THE USE OF AN ENGLISH LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT TEST ON SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE (EAL) SPEAKERS FROM AN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND:

A CRITICAL EVALUATION

BY

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Speech-Language Pathology in the Discipline of Speech-Language Pathology, School of Health Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal

Durban

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DECLARATION

I, Thandeka Mdlalo[1] declare that this PhD study entitled "**The use of an English language assessment test on South African English Additional (EAL) Speakers from an indigenous language and cultural background: A critical evaluation**" is my original and independent research. It has not been previously submitted for any degree and is not being currently presented in candidature in any other university. All sources and literature have been duly acknowledged.

CANDIDATE'S SIGNATURE: _____

DATE:_____

SUPERVISORS:

_____   _____

 DR. PENNY FLACK   PROF. ROBIN JOUBERT

DATE:_____

November 2013

Speech-Language Pathology

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[1] Formerly 'Maine' and 'Maine' is reflected in some of the documents in this study

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to the loving memory of my late

mother,

Nomonde Constance Mdlalo

Her love, humility and dedication continues to be my

inspiration.

As a mother you were
Like a strong lioness
You nourished us as cubs
You brought us up to become young lions
You were like a vine to your bloodline
Planted by the waters
Fruitful and full of branches
Because of many waters
You had strong branches
And towered in stature
(Ezekiel 19 v 2-3, 10-11)

Enkosi MaMngxongo!

ABSTRACT

 The aim of the study is to provide an in-depth interrogation and critique of the use of language assessment tools on populations from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds, culminating in a framework for guiding the adaptation of language assessment tools to be culturally and linguistically relevant for the indigenous South African populations on which they are used. As South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural country, it contributes to understanding the factors that need to be taken into account for acquiring reliable and valid findings with multilingual and multicultural populations. The isiZulu language and culture is used as a basis for the study as the study is conducted in KwaZulu-Natal.

This study critically evaluates the assessment of English Additional Language (EAL) speakers who are from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background, using an English expressive language screening tool, the Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT) as an example. The cultural and linguistic relevance of this commonly used screening tool is interrogated from four different viewpoints, firstly, the perspective of the children, who are the target population of the tool; secondly, that of the parents and community, who play a significant role in the socialisation of the children; thirdly, from the perspective of the academics from an indigenous language and cultural background, who provide an academic perspective of the tool; and finally, Speech-Language Therapists (SLTs) who administer the tool and interpret the findings.

This study uses a mixed methods approach. Multiple data collection methods are used, such as a survey, focus group, individual interviews, test administration and consensus methods. The survey and Delphi technique form the quantitative parts of the research methodology. Patterns of responses from all the sources are analysed and interpreted.

Methodologically, the research is unique as it uses children as a source of primary data collection. Children, in research, are usually only used in the administration of the test and their opinion of the tool is not sought. In this study the voice of the children is the main contributor to the data collection. The findings also show that adults, who are often relied on as primary data sources in research on language tools used on children, may have certain misconceptions about children's knowledge and views.

A key finding of this study is that the cultural and linguistic background of the child assessed plays a crucial role in determining and interpreting the responses to the presented material of the language assessment tool. The conscientisation of the Speech Language Therapist and the redefining of her role emerge as pivotal aspects facilitating change. Based on this finding, recommendations, such as that the therapist equips herself with knowledge of the language of the client, the cultural and linguistic background of the child assessed, the type of bilingual that the child is, are made so that the reliability and validity of the findings are not compromised.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- BICS: Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills

- CALP: Cognitive or Academic Language Proficiency

- CELF: Clinical Evaluation of Language Fundamentals

- EAL: English Additional Language Speakers

- FG: Focus Group

- L1:   First Language

- L2:   Second language

- Model C Schools: Schools that were previously for Whites during apartheid

- MT: Mother–tongue

- MTAS: Mother-tongue African Language Speakers

- RAPT: Renfrew Action Picture Test

- RWFS: Renfrew Word Finding Scales

- SLA: Second Language Acquisition

- SLI: Specific Language Impairment

- SLP: Speech Language Pathology

- SLT: Speech Language Therapist

- TOLD: Test of Language Development

KEY TO FONTS USED IN THE TEXT

- Times New Roman will be used to represent the general theory and background.

- *Italics Times New Roman will be used to represent the vignettes and expressing mostly the researcher's subjective voice.*

- Arial Narrow will be used to represent other vignettes and therapy context interaction.

This study has developed out of a deep concern over the perpetuation of what I believe to be an unethical practice within the Speech Language Pathology (SLP) profession. I acknowledge that the issue of culture fair assessments requires the development of appropriate tools and methods for culturally and linguistically relevant assessment. However, despite decades of advocacy, position papers and research, Speech-Language Therapists (SLTs) continue to use standardised tools that are available to them even   when these tools are not normed on the appropriate population. For this reason I have chosen to present evidence of the social injustice perpetuated by this practice and provide guidelines for SLP's to consider when assessing EAL children. This is an attempt to conscientise the profession rather than a presentation of a method of culture-fair assessment.

CHAPTER 1

CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

This study attempts to answer the question of how Speech Language Therapists (SLTs) can use English standardised language assessment instruments with English Additional Language (EAL) speaking children who are from an indigenous[2] linguistic and cultural background to achieve the most accurate and valid findings. The findings of a national survey on SLTs in South Africa (refer to chapters 2 and 4), illustrate that there are times when the EAL speaking children are assessed in English and that the assessment of these children in the absence of appropriately normed tools is a key factor concerning the majority of respondents.

Furthermore, as the Literature Review in chapter 3 demonstrates, the population of EAL speakers from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds, who form the majority of the population in South Africa, is rapidly increasing globally. It is therefore critical SLTs are able to answer this question: how can SLTs use English standardised language assessment instruments on EAL speaking children who are from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background to achieve the most accurate and valid findings, so that the needs of this population can be adequately and professionally dealt with.

 By asking this question I am in no way advocating this practice, I am merely suggesting that since it is being done already, it may be prudent to consider ways to ensure the findings are more useful. Currently, the needs of this population are primarily addressed by the SLT through the use of English standardised tests that are predominantly normed on English mother-tongue populations in the United States of America or United Kingdom. This study critiques the use of these tests and provides guidelines for the administration of these tests to the EAL child from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background.

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[2] Indigenous is used to refer to people whose origin is from South/ern Africa

As a context for the critique of these instruments I shall use the framework suggested by the theoretical perspective of Narrative Inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990) in which the voice of each participant in the research process is an integral part of the study as a whole. Thus the personal narratives, not only of the children, but also the narrative of the researcher, are a vital component of the research. With that in my mind, I shall therefore relate my own story, project my own researcher's voice into this study as it too, has shaped my understanding and approach.

It is important for the reader to understand that I, in the context of who 'I am', bring with me knowledge, understanding and perspective relevant to my professional context. I am thus able to respond to the question presented above with a unique lens. The rationale for the study, data collected, its interpretation and discussion is therefore influenced by who I am.

I am

- **an African**
- **a Black woman**
- **the daughter of a strong African woman**
- **a Christian**
- **an education activist at heart**
- **an isiXhosa mother-tongue speaker**
- **an English Additional Language Speaker**
- **the product of African Xhosa culture and township experience**
- **a Speech-Language Therapist**

I am **an African**, a product of the Xhosa nation of Nongqawuse[3] (De La Harpe, De La Harpe, & Derwent, 1998)who reportedly exchanged the livestock of Africans for jewellery and mirrors. I am a product of an apartheid system that demeaned and stripped Africans of their dignity, traditional beliefs, values and language (Grossberg, Struwig, & Pillay, 2006;

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[3] A Xhosa black maiden who is reported, in school history, to have betrayed the black nation by telling them to kill all livestock following a superstitious vision. A different version (believed by Africans) is that she was tricked by the White Settlers as they wanted to dominate the blacks who were wealthy in livestock and self-sufficient. They gave her glittery jewellery and mirrors that were foreign to Africans and she agreed to the betrayal.

Muendane, 2006). My language is a key aspect of my identity, who I am and where I come from.

I am **a Black woman**. As I write, South Africa has just celebrated a public holiday (on 9 August) commemorating the struggle of women when, in 1956, 20 000 predominantly Black women marched to the Union Buildings[4] in Pretoria in protest against the pass laws[5], the carrying of the *dompas[6],* and the continued oppression of Blacks based on race. While I explained the significance of that day to my two daughters, I remembered how my mother related stories of how they ran for their lives in the streets when the police van appeared as one never knew when one might be thrown into the back of it and imprisoned for a couple of days for not producing the *dompas* on demand.

I am the **daughter of a strong African woman,** my late mother, who settled for being a nurse, although her true aspiration was to become a medical doctor. This aspiration was shattered by the introduction of the Group Areas Act[7]. She originally came from a family that had a large house that was used for income generation as a bed and breakfast establishment. The family also had a substantial garden where vegetables and fruit were harvested, sold commercially and used for the sustenance of the family. They were thus reasonably well-off and from the income generated they could have afforded to send my mother to the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa)[8]. However the introduction of the Group Areas Act resulted in the family being moved to the remote township of KwaMlungisi kuKomani (Queenstown). The family could hardly fit into the house provided as it was one of those (commonly described) "matchbox" three-roomed houses, where one room was divided into a

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[4] Government Parliament building
[5] Pass laws restricted the movement, work and family life of black people
[6] An identity book that was to be carried only by blacks
[7] An Act that restricted various race group to different areas, based on race, with blacks being allocated the worst areas
[8] One objective of the apartheid system was to create separate universities for blacks and Whites. MEDUNSA was one of only two medical tertiary institutions in the country that produced black doctors at that time.

sitting room (lounge), kitchen and dining room, and the other two were for bedrooms (Koopman, 2002), one for the parents and the other for the children.

The allocation and division of the house was based on the "White" conception of a typical nuclear family (Maathai, 2009; Mutwa, 2003). However, my mother had twelve brothers and sisters, as my grandfather practiced polygamy and had two wives, a cultural practice which does not fit into traditional White values and marriage system. In Western Judeo-Christian societies, the word *polygamy* often conjures up negative associations, such as backwardness and heathenism (Ntuli, 1999). In African tradition, a man can have as many wives as he pleases, provided they are consulted about the process and he can afford to provide and care equally for them. My grandfather could afford his two wives and, according to my mother's description of growing up in that environment, the wives lived and related well together. My mother and her brothers and sisters indicated that they were extremely happy. My maternal aunt still breaks into loud roars of laughter when she reminiscences about the fun they had during meal times with children eating from one big dish and having discussions, particularly about the period prior to the introduction of the Group Areas Act.

After the implementation of this Act and their forced removal, food and daily living became a struggle. There was an overnight change in their socio-economic position from being well-off to being indigent. My mother described how she wore sack sewn panties to school and then rushed home during break time to wash and hang them to dry for the next day. Mum's greatest fortune of the time was receiving hand-me-down[9] clothes including panties from her mother's White employers. She was not perturbed if they had holes as what mattered was that they were cotton and a treat for 'Sunday best' dress.

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[9] Clothes that have been worn before and passed to others to wear

I am **a Christian.** Sunday was a special day in the Mdlalo household. We all went to church every Sunday. We also had long family prayers daily, half-way through which my father would fall asleep and we would stay on our knees till one of us laughed or coughed. He awoke and continued praying. As we are Christians, we believe in God and Jesus Christ as Our Lord and Saviour. When he was sick or absent from church our regular games at church were interrupted. This meant greater effort to listen to the message of the sermon to be conveyed to dad later. The importance of listening and interpretation was already being highlighted and instilled in me.

Being *amagqobhoka*[10] did not mean that we did not believe in traditional medicine. We went *emntwini*[11] and had *imisebenzi*[12] with *umqombothi,*[13] *nokuxhela*[14] *and saqatshulwa*[15]. I remember once when my mother's thumb was sore and, within a month, her whole arm became painful so the doctor suggested an operation. The first thing we did was consult a traditional second opinion. We went to see *umntu*[16]. Our religious belief system was thus dual, firmly embedded in both traditional and Western ways. As an adult, I realise that the same duality is true of the belief systems of most of my acquaintances and friends who are African. However, the African religious system is often kept secret so that the Western world does not judge it. Archbishop Tutu (2011) in his book *God Is Not A Christian,* strongly criticizes the constant undermining of African values and black theology by Whites in South Africa. As a SLT, the responses from the children I see to the verbal and visual stimuli presented in the language assessment tools also reflect this duality. Sometimes, they will also come to therapy wearing *intambo,*[17] an outward manifestation of their belief system but

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[10] A Black African who has been converted to Christianity
[11] Literal translation is a person but refers to a *sangoma*
[12] Literal translation is work but refers to a traditional ceremony or ritual
[13] African traditional beer
[14] Slaughtering for a traditional ceremony
[15] Protection from an evil ritual including small parallel cuts with a razor, usually on the chest , arm or cheek
[16] A traditional healer
[17] A traditional bracelet or necklace used for protection

hidden under clothes. This belief system is reflected in their responses to verbal and visual stimuli that they interpret, using the context of this belief system.

I am **an education activist at heart**. At home we had daily lectures from my father on how education was the key to escape from the evils of apartheid, which created the poverty of the Black man. I lived in a very politically conscious home. My father had a contract with the nearby shop and we had to fetch the Evening Post.[18]Every afternoon prior to his return from work, we were expected to have read it. We had to be ready to relate the stories or articles to him as he would interrogate us after reading it too. Our opinions had to reflect an understanding of current politics and we were taught to see the news as an apartheid tool and as always biased. Dlamini (2009), a journalist, in his book *Native Nostalgia* comments that, although the media was meant to be utilised as a propaganda tool by the government of the day, it acted instead as a source of political consciousness as the government could not dictate how it was used.

My father conscientised us about the need to be aware of our political world. He encouraged us to pursue our hopes and aspirations for freedom despite our home conditions, the government's attempt to take away our dignity, the Group Areas Act and the 'match-boxed' living conditions. This conscientisation was achieved through regular and compulsory news-viewing and listening. My father often provided an explanation of the TV news and newspaper articles by relating events that supplemented the work we learnt at school, such as that of Nongqawuse related earlier. The story he related was not in our history books even though the event was of considerable historical significance in my culture. Our family closely tracked the events culminating in the Zimbabwean independence. My father provided the narration, which reflected my parents' dream of a free SA, achieved by Umkhonto weSizwe,

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[18] Eastern Cape daily evening paper

the military army of the African National Congress's (ANC)[19]. The ANC radio station, Radio Freedom, which was banned in 1985 (Baard & Schreiner 1986), reinforced these hopes and dreams.

As my parents considered education the key to our escape from poverty, they ensured, despite our circumstances, that we would receive the best education possible. Initially my brothers and I attended township[20] schools. However, my parents had no confidence in the education in township schools as they perceived this source of education to be a tool that the apartheid government used to undermine Blacks. They believed that an alternative to these township schools were missionary schools owned and administered by Catholic nuns and religious orders of brothers. They believed that the quality of the education at these missionary schools was of a higher standard. We remained in township schools until one day I came home with a swollen hand, due to physical punishment at school. Until this point my parents regularly complained about the schools and quality of education, but this physical punishment was the last straw. My mother swore that this was her last child who would be subjected to the torture of these schools. This sparked the next phase of our lives, White schools. My parents went to the bank (to borrow money as I later discovered) and my younger sister was enrolled at Holy Rosary Convent in Port Elizabeth (see photograph 4). She was amongst the first group of Black children accepted at the school. It was such a significant event that her picture appeared in the Weekend Post[21]. I shall briefly mention her experience to demonstrate some aspects of the challenges of bilingualism. Thereafter I will return to my own educational experience and shift from the township schools.

I am **an isiXhosa mother-tongue speaker**. As a five year old, my younger sister came from a home where isiXhosa was the mother-tongue. She entered an environment where English was

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[19] Currently SA political party but liberation struggle movement at the time
[20] A term used for Black areas
[21] An Eastern Cape Saturday newspaper

the medium of instruction (MoI) and was surrounded by peers who spoke a foreign language to her. She was a short, plump and extremely confident girl. This personality once became the source of her corporal punishment at home. If my sister wanted a White child's ruler, she would simply go up to the child's desk, stare at her and, without a word, daringly grab it. If the child protested, she would strike her with the ruler. The teacher was livid and promptly summoned my parents to a meeting that culminated in my sister being disciplined at home. In this study (see chapter 7) I discuss the different phases of the development of the second language in a bilingual child and the associated behaviour at each of these phases. My sister was going through the non-verbal phase and, as an extrovert, she expressed her wants through her aggressive behaviour. In case-history feedback from teachers on bilingual children who have recently entered or are in the process of learning English as a second language, I frequently receive accounts of similar behaviour.

I am **English Additional Language (EAL) Speaker**. My parents had negotiated for my brothers and I to attend the same missionary White school, where English was the MoI. It was a whole new world for all of us. Until then, our only exposure to the White world was on TV and our visits to town on Saturdays. My sister admired and longed for certain White characteristics i.e. long hair. On our return from town, she would mimic the hair by placing an untied triangular scarf hanging on her head, down her back and shoulders and flick it back and forth in front of the mirror. However, her hitting of the White children made my parents realise that language was a problem. Their solution was our nightmare. They introduced a rule that forced us to speak only English at home (see Final Reflections at the end of the study). English was already our nightmare at school and now it had spread to our home. We abhorred the rule and would often not communicate our wants and needs. At this point, however, my sister had become more eloquent in English. We manipulated her competence to our

advantage. We sent her to be the negotiator of our wants and needs. It was a traumatic period since we could not freely express ourselves in our own home, but she became our salvation.

It took a prolonged period before my parents finally realised the negative impact of the rule and the tense atmosphere it created. The rule was eventually abolished and, to our relief, life returned to normal. As an SLT who works in many schools where English is the MoI, the teachers often express frustration at the isiZulu mother-tongue children whose parents refuse to speak English at home so that the children can "learn the language and cope at school." These teachers do not realise the potential impact of their advice to parents. It may be more comfortable and convenient for them, as teachers, for the children to speak English at home, but the impact on the family is not considered or realised.

I am the **product of African Xhosa culture and township experiences.** Being in a White school was a whole new world for me. I discovered new behaviours and vocabulary. At home I lived in a house without a bathroom. We boiled water in a kettle, mixed it with cold water from the tap outside and washed in a *waskom*[22]*in*side the house. Once a month or before schools began, we would bring a big steel bath into the kitchen and have a bath. That was my only experience of a bath. At school, we walked to the public pool to have our swimming lesson. The water that came 'from the top' was my first experience of a shower. Prior to attending a White school, I would not have recognised the picture of a shower-head that appears in one of the standardised tests that is used by SLTs in the profession of Speech-Language Pathology (SLP).

The water in the pool during swimming lessons was also scary. I swam in muddy dams previously but the pool water did not resemble them. I was frightened but did not have the vocabulary to advise anyone of my fear. I entered the deep end and nearly drowned so the

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[22]A word borrowed from the Afrikaans language we used for a washing basin

teacher jumped in to rescue me. At the school I was also invited by White children to their birthday parties. I found their homes to be enormous and different from my own. They also interacted in a different manner with their parents. They talked 'disrespectfully' (in my opinion) to their parents and never put their hands together[23] when accepting something as a sign of thanks. The culture shock continued for me as I watched how they even let a dog into their house and sometimes slept with it. At home we owned dogs, Jock and Rover (see photograph 3), but they knew their place and role. They were for protection and they never went inside the house.

I had only known a razor to be used by my father for shaving his beard but my White school friends used it for their armpits and legs. I was a teenager, but it was the first time I had seen someone shaving armpit and leg hair. I also realised that Africans and Whites had very different perceptions of their bodies. Although breasts were not a significant part of the body that had to be hidden in my culture, I discovered that in White culture they were. I was the only one in my class who was not wearing a bra. My understanding was that women, not girls, wore bras. The word 'bra' was also new. Until then I used the word 'ibody[24]' (pronounced [*ibhodi*]), even when making reference to it in English. My vocabulary, which was associated with my new world, its culture and the norms of this world, rapidly increased. Some of these words included 'lunch box' for 'scuff tin', 'lounge' for 'sitting room', 'dessert' for 'sweets'[25], 'washing powder' instead of 'Omo'[26] and 'cans' or fizzy drink for 'Coke'[27]. As an SLT, I realise that the pictures and words in the standardised tests currently used in the SLP profession are part of Western White culture and norms. When the children that I assess use the words I used prior to going to a White school, and do not recognize the pictures, I am

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[23] A Xhosa way (also found in different forms in other African cultures), of showing respect when receiving from an older person.

