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The attitudes of teachers and senior pupils towards Xhosa grammar in Alice and Zwelitsha Schools

BY

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A research report submitted to the faculty of Education, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the degree Masters in Education.

SEPTEMBER 1999

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master in Education at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____

VIVIENNE NOMAFA MDAKA

_____ day of _____ 1999.

ABSTRACT

This study focussed on the attitudes of senior pupils and teachers towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar in Alice and Zwelitsha schools, in the Eastern Cape Province. Its aims were to establish the attitudes of teachers and pupils towards Xhosa grammar, to investigate factors that contribute to the formation of these attitudes; and to suggest recommendations for improving these attitudes if necessary.

This study reviewed literature on : curriculum context (Grundy's and Cornbleths' approaches to curriculum); factors that enhance or inhibit successful language learning and teaching; and language attitudes with the purpose of developing a theoretical framework that underpinned the study. Using qualitative research methods, the study analysed the responses of 28 participants.

The main finding of the study was that generally, the majority of respondents had a negative attitude towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. The frequently mentioned unpopular components were morphology, phonetics and general knowledge, but the most recurring was the last. What was striking was that, although most respondents recorded a negative attitude towards grammar, when they

were asked whether it should be taught, the majority responded positively. This inconsistency forms the basis of what can be regarded as one of the core findings of this study, that the majority of the respondents were fully cognisant of the importance of grammar in the mastery of a language but certain factors emanating from the educational and socio-cultural contexts were responsible for the negative attitude formation towards Xhosa grammar.

In addressing the factors emanating from the socio-cultural context, this study recommended that a democratic and an anti-linguicist language policy should be formulated. Communicative language teaching, the teaching of Xhosa grammar in the morning when students are still fresh and alert, and empowering and re-skilling of teachers through providing the necessary pre-service and in-service training were the recommendations suggested to address factors emanating from the educational context. This study concluded (inter alia) by suggesting areas for further research.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADEA	ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA
CLA	CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS
CLS	CRITICAL LANGUAGE STUDY
CLT	COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING
FD	FIELD DEPENDENT
FI	FIELD INDEPENDENT
NEPI	NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY INVESTIGATION
NFER	NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
MoI	MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION
OBE	OUTCOMES BASED EDUCATION

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION		(i)
ABSTRACT		(ii)
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS		(iii)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		(iv)
TABLE OF CONTENTS		(v)
LIST OF TABLES		(viii)
LIST OF FIGURES		(ix)
	CHAPTER ONE	
	INTRODUCTION	**1**
1.1	Aims of the study	1
1.2	Definition of terms	3
1.2.1	Grammar	3
1.2.2	Attitude	3
1.3	The context of the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar	4
1.3.1	Status language planning	5
1.3.2	Acquisition planning	8
1.3.3	Corpus planning	10
1.4	The organization of the research report	12

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE **14**

2.1 Literature on curriculum context 15
Technical cognitive interest *16*
Practical cognitive interest *18*
Emancipatory cognitive interest *20*
2.2 Literature on language learning and teaching 24
2.3 Attitudinal studies 40

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY **53**

3.1 The use and relevance of qualitative research in the study. 53
3.2 Description of sample and data collection plan 55
3.3 Data analysis plan 59

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION **63**

4.1 Attitudes of teachers and learners towards Xhosa grammar 65
4.1.1 Educational context 70
Classroom level *71*
School level *81*
National Education System *83*

4.1.2	Socio-cultural context	85
	Utility value	86
	Historical and political factors	90
	Cultural factors	92
4.2	Recommendations	95
4.3	Educational context	96
	Classroom level	97
	School Organisation	*107*
	National level	109
4.3.2	Socio- cultural context	117
	CHAPTER FIVE	
	CONCLUSION	**124**
5.1	Summary of findings	124
5.2	Limitations of the study	127
5.3	Suggestions for further research	129
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	131

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter three

Table 1: A profile of teachers and learners interviewed

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter two

Figure 4.1: An adaptation of Cornbleth's categories of curriculum contexts as inventory of factors affecting language teaching and learning.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

> ... in recent years, grammar has come to be unpopular. People have become uncertain about its value and many schools have ceased to teach it or they teach it very selectively (Crystal, 1988:6)

The above quotation raises certain issues of grammar that I was confronted with when I was in the Eastern Cape teaching Xhosa language at senior secondary school level and teaching prospective Xhosa teachers at the University of Fort Hare. The remarks and comments made by pupils, teachers, and student-teachers were questioning the relevance, value and the uninspiring nature of grammar or certain aspects of it. Those comments and questions convinced me that there are problems in the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar and led me to undertake this study.

This chapter will present the aims of the study, define key concepts, situate the study in its politico-historical context, and delineate the organization of the research report.

1.1 Aims of the study

The aims of this study are broadly divided into three, namely: to establish the attitudes of senior pupils and teachers towards Xhosa

grammar in Alice and Zwelitsha schools; to establish factors that contribute to the formation of these attitudes; and to suggest recommendations for improving these attitudes if necessary. The specific aims are :

- to find out Xhosa teachers' and learners' common sense assumptions of what grammar and grammar teaching and learning are, in Alice and Zwelitsha High Schools;

- to establish and compare attitudes of Xhosa teachers and learners towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar;

- to establish and compare teachers' and learners' attitudes towards grammar in relation to other Xhosa language components like literature;

- to establish factors that contribute to the formation of teachers' and learners' attitudes towards Xhosa grammar (these factors could be: the number of learners in class; the content; the status of Xhosa language in the curriculum and in the society; teacher's teaching ability; teaching experience etc;

- to find out teaching methods, approaches and classroom techniques that are currently used and the reasons for using them;

- to use the research as the basis for evaluating language teaching and learning practices and suggest recommendations if necessary.

1.2 ***Definition of terms***

1.2.1 *Grammar*

Throughout the study the term grammar will be taken in its widest sense in the same way that Stern (1992) uses it to cover the entire analysis of language including phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicology, semantics and discourse analysis. In the context of this research an attempt will be made to find out the attitudes that students and teachers have towards the teaching and learning of grammar in this broad sense.

1.2.2 *Attitudes*

Of the two views of attitudes mentioned by Fasold (1984: 147); namely the mentalist and the behaviourist, this study adopts the mentalist view which he defines as 'a state of readiness; an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response'. The mentalists

usually consider attitudes to have sub-parts such as cognitive (knowledge), affective (feeling) and conative (action) components.

The behaviourist view which demands that the overt behaviour of the subjects be observed, tabulated and analyzed has not been used. Rather this research depended on teachers' and students' responses to interview questions which aimed at establishing the attitudes they have towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. Even there the major preoccupation of language scholars has been to study attitudes towards language in general. This tendency is evident in the studies conducted by Kraemer and Zisenwine (1989) on Hebrew language in South Africa; Mparutsa, Thondhlana and Crawhall (1992) on Shona language in Zimbabwe; and Gardener and Lambert (1972) on French in the USA. This study aims to address these shortcomings by focussing on grammar within the context of language teaching and learning and by looking at both teachers' and learners' attitudes.

1.3 *The context of the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar*

The delineation of the context of the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar demands that I look at socio-political conditions that affected the teaching and learning of Xhosa as a language because they have a bearing on the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. Since these

conditions are to a large extent determined by the national language policy and planning documents, my discussion of the context will hinge on the major aspects of planning: 'status planning, acquisition planning, and corpus planning,' and their implications for the teaching and learning of Xhosa language (National Education Policy Investigation : Language, 1992 :9).

1.3.1 *Status Language Planning*

In the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) Language Report (1992:9) status planning is defined as:

> *efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community's languages. Examples would be assigning to one or more languages the function of 'official language' or the symbolic function of being the sign of nationhood or of some other kind of communal identity. In the field of education, status planning would entail assigning to a language the function of serving as a medium of instruction and/or deciding that certified proficiency in one or more specified languages would be minimum requirements for entry to certain levels of study or for the school-leaving certificate.*

In South Africa during the colonial era (1652 - 1910) the official languages were the languages of those in power. When the Dutch were in power the official language was Dutch; similarly when the British were in power they declared English the only official language. This incited opposition from the Dutch who were used to having their language the

official language used. Consequently when the union of South Africa was established in 1910 a special protection was given to English and Dutch as official languages with the provision that the official status of these languages would only be revoked by two thirds majority in parliament. This protection of English and Dutch continued throughout the period of segregation (1910 - 1948) and it resulted in the underdvelopment of African languages. This neglect was encouraged by British colonial authorities as illustrated by the instruction in 1856 that 'every attempt to reduce the Kaffir tongues to writing as a medium of instruction should be very carefully avoided and discouraged' (Mawasha, 1976:45).

During the apartheid era (1948 - 1994) which promoted the ideology of separate development, English and Afrikaans remained the official languages even in those areas that were designated as homelands. This means that, regarding African languages as laguages of officialdom in the homelands was sheer tokenism. In the educational sphere the determination of the Afrikaner government to promote its language in African secondary schools to the optimum led to the introduction of 50:50 language policy in 1961. This meant that half of the subjects were to be taught through the medium of English and the other through the medium of Afrikaans. The black community opposed this policy, and as a result it was never universally implemented. Afrikaans was perceived as a language of the oppressor. Its unacceptability was finally recognised by

the government after the bloody massacre of Wednesday, 16 June 1976. The government then decided to revert to English as the medium of instruction (MoI) for all subjects except Afrikaans and the vernaculars. The non-examination subjects like religious education and music were conducted in the mother tongue (National Ecuation Policy Investigating : Language 1992).

The language policy of the new South Africa gives official status to eleven languages (see *The Consitution of the Republic of South Africa,* 1996). In 1993 in the multiparty negotiations at Kempton Park it was agreed that South Africa should recognise the nine African languages (Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Swati, Tswana, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu) in addition to English and Afrikaans as official languages. This decision was informed by debates which were opened by individuals and organizations. These debates aimed at developing a policy that excludes no one from participating in the political, social, economic affairs of the country on the basis of language. One of the recommendations from the debates was that languages which previously had been denied the right to play their full part had to be empowered. With the acceptance of African languages as official languages room is given to them to serve as media of instruction. In the Eastern Cape, guidelines for choosing MoI are already in place (see Mangcu, 1995).

The historical implications of status language planning in the teaching and learning of Xhosa is that the denial of Xhosa language the right to be made an official language prior to 1994 meant that it never assumed the functions of being the language of education, government, commerce and courts of law. The stranglehold that this denial had on the development of Xhosa language has finally been broken in the post-apartheid era when nine African languages were declared official languages. No doubt this will enhance the development of the Xhosa language but the effects that colonial and apartheid eras had on African languages are going to be with us for some time.

1.3.2 *Acquisition Planning*

The National Education Policy Investigation Language Report (1992:10) defines acquisition language planning as:

> ... efforts to regulate the distribution of a community's or a nation's linguistic resources. It deals with who learns or has to learn particular languages and is concerned with both the opportunity to learn and incentive to learn.

As mentioned in the previous section, during the colonial era acquisition language planning was determined by those in power (i.e. the Dutch and the English). The priority with regard to the languages to be learnt, the opportunities, and the incentives to learn were given to the language/s of

the colonialists. Through use of acquitision planning Xhosa language was excluded from the initial school curriculum of the Department of Good Hope which was established in 1839. Even when it was introduced at the end of the nineteenth century its syllabus was tailored to the requirements of a third language, where the main focus was on grammar, syntax and translations (Makalima, 1981).

The rationale for teaching Xhosa as a third language was that other Blacks were interested in learning the language. The non-speakers of Xhosa language, especially the missionary workers, learnt Xhosa language with the intention of teaching the gospel to prospective converts in their own language. The incentives to learn Xhosa to its speakers even when it was accorded the status of a first language in 1943 were minimal. The literature component for example, which was one of the new features of the syllabus of Xhosa as a first language, was rather inimical, unexciting and unrelated to the child's life. In most cases it failed to awaken creative talent (Makalima 1981).

In the apartheid era, acquisition language planning was different for black and white people. Whilst the white people were expected to study two languages, the black people were required to study more than two languages. Although this was a marked difference from the situation that prevailed in the colonial era, there were no fundamental improvements in

the opportunity to learn Xhosa language. In the post-apartheid era attempts are being made to redress the imbalances of the colonial and the apartheid eras with regard to the languages to be learnt, and the opportunities and incentives to learn them. Children will be required to learn three languages (Mangcu, 1995).

The fact that during the colonial era and apartheid era minimal opportunity was granted to the serious study of Xhosa meant than there was very little development in the learning and teaching of Xhosa. The attitudes that people developed towards languages tended to be negative because more incentives were in the official languages as it was claimed that the knowledge of the official languages was valuable and an important linguistic passport to all avenues of employment and contacts.

1.3.3 *Corpus Planning*

Corpus planning is defined by National Education Policy Investigation Language Report (1992:9) as:

> ... deliberate efforts to codify and standardise a language's structure, lexicon and orthography. It also refers to the extension of the lexicon in a systematic way, either by devising new terms or by ratifying the use of existing loan-words.

Although great strides were made in this area during colonial era, this was not without its problems because people who spearheaded this development were not Xhosa speakers. John Bennie, a gifted Scottish linguist who is known as the father of Xhosa literature, for instance, can be regarded as trailblazer in all of the aspects of corpus planning. In the field of grammar he completed a grammar work which was unfortunately never put into print. Bennie's work exerted some influence on subsequent scholars such as Rev William Boyce, Rev W. J Davis and John Appleyard (see Makalima, 1981). During the apartheid era there were grammar books written in Xhosa. The first Xhosa grammar work by Pahl and Mesatywa, which was entitled **Ulwimi lwesiXhosa** and appeared in 1961. Subsequent to this, other scholars such as Moropa et al. (1987), Tshabe et al. (1989), Satyo (1992) and others contributed with their own Xhosa grammar works.

The efforts by missionary scholars are worthy of praise as trailblazers in the scientific study of Xhosa grammar, but their contribution was marred by the influence of grammar studies in European languages. It is arguable for instance, that the reading method approach adopted by Bennie and Boyce of teaching the five vowels first and then the letters of the alphabet as isolated units has its origins in the teaching of reading in their own languages. Again the structural approach adopted in their grammar works was the most common approach used in their own

languages. The respect that Black and White scholars of the apartheid era had for the contribution of scholars of the colonial era unwittingly made them to continue using their books as models for their grammar work even when other languages had started experimenting with other approaches such as communicative language teaching (CLT) and critical language awareness (CLA).

It is hoped that the developments in the field of corpus planning during the post apartheid era ushered in by the formulation of a democratic constitution and language policy will address these shortcomings. The New Constituion of the Republic of South Africa (1996) legalises the establishment of a Pan South African Board which should promote and create conditions for the development and use of all eleven official languages through initiating projects which aim to codify and standardize language structure, lexicon and orthography.

1.4 *The organization of the research report*

This report is divided into five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction which covers the rationale, aims, contexts and the definition of terms. Chapter two, in line with the aims of the study, reviews attitudinal studies, books, and articles on language learning and teaching. The purpose of this review is to develop a theoretical framework that will

inform the study. Chapter three deals with the research and methodology. It expands on the sample , methods and procedures that were followed to collect and analyze the data. Chapter four presents the analysis and interpretation of data that records the attitudes of teachers and learners towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar, the factors that contribute to attitude formation, and recommendations. Chapter five is the conclusion of the study; it covers the summary of findings, limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

In the following chapter the literature related to this study will be reviewed.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter sets out to review literature on three areas: curriculum context (Grundy's and Cornbleth's approaches to curriculum); language and teaching; and language attitudinal studies. The purpose of this literature review is to develop a theoretical framework that will inform this study. This means that, the literatures on these three areas will help me to locate and ground the analysis of the data collected for the topic under study and consequently achieve the aims of the research.

The aims of the study are broadly divided into three namely ; to establish the attitudes of senior learners and teachers towards Xhosa grammar in Alice and Zwelitsha schools; to establish factors that contribute to the formation of these attitudes; and to suggest recommendations for improving these attitudes if necessary. Grundy's and Cornbleth's works do not deal with attitudes in language teaching, but are relevant because they provide a coherent foundation for the curriculum deliberation and practices inside and outside the classroom situation,

This chapter is therefore divided into three parts. The first presents the arguments of the two curriculum theorists. However, since there are parallels between Grundy's and Cornbleth's works, only the areas where she supplements Grundy will be discussed. The second part of the

chapter analyses literature that deals with factors which promote or inhibit successful language teaching and learning. It records the contributions and recommendations made by scholars in the field of Xhosa language and in language generally. The third leg of the chapter discusses the findings of the attitudinal studies and focusses on the establishment of attitudes, factors and recommendations where necessary.

This chapter will conclude by explaining why the researcher has used this ordering of the literature review, that is, starting with the big picture on curriculum context and then funnelling down to attitudes to language learning and teaching.

2.1 *Curriculum Context*

Grundy's theory hinges around Habermas' three cognitive interests namely, technical, practical and emancipatory. Five curriculum issues are going to serve as motifs in the discussion of the implications of the three cognitive interests to the curriculum process. These issues are: the nature of the guiding area, the responsibility and division of labour, the central disposition, content, and meaning of evaluation.

Technical Cognitive Interest

> Put succinctly, the technical interest is: a fundamental interest in controlling the environment through rule-following action based upon empirically grounded laws. (Grundy, 1987:12).

The technical interest's intention is to control the learning environment so that the product could match with the pre-specified goal. This means that the rationale behind the curriculum informed by technical interests is control. To achieve control, with regard to labour, it makes a distinction between the work of designers and implementers. The teachers tend to be seen as implementers. A technicist approach to curriculum even if it has involved or consulted the teachers on the curriculum design, the involvement occurs as individual experts not as teachers and certainly not as representatives of organised teaching profession (Taylor and Methula, 1992). The aim is to control the contribution of teachers so that the objectives set by curriculum designers could be achieved.

