 'always' act as determiners of the habitual.

JC: mi aalweiz go a choch   SE: I always go to church

JC: Jaag sliip ya somtaim   SE: George sleeps here sometimes

Perfective/completive aspect

One important point which cannot be overemphasised is that the conventional use of Past Tense (-d) forms as well as root vowel shifts in SE verbs such as 'broke', 'lay', 'begun' and 'took', have no simple equivalent in JC. For example, JC 'im sliip' represents both SE present and past tense 'he sleeps' or 'he slept'. The simple SE past tense must be translated into the tense-aspect structure of JC which behaves more like an aspectual than a tense system. Alleyne (1980:82) states:

> Aspect is unmarked (zero) everywhere when perfective; but the perfective can in all dialects be recognised by its being optionally conjoined with a verb meaning 'finish' which acts as a kind of reinforcer of the perfective aspect.

Table 3.5 will exemplify the different ways in which the perfective aspect is realised in JC.

An examination of Table 3.5 reveals that JC forms the perfective aspect in four distinct ways:

1. The basic form of the verb remains unchanged, so that its surface structure resembles the simple present of SE, illustrating Alleyne's observation that "Aspect is unmarked (zero) everywhere when perfective".

2. Use of 'don' (finish) to 'reinforce the perfective'.

3. Use of verbal particles 'en', 'wen', 'ben' and 'did'.

4. Use of words which express concepts of time such as 'aredi', 'yeside' and 'lang taim'.

These examples clearly demonstrate that JC has a rule-governed system which differs sharply from SE.

Table 3.5

The perfective aspect in JC

1.

JC: Jiemz drink di kaafi	SE: James drank the coffee
JC: Kieti iit di mango	SE: Kathy ate the mango
JC: Piita run gaan	SE: Peter ran away

2.

JC: im iit don	SE: S/he has eaten/ate
JC: Piita riid de buk don	SE: Peter read the book
JC: Kieti don wash de kluoz	SE: Kathy has washed the clothes

3.

JC: Jaag en fiel di test	SE: George failed the test
JC: mi wen/ben go a maakit	SE: I went to the market
JC: Siera did rait de leta	SE: Sarah wrote the letter

4.

JC: mi kom bak lang taim	SE: I returned long ago
JC: de man kil de kaaf aredi	SE: The man killed the calf
JC: de pikni ron we yeside	SE: The child ran away yesterday

The Passive

Alleyne (1980) notes that in all the dialects which he has compared, the passive is formed by a noun phrase consisting of a third person plural pronoun, which is used in an indefinite sense, and a verb phrase, for example:

JC: dem shoot im   SE: S/he was shot

Here 'dem' (they) is being used in an indefinite sense. In contrast to English, a major feature of JC lies in the lack of any passive transformation in the verb, and the absence of any agent or doer which is introduced by a preposition. Referring to his work on comparative syntax, Alleyne (1980:97) observes that

the only 'passive' transform which operates in all
these dialects is a deletion/permutation transform
which deletes the indefinite pronoun subject and
permutes the NP object to the beginning of the
sentence.

JC: dem kil im/im kil   SE: He was killed by them.

Another common construction yields the following sentences:

JC: di mango kya iit   SE: The mango can be eaten

JC: di dinna cook   SE: The dinner has been
                                   cooked

JC: di cluoz wash   SE: The clothes have been
                                   washed.

Bailey (1966:39) has also drawn attention to words which she
described as 'process' verbs for example, 'get' and 'ton', which can be
used intransitively.

JC: im get sik   SE: S/he has become ill

JC: dem ton tief   SE: They have become thieves

JC: Ruoz ton tiicha   SE: Rose has become a teacher

The passive construction in SE expresses a wide range of concepts. We
do not know to what extent the absence of the passive in JC impedes the
cognitive processes of concept formation. The acquisition of the
passive represents a multi-stage process which includes the word class
which will be discussed in the following section.

'Is' and other parts of the verb 'to be'

The above heading is being deliberately used here for two reasons.
Firstly, it will permit the different analyses of Bailey (1966) and
Alleyne (1980) to be included. Secondly, it will subsume not only the
copula, but also a number of sentence patterns which cannot be neatly
categorised, but which merit inclusion since they reflect the wide
variation in the way in which this syntactic segment is used in JC.

The equating verb 'a' (Bailey 1966); copula (Alleyne 1980)

The following sentences indicate the use of 'a' in JC where SE uses 'is'.

JC: Jaag a fishaman	SE: George is a fisherman
JC: Ruoz a Mieri fren	SE: Rose is Mary's friend
JC: a plum dat	SE: That is a plum

The locating verb 'de' (Bailey 1966); copula locational and existential (Alleyne 1980)

JC uses 'de' in the following ways.

JC: im de a maakit	SE: S/he is in the market
JC: im de a toun	SE: S/he is in the town
JC: Helin no de-yah	SE: Helen is not here

'de' is also used to form compound words which denote 'is'. This construction has no equivalent in SE:

JC: wata di-de	SE: Water is there
JC: Mieri de-yah	SE: Mary is here
JC: di bord/bud de pan di trii	SE: The bird is on the tree

'En', 'En de'

In JC 'en' and 'en de' are used to indicate 'was' and 'were', for example:

JC: Siera en priti	SE: Sarah was pretty
JC: dem en tiif	SE: There were thieves
JC: di bwai dem en de a maakit	SE: The boys were at the market

Zero copula/omission of the copula (McLaughlin 1968)

In three other sentence types, no particles are used to indicate 'is' or other parts of the verb 'to be'. The first example uses the word 'niem'.

JC: wa yu niem	SE: What is your name?
JC: di pikni niem Jan	SE: The child's name is John
JC: mi niem Piita	SE: My name is Peter

The following groups of sentences illustrate the second sentence type.

JC: di niezberi big	SE: The naseberry is big
JC: unu gud	SE: You are good.

The third category includes the following sentences:

JC: dem sliipin	SE: They are sleeping
JC: di bwai fraitn	SE: The boy is frightened
JC: Rabat shiem	SE: Robert is ashamed
JC: Kieti fraid	SE: Katie is afraid

'Is', 'are', 'was' and 'were' generate many sentences in SE usage. A Creole speaker cannot manipulate the unfamiliar forms of the verb 'to be'. Consequently, s/he cannot produce the infinite sentences of this type required in various situations at school.

DES (The Kingman Report 1988a:19) sets out the range of forms found in English and observes that "if [these] forms are combined in regular patterns, following the rules and conventions of English, they yield meaningful language". The following summary of JC versus SE constructions strongly suggests that a pupil whose home language is JC needs considerable help in acquiring those SE forms which will enable him to produce meaningful language in SE.

3.2.4 JAMAICAN-CREOLE VERSUS ENGLISH CONSTRUCTIONS

Bailey (1966:146) gave the following summary of the principal differences between JC and SE which emerged from her research:

1. There is no subject-verb concord in the Creole; the English verb must agree in number with its subject nominal.
2. The tense system in the Creole is limited to the unmarked verb for general purposes, and a particle specifying 'past'; English has a more fully developed tense system.
3. The Creole verb does not have a distinct passive form.
4. The English verb 'be' bifurcates in the Creole into an equating verb and a locating verb, with no reflex for adjectival predication.
5. The Creole adjective, like the verb, predicates without use of a copula.
6. The Creole nouns and pronouns have both an aggregate and an associative plural; English has the associative plural in the first and second person pronouns only.

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7. In the generic phrase the Creole noun has no article; English nouns require either the singular form with definite article (the horse) or the plural form without article (horses).
8. There is no case system in either noun or pronoun in the Creole, and no indication of sex in third person pronouns.
9. The inverted sentence type is basic in the Creole; its use for emphasis in English is much more limited.

From the data and the discussions above, one may perceive the nature of the systemic contrasts between SE and JC. Even a common etymological core fails to prevent semantic and morphological differences in the lexicon. Even greater divergences emerge in the phonology, morphology and syntax of the two languages. However, structural contrasts alone cannot reveal the true linguistic configuration of Jamaican Creole.

3.3 THE CO-EXISTENCE OF SE AND JC

Bailey (1966:1) drew attention to "various layers of the language structure" in addition to the 'ideal' Creole which she had researched:

Most observers of language in Jamaica have encountered extreme difficulty in distinguishing between the various layers of the language structure, and indeed the lines of demarcation are very hard to draw.

Her comments were based on participant observation of a Creole community in a much later stage of development than that which was discussed in Section 1.4 in Chapter One. Todd (1974:63) also draws attention to the results of the continued co-existence of Creoles and Standard English:

When it is remembered that most extended pidgins and Creole Englishes have been in contact with some form of non-Creole English for over three hundred years it is not surprising that they have been influenced to varying degrees by the prestigious standard.

But, creole societies are characterised as much by patterns of language behaviour as by patterns of language structure. Societal factors therefore continue to influence language behaviour. Cassidy (1971:205) gives considerable support to the statement:

[Creole] has always been thought of as intrinsically less good (not to say bad), and every kind of preferment has been correlated with some command of educated English. The profound social changes of the past thirty years have accentuated this further: upward movement in Jamaican society, accelerating rapidly, has distributed speakers in ever larger

numbers along the language spectrum toward the educated end.

A brief outline of contemporary multi-racial society will make it possible to identify those speakers to whom Cassidy refers. Four analyses will be presented with very little comment.

Contemporary multiracial society

Mintz (1974:316) divides Caribbean societies into two broad sectors and makes the following distinction between them:

> It is not surprising to discover in any Caribbean society that darker persons are over represented in the working classes and under represented in the governing and privileged classes; nor is it startling to find that the middle sectors of wealth and power are often commanded by persons whose physical appearance falls between those who are considered 'white' and those who are considered 'black'.

Miller (1976) identifies four distinct strata in the society. A minute and powerful white and coloured upper class co-exists with a traditional multi-racial middle class, a new emerging black middle class and a lower stratum much larger than all the other three sections combined.

Kuper (1976:63-64) makes particular reference to specific ethnic groups, for example, the East Indians, Chinese, Syrians and Jews, who have fitted into the more privileged sector of the society:

> These ethnic groups each began with distinctive languages, religions, occupations and ties to other countries, and in each case, to varying degrees, such identities persist, and are reflected in special communal organisations.

Finally, Kuper (1976:68) cites the following analysis of the society from the Daily News, 21 August 1973:

> There have always been two Jamaicas. The one which has been visible - like the tip of an iceberg - has been a multiracial bougeois [sic] society of about 100,000 people. These people have controlled the political, social, economic and academic life of the country; they have been articulate and influential so they have been generally accepted as 'Jamaica' ...
> There is another Jamaica - a nation of nearly two million people - who are poor, Black and uneducated. A large proportion is illiterate and uninfluential. So they have been virtually 'invisible'.

The concept of 'two Jamaicas' first developed and used by Curtin (1955) provides a harsh though realistic analysis of contemporary

multi-racial society. Demographic groups whose first language is SE may be motivated to acquire and use other language varieties. Conversely, it is those whose first language is JC, who experience the greatest motivation to acquire SE. However, SE does not serve as a pole of attraction for all JC speakers. An elderly peasant farmer in the depths of rural Jamaica, for example, does not necessarily feel any strong motivation to acquire SE; nor do members of the Rastafarian sub-culture.

Terminology: the continuum

A number of descriptive labels have been used to characterise the English-speaking communities in which intermediate language varieties have developed. Cassidy (1971:204) alluded to a "spectrum of variant features". DeCamp (1971b:350) used the term "linguistic continuum, a continuous spectrum of speech varieties". The terms basilect (broad Creole); mesolect (the intermediate language varieties); and acrolect (Standard English) have also been widely used by linguists. 'Lect' here refers to a 'variety of language located in a social or geographical space'. Todd (1974:63) used the term "decreolization" to describe the linguistic process by which a creole absorbs features of SE. Referring to Jamaica, she described the linguistic configuration as a post-creole continuum.

Continuum or co-systems model

The viability of a continuum model for territories like Jamaica and Guyana would need to be tested against the following question posed by Rickford (1987:15): "Do creole and standard represent discrete and sharply separated categories, or do they represent polar varieties between which there is continuous variation?" The question seeks to distinguish between those Creole-Standard communities where the two languages represent co-systems between which there is little or no interaction, and those where there are intermediate language varieties between Creole and Standard.

Co-systems

Creole specialists have identified a sharp boundary between the Creole French of St. Lucia and Dominica, and English, the official language. This co-systems model is also applicable in those territories where Dutch is the official language. Thus, there is no continuum in Surinam between Dutch and the English-lexicon Creoles, Sranan and Saramaccan; nor in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao with Papiamentu, a Portuguese lexicon Creole.

Territories where Creole French exists with Standard French merit some discussion. Valdman (1977:159) observes that English creolists express the view that a clear line of demarcation separates French from French Creoles. Although he regards this as a somewhat idealised picture of the linguistic configuration, he concedes that in Haiti the Creole shows greater "structural autonomy" than in English-Creole communities. He goes on to observe that "decreolization has not yet affected the morphosyntactic system of Creole French (Créole)". Craig (1983) expresses the view that if there is a continuum between French Creole and Standard French, it is only just beginning and researchers have not been giving serious attention to it. Baker (1989) argues that in territories such as Haiti, Mauritius, Martinique and Guadeloupe no real interaction takes place between the two linguistic systems. Thus, the discrete co-systems model seems applicable in all these countries discussed.

A spectrum of language varieties

DeCamp (1971b:354) provides some justification for rejecting the co-systems model for communities like Jamaica:

> By calling it a continuum I mean that given two samples of Jamaican speech which differ substantially from one another, it is usually possible to find a third intermediate level in an additional sample.

The following examples cited by Todd (1974:64) fulfil the criteria laid down by DeCamp:

English	Intermediate stages	Creole
it's my book	iz mai buk iz mi buk a mi buk dat	a fi mi buk dat
where is it?	wier it iz? wier i de? we i de?	a we i de?
I didn't eat any	ai didn it non a in nyam non mi in nyam non	mi na bin nyam non

For each example cited, there are three intermediate language varieties between SE and JC, and some speakers exist who can produce all three mid-points between JC and English.

The following group of sentences represents a range of stylistic variants in JC, each conveying the same meaning: 'She is pregnant'. (1) - (4) are considered to be very broad Creole indeed. If a speaker has been accustomed to selecting and using variants (1-9) then s/he may not be able to produce sentences (12-14) in situations which require them.

JC

1. beli uman

2. im de briid

3. im ha/hav beli

4. im ha/hav stomak

5. im in di famili/faambli way

6. im in di way

7. im big

8. im faal

9. im gwain ha/hav biebi

Intermediate varieties

10. im ekspektin/g

11. she ekspektin/g

SE

12. She's expecting

13. She is expecting a baby

14. She is pregnant

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3.4. CONTINUUM ANALYSES: PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

A continuum poses at least two related theoretical and methodological problems. One of these is the analysis of individual idiolects and intermediate language varieties. The other is encapsulated in the following question posed by Rickford (1987:16): "Can all or most variants and varieties be linearly ordered in terms of a single dimension such as 'creoleness' or 'standardness'?" The issue here concerns the nature of language variation: should a continuum be classified as 'unidimensional' or 'multidimensional'? A number of linguists have analysed continua in Jamaica and Guyana, but the analyses of Bailey (1971) and DeCamp (1971b) will be used in the discussion. For Guyanese Creole see Bickerton (1973a) and Rickford (1987).

Bailey (1966) was keenly aware of the educational implications of the systemic contrasts between SE and JC which she had uncovered in her research. Bailey (1971:342) indicated that her major objective in analysing the continuum was to "enable the linguist and the teacher alike to determine whether a given specimen of language was standard with incursions from the creole, or creole with incursions from the standard".

Her analytical tool was a "translatability measure", a technique suggested by Gumperz. Bailey recorded stories from three informants and worked out both the SE and JC versions. Then she assigned a lexical, phonological and syntactic score to the original, assessing whether the informant's story lay on the mid-point of the continuum or whether it veered more to the Creole or Standard end. Her analysis located her three informants at the following points on the continuum:

1	3	2
SE		JC

The two ends of the continuum were realised in the same household. While informant 1 used SE in narrating her story, her 13 year old grandson, a Primary school pupil, used JC. According to Bailey (1971:347) "with the exception of the introductory formula *once upon a*

time and a single use of *I* instead of *mi* the story is told in unadulterated creole".

Bailey posits a view of a linear, unidirectional and unidimensional continuum. One problem posed by the analysis was that the continuum of speech varieties contains forms which cannot be easily assessed either in terms of Standard or Creole. Bailey (1971:348) found that the narrative of informant 3 included sentences and phrases which did not lend themselves either to "translation techniques or translatability rules". In dealing with these forms, she was faced with two options. One was to translate SE forms into JC and so distort the text; the other was to exclude them from the analysis. Neither alternative was wholly satisfactory. The most important finding to emerge from her research, however, was that different speakers were capable of controlling different styles.

DeCamp (1971b) analysed the continuum by using an implicational scale – a technique which he developed in 1959. Although the general procedure known as the 'Guttman (1944) Scalogram Analysis' had long been in use in the Social Sciences, this researcher claimed that he was the first to apply it to linguistic data. After a survey of 142 Jamaican communities, DeCamp (1971b:355) selected the following lexical, phonological and syntactic features, which in his opinion, characterised the two ends of the continuum.

+ A child	- A pikni
+ B eat	- A nyam
+ C /θ~ t/	- C /t/
+ D /ð~d/	- D /d/
+ E granny	- E nana
+ F didn't	- F no ben

Seven informants were assessed according to their habitual use [+] or non-use [-] of the items cited. The analysis distributed the seven informants along the continuum in the following order:

5	1	6	2	7	3	4
SE						JC

Linguistic criteria placed informant 5, a young successful, well-educated businessman at the SE end of the scale, and informant 4 at the other pole. According to DeCamp (1971b:358), informant 4 was an "elderly and illiterate peasant farmer in an isolated mountain village". The linguist concluded from his findings that the continuum does seem to be linear. He conceded, however, that geographical variants exist which cannot be easily accommodated. In addition, the sociological correlates of linguistic variation are multidimensional: as for example, age, education, income, poverty, occupation and geographical location.

Continua present two unresolved problems for linguists. The first is that the analysis of individual idiolects does not and cannot reveal the full linguistic knowledge of the speakers. LePage (1966:vi) foreshadowed one of the difficulties when he observed that "the descriptive analyst freezes for a moment what is in fact a highly dynamic system, and describes it in static terms". Bailey (1971) found for example, that the informant whom she placed at the SE end of the continuum was equally fluent in JC. One could hypothesise that such a speaker would also be able to produce a range of intermediate language varieties.

The second is that a speaker's repertoire contains forms which cannot be easily assessed either in terms of Creole or Standard. Both Bailey (1971) and DeCamp (1971b) raised this critical issue in their research findings. Alleyne (1980:187) also discusses this peculiar aspect of Caribbean continuum which "consists in the existence within the continuum of linguistic varieties which are typologically and genetically distinct from one another". The following sentences will illustrate the particular nature of intermediate language varieties:

JC: Broad Creole	JC: Intermediate varieties	SE
mi da/de iit	mi iitin	I am eating
mi a iit	ah iitin	
mi depan iit		

'mi depan iit' cannot be easily explained either typologically or genetically. Rickford (1987) also concedes that not all variants lie along the continuum. I suggest that if language varieties cannot be ordered in terms of a single dimension such as "creoleness" or "standardness" then the continuum model cannot be said to be linear, unidirectional and unidimensional.

LePage (1984) expressed the gravest reservations about the viability of a continuum model which rests on a simplistic linear concept of language. LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985:198) argue that

> such a model necessarily implies a linear sequence of
> varieties within 'a language', with the implication that all
> innovation starts from the same source and travels in the same
> direction; and that innovation in phonology is paralleled by a
> similar sequence of innovation in different parts of the
> grammar and lexicon.

LePage (1984:1) suggests that a multidimensional model of language more aptly describes the "linguistic universes in which each of us moves and has our being". As an alternative to the linear continuum model, LePage (1984) and LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) proposed a multidimensional model of continua gradata. This model is based on sociolinguistic theories which emerged in particular, from surveys of multilingual communities in Belize and St. Lucia (see LePage, Christie, Jurdant, Weeks and Tabouret-Keller (1974) and LePage (1978a). LePage (1984) argues that the proposed model eliminates the distortions in language which have been perpetuated by historical linguistics. Consequently, the multidimensional approach can deal more realistically with the complexity of language variability, the dynamics of language change and the "multi-dimensional linguistic space" occupied by each individual.

3.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In Chapter One, I outlined the circumstances in which a Creole and post-Creole language varieties emerged in Jamaica. In this chapter, I have provided linguistic evidence of the lexis, phonology and the morphological and syntactic characteristics of JC, while at the same time, analysing the differences between the two languages. The analysis highlights the tremendous differential between the home language of a Creole speaker and English, the target aimed at in schools.

What does the language differential mean in practical terms? To a Jamaican who has facility in the use of English and either the Creole or mesolect, the use of language becomes an interesting and creative experience. The speaker intuitively assesses hearer, topic and situation and selects a speech repertoire which is appropriate to the situation. In contrast, an individual with minimal language skills might feel fearful and insecure if he finds himself in a situation where he is incapable of producing an unfamiliar but more socially acceptable form of speech. This latter situation is particularly applicable to some pupils who may be acutely aware of the polarity which exists between the relaxed, informal language which permeates their daily lives, and the more formal one expected at school.

In Section 3.2.1, I indicated that the greatest area of similarity between JC and SE lies in the lexicon. However, no one-to-one correspondence exists between all the lexical items common to JC and SE, as the following verbs show:

JC: fall dong	SE: fall down, fall
JC: galang	SE: go along, proceed
JC: gwaan	SE: go on
JC: mikies	SE: make haste, hurry
JC: pudong	SE: put down
JC: sidong	SE: sit down

In addition, the morphology of the verb in Standard English is rather more complex than the JC equivalent. Compare, for example, 'fall dong',

with to fall, fall, falls, fell, fallen, falling. The acquisition of all the forms which are expected in the classroom situation can pose serious difficulties. The possibilities of pupils becoming inhibited, and experiencing deep feelings of inadequacy and inferiority seem very real.

Chapter One, Section 1.4 has shown that linguistic diversity was a feature of Jamaican society from the beginning of language contact. Research and documentation of the contrasts between the two ends of the linguistic spectrum in 1966 paved the way for continuum analysis. Linguists' attempts to research and establish the nature of the continuum have uncovered the following methodological and theoretical deficiencies:

1. Current analytical tools fail to deal effectively with the structural complexity of different varieties of language.

2. Current analyses fail to reflect the range of a speaker's idiolect, and

3. The nature of the continuum – whether unidimensional or multidimensional – remains controversial.

It is likely that linguists will continue to debate the best ways of conceptualising and analysing the continuum.

Even if the nature of the continuum is in doubt, its existence is not. It is a reality which teachers and pupils must face. LePage's metaphor of a multidimensional linguistic space occupied by each individual is particularly apt. In Jamaica, for example, the "linguistic universe" is characterised by variation. Educated Jamaican English coexists with the SE of expatriates. Regional, geographical, age-group, and stylistic variants of JC co-exist. Other societal factors affect language use, for example, tourism, migration and the social behaviour of those who stigmatise the Creole. In addition, Jamaicans are receptive in forms where they have no productive ability.

To an educator, the continuum pinpoints the plight of some pupils who have had some exposure to formal schooling. They now occupy a

twilight zone somewhere between their first language and the medium of instruction in schools. The problem is relevant not only to Caribbean pupils in territories like Jamaica, Antigua, Trinidad and Guyana, for example, but also to pupils of West Indian backgrounds in Great Britain and black Americans in the United States. At another level, it is part of a wider problem of all lower social class, non-standard speakers of English. The problem is really universal.

The intermediate language varieties may be compared with 'interlanguage' as conceptualised by Selinker (1972). These varieties provide some evidence that pupils have reached a point in the acquisition of the medium of instruction. But minimal shifting of lexis, phonology or syntax will not turn a mesolectal sentence into a SE one. A systemic gap still remains. In the context of the school, both the Creole and all intermediate language varieties are considered 'incorrect' and therefore unacceptable.

The analysis offered in Sections 3.2-3.4 as well as the sources cited, highlight the complexity of a linguistic situation which does not fall neatly into the typology of mother-tongue or of foreign language teaching. Given the structural complexity of the contrast between SE and JC, given the complexities of language behaviour discussed in Chapter Two, the implications for education are daunting indeed. At the (relatively) simple level of structure, how should the teacher approach the matter of zero copula, of uninflected verbs, of no passive transformations and of non-agreement between subject and verb? Each of these seemingly simple grammatical features constitutes a major block between the JC speaker and educated English. In the following chapter I will attempt to explore the pedagogical problems inherent in the linguistic configuration of Jamaica.

CHAPTER 4

THE CREOLE-STANDARD DEBATE:

SOME EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three offered linguistic evidence in support of the argument that significant differences exist between JC, the language of the majority of the school population, and SE, the medium of instruction in schools. This chapter seeks to develop the argument further by probing and uncovering fundamental issues which differences, these differences raise in an educational context. The repetition of the word 'differences' and the use of 'these' is intended to indicate that the discussion will move from the general to the specific: from certain Caribbean territories to Jamaica.

Elementary/Primary education forms the basis of the argument. Two reasons lead me to focus attention on this sector:

1. Universal Elementary education provided a context in which English was first used as a medium of instruction in creole and multilingual communities in the British West Indies from 1833.

2. A close institutional link exists between the All-Age (Primary) and the Secondary schools which form the focus of the empirical investigation.

The term Secondary needs clarification. In the thesis, it will be used with two related meanings. In one sense, it applies to universal post-Primary education, introduced in 1967 and designed for the masses. In another sense, it is used to refer to one of the two school types which comprise this relatively new educational sector. Purpose-built Secondary schools which were funded by the World Bank are discussed more fully in Chapter Five. The other school type which is designated All-Age is really a Primary school in which the age range has been extended from eleven to fifteen years. Miller, W. and Murray (1977:63) describe an All-

Age school as an "institutionalized expediency",[1] while UNESCO (1983) classifies them as vestigial survivors of Elementary schools started in the nineteenth-century for the children of slaves.

The approach

I shall take a historical perspective on the cultural past. I begin by trying to ascertain whether some West Indian educators and members of the ruling élite identified the pedagogical challenges which Elementary education posed in their respective territories.

Next, I present a case history of Jamaican Elementary schools using data from Inspectors' reports for the period 1891-1921. Although the span of thirty years may seem a short one, yet the reports provide sufficient data to assess classroom practice current at the time and the educational ends attained by pupils. More importantly, these reports also reveal how the educators/administrators perceived their task and addressed the problem of language and learning.

Detailed summative evaluation of all curriculum areas is offered in the reports; English being subdivided into four components: Writing (penmanship), Dictation, Reading and Composition. I have, however, elected to deal with composition in some depth. Although all four components draw on the linguistic resources of pupils and on their knowledge of language as presented in Chapter Three, and more fully explicated in DES (The Kingman Report 1988a:19, Appendix 8), written composition makes the greatest demands on a pupil. A theory of difficulty offered later in the Chapter provides some justification for the statement.

Then I put forward a tentative 'needs analysis' based on my insight into the nature of the society and the identification of the learners (Chapter One), and an understanding of the demands of the linguistic configuration (described in Chapter Three). Although certain bodies of theory and research, pedagogical skills and linguistic expertise were non-existent at this period, yet these were urgently needed in the

teaching/learning situation. The needs analysis attempts a basic outline of the series of steps or stages in a plan to launch a language education programme.

Although the plan may well have its weaknesses, yet it will enable us to identify those gaps in the theory and practice of language education which were largely due to contemporary operational constraints. Secondly, it will be possible to assess what system developed (if by default). Thirdly, when we take a synchronic view, we can then determine whether the weight of historical tradition still persists, and fundamental educational issues still remain unresolved. Or conversely, we can assess the extent to which educators have resolved the Creole/Standard debate.

One caveat needs to be mentioned. In the documentation I have cited, the word, creole, does not appear. The beginnings of universal Elementary education predate the study and documentation of these linguistic systems by more than a century. The consequences of this time lag (already referred to in Chapter Two) will become apparent later in the chapter.

4.2 RECOGNITION OF LANGUAGE DIFFERENTIAL: THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

In the introduction to Chapter One, I indicated that the Caribbean region shared a common socio-historical and linguistic history. I begin, therefore, with a basic question: Did Caribbean educators recognise the linguistic diversity which existed in their respective islands/ territories? Data offered below provide an answer to the question.

Jamaica

Reporting on the situation in Jamaica, the Fourth Annual Report of the Ladies Society (1836:6) commented on "the imperfect knowledge which uninstructed Africans have of the English language, so that they are frequently incapable of understanding the simple exhortations of the Missionaries". In the light of the discussion of access in the original

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contact situation (Chapter One), and the linguistic analysis in Chapter Three, this observation is fully justified. What is central to the argument of this chapter, however, is that these Missionaries did not understand that their pupils' Creole constituted a separate linguistic system. Consequently, they assessed the language of the masses in terms of English. The Missionaries' frame of reference may have been influenced by their own education, and by notions of 'pure' highly inflected languages. What is essential here, is that they did recognise the linguistic diversity, but did not understand that English was virtually a new language to be learnt. 'Virtually' distinguishes between a foreign language learning and teaching situation and one which cannot be described as such. A trend was being introduced which was destined to have serious social and educational consequences.

St. Lucia and Dominica

The Latrobe Report on the Windward and Leeward Islands (1838), cited in Gordon (1963:29-33), pinpointed a number of obstacles affecting the spread of education among the Negro population. The language used in St. Lucia and Dominica was identified as the greatest impediment to the development of education. This observation is not surprising since the language referred to was a French Creole. The pattern of French/English colonisation of the islands led to the emergence of a French Creole for the majority, while English was the official language. The differential between (French Creole), pupils' home language, and English, the target aimed at in schools, would certainly have posed pedagogic problems for both teachers and pupils. At school, pupils encountered an alien language, and were taught by teachers who, in all probability, had neither the skills, understanding, insight nor the methodology to teach English as a foreign language. The problem was further exacerbated by the fact that an Elementary/Primary curriculum makes two separate demands on a teacher. Not only does English need to be taught as a subject but language permeates the day, as English is used as a medium of instruction

across the curriculum.

Barbados

Concern to improve educational standards in their schools, led Barbadian schoolmasters to convene a conference in 1849. In presenting the findings of the conference, Rawle, the Principal of Codrington College, identified two major problems. The first was the difficulty of teaching, and conveying meaning in English to speakers of the Barbadian vernacular. He observed that the language of the Bible, the Liturgy and sermons was not understood by the majority of the population.

The written word, the language of textbooks, provided yet another pedagogical problem. Rawle (1849) observed that the language of books was not generally intelligible. The new school population therefore faced an unfamiliar language, an unfamiliar system of cultural referents and a comparatively unfamiliar modality. Caribbean Creoles are still mainly oral languages. The textbooks in use were written in England and were therefore based on a society whose history, customs and beliefs, flora and fauna possessed very little reality for these pupils.

Although Barbadian schoolmasters were concerned about the language differential in the society, the problems of language and education were far less acute in Barbados than in the three societies discussed so far. Creole specialists do not refer to the Barbadian vernacular as a creole, nor to the linguistic configuration as a continuum. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:41) compare and contrast Barbadian English with Jamaican, Belizean and Guyanese Creole:

> Although the Barbadian English vernacular shares a number of features with other, broad creole, varieties of English, it is much closer to British English in its grammar, and contains far fewer Africanisms (as the second edition of DJE reveals) than does, for example, Jamaican or Belizean or Guyanese Creole. Moreover, it contains some features of pronunciation and grammar which are closely associated with the West of England and Ireland.

These two linguists adduce a number of reasons for the differences which they documented. Unlike Jamaica, for example, Barbados developed as a colony with a predominantly white population, comparatively few

slaves and closer working relationship between White and Black. Even today, communities of Whites - largely the descendants of indentured servants - live in Barbados. The topography of this small flat island, facilitates communication. In addition, education has always been a powerful force in the country.

British Guiana

British Guiana was characterised by much greater linguistic diversity than Jamaica, St. Lucia, Dominica and Barbados. Gordon (1963:50) cites the findings of a Commission of Education in British Guiana in 1851 which exemplify the situation:

> The Portuguese of Madeira, the uncivilised African, and the Coolie sunk in the degrading superstitions of his native India, till our fields in common with the Creoles, and with various degrees of civilization and intelligence have alike to be instructed.

The Commission identified the racial, cultural and linguistic diversity of the population - but only in pejorative terms. There was no indication that diversity can enrich a school and a community. The tone of the document is critical and disapproving. It is difficult to imagine that such a Commission had the will to face the pedagogical challenges and devise meaningful solutions.

Trinidad

Gordon (1968:67-96) cites in full the Keenan Report, 1869 which also drew attention to multilingualism: the co-existence of French and English Creoles, as well as Spanish, German and Hindustani. Keenan (1869:73) described Trinidadian classrooms as a "Babel". In support of his claim, he offered the following description of a typical teaching/learning situation:

> In point of fact, the place is quite a Babel. The operation of the Ward schools has, no doubt, extended the use of English to districts where English has been previously unknown. But the diffusion of the English language has been accomplished by the most irrational process that could possibly be conceived. French and Spanish-speaking children have been set to learn English alphabets, English spelling, and English reading, without the slightest reference whatever, in the explanation

of a word or the translation of a phrase, to the only language, French or Spanish, which they could speak or understand.

Keenan was able to go beyond shocked incredulity and began to identify current pedagogical practices. The rote-learning which he observed, struck him as an unsuitable teaching strategy. The tone of the report is concerned and revealed some sensitivity to the plight of learners. He drew attention in particular to the failure of teachers to match or refer the new language being learned to the one pupils already knew. Keenan's idea was excellent in theory, but it would have posed practical problems. It is highly unlikely that the teachers of the period would have been sufficiently adept at more than one language. In a sense, he hinted at the supreme importance of the use of the vernacular in the education process, the seminal principle enshrined in the UNESCO Report (1953) on The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education.

The following points summarise the discussion in this section. The introduction of universal elementary Education in 1833, made British West Indian educators aware but not necessarily tolerant of linguistic diversity in their respective territories. Learners faced unique difficulties in schools where there were at least three different language learning/teaching typologies:

1. Foreign language: French Creole and English as in St. Lucia and Dominica.

2. Neither foreign language nor mother-tongue: English-lexicon vernacular and English as in Jamaica and Barbados.

3. Multilingualism which subsumed both typologies (1) and (2) as in Trinidad and British Guiana.

There was no evidence that Missionaries and other members of the teaching profession were prepared for the complex linguistic typologies which they encountered. There was no evidence that any mechanism was put in place in order to effect a smooth implementation of a language education programme. On the contrary, the first indications of what has become a continuing crisis in West Indian education had begun to appear.

The ruling élite

What was the response of members of the ruling élite to the crisis in education? Two official documents provide an answer. The first was a Circular Despatch from the Lieutenant Governor of Trinidad to the Secretary of State in 1841, which is cited by Gordon (1963:47):

> There is perhaps no British Colony, where, from the mixed nature of its inhabitants... the necessity of some general plan of Education is more required than in Trinidad.
> The number of Immigrants we are receiving renders the demand of an extension of the means of Education of greater consequence every day, and while there appears a willingness and readiness on all sides to aid in this desirable object, yet the difference of languages and religion, make it more imperative that the system to be adopted, should be one, under the control of Government, not only with a view to make it accessible to all parties and creeds, but to cause the language spoken to be that of the Country to which this Colony belongs.
> Your Lordship will not fail to think this most essential when I tell you that two-thirds of the natives still speak exclusively either Spanish or French, and I conceive it absolutely necessary that people living under British rule and claiming the benefit of British subjects should be able to read the laws by which they are governed.

The second document was a Circular Despatch of 26 January, 1847 cited by Gordon (1963:58) which suggested that industrial and normal schools should "diffuse a grammatical knowledge of the English language as the most important agent of civilisation for the coloured population of the colonies".

Although the first despatch referred specifically to Trinidad, it raised a number of issues which were applicable to the region as a whole. The Lieutenant Governor stressed the importance of education in the society, and acknowledged that there were factors and conditions which were conducive to its development. However, he was equally aware that the language differential was a crucial issue, a powerful deterrent to the spread of education.

The document clearly embodied the concept of a Standard language (already discussed in Chapter Three and an official language hinted at in Chapter One). A phrase such as "to cause the language spoken to be that of the Country to which this Colony belongs" clearly enunciated the socio-political rôle assigned to the English language. But potentially,

English had another more immediate rôle in serving as a common language in the multi-ethnic post-emancipation society. It should help to ensure horizontal integration across geographical and ethnic divisions, and vertical integration (at least in theory) between different strata of the society.

Having established the supreme importance of English in the society, the Lieutenant Governor raised the important issue of access to English. While accepting the linguistic diversity of Trinidad, he clearly expressed the need for this language to be "accessible to all parties and creeds". The acquisition of English has far-reaching, long-term social and educational implications and discriminates in favour of some members of a society. It may have been seen as a major change agent - a means of ensuring equity in the society.

The document was well ahead of its time, foreshadowing modern educational thought in a number of ways which will become apparent later in the chapter. The Lieutenant Governor revealed such a strong political will to address the crucial issue of language and education that he was prepared to suggest taking the initiative, setting a precedent by organising a "system" under the "control of Government". Such use of language implied a coherent National Plan. This was a daring new concept at that time, as the development and spread of education in the Caribbean and the Commonwealth has largely been the result of the efforts of Missionaries and religious bodies. What plan should have been devised and implemented not only in Trinidad but also in other British West Indian territories? Later in the chapter, I will attempt to provide an answer to this highly hypothetical question.

The following points summarise the discussion in Section 4.2. Some West Indian educators recognised that the language typologies in their territories were certainly not monolingual. They understood, at least in outline, the potential problems which pupils would experience in schools where English was the medium of instruction. In two separate despatches, members of the ruling élite clearly delineated the rôle of English, the

official language. The first of the two despatches strongly emphasised that all members of multi-ethnic Trinidad should have access to English which would serve as a common language in the community. So important were these issues that an education system to be controlled by Government was further suggested. So seminal, so relevant were the issues raised, so universally applicable that I will use this document as the starting point to outline some of the thinking and the mechanisms which should have been put in place in order to address the pedagogical issues identified. (See needs analysis in Section 4.4).

4.3 INSIDE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS: A CASE STUDY

Now the argument shifts from the British West Indies in general, to Jamaican Elementary schools and the reports of Inspectors from 1891-1921. Before dealing specifically with written composition, pupils' overall achievement will be briefly mentioned.

Kerrich (1893:ix) presented the first account of the educational ends achieved by pupils:

> It is too sweeping an assertion to say that many of the children for whose education the Government pays are at present learning nothing at all in any part of the school work, but I have no hesitation in stating that in the secondary subjects, which are taught collectively and not individually, large numbers of children are practically left untaught.

There can be no learning in which language does not play a part, so that under-achievement itself implies under-achievement through language.

In making the following assessment of the state of English teaching, Sterry (1895:25) strongly supported Kerrich's claim:

> With regard to English, which I look upon as the most neglected of all the subjects taught in the schools of my district ... children leave school from the highest standard, no better equipped in the correct use of the English language than the people surrounding them who have in many instances never been to school at all. [Emphasis added].

Sterry went on to establish a causal relationship between the quality of English teaching and pupils' achievement across the curriculum. He argued that it was quite pointless to expect pupils to do

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good work in other subjects of the curriculum when the medium of instruction itself was "very little understood, often misunderstood and mistaught or neglected ... in the great majority of our schools". He made sure to point out that he was not merely making generalisations; rather, his assessment was based on data which he had gathered from a wide range of sources.

Sterry made no distinction whatever between the language usage of those who were totally unschooled, and those who had completed their education. When he established parity between these two groups, he was evaluating usage within the exact and narrow constraints of written English. Sterry's assessment revealed only one level of linguistic reality: that of JC speakers' inability to produce SE.

From our understanding of the systemic contrasts between SE and JC and the continuum between these two polar lects, we can reconstruct another level of linguistic reality. Sterry did not fully understand that pupils had a linguistic system which was distinct from SE. Consequently, his methods of assessment could not uncover, for example, changes in a pupil's productive ability in SE, and the development of intermediate language varieties. The thorough understanding of the differential between a pupil's home language and that of the school – of crucial importance to educators/ administrators was lacking.

More than two decades later, McLaughlin (1917:12) in his summative evaluation of the work in Elementary schools, identified what he described as "lamentable weakness". He expressed an opinion, rarely if ever voiced so explicitly, that the weakness was not due to "any inherent want of capacity in the scholars". In a sense, he was drawing attention to the tremendous waste of human potential.

Written composition

This section focuses attention on written composition as this component of English provides a researcher with a rich source of data on specific linguistic and pedagogical problems. Kerrich (1898:12) stated

that "in writing, Composition remains, and appears likely to remain by far the weakest point". The same sentiments were expressed in slightly differing ways in the Annual Reports for the years 1899, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1919, 1920, 1921. What is worth noting is that, in any given year, similar statements about the pronounced weaknesses in children's written English were made by different Inspectors. In this way, the gloomy picture was reinforced for various parts of the island.

Whenever the word improvement was mentioned in the reports, it was usually qualified by the words 'no', 'slight', 'limited' or 'negligible'. Young (1914:13) observed that "there is no marked improvement to report in Composition which, like Grammar, is a weak subject". Mercier (1917:12) commented on the fact that "a slight improvement has been shown in this subject, but there is too large a number of schools in which, while the work is not worse, it cannot be reported as better than in the previous year".

One of the most insightful diagnoses was made by Hicks (1896:13), who offered specific details of pupils' language habits:

> The most prominent defect is the mistaken use of tenses, and this defect is very general. Scholars in writing dictation very frequently omit the final 'd' or 'ed' of the past tense of verbs, and this omission might possibly be attributed to some lack of distinct enunciation on the part of the Inspector, were it not that it is so generally the habit of scholars in their written exercises to drop these terminations, sometimes putting them in, however, where they should not appear.

Hicks concluded that the "habit of making a wrong use of the present and past tense is so deeply fixed that it will not be corrected by a single exercise".

Hicks identified two distinct, contrasting sets of language habits. The first was, what seemed to be, the deletion of certain terminal endings of words which were required in English. The second was hypercorrection[2] or the addition of unnecessary inflectional endings. His use of the terms "mistaken use of the tenses" and "prominent defects" showed his misunderstanding of the linguistic reality which confronted

him. What was urgently needed were educators/administrators who could have taken the analysis further, striking at the heart of the problem in understanding that pupils were using the only linguistic system familiar to them. It seems reasonable to assume that pupils had not yet acquired the linguistic resources which the written Standard demands.

The theme which emerged from Hicks' assessment of pupils' written composition, recurred with slight variation throughout the reports. For example, Bradbury (1903:8) asserted that "the aspirate is very commonly misplaced or not used at all, whilst very many children seem incapable of pronouncing the final -ed, -t, or -s". Deerr (1908:9) observed that

> in Standards II and III children seem totally unable to
> write a grammatical sentence, for even if the grosser forms
> of error are absent, the final 's' in both verbs and nouns
> presents a universal stumbling block.

Lockett (1911:9) added that "grammar continues the least successful part of English: verbs and the cases of nouns are the most fruitful sources of mistakes".

Foreign language or native tongue?

> In a sense, Deerr (1906:5) broke new ground when he observed that

> faults of speech and local idioms are faithfully reproduced
> and, even if correct otherwise, there is present an
> indefinable sense of a translation, sometimes literal, as
> though the child were not employing its native tongue,
> which, as a matter of fact, it is not.

A daring new concept appeared for the first time: that English might not, after all, be the native language of the pupils, and that the children's performance carried all the stress of "translation", hard as this notion might be for the educator and the society to grasp. Deerr's later comments placed him well ahead of linguistic observers of his time.

Six years later, Deerr (1912:13) added that most English compositions "might be a rendering from another language by an indifferent translator so ungrammatical and lacking in idiom is the English and unusual the application of words and phrases". Deerr (1915:12) went on to conclude that "the spoken idiom must frequently crop up in written work in a country where the people read in

one language and talk in another". He identified the crux of the problem
- that pupils were, in a sense, coping with a foreign language.

Teachers' and pupils' use of the vernacular

Some Inspectors attempted to find other reasons for the problems of
language and learning which they encountered in Elementary classrooms.
Sterry (1895:25) attributed the low level of pupil performance to two
interrelated factors:

> Teachers allow their scholars to use a corrupt patois in
> school, and themselves to teach and question in anything but
> correct English. At the same time, they are undertaking to
> teach English Grammar and Composition.

Sterry's findings on the oral language of the classroom offered new
insight only because he noted, for the first time, <u>the nature and</u>
<u>importance</u> of teacher-pupil dialogue in learning. Drawing the conclusion
that such "corrupt patois" must necessarily inhibit the acquisition of
SE, he did not follow the implications of Deerr's translation notion:
that in order to communicate at all, teachers must at some point
acknowledge and use the language of their pupils. Not surprisingly,
Sterry had no solution to offer to teachers whose usage represented . a
mesolectal language variety rather than English.

Mornan (1913:12) not only criticised pupils' use of the vernacular,
but like Sterry, he blamed teachers for their failure to correct their
pupils:

> Frequently I have heard the children use the most outlandish
> *patois* in other lessons and have been surprised that no
> attempt was made to correct them, the teacher apparently being
> oblivious to the fact that unless he can secure the correct
> *speech* in the schoolroom he will be unable to secure good *reading*
> anywhere.

Three years later, Mornan (1916:13) strongly criticised teachers'
language usage touching unawares on the critical pedagogical issue of
mother-tongue and second-language teaching:

> In visiting the schools I have felt vexed to hear a teacher
> who ought to know better speak to the little children in the
> lower standards in the same broken English they are familiar
> with in their homes.

The emotional overtones of these three reports are reflected in the use of such epithets as "corrupt patois", "most outlandish patois" and "broken English". Chapter Two drew attention to this aspect of the language issue. The use of similar expressions by individuals placed at the highest levels of the educational system could mean that pupils might become doubly marginalised[3] in the educational system.

In addition to the observation that pupils lacked exposure to English in schools, Inspectors commented on a similar lack of access in the wider society. Kerrich (1899:12) expressed the view that the weaknesses in Composition were predictable because "very few of the scholars speak or hear anything approaching correct English, out of schools at any rate". Lockett (1906:10) reinforced Kerrick's statement, observing that the efforts of the school were futile against the stronger influences of the home:

> The teaching and practice in school hours are almost powerless
> to effect a radical improvement in the case of the large
> majority, so many are the counteracting influences of home
> life.

The consensus of opinion in the reports was that neither teachers' spoken language nor pupils' speech and written work approximated closely to English usage. In the words of Mercier (1916:14) "English is still spoken and written in the schools with much disregard of the rules governing the language".

At least, the Inspectorate had learned that there was an enormous gap between pupils' productive abilities in SE, and the educational outcomes which summative evaluation of pupils' work should have revealed. Neither the Missionaries, teachers nor the Inspectorate fully understood the interrelated factors which masked pupils' abilities and denied them access to SE. More importantly, they could not grasp the pedagogical implications of such a socially and linguistically complex situation. How would these obvious gaps in theory be reflected in the practice of language teaching? What teaching methodology did the Inspectors recommend?

Teaching strategies

In order to help the learner to acquire the ability to negotiate meaning and use the resources of the language, Kerrich (1894:xii) suggested the following:

> Everything written should be carefully corrected by the Teacher who should draw a line under every mistake in spelling, or piece of faulty construction or incorrect grammar. The child should then be required to re-write the exercise correcting each mistake to the best of his ability. The Teacher should then correct it again and in this second correction he should not only indicate the mistakes but tell the scholar what the right expression is, and make him write it out on his slate or in the Book ten or twenty times.

In subsequent years, Correction was recommended by Kerrich (1899); Deerr (1900, 1906); Hicks (1905, 1914); Young (1911); Duff (1911, 1914); Lockyer (1914) and Mercier (1916).

The reports virtually posited Correction as a teaching method, and not as remediation where necessary. Correction, as advocated by these members of the Inspectorate, was similar to meaningless rote-learning. If pupils were operating in a monolingual teaching/learning situation then correction may be used for remediation. Where a child is dealing with forms which are required in SE but are non-existent in JC, then it is unrealistic to expect him/her to correct "each mistake to the best of his ability".

The term 'mistake' itself is really a misnomer - pupils were in reality using the only linguistic forms available to them. Another interpretation of this aspect of pupils' writing is that they have not been taught SE. A modern language teacher scarcely expects a student to write Latin, Spanish or French prose composition until s/he has been helped to acquire the resources of the new language.

The Correction technique could create new problems instead of facilitating pupils' writing development. It is likely that teachers regarded members of the Inspectorate as authority figures; consequently they would carry out the recommendation and instruct their pupils "to draw a line under every mistake in spelling or piece of faulty construction or incorrect grammar". Such a strategy might well have had

the effect of inhibiting pupils, stifling creativity and spontaneity and preventing 'risk taking'. It would be extremely difficult for pupils to correct an error twenty times without internalising a feeling of failure.

Closely linked with the Correction strategy was the assumption that pupils' 'carelessness' was a major determinant of the quality of the written work produced. Deerr (1906, 1913, 1914), Lockett (1910), Duff (1911) and Mornan (1916) therefore levelled sharp criticism at pupils' carelessness. It was Duff (1911:9), however, who blamed the teachers, observing that "it was most unwise [for teachers] to allow children to write carelessly". Consequently, members of the Inspectorate recommended 'carefulness' as a strategy which would obviate the worst mistakes.

Another method which was suggested, centred on the 'Eradication' of Creole. This was based on the premise that eradication of the vernacular was a pre-requisite for the acquisition of English. Deerr (1900:9) hinted at this when he stated that "the general excuse is that children write the vernacular, but consistent and patient correction by the teachers must eradicate the worse faults". Deerr's brilliant analysis on page 103 was not matched by the solution he now recommends. His inability to take his unique insight to its logical conclusion highlights the gap between the linguistic and pedagogical expertise which was needed and that which was available.

Neilsen's (1916:13) solution was very similar to that proposed by Deerr:

> But a good many more teachers should recognise the need for using the opportunity afforded at school for assailing the vernacular by interesting the scholars in the use of good English.

Words like 'eradicate' and 'assail' cannot be appropriately applied to the child's first, and in some instances, only language.

However, an even more extreme view was expressed by a particularly influential Educational adviser to the West Indies, Hammond (1941:2):

> In one important respect, however, the position of St. Lucia is different from that of other territories in that patois is

> the language of most of the population. This patois is of no
> cultural value and there is no question of preserving a racial
> language as in Wales or Quebec. The aim should be not to make
> the children bilingual, but ultimately to eliminate patois and
> make English the mother tongue.

Thus, he favoured nothing less than the total eradication of the French Creole of St. Lucia, the principal vehicle of a people's cultural heritage.

Writing as they did within the first two decades of the twentieth century, Deerr and Neilsen might not then have been in a position to understand the supreme importance of the vernacular in a child's social, personal and educational life. It is worth noting, however, that in the Report of the Proceedings on the Imperial Educational Conference (1927) and Educational Policy in the British Colonial Empire (1936), the vernacular was assigned an important place in the education system. Hammond's[4] recommendation, therefore, was not forward looking: it rather contravened the spirit and letter of the two colonial documents cited. His recommendations represent a deep-seated denial of the authenticity of a people and their language, and show a marked insensitivity to the sociological, psychological and educational implications of the eradication of the French Creole of St. Lucia.

A theory of difficulty

In the assessment of cross-curricular achievement in Elementary schools Kerrich observed that pupils had learnt nothing at all. Sterry, who focused more narrowly on English, established parity between those who had completed schooling and the unschooled. A causal relationship exists between competence in the medium of instruction and achievement across the curriculum. Consequently, brief mention will be made of the four components of English on which these Inspectors based their assessment.

I begin by suggesting a scale of difficulty in these four components of SE usage. Writing (penmanship) seems the least demanding, testing as it does psycho-motor skills, a knowledge of the writing system and the

ability to imitate a given model. Dictation depends on the quality of listening, familiarity with the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of SE, accurate interpretation of the speech of a particular speaker and a knowledge of writing (see boxes 1 and 2, DES The Kingman Report 1988a:19, Appendix 8).

Reading

Reading presents greater difficulties than either of the two components already discussed. The situations in which readers are placed could be said to fall under the following three typologies:

1. Monolingual, in the sense that the pupils' own language and that of the home and his peers, is the same as the one in which he is acquiring reading skills.

2. Bilingual, where pupils are already fluent in a first language and are trying to gain competence in all the modalities of a new language which has no formal linguistic relationship with the first.

3. A typology which falls somewhere between (1) and (2) since the pupils' habitual language is an English-lexicon Creole while the language in which reading skills must be acquired is English.

The situation under discussion falls under category (3) and could be said to pose greater problems than category (1). Some of the major difficulties have been noted by Goodman (1969), Craig (1973) and McLeod and Levine (1975). Stubbs (1980:139-140) pinpoints the difficulty as he asserts that

> in the initial stages, then, it is plausible to assume that any mismatches between the child's spoken language and what he has to read, or between his experience and the contents of his books, are likely to be obstacles to learning.

Ways of minimising difficulties for these learners cannot be meaningfully pursued here. However, Stubbs further suggests that, as most educators agree, a child's vernacular is the best medium for teaching initial literacy. He indicates that there has been a growing interest in resource materials which reflect a child's own interests and experience of language. Stubbs suggests that if this approach is not

taken, then reading makes two separate demands on the learner, learning a new language or dialect while mastering the complex skills inherent in the reading process.