[24] A word often used in Black English to make reference to a bra

[25] 'Sweets' is a term Africans use to refer to dessert. It is used instead of the word 'dessert'

[26] Brand name used by black people to refer to all powder soap

[27] Brand name used by black people for all cans or fizzy drinks. The shop would ask you what kind of Coke and you would specify e.g. Sprite or Iron Brew.

reminded of myself during this period. As a professional, I realised that I needed to draw attention to these issues and seek the justice that these children deserve in assessments.

The political liberation from apartheid came and the laws changed. I could study at a previously White tertiary institution, the University of the Witwatersrand. I enrolled for a profession that was unknown to my family and community, Speech and Hearing Therapy.

Initially, I ignorantly applied to a single institution (as all new applicants applied to several tertiary institutions to provide alternatives) for the training for the profession and when I was not accepted, I was devastated. I decided to do a year of a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree and take as many courses as possible in the Speech and Hearing Therapy curriculum, such as Linguistics and Psychology. I enjoyed my BA considerably, so I decided to complete the full three year degree. During these studies, I also did Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology, Politics and other languages, such as seSotho. It was a period of maturing and growth in numerous ways. On completion of my BA degree, I re-applied for the four year degree in Speech and Hearing Therapy as I was determined to be a SLT. I entered the profession as a mature, committed, goal-directed student with a broad Social Science, Humanities and Arts background that influenced the lens through which I viewed SLP.

I am a **Speech-Language Therapist**. My destiny in the profession of Speech-Language Pathology was set by a queue of patients that I observed at Livingstone Hospital. This is a major hospital in Port Elizabeth, in the Eastern Cape in South Africa, at which my mother worked as a nurse (see photograph 2). It served most of the English Additional Language Speakers who are from an indigenous cultural and linguistic background in Port Elizabeth and the outlying rural areas.

I was visiting my mother at the hospital when I noted a particular queue that raised my curiosity. On inquiry, she told me that the individuals in the queue were waiting for the

Speech Therapist. As it was the first time I had heard of the profession, my curiosity increased further. I bombarded her with questions about the profession until she decided to arrange a meeting for me with the therapist. That was my introduction to the profession.

The meeting was a rude awakening for me to the issues facing the profession. I believe that these issues are a microcosm of the issues that are facing South Africa as a whole. The therapist was not a mother-tongue speaker of the majority language in the area, the language of most of her patients, and she admitted to having minimal understanding of their culture. Amongst other concerns that she had, her major challenge was that the materials for assessment and intervention were not culturally and linguistically relevant for the predominantly Xhosa population that she served.

The conversation related above occurred more than twenty years ago and yet the issues highlighted in the conversation remain pertinent today. The profession of SLP still faces the same challenges as it did many years ago.

The day of this meeting was life-changing for me. I took a vow to make a change but also to be that change within the profession. This study is a response to the vow I took at that point in my life. The aim of this study is to contribute to the body of knowledge within the profession by providing guidelines that can be used in the creation of an expressive language assessment test which is culturally and linguistically relevant for African English Additional Language Speakers who are from an indigenous language and culture. This is explored further in chapter 7 of the thesis.

As an African, isiXhosa speaking SLT working in the South African context, predominantly with African EAL speaking children who are from an indigenous language and culture, I have become acutely aware of the difficulties associated with the assessment and management of these children. Even though I have been aware of the inappropriateness of the available

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language assessment tools, I realise, both from personal experience and literature, as I practise each day, that there is a growing sense of urgency to deal with this problem. In my opinion, the consequences can be dire for the individual being assessed, their family and future.

In an article in the *Sunday Times*[28] titled "Multiple Voices are the oxygen of democracy", Mamphela Ramphele, a political activist, writer, academic and former vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town, echoes the sentiments of many people, locally and internationally, when she argues that South Africa's linguistic and cultural diversity is a gift worth celebrating (Ramphele, 2010; 2012). I perceive my work and this research as my personal contribution to the celebration of this diversity.

There is, however, a danger that I am aware of, that comes with such a personal investment in the study. I am constantly concerned that the words I write remain sufficiently clear to reflect the nature of a PhD, a scientific, academic, literary work. There is so much emotional investment in this study that I would like the passion that I feel for the issues that I discuss in the work to be reflected in the descriptions, words and format in which I write. As I write I draw on so many parts of who I am. I also tap into many disciplines as the issues that are raised in this study transcend one discipline.

Since I have positioned myself as the author, it is important that the reader be able to link this position with the aim of the study.

1.1 AIM OF THE STUDY

This study aims to interrogate and critically evaluate the use of language assessment tools in their current form within the South African context and emerge with guidelines for an adaptation that will accommodate English Additional Language (EAL) speakers i.e. multilinguals who are non-mother tongue speakers of English and are from indigenous

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[28] A national South African Sunday newspaper

cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The intention is not to produce normative data but to lay the foundation for research that can produce normative data. It further intends to generate a set of principles by which language professionals will be able to manage the assessment process and interpretation of findings from EAL speakers in a more accurate, equitable manner.

A brief window into the historical, social and professional context of the study shall be provided in the following section. However, it commences with the introduction of some key terminology, concepts, tools and the theoretical and conceptual framework. A key term that appears in the title and the rest of the study is English Additional Language speaker (EAL). The question of what the term 'EAL speaker' is and how it is used in this study is addressed.

1.2 <u>ENGLISH ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE SPEAKER</u>

The focus of this study is how the language is assessed for a specific group i.e. South African English Additional Language (EAL[29]) speakers from an indigenous language and cultural background, how their language is assessed and the challenges this poses for the profession of SLP. Within this identified group, there is a further narrowing of the focus to children who come from a Zulu cultural background and are isiZulu mother-tongue speakers. This is because, firstly, the study is being conducted in KwaZulu-Natal where isiZulu is the majority language and, secondly, isiZulu is the majority language in SA (www.statssa.gov.za).

Although the term 'EAL speaker' is broad, in this study the term will be used to specifically refer to South Africans from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds. The choice of this population was influenced by South African history which is linked to the Martinican and Manichean perspective of binary systems of thought (Gibson, 2003). In South Africa this

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,[29] Although this term may be used differently in various disciplines e.g. Linguistics, EAL will be used to refer to individuals whose first language is not English. English may be a second, third or even fourth language for them. In South Africa, most EAL speakers are also African Language mother-tongue Speakers

binary opposition was linked to the concepts of Black and White. Based on the differences between the physical characteristics of these binary opposites, Black and White, the former was represented as the 'other, essentialized and treated in accordance with the associations attached to the 'other'(Durrheim , Mtose, & Brown, 2011). Negative, oppressive, dehumanising connotations are attached to the 'other' as the most common representation of 'the other' is as the darker side (Birt, 2004; Farr, 2004; McKaiser, 2012; Sardar & Van Loon, 2004). The 'other' i.e. the vulnerable group, due to perceived differences, was reduced to an object, an epistemic imperialism that was based upon the imposition of Western categories and principles (Headley, 2004). Africans who are from an indigenous language and cultural background were 'otherised' and their voice silenced. The impact on the SLP profession has resulted in restricted or minimal understanding of how this 'otherised' group interprets the world. In South Africa, there is a need to establish a new epistemic framework within the profession of SLP that includes the 'other'(Bhabha & Comaroff, 2002). The selection of South African EAL speakers who are from an indigenous language and cultural background is an attempt to develop this revised epistemic framework.

A specific language screening tool is used initially to exemplify and illustrate my argument but its role within the study broadens and becomes more comprehensive. It is deployed as a model to interrogate and critique current practices by SLTs assessing the language of populations of indigenous language and cultural background. It is also used to demonstrate the challenges and ethical dilemmas facing the SLT in the assessment of EAL speakers from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds while suggesting guidelines for dealing with some of these challenges.

In exploring the challenges in practice, mentioned above, the study will apply Critical Theory (Badmington & Thomas, 2008) as a theoretical framework. This theory questions the order of things in society, the creation and maintenance of social systems and the use/abuse of these

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systems within certain vulnerable groups in the name of maintaining order (Badmington & Thomas, 2008; Higgs & Smith, 2006). South Africa has a colonial history of an oppressive, discriminatory and racist apartheid regime. The aforementioned theoretical framework has been selected as it provides an appropriate structure to explain the current practices of language assessment of EAL speakers from indigenous cultural and linguistic backgrounds by the SLP profession, within this particular South African historical context. As both South Africa and the SLP profession have a history of unequal distribution of resources (Pillay, 1997), the Critical Theory framework is useful as it focuses on the unequal distribution of resources in society to the detriment of certain vulnerable groups. It critiques and criticises the hegemonic power relations in society that disadvantage certain members of society because of who they are or because of their lack of knowledge of their rights (Adams & Searle, 1986; Higgs & Smith, 2006). It challenges rather than accepts what authority stipulates; it particularly does not respect either tradition or social status (Sim & van Loon, 2004). If the SLP profession plans to progress and provide an equitable service for all the people of South Africa, it is necessary to contribute to redressing the wrongs of the past.

1.3 LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND SPEECH-LANGUAGE PATHOLOGY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Language assessments are conducted on people who exist within a cultural context. In the following chapters, the link between language and culture will be more extensively demonstrated as cultural capital is embedded in language (Jandt, 2000; Seidman, 2008; Wright & Holmes, 1998). As South Africa has rich cultural diversity, the frameworks and models used in this study would be deficient if they excluded culture. Taylor's model of viewing communication within a cultural context (Taylor, 1994) is used. It is a relevant

selection as a conceptual framework for this study as it discusses communication from a cultural perspective.

Although the profession of SLP falls within the School of Health Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (www.ukzn.ac.za), the aspects covered in this study are broader than health, encompassing such fields as Humanities and Education. The issue of language assessment is a social issue that is also linked to the history of South Africa (Engelbrecht, Kriegler, & Booysen, 1996).

South Africa's recent history of colonialism and apartheid has entrenched issues of power and hegemony which have permeated all levels and structures of society, including the profession of SLP. Language, a particular discourse and vehicle for cultural elitism (Russo, Beckmann, & Jansen, 2005; Wright, 2002), formed an integral part of the power play during colonialism and apartheid. Thus by virtue of language's proximity to the focus and values of the profession, it has impacted on all the Health Science professions, including SLP. Health Science professionals in most of the allied health professions, who were mostly White, middle class and female and were historically drawn from Western society, attended to clientele from diverse backgrounds (Kondo, 2004; Odawara, 2005; Pillay, 2003). The impact of this will be discussed more extensively in the literature review (refer to chapter 3).

1.4 RATIONALE FOR A REVIEW OF HOW ASSESSMENT TOOLS ARE CURRENTLY USED

The question that I as researcher and practitioner have consistently grappled with is how I can conduct a fair, accurate and valid language assessment on an EAL speaker from an indigenous language and cultural background by using a tool that is linguistically and culturally suitable. Taylor and Payne's (1993) definition of assessment has provided a basis for language assessment. They define an assessment as "Data about an individual collected, critically

analysed to gain accurate information on the person's adaptation to the environment "
(Taylor & Payne, 1983, p. 10). Comprehensive data from various aspects of the client's life is
collected, using various means that take into account linguistic and cultural factors, critiqued
and adapted, taking cognisance of all possible contributing factors, including language and
culture, so that the output is an accurate reflection of the language ability of the client.

With this question in mind, as the SLT I consciously pay attention to the individual client's
frame of reference by adapting the assessment. The use of the client's frame of reference has
been discussed extensively by Moro (2008). She draws on the writings of anthropologists,
sociologists and psychologists to demonstrate that the issues discussed in this chapter are not
new perspectives but nevertheless do need to be implemented as they are social realities for
the client. She argues that the client's frame of reference includes family, language, rituals,
education, explanations of life events or experiences, and food (Moro, 2008). A language
assessment, as with any other professional evaluation, must include all the aspects mentioned
by Moro above. Gopaul-McNicol and Armour-Thomas (2002, p. 38) refer to such an
assessment as a bio-cultural assessment system, while Westby (2009) refers to it as being
ethnographic in nature. Such an assessment includes quantitative and qualitative measures,
comprehensive, direct observation, self-reports, surveys, questionnaires and constant
hypothesis testing, based on the information provided.

As an SLT, I find that when conducting such an assessment it is impossible to separate both
objective and subjective means. Bell (cited in Ulin, Robinson, Tolley, & McNeill, 2002), a
psychologist writing on incorporating 'the Self' in his research, captures my sentiments best:

> Answers to my research questions were coming more from my interpretation of
> people, their behaviour, and the words they used to express the realities of their lives,
> and less from instruments, numbers and statistical formulas. At first I felt confused

and insecure. Would others see my work as relevant and legitimate, if I adopted a more qualitative and interpretive approach to research? The uncertainty I felt as a researcher to the people I was supposed to study began to influence the questions I was asking and the methods I was choosing to answer them. Instead of asking questions that emerged from the standardized measures and instruments and relating everything to existing theory, I began exploring everyday life from the perspectives of the people I was studying. I was becoming aware that I could look at research problems differently. I had the power to choose the appropriate methodology for the research question and I was able to incorporate my personal beliefs and research style at the same time. Research was no longer a clinical and academic act; it was human interaction on a very personal level (Ulin, et al., 2002, p. 15).

Although Bell is specifically referring to research, his comments are relevant to language assessment as each case can be regarded as a mini-research project. The example below of an extract of interaction between an SLT and a child from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background is an illustration of the application of the subjectivity that can occur in language assessments:

Picture stimulus	: Lady carrying aplastic bag
Clinician	: What is the lady doing?
Expected response	: Carrying a bag
Child (EAL speaker)	: Carrying a Checkers[30].

In this case, this child's response is acceptable if interpreted by an SLT using the child's frame of reference but unacceptable if the SLT is unaware of the child's linguistic

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[30] Brand name

background. In the township, plastic bags are generally referred to as 'Checkers'[31]; likewise, toothpastes are generally referred to as 'Colgate'[32] and butter or margarine as 'Rama'[33]. The above child's reference to the bag as a 'Checkers' is thus a reflection of his experience. However, the child's choice, based on his frame of reference, is not included as an option in the assessment tool scoring system. Adherence to these guidelines presents a distorted reflection of the language ability of an EAL speaker from an indigenous language and cultural background and the SLT may pathologise a child who presents with a language difference.

The case described above illustrates the intricacy of language analysis and the challenges confronting SLTs. This study highlights and offers suggestions that can contribute to addressing these complexities. The outline is as follows:

1.5 OUTLINE OF STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Chapter One: Contextualising the study

This chapter starts in an unusual but necessary manner to contextualise the research and the researcher within it. An introduction to key concepts and terminology follows which includes a definition of English Additional Language (EAL) speaker and how this term will be used in the study. The creative and diverse use of the selected screening test for language development is explained. The chapter provides a brief overview of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks. Language, culture and the profession of SLP is explored. This chapter concludes by looking at the challenges related to the use of language assessment tools. The rationale for the research is also introduced.

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[31] Brand name
[32] Brand name
[33] Brand name

Chapter Two : Rationalising the Study

In this chapter, the survey findings that provide a rationale for the study are presented and discussed. A descriptive view of the current situation of language assessment in SLP and the challenges facing the profession in SA, is given. Based on these challenges, the aims of the study are outlined and a brief rationale provided for the choice of the theoretical framework and its relevance to the study. Solutions, such as the adaptations of tests and using the client's frame of reference, are explored and finally, the relevance of the study to the South African context is shown.

 Chapter Three- Literature review and conceptual framework

In this chapter, both the global and national literature on culturally fair assessments in the profession of SLP is explored. The challenges facing the profession with regard to the assessment of African EAL speakers who are from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds are highlighted and an ecological approach to the problem is suggested. A model that encompasses a strong ecological component is Taylor's (1986) cultural framework for viewing normal and pathological communication. This model is used as the conceptual framework of the study and is discussed in detail. A key aspect of this model is culture. The relationship between language and culture is discussed as are the implications for the assessment of the African EAL speaking child from an indigenous language and cultural background. The study draws on Critical Theory (Adams & Searle, 1986; Peters, Lancaster, & Olssen, 2003) to discuss the implications of the use of linguistically and culturally irrelevant tools. Its relevance to the South African context is demonstrated by tracing the history of language assessments and their political and historical context. The link between the SLP profession and education is discussed as these two professions face similar challenges in the evaluation of children. Threshold theory is used to demonstrate the heterogeneous nature of the EAL speaking children that the teacher or SLT will encounter.

Government educational legislation is outlined to contextualise the link between the SLP profession and education.

Chapter Four : Research Methodology

In this chapter, the research methodology and design is presented and the motivation for each choice presented. The qualitative and quantitative methods used are explained and data collection and analysis is discussed. The quantitative method involves the survey that is used to help establish the rationale for the study and the Delphi technique, a consensus establishing method (Creswell, 2009; Fink, Kosekoff, Chassin, & Brook, 1984; Skumolski, Hartman, &Krahn, 2007). In this research, it is used to establish consensus among SLTs on the cultural and linguistic relevance of the adaptations proposed to the research instrument. Qualitative methods include the administration of the selected research instrument to children to note the response patterns that emerge as well as individual interviews and focus group discussions to gain insight into the perceptions regarding the linguistic and cultural relevance of the research instrument for African EAL speakers from indigenous language and cultural background in its current form.

Finally, the ethics and legal protocol, which was followed, is outlined. Details of the manner in which this protocol was adhered to and the relevant authorities that were consulted are indicated.

Chapter Five: Findings and Interpretation

The findings of the analysis of the data from the children, parents, community, academics and SLTs are tabled. They are interpreted and patterns that emerge are analysed and explained. The discussion of these findings is presented in a particular format in terms of emerging themes. The themes are human relations (5.1) African perceptions of animals (5.2) and cats more specifically (5.3). The format in which they are presented is in picture form from the

prototype of the language test used and commentary relating to this picture. Finally, the research instrument is revisited (5.4).

5.1: Human Relations

All the pictures pertaining to human relations and the relevant interpretation and discussion are included in this section. This section commences with a comparison of African and Western perspectives and philosophy regarding human relations and how these differences manifest in the responses by the various participants in the study. The findings are linked to implications for the interpretation of the responses of a child from a Zulu cultural and linguistic background to a typical language test.

5.2: African perceptions of animals

In this section, African and Western perceptions of animals are discussed. The responses from all the participants that pertain to animals are reviewed in the context of the African perceptions of animals and the implications for the interpretation of pictures in tests by SLTs when assessing children who are from a Zulu cultural and linguistic background.

5.3: All about cats

Although cats are part of the animal family, there are specific perceptions about cats that warrant a separate discussion. The responses from the participants reflect these perceptions and the discussion highlights how these perceptions can strongly influence the response of a child to a particular picture stimulus.

5.4: Research instrument revisited

The adaptation of the RAPT, the selected research instrument, which includes both the pictures and other content, is introduced. The findings of the Delphi Technique, which was

used to ascertain the cultural and linguistic relevance of the adapted research instrument, are discussed.

Chapter Six: A critique of the findings

An in-depth discussion of the findings and interpretation of the findings is conducted in this chapter. The findings are discussed in the context of current practices in the profession.

Chapter Seven: Positioning findings within the Conceptual Framework

In this chapter the findings are linked to key principles of the conceptual framework used in the study, the process of second language development is explained and key aspects emerging from the findings are highlighted.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion and Recommendations

In this concluding section, a summary of the findings and the implications of the study are presented. Recommendations are made for further research, based on the findings of the study.

Final Reflections

This is a concluding section that reflects on the journey of conducting the study and the personal lessons learnt.

Photograph 1: My father

Photograph 2: My mother

Photograph 3: Our dogs, Jock and Rover

A generation unconscious of race

Powerful lessons in race relations

By ZELDA JONGBLOED

A NEW generation of children, for whom the colour of one's skin is not important and people are accepted as people, is growing up in the Eastern Cape.

And "open" schools, pioneered in South Africa by the Holy Rosary Convent in Port Elizabeth, are teaching pupils, parents and teachers some powerful lessons in race relations.