Skill is the central disposition for the curriculum informed by technical interest. When the skill is the central issue in the curriculum, the teachers are equipped with methods or strategies that lead towards the achievement of the goal. These methods and strategies are offered as a

set of sub-skills which can be learned and practised by the novice teacher (Grundy, 1987).

The content in this technocratic curriculum is determined by the view that knowledge is a 'set of rules and procedures of unquestionable 'truth' (Grundy 1987 : 34). Presenting knowledge in this way denies students the opportunity of being engaged in debates and discussion of issues that are relevant to them and that could lead to the encouragement of originality, creativity, problem solving and critical skills; rather, they are fed with chunks of content which they are expected to regurgitate thereafter (Joffe, 1993).

The underlying principle with regard to the process of evaluation is the matching of the product with the predetermined objectives. To make sure that all what the teacher does in the classroom achieve the set aims and objectives, an external evaluation is used. This means that, evaluation, just like curriculum design, is undertaken by others and without consulting the teacher and the learner.

Practical Cognitive Interest

Practical interest is defined as:

> a fundamental interest in understanding the environment through interaction based upon consensual interpretation. (Grundy 1987:34)

There is moral imperative associated with practical interest. The question that is motivated by this interest therefore, is not what the practitioner is able to do but what she ought to do. Unlike the curriculum informed by technical interest where the practitioner has to implement pre-planned objectives, in the 'practical' curriculum the onus is upon the practitioner to interpret and translate the guiding idea into action.

The curriculum informed by the practical interest advocates the involvement of the teachers in all aspects of curriculum development to whatever degree is possible (Grundy 1987). This means that teachers could initiate educational reform and curriculum change.

The central disposition of a curriculum informed by this cognitive interest is judgement. When the curriculum extols the centrality of judgement, the teacher is not deskilled but is given the liberty to develop the curriculum through the process of reflection and deliberation. This

interest therefore takes cognisance of the fact that people who are involved in a situation are the ones who have better knowledge of it.

The content of a 'practical' curriculum is determined by what is 'good'. The selection of content is guided by meaning making and interpretation, and as a result it tends to be holistically orientated and integrated. Different aspects of content will come under the evaluation of both the teacher and the learner; thus Grundy maintains that :

> the division of content into rigid subject specialization would come under scrutiny as to whether such divisions are the best way of making meaning of the knowledge store of the society. (Grundy 1987:76)

Evaluation in 'practical' curriculum means making judgements about the extent to which the process and practices undertaken through learning experiences furthered the 'good' of all participants' (Grundy 1987: 79). These judgements can be made by those involved in the teaching learning situation, for they require the sort of personal knowledge to which only the participants in the learning situation can have access. This however, does not mean that others are of no consequence but that in the end practical interest requires the participants to be judges of their own actions (Grundy, 1987).

Emancipatory Interest

Emancipatory interest is defined as :

> a fundamental interest in emancipation and empowerment to engage in autonomous action arising out of authentic, critical insights into the social construction of humanity. (Grundy, 1987 :71)

The guiding idea in a curriculum informed by emancipatory interest is 'liberation'. The questions that are constantly asked in guiding the curriculum praxis informed by the emancipatory interests are, whether the curriculum practices operate to emancipate the participants through the process of learning and, whether the power to initiate speech and to ask questions in the situation is equally distributed amongst the participants (Grundy 1987).

Unlike a 'practical' curriculum where participation is extended to teachers only, here students are also involved in curriculum decision making. Freire (1972:53) expresses this succinctly when he says;

> The teacher is no longer merely the one who teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in their turn, while being taught also teach.

However, this does not mean that the teacher abrogates the role of selecting knowledge for study but that both the teacher and the learner

have got the right and responsibility for contributing to curriculum content (Grundy, 1987).

Critique is the central dispostion of a curriculum informed by the emancipatory interest. According to McTaggart and Singh (1986:44):

> Critical reflection involves more than knowledge of one's values and understanding of one's practice. It involves a dialectical criticism of one's own values in a social and historical context in which the values of others are also crucial. Criticism itself is, therefore a relational concept.

For critical reflection to take place there should be a critical community which is a group of people who interact directly with one another, and have relationships that are characterised by solidarity and mutual concern. This means that classrooms themselves could become communities (Grundy, 1987). The selection of content in emancipatory curriculum praxis should be guided by whether that content material would be promoting critical consciousness and it should be a product of negotiation between teachers, students and designers. This interest allows the participants (teachers and learners) to have a prerogative in the passing of judgements on the quality and meaningfulness of the work. The implication of this is that they are liberated from the oppression of the external evaluation.

There are parallels between Grundy's approach to curriculum and that of Cornbleth. Cornbleth herself acknowledges these similarities (Cornbleth 1992). However, there are some differences between their approaches, and it is these differences that are of particular pretinence to the study. The writer of this research perceives them as amplifying Grundy's theory.

Whilst Cornbleth is quick to acknowledge the similarities between her critical approach to curriculum and Grundy's curriculum as praxis (i.e. curriculum informed by emancipatory interest) she however, argues that their approaches differ when it comes to contextual influences. Cornbleth (1992) argues that although Grundy acknowledges contextual influences, she does not examine questions related to the influence of setting upon the curriculum informed by emancipatory interest. With regard to curriculum context, Cornbleth maintains that:

> ... curriculum as practice cannot be understood adequately or changed substantially without attention to its setting or context. Curriculum is contextually shaped. The relevant context is both structural and socio-cultural. By structure, I mean established roles and relationships, including operating procedures, shared beliefs and norms. Structural context can be considered at several layers or levels, from the individual classroom to the school organization to the national education system. Socio-cultural refers to the environment beyond the education system/structural context. Socio-cultural context includes demographic, social, political and economic conditions, traditions and ideologies and events that actually or potentially influence curriculum (1990:6).

It is clear therefore that, whilst Grundy focusses mainly on the classroom, Cornbleth goes beyond the classroom and considers the socio-cultural context.

Another difference is that whilst on the one hand Grundy has three positions: technocratic, practical and emancipatory, Cornbleth on the other hand does not have the intermediate position because she maintains that exponents of this intermediate phase retain a decontextualized conception of curriculum. She argues that a technocratic curriculum is decontextualized and a critical one is contextualized.

Grundy's and Cornbleth's curriculum works enable the present writer to locate the data collected for the study into one or the other of these positions. The current teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar and the recommendations reflected in the responses of the interviewees will thus be located and analysed in terms of these positions. Grundy's works therefore will mainly inform the curriculum deliberation and practices inside the classroom. For the curiculum delibeartion outside the classroom Cornbleth's conception of curriculum in context will be used.

2.2 *Literature on language learning and teaching*

The review of literature in this section is divided into two fields : Xhosa language and other language scholars. The focus in these two areas will be on what these scholars perceive as factors that promote or inhibit successful language learning and teaching and suggestions they recommend to address factors which inhibit successful language learning and teaching.

Most of the literature on language learning and teaching in the Xhosa field was written with the intention to provide material for preservice and in-service teacher education. This literature includes the works of scholars such as Gebeda, Thipha and Lalendle (1995), Gebeda, Matutu and Madiba (1993) and Twabu (1990). Very few scholars have traced the development of Xhosa language and the impact of South African language policy and language in education policy on the teaching and learning of Xhosa language (Makalima, 1981 and Mangcu, 1995).

The intention of those who focuss on teacher education is to improve the learning and teaching of Xhosa language by suggesting new methods and techniques. Generally, their recommendations are a response to the structural or linguistic approach that has been used in the teaching and

learning of grammar. Richards and Rodgers (1988:17) define the structural approach as deriving from the view that :

> ...language is a system of structurally related elements for the coding of meaning . The target of language learning is seen to be the mastery of elements of this system, which are generally defined in terms of phonological units (e.g. phonemes), grammatical units (e.g., clause, phrases, sentences), grammatical operations (e.g. adding, shifting, joining or transforming elements), and lexical items (e.g. function words and structure words).

The focus on linguistic competence or structural approach rests on the assumption that, having mastered the formal elements of the language in one way or another, the learner will be able to apply these for communication purposes in real situation of language use *(Cape Education Department Teacher's Guide,* 1983). The other features of this approach are that: the teacher is like the orchestra, leading and controlling the language behaviour of learners and is also responsible for providing learners with a good model for imitation (Larsen-Freeman, 1986). The use of drills and patterns is another feature of the methods used in this approach (Richards and Rodgers, 1988).

Biting criticisms have been levelled against this approach. Wessels and Van den Berg (1998) maintain that the learning of linguistic forms in the highly structured situation of the language classroom does not seem to help the learner to develop the ability to put these forms appropriately to use in real situations outside the classroom. Basing her arguments on

the features of the structural approach Celce-Murcia (1985) sums up other criticisms against the structural approach. She maintains that this approach is based on manipulative drills, context free practice, sentence-based exercises, cognitively undemanding exercises, contrived materials, dull and neutral content.

Xhosa language scholars echo these criticisms and suggest some recommendations. Gebeda et al. (1995) for instance, identify the deductive method as one of the contributory factors to negative attitude formation toward the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. They recommend the use of inductive method, arguing that one of the advantages of conductive method is that it encourages learner participation and this makes the lesson learner rather than teacher-centred. They also suggest that different aspects of language, such as, language skills and literature should be integratively taught and that the functionl view which emphasis the semantic and communicative dimension rather than merely the characteristics of language should be encouraged.

One shortcoming in Gebeda's et al. (1995) recommendation is that, whilst they suggest a context-embedded practice in the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar, they however emphasize the use of sentences which Celce-Murcia (1985) perceives as the less effective way of teaching

grammar. It is Twabu (1990) who encourages the adoption of text-based rather than sentenced - based teaching of grammar.

Generally, the recommendation of the above-mentioned Xhosa scholars implicitly advocates a change from the predominant use of structural approach to the use of communication language teaching. It is Gxilishe (1990) who is explicit for the adoption of CLT. He maintains that teachers have come to agree that communicative competence should be the goal of language learning (Gxilishe, 1990:55). Larsen-Freeman maintains that communicative competence, which is the main goal of CLT involves :

> ...being able to use the language appropriate to a given social context. To do this the students need knowledge of the linguistic forms, meanings, and functions. They need to know that many different forms can be used to perform a function and also that a single form can often serve a variety of functions. They must be able to choose from among these the most appropriate form, given the social context and the roles of interlocutors (1986:131).

In highlighting the strengths of CLT its exponents mention the goal of training the learners in all four language skills through communicative activities such as games, simulation and role plays. Even other instructional materials for the teaching of linguistic forms are not divorced from the communicative acts. Another goal is to encourage interaction amongst students, through the use of communication approach activities as they do them in pairs, groups and the whole group. Littlewood (1986) argues that these activities provide opportunities for

positive personal relationship to develop among learners and between the learner and the teacher. The relationships can help to 'humanize' the classroom and to create an environment that supports the individual in his/her effort to learn.

The teacher is to be seen as a facilitator of students' learning. As such s/he has many roles to fulfil. S/he is the manager of the classroom activities. One of his/her major responsibilities is to establish situations likely to promote communication. During the activities the teacher acts as an adviser, answering students' questions and monitoring their performance. At other times s/he might be a co-communicator, engaging in communication activities along with students (Larsen-Freeman, 1983).

One criticism levelled against this approach is that, it is time consuming during lesson presentation. A second criticism relates to stylistic variation and appropriateness. One function for example, expressing approval, can be expounded in a wide variety of forms, whether the lesson should present all varieties or only a few, is the problem (Keith, 1983). In the literature I have reviewed on the communicative approach, focus is more on the functions of the language than on form. Other language scholars go beyond the precincts of CLT to recommend critical language study (CLS) which will be discussed later in this section.

Makalima (1981) and Mangcu (1995) are the examples of a few Xhosa scholars, who have traced the development of the Xhosa language and the impact of the South African language policy and the language in education policy on the teaching and learning of Xhosa language. In a thesis which makes an assessment of the educational implications of the development of Xhosa as a written medium from 1820-1950, Makalima (1981) identifies factors that have retarded the progress of the Xhosa language as a viable tool for education even more than 120 years since it was first committed to writing. Following are some of the factors that he mentions and the suggestions he makes for future development of Xhosa respectively;

- little support for the study of Xhosa in official quarters;
- lukewarm support from the Xhosa people themselves;
- constraints placed upon writers by the mission press;
- not so may books appealed to Xhosa reading public (Makalima, 1981: 160-166).

He suggests that:

- more time should be allocated to Xhosa on the school time-table;
- there should be more time for literature and language than for grammar;
- motivation through success should be encouraged;

- meaningful approach to exercises in grammar and language should be used;
- inductive presentation should be favoured for grammar;
- supplementary Xhosa reading materials should be made available;
- books intended for school use should be carefully screened (Makalima, 1981: 167-175).

Using the current language policy for South Africa in his draft document on language in education policy for the Eastern Cape province, Mangcu (1995) gives guidelines for choosing a medium of instruction, languages to be learnt, and procedures and time frames for implementing the new policy. Mangcu maintains that since it is generally accepted that it is educationally sound for learners to read and write in the mother-tongue before they do so in the other language, schools should decide to educate through the mother-tongue of the majority of learners throughout the primary and secondary levels, provided that does not lead to the exclusion of the language of the minority groups. He further suggests that teaching material needs to be developed for African languages to be taught more widely and used as languages of instruction.

Whilst the recommendations of the above-mentioned Xhosa scholars focuss mainly on methods and techniques of teaching Xhosa grammar, and the status of the Xhosa language as a medium of instruction, other

language scholars go beyond these to include recommendations based on learner and teacher factors, learning process and outcome in the classroom, and socio-cultural factors outside the classroom. These recommendations emanate from works on theory and practice of language learning and teaching.

The review of works of other language scholars therefore will be divided into two: the literature on theory (Brown, 1994; Stern, 1987; Richards & Rodgers, 1988; Larsen-Freeman, 1986; Janks, 1992; and Fairclough, 1992) and literature on practice (Celice-Murcia & Hilles, 1988; Ur, 1990; and Harmer, 1983). Scholars who focus on theory aim at providing a sound theoretical foundation to improve language learning and teaching. Some of these scholars such as Brown (1994) and Stern (1987) look at language in general and others such as Richards & Rodgers (1988); Larsen-Freeman (1986); and Fairclough (1992) look at certain aspects of language such as approaches to language teaching.

Stern (1987) sets out to examine the relation between theory and practice and the role of research in language learning and teaching; relates the recent and current developments to historical orientation; and focuss on the key concepts such as language, society, learning and teaching. He discusses these concepts in relation to disciplines which include

linguistics, socio-linguistics and sociology, psycho-linguistics and education respectively.

As pointed out earlier, Brown (1994) also provides a theoretical framework for language learning and teaching. Like Stern (1987) he also discusses the concepts : language, teaching, learning and society, but unlike Stern he relates these concepts to the disciplinary perspective of linguistics, psychology and education. There are therefore some parallels and variants between factors which promote or inhibit successful language learning discussed by Stern and Brown.

Learner characteristics that are identified by Stern (1987) and Brown (1994) as factors that promote or inhibit language learning are cognitive, personality and affective. Stern includes age as another learner factor. Both these scholars maintain that there are various cognitive styles. Field independence and field dependence, broad and narrow categorizers are just two examples. A Field dependent (FD) person understands language items in their context and a field independent (FI) person can recognise the multiple meanings of a language item. A broad categorizer tends to apply a limited language rule to various other similar situations. A narrow categorizer tends to limit the rule to a specific context in which it is encountered Brown (1987). This means that although Xhosa scholars such as Gebeda et al. (1995), Twabu, (1990) and Mangcu, (1995)

are unanimous in recommending the use of communicative language teaching (CLT) as a solution to the existing problem in the teaching and learning of Xhosa , failure to take into cognisance these various cognitive styles may lead to other problems because the FD learner for instance is comfortable with CLT, while the FI learner may have learning problems in such an approach (Van der Walt, 1990).

The affective factors identified by both scholars are extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, integrative and instrumental motivation. Learners who learn for themselves are intrinsically motivated and those who pursue a goal only to receive a reward from someone else are extrinsically motivated. An integrative motive is employed when learners wish to integrate themselves within the culture of the second language group, to identify themselves with and form part of that society. Instrumental motivation is similar to extrinsic motivation as it refers to 'motivation to acquire a language as a means of attaining instrumental goals...' (Brown, 1994:153). Introversion and extroversion are just two examples of personality types mentioned by these scholars. When the focuss is on communicative competence extroversion would be an asset but when it is linguistic competence introversion might well be regarded as advantageous.

The learning process as a factor also entails various strategies adopted by a learner in learning a language, and failure to take into cognisance

these strategies may lead to negative attitude formation. (Brown, 1994; Stern, 1987). Examples of these strategies are: active planning, academic (explicit) planning, social learning, and affective strategy (Stern 1987).

The teacher, like the learner, brings to language teaching in the classroom certain characteristics which may contribute to attitude formation: proficiency, teaching style, previous education and personality qualities (Stern, 1987). Van der Walt, for instance, maintains that the teacher's teaching style is likely to conform to his/her cognitive style. Just as in the case of the learner, the FI teacher is probably more comfortable with the structural approach and the FD teacher is more likely to be at home when using CLT.

The outcome of teaching and learning of a language is proficiency which according to Stern (1987) involves linguistic competence, communicative competence and creativity. Stern goes on to say that failure to attain all these features of proficiency can be accompanied by a sense of isolation or alienation, by dissatisfaction and awareness of one's own inadequacy and these feelings may spill over into negative attitude towards the learning and teaching of a language.

Socio-cultural factors mentioned by Stern and Brown are: politico-historical, cultural, economic, linguistic and geographical. One of the

most recurring factors in the literature is politico-historical. These scholars maintain that the official status given to a language through the language policy of the country influences the attitude that people have towards that language. This means that a language is likely to be held in high esteem when functions such as the use in parliament, jurisdiction and administration are allocated to it.