Writing: the differences between speech and writing

The art, the act and the craft of writing pose enormous challenges for pupils as well as teachers who seek to assess written work and to act as facilitators of the writing process. Theorists and researchers offer different perspectives on writing. For example, a spate of literature and research now seeks to determine and establish a kind of continuum between speech and writing. However these studies largely draw on oracy of children whose language is the same as that aimed at in schools. There is no comparative body of research which gives any insight into the acquisition of oracy in SE for speakers of creole or non-standard languages. It does not seem meaningful to pursue this line of argument.

However, a more fruitful approach centres on the similarities and differences between speech and writing. Stubbs (1986:91-92) identifies separate dimensions of these two modalities while pointing out ways in which these dimensions co-occur, are independent, or vary:

written	spoken
formal	casual
public	private
planned	spontaneous
non-interactive	participatory
not co-present	face-to-face
standard	non-standard

I shall deal with those dimensions which emphasise the gap between speech and writing and highlight difficulties which these pupils must have encountered in their writing.

Writing is 'non-interactive', while speech is characterised by the active participation of two or more individuals. In a speech act, alternate exchanges take place between speaker and listener. What the

speaker says is influenced by the reactions of the listener both linguistically and/or paralinguistically. Thus there are opportunities for repetitions, rephrasing, simplification and change in pace. Davies and Widdowson (1974:164) note that

> the reactions of the listener provide feedback to the speaker who modifies what he says, and the manner in which he says it, accordingly. In communication by speech there are always two participants actively involved, each monitoring the other.

Speech acts and verbal interaction take place in social/socio-cultural contexts where speaker and listener might be said to share certain pre-existing knowledge and assumptions about the topic, situation and even about one another. Unlike the speech act where participants meet face to face, the writer is alone, without support from an immediate context. Writing is, in this sense, de-contextualised.

A speech act is characterised by the use of a range of subtle paralinguistic features which tend to elucidate meaning and complement the actual utterance. In the written text, the weight lies almost entirely on the linguistic elements. Davies and Widdowson (1974:164) explain the use of the word 'almost':

> Certain graphological devices [exist] which fulfil something of the function of the paralinguistic elements in speech - punctuation, underlining, capitalization and so on - but compared to the resources available to spoken language they are very few, and very limited in communicative capacity. Written language has, therefore, to make use of the language system in such a way as to compensate for the absence of the variety of paralinguistic elements available in speech situations.

"To make use of the language system in such a way as to compensate for the absence of paralinguistic elements," presupposes that the writer has the linguistic resources to make that possible.

The absence of feedback and paralinguistic features in a shared context contributes to the fact that even the simplest text has a vast number of conventions, a particular pattern of words within which thoughts and feelings have to be contained or ordered. In addition, the writer is confronted by the fullest possible range of SE syntactic devices, and there is a greater need for adherence to the formal rules

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governing the language.   In commenting on this aspect of the difference

between spoken and written language, Smith (1984:3) notes that

> written language in use displays all its own relevant
> conventions.   It demonstrates its own appropriate grammar,
> punctuation and manifold stylistic devices, and is a showcase
> for the spelling of words.

In the light of the definition of Standard English given in Chapter

Three,   the written code must fulfil certain expectations.   As

Stubbs (1986:229) points out, "certain aspects of written English ... are

peculiarly English, in that they assume native knowledge of the English

language".

Thus the non-interactive nature of writing,   the absence of

paralinguistic features,   the decontextualised nature of the whole

exercise combine to pose serious challenges to a writer.   These

difficulties must be greater for the creole speaker who has not yet

acquired the linguistic resources of SE.   A thorough examination of the

Inspectors' reports reveals gaps in the theory and practice of education.

The educational system was not geared to meeting the needs of learners.

4.4 A NEEDS ANALYSIS: IN RETROSPECT

The Circular Despatch from the Lieutenant Governor of Trinidad, 1841

drew attention to the need of a co-ordinated system of education which

was controlled by Government.   The previous discussion of this document

(pages 98-100) and the low level of pupils' achievement uncovered in the

Inspectors' reports, now prompt me to answer the hypothetical question

posed on page 99.   It therefore becomes necessary to take a giant leap

backward in time and (in retrospect) suggest that which was essential

from the inception of universal Elementary education in 1833.

A national system of education which subsumed a specific plan for

language education was urgently needed in order to address the problems

which were identified in Section 4.2.   I suggest that such a plan should

have been centred on theories and strategies developed by an

interdisciplinary team, and informed by societal needs as well as those

of learners and teachers. Such approaches would include:

1. Sociological theory based on a society in transition.

2. Social and psychological aspects of language behaviour.

3. Child development and theories of language acquisition.

4. Expertise in creole linguistics, a thorough understanding of the linguistic configuration and the systemic contrasts between a pupil's home language and SE.

5. Expertise in curriculum design and implementation both at the national level and with adaptation at the local level.

For any degree of success, such a plan required – above all else – trained educators at all levels of the educational system. There would need to be language specialists skilled in the techniques of teaching English as a second language and/or as a mother tongue. It falls outside the scope of the thesis to explore the issue of teaching strategies for English as a Mother Tongue (EMT) and English as a Foreign Language (EFT). More importantly, it is not possible to discuss the synthesis of both approaches which may be relevant to the Creole-Standard context.

I suggest, however, that the simplest most fundamental principle which needed to be applied in the Creole-Standard context is that <u>pupils should be taught.</u> Positive intervention on the part of teachers is absolutely crucial. Children must be <u>taught</u> all those forms of English language already referred to in DES (<u>The Kingman Report</u> 1988a:19, Appendix 8). In first language acquisition, children experiment with and use language in order to get things done. Schools should attempt to provide opportunities for the functional uses of language, for negotiation, collaboration and the sharing of meanings. For example, pupils could become involved with narrative – myths, local legends, and a range of <u>short</u> stories. As they listen to, tell, retell, discuss, and attempt to write, they will gradually and painlessly internalise narrative schema and appropriate language.

Language specialists should be able to devise curricula designed to fit the child: based on what social scientists and linguists know about

how children learn. Such specialists should also be able to generate sound, creative methodology particularly relevant to the Creole-Standard context with interesting supportive resource material. These insights, skills and understanding would then be reflected in developmentally appropriate classroom practice.

The importance of teacher education cannot be overestimated. While it is unrealistic to suggest qualifications for teacher trainees,[5] it is absolutely essential to state that each student teacher should at least have mastered the English language. Initial teacher education would be heavily influenced by the theories and insights outlined above and the needs of teachers and learners. Support systems would need to be provided by a cadre of expert educators and administrators. Language specialists should be assigned to schools. Their rôle would have been to offer professional support and advice, and to monitor the work of teachers – providing at least formative and summative evaluation. In-Service training could centre on and seek to strengthen weaknesses identified in the classroom.

The needs of learners are central to any discussion of pedagogical issues, but it seems meaningless even to identify and discuss perceived needs of learners unless teachers are sufficiently prepared to cope with the social and linguistic needs of their pupils. I suggest that for a creole speaker to make any positive achievement in the educational system there would need to be a cadre of teachers who

1. have a thorough understanding of and an objective approach to the significant differences between the two linguistic systems;

2. are sensitive enough to understand the supreme importance of pupils' vernacular to their social and personal development;

3. attempt to bridge the gap between home and school by accepting whatever language pupils use; and

4. have internalised those strategies and approaches which would help pupils gradually to acquire those characteristics of SE which are non-existent in JC.

The rôle of English in the curriculum: learners' needs

I have already mentioned that the Circular Despatch foreshadowed current educational thinking. Two highly influential reports help one to clarify and elucidate three needs of learners which appeared in the document: one explicitly stated, two others in embryonic form. DES (The Kingman Report 1988a, Chapter Two) discusses in depth the importance of language in adult life, then focuses sharply on the child and the crucial rôle which language plays in a pupil's social, intellectual, personal and aesthetic development. DES (The Cox Report 1988b, Chapter Three) further elaborates on the views of the Kingman Report and deals with the aims of the English curriculum and five interrelated views of the rôle of English in the curriculum. Three of these will be dealt with - the adult needs view, the personal growth view, and the cross-curricular view.

The adult needs view

The Lieutenant Governor stated that it was "absolutely necessary that people living under British rule and claiming the benefit of British subjects should be able to read the laws by which they are governed". This could be interpreted as the 'adult needs view'. DES (The Cox Report 1988b:12) explains that

> an 'adult needs' view focuses on communication outside the school: it emphasises the responsibility of English teachers to prepare children for the language demands of adult life, including the workplace, in a fast-changing world.

Since nineteenth-century Elementary education was the terminal point for the school population, this view is highly relevant to the discussion. One could therefore make the assumption that if individuals in a society should be able to read, write, listen to and speak English in such a way as to meet the demands of adult life, then these skills would have to be gained in the Elementary schools of the period.

The personal growth view

This view focuses on the child as an individual and as a social being. DES (The Cox Report 1988b:11) points out that "the personal and social development of the child are inextricably linked", while DES (The Kingman Report 1988a:10) argues that the "shaping of personality and the exploration of self are inextricably bound up with language development". Individuals can hardly participate fully in the life of the community without gaining access to the Standard official language (an issue already raised in the Despatch). But in the process of acquiring the official language, an individual's personal and social development may be affected by negative judgements of his/her language. This statement is particularly applicable in Creole-Standard communities or in any society where co-existing languages differ in status. In delineating the personal growth view of the rôle of English in the curriculum, DES (The Cox Report 1988b:12) issues the caveat that "children's own native languages or dialects should be respected by the school". This statement not only strikes at the heart of the JC-SE conflict, but it points the way forward towards which future pedagogical practice needs to go.

The cross-curricular view

Taught as a separate subject, English has a crucial rôle in all other curriculum areas. Whatever natural abilities a child may have in Mathematics, Physics, Music or Art, these can hardly be developed without English. DES (The Cox Report 1988b:12) observes that

> a 'cross-curricular' view focuses on the school: it emphasises that all teachers (of English and other subjects) have a responsibility to help children with the language demands of different subjects on the school curriculum: otherwise areas of the curriculum may be closed to them.

A cross-curricular view focuses equally on the intellectual, social and personal needs of the child as his/her development progresses. A child's ability to make meaning out of the curriculum depends on his/her ability to listen and understand, speak, read and write the language which is the medium of instruction.

4.5 UNMET EDUCATIONAL NEEDS: A DIACHRONIC VIEW

In Section 4.4, I proposed a tentative needs analysis which subsumed a national language education plan. No such plan was ever implemented in Jamaica, or for that matter in the West Indies. Indeed the Reports on the Past and Present State of Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions (1850-1851:32) cited a Despatch from Governor, the Right Honourable Sir Charles Gray to the Right Honourable Earl Grey. The Governor admitted that "there is no general system of education in the colony, nor any general support of it, except to a very limited extent; but there is a general sense of the advantages of education". The lack of a clearly coherent policy is a recurrent theme in the literature. Mayhew (1938:39) reflecting on education policy in the Colonial Empire observed that

> in practically all our dependencies the Government at first
> ignored education being concerned with the maintenance of law
> and order, defence from external attack, and economic
> development. Education they left to the Christian missions to
> whom they gave usually a free hand.

Commenting specifically on educational development in the West Indies, West Indies Royal Commission Report (1945:95) states the situation unequivocally:

> Reference has frequently been made above to 'education in the
> West Indies', and to educational policy. The deduction must
> not be drawn that there is any agency which formulates such a
> policy, or that such a system exists, for the Caribbean area
> as a whole.

The Report drew attention to the fact that any uniformity which existed in the Caribbean region was attributable to a similarity of history rather than any other factor. Here, we are beginning to identify a cycle of deficiencies, a series of unmet educational needs.

The educators/administrators themselves lacked exposure to the linguistic data documented in Chapter Three, and the body of theory and skills suggested in the needs analysis (Section 4.4). The underdevelopment/lack of development of these areas of study in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries are in themselves extenuating circumstances. However, the gaps in theory had serious repercussions on the educational system and on language teaching.

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Deficiencies were particularly crucial in the field of teacher education which was itself beleaguered by the two major interrelated problems. The first was the difficulty of finding a pool of teacher trainees with adequate basic education and fluency in SE. The Sterling Report (1835) commented on the lack of adequately trained local teachers. The Latrobe Report (1838) was more explicit and drew attention to the defective education of some teachers whose basic education was limited to Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.

Two decades later, the situation had not changed to any appreciable extent as the following entry requirements of a Jamaican teachers' college indicate. Gordon (1963:185) cites a Mico College Report, 1858 which laid down the education of potential teacher trainees: "to write tolerably, read fluently, spell correctly, the fundamental rules of Arithmetic, outlines of Scriptural history, rudiments of English Grammar". These qualifications could be described as basic, but acceptable at that point in time. What is more significant, however, is that teacher trainees for Primary, and, more recently, for the Secondary sector, have always been drawn from the lower socio-economic groups. Since there is a link between language use and social and demographic groupings, then this aspect of teacher education is highly relevant to the Creole-Standard controversy.

While recognising the need for better educated teachers, Williams (1891:xv) issued a caveat, "we want better educated Teachers, no doubt, but not Teachers from a higher social class". At one level, his assessment of the perceived needs was educational, at another it was social. His suggestion/recommendation revealed his awareness of the link between education and social structure. However, Williams (1891:xv) clearly explained why it was not desirable that teachers should be drawn from a higher social class:

> One of the evils with which our schools are at present
> charged - the unfitting of the scholars for the humbler walks
> of life - would certainly be increased by their employment.

A precedent had been set, a trend established, a mould devised for

shaping teacher education for the masses.

4.6 UNMET EDUCATIONAL NEEDS: A SYNCHRONIC VIEW

It remains for us now to consider whether the educational/ pedagogical issues which have emerged from the data have been resolved. In discussing the problems inherent in the use of English as a medium of instruction in four West Indian territories: (Jamaica, Belize, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago), LePage (1968a:436) argued that "the educationists themselves - indigenous and imported 'experts' alike have lacked the basic training in linguistics that would have enabled them to assess the situation correctly". LePage's observation was fully justified then, since Creole linguistics was still a relatively new field.

Today, Jamaica as well as the larger Caribbean territories, can provide the indigenous experts mentioned in the needs analysis. A cadre of sociologists, educational psychologists, linguists, language specialists and curriculum developers does exist. However, current theory and practice in education lag far behind the available body of theory and research. Teacher education for Primary and Secondary schools has not been informed by the linguistic and pedagogical expertise which is available, for example at the Mona, Cave Hill and St. Augustine campuses of the University of the West Indies. To date, there has been no clearly articulated plan for language education. The curricula in the colleges have never really included a module which is specifically geared to preparing teachers to deal with the linguistic realities which confront them daily. One notable exception[6] needs to be mentioned.

Since 1977, one Teachers' College has introduced a course called the 'Double-option',[7] which is specially tailored for 'specialist' teachers of English. The English Department includes a qualified linguist who teaches the more technical aspects of the course. It took five years to effect this innovation with the help and support of the external examiner, and the approval of the Joint Board of Teacher Education, University of the West Indies.

Teacher education continues to be beleaguered by the same two fundamental problems which were inherent in the system from its inception. One was and still is the low entry level of trainees. Traditionally, a major concern of teacher education has been to fill in the gaps in the general education of student teachers. The Annual Report of the Education Department (1937:15) struck to the heart of the problem:

> Were elementary school teachers recruited from the secondary schools, as they logically should be, less time need be spent on subject matter and more devoted to professional training. At present most of the time is occupied in making up the deficiencies in the education of the students.

A similar theme has been expressed with very little variation by Murray (1972), Myers (1972) and Wilson (1972).

Social stratification and the separation of educational routes implied in the concept of the two Jamaicas is the other important factor. Traditionally, universities prepare teachers for High/Grammar schools, and teachers' colleges for the Elementary/Primary and Secondary sector. The hierarchical pattern in teacher education and in the school system has remained a part of the fabric of Jamaican society. Teachers are drawn from different socio-economic groups, are trained in different institutions, acquire different skills and are assumed to reach different cognitive levels. Notable differentials in income and prestige also separate into two classes what should be a single unified profession.

Miller, W. and Murray (1977:69-70) summarise the discussion on teacher education by noting that

> more than 50% of the teachers in primary and all-age schools are not trained to accepted pedagogical standards. Also the wide use of these untrained teachers ... has serious and demonstrable adverse effects on the entire educational process.

The UNESCO Report (1983:9) points to the need for "pedagogical renovation" and the upgrading of the "pedagogical and didactical skills" of both Primary and Secondary teachers.

The critical rôle of a teacher in fostering the language development of pupils and so contributing to their overall achievement cannot be overestimated. The rôle of the school becomes even more vital in

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circumstances where pupils' home language differs significantly from that of the school. Pupils need adequate exposure to the language which they are expected to learn.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, the Inspectors raised the critical issue of teachers' use of the vernacular in schools. Anecdotal evidence also comes from the School of Education where a number of post-graduate students conducted small-scale school-based research. One major finding, particularly in the Primary school, was that teachers in the lower grades were using Creole and/or mesolect, while expecting pupils to write and answer questions in English.

UNESCO Report (1983:73) not only raises the critical issue of teachers' use of language to Creole speaking pupils in Primary schools, but also questions their mastery of English:

> In this situation teachers often revert to Creole in order to be understood. What is even worse is the fact that a large number of teachers seldom use standard Jamaican English, but some mixture of English and Creole which the pupils are bound to imitate and which will eventually have a serious adverse affect on their ability to speak and write standard Jamaican English.

Learners

Data offered below from two sectors of the educational system will help us to determine whether modern educators have helped to meet learners' needs from the three perspectives already discussed: the adult needs, personal growth and cross-curricular views. A Compulsory Education Supplement: Education - the Key to Progress, 6 September, 1982 reported the results of a nation-wide survey of the attainment of pupils at the end of Primary schooling. The major finding was that 53 per cent of pupils aged 12 years were unable to read and write and had no problem-solving skills. Seaga (1982:3) responded to the survey by observing that

> we cannot continue to live comfortably with the shattering fact that nearly half our primary school students have been leaving the school system functionally illiterate.

As Jamaica's Prime Minister then, the Hon. Edward Seaga reflected on the statistical information revealed in the survey. He went on to point out

the serious social and educational implications of the findings for the individual, and the effect on the country's national development.

The second example comes from Examiners' reports for the Caribbean Regional Examination. Although the emphasis in the chapter has been placed on Jamaican Elementary/Primary schools, these reports are of particular relevance. They provide data on a cross-section of anglophone Caribbean territories, indeed the very territories discussed in Section 4.2. Caribbean Examinations Council: Reports on Candidates' work in the Secondary Education Certificate (1984:4) revealed that

> once again the Examiners found that in too many responses, basic writing skills were not mastered, apart from poor expression, errors of spelling, punctuation, tense, sentence structure and concord were frequent enough to cause concern.

For the same year, the Examiners severely criticised the "screening process", maintaining that thousands of unprepared candidates were permitted to take the examination. The Examiners pointed out that some candidates possessed only their local Creole, therefore they were neither able to understand the literary texts set for the examination, nor write coherently. The report expressed particular concern for the "bottom 45 per cent of the candidates".

The same themes recur with very little variation in successive reports. For example, Caribbean Examinations Council: Report on Candidates' work in the Secondary Certificate (1987:25) observed that "many candidates appeared to have little ability to use the acceptable conventions of writing". Those identified were "lack of concord/ agreement in subject with verb", "general inability to use tenses correctly", "inaccurate plurals of nouns", and "usage reflecting local informal speech". The comments of the Examiners so closely parallel those of the Inspectors that one might well be caught in a time warp.

But, an important point of clarification needs to be made. In a discussion of Standard English (Chapter Three), I indicated that the CXC was the preserve of the Grammar/High schools which cater for a privileged minority. These results therefore seem contradictory. However, the

democratisation of education may explain the findings of the Examiners. A number of pupils from the lower socio-economic groups gain access to Grammar/High schools through passing the Common Entrance Examination (CEE). As the UNESCO Report (1983) points out, the examination virtually dictates the curricular content and the greatest educational efforts in the last three years of Primary schools. Rigid streaming discriminates in favour of the 'more able' pupils who are then drilled in the objective tests required in the examination. The emphasis does not fall on the acquisition of knowledge and learning skills but rather on the ability to pass the CEE. Consequently, the type of language development which would facilitate pupils' ability to write a continuous, coherent text does not necessarily take place in Primary school.

4.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The year 1833 constitutes a landmark in the history of the British Caribbean, since it marked the introduction of mass Elementary education. In this chapter, I provided evidence to show that some educators and members of the ruling élite soon recognised the pedagogical problems inherent in the linguistic configuration in their respective territories.

Then I presented a case study of Jamaican Elementary schools using data from Inspectors' reports for the years 1891-1921. Although Elementary education had been established for almost sixty years, the reports revealed that no real advances had been made in teaching English. But, it was the detailed analysis of pupils' written work which emphasised the gaps in the theory and practice of education. When Inspectors complained of the deletion of /-d#/, /-t#/ and /-ed#/ from the ends of verbs and /-s#/ from all nouns and verbs, pupils were obeying the non-inflectional rules of Creole syntax.

Reflecting on a century of West Indian education, Gordon (1963:6) observes that "if one sets the perennial difficulties against the lack of original ideas for meeting them, one detects a missing link". One of these was surely the Inspectors' lack of linguistic expertise and their

inability to understand the complex relationship between SE and JC. Another crucial lack was a cadre of teachers equipped to teach English to creole speakers. But the Circular Despatch sent out by the Lieutenant Governor of Trinidad in 1841, did contain original ideas which foreshadowed current thinking on language and education. More importantly, he identified the need for a system of education under Government control.

Using some of the ideas embodied in the Despatch, I proposed a needs analysis. Here, I suggested an interdisciplinary theoretical framework, and the linguistic expertise and pedagogical skills which were urgently needed in order to address the problems which were identified. This corpus of knowledge would provide the educators/administrators with sufficient expertise for the task and inform teacher education. In this way, teachers would be equipped to teach English to Creole speakers, possibly focusing some attention on the personal growth view, cross-curricular view and adult needs view of the English in the curriculum.

Close parallels exist between pupils' level of achievement in the Elementary schools (1891-1921), modern Primary schools in the 1980's and in some High/Grammar schools in the Caribbean region. What is central to the argument of the thesis is that significant numbers of pupils in two separate educational sectors have not acquired SE. More than half of the Jamaican twelve-year olds (after five years exposure to formal schooling) are ill-equipped to proceed to post-Primary education. What is more critical, however, is that examiners for the CXC had cause to report that forty-five per cent of the candidates had only their local Creole (after at least nine years exposure to formal schooling). Both the findings of the Primary school survey and the CXC examiners reveal conclusively that neither Jamaica nor the Caribbean region as a whole has addressed crucial pedagogical issues.

The conflicts: the paradoxes

The lack of a national plan, of essential theory, of expert educators at different levels of the system had certain demonstrable results. These have been expressed in the following educational paradoxes.

1. It was the Inspectorate who should have had the expertise in language teaching to guide, provide meaningful formative evaluation and offer professional support to teachers; *yet the text of their reports revealed their inability to perform these highly specialised tasks.*

2. These educators/administrators were best placed to suggest methodology and effective teaching strategies; *by advocating Correction as a main teaching strategy, they misguided teachers and masked the very realities which they should have uncovered.*

3. This cadre of professionals had the opportunity to help teachers to enhance pupils' personal and social development through language; *on the contrary, their suggested eradication of the vernacular implied rejection of the pupil himself, his language and his culture.*

4(a). In their rôle as advisors and evaluators, they should at least have understood the differences between pupils' home language and English; *but the gaps in their knowledge made them use English as a prescriptive yardstick against which to judge pupils' oral and written efforts.*

4(b). Schools should help to inculcate in pupils respect for their vernacular; *the occurrence in the reports of pejorative terms such as "corrupt patois", "the vernacular of the streets and market place", "the most outlandish patois", "broken English", "children write as they speak and that badly", could eventually contribute to pupils' denigration of their language and themselves.*

5. A number of interrelated factors placed teachers in a unique situation where they lacked facility in *the very language which they were expected to teach as a subject and use across the curriculum.*

6. Inspectors had certain expectations of educational outcomes in schools, *yet learners had needs which neither their homes nor schools could fill.*

The empirical investigation in Part Two will either reveal the extent to which these conflicts and tensions persist in the Secondary sector, or conversely whether they have been resolved.

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END OF PART ONE

SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT IN PART ONE

In Chapter One, I outlined the socio-historical circumstances which brought diverse racial and linguistic groups to Jamaica. From 1655, the two most important sectors of the population were the British and Africans – two groups who were completely polarised in terms of race, language, social status and political power. I argue that the most significant aspects of Jamaica's socio-historical and linguistic heritage can be traced to the encounter between these demographic sectors. A linguistic configuration developed with Creole as the mother-tongue of the African slaves, a range of post-Creole language varieties and with English as the official language. The genesis of a new racial group of mixed British and African ancestry significantly changed the fabric of the society. The social stratification which developed in Jamaica, acting as the mirror image of linguistic stratification.

In Chapter Two, I argue that a creole subsumes more than a linguistic system. The co-existence of JC and English draws attention to a related problem – the harsh criticism levelled at creole languages and their users. The relationship between creoles and the European languages which form their lexical base strikes at the very heart of the problem. I provide diachronic evidence that a wide cross-section of individuals in different societies regarded such creoles as 'deviant', 'corrupt' and 'broken' forms of their European-base languages. The earliest hypotheses which some researchers advanced in order to explain the origins of pidgins and creoles were largely based on the social, genetic and racial inferiority of the creole speaker. A comparison of diachronic and synchronic data suggests that negative social judgments have been acquired, and perpetuated across space and time.

Chapter Three developed the main introductory argument of the thesis – that significant differences separate JC from SE. In support of my claim, I presented an objective, linguistic description of the lexis,

phonology, morphology and syntax of JC; while analysing the systemic contrasts between these two languages. But SE and JC merely constitute a part of the linguistic spectrum, therefore the continuum was used as a tool to analyse and complete the discussion of the linguistic configuration of Jamaica. This analysis is crucial to the positioning of the Creole in education.

The final chapter in Part One centred on language and education. It dealt with the introduction of universal Elementary education in the British Caribbean in 1833, and the use of English as a medium of instruction in multilingual and creole speaking communities. Some educators in Jamaica, St. Lucia and Dominica, Barbados, Trinidad and British Guiana (Guyana) identified certain pedagogical problems in their territories soon after the inception of Elementary education. One member of the ruling élite, the Lieutenant Governor of Trinidad, even suggested original ideas for addressing the problems of language and education in multi-ethnic Trinidad.

A case study of Jamaican Elementary/Primary schools was presented for the period 1891-1921. The data uncovered controversial pedagogical issues directly attributable to the fact that neither the Inspectorate nor the teachers understood the implication of the differences between SE and JC. The complete absence of the body of theory and expertise, such as that which is outlined in the needs analysis (Section 4.4), meant that the 'myth of a monolingual learning-teaching situation' developed. These educators/administrators did not understand that SE was virtually a new language which needed to be taught. They therefore saw English as a model against which to judge pupils' 'imperfect' attempts at speaking and writing.

Concern to remedy the problems which they identified, led the Inspectors to suggest three major strategies: Correction, Carefulness on the part of both teacher and taught, and Eradication of the vernacular. A number of pronounced weaknesses, a number of educational paradoxes already documented on pages 125-126 developed within the Elementary/

Primary sector.

Synchronic evidence drawn from the in-depth survey of Jamaican Primary schools, and the results of the Caribbean Regional Examinations have revealed current problems of language and learning. One conclusion to be drawn from the data is that teacher education has neither addressed the needs of teachers, nor prepared them to teach SE to creole speakers.

PART TWO

THE EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Detailed historical data in Part One has revealed the deep-seated
weaknesses in Elementary/Primary education, and the crucial pedagogical
issues linked with the teaching of English to creole speakers. It also
uncovered the nature and extent of the criticism levelled at creole
languages and their users. A need therefore exists for some research,
which seeks to discover how pupils themselves perceive the
linguistic/sociolinguistic situation in which they are enmeshed. The
educational sector which seems most appropriate for such school-based
research is the comparatively new Secondary sector which came into
existence in 1967. The reasons for this statement will become apparent
as the chapter unfolds.

By the mid-seventies when the programme of universal Secondary
education had been implemented for some time, the Ministry of Education
worked out specific curriculum guidelines for these schools. In the
preamble to the English syllabus for grades 7-9 (n.d.:1), the following
specific language goals (underlined below) are stated:

> English is the official language of Jamaica. Nearly all our
> children first learn to speak Jamaican Creole, which has taken
> nearly all its vocabulary from English but much of its syntax
> from other sources; but in order to play a productive rôle in
> modern Jamaican society, they must be able to communicate
> effectively and accurately in English. We must strive to make
> Jamaican children highly competent in the language most widely
> spoken in the world, while teaching them to appreciate the
> local Creole. [Emphasis added]

The terms 'competence' and 'appreciate' are not clarified in the
syllabus. For the purposes of this thesis, competence in English will be
interpreted to mean that, by the end of Secondary schooling, pupils
should have acquired those forms of SE which are set out in DES (The
Kingman Report, 1988a:19, Appendix 8). In that case, they will be able
to use the resources of the language efficiently in all the modalities.
More importantly, competence in English will refer to competence in

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written English.

Appreciation is much more difficult to define precisely. However, the term usually expresses a positive attitudinal judgment of a person, an object or work of art. In this thesis, appreciation of the Creole will be used to mean that pupils (and their teachers) regard this linguistic system favourably. Therefore they perceive Creole as a language which has some worth and occupies an important place in their lives.

For the first time in the history of the country, the Ministry of Education has acknowledged that JC constitutes the mother tongue of the majority of the school population. The emphasis on the acquisition of English could therefore be regarded as the implicit expression of a bidialectal language education policy. Such a directive might seem to represent a significant step forward, a positive statement of the complementary role of both languages in the lives of pupils.

But a certain ambivalence becomes evident even at Ministerial level. Given the tension - the dichotomy which has always existed between JC and SE, it is uncertain how easily teachers and pupils would have learned to reconcile the conflict between two divergent linguistic norms. Given the low level of performance in English (already documented in Part One) a high level of competence in English does not constitute a goal which Secondary pupils can readily achieve.

An objective intellectual analysis of the position of pupils cannot fail to highlight the psychological conflict at the very heart of language and learning. The question is how do pupils respond to the Creole-Standard debate? The empirical investigation centres on the Secondary sector with a view to finding answers to fundamental linguistic questions, to gaining much needed insight in an area where no data exist.

This Chapter therefore links the historical data in Part One with the enquiry. It effects the transition as it documents the

1. purpose and aims of the investigation

2. methods employed

3. sampling procedure

4. design of research tools

5. pilot study

6. main survey and

7. data analysis.

5.2 THE PURPOSE AND AIMS OF THE INVESTIGATION

The purpose of the investigation is to explore the different ways in which 530 Secondary pupils perceive and manipulate the linguistic systems available to them; and also to ascertain the level of their productive abilities in SE. Stated in this way, the research project provides me with a unique opportunity not only to pay close attention to the users' views of language, but also to address the two language goals of the Secondary sector. In particular, one is then able to assess the attitudes which these pupils (and their teachers) held to JC and SE. The investigation therefore aims to

1. address the critical issue of language acquisition by assessing what access pupils have to English through the printed word and the media;

2. obtain some insight into the way pupils perceive Creole and English through a survey of language use;

3. use the 'Verbal-Guise' to elicit attitudes of pupils (and their teachers) to JC and SE;

4. gain an objective assessment of the present level of pupil-performance in writing; and

5. use the findings of the data to provide a basis for making recommendations for a language programme and linguistic training for teachers.

5.3 METHODS

In an exploratory study of this nature, it becomes important to employ the most appropriate methodology to achieve the stated aims. The method of investigation used in this enquiry is referred to in the literature as descriptive or survey research. Cohen and Manion (1985:94) emphasise the ways in which surveys may be used to explore a given situation:

> Typically, surveys gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of (a) describing the nature of existing conditions, or (b) identifying standards against which existing conditions can be compared, or (c) determining the relationships that exist between specific events.

A choice between the experimental or survey paradigm is made on the basis of what the researcher sets out to achieve. Where one wants to bring about changes in a system by intervening or manipulating some variable, the experimental paradigm is a clear priority.

However, in this study the intention is to monitor and describe objectively the pupils' own reactions to the linguistic conflict forced upon them. From an empirical point of view, the answers may be completely different from that obtained from the analyses carried out in Part One of the study. It is not inconceivable for example, that many of the pupils may be unaware of the conflict in spite of being the very subject of it. What devices do they use to operate within the system? The requirements in this case is for a survey - the exact nature of which will be revealed in Section 5.5.

Four major research tools collected the required data - the 'Verbal-Guise', Pupil Questionnaire, samples of written work and interviews. (The design and construction of these instruments will be dealt with in Section 5.5 and all instruments placed in Appendices 2-7). The search for sensitive qualitative data influenced the decision to use 'triangulation'. This research strategy may be defined as the use of three or more data gathering techniques to obtain a more representative picture of the phenomenon being observed. The central argument is that different methods are necessary to get at different aspects of the truth.

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Each of the following was chosen to provide an added dimension to the survey. The Verbal-Guise (a term coined to suggest some similarity with the Matched-Guise of Lambert, Gardner, Hodgson and Fillenbaum (1960)) will be explicated more fully. This technique represents an indirect method of eliciting attitudes to language and language varieties in an unbiased way. It bears some similarity to an experimental procedure which requires that respondents react to the same voice reading two languages. However, the subjects are unaware that they are in fact being asked to evaluate languages and not the voices of the speakers.

The questionnaire achieved some standardisation of response, accessibility to a large sample, speed of administration and easy coverage of certain pre-identified areas. For example, demographic information about the pupils was elicited in this way. The two written tasks added another dimension to the survey. The inadequacies of a single measuring instrument to monitor the complexities of reading noted by Rosen and Burgess (1980) could equally be applied to the multi-faceted process, skills and activities which result in a piece of writing. Despite this limitation it was felt that careful examination and analysis of the writing would provide some index of the stage of pupils' language acquisition. These two tasks could help us to assess the progress which pupils have made in the acquisition of SE, after eight years exposure to formal schooling.

Interviews introduced depth and a personal quality to the survey. It brought the researcher into direct contact with a cross-section of educators. The two-way verbal interaction possible in an interview situation permits the researcher to gain specific information as well as to probe and develop further any interesting or informative responses received.

Defining the target population for research

The Grade Nine population of the Jamaican Secondary schools forms the group selected for the study. Unlike the long-established, highly

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competitive, and academically-oriented Grammar/High schools, the 'state' Secondary sector subsumes two school types:

1. New purpose-built schools catering for the 11-17 age range, with a student body drawn from the Primary sector without any selection or screening process.

2. All-Age schools which have already been defined in Chapter Four.

A sample survey: a sub-set of the population

When the population has been duly identified and defined, the question which faces the researcher is whether or not all or only a sub-group of the population can be surveyed. Clearly, this decision rests on a number of factors, the size and accessibility of the population and the available resources of time, money and personnel. In a small island like New Providence, Bahamas, for example, a census survey would be possible and there would be the added advantage of the researcher obtaining definitive results while minimising the risk of sampling error.

The size and terrain of Jamaica, a very large Secondary school population, the resources of a lone researcher led to the decision to conduct a sample survey. Cohen and Manion (1985:98) explain the objective of the researcher who attempts a sample survey:

> The researcher endeavours therefore to collect information from a smaller group or sub-set of the population in such a way that the knowledge gained is representative of the total population under study. This smaller group or subset is a sample.

5.4 MULTI-STAGE RANDOM SAMPLING

The decision to conduct a sample survey, now raised the critical issue of the procedure which should be used to select a representative group of respondents from the total population. A number of possible approaches are treated in depth in Tuckman (1972), Cohen and Manion (1985) and Kerlinger (1986). The technique eventually used has been described in the literature as random sampling. Use of this procedure limits the possibility of a researcher choosing a biased

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sample, since, at least in theory, each member of the total population has an equal chance of being selected.

But the sampling procedure had to be conducted in a series of hierarchical/sequential steps. The processes by which I began with the totality of parishes, schools, pupils and teachers and worked down to the sample set out in Table 5.2 can be described as multi-stage random sampling. However, the sampling procedure used in this study was not as rigorous as that advocated by Tuckman (1972), Cohen and Manion (1985) and Kerlinger (1986), because of certain constraints which will become apparent as the procedure is discussed.

Description of the survey sample: the parishes

Four of Jamaica's fourteen parishes seemed a reasonable number to include in the survey. If a table of random numbers had been used to choose these parishes, the procedure might be considered statistically sound, but there is no guarantee that certain attributes typical of the island as a whole would have been included. The following stratification parameters were therefore used to guide the selection of four parishes:

1. **Particular spheres of Economic Activity.**

   These include light industries, Bauxite, Tourism, Agriculture, Sugar Estates, Cattle-Properties, Fishing, Business and Commerce.

2. **Levels of Development.**

   The most highly developed, the least developed and those considered average would need to be included.

3. **Demography.**

   This is linked with (1) above, but in addition, the parishes with the highest and lowest population density as well as those falling between the two extremes provided criteria for selection.

4. **Educational Institutions.**

   There is a very uneven distribution of educational institutions in the parishes. Consequently, the parishes with the greatest concentration of schools of all types, those with the lowest and those with

moderately good provision were considered.

The following description of the four parishes indicates the way in which they encapsulate these guidelines:

Hanover has the lowest population density, the smallest number of schools and is the least developed. Subsistence farming, some Agro-industries and Fishing are the chief occupations. Negril, one of the larger towns, caters to the tourist industry.

St. Ann. This is considered the most attractive and prosperous parish with a number of small towns, farms and resort areas. Cattle rearing, Agriculture, Fishing, Bauxite and Tourism are the major areas of economic activity.

St. Catherine. Acting as a commuter belt for many areas, the parish of St. Catherine is the largest and most densely populated. The economic activity of the parish centres on Agriculture. Sugar Estates, Bauxite and a wide range of light industries characterise the parish.

Kingston and St. Andrew, regarded as one parish for administrative purposes, is very densely populated, particularly in the more economically depressed areas. The city, Kingston, is highly urbanised and is the administrative capital, the centre of business and commerce. St. Andrew is mainly residential, although there is agriculture in the outlying hills. Kingston and St. Andrew has the largest concentration of prestigious Preparatory, Grammar/High and Technical schools.

In selecting these four parishes by the procedure described, one might then claim that the major educational, social, political, demographic and economic characteristics of the island are reflected. The geographical location of the four parishes can be seen in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1

Parishes included in the sample with encoding symbols
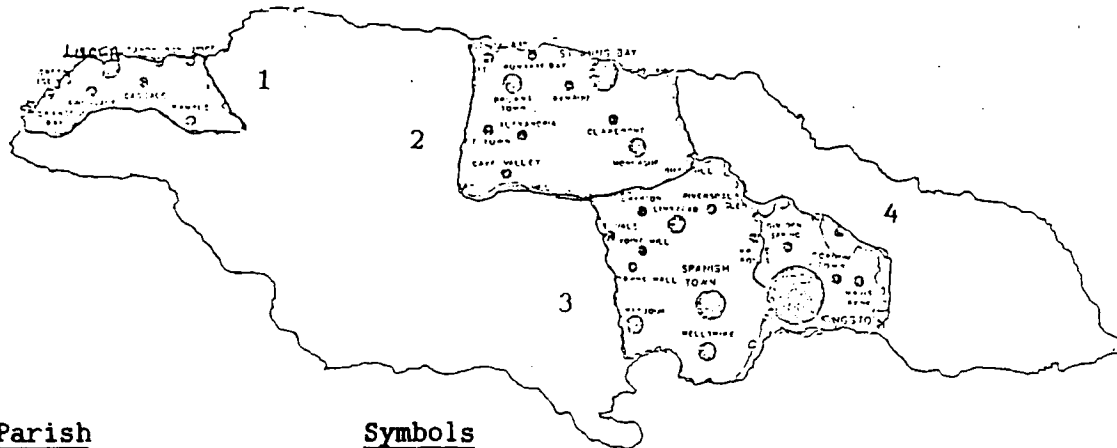
Parish	Symbols
1. Hanover	R
2. St. Ann	N
3. St. Catherine	E
4. Kingston & St. Andrew	W

From parishes to schools

After the four parishes were selected, a directory of Secondary and All-Age schools in the island was obtained and duly perused. Six schools, three Secondary, three All-Age, seemed a reasonable number to be chosen from each parish. A random selection was possible in parishes W, E and N. However, since the maximum number of schools in Parish R was six (three of each type) no random selection was possible. The typology of schools and the parishes in which each is located is indicated in Figure 5.2.

From Figure 5.2 one can observe that there is an even number of Secondary and All-Age schools selected from each parish, and 24 schools in the sample as a whole. The location of the schools can also be noted. 41.6 per cent are in urban areas, although a distinction is made between those in parish capitals which are quiet little towns and those in the more highly urbanised areas such as Ocho Rios, Spanish Town and Kingston. 29.1 per cent can be found in areas designated suburban mainly because these are residential areas far from the heart of the city. 'Country

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Figure 5.2

Typology and location of schools in the sample

Name of School	Parish	School Type		Geographical Location			
		Sec'y	All-Age	Urban	Sub-urban	Country/town	Village
R1	R	X				X	
R2	"	X				X	
R3	"	X		*			
R4	"		X				X
R5	"		X			X	
R6	"		X				X
N1	N	X				X	
N2	"	X		*			
N3	"	X		**			
N4	"		X				
N5	"		X				
N6	"		X	*			
E1	E	X		**		X	
E2	"	X		**		X	
E3	"	X			X		
E4	"		X	X	X		X
E5	"		X			X	
E6	"		X		X		X
W1	W	X		**			
W2	"	X			X		
W3	"	X		**			
W4	"		X		X		
W5	"		X		X		
W6	"		X		X		

Legend   * Parish capitals
         ** Highly urbanised areas.

towns' account for 16.6 per cent. This term has been coined to describe these areas because they fall in neither category but combine features of each type of location. Villages, the most rural areas, account for the remaining 12.5 per cent.

Schools: three variables

At this point, it might be relevant to point out certain specific features of these schools in the sample and at the same time to highlight the differences between the two school types subsumed under the term Secondary. This will be done under three headings: physical plant, school size and the shift system.

The Secondary schools are large, modern, spacious buildings with

staffrooms, offices, individual classrooms, well-equipped centres for practical curriculum areas and a library. In sharp contrast, All-Age schools lack all the features mentioned above. This is particularly true of the older buildings, the most striking characteristic of which is the separation of one class from another by a chalkboard. Consequently, pupils of different grades work through their school day within sight and sound of one another.

There was a great disparity in the size of the population in different schools. The determining factor here was largely the location and population density in the area. The three smallest All-Age schools had only one Grade Nine class, while the three largest Secondary schools in the highly urbanised areas had as many as twelve. For convenience, I devised the following rough categories of school size. These will be used for reference in subsequent sections of the chapter.

Class I	2,000 - 2,366 pupils
Class II	1,320 - 1,699 pupils
Class III	850 - 1,100 pupils
Class IV	298 - 448 pupils

Schools size bears a direct relationship to the shift system which is operated in a number of schools in the island. Leo Rhynie (n.d.:1) describes the shift system as the "use of the physical school plant and other related services of the school for two separate student bodies on a particular day". This system was introduced in 1972 as a means of coping with the enormously expanded Secondary school population. Nine out of the 24 schools in the sample operate the shift system. The breakdown for each parish is indicated below:

R1	N4	W1	E1
	N5	W2	E2
		W4	E5

By this method, the school day is divided into two time-frames, and the entire school population into two groups. The first group, designated morning shift, attends school from 7:30 am to 12:30 pm. The second, or afternoon shift, starts at 12:30 pm and ends at 5:30 pm. As

might be expected, the schools in the urban and suburban areas fall in this category. The small rural class II as well as the smaller class III schools operate the traditional day which lasts from 9 am to 4 pm.

Description of the survey sample: classes and pupils

The next stage in the sampling procedure was firstly, the selection of specific Grade Nine classes and secondly, the selection of pupils within these classes. Again, the principle of random sampling was used but could not be too rigidly applied in executing the first task because of the following constraints:

1. Four of the schools in Class IV had only one Grade Nine class, so no sampling procedure was applicable here.

2. The same could be said about other Class IV schools operating two shifts with one Grade Nine on each shift. Both were then included.

3. For schools in Classes I, II and III it was thought that a random selection could be made from three ability levels, high, mid and low. However, it was found that there was a fourth level designated 'remedial' particularly in the larger schools in the inner-city areas. Principals, English Department Heads and Grade Nine co-ordinators were embarrassed by the presence of this group whom they referred to as "hopeless" and a "total waste of time". They insisted that these pupils should be excluded from the sample. Consequently, a random selection was made from the three remaining ability levels.

Pupils

Three important considerations guided the sampling of pupils from the actual classes mentioned above. The first was obtaining an equal distribution of boys and girls, and the second was keeping the sample manageable for data analysis. Class lists were used and a random selection of ten pupils, five boys and five girls was made. Figure 5.3 shows the numerical distribution of the sample in Secondary and All-Age schools.

Figure 5.3

Distribution of Secondary and All-Age schools in the parishes
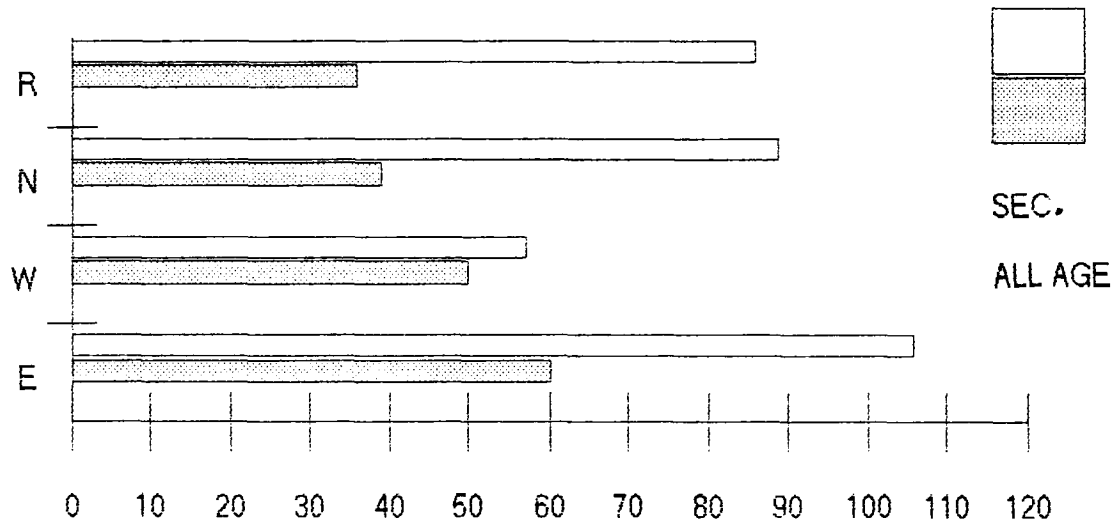
Figure 5.3 presents the parishes in order of their population density. The above numerical sample should reflect this, and it does to a certain extent; however, one notable exception is parish W. In a certain Secondary school in a very depressed area in W, only one out of the four classes which should have been included in the sample could be found. The other pupils had just wandered off and their teachers had no idea of their whereabouts. In a suburban All-Age school in the same parish, only one out of the two available classes participated. As soon as the teacher advised her pupils to take up a pen or pencil they just disappeared. In parish N, one English Department Head withheld her class in protest against what she termed poor communication between the Principal and Senior Staff.

These three incidents reduced the number of grades from 59 to 54. The distribution of these 54 schools throughout the four parishes is indicated below:

E 17, W 11, N 13, R 13.

Since 10 pupils were chosen from each class, the numerical total should have been 540. However, 10 pupils (2 each from 5 grades) were unable to participate for a number of reasons. Therefore, the total sample constituted 530 pupils - an equal number of boys and girls.

It may be worth noting that parish N has the largest number of prestigious, Preparatory, Grammar/High and Technical schools with an academic tradition. The morale of the staff in the Secondary sector is particularly low. Some teachers expressed the view that the best pupils had already been "creamed off". In the words of one member of staff, "we only get the riff-raff". It is extremely likely that the 'hidden agenda' of the schools, teachers' sense of futility, their low expectations may have affected pupils' self-esteem. A combination of factors might therefore explain their refusal to participate in the survey.

A crucial question which is linked with sampling is the validity of the results of a study. How representative are the findings? Can they be generalised to the other members of the population not included in the sample? Kerlinger (1986) uses the term external validity to refer to generalisability and representativeness. He suggests that this is a difficult criterion to satisfy. However, it is hoped that the procedures used in the selection of the sample would justify the claim for representativeness obtained through multi-stage random sampling.

5.5 DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION OF RESEARCH TOOLS

The stated aims, the two language goals and the following questions guided the enquiry and helped to determine the specific emphases required in the survey:

1. Can pupils (and their teachers) show a positive appreciation of Creole?

2. Can pupils demonstrate a high level of competence in written English? The constructs to be assessed and the lack of suitable research tools led me to design and construct my own instruments. Although the Secondary sector has been in existence for almost two decades, virtually no

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research has been conducted. Consequently, no pool of instruments existed at that level. Research tools available in this country could not be readily used because of the differences in the cultural contexts of each country. However, any adaptations made or ideas gleaned from other researchers will be duly acknowledged.

From Matched-Guise to Verbal-Guise

One of the language goals - appreciation of the Creole - necessitates the assessment of language attitudes of pupils and their teachers. Before discussing the original instrument or its subsequent adaptation, it seems necessary to clarify the meaning with which the word will be used. The following working definition of Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982:7) is therefore offered below:

> 'Language attitude' will be taken in a broad, flexible sense as any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers.

The Matched-Guise was first conducted in Montreal, which has been described by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960:44) as "a community whose history centers largely in a French-English schism". These researchers explain that a passage of French prose of a philosophical nature was translated into fluent English. Lambert and his colleagues exercised great care in selecting four bilingual speakers who could take on both the French and English guises with ease. Several recordings were made. Finally, three independent judges decided that the French and English tape-recordings were excellent. In addition to the voices of the four bilinguals, two other voices were recorded, one reading French and the other English. These were used as "fillers". Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960:44) explain the procedure:

> The 10 voices were presented to [subjects] Ss in alternating French-English order starting with the two filler voices and allowing the maximum possible interval between successive presentations of the English and French guises of any speaker. Evaluational reactions to the matched voices only were examined.

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The respondents included two sub-groups, one highly proficient in English and the other in French. These judges were asked to provide evaluative responses to the speakers on 14 personality traits for example 'intelligence' (intelligence), 'self-confidence' (confiance en soi), 'leadership' (apte à diriger). The guise or indirect method lay in the fact that the subjects were unaware that the voices were matched. Consequently, they thought they were hearing eight voices and not four.

The findings of this piece of research seemed particularly relevant to the Creole-Standard situation. Lambert *et al.* revealed that the English-speaking judges reacted more favourably to English than to French guises. Of greater interest, was the fact that the French-speaking judges also rated English more positively. What seems of importance here is that the members of the lower-status group had internalised certain social stereotypes about their own language. Edwards (1982:22) notes that

> this 'minority group reaction' is a revealing comment on the power of social stereotypes in general, and on the way in which these may be assumed by those who are themselves the objects of unfavourable stereotypes.

The adaptation

The first difficulty which presented itself was the notion of bilingualism in the JC-SE situation. Here, the social/occupational stratification and the social and economic consequences of language behaviour militate against bilingualism in the sense in which a Jamaican living and working in Quebec would practise French/English bilingualism. Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960:45) chose "four bilinguals who spoke faultless English, yet were trained in French schools". Leiberman (1975) found it easy to select bilingual speakers in St. Lucia. The selection of Jamaican speakers posed a problem.

For the purposes of the discussion the terms 'habitual JC speaker' and 'habitual SE speaker' seem to encapsulate the reality much more than the word bilingual. One may find educated Jamaicans who can speak both SE and JC, but their command of JC is far less than that of the habitual

JC speaker who has virtually no productive ability in SE.   In addition, subtle differences of phonology and intonation   contours   sharply distinguish these two categories of speakers.

The choice of speaker is therefore linked to the choice of discourse.   While there is no ideal homogeneous Creole, an Anancy story narrated by a habitual Creole speaker seemed a good starting point. Lloyd, a habitual Creole speaker was asked to narrate an Anancy story which was then translated into English.   Even after considerable practice, Lloyd was unable to read the SE version with any degree of fluency.   His phonology and intonation did not match the discourse. The second speaker chosen was Eglon, a habitual SE speaker who could read both varieties with fluency and ease.   There was still the need for another voice to read the SE version.   Mark, a habitual SE speaker provided the fourth voice.

In a sense, Lloyd and Mark represent speakers at the extreme ends of the JC-SE spectrum.   Each could command only one language variety.   If Mark had the ability to read the JC version with any degree of authenticity, then the four voices would have been matched.   As it was, the finished tape has the voices in the following order:

Eglon:	Standard English.
Lloyd:	Jamaican Creole.
Mark:	Standard English.
Eglon:	Jamaican Creole.

In adapting the Matched-Guise to the Guyanese Creole continuum situation Rickford (1983) was also confronted with the same difficulty of finding bilingual speakers.   He solved the problem by using one speaker who employed what Rickford regarded as basilectal, mesolect and acrolectal language varieties.