If pupils at Port Elizabeth's "open" schools could have their way, more children would have the opportunity they have.

"Black pupils are welcome not because they're black, but because they are fellow-pupils and human beings", was the most common comment by white pupils when the Weekend Post set out this week to find how well the system was working after four difficult years.

Fears expressed by some that open schools would have numerous problems have been found to be groundless.

● Full report, Page 15

Mrs LYNNE MAYO, a Sub A teacher at the Holy Rosary Convent in Port Elizabeth, helps some of her young charges in the classroom. Holy Rosary was one of the first private schools in the country to open its doors to people of all races.

Picture: MIKE HOLMES

Photograph 4: A newspaper article (Weekend Post 16 August 1980) with my sister, the EAL speaker adapting to her new environment

CHAPTER 2

RATIONALISING THE STUDY

This chapter explores the issues raised in chapter one in greater detail. The themes that continue to unravel throughout the rest of the study are also introduced here. Although the focus is on the rationale of the study, it is, however, crucial for the reader to constantly keep in mind the aim of the study to link it with the rationale being presented. The aim of the study is to interrogate, critique and analyse the use of an English language screening tool with English Additional Language (EAL) speakers from an indigenous cultural and linguistic background. As part of the process of establishing the rationale for the research, a national survey was conducted with Speech- Language Therapists (SLTs). The findings of this survey are presented in this chapter. The RAPT, which emerges as one of the most commonly used language tests by the survey respondents, is discussed. Critical theory is the lens through which the survey findings are viewed and critiqued. The aims, objectives and key questions of the study are presented.

The discipline of Speech Language Pathology (SLP) has a clientele, both in South Africa and globally, that is increasingly multilingual and multicultural (Jordaan, 2008; Wium, 2010a). The assessment of this diverse population needs to take into account and accommodate its diversity of languages and cultures (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002; Tabors, 2008b). The provision of a culture-fair assessment, however, presents many challenges to the profession (Caesar & Kohler, 2007; Landsberg,2005; Pillay, 2003), such as the limited knowledge and understanding that therapists have of the cultures and language groups from which the clientele comes. This chapter argues that these challenges are relevant for the South African context and that there is indeed a need for research to address the gap in both the assessment of this diverse population and the training of future SLTs.

2.1 THE RESEARCH SURVEY

In order to lay the foundation for the rationale for this research, a national survey of 1000 SLTs, registered with the Health Professional Council of South Africa (HPCSA), was conducted using random sampling. The survey was aimed at establishing the current practices of the SLP in South Africa by ascertaining the profile of the South African SLT and what assessment and therapeutic interventions they use with their clientele. Questionnaires with open and closed-ended questions on areas related to employment, clients, caseload, choice of language, current practices in assessment and intervention, training and challenges, were sent to SLTs (see appendix 1). Since the focus of the study is a specific group of EAL speakers, questions in the survey were centred on this particular population. The main survey questionnaires were sent to 1000 HPCSA registered SLTs via the postal service and a 15% response rate was achieved. The findings were as follows:
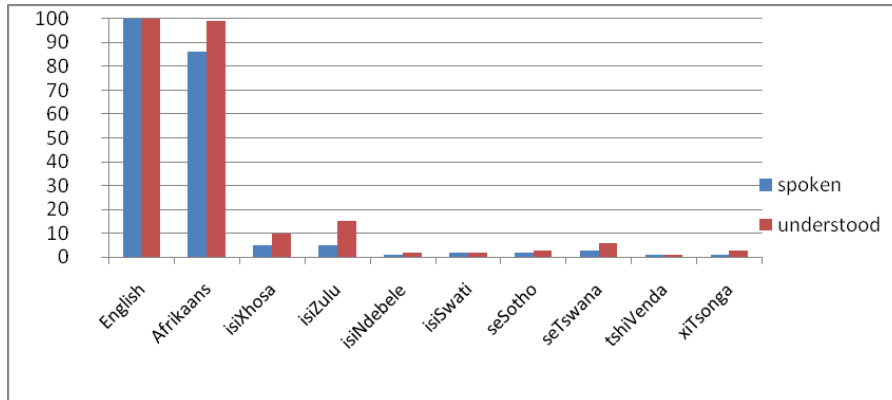
Figure 1 :A bar chart showing the language competence percentages of Speech-Language Therapists in SA

EAL speakers in SLT caseloads

11%

89%

- ■ Have EAL speakers in caseloads
- ■ Do not have EAL speakers in caseloads
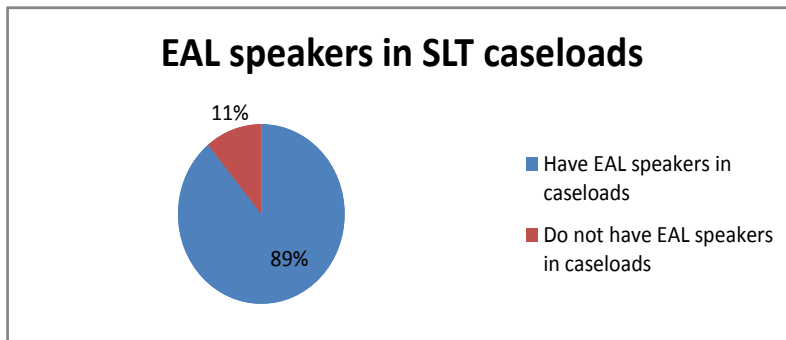
Figure 2: A pie diagram showing percentage of EAL speakers in the caseloads of SLTs

The survey findings indicate that EAL speakers are currently mostly being assessed by SLTs who come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to those of the clients. In South Africa, the majority of EAL speakers use an African language as their mother-tongue, while the majority of SLTs do not. The clients are thus currently being evaluated by SLTs who not only do not speak or understand an African language, but also have a restricted understanding of the culture linked to it. Despite the majority of SLTs having EAL speakers in their caseloads (see figure 2), according to the survey findings, 99% of SLTs are from English or Afrikaans speaking backgrounds. The SLT is thus likely to use her own linguistic and cultural background as a frame of reference for interpreting the assessment findings. This language background influences the language choice and use in assessment. The findings further showed that 86% of the SLTs used English in the assessment of EALs (see chart in figure 3). The picture that has been painted by the findings of the survey places the professional in a very powerful position as she can attach her own worldview to the meaning of the findings and criteria for success. The question to be raised relates to whether these meanings serve the interests of justice and equality (Peters, et al., 2003; Pierce & Stein, 1990).
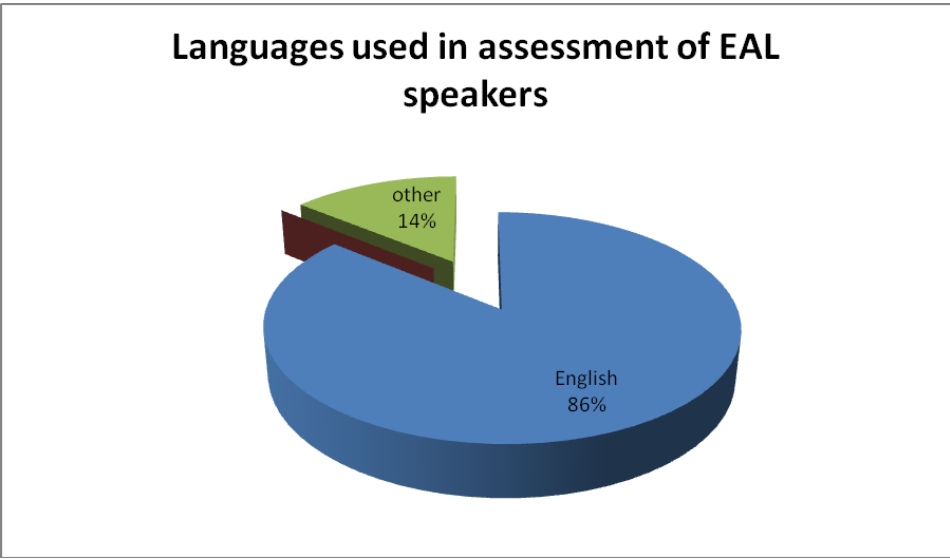
Figure 3 : A chart showing the dominance of use of English in language assessments

There are several reasons for the choice of English in assessments, but the most common reason is the therapist's self-proclaimed restricted competence in other African languages, as reflected in the quotes below:

I feel equipped when the goal is to improve English language comprehension and expression.

I only work in English medium schools where I have an understanding of culture or background and thus sensitivity thereof.

I feel equipped because I don't take on children if therapy is not in English.

English is the language of competence of therapists.

My level of competence in understanding, speaking and thinking about all languages (except English) is insufficient in providing quality, accountable service.

Although some of the therapists are content with the use of English, as reflected in their responses, others have expressed some concerns:

If therapy or assessment is in English, it is straightforward.

Assessment tools and programmes are foreign to these children (referring to EAL speaking children) regarding the language as well as cultural barriers.

There are several reasons why these assessment tools present with these barriers and these include a different language, culture, experience or dialect.

The comments from some of the SLTs reveal that they are aware that the current situation is not ideal and have indicated the need for more research on the creation of more culturally and linguistically relevant language assessment material for EAL speakers.

This study responds to the need for guidelines for managing linguistic and cultural barriers expressed by the SLTs in this survey. Its aim is to interrogate, critique and analyse the use of an English language screening tool on EAL speakers who are from an indigenous cultural and linguistic background. This will inform guidelines for the language assessment of this population that are relevant to the South African context. The outcome of the survey thus provides support for the rationale of this study.

As a result of the challenges mentioned by the SLTs in the survey i.e. paucity of culturally and linguistically relevant tests developed for the South African population (Naudé, Louw, & Weideman, 2007), most evaluations are conducted using these tests. It is not just an assumption that these tests in their current form are not ideal for assessing a South African EAL speaker who is from an indigenous language and cultural background, but research into language development and assessment also confirms this argument (Duncan, 1989; Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002; Juarez, 1983). The content of the currently used tests is

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predominantly based on a linguistic, cultural and social context that is European and/or American. The guidelines for the administration of the tests do not refer to the South African multilingual and multicultural population. The test developers do not expect them to be used with populations with which they are not normed. The reality is however that these tests are used in SA on EAL speakers from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The reasons for this are discussed in chapter 3.

This study does not intend to critique the test per se, but to explore how the use of such tests to evaluate the language of EAL speakers who are from an indigenous cultural and linguistic background can impact upon them. Evaluations that use such tools in their current form disregard the language and culture of the clients they are assessing. The diagnostic accuracy of such an evaluation is questionable as it does not allow for a clear differentiation between a language difference and language pathology (Oller,1983 in Omark & Erickson, 1983). Such a system is thus unfair and unjust (Watson, 2001) as it disregards important aspects of the identity of the client, which significantly impacts on the process and outcome of the assessment. The process and outcome of the assessment is explored in the following chapters.

A common practice in South Africa is to translate assessment tools in an attempt to make their use seem 'culture fair' (Naidoo 1994; Pakendorf & Alant, 1997). However, translation of the existing tools and then referring to them as appropriate for this population has been described by Peña (2007) as surface management because core aspects relating to language concepts and culture that are foreign to the individual being assessed, remain unaddressed. Translation has also been described as being fraught with difficulties such as vocabulary, idiomatic, syntactic experiential and conceptual inequivalence (Barnett, 1989; Jandt, 2000).

Much of the literature and research on language assessment tools for SA's multilingual population in the SLP profession focuses on the creation or translation of tools into African

languages (Bortz, 1997; Naidoo 1994; Solarsh & Alant, 2006). The reality in practice, however, is that despite the recognition of eleven official languages according to the South African constitution, English remains the dominant language in all sectors of society (Burger, 2011; Green, 2008; Kamwangamalu, 2000; Landsberg, 2005; Muendane, 2006), including education (Government, 2011). Many African EAL speaking children from an indigenous language and cultural background are thus taught in settings where English is the medium of instruction (MoI). The language of learning and teaching (LOLT) in many South African schools is English (Lafon, 2007; Landsberg, 2005). Within the SLP profession, most language assessments and interventions are also conducted in English (see figure 3).

The findings of the survey described above have shown that, although the English standardised language assessment tools currently used are inappropriate for the EAL speakers, they remain the tests most commonly used by SLTs to assess this population and they are used in English.
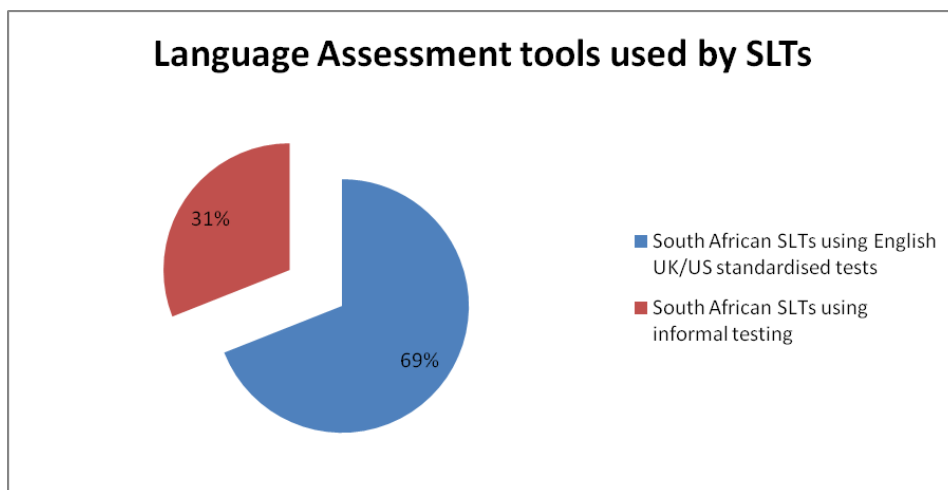
Figure 4 : A chart showing language assessment tools used by SLTs

This study is particularly crucial as today, in South Africa, there are many EAL speakers from indigenous cultural and linguistic backgrounds who are in schools where English is the MoI,

and who are referred by teachers for language assessments to the SLTs to deal with suspected speech or language difficulties. The suspicion of a language problem is usually based upon the child not meeting the classroom language-related demands. Even though the curriculum may be presented in English, the mother-tongue of these South African children from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds is not English and their cultural background is not Western (Higgs, 2010; Landsberg, 2005; Ntuli, 2002). Their language and culture influence their responses to the evaluation as the tests reflect a different society whose language and culture is different from theirs (Higgs, 2003; Kroes, 2005; Makgoba, 1999; Semali, 1999). Apart from these tests being Eurocentrically biased, they are most often used by SLTs of European descent and/ or who are English or Afrikaans L1 speaking South Africans (Joubert, 2007; Pillay, 1997). This situation thus perpetuates a form of colonialism as it is an imposition of European and American language, culture and background on African people and children in particular, who are more vulnerable due to the historical background (see chapter 3)(Guy, 2004; Jeppie, 2004; Kathard & Pillay, 2013). It is crucial to reiterate that there is a distinction between the focus of the test and its application by the SLT. This study focuses on the use of the test by the SLT. It is how and on whom these tests are used that is Eurocentric and perpetuates colonialism.

When evaluations carry a Western bias, the African language and culture that influence the knowledge and belief system of the EAL speaker (Lemmer, Meier, & van Wyk, 2006; Myers, 1992), their background, values and stories, such as found in traditional oral African culture manifesting in African signs and symbols (Maathai, 2009; Mutwa, 1998) tend to be disregarded, devalued, ignored or only superficially addressed (Miller, 2012). This obliteration of the unique indigenous knowledge system that the African EAL speaker brings, constitutes an epistemological silence which can be regarded as an epistemological violence because it regards as obsolete the linguistic and socio-cultural realities that the EAL speaking

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child from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background brings (Headley, 2004; Hoppers, 2002).

In the South African context, the majority of EAL speakers are African language mother-tongue speakers, yet it can be said that the child is assumed to be a *tabula rasa[34]* when the African worldview (Koltko-Rivera, 2004; Ntuli, 1999, 2002) they bring is ignored. As occurred during the apartheid era, African language mother-tongue speakers continue to be disadvantaged, and their indigenous knowledge continues to be denigrated to the knowledge of the 'other' (Ben Habib, 1996; Bohman,1996; Fatnowna & Pickett, 2002a).

Despite the changes that have taken place in the country to encourage greater diversity, such as affirmative action, since the end of apartheid in 1994, the findings of the survey show that the profile of the profession has not changed significantly as it continues to be predominantly comprised of English or Afrikaans speaking women, yet the majority of South Africans are EAL speakers (www.stassa.gov.za). African EAL speakers are thus mostly assessed by SLTs from this socio-cultural background which thus influences their interpretation of the child's response. Saville-Troike (1986) maintains that "Whether we realise it or not, each of us sees the world from a culturally conditioned perspective that we share with the other members of the group"(1986, p. 48).

The adherence by South African SLTs to the use of tests in their current form, has been defended using the medical or clinical model (Honneth, 1993, 2007). These tests have been described as the only formal, standardised and scientific manner of evaluation. The selective use of science has been critiqued by institutions such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation in terms of the extent to which science accommodates the diversity of different knowledge systems and the extent to which it recognises that science is a product of culture (Hoppers, 2002). Science has been criticized for not being sufficiently

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[34]*Tabula Rasa* is a Latin term meaning blank slate

responsive to and inclusive of all knowledge systems as it is skewed towards a single knowledge system, the Western system, which is regarded as the basis for what is normal, civilised and rational, thereby presenting an unbalanced worldview (Andoh, 2011; Fatnowna & Pickett, 2002a, 2002b; Rajchman, 1985). As a result, science has been described as a hegemonic form of knowledge that has falsely been perceived as being value-neutral and non-political whereas it can actually be a vehicle of power and violence (Cobbah, 1987; Scheurich & Young, 1997; Visvanathan, 2002).

Several schools of thought, such as critical theorists, feminists, African philosophers, post-modernists and other ecologically conscious paradigms, have also questioned the use of science as a god that is above all else (Hoppers, 2002; Hountodji, 2002; Veyne, 2010). The standardised tests are created and administered by human beings who exist in a context that influences their thoughts, actions and belief systems, and these are all manifest in their actions and creations. This so-called 'scientific approach' is based on a positivist philosophy that espouses the notion that science is the only truth (Creswell, 2009; Tena, 2002). This philosophy does not take into account the context or the influence of the values and beliefs of the being who lives in this 'truth.' Truth is not unilaterally derived but a product of dialogue (How, 2003; Lotringer, 2007).The adoption of the positivist approach reinforces the unequal power relations in the provision of services within this profession. It has reinforced the monopoly of a certain way of thinking at the expense of others (Foucault, 2002; Rajchman, 1985). This treatise on the stranglehold of science will be expanded on in subsequent chapters, in the discussion on the theoretical framework that forms the foundation for this study.

The argument for using these tests to maintain a standardised assessment has been challenged (Huang, Hopkins, & Nippold, 1997), specifically relating to the use of 'standard.' A standard is set by individuals based on their own agreed set of rules. The use of standards can therefore

give advantage to a certain group of individuals at the expense of others. One point of view is upheld while another is silenced (Bowler & Star, 2002). It is part of the classification and categorising system used to bring order to society. Foucault interrogates the focus and implementation of this order and its detrimental and discriminatory repercussions (Foucault, 2002; Haddour, 2006; Wyrick, 1998).

In the South African context, the survival and continued relevance of the SLP profession depends on the extent to which it equitably meets the needs of all the members of the population (Du Plessis, 2010b; Kathard, 2010). In this way, it will not only fulfil its role to serve society but also play an active role in empowering all the members of the population it serves and not merely a certain sector. By doing so, it will also assist in challenging the questions raised about the relevance of the profession in meeting the needs of the population as a whole (Kathard et al., 2011). The profession has constantly been challenged to remain relevant in the new South Africa (Du Plessis, 2010b; Wium, 2010b). Relevance means adapting to the diversity present in our population (Kathard, 2002). Will it always be a comfortable process? The answer is definitely 'no' as it means treading on unfamiliar ground and the unknown always raises fears, but unfortunately, without an element of fear there is no growth. The process has been described as exploring the 'ethics of discomfort'(Lotringer, 2007) as it involves deconstruction and reconstruction of currently used epistemological perspectives, interrogating current ways of knowledge production (Brock-Utne, 2002; Foucault, 2002) and creating a holistic knowledge framework that responds to all the clients in society with whom the profession works. There will be a need for a shift to a more critical, reflective dialogue, including self-reflection, that places the human being, and in this particular case the client, at the centre (Hoppers, 2002). In the process, the SLTs may find new meaning in the profession while disseminating to South African society a new perception

of the profession that takes into account the needs and service of all the population groups in a fair and equitable manner.