The appeal that the culture of the dominant group has for members of the oppressed group also makes them to wish to be assimilated into that culture. Since the language is a vehicle through which they can have access to that culture, they tend to have a positive attitude towards it and invariably are alienated from their culture and language (Stern, 1987; Brown, 1994). This alienation is achieved through the imposition of the culture and language of the dominant group (Bunsee,1998).

It is argued that allotting economic power to a language affects the attitude of people towards that language. Stern (1987) for instance, maintains that two aspects of economy, that is, development and investment can influence the attitude of people towards learning a language. This means that if a language does not contribute to economic development and is not perceived as an economic investment it will not be held in high esteem by people, for in most people pragmatic or economic issues have high priority. In addition to the above mentioned factors,

Stern (1987) includes linguistic and geographic factors which are generally applicable to second language learning.

Scholars who focuss on approaches to language teaching, identify and analyze three different theoretical views which inform current approaches and methods. These views are structural, communicative and interactional. The first two (structural and communicative language teaching) were discussed when the literature by Xhosa scholars was reviewed. It is the third view that will receive attention here and it entails critical language awareness(CLA).

The main objective of language teaching and learning that embraces CLA is 'to develop a critical awareness of the world and of the possibility for changing it' (Clark et al, 1991:41). Whilst a structural approach and CLT accept conventions through focussing on accuracy and appropriateness, CLA aims at challenging and changing these conventions through a critical perspective and creativity. However, although CLA focusses on creativity, it does not disregard linguistic and communicative conpetencies. A structural approach, for instance, would teach how the word 'inkwenkwe' (boy) is formed, but CLA would go further and enquire about why the word 'ikwekwe' (boy) is unacceptable in standardized Xhosa but is found in common usage. In CLT learners would be taught the context in which this word boy is appropriate, but CLA would go further and enquire as to why the term 'boy' is sometimes used when

referring to an adult who works for a white man. In CLA competence includes the ability:

- to say and write what one means;
- to hear what is said and what is hidden;
- to defend one's point of view, to argue, to persuade, to negotiate;
- to create, to reflect, to invent;
- to explore relationships, personal, structural, political;
- to speak, read and write with confidence;
- to make one's voice heard;
- to read print and resist it where necessary;
- to understand the relationship between language and power.

(National Education Crisis Committee Press Release, 1986: cited by Janks 1992)

To achieve the above objectives, Clark et.al. (1991) envisage content which includes three major categories of issues. The first is the social awareness of discourse. In this issue students are made aware that discourse is socially and historically determined, which implies that students are made cognisant of the dialectical relationship between spoken and written discourse and their social and historical contexts, which means that they are shaped by and help shape their social and historical contexts. In this way students will be able to denaturalize and deconstruct concentrations which give legitimacy to dominant values.

The second issue of CLA content is critical awareness of diversity which enables students to interrogate the status given to some languages or language varieties. This means that students should be engaged in debates of questioning the prestige and status given to some languages. In South Africa, for instance, the content could include the history of language policy which made English and Afrikaans enjoy dominant language status and doomed the indigenous languages into an inferior position. The third major issue of content is consciousness of and practice for change. This means that students are made aware of the possibility for change in the existing circumstances, what could inhibit change and what purposeful language practices could be oriented to achieving change.

In CLA the involvement of learners goes beyond meaning-making, appropriateness and practical usefulness of knowledge to critiquing and creating knowledge. In critiquing the language, learners are fully encouraged to take steps in eradicating offensive and disempowering language from their daily spontaneous language use. Secondly, they are encouraged to resist discourse which disempowers them. A creative approach entails developing the ability and affording the opportunity to create new knowledge (Janks and Ivanic, 1992). In CLA teachers do not only act as role models in critiquing and creating knowledge but they also

provide opportunities for the students to practice and support them in the process of creating emancipatory discourse. The teachers achieve this through arranging for the learners to read and write, and to talk for real purpose with real interlocutors. All these activities are not intended to specify content for communication only but also the complexities of social relationships in which they are embedded (Janks and Ivanic, 1992).

As far as the instructional materials/resources are concerned, CLA, like CLT, uses authentic texts and realistic examples of language. In CLA these materials are used not as only models for communication but also to critique the complexities of social relations in which they are embedded. Learners, for instance, can be assigned a task to listen to a television interview with the instruction that they should observe power relations. Who speaks most often ? How do people get the floor ? Who interrupts ? How are underdogs treated ? How much of this treatment is via language ? Is there any evidence of contestation ? Another example of how CLA uses instructional material is when the learners are required to reflect upon their own discourse and their experiences of social constraints upon it and to share their reflection with the class. Since CLA also emphasizes creativity, learners are encouraged to also create these instructional materials. A good example is Clark's (1992) use of cards in conscious-raising about the writing process. Students were also allowed

to design cards if they felt something important had been left out in the seventeen cards used by the teacher.

Works of Ur (1988), Harmer (1983), Celce-Murcia & Hilles (1988) and Wessels & Van den Berg (1998) focus on practice of language and teaching to provide practical guide similar to that suggested by Xhosa language scholars and therefore will not be discussed here.

2.3 *Attitudinal Studies Conducted on Language Learning and Teaching*

A quick look at what has been written in the field of Xhosa as an area of study reveals that there have been few attitudinal studies conducted. The attitudinal studies that have been conducted are on languages other than Xhosa. Broadly speaking the literature reviewed here establishes the role of attitudes and motivation, the shift of attitudes over a period of time in second and foreign language learning, and the finding of these studies. Those that mainly establish the role of attitude in language learning are the following: Gardner and Lambert 1972; Gardner and Smythe 1975; Gardner, 1979; Gardner and Smythe 1975; Oller, Hudson, and Liu, 1977; Chihara and Oller, 1978. Generally, these studies found out that there is a positive association between measured learning outcomes and attitudes towards the target group and the language.

The studies conducted by Gardner and his team (1972, 1975 & 1979) focussed on two motivational factors: instrumental and integrative. They were conducted to determine how attitudinal and motivational factors affect language learning matters. They were conducted over a period of twenty-five years at McGill University (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) and at the Univeristy of Western Ontario in London (Gardner, 1979; Gardner & Smythe, 1981). They were first undertaken in the cosmopolitan but basically French-English bilingual setting of Montreal. Later, they were extended to studies on language groups in the U.S.A, in particular, French-American groups in Maine and Louisiana and to language problems in the Philippines. The analysis of these studies was then applied to the attitudes and motivation of English - speaking high school students learning French as a second language in Canada.

Gardner and Lambert's (1972) extensive studies were systematic attempts to examine the effect of attitudes on language learning. After studying the interrelationship of a number of different types of attitudes, the finding was that motivation as a construct is made up to certain attitudes. The most important of these is group specific, the attitude learners have toward the members of the cultural group whose language they are learning.

The Canadian study by Gardner & Smythe (1975) was conducted to identify attitudinal differences among ninth, tenth and eleventh grade students of French in London, Ontario. The finding was that the motivational and attitudinal differences were more consistent in predicting continuation and discontinuation than were differences in aptitude. This study, unfortunately, did not focuss on socio-cultural factors such as prestige of the target language, and linguistic environment of the students in the study. The same weakness is discernable in other similar studies (Lukmani, 1972; Teitelbaum, Edwards and Hudson 1975; Chihara and Oller, 1978; Pierson, Fu, and Lee, 1980). However, Gardner rectified this shortcoming in his (1979) study by including social context, to account for the attitudes and motivation of individual learner towards learning a target language (Gardner 1979).

Gardner's study in 1979 included social context to account to a certain extent, for the attitudes and motivations of individual learners. He found out that the social status of the second language, the ethno-linguistic group relations, economic or political factors are likely to influence motivation to learn a second language. Thus when the socio-linguistic status of a group is lower than that of the target language (i.e. when the target language is dominant) the learner may also be integratively motivated and wish to be assimilated with the dominant group (Stern

1987). Thus Gardner's instrumental integrative studies on motivation in second language learning was now complete and balanced.

Oller and his colleagues (1977) conducted large-scale studies of the relationship between attitudes and language success. They looked at the relationship of Chinese, Japanese and Mexican students' achievement in English and their attitudes towards: self, the native group, the target language group, and their reasons for travelling to the United States. These scholars found out that positive attitudes towards self, the native language group and the target language, enhanced proficiency.

Similar studies on attitudes have been conducted by the research team of National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) in Britain under Burstall's direction (Burstall et all 1974). Unlike Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Oller et. al. (1977) who have been mainly concerned with the attitudes with which students approach the language class, Burstall and the (NFER) team have, in addition, investigated the attitudes of teachers and headmasters to language learning and the longitudinal development of attitudes over a period of several years of language learning. The results of Gardner-Lambert's studies and Burstall's studies recognise that there is a positive association between measured learning outcomes and attitudes towards the target group and the language. These studies also found out that learners in some contexts are more successful in learning

a language if they are integratively oriented and others in different contexts benefit from the instrumental orientation. These findings also suggest that these two types of motivation are not necessarily mutually exclusive. One other finding mentioned by Burstall (1974) was that older pupils expressed less interest in learning foreign language when they thought that other school subjects were more valuable.

Most of the studies that focussed on the shift of attitudes over a period of time (although some are old) found out that attitudes towards a foreign/second language in a school setting become less positive over an extended period of time. In a cross-sectional study, Jordan (1941) found that among English pupils aged 11-15, attitudes towards the study of French declined over three grade levels. In particular the second and the third year pupils felt that language learning took a long time and the effort necessary was not worthwhile because they did not see the utilitarian value of the subject.

Similarly in two parallel cross-sectional studies, Jones (1949, 1950) found out that attitudes towards learning Welsh as a second language declined from year to year period with a significant sharp decline at the fourth year level. He found that the two main reasons cited for the unpopularity of the subject were difficulty and lack of utility. Another study which came up with similar findings was conducted by Kraemer and Zisenwine (1989).

This study investigated attitudes towards the teaching of Hebrew as a second language in the South African Jewish private schools over an extended period of time, in a cross-sectional design. The results showed that attitudes decreased in positive value over the nine grade levels.

Ramage (1990) also conducted a study to identify the shift of attitudes over a period of time. This study investigated the predictive ability of motivational and attitudinal factors in continuation of foreign language study beyond the second levels among high school students, in two geographical areas in the U.S. The study indicated that there is a sharp drop in enrolment in foreign language classes after second level in secondary schools; in fact there was generally a 50% decrease from first level to third level. Other findings were that students' interest increases if they : have other reasons for taking a foreign language than simply to fulfil a requirement for college; have a high absolute grade in foreign language class; are taking a foreign language because of an interest in culture; and have an interest in mastering the target language, including reading and writing as well as speaking.

Unlike most attitudinal studies on learning and teaching of language conducted to date, this study adopts an open-ended approach in accounting for the attitudes of teachers and students towards grammar. This means that in identifying the factors that contribute to attitude

formation, this study attempts to take the full range of factors that emanate from the interviewees' responses into consideration.

The only approach to attitudinal study similar to the present study is that of Ramage (1990). Using an open-ended research approach, he investigated the predictive ability of motivational and attitudinal factors in continuation of foreign language study beyond the second level, among high school students in two different geographical areas in the U.S. On this point (open-ended approach) Ramage's study is compatible with the present study. However, differences emerge in my focus on attitudes of both teachers and learners. The importance of considering both teaching and learning of a language is emphasized by Brown (1980). He maintains that learning cannot be defined apart from teaching, as teaching guides and facilitates learning. The understanding of how the learner learns is determined amongst other things by the teaching style, approach, methods and classroom techniques of the teacher.

This tendency of focussing exclusively on students' attitudes is discernible in most attitudinal studies that have been reviewed. The study of Burstall, Jamieson, Cohen and Hargreaves (1974) is one of the very few that has focussed on both learners and teachers. However, Burstall et al's study is similar to other reviewed studies in that they investigated attitudes towards learning of French nor its learning of

French and not is teaching. Another difference between this study and most of those that have been reviewed is that they focuss on second and foreign language learning and teaching, whereas this study investigated the attitudes towards Xhosa as the first language which was reduced to the status of a second or third language. Therefore the findings of the studies reviewed will be applicable to the current study.

The studies which also investigated attitudes towards the first language were conducted in Zimbabwe by Mparutsa et.al. (1992) and Chiwome & Thondhlana (1992). Mparutsa examined possible shifts in language attitudes of Shona/Ndebele secondary school students towards their language and English before and after liberation. They found out that there is not a single set of language attitudes but a complex system of seemingly, contradictory positions.

When respondents were asked, for instance whether or not they would favour making Shona/Ndebele the medium of instruction in secondary schools, 83% said they would not. The following reasons were given: English was the language of interntional communication or trade; English was well understood or conversely that indegenous languages were not understood by all Zimbaweans; and Shona and Ndebele were not sufficiently developed to take on an increased load in the school system.

However when the students were asked whether a person who does not speak English is not educated, 79% responded negatively. They maintained that they would consider unilingual indigenous language speakers to be educated. This high response showed that even those who had supported the use of English as a medium of instruction seemed to rally to the defence of the indigenous languages although this was in contradiction with their earlier responses. This showed that the Liberation war had radicalised African politics and people were increasingly aware of language as a symbol or culture and nationalism (Mparutsa et.al. 1992).

Chiwome and Thondlana (1992) conducted a survey concerning attitudes on the teaching of Shona through the media of Shona and English. They set out to investigate the progress achieved by the efforts aimed at encouraging the usage of Shona as the medium of instruction for teaching Shona at Zimbabwe University and High Schools.

A questionnaire was distributed to 143 first year African language students and interviews were conducted with twenty-five Shona High School teachers and lecturing staff from the departments of : African Languages and Literatures, Linguistics, and Curriculum Studies. The finding was that there was a general tendency to use both Shona and English as media for instruction. The following were some of the factors

mentioned by teachers as contributing to the students' attitudes towards Shona:

- the teacher's attitudes towards Shona and professional competence tend to determine whether or not students would like the subject;
- perceiving Shona to be less improtant than other subjects and thus giving it less study time compared to other subjects;
- students considered it very easy. (Chiwome and Thondhlana, 1992)

The survey also revealed that much had been done to bring Shona into the classroom as an autonomous academic medium of instruction and teachers expressed the following advantages of using Shona as a medium of instruction:

- The language comes alive; students can actually see the language in wider use.
- Some topics are more easily discussed in Shona, for example, topics on cultural studies.
- Using Shona encourages assimilation of English terms into Shona.
- Examples can easily be given in context. (Chiwome and Thondhlana, 1992: 250)

However, the teachers identified the following as the problem areas in using Shona/Ndebele as the medium of instruction:

- There is no standard academic register for Shona.
- Students prefer to use ready-made material; they are not very creative.
- The exclusive use of Shona leaves students unfamiliar with the English terminology used in examination questions, thus putting them at a disadvantage.
- There is limited literary and linguistic terminology in Shona, and it is not standardised.
- There is a general lack of interest in learning Shona, probably due to the colonial attitude towards the language; many people have been made to feel that their language is inferior to English.
- Since high school teachers have themselves been trained in English at university, they do not question the rationale behind it.
- The Ministry of Education has done nothing to encourage teachers to use Shona.
- There are no official circulars in Shona concerning terminology, syllabuses , marking schemes and so forth. Official discussions are also conducted in English, which is discouraging to the teacher.
- Since teachers are not trained in translation, they find it difficult to produce acceptable Shona equivalents of English terms. (Chiwome and Thondhlana, 1992 : 251 - 252)

The present study departs from these two above mentioned studies in that it focusses on the first language of the teachers and students.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature on three areas : curriculum context (Grundy's and Cornbleth's approaches to curriculum); factors that enhance or inhibit successful language learning and teaching; and language attitudinal studies. In reviewing the literature on curriculum context, Grundy's theory which hinges on Habermas' three cognitive interests, namely, technical, practical and emancipatory; and Cornbleth's work on curriculum context have been discussed. The intention is to provide a broad basis for the analysis of Xhosa curriculum and grammar in particular.

The factors which promote or inhibit successful language learning and teaching that emanated from the review of the second category of literature could therefore be located in the broad theoretical framework provided by the works of Grundy and Cornbleth. The factors discussed were those that affect language learning and teaching inside the classroom such as, approaches to language teaching, learner factor and teacher factor, and those beyond the classroom, such as socio-cultural

factors. The approaches to teaching such as, structural, communicative, and critical can be traced back to Grundy's theory and it is arguable that they are informed by technical, practical and emancipatory cognitive interests respectively. The link between these approaches and cognitive interests will be further illuminated in chapter four. Similarly, the socio-cultural factors that language scholars discuss are informed by Cornbleth's view of curriculum context.

The findings of the attitudinal studies conducted validate the factors identified by literature on language learning and teaching. All these three categories of literature reviewed will help me to locate and ground analysis of the data collected for the topic under study and consequently achieve the aims of the research. The next chapter will discuss the design and methodology that was used to conduct the research.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the research design and methodology that were used to conduct the research. The chapter is divided into the following subheadings: the use and relevance of qualitative research; description of the sample and the data collection plan; and the data analysis plan.

3.1 *The use and relevance of qualitative research in the study*

Given the aims of this report, qualitative inquiry was seen to be the appropriate approach. Since this study sets out to identify, account for and make recommendations about the attitudes that teachers and learners have towards grammar, the context in which these attitudes were formed becomes pertinent. The delineation of factors that contribute to the formation of these attitudes for instance, was located within the social, cultural, ideological and educational contexts of the participants. Qualitative research becomes relevant in this case because, as Ary et al. Maintain, one of its attributes is the belief that:

> ... human behaviour is always bound to a particular historical, social, temporal and cultural context; therefore, the law-and-its-instances kind of explanation sought in hypothetico-deductive approach is rejected in favour of a cases-and-their-interpretation kind of explanation (1990:445).

They go on to say that qualitative enquiry allows the researcher an insider's perspective of social behaviour; that means, s/he understands it as it is lived by the participants in a particular social setting. In the words of Ary et al.