The choice of variables to be used with the Verbal-Guise posed further challenges.   Related literature provided some guidance.   For example, Anisfeld and Lambert (1964) in eliciting language attitudes of 150 French-Canadian ten-year-olds asked pupils to evaluate speakers on 15

bi-polar personality traits, for example, 'grande-petite' (tall-short) intelligente-bête (intelligent-stupid), sage-pas sage (wise-foolish). Leiberman (1975) used 12 adjectives for example, 'wise', 'confident', 'rough' and 'good'. The task which Anisfeld and Lambert set ten-year-olds seemed too difficult for the Jamaican sample, though Leiberman's choice of variables seemed somewhat easier. However, I had serious reservations about uncritically adapting the variables used in current research. Finally, after a good deal of preliminary work the following variables were chosen: *good, careless, harsh, friendly, town, proper, pleasant, dull, country, careful, rough, unfriendly, broken, bright* and *bad.* (See Appendix 8 for social connotations of some lexical variables).

Another question to be resolved was the response mode to be used in the Verbal-Guise. Various forms have been used by different researchers. These sixteen lexical items might have been presented in the form of Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum's (1957) Semantic Differential:

bad ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— good

dull ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— bright

In this case, pupils would be requested to choose one of the seven gradations between bi-polar adjectives. Anisfeld and Lambert (1964) asked respondents to evaluate personality traits along five dimensions using a five-point scale, while Leiberman (1975) employed a three-point scale. None of these response modes cited seemed particularly suitable for this group of pupils. I feared that the Semantic Differential was too difficult, that pupils might respond mechanically to a point on a scale, and so choose one without due thought. To offset this difficulty the sixteen lexical variables were presented from which respondents freely chose any eight. (See Response Sheet, Appendix 4).

The final question centred on the instructions to be given to respondents. The literature emphasises the evaluation of personality traits. I was not completely satisfied with this approach. I decided to shift the emphasis away from personality traits and elicit pupils' spontaneous responses to the voices on tape. Support for this approach

also comes from Leiberman's (1975) Caribbean-based research. The final instrument therefore owes a debt both to Lambert *et al.* (1960) and Leiberman (1975).

Pupil questionnaire

The design and construction of the questionnaire went through certain well-defined stages. The first was to search the literature for underlying theories and ideas of questionnaire design. The next phase was to try to obtain information about language-oriented surveys. Ohanessian, Ferguson and Polome (1975) was a useful starting point. DES (<u>The Bullock Report</u>, 1975) provided further insights. Rosen and Burgess (1980) clearly explicated a number of relevant ideas about the plight of teachers faced with linguistic diversity. An informed discussion with a researcher Euan Reid (1982) of the Linguistic Minority Project helped to clarify tentative ideas.

Since a pupil can only demonstrate a high level of competence in a language, if s/he has learned to use it with facility and ease, data had to be elicited on the critical issue of 'linguistic focusing'. Here, the word is being used to refer to the way an individual manipulates the linguistic systems available to him in such a way that norms of usage develop. The concept will be dealt with in much greater depth in Chapter Six.

Data was elicited in each of the following areas:

1. The important influences in a child's linguistic world, for example, the occupation of parents; the supporting role of the home; family type and family size; exposure to Early Childhood education and geographical location.

2. Pupils claimed reading habits and their exposure to English through the printed word, radio and television.

3. A survey of usage to (1) specific persons and (2) in specific situations.

4. Pupils' perceptions and interpretation of the role of both languages in their lives and their experiences of the dichotomy in the linguistic situation.

5. Gender and Age. Differences in the performances of the sexes have been reported at the level of the Common Entrance Examination, the Cambridge General Certificate of Education and the Caribbean Regional Examinations. Age also seemed of particular significance, since 15 represents the terminal point for pupils in All-Age schools.

These variables constitute the situation in which children exist as individuals and as members of defined groups (family, socio-economic class, school and community). At this point, no further reasons will be given for the choice of these variables as the following chapter deals with each in turn.

Questionnaires employed by researchers in the Linguistic Minority Project provided some ideas on the format of questions. Others were largely situation-specific. The Questionnaire was only one of the three data-gathering techniques to be administered to pupils. Therefore it seemed necessary to make the items fairly short, interesting, clear and not too time-consuming, involving as little writing as possible. A response mode most appropriate to each question was selected. Although the literature emphasised the difficulties of scoring open-ended questions, one was included. This item gave the pupils an opportunity to express themselves freely on the desirability of using Creole as a medium of instruction in some of their classes.

Pretesting the instrument on a sample of comparable pupils seemed to be the next logical step. The closest match was 15-year old pupils of Caribbean origin in British schools. But, such a sample was unavailable, therefore I sought the expert opinion of ten language teachers drawn from different levels of the education sector and also from different countries. Their unfamiliarity with the context in which the instrument would be administered made them raise a number of interesting questions. These gave new insights and helped to pinpoint questions which could be

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further explicated. This was an important diagnostic and correcting exercise. On the basis of the total critique received, the first draft (A) was redesigned as draft (B). Thirty copies of the latter were prepared and taken to Jamaica for the pilot study. In this way, what has been described as a pretest was also a way of ensuring content and construct validity.

The writing instrument

One central concern of sociolinguistics is language variability. However, the large corpus of literature and research has focused mainly on speech varieties: accented and unaccented speech, regional dialects; discrete phonological lexical, and syntactic items correlated with social groupings. While these studies of variability in speech are undoubtedly of great importance, it would seem that writing should be a concern in school-based investigations. A systematic attempt was made to collect samples of pupils' writing. The tool used for data collection might be described as a stimulus presented to pupils. In response, they produced two pieces of writing employing two different time sequences, the simple present and the simple past.

Interviews

The checklist interview facilitated the gathering of baseline information from Principals of Secondary and All-Age schools, English Department Heads, Grade Nine Co-ordinators and Teacher-librarians. Data on school size, the shift system or full-day, availability and use of audio/visual equipment, library use, integration of library with language teaching programme were elicited in these interviews.

Education Officers with responsibility for the Secondary sector participated in semi-structured interviews. Finally, in an attempt to ascertain new trends in teacher-education, open-ended interviews were conducted with the Professor of Teacher Education, and a number of Principals and English Department heads in Teachers' colleges.

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Supportive data

Casual, unstructured observation provided another opportunity to familiarise myself with different schools. My background and experience made it possible to note and interpret nuances which might have been missed by someone less familiar with the whole educational setting. In addition, there were informal talks with both pupils and teachers. The former anxiously expressed their hopes for the future. The latter spoke readily about the problems of teaching and learning. Although much of the data gleaned by these techniques can neither be quantified or analysed, it proved invaluable.

5.6 THE PILOT STUDY

Tuckman (1972) emphasises the need for a pilot test to be administered to a group of respondents who are part of the intended test population but not part of the sample. Prior to conducting the pilot study and main survey, Principals and all teachers were fully briefed about the whole procedure. They were shown the instruments not only as a matter of courtesy, but also to reassure them that pupils were not being asked to divulge sensitive information. The responses of all these teachers involved in the pilot study proved invaluable in refining the research tools, thus rendering them more suitable for the pupils for whom they were designed.

The Verbal-Guise was first administered to twenty Grade Nine pupils in an All-Age and a Secondary school (not included in the sample). The main purpose of this exercise was to clarify and answer a number of questions. What would be the overall response of pupils to this unfamiliar experience? How great was the need to sensitise pupils to the two languages before introducing the four tapes of the Verbal-Guise? What of their listening skills? Did they understand the meaning of each of the 16 variables? Was it feasible to ask for a controlled response from the pupils using any eight of the sixteen variables for each voice? Would groups of 10 pupils be viable number with which to work?

After the Verbal-Guise was administered, an informed discussion followed. As there was neither a class nor supply teacher in one school, the discussion lasted for a long time and some pupils expressed themselves quite freely. Altogether, this whole exercise resolved numerous questions in my mind and removed certain doubts and gave a feeling of confidence with which to proceed with the main enquiry.

The Questionnaire was next administered to two groups of ten pupils. The researcher sat fairly near to the pupils, carefully observing their hesitation and the rate at which they worked. Any items which posed semantic problems were later discussed with the pupils. On the basis of all the comments and my own review, question 5 was omitted, the rubric of item 8 was changed, the words 'not working' were substituted for 'unemployed'. Question 22 was omitted because of its ambiguity.

The literature of research methodology posits the view that the analysis of the instruments in a pilot study can be done subjectively or statistically by item analysis. I used the first of these two approaches which Tuckman (1972:199) endorses in certain cases:

> Item analyses are not as critical for the refinement of questionnaires as they are for the refinement of tests. Questionnaire items are usually reviewed for clarity and distribution of responses without necessarily running an item analysis.

The writing tasks were also administered in similar circumstances as the Verbal-Guise and the Pupil Questionnaire. No changes seemed necessary. Two Principals and Vice-Principals were shown the checklist interview and asked for their reactions. This was favourable on the whole so no restructuring was done.

5.7 THE MAIN SURVEY

The main survey was conducted in the parishes of E, N, W and R over a period of four months. In order to expedite matters, and spend the maximum working days in the schools, certain administrative arrangements were made before leaving London. On arrival in Jamaica, timetables were available for the twelve schools in parishes E and N. Similar arrangements for parishes R and W were made after I reached the island. First it was necessary to establish contact with the Principal, the English Department head and the Grade Nine teacher. Then arrangements were made for the day's activities. I seized this opportunity to give the checklist/interview to those concerned and set up a convenient time for the interview. This tended to achieve economy of time and effort for all concerned.

Another factor which tended to expedite matters was that in each school there was either a class teacher, Grade Nine co-ordinator, English Departmental head, Principal or Vice Principal or teacher/librarian known to me. Interest was evinced, arrangements were quickly made and the library or a quiet room was made available. This facility was extremely important, particularly in the large schools operating the shift system. There was a high noise level because of a lack of 'holding area' and the absence of supervisory staff for those pupils who arrived early for the afternoon shift.

Generally, members of staff were friendly and very supportive. In each case, the class teacher introduced me to his/her pupils. In order to make them feel relaxed, I tried to establish a rapport with them, briefly told them about my long experience in the classroom, my keen interest in pupils themselves and in their work. I told them in detail about the project being undertaken, and the three tasks which they would be asked to perform. Pupils were then encouraged to ask any questions. Many groups of pupils, particularly those in the rural areas, sat in stony silence. However, those in the urban and suburban areas tended to ask numerous questions. These were answered as fully as possible in

order to reassure them, satisfy their curiosity and ensure their full co-operation.

The instruments in the main enquiry were utilised in the following order. First, the Verbal-Guise was administered to the group of ten pupils and their class teacher. After this was completed, the relevant questionnaire was then given to pupils, who were free to ask for help and guidance. This direct administration of the questionnaire made it possible to solve any problems which the less able pupils might have had with any questions. Semantic variability is a factor which is not to be overlooked. The writing instrument was the last research tool to be employed. Completion time for the pupils was about two hours although this was dependent on the pupils' level of ability.

In conducting an investigation, a researcher is concerned about the response rate. A 100 per cent response is the ideal to be aimed at, although this is rarely obtained in practice. Table 5.1 summarises the response rate of the main instruments of the survey.

Table 5.1

Showing the response rate of the main instruments

Instruments	Category of Respondents	Numbers in the survey	Actual numbers of participants	Response Rate
Verbal Guise	Pupils Teachers	530 54	530 47	100% 87%
Questionnaire	Pupils	530	530	100%
Writing Instrument	Pupils	530	515	97.7%

A 100 per cent response rate for the Pupil Questionnaire needs some clarification. Although all respondents handed in this research tool some pupils failed to provide answers to various parts of questions 14 and 15, in particular. (These will be dealt with under missing data in the relevant chapter). Although all the pupils participated in the writing exercise, fifteen failed to hand in their writing samples. Missing data in this case was 2.3 per cent.

It can be noted from Table 5.1 that 13 per cent of the teacher responses represent missing data for the following reasons. One teacher who participated failed to hand in the response sheet. Another started but had to leave to take home a colleague who was very ill. Another already referred to in parish N had refused to participate because of what she termed poor communication between Principal and senior staff. In parish W, three were unable to participate because of class size. They did not feel that the remainder of their classes who were not included in the sample would be gainfully employed in their absence.

5.8 DATA ANALYSIS

The data was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively, treated first to a surface interpretation then to a deeper interpretation.

1. Qualitative analysis

Much of the supportive data elicited through interviews, informal discussions and observation, and the open-ended question (28) on the Pupil Questionnaire was treated in this way.

2. Quantitative analysis

To a great extent, the main emphasis of the Pupil Questionnaire is on percentages, frequency distributions and cross-tabulation. When percentages and frequency distributions are obtained then certain trends and observations can be noted. These provide a more definitive basis for establishing the relationship between variables and sets of variables.

Item by item analysis using cross-tabulation and chi-square statistic seem a simple and effective method of analysing the eighteen items in the survey of language usage. Eighteen 2 x 3 tables were analysed one for each item. However, one difficulty which arose needs to be mentioned. The third cell of the tables, in which pupils indicated that they used both JC and SE languages tended to be either empty or characterised by expected frequencies <5. This meant that in some tables, 2 out of 6 cells (33.3 per cent) fell in this category. The reliability of the chi-square test was therefore in doubt. Consequently,

these tables were re-analysed excluding these cells described and Chi-square with Yates correction computed. In the final form, the tables present the data without loss of essential information.

Writing

Data was analysed in order to answer one basic question: Have pupils acquired the resources of SE which the written task demands? First, two experienced British teachers examined the scripts and gave an impression mark. This assessment formed the basis of further analysis which subdivided the scripts in Task I into three categories according to pupils' level of achievement. Then examples were drawn from each category and the specific characteristics discussed. More detailed analysis followed in order to probe and interpret two major trends noted. Pupils' performance on Task II divided them into five levels. These are briefly explicated.

5.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The introduction to Part Two explained how the multi-faceted problem discussed in Part One of this thesis, as well as the two language goals of the Secondary sector, motivated the present investigation. This chapter outlined the processes, the sequential steps which resulted in the present research design. The technique of multi-stage random sampling explains how the target population documented in Table 5.2, was selected from the whole population.

Table 5.2

Details of target population in the survey

Parishes: Schools:	Hanover, St. Ann, St. Catherine and Kingston and St. Andrew. 12 new Secondary, 12 All-Age schools.
Grades/Classes:	54 Grade Nine classes.
Pupils: Average age:	530 Grade Nine pupils: 265 male and 265 female. 15 years.
Teachers	54 Grade Nine teachers: 7 male and 47 female.

An attempt was made to include the major social, demographic, educational and economic attributes of the island as a whole through the choice of the four parishes, the typologies of the schools, the different time frames within which schools operate, the three ability levels of pupils and an equal distribution of boys and girls.

The researcher who wants his sample or sub-set of the population to present an accurate picture of the population as a whole, or to be representative of the population uses randomness in selection. Although randomness does not always guarantee that a sample is highly representative it would tend to spread the influence of uncontrolled variables so that a comparatively unbiased picture of the population is obtained.

The main facets of the investigation are set out below as well as the instruments which elicited the data and the specific items to which pupils responded.

1. Linguistic Focusing and Language Access

   Pupil Questionnaire (PQ) items 5-13, 16, 24-25.

2. Pupil-perspectives on language use

   (P.Q) Items 14-19, 26-27.

3. Attitudes towards linguistic diversity.

   Direct method, (P.Q) items 20-23, 28.

4. Indirect method, the Verbal-Guise: Pupils and their teachers.

5. Pupils as writers: two specimens of pupils' writing.

Subsequent chapters will deal in turn with each of these facets of the investigation.

CHAPTER 6

LINGUISTIC FOCUSING: A QUESTION OF ACCESS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The language goals of the Secondary sector (cited on page 131) most closely concern three groups of individuals placed at different levels of the educational system. Policy-makers function at the highest and most influential level, next are the teachers who must implement the policy. Finally, and most important, are the pupils themselves who are expected to achieve a high level of competence in SE. But such an objective raises the critical issue of language acquisition – the acquisition of SE in a society characterised by the kind of linguistic diversity analysed in depth in Chapter Three.

The search for truth and the concern to understand and establish the linguistic reality in the lives of Secondary pupils lead me to begin with two basic research questions:

1. Where do pupils stand in relation to the multidimensional linguistic world characterised as it is by JC, SE and intermediate language varieties?

2. What access, what exposure do these 530 pupils have to SE?

These two questions are based on the proposition that many interrelated factors contribute to the acquisition of SE, which fills the rôles of both the Standard and official language in Jamaica. If we wish to effect change, then it is necessary to isolate and reflect on those factors which may either deny or provide access to SE. Awareness of the nature and extent of a problem is surely a prerequisite for appropriate action.

In this chapter, the probing, exploratory nature of the investigation becomes evident. Here, the analysis and interpretation of descriptive data seek to provide answers to the two research questions posed above, and elucidate:

1. The linguistic world of the pupils and focusing within this

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variability;

2. access to SE through radio and television and the printed word.

Linguistic focusing

Firstly, it is necessary to define the concept of linguistic focusing. The term 'focusing' is taken from (LePage 1978a) 'Projection, Focussing [sic], Diffusion or steps toward a sociolinguistic theory of language'. The word was first applied to a description of the process of language acquisition in the multilingual community of Belize. The concept was further developed and explored in a number of subsequent papers and in LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985). Here the term linguistic focusing is, in a sense, being abstracted from the wider context cited above. It will be used to refer to the processes by which individuals in a society select linguistic models for themselves from among the various socially marked possibilities in such a way that norms of usage develop. According to LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:181)

> the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished.

But individuals exist in societies which are characterised by varying degrees of linguistic diversity. For example, discrete languages may co-exist in bilingual and multilingual settings, or there may be differing regional dialects and accents of one language. Consequently, the language or language variety which an individual first acquires, the one which enables him/her to identify with particular group/s, is largely determined by a range of social and demographic factors.

LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:182) remind us that our ability to get into focus with those with whom we wish to identify is constrained by the extent that:

    (i) we can identify the groups
   (ii) we have both adequate access to the groups and ability to
        analyse their behavioural patterns
  (iii) the motivation to join the groups is sufficiently powerful,
        and is either reinforced or reversed by feedback from the
        groups
   (iv) we have the ability to modify our behaviour

These conditions therefore facilitate the processes of language acquisition and of linguistic focusing. If one or more of these factors is missing, then the converse would be equally true. These linguists further point out that the concept of linguistic focusing is generally applicable to other language typologies. No distinction is being made or can be made between 'first' and 'other' language acquisition - hence its relevance to the present discussion.

6.2 PUPILS' LINGUISTIC WORLD: THE FAMILY

Pupils exist as members of a family or household, the wider community and the school. Reference has already been made to the sharp correlation which exists between language and social/occupational groupings. The family is therefore crucial to any discussion of linguistic focusing. The language or language variety to which these pupils are constantly exposed in a home depends on parents' level of education and the socio-economic strata to which these adults belong. Figueroa, P. (1976:160-162) set out an occupational coding scheme which employs six socio-economic categories. This was adapted and used to assess the place of pupils' parents (and guardians) in the social hierarchy. The findings are shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Social/occupational stratification of pupils' parents (and guardians)

Point on scale	Occupational category	Frequency	Percent
3	Lower Professional, Clerical	65	12.3
4	Skilled Manual	71	13.4
5	Semi-skilled, Manual	199	37.5
6	Unskilled	114	21.5
U	Unemployed	81	15.3
		n = 530	100.0

Typically, skilled manual workers, semi-skilled manual, and the unskilled have not been exposed to much formal education and are habitual Creole speakers. These three groups which represent points 4, 5 and 6 on the socio-economic scale account for 72.4 per cent of the parents (care-givers) in the sample. The same observation about level of education and language use may be made about those who are categorised as unemployed. This group accounts for 15.3 per cent of the adults. It seems reasonable to suggest that a total of 87.7 per cent of those parents and guardians are habitual Creole users. Supportive evidence comes from a direct question asked on the pupil questionnaire. 'What language do your parents and the adults in your home speak to you?' 87 per cent of the pupils identified JC as the language of the home.

The level of education of the clerical and lower professional workers who form 12.3 per cent of the sample is usually higher than that of the other categories discussed so far. The social/occupational rôles of these two groups necessitate the use of intermediate language varieties. They may command points on the continuum which approximate fairly closely to SE. Again, the data provides some evidence that some of the pupils are exposed to language varieties other than JC. 13 per cent of the pupils indicated that the language of their homes was English. Of course, these pupils' use of the term is not necessarily synonymous with SE as defined in Chapter Three.

The four riders (on page 160), which facilitate the process of linguistic focusing, operate within a family. A child readily identifies with those individuals who nurture him/her. A home provides the first real context in which a child receives adequate access to the language behaviour characteristic of a particular social group. However, some differentiation needs to be made, since pupils co-exist in families or households which are organised in different ways. For example, the data show that pupils live and interact in five distinct family patterns. These are indicated in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2

Family types/patterns

Family headed by:	Frequency	Percent
Mother and Father	261	49.2
Mother and Stepfather Stepmother and Father	82	15.5
One parent - Mother	111	20.9
One parent - Father	27	5.1
Other relatives: Grand-parents, Aunts, Uncles	49	9.2
	n = 530	100.0

Very little is known about the differential patterns and processes of socialisation in the Jamaican context. The only piece of research done in the field has been Craig (1974). Consequently, only broad, general statements can be made. Adults - parents or care-givers - initially provide the context and the opportunity for learning about the culture and the ways in which meanings are organised. But the different ways in which families or households are structured might also provide pupils with a wide and varied range of language experiences.

49.2 per cent of the pupils live in a household with both parents. In such a situation, these pupils may experience feelings of emotional security particularly if the family is closely knit. This bonding or solidarity within the family, may in turn, create a wide range of social contexts which generate language use. In contrast, adolescents may feel less secure in a home which they share with a stepfather or stepmother whom they may view with suspicion or distrust. In that case, there may be fewer social contexts in which talk is generated and encouraged.

26 per cent of the pupils in the sample live in one-parent families. Here, there may be less spontaneous conversation between adults, and 'less talk for talk sake'. Language use might therefore be mainly instrumental. On the other hand, the absence of a partner could mean that the older children in such a household may be thrust unwittingly in

the rôle of adults. Single parents might then share day-to-day problems with their sons or daughters.

9.2 per cent of the pupils share a home with other relatives, mainly their grandparents. In this case, there may be a number of factors which could influence the nature and patterns of interaction within such households. Grandparents sometimes insist on observing the same child rearing practices to which they were themselves exposed. For example, the old adage "children should be seen and not heard" is still applied. The 'generation gap' between grandparents and their grandchildren, in particular, may therefore affect the nature of the language experience which these pupils receive. Pupils might also be exposed to a more conservative use of JC, which is sometimes characteristic of older people.

Family size, that is the total number of individuals in a household, facilitates the operation of riders III and IV in particular (page 160). Here, in order to present the data more concisely the numbers of individuals within each household have been placed in the following ranges shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3

Family size expressed in ranges

Ranges	Frequency	Percent
2-4	80	15.1
5-7	255	48.2
8-10	123	23.2
11-13	52	9.8
Between 14 and 18	20	3.7
	n = 530	100.0

On average, pupils live and interact in fairly large families. 48.2 per cent live in these social groups which range from 5-7 individuals, while 23.2 per cent co-exist in families which consist of 8-10 persons. Pupils' experience would vary greatly from household to household. It is

hazardous to speculate, but the differentiation may be realised in a number of ways which may contribute to pupils' varied experiences of language.

The total number of persons in a home constitutes family size. This is in turn broken down into two sub-variables - number of adults and number of children. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 present the relevant data.

Table 6.4

Number of adults in households

No. of adults	Frequency	Percent
1	43	8.1
2	240	45.3
3	92	17.4
4	78	14.7
5	41	7.7
6	23	4.3
Between 7 and 13	13	2.5
	n = 530	100.0

Table 6.4 indicates that 46.6 per cent of these pupils co-exist with three or more adults in their respective homes. Such pupils then relate to adults who may be uncle/aunt, grandparent, cousin, distant relative or family friend. Clearly, these dyads within the household contribute to pupils' differentiated role-relationships, and interaction patterns which are distinct from those shared with parent/step parent.

The number of children in a home becomes of extreme importance in the process of linguistic focusing. Table 6.5 shows the distribution of children who live in different households.

Table 6.5

Number of children in the homes

No. of children	Frequency	Percent
1	43	8.1
2	70	13.2
3	115	21.7
4	86	16.2
5	81	15.3
6	50	9.4
7	29	5.5
8	23	4.3
Between 9 and 18	33	6.2
	n = 530	100.0

An only child has, of necessity, to interact with the adults in the home. In contrast, where there are other children of varying ages, they may form certain patterns of relationships, which in turn provide other contexts for language use.

The number of siblings is also of some importance in the process of linguistic focusing. Here, the term merits some qualification. It is being used to refer to the 'potential' number of brothers and sisters to whom a pupil may relate. In many instances, the number represents half-brothers and half-sisters, who do not necessarily share the same home during childhood and adolescence. The data, summarised in ranges, are presented in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6

Number of siblings expressed in ranges

No. of siblings	Frequency	Percent
1 - 3	106	20.0
4 - 6	220	41.5
7 - 9	132	24.9
10 - 12	57	10.7
13 - 17	15	2.9
	n = 530	100.0

Within the family, a child then assumes multiple rôles, for example son/daughter, brother/sister, half-brother/half-sister, niece/nephew, grandson/granddaughter. Exposure to a wide range of structured and unstructured social situations contributes to the breadth of pupils' language experiences.

Geographical location

Pupils also co-exist as members of a wider community located as they are in five geographical areas in four parishes. Table 6.7 shows how pupils are distributed in these different areas.

Table 6.7

Geographical location of pupils

Geographical locations	Frequency	Percent
Tourist areas	41	7.7
Country Town	61	11.5
Suburban	90	17.0
Urban	162	30.6
District/rural areas	176	33.2
	n = 530	100.0

Pupils are exposed to urban, suburban and rural cultures and to different social and economic forces in each. 33.2 per cent of the pupils reside in rural areas where they may be exposed to a much more conservative form of JC. At the extreme end of the scale are the 7.7 per cent who reside in areas like Ocho Rios and Negril which cater to tourists. Pupils in these areas are likely to have a greater 'consciousness' of SE than their rural counterparts.

Although, at this point, pupils were not specifically questioned about their peers, yet it seems reasonable to infer that, like other children, peers exert some influence on their lives. In a sense, choice of peers tends to be influenced by a number of interrelated factors. These include parents' place within the social hierarchy, their personal preferences for certain companions whom they consider suitable for their children, and children's own preferences. Peers are usually located within the same geographical location or within a fairly close proximity.

The following points summarise the discussion so far.

1. A close link exists between language use, social/occupational stratification and levels of education. The data presented in Table 6.1 and the subsequent discussion lead us to conclude that at least 87.7 per cent of parents (and guardians) are habitual JC speakers. Some support for this conclusion comes from 87 per cent of pupils who indicated that the language of the home was JC. For the 12.3 per cent of the group who are marginally higher on the socio-economic scale, language use may move from JC to intermediate language varieties but hardly to the educated Standard.

2. The data shown in Tables 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 show that pupils exist within five clearly differentiated family types; they co-exist with varied numbers of adults with whom they must have differentiated rôle-relationships. They share their homes with varying numbers of children to whom they relate in different ways. In addition, Table 6.6 shows the numbers of siblings/half-siblings with whom pupils may have the opportunity of interacting.

3. Table 6.7 shows the way in which pupils are distributed in different geographical locations in four parishes. Their existence in these areas exposes them to varied language experiences. For example 33.2 per cent who live in rural areas have a greater exposure to a more conservative JC than those in urban areas, or tourist-oriented locations.

4. Although no data were elicited on peer groups it seems reasonable to infer that these would tend to be drawn from the same areas as the pupils themselves and may also share similar forms of linguistic behaviour.

Early Childhood education

Chapter Two (pages 42-43) and Section 6.2 drew attention to the concept of a native language and its rôle in helping an individual to identify with the social group/s to which s/he belongs. Irrespective of a child's language of socialisation, at some stage it will become apparent to him/her that other linguistic forms associated with other groups co-exist in the wider community. Comparatively young children can become remarkably efficient in using more than one language. Children of bilingual parents exemplify this principle. For example, Hudson (1980:18) has observed that although there is little hard data available about bilingual children, it is possible to suggest tentatively that as early as age three, a child of bilingual parents will probably be reasonably efficient at keeping his languages apart and concludes overall that

> there is no reason to think that there is any end-point in the process of acquiring new styles of speaking, or of becoming more sophisticated in the use of the styles we already have.

Anecdotal evidence of children's language abilities comes from my own observation of a girl and boy who live in an International Centre for post-graduate students. The first example is three-year old Ruth. Her mother, who is German, is bilingual in German and English. Her father is Sri Lankan and is trilingual in Tamil, German and English. The two most

important languages in this household are German and Tamil. At age three, Ruth is fluent in German and is gaining competence in Tamil. The main reason for the differential in the acquisition of these two languages is the question of access. Ruth's father is a busy Ph.D. student. She therefore spends much more time interacting with her mother. Ruth has also begun to acquire and use some English, because students always greet and speak to her in this language. Intuitively, she realises that neither Tamil nor German is the appropriate language with which to greet her friend, Danuub, whose native language is Persian (Farsi). Ruth therefore uses a few English words tentatively as she tries to communicate with him. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that her Early Childhood education will contribute to her continued acquisition of SE. In a few years, she could easily become trilingual in German, Tamil and English.

Since children can and do demonstrate remarkable ability to acquire and manipulate two or more linguistic systems, Early Childhood education could become a powerful factor in helping children's linguistic focusing. This statement is particularly applicable to the majority of Jamaica's school population. If the Creole-speaking child is ever to become competent in SE, then Early Childhood education should help pupils to begin to focus in the direction of this language.

Here again, the interrelation of socio-economic factors determines whether or not pupils do receive any Early Childhood education and, if so, of what kind. The interdependence of language and social structure is fundamental to the argument as the two Jamaicas (already referred to in Chapter Three) also find their realisation in the school system. Sharply differentiated educational routes separate different sectors of the school population. Prestigious Preparatory and Grammar/High schools provide education modelled on the British private school system for a minority who belong to one Jamaica. The majority of the school population form part of the other Jamaica. The schools for these pupils have traditionally been Basic and Infant, Primary, and more recently, the

Secondary sector.

Table 6.8

Two Educational Routes

Stages in the educational system	Socio-economic scale	
	Higher - 1 and 2	Lower - 3, 4, 5, 6
Early Childhood Education	Prestigious, well-equipped Preparatory schools (private)	Basic schools Infant schools
Primary Levels	Preparatory Schools Scholarship classes in sel- ected streams in Primary schools (one year)	All-Age schools Primary schools
Post-Primary Level	Grammar/High	Secondary All-Age

The data shown in Table 6.9 strongly support the analysis of the two Jamaicas and the two separate educational routes illustrated in Table 6.8. Table 6.9 shows to which Jamaica the pupils in the sample belong.

Table 6.9

Early Childhood Education received by pupils

School Type	Frequency	Percent
Preparatory	4	0.8
Basic	153	28.8
Infant	51	9.6
Primary	197	37.2
All-Age	125	23.6
	n = 530	100.0

Less than 1 per cent of these pupils received their education in Preparatory Schools, which are the best equipped to foster pupils' language development. Here, it seems necessary to comment however briefly on the quality of Early Childhood education offered in Basic and

Infant Schools. Basic schools are run by voluntary organisations employing largely untrained staff. However, the Ministry of Education organises courses for these teachers and attempts to give some orientation to this educational sector. Poor physical plant, lack of resources and linguistic expertise on the part of the teachers militate against the provision of Early Childhood education in any real sense.

Infant schools exist as departments within Primary schools and are on the whole better equipped than Basic Schools. Teachers, too, have some basic training in Early Childhood education. Available places in these schools have not even begun to keep pace with the school population. It is therefore not surprising that less than 10 per cent of the pupils attended Infant Schools. However, neither institution is geared to provide for and maximise pupils' language development.

The most significant finding of the data, however, is that 60.8 per cent of the pupils had no exposure whatever to any form of Early Childhood education. All those who first attended All-Age and Primary Schools began their education at age seven. It is not an exaggeration to add that the 28.8 per cent who attended Basic schools are not significantly better off (in their acquisition of SE) than those who had no Early Childhood education whatsoever.

Secondary pupils are expected to achieve a high level of competence in SE, but the vast majority of them have begun Primary schooling with a serious developmental lag. The following anecdotal evidence about Bryan serves to highlight the possibilities of language development which are inherent in Early Childhood education. I first met Bryan, a Tanzanian, in the International Centre for post-graduate students in 1987. Then, the three-year old spoke only Swahili. He never responded to the large numbers of students who greeted him in English, particularly if they were dark skinned or seemed African in appearance. As his mother explained, he felt that all individuals whose appearance was similar to that of his parents ought to speak to him in the only language which he understood then. Interestingly enough, he responded more favourably to any European

or North American who greeted him in English.

After about nine months in nursery school, Bryan began to initiate and maintain long conversations in English with his peers as well as adults. More importantly, he would switch from English to Swahili with consummate ease. The converse was equally true. Bryan's acquisition of English supports the argument of Stubbs (1986) that the sharp differentiation between mother-tongue and foreign language teaching is not necessary.

Then, Bryan began to move quite spontaneously towards another modality - reading. He would sit for a long time in the reception area, patiently turning the pages of magazines and newspapers. Then, he would announce that he was reading and looking for John Barnes his football hero; Frank Bruno and Mike Tyson, his boxing idols; and Michael Jackson, the pop star. Alternatively, he would point out familiar objects and scenes and any individual whose appearance seemed strange to him. Then he would direct perceptive questions to anyone who was prepared to volunteer an answer.

The conditions which facilitate the process of linguistic focusing were present in Bryan's case. He identified the social groups who were unable to speak to him in Swahili - the students at the International Centre and the teachers and pupils at his school. Intuitively, Bryan knew that Swahili could not help him to negotiate meaning at school. He had the motivation to join the SE groups, but more important he had access to their linguistic behaviour. It is extremely unlikely that anyone used any foreign language techniques in helping Bryan to acquire English. The nursery school itself must have created a number of contexts and situations which facilitated learning.

Bryan's acquisition of SE in school has not been cited in an attempt to speculate beyond the data or to generalise from one example. This anecdotal evidence which is offered is meant to suggest that Early Childhood education could also have made a similar contribution to the language development of these pupils in the sample. I do not hold the

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view that the acquisition of SE need present insuperable obstacles to the JC speaker. Indeed, all such speakers possess receptive abilities in SE (in varying degrees) as well as some knowledge of lexis. Both factors could operate in their favour. Since the Creole is essentially oral, books written in SE represent a challenge to be faced by pupils. The kind of interest which Bryan began to show in the written word, his reading readiness, his pre-reading activities constitute some of the approaches needed by Creole speakers if they are ever to become competent in SE.

The findings and the discussion so far lead to two related questions. If the majority of pupils have lacked adequate access to SE during Early Childhood - that is, both at home and at school - what then of the period of Primary schooling? What possibilities exist within the Primary system to redress the imbalance and make up the developmental lag? The answer comes from two main sources. The first is the case study of Elementary/Primary Schools presented in Chapter Four. The second is the findings of the in-depth survey of the Primary sector (documented in Section 4.6) that 52 per cent of all 12-year olds who had completed their Primary School education had no problem-solving skills and were unable to read and write SE. These findings could quite easily be generalised to another modality - speech.

Another factor which needs to be borne in mind is parents' inability to help their children to read and write SE. When asked how many of them received help with their English homework only one child out of the 530 pupils (that is 0.2 per cent) replied in the affirmative. Perhaps a kind of tension also exists for these pupils, since parents and guardians are anxious that their children become competent in SE. The first part of the statement is merely an informed guess, however the second part gains support from the data. When asked what language their parents and care-givers wanted them to learn well, 100 per cent of the pupils responded that it was English. It seems reasonable to infer that the majority of these adults have learned, only too well, the social and economic

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advantages of SE and the social meaning of monolingualism in JC.

One can conclude from the data presented in Section 6.2, that pupils' homes and the nature (or absence) of Early Childhood education could not really create the social contexts which would facilitate the acquisition of SE. Primary Schools (as described in Chapter Four) do not seem to be geared to fostering pupils' acquisition of SE. But my professional experience in classrooms/lecture rooms at all levels of the educational system has convinced me that pupils/students do have the ability to acquire SE and use it with facility and ease. The view being strongly posited here is that the major factor which militates against language acquisition by creole speakers is not lack of ability, but rather a lack of adequate access to SE. While abundant opportunities exist for pupils to hear and use JC in a wide range of situations, there is far less certainty about pupils' access to models of standard linguistic behaviour. Indeed, reference has already been made that in some sectors of the educational system, some teachers themselves do not have complete mastery over this language which they are expected to teach. So, in what ways then will pupils gain competence in SE – a competence needed for at least two reasons?

The first has already been stated. This is one of the objectives laid down by the Ministry of Education. More importantly, SE is urgently needed in adult life in a range of situations in which the use of JC places an individual at a serious disadvantage. It is SE we need with which to negotiate a bank loan (even from the Peoples' Co-operative Bank); to approach a Justice of the Peace; to explain to those doctors who have been recruited from overseas, the symptoms which we experience; to fill in even the simplest form; to request the help of a veterinary surgeon for the ailing cow of a small peasant farmer; to seek legal advice and to defend oneself in a courtroom where Judges, Queen's Counsels, Advocate-Attorneys (mainly trained in England) operate within the highest traditions of SE. These statements may seem to present an extreme view, but the data will further elucidate them to some extent.

6.3 ACCESS TO SE THROUGH EXPOSURE TO THE RADIO AND TELEVISION

> "I am aware that the language behaviour of the members of the different speech communities has been, and is, influenced by diverse social forces and by numerous historical, political, educational, demographic and linguistic factors; and that it would be fallacious to attribute to any one complex of influences, such as those associated with the formal educational process, any specific forms of language behaviour".
> (Gorman 1971:199)

This section reports the findings of the facet of investigation which assessed pupils' access to the mass media, first through informal listening to radio at home, then in more structured situations at school. The assumption which underlies the data presented in this section is that informal language learning can take place outside the formal instruction in schools. Exposure to radio, television and books can contribute to the totality of experience which pupils will eventually bring to bear not only on all facets of language behaviour, but also on the productive aspects of language. Pupils wrote down the names of the radio programmes to which they usually listened each week. These have been categorised below, a few examples of the actual programmes are cited, and brief comments made on the type of language experience which these might provide.

Musical programmes

'Capital Stereo', 'Top Thirty', 'Bogey Down', 'Turn Table Time', 'Disco', 'Barry Gordon on F.M. Stereo' and 'Super Music' constituted the programmes most frequently listed by these pupils. Here, the major emphasis is on Reggae and Dub-poetry. Both these art forms merit some clarification. Reckord (1982:70) refers to Reggae music as "Jamaica's greatest cultural export, the main force which identifies the country internationally". Brathwaite (1984:13) describes the particular language employed in Reggae lyrics:

> It is an English which is not the standard, imported, educated English, but that of the submerged, surrealist experience and sensibility, which has always been there and which is now increasingly coming to the surface and influencing the perception of contemporary Caribbean people.

The word 'dub' is being used here with its literal meaning, to give new or different sound effects to, to change the original spoken language. Dub-poetry is exemplified in this country in the works of Johnson (1978, 1980). Again, Brathwaite (1984:46) explains the language of dub-poetry:

> [It] comes out of the same experience as the music of contemporary popular song: using the riddims, the same voice-spreads, syllable clusters, blue notes, ostinado, syncopation and pauses; with ... a quite remarkable voice and breath control ... which after a time becomes part of the sound-structure and meaning of the poem.

One feature which both forms have in common is the appeal to the ear - the interrelationship of sound and meaning. A useful comparison may be made with the Calypso music of Trinidad. Roehler (1970) suggests that the creation of the Calypso was a lower class creole occupation, bound up with the reactions, awareness and total response of the masses. While Reggae and Dub-poetry are frowned upon by the middle and upper classes, both forms have tremendous appeal to the lower socio-economic groups for whom classical music is an alien field - a foreign territory. While these pupils obviously enjoy these seven programmes cited, they do not provide any real access to SE.

The other programmes listed are 'Country and Western' and 'Sunday Serenade'. The first of these two is imported from the United States. The lyrics in this particular genre can hardly be said to provide an authentic model of the language under discussion. 'Sunday Serenade' mainly features the instrumental music of Mantovani, Stanley Black and Henry Mancini.

Talk shows

This second category which is sub-divided into three groups has one common element. These programmes are characterised by verbal interaction with members of the public and are designated:

1. 'Radio Doctor' (General Practitioner), 'Baby Doctor' (Paediatrician) 'Radio Psychiatrist' and 'Radio Lawyer'.

2. 'Family Court', 'Family Counsellor' and 'Family Planning'.

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3. 'In the Public Interest', 'In the Public Eye' and 'Hot Line'.

The names of programmes in (1) and (2) give an accurate idea of their content. In (3), matters of topical interest mainly connected with the affairs of the country are aired. The professionals who present these three programmes belong to the educated elite, and on the whole their use of language reflects this. The language and educational standard of those members of the public who participate vary to a very high degree. Occasionally, the Radio Psychiatrist tries to accommodate his speech to the participants. In general, however, these radio presenters command and consistently use the educated standard variety. If pupils listen intently, they do have some access to SE.

Information

'News', 'Sports', 'The World Tomorrow' and 'Radio Northwest' reflect objective reporting couched mainly in educated Jamaican English.

Religious programmes

These include 'Gospel Programmes', 'Back to the Bible Broadcast' and 'Religious Services'. The first two programmes are American imports employing highly emotive 'American English' with a recognisably foreign accent. Religious services constitute a wide range of programmes broadcast from Jamaican Churches such as the Baptist, Presbyterian, Anglican, Roman Catholic and Moravian. The contents of these sermons tend to be closely linked with the mores and ethos of the country, and are usually closely reasoned and coherent, again employing educated Jamaican English.

Serials/stories

'Flora Lee', 'Story Hour', 'The Golden Horse' and 'Carlington Sinclair' were frequently documented by pupils. The first of these four is a local serial written in SE and narrated by Jamaicans. The other three are foreign imports.

Certain benefits could accrue to pupils as a result of sensitive listening. This modality could help to familiarise them with the phonology of SE, the use of the present tense, as in newscasts and live commentaries and the past tense in narrative sequences. The attempt to grasp the meaning of what is being said could further develop pupils' receptive abilities in SE.

Results and discussion

The tables which present the data are computed in such a way that the 265 boys and 265 girls are treated each as a complete set. This facilitates easy comparison across rows. On the other hand, 265 boys and girls are also treated as two sub-sets of 530. In that case each represents 50 per cent of the column totals. Here, the responses were grouped into four categories depending on the number of programmes to which pupils claimed that they listened: none, one, a range of two to four, and five to nine. The results showed that 15.8 per cent of the total number of pupils did not record even one programme; 40.2 per cent named one; 31.9 per cent two to four; while 12.1 per cent claimed that they listened to five to nine programmes.

These results cannot be said to show that maximum use was being made of radio. This is not necessarily due to a scarcity of sets because transistor radios tend to be owned by all social groups, and are fairly easily obtained particularly by those who have relatives abroad. Here, the explanation might lie not with the unavailability of radios, but rather with the size of households. As Table 6.3 indicates, 23.2 per cent of the pupils live in households of 8-10 persons; while the figure for 13.5 per cent ranges from 11-18. Such situations may deny pupils the opportunity and/or atmosphere conducive to listening.

Gender differences

While the global picture for the group has been presented, a further attempt was made to ascertain whether boys and girls showed any

differences in their exposure to radio programmes. The observed trend in the data which would guide the search for evidence was formulated as a null hypothesis (HO): *Boys and girls show no differences in their listening response to radio programmes.* A simple cross-tabulation table was computed to determine this, and a chi^2 statistical test run to test the validity of the hypothesis and so lead to its acceptance or rejection.

Table 6.10

Cross-tabulation: response to radio programmes: by sex

		Number of Programmes				
		None	One	Two to Four	Five to Nine	Row Totals
S E X	Girls	30 11.3	97 36.6	94 35.5	44 16.6	265
	Boys	54 20.4	116 43.8	75 28.3	20 7.5	265
Column Totals		84 15.8	213 40.2	169 31.9	64 12.1	530 100.0

If the four categories which indicate claimed listening habits are regarded as a scale, then the boys are at the lower end. For example, 20.4 per cent gave no indication of listening, while the corresponding figure for the girls was 11.3, a difference of 9.1 per cent. This pattern is repeated for the second category, the figures for the boys exceeding that of the girls by 7.2 per cent. In contrast, there is a larger number of girls at the higher end of the scale. For example, 7.2 per cent more girls than boys claim to be listening to two to four programmes, while the difference for the category which ranged from five to nine is 9.1 per cent. The result of the chi^2 test shows that there is a significant association between the two variables ($x^2 = 19.6$, df = 3 $p < 0.05$). There was sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis at this level of significance.

Exposure to educational broadcasting (radio) at school

Educational Broadcasting programmes on radio and television are provided by the Ministry of Education as support systems for language teaching. Therefore, some effort was made to ascertain to what extent 'structured, mediated' listening, first by radio, was being achieved at school. The term structured, mediated listening is being used to refer to a possible situation where the educational programme is used as a stimulus to generate talk. It is also being used in contrast to the more passive listening which pupils might do at home. DES (The Bullock Report, 1975:150) notes that the efficiency of listening is limited if there is passivity - "People listen best when they have to take some action upon the information they have received".

However, only minimal use was being made of the radio in both types of schools. 50 per cent of the All-Age Schools reported a lack of radios, 16.6 per cent a total lack of use, while 33.3 per cent indicated that they were used very infrequently. The picture for the Secondary Schools was not substantially better: 25 per cent reported a lack of sets; 25 per cent a total lack of use; another 25 per cent revealed that they were unused because of difficulty in timetabling and the remaining 25 per cent were very infrequently used. The potential benefits which pupils could derive from actively listening for specifics in a particular programme, and then participating in a discussion were, therefore, largely unrealised.

One striking characteristic of large number of Jamaican adolescents is that they tend to be inarticulate when confronted by audience, context and topic which they judge necessitates the standard form of language. However, there is no question of verbal deficit, because at another level, and in other situations they would be fluent and articulate. The view again being posited here is pupils' lack of access to the language which they are expected to acquire. Pupils have already completely mastered JC; if they must acquire SE then they need to be constantly exposed to authentic models of this language.

Incidence of television viewing in the home

Pupils were also asked to name their favourite television programmes. Again, these have been categorised, a few examples of the programmes cited and a brief comment is made on the language used in the broadcasts.

1. Musicals

'The Best of the Midnight Special' and 'Solid Gold'. The first is an American musical and the second is based on popular music.

2. Information

'Sports', 'Soccer Special', 'Boxing', 'Saturday Sports Special', 'International News Highlights', 'J.B.C. News', 'Commentary' and 'Jamaica Information Service'.

3. Children's programme

'Ring Ding', 'Children's Hour', 'Little House on the Prairie' and 'Cartoons'.

4. Movies

These are mainly based on Westerns, Detective themes, Horror, Mystery and Adventure.

5. Comedies - English and American

'Shelly', 'Benny Hill', 'Different Strokes', 'The Jeffersons', 'Good Times', 'Soap' and 'W.K.R.O. in Cincinnati'.

6. Serials

These include 'Dallas', 'The Secret Agent' and 'The Rockford Files'.

The programmes categorised from 2-6 employ English which is characterised by a high degree of variability. This is due to the large numbers of programmes which have come from the United States of America, the range of accents and registers they offer, and the differential functions of language.

Results and discussion

The responses again fell into five categories - none, one, two to four, five to nine, ten to fourteen - and the frequencies for each are expressed in percentages. 13.7 per cent of all the pupils listened to no programme, 34.0 per cent listed one, 31.5 per cent listened to a range of two to four programmes; 20.8 per cent from five to nine, and only 0.6 per cent claimed that they watched ten to fourteen programmes. Again, these frequencies would suggest that the informal use being made of this resource was fairly limited. Cross-tabulation was computed in order to find out whether there were any gender differences in claimed television viewing. The results can be noted in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11

Cross-tabulation: television programmes: by sex

		Number of Programmes viewed				
		None	One	Two to Four	Five to Nine	Row Totals
S E X	Girls	33 12.6	74 28.2	88 33.6	67 25.6	262
	Boys	39 14.7	105 39.6	78 29.4	43 16.2	265
Column Totals		72 13.7	179 34.0	166 31.5	110 20.8	527 100.0

At first, a ten-cell cross-tabulation table was computed. However since only three girls claimed that they watched a range of ten to twelve programmes, the corresponding cell for the boys was empty. Overall, this had the effect of creating two cells with an expected frequency <5. A second table which eliminated these two cells was run and has been presented with very little loss of information.

The pattern of response was similar to that of the radio programmes. A greater number of boys fell in the two categories at the lower end of the scale, the respective percentages for boys and girls being 14.7 vs 12.6 and 39.6 vs 28.2. Again in contrast, the responses of the girls

placed them at the higher end of the scale. For the category ranging from two to four, the figures for girls and boys respectively was 33.6 vs 29.4 and for the five to nine category they were 25.6 vs 16.2 per cent. Finally, no boys fell in the highest category which ranged from ten to fourteen programmes. The differences in the pattern of responses is reflected in the results of the chi^2 statistic computed for both tables. In each case, there was a significant association between sex and the pattern of response to television programmes: ($x^2 = 11.7$, df = 3, p <0.05). Overall, girls claimed to be listening to more radio programmes and viewing more television programmes than boys.

There seems to be very little empirical evidence of the effect of the media on speech and language development, a lack noted by Hudson (1980) who asserts that this field deserves careful study but has received virtually none. It seems a reasonable hypothesis, however, that when a pupil selects a particular programme, and views it from time to time, with a degree of interest and involvement, then there could be certain cyclical spin-off effects, certain incremental gains over a period. These could include greater familiarity with the Standard language, the ability to make fine discriminations among sounds, to react quickly to a stream of speech, deduce meanings and follow a narrative sequence.

Exposure to educational broadcasting: television at school

The possibilities inherent in educational television were not being exploited to the full. This under-utilisation is not peculiar to Jamaica. A number of constraints are responsible for this as UNESCO (1972) and DES (The Bullock Report, 1975) note. Although the Ministry of Education repeatedly supplies both radio and television sets, many schools report that they were either stolen or were not in working order. 58.4 per cent of the All-Age Schools reported a lack of television sets, 25 per cent declared that they were not in working order, and only 16.6 per cent reported very infrequent use. 41.6

per cent of the Secondary Schools had no sets, 33.3 per cent claimed that the shift system and other difficulties of timetabling made it impossible to use the facilities offered, while 25 per cent indicated that they were used very infrequently.

DES (The Bullock Report 1975:323) highlights the use of educational broadcasting in particular as a stimulus for writing and talking:

> Radio and television programmes provide children and teachers with a common experience which can be adapted to the needs and capabilities of individual pupils. There is a tremendous potential in educational broadcasting, and we believe that teachers should continue to be provided with this valuable source of stimulus for talking, reading and writing.

In sum, it could be said that neither the claimed informal utilisation of the mass media at home, nor the resources of educational broadcasting at school were providing pupils with sufficient access to the Standard variety of language. There is such a dearth of local programmes on commercial radio and television. Educational broadcasting could therefore provide an invaluable service by giving pupils the opportunity to hear and experience educated Jamaican Standard in relevant and meaningful contexts.

If certain factors militate against pupils' language acquisition; these will eventually be reflected in their language performance. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:183-4) have noted, in general, that children are assumed to have the same innate capacity to learn the linguistic systems of their community, but this has not been demonstrated to any appreciable extent beyond the earliest years. They state that it is not known whether subsequent complexities of grammar or lexicon pose problems for the learner. They conclude:

> But apparent differences in capacity to cope with more than one language-system in multilingual situations are more likely to stem from differences of access and, ... from differences of motivation, rather than from differences of capacity.

The view being strongly posited again at this point is that 'differences of access' is one of the most significant factors which operate against the pupils of one Jamaica - those in this sector of the educational system.

6.4 ACCESS TO SE THROUGH THE WRITTEN WORD

The next aspect of language use to which some attention was directed in this enquiry was pupils' claimed exposure to and experience of the written word. This is particularly important, because at some stage the Jamaican child would have realised that, while Jamaican Creole has a rich oral tradition, the advertisements, cartoons, captions on television, posters, notices on billboards and hoardings are rarely, if ever, written in Creole. They would also become aware that newspapers, books, textbooks are written in SE. Therefore the printed word is a modality which belongs to one language much more than to the other. No in-depth discussion of the many complex and somewhat controversial issues and problems of reading will be attempted at this point. The intent here is to try to ascertain to what extent pupils are exposed to English through their own reading. Consequently, the following three topics will be dealt with:

1. Access to and availability of books

2. Reading climate in schools

3. Claimed reading habits of pupils

Access to and availability of books

Jamaica now operates a highly centralised National Library Service which provides resources for the entire island through its network of Parish and Branch Libraries, Book Centres and Bookmobiles. One important facet of its work is the Schools' Library Service with its specialist staff of children's librarians. Traditionally, their rôle was mainly an advisory one as they helped the Grammar/High Schools to establish and maintain school libraries. In the early seventies, however, when the Ministry of Education introduced the National Curriculum Thrust for all Secondary and All-Age Schools, Libraries and Educational Broadcasting Services were designated as support systems for the Secondary sector. The scope of the Schools Library Service was therefore widened to include complete responsibility for book selection and the provision of adequate

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resources for all Secondary and All-Age Schools. In this field, the Schools Library Service provides the up-to-date knowledge, experience and expertise, which the schools themselves could not reasonably be expected to provide.