Based on the information provided in the survey, this study will interrogate, critique and analyse the use of an English language screening tool with South African EAL speakers, who are from an indigenous language and cultural background. The use of the test in this study should not give the impression that such a test is regarded as appropriate for the target population used. Instead I, as the researcher, have used the findings of the survey to address the issue of cultural and linguistic relevance in the South African context. This test is used to show how use of a standardised tool that is not normed on this population can lead to irrelevant results, even 'pathologising' children by ignoring their cultural context.

One of the most commonly used language screening tools by the SLTs in the survey is the Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT). The developers of this instrument have indicated that the tool was designed to be used on English mother-tongue speaking children, but the findings of the survey show that, due to the unavailability of locally standardised tests, it is being used on EAL speakers too. The RAPT has thus been selected for use in this study to play multiple roles which include being a typical example of a screening test for language development, for one to demonstrate the impact of using such tests on EAL speakers, a data gathering instrument and as part of the conceptual framework.

IsiZulu mother-tongue language speakers are an example of a group of EAL speakers. Although the study commences with a general discussion of the use of tests on EAL speakers, as it progresses there is a shift in focus to children who come from the Zulu culture and are isiZulu mother-tongue speakers as this is the group particularly used in the study. As the RAPT is an example used, a brief description of the RAPT follows:

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2.2 RENFREW ACTION PICTURE TEST(RAPT)

The RAPT is an expressive screening test for language development that was developed by Catherine Renfrew and originally standardized using English mother-tongue speaking British and Irish children between the ages of 3 and 8 years (Renfrew, 1997a). Although it has disadvantages, for example that it is not culturally relevant to the SA context, it is a short, practical screening test, is quick/easy to administer, is cost-effective, has clear screening criteria and has a wide age range as its advantages. The findings of the national survey on SLTs, discussed in this chapter revealed that the RAPT is one of the most commonly used screening tests for language development by respondents in South Africa for all clients, including African EAL speakers who are from an indigenous language and cultural background.

The RAPT consists of 10 picture stimuli and assesses the ability to convey information and grammar (Renfrew 1997a). It is part of a more comprehensive battery of tests, comprised of two other tests, namely, the Renfrew Word Finding Scales (RWFS) (Renfrew, 1997b) and the Renfrew Bus Story Test (RBST) (Renfrew, 1997c). The RWFS is used to assess the word-finding abilities of the child i.e. the cognitive process of accessing a word to use, for example, in verbal communication. The RBST evaluates discourse skills such as retelling a story and appropriate use of language in context, using picture stimuli. Each of these tests can be used separately but, for practical reasons i.e. as each subtest is comprehensive and could constitute a study on its own, only one of the tests has been chosen for the purposes of this study.

As the standardisation of the test was based on Western culture and experience, thereby reflecting a Western worldview, the contents of the test are based on the experiences of participants with a UK context, as acknowledged by the developers of the test in the administration manual (Renfrew 1997a). Although the problem investigated in this study, that of culture-fair assessment, is not unique to South Africa but is a global problem that has been

identified in places such as Australia (Ball & Peltier, 2011), Europe (Moro, 2008) and Canada (Thordardottir, 2011), the solution sought in the study is especially relevant to the South African context as it is based on African language and cultural experience.

It is important to take certain factors into account when exploring language assessment of children from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background. Children exist within a context where adults play a significant role in shaping their lives; these adults are:

- parents and community members
- experts in the language and culture of the children on whom the tests are used and are consulted on the linguistic and cultural relevance
- the SLTs who administer and interpret the tests

2.3 THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

2.3.1 Aim

- To interrogate and critique the use of an English language assessment instrument with EAL speaking children who are from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background.

2.3.2 Objectives

- To ascertain how SLTs working with EAL speaking children are currently assessing the children's language.
- To explore the cultural and linguistic relevance of an English language screening instrument on EAL speakers.
- To ascertain the opinions of SLTs on recommended adaptations.
- To suggest guidelines for the language assessment of EAL speakers.

- To suggest a framework for the adaptation of the English language screening instrument for EAL speaking children from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background

2.3.3 Key questions

1. How are EAL speaking children currently being assessed for language?

2. How does this impact upon the outcome of the assessment and the consequent implications for the child who is assessed?

3. What is the linguistic relevance of language assessment tools currently being used for children who are from the Zulu culture and are isiZulu mother-tongue speakers?

4. What is the cultural relevance of language assessment tools currently being used for children who are from the Zulu culture and are isiZulu mother-tongue speakers?

5. How can the current language screening tests be adapted to be more linguistically and culturally relevant?

2.4 CRITICAL THEORY

Critical Theory has been used as a theoretical framework in this study because it is an appropriate lens through which to view the data and critique the outcome. Key aspects of Critical Theory include the relationship between knowledge, power and truth in the social context (Higgs & Smith, 2006; Lois, 1999). As EAL speaking children from indigenous cultural and linguistic backgrounds are a vulnerable group, drawing on this framework is appropriate to discuss the social, economic and cultural factors that become relevant. It further gives an appropriate paradigm through which to view theory and the world (Kellner, 1989, p. 8).

As the issues raised in this study are human issues, by their very nature, they become subjective. This theoretical approach is subjective and I draw on many examples from my own personal experience as an SLT. Although the positivist paradigm associates subjectivity

with being unscientific and lacking in validity and reliability (Major & Savin-Baden, 2010), the interpretation and analysis of the data includes a subjective element in line with critical theorists' belief that all analysis or interpretation is subjective. All truth is subjective as it emanates from human beings who have been influenced consciously or unconsciously by their current and previous history and belief systems (Delanty & Strydom, 2003). Since the background and experiences differ, there are multiple truths reflecting the varying backgrounds, knowledge and experiences (Peirce & Stein, 1995). Often, however, Eurocentric standards, based on Western norms and beliefs, are used as a basis (Awaad, 2003; Crossman & Devisch, 2002) thereby maintaining the status quo.

Adhering to the status quo can constitute a form of oppression as it can ignore the values and belief systems in certain sectors of the population. It may, however, not be deliberate or consciously done but that does not change the reality. The reality of the South African context is that White South Africans benefited directly or indirectly and consciously or unconsciously from a system that oppressed the rest of the population. Part of this oppression involved undermining other people's traditions and values. Misconceptions that were created that posited Western ways of thinking as the only truth need to be revisited, challenged and reviewed. Critical theorists refer to this process as conscientisation, a process whereby this oppression is brought to the fore and resisted (Higgs & Smith, 2006). This process needs to be undergone by both the oppressed and the oppressor because the oppressed gets to a point where they accept the oppression as the norm (Biko, 2004; Owomoyela, 1996). "The Western values and cultural norms that dominate society become accepted by all races as superior to indigenous value systems,"(Higgs & Smith, 2006, p. 72).

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<u>Summary</u>

In this chapter, the research survey, that is a key component supporting the rationale, was presented. The emergent themes, such as the dominance of English, the use of English standardised tools that are normed on predominantly UK and US populations and the difficulties linked to the use of these tests on EAL children from indigenous cultural and linguistic backgrounds, were unbundled. Critical Theory, as the theoretical framework, and the language assessment instrument, the RAPT, were revisited and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the relevant literature on the link between culture and assessment, commencing with the definitions and understanding of key concepts in this study, such as culture, language and assessment. It further examines the issue of culture-fair assessments globally and nationally, the importance of culture, its relevance to the evaluation and management of the client within the Speech Language Pathology (SLP) profession. Taylor's cultural framework for viewing normal and pathological communication is presented as the conceptual framework underpinning the study which accentuates issues of culture, equity and justice in language assessments. The South African language and cultural reality is presented. The Speech- Language Therapist's (SLT) awareness of these realities within the South African context is discussed. The development of tests is introduced to provide a context for the changes within the SLP profession. Legislation, policy, language and education are also mentioned as these aspects influenced the changes in the profession. Since the English language is significant in these changes, the English language in society and within the profession is discussed. Finally, the heterogeneous nature of the EAL children is shown using the Threshold Theory.

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3.2 LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Language as a tool of communication has been defined as a socially shared code or convention system for representing concepts as arbitrary symbols (Burling, 1970; Durrheim , et al., 2011; Jackendorf, 2007; Owens, Metz, & Haas, 2007; Riley, 2007). The phrase 'socially shared code' implies a code shared in society by different groups such as cultural

groups. Language is therefore one of the main tools used by different groups in society to define and construct identities (Ball, 2005; Dlamini, 2009; Ji, Zhang, & Nisbett, 2004). Ngcobo (2007) satirically illustrates this point through his description of dinner table conversation with the family of a South African Indian friend where he was the only one who could not understand the English spoken. The words used were linked to the friend's language background and formed part of his cultural group. This group cohesion is typically achieved through early socialization into the group's norms, values and belief systems and these shared values are passed on through language (Moro, 2008). Language therefore represents a powerful tool of self-definition and expression and becomes a means through which various cultural and social groups can find unique expression (Jandt, 2000; Ji, et al., 2004; Tabors, 2008b). This link between language and culture has been made as far back as the nineteenth century by philosophers such as De Saussure, who argued that language is a cultural phenomenon (Riley, 2007; Sardar & Van Loon, 2004).

With this role of language in mind, it becomes essential for professionals in the language field to understand and always draw on mother-tongue, socio-cultural meanings when involved in the management of language assessment of multilingual and multicultural populations (Damico & Damico, 1993; Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002; Solarsh & Alant, 2006).

Erickson and Iglesias (1994) outline the case of children who come from Hispanic cultures. These children do not respond to questions asked by an adult to which the adult is regarded as already knowing the answer, as they perceive the question as purposeless e.g. being asked to name an object that the adult already knows. In these Hispanic cultures, the socialization agent does not engage in the question 'what is this?' to a child when pointing and referring to an object known to the adult (1994, p. 182), and yet this question is the basis of many of the tests in SLP. During an evaluation, the child is presented with a picture and asked to name it.

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As it is visible to the adult who already knows the answer, it does not make sense for the child to respond. A child from this Hispanic culture may also be accustomed to providing a non-specific response together with a gesture, but such a response would be deemed by the SLT who may not understand the cultural background as reflecting a difficulty. It is thus essential for the SLT to understand language problems confronting individuals of diverse backgrounds. This does not always occur (Jordaan, 2008; Miller, 1984; Muller,Munro, & Code, 1981; Taylor, 1986). For instance, in South Africa, which has racially, culturally and linguistically different people, this diversity is not always reflected and appreciated in the language tests used by professionals in the language field, particularly in SLP (Pillay, 1997).

The use of English language assessment tools that are normed on predominantly US or UK populations, in their current form adversely impacts on the appropriate evaluation of individual clients from other culturally diverse backgrounds, thus preventing them from using their own frame of reference(Luger, Sherry, Vilakazi, Wonnacott, & Galvaan, 2003; Pascoe & Norman, 2011). Apart from being disempowering for both the client and the therapist, such an assessment can also generate questionable findings. For example, a picture of a thermometer is one of the stimuli in the Oral Vocabulary Subtest of the Test of Language Development (TOLD-P), a tool used to assess expressive (the language orally produced) and receptive language (the language understood) (Hammil & Newcomer, 2008). A child who has never been exposed to a thermometer in their life experience may not be able to name it in a test. Several similar responses to these picture stimuli, that do not reflect the child's environment, may culminate in a depressed oral vocabulary score being derived and recorded, which further pathologises, disempowers and disadvantages the client. This inaccurate score may suggest a problem which does not exist and be used as a basis for intervention, referral or access to resources/institutions, all of which may not be appropriate since they are based on an inaccurate test score (Cofresi & Gorman 2004; Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002).

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Comment [p4]: Which? Referent?

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The use of these tests on EAL populations in their current form has been criticized both locally and globally for, firstly, linguistic bias, secondly, cultural bias and thirdly, disproportionate representation of different language and cultural groups in normative samples (Bortz, 1997; Du Plessis, 2010b; Huer & Saenz, 2003; Pillay, 1997; Taylor & Payne, 1983).

Firstly, the language that is used in these tests also presents many challenges for an African EAL speaker who is from an indigenous language and cultural background. Some of the concepts and words that are presented are foreign to the South African context. For example, in my experience as a SLT, the words *steeple* and *spire* found in the Renfrew Word Finding Test (RWFS), a test for children in the age group 3 to 8 years (Renfrew, 1997b) are not familiar to most South African children as they are not commonly used in South African English. Many children are also unaware of the meanings of words such as *garnishing, perilous* and *modular*, that are found in the Test of Auditory Comprehension of Language (TACL-3), a receptive language test appropriate for the age group of preschool and primary school i.e. 3 to 9 years (Carrow-Woolfolk, 1998).

Secondly, the cultural background of South Africans, especially African EAL speakers who are from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds and who are the focus of this study, differs from that of the population on which standardised tests have been normed. For example, some of the stories and nursery rhymes, such as *Little Red Riding Hood* and *Polly Put the Kettle On*, that are regarded as part of common preschool curriculum and reflected in the tests, were not learnt in preschool by many South African children, including myself. They were not part of my worldview and the concepts included in them were not part of my daily experience. They are part of the Western Eurocentric worldview and the use of these stories and rhymes is an act of imposition of this worldview. I only learnt them as an adult and student, when working in environments where they were used. Hoppers (2002) relates

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Comment [p10]: are these words at the level of preschool children in the test though? You are giving examples of words that even for Eng L1 speakers may only be high school level words? These words may be there to assess for the gifted or way above average 9 year old

incidents of how her primary school teachers taught her rhymes and songs containing concepts that were not reflected in her environment. The illustrations of nursery rhymes and stories provided above shows some differences between African and Western worldviews (Metz, 2007; Ntuli, 2002; Scheurich & Young, 1997; Waghid, 2004).

The African vs Western worldview

The African and Western worldviews are reflected extensively in literature (Coetzee & Roux, 2003; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008; Eze, 1997; Hallen, 2002; Imbo, 1998; Masolo, 1994; Muendane, 2006; Mzamane, 1999; Owomoyela, 1996; Schneider, 1981; Tempels, 1959; Tutu, 2011; Wiredu, 1980). Ntuli (2002) compares and contrasts the Western and African worldview. Whereas binary opposites, which are central to the positivist view, play a key role in Eurocentric thought, Ntuli (2002) argues that complimentarity and inter-connectedness are primary principles in African philosophy. An example of binary opposites is the Western interpretation and perception of Christianity and African spirituality. Whereas Christianity, from a Western perspective, is associated with goodness, progress and civilisation, African spirituality is linked with backwardness and barbarism (Mutwa, 2003; Mzamane, 1999; Tena, 2002). The practices and daily life of both the urban, rural, young and old, traditional and modern African, illustrates that both African spirituality and Christianity are intrinsic and intertwined aspects of the African who is from an indigenous language and cultural background, such as Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho(Hirst, 1998; Kathard, 1998; Pattman & Khan, 2007). For example, in these cultures today, a cultural ritual or ceremony that is linked to the ancestors may be started and ended with a Christian prayer. Praise names that are an intrinsic aspect of African culture and ancestral communication are often incorporated in church in

prayer, using both the Western Christian and African names for God e.g. Thixo[35]and Qamata[36].

Whereas Western society tends to be more individualistic, African society is more communal, comprised of a fused, socially constructed 'we' rather than the Western additive 'we' of individuals (Fatnowna & Pickett, 2002c; Tempels, 1959). Literature on African culture and society provides numerous examples of how things are done for the good of society as a whole, rather than for the individual (De La Harpe, et al., 1998; Joyce, 2009; Koopman, 2002; Magubane, 1998).Concepts such as *ubuntu*[37] and phrases such as *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*[38] reflect this communal value of African culture(Nussbaum, 2003; Olinger, Britz, & Olivier, 2007). This value is also manifested in relations amongst society members, especially through respect(Krog, 2008; Metz & Gaie, 2010).

Although all cultures are proponents of mutual respect, it is manifested differently in each of them. In African culture, this respect is translated differently in various relationships such as man and woman, in-laws, children, peers, and adults and children. It manifests both in behaviour and language (Burnham, 2000; Cobbah, 1987; Majeke, 2002; Mkhize, 2004b). For example, in Xhosa culture, the nature of respect showed between brother and sister changes e.g. manner of address and more respectful behaviour, after the brother returns from *esuthwini*[39], an important rite of passage from boyhood to manhood. This journey that the man has undertaken is acknowledged in society by expressing a new kind of respect for him(Menkiti, 2007). In turn, the man must behave accordingly by being respectful to members of the society e.g. in terms of dress and eye contact.

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[35] isiXhosa name for Christian God
[36] Traditional name for God used prior to introduction of Christianity
[37] Ubuntu : is an African concept that indicates respect for another human
[38] Translated : *you are only human because you belong to humanity*
[39] Circumcision school

All the aspects of the African culture described above are reflected in language (Bennett & Tsoeu, 2006; Koopman, 2002; Marais et al., 2010; Mutwa, 1998). These aspects of African culture are not only manifested in the indigenous language, but also the type of vocabulary or language used will be linked to culture. An example from the SLP profession is the TOLD-P (Hammil & Newcomer, 2008) Semantic Relations Subtest, where a child is given a word and asked to define it, for example the word 'cow'. The expected responses are embedded in the Western (Semela, 2001) perception of a cow as a four-legged animal that produces milk and meat. Some of the responses received from children who come from the Zulu or Xhosa culture are completely different from the expected responses. They describe the cow based on their cultural experience e.g. funeral[40], for *umsebenzi*[41], cut[42], wear it[43]. It is common practice in Zulu or Xhosa culture for a cow or sheep to be slaughtered in events such as weddings or funerals. At rituals, (*umsebenzi)* a cow, sheep or goat may also be slaughtered, depending on the aim of the ritual (Mutwa, 2003).Children from these cultures associate animals with these events.

 A child who is still in the process of developing English as a second language may be using the simpler term 'cut' rather than the more specific term 'slaughter'; this is a typical phenomenon noted in children in the process of learning English (Paradis, 2007a). Another common response to the word 'cow' that I as the researcher might have included in response to the question in the test on definition or associations with the word 'cow' is 'sleep on it' as the children at my home slept with the hide of a cow under the mattress, as this was regarded as a form of protection. Parts of these animals, such as the tail or skin, are also worn as symbols of protection against evil, hence the response 'wear it.' These explanations indicate that all the responses are based on the children's experience and the culture of their parents

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[40] A cow or sheep is usually slaughtered during a funeral
[41] Directly translated means work but refers to a traditional ritual
[42] Referring to the slaughtering
[43] The tail of a cow or goat is usually worn as a traditional bracelet

but are not included in the test as acceptable responses because the individuals involved in establishing these norms are from a Western background and this Western background has become the point of reference for the assessment of all other children in South Africa. From a Critical Theory perspective, Western philosophical hegemony tends to regard itself as the standard and any deviation is regarded as the 'other', the difference being rejected and devalued (Venn, 2006; Yancy, 2004). If the SLT uses the test's stipulated acceptable responses to interpret the child's response, the child's response will be regarded as incorrect as the African belief system is not accommodated in these tests. In Western culture, the practices described above are regarded as backward and barbaric as they are based on Western standards (Haddour, 2006; Hoppers, 2002; Ntuli, 2002).

Although all South African children come from different backgrounds to the participants on whom these tests were developed and normed, African EAL speaking children from an indigenous language and cultural background face more challenges when they are assessed on these tests as the pictures, language and vocabulary they use in their daily experience reflect their own culture, as illustrated above, rather than Western culture. As the test does not provide options of vocabulary that forms part of the cultural experiences of these children, it is important for the SLT to interpret the responses of these children in terms of their background for an accurate result.