> ...the ultimate goal of this kind (qualitative) of inquiry is to portray the complex pattern of what is being studied in sufficient depth and detail so that one who has not yet experienced it may understand (1990:445).

All of the three aims of the study took into account the values and beliefs of the participants. In establishing attitudes for instance, the participants were asked to give reasons for their preferences. It was in the reasons they gave that their values and beliefs became apparent. Qualitative research is useful for a value-bound inquiry such as the one adopted in this study. Not only the values and beliefs of the participants were taken into account but also those of the inquirer. My values as an inquirer for instance, are detectable in the very choice of the area of study, the choice of the method used to investigate the problem, and the choice of the way to interpret the results and findings.

However, with all the attributes mentioned above, it cannot be denied that future research emanating from this study may well be served by quantitative analysis, or a combination of both qualitative and quantitative analyses.

3.2 *Description of sample and data collection plan*

This study was conducted in 1994 in Black secondary schools in Alice and Zwelitsha in the Eastern Cape Province. Alice and Zwelitsha areas met the requirements of this study for the following reasons. Firstly, the former is a rural and the latter is an urban area. Interviewees' locality (rural or urban) and gender were considered for the purpose of representative sampling not as variables. Secondly, almost all black schools in these two areas were co-educational. This meant that the researcher could interview both male and female students from the same schools.

The schools and teachers were chosen with the help of goodwill established with teachers and principals when the researcher was doing preliminary work for the study. Four senior secondary schools were selected, two schools in Alice and the other two in Zwelitsha. Availability sampling was used in choosing schools from these areas and schools were selected to ensure that male and female Standard Nine teachers were chosen in each area.

In each school one Standard Nine teacher and six learners were chosen. Standard Nine was selected so that students nearing the end of their schooling could be worked with, without disrupting the study programme

as would have been the case with students in standard ten. In selecting learners the researcher considered sex and achievement, that is, three boys and three girls were chosen; one girl and one boy were from high, middle and low achiever groups. For classifying learners, the researcher with the help of the teachers used mark sheets for Xhosa language, particularly marks for grammar. Random sampling was used in choosing pupils from these achiever groups.

Table 3.1 : Profile of the teachers and learners interviewed

Name of Interviewees	Gender M/F	Locality	Status
Amanda	F	Urban	Learner
Andile	M	Rural	Learner
Khaya	M	Urban	Learner
Lerato	F	Rural	Learner
Luzuko	M	Urban	Learner
Mangaliso	M	Urban	Learner
Ms Mangcu	F	Urban	Teacher
Mawande	M	Rural	Learner
Mfundo	M	Rural	Learner
Mongameli	M	Urban	Learner
Mzuvukile	M	Urban	Learner
Ncumisa	F	Rural	Learner
Nokulunga	M	Urban	Learner
Nompumelelo	F	Rural	Learner
Noluthando	F	Rural	Learner
Nozuko	F	Rural	Learner
Orienda	F	Urban	Learner
Ms Piet	F	Rural	Teacher
Peggy	F	Urban	Learner
Phindile	M	Urban	Learner
Sindile	M	Rural	Learner
Solomzi	M	Rural	Learner
Mr Tangana	M	Urban	Teacher
Tembakazi	F	Urban	Learner

Unathi	F	Urban	Learner
Xhanti	M	Rural	Learner
Mr Xuza	M	Rural	Teacher
Zoliswa	F	Rural	Learner

Four teachers (were chosen), one male and one female from each area. Each teacher was interviewed and was observed teaching one grammar lesson. In schools where the teacher had one Standard Nine class, the researcher used that class for classroom observation and in schools where the teacher had more than one Standard Nine class, the class was selected at random. The main instrument that was used for data collection was interviews. The interview as a research method was chosen because it:

> ... provides access to what is 'inside a person's head', --- makes it possible to measure what a person knows (knowledge or information) and what a person likes or dislikes (values and preferences) and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs) (Tuckman, 1978: 196-197).

In the pilot study, demonstration was used, as well as interviews. In each school teachers were observed teaching one thirty-five minute grammar lesson in Standard Nine class. All these lessons were video-taped.

This time was valuable in establishing familiarity with the learners and teachers in their classrooms and thus deepening contextual understanding. In constructing interview questions, however, no systematic attempt was made to include observation data per se in the

study; rather the demonstrations were part of establishing the researcher's general familiarity with the research context.

Two forms of interviewing were used during the pilot stage: individual and group interviews. The aim of the latter was to bring together learners who were used to one another and to create a relaxed atmosphere. The intention was that they would argue about the questions, share experiences or highlight aspects involved in the questions. Three teachers, one male and two females were interviewed in groups. An interview schedule with a list of open-ended questions on issues that were to be explored in the course of the interview was used. The aim of choosing open-ended questions was to assess the perspectives of the people being interviewed. The interview schedule was then modified taking into consideration the interviewees' responses and the information collected through observation.

In the actual collection of data, one teacher and a group of six pupils were interviewed from each school. The interviews were conducted in Xhosa to maximize the 'ability' of interviews 'to tap into experience of others in their own natural setting while utilizing the value and belief frameworks' (Cohen and Manion 1987: 350).

Learners were interviewed at their schools during class time and the teachers were interviewed after school hours to minimize the disruption of the school programme. These interviews lasted for 45 to 60 minutes and were tape recorded and subsequently transcribed. A total of four teachers one from each school and twenty-four learners, six from each school were interviewed.

3.3 *Data analysis plan*

The qualitative data gathered from interviews was analyzed following the methodological insights of Christie (1990) and Kitwood (1977).

Although Christie's study uses both qualitative and quantitative procedures in investigating the discursive constructs of the students of the open schools in South Africa, this study uses only the qualitative techniques, similar to those employed by Christie. Whilst Christie analyzed the interview transcripts in terms of themes that had been identified, this study instead uses its three broad aims. Perhaps the greatest influence on the methodology of this study is the work of Kitwood. He identifies eight methods for dealing with tape recorded accounts: the total pattern of choice, similarities and differences, grouping items together, categorization of content, tracing a theme, the

study of omissions, reconstruction of a social life world, and generating and testing hypotheses. The first five methods were used in this study.

Kitwood describes the total pattern of choice as follows: 'the frequency of choice of various items permits some surface generalization about the participants, taken as a group. The most revealing analyses may be those of the least and most popular items'. (Cohen and Manion 1987: 209). The responses of both teachers and learners to questions that were intended to establish their attitudes were grouped together. The responses were further divided into those who were positive and negative and descriptive statistics were used to make surface generalizations about the attitudes.

The second method is similarities and differences that is: 'to investigate similarities and differences within the total sample of accounts according to some characteristics of the participants such as age, sex etc.' (Ibid). The main variable that was used in this study was the status (teacher or learners). Given the small size of the sample, it was not possible to develop other variables such as gender or urban/rural, though the sample was constructed with these in mind.

Kitwood's third method is grouping items together that is, to 'fuse together categories that cover similar subject matter'. For the first aim, the participants' responses were grouped according to patterns and

trends that emerged. The interview questions acted as the framework and in each question similar responses were grouped together. For the second and third aims Cornbleth's categories of curriculum contexts which are (structural or educational and socio-cultural) were adopted.

Categorization of content is the fourth method. In this method 'the content of a particular item is inspected for the total sample and an attempt is made to develop some categories into which all the material will fit' (ibid.). As pointed above, for the second and the third aims of the study, Cornbleth's categories of curriculum contexts were adopted. These categories will be discussed fully in chapter four.

The fifth method is to trace a theme. Kitwood describes it as follows:

> This type of analysis transcends the rather artificial boundaries which the items themselves imply. It aims to collect as much data as possible relevant to a particular topic regardless of where it occurs in the interview material. The method is exciting because it requires very detailed knowledge of content and may entail going through taped interviews several times' (Cohen and Manion 1987:209).

To meet the second and third aims of the research this method was used in analysing the data but categories were used instead of themes. For the first aim, the use of questions as a framework served as an efficient tool for establishing attitudes, particularly when direct and indirect questions and cross checking were used.

In the following chapter the data that addresses the three aims of the study will be analyzed, summarized and interpreted. For the benefit of those who do not understand Xhosa the responses are translated.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter sets out to analyze and interpret the data collected for the study. The analysis is based on the three aims of the study which are: to establish the attitudes of teachers and learners towards Xhosa grammar in Alice and Zwelitsha Senior Secondary Schools; to establish factors that contribute to the formation of these attitudes; and to suggest recommendations for improving these attitudes if necessary.

The framework used in analysing data on recommendations and factors that affect language learning and teaching in this study is an adaption of two concepts: structural and socio-cultural contexts used by Cornbleth (1992). She uses these concepts in the exposition of critical perspective for curriculum construction and change. In explaining these concepts Cornbleth says:

> By structure I mean established roles and relationships including operating procedures, shared beliefs and norms. Structural contexts can be considered at several layers or levels, from the individual classroom to the school organization to the national education system/structural context. Socio-cultural context, includes demographic, social, political and traditions and ideologies and events that actually or potentially influence curriculum (Cornbleth 1990:6).

The adapted framework can be presented diagramatically as follows:

Figure 4.1: An Adaption of Cornbleth's Categories of Curriculum as an Inventory of factors Affecting Language Learning and Teaching

Contexts

Educational			Socio-Cultural		
National Level	School Level	Classroom Level	Cultural conditions	Political and ideological conditions	Economic conditions

4.1 *The establishment of attitudes of teachers and learners towards Xhosa grammar*

Before establishing the attitudes of the respondents towards Xhosa grammar, it was pertinent to find out Xhosa teachers' and learners' common sense assumptions of what grammar teaching and learning were. Most interviewees' common sense assumption about grammar was that it was tantamount to morphology. Mangcu's (teacher) and Andile's (learner) responses are typical examples of this narrow sense grammar:

Mangcu:	Igrama lufundo nzulu ngolwakhiwo lwamagama, yaye kufuneka abantwana bawazi amagama, ukuba esi sisigaba esithile sentetho.	Grammar is the scientific study of word formation and it is essential that learners should be able to categorise words into their related parts of speech.
Andile:	Ingathi kum igrama lufundo ngendlela elungileyo yokuthetha isiXhosa, usazi ukuba sivela phi. Ootitshala basibonisa ukuba amagama njengokuba siwathetha nje avela phi, enziwe njani.	To me, grammar seems to be the study of how to speak Xhosa properly and know its origin. Teachers show how words we use in speaking are formed and trace their derivation.

This narrow sense of what grammar is had a bearing in the establishment of attitudes of the respondents towards Xhosa grammar because it is arguable that even those who singled out morphology as being unpopular had a negative attitude toward grammar. Thus, it emerged from the responses that most interviewees had negative attitudes towards Xhosa

grammar. The frequently mentioned unpopular aspects were morphology, phonetics and general knowledge but the most recurring was the last.

The responses of three learners, Orienda, Unathi and Magaliso are good examples that showed negative attitudes towards morphology, general knowledge and phonetics respectively:

Orienda:	Igrama andiyithandi kuba ndicaphukela ulwakhiwo kuba andilwazi, yiyo loo nto ndingayithandi.	I don't like grammar, particularly morphology because I don't understand it.
Unathi:	Ewe, ikhona into endingayithandiyo apha esiXhoseni, yigrama, phaya kumaqhalo nakwi 'general knowledge'. Ndingavuya ukuba kunokuthiwa iyekiwe.	Yes, there is something I do not like in Xhosa and that is grammar, the section of general knowledge. I'll be happy if it is excluded.
Mangaliso:	Ifonetiki andiyithandi kuba andiyiboni apho ndiza kuyisebenzisa khona. Ndifumana ubunzima apha kuyo. Andiyiqondi nakakuhle, iyaphuma apha engqondweni kuba andiyisebenzisi nasekuhlaleni. Nasempangelweni ayikho ayisetyenziswa.	I do not like phonetics because I don't see its relevance. I experience problems with it. I don't understand it properly. I easily forget it because I don't understand it properly. I easily forget it because I don't use it in speaking and in life. Even in the work situation it is not used.

What was striking was that although most respondents recorded a negative attitude towards Xhosa grammar when asked whether it should be taught the majority responded positively. A good example of this was Orienda(learner) who clearly stated that she had a negative attitude towards morphology :

Orienda:	Igrama andiyithandi kuba ndicaphukela ulwakhiwo kuba andilwazi, yiyo loo nto ndingayithandi.	I don't like grammar, particularly morphology because I don't understand it.

When asked whether grammar should be taught she responded as follows:

Orienda:	Ndihambisana naba bathi igrama mayifundwe ndiza kude ndilufunde ulwakhiwo ndilwazi	I go along with those who say grammar should be taught. I will ultimately understand morphology.

The inconsistency forms the basis of what can be regarded as the core finding of this study, that the majority of the respondents were fully cognisant of the importance of grammar in the mastery of a language, but certain factors were responsible for the negative attitudes towards Xhosa grammar. Piet (teacher) for instance, said:

Piet:	Besenditshilo ukuba esona sifundo ndisicaphukelayo yifonetiki. Ewe ndiyakubona ukubaluleka kwayo kodwa andiyazi	I had already said that the aspect I liked least is phonetics. Yes, I can see its importance but I don't understand it.

The reason given by the inconsistent respondents for the continuation of the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar were the same as those given by the few that constantly recorded a positive attitude towards

Xhosa grammar. Some of the reasons they gave were the following: grammar forms a core of language, grammatical rules are essential for the mastery of a language, grammatical items make it possible for students to create a new language, it enhances language and cultural preservation. The arguments in favor of the teaching and learning of grammar exposed by such scholars as Brumfit and Mitchel (1987), Ur (1988) and Harmer (1987) received support in this study. Mangcu, (teacher) argued that grammar forms a core of a language. This means that language cannot exist without grammar. therefore, knowing the language means knowing its grammar:

Mangcu:	Nakoluphi na ulwimi igrama iyafundiswa, kwisiNgesi nakwisiBhulu. Xa ungasithethi ngendlela eyiyo isiNgesi kuthiwa uthetha 'ibroken English'. Nalapha esiXhoseni kunjalo.	In any language grammar is taught, in English and Afrikaans. When you do not use English properly they say, you are using a broken language. So it is also like that in Xhosa.

Zoliswa (learner) and Tangana (teacher) highlighted the importance of grammatical rules on the mastery of a language. The learner said:

Zoliswa:	Nam ndiyavumelana naba bathi igrama mayifundiswe, kuba sifundiswa indlela yokuthetha, ulandelelwano lwamagama, uhlobo amakabekwe ngalo.	I also concur with those who say grammar should be taught because we are taught how to speak, word order and sentence construction.

Tangana, the teacher said:

Tangana:	... olu lwazi (lwegrama) luza kumnceda umfundi mhlawumbi uza kuba ngumbhali wamaphepha, okanye uncwadi, omnye mhlawumbi abe nomdla wokubonga.	This knowledge of grammar is going to be useful to the learner if he becomes an editor of the newspaper or an author or poet.

These responses are in line with what Ur says in the introduction of her book that:

> There is no doubt that a knowledge-implicit or explicit of grammatical rules is essential for the mastery of a language: you cannot use words unless you know how they should be put together (1988:7).

Few respondents stressed the importance of studying grammar in enhancing creativity. The importance of linguistic competence emerged in Lerato's response. She said:

Lerato:	Mna ndithanda izimelabizo kuba naxa ubhala isishwankathelo kufuneka mhlawumbi ubhale kangangamagama athile. Uyakwazi ukusebenzisa izimelabizo ukushwankathela izivakalisi ezide.	I like pronouns because when you are required to write a precis, you are able to use pronouns in shortening long sentences.

These respondents in line with Harmer (1987) argued that learning grammar made it possible for them to create new language as it helped them to extend their syntax and lexical range. Mzuvukile gave language and culture preservation as one reason why grammar should be taught. He stated:

Mzuvukile:	Into endiyithandayo yigrama kuba inceda ukuba ulwimi lungaphelelwa lungonakali.	The component I like is grammar because it facilitates language preservation and protects its purity.

Mongameli reiterated the same sentiments when he said:

Mongameli:	Ungumntu oNtsundu kubalulekile ukuba uzazi ukuba usuka phi wazi amasiko nezithethe zakwaNtu.	As a black person, it is important to know your roots, customs and traditions.

These views were echoed by Bunsee who said:

> 'language is not only the means of communication but the very heart of a people and nations' culture. Destroy a people's language and you destroy its culture, history and sense of being' (1997:31).

So it was not the teaching of grammar per se that the respondents were against; certain factors were responsible for attitude formation towards Xhosa grammar. As shown in diagram 4.1 these factors emanated from educational and socio-cultural contexts.

4.1.1 Educational Context

The factors that emerged frorm this context are divided into the following levels: classroom, school, and national education system.

Classroom level.

At the classroom level respondents generally identified the structural approach as one of the major contributory factors to negative attitude formation. It emerged from the responses that the focuss on linguistic competence (typical of structural approach), neutral and dull content, use of deductive approach, contrived instructional material, manipulative drills, and sentence-based practice and exercises triggered negative attitudes.

Most respondents argued that they had a negative attitude because the content of Xhosa grammar was dull and neutral as it leaned heavily on morphology. Ncumisa's (learner) response is a good example:

Ncumisa:	Mna ndihambisana nengcali ezithi yinkcitha-xesha ukufundiswa kwegrama kuba kuchithwa ixesha elizininzi kufundwa ulwakhiwo yaye kuthatha ixesha elide ukwazi ukwakhiwa kwamagama	I suppo[illegible] the view of scholars [illegible]no maintain that the learning of grammar is a waste of time. A great deal of time used in the teaching of morphology and learning of word formation is too demanding.

Many teachers also concurred with the view that learners had a negative attitude towards Xhosa grammar content. Piet (teacher) for instance said:

Piet	Abantwana abafuni ukwakha. Yonke into esingisele ekwakheni esiXhoseni abayifuni.	Students hate morphology. They do not like anything that is related to word formation in Xhosa.