While there was no doubt about the quality of the books provided, there was less certainty about 'adequacy' in terms of actual numbers of books. Here, the word is being used flexibly. No arbitrary measure can be applied since this word only has meaning in relation to school size, actual utilisation patterns of school in general, the Grade Nines in particular; and, in this context, the needs perceived by Principal/Vice-Principal, English Department Head, Teacher Librarian and/or Grade Nine Co-ordinators.

An attempt was therefore made to find out how these members of staff rated the library in terms of adequacy. 50 per cent of the Secondary Schools assessed their libraries as being adequate, while the figure for the All-Age Schools was 66.6 per cent. However, one could argue that, given the actual size of the larger schools in the sample and the financial constraints which were present in the island at the time, complete satisfaction could hardly be achieved both quantitatively and qualitatively. The integrated approach to the provision of books throughout the island could mean, however, that the Parish and Branch Libraries, Book Centres and Bookmobiles would complement the resources offered by the schools. This conjecture was later confirmed in the data when pupils indicated the sources from which they obtained their books:

Both School and Parish Library	:	32.6
Solely from the Parish Library	:	17.4
Solely from the School Library	:	30.0
Solely from the Home	:	5.0
Other sources (borrowing from friends, or relatives or purchasing books themselves)	:	15.0

Here, school and parish library account for 80 per cent of the books. The figure for the School Library must be interpreted with some caution

however. It will become apparent later that 'Children's Own', a junior newspaper, has a high readership. This publication is only available at school. Consequently, if some pupils read this alone, then the School Library will seem to assume a greater rôle in book provision theoretically than in actual practice.

Reading climate in schools

In this enquiry, two questions were asked which gave some indication of the extent to which these schools were attempting to provide a climate for reading. The first was whether or not there was a teacher-librarian. This question seemed necessary because the effective management of library resources poses specific problems referred to by Lunzer and Gardner (1979:224) as the "dearth of teachers with sufficient expertise and interest in this field". All the Secondary Schools in the sample had at least one teacher-librarian, unlike the All-Age Schools.

The explanation lies in the differential provision of the two school types already discussed in Chapter Five. While all the Secondary Schools do have a facility called a library which is used exclusively for this purpose, the All-Age Schools do not have comparable facilities, although they do have collections of books. Consequently, while there are teachers with overall responsibility for books, there are no teacher-librarians in the strictest sense of the word. In some ways, it could be said that they face the dilemma pointed out by the DES (The Bullock Report 1975:304) - of the tension posed by the need to "conserve book stock by locking it away for most of the week, or to risk losing it by allowing unsupervised open access".

The second question sought to ascertain whether there was any integration of reading in the general English programme. DES (The Bullock Report 1975:304) in commenting on the dual nature of the librarian's task notes that

it is suggested on the one hand that the chartered librarian
has the indispensable skills of management and bibliography and
a knowledge of children's literature. It is argued on the

other that since the library ought to be an integral part of the educational function of the school the librarian should have training and experience in teaching.

In the Jamaican context, the teacher-librarians are freed from the technical duties associated with library science. As members of the English Department, these staff members could help pupils to have a positive encounter with books. The printed could be explored and shared in a number of meaningful ways. 50 per cent of the Secondary Schools indicated that there was some integration, while the remaining 50 per cent gave a negative response.

Meaningful integration would be very difficult for the All-Age Schools, because of the lack of an English Department, in the strictest sense of the term. However, 50 per cent of the All-Age Schools indicated either that pupils were timetabled for a library period or that there was integration to some extent. In none of the libraries or classrooms were there any displays or other overt signs of pupils' reading. The claimed reading habits of pupils is shown in table 6.12.

Table 6.12

Reading habits of pupils by school type

Categories of books	Total No. of Sec'y Readers	% in Sec'y Schools	Total No. of pupils	% in All-Age Schools	Overall %
	332		183		515
Mystery & Adventure	179	34.8	123	23.8	58.6
Children's Own	168	32.6	121	23.5	56.1
Cowboy stories	156	30.3	88	17.1	47.4
Crime & Detective	137	26.6	82	15.9	42.5
Horror	55	10.7	25	4.9	15.6
Career	38	7.4	32	6.2	13.6
Great lives	33	6.4	22	4.3	10.7
Travel	29	5.6	18	3.5	9.1

This table has been computed in such a way that each of the following can be easily noted:

1. The actual numbers of pupils in the Secondary Schools out of the total of 332 pupils who claimed to read each category.

2. The corresponding numbers in All-Age Schools.

3. The percentages for both school types and the combined percentages out of a total of 515 (15 indicating that they read nothing at all).

Expressed in percentages the frequencies for 'Children's Own' is 56.1 per cent. As already noted, it is a newspaper with a low difficulty level, which probably accounts for the high readership among pupils in both school types. 'Mystery and Adventure', 'Cowboy stories', 'Crime and Detective' fall high on the list of reading interests. The response here is not surprising, since stories, in one form or another, form an integral part of our daily lives. So much of our personal thinking is composed of little stories, so much of our interaction with others consists of the narration of daily events and experiences.

Consequently, narrative fiction is the genre which forms part of the psyche of every individual, and for many is the most familiar genre. In addition, there is an interesting link here with claimed television viewing, in that these three categories repeatedly appear among the television programmes recorded by pupils. The high incidence of narrative fiction in children's reading has been noted by a number of experts in children's literature. In Great Britain, for example, the large scale research conducted by Whitehead, Capey, Maddren and Wellings (1977) indicated that this genre accounted for 77 per cent of pupils' reading.

For the pupils in both Secondary and All-Age Schools, the frequencies expressed in percentages for the categories 'Career', 'Great Lives' and 'Travel' were very low indeed, the figures being 15.6, 10.7, 9.1 respectively. This is not really surprising. There may be a number of contributory factors. One could be that the transition from fiction to non-fiction might not be too easy for many pupils, and so could

necessitate some mediation by teachers. Another factor might be the differences between speech and writing already discussed in Chapter Four, and the new insights required to make use of the written word.

Here, perhaps, a lack of these understandings, a lack of flexibility in reading might militate more against reading non-fiction than fiction. In this connection, it might be noted too that pupils do not seem to be very familiar with all the genres in the libraries. For example, the libraries contain an exciting collection of the newest science fiction books. At first, this was included as a category, but had to be deleted since it soon became apparent that pupils did not really know what the words meant and could not name even a single title. One notable exception was Deon, a sensitive pupil, with a tremendous knowledge of books, and a deep-seated desire to become a writer.

Although these findings of claimed exposure to the written word must be interpreted with some caution, yet the first four categories of books, 'Mystery and Adventure', 'Children's Own', 'Cowboy' and 'Crime and Detective' stories indicate that pupils do have some exposure to the written word and to SE. It is worth noting that the books are very carefully chosen indeed. For example, Cowboy stories do not reflect anything but the use of educated Standard. In selecting books which reflect the highly focused Standard variety, the National Library Service is carrying out the policy of the Ministry of Education.

Published research provides little evidence that Secondary pupils do read extensively. Whitehead, Capey, Maddren and Wellings (1977) noted three distinct trends in the reading programmes of 10+ - 14+ Secondary pupils. These researchers observed that large numbers of pupils evinced no interest in reading - the proportion becoming greater as pupils grew older; a marked decline in the actual number of books read, and a decrease in the proportion of pupils who were active, persistent readers. Lunzer and Gardner (1979) found that attention to the three modalities; reading, writing and listening were fairly evenly distributed in Junior schools. However, in Secondary schools listening predominated since few

lessons outside of the English curriculum provide pupils with the opportunity of reading as learners.

Here, the phrase 'reading as learners' is extremely crucial and particularly relevant to Jamaican pupils. For example, the bulk of the literature which these pupils would encounter in libraries would be in the best tradition of British literature. Here pupils would have access to and begin to experience 'highly focused, highly codified literary standard'. This would represent no easy series of gradation from spoken Jamaican Creole to interlanguage to educated Jamaican and Standard British English.

'Encounter with books', could therefore mean greater familiarity with and access to the written word and the kind of effortless learning described by Smith (1984:4) when

> knowledge of all the conventions of writing gets into our head
> like much of our knowledge of spoken language and indeed of the
> world in general, without awareness that learning is taking
> place.

If this is a reasonable hypothesis, then syntactic structures not found in JC could be acquired in this way, in particular, the present and the past tense. Lack of mastery of these two basic tenses makes confident speech in the Standard variety and facility in even the simplest writing tasks virtually impossible.

Reading has a special value in helping pupils to become not only readers and learners but also writers. When pupils live in homes where parents and guardians are not really equipped to facilitate pupils reading and language development, the onus falls on the schools. Educational institutions could do much to help pupils to gain the much needed insights discussed, to bridge the gaps between the spoken and written word and in general to help them to make an effective and meaningful encounter with books.

6.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The empirical investigation began with a realistic attempt to gain some insight into and some understanding of pupils' linguistic world. In this way, I began to address one of the language goals of the Secondary sector - competence in SE. I used linguistic focusing as a framework within which to present and interpret certain aspects of the data.

The social/occupational stratification of parents determined that JC was the language most readily available to these pupils. Differential organisational patterns of households, different interactional patterns with parents, adults, other children and siblings generate conditions conducive to linguistic focusing, although at first the process was limited to JC. Since no ideal, homogeneous Creole exists, pupils are constantly exposed to a good deal of variability linked with a wide range of social contexts: topics, geographical, urban, rural and age-group variants. For the vast majority of pupils, therefore, the language of socialisation was JC though characterised by a high degree of variability.

My approach was not meant to be deterministic. Consequently, I presented some evidence that young children <u>can</u> and <u>do</u> demonstrate remarkable ability to acquire one or more languages provided that they have adequate access to these languages at home and/or at school. Since the homes and families of the majority of pupils in the sample cannot facilitate the process of linguistic focusing beyond JC, then Early Childhood education became the focus of the enquiry. 60.8 per cent of the pupils began their schooling at age seven. They therefore had no exposure to Early Childhood education. If one adds the 28.8 per cent who only attended Basic schools to this group, then 89.6 per cent of these Secondary school pupils had no real opportunities to acquire SE during their formative years.

The data in Section 6.3 sought to ascertain what access pupils had to SE through the resources of radio and television both informally at home, and in the more structured situations at school. The underlying

assumption is that much informal learning could take place through exposure to the media. Pupils do have some exposure to Reggae and Dub-poetry which constitute other ways of hearing JC spoken. Pupils do have some exposure to SE though characterised by variability. This is due to the content of different programmes, the use of educated Jamaican English and 'expatriate' English in imported programmes. Both radio and television were seriously under-utilised in schools. Consequently the potential for language development which is inherent in educational broadcasting for language development was largely unrealised.

Section 6.4 focused attention on pupils' encounter with the printed word and the less familiar but highly focused Standard variety in books. The National Schools Library Service as well as Parish, Branch Libraries and Bookmobiles constituted the main source of books. The data revealed that pupils are exposed to varied genres in different degrees. However, it is not known with any degree of accuracy the extent to which pupils have learned to read as readers, learners and writers. One interesting trend which emerged from the data is the difference in exposure and access to SE between boys and girls - and by implication greater access to SE for girls than boys.

So far, the discussion of linguistic focusing has centred on the acquisition of the forms of one or more languages. But as I indicated in Chapter Two, when we learn a language we are learning simultaneously much more than a linguistic system, much more than its particular phonology, lexis, semantics and morpho-syntax. In such situations, the human mind acts as a kind of filter through which knowledge, understanding and insights pass. These create a lasting impression.

The following experience of Reisman (1970:138-139) cited by Rickford (1983:2) lends considerable support to the statements above:

> I was bouncing a five-year old on my knee and talking to her, using Creole forms, when she turned to me and said, 'You talk bad,' and proceeded to turn my remarks into English.

Reisman's anecdote indicates that this five-year-old had already

internalised the differential status of Creole and English in Antigua as well as the social contexts appropriate for each. More importantly, she had begun to identify the social groups which tend to be associated more with one language than another. It is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that Reisman was a close friend of the family - a family which probably placed great value on SE. In such a situation, Creole was not the language variety which she considered appropriate for Reisman nor for that particular situation. But it is not the intention to generalise from one example. Indeed, Chapter Two has shown that some historians, and other influential men and women placed Creole languages at the lowest end of the linguistic hierarchy. Not only did these individuals attach negative stereotypes to these languages, but in some cases these were also generalised to speakers.

Teachers and pupils also exist as members of a society. Unconsciously, intuitively and effortlessly they too learn to make judgments about the languages and language varieties in their midst. They too internalise the linguistic norms current in their society. They too experience the same processes of conditioning and construct theories of language and of the patterning of language behaviour in the society. Possibly, like this Antiguan girl, they also have certain emotional reactions to Creole and SE.

Linguistic focusing must therefore be extended to include the acquisition of these extra-systemic insights, knowledge and understandings. If the acquisition of JC and SE is considered in isolation from these issues, then it would be impossible even to begin to address the second goal of the Secondary sector - appreciation of the Creole. The presentation of the data moves through the stages illustrated in Figure 6.1. In a sense, one might hypothesise that these are similar to the stages pupils actually go through as they gain experience of the linguistic world around them.

Figure 6.1

The stages in reporting the empirical investigation

The process of linguistic focusing: JC,
and the question of access to SE.

Access to extra-systemic knowledge, for
example,   how   patterns   of   social
interaction (language use) reflect   the
social meaning of language.

Attitudinal judgments of SE and JC

V Appreciation
  of Creole
  (Language goal 2)

Competence in SE: emphasis on written SE

Competence
in English
(Language
 goal 1)
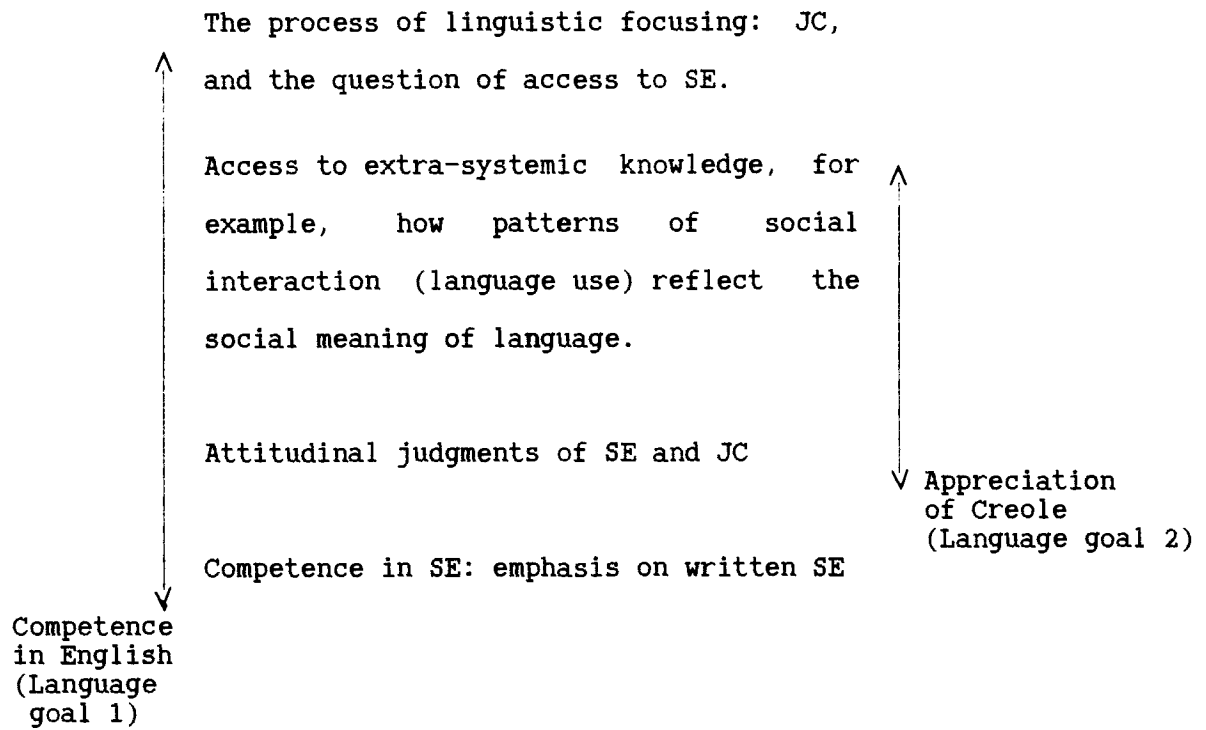
Chapter Seven will begin to address the second language goal of the
Secondary sector, as it presents pupils' views of JC and SE usage.

CHAPTER 7

PUPIL PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE USE

"When anyone speaks Jamaican Creole to me, I regard it as a sign of their deep disrespect for me." (Robert)

"I love and respect my mother and always speak English to her, because it would not be polite or respectful to use Jamaican Creole to her." (Peter)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The second phase of the investigation begins by assessing whether these 530 pupils do appreciate JC, thus achieving one of the language goals laid down by the Ministry of Education. The successful implementation of such a policy relies on a number of assumptions. Some of these have already been mentioned on page 132. In addition, Jamaican Secondary pupils and their teachers should have internalised the social and economic significance of JC and SE, and the social contexts appropriate to each. They should have formed positive attitudinal judgments of JC. Such a directive also assumes that - irrespective of the ways in which other members of the society perceive JC - these pupils and their teachers view the language positively.

I begin with the proviso that <u>one</u> answer given by subjects in response to <u>one</u> question asked might not provide an accurate and representative view of pupils' attitudinal judgment of JC. In order to achieve a balance, in order to obtain as accurate an assessment as possible, I approached this facet of language behaviour from different angles. Chapter Five documents the direct and indirect methods used to elicit data, and Appendix 2 records the range of questions presented to the respondents.

A consideration of language use in situations which are characterised by linguistic diversity inevitably raises a number of basic questions. I begin by documenting some of these. Fishman (1971:15) asks "*who* speaks *what* language to *whom* and *when?*" Trudgill, Labov and Fasold (1979:viii) pose the following crucial questions:

> What languages, dialects or styles are employed in different
> situations; what are the social norms for using language in
> different communities; what social meanings and connotations
> do different varieties of language acquire, and how may these
> be manipulated in social interaction?

The answers to these questions have far-reaching implications for education, and could give teachers and educational planners greater insight into the nature of their task, particularly in Creole-Standard situations.

Research questions

The investigation directs attention first to the pupils as it seeks to assess their insight, knowledge and understanding of the linguistic world around them. Concern to explore the issue of language use from the perspective of these users' themselves leads to the following interrelated research questions:

1. What is the pattern of claimed language use (a) to different persons, (b) in different situations?

2. How does claimed language use vary according to the person and situation?

3. Are there any differences in the ways boys and girls claim to manipulate the linguistic systems?

Domains of language use: a framework for data presentation

A number of factors seem to determine which speech code an individual chooses in a particular situation. In commenting on this facet of language behaviour, Fishman (1971:|5) suggests that "habitual language choice in multilingual speech communities or speech networks is far from being a random matter of momentary inclination". Giglioli (1972:8) supports Fishman's view and suggests that "sociolinguistics has shown that speech is not the haphazard result of mere individual choices, the manifestation of a person's psychological states, but that it is remarkably patterned".

Some researchers use the concept of 'domains' of language use to interpret this facet of language behaviour. Examination of pupils' responses reveal a certain patterning which is similar to some of the domains of language use identified by certain sociolinguists. I shall clarify and define the concept and then use it in the presentation of the findings.

Fishman (1971) uses the term to designate the major clusters of interaction situations which occur in multilingual settings. Downes (1984:49), who acknowledges Fishman's contribution to the development of the notion of domains, suggests that it provides ways of studying the distribution of language varieties in a society as a whole, and defines the construct as:

> a grouping together of recurring situation types in such a way that one of the languages or varieties in a repertoire, as opposed to the others, normally occurs in that class of situations. And members of the speech community judge that the use of that variety, and not the others, is appropriate to that domain.

Fishman (1971) who has been credited with developing the concept of domains, reviews its use by some of the earliest researchers. A few of these early formulations will therefore be mentioned. For example, Schmidt-Rohr (1932) identified nine domains: the family, the playground and street, the school (subdivided into language of instruction, subject of instruction, and language of recess and entertainment), the Church, literature, the press, military, the courts and governmental administration. Frey (1945) found that home, school and church were adequate to analyse Amish talk. Barker (1947) who studied trilingual Indians used a socio-psychological framework for his analysis, distinguishing between the intimate and informal, formal and intergroup domains.

Other researchers have differentiated specific rôle relationships within the family. For example, Braunshausen (1928) and Mackey (1962, 1965, 1966) have specified family members, for example, father, mother, child; thus implying that language behaviour could be affected by differentiated rôle relationships within the family. Fishman (1971)

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regards the family as the most critical domain. He argues that the concept of family domains has been more usefully developed by Gross (1951) who has delineated specific dyads within the family: grandmother to grandfather, grandfather to child and so on. Comparing Mackey's analysis with that of Gross, Fishman (1971:21) points out the merits in Gross's approach:

> The difference between these two approaches is quite considerable. Not only does the second approach recognise that interacting members of a family (as well as the participants in most other domains of language behavior) are *hearers* as well as *speakers* (i.e., that there may be a distinction between multilingual *comprehension* and multilingual *production)*, but it also recognises that their language behavior may be more than merely a matter of individual preference or facility but also a matter of *rôle-relations*.

Barker's categories are broad and general, Schmidt-Rohr's the most specific while Gross's interpretation of the family dyads is useful. The following domains of language use will provide a framework for interpreting the data and presenting an overview of the findings on eighteen items:

Social/occupational

Doctor, Dentist, Bus-conductor and Marketwoman

School

Headteacher and Classteacher

Outgroup — Visitors from abroad

Tourists and Relatives from abroad

Church

Parson or Minister of Religion

Family

Father and Mother

Group Identification and Acceptance

Telling jokes, Playing Games and Impressing someone

Personal expression (Language for self)

Anger, Excitement and Self-defence

The analysis of patterns of language use inevitably leads to a consideration of the co-variation of language and sex. An important question which might be asked is: Are the responses independent of sex or are the differences in the distributions associated more with one sex than the other? Chi-Square statistic was used as a test of significance. The observed trend in the data which would guide the search for evidence was formulated as the following null hypothesis (HO): *Boys and girls show no differences in their use of language to different persons and in different situations.* The Chi-square statistic is then used to judge the validity of the hypothesis and provide evidence which leads to its acceptance or rejection. But, the use of such a test represents only one means of interpreting observed frequencies. The juxtaposition of the responses of boys and girls on each item also makes it possible to compare the frequencies, noting and later summarising any observed trend. The investigation employs both approaches.

7.2 PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE: PERSONS

One proviso must be made at this point, however. A distinction needs to be drawn between empirical research where the emphasis is on analysing speech collected in a variety of situations, and research projects which elicit claimed language use. For example, the term SE will be used both for convenience, and as a way of distinguishing between the two main linguistic systems which have dominated the argument in Part One of the thesis. However, the use of the term is not necessarily meant to suggest that pupils' theoretical knowledge about the language systems is matched by their abilities to produce SE as the term was defined in Chapter Three.

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 outline the distinct patterns of language use. In order to effect some economy in the presentation of the data four other tables give the most representative items in some detail. (Appendix 9 contains the remaining tables). The original question

presented 12 persons in the order outlined in table 7.1. Pupils claimed use of SE radically re-ordered the 12 individuals, dividing them into three sub-sets, while locating them at three points on a kind of linguistic spectrum. In contrast, the pattern of language use in specific situations shown in Table 7.2 becomes much more oriented to JC.

Table 7.1

Pattern of SE usage to specific persons

Original order presented: Language used to your/a:	Re-ordered by pupils' responses	Frequency expressed in percentages

Mother
Dentist
Classteacher
Tourist
Bus conductor
Father
Friends
Doctor
Headteacher
Parson or minister
Relatives from abroad
Marketwoman
	1. Doctor
	   Headteacher
	   Tourist
	   Parson or Minister
	   Dentist
	   Classteacher
	   Relatives from
	   abroad
		96.1
		95.5
		95.1
		93.9
		92.3
		90.4
		90.3

	2. Father
	   Mother
	   Bus-conductor
		60.9
		56.9
		52.4

	3. Friend Marketwoman	21.6 19.8

Table 7.2

Pattern of JC usage in specific situations

Original order presented: Language used when:	Re-ordered by pupils' responses	Frequency expressed in percentages
Telling a joke Playing games Angry Excited Defending yourself Trying to impress someone	Angry Telling jokes Playing games Excited Defending yourself Trying to impress someone	89.1 84.8 74.4 54.7 56.3 13.6

Social/occupational sphere

The following responses assigned to the Dentist, the Bus-conductor and the Marketwoman exemplify subsets one, two and three respectively. The frequencies expressed in percentages of SE range the four persons in

the social/occupational domain as follows:

The Doctor	: 96.1%
The Dentist	: 93.4%
The Bus-conductor	: 54.6%
The Marketwoman	: 21.8%

Tables 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 present the frequency distribution of the languages used to the Dentist, the Bus-conductor and the Marketwoman.

Table 7.3

Frequency distribution of languages used to the Dentist: by sex

<table>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>1. JC</td><td>2. SE</td><td>3. Both</td><td>Row Total</td><td>Missing data</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">S
E
X</td><td>Girls</td><td>9
3.6</td><td>241
96.0</td><td>1
0.4</td><td>251</td><td>14</td><td>265</td></tr>
<tr><td>Boys</td><td>23
9.1</td><td>225
88.6</td><td>6
2.4</td><td>254</td><td>11</td><td>265</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Column
Total</td><td>32
6.3</td><td>466
92.3</td><td>7
1.4</td><td>505
100.0</td><td>25</td><td>=530</td></tr>
</table>

Some disparity becomes evident in the pattern of responses between boys and girls. In column 2, which accounts for 92.3 per cent of the total number of responses, 7.4 per cent more girls than boys claim to use SE to the Dentist. In contrast, 5.5 per cent more boys claim to use JC than the girls. 2.4 per cent of the boys use both languages while the figure for the girls is 0.4, a difference of 2.0 per cent. Clearly, both groups were responding along different dimensions. As a result, the chi-square test (both before and after Yates's correction) shows a significant difference between the patterns of language use for boys and girls. $(x^2 = 10.2, df = 2, p < 0.05)$. Thus, there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis stated on page 201.

Table 7.1 reveals a high incidence of SE usage to the seven persons in sub-set one, the maximum being 96.1 per cent and the minimum 90.2 per cent. In contrast, the figures for the three persons in sub-set two are decidedly lower. Table 7.4 indicates that SE usage to the Bus-conductor falls to 52.4 per cent.

Table 7.4

Frequency distribution of languages used to the Bus-conductor: by sex

		1. JC	2. SE	3. Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	84 33.1	150 59.1	20 7.9	254	11	265
E X	Boys	125 48.8	117 45.7	14 5.5	256	9	265
	Column Total	209 41.0	267 52.4	34 6.7	510 100.0	20	=530

The responses seem fairly evenly divided between JC and SE. However, an inspection of the joint distribution of the frequencies reveals polarisation in the languages used by boys and girls to the Bus-conductor:

1. 48.8 per cent of the boys claim to use JC while the figure for the girls is 33.1 per cent, a difference of 15.7 per cent.

2. In contrast, a greater number of girls than boys use SE on this item, the figures being 59.1 per cent and 45.7 per cent respectively, a difference of 13.4 per cent.

3. The disparity is much slighter in column 3. More girls than boys claim to use both languages thus accounting for the difference of 2.4 per cent in the joint responses.

Thus the analysis of the frequencies highlights a disparity in the pattern of language used by boys and girls. As a result, the Chi-square test shows a significant difference between the two variables. (x^2 = 13.1, df = 2, p <0.05). There is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The respondents place the Marketwoman at the lowest end of the linguistic hierarchy. Table 7.5 shows the dramatic shift from SE to JC usage.

Table 7.5

Frequency distribution of languages used to the Marketwoman: by sex

		1. JC	2. SE	3. Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	179 71.9	50 20.1	20 8.0	249	16	265
E X	Boys	172 74.8	45 19.6	13 5.7	230	35	265
	Column Total	351 73.3	95 19.8	33 6.9	479 100.0	51	=530

Column 1, which accounts for 73.3 per cent of the total responses, pinpoints the strong shift to JC. Despite the disparity shown by the missing observations, a remarkable uniformity exists in the patterns of responses of both boys and girls. For JC usage, the difference between the responses of boys and girls is 2.9 per cent and 2.3 per cent for both languages. The results of the chi-square test show that there is no significance (x^2 = 1.1, df = 2, p > 0.05). The data provide sufficient evidence to support the null hypothesis on this particular item.

The use of JC becomes more pronounced as pupils respond to different situations. Table 7.6 shows the pattern of language used in expressing anger.

Table 7.6

Frequency distribution of languages used when angry: by sex

		1. JC	2. SE	3. Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	231 90.2	17 6.6	8 3.1	256	9	265
E X	Boys	218 87.9	25 10.1	5 2.0	248	17	265
	Column Total	449 89.1	42 8.3	13 2.6	504 100.0	26	=530

The use of JC accounts for 89.1 per cent of the total responses. Table 7.6 reveals a good deal of uniformity which suggests that boys and girls were responding along similar dimensions. The overall similarity in the

patterns of response is reflected in the results of the chi-square test (x^2 = 2.4, df = 2, p > 0.05). Thus the data provide support for the null hypothesis.

If these responses are regarded as an evaluative scale then they certainly reflect pupils' knowledge of the interrelated educational/ occupational/social stratification in the society and its linguistic correlates - SE or JC to a greater or lesser degree. It is not really surprising that the Doctor is placed on the highest point of the scale, with the Dentist a close second, while the Bus-conductor occupies a mid-point and the Marketwoman the lowest end of the scale. The polarisation in the claimed use of language to the Doctor and Dentist vis-à-vis the Marketwoman also reflects pupils' awareness of the differential status of SE and JC.

It is interesting that pupils assign the Bus-conductor a higher place on the evaluative scale than the Marketwoman. In fact, their overall evaluation of the 12 persons presented to them closely follows the socio-economic status classification of occupations set out in Figueroa, P. (1976:160-162) already used in Chapter Six. Their knowledge would have been learned unconsciously, intuitively from their experiences in the wider society, not from this text which they would neither have seen nor read.

An explanation of the differences in pupils' responses to these two individuals may lie in the fact that courtesy is one of the qualities considered essential for bus-conductors employed with the Jamaica Omnibus Service. The second of the two quotations cited on page 197 gives some indication that some pupils closely link SE with courtesy and propriety. Some support for this statement also comes from other pupils who expressed the view that Secondary pupils should always behave courteously in public. Although pupils might have internalised the norms current in the society yet they make their own sensitive discriminations between persons. It is not surprising that on this item there is a significant difference between the patterns of language used by both sexes ⸴

A number of factors might help to explain the low frequencies in SE assigned to the Marketwoman. Unlike the supermarkets and groceries where the ethnic group is largely Coloured, White, Chinese and Syrian, the municipal markets have a predominantly black population drawn from the lower socio-economic groups in different parishes. These markets become veritable language laboratories where urban, rural, geographical and age group variants of JC abound. Tacit agreement exists among individuals on the norms of social interaction in these markets. This is reflected in certain expectations of the patterning of language use. For example, vendors expect and accept SE from persons who are coloured, white visitors to the island and foreigners generally. The pattern of expectation is different for the majority of the Afro-Caribbean population. Vendors generally expect that some Jamaicans should use JC when speaking to them. The use of English sometimes receives adverse comments - since its use is interpreted as a deliberate attempt to widen the social distance between Afro-Caribbean buyer and seller.

Although pupils might well be aware of the norms of usage expected in the market, yet 19.8 per cent thought that English was the more appropriate language choice. There may be two explanations. During informal discussions, some pupils expressed the view that it is improper, disrespectful and incorrect to use JC to any adult. The fact that no significant differences exist in the pattern of responses of boys and girls on this item, suggests that both sexes have learned a kind of linguistic etiquette which influences their choice of language variety to the Marketwoman.

School

The two individuals assigned to this domain are the Headteacher and Classteacher, pupils claimed SE usage to these two individuals being 95.5 per cent and 90.4 per cent respectively. Pupils placed the Headteacher high on the evaluative scale closest to the Doctor. One explanation for

their use of language on this item is that a school may be said to enshrine SE values. Pupils are well aware that their speech may convey information about them other than the content of the message. They also expressed the view that the language most appropriate for the school was English. That both girls and boys alike internalise these norms is reflected in the fact that there is no significant difference in the patterns of language use to both Headteacher and Classteacher.

However, there may be a number of reasons why pupils place the Classteacher lower on the evaluative scale than the Headteacher (90.4 per cent vs 95.5 per cent). This numerical difference may reflect greater social distance and a much more formal relationship with the latter. In addition, the lack of contact between pupils and Headteacher is exacerbated in the larger schools and those which operate the shift system. A much more informal relationship may exist between pupils and their Classteacher. In All-Age schools where the concept of specialist teaching is virtually unknown, a Classteacher faces pupils for most or all of the school day. Greater use of JC may also suggest that these teachers themselves use speech forms other than the educated Standard in their classrooms (an issue already discussed in Chapter Four).

Outgroup (Foreign Visitors)

Expressed in percentages, the frequency distribution of language use to the two persons in this domain is:

    The Tourist   : English (95.1%), JC (4.2%), Both (0.8%)
    Relatives   : English (90.3%), JC (7.0%), Both (2.7%)

It is likely that for most pupils, the notion of 'foreign country' or 'abroad' conjures up a number of ideas which may be rejected or reinforced by actual contact with different persons who have lived overseas.

Some of the respondents live in areas which operate a vibrant tourist industry while others have parents who work in tourist-related occupations. Pupils know that JC is unintelligible to the American

tourist and has limited currency internationally. Again, they have expressed the view that it is wrong and incorrect to use any language other than English to a citizen of another country.

Many pupils in rural Jamaica, have contact with seasonal migrant workers who have been employed in the United States. Despite a comparatively brief stay overseas, these individuals return to the island with tremendous modification to their language. Others have contact with relatives, mainly from England, Canada and the United States. Again, there would be a good deal of variability in the language varieties used by relatives from abroad. Pupils sensitively discriminate, varying the frequencies as the domain seems to demand.

Pupils' greater use of JC to the relative from abroad could be based on either or both of the following assumptions:

1. Jamaicans overseas would tend to interact with fellow Jamaicans to the extent that they retain enough knowledge of Creole to be able to understand the language.

2. Given the more relaxed atmosphere which prevails in the family, and the cluster of interactive situations in this domain, there would be the opportunity for the explanation of any Creole sentences which the visiting relative might not be able to understand.

Church

Expressed in percentages, the frequency distribution of language use to the Parson or Minister of Religion is English (93.9%), JC (4.9%), Both (1.3%). There is general agreement among boys and girls that the language most appropriate in this domain is SE, and only minimally should/could JC be used. A possible interpretation of this pattern of language use might be the fact that traditionally, the Church has always occupied a very important place in Jamaican life. The Minister of Religion, therefore, is highly respected, a kind of mystique surrounds him. Since some Jamaicans believe that SE is the language which helps them to convey the respect which seems due to certain individuals, then this factor explains SE usage to the Minister.

In more recent times when a range of violent crimes, galloping inflation, chronic unemployment, fears which stem from different causes, and a kind of meaninglessness and futility have enveloped the society, then the Church becomes much more important. As the Minister responds to the growing needs by assuming multiple roles, he becomes more involved with counselling, pastoral care, social and economic outreach programmes. SE usage possibly reflects the importance, the central role which such an individual plays in people's personal lives.

Another explanation might lie in the fact that, unlike St. Lucia, which employs both French Creole and SE in the mass of the Roman Catholic Church, Jamaican churches operate within a monolingual tradition. To test the validity of this hypothesis, I attended a number of churches of different denominations in four parishes during my four-month period of research. These included:

1. A tiny Presbyterian (United) Church in a small village in Hanover. The Minister, a former Rhodes Scholar, now works in this rural area and offers complete pastoral care to the community.

2. An old, historic Anglican Cathedral in the old Spanish capital of Jamaica, in the parish of St. Catherine.

3. A Roman Catholic Church in Kingston and St. Andrew.

4. A leading urban United Church in Kingston and St. Andrew with a long tradition of Scottish and Irish ministers, now with its first local preacher.

5. A newly established Evangelical Baptist Church in St. Ann with its parent body in the United States. Here the preacher was an American who had lived in the island for some time. The language used throughout these five services was the educated Standard. Only the American preacher used two Creole phrases which created humour.

Fishman's analysis of domains (pages 198-200) highlighted the supreme importance of the family and the possible effects of differentiated rôle-relationships on language use. These ideas might help to explain the particular configuration of language use in this domain. For example, Table 7.1 recorded a high incidence of SE usage to seven persons in subset one. In contrast, the language used to Father and Mother represent a kind of mid-point, that is 60.9 per cent and 56.9 per cent respectively. Table 7.7 highlights the frequency distribution of languages to both parents.

Table 7.7

A. Languages spoken to Mother						
	1. JC	2. SE	3. Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S E X — Girls	83 32.2	144 55.8	31 12.0	258	7	265
Boys	82 31.3	152 58.0	28 10.7	262	3	265
Column Total	165 31.7	296 56.9	59 11.3	520 100.0	10	=530

B. Languages spoken to Father						
S E X — Girls	71 28.5	154 61.8	24 9.6	249	6	265
Boys	80 31.4	153 60.0	22 8.6	255	10	265
Column Total	151 30.0	307 60.9	46 9.1	504 100.0	26	=530

Data in Chapter Six led us to conclude that the majority of parents and guardians use JC in the homes. It seems particularly interesting therefore that only 31.7 per cent of these pupils claim to use JC to their mothers and 30.0 per cent to their fathers. Particular forms of language behaviour required or expected of one family member vis-à-vis

another seem to be tacitly understood by both boys and girls. The remarkable uniformity in the responses of both sexes which is shown in Table 7.7 therefore reflects these shared assumptions about norms of usage within the family.

Some pupils expressed the view that they speak English to their parents so as to please them and let them know that they are making progress in school. Others said that the use of Creole was forbidden in the home. The following observations of Bourhis (1982:52) cast an interesting light on language behaviour among some families in the French West Indies:

> Indeed parents at home try to speak French rather than Creole to improve their child's chances at school where the use of Creole is discouraged. Lefebvre (1974) reports that in Martinique, Creole parents with no knowledge of French speak Creole to their children but require their children to respond in French. [Emphasis added]

Pupils claim to use more SE to their fathers than their mothers. Certain aspects of Jamaican family patterns and child-rearing practices may provide an explanation of this aspect of language behaviour. Many Jamaican pupils, particularly those in the lower socio-economic groups have only a biological father who is not necessarily a part of the household. A father is sometimes an individual whom they might see infrequently, if at all, or with whom they have a nodding acquaintance. In such situations, father-child interaction patterns are largely non-existent. Social distance might therefore explain the greater use of SE to fathers.

In contrast, mothers tend to assume almost all the responsibility for rearing the children, sometimes even when both parents share a home. Much greater opportunities exist for interaction between mothers and children. Greater use of Creole might therefore reflect a greater degree of friendship and solidarity with mothers than fathers. It might not be too far-fetched to suggest also that pupils are much more accustomed to interacting with women rather than men, because the staff of both Primary and Secondary schools are predominantly female. Therefore the

interrelation of a number of factors might explain the percentages assigned to JC.

Friendship

The friendship domain can be conveniently linked with 'social networks', a concept which was originally introduced by Barnes (1954) and used as an analytic tool in a study of the linguistic behaviour of speakers in the Norwegian village of Bremnes. LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985:116) describe social networks as

> those structural complexes within communities made up of chains
> and criss-crossings of friendship, relationship and
> acquaintanceship to which each of us belongs. Networks are a
> means of defining social units with which to correlate kinds of
> linguistic behaviour.

Milroy (1987:46) defines social networks as "the informal social relationships in which everyone is embedded. Each person may be viewed as a focus from which lines radiate to *points* (persons with whom he is in contact)".

Not only have these pupils formed their social networks but they have also 'endowed them with linguistic characteristics'. Expressed in percentages, the frequency distribution of languages used in this domain is JC (64.8%), SE (21.6%, Both (13.6%). The functional distribution seems to reflect a keen awareness of the 'interaction interface'. After evaluating their friends socially, pupils divide them into three main groups. One represents the majority to whom JC seems acceptable, while the second constitutes those with whom English strengthens the bonds of solidarity, and the third becomes the minority for whom intermediate language varieties – a mixture of both lects seems appropriate. The following breakdown of the frequencies reveals a marked similarity in the responses of boys and girls:

	JC	SE	Both
Girls:	165	57	34
Boys:	168	54	36

'Accommodation theory' may serve to explain this facet of language behaviour. First associated with Giles and Powesland (1975), Giles and Smith (1979:46) explain that

> in the development of accommodation theory, the assumption has been made that in all these cases, speech style shifts have occurred so as to encourage further interaction and decrease the perceived discrepancies between the actors.

Accommodation can operate in two directions, towards the less prestigious or more prestigious styles, thus accounting for the disparity between 64.8 per cent assigned to JC and 21.6 per cent to SE.

7.3 PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE: SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

This section directs attention to the functional distribution of language and language varieties in specific situations. As set out in table 7.2, the incidence of JC usage ranges from 89.1 per cent to 13.6 per cent. The six situations fall into two categories loosely designated Group Identification and Acceptance, and Personal Expression: Language for Self.

Group identification and acceptance

Here the incidence of Creole use in telling jokes is 84.8 per cent. The number of respondents among boys and girls is identical. In a sense, it seems incredible that 217 boys and 217 girls drawn from widely differing geographical areas, different school types, who have had different language experiences, should respond in this way. This sharp shift to JC may be explained by the fact that, traditionally, it has been firmly linked with light entertainment and humour. Bennett's (1966) Jamaica Labrish, for example, is characterised by wit, irony and humour as she exposes human foibles, and uses the Creole to make social comments on matters of national and international interest.

Creole verse mainly evokes laughter. During Independence Celebrations in 1983, for example, two folk songs rendered by the National Chorale, and two expressed in music and movement by the Kingston Singers, evoked laughter from the audience at the Creative Arts Centre,

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Mona. Although the composition of the audience at a Secondary School concert was decidedly different from that at the Creative Arts Centre, yet the reaction was exactly the same when any of the performances included JC. Not only is it firmly associated with humour, but the converse is also true. Jamaicans rarely regard JC as a language capable of expressing serious thought. Pupils may also be acutely and painfully aware that certain persons disregard them when they attempt to make serious statements in JC.

Playing games

This item did not differentiate between organised games at school nor the games played in more informal circumstances. However, the distribution for JC and English respectively was: JC (74.4%), SE (19.5%) and Both (6.1%). In a way, the same principles which mediated friendship could be said to be operating here to some extent, but another factor merits some explanation. A marked difference becomes apparent in the responses of boys and girls. A greater percentage of girls claim to use SE in playing games. The converse is true for JC usage. The differences were sufficiently great that the statistical test proves significant.

The interpretation of this discrepancy may be that greater 'toughness' and 'roughness' is usually associated with games played by boys. They would consider JC as the speech style most appropriate for the kind of negotiation which characterises games. At another level, the accommodation theory could be said to be operating. Masculinity is expected of players, therefore speech style shifts in order to achieve peer group approval. But the society operates double standards, certain norms of conduct permitted to boys are considered inappropriate for girls. It is likely that girls themselves know that more decorous behaviour— greater courtesy and propriety—is expected from them. These factors may explain much greater SE usage by girls during this activity.

Impressing someone

I did not specify a particular person, for example, a potential employer, since the answers to such a question would be rather predictable. The use of the indefinite word 'someone' forced boys and girls to attempt their own social evaluation of the hypothetical participant in the speech act. Then their rôles, perceptions, expectations and interpretation of the social situation determined their choice of language. The frequency distribution on this item was: SE (84.3%), JC (13.6%) and Both (2.1%)

The previous experiences of these pupils might have led them to conclude that in order to impress someone, in order to be taken seriously then SE was the more appropriate language choice. JC has an important rôle in expressing anger, in telling jokes or playing games but not in creating a favourable impression. A disparity in the response of boys and girls is sufficiently great that the statistical test is significant, more girls claiming to use SE than the boys.

Personal expression: language for self

The three social situations in this section include language used to express anger, excitement and in defending oneself. The first of these three is treated separately while the other two are treated together, not because of the similarity in states of feeling but because of the similarity in response to both items.

Expressing anger

So far, the data have revealed pupils' knowledge of the social meanings of language and the institutionalised and uninstitutionalised norms. From their earliest years, pupils have been conditioned to associate anger almost exclusively with JC. In sharp contrast with other societies where people's emotions are much more private, some Jamaicans openly express their anger in public. The wide repertoire of abusive statements built up over a long period would not fail to influence the

pupils. Expressed in percentages, the frequencies are 89.1 per cent, the highest incidence of JC usage recorded not only in these six situations but on the eighteen items. Not only do pupils regard JC as the more appropriate language for conveying such an emotion, but the response of boys and girls is so similar that the statistical test shows no significance.

Excitement and self-defence

A comparison of the frequencies, expressed in percentages for the following items, reveals some uniformity in the way pupils responded to the first two situations. The third shows a marked discrepancy:

Excitement   : SE (54.7%), JC (40.7%), Both (4.7%)

Self-defence : SE (56.3%), JC (38.4%), Both (5.3%)

Anger   : SE (8.3%), JC (89.1%), Both (2.6%)

Here, it is obvious that pupils do not respond mechanically, but discriminate sensitively from situation to situation.

Summary of the findings

The data in Section 7.1 and Summary Table 7.8 indicate that pupils have acquired sociolinguistic knowledge of the complex multidimensional linguistic world around them. In Jamaica, no sharp correlation exists between languages and national, social/cultural identity. Within the large Afro-Caribbean population, a number of social groups co-exist. These include the Governor-General and members of the ruling elite, members of the most prestigious professions, as well as the unskilled. These groups are defined in some measure by their level of education, their habitual use of the Standard language, occupational stratification, type of residence, location, type of cars owned, consumer durables, the ability to afford to employ a maid or gardener, and to take foreign holidays. In this context, language is not invariably linked with race or ethnic grouping, but rather on gradations of social stratification determined by a number of parameters.

Pupils' patterns of language use therefore suggest that they have fully internalised the norms of usage and the parameters of variability within the society. Summary Table 7.8 shows that pupils regard SE as the language most appropriate to be used to the Doctor, Headteacher, Tourist, Parson or Minister of Religion, the Dentist, Classteacher and Relatives from abroad. A much lower incidence of SE usage to Father, Mother and Bus-conductor becomes apparent and conversely a much greater use of JC. The functional distribution of language to Friends and the Marketwoman shows the sharpest shift to JC and consequently the lowest incidence of SE. Throughout the eighteen items pupils focused attention on JC and SE and made marginal use of the mesolect.

Summary Table 7.8

Patterns of language use - specific persons/situations

	Girls			Boys			
	JC	SE	Both		JC	SE	Both	Significance of test
Language used to the:	No.	%	%	%	No.	%	%	%	
Doctor	254	2.0	98.0	—	256	5.1	94.1	0.8	p > 0.05
Headteacher	254	3.9	95.7	0.4	257	3.9	95.3	0.8	p > 0.05
Tourist	252	3.2	96.4	0.4	254	5.1	93.7	1.2	p > 0.05
Parson or Minister	239	3.3	95.4	1.3	235	6.4	92.3	1.3	p > 0.05
Dentist	251	3.6	96.0	0.4	254	9.1	88.6	2.4	p < 0.05
Classteacher	260	5.0	92.3	2.7	262	9.2	88.5	2.3	p > 0.05
Relations from abroad	246	5.3	91.0	3.7	227	8.8	89.5	1.7	p > 0.05
Father	249	28.5	61.8	9.6	255	31.4	60.0	8.6	p > 0.05
Mother	258	32.2	55.8	12.0	262	31.3	58.0	10.7	p > 0.05
Bus-conductor	254	33.1	59.1	7.9	256	48.8	45.7	5.5	p < 0.05
Friend	256	64.5	22.5	13.3	258	65.1	20.9	14.0	p > 0.05
Marketwoman	249	71.9	20.1	8.0	230	74.8	19.6	5.1	p > 0.05
Language used when:								
Angry	256	90.2	6.6	3.1	248	87.9	10.1	2.0	p > 0.05
Telling jokes	259	83.8	10.8	5.4	253	85.8	9.9	4.3	p > 0.05
Playing games	257	68.9	24.1	7.0	250	80.0	14.8	5.2	p < 0.05
Excited	250	54.0	40.4	5.6	242	55.4	40.9	3.7	p > 0.05
Defending yourself	245	53.5	40.4	6.1	245	59.2	36.3	4.5	p > 0.05
Trying to impress someone	244	9.0	89.3	1.6	244	18.3	79.2	2.5	p < 0.05

7.4 PUPILS' LANGUAGE PREFERENCES

Although the summary table clearly reveals JC usage on all eighteen items to a greater or lesser degree, one could not conclude that pupils do appreciate Creole. In order to probe this issue more deeply, I posed the following open-ended question to pupils:

'Would you like it if some of your lessons were taught in Jamaican Creole?'

There was a possibility that such a question would evoke more hidden, deep-seated reactions which would enable one to make a more realistic assessment of this facet of the investigation. Another thought is that very little attempt is ever made to enter into meaningful dialogue with pupils or to find out what they really think and feel about issues which have a profound effect upon their lives.

48 pupils failed to answer the question. It seems likely that these represent the 'less able' who felt constrained by the need to think out and write down answers. Of the 482 who responded, 130 answered in the affirmative, while the remaining 352 indicated that they certainly did not wish any of their lessons to be taught in JC. The actual reasons advanced by these pupils seem so important and the responses so polarised that the following approach will be taken. First, Table 7.9 will present an outline of the results. Then, in order to deal more meaningfully with the data, each group of respondents will be treated as separate sub-sets.

Table 7.9

Positive and negative responses in outline

Positive responses categorised	Frequency
1. Difficulty in the acquisition of English 2. Difficulty in understanding lessons 3. 'Culture of silence' 4. Value as an art form 5. Nascent nationalism	3 62 7 24 34
	n = 130
Negative responses categorised	Frequency

1. Rejection of JC phonology
2. Inappropriateness
3. Social mobility
4. Rejection on intellectual/cognitive
  grounds
5. Difficulty of reading, writing and
  spelling Creole
6. Denial of its status as a language
7. Cultural ambivalence
	47
	55
	72
	
	111
	
	24
	27
	16

	n = 352
Combined totals = 482	

7.5 POSITIVE RESPONSES

At first, if one considers actual numbers, then it might seem that 130 pupils do show their appreciation of JC. However, when the reasons adduced for their responses are examined more closely then it becomes apparent that this is not the case. Table 7.10 which treats this number as a sub-set will reveal the real nature of their responses.

Table 7.10

Frequency distribution of positive responses

Yes, I would like some of my lessons to be taught in JC: reasons	Frequency	Percent
1. Difficulty in the acquisition of SE 2. Difficulty in understanding lessons 3. 'Culture of silence' 4. Value for art forms 5. Nascent nationalism	3 62 7 24 34	2.3 47.7 5.4 18.4 26.2
	n = 130	100.0

If categories (1), (2) and (3) were collapsed, then a total of 72 pupils, that is 55.4 per cent of this sub-set, have taken a utilitarian view. They have identified and are articulating their concerns about language and learning, and the problems which stem from a lack of acquisition of SE. In contrast, a total of 58 pupils who represent 44.6 per cent of the group do show some appreciation of JC. 24 pupils (18.4 per cent) value this language as a vehicle for the expression of certain forms of folk art. 34 respondents (26.2 per cent) express a sense of language loyalty. A few of the more intelligible statements made by the pupils are offered below and briefly discussed.

Difficulty in the acquisition of English

"It is a complicated and difficult language."

"It is a harder language to learn than Creole."

"Sometimes English confuse me. I can't make out what is written on the blackboard or in books."

These observations are not surprising, given the analysis of the systemic contrasts between JC and SE in Chapter Three, and the examination of critical pedagogical issues in Chapter Four.

Difficulty in understanding lessons

"If they teach some of my lessons in Creole, I would understand more quickly, and it would be easier for a lot of very slow students."

"Most of the students can speak Jamaican Creole better than English, and sometimes whenever the teacher speak in English to the students some of them cannot understand."

"They will be able to understand and answer questions better."

First, pupils admit that they experience difficulties in acquiring the resources of SE. The second critical issue raised - their inability to comprehend a stream of teacher talk - is a natural and logical consequence of their partial acquisition of SE.

The problem of comprehension may also stem from a number of interrelated factors. The difference in the phonology of the two languages (discussed in Chapter Three) might be accentuated if a teacher

speaks too fast. In addition, large classes and the physical plant of schools (already discussed in Chapter Five) do not necessarily produce an atmosphere conducive to listening.

Unfamiliar sentence patterns might also hamper a child's comprehension as the following situation reveals. During the 1970s, a number of British teachers in Bristol were faced with classes which included large numbers of pupils who were born in this country of West Indian parents. Concern to understand the linguistic background of these pupils led these educators to form a research group, to which resource persons were frequently invited. In 1975, Bryan Williams, an educational psychologist who had worked extensively with such pupils, shared some of his experiences with the group.