 Finally, there is disproportionate representation of children who are linguistically and culturally diverse in normative samples. Gopaul-McNicol and Armour-Thomas (2002, p. 46) comment that the majority of children included in the development of norms process of the standardized tests are from two groups namely, the dominant group and a group described as "the rest." This dominant group is described as Anglo or European-American. The "rest " are comprised of groups of non-European origin (2002, p. 46). In South Africa, the Anglo or Western European group is in the minority but is the dominant group and culture (Landsberg,

Comment [p12]: Not a baseline as tests are not developed to be used here – rather this norm is being imposed BECAUSE clinicians here are using the tests

Comment [p13]: What- in the tests? In their day to day communication ? in the classroom? In their experience?

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2005). The tests that are normed on predominantly English UK/US-based populations are frequently used to evaluate the language skills of groups of South African children, as there are few alternative standardized South African assessment instruments.

In tests such as the Test of Language Development (TOLD-P3), which is a receptive and expressive language assessment tool for the preschool and primary school child, the normative sample consisted of 15% African Americans and 8% Hispanics. Their performance was lower than that of their peers so the normative distribution of the normative sample was decreased (Laing and Kamhi, 2003). In my opinion as researcher, this solution has merely papered over the cracks and not addressed and investigated the reason for their different performance i.e. the lower performance. Vaughn-Cooke (1983) also cautioned against the lowering of norms as a solution to the lower performance of children who are EAL speakers as this act still evades the problem. In the example of the cow given earlier, the responses given by the child do not form part of the options provided by the test for the SLT to consider. An SLT would thus mark the response as incorrect as they are not reflected in the responses in the test administration manual. The outcome could thus be a lower score which undermines and pathologises a potentially normal child.

The above examples demonstrate that these tests are not appropriate for use in their current state without adaptation for the South African English mother-tongue speaker, but even more so for the African EAL speaker who is of an indigenous language and cultural background. The SLT needs to accommodate the variations in response which requires research into the South African child's knowledge and experiences and the language and vocabulary linked to her daily life and cultural practices. As the study focuses on the African EAL speaker who comes from an indigenous language and cultural background, research into this child's indigenous knowledge system (Fatnowna & Pickett, 2002b) which is crucial to ensure that the

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adaptation is relevant to the daily experiences of this child, will provide essential information that reflects her indigenous world-view (Butler, 1994; Cheng, 1994).

3.3 CULTURE AND ITS ROLE IN LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT

Although culture is defined as a way of life, a set of learnt and shared group values, (Ngcobo, 2007; Riley, 2007), this definition   would be regarded by Taylor (1994) as very simplistic and lacking in many aspects that are intrinsic to culture. These aspects include community consciousness, outlook, lifestyle and relationship to the universe. Gordon and Armour-Thomas (1991 cited in Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002) offer a more comprehensive definition of culture that is comprised of five key dimensions. These dimensions are:

1. The judgement and normative dimension : values and social standards

Each cultural group has certain values and sets certain standards to which it expects the members of the group to adhere. These values and standards are regarded as norms for that group and govern their social behaviour (Mead cited in Sardar & Van Loon, 2004). For example a Xhosa man who has not gone to circumcision school is regarded as a boy for the rest of his life and as a social outcast by his community. He will be judged as undeserving of a certain level of honorific or respectable behaviour in terms of what is regarded as the norm for becoming a man i.e. going to circumcision school. The relationship he has with his family and society will be informed by his status. In the discussion chapter, these values and social standards are linked to the human relations theme that emerges in the data.

2. The cognitive dimension: mental aspects, such as attributions and social perceptions
    that are expressed through language

In Xhosa culture, the attributions and social perceptions of a scarf differ depending on how it is used or worn in a particular context, and it has a variety of labels (expressed through

language) attached to the same referent i.e. the scarf. Contexts in which it is used or worn are significant in showing the nature of human relations e.g. around the waist to indicate respect to in-laws, around the head to indicate a married woman, around the shoulders showing respect at a prayer meeting. Even the type or colour has certain attributes attached to it as a black head scarf shows that the lady is mourning a family member. The attributes and social perception of 'scarf' are expressed through the language. The word used for 'scarf' indicates to the interlocutor without further explanation how it will be worn and the context. Language is used symbolically thus providing the creation of shared symbols and meanings, so becoming a primary source of collective consciousness(Ntuli, 1999).

3. *The affective dimension: collective emotions, feelings and sources of motivation*

Based on the values of the cultural group, individuals have differing motivations to engage in certain activities. In Xhosa culture, a young man who has just returned from undergoing the ritual of circumcision will find his family are filled with extreme pride that the transitional rite of passage from boyhood to manhood has been completed (Joyce, 2009). Even the mode of address by younger members of his family and community changes to a more respectful one. The respect and honour that accompanies this rite of passage acts as motivation for the young man as he approaches the appropriate age. The transformation of relations between the family and society and the young man is part of the theme explored further on human relations in this study.

4. *The skills dimension: capabilities of members of the social group to adapt to the social and economic demands of their environment*

This aspect of culture refers to the dynamic and constantly changing nature of culture that is often influenced by the social and economic demands of the cultural group's environment. Modern society has affected the changing role of different members of African society causing them to adapt to social and economic demands. The change from an extended to a

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nuclear family and the use of money to represent cattle in *lobola*[44] in marriage are examples. The process of *lobola,* culminating in marriage, is pivotal in establishing relations between the two families that are being joined thereby forming a significant part of human relations.

   5. ***The technological dimension: the products of a social group and how they are used.***

Based on their value systems, cultural groups develop products that are relevant for them. Many financial institutions in South Africa, such as banks, have developed products which are targeted at stokvels[45] and Masingcwabisane[46], i.e. funeral saving schemes. These saving phenomena are unique to the South African context in communities of indigenous Black South Africans and have evolved from early days, when funds were kept under the mattress,to today when financial institutions e.g. banks, are used (Gordon and Armour-Thomas, 1991 cited in Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002). *Stokvels* and *Masingcwabisane* are groups in which society members support each other, thereby reflecting human relations in society.

The above description of culture demonstrates that culture is complex and multifaceted. This challenge of multicultural and multilingual populations in language assessment and intervention is not purely a South African phenomenon. Non-biased, culturally and linguistically relevant assessment and intervention in multilingual populations has consistently presented many challenges globally (Carter et al., 2005; Guisti & Befi-Lopes, 2008; Celeste Roseberry-McKibbin & O'Hanlon, 2005; Saenz & Huer, 2003; Taylor, 1994). Miller (1984) highlights key issues that challenge the language assessment process such as the child's learning environment, learning experience, attitudes of service providers, maintenance of the mother-tongue languages and resources. It is essential that a child's learning environment and learning experience acknowledge and accommodate his linguistic and

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[44] Payment by the groom to the bride's family that forms part of the exchange of gifts during the marriage process and negotiations
[45] Short term saving schemes for different occasions, such as Christmas groceries
[46] Direct translation is 'let's bury each other', funeral scheme

cultural background as children are not a *tabula rasa*[47] in the learning process but bring this background with them in the learning context.(Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002; John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). Learning is influenced by prior learning which is embedded in a linguistic and cultural context (Taylor, 1986). The attitudes of the service providers, such as SLTs, towards this prior knowledge will influence the outcome and quality of the service that they provide (du Plessis, 2010a, 2010b; Duncan, 1989). The acknowledgement and accommodation of the linguistic and cultural background and the experience of the child needs to be reflected in the resources used by the service provider (Bowen, 2009). Irrespective of what the mother-tongue of the child is, these resources should be reflective thereof (Miller, 1984; Solarsh & Alant, 2006; Sperber, 2004). Valdes and Fuguera (1994) highlight that psycholinguistic factors such as reaction or latency –time to encode the L2, word detection, verbal association, interlingual flexibility and ambiguity will also impact on the language assessment process of the EAL speaker. Latency time, a delay in response may manifest in a below average score in language processing or auditory processing tests used by the SLT such as the Test of Auditory Processing Skills (TAPS). Word detection and verbal association involve detection and association of the word and both skills are influenced by usage, exposure, experience (Dijkstra & Heuven, 2002), which are linked to language and culture. The differences in meanings of words that are discussed earlier in this chapter that are influenced by culture will affect flexibility of the EAL speaker when switching between the languages and result in the ambiguity or perceived ambiguity of certain words by the EAL speaker. All these concepts will be related directly to responses of the children in the study in chapter 6.

 Taylor (1994) further argues that the knowledge and understanding of culture is essential for discrimination between normal and abnormal communication. He thus deduces that it is

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[47] Latin word meaning *blank slate*

imperative that SLTs adequately understand the cultures of their clients in order to effectively assess and manage communication disorders within a cultural context. An anecdote told by Tania Hawthorne, a health professional (general practitioner) working at a hospital in Kenya, demonstrates the importance of understanding culture as a health professional:

> I was treating an elderly lady who was complaining of a painful knee. After cleaning the knee, prior to injecting it, the lady ululated loudly and spat at me. This occurred three times, until I eventually finished the treatment. I was very angry and even contemplated stopping the treatment due to the 'despicable and unhygienic action of the elderly Kenyan lady,' but was convinced by her colleagues to continue. Later that evening, my colleagues from the hospital explained to me that the actions of the elderly Kenyan lady culturally showed intense gratitude and the spitting represented blessings that she was showering me with (Hawthorne, 2010).

 When conducting research on language, the researcher must thus shift from an explanatory to an interpretive (Delanty & Strydom, 2003) model that allows for a rich interpretation of culture, which takes cognisance of the cultural codes in which social discourse is embedded, is sensitive to various forms of meaning and pays meticulous attention to detail. This social discourse should shift from a colonial discourse that pathologises the African based on perceived difference (Parry, 2002), to an Afrocentric social discourse that puts African ideals encompassing African culture and behaviour at the centre of analysis (Majeke, 2002). This new social discourse should excavate currently or previously subjugated knowledges to address the epistemological disenfranchisement of the 'other' (Bell, 2002; Ben Habib, 1996; Hoppers, 2002). This change in social discourse involves a shift from a dominant Western discourse to reflect the cultural hybridisation and plural nature of knowledge (Crossman & Devisch, 2002). It involves integration of world-views in a manner that shows tolerance, sensitivity and respect, while facilitating transformation (Fatnowna & Pickett, 2002c).

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Westby (2009) also argues that cultural competence is the basis for any successful intervention. Although a model that is used for language assessment has to take into account culture, Kelly (1963, p. 24) comments that it should also inspire intervention, suggest predictions about people's actions in a variety of contexts and encourage the adoption of new creative approaches that will contribute to a solution to the problem of cultural incompetence.

Unless we seek to understand the cultural backgrounds of our clientele, we shall continue to be confused by their response in assessment. Lack of understanding of the client's cultural background robs the SLT of an opportunity to gain an emic view that informs the client's response and behaviour. Harris (1999) argues that maintaining an etic view of the client may present with an epistemological and/or moral-ethical impediment to achieving objectivity in the assessment as the etic view focuses on the SLT's viewpoint and worldview. The SLT may perceive her approach as being objective and as using science as a basis for her position i.e. making a claim based on empirical epistemology (Rasmussen, 1996).The Foucauldian perspective eliminates the distinction between objective truth and subjective knowledge. As knowledge is a discourse of power, Foucault would challenge the SLT's approach by arguing that science is a social construct with assumptions about domination, mastery and authority (Foucault cited in Foucault, 2002; Harris, 1999). As any analytical procedure is a product of power relations (Foucault, 1986), when an SLT conducts a language assessment, the result, which is based on her own interpretation, is a product of power relations between the SLT and the client (Pillay, 1997). These relations are skewed towards the SLT who is in a position of power by virtue of her position and role. Her powerful position gives her hegemony over knowledge as she can decide which knowledge will be accepted or rejected..

Taylor (1994) suggests a cultural conceptual framework that the professional can use as a guide in the assessment of clientele from other cultures and languages. This is the comprehensive conceptual framework that underpins this study. The conceptual model is

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applied to illustrate that the development and use of the first language (isiZulu in the study) and the second language (English in this study) are intricately linked to the culture of the child. Furthermore, the family and community play significant roles in the development of language within the context of the culture. Based on this connection between language and culture, the SLT is compelled to conduct language assessments that take cognisance of the culture in which the language develops to derive valid and accurate findings that will be culturally and linguistically relevant.

3.4 TAYLOR'S CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Taylor(1986) has developed a conceptual framework for the evaluation and intervention of communication in multicultural and multilinguistic populations. This framework is based on the belief that any research or study of normal and pathological communication should have a cultural basis(Taylor, 1986).Taylor (1986), similarly to Vygotsky (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996), regards all clinical encounters as cultural events. Figure 5 is a diagrammatic representation of this model. The principles embedded in Taylor's conceptual framework for evaluation and intervention in multicultural and multilinguistic populations are consistent with the criteria presented by Kelly (1963) for a sound model, (see 3.3 above), as it deals with assessment and intervention. Taylor's model also predicts the actions o populations from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in a variety of contexts. Furthermore, it encourages the adoption of new creative and culturally sensitive approach that will contribute to a solution to the problem of cultural incompetence.

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Developmental Processes

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Adult-child Interaction        Indigenous Cognitive       First language &
withinCulture                  Acquisition                Communication Acquisition
                                                          andCompetence
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External Cultural Interactions

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External Cognitive             Second Language &
Development                    Communication
(optional)                     Acquisition &
                               Competence (optional)
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Precursors of Pathology

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Cultural Definitions of Normal        Unsatisfactory Environmental
and Pathological Interaction,         Conditions; Abnormal Social
Cognition, Language &                 Psychological & Biological
Communication                         Factors; Poor Diet;  Defective
                                      Genetic Pool; Epidemiological
                                      Considerations, etc
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Assessment Process

Culturally valid assessment and diagnosis of communication,
language and cognition

Treatment Process

Application of culturally valid treatment procedure

C U L T U R E

Figure 5 : <u>A cultural framework for viewing normal and pathological communication (Taylor 1986)</u>

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In this model (figure 5), Taylor presents four processes and outcomes to be used in research on the nature and treatment of communication pathology within the boundaries of culture namely:

- ❖ Developmental issues
- ❖ Precursors of communication pathology
- ❖ Assessment and diagnosis
- ❖ Treatment

Only aspects of this model that are directly pertinent to the study i.e. developmental issues (process 1) and assessment (process 3) have been selected for discussion.

Process 1: Developmental issues

Developmental issues are the foundation for interpreting the communication behaviour of cultural or linguistic groups. These developmental issues have a bearing on the diagnosis and management of communication disorders. Adult –child interaction within a culture, indigenous cognitive acquisition, language and communication acquisition and language and communication competence are the outcomes of this developmental process. Taylor outlines two levels of development i.e.

(a)Development within the indigenous culture (e.g. IsiZulu in this study)

During development, the child acquires the language and communication skills of the indigenous culture through interaction with Significant Others in the family and community. Bronfenbrenner 's ecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998 cited in Landsberg, 2005) discussed later in this chapter, in which parents and the community play a pivotal role in shaping the thoughts, perceptions and language used by the child (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002; Landsberg, 2005) is thus consistent with this conceptual framework. The child from a Zulu sociocultural context acquires isiZulu language and communication

Comment [p29]: earlier and below you use Zulu to refer to culture and isiZulu to refer to language

skills that reflect *hlonipha* (respect) to peers, siblings, family, relatives and community members (Elion & Strieman, 2001). Suzman (1991) reports that by 3 years the Zulu child uses adult-like language and has attained the communicative competence that is consistent with that of the adults in Zulu culture. They also learn the cognitive and linguistic behaviours that are deemed acceptable by the adults and the community. This process of socialization is mediated by language and other symbols (Barker, 2000; John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996; Mc Gowan, 2007). Language and communication rules are thus learnt within the context of this socialization and the child assimilates the norms that are set by the indigenous culture (De Houwer, 1990). Zulu children thus learn the cognitive and linguistic behaviours that are associated with Zulu tradition, customs, rituals and ceremonies.

Taylor (1986) explains that it would be impractical to expect that, with advances in technology, the children would be confined to this indigenous culture. Children are often also exposed to other languages and cultures during these early developmental stages. The development of the second language (L2) however follows a different process from the first language (L1) development i.e. mother-tongue use, non-verbal stage, telegraphic stage and production of the language (Tabors, 2008). These stages will be discussed more extensively in chapter 7. The media plays a crucial part in this regard. The child can develop the L2 at the same time as the L1 (simultaneous bilingual), after the acquisition of the L1 (sequential bilingual) or understand the L2 but not actively use it expressively (passive bilingual) (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

School also plays a significant role in exposing the Zulu child to other languages and cultures especially in South Africa (De La Harpe, et al., 1998). Other media that expose the child to other languages and culture include radio, television, visual marketing e.g. billboards and cell phones, resulting in what Taylor describes as optional development of the external culture.

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(b) Optional development of the cultural, cognitive, language and communicative rules of an external culture (e.g. English in this study)

Children may also develop the cultural, cognitive, language and communicative rules of other cultures through exposure to media such as those described above. There are many factors that may influence whether this development occurs and the extent to which it occurs; these include social, political and psychological factors (Blance, 1994; Hamers & Blance, 2000). Whether the Zulu child is in an urban or rural school, isiZulu or English medium school, the access of the family to different types of technology will influence the extent to which the child will understand and speak English and be comfortable with the behaviours associated with Western culture. The external cognitive and L2 development has been described by Taylor as optional as it may or may not occur. Despite the exposure to external cultural interaction, the child from an isiZulu language and cultural background may remain resistant to the adoption of Western practices and the English language due to dominance of their L1 in their context or negative associations with the L2 and culture. Although in their books they may see dogs and cats treated differently e.g. staying in the house, in their own home, they may hit a dog that tries to go into the house as it is unacceptable in their culture.

Despite the exposure to Western culture and English at school, the child's development of this culture and language may not be on par with that of a child from a Western language and culture. The child from an isiZulu language and cultural background, who is in an English medium school, may understand English and be able to communicate in it but be more competent in isiZulu, their primary language. When assessed, the child's interpretation of both the words and pictures presented may be from the perspective of the Zulu culture. For example, a picture of a female may be interpreted as a 'mother' if wearing a long dress or 'girl' if wearing a short dress. The interpretation is consistent with sociocultural expectations.

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The acquisition of the L2 and culture may be " at varying levels of competence, the cognitive, linguistic and communicative systems of another culture, as a replacement for or addition to his indigenous culture or as a hybrid of the two" (Taylor, 1986, p. 12). This phenomenon is especially relevant in the South African multilingual and multicultural context where, through television and printed media, children are exposed to various languages and cultures. Here, English Western culture is the dominant or macro-culture, while their indigenous culture is the micro-culture. (Dusart & Liebenberg, 2003; Landsberg, 2005). In KwaZulu-Natal, most printed media that the children will be exposed to at school or elsewhere e.g. bill boards on the road or at the local stores, will be in English (Koopman, 2002).

The first issue raised by Taylor (1994) in this model under the developmental component is that the development of the exogenous language and culture is secondary to the development of the indigenous language and culture. In this study, the child participants are not English mother-tongue speakers but African EAL speakers who are from an isiZulu language and cultural background. English, for these participants, is the exogenous language referred to by Taylor. Their learning of English is thus secondary to the acquisition of their indigenous language and culture i.e. isiZulu. The primary language and culture therefore plays a significant role in their perception and interpretation of the world around them. This perception is reflected in their linguistic expression and comprehension. In an expressive language evaluation, for example, the language and culture of the indigenous language i.e. isiZulu, is likely to be reflected. The SLT has to acknowledge and include the influence of this primary language and culture in the interpretation of the responses.

Secondly, the adult who is part of the family and community plays a pivotal role in the development of the child's language and culture. The views and perceptions of the child who is an isiZulu mother-tongue speaker will thus be significantly influenced and shaped by the parents and community from which they come (Solarsh &Alant, 2006; Westby, 2009). These

perceptions will be reflected in their linguistic expression. When the researcher is unfamiliar with the relevant cultural practices of the group, it is crucial that individuals who are from the indigenous culture be consulted (Solarsh & Alant, 2006). Louw, cited in Bowen (2009), shows how the use of an asset based approach through the inclusion of household members (the asset) positively contributed to the assessment and management of a child from an indigenous language and cultural background. It was thus important that, in this research, parents and community were included to gain a better understanding of their influence and opinion in the responses that are provided by the children.