Mangcu maintained that the teaching of grammar leaned heavily on morphology and that seemed to be prescribed by the syllabus.

Mangcu:	... kugxininiswa kwizigaba zentetho nolwakhiwo ikhakhulu, ingathi nesilabhasi isinyanzela ukuba siyititshe ngolo hlobo. Mhlawumbi kungafuneka sitshintshe nesilabhasi leyo.	... the emphasis is on parts of speech and their derivation. It seems that the syllabus also demands we teach that way. Maybe we need to change this syllabus.

It also emerged from the response of Mangcu that this content was imposed upon the teachers and students. Condemning this imposition of content Mongameli said:

Mongameli	Into eyimbambano yimfundo le yethu, ayikho mgangathweni. Nale nto yokukhethelwa ngumntu ongaphaya, akuxelele ukuba ufundise into ethile ingenasondlo ke apha kuthi, iyacaphukisa.	Our education is controversial. It is of low standard. What is irritating about it is that the content which is imposed upon us is itself valueless to us.

The focuss on the formal mastery, rests on the assumption that the learner having mastered the formal elements of the language in one way or another will be able to apply these for communicative purposes in real situation of language use. This is the cornerstone of the structural approach. There was divergence of opinion on this assumption. Most of the respondents were of the opinion that scientific knowledge did not

enhance but rather contributed to negative attitudes. Andile's (learner) response is typical:

Andile	Andiboni ukuba amahlelo ingayinto yokufundwa, kuba naxa uthetha akunakuthi makusetyenziswe ihlelo elithile. Ingathi kum sekugcwaliswa nje incwadi, yiyo le nto kusithiwa isiXhosa sinzima, yaye la mahlelo kufuneka abe sentloko wonke.	I do not see any logic in the learning of noun classes because when you speak you do not think of noun classes and say a particular noun class, should be used. To me, it seems as if they (writers) just want to produce a thick textbook. That is why it is said Xhosa is difficult, more so that these noun classes have to be memorized.

A few of the respondents like Tangana (teacher) were of the view that the mastery of the scientific knowledge facilitated the other features of proficiency: creativity and communication competence. Tangana however, gave this view to encourage the learners who were questioning the relevance of teaching grammar,

Tangana:	... ndisoloko ndibuzwa umbuzo othi: le nto ndiyifunda kwifonetiki ndiza kuyifunda kude kuthini. Ulwazi ngokwakhiwa kweziphawuli, izibaluli ndiza kulisebenzisa entwenini?.	I am always asked the questions: for how long will I study phonetics? What is the use of knowledge about adjectives and adverbs ?
Interviewer:	Uthini ke ukuphedula lo mbuzo ?	How do you respond to this question?
Tangana:	Uzame umcacisele umfundi ukuba olu lwazi luza kumnceda, mhlawumbi uza kuba ngumbhali wamaphepha okanye	You try to explain to the students that this knowledge could be of good use to those who would become journalists, creative writers

	uncwadi. Omnye mhlawumbi abenomdla wokubonga njalo njalo	and poets etc.

He himself had initially acknowledged that focussing on the formal mastery of language in the teaching of grammar does not enhance the other features of proficiency.

Tangana:	Xa ndithetha phandle le nto bayifundiswayo ayinalo igalelo ekuphuculeni ukuthetha kwabo	Frankly speaking, what they (students) study does not enhance their communicative competnece:

The responses confirmed what has been said by the Hong Kong Curriculum Development committee (1981) that language teachers have known for many years from their experience, that the learning of language forms in highly structured situations, like the language classroom, does not seem to help learners to develop the ability to put these forms appropriately to use in real situations outside the classroom. Even respondents who held the view that focussing on the formal aspects of language is helpful argued that it gave learners knowledge about the language and not the other features of proficiency.

It could be argued that the focuss on linguistics competence in the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar and the promotion of English

and Afrikaans under Bantu Education, underdeveloped the communicative competence of both teachers and learners. It gave birth to a crop of teachers and learners who were not able to speak Xhosa properly. Tangana for instance confessed and said:

Tangana:	Nam ndinguttishala andithethi siXhosa sisulungekileyo, siyaxuba xa sithetha, sibona ezinye iilwimi izezona zibalulekileyo ngaphezu kunesiXhosa	Even myself I do not speak pure Xhosa. We code switch when we speak because we see other languages as being more prestigious than Xhosa.

Xuza maintained that it was the predominant use of the deductive approach that contributed to the negative attitude formation. He said:

Xuza:	Yile ndlela kufundiswa ngayo yemigaqo yolwimi netsuka-mthethweni le ibangela ukuba igrama ingathadeki kubafundi	It is the use of the deductive approach in the teaching of grammar that make students have a negative attitude.

It also emerged from many responses that the most favoured approach when presenting a grammatical structure was the deductive as none of the responses gave an example of a lesson presented inductively. The responses of Piet (teacher) and Sindile (student) are typical examples of how grammar lessons were presented deductively :

Piet:	Xa ndiphethe isifundo esingesiphawuli ndithi ndibaxelele ukuba zimbini izivumelanisi zesiphawuli –	When I am presenting a lesson on adjectives I tell them that there are two types of adjectival concords: the proper and the extended one.

	sisivumelanisi sentsusa kwakunye nesongezelelweyo. Esi sivumelanisi sithi sidityaniswe nesiqu sesiphawuli. Ndithanda ukuthi xa ndisifundisa ndisifundise ngokwamahlelo. Oko ndikwenzela ukuze basibone isivumelanisi sentsusa nesongezelelweyo ukuba zakhiwa njani. Emva kolo ndibanika imizekelo, ze ndicele nakubo imizekelo.	To form a qualifier, two formatives are used, the adjectival concord and the stem. When I teach adjectives I like to teach them using noun classes. I do this so that they can see how these concords are formed. After that I give them examples and also ask them to give examples too.
Sindile:	Ngenye imini sasiza kufunda ngezimnini, utitshala wasinika izakhi zezimnini, wasakha satsho sasibona ukuba sakhiwa njani.	One day we were going to be taught about possessives pronouns. The teacher gave us possessive formatives and showed us the derivation of possessive pronouns.

The predominant use of the deductive approach minimizes learner participation and does not allow learners to discover rules for themselves (Stern, 1987). It makes the lesson teacher-centered. This makes it compatible with Grundy's category of technical interests which aim at controlling the learning environment. As a result of the focuss on linguistic competence using the deductive approach, other strategies mentioned by Stern (1987), namely, active planning strategy, social learning strategy and an effective strategy were excluded. This is contrary to what Stern suggests when he says that all are essential for effective language learning.

With regard to instructional material two tendencies emerged from the responses; failure to use them and using contrived material. Both these

tendencies contributed to negative attitude formation towards grammar. Tangana confessed that as teachers they hardly used the instructional materials although he acknowledged the positive impact the instructional materials have in the teaching and learning situation.

Tangana:	Xa ndithetha inyani sasifundisiwe saziboniswa izixhobo kodwa xa ndithetha inyani asizisebenzisi izixhobo xa sifundisa.	To be honest with you in our training we were taught and shown the importance of using teaching aids, but to tell you the honest truth we do not use them.
Interviewer:	Yintoni titshala unobangela woko?	What could be the reason for this?
Tangana:	Xa usebenzisa izixhobo ebantwaneni, ziyabambezela ekufundiseni, zithatha ixesha elininzi kweli ulinikiweyo ungawugqibi umsebenzi wakho. Ndingatsho ukuba kuba ndileqa ukuba ndigqibe isilabhasi abantwana mabangayilandeli le nto ndiyenzayo.	When you use the teaching resources they delay the progress, they are time consuming and you end up not finishing your work. This however does not mean that because I want to finish the syllabus students should not be made to understand what I am teaching.

The reason given by Tangana illustrates that the teaching of Xhosa was informed by Grundy's technical interests, where the syllabus was used as a blueprint for teaching. Tangana's major concern was to finish the syllabus rather than to stimulate the learner's interest, yet this is essential if the degree of intensity for successful language learning is to be generated. It is worth noting that none of the students made any reference to the use of teaching material in their responses. The second tendency of using contrived material was manifested in Xuza'a response.

Xuza mentioned the use of charts and drawings in the teaching of grammar. He said:

Xuza.	Nokusebenzisa iitshati kwenza lula ukuba umntwana alandele ukuba mhlawumbi siza kwenza imizekelo kwezi tshati sinako nokuba uzobe umntu okanye ihashe, ungathi aba bantwana ngabebanga lethoba andinako ukubazobela, kuba yenye into esidla ngokwenza imposiso ngayo, kanti ke umfundi uza kufunda isigaba sentetho esakheke kula nto ayaziyo ayibonayo. Eli hashe ulizoba libe lihle ulifakele umbala, ubuze umntwana ukuba inkangeleko yalo injani. Ingaba eli hashe lihle mhlawumbi xa elijonga? Uyakube ethetha le nto ayibonayo ayibhale phantsi bangqine nabanye abafundi. Umbuze ke ngoku ukuba uliphawule njani, aze achaze ukuba uliphawule ngobuhle balo.	Using teaching aids make it easy for the learners to understand the lesson. You can for example, use the cartridge paper for drawing and you do not assume that because they are standard nine pupils it is no longer necessary to use such teaching aids. This is where we start to cheat because the learner understands better the part of speech which is exemplified by what s/he knows. You make this horse beautiful and colourful and ask from the learners whether the horse looks beautiful.

His defensiveness about the use of these materials showed that he was aware that his example of the learning material to be used was dull for standard nine learners. Besides being dull they were extremely contrived, which means that they were meant to solicit predetermined responses from the learners. For students to have a positive attitude towards grammar it is critical that the teaching materials and techniques be of maximum interest to learners. It is difficult to see how the learner's interest can be stimulated and maintained unless some element of

meaningful use is built into the materials and classroom techniques.

The responses showed that as a form of practice the teacher gave learners exercises and drills that were mechanical and cognitively undemanding Mongameli confirmed this when he said:

Mongameli:	Akugqiba utitshala ukucacisa, akuqonda ukuba sivile na, usinika izivakalisi athi ngemizuzu eshiyekileyo masizenze ebhodini. Usinika la nto ebesifundise yona qha usebenzisa amanye amagama.	After explaining, the teacher gives us some exercises to practise on the board, as a way of assessing whether we have understood. She drills us in what she has done but uses different words.

What emerges from Mongameli's response is that besides lacking in real challenge these exercises were sentence-based and not context-embedded. These sentence-based and context-free exercises are boring and frustrating. Luzuko maintained that grammar was not important because what was taught in class could not be used for communicative purpose and therefore boring and frustrating:

Luzuko:	Igrama le ayibalulekanga, ingathi iphelela apha egumbini lokufundela. Zange sibone bantu emakhaya nasedolophini bencokola okanye bephikisana ngegrama, ngendlela amagama akhiwa ngayo.	Grammar is not important, it seems that it ends in the classroom. We have never heard people arguing about grammar and word formation in town and at home..

The respondents argued that the evaluation methods used also made the

teaching of grammar unpleasant as they stifled creativity and demanded rote-learning. Piet (teacher) for instance said:

Piet:	Xa kubuzwa, kubuzwa ngohlobo lokuba into ethile yenzeke njani? Banyanzeleke ukuba bachaze ukuba xa kuphume impendulo ethile kwenzeke le nto nale nto kwaphuma le nto. Abafuni loo nto ke abafundi. Bafuna into yokokuba bayithethe ngale ndlela bayibona ngayo.	Questions are phrased in such a way that they demand students to explain how words are formed. They are therefore expected to give a predetermined answer. That is exactly what they do not want. They want to perceive things in their own way.

Implict in the response is that learners were expected 'to regurgitate chunks of content that have been fed in stylised form' (Joffe, 1993:230). This also emerged from the responses of many students. Khaya, for instance said :

Khaya:	Le nto ifundiswa ngutitshala ikwa yile ayibuzayo xa esibhalisa uvavanyo eklasini.	In the examinations the teacher asks exactly what s/he taught in class

The recall of content and the memorization of facts rather than comprehension, interpretation and application of information contributed to negative attitudes. The negative attitude that students had towards grammar was also attested to by their poor performance in the senior certificate examinations. Mangcu, a teacher, reported that when she was a marker of the senior certificate examinations, learners did not perform well in Xhosa. She said:

Mangcu:	Ngokuya bendimakisha amaphepha esiXhosa ebanga leshumi ePitoli bendiqaphela ukuba bezinqabile iisimboli ezintle ezingo A no B ibiba ngo C no D abaninzi.	When I was a marker of senior certificate examination in Pretoria I noticed that symbols A and B were very rare. The majority were C's and D's.

This poor performance was understandable because respondents, both teachers and students, acknowledged that students did not study until examination time. Even then, the reason why they studied was to fufill the requirement for exemption and not because they were motivated to study Xhosa. Piet (teacher) and Mfundo (student) captured this when they said:

Piet:	Enye into ebangela ukuba abantwana basifunde isiXhosa kukuba kufuneka befumene isatifiketi, ukuba bekungenjalo ngekunzima. Yiyo ke into eyenza ukuba bafane bavule incwadi.	One other reason why they study Xhosa is that it is a requirement for matric exemption. That is the reason why they reluctantly open the books, otherwise it would have been very difficult for them to study.
Mfundo:	Xa sesibhala uvavanyo ndiyafunda kuba ndifuna ukuphumelela, yaye ukuze upase kufuneka usipasile isiXhosa.	When we are about to write exams I study because I want to pass. Xhosa is a requirement for matric exemption.

School Level

Ramage (1990) maintains that when low priority is given to a language study, it receives inadequate time and attention, and when external pressures such as college entrance requirements are removed the interest

of students in studying the language diminishes. These views were echoed by respondents in this study. Nozuko highlighted the low priority given to Xhosa as follows:

Nozuko:	Apha esikolweni kuthiwa ezona zifundo zibalulekileyo kakhulu yi 'physics' ne 'maths' . IsiXhosa ke sona kuthathwa ukuba asibalulekanga.	Here at school the important subjects are physical science and maths. Xhosa is regarded as being unimportant

A teacher, Piet, pointed out

Piet:	*Kwasekuqaleni konyaka xa kusabiwa izifundo iitishala zithi zifakwe, isiXhosa sishiyeke silengalenga kuthiwe hayi sowungena awunakungasazi wawusifundile kwibanga leshumi, iqale apho ke imbambano. Yiyo le nto umgangatho wesiXhosa usihla kangaka.*	At the beginning of the year, when subject allocation is done, Xhosa is relegated to the background and alloted to unqualified teachers, arguing that they did Xhosa up to Matric level and should therefore be able to teach it. That is where the problem begins and that is why the standard of Xhosa is so low.

Both teachers and students were of the view that there was seldom enough adequate expertise and attention given to Xhosa to allow students to develop language competence. The external pressures such as making Xhosa a requirement did not promote a positive attitude towards it, and as a result at tertiary institutions where the pressure was no longer there few students opted for Xhosa. Mangcu argued that learners hated Xhosa because it was made compulsory. She said:

Mangcu:	Enye into endiqondayo ukuba iyababetha yile nto yokuba	Another thing that frustrates them (students)

kufuneka usipasile kungenjalo uyaliphinda ibanga elo. Yiloo nto ke endiqonda ukuba bayayicaphukela.	is that it (Xhosa) is made a requirement for promotion. This requirement makes them have a negative attitude towards Xhosa.

That they were pressurized to study it, was further confirmed by Amanda who pointed out that in tertiary institutions when the external pressures were removed the majority did not choose Xhosa as one of their courses.

Amanda:	Abantu abaninzi basigqibela kwibanga le-10. Xa use 'University' nakwezinye iindawo awusithathi kuba nokuba sele ufuna umsebenzi soze uwufumane ngesiXhosa ngaphandle kokuba ube Ngutitshala	Many students do not take Xhosa further than the matric level. At tertiary level they (students) do not take it, for besides teaching it has limited employment opportunities.

National education system

Generally the responses emphasized how the desire to control, (the guiding idea of technical interests)which informed the learning and teaching of Xhosa grammar, *de-skilled and under-skilled teachers. The* controlled pre-service and in-service teacher education under-skilled and de-skilled teachers. Enslin (1992) exposes the dominant theoretical discourse of these government teacher training colleges, which is fundamental pedagogics (during the time the study was conducted). She argues that fundamental pedagogics under-skills teachers as it provides little illumination of the social and educational order and offers no

possible alternatives of how teachers could contribute to transformation. That the teacher education curriculum under-skilled the teachers by not offering possible alternative to how teachers can contribute to transformation was evident in Piet's response. When she was challenged to come with recommendations on the content and methodology that could be used as alternatives to the teaching of Xhosa grammar, she confessed and said:

Piet:	Ewe mayifundiswe igrama kuba andizukuthi mayiyekwe into ethile ifakwe into ethile phofu andazi naleyo inokufakwa naleyo inokukhutshwa	Yes grammar should be taught. In fact I do not know which aspects I could say should be included or excluded.

Jansens succinctly sums up this under-deskilling of teachers in the area of curriculum designing and decision making when he says:

> It is a truism to note that the South African teacher has been educationally disempowered and politically marginalized to such a degree that comparable treatment in other professions is difficult to find. A central reason for this phenomenon is the fact that curricular and instructional decisions are outside the control of the teacher and placed in the hands of the departmental bureaucrats and government officials (1990: 333).

Besides being under-skilled teachers were also de-skilled by the use of external examination. This examination separated evaluation from the teaching process and thus created problems for teachers as they might

have emphasised sections of the syllabus which the external examiner perceived as trivial and vice versa. Mangcu (teacher) highlighted this problem when she said:

Mangcu:	Akhe abe nobunzima la maphepha (ebanga lematriki). Umcingele umfundi, uqonde wena titshala ukuba xa ungawazi umbuzo kubekela phi kumfundi. Omnye umvavanyi esinaye, uyathanda ukubuza izinto ezidelekileyo,ongenakuze uzicinge. Ngelinye ixesha ngoku abafundi bebhala (uviwo) uthathe incwadi ukhangele impendulo yalo mbuzo, uqonde ukuba kubekiselaphi kubafundi ababhala uviwo. Ndizama ukuthi bona (abavavanyi) bayathanda ukuwaqinisa la maphepha.	Sometimes these matric examination Papers are very difficult. I try to imagine that when these papers seem so difficult to the teacher how much more are they to the students. Our external examiner has a tendency of asking things that seem to be trival to us. I am trying to say that the external examiners enjoy making papers difficult.