He spoke in particular about the problem of comprehension which pupils experienced, and how easy it would have been for him to label them as 'educationally sub-normal'. He recalled that when he asked a question as simple as 'what is it?', he frequently met with stony silence from the pupils being tested. After some time he learned to make minimal shift – changing the word order to 'what it is?', while using a particular intonation contour. The response was immediate. Children's faces lit up as comprehension dawned and they were able to produce the appropriate answer. The explanation lies in the fact that the word order in the second question is the one which is more familiar to a mesolectal speaker. The problem of comprehension may also be exacerbated by semantic differences between the two languages (discussed in Chapter Three), as well as pupils' lack of familiarity with the specialised register which might be linked with particular topics being taught.

There may be far-reaching cyclical effects of the comprehension gap which pupils have identified. If for example, they experience comprehension problems at the beginning of a teacher's exposition, they will fail to understand each sequential step – thus widening the developmental gap. If the teacher fails to make a sensitive assessment of the teaching/learning situation then s/he might label pupils as dull

or backward. Teachers' non-verbal behaviour, the hidden curriculum, teacher expectations, pupils' own frustrations and insecurities might combine to convince them that they are incapable of learning.

The culture of silence

> "Sometimes you would like to talk to your teacher and you are afraid to talk in English."

> "Sometimes I am afraid to answer in class."

Chapter Six discussed the concept of linguistic focusing and the four conditions which facilitate or militate against the process. Clearly, these statements suggest that the pupils are highly motivated to join the group of SE speakers but they feel that they lack the necessary linguistic resources to produce SE in school. In this and in similar situations, the interaction interface is not characterised by negotiation and accommodation. Instead, a psychological barrier inhibits the communicative process, the would-be participant then resorts to silence.

This is by no means an isolated linguistic phenomenon. Freire (1972:10) suggested that the whole economic, social and political situation in his native Brazil gave rise to different forms of being, of thinking, of expression and there seems to be a gulf dividing those submerged in the 'culture of silence' and the culture of those who have a voice. It would seem that the concept - culture of silence - can be meaningfully applied to the linguistic situation under discussion. It might be worth mentioning that this problem was still critical even at Teachers' College level in Jamaica as the following account shows.

McCourtie Wright (1975) An Experiment in the Teaching of English was not a pre-planned piece of systematic research, but a response to felt needs. It was an interdisciplinary experiment carried out jointly with Margaret Watson, a teacher of Art, Speech and Drama in Jamaica's Shortwood Teachers' College in 1971. Margaret Watson and I felt a desperate need to get two groups of trainee Primary teachers ranging in age from 19 to 40, to make even the slightest utterances in the inception classes. Deep-seated social-psychological and linguistic problems

submerged students in fear and blocked the communicative process.

Initially, as McCourtie Wright (1975:32) explains, nothing difficult was being attempted:

> A relaxed introductory session was intended with an exchange of names, parishes of origin, and finally a few comments on the parish of origin. It is assumed that individuals respond positively to their parishes and could quite happily say something about them.

After weeks of dialogue with the cooperating teacher, and the working out of a number of opening gambits, their tongues were finally loosened. A few of the teacher-trainees admitted their fears and insecurities:

> "I am afraid to say anything in the class."

> "I don't want to say anything because the others might laugh at me."

Further evidence comes from the Caribbean. Young (1973:160) in discussing the opinions of a group of Belize teachers re the rôle of Creole in education made the following observation:

> One teacher pointed out that during his own secondary school career it had been the rule that all oral answers, comments or questions had to be in 'good English only'. As a result, many students never asked questions or volunteered answers and comments because they were unable to use English as required (or at any rate felt ill at ease because of the continuous 'risk' of making mistakes). As one of the teachers put it, 'They just dried up'. [Emphasis added].

This phenomenon is by no means limited to Brazil, Jamaica and Belize. Bourhis (1982:39) referring to French West Indian territories, discusses the linguistic insecurity of some Secondary school leavers whose first language is non-Standard French:

> It is probable that non-standard speakers experience a considerable degree of linguistic insecurity by the time they have completed their education. Goosse (1970) remarks that many secondary school leavers 'feel paralysed by the fear of making a mistake in their written or oral French' (p.99). Anecdotal evidence reported by Laks (1977) also supports this observation. Using techniques developed by Labov (1972), Laks compared the ability of middle-class vs working-class French pupils to switch from colloquial French to the prestige Ile de France pronunciation. Laks (1977) reported a considerable amount of linguistic insecurity, especially amongst working-class respondents who were aware of their inability to switch to the prestige pronunciation.

Individuals can become enmeshed in the culture of silence when they recognise the gap which exists between the language which they can

produce and the one which they judge that the social situation demands. We have no way of knowing exactly how many pupils in All-Age and Secondary schools experience similar fears of speaking to the teacher and answering questions in class.

In response to the question on page 219, 72 pupils volunteered information about their linguistic insecurities. A question which asked specifically if pupils experienced difficulties when using SE in class provides supportive data. Table 7.11 presents the responses which this direct question elicited from 378 pupils.

Table 7.11

Frequency distribution of difficulties in class: by sex and school type

		Secondary	All-Age	Row Total
S	Girls	117 60.0	78 40.0	195
E				
X	Boys	117 63.9	66 36.1	183
	Column Total	234 61.9	144 38.1	378 100.0

If one relates the responses to the total numbers of pupils in each school type, then a larger percentage of pupils in All-Age schools experience difficulties than their counterparts in Secondary Schools. The comparative figures are 77.4 per cent (144 out of 186) and 68 per cent (234 out of 344). Marginally better educational facilities in Secondary schools might explain the disparity.

One concern linked with the question was the extent to which this was a recurring phenomenon. The frequency with which pupils experienced difficulty is set out below:

Very often   : 16.0 per cent

Often   : 23.0 per cent

Sometimes   : 40.0 per cent

Now and then   : 21.0 per cent
                  ─────────────
                  100.0 per cent

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While in one instance, 72 pupils volunteered that they experienced difficulties with SE, on another occasion a much larger number - 378 - made a similar admission. Although a lack of comprehension and the inability to use SE fluently poses more of a problem for some than others, the implications of the findings are clear enough. Despite the fact that pupils have had, at least theoretically, some eight years of formal instruction in English, it cannot be assumed that they have fully acquired the resources of the language.

Nascent nationalism

"When most of us were babies, our parents talked to us in Creole."

"It is our national language."

"We need to preserve our language and cultural heritage."

These observations express a feeling of language loyalty and an emotional involvement with the language learned in childhood. The annual celebration of Jamaica's Independence and the following cultural movements and national events may have fostered a sense of pride and greater cultural awareness in these pupils:

1. The emergence and continued development of a National Dance Theatre which widens and diversifies its repertoire to include indigenous music and dancing.

2. The establishment of a Cultural Commission which sponsors events such as National Heritage Week with its emphasis on local history, traditional heroes, exhibitions and demonstrations of folk art, and displays of indigenous culinary art.

3. Commissioned research into folk lore and folk songs.

4. The establishment of an impressive National Art Gallery, and a School of Music, Art and Drama.

Value for art forms

"It is needed for Reggae and Dub poetry."

"It is useful for plays."

"It provides jokes and entertainment for the tourist."

It is quite likely that some pupils' knowledge of and exposure to the cultural movements and events outlined above might account for these positive statements about JC. Since Reggae and Dub poetry are regularly aired on radio, these forms of folk art are legitimised and given some recognition by the media. Unlike the JC poetry of Bennett which was largely ignored by the 'Establishment' for many years, Reggae and Dub poets of the stature of the late Michael Smith and Oku Onuora (Orlando Wong) have received the acclaim of pop stars. They have performed with internationally famous Reggae artists like the late Bob Marley and Peter Tosh, and the notable Trinidad Calypsonian, Francisco Slinger (better known as Sparrow). The rôle of JC in providing humour has already been noted.

An attempt was made to assess the differences in the responses of these 130 boys and girls. Table 7.12 shows the frequency distribution for the five categories of responses recorded on page 220. Again, the null hypothesis (HO) will be used to discuss the findings.

Table 7.12

Five categories of positive responses: by sex

		Cat 1	Cat 2	Cat 3	Cat 4	Cat 5	Row Total
S E X	Girls	1 1.6	29 46.8	5 8.1	15 24.2	12 19.4	62
	Boys	2 2.9	33 48.5	2 2.9	9 13.2	22 32.4	68
Column Total		3 2.3	62 47.7	7 5.4	24 18.5	34 26.2	130 100.0

The uniformity in the pattern of responses can be easily noted; categories (4) and (5) 'value for art forms' and 'nascent nationalism' revealing the greatest disparity. More girls than boys see the

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usefulness of JC as a vehicle for the expression of certain art forms. However, this is balanced to an extent by the fact that a greater number of boys show some appreciation of JC as a national language associated with our cultural heritage. The results of the chi-square test are therefore not significant (x^2 = 6, df = 4, p > 0.05). Boys and girls are responding along similar dimensions.

7.6 NEGATIVE RESPONSES

Table 7.13 presents the frequency distribution of the seven categories of reasons which 352 pupils advanced against the use of JC as a partial medium of instruction. Again, a few representative statements will be offered in each category. These negative responses will be dealt with more cursorily than the positive ones mainly because they reveal overt, public, institutionalised norms predictably linked with the Standard language and medium of instruction in schools. Not surprisingly, some of the responses anticipate the findings of the following chapter and will be dealt with there.

Table 7.13

Frequency distribution of negative responses

Negative responses: reasons	Frequency	Per cent
1. Rejection of Jamaican Creole phonology	47	13.4
2. Inappropriateness	55	15.6
3. Social mobility	72	20.5
4. Rejection on intellectual/cognitive grounds	111	31.5
5. Difficulty of reading, writing and spelling Creole	24	6.8
6. Denial of its status as a language	27	7.7
7. Cultural ambivalence	16	4.5
	n = 352	100.0

Table 7.13 indicates that 47 pupils (13.4 per cent) of this sub-set reject Creole speech particularly because of its phonology. 55 (15.6 per cent) regard JC as highly inappropriate when spoken by certain persons and in particular contexts. 72 pupils (20.5 per cent) strongly argue that the use of JC as a partial medium of instruction sharply

militates against their desire for social mobility. By far the largest number, 111 pupils (31.5 per cent) express certain fears linked with their perception of JC as a deterrent to serious intellectual achievement. The last three categories which deal with the 'difficulty of reading, writing and spelling Creole', 'the denial of its status as a language' and 'cultural ambivalence' account for 6.8, 7.7 and 4.5 per cent of the responses respectively.

Rejection of Jamaican Creole phonology

The responses in this category are so attitude-oriented that they seem to belong naturally to the following chapter, and will be presented there.

Inappropriateness

<u>JC is inappropriate when used to and by certain persons:</u>

"It is not fit to use when speaking to adults, older people, tourists and people of foreign countries."

"Teacher has been to college and knows better and should not use it."

"Teachers should never use this language in classes because they are the same ones who sometimes criticise it."

"Any visitor to the classroom would be embarrassed and think less of the teacher."

"The Education Officer would be horrified and surprised."

"I would not like my teacher to speak unintelligent and I would lose interest in learning and in my lessons."

"We are Secondary school pupils, it is not proper for us to use this language."

<u>In the context of the school</u>

"English is the official language of Jamaica and therefore schools and other educational institutions should always use it."

"School is the only place where we really hear English."

These 10 observations again highlight the close association which pupils make between a high incidence of SE usage and social/occupational grouping. Pupils' answers highlight the assumptions which they hold about educational administrators, as well as their expectations of their

schools and teachers.

Social mobility

> "Jamaican Creole would prevent us from doing higher studies."

> "It would prevent us from getting good jobs."

> "Jamaican Creole would make it very hard for us to migrate and do well in a foreign country."

Chapter Two showed how a wide cross-section of individuals in different territories sharply expressed their views on the differential status of Creole and Standard languages. In such societies, Standard languages tend to facilitate access to education. Pupils therefore reject the use of JC even as a partial medium of instruction. In a country where no form of Social Security exists, one which lacks a National Health Service, pupils seem only too aware of the economic opportunities offered by an education and the acquisition of SE.

Migration has always been a powerful economic force in the Caribbean. Some pupils entertain the hope of joining relatives abroad. Others expect to obtain entry visas to Canada and the United States. Pupils therefore fear that their lack of facility in SE will militate not only against the possibility of migration but also their adjustment overseas.

The practical difficulties of reading, writing and spelling Creole

> "If anybody ask us to write in Creole we would find it hard to spell the words."

> "If teachers write our lessons in Creole we would have difficulty in reading it."

> "It is difficult to read and understand."

> "I find it hard to read Louise Bennett."

> "It is difficult to read unless they teach us at an early stage both to read and write it."

Here, pupils have identified major interrelated problems linked with JC; the difficulty of dealing effectively with the modalities of reading and

writing. There is no doubt that JC emerged and developed within a rich oral tradition. When words become frozen on pages with variant spelling, with the inflectional contours lost, and the cadences and sonority of voice absent, then written JC seems unfamiliar indeed. The many complex social and political issues linked with the standardisation of a Creole cannot be meaningfully pursued here. Although Creole specialists have not conducted any systematic investigation into geographical and regional differences, these do exist. Different parishes and small remote rural communities have developed peculiarities of lexis, morphology and syntax which could also render standardisation difficult.

No large corpus of poetry exists in the vernacular. Bennett (1966) and (1983) writes Jamaica Labrish and Selected Poems in JC. However, the following anthologies have virtually no JC poems: Hendriks and Lindo (1963) Independence Anthology; Figueroa (1966) Caribbean Voices; Ramchand and Gray (1971) West Indian Poetry and Wilson (1975) New Ships. More recent anthologies, for example, Unuora (1977) Echo; Brathwaite (1979) New Poets for Jamaica; and Mutabaruka (1980) The First Poems would hardly be available in the libraries nor would the texts necessarily be any easier for pupils to read.

The genre Children's Literature could sensitise pupils to the language variability characteristic of Creole-Standard situations. However, although the novels and short stories of authors such as Vic Reid, Phyllis Cousins, Andrew Salkey, Everard Palmer, Michael Anthony and Jan Carew, are easily accessible to pupils these writers do not exploit the possibilities of Creole to any appreciable extent. There are a number of logical and pragmatic reasons for this, which cannot be meaningfully pursued here. Pupils' reservations about their ability to read, write and spell JC are fully justified. Although the Dictionary of Jamaican English has been in existence since 1967, writers do not necessarily use it to achieve consistency in spelling JC.

Rejection on intellectual/cognitive grounds

"Creole will prevent us from learning English."

"Use of Creole in class will make us forget whatever English we learn."

"Practice becomes perfect - Creole use would become a habit."

"Creole would prevent us from communicating with other people."

"It would prevent us from reading and writing English well."

"It would be impossible to speak excellent English without making a mistake."

"There would be no hope of doing well in tests."

"It would become impossible to obtain a college education."

"Our education would not improve."

"The use of Creole is a sign of your intelligence."

"Patwa make you become backward."

Pupils' knowledge of the linguistic world around them, their daily and perhaps painful experiences of language have helped them to formulate their own linguistic 'theories' centering on language acquisition and language maintenance. A number of deep-seated fears underpin these informal theories.

Lack of status as a language

"The only language we have is English."

"Jamaican Creole is not a language, it is only Creole."

"It is broken, it is not proper, not fit to be used."

"It is bad manners to use it."

This category generated some of the lexical variables used in the Verbal-Guise. Like category (1), 'rejection of JC phonology', the data in this section are so attitude-oriented that further comments will be made in the following chapter.

"People would laugh at me and call me a country bumpkin
if I only use Creole."

"When I speak in Creole among relatives and friends I feel
embarrassed as if I am different from them."

"It places you in an embarrassing situation."

"Although I use it, I look back into myself and ask my
friends to forgive me for talking to them like this."

"I feel shame when I use it."

The discussion in Chapter Two may serve to provide a plausible
explanation of the views expressed in the previous section. However,
there is something poignant about these statements which merit serious
consideration by Jamaican citizens, teachers and educational planners
alike. The feelings which prompt such observations have been frequently
referred to as 'cultural ambivalence, a 'division of consciousness' and a
'crisis of identity'. However, it is the writers and politicians, not
the educators who have drawn attention to this psychological state.
Cultural ambivalence, the most commonly used term, forms a major theme in
a number of Caribbean novels (See Gilkes, 1975).

Seymour (1975:3) asserts that one of the "legacies of our history is
the damage done to our view and appreciation of ourselves". He refers to
the "bundle of emotional contradictions and inconsistencies which
result". Manley (1975) strongly supports Seymour's view as he refers to
"scars on the psyche", and to inferiority complex on the one hand, and
false value systems on the other and urged the need for psychological
reconstruction.

Bennett (1983:iii) recalls that as a child she came in contact with
many instances of black Jamaican self-contempt associated with bad hair,
black people in general and bad language. Richardson (1982:33)
commenting on the research of Miller (1971) observed that he

identified shame as an important dimension of Jamaican
identity saying that many feel shame over the lack of size and
importance of Jamaica, over their social status and the kind of
work they do, their features if negroid, their inability to
speak Standard English.

Pupils' sense of shame and embarrassment, their fear of ridicule in speaking their native language is as far removed as possible from appreciation of JC. One will never know how many other Jamaicans experience similar feelings each day of their lives - feelings which they have never had an opportunity to express in words. But children do have other ways of demonstrating their lack of ease when they feel themselves caught in a situation which necessitates the use of a language variety which they feel incapable of producing. As I mentioned in the introduction, the germ of the idea of this thesis began with my repeated observations of and my concerns with this facet of linguistic behaviour in children.

Differences between boys and girls

Table 7.14 shows how the responses of boys and girls are distributed in the seven categories outlined on page 220.

Table 7.14

Seven categories of negative responses by sex

		Cat 1	Cat 2	Cat 3	Cat 4	Cat 5	Cat 6	Cat 7	Row Total
S E X	Girls	18 9.8	29 15.8	42 22.8	56 30.4	16 8.7	10 5.4	13 7.1	184
	Boys	29 17.3	26 15.3	30 17.9	55 32.7	8 4.8	17 10.1	3 1.8	168
Column Total		47 13.5	55 15.6	72 20.5	111 31.5	24 6.8	27 7.7	16 4.5	352 100.0

A greater number of girls answered this question than boys. However, the joint responses to Category (2) 'inappropriateness' show very little numerical difference while those to Category (4) 'rejection on intellectual/cognitive grounds' are almost identical. In Category (1) 'rejection of JC phonology', and category (6) 'denial of its status as a language' respectively, the numerical responses of the boys are greater than those of the girls. In contrast, the converse is true in Categories (3), (5) and (7), 'social mobility', 'difficulty of reading, writing and

spelling Creole', and 'cultural ambivalence' respectively. The patterns of response reflected certain differences. The results of the chi-square test are significant (x^2 = 14.7, df = 6, p < 0.05). One finds sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

7.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The empirical investigation centers on the two language goals of the Secondary sector. This chapter began to assess whether or not pupils appreciate JC. In order to attempt a realistic assessment of this complex facet of language behaviour, I first posed a number of questions to the pupils themselves. The first of these sought to ascertain how they claim to manipulate the theoretically co-available linguistic systems when speaking to specific persons and confronted by specific situations.

Summary Table 7.8 reveals the patterns of language use which emerged from their responses, and shows how these differ from person to person and from situation to situation. What seems remarkable is that pupils' understandings have cut across school type, geographical location and the varied language experiences to which they must have been exposed in their families and in the wider society. These findings are remarkably consistent with published literature and research, for example, Young (1973), Winford (1976) and Rickford (1983).

The shared assumptions, the areas of agreement on the implicit relationship between language use, people and situations did not preclude certain differences in the responses of boys and girls. The study used two approaches in assessing the co-variation of language and sex, the chi-square statistical test and actual inspection of the cross-tabulation tables. Again, Summary Table 7.8 provides the visual result of both approaches. On fourteen out of eighteen items both boys and girls were responding along such similar dimensions that the statistical tests were not significant. However, a close inspection of the tables reveals that girls seem more sensitive to the use of the more prestigious language

variety than boys and were claiming to use more SE and less JC. The converse proves equally true, boys admitting greater JC usage and less SE than girls. This trend is firmly supported by the studies of Trudgill (1972), Labov (1966, 1978) and Milroy (1987).

The summary table highlights pupils' use of JC to their mothers and fathers, the bus-conductor, their friends and the marketwoman; as well as in five out of the six situations presented to them. However, one could not conclude from the data here that pupils do appreciate JC. An open-ended question sought to probe the issue further. The data revealed that 58 pupils out of 482 showed some appreciation of, some covert pride in JC, when used for humour, entertainment for tourists and as a symbol of national and cultural identity. Another 72 pupils inadvertently revealed their deep-seated problems of language and learning, when they tried to provide reasons why JC should be used as a medium of instruction in some of their classes.

The following points summarise the views of the remaining 352 pupils:

1. 129 of these respondents (categories (1), (2) and (3) page 220) echoed the same contempt for and negative criticism of JC which form the theme of Chapter Two.

2. 183 strongly expressed their need for social mobility and economic advancement. They saw JC as a language which would prevent them from realising their goals.

3. 24 raised valid questions about the difficulties of reading, writing and spelling JC.

4. 16 expressed a duality, an ambivalence, a sense of conflict which suggests they are torn between a need to use Creole and the sense of shame and embarrassment which they experience when they use it.

Although my primary concern in this chapter is to begin to address one of the policy directives, the data generated other issues which can neither be considered extraneous nor irrelevant. These issues are closely interwoven with Jamaica's socio-historical and linguistic

heritage (Chapter One); the negative perceptions of Creole language and their users (Chapter Two); the analysis of the systemic contrasts between JC and SE (Chapter Three); educational issues and the needs analysis (Chapter Four).

Pupils are telling us something about their self-evaluation of their competence in SE, their linguistic insecurities, their extremely high level of motivation to acquire SE. In a sense, the data foreshadows the discussion of the policy directive which requires a high level of competence in SE. If like Friere (1972) we reject the Banking Concept of Education then the pupils' concerns become central not peripheral to the concerns of the thesis.

I strongly suggest that when we teach English, we are teaching individuals, human beings and not a curriculum area. Unlike curriculum areas such as the Physical Sciences and the Humanities, English has no identifiable body of content to be transmitted and deposited into 'banks'. An English teacher works with and seeks to develop pupils' multi-faceted thoughts, ideas, opinions, feelings, powers of imagination, sensory impressions of the external world, primary and secondary experiences. Eventually these can become more structured and organised, then transmuted and expressed orally and in writing.

The knowledge and insights gained from pupils' perspectives on language could be of value to teachers and educational administrators. A teachers' knowledge of and sensitivity to the issues discussed in this chapter would seem to be a pre-requisite for successful teaching. The climate has to be right before the wealth of composite ideas in any class can be tapped, before pupils will trust the teacher with their deepest thoughts, feelings and ideas. Some of the findings of the data could inform educational administrators, contribute to their problem-solving skills and eventually narrow the gap between policy statements and the realities in the lives of Secondary pupils.

CHAPTER 8

THE VERBAL GUISE:

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF PUPILS AND THEIR TEACHERS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Pupils' claimed patterns of language use provided a springboard from which to assess whether one of the language goals of the Secondary sector was being realised. In particular, the findings on language preferences gave some indication of the extent to which pupils appreciate JC. This chapter aims to complete the analysis by probing pupils' attitudinal responses to JC more deeply, while at the same time uncovering their attitudes to SE. Because the policy directive explicitly states that pupils should be taught to appreciate Creole, this facet of the investigation includes the teachers.

We know so little about the attitudes which teachers themselves hold to the languages and language varieties in their midst. Yet, one cannot over-estimate the critical rôle of the teacher in the social setting of a classroom. It seems reasonable to suggest that consciously or unconsciously, Jamaican teachers can exert a powerful influence on the way in which pupils perceive JC, as well as SE, the official language and medium of instruction in schools.

Attitudes: problems and issues

First, it seems necessary to draw attention to some of the problems linked with the concept 'attitude' and the limitations of language attitude research. Although the term is now widely used in the relatively new field of sociolinguistics, for many years it has been associated with the behavioural sciences. Because of its inter-disciplinary use, there are a number of concepts subsumed under the general label, and a lack of agreement among theorists and researchers as to the nature of attitudes. For example, Henerson, Morris and

Fitzgibbon (1987:13) observe that "when we study certain attitudes, we do so without universal agreement on their nature". Some theorists and researchers claim that attitudes have a unicomponent/unidimensional structure, others argue that attitudes are multidimensional. Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957), Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) ascribe an affective or evaluative component to attitudes. These researchers therefore emphasise its unidimensional nature. In contrast, others posit a multidimensional view of attitudes. For example, Triandis (1971) expresses the view that attitudes have affective, cognitive and conative components. Rokeach (1968) argues that attitudes are composed of a system of beliefs. Each belief is in turn composed of affective, cognitive and behavioural components. As Rokeach (1968:454) points out, "a major source of conceptual confusion arises from the fact that there is considerable disagreement over how the concept of attitude should be distinguished from closely related concepts".

Another critical factor centres on the complexity and contradictions of human beings whose language behaviour forms the subject of research. Henerson, Morris and Fitzgibbon (1987:12) remind us that "behavior [sic] is the result of many complex factors - feelings engendered by previous experiences, assessments of the expectations of others, anticipation of the consequences of a particular act". It is also worth noting that patterns of human behaviour may not be always consistent. For example, there may be some disparity between what people think they ought to do, what they think they do, and what they actually do.

Henerson, Morris and Fitzgibbon (1987:13) identify other constraints:

> Behaviors, beliefs, and feelings will not always match, even when we correctly assume that they reflect a single attitude; so to focus on only one manifestation of an attitude may tend to distort our picture of the situation and mislead us.
> We have no guarantee that the attitude we want to assess will 'stand still' long enough for a one-time measurement to be reliable. A volatile or fluctuating attitude cannot be revealed by information gathered on one occasion.

Despite the controversy about the nature of attitudes, some consensus exists among theorists and researchers that attitudes are

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learned, that they may be relatively enduring, but more importantly they can be elicited in a number of situations. It is not the intention to use the terms "learned" and "enduring" in a deterministic sense. Attitudes can be changed. However, we cannot begin to consider strategies to effect change until we have tried to ascertain what attitudes do exist. The use of two different strategies on two separate occasions is intended to achieve such an aim. The complexity of the concept, possible fluctuating attitudes, the ambivalence and contradictions underlying human behaviour might therefore affect the data to a lesser extent than would otherwise be the case.

Need for caution: limitations of language attitude research

This section briefly discusses some of the limitations inherent in language attitude research. Fishbein (1967:257) argues that although some theorists and researchers ascribe a multidimensional structure to attitudes, their measurements tend to be unidimensional:

> People who construct 'attitude scales' rarely maintain that their instruments are measuring these components; instead they usually contend that their scales indicate people's evaluation (pro-con) of objects or concepts. Thus, although attitudes are often said to include all three components, it is usually only the evaluative or 'the affective component' that is measured and treated by researchers as the essence of attitudes.

To an extent, Fishbein's observation applies to the present investigation. Perhaps the main reason why this comment can justifiably be made is a methodological one. While I felt the need to gain some insight into the attitudes of pupils and their teachers to both languages, it was also essential to present a data-gathering technique to which both groups could respond without too much difficulty. I therefore elicited evaluative/affective responses in my survey, not because I am convinced that I am dealing with a simple unidimensional construct but because of the constraints of the research situation. It is possible that similar methodological concerns may have influenced other researchers.

Rokeach (1968:455) draws attention to another limitation of language-attitude research as he distinguishes between 'attitude toward an object' and 'attitude towards the situation':

> A preferential response toward an attitude object cannot occur in a vacuum. It must necessarily be elicited within the context of some social situation, about which, as already noted, we also have attitudes.

He argues that one limitation of attitude studies is that researchers tend to deal mainly with the attitude toward the object and ignore or exclude the context of the social situation. Indeed one's race, one's status as an 'insider' or 'outsider' may affect a respondent's answer quite significantly. The highly successful sociolinguistic surveys of Labov and Milroy were largely due to the weight which they attached both to the language styles (the object of their research), and the social situation in which the studies were conducted.

Specific areas of concern

Certain crucial variables, for example, the social setting and the language used by a researcher can affect both the nature and quality of the data. The Verbal-Guise might perhaps be much more sensitive to the social setting of the school than the questionnaire items. Consequently, a few areas of concern will be briefly raised as well as the strategies used to lessen their impact.

For example, a possibility exists that the social setting could help to produce the 'Hawthorne Effect' which Tuckman (1972:128) explains in the following way:

> Whenever an innovation or experimental intervention of any sort is tested in a real environment such as an educational system, the likelihood arises that an effect will accrue based not on the specifics of the intervention but rather on the simple fact that the experiment is being conducted.

Language attitude research conducted in the context of the school might therefore evoke responses considered appropriate for the school setting. The researcher might discover only what the respondents believe they are supposed to feel rather than what they do feel. Ryan and

Carranza (1975), Giles, Harrison, Creber, Smith and Freeman (1981) provide evidence that the social context in which research is conducted can affect a respondent's rating of language or language varieties.

Researchers identify two other related factors which can affect a subject's response. The first is a listener's perception of the researcher's intent: Bradac, Courtright, Schmidt and Davis (1976). The second concerns the researcher's choice of language in the experimental situation. Price, Fluck and Giles (1983) provide evidence that the choice of Welsh or English in the experimental situation affected their subjects' evaluation of Welsh, Received Pronunciation and Welsh-accented English.

Lessening the impact

Although these caveats are worth noting, no two research situations seem identical. Major socio-cultural, sociolinguistic characteristics may differentiate each. Research findings cannot be uncritically applied to every situation. I approached the schools with a certain sensitivity and understanding. For example, I know intuitively that the use of JC instead of SE would have been completely counter-productive and would have alienated the pupils. In addition, Principals and members of staff would have felt insulted that a researcher used JC in their schools.

The data also provide some support for making such a statement, for example, the sharp negative criticism of creole languages (Chapter Two); pupils' language preferences (Chapter Seven); and overt criticism of Creole use at home and in schools (later in this chapter). These instances lead one to conclude that a setting other than that of the school would not substantially have affected the data elicited by the Verbal-Guise.

A practical issue to be faced was the need to provide the pupils with a quiet and 'private' locale - one which was conducive to sensitive discriminatory listening and excluded all noisy and curious spectators.

This concern stemmed from the high noise level in some schools, an issue already discussed in Chapter Five. Exclusive use of the libraries in Secondary schools and a quiet place in the All-Age schools solved the problem.

The actual procedure

A keen awareness of all the factors discussed so far acted as a determinant of the procedure. First, in order to lessen the distance between researcher and respondents, in order to create an informal relaxed atmosphere I provided some music for easy listening. I hoped that this strategy would have had two additional advantages, that it would have prevented the students from building up any immediate expectations linked with the experimental procedure as well as sensitising them to listening.

Next, each small group of pupils and the teacher listened to a discourse which demonstrated sharp shift of styles between JC and SE. (See Joan's discourse, Appendix 10). As they listened, the pupils began to react quite spontaneously both verbally and non-verbally. They recognised the fact that there were two voices on the tape, they differentiated between the sexes, and identified the two language varieties. The majority referred to JC as Broken English, Patwa or Dialect. Some began laughing at the JC speech forms, while there was a look of utter distaste and disapproval on the face of others. When asked why they were responding in this way they began to generate words like 'bad', 'broken', 'not proper', 'rough'. On the other hand, they used words like 'nice' and 'good' to comment on the SE pieces of discourse. The only analogy which springs readily to mind is that of a conditioned reflex.

Then, I presented the four discourses of the Verbal-Guise in the following order:

Eglon	:	SE I
Lloyd	:	JC I
Mark	:	SE II
Eglon	:	JC II

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After the respondents seemed to be sufficiently sensitised to the voices, they were given a response sheet with four sections numbered A-D, one for each of the four Verbal-Guises. The response sheet was folded in such a way that only the section relevant to a specific guise was visible at a particular time. In order to ensure that pupils recognised the words and had no problem with semantics, they were given an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the sheet, and encouraged to ask questions for clarification. Respondents were instructed to listen carefully to each voice on the tape, and place a tick (✓) beside any eight words which they associated with the voice. They should begin their rating only when they were absolutely sure they could make a meaningful response. The sixteen lexical variables presented were: *good, careless, harsh, friendly, nice, town, proper, pleasant, dull, country, careful, rough, unfriendly, broken, bright, bad.*

8.2 THE FINDINGS: THE PUPILS

Inspection of the frequencies expressed as percentages reveal that pupils' actual responses regrouped these sixteen lexical variables into two clearly defined sets which I have designated Clusters A and B. Here, the term is not being confused with 'cluster' as in 'cluster analysis'.

Cluster A:
Good, proper, pleasant, careful, bright, nice, friendly, town.
Cluster B:
Rough, harsh, dull, country, careless, unfriendly, broken, bad.

These two clusters appear consistently in all four discourses, though with completely different orientation to SE and JC. Tables 8.1 and 8.2 show how pupils varied their responses to each language while using the lexical variables in each cluster.

Table 8.1

Frequency distribution of lexical variables in Cluster A

Cluster A	SE I		SE II		JC I		JC II	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Good	428	80.7	426	80.3	61	11.5	109	20.5
Proper	426	80.3	434	81.8	97	18.3	126	23.7
Pleasant	420	79.2	421	79.4	108	20.3	186	35.8
Careful	385	72.6	408	76.9	83	15.6	120	22.6
Bright	378	71.3	405	76.4	132	24.5	189	43.9
Nice	379	71.5	392	73.9	124	23.3	153	28.8
Friendly	380	71.6	389	73.3	157	29.6	186	34.9
Town	337	63.5	358	67.5	70	13.2	77	14.5

Table 8.2

Frequency distribution of lexical variables in Cluster B

Cluster B	JC I		JC II		SE I		SE II	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Rough	453	85.4	418	78.8	224	42.2	183	34.5
Harsh	447	84.3	372	70.1	118	35.4	164	30.9
Dull	401	75.6	352	66.4	165	31.1	130	24.5
Country	444	83.7	420	79.2	142	26.7	139	26.2
Careless	442	83.3	401	75.6	129	24.3	123	23.2
Unfriendly	353	66.6	317	59.8	107	20.1	98	18.4
Broken	440	83.0	418	78.8	103	19.4	112	21.1
Bad	428	80.7	400	75.4	49	9.2	58	10.9

As intended, the Verbal-Guise elicited affective/evaluative reactions to the language and language varieties and not to the voices of the participants. Inspection of the frequencies for the variables 'proper' and 'bad', for example, lends considerable support to the statement. 80.3 per cent of the pupils rated Eglon's SE I as being 'proper'. When pupils apply the same variable to his JC discourse (JC II), the frequencies drop sharply to 23.7 per cent - a difference of

56.6 per cent separating the two languages. Conversely, 75.4 per cent of the pupils rate Eglon's JC II as 'bad', the comparative figure for his SE discourse (SE I) accounts for a mere 10.9 per cent - a difference of 64.5 per cent between the two languages. The operational hypotheses and accompanying scatter-plots offered below present the findings in greater detail.

Operational Hypothesis I
Pupil use the eight lexical variables in Cluster A to express a positive attitudinal judgment of SE.

Although the response sheet presented 16 variables in the random order (shown on page 244, and in Appendix 4), the frequencies expressed as percentages reveal two distinct patterns which are visible in Figure 8.1. Pupils evaluated SE positively on the lexical variables, *good, proper, pleasant, careful, bright, nice, friendly* and *town.* The frequencies expressed in percentages for these words range from 81.8 per cent 'proper' to 63.5 per cent 'town'. The deliberate choice of these terms may be said to reflect pupils' evaluative/affective reactions to SE.

In contrast, pupils assign a differential response to SE on the lexical variables in Cluster B, *rough, harsh, dull, country, careless, unfriendly, broken* and *bad.* Expressed in percentages, these frequencies range from 42.2 per cent 'rough' to 9.2 per cent 'bad'. If the sixteeen variables are regarded as an evaluative scale, then the responses to a SE discourse could have lain on various points on the scale as on a continuum. However, this is not the case. As Figure 8.1 shows, the responses are so grouped that they create virtually two scatter-plots lying on opposite sides of the line YO. The position of the scatter-plot above the line, gives support to the hypothesis stated above. The shape, the relative linearity of Figure 8.1 shows a marked consistency in the evaluation of both SE discourses. (See also Tables 8.1 and 8.2).

Figure 8.1

Scatter-Plot Highlighting Pupils' Responses to SE I and SE II
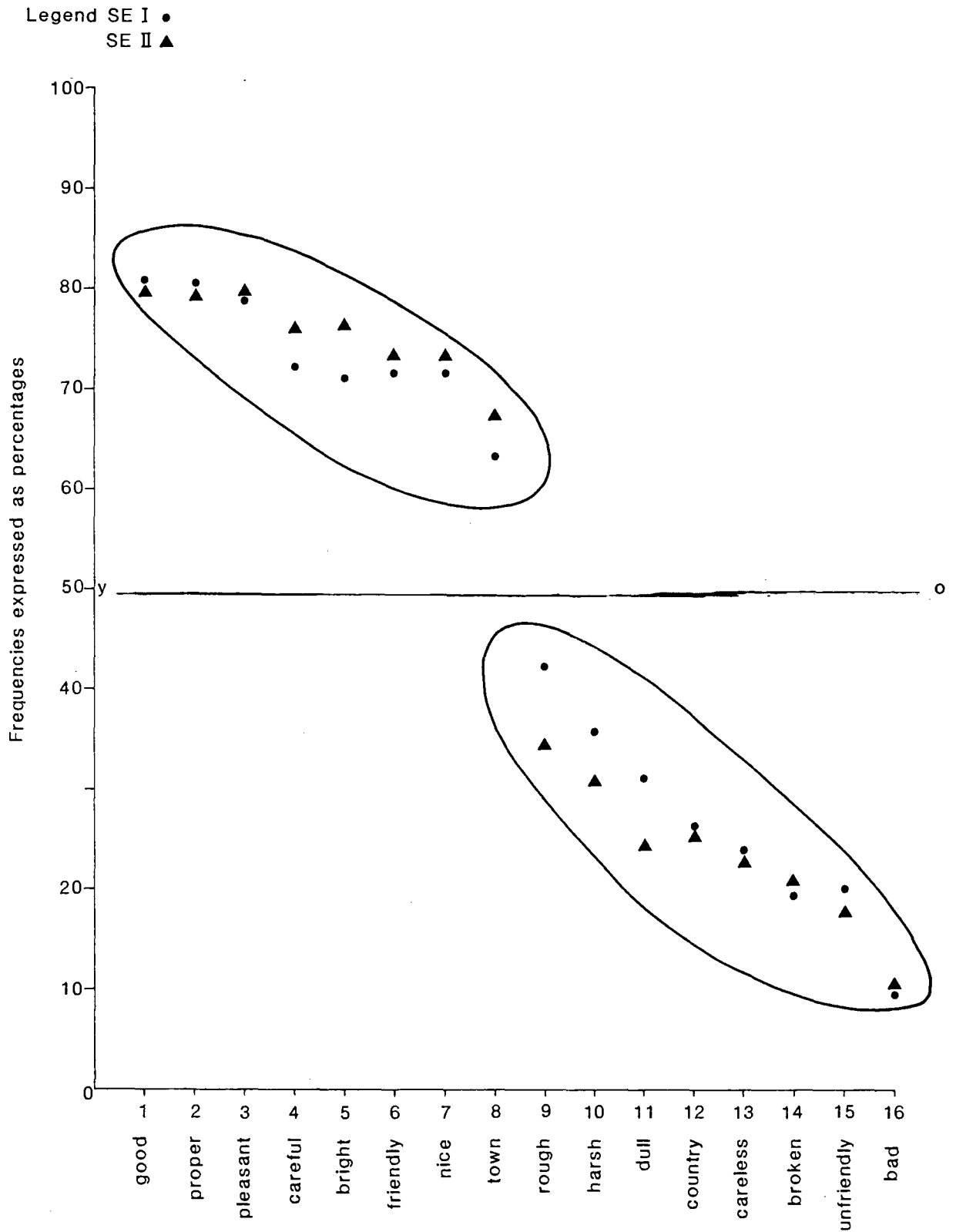
Lexical variables as ranged by responses to SE I and SE II

Attitudinal responses to JC I and JC II

Since we are particularly interested in pupils' attitudes to JC, it is instructive to compare and contrast the ways in which they use the positive lexical variables in Cluster A to evaluate JC I and JC II.

Operational Hypothesis II

Pupils' responses show an unfavourable reaction to JC on the same variables on which SE is highly rated.

The two JC discourses received low affective/evaluative responses on the lexical variables in Cluster A: *good, proper, pleasant, careful bright, nice, friendly* and *town.* The juxtaposition of the following frequencies expressed as percentages for the words 'good', proper' and 'careful' gives some support to hypothesis II:

	SE I	SE II	JC I	JC II
Good:	80.7%	80.3%	11.5%	20.5%
Proper:	80.3%	81.8%	18.3%	23.7%
Careful:	72.6%	76.9%	15.6%	22.6%

Figure 8.2 visually displays the way in which pupils used the eight lexical variables in Cluster A to evaluate JC I and JC II.

In sharp contrast, Figure 8.2 clearly shows the importance which pupils assign to the lexical variables in Cluster B: *rough, harsh, country, careless, broken, bad, dull* and *unfriendly* as they evaluated JC I and JC II. The differential use of these two clusters reveals a polarisation of attitudes to SE and JC.

Operational Hypothesis III

Pupils evaluated SE I and SE II much more consistently than

JC I and JC II

One interesting though not surprising finding, is that far less consistency exists in the responses to JC I and JC II than to the SE I and SE II – JC II being perceived more favourably than JC I. These differences become apparent when the frequencies, expressed in

Figure 8.2

Scatter-Plot Highlighting Pupils' Responses to JC I and JC II
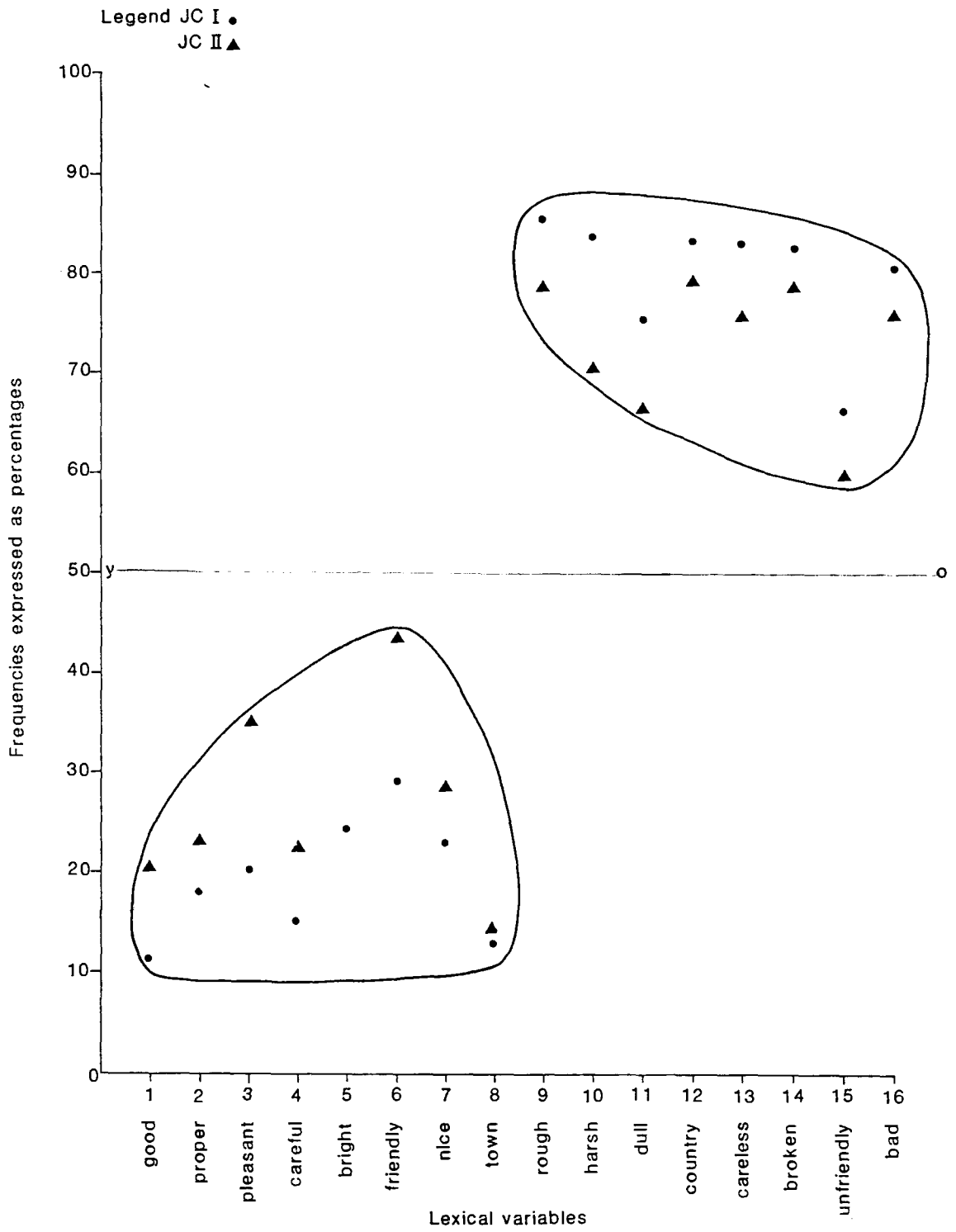
percentages, are compared across the following variables:

Broken:	JC I	83.0%	JC II	78.8%
Rough:	JC I	85.4%	JC II	78.8%
Careless:	JC I	83.3%	JC II	75.6%
Bad:	JC I	80.7%	JC II	75.4%

Pupils demonstrated by their responses that these four epithets apply more to Lloyd's JC I than to Eglon's JC II.

The converse proves equally true. Pupils judge that the terms 'pleasant', 'bright', 'good' and 'careful' apply far more to Eglon's JC II than to LLoyd's JC I.

Pleasant:	JC II	35.8%	JC I	20.3%
Bright:	JC II	43.9%	JC I	24.5%
Good:	JC II	20.5%	JC I	11.5%
Careful:	JC II	22.6%	JC I	15.6%

The sharp phonological differences between JC and SE (outlined in Chapter Three), the absence of 'stable' bilingual speakers (dealt with in Chapter Five) may serve to explain these observed discrepancies in the frequencies. Lloyd, a monolingual Creole speaker, narrated JC I and Eglon a habitual SE speaker, JC II. Pupils have become accustomed to linguistic diversity, since they are likely to hear the broad Creole as well as a range of intermediate language varieties. Consequently, pupils might have been quick to detect the phonological differences between the 'native' Creole speech and one which is more 'acquired'. It is not too far-fetched also to suggest that pupils possibly placed Eglon higher on the socio-economic scale – thus judging his JC II more favourably that LLoyd's JC I.

The data presented in Chapter Seven may also elucidate this finding to some extent. Table 7.4 showed that 47 pupils did not wish JC to be used as a partial medium of instruction because they rejected its phonology. On page 229, I pointed out that the responses were so attitude-oriented that it would be more meaningful to present them in this chapter. The following statements represent some of the responses referred to:

"It sounds horrible and disgusting".

"I do not like to hear it".

"It is unpleasant to listen to".

"It does not sound proper".

"It sounds illiterate and dark".

Indeed, these statements are strongly reminiscent of some of the nineteenth century views of Creole languages documented in Chapter Two.

So far, the pattern of pupil responses to the four discourses have been presented, highlighted visually and interpreted. The more prestigious language varieties, SE I and SE II, have been consistently rated more favourably than JC I and JC II and placed at the upper end of the evaluative scale. In a sense, the data serve to remind us that negative judgments about languages tend to be accepted uncritically and passed on by succeeding generations. These processes may serve to explain why the data provide so little evidence that pupils appreciate JC.

8.3 OVERT AND COVERT ATTITUDES

The following sections seek to examine pupils' use of the term 'friendly' and 'unfriendly' in the light of the multidimensional approach taken by certain researchers and gain some insight into the differences between the attitudinal responses of boys and girls.

Section 8.1 dealt with the multidimensional structure of attitudes and the complexity of the language behaviour of adults who form the subjects of research. While in general the picture presented is the standard one, yet a possibility exists that a negative attitude towards a language or language variety may co-exist with more positive, covert attitudes. The subtlety and complexity of attitudes, their possible multidimensional quality, the differences between overt and covert attitudes may be best addressed if certain distinctions were drawn, some refinements made, and a multidimensional rather than a unidimensional approach taken.

Consequently, some researchers have grouped the personality traits used to assess discourses into a number of categories with a view to

eliciting differentiation along different dimensions. For example, Brown and Gilman (1960) have been credited with making the distinction between two dimensions - 'power' and 'solidarity'. The former may be said to reflect an individual's knowledge of the status of a language - the educational, social and economic power which it might confer, the latter with bonding and solidarity. Lambert (1967) grouped the personality dimensions typically used by researchers into three categories: speaker competence, personal integrity, and social attractiveness.

Labov, Cohen, Robins and Lewis (1968) elicited responses on the 'Job and Friend Scale'. In the study of Labov *et al.* the respondents of all social groups rated the SE speaker higher than the vernacular speaker on the job scale. One black group rated the vernacular speaker as the one most likely to become a friend. The interpretation here is that the 'job scale' elicited more overt attitudes linked with status, prestige, social mobility while the 'friend scale' elicited more covert attitudes linked with identity, solidarity and a sense of community.

In this chapter, I pointed out that the Verbal-Guise did not specifically seek to elicit responses along different dimensions. However, an attempt was made, though a minimal one, to note whether or not the bi-polar adjectives 'friendly' and 'unfriendly' might elicit some hidden, covert attitudes such as those already cited by other researchers. However, the responses failed to reveal any such differentiation. The frequencies expressed in percentages for the word 'friendly' proved to be decidedly lower for JC I and JC II than for SE I and SE II. The converse applied equally. The term 'unfriendly' elicited much higher frequencies in the evaluation of JC I and JC II than SE I and SE II. Table 8.3 illustrates the differential evaluation accorded to these variables in each of the four discourses.

Table 8.3

Unidimensional responses to 'friendly' and 'unfriendly'

Lexical	JC I		JC II		SE I		SE II	
Items	Freq.	Pcnt.	Freq.	Pcnt.	Freq.	Pcnt.	Freq.	Pcnt.
Friendly	157	29.6	186	34.9	380	71.6	389	73.3
Unfriendly	353	66.6	317	59.8	107	20.1	98	18.4

But, in Chapter Seven, the highest incidence of JC use was linked with pupils' social networks of parents and friends; with entertainment and relaxation as they played games and made jokes. At one level, one might conclude that in such situations JC helps to establish a sense of solidarity and bonding. However, the feeling of covert pride does not emerge from the data shown in Table 8.3. It is quite likely that pupils responded to these variables because of their past experiences. Anger and criticism tend to be harshly directed at them in JC. One principle which operates almost universally in their lives is that if a command is given to them in English or the mesolect to which they do not respond immediately, then it is repeated in JC. It is likely that pupils tend to associate greater gentleness and courtesy with SE. It may be of interest also to note the findings of two relevant pieces of research.

Edwards (1979) elicited evaluative responses to two British and two West Indian guises on four dimensions: speech quality, behaviour, potential academic ability, interest as a classmate. Not only did the West Indian judges assign the highest status to the middle-class respondent but they also considered that he would be the most interesting member of the class. Edwards (1979:95) points out that

> there was no evidence of any preference for the West Indian speakers, which suggests that feelings of group solidarity do not strongly influence their evaluations. West Indian children have clearly internalized the stereotypes of the dominant White society; like all minority groups studied to date, they undervalue the speech and speakers of their own group.

In a study by Rickford (1983), two differing social groups exhibited what he termed the standard or expected overt attitude as they associated

acrolectal speech with the most prestigious occupations and the basilect with the lowest. However, the higher socio-economic groups rated the basilectal speaker most negatively as a friend, while they rated the mesolectal and acrolectal speakers more positively. On the other hand, the lower social group rated the basilectal speaker more highly as a friend and the mesolectal and acrolectal speakers less so. Rickford expressed surprise at these results in Guyana, but given people's acute awareness of differentials of education, housing, language and speech as indicators of social class, these findings seem fairly predictable. The basilectal speaker is constantly reminded overtly and covertly of his/her place in the West Indian society.

8.4 CO-VARIATION OF LANGUAGE AND SEX

In Chapter Seven, the Chi-square statistic and the inspection of cross-tabulation tables revealed the differentiation in the pattern of language used by girls and boys. An attempt was made to ascertain what further evidence of the co-variation of language and sex the data in this chapter might reveal. In this instance, the approach to language and sex was largely influenced by the observed trend in pupils' responses. Pupils' choice of positive lexical variables served as the critical factor in differentiating between the attitudes of boys and girls.

The data were therefore re-analysed in order to produce tables which yielded enumerative or classificatory data. Two multidimensional tables, one for JC I and SE I, will serve to illustrate the differences between boys and girls. Brief reference only will be made to the tables for JC II and SE II. The headings of the columns reveal the exact number of endorsements, that is none, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, or eight variables. The joint occurrence of the pair of scores for both sexes is readily seen and the format of the tables makes it possible to note the degree to which the responses differ and by what percentage. The endorsements for JC can be contrasted with those for SE.