Process 3: Assessment

Taylor stresses the need for culturally and linguistically valid testing that would avoid, or significantly limit, linguistic, cultural and situational bias (Taylor & Payne, 1983). This implies that the clinician has to have knowledge and understanding of the culture and language of the individual assessed. Within each culture and language there may be variations in modes, channels and functions of communicative events that the SLT has to be aware of, so that they do not make assumptions or generalisations that may negatively affect the validity and reliability of the findings(Westby, 2009). Gopaul-McNicol and Armour-Thomas (2002) and Westby (2009) concur with Taylor's call for the use of ethnographic techniques and provide the specific questions that clinicians can use to guide them to a linguistically and culturally valid assessment:

1. **Is the symbol system in which the competencies are represented familiar to the person being assessed?**

   If the picture of a thermometer found in the tests, such as the Test of Language Development – Primary (TOLD-P) (Hammil & Newcomer, 2008) is presented to a child who has never seen a thermometer in their daily experience, the response of the child will

not reflect their level of vocabulary but rather that the picture symbol presented is not familiar to them.

2. Are there alternative symbol systems for assessing the competencies of interest?

If the child has not been exposed to table-top pen and pencil activities at home or comes from a background where they have not been to a formal schooling environment, using a symbol system that involves table-top, pen and pencil activities may not be of interest to this child and an alternative symbol system may need to be used. The child's lack of interest may be misperceived as reflective of poor attention skills or concentration span.

3. Is the value system, which is implicit in the competencies, shared by the person being assessed?

The Western value system of celebrating in anticipation of the birth of a baby e.g. having a party with presents, including baby clothing, is contrary to African culture where naming or getting goods in preparation for the coming baby is regarded as bad luck and perceived negatively.

4. Is the language system that is used to communicate the competencies familiar to the person being assessed?

Research on English L2 learners has shown that there is a tendency by EAL speakers to use more formal terms in conversation (Goldberg, Paradis, & Cargo, 2008) while less formal terms may be used by the SLT who is an English mother-tongue speaker, resulting in potential confusion or misunderstanding contextually, depending on whether it is a formal or informal context. Use of language forms a significant part of language competence (Blance, 1994). For example, mother-tongue English speakers usually use the word 'bum or bottom' for the backside while formal English language speakers may be more familiar with and use the word 'buttocks' that is commonly found in books.

5. **Are there alternative language systems for assessing the competencies of interest?**

If table-top activities are not familiar to children in terms of their experience, are there concrete objects or pictures that can be used to elicit a language sample that reflects and / or is relevant to the child's linguistic and sociocultural experience (Westby, 2009).

6. **Is the level of complexity in the competencies assessed commensurate with the prior knowledge of the person assessed?**

Even if the child's age is consistent with that of school age children, if the child has not been in a school environment, typical competencies required in the early language development tests such as numbers, letters, colours and shapes may not be commensurate with her prior knowledge. In SA, many children do not attend preschool and only encounter these skills in grade one. These children are predominantly African EAL speakers from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds (Government, 2001a).

7. **Are there motivational factors within the primary settings that are likely to enhance or hinder performance on the competencies assessed?**

What motivates one child may differ from what may motivate another but these motivational factors will influence the outcome of the assessment. For example, for a child who is accustomed to table-top activities colouring in a picture may be more motivating than for a child who is not used to doing so.

8. **Are there opportunities for assessing the competencies of interest in more than one primary setting?**

There are many factors linked to the context, such as unfamiliarity with it, which may affect the performance of the child during an assessment. Assessing the competencies of the child in various settings will result in more accurate findings. When observing an African EAL speaking child from an indigenous language and cultural background in their naturalistic

context, the SLT gains meaning from certain behaviours that may have been perceived as inappropriate in a school setting that has a dominant Western macroculture.

9. **Are there factors operating within the primary settings that can inhibit or promote performance on the competencies assessed?**

If the child comes from a setting where interaction with an adult should only be through directly answering questions, she may not be comfortable discussing a picture or language concept and thus her performance may be affected.

Adhering to the principles outlined above under each question would help the SLT provide a more comprehensive and accurate assessment to which each client is entitled. Performing such an assessment for an African EAL speaking child from an indigenous language and cultural background includes being able to discern between a language pathology and language difference (Naidoo, 2003). Miller (1984) and Taylor(1986) argue that it is crucial that the first language of an EAL speaking child should also be explored when a speech-language assessment is conducted. The evaluation of both languages can result in the assessment being protracted and the child getting tired. It is thus practical to use screening tests that will give sufficient guidelines of the areas that require further intervention while the child is still fully attentive. Given that the RAPT is one of the existing expressive, easily available, commonly and consistently used tests by SLTs for pre-school and primary school age groups, it was decided that it would be an appropriate screening test to use to support the argument and discussion put forward in this study.

3.5 ROLES OF RAPT IN STUDY

Although the RAPT functions both as a kind of model and as an example of a data gathering instrument in this study, it is important to note that it is specifically used as a point of departure in the study to illustrate the shortcomings in how it is used and interpreted, similarly

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>
> **Comment [p36]:** commonly what?

to other English language tests. The study proposes guidelines for the more appropriate use of such instruments, thereby not undermining the test but equipping the SLT. The guidelines will allow the SLT to gain more linguistically and culturally relevant findings that can be more accurately attributed to the performance of the child.

3.5.1 Introducing the RAPT

As indicated in chapter 2, the RAPT is often both owned and used by SLTs due to its practicality and cost-effectiveness. The three key areas of language that are assessed are syntax, semantics and pragmatics (Owens, et al., 2007) and the RAPT, as a screening test for language development, provides information on two of these areas, namely syntax and semantics i.e. ability to convey information and grammar (Renfrew 1997a). It provides an indication of whether there is a need for further comprehensive assessment while giving valuable information on the child's semantic, syntactic and morphological English language competence in a short period before the child gets tired. The child being screened with this test will also be very young i.e. in the 3 to 8 year range.

3.5.2 Description of the RAPT

This age range includes the preschool and primary school child in South Africa. The primary school stage, usually with children between 6 and 9 years of age, is where most children are identified as being at risk or presenting with language or learning difficulties and therefore referred by teachers for assessment and intervention (Kathard, 2010). In the current South African education system, grades 1 to 3 are described as the Foundation Phase. The Government *White Paper 6 on Special Needs Education,* acknowledges that the current education system has produced many drop-outs due to the inability to appropriately respond to the different needs of the learners (Government 2001b, p.5). The age of early identification of children with special needs is quoted in White Paper 6as being before the age of nine, although in the SLP profession, the ages of 0-3 are associated with early identification and

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intervention (Thordardottir, Rothenberg, Rivard, & Naves, 2006).White Paper 6 further discusses the significance of assessment and intervention during the early phase of preschool years (Government 2001b, p. 32).Unfortunately, the challenge of early identification, using linguistically and culturally valid assessment tests of this group, remains.

3.5.3 Current difficulties experienced in the use of the RAPT

The choice of RAPT for this study was strongly informed by the difficulties experienced by SLTs which were identified in the research survey in chapter 2, regarding the use of this and other tests. The SLTs raised concerns about the assessment of African EAL speakers from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds and the complexities of the South African diverse population compounded the problem. The mother-tongue, culture and experiences of the EAL speakers in South Africa differ from those of the children who were used in the standardization of the RAPT in the UK. It thus does not accommodate the indigenous language and culture of the African EAL speaker and acknowledges this in the test manual. Despite this, it is widely used by SLTs in SA due to the paucity of appropriate and culturally relevant resources.

Taylor (1994; Taylor & Payne, 1983)would argue that the RAPT, as a test for language development and any other language assessment tool has to be linguistically and culturally valid. This point is also stressed by Landsberg (2005, p. 57) :

> The only way in which contextual factors can be allowed some of its many and pivotal effects in your interpretation of the learner's findings on a standardized test is by ensuring that the measure was standardized locally and recently and that it included sufficient data from the particular group to which the learner belongs.

The fact that there is a scarcity of assessment tools for the EAL speaker within the South African context (Penn, 1998; Roberts, 2000), does not mean that African EAL speakers from

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indigenous language and cultural backgrounds are not to be evaluated, but rather that it places a greater responsibility on the SLT working in this context to be more sensitive, thorough and collaborative in the assessment (Omark & Erickson, 1983; Westby, 2009). The clinician assessing an isiZulu mother-tongue speaker or any other African EAL speaker from an indigenous language and cultural background must have knowledge and understanding of the child's indigenous language and culture to accurately interpret the child's responses to the test items, even when conducting an assessment using their secondary language i.e. English, as every assessment is a cultural event (Taylor, 1994).

Accommodating the needs of this group does not imply that the SLT has to speak the group's language but that she must ensure that the linguistic and cultural differences are accommodated in the administration and interpretation of the test. Although being a mother-tongue speaker is not a prerequisite to conduct language assessments on individuals of a different language group or culture, a mother–tongue speaker from the language and cultural group may have more insight into the language and culture of the group by virtue of being a member of the group. The professional body, the American Speech and Hearing Association (ASHA) endorses cultural diversity. However, their pool of professionals who are from diverse linguistic, racial and cultural groups who work in communication disorders, is extremely small (Jordaan, 2008; Naidoo, 2003; Paradis, 2007a, 2007b)). The constitution of the South African Speech Language and Hearing Association (SASLHA) also reflects the adoption of the principle of respecting and accommodating cultural diversity.

This shortage of SLTs with knowledge of diverse linguistic and cultural groups is also related to the attitudes and beliefs of the SLTs, as demonstrated in research that was conducted by Kritikos (2003). A survey of the SLTs' beliefs about language assessment of bilingual/bicultural individuals was done in 5 states in the USA. The findings showed that

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most SLTs[48] commented that they had low personal and general efficacy in bilingual assessment (i.e. for their own skills and the field broadly). It was, however, very interesting to note the degrees of personal efficacy in the different groups of SLTs involved in the survey findings. The highest personal efficacy was reported by SLTs who learned a L2 in the context of cultural experience, followed by SLTs who learned an L2 academically. SLTs who reported the least efficacy were monolingual SLTs.

These findings above are consistent with the findings of Roberts (2000) and Moodley (2000) in research in South Africa that report that SLTs feel inadequate in working with culturally and linguistically diverse clients. In Roberts's study, it was found that therapists mostly provided therapy to African EAL speakers from indigenous language and cultural background in English as it was more comfortable for the therapist, while Moodley found that there was an attitude of 'helplessness' among SLTs with regard to the prevailing difficulty of assessing and providing therapy to EAL speakers.

In South Africa currently, most of the tests used for the assessment of language are predominantly normed on European or American populations (Jordaan, 2008; Landsberg, 2005; Maine, 2010) and were designed and standardized on these populations. The language used in these assessment tools is English. Even though the norms of the tests have not been standardized on South African English speaking children, they are used to evaluate the children in the South African context because alternatives are often unavailable (Naudé, et al., 2007). This is even more so for EAL speaking children in SA. These tests are thus used for practical reasons and not because they are the best tools to provide the most valid and accurate findings in assessing the child in the South African context. Mzimela (2002, p. 6) criticizes the use of these predominantly English tests: "The use of English normative data provides a false basis for identification and planning of treatment strategies and are

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[48]Bilingual assessments, as used in this research, refers to EAL speakers

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linguistically and culturally inappropriate." This study responds to these concerns by providing the framework for the creation of a culturally and linguistically valid expressive language test for the South African context.

Although I have argued that the assessment of EAL speakers from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds, using these language assessment tools which are predominantly normed on the UK or US populations,in their current form in South Africa may be unjust, it is a reality globally (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002). South Africa's language and cultural realities, however, present further challenges.

3.6 SA'S LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL REALITY

Theproblem of culturally and linguistically relevant language assessments is exacerbated by the fact that South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural society. There are eleven official languages namely, English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiSwati, isiNdebele, seSotho, seTswana, sePedi,xiTsonga and tshiVenda and
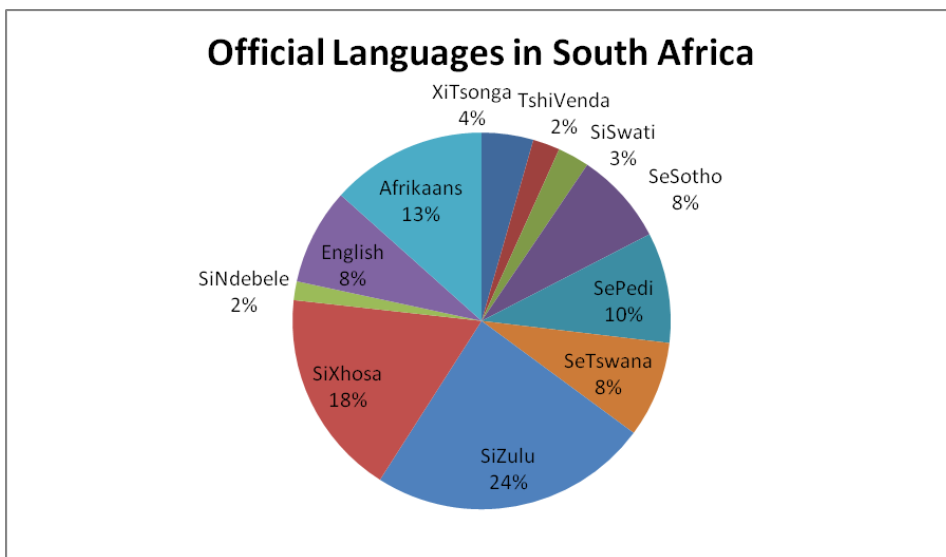
Figure 6: Language distribution in South Africa (www.southafrica.info)

The extract below, from amale pupil from Germiston (Mesthrie, 2002, p. 12) demonstrates the complexity of the South African language context (Labov, 2010):

> My father's home language was Swazi and my mother's was Tswana. I grew up in a
> Zulu-speaking area. We mostly used Zulu and Swazi at home. From my mother's side
> I also learnt Tswana. In my high school, I came into contact with lots of Sotho and
> Tswana students, so I can speak these two languages well. And of course I know
> English and Afrikaans. With my friends I also use Tsotsitaal.

Paradis (Paradis, 2007a; 1995) and Juarez (1983) argue that the bilinguals' spoken languages influence each other semantically (meaning), syntactically (grammar), morphologically (grammar) and pragmatically (contextual use). The transfer or interference of the characteristics of L1on the L2 (also referred to as the additional language in this study) is known as language transfer or interference (Baker, 1995; Labov, 2010; Myers-Scotton, 2006). Even when the EAL speaker uses a language common with the SLT, such as English, the language and cultural difference will impact on the EAL speaker's comprehension and expression, as the vocabulary provided by a child in response to a picture is gauged according to the SLT's associations with the label of the picture.

The use of the L2 by the speaker also depends on the stage of L2 development and the level of proficiency. The stages of L2 development include the silent period and telegraphic stage (Tabors, 2008b) while the levels of proficiency include the Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive or Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), terms developed by Cummins (cited in Baker, 1988). Whereas BICS are the basic context-based interpersonal skills, CALP comprises higher level academic skills that are not context-based (Baker, 1988).

Selinker (1992) has coined the term 'interlanguage' for the linguistic system reflecting difference between the mother tongue and the target language. Archibald (1997) has identified two types of errors that are commonly found in interlanguage, namely, transfer and developmental errors.Transfer errors are errors that are influenced by the mother tongue e.g. the **man, he** go to town (Poulus & Msimang 1998). In this example, the isiZulu morpho-syntactic concordial system[49] has been superimposed onto English. Developmental errors are similar to those of native speaker e.g. 'the lady goed home' where the child has over-generalised the regular past tense rule.

Other ways in which the L1 may influence the L2 are manifested in processes such as code-switching, the alternation between two languages and borrowing, i.e. the borrowing of words from one language to the other (Roseberry-McKibbin ,2002 cited in Shipley & McAfee, 2004).

Bryson (1990) argues that even English monolinguals who are from different cultures, such as the British, Irish and Scots, are not always mutually intelligible. Language tests therefore need to accommodate the influence of these various languages and cultures on the assessment process and findings. Unfortunately, the limited accessibility of language assessment tools that have been adapted to other South African languages, taking into account the population dynamics described above, has made it very difficult to fairly and accurately evaluate children who are African EAL speakers who come from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds. SLTs that need to evaluate the language skills of such a speaker are often faced with a problem. They mostly depend on the standardised test which is normed using the tests predominantly normed on UK or US populations and do not take cognisance of the characteristics of the mother-tongue and culture of the child.

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[49] The isiZulu concordial system is an agglutinative alliterative system based on subject: noun agreement.

In the findings of the survey presented in chapter 2, some of the SLTs comment that it may be easier and more comfortable to use formal standardised tests in their current form as a frame of reference in the assessment and intervention, but Kavanagh and Kennedy (1992) describe this act as a cultural imposition based on ethnocentrism or a belief that one's own culture is superior to another's (Parker, 2003). As SLTs are a product of their culture and experiences, this culture will influence the lens through which they assess and interpret the findings of all their clients, including the African EAL speaker who comes from an indigenous language and cultural background. This lens is a product of the individual's personal construct based on her representation of reality (Delanty & Strydom, 2003) i.e. perceiving our construct as universal. This universalising is reductionistic as it reduces the complexity of the varying needs and interests of each of the clients (Ben Habib, 1996; Pillay, 2003) to a single, general, easier-to-manage package. It may not be the intention of the SLT to be ethnocentric but, as Kavannagh and Kennedy (1992, p. 29) maintain:

> Many individuals who are not personally prejudicial or individually discriminatory, however, contribute to social distancing and discriminatory situations…..by not realizing that their behaviours conflict with the values and norms of other groups of people….create social barriers or negate the worth of others.

The following incident that occurred in a therapy setting in which the SLT was an English mother-tongue speaker with a child who was an isiZulu mother-tongue speaker, demonstrates this point.

Figure 7: An extract from a therapy session between a clinician and an EAL child

Even though it may not have been the intention of the therapist to be prejudicial or discriminatory towards the child, the result will be prejudicial to the child. If the SLT could extend her understanding of truth to accommodate that of the child, she will be a step closer to a greater truth (Bhabha & Comaroff, 2002) . Unfortunately ignoring the influence of the child's mother tongue has negative effects for the African EAL speaker from the isiZulu language and cultural background. Jordaan (2008) further argues that it has negative effects for the effectiveness of assessment. It also has ethical and moral implications.

 Several ethical values, which form part of the constitutions of the profession's different watchdog bodies' such as the Health Professional's Council of South Africa (HPCSA) and the South African Speech, Language and Hearing Association (SASLHA), are being contravened.

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[50] isiZulu word for *nose*

[2] the IsiZulu word sounds like the English word *colour*

The ethical values of justice[3], truth[4], benifecence[5] and non-malifescence[6] are not adhered to (Hegde, Davis, & 2005). The client is not being justly treated when they are provided with a service that is based on potentially inaccurate findings. The SLT is not fully truthful when making a recommendation for placement based on findings where certain relevant factors, such as language and culture, have not been taken into account. If the findings are not consistent with the criteria of institutions to which the client needs to gain access, the SLT could have caused harm to the client. The issues raised in the example in figure 7, particularly of ethics, are core aspects addressed by Critical Theory.

In South Africa, which has a history of racial and social inequality, the misuse of the 'truth', as depicted in the example of the therapist and the client who is from an isiZulu language and cultural background, can reinforce this inequality. The interpretation and perception of knowledge by the SLT was regarded as the truth. However, the real truth is elusive as "truth is created and uncreated by human beings" (Gqola, 2010; Higgs & Smith, 2006, p. 66). Unfortunately, the 'truth' created by members of society who are in a position of power can be adversely used, intentionally or unintentionally, to dominate other groups in society, create or reinforce inequalities and maintain the status quo (Badmington & Thomas, 2008).

The issue of language and culture is globally and historically closely linked to issues of power and politics. For example, the decision to declare both English and French to be official languages in Canada was influenced by political and social macro- and micro-social issues (Blance, 1994; Downes, 1998; Green, 2008; Mestherie, 2002). South Africa has experienced similar macro- and micro-social issues as the rest of the world around the area of language

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[3] An equal distribution of benefits
[4] Disclosure of all pertinent information
[5] Obligation to convey benefits and to help others to further legitimate interests
[6] Obligation not to inflict evil, harm or risk of harm on others

assessment. These issues cannot be perceived in isolation from the historical, political context of the country.