Some of the effects of this control have been captured aptly by Siebörger et al :

> The Senior Certificate examination is one of the oldest and most effective means of stifling creativity and innovation in education in South Africa. Most teachers however, have seen their task as training their students from the beginning to meet --- the requirements of the final examination. The senior certificate has therefore had a powerful 'backwash' effect on the nature of (content) taught and the teaching methodologies employed in the classroom (1992:211)

4.1.2 Socio-cultural context

The analysis of data on socio-cultural context has revealed that particular languages in the curriculum, the relative emphasis to be placed upon

different languages, and the general emphasis laid on language learning are largely determines by factors beyond the immediate environment. One of the fators that determines the place of a language in the curriculum is a national language policy. The responses showed that certain sub-categories of socio cultural context have been to some extent influenced by the two major aspects of language planning: status planning and acquisition planning. Following is a list and then the discussion of sub-categories of socio-cultural context that emerged from the responses of the interviewees: economic or utility value; historical, political and cultural.

Utility value

The lack of utility value in Xhosa grammar and language in general became a recurrent theme in the responses of the interviewees. This lack of utility was not accidental, but was a consequence of language acquisition planning in the past, which led to the underdevelopment of the Xhosa language. Acquisition planning amongst other things determines the opportunity to learn and the incentive to learn particular languages (National Education Policy Investigation, 1992). The priority with regard to the languages to be learnt, the opportunities, and the incentives to learn were given to languages of the colonialists (English and Afrikaans) while, African langauges were relegated to the background.

Most of the respondents highlighted the lack of utility value of the Xhosa language by arguing that compared with other subjects, it offered limited occupational opportunities and had no practical usefulness. Amanda's (learner) response is a good example of this view

Amanda :	Abafundi abanizi basigqibela kwa-10. Xa bese 'university' nakwizikolo zemfundo ephakamileyo abasithathi kuba bathi nokuba sowufuna umsebenzi soze uthathwe kuba ufunde isiXhosa, yaye Asikuncedi nasekuhlaleni.	The majority of learners do not continue studying .Xhosa at univeristy and other tertiary institutions after they have completed grade 12 because they argue that it does not offer many employemnt opportunites and has no practical usefulness in the community.

Their responses concurred with the findings of the studies conducted by Kraemer and Zisenwine (1989), and Ramage (1990). In these studies it was found out that persistence in studying a foreign language is to some extent influenced by extrinsic motivation which means carrying out something in anticipation of a reward from outside and beyond self. Typical motivational factors are money, jobs, college requirement and social recognition. These motivational factors were echoed in the responses of learners. Of these factors Mzuvukile mentioned money, job opportunities and social recognition. He argued that the learning of Xhosa offered limited opportunities for the attainment of these. He said:

Mzuvukile :	Kwezi ntsuku kusebenza imali. Xa ufunde	These days money is important. When you have

isiXhosa eyona nto iphezulu onokuba yiyo kukuba yi'professor' kanti xa ufunde 'iphysics' uyancedakala kakhulu ufumana imali enjengemali. Xa kulapho isiXhosa ke andisiboni kakuhle kwezi zinto.	studied Xhosa the highest profession you can attain is prefessorship whereas when you study physics, many highly paying employment opportunties are open to you. In this regard Xhosa is not on a par with other subjects.

One other point worth noting in Mzuvukile's response and in most responses was the tendency to compare Xhosa with other school subjects. This is in line with the findings of Burstall et all (1974) in a longitudinal study of French as a second language in the English schools, that older pupils expressed less interest in learning French than in other school subjects considered to be more valuable. In the above quotation, Mzuvukile, for instance, maintained that it was better to study physical science than Xhosa as it enhanced one's opportunity to attain social status. Others such as Andile also concurred with this view.

Andile:	Yinkcitha-xesha ukufundisa kwegrama Xa ufuna umsebenzi kunqabile ukuba kufunwe umntu onegrama yesiXhosa kufunwa 'imaths' ne 'science	It is a waste of time to study grammar. When you look for a job it is rare that Xhosa grammar specialists are required. The people who are in demand are those with maths and science.

Even teachers were of the view that learners favoured other subjects (like English) more than Xhosa and gave similar reasons:

Interviewer :	Kutheni bade babuze ukuba sisifundela ntoni	Why do they question the relevance of studying

	isiXhosa	Xhosa ?
Mangcu:	Ndiyacinga ukuba kwezabo iingqondo sisngesi esibalulekileyo kwingqesho. Nakwi 0 'interviews' kusetyenziswa isiNgesi – bayazibuza ke ukuba side sisebenze phi esi siXhosa.	I think that to them it is English that offers more employment opportunities. Even during interviews the medium is English. They (learners) question the utility value of Xhosa.

Although in the above discussion the respondent mentioned the extrinsic value as the motivational factor that determined the negative attitude towards the Xhosa language, when they were asked whether Xhosa grammar should be taught most of then responded affirmatively and gave intrinsic motivational factors as the reasons. Zoliswa, for instance maintained that:

Zoliswa:	Ndisibona sibalulekile ngoba umnt . nanjengokuba engumXhosa akanakwazi ukuzijika abe ngumlungu. Ngoko ke sinempembelelo ekuvuseleleni igugu ngobuXhosa bakho.	I believe that the Xhosa language is very important because a black man cannot change himself into a white man and the Xhosa language therefore inculcates a healthy sense of identity.

This confirmed the results of the study of Ramage (1990) which recommends that emphasis should be placed on increasing intrinsic motives, but not to the exclusion of extrinsic motives for foreign language study.

Historical and political factors

Although it is arguable that politico-historical factors had played a major role in attitude formation towards the learning and teaching of Xhosa, only two respondents, a teacher and a student were categorical in identifying the politico-historical situation as a factor in attitude formation. As pointed out in Chapter one, the history of language policy and planning in South Africa attests to the low status accorded to Xhosa in language planning. This has contributed too the negative attitude formation towards Xhosa language . Xuza, a teacher,when asked whether students like Xhosa, responded follows:

Xuza:	Abafundi bayasithanda kodwa indlela abasithanda ngayo bacinga ukuba abanakusingqamanisa nolwimi lwasemzini. Ubone ke ngoku ukuba isiXhosa sisingelwe phantsi kuba ecinga umfundi ukuba uya kuthi ukuze abe ufundile akwazi ukuthetha isiNgesi okanye isiBhulu.	Students do like Xhosa language but they do not value it as English. They tend to look down upon Xhosa. They think that for a person to be seen as learned s/he has to be fluent in English and Afrikaans.
Interviewer:	Inokuba yintoni unobangela wokuba acinge ukuba ukuze abe ufundile makathethe isiBhulu	Why do they think that for a person to be seen to be learned he has to gain mastery of English and Afrikaans?
Xuza:	Unobangela endicinga ukuba nguwo mhlawumbi yindlala yosapho olumnyama neemeko esiphile kuzo kwilixa	The contributory factors are: poverty of the African people, and the history of our oppression which have devalued and undermined

elingaphambili zizo ezibangele ukuba ulwimi lwethu lube lulwimi olulambileyo, oluthatheka njengolwimi olukhobozekileyo ongenakuze utye nto ngalo. Loo nto ibangele umthethi walo alijongele phantsi ulwimi lwakhe de azijongele phantsi naye. Ndicinga ukuba ifuther lezopolitiko linayo inxaxheba kuba uthi umntu esakujonga isiXhosa abone ukuba akanakuze aye kusithetha naphesheya kolwandle, uye aqonde kanjalo umntu ukuba akayi ndawo naso kuba nokuba kubuzwa imibuzo xa efuna umsebenzi akazi kubuzwa ngesiXhosa, kufuneka azi isiNgesi

our languae to the extent of having no economic value. That has made the speakers of the language (Xhosa) to look down upon it and in turn suffer from inferiority complex. I think that poltics have contributed to this state of affairs because they have reduced Xhosa to local and not international use. This makes one understand that the study of Xhosa is not going to take him/her very far because interviews for employment are also conducted in English.

When asked whether Xhosa was still popular among students Mongameli responded as follows:

Mongameli: IsiXhosa sisathethwa kodwa asisabalulekanga kakhulu yaye asixatyiswanga apha ekuhlaleni. Unobangela wayo yonke loo nto kukuba isidima sethu thina bantu bamnyama sidodotyaliswe kakhulu ngabasemzini. Xa usiya kufuna umsebenzi uze uthethe isiXhosa akuhoywa kufuneka usebenzise isiNgesi okanye isiBhulu. Nathi ngoku singenwe ngumkhwa wokufuna ukugoba ulwimi sele sisodwa.

Xhosa is still spoken but it is no longer valued and does not enjoy any high status in the community. The cause of all this is that the dignity of the African people has been denigrated by the foreigners. If you use the Xhosa language whilst seeking for employment, you are disregarded. You only get people's attention when you speak English or Afrikaans. It has now become a habit to speak English even amongst ourselves.

Even in these responses, politico-historical factors seemed secondary; it was the economic factor that was of parmount importance in most students' responses includ'ng Mongameli's .

Cultural factors

> *language is not only the means of communcation* but the very heart of a people and nations' culture. Destroy a people's langauge and you destroy its culture, history and sense of being.
>
> It is little wonder that among other acts of barbarity one of the primary objective of colonialism and foreign domination is to destroy a nation's language and substitute it with its own. In doing so they tend to totally divorce people from their culture, make them feel inferior, and burden those whom they colonise with their own culture. It results in the ultimate alienation. (Bunsee, City Press, Aug 31, 1997).

The above quotation succinctly sums up the relationship between culture and language and how the destruction of one ensures the obliteration of the other. This emerged in the responses of the interviewees who identified the cultural onslaught which accompanied colonization as one of the factors that contributed to the formation of negative attitudes towards Xhosa. Their responses showed that this strangulation of African culture and language was achieved through religion and education which devalued African culture and making European culture appear most admirable. Phindile's (student) response is a typical example.

Phindile:	Ingxaki yethu sibethwa yimpucuko gqitha, nenkolo yabusilahlekisa kakhulu sajika amasiko ethu ke sakholelwa kakhulu sisithi, ithi iBhayibhile kodwa uYehova engakhange athi masiwayeke amasiko. Sisithela ngenkolo nangemfundo, siphela silahleka, abantwana bangenzelwa mbeleko, nokoluka kutshinthswe, silahleke isiXhosa	Our problem is that we are too "civilized" and we have been brainwashed by religion to look down upon our customs and have become religious fanatics who keep saying "the Bible says", whereas God has not said we should forsake our traditions. We hide behind religion and education which lead us astray. The initiation rituals are no longer conducted and in this way the Xhosa culture is lost.

The devaluation of African culture led African students to suffer from an inferiority complex. Solomzi showed how this inferiority complex made them despise themselves and argued that they were no longer black but white.

Solomzi:	Ngoku siphila kwixesha labeLungu sesingabeLungu. IsiXhosa sasiyeka, sisithetha ngelo xesha.	Now, we live in time of the white man and we have become so 'Europeanized'. Xhosa has been relegated to the backgound and rarely used.

It thus becomes prestigeous to speak English even amongst Xhosa speakers.

Mnagaliso:	Abantu abafundileyo basoloko besebenzisa isiNgesi naxa bethetha nabantu abangafundanga, aze athi lo ungafundanga abhenele kweli cala lesiNgesi ngoku engafundanga. Nasekuhlaleni kunzima ukuba isiXhosa usifumane	It is common to hear educated people addressing uneducated people in English and the uneducated struggles to answer back in English. Even in the community you rarely find people speaking Xhosa. Nobody wants to be regarded as unlearned.

wonke umntu uxhinele ukuba kungathiwa uliqaba.

The proficiency and knowledge of English and Afrikaans and their accompanying cultures became elevated and was seen as something to which everybody should aspire. Xuza (teacher) concurred with Mangaliso in articulating this view when he said:

Xuza:	Abafundi bayasithanda isiXhosa kodwa indlela abasithanda ngayo bacinga ukuba abanakusingqamanisa nolwimi lwasemzini. Ubone ke ngoku ukuba isiXhosa sisingelwe phantsi kuba ecinga unfundi ukuba uya kuthi ukuze abe ufundile akwazi ukuthetha isiNgesi okanye isiBhulu.	Students do like Xhosa but they do not value it as English. They tend to look down upon Xhosa. They think that for a person to be seen as learned s/he has to be fluent in English and Afrikaans.

He further maintained that teachers themselves suffered from this kind of alienation.

Xuza:	Xa ufundisa isiXhosa akuzithathi ukuba ufana notitshala wesiNgesi, sisithathela phantsi isiXhosa nathi singotitshala, singabi namigudu yokusiphucula. Sicinga ukuba ukuze ube ngutitshala mawufundise isiNgesi, 'ihistory', nezinye i'subjects mhlawumbi ii'science subjects'.	When you are a Xhosa teacher you do not see yourself as important as an English teacher. Even as teachers, we tend to look down upon Xhosa and make no efforts to improve it. We think that for one to be a teacher s/he has to teach English, history and the science subjects.

However other respondents like Thembakazi and Mongameli revealed the resilience of Xhosa culture and language when they argued for the

continuation of the teaching of the Xhosa language and its grammar.

Mongameli:	Ingayingozi enkulu ukuthi isiXhosa sisiyeke ngakumbi thina singamaXhosa, kuba sibalulekile kuthi. Iyafana nale nto athi umntu osaziyo isiNgesi, asithethe kamnandi. NesiXhosa xa usazi uzimisele ukuba mawusazi, simnandi ukufa	It would be very tragic if Xhosa is not taught, particularly to us Xhosa speakers because it is of great significance to us. It is like a person who knows English and speaks it with proficiency. Likewise when you know Xhosa and are committed to mastering it, it becomes greatly enjoyable.
Thembakazi:	IsiXhosa lulwimi lwam xa ndinokulicaphukela yintoni endithi ndiza kude ndiyifunde ndiyazi, kwanookhokho basesebenzisa isiXhosa, lulwimi lwethu thina maXhosa nathi singamaXhosa koko ulwimi lwethu sisiXhosa, koko andinakuthi maluyekwe.	Xhosa is my mother-tongue. If I do not like it and say it should not be taught, what else would I say should be taught. Even our forefathers used Xhosa. It is our language, that is why I cannot say it should not be taught.

4.2 Recommendations

One of the aims of this study was to solicit recommendations from a sample of teachers and learners towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. This section of the study focusses on the recommendations made by respondents. It will address the extent to which teachers and learners envisage an alternative to the existing scenario of teaching and learning Xhosa grammar. It will go beyond the explicit recommendations made by respondents and glean implicit recommendations from the responses given on factors that contributed to the negative attitude formation, as they are the antithesis of these factors.

The recommendations were solicited from the respondents because any envisaged change whether educational, cultural, political and social must take account of and respond to the recommendations coming from interest groups. Implicit recommendations will also be included because the researcher found out that it was harder for respondents to envisage alternative strategies to improve the negative grammar, than it was for them to envisage an end to the present system of learning and teaching grammar. As mentioned earlier, recommendations will be presented in accordance with diagram 4.1 above. These recommendations will then be amplified by relating them to literature reviewed in this study. The explicit recommendations revealed that the envisaged change of the learning and teaching of Xhosa grammar was informed by what Grundy (1987) terms practical interests and that implicit recommendations go beyond practical interests and include emancipatory interests.

Educational Context

In line with the divisions of the educational context shown in diagram 4.1, the discussion of recommendation in this section will be divided into the following levels: classroom, school, and national education system.

Classroom level

At classroom level the finding was that the structural approach to language teaching whose objectives, content, classroom procedures, materials and evaluation were to a great extent informed by technical interests, contributed to the negative attitude towards Xhosa. The teachers on one hand were more vocal in agitating for a change of approach. Mangcu and Xuza in advocating change said:

Mangcu:	Mna ndingathanda kutshintshe le ndlela kuthiwa masifundise ngayo. Le yokungena nzulu xa uphethe isigaba esithile sentetho, kufuneke ucazulule into eninzi. Masingangeni nzulu ngolu hlobo singena ngalo ngoku.	My recommendation is that there should be a change in the approach we are expected to use in teaching a particular part of speech that demands a great deal of morphology. We should not go deep in the scientific study of the language as we do now.
Interviewer:	Khawucacise mhlawumbi kuthiweni?	Can you explain, how?
Mangcu:	Zikhona izinto ezinokukhutshwa phaya kwigrama, okanye ke mhlawumbi inabe kweli cala lolwini ne 'general knowledge', kungangenwa nzulu kulwakhiwo.	Some aspects should be left out in the teaching of grammar so that it can allow for the inclusion of more general knowledge and language and avoid going deep into morphology.
Xuza:	Ndicinga ukuba kwigrama makutshintswe le ndlela siyifundisa ngayo kubekho indlela eyenye ukwenzela ukuba igrama ingabi sisifundo esingathandekiyo. Masingayohluli kwincwadi ezichongiweyo abazifundayo nakulwimi abalusebenzisa imihla nezolo, kuba ulwimi abaluthandayo yigrama.	I think that the currently used approach in teaching grammar should be changed, substituting it with another one that is going to improve the negative attitude towards Xhosa. We should not separate the teaching of grammar from that of literature, and avoid decontextualization because grammar is language.

The recommendations of the respondents implicitly revealed that they were advocating the replacement of the structural approach with the communicative approach. This was evidenced by the objectives, content, classroom procedures, and instructional materials and evaluation they recommended for the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar.