Table 8.4

Frequency distribution of 0 - 8 positive

lexical variables for JC I: by sex

		0	1	2.	3	4.	5	6	7	8	Row Total
S	Girls	115	53	36	24	19	9	6	2	1	265
E		43.4	20.0	13.6	9.1	7.2	3.4	2.3	0.8	0.4	
X	Boys	97	46	39	35	23	16	8	1	0	265
		36.6	17.4	14.7	13.2	8.7	6.0	3.0	0.4	0	
Column		212	99	75	59	42	25	14	3	1	530
Total		40.0	18.7	14.2	11.1	7.9	4.7	2.6	0.6	0.2	100.0

Table 8.4 clearly shows that the evaluative responses to JC I are sharply skewed to the left. Pupils' endorsements of 0, one, and two lexical variables respectively account for 72.9 per cent of the total responses. In sharp contrast, pupils' choice of six, seven, and eight items respectively constitute a mere 3.4 per cent of the total. Expressed in percentages, the frequencies begin at 40 per cent then fall sharply to 18.7 per cent, thereafter decreasing finally to a mere 0.2 per cent.

In differentiating between the attitudes of boys and girls, the first two columns assume particular importance. The first of these shows that 115 girls (43.4 per cent of the sub-set) view JC I so negatively that they judged that none of the positive lexical variables were applicable. The attitude of the boys appears less negative since fewer boys - 97 (36.6 per cent) - responded along similar dimensions as the girls. The second column repeats the trend. Here, 53 girls (20 per cent) chose to assign one positive lexical variable to JC I, while the figure for the boys is 46 (17.4 per cent).

If one regards the first column as the most critical, then it is worth noting that this trend is repeated for JC II. 92 girls (34.7 per cent) again regard JC II so negatively that they did not assign any positive lexical variable to this discourse. The comparative figure for the boys was 52 (19.6 per cent) a difference of 15.1 per cent.

Table 8.5 presents the comparable results for SE I and shows that the responses are skewed to the right.

Table 8.5

Frequency distribution of 0-8 positive lexical variables

for SE I: by sex

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Row Total
S	Girls	3	10	9	12	21	38	43	45	84	265
E		1.1	3.8	3.4	2.3	7.9	14.3	16.2	17.0	31.7	
X	Boys	4	4	9	19	28	24	62	53	62	265
		1.5	1.5	3.4	7.2	10.6	9.1	23.4	20.0	23.4	
Column		7	14	18	31	49	62	105	98	146	530
Total		1.3	2.6	3.4	5.8	9.2	11.7	19.8	18.5	27.5	100.0

Inspection of the joint occurrences in each column reveals the following:

1. Very slight numerical differences appear in the first column. Three girls, 1.1 per cent, assign no positive lexical variable to SE while the figure for the boys is four (1.5 per cent).

2. In column three, an equal number boys and girls endorse two positive variables for SE I.

3. Slightly greater differences separate the responses of boys and girls in the second, fourth, fifth and eighth columns.

4. Greater differences become apparent among those who endorse five, six and seven lexical variables respectively. The percentages separating the responses of girls from that of boys being 5.2 per cent, 7.2 per cent and 3 per cent respectively.

5. However, the ninth column becomes most relevant to the discussion.

Here, 146 respondents (27.5 per cent) of the entire group assign all eight positive lexical variables to SE I. But, the responses of boys and girls are by no means identical. 84 girls (31.7 per cent) of the sub-set used all the variables in Cluster A to express their affective/evaluative reactions to SE I, the comparative figure for the boys being 62 (23.4 per cent) a difference of 8.3 per cent. This numerical disparity in the

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responses of the sexes suggest that girls view SE even more positively than boys. An inspection of the frequency distribution for SE II gives considerable support to the statement. Here, the gap becomes wider. 109 girls (41.1 per cent) endorsed all eight lexical variables. The figures for the boys was decidedly lower, 67 (26.3 per cent) a gap of 14.8 per cent.

The data in Chapter Seven also revealed that girls seemed more sensitive to the public institutionalised norms and were claiming to use more SE than boys. Conversely, the latter appeared to be more sensitive to vernacular norms and claimed to use more JC than girls. The social structure may provide an explanation. In Jamaica, women have always played a dominant rôle. Mothers and grandmothers are often heads of household. These fifteen year old Grade Nine girls have expert knowledge and experience of 'the sociology of the family'. They also know that their schooling has virtually come to an end. The absence of any youth training schemes, the lack of opportunities for any kind of further education means in effect that they have to depend on their own resources. One could conclude that girls value SE even more highly than the boys as they associate this language with their career aspirations. The data from another facet of the investigation provide the basis for the explanation offered.

Preparation for the writing task necessitated discussion and recording of career aspirations. Girls consistently voiced interest in those professions and occupations which require a high level of competence in SE. The following career aspirations: *typist, accountant, nurse, teacher, air-hostess, executive secretary, dietician, doctor, politician, hotel receptionist, bank clerk, fashion designer* and *actress/scriptwriter* occurred with the greatest frequency. On the other hand, the boys were choosing much less prestigious occupations which, on the whole, would require a lower level of competence in the Standard language. Those which were voiced most frequently were: *mason, cabinetmaker, policemen, soldier, butcher, chef, farmer, chauffeur,*

waiter, fireman, mechanic and *plumber.*

8.5 THE FINDINGS: THE TEACHERS

Tables 8.6 and 8.7 show in outline the results of the teachers'
evaluative reactions to the four discourses.   The observed trends in the
data will again be dealt with as operational hypotheses.

Table 8.6

Frequency distribution of lexical variables in Cluster A

Cluster A	SE I		SE II		JC I		JC II	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Proper	46	97.8	47	100.0	2	4.2	4	8.5
Pleasant	43	91.4	44	93.6	17	36.1	32	68.0
Careful	42	89.3	45	95.7	3	6.3	16	34.0
Good	42	89.3	42	89.3	6	12.7	18	38.2
Town	38	80.8	43	91.4	2	4.2	4	8.3
Nice	37	78.7	38	80.8	17	36.1	26	55.3
Friendly	35	74.4	38	80.8	25	53.1	36	76.5
Bright	28	59.5	36	76.5	18	38.2	27	57.4

Table 8.7

Frequency distribution of lexical variables in Cluster B

Cluster B	JC I		JC II		SE I		SE II	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Dull	32	68.0	25	53.1	26	55.3	18	38.2
Rough	40	85.0	34	72.3	13	27.6	7	14.8
Unfriendly	22	46.8	11	23.4	11	23.4	9	19.1
Harsh	36	76.5	18	38.2	10	21.2	8	17.0
Country	47	100.0	44	93.6	9	19.1	6	12.7
Careless	42	89.3	30	63.8	4	8.5	3	6.3
Broken	46	97.8	43	91.4	3	6.3	3	6.3
Bad	34	72.3	20	42.5	1	2.1	2	4.0

Operational Hypothesis IV

The teachers positively evaluated SE I and SE II on the lexical variables in Cluster A.

As teachers expressed their evaluative/affective reactions to SE I and SE II, their responses divided the sixteen words presented to them into the Clusters A and B shown in Tables 8.6 and 8.7 respectively. These seem identical with those created by the pupils, in the sense that they include the same eight lexical variables. Like their pupils, the teachers also used Cluster A to evaluate the SE discourses positively. However, a comparison of Tables 8.1 and 8.2 with Tables 8.6 and 8.7 highlights the essential differences between these two groups of respondents. Teachers place great emphasis on the variables *proper, pleasant, careful, good, town* and *nice*, using them to rate SE even more positively than their pupils. The frequencies expressed in percentages range from 100 per cent (proper) to 80.8 per cent (nice). In sharp contrast, *country, careless, broken* and *bad* received decidedly lower percentages. These ranged from 19.1 per cent to 2.1 per cent. Figure 8.3 highlights teachers' affective/evaluative reactions to SE I and SE II. Teachers' differential use of the variables in each cluster creates two separate figures on either side of the line YO. The figure above the line visually supports hypothesis IV.

Operational Hypothesis V

A polarisation of attitudes to JC and SE becomes apparent when teachers used certain variables to evaluate JC I and JC II.

Inspection and juxtaposition of the frequencies expressed as percentages for 'proper', 'good', 'town' and 'careful', for example, reveal a huge numerical disparity between SE and JC.

	SE I	SE II	JC I	JC II
Proper:	97.8%	100.0%	4.2%	8.5%
Good:	89.3%	89.3%	12.7%	38.2%
Town:	80.8%	91.4%	4.2%	8.3%
Careful:	89.3%	95.7%	6.3%	34.0%

Figure 8.3

Scatter-Plot Highlighting Teachers' Responses to SE I and SE II

Legend SE I •
SE II ▲

Frequencies expressed as percentages

Lexical variables
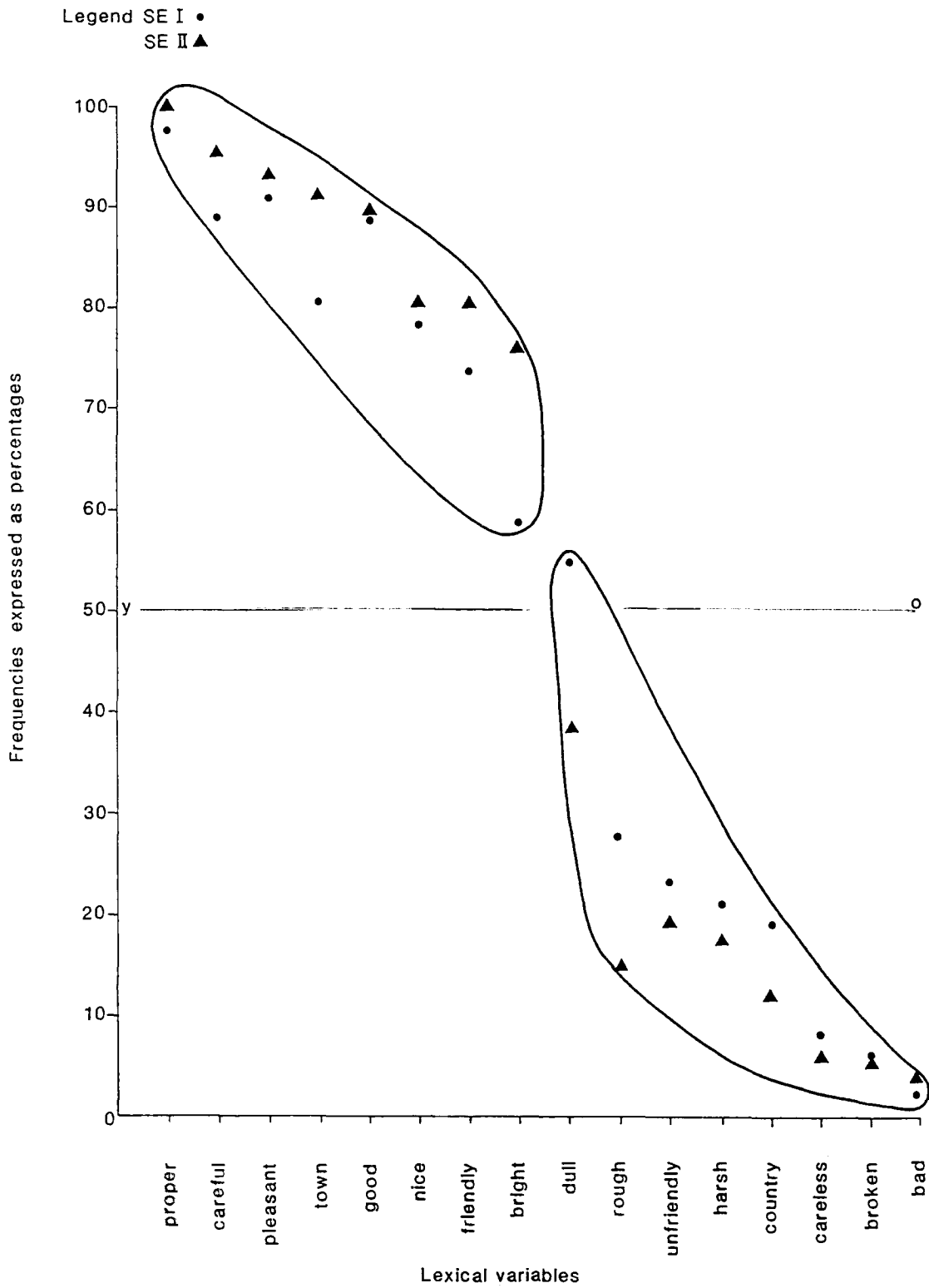
The huge gap in the percentages which are particularly noticeable between both SE discourses and JC I lead us to conclude that teachers are expressing positive attitudes to SE but negative ones to JC. (The observed discrepancies between JC I and JC II will be dealt with in hypothesis VI.)

A similar disparity becomes noticeable if one compares the frequencies for *rough, country and broken*.

	JC I	JC II	SE I	SE II
Rough:	85.0%	72.3%	27.6%	14.8%
Country:	100.0%	93.6%	19.1%	12.7%
Broken:	97.8%	91.4%	6.3%	6.3%

The data for these two sets of variables show the dichotomy with which teachers regard the two languages.

Operational Hypothesis VI

Far less consistency exists in the pattern of responses to the two JC discourses than to SE.

The polarisation and the differential application of each cluster to the two languages has already been commented on, and the fact that the variables on which SE is positively evaluated are the same ones which receive the lowest rating for JC I and JC II. However, far less consistency appears in the pattern of responses to JC I and JC II. The differential evaluation of Lloyd's JC I and Eglon's JC II suggests that teachers were responding very sensitively to these differences as they perceived them.

The frequencies expressed as percentages for the following groups of variables will serve to support the statement:

Both JC I and JC II receive stereotypical evaluation on certain variables for example:

Country:	JC I	100.0%	JC II	93.6%
Broken:	JC I	97.8%	JC II	91.4%
Proper:	JC I	4.2%	JC II	8.5%

Lloyd's JC I is much more unfavourably evaluated than Eglon's JC II on the following three variables:

```
          Careless:   JC I    89.3%       JC II   63.8%
          Rough:      JC I    85.0%       JC II   72.3%
          Bad:        JC I    72.3%       JC II   42.5%
```

The converse applies equally. Teachers evaluated Eglon's JC II higher than Lloyd's JC I on the following lexical items:

```
          Pleasant:   JC II   68.0%       JC I    36.1%
          Friendly:   JC II   76.5%       JC I    53.1%
          Bright:     JC II   57.4%       JC I    38.2%
```

Figure 8.4 visually highlights the differential evaluation referred to, and shows how the responses to JC regrouped the 16 variables originally presented to the respondents.

Some support for the differential ratings of differing or slightly differing forms of Creole has been cautiously given by Bourhis (1982:51,52) with reference first to Haiti and then for Martinique and Guadeloupe:

1.   It would seem that standard French remains the prestige form in Haiti. Though perceived low in prestige, Creole is probably evaluated favourably as the informal ingroup speech style for the majority of Creole speakers. But it appears that the more French forms are retained in the rendering of Creole, the more favourably it is perceived by Creole speakers. Indeed, Orjala (1970) documents how rural Creole speakers attempt to gallicize their speech when faced with urban Creole speakers whose Creole sounds more French and thus more prestigious than the rural Creole.

2.   In both Martinique and Guadeloupe one could expect standard French to receive very favourable prestige ratings. Creole-accented French could be expected to receive intermediate prestige ratings while French-influenced Creole and Creole proper could receive the lowest ratings.

I have used operational hypotheses IV, V and VI as well as Figures 8.3 and 8.4 to present teachers' responses. A comparison of the visual representation of pupils' responses with that of their teachers reveals one important difference. Figures 8.1 and 8.2 could be easily juxtaposed. However, 8.3 had to be superimposed on 8.4 thus drawing attention to a kind of interaction area (one markedly absent from that of the pupils). (See Figure 8.5). The data were coded in such a way that each pupil was identified with his/her teacher. The possibility then existed that teacher category could be used to 'associate' teachers with pupils. Brief comments will therefore be made on the teacher categories and the way in which pupils seemed to fit into each. Teachers' use of

Figure 8.4

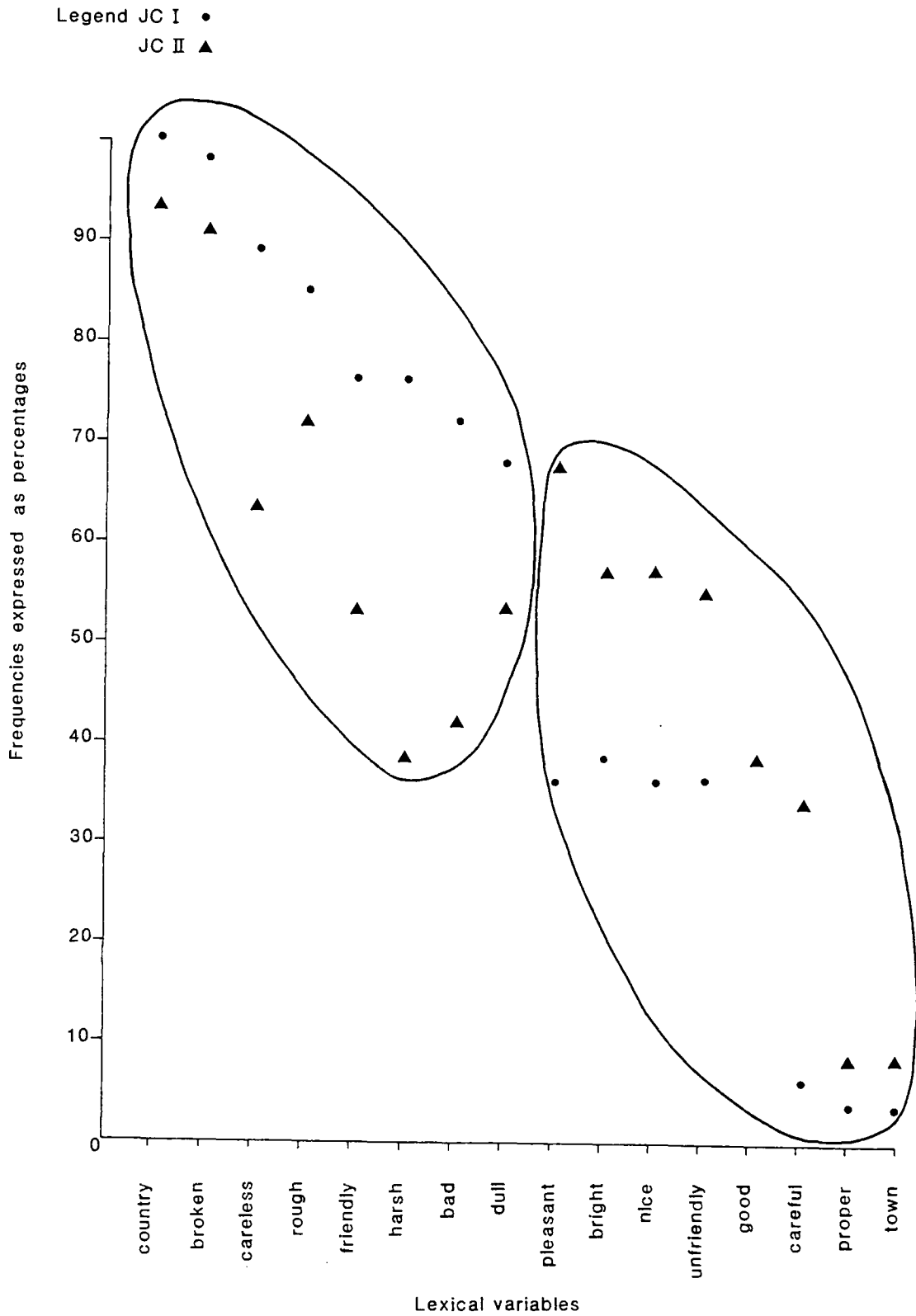Scatter-Plot Highlighting Teachers' Responses to JC I and JC II

Figure 8.5

Scatter-Plot Showing the Interaction Area

between SE I, SE II and JC I and JC II
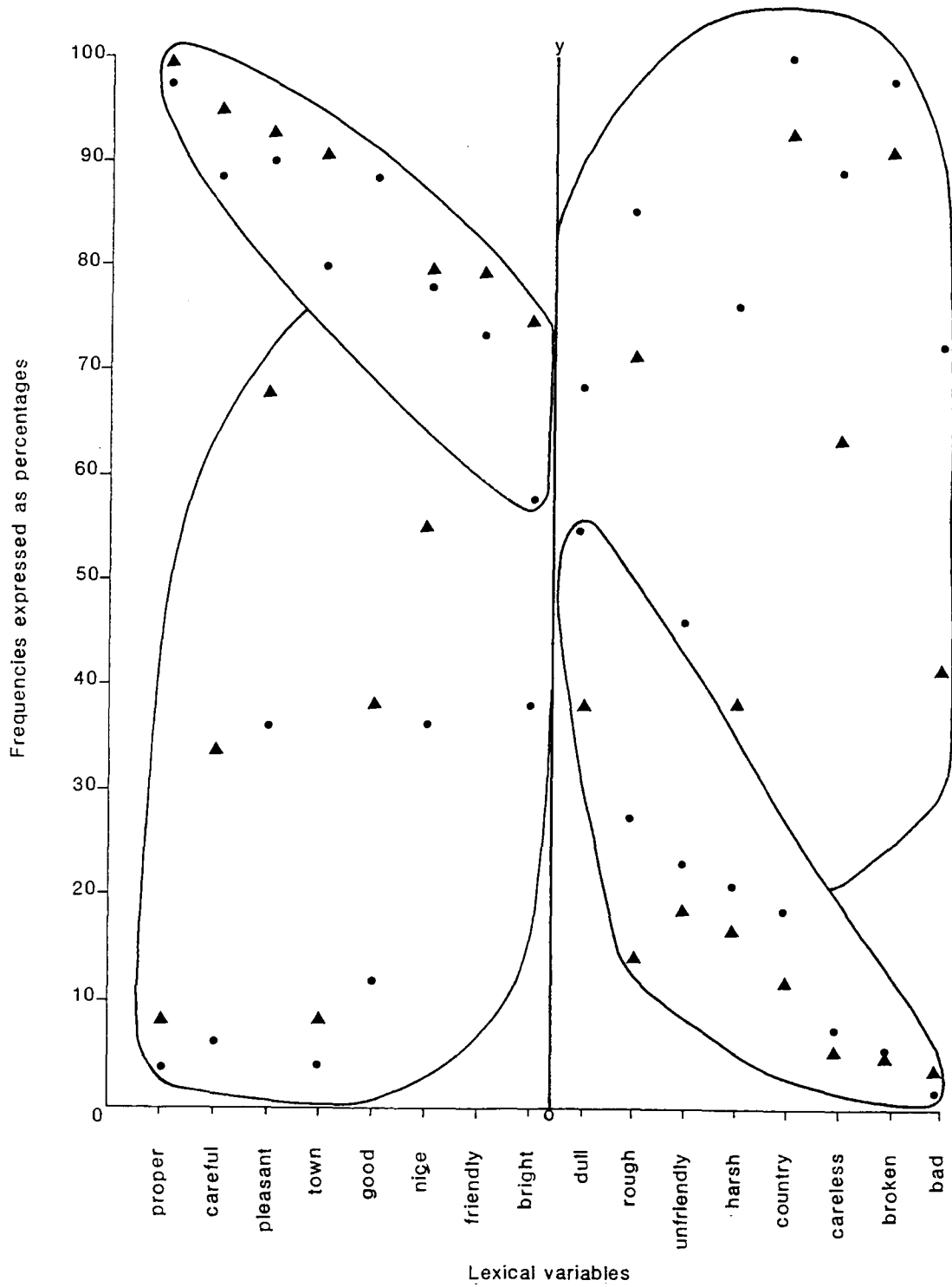
the lexical variables seemed to place them into two distinct groups each of which will be briefly discussed in turn.

Teacher Category I

Here, the teachers seemed to be taking the conventional, unidimensional approach which completely polarised the two languages in positive and negative terms.   44.7 per cent of the teachers who participated fell into this category.   Teachers are members of the society, and it is therefore not surprising if they too hold the extreme views about languages which have always differed so greatly in status. It is also likely that as English teachers they feel they ought to uphold the institutionalised norms which schools are supposed to maintain.

Teacher Category II

31.9 per cent of the teachers employed a more multidimensional approach in their evaluation of speech samples. Like their colleagues in Category I, they viewed the SE discourses favourably. However, they discriminated sharply between the 'native' and more 'acquired' Creole. The differential evaluation of the two Creole tapes by both teachers and pupils has introduced a new dimension into language attitudes which could repay further research. For example, a trained linguist could introduce a greater range of variation between the two polar lects and elicit from the respondents the bases for their evaluations.(See Cheshire, 1982) Of course, it must be remembered that the teachers in this educational sector have come largely from the same socio-economic group and by a similar educational route as their pupils. Such a factor might serve to explain the trend which appears in the data of pupils and teachers.

The third and final group who numbered 23.4 per cent could only be described as ambivalent. Their use of the lexical variables did not reflect any identifiable pattern. The ambivalence which was evident may be due to the tension between the 'public' and 'private', that is, to the

respondent's private views about the linguistic situation and the public views which they think they ought to uphold. It could well be that, prior to the experimental situation, the teachers had never seriously thought about nor articulated their views about the two languages. Their responses might then have reflected a conflict of value systems, their own linguistic insecurities or their inability to accept the two languages with any degree of wholeness.

The response pattern of the first group of teachers was described as unidimensional. 43.2 per cent of the pupils showed a response pattern which is on the whole similar to that of the teachers. The second group of pupils who numbered 31.8 per cent were identified with these teachers categorised as somewhat multidimensional. Here, the data showed a similarity of responses to the SE discourses and sharp discrimination between JC I and JC II. However, no real relationship could be established between the attitudinal judgment of the remaining 25 per cent of the pupils and those teachers designated as ambivalent.

So far, I have analysed and discussed the attitudinal judgments of a sample of 530 pupils and 47 teachers in new Secondary and All-Age schools to JC and SE. The evidence from the data in Chapter Seven and the Verbal-Guise lead us to conclude that the policy directive of the Ministry of Education is not being realised. No evidence exists to suggest that either pupils or their teachers appreciate JC.

8.6 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN EDUCATION

The value and importance of language attitudes within the educational setting cannot be over-estimated, although this critical issue has received very little attention. Edwards (1982:27) maintains that "schools represent the single most important point of contact between speakers of different language varieties". Stubbs (1983:147) argues strongly (Chapters Three and Four) that what educators sometimes interpret as pupils' linguistic failure may be more meaningfully interpreted as "sociolinguistic barriers between schools and pupils". He

posits the view that one aspect of these barriers is teachers' attitude to childrens' language:

> But we know very little about precisely what attitudes teachers have towards nonstandard dialects or towards what constitutes 'good English', or how these attitudes are transmitted by colleges of education to teachers and by teachers to pupils.

Two far-reaching implications of the findings in this chapter merit further discussion. The first is the extent to which a teacher's perception of a language can be generalised to speakers, and the second is linked with the phrase "pupils must be taught to appreciate the Creole". In dealing with teachers' perceptions of pupils' language one needs to draw on the literature for some support.

Williams (1970) discussed a research programme which set out to test the hypothesis that a child's speech can offer a range of status cues to a teacher, thus eliciting attitudes and consequences similar to those described in the controversial study of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968). Forty speech tapes were obtained from twenty pupils rated as middle to high socio-economic status and twenty from relatively low-status families. The findings revealed that teachers tended to evaluate pupils on two gross dimensions labelled (a) 'confidence - eagerness', and (b) 'ethnicity - non Standardness'. Commenting on the ratings on these two dimensions, Williams (1970:389) concludes that

> conservatively and objectively, the best we could say is that children with a relatively high incidence of pausal phenomena and nonstandard realizations were usually rated as relatively low in social status.

Seligman, Tucker and Lambert (1972) presented photographs, speech samples, drawings and compositions of eight 'hypothetical' Montreal Grade III pupils to student teachers. The findings revealed that voice and photographic cues, in particular, affected the pupils' ratings on intelligence and personal characteristics. Seligman, Tucker and Lambert (1972:141) in commenting on the interaction of the cues noted that: "clearly, speech style was an important cue to the teachers in their evaluations of students. Even when combined with other cues its effect did not diminish".

Finally, the findings of a Caribbean research report which is highly relevant to this discussion will be cited. As part of a sociolinguistic survey of British Honduras (Belize), a multi-ethnic, multilingual society, LePage (1972) carried out an experiment which tested the reactions of 119 teacher-trainees drawn from all ethnic groups and geographical regions to children's voices. As described by LePage (1972:163), four sections of tapes were played in succession and then separately, after which the audience was asked to write answers to six questions - three of which are cited below:

1. Is this a child you would expect to do well at school?
2. Is this a child you personally would enjoy teaching?
6. Guess the ethnic group the child belongs to.

Commenting on the answers to these questions, LePage noted that

> one of the most interesting results of this experiment was that 16 per cent of the Creole trainees designated the Creole child as not likely to do well at school, not one they wanted to teach, and a Carib - that is, a member of another and somewhat despised ethnic group.

It would be unwise to speculate beyond the data, but these findings raise implications about teacher-pupil interaction and teacher expectation - particularly in Creole-Standard educational contexts.

8.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A policy directive which requires that pupils should be taught to appreciate Creole represents one step forward. It means that the Ministry of Education has at least given 'token' recognition to a language which has long been stigmatised and ignored. But, a mere mandate handed down by the Ministry of Education, a few printed words in a document, cannot guarantee the successful implementation of any policy. The data itself provide evidence to justify such a statement.

If teachers themselves hold negative views of JC, they cannot be expected to help pupils to appreciate Creole and accept the complementary roles of the two languages. Additional evidence from the data forms the basis of such an observation. Criticism of JC usage still pervades the society. Questions (P.Q., Appendix 2) set out to ascertain whether or

not pupils experienced criticism at school. The question sought to elicit who were the critics, how frequently they were exposed to such criticism and the feelings they experienced. Figure 8.6 presents the findings. 50.9 per cent of the pupils claimed that they experienced criticism at school. 40 per cent of that number said that their critics were teachers. These findings have far-reaching implications. If we deny a child the right to speak his/her first language, if we correct him whenever he uses JC, if he experiences a sense of shame and embarrassment when criticised, then we inhibit rather than foster both language and self-development.

In Chapter Two, I showed how negative attitudes to Creole languages emerged and were perpetuated across space and time. If, as theorists and researchers claim, attitudes are learned and are relatively enduring then changes cannot be effected in a vacuum. Change cannot be achieved without positive intervention. If teachers and pupils have been 'conditioned' over a number of years by socio-historical, demographic and institutional factors already described then their attitudes are not really surprising. One pre-requisite is that educational administrators first identify these critical issues as well as their implications for education. Effective implementation of the policy directive would necessitate a change in attitudes. A new sensitive socio-cultural mechanism would have to be set in motion to change and influence teacher attitudes first.

In Jamaica, the linguistic configuration has traditionally been a negative force which has contributed to many pupils' sense of inferiority, to a 'divided consciousness', to the 'culture of silence'. The view being posited here is that the converse could be true. The linguistic situation could be creatively used to open up new horizons for pupils, repair some of the damage done to their self-confidence and to contribute to their sense of self-worth without which true learning cannot take place.

Schools have a vital rôle to play in lessening the existing dichotomy between the two languages, while helping pupils to accept and

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Figure 8.6

Incidence of criticism of Creole usage at school

Percentage
criticised

Critics

   Teachers

   Others

Frequency
   Often

   Very often

   Sometimes

   Now and then

Emotional
reaction

   Shame

   Embarrassment

0   10   20   30   40   50   60 %

Relative frequency
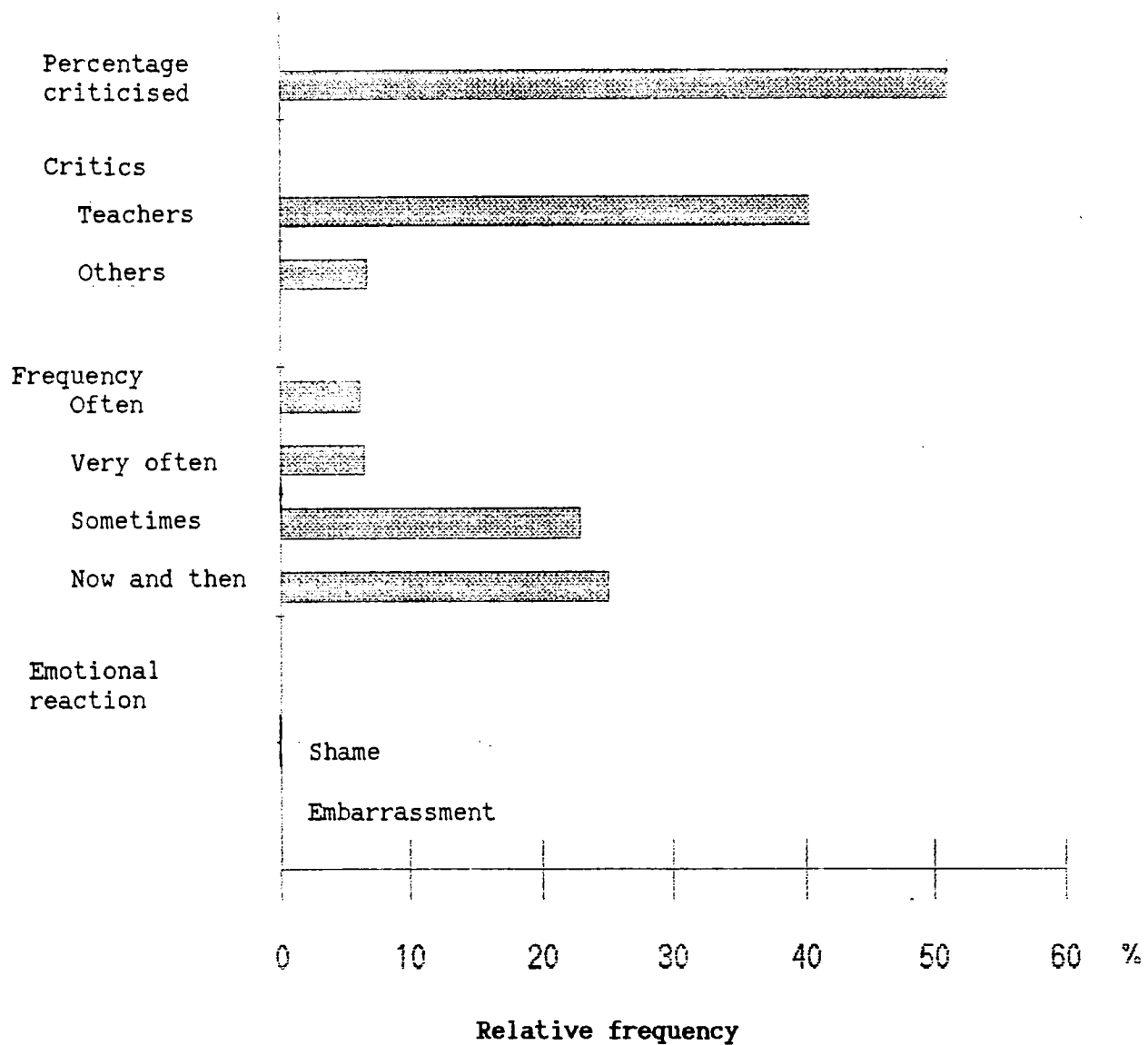
understand the value and rôles of each. Chapter Seven has already demonstrated pupils'sociolinguistic knowledge and their sensitivity to the nuances of the linguistic configuration. A new social climate in the classroom, a certain kind of pupil-teacher interaction, dialogue, could be invaluable in helping pupils to reconcile the two opposing linguistic norms in such a way that they can accept themselves and both languages with an integrated wholeness.

The following chapter ends the empirical investigation as it seeks to assess the extent to which linguistic focussing has taken place for these pupils - the extent to which pupils' writing demonstrates that they have indeed acquired a high level of competence in SE.

CHAPTER 9

PUPILS AS COMPETENT WRITERS?

"The search for a single rapidly applied index of writing ability has been as persistent as the alchemist's search for the philosopher's stone." (Rosen 1969:2-3)

9.1 INTRODUCTION

As the empirical investigation moves through its final phase, this chapter completes the analysis of the policy directive which requires that pupils achieve a high level of competence in SE. Attention is focused on the following research question: <u>Does pupils' written work demonstrate a high level of competence in SE?</u> Here, I am prepared to argue that one pre-requisite of writing, one pre-requisite of competent writing must surely be that pupils first acquire those forms of SE documented in DES (The Cox Report 1988:19, Appendix 8) and in Chapter Three. Such an axiom cannot be over-emphasised, particularly in Creole-Standard continua situations.

The basis of my argument stems largely from the data in Chapter Six, where the emphasis was placed on the concept of linguistic focusing and the need for adequate access to any language which a child is expected to master. That chapter provided evidence that JC constitutes the language to which pupils were/are constantly exposed in their homes and in the wider community. But as early as age three, children <u>can</u> and <u>do</u> demonstrate remarkable ability to learn more than one language and use each with facility and ease. For example, Early Childhood education can provide a rich context in which pupils begin to negotiate meaning in SE, the medium of instruction in schools. No such situation existed for the pupils in the sample. The majority had no exposure to Early Childhood education, while for others, the opportunities were very minimal.

The years from seven to eleven represent a period when pupils could begin to narrow the gap between the language which they first bring to school, and the one in which the Ministry of Education expects them to

achieve a high level of competence.   The findings of the in-depth survey of Primary schools in 1982 (discussed in Chapter Four) cast grave doubts on the quality of language education provided.   Yet, if one makes a distinction between informal, unconscious, effortless learning and formal instruction, pupils can gain some access to SE through the printed word, the radio and television.

The analysis of the writing samples themselves will provide evidence of pupils' productive abilities in SE.   First, it seems necessary to describe the two tasks presented to the pupils:

Task I   : An account of a weekend

Task II : A typical working day in the life of someone (pupils' free
          choice).

The first assignment was chosen on the assumption that 15-year olds can readily find a wealth of ideas with which to respond to such a familiar topic - one largely based on their actual experiences.   The second task, which seems more demanding, was selected for its interest and relevance to the lives of pupils.   Most, if not all youths have career aspirations and feel some admiration for an individual who excels in a particular field.   Perhaps more poignant is the fact that at the time of the investigation, the pupils in the All-Age schools had virtually come to the end of their school career.

A number of other inter-related factors helped to influence the choice of these two specific writing tasks.   Part of the argument in this chapter rests on the proposition that one pre-condition for achieving competence in SE is that pupils first acquire the resources of the language in which they are expected to write.   If pupils can produce in their writing those forms of language which SE requires (but which have no existence in JC) then that provides some evidence that they have at least begun to acquire the resources of SE.   As I pointed out in Chapter Three, two areas which might prove most critical for a writer may be identified as the use of the simple present tense (the verb with 's') and the many and varied ways in which SE realises the past tense.

It is not the intention to be pedantic nor to emphasise 'surface features' while ignoring the many and varied skills which comprise writing. The theory of writing in Chapter Four has already addressed this issue. The approach stems from a number of other considerations. Although the assessment of writing remains a controversial issue, yet educators tend to judge this modality by a fixed set of conventions. It is the written form of a language which largely fulfils the criteria of a Standard. Certain genres of writing require the sustained use of the past tense, still others employ the present. It seems reasonable to suggest that an educator would hardly assess a written text as excellent if pupils seem incapable of sustaining the tense which the genre requires.

The social setting

Many interactive forces undoubtedly influence writing. Stubbs (1983:76) has identified one of the most crucial, as he observes that "a major finding of sociolinguistics is that the *social context* is the most powerful determinant of verbal behaviour". Consequently, one needs to delineate the context in which the data were collected. The immediate 'environment' was the educational setting of the Secondary and All-Age schools. The actual physical environment was a library or a room where the pupils could work undisturbed.

The term may also be used to describe what Halliday and Hasan (1976) refer to as the abstract representation or the environment conjured up by the tasks. A critical issue in Creole-Standard situations may be identified as the extent to which pupils may perceive that different contexts of culture exist - different ways of encoding and expressing meaning. Some pupils may not have mastered both semiotic systems, they may have learned to manipulate one language and not the other. In such a situation, 'the environment of the task' may well evoke feelings of linguistic insecurity in pupils which could in turn affect their written work.

A number of researchers have criticised the artificial circumstances in which writing commonly occurs. For example, Shuy (1984:169) observes that "students write in response to the teacher's demand to write. They do not write to accomplish a personal goal, as they do with talking". Despite this valid criticism, self-generated writing was not considered appropriate in this research situation. I initiated the tasks for the following reasons:

1. Specific writing assignments could offer greater guidance to pupils, and help them to focus their ideas more narrowly, thus lessening the possibility of the writers experiencing the strain and stress which might result from their indecision as to what to write.

2. Both assignments would generate the two linguistic features relevant to the enquiry.

3. Such an approach would facilitate the analysis of the data, and render the comparison of the work of different groups of pupils more meaningful.

The written tasks were delineated in terms of the field, tenor and mode first proposed by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964). These constitute three aspects of meaning; the field (the ideational); the tenor (interpersonal); and the mode (textual). Halliday (1985:53) elucidates each:

> 1. Ideational meaning is the representation of experience: our experience of the world that lies about us, and also inside us, the world of our imagination. It is meaning in the sense of 'content'...
> 2. The interpersonal function of the clause is that of exchanging roles in rhetorical interaction: statements, questions, offers and commands, together with accompanying modalities.
> 3. Textual meaning is relevance to the context: both the preceding (and following) text, and the context of situation. The textual function of the clause is that of constructing a message.

This conceptual framework will be used to delineate more sharply the nature of the written texts which pupils were expected to produce.

Task I

The field: An account of a weekend

Each text should be a record/report/generalised narrative of an individual's activities, first hand experiences, states of feeling during an interesting or memorable weekend - or alternatively pupils might highlight one significant event.

The tenor

The tenor may be described as the formal institutionalised setting of a Secondary or All-Age school where the researcher became an unfamiliar temporary audience.

The mode

The written mode necessitated the sustained use of the past tense.

Task II

The field: An account of someone's typical working day

Each text should contain an account of the activities, skills performed by a specific person during the course of his/her working day.

The tenor

Again, this was the formal institutionalised setting of the school, where the unfamiliar researcher became the pupils' audience.

The mode

Mainly expository, the written mode required the sustained use of the simple present tense with specific emphasis on the verb with 's'.

It also seemed of critical importance to prepare pupils for the written assignment by ensuring that they had the 'mental set' with which to meet the linguistic demands of two differentiated tasks. I explained the reasons for this facet of the investigation, my interest in them as persons, and in the progress they were making in school. In this way, they obtained some idea of both purpose and audience. Then 'pre-writing activities' followed which involved pupils in a preliminary discussion of each topic. This served, to clarify the nature of the task more precisely, and foster some interest and enthusiasm among the pupils. More importantly, the discussion set in motion a train of thoughts and

ideas which were expressed orally in the appropriate register. I assumed that this introductory session might help pupils to produce written texts with greater facility and ease.

The analysis of pupils' writing went through each of the following phases:

1. Initial assessment by three British judges.

2. Writers' productive abilities in Task I used to divide them into three groups.

3. Presentation and discussion of a few scripts which illustrate the main features of the work of each group.

4. Further analysis of the data in order to ascertain whether one can establish a link between the brevity of scripts and the striving to produce correct SE past tense verbs. Discussion of the five ranks generated by the data.

5. Analysis of Task II into five levels and very brief discussion of each.

6. Comparison of pupils' performance on both tasks.

7. Interpretation of the findings.

9.2 INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF TASK I

The written work of these pupils in the Secondary Sector could not be evaluated against any pre-arranged national criteria because the Ministry of Education in Jamaica has not laid down any guidelines for the assessment of writing. The complete lack of empirical work in the Secondary Sector also meant that no relevant research findings existed which could serve to elucidate the data. In contrast, Great Britain has amassed a large and varied corpus of research and experimentation in this field. This country therefore seemed the logical place to provide the guidelines and insights which Jamaica failed to offer.

It seems necessary to state from the outset that the discussion will centre mainly on Task I because pupils failed to execute Task II in any real sense. The scripts were first exposed to the scrutiny of Alex

McLeod who was then my adviser. This was followed by more detailed assessment from Philip O'Hear who, in 1985, was the Head of the English Department at Northumberland Park School in Haringey, and a member of the National Review Panel of the Joint Matriculation Board of Examiners. He worked as a team with Helen Savva who was then a Senior English teacher at Vauxhall Manor School.

McLeod (1985:1) observed that "many [scripts] are so meagre that they are unclassifiable", thus pinpointing the extreme brevity which characterised the written work of the majority of pupils. If educators were to use pupils' differential competence in written SE to place them at specific points on a continuum, then McLeod's finding assigns these pupils to the lowest place on the attainment spectrum. Such an assessment is far removed from the highest level of competence in SE.

McLeod next directed attention to pupils' inability to cope with generalised narrative and report. He maintained that some pupils move to and fro between what appears to be report and what is usual in generalised narrative. Others who were clearly in the report function wrote part of it as if it were habitual action. If different genres of writing were ordered hierarchically as on a scale of difficulty, then surely generalised narrative falls at the lowest end of the scale. The basis of such an observation comes from our experience of children.

In Jamaica (as in other cultures) very young children show that they have already internalised genre as they narrate, report and share their daily experiences with parents, siblings, relatives and peers. If JC and SE represent two semiotic systems, if some children first learn to negotiate meanings in one language, then later on in life they will need to be socialised into other ways of organising knowledge and conveying information. The ability to identify and distinguish between different genres, to employ the resources of SE with facility with ease and the shared knowledge between writer and reader that a conventional written register exists for each genre, become pre-requisites for written competence in SE.

Although McLeod's initial assessment provided a useful starting point, more specific criteria seemed necessary in order to differentiate more sharply between writers. At the time when the analysis was started, the national examination was the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE). O'Hear (1985) and Savva (1985) then began to assess the scripts with CSE in mind. The guidelines for evaluating this examination emphasised content, organisation, vocabulary and sentence structure, spelling and punctuation (see Appendix 11).

O'Hear and Savva (1985:1) submitted the following written report:

1. None of the pieces of writing was of a length which would be acceptable in CSE.
2. The writing was shaped almost entirely by a notion of what is proper to say. There was a concentration on correctness to the exclusion of all else.
3. Among the weaker students, there was a tendency to write very little and to rub out and recorrect a good deal.
4. Few had either attempted or had the confidence/experience to sustain writing of any originality or purpose.

The first of these four findings clearly indicates that the criteria for CSE could not be meaningfully applied to any of the scripts in the sample. Perhaps the most important of these four findings is the second. Neither of these two educators had any in-depth knowledge of the sociolinguistic, socio-historical background of the research project, nor any information about the rest of the data. The scripts were presented to them as the work of Jamaican 15-year olds, some of whom had virtually come to the end of their Secondary schooling. It seems highly significant therefore that both educators were acutely aware of some hurdle, some obstacle which the writers seemed struggling to overcome. This finding confirmed my own tentative hypothesis which will be dealt with later.

Since the brevity of the scripts militated against using the criteria for CSE, both O'Hear and Savva reappraised the scripts in order to differentiate between those writers who

1. showed some knowledge of the forms of SE, exercised control over sentence structure, spelling and punctuation and produced a coherent text;

2. demonstrated all of the features named in (1) above though to a lesser degree; and

3. produced fewer than sixty words which revealed basic difficulties of sentence structure, insufficient knowledge of the forms of language, spelling and punctuation.

O'Hear and Savva identified three categories of writers. This assessment provided the basis for further analysis. With the help of Eglon Whittingham (1985), a Jamaican who has had considerable experience of language-learning and teaching, I reviewed the categories and re-examined the scripts allocated to each. A good deal of consensus existed between the British and Jamaican judges. Very slight adjustments seemed necessary. Figure 9.1 shows the final distribution of written texts across the three categories.

Figure 9.1

The distribution of writers across three groups
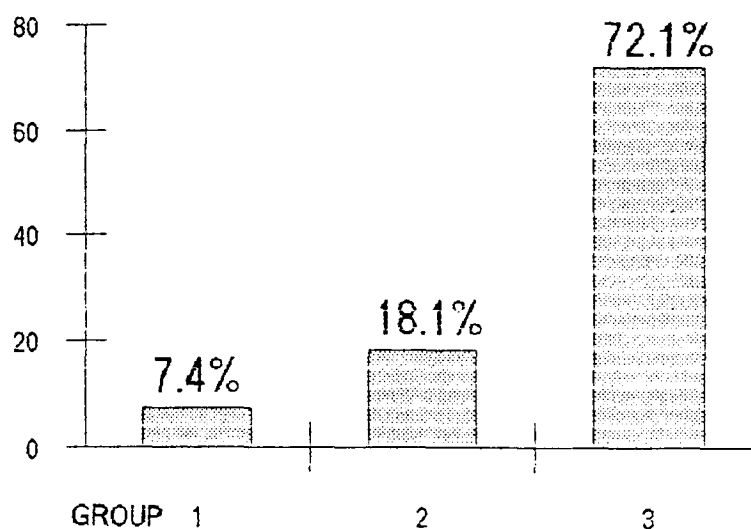
9.3 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS (GROUPS I, II and III)

Out of a total of 530 pupils, a minority of 39 (7.4 per cent) were allocated to Group I, 96 (18.1 per cent) to Group II, and 382 (72.1 per cent) to Group III. Since our interest extends to the pupils themselves as writers, one needs to proceed a stage further and give some substance

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to the analysis by presenting a few samples of the work in each group. Where possible, the discussion of the texts will focus mainly on T-units, first introduced by Hunt (1965), and the Thematic structure which gives the clause its character as message and the way in which cohesion is achieved in the text, Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Halliday (1985). (See Appendix 12 for texts discussed).

Group I: text 1.0

The writer has created a text of 112 words with 10 T-units. In his research, Hunt (1965:31) identified three ranges of T-units. Those he designated short consisted of 1-8 words, middle length 9-20 words, and 20 words he described as long. Here, the mean T-unit length of 11.2 words places the text in the middle-length or average range.

One indication that a writer has achieved some mastery over sentence structures centres on the use of subordinate clauses. This text employs subordination in three out of the ten clauses. T-units 7 and 10 have one embedded adjectival clause while 8 contains an adverbial clause of time. Since the text contains 10 T-units, 10 main clauses and 3 subordinate clauses then the subordination ratio becomes 1.30. What this means in effect,is that 30 per cent of the time the writer adds a subordinate to the main clause.

It might be useful to make a comparison with the subordination ratio of the grades in the sample set out by Hunt (1965:35):

	Grade 4	Grade 8	Grade 12
Average number of clauses per T-unit	1.30	1.42	1.68
Average number of subordinate clauses per main clause	.30	.42	.68

The data here reveal a progressive increase in the subordination ratio, Grade 4 being the lowest and Grade 12 the highest. The text under discussion is identical with that of Grade 4, although the age of the writer would fall somewhere between Grades 8 and 12. Judged by Hunt's standards, this piece of writing does not demonstrate the maturity expected of a fifteen year old.

An examination of the Themes gives some idea of the development of the text. The discourse is located at a particular point in time by the use of the phrase 'last weekend'. Then the writer begins to establish some sequence of events by using the temporal conjunction 'first'. The first person pronoun 'I' then becomes the dominant Theme. The use of the unmarked Theme 'they' signals the inclusion of others. The final Theme in paragraph one is a prepositional phrase 'not long after' which establishes the sequence for the interaction of the three participants.

In T-unit 7, 'my uncle' becomes the subject of the discourse. The use of the marked Themes 'after' and 'during our supper period' establishes a sequence for the events, while the topic has shifted to 'we'. The Theme in the final T-unit is 'my aunt'. Thus the analysis of the Themes show some development of the discourse and the shift from the Theme 'I' to 'we' and 'they' as the writer introduces the interpersonal element, the interaction between participants.

As Halliday (1985) notes, the Rhemes provide for the environment of the rest of the message. The Rhemes of the first three clauses express the exact location where the weekend was spent, the precise time of departure and arrival of the writer. Then the writer's state of feeling and that of the other participants are expressed. Overall, the Rhemes present what Halliday (1985) refers to as the representation of the processes of doing and happening, as well as states of feeling; for example 'reached', 'left', 'asked', 'came to a decision', 'was so excited', 'were so happy'. There are also the participants in the process, and the attendant circumstances, the conversation about school, and economic problems.

Now an attempt will be made to look at the way in which the writer has managed to create text. Here, the concept of cohesion discussed in Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Halliday (1985) will be used. The deictic 'I' must be interpreted exophorically with reference to the context of situation. 'I' runs through the first part of the narrative discourse as it focuses attention on the writer as 'actor' in the material

processes of doing and 'senser' in the mental process of feeling. While it does not provide cohesion in the sense in which Halliday uses it, it gives some coherence to the first part of the text. Lexical coherence through identity of reference to 'Montego Bay' also provides some continuity.

The shift from the writer as only participant is achieved by the inclusion of 'aunt' and 'uncle' in the discourse. 'They' is anaphoric – referring as it does to 'aunt' and 'uncle'. 'We' again establishes an anaphoric relationship, referring as it does to 'I', 'aunt', and 'uncle', and suggesting the interaction between the three. Lexical choice further contributes to cohesion by the use of the synonyms 'talk' and 'conversation'. Temporal conjunctives can constitute effective text-creating devices. However, the writer's use of 'not long after' suggests an immediate prior action, while the preceding verbs 'was' and 'were' are dynamic not stative words. This creates a kind of semantic disjunction in the text.