The discussion that follows on language assessment test development in South Africa includes the translation of tests, but test translation is not the aim of this study. The history of the development of language evaluation instruments however provides a clear illustration of the background and the need for the changes proposed in this study. It also demonstrates the focus on translation in the SLP profession.

3.7 SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT: SLT AWARENESS, TESTS AND CHANGE

Locally, there has been much highlighting of the scarcity of language assessment instruments for the EAL speaker in research literature (Alant & Pakendorf, 1997; Bortz, 1997). Attempts have been made by researchers within the professions of SLP and Audiology to change this situation (Alant & Pakendorf, 1997; Oberstein, 1987; Pillay, 1997; Solarsh, 2001; Stephen, 1988; Suzman & Tshabalala, 2000; Swiegers, 2009). It is interesting to note that, in South Africa, test development and adaptation for the bilingual and multilingual EAL-speaking population surfaced mostly in the 1970s. The first test translations were in Afrikaans in the middle to late 1970s. The Reynell Developmental Language Scales (Reynell & Gruber, 1990), a test used to assess receptive and expressive language of children in the 3 to 7 age range, was translated by Bonzaaier in 1975, while the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (Hammill, Mather & Roberts, 2001) was adapted into Afrikaans in 1974 by Lotter (Penn, 1998).

These tests, which had been translated into Afrikaans, would possibly also have been used on African language mother-tongue speakers. Although there are many other reasons that would make this act inappropriate, the political climate would be the most conspicuous of them. This was a tumultuous period in the history of South Africa when the Afrikaner Nationalist

Comment [p48]: delete comma

government was in power and there was a rise in the development of the Afrikaans language, which was regarded as the language of the oppressor by Black Africans. Black children were being taught in Afrikaans against their will in many provinces (Kamwangamalu, 2000). This created tensions among the Black South African population, resulting in the historically significant 1976 Soweto riots, where students rose up in protest against being taught in Afrikaans, the language of the oppressor (Clarke & Worger, 2004).

Most of the work done on adapting, translating or developing tests for the African language speakers was post-1990. This period is extremely significant in the political history of South Africa as there was a change in the political regime(Baard & Schreiner 1986). Many African political movements that had been banned were unbanned and Nelson Mandela, who was perceived as representing Black liberation, was released from prison. An interim coalition government was established and the first truly democratic elections, where Black people could vote, occurred in 1994. During this time there was a re-emergence of a consciousness and pride in African language and culture that was reinforced by policies and programs, such as the African Renaissance by the then President Thabo Mbeki (Makgoba, 1999). The focus on African Renaissance incorporated the values and principles regarding the role of choice in identity formation that were propagated by the Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko. During his trial in 1975-1976, when put on the stand and interrogated by his lawyer, David Soggot, on his cultural vision for South Africa, Biko commented: "You know cultures affect each other, you know, like fashions and you cannot escape rubbing against someone else's culture but you must have the right to reject or not anything that is given to you" (Biko cited by Mangcu, 2008, p. 18).

In the above quote, Biko was making reference to the assimilation of African culture by Western, European culture. He argued that cultural values need to reflect all the values of the people in that society, without being a threat to others. In the concept of 'joint culture', the

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European Western culture should not be the "divine pace setter" that excludes the African experience. The pluralism of our new South African multicultural society should not be a framework of justice where one group's well-being is at the expense of another(Mc Carthy, 1996; Ramphele, 2008). Lemmer, Meier & van Wyk (2006) also make reference to this point in the discussion on macro- and micro-cultures. Macro-culture is a culture of the dominant group and micro-culture that of the less dominant group. The two types of cultures are interconnected in a pluralistic society like South Africa.

Steve Biko further warns of the hegemony of the dominant culture as it can result in cultural alienation and cultural discontinuity. In the educational setting, cultural alienation and discontinuity manifest in behaviours like feeling a misfit and dropping out of school. The White Paper 6 (Government, 2001b) makes reference to children dropping out of school due to the conditions at school that could be traced to the apartheid history of SA that included linguistic and cultural oppression.

The changes in the political scenario in the 1990's seem to have had an impact on the SLP profession as more tests were developed in African languages, as reflected in Table 1.

Comment [p50]: above you have written macroculture as one word- please chagne

Table 1_- Showing the history of adaptation of tests adapted from Penn (1998)

TEST	LANGUAGE/CULTURAL GROUP	RESEARCHER	YEAR
Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities -ITPA	Afrikaans using English version and Afrikaans adaptation (Adapted tool)	Lotter	1974
Carrow Test of Auditory Comprehension	Afrikaans (Adapted tool)	Christie Simons	1980
Carrow Test of Auditory Comprehension	English (nonstandard) (Adapted)	Christie	1987
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test – PPVT	English, Indian Children (Adapted tool)	Khan	1988
Renfrew Word-Finding Scale	Indian and White English Children (Adapted tool)	Pahl & Kara	1992
Test of Auditory Comprehension of Language	Xhosa (Adapted tool)	Leggo	1992
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test – PPVT	White English and Afrikaans, Coloured and Xhosa (Adapted tool)	Sweizer	1993
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT)	Zulu (Adapted tool)	Naidoo	1994
Reynel Developmental Language Scales	White and Coloured English Speaking Children and British Children	Rabinowitz	1995
Sepedi Articulation Test	Sepedi (Adapted tool)	Joubert	1996
Zulu Expressive and Receptive Language Assessment (ZERLA)	Zulu (New tool)	Bortz	1997
Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT)	Northern Sotho (Adapted tool)	Alant and Pakendorf	1997
Test for the Ability to Explain(TATE)	Zulu (New tool)	Solarsh	2001

The problem with the paucity of resources that are culturally and linguistically relevant for

African EAL speakers from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds has not only

presented a challenge for the SLP profession, but also had ripple effects into the education

field with teachers and SLTs based at schools have been struggling to discriminate between a

language disorder and language difference in EAL speakers(Jordaan, 2013; Ratele, 2006; Russo, et al., 2005).

 A language pathology may include difficulty in understanding or expression of meaning of language, problems with understanding or appropriate use of the grammatical or morphological (involving word structure and form) rules, appropriate use in social context and problems with speech sounds, patterns or rules of organisation (Shipley & McAfee, 2004). The difficulties described here manifest in whatever language the individual uses. It is thus a language problem and not a L2 difficulty. On the other hand, there may be language differences in the production by the individual, in the process of learning a L2 i.e. undergoing bilingualism. These differences which may be perceived as errors will only manifest in the L2or language being developed rather than the mother–tongue. Furthermore these language differences may mimic some of the features of a language disorder (Paradis, 2007a).

The similarity between some of the features of a language difference and a language disorder may confuse the teacher or SLT as a child with a language difference may also have or be at risk for developing a language disorder. Southwood and van Dulm (2008) focus on the distinction between a language difference and language disorder in Afrikaans as they contribute towards a language assessment instrument for this population that takes cognisance of the dialectal differences. Teachers have limited guidelines to assist them to identify children who are at risk of Specific Language Impairments (SLI), pure language impairment with no obvious cause or co-occurring condition (Crotchley, 1999; Shipley & McAfee, 2004), in the group of African EAL speakers who come from an indigenous language and cultural background. Research (Paradis, 2007a) has shown that some of the errors of bilingual children may be similar to those of monolingual children of the same age with a language impairment. "Such an overlap between a clinical and typically developing population has

practical consequences for differential diagnosis in multilingual contexts" (Paradis, 2007a, p. 392).

Naude , Louw and Weidemann (2007) conducted research focusing on African EAL speakers who are from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds with the aim of providing SLTs and preschool teachers with a tool for early identification of those children who are at risk of SLI. They compiled profiles of African language speaking children in South Africa who could be at risk of SLIs. EAL speaking preschoolers from an urban area in Pretoria were used in the study. Their home languages represented the repertoire of African languages in the area, such as isiZulu, seSotho and seTswana. The researchers found that in order to identify children at risk for SLI it is necessary for the preschool teacher to have a good knowledge of bilingualism as multilingualism may mask language impairment.

Despite the acknowledgement within the profession of the need to develop tests for African EAL speakers from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds, there are many stumbling blocks to achieving this task. Bortz (1997) cites the socio-economic climate as a major challenge. Concerns are also raised over the limited guidelines for the design or accurate translation of a valid assessment tool for culturally and linguistically diverse population groups (Carter , et al., 2005).

Jordaan (1989, cited in Alant & Pakendorf, 1997)cautions that the gaining of such information through new test development requires extensive research, is expensive and is time consuming. She suggests the adaptation of existing tests in a manner that would create a culturally valid version of the test. This suggestion has been adopted by this study where an existing test is critiqued to provide guidelines on making it a more culturally and linguistically valid tool.

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3.8 POLICY, LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

This idea of reviewing current resources is consistent with Government *Education White Paper 6* which supports the strengthening and transformation of existing resources within the system. It is based on an ecological model and thus focuses on collaboration between systems. Bronfenbrenner's ecological and bio-ecological model (Landsberg, 2005) which emphasizes personal, process, contextual and temporal factors, is an example of such a model (see figure 8 below).
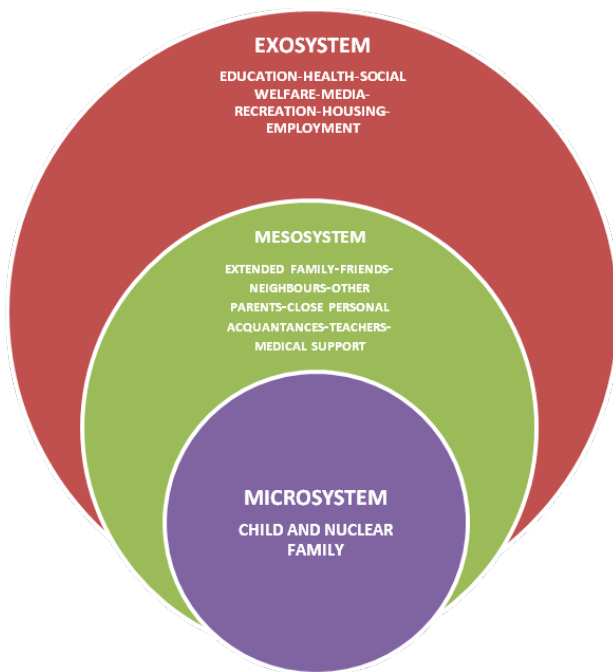
Figure 8: An adapted illustration of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Landsberg, 2005)

The systems that are highlighted in this model are the family (mesosystem and microsystem), the education (exosystem) and the community (macrosystem). The ecological approach proposes that the success of any project depends on effective consultation and collaboration amongst these systems. This approach has been used in the study where all the various

stakeholders i.e. family, community and professionals, have been consulted and included in the study. The active participation of the children is a key aspect of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory as children are active participants in their own development. "Children's perceptions of their context are central to understanding how they interact with their environments, and the way they perceive their circumstances influences the way they respond to their human and physical contexts."(Landsberg, 2005, p. 12) Their active participation will thus allow the researcher to explore their perceptions, opinions and views on the use of the existing language tool which is crucial to understanding the tool and how it can be most effectively and reliably used.

One of the pivotal aspects in government policy documents is language (Cook, 2007). Language has to be viewed within the context of the history of the country and how it is perceived by the speakers of the different language groups. After the anti-apartheid liberation struggle, English was elevated to a language of unity and liberation (Kroes, 2005; Mesthrie, 2002, p. 22; Painter, 2006; Ramphele, 2012):

> After the riots of 1976, nearly all those whose mother-tongue was one of the African languages regarded Afrikaans as 'the language of the oppressor' ….they demanded English as not only their most important target language in schools but also their medium of instruction(Kroes, 2005, p. 239).

Afrikaans and the African languages were acknowledged at a conversational level, but African languages were still associated in the minds of most mother-tongue African language speakers with the apartheid government's policy of divide-and–rule. They were thus not regarded as languages of educational and economic progress. Samuel (1998, p. 22) describes post–apartheid South Africa as being characterized by a group of 'ambiguities and contradictory relations to the learning of languages.' Although the parents of African EAL

speaking children from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds encourage the promotion of the African languages as part of the retention of heritage, they still perceive English as the language of power (De Klerk, 2000). Skutnabb-Kangas et al., (2009) and Philipson (2009) argue that the dominance and perceived powerful status of English is a global phenomenon and illustrate it in Europe. The status of English is also reflected in Trevor Manuel[51]'s biography, where he comments on the perceived status of the English language amongst the Coloured people,"Language, like skin colour, established social status among the Coloured people in the Cape ….better schools taught in English….English speaking children who excelled at school were not dismissed." (Green, 2008, p. 50)

After the new democratic government was elected in 1994, it was legally necessary to reflect the multilingual nature of the country. Nine African languages, together with Afrikaans and English, were selected as the country's eleven official languages. In practice, however, English was still the dominant language used in government and business, 'the de facto lingua franca' (Johnson, 2009; Kamwangamalu, 2000; Lafon, 2007).This perception of English has persisted in the minds of many parents of African EAL speaking children from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds.

Until the end of 2011, according to South African law, mother-tongue language was recommended to be used in the Foundational Phase i.e. grades one to three, and the L2 was to be introduced in the Transitional Phase i.e. from grade four (Burger, 2011). In a Colloquium on Mother-Tongue Teaching in Early Years[7], there was consensus amongst both the speakers and delegates that one of the major challenges encountered by schools has been trying to implement mother–tongue use in the Foundation Phase because of the perception of English as the language of power by parents of African EAL speakers from indigenous language and

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[51] Trevor was the Minister of Finance in SA from 1996-2009
[7] held at the University of KwaZulu–Natal on 22 May 2009

cultural backgrounds. This perception manifested in their opposition to mother-tongue teaching of their children. Teachers are, however, aware that the implementation of the Department of Education policy regarding language use in the Foundational Phase is fraught with problems in a country where such hegemony of English prevails and where the educational system has not adequately prepared teachers for this transition (Mgqwashu, 2004). The learners thus struggle with this transition (Nel, 2005). Many programmes have been implemented to attempt to address this problem, such as the Pep Student Prince Academies by Social Innovation, which helps teachers facilitate a better transition to English, thereby improving the scholastic performance of the children (Newman, 2010, p. 5).

The introduction of the L2 in grade 4 was reviewed during the introduction of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)(Government, 2011). A bilingual approach, where English is introduced from grade 1 as a first additional language (FAL) is encompassed in a new curriculum, CAPS(Government, 2011). This document, which is based on a Ministerial mandate which acknowledged the difficulty with the transition to English in grade 4, was implemented in January 2012 in the Foundation Phase i.e. grades 1 to 3. The L2, which is often English in South Africa, will however not replace the mother-tongue in the implementation of the Schooling 2025 curriculum (Burger, 2011) i.e. English remains the First Additional Language (FAL) and not the Home Language (HL).

Samuel (1998)argues that the parents' reaction to English reflects the complexities that are faced by the multicultural self. This multicultural self in South Africa is a reflection of the multiple self that exists within a multicultural and multilingual context that is constantly changing. It is always facing competing 'inertial forces' that influence its identity. These forces include biographical, cultural, linguistic, gender and racial forces (Skutnabb-Kangas , 2012). The mask to be presented to the outside world will depend on the context, audience and purpose of interaction. Although it may be comfortable and appropriate for an African

language speaker to use the vernacular *kumsebenzi*, at an African ritual ceremony, when you want to impress friends at a party with graduates that you are learned, you use English. The contexts, audiences and purposes of the use of the languages differ at the *msebenzi* and the party. The choice to use English with an audience perceived to be' learned' will associate you with them as English is perceived as the language of progress, carrying high status in various sectors of society, as it is a language of power. The incident described illustrates the perceived status of English:

At a beauty salon I visited in November 2013 I was surprised when the beauty therapist, who was attending to me, was whispering when conversing in isiZulu with me. On further enquiry she admitted to fearing being caught on the cameras in the salon speaking an African language rather than English. She secretly admitted to me that that the owner has instructed all African staff to only communicate in English to all clients including African clients as English is an international language of high status.

Samuel thus maintains that the decision discussed above by parents of African EAL speaking children from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds reflects a yielding to the forces of power. The identity of these parents and the identity they seek for their child are thus closely linked to the forces of power.

This perception by these children's parents has led to a preference by parents to send their children to English medium schools, as their belief is that language would be the doorway to better life opportunities for their children (Kroes, 2005, p. 241). Alexander (1997)has been very vocal in his opposition to the hegemony of English in education and its potential disastrous impact. He (2009)[8] clarifies that his opposition is not to the use of English as a

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[8] Dr Neville Alexander presented a paper titled "Mother-tongue based bilingual teaching is the key" at the Mother-tongue Colloquium held at the University of KwaZulu–Natal on 22 May, 2009. At the time, he was the

language of instruction, but the resultant undermining of the value of indigenous languages. Current reports indicate that, at the preschools visited, there was a tendency to view English as a tool to 'cure children' of the mother–tongue .This attitude reinforces the hegemony of English (Li, 2006). These reports are consistent with the SLTs' comments from the research survey findings (in chapter 2) which indicate that parents advise them that they want their children to learn and be assessed in English.

3.9   ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE SPEECH-LANGUAGE PATHOLOGY PROFESSION

SLTs are aware of the language dynamics described above and the insistence of parents of African EAL speakers from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds for their children to be taught in English. It is against this background and the lack of standardized alternatives to the standardised English tests that English language assessments are conducted on African EAL speaking children.

 As these children are in schools where English is the MoI, it is essential that an assessment provides information on their English language skills too. However, it does not mean that the use of the tool should ignore the influences of their background and mother tongue on their performance (Cummins, 2003). Unfortunately, in many instances there is so much relief amongst SLTs at being able to assess the children with an English language tool that it is often used in its current and inappropriate form without taking into account the influence of the child's mother tongue on his responses (Roberts, 2000; Stow & Dodd, 2003).

Pahl and Kara (1992) showed that an English language tool (using the Renfrew Word-Finding Scales) was inappropriate for South African Indian English mother–tongue speakers and even needed to be adapted for white English mother-tongue speakers. Mesthrie (2002) has

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Director of the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) which is a Research Unit in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town.

demonstrated the differences between what is perceived as Standard English, South African English and Indian South African English. He further wrote a dictionary of Indian South African English where he demonstrated the link between Indian South African English and Indian culture (Mesthrie, 2010). The Indian culture and dialect is reflected in the semantic, syntactic and phonological responses in language assessments by Indian English mother-tongue speakers. The Renfrew Word Finding Scales, as with any other language assessment tool, needs to be linguistically and culturally relevant for the population on which it is used.

Miller (1994), Stow & Dodd, (2003) and Taylor, 1994) also stress the link between language and culture. Lemmer et al. (2006) argue, however, that culture is an intricate and often misunderstood phenomenon. Culture can be explicit and implicit (see figure 9).
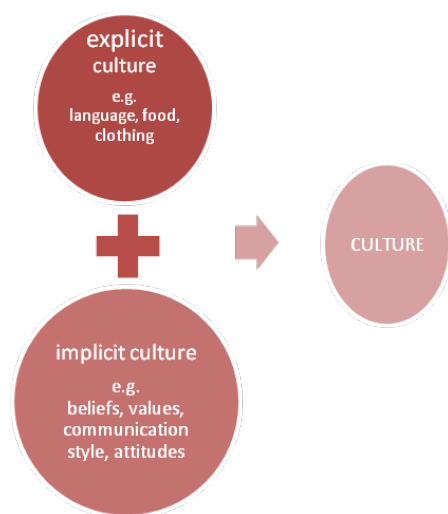
Figure 9: Culture can be explicit (visible) and implicit (hidden from view) (adapted fromLandsberg, 2005)

 Language forms part of explicit culture. Acknowledgement of this link necessitates anti-essentialism and non-reductionism. Pillay (1997) argues that the act of SLTs administering these standardised English tests reflects the phenomena of reductionism, essentialism and

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othering. The *other* is reduced to an object (Durrheim , et al., 2011; Yancy, 2004); essentialism is linked to reductionism (Pillay, 1997, 2001, 2003) as one also reduces a whole person to a core, fixed aspect. *Othering* is the sidelining of any aspect that may be perceived as falling outside the dominant or mainstream view; it predominantly uses differences in physical appearance and cultural expression (McKaiser, 2012; Muendane, 2006; Ramphele, 2008). The SLTs could thus be described as reducing their diverse clientele into a 'neat' group that fits Western English norms and ignoring any differences that are not associated with that which is outside this dominant group (Noyes, 2002). As indicated earlier, in South Africa the dominant or mainstream view is the Western view. As African EAL speakers coming from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds are not part of this dominant view, they are essentialized and devalued as the 'other'. The SLTs thus engage in a dialectal enlightenment as their act is meant to add value to the client i.e. enlighten, but, due to the normative judgement used, it rather has the opposite effect (Farr, 2004).