Mangcu's assertion that the focus should be on meaning and functions rather than on linguistic form is one of the tenets of communicative language teaching (Celce-Murcia & Hilles, 1988; Stern, (1987). Xuza's view concurs with what Celce-Murcia & Hilles (1987) say about communicative language teaching: that it goes outside the precincts of grammar and into the macrocosm of language. This implies taking into account factors which paly a dominant role in language such as social and semantic factors as well as discourse.

Students on the other hand expressed their desire for a change of the approach in what they suggested as the alternative goal for the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. When asked what would their recommendations be if they were to serve on a committee that aims at improving the learning and teaching of Xhosa grammar, sixteen students said they would advise that the goal for teaching and learning Xhosa grammar be communicative competence. Mongameli's response is a typical example of this recommendation.

Mongameli:	Le komiti bendingathi mayigxininise ekuphuculen' ukuthethwa kwesiXhosa, sithi thina bantu baMnyama sikhuthazwe sibheke phambili nesiXhosa kutyetyiswe isigama saso. Ziqeqeshwe iingqondo zabafundi ukuze bakwazi ukusebenzisa ubuchopho xa bethetha.	I would recommend that this committee should encourage the frequent use of the Xhosa language by its speakers. Xhosa should be promoted through focussing on lexicography and the intellect of the students should be developed so that they can use it when they speak.

In Luzuko's response the idea of appropriateness was implied. To be appropriate is to say the right thing at the right time. Appropriateness is another tenet of communicative language teaching to the extent that Celce-Murcia & Hilles (1988) maintains that the goal of CLT is for the learner to be able to use the language appropriateness in a given context. In expressing this notion of appropriacy Luzuko said:

Luzuko:	Maxa wambi usisithethi sembeko okanye uthetha emfihlweni, ukuze ke ngoko ukwazi ukwenza abantu babe nomdla kufuneka umana ucaphula kumaqhalo ukwenzela ukugcina umdla wabaphulaphuli kule nto ithethwayo. Ndingatsho ke ngoko ukuba amaqhalo analo igalelo.	When you are a guest speaker or comforting the bereaved people you should use idiomatic expressions in arousing and arresting peoples' attention. This is to say that idioms are useful.

The emphasis of CLT on meaning making, appropriateness and practical usefulness of the knowledge acquired at school reveal that it is informed by the practical cognitive interests. These three features are central in the theory of practical interests.

Regarding content, the study found out that focussing on the formal linguistic content to the exclusion of communicative competence and creativity led to negative attitudes towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa. Only teachers made recommendations on content and their recommendations were that it should include all the three features of language proficiency with an emphasis on communicative competence. Mangcu and Tangana suggested that the formal linguistic component should be underplayed, that means avoiding elaborate and complicated analysis. The focus should be then be on communicative competence.

Luzuko:	Zikhona izinto ezinokukhutshwa phaya kwigrama, okanye ke mhlawumbi inabe kweli cala lolwimi ne 'general knowledge' kungangenwa kakhulu kulwakhiwo..	Some aspects should be left out in the teaching of grammar so that it can allow for the inclusion of more general knowledge and language and avoid going deep on morphology.

The recommendations of the teachers on content echoed Mohammed's view that:

> ... the kind of grammar that [should] be taught ... is the one that is simplified and presented to learners in such a way that it can be easily digested and used as a means rather than an end in itself. Such a grammar is variously referred to as pedagogical grammar: practical grammar, teaching grammar and processing grammar which is written with the aim of describing the phenomenon of language as fully as possible (Mohammed, 1993:59).

In arguing for the emphasis on communicative competence Ramage (1990:213) goes to the extent of suggesting that proficiency should be

evaluated in terms of communicative ability, orally and in writing rather than in terms of grammatical structures.

Xuza emphasized another feature of proficiency which is creativity.

Xuza:	Kufuneka ulwakhiwo lwamagama balufunde ukuze bazokukwazi abafundi ukubhala ezabo iincwadi. Kufuneka kwale ncwadi ayisebenzisayo bayibone ukuba ingcali ethile ithe yaphazama kumgaqo othile. Eyona nto siyifundisayo kukuba angamkeli yonke into efundwayo okanye ayibone encwadini engenakukhe yena abone, ukuba noko kukho ubungozi okanye ayitshalenje yonke loo nto ibhaliweyo.	They (students) should study morphology so that they are able to write their own textbooks. They should be able to identify the shortcomings in their prescribed textbooks. What we are aiming at is to make the learner critical of what s/he read from the book and to be able to criticize and challenge what is written in the book.

What was worth noting was that Xuza alluded to the critical perspective of language learning and teaching. This however does not mean that he was advocating what has come to be known as critical language awareness (CLA). He was simply recommending a critical approach in the study of Xhosa grammar. Including linguistic, communicative and creative components in the content of teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar implied that they were advocating for the holistic perspective of teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar which is the feature of CLT (Hymes 1972). This holistic perspective to language teaching and learning further confirms that CLT is informed by practical interests as

the content informed by practical interests tend to be holistically oriented and integrated rather than fragmented (Grundy, 1987).

With regard to classroom procedures this study found out that the learner roles, teacher roles and activity types which were attuned to a structural approach contributed to the negative attitude formation towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. The recommendations of teachers with regard to classroom procedures further highlighted the importance of pupil participation. Tangana maintained that pupil involvement arouses their interest.

Tangana:	Xa ufundisa ungutitshala mayingabi nguwe wedwa othatha inxaxheba banike ithuba lokuthetha abafundi, ukuze sikhuthaze umdla wabo masibafake esifundweni.	When the teacher is teaching, the lesson should not be teacher centred. The teacher should create opportunities for pupil participation so as to arouse their interest and involve them in the lesson.

The benefit that acrues from pupils involvement has also been highlighted by Littlewood (1986) who argues that group work provides opportunities for positive personal relationship to develop among learners and between the learner and the teacher. A positive relationship could help to 'humanize' the classroom to create an environment that supports an individual in his/her effort to learn. Xuza went to the extent of suggesting group work as a strategy of maximizing learner involvement.

Xuza:	...nokusebenzisa amaqela ngamaqela ndicinga ukuba kungaluphucula ufundiso lwegrama. Abantwana baxoxe bengasoloko besonge izandla, bangathathi nxaxheba.	I also think that the use of groups in classroom could improve the teaching of grammar. Learners should be made to discuss and participate in the lesson and break the habit of folding arms during the lesson.

Students can be divided into pairs, triads as well as groups and the whole group to participate in certain communicative activities and encourage pupil participation (Larsen-Freeman, 1983). The strategy that learners suggested to enhance pupil involvement was the adoption of an open and encouraging attitude by the teachers to students' questions.

Noluthando:	Utitshala kufuneka abe nomonde, akufuneki adinwe kukubuzwa imibuzo, kuba asilandeli ngokufanayo.	A teacher should be patient and should not be irritated by questions because we (students) are not all quick to understand.

However, there were few of those who were comfortable with the traditional way of teaching grammar who believed that the teaching of grammar should be teacher-centred. Mfundo, for instance, argued that learner should be limited to the introduction where the teacher should assess how much the students know.

Mfundo:	Makaqale abuze mhlawumbi (utitshala) ukuba abafundi bazi kangakanani, ukuba uyabona ukuba abazi nto, adidiyele ulwazi olutsha. Uya kusinika umsebenzi nokuba ngowasekhaya. Kuloo msebenzi kulapho aza kubona ukuba abantwana bazi kangakanani na. Umfundi onorabuzo uya	The teacher should start by ascertaining know about the lesson. If the teacher discovers that students do not have the knowledge of the lesson, s/he should pour the new knowledge and thereafter give us classwork or homework. It is in that work that s/he is

	kutsho ngokwakhe.	going to assess how much students have understood the lesson. The learners with questions should be allowed to ask.

Mfundo's response showed that very few learners had become so used to the traditional way that they view anything different from it with suspicion. They interpreted learner involvement as a strategy by the teacher to shirk his/her responsibility and perceived the use of questions and groups as cheating not teaching. However, responses like these were an exception rather than a norm and in fact it is common that any change or innovation is accompanied by some resistance. Communicative activities such as games, role plays, and debates were recommended by sixteen learners and all the teachers as another way of encouraging learner-participation. Andile (learner) and Piet (teacher) articulated this recommendation as follows:

Andile:	Ootitshala mababe nendlela abasifundisa ngayo, b..sebenzise umdlalo weqonga nemidlalwana yokufundisa ulwimi.	Teachers should have strategies of approaching their lessons. They may use drama and short language plays.
Piet:	Makhe sibe nee 'competitions' kunye nee 'debates' zesiXhosa ezikolweni zethu.	We should have Xhosa language competitions and debates in our schools.

Grammar games can make learning a pleasure because learners are able to master grammatical structures while enjoying the learning process

(Celce-Murcia,& Hiller 1988). Rinvolucri (1984) however warns that they should be used as a central part of teaching grammar rather than as an exercise for relaxing students at the end of the lesson. As far as the teacher role was concerned, most learners recommended that his/her role should change from being an instructor to that of a facilitator, a co-learner, and an overseer. This recommended role demanded a different type of behaviour in a teacher. The learners said that the teacher should be warm, outgoing, and emotionally open. Mzuvukile and Mfundo succinctly summed up these teacher qualities:

Mzuvukile:	Mna ndithi igrama mayifundiswe ngutitshala onobubele, othanda ukuthetha nokucacisa, ingabi ngumntu oqumbayo, osuke abhale ebhodini angathethi nabafundi. Mayibe ngumntu ongacaphukiyo xa ebuzwa imibuzo.	My recommendation is that a grammar teacher should be a friendly person who enjoys talking and is able to explain. It should not be someone who sulks, who simply writes on the board and does not speak with the learners.
Mfundo;	Phambi kokuba afundise utitshala makajonge umdla kubafundi, makasebenzise ixesha lakusasa, aniphe ixesha lokuthetha, nixoxe niphande ngamagama athile. Utitshala makabazi abafundi kuba oko kuyabukwa ngabafundi, yaye ukufundisa igrama asikokudlulisa usana kunina.	Before the teacher teaches, s/he should assess the interest of learners. S/he should use the morning periods, give students time to speak, discuss and research certain words. S/he should know them by their names because they appreciate that, and the teaching of grammar should not be done disinterestedly.

The teacher qualities mentioned by learners are found in what Van der Walt (1990:32) terms the field dependent (FD) person.

> The FD teacher takes an intergrative view to information processing and organises the world in terms of wholes or totalities; he has an interpersonal orientation and greater social skills; [and] develops competence in understanding or dealing with others.

Van der Walt goes on to say that the FD teacher tends to be more comfortable with CLT.

This study found out that failure to use the instructional material or using contrived material contributed to negative attitudes towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. Two teachers recommended the use of instructional materials because they captivate and arouse learner's interest. Tangana's response is a good example:

Tangana:	Kubalulekile ukuba izixhobo zisetyenziswe kuba zitsala umdla wabafundi batsho babe nomdla wokuthabatha inxaxheba esifundweni.	It is important that teaching aids should be used in arousing attention of the learners and making them interested in lesson participation.

Other scholars (Van der Walt, 1990; Celce-Muria and Hilles, 1988) go further to suggest that some element of meaningful use should be built into the materials. The examples they give are authentic texts, songs and realistic examples of language.

The finding under evaluation was that assessment procedures used by the teachers together with the senior certificate examination which was and still contributed externally to the negative attitudes towards Xhosa grammar. The summative nature of this evaluation system retarded the culture of learning as students studied mainly for tests and examinations and the reliance on memorization stifled creativity and innovation. The explicit recommendation was that there should be a change. Mangcu (teacher) for instance, proposed a change of the questioning style without making a concrete suggestion as to what should be done to transform the system.

Mangcu:	... nendlela ekubuzwa ngayo, mhlawumbi ifuna ikhe itshintshwe.	the assessment procedures themselves need to be changed.

However, implicit in the finding was the recommendation that continuous assessment which allows for comprehension, interpretation, application and creativity should be used.

School Organisation

This study found out that the low priority given to the teaching and learning of Xhosa which was manifested by the inadequate time and

unqualified teachers allocated to it contributed to negative attitudes. Two teachers, Xuza and Piet, recommended that there should be inter-subject and inter-school co-operation which would to some extent improve the attitude that students had towards Xhosa grammar. Xuza, for instance, argued that if students were to know that what was taught in Xhosa was the same with what was taught in English, their negative attitude towards Xhosa would improve.

Xuza:	Ngelinye ixesha kukho mhlawumbi ititshala efundisa isiNgesi eza kufundisa mhlawumbi ngokubhaiwa kwesincoko sesiNgesi. Unako utitshala lowo ukucelwa ukuba akhe afundise indlela yokufundiswa kwesincoko sesiXhosa, efundisa abafundi abanye. Loo nto ndiyacinga ukuba inganceda ekulungiseni uluvo lwabo ngesiXhosa.	Sometimes there is a teacher who teaches essay writing in English. That teacher could be asked to also teach essay writing in Xhosa to the same students. I think that could improve the negative attitudes towards Xhosa.

This advocacy of inter-subject cooperation further suggests that the recommendations of the respondents were informed by practical interests. The teaching and learning that is informed by this set of interests tend to be holistically oriented and integrated rather than fragmented and subject specific (Grundy, 1987).

Piet emphasized the benefits that would be reaped through inter-school programmes. She maintained that this would make teaching and learning of Xhosa language more interesting.

Piet:	Kufuneka simane sidibana sifuthelana singootitshala nabafundi. Simana ukuhambelana nasezikolweni. Nezikolo zethu zikhe zibe nokhuphiswano kunye nee'debates' zesiXhosa, kuthiwe kudibana isikolo esithile nesithile, kuthiwe utitshala othile nguye oza kukhe aye kufundisa endaweni ethile, kwenziwe into emnandi yesiXhosa.	It is necessary that we sometimes come together and share ideas with learners, visiting one another at schools. Our schools could stage Xhosa competitions and debates where competitors could come from different schools. Teacher exchange could be arranged so that the learning and teaching of Xhosa is made enjoyable.

Mfundo (student) recommended that Xhosa grammar should be taught in the morning when students are still fresh and alert as another way of addressing problems that emanated from giving Xhosa low priority.

Mfundo:	Ootitshala mabasebenzise ixesha lakusasa, iingqondo zingekadinwa.	Teachers should use the early periods while the minds are still fresh.

National level

Teachers and learners were disempowered and de-skilled by excluding them from all aspects of the curriculum process except one which was the implementation. The recommendation of the interviewees were that

teachers and learners should be involved in all aspects of the curriculum process and in organising seminars, workshops, short courses and subject associations. Xuza and Piet both teachers highlighted the importance of involving teachers and students in enlightening and empowering seminars and workshops. Xuza expressed his ardent wish of meaningful teacher involvement as follows:

Xuza: Ndiyacinga ukuba unobangela wayo yonke le meko kukho imfuneko yokutshintsha mhlawumbi kulawulo. Masithabathe umzekelo 'iDepartment of Education' xa ibinokukhe ibathabathe abafundisi-ntsapho babe nenxaxheba kwizigqibo zakwa-'Education' ezinxulumene nofundiso lwegrama yesiXhosa. Bona bakude okanye owayongamele iSebe elo leMfundo wayefundisa ngoko lube lona ulwazi lusanda lunenguqulelo ezininzi. Ingathi izinto ezintsha kufuneka zize nootitshala abaphaya ezantsi kuba ngabo abothe umlilo nabazibona bhetele iinzima abadibana nazo. Kuhle nokuba kuthi xa kuza kubakho isemina yesiXhosa, urhulumente mhlawumbi ubonile ukuba makabize ingcali ethile, loo nto leyo yaziwe ngootitshala, ukwenzela ukuba loo mba uza kuba uphethwe yiloo ngcali waziwe zizikolo zonke, nootitshala, baye kuloo semina bengazokusonga zandla beza kuthabatha inxaxheba. Kumaxesha amaninzi basonga izandla njengabafundi aba babafundisayo. Ufumanise ukuba nakwinkcazo efumaneka kuloo ngcali utitshala akakhange akwazi nokuba anganemibuzo kakuhle kuba akakhange

I think that the cause of all this is the need for a change in governance. The department of Education could involve teachers in decision making in educational issues that are related to the teaching of Xhosa grammar. The administrators are not part of what is happening in the classroom. Even the director might have been a teacher long time ago but the knowledge has abounded and many changes have taken place. It seems that the transformation process should be started by the teachers who are at the classroom level because it's them that have a better understanding of the problems that they encounter and to allow him/her time to make his/her own research so that the seminars should have a meaningful contribution to the teachers. It is important for instance that when there is going to be a seminar for Xhosa teachers and the government has invited a

azilungiselele, ufumane nje 'idate' ye'semina' engayazi nokuba ingantoni ukwenzela ukuba azenzele uphando ukuze isemina leyo ivuthwe ngegalelo lootitshala bonke.

certain specialist, that should be made known to the teachers so that the area on which specialist is going to focuss on is also made known to schools and all teachers concerned so that they could participate meaningfully in that seminar and not fold their arms. Most of the time they do not participate like the students they teach. One discovers that even during the presentation of that specialist, teachers have not been able to ask relevant questions because they were not given a chance to prepare for the seminar, they simply got the date of the seminar without being informed about the topic that is going to be discussed.

Piet reiterated Xuza's sentiments and said:

Piet: Ii 'workshop' kuyafuneka ukuba zibekho nalapha esiXhoseni ukuze iititshala zesiXhosa zikwazi ukufuthelana ngeengxaki zazo zegrama. Nazo 'iicourses' zingasinceda. Ziba khona ii 'courses' zazo zonke ezinye iisubjects, kodwa zingabikho ezesiXhosa, ukanti sibalulekile.

Workshops should be conducted at schools so that they could find time to reflect on the problems they encounter on the teaching of grammar. Short courses could also be beneficial. These courses are conducted for other subjects but not for Xhosa and yet Xhosa is also important.