The writer controls the use of the past tense in all but one instance, that is in the first unit where 'spend' occurs instead of 'spent'. In terms of lexical choice, 'economical' is inappropriately used in the penultimate sentence. Although 1.0 represents the highest end of the attainment spectrum it cannot be regarded as a mature, highly competent piece of writing.

Group I: text 1.1

Text 1.1 consists of 105 words and 8 T-units, thus creating a mean T-unit length of 13.1 words. This also places it in the same middle range as 1.0. However, the writer has achieved a higher mean than that of the previous respondent – a difference of 1.9 words separating the two texts.

Text 1.0 employed subordination on three occasions, while 1.1 does so more repeatedly. For example, T-units 3 and 6 include one embedded adjectival clause each, and three causal/conditional ones in T-units 5 and 8. The subordination ratio of 1.62 proves to be much higher than

that of the previous writer and approximates very closely to the highest recorded by Hunt for Grade 12. Judged by Hunt's standards, this piece of writing shows a greater level of maturity both in the length of the T-units and in the use of subordinate clauses.

Examination of the Themes reveals the linguistic choices which the writer makes in order to create text. The opening phrase 'Last week' locates the discourse at a particular point in time. It is then followed by 'on stage in the studio' which provides the reader with the spatial location of 'Byron Lee and the Dragoneers'. Then the unmarked Theme 'they', 'The Bandmembers', the Thematic equative 'The name of the Song' and 'recording' form a major part of the organisation of the text. Finally, the writer himself as actor in a number of processes, becomes the dominant Theme towards the end of the discourse.

The Rhemes form the environment of the text as they complete the messages initiated in the Themes. The Rhemes express first the exact location of the writer, the presence of Byron Lee and the Dragoneers, the preparations for recording the song 'Redemption Dance', the positioning of the television cameras and the special apparel of the band. This is followed by the writers' account of his tour of the studio, the interesting sight of recording machinery, his wish to remain for two hours, and the reasons why he was only permitted to stay for half an hour.

Next, the textual component of the piece of writing under discussion will be looked at. Exophoric 'I' refers to the context of situation. 'The', in the second T-unit, is a specifying agent and establishes an anaphoric reference to the 'Dynamic Sounds Recording Company'. Continuity is achieved by the semantic relationship which the writer establishes between 'Dynamic Sounds Recording Company', 'stage' and 'studio'. In the third T-unit, the referrent 'they' forges a cohesive link with Byron Lee and the Dragoneers, thus forcing the reader to retrieve the information given in the previous sentence. Identity of reference is also established in T-unit 5 where 'they' is again used.

The writer further achieves continuity in the discourse by using the synonymous terms 'band' and 'band members'; the former referring cataphorically to Byron Lee and the Dragoneers and the latter making an anaphoric reference.

In T-unit 4, 'the' refers anaphorically to the song in the previous sentence, but cataphorically to Redemption Dance. Thus the writer forges a cohesive link between these two clauses. Reiteration and collocation also contribute to the formation of text, for example, 'recording machine', 'recording', 'television' and 'television cameras'. The use of 'I' establishes identity of reference in the last two units. This gives coherence to the discourse. The repetition of 'to stay' is also a text creating device. Finally in units 5 and 8, the causal relationship expressed by 'so' and 'because' constitutes a cohesive bond between their respective clauses.

Text 1.1 can be regarded as a coherent piece of writing which conveys a sense of audience and a voice. However, the writer does not completely control the use of the simple past tense in keeping with the conventions of generalised narrative. This is apparent in T-units 3, 4 and 6 where the verbals 'have', 'is' and 'has' are inappropriately used. Having discussed different aspects of two texts which are representative of the most able writers, attention will now be focused on two texts in the middle range.

Group II: text 2.0

Text 2.0 is minimally more sustained in length than the two discourses previously discussed. The writer has produced 120 words with 9 T-units – thus establishing a mean T-unit length of 13.3 words. Although 2.0 achieves a higher mean T-unit length than either 1.1 or 1.2 it cannot really be judged overall as being more competent or mature than these two.

2.0 therefore highlights the difficulty of establishing a clear and consistent correlation between T-unit length and mature and competent

writing. Rosen (1969) also voiced this concern as he points out that segmentation into T-units does not really make any allowance for the original and creative writer, and suggests that short T-units cannot always be equated with immaturity. Rosen (1969:172) cites the following text in support of his claim:

Horses cry, | men cry, | swords crash and cut, | whips pull
men off their horses | and the battle goes on.
(Mean T-unit length 3.8)

A mean T-unit length of 3.8 words not only falls at the lowest end of Hunt's scale; but also identifies the writer with Hunt's fourth graders. However, the conciseness, force and immediacy of this piece of writing makes it difficult to establish any arbitrary link between immaturity and T-unit length on this occasion.

The writer employs subordination in five out of the nine units, thus achieving a ratio of 1.44. T-units 3 and 4 contain one causal/conditional clause each; number 5 - one defining relative, and numbers 7 and 8 one temporal clause each. Thus for .44 per cent of the time, the writer uses subordination - an average slightly higher than that of the Grade 8 pupils in Hunt's sample.

The temporal phrase 'Last weekend' serves as the point of departure of the discourse. This is followed by the Thematic equative introduced by 'it' and linked by a relationship of identity to a form of the verb 'to be'; thus specifying the exact day and month of the year. The writer makes a brief reference to 'my mother', but the interpersonal 'I' really becomes the dominant Theme. The temporal conjunctions 'after a while', 'while', 'after' seek to introduce the sequence of events. These are followed by the personal pronoun 'we' and the non-specific demonstrative 'it'.

The Rhemes complete the messages begun in the Themes. First, the interpersonal element is prominent as the writer recollects the personal enjoyment experienced through interaction with friends at a particular time. The circumstance which necessitated the writer's being alone is mentioned, then the knocking and opening of the door, and the pleasant

surprise of seeing friends. The indirect words said to them are relayed. The activities of the group and the assessment of the day form the rest of the Rhemes.

The discourse begins with the exophoric 'I' which is followed by the identity of references in the first T-unit. In the second, 'it' has an anaphoric relationship to 'lovely weekend' and a cataphoric one to Saturday the 4th of June. 'That' occurs with anaphoric function pointing back to 'the 4th of June' and establishing a cohesive link between the two units. Another type of lexical cohesion is achieved through collocation or the tendency of certain cohesive relations to co-exist between words such as 'heard', 'knocking', 'door', 'open'. There is again 'identity of reference' to 'some of my friends' thus linking -units 1 and 5. 'Then' constitutes an anaphoric reference to both, while 'we' establishes a link with 'I' and 'some of my friends'.

Both the references to 'beach' and the process of departure and return suggested by 'to' and 'from', seek to establish some continuity in the text. The causal relationship expressed by 'so' in the two subordinate clauses are also text creating devices. The temporal markers 'Last week', 'Saturday the 4th of June', 'after a while' 'while', 'after' create logical links in time. Each establishes some point of contact with the processes which have gone before. Finally, the interpersonal 'It was such a lovely day' virtually repeats the idea expressed in the first sentence.

In general, the writer does not succeed in creating a very coherent text. A number of semantic breaks occur in the discourse. For example, it is not clear 'who sat down' or 'why did they go out'. A whole causal core seems to be lacking. The writer has not really established any connection between 'talking', 'deciding to go to the beach' and then 'going to Hope Gardens'. The motives or reasons for acting or believing are seldom explained.

The ideational content of the discourse of 120 words has not been characterised throughout by a complete control of language. The

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following examples provide some support for the statement. The use of 'between my friends and I' (T-unit 1), 'didn't' (5), 'from' (5) cannot be regarded as appropriate lexico-grammatical choices. The use of the verbs 'open' and 'decide' demonstrates the writer's inability to use the past tense consistently throughout the discourse. Like the Passive voice, the Infinitive represents one of the greatest hurdles for writers attempting to make the transition form JC to SE. The use of 'sat' instead of sit in the clause: 'I told them to come in and sat down' serves as an illustration. However, 'when' for 'went' may be either a miscue or a spelling error.

Group II: text 2.1

Text 2.1 consists of 60 words which include 4 T-units with a mean of 15 words each. This represents the highest discussed so far. Despite its brevity, the text contains some interesting stylistic features. Main clauses form the first two units. The writer then creates a multi-clause unit with main, adverbial and adjective clauses. The final unit contains an adverbial clause of time and a series of material process strung together in Latinate style. The average number of dependent to main clauses becomes 1.75. This ratio clearly indicates that the writer has used subordination more frequently than the Grade 12's in Hunt's sample, and also the other three writers.

The Theme 'last weekend' signals the beginning of the discourse. The writer then employs three types of Themes. The temporal conjunctions 'when' and 'after' give some sequence to the activities described. 'I' becomes the dominant Theme which is repeated a number of times, as it conveys messages about the writer, while the relative pronoun 'who' relates to the writer's father.

The Rhemes convey details about the writer's journey to the market and the material processes of doing prior to arrival. Then they give the name of the specific market, the meeting and interaction with the writer's father, and the series of activities linked with shopping and

preparation for the journey home.

Although text 2.1 is the least sustained of the four samples, it hangs together more coherently than 2.0. The context of situation is expressed by 'I'. The first two clauses contain an identity of reference to 'to the market'. In the first instance, 'the' is used almost in a homophoric sense. The presupposition seems to be that only one market assumes importance in the context. When the phrase is used a second time, it has an anaphoric relationship to the preceding one, and a cataphoric one to Lucea - the specific market of importance to the writer. The possessive 'my' in the phrase 'my breakfast' identifies whose breakfast is specified, and in 'my father' establishes the identity of the participant.

Collocation is another textual device which is reflected in the lexical choice of words which tend to co-occur, for example, 'market', 'money' and 'shopping'. The writer achieves coherence and continuity by the repetition of 'shopping' in the last sentence. A logical link is also established between the processes 'to go shopping' and 'finished shopping' as well as the mention of the 'father's box' and the 'shopping bag'. The temporal conjunctions 'when' and 'after' contribute to the unfolding of the discourse and the sequence of the processes referred to.

Pupils' productive abilities in written SE placed them in three groups. Four texts which represent the upper and mid-point of the attainment spectrum have been presented. Now attention will be focused on those boys and girls at the lowest end. However, the criteria used for assessing Groups I and II can neither be meaningfully nor rigidly applied to Group III for reasons which will become readily apparent. Instead, certain self-explanatory sub-headings will be used to present the findings.

Group III: Partially intelligible: partially legible

The opening line in 3.0, 'I spen last week on' signals the writer's intention to produce a generalised narrative or report. However, this pupil does not fully succeed in communicating meaning. The beginning of the discourse as well as the first three words in the second line 'I my wen' substantiate the statement. A decided effort to decipher the rest of the text reveals that though 3.0 lacks coherence, it manages to convey some information about the writer. This pupil demarcates and punctuates sentences, but does not succeed in spelling simple, familiar words such as *work, school, church, Sunday, bush* and *cook*. As a reader, one has strong sense of the writer's struggle to produce a piece of writing. Lack of resources of SE and the inability to produce clear, legible handwriting seem to be hurdles which the writer tries to overcome.

3.1 shows a peculiar arrangement of words on the page, handwriting which is not completely legible, sentences not always demarcated, overuse of capitalisation and a number of lexico-grammatical problems. When deciphered, a storyline emerges, however. The spatial phrase, 'on my way to the supermarket' marks the point of departure of the discourse. Then, the location of the writer/narrator at the time of the incident becomes the setting/scene of the incident. A clear narrative structure emerges – an eyewitness account of the stealing of someone's purse, the spatial relationship between the thief and the narrator, the pursuit of the culprit and the successful resolution, as the policeman apprehends the thief. Coherence has been achieved through the logical sequence of events and cohesion by lexical choice and anaphoric references.

3.1.1 bears a marked resemblance to a sample of writing (number 2) which appears in DES (The Cox Report 1988a:75, Appendix 6). Although the writing seems so immature, so similar to that of a 5-year old, yet careful deciphering of the discourse shows someone struggling to express thoughts and ideas which cannot be regarded as immature. The writer has tried to produce a sustained piece of writing about a weekend which has clearly been memorable to him.

Unlike the vast majority of the pupils, the work of 3.1.1 divides the discourse into two paragraphs, although he does not always demarcate sentences nor use appropriate punctuation. Spelling poses enormous problems as the following examples show: *whent, frends, codnot, whood, intering, somtime* and *ofternun.* The first three sentences have maintained the register of generalised narrative, after which the control breaks down and inconsistency in the use of the past tense becomes apparent.

Two features of 3.1.1 suggest a measure of maturity – the Thematic variation and the use of subordination – temporal, causal/conditional and noun clauses. Thematic Equative 'Sunday was a perfect day' draws attention to a pupil who is trying to convey his enjoyment of the weekend. As a reader, one senses that the writer experiences the excitement of writing. However, it also seems reasonable to suggest that a host of inter-related factors, for example, under-developed psycho-motor skills, the lack of a high level of competence in SE, possibly inadequate writing practice seriously impaired the writing development of this pupil.

Redrafting/editing

3.2 and 3.2.1 clearly show pupils wrestling with words and meanings, as they evaluated their work and decided that it fell short of the 'standards' which they had set for themselves. This observation is based on the fact that both pupils deleted their first attempts and made a completely new start. The second draft of 3.2 does not represent a significant improvement on the first, except that the latter is more sustained in length. However, 3.2.1 did succeed marginally in improving the first draft.

Deletion and substitution

Further insight into pupils' approach to the task comes from 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. Both writers use the techniques of deletion and substitution to a greater or lesser degree. In the first of these two samples, the problem seems to stem from the writer's feeling of uncertainty about spelling words such as 'beach', 'went' and 'friend'. 3.2.3 exemplifies the wrestle with meanings as the writer first produces, then deletes 'brothers', then substitutes 'mothers' in the phrase 'mothers house'. This is further modified, and the final draft reads 'mothers home'.

Current literature and research on writing lay great emphasis on redrafting and editing. Indeed, some educators have encouraged their pupils to evaluate their own work, and use these techniques to foster their writing development. In other situations, some pupils may think that an assignment provides them with a single opportunity to produce a text. One is uncertain whether the pupils in the sample have been deliberately sensitised to these strategies. It seems more likely, however, that the approaches taken by 3.2, 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 stem from their own linguistic insecurities.

Lack of risk-taking

The following scripts exemplify the paucity of words which characterise the work of some of the pupils. 3.3 consists of one sentence of eleven words. Although this represents minimum length, yet it does not show complete mastery of language. The sentence is incomplete as the writer omits the word 'week' at the beginning. The semantic problems which 'weak' and 'week' pose for the pupil reveals itself in the spelling of 'weakend'.

3.3.1 contains a total of twenty seven words divided into two distinct parts. The writer devotes the first eighteen words to content. However, three lexico-grammatical choices 'spen', by phone, go, (instead of spent, by phoning, by going) show someone who does not even command the resources of SE which such a brief discourse requires. The remaining

nine words communicate to the reader that the task of composing has come to an abrupt end: "This is the end of my composition on my weekend".

3.3.2 represents a slightly more ambitious effort with <u>nineteen</u> words in one sentence, which could easily be demarcated into two. Compared with other attempts in Group III, the writer deserves some credit for at least using the verb forms 'went' and 'had' appropriately. The nineteen words convey some information to the reader. There is some cohesion in the brief discourse. 'We' has an anaphoric relationship to 'I' and the deictic 'my'.

Unrelated string: target achieved

3.4 and 3.4.1 executed the task in terms of a string of unrelated sentences. In both cases, the handwriting appears legible, spelling does not present a major problem, but these efforts seem so immature for 15-year olds. 3.4 consists of four sentences with no variation whatever either in the use of Themes or Rhemes. Each of the four sentences begins with 'I went'.

3.4.1 employs the Theme 'I' throughout the discourse. However, the writer manages to vary the Rhemes and uses the verb forms *washed, studied, enjoyed, went, listened* and *read.* In the narrowest possible sense, both writers have achieved some success in executing the task, yet each attempt falls far short of the conventional view of an essay or composition.

Unrelated string: target not achieved

3.5 and 3.5.1 also attempt an unrelated string of sentences but with much less success that 3.4 and 3.4.1. 3.5 consists of three numbered sentences with a total of sixteen words, no variation in Themes, and Rhemes beginning with the verbs 'go' and 'sleep'. 3.5.1 reveals a slightly more sustained piece of writing, but the writer has not formulated his thoughts into complete sentences. The absence of the unmarked Theme 'I' (conflated with subject) constitutes a marked feature

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of this script. The use of uninflected verbs 'go', 'feed' and 'wash' might mean that this writer has not yet made the transition to SE, and is producing the only forms which exist in his/her verbal repertoire. The (inadvertent) use of the imperative then becomes totally inappropriate.

Miscellaneous strategies

The following writers make somewhat unusual linguistic choices in an attempt to write a generalised narrative or report. For example, s/he introduces 3.6 with the sentence "Every weekend I clean the house". Such an introduction then prepares the way for six numbered sentences employing the habitual present tense. 3.6.1 and 3.6.2 demonstrate their writers' use of modal auxiliaries, for example, 'would clean/go'. Finally, 3.6.3 shows another inappropriate choice of verbal group as the writer uses 'by' with the present participle, for example, 'I spent my weekend by going'. The data in this section lead one to conclude that pupils are avoiding constructions with which they are not completely familiar.

Slightly more successful attempts

Out of a total of 383 pupils in Group III, 3.7 and 3.7.1 represent two of the most successful attempts. The term 'successful' can only be used advisedly, since 3.7 consists of one sentence of twenty one words which could easily be demarcated into three. The handwriting shows that the writer has developed a legible, cursive style. Despite the brevity, this pupil has managed to inform the reader that the highlight of the weekend was the visit to the cinema and the viewing of a movie on the Martial Arts.

3.7.1 consists of thirty-one words which are legibly written though not in as clear a cursive style as 3.7. Some variation in Thematic structure becomes apparent and the discourse hangs together as a text. Cohesion is achieved through lexical choice, the repetition of 'week' and 'weekend'. The deictic 'my' specifies whose weekend is being referred

to, and later identifies the 'grandfather's home'. The pronoun 'he' becomes an anaphoric reference to 'grandfather'. 'So' not only establishes an internal cohesive link in the clause but also an external one as it provides a logical reason for the writers' subsequent activity.

These thirty-one words show a writer struggling with a number of linguistic problems, for example, the uncertainty over the semantic differences between 'weak' and 'week', 'their' and 'there'. This pupil experiences great difficulty with the first verb in the sentence, first producing 'spend' and 'spent'. Then, dissatisfied with both forms he finally writes 'spended' by analogy with the other verbs used in the text such as 'walked', 'cleaned' and 'helped'. If the transition from JC to SE represents a series of grammatical hurdles which a writer must overcome, then the construction 'I helped him clean the house' represents one of the most difficult. It is not really surprising that this also presented a problem to the writer.

So far, I have analysed and described a number of scripts which present a representative view of the work in all three categories. In general, the pupils in Groups I and II showed that they understood the interrelation of the field, tenor and mode. They exercised some control over sentence structures and used the appropriate lexico-grammatical patterns with varying degrees of success. However, mature, fluent, highly competent writers can and do demonstrate remarkable ability to elaborate on an idea, explain, describe, segment their work into paragraphs and so produce a text of sustained length. This level of organising ability was largely absent from the work of the 135 pupils who constituted 25.5 per cent of the sample.

The data in Group III stand out in sharp contrast to that for Groups I and II. The paucity of words, the lack of knowledge of genre and therefore of a shared sense of a conventional written register, sharply separate these 383 writers from the rest of the sample. Even though the majority of these pupils used the temporal phrase 'last weekend' to

signal the beginning of a discourse (which needed to be layered in the past) yet many made completely unsuitable linguistic choices. A strong possibility exists that any wide cross-section of English teachers would unanimously agree to label these scripts as 'ungraded'. Reference has already been made to missing data. 18 pupils who completed the task failed to hand in their work. It seems unwise to speculate, but a strong possibility exists that the work of these pupils would also have placed them among the least competent writers. So far, the data already provide an answer to the research question posed on page 272.

9.4 FURTHER DATA ANALYSIS: FIVE RANKS

However, one's interest extends beyond the policy directive to the pupils themselves. Consequently, the writing was further analysed in order to focus attention more narrowly on one of the major findings - the extreme brevity of the majority of scripts. Concern to elucidate this finding as much as possible led me also to ascertain the exact number of SE and non SE verbs pupils used in executing Task I. In this way, it was possible not only to address O'Hear's and Savva's concern but also my own conjectures about the reasons for the brevity of the scripts. Because JC and SE share a common lexis, it seems reasonable to assume that pupils might find more difficulty in producing the verbal group of SE sentences than the nominal group. I therefore formulated two tentative hypotheses to be tested:

1. Lexico-grammatical patterns absent in the Creole, for example, past and present tense forms may present hurdles to the pupils.

2. The brevity of the scripts may be related to (1) above.

In order to test these two hypotheses concurrently, I adapted an analytical model formulated by Craig (1971:376). He advanced the view that learning of SE could be analysed in the following four strata:

Class A : Patterns actively known.

Class B : Patterns used only under stress. These have been learned, but are not firmly internalised nor habituated.

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Class C : Patterns known passively. Creole or non-Standard speakers would understand these in context, but would be unable to produce them.

Class D : Patterns not known.

It may be of interest to note that Craig's (1971) theory grew out of studies of speech elicited in a number of social situations from a cross-section of respondents in different Caribbean territories. These included:

1. Spontaneous talk from 300 Jamaican children and smaller groups in Grenada and St. Lucia recorded in small peer-group interaction.

2. 'Careful' or formal speech, of children in Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana and some of the smaller territories - on a given topic in an interview.

3. Samples of written work of older children and young adults.

4. Oral and reading comprehension of SE. Here the evidence was drawn from the results of classroom exercises in oral and reading comprehension and classroom observations of practising and trainee teachers.

When this analytical tool was applied to Task I, the data generated five categories of writers. These, I have designated as Ranks I-V and described below.

Rank I: Complete mastery

The writers in this group used SE past tense verbs throughout their discourse. On this single linguistic feature, this group may be meaningfully compared with Craig's Class A.

Rank II: Near mastery

Those pupils who had successfully used all but one SE past tense verb appropriately were allocated to Rank II. These writers fall somewhere between Craig's Class A and Class B learners.

Rank III: Partial Control

These were the writers who showed a certain inconsistency in their use of the past tense, thus approximating closely to Craig's Class B.

Rank IV: Minimal Control

Here, these pupils used only one SE verb appropriately and belong more to Craig's Class C than B.

Rank V: Complete lack of control

These were the writers who had not yet made the transition from JC to SE. They used the same invariate verb forms as in JC. Craig's Class D describes their stage of language learning.

Five ranks

These five categories provide some indication of a writer's ability to use those linguistic features required by generalised narrative and report. Table 9.1 shows the distribution of the 512 pupils into ranks.

Table 9.1

Distribution of pupils in five ranks

Rank	Girls	Boys	Total no. of pupils	Percentage
I	21	18	39	7.4
II	33	24	57	10.8
III	116	96	212	40.0
IV	66	58	124	23.4
V	23	57	80	15.1
	259	253	512	100.0

39 pupils (7.4 per cent) fall at the top end of the scale. This group is closely followed by Rank II, who number 57 pupils (10.8 per cent) both accounting for 18.2 per cent of the total sample. By far, the largest number 212 (40 per cent) in Rank III cluster around the mid-point. The inconsistency with which they move between invariate verb forms in JC and SE past tense forms is a marked feature of their work. 124 pupils (23.4 per cent) in Rank IV fall lower down on the scale. They represent the group who have made a faint, almost imperceptible, developmental step in their use of this linguistic feature. Finally, the 80 writers (15.1 per cent) in Rank V give no real indication that they have made any transition from the verb forms in JC to those in SE. Tables 9.2 to 9.6 will highlight the minimum, mean, median and maximum

number of words used by each rank as well as that of SE and non-SE verbs.

Table 9.2

Number of words, SE and non-SE verbs used by Rank I writers

Rank I	Minimum	Mean	Median	Maximum
Number of words	9	48.56	46	126
Number of SE verbs	1	6.6	6	18
Non-SE verbs	0	0	0	0

Texts 4.0 and 4.1 illustrate the work of Rank I pupils. The term 'complete mastery' can only be applied to these 39 pupils in Rank I in a very limited sense. It means that each writer successfully used SE verbs throughout the discourse. However, the work of these writers leaves the reader with the distinct impression that the striving for correctness severely inhibited their efforts. A minimum of <u>nine</u> words, a mean of 48.56, and a median of 46 provide evidence to support the statement. A pupils' use of <u>one</u> verb, the mean of 6.6 and a median of 6 hardly suggest that these writers used a range of dynamic verbs to give a lively account of a weekend.

Pupils adopted a range of strategies in order to achieve the somewhat narrow goals which they had set for themselves. Some of these have already been mentioned and include the completion of the task in one or two sentences, writing a string of unrelated sentences, choosing to repeat one verb throughout the discourse and the lack of elaboration of ideas reflected in the use of a single paragraph. In a sense, the term 'striving for correctness' may seem a rather subjective judgment. However, the analysis of the data on geographical location, occupational stratification of parents and caregivers and the number of categories of books read seem to justify the use of the term. Rank I had the highest percentage of pupils who

1. lived in areas where there was a tourist industry;

2. claimed to have read (4), (5) and (6) categories of books; and

3. had parents and caregivers who were in the two upper ends of the occupational scale.

These factors might have made the group more conscious of 'correctness' and more capable of producing the pattern which they attempted. The correlation of these variables is less clear-cut for the other ranks.

In general, the 57 pupils in Rank II seemed to be operating under fewer constraints than their counterparts in Rank I. Table 9.3 provides some justification for the statement.

Table 9.3

Number of words, SE and non-SE verbs used by Rank II writers

Rank II	Minimum	Mean	Median	Maximum
Number of words	11	54.56	45	185
Number of SE verbs	2	7.59	6	29
Non-SE verbs	1	1	1	1

A minimum of 11 words, a mean of 54.56 and a maximum of 185 represent an increase over Rank I. Pupils also seemed more adventurous as a mean of 7.59 verbs and a maximum of 29 indicate. However, pupils' control over SE verbs slipped as they attempted slightly more sustained writing. Each used one non-SE verb form.

A number of pupils in Rank II produced scripts which fell far below the mean. These writers employed some of the same strategies which have already been discussed on pages 291-293. In contrast, others attempted much more sustained pieces of writing. For example, text 4.2 exemplifies the work of a writer who betrays a greater sense of adventure. This script shows some competence and maturity characterised as it is by a coherent discourse, a voice, a sense of audience and an appropriate register. Compared with the rest of the group, there is a commendable choice of phrases such as 'healthy breakfast', 'spiritually blessed',

'reserved seats' and 'a tiresome drive'. The writer has problems with punctuation, there are some spelling errors, and a strange phrase 'overing the concert' is used. However, this pupil shows some potential as a writer.

As Table 9.4 indicates, the 212 writers of Rank III attempted the most sustained pieces of writing.

Table 9.4

Number of words, SE and non-SE verbs used by Rank III writers

Rank III	Minimum	Mean	Median	Maximum
Number of words	21	76.66	70	270
Number of SE verbs	3	11.14	10	32
Non-SE verbs	1	5.8	5	25

The comparative means for all five ranks shown in Figure 9.2 illustrate the differences between this group of writers and the other four ranks.

Figure 9.2

The comparative means for Ranks I - V

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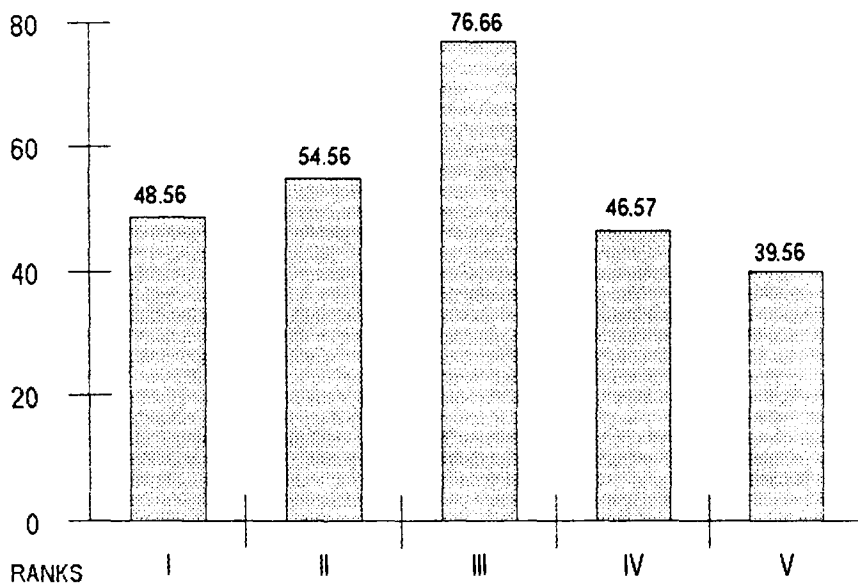
A minimum of twenty one words, a mean of 76.66 and a maximum of 270 characterise the work of Rank III. Pupils use a minimum of 3 SE verbs, a mean of 11.14 and a maximum of 32. But, the more sustained a piece of writing becomes, the greater are the linguistic demands which it makes on a writer. This becomes noticeable when one compares the length of discourses and the frequency in the use of non-SE verbs (a trend which is much less pronounced in the data for Rank II). It seems reasonable to conclude that pupils have acquired some knowledge of the linguistic feature under discussion, but it has neither become 'internalised nor firmly habituated'.

A wide range of performance becomes apparent in the work of these 212 writers. Two examples which illustrate the extreme ends of the attainment spectrum will be cited. Text 4.3 shows us a writer who approaches the task with a good deal of attention. This pupil exercises due care in the pluralisation of words and in spelling, but hyper-corrects by adding the apostrophe 's' to Duncans, the name of a small town. The discourse contains seven sentences, with 'went' the only SE verb used on three occasions, 'wash' and 'help' being used twice in the same uninflected form of a JC verb.

Text 4.3.1 begins with a clear sense of purpose, although signalled by a peculiar choice of words in the sentence 'I will like to share it along'. The writer's sense of audience is suggested by the use of the word 'share'. A voice emerges strongly from the text as the pupil carries out her intention to share her experiences with the reader.

The writer's use of subordination and co-ordination reflects a level of maturity, and unlike the majority of pupils, she segments the discourse into paragraphs. Neither spelling nor pluralisation present a problem (apart from one exception in each case). This pupil deserves some credit for using the Passive with and without agent, for example, 'we were taken', 'we were given' and 'we were carried'.

Throughout the discourse, however, the tension between field, tenor and mode results in the inconsistency in the use of the required

register. A particular pattern becomes noticeable in the writer's use of non-SE verbs. In the first three paragraphs, the pupil maintains a fair degree of control. However, in the dense and lengthy paragraph four the control breaks down sharply. The numbers on the scripts show that on 22 separate occasions, the writer reverts to the use of JC verbs, 13 of these occurring in paragraph four alone.

On the whole, the work of Rank III conveys the impression of pupils who seem more prepared to take risks, writers who are less pre-occupied with 'correctness' for its own sake. The relationship between increased length and inconsistency in SE constitutes a marked feature of the work among these 212 writers. The inconsistency gives some indication of learners' language and highlights their partial acquisition of one of the most basic forms of SE.

A comparison of Tables 9.4 and 9.5 shows a marked decrease in the number of words produced by Rank IV. A difference of nine words separated the minimum discourses of Ranks III and IV, while the mean and median both differ by thirty words each. The maximum length of the text in Rank III exceeds that in Rank IV by one hundred and forty four words.

Table 9.5

Number of words, SE and non-SE verbs used by Rank IV writers

Rank IV	Minimum	Mean	Median	Maximum
Number of words	12	46.57	40	126
Number of SE verbs	1	1	1	1
Non-SE verbs	2	6.5	6	26

A minimum of 12 words and a mean of 46.57 again convey the impression that, like the first two ranks, pupils seem to be operating under some constraint. Perhaps, the barrier in this instance is not so much a conscious striving for correctness, but rather the lack of confidence which springs from their inability to produce the appropriate

linguistic feature under discussion.

The basis for making such an observation stems from pupils' use of verbs. Each of these 124 writers uses only <u>one</u> SE verb, a minimum of two non-SE verbs, a mean of 6.5 and a maximum of 26. Texts 4.4 and 4.4.1 exemplify the work in Rank IV. The writer's use of the past tense lead us to conclude that they do not 'own' the resources of the language in which they are expected to write.

Table 9.6 shows that pupils in Rank V produced the least sustained pieces of writing as the mean of 39.6 and the median of 31 indicate.

Table 9.6

The number of words, SE and non-SE verbs used by Rank V writers

	Minimum	Mean	Median	Maximum
Number of words	13	39.6	31	216
Number of SE verbs	0	0	0	0
Number of non-SE verbs	1	6.35	6	27

None of the 80 pupils in Rank V used any SE past tense verbs. Text 4.5 typifies the work of some of these pupils. Others began their discourses by describing situations of obligation or necessity and habitual action while some made projections into the future:

1. On a weekend I have to help ...

2. On Fridays, I make it as my duty to ...

3. I always spend my holidays ...

4. On weekends I go to my sister ...

5. I help my mother to ...

6. When I am coming home on a weekend, I ...

7. On a weekend, I would clean ...

8. I would be spending the weekend ...

9. I spend my weekend by washing ...

Pupils' use of the following four forms also merit attention:

1. I am spend ...

2. I have spend ...

3. I were ... it were ...

4. I goes ... I buy ...

It is uncertain whether the first of these last four writers intended to have written 'I am spending', although that would have been inappropriate in the context. In the case of the second, the writer probably has a notion of the use of 'have' to form the perfect tense but has not quite internalised the appropriate form. The third writer gives the impression of someone who has moved away from JC but is clearly in the mesolectal area. 'I goes' and 'I buy' in one very short discourse show the linguistic uncertainty of the writer.

Co-variation of sex and pupil performance

An attempt was made to find out whether the performance of boys and girls revealed any major differences. The Mann-Whitney U-Test was used as a test of significance. Each of the five ranks was regarded as an ordinal value and computed with sex for each school type. Tables 9.7 and 9.8 present the findings for Secondary and All-Age schools respectively and Table 9.9 the combined sample.

Table 9.7

Frequency distribution of pupil performance in Secondary schools:

Rank by sex

		Rank I	Rank II	Rank III	Rank IV	Rank V	Row Total
S E X	Girls	11 6.7	15 9.1	67 40.6	54 32.7	18 10.9	165
	Boys	12 7.1	18 10.7	58 34.5	37 22.0	43 25.6	168
Column Total		23 6.9	33 9.9	125 37.5	91 27.3	61 18.3	333 100.0

Rank I categorised those pupils who used SE past tense verbs consistently throughout their discourse, and Rank II those who exercised slightly less control by using one verb which deviated from the norm. Table 9.7 shows a very slight disparity between the number of boys and girls in both these two ranks.

The two main inter-related features of the work of pupils allocated to Rank III were the most sustained pieces of writing and the greatest inconsistency in the use of SE verbs. Slightly more girls than boys fell in this group - the difference being 9 girls (6.1 per cent) of the subset. However, the trend is reversed in Rank V. More boys than girls show that they have not made the transition from JC to SE - the girls accounting for 10.9 per cent, the figure for the boys being 25.6 per cent, a difference of 14.7 per cent separating boys from girls in Rank V. The results of the test were not significant.

U	W	Z	2 Tailed P
12722.0	26417.0	- 1.3513	0.1766

Table 9.8

Frequency distribution of pupil performance in All-Age schools:

rank by sex

		Rank I	Rank II	Rank III	Rank IV	Rank V	Row Total
S E X	Girls	10 / 10.8	17 / 18.3	49 / 52.7	12 / 12.9	5 / 5.4	93
	Boys	6 / 7.0	7 / 8.1	38 / 44.2	21 / 24.4	14 / 16.3	86
Column Total		16 / 8.9	24 / 13.4	87 / 48.6	33 / 18.4	19 / 10.6	179 / 100.0

Some differences become apparent in the performance of girls and boys in All-Age schools. More girls fall within the first three ranks than boys, a difference of 3.8 per cent, 10.2 per cent and 8.5 per cent respectively separating the sexes. The converse also applies. More boys than girls account for the writers in Ranks IV and V, the differences

being 11.5 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively. In a very limited sense, the girls in All-Age schools perform better than the boys on Task I. The results are significant.

U	W	Z	2 Tailed P
2892.5	8846.5	- 3.4159	0.0006

Table 9.9

Frequency distribution for combined Secondary and All-Age schools:

Sex by Rank

		Rank I	Rank II	Rank III	Rank IV	Rank V	Row Total
S E X	Girls	21 8.1	32 12.4	116 45.0	66 25.6	23 8.9	258
	Boys	18 7.1	25 9.8	96 37.8	58 22.8	57 22.4	254
Column Total		39 7.6	57 11.1	212 41.4	124 24.2	80 15.6	512 100.0

The following observations can be made about the combined schools:

1. Both boys and girls are fairly evenly matched in Rank I, the percentage being 8.1 and 7.1 respectively.

2. There is a slightly higher percentage of girls than boys in Rank II, the figures being 12.4 and 9.8 respectively.

3. The gap between girls and boys widens in Rank III by 7.2 per cent but narrows in Rank IV by 2.8 per cent.

4. By far, the greatest disparity is evident in Rank V, which represents the lowest level of performance while 8.9 per cent of girls fall in this category, the corresponding figure for the boys is 22.4 per cent.

The test is significant.

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Task I has been dealt with in some depth. Now some attention will be briefly directed to Task II. Pupils did not really execute the assignment. Few seemed able to use the required linguistic feature to give an exposition of a typical working day in the life of someone. The three British judges found that they could not make any meaningful assessment of Task II. However, analysis of the data generated five groups or 'levels' of pupils. Figure 9.3 shows the frequencies expressed as percentages for each level.

Figure 9.3

Distribution of pupils across five levels on Task II
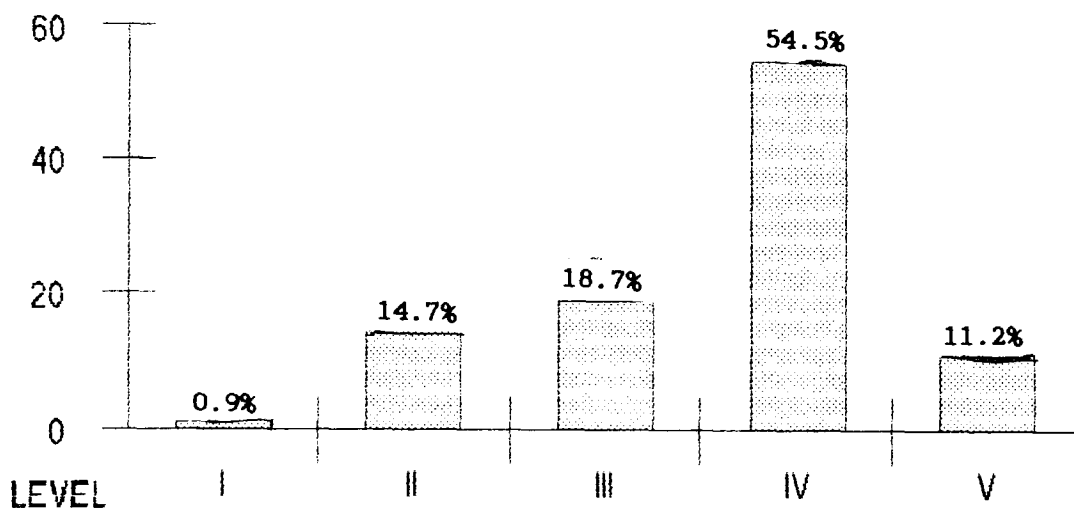
Level I

5 pupils (0.9 per cent of the sample) successfully completed the task and were allocated to Level I. Text 5.0 represents one of the five scripts which showed that these writers sufficiently understood the field, tenor and mode to make the appropriate linguistic choices.

Level II

78 pupils (14.7 per cent) seemed to understand the task, but did not produce the required linguistic feature consistently. The performance of

pupils in Level II reveal a good deal of variation. At the lowest end of the spectrum are those writers who produce one verb with 's' then switch to more familiar forms such as 'went'. Text 5.1 exemplifies the upper end of the attainment spectrum. However, the writer's uncertainty over syntax is shown in the first sentence: 'the farmer gets up and gather' and 'some of them gets'. Problems in semantics also become apparent in the misuse of 'they're' and 'thier'. However, the use of terms such as 'commercial feeding', 'sprays a chemical on them', 'goes home feeling exhausted' indicates some potential as a writer.

Level III

The 99 writers (18.7 per cent) who were allocated to Level III showed some understanding of the task. However, they missed the target as they tended to generalise and switch from explaining the activities of a teacher, nurse or engineer to several individuals. For example, 5.2 begins with the sentence 'An engineer is a person that is works in technology'. The linguistic uncertainty which underlies the use of the term 'is works' is matched by a good deal of inconsistency in the use of the appropriate register. However, a level of cognition, fluency, higher order lexical items and the use of language to inform characterise the work of this pupil.

Level IV

By far the largest group, 289 pupils (54.5 per cent) did not understand the task and used the interpersonal 'I' and the modal auxiliary 'would' throughout the discourse. Texts 5.3 and 5.3.1 exemplify the work in Level IV.

Level V

The 59 pupils, who account for 11.2 per cent of the total sample, failed even to attempt the second assignment.

9.6 INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

Two major interrelated issues emerge from pupils' writing. Their limited knowledge of genre acting in conjunction with a partial acquisition of SE made it extremely difficult for them to complete the two assignments with a high level of competence. This finding applies in much greater degree to Task II than to Task I. Consequently, further analysis and presentation of the data would merely repeat what has been already said about the brevity of scripts, pupils' inability to use the required linguistic feature and the number of alternative strategies which they employed. At this point, it seems more meaningful to try to interpret the findings than to dwell further on the negative aspects of pupils' work.

First, an attempt will be made to compare how pupils' performances on Task I (which placed them into five ranks) compares with Levels I-V for Task II. Table 9.10 gives the breakdown and shows how each of the five ranks are distributed across the five levels.

Table 9.10

Frequency distribution: rank by level

Task II	Rank I		Rank II		Rank III		Rank IV		Rank V	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Level I	2	5.1	1	1.8	1	0.5	-	-	1	1.2
Level II	12	30.8	12	21.1	31	14.6	17	13.7	6	7.5
Level III	7	17.9	12	21.1	37	17.5	25	20.2	18	22.5
Level IV	17	43.6	29	50.9	128	60.4	69	55.6	46	57.5
Level V	1	2.6	3	5.3	15	7.1	13	10.5	9	11.5
	39	(100)	57	(100)	212	(100)	124	(100)	80	(100)

At first, one might have assumed that pupils who were reasonably successful at writing about the weekend would also have written a fairly good exposition of a typical working day in the life of an individual. However, a close inspection of Table 9.10 shows that no sharp correlation exists between pupils' performance on Tasks I and II.

If one begins with Rank I, then only 2 of these 39 writers successfully completed the second assignment and were placed in Level I. Another 19 are divided somewhat unevenly between Levels II and III, while 17 which constitute the majority, cluster around Level IV. One pupil did not attempt the task.

In all five ranks, the greatest concentration of writers occurs in Level IV. In all but one instance, the frequencies expressed as percentages become larger than the combined totals for Level II and III. The percentage of those who did not attempt the task is lowest for Ranks I and II but becomes higher for Ranks III, IV and V. Analysis of the data reveal very little evidence that pupils have learned to vary their written language to meet the demands of different genres. Perhaps, in a very limited sense, Rank I shows the greatest tendency to meet the requirements of the two differentiated tasks.

There must be some deep-seated reasons why the median number of words produced by Ranks I, II, IV and V numbered less than 50, while the minimum fell as low as nine words. There must be deep-seated reasons why so many pupils did not produce a text, why so many seemed incapable of maintaining the simple present and past tense in a brief discourse. One may posit three explanations of the observed trends in the data:

1. Pupils did not want to execute the tasks.

2. Time was inadequate.

3. They had nothing/very little to say.

The first suggestion holds true for the small number of pupils who refused to participate in the survey when they realised that writing would be included. However, one rejects such an explanation for the following two sub-sets and certainly for the majority of the group. 2.3 per cent of the sample who participated fully in all the facets of the investigation did not hand in Task I. A plausible explanation of their conduct could be their dissatisfaction with their efforts and possibly a sense of shame that a stranger should see such attempts. 11.2 per cent of the writers who completed Task I failed to attempt Task II. A

possible reason might be that pupils found the task more difficult than the first and so did not attempt it. Inadequate time seems unlikely to be a contributory factor. Pupils began to write only after they had returned refreshed from their break. They wrote at their leisure, knowing that they were free to devote whatever time they wished to the tasks.

The first two reasons cited do not provide plausible explanations of pupils' performance. In dealing with the third, one could argue that the majority of pupils, and in particular, those whose output numbered less than twenty words, had no language and nothing to say. In order to support such an argument it would become necessary to draw on the language deficit theory which was current in the 1960's and 1970's. But our participant observation of very young children provides us with conclusive evidence that boys and girls as early as age three, have already acquired what Halliday (1975) refers to as a "multifunctional, multistratal" language system.

In one of the most important papers ever to come out of sociolinguistic research, Labov (1969) has ably refuted the deficit theory. Edwards (1975) also attacks what he refers to as the "myth of deprivation". He suggests that the term "different" could be much more meaningfully used to describe the verbal behaviour of children of different social groups than "deficient". Craig (1974) gives considerable support to Edwards's view as he compares the speech of two groups of respondents drawn from different social classes – who were left to converse on a number of occasions without any adult interference. He concluded from his research that the children who were drawn from the lower socio-economic groups were neither deprived nor disadvantaged. Each group had different styles which were both equally capable of expressing meaning.

Craig's findings can be generalised to the pupils in the sample. The average Jamaican child lives in a stimulating physical and verbal environment. In general, children do not live in high-rise buildings,

but have access to the sun, sea, beaches, rivers, waterfalls, beautiful and colourful vegetation all the year round. The culture is essentially oral characterised as it is by verbal interaction not only with parents, relatives and peers but also acquaintances. There is a good deal of openness as people speak freely to the stranger on the bus, in queues, in supermarkets and markets. It seems reasonable to suggest that if they had been left free to talk in pairs or in small friendship groups immediately after the pre-writing activities, there would have been a stream of discourse. But that was not the purpose of the exercise.

If pupils in the sample do have a wealth of ideas, what factors then explain the meagre ideational content of the majority of the scripts? A number of possible explanations will be offered. At this point, it is meaningful to differentiate between the two terms "different" and "deficient". In a relaxed, non-threatening social setting, Labov's respondents ably demonstrated their ability to maintain logical and abstract arguments. The pupils in Craig's lower socio-economic group had a language capacity comparable with that of the higher socio-economic group. In each case, respondents' fluency and creativity was not being tested against the conventions of SE. If Labov and Craig had insisted on SE, then the findings of their research might then have been substantially different. Again, that was not the purpose of their investigation. Since we are interested in pupils' written competence in SE, then it becomes necessary to continue to focus attention on this modality.

Pupils do not write in a vacuum. Reference has already been made to the tenor and mode and the environment which a task might evoke. It seems extremely likely that pupils would have approached the task with certain memories of their past experiences of writing. They may have begun the task with the knowledge that their teachers and the researcher expected them to write in 'correct' English. Although the complex interrelationship between language and thought remains unresolved, yet certain tentative observations need to be made. One frequently sees

pupils/students with furrowed brows and pencils poised as they think and wrestle with words before writing. Vygotsky (1962) emphasises the importance of the mental draft, the inner speech which is formulated prior to writing. More importantly, he has stated that the speech structures mastered by the child becomes the basic structures of his thinking. If one accepts this premise, then this poses a critical question for the pupils in the sample. Can their attempt to formulate inner speech in SE be described as a 'raid on the inarticulate'?

Here, an analogy might be made with foreign language students who demonstrate confidence and fluency in their mother tongue. If however, they have only partially acquired a new language, then neither their speech nor writing can reveal the same level of competence as that which was evident when they were speaking or writing their first language. If pupils are expected to produce SE when their language skills fall somewhere between the two polar lects, might this not explain the gap between the ideas which these 15 year olds might possess and that which appeared on the scripts?

At another level, one needs to be reminded that these writers are the very same individuals who eloquently argued their case as they presented various perspectives on language use in Chapter Seven. 378 of these pupils admitted that they experienced difficulties in using SE, others told of their fears of speaking to the teacher in class. A combination of these factors might help to explain pupils' performance in writing. O'Hear (1985) and Savva (1985) pointed out that pupils were struggling to overcome some obstacles, some hurdles. One might assume that pupils' uncertainty over syntax might be one of the major obstacles which these educators identified.

Repeated examination of the scripts left one recurrent thought in the mind - 'untapped potential'. The following text supports my claim:

> The average writer dos'nt do much, he is a sort of a mystic, he
> sees things that other people might not see or might overlook.
> He is a artist in his own way. Sometimes during the day, he
> might get a certain urge to do certain things or to go certain
> place's. He can go to his publisher to ask about a book.

The writer is Deon, whose keen interest in and familiarity with British and Caribbean Children's and Adolescent literature has already been mentioned in Chapter Six. Although an evaluator would hardly rate this text highly, yet it seems difficult to dismiss it totally. Somewhere within these sixty words, there is potential ability which has been largely undeveloped. The use of higher order lexical items such as 'mystic', and the description of a writer as an 'artist', and as someone sensitive and perceptive lend some support to the statement. This pupil entered Primary school at age seven. I would suggest very strongly that eight year's exposure to sound pedagogical practices could have helped Deon to become a confident, mature and creative writer.

Even if the majority of the pupils in the sample have not been exposed to Early Childhood education, yet each began Primary school with a number of advantages on which a teacher could capitalise. Unlike the boys and girls for whom SE constitutes a foreign language, Primary school pupils have already

1. acquired some knowledge of SE lexis, in the sense that they can identify and name objects, states of feeling and material processes and

2. developed some receptive and productive abilities in SE (however minimal).

These discourses cited by Craig (1969:34) provide supportive evidence:

1. I see a boy. A man. One 'oman 'ave a fish. If see a girl carryin' water in something. An' a see a pot ave in food. I see a 'ouse. Cane. An' a tree. I done now.

2. A boy... an' a man... an' a lady ... an' a tree ... an' a boy. A tree. A 'ouse. A boy. A pen. A man. A 'oman. A 'ouse. A road. A boy. A 'ouse. A tree. A road. A boy. A lady. A man.

Both discourses show how two Primary school pupils who had completed their Infant education responded to a picture. The first clearly reveals that this Primary school pupil had some notion of the verbal group as s/he uses 'ave', 'carrying' and 'see'. However, the last three words 'I done now' not only conveys a sense of relief but also a clear message

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that the discussion has ended. The second example reveals the work of a pupil with less productive ability than the first. The complete absence of any verbs sharply reinforces an observation which I made earlier, that pupils have greater familiarity with the nominal group. The verbal group therefore poses greater problems for Creole speaking pupils. The systemic contrasts in Chapter Three sharply reinforce this statement.

It has already been noted that the career aspirations of Secondary school girls included those occupations which required a high level of competence in SE. This trend in the data can also be interpreted as an indication of pupils' high level of motivation to master the official language and medium of instruction in schools. The following text encapsulates this pupil's level of motivation, her desire to excel at school and so contribute to national development:

> I spend last weekend at my home working assiduously with my
> school work because I want to be well educated before
> leaving school, so that I can get a suitable job and play a
> major role in society.

A high level of motivation, some receptive and productive abilities with which pupils begin school cannot in themselves ensure that pupils acquire competence in SE. A consideration of writing constantly raises the question of the systemic contrasts between JC and SE , and learner's interlanguage. Craig (1969, 1974) found that Jamaican Primary school children produced non-English verb constructions in 60 per cent of their sentences. Further research led him to conclude that the number decreased only slightly during a child's school life. Carrington (1979:26) observes that the linguistic problem lurks below the surface to trip the unwary. The educational experience then becomes "an obstacle course in which repeated stumbling frustrates all parties concerned".

A number of educators have made suggestions about tackling the problem. For example, Bailey (1963:10) has identified a number of sentence types which pose what she terms the biggest problems in the teaching of English. She suggested that any effective programme would

need to be linked to the child's dominant language and sound pedagogical principles used to move pupils "gradually from the familiar to the unfamiliar and unknown".

Figueroa (1980:9) distinguishes between pupils' need to acquire vocabulary and what he calls "structures". He suggests that the vocabulary is easier for pupils to acquire incidentally, but sentences, verbal groups need intervention on the part of teachers:

> In the West Indies, then, the teaching of structure is more important than the teaching of vocabulary. (The out of school environment will supply many English words.) The teacher has to make a selection of the structures most necessary in building up acceptable usage, and he has so to introduce his pupils to them so that learning is economic, graded and inter-related.

The thesis which emerges for West Indians in Great Britain is similar. DES (The Bullock Report 1975:288) recommends that students should be "helped to distinguish Standard English from other forms, and to practise those English structures where there is most interference from dialect". Wight (1974:231) in discussing his work with Jennifer, a West Indian girl, identifies what he calls "The space between her spoken and written English", and he observes that:

> In our work on the Schools Council Project, 'Teaching English to West Indian Children', we eventually concluded that there was a case for providing some systematic help with certain standard *written* forms for those West Indian children who appeared not to be acquiring and using them easily.

9.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this chapter is to ascertain whether one of the policy directives of the Ministry of Education is being realised. However, the data failed to provide evidence that pupils' writing showed a high level of competence in SE. Instead, the findings which are summarised below reveal the very opposite.

1. The brevity of all the Task I scripts militated against any of the pupils achieving a Grade 5 pass in the CSE examination.

2. 7.1 per cent of the sample showed some degree of competence - 18.4 per cent less so, while the work of the vast majority (72.1 per cent) proved virtually ungradeable. 2.3 per cent of the writers completed

Task I but failed to hand in their scripts.

3. Pupils showed differential ability to produce the past tense.

4. Because pupils' performance on Task II was so far off-target, the three British judges felt that no assessment criteria could be meaningfully applied to this task. Lack of knowledge of genre was a particularly crucial factor. However, I divided pupils into five groups or levels.

5. Only 5 pupils (0.9 per cent) succeeded in giving a brief exposition of a working day in the life of someone. These were assigned to Level I.

6. Level II (14.7 per cent of the writers) failed to produce the appropriate register, although their work seemed marginally more competent than that of the 18.7 per cent allocated to Level III.

7. The majority, that is 55.4 per cent, gave very little indication that they knew what the task entailed. The remaining 11.2 per cent failed to attempt Task II.

In assessing the data, and in particular, pupils' ability to use the present and past tense, I have deliberately avoided using the word 'mistake' or 'error'. I strongly posit the view that if pupils had internalised the required forms of SE they would have used them as effortlessly as we employ them ourselves. These writers have therefore organised their own ways of presenting information which should repay careful study. Indeed, Pit Corder (1981:19) elucidates two important facets of a learner's language:

> Now, one of the principal reasons for studying the learner's language is precisely to discover why it is as it is, that is, to explain it and ultimately say something about the learning process. If, then, we call his sentences deviant or erroneous, we have implied an explanation before we have ever made a description.
> There is an even more compelling reasons for not calling the idiosyncratic sentences of a learner *ungrammatical*. While it is true that they cannot be accounted for by the rules of the target dialect, they are in fact *grammatical* in terms of the learner's language.

The ability to diagnose pupils' interlanguage and use that knowledge as the basis for developing a meaningful language education programme, depends on the linguistic competence of teachers. The power to harness

pupils' innate language learning abilities as well as their incentive to acquire SE depends on teachers who have been exposed to sound pedagogical principles. If pupils are ever to achieve a high level of competence in SE, then teachers need some orientation to the theory of writing, some exposure to research and experimentation with those strategies which will encourage pupils to write without inhibiting their creativity.

It does not fall within the scope of the thesis to elaborate on the strategies which may be particularly helpful in Creole-Standard situations. For a detailed discussion of the approaches used to foster the language and writing development of the 40 'remedial' teachers already referred to in Chapter Seven, see McCourtie Wright (1975) An Experiment in The Teaching of English. See also the textbooks which later evolved from the project; Craig, Wilson, Morgan and McCourtie Wright (1978) College English (Teachers' book, Students' book and The Anthology).

The crux of the experiment was an integrated approach to language and literature. Short stories provided a common core of content for all students. Such stimulus material then generated structured talk, question and answer, retelling of the story from the perspective of different characters, and familiarity with narrative schema. More importantly, students could bring their own human experiences to bear on and interpret incidents and characters/traits. Then, extensive language work aimed at the acquisition of certain structures was closely integrated with the content of the stories and other resource material.

The needs analysis, the unmet diachronic and synchronic needs documented in Chapter Four drew attention to pronounced weaknesses in teacher education. Reference has been made in Chapter Five to the use of structured and unstructured interviews and informal discussions. Heads of English Departments, Grade Nine co-ordinators and classteachers expressed the day-to-day problems which confronted them in Secondary classrooms. The difficulties which they experienced in teaching written English was the recurrent theme which emerged from their discussion.

The recommendations in the subsequent section will attempt to outline some of the training needs which would have to be met, before these two laudable Ministry goals could ever be realised.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, historical forces of great complexity led to the founding of the plantation society of Jamaica. Since the British were the ruling elite, English assumed importance as the official language. But diverse, ethnic, demographic and sociolinguistic factors created a world in which a Creole and a range of intermediate language varieties emerged. JC and SE assumed widely differential status in a society which perpetuated unfounded assumptions and negative stereotypes about JC and its speakers.

The introduction and subsequent development of Elementary education in the nineteenth – century provided the first opportunity for the introduction of English as the medium of instruction to Creole speakers. Historical data provide evidence that educational administrators failed to understand the nature of the linguistic configuration and so were unable to help teachers to formulate meaningful teaching/learning strategies. Lacking the insights of twentieth – century linguistic scholarship, the British Inspectors regarded Creole as a barbarous de-intellectualising force which needed to be eradicated. The educational system therefore developed with a number of paradoxes and fundamental weaknesses. Successive generations of Creole speakers failed to gain competence in SE and master the modalities.

The inception of universal Secondary education for the children of the masses in 1967 clearly demonstrated that Curtin's (1955) two Jamaica's still co-exist and penetrate the very fabric of the society. Although the Secondary sector might be considered new in comparison with the old traditional High/Grammar schools, there was nothing innovative about its introduction. Educational planners merely superimposed Secondary schools on the old Elementary/Primary sector which had been designed for the children of ex-slaves, and which had had such a history of failure from its inception. Without due thought about how such goals might be realised, the Ministry of Education required that Secondary pupils should be taught to appreciate Creole and achieve a high level of

competence in English. The data provide conclusive, though not surprising evidence, that Secondary pupils are not achieving either of these two goals.

The negative perceptions of some Caribbean Creoles even by those who use them, and the failure of successive generations of pupils to gain competence in English, represent two major challenges to be faced by educators in Jamaica and other post-colonial societies with a similar cultural history. As we begin the decade which heralds the approach of a new century, it seems imperative to try and effect change. After the years of neglect how can we convince educational planners and administrators that a problem of crisis proportions does exist?

The situation clearly requires a new political will and the interest and enthusiasm of a powerful and influential Ministry official. Such an individual would act as a catalyst to unleash ideas and set in motion the train of events needed to effect change. Some members of the society argue that politicians have a vested interest in keeping the masses powerless and without a voice. But that line of thought cannot be meaningfully pursued here. A less cynical, more optimistic view needs to be taken.

The term language planning cannot be applied to the Jamaican situation in exactly the same sense in which it may be used in Papua New Guinea or a multi-lingual African territory. The range of available options seems too limited. However, panel discussions could be arranged on the issue of 'language maintenance', publicly aired and debated from every angle. One logical conclusion which might emerge is that the society requires both languages, therefore both need to be maintained. Such discussions would raise a storm of protest initially. However, the main objective at this stage is to initiate dialogue and not necessarily to obtain a consensus.

In Jamaica, where 18 represents the median age of the population, politicians frequently refer to the young as the country's richest resource. It would seem quite pertinent if a meeting were convened with

the needs of Jamaican Creole speaking pupils as the focal point of the discussion. This could take the form of a weekend retreat attended by key Ministry officials, members of the Planning Unit, a cross-section of teachers and teacher educators and staff from the Department of Linguistics and Use of English, General Studies and the Teacher-Education Development Section of University of the West Indies. A few of the major findings of the empirical investigation might serve to convince the group that vast numbers of pupils in Jamaica's Primary, All-Age and Secondary schools need to become biloquial and bidialectal and achieve mastery over the modalities.

Next, it becomes absolutely essential to challenge the traditionally held assumption that teachers can cope successfully with the Creole-Standard teaching-learning situation without specialist language and linguistic training. Consequently, the initial conference which sensitised educators to the perceptions, aspirations and needs of pupils should be followed by another on the needs of teachers. Now Ministry officials, teachers, teacher educators and educational linguists could begin to open up new vistas in teacher education - with the emphasis first placed on initial training.

Stimulus could come from Primary, All-Age and Secondary teachers who could be invited to voice some of the same concerns they shared with me during informal discussions. Members of the group need to be reminded that at no stage in the history of the country have Primary teachers ever received any orientation to the linguistic situation. Yet, in the absence of nursery education, and with the extreme shortage of Infant school places, the Primary school teacher has a crucial rôle to play in pupils' acquisition of SE.

After the initial teacher education conference, a special task force could be appointed to discuss and make a decision on the kind of language-linguistic input necessary. An important consideration is that the curriculum has to be tailored to the ability range/entry level of non-graduate Primary, All-Age and Secondary teachers as distinct from

graduate/ High/Grammar school teachers. Although it is not the intention to deal with the minutiae of the curriculum, the following would seem to be necessary components:

1. **Jamaica's socio-historical and linguistic history.**

   This could be a survey course which deals in an interesting way with relevant aspects of the country's history which have been largely ignored. The main objective would be to help pupils to understand and accept their history and the language which was forged in difficult circumstances.

2. **JC as a rule-governed system.**

   This curriculum component should be designed to debunk the myth that JC constitutes a 'bad', 'broken' form of SE. This group of teacher trainees must be helped to recognise JC as a structured rule-governed system - the syntax of which has remained virtually unchanged since its emergence. They should be helped to reflect on the way JC indicates the past tense, the cases of pronouns, pluralisation in nouns and the apostrophe_without embarrassment, shame or derision.

3. **Systemic contrasts between JC and SE.**

   It becomes absolutely essential that student teachers gain expertise in those crucial areas where JC and SE diverge. In particular, they need to become familiar with those structures/constructions which are absent in JC but exist in SE. The converse applies equally.

4. **Language and education.**

   Language acquisition studies should form an essential component of the training programme. Teacher educators would need to be eclectic, selecting the best principles and strategies from mother tongue and second language studies while tailoring these to the specific linguistic situation.

5. **Ongoing practical work.**

   At some stage, theory must be informed by practice. The presence of practising schools in very close proximity to Teachers' Colleges means that student teachers have enormous opportunities for structured and

unstructured observation. Class discussions can then focus on major pedagogical issues, for example, class size, pupil talk to teacher talk, teachers' questioning techniques, student initiated talk and language usage. As in the Double-Option programme mentioned in Chapter Four, students can be guided to work on a one-to-one basis with a child from the practising school.

6. **Diagnosis of pupils' level of language.**

This aspect of the course could be closely linked with (1), (2) and (5) above. Gradually, student teachers need to learn how to diagnose pupils' level of language. This ability will enable them to interpret and implement Ministry curriculum guidelines. There will also be the added advantage that teachers could learn to devise specific developmental programmes to meet the special needs of their pupils.

7. **Textbook and resource material.**

These should reflect and reinforce both theory and practice and emphasise structures/constructions which pupils need to acquire sequentially.

A special team of educational linguists should work with the University, the Teachers' colleges and the Ministry of Education to retrain Primary and Secondary teachers. The term educational linguist is meant to suggest a cadre of individuals who will initiate, conduct or monitor much needed school-based studies. The findings of such research projects should be used to inform, revitalise and give authenticity to the theory and practice of education.

Professional support should be provided by summer courses, conferences and professional days. Teachers' associations could also contribute to teachers' continuing education and re-training. However, the divisiveness in the society means that like pupils, teachers also take two separate routes. The University prepares educators for the Grammar/High schools and the Teachers' Colleges for the Primary and Secondary sectors. Membership of the National Association of Teachers of English mainly includes graduate teachers in Grammar/High schools.

Perhaps as a short term measure, regional associations could be established for Primary and Secondary teachers. A language expert could attend their meetings in the rôle of a resource person.

It seems quite meaningless to project the needs of teachers and pupils without at the same time thinking of the quality of our teacher educators. One of the educational paradoxes is that the Teachers' Colleges prepare at least 95 per cent of the teaching force. The English Department of all Teachers' Colleges should have at least one trained linguist and a language adviser. But other departments also need re-education and re-orientation to new thinking.

The psychological aspects of the language question also need to be borne in mind. The data have already given us some insight into the way some Secondary pupils and their teachers view Creole negatively. One hardly needs to be reminded that the most educated classes including journalists constantly deny JC the right to exist. The courses outlined in (1), (2) and (3) above could do much to begin changing the attitudes of teacher trainees. A public programme aimed at deconditioning, at changing attitudes at national level would also have to be implemented.

Guidance and leadership would need to come from the highest official level. Such pronouncements would serve to legitimise the Creole and accord it some dignity and respect. Ministry of Education officials, a cross-section of interested citizens, members of the relevant University faculties could utilise the Jamaica Information Service, the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation, the television network and the national newspaper. Their strategies could include:

1. Taking a historical perspective on the cultural past, projecting JC as a mother-tongue which has as much right to exist as Twi, Ewe, Yoruba or Hausa.

2. Placing English in its historical perspective as official language and medium of instruction in schools.

It also seems fairly reasonable to suggest that in today's world it becomes almost an inalienable right of every individual to acquire one

international language – one language of wider communication. Since JC will not simply disappear, a change of attitude for all classes would mean a recognition that the majority of Jamaicans could not function without JC. Its place lies contiguous to, not alternative to English.

Chapter Five emphasised the probing, exploratory nature of the investigation. This study merely paves the way for a whole corpus of further research, as well as the consideration of two weighty questions – the integration of Secondary/High/Grammar schools and a reassessment of the rôle of the University in the preparation of teachers.

CHAPTER ONE

1. The term 'post-Creole' is used to indicate that the linguistic configuration which developed in Jamaica cannot be described only in terms of Creole and English. The word refers specifically to the range of intermediate language varieties which developed between these two linguistic systems. Chapter Three deals with this issue in some depth.

2. Sabir, otherwise known as Mediterranean Lingua Franca, is the example most frequently cited by linguists. According to DeCamp (1971a) it dates back to the Crusades and texts survive from the early sixteenth-century.

3. The entire Spanish population did not leave the island immediately after the British invasion. The Spanish colonists and their negro slaves fled to certain mountainous, inaccessible regions from which they harassed the British in a kind of guerilla warfare. However, the task of dealing with the rebels, augmenting the British population and settling the new colony went on concurrently. Finally in 1660, the Spaniards gave up the struggle and left the island. However, their ex-slaves strongly resisted the British, and established themselves in three settlements which later became a haven for runaway slaves. In 1738, they concluded a peace treaty with the British and have maintained a social and political existence separate and apart from the mainstream African population.

4. So many discrepancies become evident in the accounts of different historians that I have used data mainly from Long. Members of his family had been closely associated with the political and military life of the island from 1655. This historian might therefore have had greater access to authentic records.

5. Long (1774, Vol.1) stated that Thomas Gage, a Roman Catholic priest who had previously resided in New Spain, laid the first regular plan before Cromwell.

6. The request was sent by Major General Fortescue, the president of the Military Council which governed the island in the interim period

before civilian rule was established.

7. The term 'dialect' is being used here in a special sense. DES (The Cox Report 1988b:13) has noted that

> Standard English is generally analysed by linguists as a dialect which has historical, geographical and social origins, although, with some variations, it now has worldwide uses.

DES (The Cox Report, ibid.) further points out that "Standard English and non-standard dialects share a very large common core of both vocabulary and grammar". It seems appropriate therefore to apply this term to the speech of some of these settlers who belonged to various social groups drawn from different parts of Great Britain.

CHAPTER TWO

1. In note 3, Chapter One (page 328), mention was made of the negro slaves who remained in the island after their masters had left the country. These ex-slaves were later designated Maroons < Fr marron, 'wild' < Sp cimarron, 'wild, untamed'). A number of factors would have contributed to the emergence of their language, for example, their former association with the Spanish, their lack of contact with the masses of Africans and the presence of other runaway slaves. A possibility exists that there may have been a greater African element in their language than that of the rest of the population.

2. The term bilingualism is being used mainly to emphasise the differences between the groups being discussed. But as I have argued in Chapter Five, the term bilingualism is not really applicable in creole continua linguistic communities.

3. Ortheöpy has been defined by Thomas (1869:1) as the "right pronunciation of words".

4. See Meijer and Muysken (1977) for a critical assessment of Schuchardt's work, and the later modification of the baby-talk theory.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Miller and Murray (1977) have indicated that the Ministry of Education regard All-Age schools as gate-keeping devices. In reality,

there is no other educational sector which can provide for these 60,000-80,000 pupils. In a sense, the role of these schools is to keep pupils off the streets and out of the labour market until age fifteen.

2. Hypercorrection represents an interesting linguistic phenomenon which could repay careful study. It shows a learner at a stage at which s/he recognises that certain inflectional endings do exist. What seems important, however, is that such a pupil has not yet learned to use the specific ending appropriately.

3. If pupils are unable to achieve competence in English and at the same time educators level adverse criticism at their language, then schooling fails to meet pupils' greatest needs.

4. The documents deal specifically with Asia and Africa which are multilingual continents, with 'old' languages. There is no guarantee that the attitudes to Gujerati or Swahili would be the same as that to new linguistic systems - creoles.

5. It does not seem realistic to suggest inflexible entry requirements for teachers in terms of 5 or 6 CXC or 'O' level subjects. In order to fill the quota of students, teachers' colleges have been accepting teacher trainees with minimal qualifications. Then these student teachers are exposed to an intensive 'O' level programme during a preliminary year.

6. Here, a personal note needs to be injected. In 1972, when I served as English Department Head in Shortwood Teachers' College, I made repeated representations to the Principal that the curriculum should be assessed in the light of the current linguistic situation.

7. It took five years to effect the innovation. Finally a course called a Double-option was introduced with two major components geared to preparing the 'specialist' teachers to cope with the realities of the classrooms. Appendix 1 contains a brief outline of this 16 page document.

APPENDIX 1

Double-Option Programme: a brief outline

A. Literature.

1. Prose fiction, Drama and Poetry.

2. Adolescent literature with orientation to the Secondary curriculum.

3. Practical criticism.

4. Reading: developmental. Comprehension skills: Literal,

   Interpretive, Evaluative: Assimilation and application.

5. Drama.

B. Language and Linguistics.

1. (a) Regular English Language course taken by all students.

   (b) Integration of language and literature where possible.

2. Linguistic component.

   (a) An introduction to the nature of language.

   (b) Language structure: systemic contrasts between JC and SE.

3. General sociolinguistic principles and their application in the

   classroom.

4. Language and Education.

One of the most important aspects of the course was the study of children's usage. The proximity of a practising school meant that students could be asked to work with a child on a one-to-one basis. Students experiences of recording, decoding, diagnosing pupils' level of language proved invaluable for methodology classes.

Questionnaire: Grade Nine Pupils

Instruction: Please place a (✓) in the space provided beside the most suitable answers, or when necessary write in an answer.

1. NAME _____.

2. SCHOOL _____

   _____ GRADE _____.

3. SEX: Boy _____ Girl _____ (Tick the one that applies to you)

4. AGE: _____ Years _____ Months

5. Which of these types of school did you attend before coming to
   your present school? (Tick the one/s you attended)

   BASIC _____   PREPARATORY _____

   INFANT _____   PRIMARY   _____

        ALL AGE _____

6. Where do you live? Name either the street and area or the
   district or village.

   STREET _____ AREA _____

   DISTRICT OR VILLAGE _____

7. How many adults and children live together in your home?

   NUMBER OF ADULTS   _____

   NUMBER OF CHILDREN   _____

8. By placing a tick in the left-hand column, show how each of the adults in question 7 is related to you. In the middle column write down what work the adult in question 7 does. If he or she is not working, tick the column on the right.

Adult relations living in your home	The work he or she does	Not working
_____ Mother	_____	_____
_____ Stepmother	_____	_____
_____ Father	_____	_____
_____ Stepfather	_____	_____
_____ Grandfather	_____	_____
_____ Grandmother	_____	_____
_____ Aunt	_____	_____
_____ Brother	_____	_____
_____ Sister	_____	_____
_____ Guardian	_____	_____
_____ Any others	_____	_____

9. Do you ever read story books? _____ Yes _____ No

10. If you answered yes to Question 9, how frequently do you read?

_____ Always _____ Often _____ Sometimes _____ Now and then

11. Which of the following do you read? Where do you get them?

Type of Books	Where you get them		
	School Library	Parish Library	Somewhere else (say where)
Crime & Detective			
Mystery & Adventure			
Horror			
Cowboy			
Career			
Travel			
Great Lives			
Children's Own			
Any other types			

12. Are there any copies of any of these at home?

The Star   ___ Yes ___ No   The Daily Gleaner ___ Yes ___ No

Books   ___ Yes ___ No   Bibles   ___ Yes ___ No

Magazines   ___ Yes ___ No   Comics   ___ Yes ___ No

13. What are your favourite radio and television programmes?

Radio Programmes   _____ _____ _____

_____

_____

Television Programmes _____

_____

_____

14. In Jamaica, there are two languages - English and Jamaican Creole. Jamaican Creole is sometimes called Patwa or Broken English. Which of these two languages do you generally use when you are speaking:

To you mother _____

To your Dentist _____

To your class teacher _____

To a tourist _____

To a bus conductor _____

To your father _____

To your friends _____

To your doctor _____

To your headmaster _____

To your parson or minister _____

To relatives abroad _____

To a market woman _____

15. Which language do you use when you are:

Telling a joke _____

Playing games _____

Angry _____

Excited _____

Defending yourself _____

Trying to impress someone _____

16. Do you get any help with your English homework? ___ Yes ___ No

If you answered yes to Question 16, how frequently?

_____ Always _____ Often _____ Sometimes _____ Now and then

17. When you are asked questions in class, do you have any difficulties in answering in English? _____ Yes _____ No

18. If you answered yes to question 17, how frequently do you experience difficulty?

_____ Very often _____ Often _____ Sometimes _____ Now and then

19. Would you find it easier to answer in Jamaican Creole?

_____ Yes _____ No

20. Have you ever been scolded for using Jamaican Creole?

21. If you answered yes to question 20 by whom were you scolded and how often have you been scolded?

Were you scolded at home?   _____ Yes _____ No

By whom were you scolded?   _____

How frequently were you scolded?

_____ Very often _____ Often _____ Sometimes _____ Now and then

22. Were you scolded at school?   _____ Yes _____ No

By whom were you scolded?   _____

How frequently were you scolded?

_____ Very often _____ Often _____ Sometimes _____ Now and then

23. How did you feel when you were scolded?

_____ Angry   _____ Frustrated   _____ Ashamed

_____ Sorry   _____ Embarrassed   _____ Indifferent

24. Which language do your parents and the adults in your home generally speak to you?

_____

25. Which language do they really want you to learn well?

_____

26. How do you rate your ability to speak English?

_____ Excellent _____ Good _____ Fair _____ Poor _____ Very poor

27. How do you rate your ability to speak Patwa?

_____ Excellent _____ Good _____ Fair _____ Poor _____ Very poor

28. Would you like it if some of your lessons were taught in Jamaican Creole?

_____ Yes _____ No

Give reasons for whatever answer you choose.

SE discourse: Verbal-Guise

This story is about Brer Anancy, Brer Bird and Brer Alligator. It is a three in one thing. Brer Bird told Brer Anancy that the birds had planned a trip to Bird Cherry Island, and invited him to go with them to have an enjoyable day eating cherries.

When they went across, Anancy got greedy and ate too many cherries and filled his stomach so that he could not move. After he had eaten all the cherries and the birds decided to return home, they found out that Anancy could not move from where he was sitting. So they asked, "What has happened Anancy? You cannot fly, you cannot move; you cannot return home."

The birds decided to lend Anancy some feathers to help him to fly. They stuffed the feathers in his side, his arm and wherever they could, but Anancy was still unable to fly. Brer Bird called Brer Alligator and told him that he knew a man called Anancy, who could count all the alligators. They would have to lie across the stream, from bank to bank, because they were so many.

As soon as the alligators lay down, Brer Anancy jumped on their backs and ran across to the other side of the river. When he was safe, he shouted, "You are too many I cannot finish counting you today, so I will have to do it another day." But this was Anancy's trick to get across the river.

From that day, Brer Anancy and Brer Alligator have hated each other. Because of this, any time an alligator sees a bird flying near to it, the alligator snaps at the bird wishing to destroy it. That is the end of this little story.

Response Sheet: Verbal-Guise

NAME: _____

SCHOOL: _____

Instruction: You will hear four examples of speech on tape.   Listen to
               the first tape then look at the list of words.   Listen
               again to the tape.   Now select and place a tick beside the
               eight words which you associate with the voice.   Repeat
               for each of the others in turn.

A.   1. Good   _____   9. Dull   _____
      2. Careless _____   10. Country   _____
      3. Harsh   _____   11. Careful   _____
      4. Friendly _____   12. Rough   _____
      5. Nice   _____   13. Unfriendly _____
      6. Town   _____   14. Broken   _____
      7. Proper   _____   15. Bright   _____
      8. Pleasant _____   16. Bad   _____

B.   1. Good   _____   9. Dull   _____
      2. Careless _____   10. Country   _____
      3. Harsh   _____   11. Careful   _____
      4. Friendly _____   12. Rough   _____
      5. Nice   _____   13. Unfriendly _____
      6. Town   _____   14. Broken   _____
      7. Proper   _____   15. Bright   _____
      8. Pleasant _____   16. Bad   _____

C.   1. Good   _____   9. Dull   _____
      2. Careless _____   10. Country   _____
      3. Harsh   _____   11. Careful   _____
      4. Friendly _____   12. Rough   _____
      5. Nice   _____   13. Unfriendly _____
      6. Town   _____   14. Broken   _____
      7. Proper   _____   15. Bright   _____
      8. Pleasant _____   16. Bad   _____

D.   1. Good   _____   9. Dull   _____
      2. Careless _____   10. Country   _____
      3. Harsh   _____   11. Careful   _____
      4. Friendly _____   12. Rough   _____
      5. Nice   _____   13. Unfriendly _____
      6. Town   _____   14. Broken   _____
      7. Proper   _____   15. Bright   _____
      8. Pleasant _____   16. Bad   _____

JC version with literal translation

dis stuori iz about bra anansi bra bord
this story is about Brer Anancy Brer Bird

bra aligeta ... iz a chrii in wan ting. bra bord wan a di taim
Brer Alligator ... is a three in one thing ... Brer Bird one of di taim

aas bra anansi fi go krass bord cheri ailant wid im go iit op some
ask Brer Anancy to go across Bird Cherry Island with him to eat up some

cheri an injoi imself fi di die ... so wen dem go across, man,
cherry and enjoy himself for the day ... so wehn them go across, man

anansi get griidi an iit op tu moch cheri ful op im stumok ...
Anancy get greedy and eat up too much cherry ful up his stomach ...

im kudn muuv ... so aafta im iit op dees cheri and bra bord
he could not move ... so after he eat up these cherry and Brer Bird

disaid fi go bak krass uova di ada said we im kom fram im fain
decide to go back across over the other said where he come from he find

dat anansi kudn muuv fram we im sidong ... so dem se well
that Anancy could not move from where he sit down .. so they say well

wa hapn anansi .. yu kyaan flai ... yu kyaan muuv ...
well what happen Anansi ... you cannot fly ... you cannot move ...

yu kyaan go bak krass ... so dem disaid fi len if some feda
you cannot go back across ... so they decide to lend him some feather

now si if im kyan flai bak krass ... dem staat stof di
now see if he can fly back across ... they start stuff the

feda ina im said, im aam, an aal bout, fi si if im kyaan flai
feather into his side, his arm, and all about, to see if he can fly

bak ... bot bra anansi stil kudn flai. so dem kaal fi
back ... but Brer Anancy still could not fly. So they call for

bra aligeta. dem se, "wel wi have a man ya hu kyan kount unu
Brer Alligator. They say well we have a man here who can count you,

niem bra anansi. So wi wuda laik im kownt yu ... so you hafi
name Brer Anancy. so we would like him to count you ... so you have

lai dong krass di striim, go striet bak fram bangk tu bangk mek
to lie down across the stream, go straight back from bank to bank make

dis man kount yu si homuch a yu faar iz a huol hiip a yu".
this man count you see how much of you for is a whole heap of you".

wen dis hapn man, bra anansi staat jomp pan dem bak
when this happen man, Brer Anancy start jump upon their back

go striet krass ontil wen im go uova di ada said im shout,
go straight across until when he go over the other side he shout,

"bwai tu moch a yu, mi kyaan finish yu tide ... so dis
"boy, too much a you, I cannot finish you today ... so just

kaal it a die, rait ... wi hafi miiet agen. a wi kom bak
call it a day, right ... we have to meet again. I will come back

an finish yu aaf bot dat was bra anansi chrik yaa
and finish you off but that was Brer Anancy's trick (you) hear

so bra anansi chrik bra aligeta fi go krass di striim an fram
so Brer Anancy trick Brer Alligator to go across the stream and from

dat die yunuo bra anansi an bra aligeta no liv gud.
that day you, know Brer Anancy and Brer Alligator do not live good.

dem hav a griivans fi wan aneda so eni taim bra aligeta sii
they have a grievance for one another so any time Brer Alligator see

bra bord flai nier tu im, im snap aafta im yu no im waan kot
Brer Bird fly near to him he snaps after im you know he want (to) cut

im chruot yu no breda ... so dat finish dis likl story ya
his throat you know, brother ... so that finish this little story hear.

APPENDIX 6

Writing Instrument

Instructions given to the pupils in order to elicit two pieces of writing. Based on Anderson (1977) 'The Impoverished state of Cross-Sectional Morpheme Accuracy/Acquisition Methodology': In Working Papers in Bilingualism 14:47-82.

Topic 1. A weekend.

Write about what you did last weekend or any other weekend which you remember clearly.

Topic 2. A typical day in the life of ....

(i) Think of and name your favourite profession, occupation or career.

(ii) Describe a typical day in the life of a man or woman who works in your chosen profession, occupation or career. Write about the things which that person does every day.

Check List/Interview Schedule

1. School Type _____

2. Feeder Schools _____

   _____

   _____

3. School Size _____

   Shift I _____ Boys _____ Girls _____ Total _____

   Shift II _____ Boys _____ Girls _____ Total _____

4. Average Attendance _____

5. A/V Equipment:

Tape Recorder	No.	Working Order	Frequency used
Record Player			
Radio			
Television			

6. Library

   Book Stock _____

   Adequate _____ Inadequate _____

   Very inadequate_____

   Staffing - Teacher/Librarian _____

   Integration into school curriculum (Library period time-tabled)

   Any time-tabled library periods? _____

7. Education Officer _____

   Frequency of visits _____

   Support - what type? _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

8. Main emphasis of the School _____

   Rank Order

   _____ Academic

   _____ Technical

   _____ Commercial

   _____ Vocational

9. Terminal Points

   CXC _____

   GCE _____

   JSC _____

   School Leaving Certificate _____

APPENDIX 8

Social connotation of certain lexical variables

Many Afro-Caribbeans firmly associate SE with the word proper. Carrington and Borely (1977:5) comment on the use of the term in the former British Caribbean:

> In Trinidad and Tobago and indeed in all of the Caribbean that was formerly British, to speak properly is taken to 'speak English'. The equation is unfortunate because it implies that whatever is not English is improper.

Good represents the word most commonly used by the layman to differentiate SE from JC or other non-standard language forms. This epithet conveys overt approval not only for the language but also its speaker. Good English is an ideal which some individuals in the society aim at as a passport to a 'good' education, economic advancement and social mobility. The word good English with all that it implies tends to be indelibly imprinted on pupils' minds. Reinforcement may come from many sources: the home (despite parents' own use of JC), the school and the wider society.

Some individuals use the spoken word and a stream of discourse to judge a language favourably or unfavourably. When some Jamaicans compare the phonology of JC and SE, the former is invariably categorised as being less pleasing, less aesthetic, and more harsh and grating to the ear.

In Creole-Standard continua situations where JC and SE share a common lexical base but diverge sharply in syntax, it becomes relatively easy for some members of these societies to deny Creole the status of a language. In such situations, conformity to the norms of SE usage may be regarded as being symptomatic of a disciplined and careful speaker.

Chapter One documented the socio-historical circumstances in which JC emerged as the language of field slaves. Today, JC is now linked with

the poorer, darker, and the least educated members of the society. The word _rough_ may therefore conjure up a whole range of associations linked not only with the language but also its speakers, for example, 'crude', 'lacking in gentility and good manners'.

The phrase 'country bumpkin' is frequently used as a term of derision to describe someone born and bred in a village or rural area. Cassidy (1961:18) comments on the social connotations of the term _country_:

> To this day there is a strong awareness, even among those at the bottom of the social scale, of the difference between the speech of city and country, especially the remoter hill settlements. The old-fashioned expressions and turns of phrase are denominated 'Bungo talk', and part of the humour connected with Anancy, hero of the folk tales, is that he talks this way.

A popular and firmly-held misconception exists in the society that JC represents an inaccurate, incorrect version of SE. Consequently, grammatical differences which characterise the Creole such as invariate verb forms, omission of 's' for plural nouns and the apostrophe are frequently used to describe JC speech as _careless._ This term also tends to be generalised to include the character trait of such a speaker.

In the Jamaican context, the use of the term _broken_ virtually denies JC status as a language, even as it implies that the speaker is one who attempts to produce SE imperfectly.

Bad speech, _bad_ English, constitute two of the terms most commonly used to describe JC. As the antithesis of good - some Jamaicans at least believe that JC denies them all that SE offers. Pupils' language preferences documented in Chapter Seven reflect this view of JC to some extent.

Item by item analysis of languages used:

to specific persons and in specific situations

Table 7.9

Frequency distribution of languages used to the Doctor: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	5 2.0	249 98.0	-	254	11	265
E							
X	Boys	13 5.1	241 94.1	2 0.8	256	9	265
	Column Total	18 3.5	490 96.1	2 0.4	510 100.0	20	530

Table 7.10

Frequency distribution of languages used to the Headteacher: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	10 3.9	243 95.7	1 0.4	254	11	265
E							
X	Boys	10 3.9	245 95.3	2 0.8	257	8	265
	Column Total	20 3.9	488 95.5	3 0.6	510 100.0	19	530

Table 7.11

Frequency distribution of languages used to the Tourist: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	8 3.2	243 96.4	1 0.4	252	13	265
E							
X	Boys	13 5.1	238 93.7	3 1.2	254	11	265
	Column Total	21 4.2	481 95.1	4 0.8	506 100.0	24	530

Table 7.12

Frequency distribution of languages used to the Parson/Minister: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	8 3.3	228 95.4	3 1.3	239	26	265
E							
X	Boys	15 6.4	217 92.3	3 1.3	235	30	265
	Column Total	23 4.9	445 93.9	6 1.3	474 100.0	56	530

Table 7.13

Frequency distribution of languages used to the Classteacher: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	13 5.0	240 92.3	7 2.7	260	5	265
E							
X	Boys	24 9.2	232 88.5	6 2.3	262	3	265
	Column Total	37 7.1	472 90.4	13 2.5	522 100.0	8	530

Table 7.14

**Frequency distribution of languages used
to the Relative from abroad: by sex**

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	13 5.3	224 91.0	9 3.7	246	19	265
E							
X	Boys	20 8.8	203 89.5	4 1.7	227	38	265
	Column Total	33 7.0	427 90.2	13 2.7	473 100.0	57	530

Table 7.15

Frequency distribution of languages used to Father: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	71 28.5	154 61.8	24 9.6	249	16	265
E	Boys	80 31.4	153 60.0	22 8.6	255	10	265
X	Column Total	151 30.0	307 60.9	46 9.1	504 100.0	26	530

Table 7.16

Frequency distribution of languages used to Mother: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	83 32.2	144 55.8	31 12.0	258	7	265
E	Boys	82 31.3	152 58.0	28 10.7	262	3	265
X	.Column Total	165 31.7	296 56.9	59 11.3	520 100.0	10	530

Table 7.17

Frequency distribution of languages used to a Friend: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	165 64.5	57 22.3	34 13.3	256	9	265
E	Boys	168 65.1	54 20.9	36 14.0	258	7	265
X	Column Total	333 64.8	111 21.6	70 13.6	514 100.0	16	530

Table 7.18

Frequency distribution of languages used when telling jokes: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	217 83.8	28 10.8	14 5.4	259	6	265
E	Boys	217 85.8	25 9.9	11 4.3	253	12	265
X	Column Total	434 84.8	53 9.9	25 4.9	512 100.0	18	530

Table 7.19

Frequency distribution of languages used when playing games: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	177 68.9	62 24.1	18 7.0	257	8	265
E	Boys	200 80.0	37 14.8	13 5.2	250	15	265
X	Column Total	377 74.5	99 19.4	31 6.1	507 100.0	23	530

Table 7.20

Frequency distribution of languages used when excited: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	135 54.0	101 40.4	14 5.5	250	15	265
E	Boys	134 55.4	99 40.9	9 3.7	242	23	265
X	Column Total	269 54.7	200 40.7	23 4.7	492 100.0	38	530

Table 7.21

Frequency distribution of languages used when defending yourself: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	131 53.5	99 40.4	15 6.1	245	20	265
E X	Boys	145 59.2	89 36.3	11 4.5	245	20	265
	Column Total	276 56.3	188 38.4	26 5.3	490 100.0	40	530

Table 7.22

Frequency distribution of languages used when trying to impress someone: by sex

		JC	SE	Both	Row Total	Missing data	
S	Girls	22 9.0	218 89.3	4 1.6	244	21	265
E X	Boys	44 18.3	190 79.2	6 2.5	240	25	265
	Column Total	66 13.6	408 84.3	10 2.1	484 100.0	46	530

APPENDIX 10

Joan's discourse

Lloyd: Yeow! Yeow! Yeow! (An attention getting device).

Joan: Let me tell you about my trip to Jamaica.

We left Gatwick at about 12 o'clock and reached Miami late.

The airport was deserted except for us lot.

Lloyd: yu did hav eni a di ting?

Joan: nuo man, mi a inosent baistanda.

I didn't want the Customs Officer to open up my things, so I

told him I only had this little radio, so he let me through.

So we reached Kingston. After we left Customs, there was this

little guy holding on to my trolley.

im se, "liedi, a we yu de go?

I told him I was going to Linstead.

im se, "Kom, mek mi tek yu.

mi wi tek yu fi fifti dala".

"Fifti dala, yu no! Den dem staat push mi fren trali. mi se

laadamasi a tip dem waant. mi fren gi dem trii poun. mi se yu

shudn gi dem dat. Trii poun a plenti dala to dem yu no

We left the airport. I was happy and excited to see my folks.

So that was my trip to Jamaica.

APPENDIX 11

CSE Guidelines

Grade 1   51-60   Work of general excellence, showing freshness and imagination and/or clarify and precision in content, clear and pertinent organisation, effective and appropriate use of vocabulary and sentence structure, and generally accurate spelling and pronunciation.

Grade 2   41-50   The above qualities present to a lesser degree.

Grade 3   31-40   Content adequate rather than substantial; some weaknesses in organisation, though usually adequate; generally effective use of vocabulary and sentence structure, though lacking in variety and appropriateness; some important deficiencies in accuracy in spelling punctuation.

Grade 4   21-30   The above qualities present to lesser degree.

Grade 5   11-20   Lack of freshness and clarity in content; poor organisation; limited use of vocabulary and sentence structure; considerable and persistent errors in spelling and punctuation.

Ungraded   0-10   Work inadequate in all or most respects.

Source: London Regional Examining Board Syllabus for English 1987:9/4

Examples of pupils' written work

Group I: text 1.0

1. <u>Last weekend</u> I spend my weekend holidays at Montego Bay.

2. <u>First</u> I left my home for Montego Bay on Friday about 6:30 pm.

3. <u>I</u> reached Montego Bay about 8:00 pm.

4. <u>I</u> was so excited in greeting my Aunt and my uncle.

5. <u>And they</u> were so happy to see me.

6. <u>Not long after</u> we started to talk.

7. <u>My uncle</u> asked me about school and my family // I left at home.

8. <u>After</u> we were through with our conversation // <u>it</u> was time for supper.

9. <u>During our supper period</u>, we talked together about economical problems in the home.

10. <u>My aunt</u> then came to a decision to go to the market the following day // <u>which</u> was Saturday.

No. of words 112, no. of T-units 10, mean T-unit length 11.2 words.

Themes underlined. Rhemes forming the rest of the clause // Clause boundaries.

M. Marked, U. Unmarked Themes.

Last weekend	M.Theme	Adverbial group
First	U.Theme	Temporal conjunction
I	U.Theme	Nominal group pronoun as head
I	U.Theme	Nominal group pronoun as head
And they	U.Theme	Conjunction and pronoun as head
Not long after	M.Theme	Prepositional group/Temporal
My uncle	U.Theme	Nominal group modifier and head
I	U.Theme	Nominal group pronoun as head
After	M.Theme	Temporal conjunction
It	Thematic equative	Indefinite pronoun

During our supper period	M. Theme	Adverbial group
My aunt	U. Theme	Modifier and head
which	Themative equative	Relative pronoun

Group I: text 1.1

1. <u>Last week</u> I went to Dynamic Sound Recording Company.

2. <u>On stage in the studio</u> was a band called Byron Lee and the Dragoneers.

3. <u>They</u> were going to record a song // they have just made.

4. <u>The name of the song</u> is Redemption dance.

5. <u>They</u> also had television cameras set up on themselves // so they would be seen on television.

6. <u>The band members</u> were wearing a special type of coat // that has a bluish colour.

7. <u>I</u> toured the studios and saw an interesting formation of recording machine.

8. <u>I</u> wanted to stay for two hours // <u>but I</u> was allowed to stay for half an hour // <u>because recording</u> soon began.

No. of words 105, no. of T-units 8, mean T-unit length 13.1 words.

Themes underlined Rhemes forming the rest of the clause. // Clause boundaries.

M. Marked, U. Unmarked Themes.

Last week	M.Theme	Adverbial group
On stage in the studio	M.Theme	Prepositional phrase
They	U.Theme	Pronoun as head
The name of the song	Thematic equative	Nominal group
They	U.Theme	Pronoun as head
They	U.Theme	Pronoun as head
That	U.Theme	Relative pronoun as head
I	U.Theme	Pronoun as head
I	U.Theme	Pronoun as head
Recording	U.Theme	Verbal as head

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Group II: text 2.0

1. Last weekend I had a lovely weekend between some of my friends and I.

2. It was Saturday the 4th of June.

3. My mother had to work on that day // so I was alone at my home.

4. After a while I heard a knocking on the door // so I open it.

5. To my surprise I saw some of my friends // that I didn't see from a long while.

6. I told them to come in and sat down.

7. While we were there // I decide to go to the beach.

8. After we came from the beach // we when to the Hope Gardens.

9. It was such a lovely day.

No. of words 120, No. of T-units 9, mean T-unit length 13.3 words.

Last week	M. Theme	Adverbial group
It	U. Theme	Non-specific demonstrative as head
My mother	U. Theme	Possessive determiner and possessed
I	U. Theme	Pronoun as head
To my surprise	M. Theme	Prepositional phrase
That	U. Theme	Relative Pronoun as head
I	U. Theme	Pronoun as head
While	M. Theme	Temporal conjunction
After	M. Theme	Temporal conjunction
We	U. Theme	Pronoun as head
It	U. Theme	Non-specific demonstrative as head

Group II: text 2.1

1. <u>Last weekend</u> I went to the market.

2. <u>I</u> got up at about 8 o'clock ate my breakfast and went to the market.

3. <u>When</u> I reached Lucea // I went directly to my father // who gave me money for shopping.

4. <u>After</u> I had finished shopping // <u>I</u> ate my lunch collected my father's box, the shopping bag and took a bus home.

No. of words 60, no. of T-units 4, mean T-unit length 15 words.

Last weekend	M.Theme	Adverbial group
I	U.Theme	Pronoun as head
When	M.Theme	Conjunctive adjunct
I	U.Theme	Nominal group - pronoun as head
Who	U.Theme	Relative functioning as head
After	M.Theme	Conjunctive adjunct
I	U.Theme	Pronoun as head

Text 3.0

I spend last week on:
I my own weekend at work I work supmark I pack goode.
I cook dinner and T.V.
I go to the mark with my mother.
Seter come form shool I go to the bush.
and I go to Church and Sunder.
_Do._

I spend my weekend at work. I work [at the] supermarket. I pack goods.

If the rest is deciphered it could read:

I cook dinner and [watch] T.V.

I go to the mark[et] with my mother.

Peter come from school I go to the bush.

And I go to church and Sunday [school].

Text 3.1

One weekend in May 1981.
As I was on my way
to supermarket as I reached
between Martin St. and
Wellenton St. a boy stoled
a lady's purse she was coming
in the direction that I was
There was a Police Man patrolling
that to chase the thing
back to the Spanish Town Market
to caugh him. I told it to my friend
when I went Home.

Text 3.1 continued

One weekend in May, 1981 [as] I was on my way to [the] supermarket. As I

reached between Martin Street and Wellington St. a boy stole a lady's

purse. He was coming in the direction that I was. There was a policeman

on patrol. He had to chase the thief back to the Spanish Town market to

catch him. I told it to my friend when I went home.

3.1.1

(handwritten text)

3.1.1 deciphered

I spent last weekend on the road [actually?] because I rented a moped me

and some of my friends. On Saturday we went to church in the morning and

in the afternoon went to the beach in Runaway Bay. It was very

interesting because we met some new friends. They say they will come and

visit us sometime in [the] summer. After the beach we ride them home.

Sunday was a perfect day.   From Saturday we decided that we would go to Port Nova to look for my sister because she never came down for the weekend. When we went up there, she was staying at a friend and we could not find her. So we came back down.

3.2, 3.2.1: Redrafting/editing

I ~~spen my~~ ~~spen very goot I engeroy my self~~
~~very goot~~

I spen my week very goot I engeroy my
selt. I go the Bees. I go cool in the month
I go to the Bushes on ~~sunday~~ to bid yard.
I go to the wing   Lincoln   Lincoln

I ~~spen the weekend at my mother house~~
~~it was a lovely weekend~~ because   (1)
I went to the movies and go lot of Place
I went spen the weekend at my mother house
because went I go to my mother I can go a lot
of Place. on Saturday I have go the shop and Buy
lot of thing. As why I go for weekend at mother
                                          Paul. mother

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Deletion and substitution: 3.2.2 and 3.2.3

3.2.2

Last week I went Te Montego Bay To Look for My aunt first we went To The Beach house we went on a ship and my aunt friend had a eraplane and we fly over a small island and we went To Games World and Then we went home 12 o clock in The night I fell a sleep in The car. ——— The end ——— Lincoln.

3.2.3

I Spend last weekend at My Mothers home I wash the cloth, Sweep the yard, wash the dishes fix the radio and Swish in the hours that the way I Spend My weeken. Ainsley.

Lack of risk-taking:

3.3

Last I spent my weakend, in St. mary with my grandmother.

3.3.1

I spen my weekend by phone my friend and go to the show on by the seaside. This is the end of my composition on my weekend.

3.3.2

Last weekend I went to visit my cousin in the Hope Gardens area we had a very enjoyable time.

Unrelated string of sentences: target achieved

3.4

I went to the hospital

 I went to the green groto cave

 I went to the mango tree

 I went to the zoo

3.4.1

I washed my clothes, I studied my lessons.

I enjoyed watching the television

I went to the market

I listened to the radio programmes.

I read story books.

Unrelated string of sentences: target not achieved

3.5

1. I go to the beach

2. I sleep at the Gesthouse

3. I go to the brush

3.5.1

go to the market

feed the pigs

go to the shop

go to church

go to the sea

wash my clotes

Miscellaneous strategies

3.6

Every week end I clean my house.

1. Go to the market

2. Go to church

3. Read stories

4. Do my homework

5. Watch television

6. Study my class lessons

3.6.1

on a weekend I would clean the house and wash the plate and wash the cloth and iron them and sometimes go to the movie.

3.6.2

On a weekend I would go to church. I would go to a movie and go to the bush to move the cows.

3.6.3

I spent my weekend very happy by going to the Movie going to beach and going to church.

Slightly more successful attempts

3.7

I spent my last weekend by attending a movie at Half-way-tree the movies was very interested it was all about Karate.

3.7.1

Last weak I spended my week-end at my grandfather's he was alone
their so he have a lot of work to do I help him cleaned the house, and
make up the beds, I also cooked for him.

RANKS I - V

Rank I

Text 4.0

A weekend is what I refer to as leisure time. The way I spent my
week-end was enjoyable because I had a wonderful time at my aunt's house.
I even met a new girl and enjoyed myself by the beach side.

Text 4.1

My last weekend was rather an exciting and enjoyable one for me. On
Saturday morning I went to the beach and I went to the cinema on Saturday
night, where I watched a rather enjoyable movie. On Sunday morning I
went to church and I spent the rest of the day in Montego Bay visiting my
Aunt who had just returned from America.

Rank II

Text 4.2

Last week Friday, after school, I went to spend the weekend with one of
my friends. After we reached her house, we got into suitable clothes and
then we took a bus to Kingston to watch a gosple concert starring the
grace thrillers. First we went to our reserved seats. After sitting
comfortably, I began to enjoy the concert it lasted about three hours
then they prayed and overing the concert, our souls were spiritually
blessed.

4.2 continued

We then went to take the bus back home. After a tiresome drive we finally reach home, changed our clothes then went to bed. We woke up about four o'clock the next morning, took a shower ate a healthy breakfast then went on our way. We were going on an hiking to port royal on our way the bus broke down so we decided to walk the other way we reached at about 4 o clock in the day we were so tired that we just went to a hotle and got a room. After getting the room we ate a lovely meal and then went to bed. Sunday morning we went to the beach and had a wonderful day and in the evening took a bus and and drove home.

Rank III

Text 4.3

I went to Duncan's

I wash my clothes and hair

I went to the shop.

I help to clean the house.

I wash the dishes.

I help my mother to cook.

I went for a walk.

Text 4.3.1

In life today we find many peope having enjoyable week ends. For myself I have[1] an enjoyable weekend and I will[2] like to share it along.

My enjoyable weekend was a day during a summer Holiday when our church went out on a church camp. We were taken by a big country bus at about six 'oclock' in the morning. We were taken to the country of Manchester where I find[3] it interesting and enjoyable, there were about fifty of us on that weekend trip.

On that day we were given lot of food to eat and things to drink, we

Text 4.3.1 continued

also play[4] lots of games and we were carried all about the district before we go[5] home. We spend[6] four days at Manchester from Friday morning to Monday morning.

On Saturday we wake[7] up in the morning and look[8] about ourselves and eat[9] our breakfast and tidy[10] our bedroom after that we had Bible Study and prayer meeting then we went to a little Village Market and bought some fruits to eat in the night. On Sunday we wake[11] up and get[12] ourselves ready and eat[13] our breakfast and then we go[14] to a church that we have[15] seen in our district that we are[16] settling. When we came home we were given dinner then we watch[17] television and have[18] our supper, then go[19] to bed. On Monday when it is[20] time for us to go home we get[21] ourselves ready to go home we packed our thing and then we set off for home.

It was a very exciting trip I was very sorry when I left I will[22] love to have another enjoyable weekend like that again.

Rank IV

Text 4.4

I spent my week end very excited I clean up my house and wash out a few dresses and go to my friend house and play with her game set.

Text 4.4.1

I spend my weekend at home. I help my father with his farming. I help my mother cooks the food, wash the clothes and dishes; while my sister and I fetch some water, sweep the yard.

I do my home work which I got from the teachers and read my note books. eg. Accounts, English, Maths, etc.

Rank IV

Text 4.5

I spend my weekend with my aunt In Browntown.   I enjoy my Self going to the Super market and the market.   After shopping I get home. and pack out the things in the cabinet. and the have my self bath at the bathroom and them go to the beach. and have my self a bath. I enjoy my self very much and then I go home. and go to my bed. I like to spend weekend at my aunt.

LEVELS I - IV

Text 5.0: Level I

He gets up at about 6 o,clock, goes to a field and gets the cow. After doing this he goes to his stall where he butchers the cow. He then transports the body to the market where it will be sold.   At about 8 o clock the customers start piling into the meat market. He eats his lunch whenever his customers stop buying.   At the end of the day he packs up his tool box and goes home.

Text 5.1: Level II

In the morning the farmer gets up and gather his things to go the farm. At the farm he looks after his chickens and animals, he gives them water and grass to eat and some of them gets commercial feeding. He then goes out in the fields to look after his crops if thier are in good shape and free of pest.   If pest is bothering the plants he sprays a chemical on them. After he has finished everything he goes home feeling exhausted.

Text 5.2: Level III

An engineer is a person that is works in technology.   You have all types of engineer a civil engineer, mining engineer and also mechanical engineer.   A civil engineer is a person who looks over the position

Text 5.2: Level III continued

things to be build, like a bridge is to be build a civil engineer calculate the amount of space. Then the civil engineer send it to the mining engineer and he supply the equipment needed to build the bridge. After that the mechanical engineer comes in to play. He figures out the amount weight must be applied on the bridge. Mechanical engineer deals with all types of metals and other mechanism.

You also have the Electrical engineer. For example if a sugar mill is to get a bigger plant to increase production the electrical engineer is the one who calculate the amount of power voltage is to be supplied to the plant. If there is too much power the plant will burn up. So he have to find what caused it to burn up and how much power must be replaced.

5.3: Level IV

I would like to be a Chef when I become a man. I would like to work at one of the hotels when I go to work in the morning I would put on my cap and apron and get my things ready to work. Then I will start prepare my menu and in the evening I will leave my kitchen tidy and go home.

5.3.1

I would like to be an accountant. I would have to plan my daily task, get my tool ready and work to the best of my ability. I would also have to be accurate, cooperative and productive.

Level V

No work submitted.

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