What was said by Xuza and Piet coincides with Jansen's assertion that: 'The empowerment of teachers through a direct, participatory role in curricula decisions is a necessary condition for restoring the classroom

autonomy and instructional effectiveness of teachers in a post-apartheid system' (1990:333). In highlighting the importance of involving students, Xuza said:

Xuza:	Abafundi banokukhe bathathwe basiwe nakwisemina basetyenziswe phaya bekhona bangasoloko bexhomekeke kootitshala.	Learners could also be taken to seminars so that they can participate and not depend on reports given by teachers.

By fighting for the involvement of learners in the aspect of curriculum development the recommendations of the respondents had gone beyond the precincts of practical interests. Practical interests agitate mainly for teacher involvement (Grundy, 1987).

The South African government has taken admirable steps in attempting to redress the inequalities and anomalies in the education system. The recommendations of the respondents are to a certain extent addressed by Outcome Based Education OBE and Curriculum 2005. The respondents recommended that the goal for the learning and teaching of Xhosa grammar should be communicative competence. Of the eight learning areas of OBE, the communication literacy and language learning area is geared towards addressing this recommendation as its critical outcome is that learners should be able to communicate effectively using visual mathematical and/or language skills in the modes of oral and or written presentation. From this critical outcome it is clear that OBE is informed

by practical cognitive interests because the focuss of this learning area is to improve communication so that it leads to a South Africa free of intolerance, misunderstandings and prejudice. Obviously this is intended for the good of the citizens of South Africa and the guiding idea of practical interests presupposes the notion of good.

OBE also attempts to address the issues raised in the recommendation for an integrated content which includes all features of proficiency (i.e. linguistic, communicative and creative components). The hallmark of both OBE and the envisaged CLT content is a learning relevant and connected to real life situations. The holistic conception of knowledge in OBE and this recommended content further confirm that both OBE and the recommendations of the respondents are informed by practical interests. The recommendations that classroom procedures in the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar should be learner-centred is one of the basic tenets of OBE. The exponents of OBE believe that learners actively involved in classrooms where curriculum is relevant and learner-centred will produce analytical and creative thinkers, problem solvers and effective communicators. The respondents also advocated learner participation in curriculum and programmes design. In this regard the recommendation of the respondents go beyond the provisions of OBE and the curriculum informed by practical interests.

Another recommendation which is one of the underpinning principle of OBE is that teachers should be facilitators rather than transmitters of knowledge. To play this new role they will be encouraged to broaden their perspectives, be proactive, and interactive and share their ideas with one another. They might even be able to teach jointly with others some learning areas. Even the recommendation that teachers should be reskilled and empowered through involvement in all aspects of curriculum development is catered for by OBE. The use of meaningful and adequate material is one of the recommendations that OBE attempts to address. While the recommendations of the respondents and OBE accommodated external assessment, Grundy (1987) maintains that a curriculum informed by practical cognitive interest would allow for very little external involvement. The insights of others are valuable for reflection, but ultimately practical interests require that the participants be the judges of their own actions. Another basic tenet of OBE which attempts to address one of the recommendations of the respondents is that assessment should be continuous.

Although it is clear from the above discussion that OBE is geared towards addressing people's aspirations, some are beginning to fault it on two accounts, that is, its implementation and its philosophical foundations. Its implementation vitiates its good intention which as argued above, attempts to address the recommendation of the respondents in this

study. On paper, OBE advocates the involvement of teachers at all levels of the curriculum process but in reality the history of its origin in South Africa reveals the absence of sustained debates of OBE by teachers and educators (Jansen, 1997). The recommendations of respondents were categorical in advocating the involvement of teachers in curriculum development. This would mean that even before the government decided that OBE was the suitable education system for South Africa, teachers should have been introduced to a wide variety of education systems and curricula thus granting them the opportunity of choosing the one that is best suited to for South Africa.

Another recommendation made by the respondents was that teachers should be reskilled and empowered through inservice training. Again on paper OBE had promised to do that but in reality teachers have not received adequate training for the implementation of OBE. Teachers around the country said their training for the new syllabus had been inadequate (Sunday Times, May 17, 1998). Teachers were further disadvantaged by not getting on time textbooks and support material they were promised by the department of education. Even when the material had finally arrived, some teachers found out that the curriculum material was too advanced for the children (*Sunday Times*, May 17, 1998).

Lastly, it is worth noting that both the recommendations of the respondents and OBE are not directed to emancipatory interests because it is evident that they are both informed by practical interests.

The writer of this study recommends that the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar should go beyond the practical interests. This means that a critical perspective should be central to the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar if it is to be emancipatory because the central feature of a curriculum informed by emancipatory is critique. Critical language awareness allows for a critical perspective to be central in language teaching and learning. Consequently the researcher recommended the adoption of CLA in the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar as it allows for a critical perspective.

Again if CLA is informed by emancipatory interests both teachers and students should be involved in all the phases of curriculum development. This is one area in which the recommendations of this study went beyond the precincts of the practical cognitive interests. While the practical interests advocates only the involvement of the teacher in the curriculum design, the interviews advocated the involvement of the students in curriculum design.

4.2.2 Socio-Cultural Context

This study found out that social context contributed to attitude formation towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. The finding under this factor was that respondents had a negative attitude towards Xhosa because of: lack of utility value, lack of status, devaluation of African culture and low priority given to it. The finding which learners were explicit about in their recommendations was the one on the negative effect of the devaluation of their culture. Of the twenty four learners interviewed, eighteen advocated a return to their culture as a strategy for changing the negative attitude towards Xhosa language.

Mfundo and Peggy (both students) expressed this recommendation as follows:

Peggy:	SingamaXhosa masiziphuthume, masenze amasiko ethu singawalahli ukuze kubuye isidima nobuntu bethu.	As Xhosas we should go back to our roots, uphold our customs and not forsake them so that our dignity and humanity be revived.
Mfundo:	Wonke umntu makabambelele kwisithethe sakowabo.	Everybody should cling to his/her national tradition.

These responses are in accordance with Biko's view that the 'return to their culture will pump back life into (their) empty shells to infuse [them]

with pride and dignity about themselves, their culture and their language' (1972 :29). The importance of culture in the educational and linguistic development of learners is expressed by scholars such as : Ramage, (1990), Muller, (1992), Zeuli and Fladen, (1987) and National Department of Education 1997). Muller for instance records that although there is divergence of opinion on American Education on multiculturalism scholars still recognise the importance of culture. The following are the reasons they advance in favour of a curriculum that promotes culture: it enhances the respect for our "heritage"; affirms ones own cultural values; and encourages one to recognise oneself in the curriculum (Muller, 1992:47). Ten learners and two teachers did not only make this recommendation but they also suggested ways and means through which this return to their cultural roots can be achieved. Phindile (student) and Tangana (teacher) for instance made the following suggestions.

Phindile:	Mna ndicebisa ukuba masenze intiombe kuxhentswe, ukhuphiswano, elowo athathe elo candelo alithandayo abhale ngalo umzekelo: abhale imibongo, idrama inoveli, njalo-njalo. - ukwenzela ukuba sisiphakamise isiXhosa esi. Kuyafuneka ukuba kubekho imidlalo yakudala efana neentlombe, imitshato nokhuphiswano lweembongi, sisine sinxibe neentsimbi zakudala. Sazi nezinto ezifana nokuthomba ukuba	My recommendation is that we should stage cultural festivals, organise competitions allowing for one to choose the genre in which s/he is going to write, for example poetry, drama, novel etc so that we uplift the standard of Xhosa. It is important that cultural festivities such as Xhosa music, marriages, competition of praise singers, dances, traditional attire that includes bead work be

	zenziwa njani na. Makubekho nosuku oluthile ekuboniswa intlalo yakwaNtu.	organised. We should also know about other things such as rites of passage and how they were conducted. These should be done on certain days set aside for the exhibition of African life.
Tangana:	Uluncwadi ndiyaluthanda malufundiswe kuba lusifundisa izinto ezininzi ezenzekayo kwaXhosa.	I enjoy literature. It must be taught because if offers us an opportunity to learn about many things that took place in pre-colonial community.

Some of the strategies suggested by Mzuvukile are in line with those of Donahue and Parsons (1982) who recommended the use of role play in English second language classrooms as means of helping to overcome cultural "fatigue". The responses confirmed that the recommendations of the interviews on this factor were informed by practical interests as they advocated making right what was wrong in the past, which means that good was the guiding idea of their recommendations. In their recommendation for the return to their cultural roots, critique, the guiding idea of the emancipatory interest was absent. There was no suggestion that they should critique their cultural heritage and take what was good and reject what was bad.

The post-apartheid South African government has taken admirable steps in redressing imbalances that characterised the apartheid era. The new

Constitution of South Africa bestows respect and dignity upon all the diverse cultures of the country. In the education arena, the importance of culture is emphasized by making arts and culture one of the eight learning areas. However good these government developments may be, people are beginning to observe that in real life situations they have not been realised. The Democratic Party leader, Tony Leon voiced his concern about the failure of the implementation of the promotion of all languages and cultures which is enshrined in the constitution. He saying:

> To us one of the great unresolved question is the promotion of all languages and cultures. It is scattered all over our constitution. We have made various promises and we are deeply concerned that we are not fulfilling them. (*Daily Dispatch*, Monday, March 23, 1998)

The criticisms emanating from the finding on social context are: lack of utility of Xhosa language, lack of status and low priority have been addressed by the government on the new language policy and OBE. The declaration of Xhosa language as one of the eleven official languages is a monumental breakthrough in the empowerment of Xhosa language. This means: the finding that interviewees had negative attitude towards Xhosa because of its lack of status has been to a certain extent addressed. However, declaring Xhosa an official language does not empower it fully and the government is aware of this; hence it made the following constitutional provision:

> The state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of (the indigenous) languages of our people. (*A language plan for South Africa: Preparing for a multilingual future*, August 1997:17)

Again attempts are being made to redress the lack of utility value and the low priority given to Xhosa through determining the languages to be learnt, and providing the opportunity and the incentive to learn them. The language in education policy of South Africa for instance, promotes multilingualism and regards the knowledge of several languages as an asset, both in terms of future employment and mutual understanding and reconciliation. Furthermore, tertiary institutions such as Fort-Hare University are developing academic programmes that aim at addressing the lack of utility of Xhosa language. The envisaged programmes of the Department of African Languages of this university will include translation and interpretation in African languages with a view to producing translators, as there is a growing need of professional translation and interpreting services in South Africa. Students will also be equipped with various skills to enable them to enter wide range of fields including radio and TV, broadcasting, film industry, threatrical arts and creative writing. (Document on: *Proposed interdepartmental programmes to develop and empower African languages*, 1998). These gallant efforts are not without their teething problems. The attractiveness of these educational alternatives that appear on paper has made people so eager to see them come to fruition that they are beginning to be

impatient at the slow pace in which these alternatives are implemented. Moloi, for instance urges, the African majority to fight for equal rights for their languages as the provisions of the Constitution are not being put into practice. He reports that:

> All individuals have the right to communicate in any of the official languages. This does not happen in practice. In our schools the only language used as medium of instruction is the one that obstructs the education process of Africans-English (*Sunday Times* May, 3 1998:17)

Another criticism that can be levelled against these innovations is that they do not go beyond practical interests and embrace emancipatory interests. Central to an emancipatory interest is a critical perspective.

> A critical perspective entails questioning appearances and taken for granted practices, probing assumptions and implications. Its purposes are enlightment and empowerment that can foster personal and social emancipation from various forms of domination. It recognises and values human intention and relation to both the limiting and enabling aspects of people's historical material and cultural circumstances.Key features of a critical perspective then are its normative stance against forms of domination and its context sensitivity. (Cornbleth, 1992:3)

The problems that are encountered in these innovations reveal the lack of adequate critical perspective in the suggested alternatives to address the lack of status, utility and low priority given to Xhosa language. The envisaged programmes for instace would avoid some of the shortcomings if critical perspective is pivotal in their attempts to redress the past imbalances. This critical perspective for instance, will enable them to

assess the feasibility of these programmes in terms of human resources, financial resources and the time frames.

This chapter has identified the attitudes that respondents had towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar, highlighted the factors that contributed to the formation of these attitudes and analyzed the recommendations suggested by the respondents. In the final chapter of this study, the implications of the major findings of this research will be presented.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The aims of this study were broadly divided into three, namely: to establish the attitudes of senior pupils and teachers towards Xhosa grammar in Alice and Zwelitsha schools; to establish factors that contribute to the formation of these attitudes; and to suggest recommendations for improving these attitudes if necessary. This chapter sets out to provide a summary of the findings of the study; highlight its limitations; and make suggestions for further research.

5.1 Summary of the findings

From the analysis of data on the establishment of attitudes, this study found out that generally, the majority of respondents had a negative attitude towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. The frequently mentioned unpopular components were morphology, phonetics and general knowledge, but the most recurring was the last. What was striking was that, although most respondents recorded a negative attitude towards grammar, when they were asked whether it should be taught, the majority responded positively. This inconsistency forms the basis of what can be regarded as one of the core findings of this study, that the majority of the respondents were fully cognisant of its importance in the mastery of

a language but certain factors were responsible for the negative attitude formation towards Xhosa grammar.

This study also established conclusively that factors emanating from the socio-cultural and educational contexts contributed to the negative attitude towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar. With regard to the socio-cultural context the finding was that the respondents had a negative attitude towards Xhosa grammar because of the devaluation of African culture, its lack of utility and the low political status of the Xhosa language. The main finding with regard to the structural context was that the technical interest, which was pervasive at all three levels of the structural context (i.e., classroom, school, and national), contributed to the negative attitude toward the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar.

At the classroom level the respondents identified the structural approach as one of the major contributory factors. It is the objectives, content, classroom procedures, instructional material and the evaluation procedures determined by the structural approach and adopted in the learning and teaching of Xhosa grammar that triggered negative attitudes. At school level, the study found out that low priority, and inadequate time and attention given to Xhosa language contributed to negative attitudes. At the national level, the finding was that the training of teachers and the

position of the Xhosa language in the curriculum served as contributory factors.

Furthermore this research analyzed both explicit and implicit recommendations made by the respondents to improve the negative attitude towards Xhosa grammar. It found out that generally, the recommendations were informed by Grundy's practical interests. In terms of educational context the recommendations at classroom level revealed that the respondents were advocating the replacement of the structural approach with the communicative. This was evidenced by the objectives, content, classroom procedures, instructional materials and evaluation they recommended for the teaching and learning of Xhosa grammar.

At school level the recommendations were that there should be intersubject and interschool co-operation; and that Xhosa grammar should be taught in the morning when students are still fresh and alert, as another way of addressing problems that emanated from giving Xhosa a low priority. At national level the recommendation was that teachers and learners should be involved in all aspects of the curriculum process. Furthermore, the teachers should be empowered and reskilled through providing the necessary preservice and inservice training. Another recommendation, which aimed at addressing the factors arising at

national level, is the formulation of a language in education policy that allows for the use of Xhosa language as a medium of instruction.

In addressing the factors emanating from the socio-cultural context this study recommended that a democratic and an antilinguicist language policy should be formulated. This would mean that the rights of all groups would be recognized and that all languages would be accorded the political, economic and cultural status they deserve.

This study has also noted that the South African government has attempted to address the issues highlighted in this research through OBE and subsequently Curriculum 2005. Although the attempts of the South African government to redress the imbalances of the education system are admirable, the researcher is, however, of the opinion that the transformation process should go beyond Grundy's practical interests to emancipatory interests. This study proposes that this can be done through adopting CLA in the teaching and learning of Xhosa.

5.2 *Limitations of the study*

Firstly, in researching attitudes one of the difficulties encountered is how to determine criteria that are necessary and sufficient to establish people's attitudes in a definite way. The mentalist view of attitudes

adopted in this study made it difficult to make definite statements about the attitudes of learners and teachers from what they were saying about Xhosa language and grammar particularly. In reiterating this shortcoming of the mentalist view, Fasold (1989: 147) says, `as we know, self reported data are often of questionable validity'. One of the causes of the problems is what Oller (1981:24) terms `self flattery syndrome'. This means that the subjects do not give genuine answers to the question but try to give `right' answers or what they think are expected answers to the question.

In trying to minimize some of the problems, firstly, direct and indirect questions were asked and the responses were carefully scrutinized to check for consistency. Secondly, teachers were occasionally asked to give their opinion about students' attitudes towards grammar and vice versa. The study would have been enhanced by combining the mentalist approach with the behaviourist approach to the establishment of attitudes.

Secondly, the small size of the sample, both of schools and respondents, made generalization difficult. Four senior secondary schools were selected, two schools in Alice and the other two in Zwelitsha. In each school, one Standard Nine Xhosa teacher and six learners were chosen. This study was a small one and the decision to limit the size of the sample

was made to ensure that the study did not develop beyond its anticipated scope. However, a bigger sample of schools and respondents would have allowed for more valid generalizations.

As pointed out in chapter three, this study only used qualitative techniques. The data gathered in this study could have been more exhaustively used if quantitative procedures were applied as well. The interview, an instrument commonly used in the qualitative research, particularly the group interview used in this research, created a favourable and relaxed atmosphere for the interviewees; but it also created problems, as the first response to a particular question tended to influence the answers of the other interviewees.

5.3 *Suggesti a for further research*

From the time this study commenced until the time of writing many shifts have taken place in the educational system of South Africa. These include OBE, Curriculum 2005, new national policies and language in education policies. The attitudes and factors that were evident in this study could have changed in the process. A research study to assess the impact of the new developments on the attitudes of teachers and students towards learning and teaching Xhosa grammar/language would be very interesting. This would entail answering questions such as:-

- Have the provisions of the new constitution of South Africa made any changes in the status of African languages?

- Have they filtered down to the classroom level?

- How far has the process of implementation gone?

Finally it would be interesting to investigate the attitudes of white students and teachers towards the teaching and learning of Xhosa language, now that multilingualism is encouraged.

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