Pillay (2003) thus coins the term 'disothering' as a challenge to SLTs to eliminate the 'us' and 'them' perception when engaging with the diverse population with whom they work. There is a need for a dialectal transformation which involves the destruction of old oppressive ways of thinking and the birth of a new consciousness that reviews the application of demeaning assumptions (Mugo, 1999; Wyrick, 1998). Practically, this new consciousness translates into an SLT who is open-minded, non-judgemental, flexible and aware of her socio-cultural environment (Awaad, 2003) and does not only depend on a Western framework to determine what is rational, civilised or normal (Haddour, 2006; Hoppers, 2002).

Baaz and Palmberg (2001) revisit the concept of 'otherness' from a slightly different perspective, arguing that the differences are often acknowledged but that the frame of reference used to define them is from the west, resulting in 'normative sameness' i.e.

homogenizing of a particular group of people (Fowler, 1995). When homogenizing, each

individual's experience is seen through the same lens. This constitutes a:

> form of acculturation which is neither a complete reabsorption, whereby the dominant
>
> culture completely absorbs the weaker, nor an adoption or integration by
>
> weaker elements in dominant culture but instead transculturation process i.e. creation
>
> of a mixed cultural order (Baaz & Palmberg, 2001, p. 13).

The real picture is that 'the surface differences are as meaningful as human complexity' (Baaz

& Palmberg, 2001, p. 12).The heterogeneity of EAL speakers is central to Threshold Theory

(Baker, 1988) .

The Threshold Theory
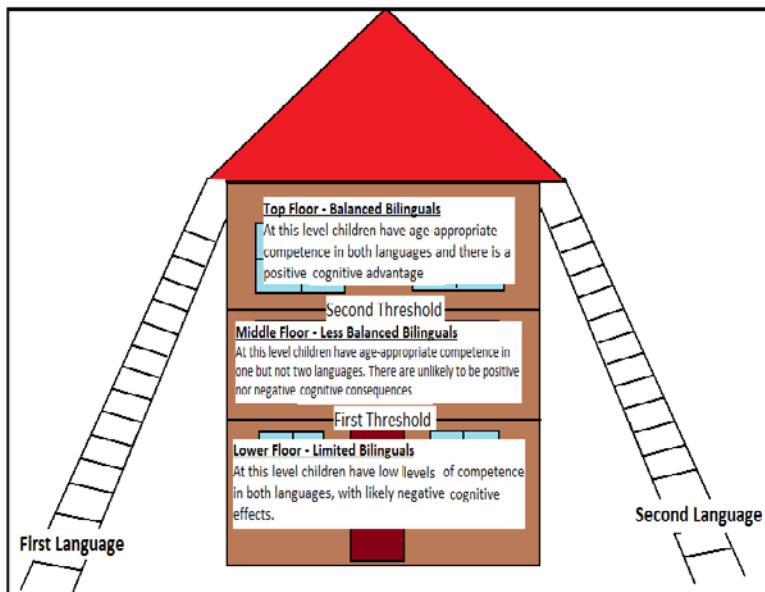
Figure 10: Diagrammatic representation of the Threshold Theory (Baker 1988)

Threshold theory, by Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukamaa (Baker, 1988) can be used to

demonstrate the heterogeneous nature of the African EAL speaker from an indigenous

language and cultural background. In the diagrammatic representation in figure 10, two ladders signify language competence or proficiency. Children stay high or low on the ladder depending on the number of steps climbed.

➢ If they remain at the lower level, it can have potential negative cognitive effects, manifested in poor academic performance due to restricted linguistic skills.

➢ If they reach the first threshold i.e. middle level, this indicates age-appropriate proficiency in one language.

➢ If they reach the second threshold i.e. top level, it shows that they have age-appropriate proficiency in both languages.

This theory was originally developed to answer the question 'to what extent does bilingualism affect cognitive development?' Research linked to this theory has focused on this cognitive aspect (Preckel, Holling & Wiese, 2006; Ricciardelli, 1992). I, as the researcher however, believe that this theory highlights another important aspect regarding bilinguals i.e. the heterogeneous nature of bilinguals(Italy, 2006). This view is expressed in a paper presented at the Multilingualism Conference in Lithuania (Maine[52], 2010). Bilinguals are often grouped together based on a traditional definition i.e. speaking two languages. Threshold Theory demonstrates that bilinguals have varying degrees of language competency.

Within the SLP profession, this is important information that is relevant for both assessment and the nature of intervention. It is crucial that the SLT realizes that the assessment may be reflecting that the bilingual is at a certain level of bilingual development and thus intervene accordingly. For example, if the findings indicate that the bilingual is proficient in the mother-tongue but not in the L2, stimulation rather than language therapy should be recommended, whereas, if the bilingual belongs to the lower threshold (i.e. lacks proficiency in L1 and L2) language therapy, rather than merely language stimulation is indicated.

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[52] Name formerly used , currently name changed to Mdlalo

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However, in reality, there are many factors that would influence the allocation of the bilingual to each of the different levels. These factors include the paucity of material and human resources. A bilingual who belongs to a certain level may thus be erroneously allocated to a wrong level, based on the tools used in language assessment, and managed accordingly. For example, in SA, an isiZulu L1 speaker may be assessed only in English, their L2 and not in their L1. Thereafter, they may be allocated to the lower level, as a child who presents with a language problem. An assessment on both the L1 and L2 however could have potentially revealed that they belong to the middle level as they lack proficiency in the L2 but not L1. The allocation to the wrong level is likely to be used to make decisions about intervention. Ethical and moral implications are raised by such a situation.

In South Africa, however, there is a growing awareness by mother-tongue African language speakers of their linguistic rights due to the establishment of permanent bodies such as the Pan–South African Language Body (PANSALB) and the Language Planning Task Group (LANGTAG). These bodies act as watchdogs on linguistic rights. The LANGTAG was formed in 1995 as a short term advisory committee to the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. Its role was to advise the minister on planning ways that would assist in adhering to the language guidelines embedded in the SA constitution (Mesthrie, 2002).

The PANSALB, on the other hand, is a permanent body, appointed in April 1996, which acts as a language ombudsman guarding against the misuse of languages in a discriminatory, exploitative or oppressive manner (Alexander, 1997). Its decisions were based on submissions from numerous cultural, educational, political and language organizations (Mesthrie, 2002). PANSALB's terms of reference were based on parts of the constitution that dealt with language as a resource. The SLP profession is a communication discipline that uses studies and treats language as a resource for communication. As part of adhering to the constitution and linguistic rights, SLTs are thus faced with a challenge to respond to the preferences of

parents of mother–tongue African Language speakers to use English in assessment and intervention but without contravening their cultural and linguistic rights. Any English-based language assessment tool that is used by SLTs should thus still produce accurate findings and be culturally and linguistically relevant.

The issue of using English without contravening the rights of speakers of other indigenous languages is very sensitive in South Africa and has been highlighted in a series of events and court cases, particularly in 2010. In a keynote address at the University of Stellenbosch, former President De Klerk, making specific reference to Afrikaans, warned against the promotion of certain languages in the country to the detriment of other indigenous languages (SABC, 2010). A court case that also highlights this issue is the ruling by Judge du Plessis in an application brought by Attorney Lourens which intended to compel the government to uphold the principles embedded in the constitution regarding the respect of all official languages in the country. Judge du Plessis found that the "national government had neglected its duty to regulate and monitor the use of official languages by means of legislative and other measures in terms of the constitution" (Venter, 2010, p.5). Swepu, the acting Chief Executive Officer of the PANSALB, complimented the ruling, commenting that it would help their board to fulfil their mandate to monitor government's language policy and thereby ensure respect for all languages.

This study embraces the principles and values that PANSALB and LANGTAG strive for i.e. linguistic and cultural respect for all. The aim of this study is thus to explore, critique the use of an English language screening instrument on EAL speakers and provide guidelines of how to adapt this instrument to be more linguistically and culturally relevant for this population.

Summary

In this chapter, the background to the assessment of EAL speakers, both locally and globally, was discussed. It included exploring the link between language and culture and the role of culture in language assessment. The Critical Theory was presented as an appropriate framework and lens for data analysis. Its key principles act as a supporting argument behind the core proposition of this study. Taylor's cultural framework for the viewing of normal and pathological communication was used as the conceptual model applicable to this study .The principles of Taylor's model were used as a basis for the research methodology that follows in chapter 4. A more in-depth explanation of the RAPT and its roles in the study was provided. South Africa's language and cultural reality was presented. There was a brief look at the SLT's awareness, tests and change. As the SLT works with children who are part of the education system, policy language and education are explored. Finally the dominance of English, its impact on the SLP profession and the Threshold Theory was used to illustrate the heterogeneous nature of the children that form part of the SLP's clientele.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 ORIENTATION

This chapter tables the methodological design, process, data collection and analysis. The

application of the RAPT is explained. The preparatory stage with the research survey is

presented. Phase 1 with data collection from different participants is discussed. The adapted

tool is reviewed in Phase 2. Finally rigour, ethical and legal considerations are presented.

4.1.1 Methodological design

Table 2: Table showing the research- methodology design and process

Data description and sequence	Purpose for which data was gathered and source of data	Influence upon emerging theory
	PREPARATORY PHASE	
Descriptive survey via a national questionnaire	Establish current SLT profile and practice in SLP profession Source: SLTs who are members of HPCSA	Reinforces the rationale for the study
	PHASE ONE	
Data description and sequence	**Purpose for which data was gathered and source of data**	**Influence upon emerging theory**
Step 1:*Test administered* RAPT administered in English to all children who met the selection criteria.	Compare the responses of 6-8yr old children who are from an isiZulu language and cultural background with the expected responses, as specified in the test.	Illustrates the significance of the link between language and culture. It also highlights the need for an understanding and appreciation of different worldviews.
Step 2: *Focus group 1* Conducted in mother-tongue i.e. isiZulu using pictures in RAPT as stimulus for discussion.	A different group of children who are also from the isiZulu language and cultural background but a different group from above. To aid in the understanding of the responses of the children	The power of pictures in the interpretation of human relations, animals and the environment in African culture.
Step 3: *Focus group 2* Conducted with adult isiZulu speakers regarding their perceptions of the RAPT content.	Clarify and illuminate understanding and interpretation of the responses of the children in the administering of the RAPT above Parents of the Zulu children described above and community members from the community where the children from the urban school live are data sources.	The influence of the context in which the children live on the children's views. The importance of using a model that encompasses the role of parents and community in the socialization of children.
Step 4 *Interviews*	To provide a professional component in illuminating and understanding the responses of the children to the RAPT above, by making use of the cultural, linguistic and experiential insights of academics, language professionals. Academics, who are not SLTs from the Zulu linguistic and cultural background, were data sources.	Highlights the power of triangulation as the differences and variations between their professionally insightful perspectives and those of other Zulu adults adds incremental richness and diversity and thus enhances understanding of the children's interpretations.
After all the data in the various steps of Phase 2 were transcribed and qualitatively analysed, the content and pictures of the RAPT, with the help of an artist, were adapted on the basis of the responses from all the participants in steps 1 to 4 above. The final Phase 3, as described below, was then implemented.		
	PHASE TWO	
Data description and sequence	**Purpose for which data was gathered and source of data**	**Influence upon emerging theory**
The adapted RAPT was presented to SLTs	To ascertain the cultural and linguistic relevance of the adapted version of the RAPT based on the input from the participants Currently employed SLTs from the Zulu linguistic and cultural background.	Highlights the importance of a comprehensive approach to test adaptation.

4.1.2 Data collection and analysis

Table 3: Table showing the research data collection methods and analysis of data

Data description and sequence	Method and data collection Tool	Data Analysis
PREPARATORY PHASE		
Descriptive survey via a nationally posted questionnaire.	Survey with SLTs. Questionnaire	Collected data was analysed using aquantitative computer programme, SPSS 18. The data was organised into simple frequencies and presented in tables and graphs (see chapter 2).
PHASE ONE		
Data description and sequence	**Method and data collection Tool**	**Data Analysis**
Step 1:*Test administered* RAPT administered in English to all children who met the selection criteria	Administering of test to children through individual presentation, using language instrument (RAPT), video and audio recording.	Content analysis was used. The responses were analysed qualitatively and interpreted using a personal / experiential understanding and knowledge of the African (and specifically isiZulu) cultural background and worldview to guide the interpretation.
Step 2:*Focus group 1* Conducted in mother-tongue i.e. isiZulu using pictures in RAPT as stimulus for discussion	Focus group (children) Video and audio recording	The responses were transcribed and analysed descriptively and consecutively, while the emerging patterns were recorded, organised and coded thematically. Discourse and narrative analysis was used to focus on the emergent themes and input.
Step 3:*Focus group 2* Conducted with adult isi-Zulu speakers regarding their perceptions of the RAPT content.	Focus Group (community and parent voices) Core question schedule Video and audio recording	The responses were transcribed and analysed descriptively and consecutively, while the emerging patterns were recorded, organised and coded thematically.
Step 4 *Interview with academics as language professionals*	Interviews (Presenting RAPT to academics) Interview schedule	The responses were transcribed and analysed descriptively and consecutively, while the emerging patterns were recorded, organised and coded thematically. The informants were asked to check that what was recorded by the researcher was an accurate reflection of their input.
After all the data in the various steps of Phase 1 were transcribed and qualitatively analysed, the content and pictures of the RAPT, with the help of an artist, were adapted on the basis of the responses from all the participants in steps 1 to 4 above. The final Phase (2) as described below was then implemented.		
PHASE TWO		
Data description and sequence	**Method and data collection Tool**	**Data Analysis**
The adapted RAPT was presented to SLTs	Delphi technique (Creating test guidelines using SLT feedback) Adapted version of test and schedule to analyse the changes	Highlighted the importance of a comprehensive approach totest adaptation

The approach depicted in Table 3 was selected for the interpretation of the research to:

- gain a better perspective on how language and cultural issues impact upon the interpretation of the test
- identify variations in participants' responses and their perspectives on the questions asked
- Identify emerging themes that can stimulate discussion around the issue of using standardised tests with EAL speakers from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

The framework used for the above approach is based on Ulin et al.'s (2002) principles for guiding qualitative research (2002) discussed below:

Principle 1: A social phenomenon cannot be understood outside of its context

The historical, social and political context is extensively discussed in the research because, in South Africa, language and culture are very sensitive and are linked to the history and politics of the country (Ramphele, 2008; Ratele, 2006).

Principle 2:Theory both guides qualitative research and is a result of it

The researcher has, for guidance, drawn on Critical Theory as a lens for interpreting the data, and Taylor's cultural framework for organizing the data and understanding communication pathology. These theoretical and conceptual frameworks, respectively, were used to guide interpretation.

Principle 3:Exceptional cases may yield insight into a problem or provide new leads for further inquiry

Although it is important for the organization and structure of the research that there are guidelines, there were situations that arose during data collection such as obtaining the

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return of consent forms, numbers and/ or availability of participants who posed challenges to these criteria, resulting in a review of these criteria. For example, in lieu of the exceptional cases encountered with gathering academics as a group, the data collection was changed from a group to individual interviews. This review, however, added value to the understanding of the research problem.

Principle 4:Understanding of human behaviour emerges slowly and non-linearly

As the primary participants were children, their behaviour and responses could potentially have been highly unpredictable (Greig, et al., 2007). Despite the planning of each stage of their involvement, at times they refused to actively participate, resulting in unplanned changes. Establishing rapport with them also took longer than anticipated at times and impacted on the planned time frame.

Although the processes of data gathering and data analysis are described separately in this study, they were not mutually exclusive processes, for example, while the data gathering was occurring, there was already a degree of analysis that was taking place (Lincoln & Denzin, 1998; Maree, 2007). Decisions that led to modifications to the data gathering were influenced by this analysis. For example, during the piloting of a questionnaire, it was found that some of the questions were confusing and they were changed to be more easily understood. The emerging themes and perspectives also guided the direction that the data collection followed and helped to ascertain whether there was a need for further sessions for the focus groups.

4.1.3 RAPT: as a research instrument/example of other tests

In this study, the Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT) is the research instrument used as a case study to exemplify the essential problems of using standardised tests with EAL speakers, and acts as an example of other tests.

- The RAPT is a standardised screening test for language development (extensively described in previous chapters) that has guidelines on how it is to be quantitatively scored. It serves multiple methodological purposes in this study, as reflected in steps 1, 2 and 3 in Table 2. It is used for individual testing of the children to demonstrate differences in interpretation and as an example for discussion with the various focus groups, namely the children, parents/community, academics and Speech-Language Therapists (SLTs).

- The aim of this test is to evaluate spoken language i.e. the ability to convey information and use of grammar which is age-appropriate for children who are between 3 and 8 years.

- The SLT sits opposite the child, shows the child a picture, asks the child to listen to the question about the picture and then answer it. The child's answer is recorded. Each of the ten pictures has expected responses. There are points allocated for information and the grammar of the responses given by the child. Each of these expected responses has corresponding points. All these points are to be tallied under the categories of information conveyed and the grammar used. The scores are then compared against norms that are arranged in terms of age, based on scores that were derived by the developer of the test. These norms were developed in the United Kingdom. The comparison of the child's score with the norms is used as a criterion to assess the child's ability to convey information or use grammar which is age-appropriate.

- The only prompting permitted is to facilitate a more complete response and should be indirect. The SLT is cautioned to be aware of and allow for deviations in pronunciation and dialectal variations, and to use her judgement on unusual responses (Renfrew 1997a). Typical responses to each picture are provided and are allocated

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points. Norms on the state of the child's spoken language are given, based on the points scored.

4.1.4 RAPT as applied in this research

Although the administration and scoring manual of the research instrument requires that it be scored quantitatively, as explained above, in this particular research it was scored qualitatively to provide accurate information for the purposes and population for which it was applied in the study. The purpose of the RAPT was as a case study to demonstrate the effects of culture and different language upon interpretation of test stimuli, so quantitative assessment would not have been appropriate.

The outcomes of the individual feedback on the test and those of the different focus groups were analysed, interpreted and discussed. The participants' comments are the foundation for the themes, such as African vs. Western worldview and differences in perception about animals that emerge in the research. An understanding of these themes necessitates firstly, an interrogation of how these tests are used in their current form with populations from an indigenous language and cultural background and secondly, the guidelines for SLTs that will emerge from that interrogation.

Due to the typicality of the features, history, development and structure of the RAPT that it shares with other standardised tests, it was possible to use it in this study as an exemplar for other tests. Conceptually, it thus fulfils a role that can be compared with that of a case study i.e. it is used in the same way that the principles and findings emanating from a case study are generalised to other contexts. The RAPT was used in this study to determine whether there were consistent deviations in the responses from EAL isiZulu-speaking children to the questions on the various picture stimuli. It was applied to each child exactly as stipulated

above and the responses were recorded verbatim, as indicated in the test administration manual. These were then qualitatively interpreted.

4.2 PREPARATORY PHASE :

4.2.1 Survey with registered HPCSA Speech-Language Therapists:

As part of the preparation phase for this research, a survey was conducted (see chapter 2). The aim of this survey was, primarily, to provide supporting information to strengthen the rationale for the research. This research survey also assisted in providing information on the profile of the SLT and client, formal and informal language assessment methods used by SLTs when assessing EAL-speaking children, and the challenges they face with these clients. The information that was gathered assisted the researcher in ascertaining whether there is a perceived need amongst SLTs in South Africa for culturally and linguistically relevant language assessment tools for EAL-speaking children. As the term *EAL speaker* encompasses a broad range of groups, there is a clear indication, from the findings of the survey, that South African SLTs are seeing an increasing number of EAL speakers from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds as part of their caseload (see chapter 2). These data also indicates that research in the area of children from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds is relevant and will benefit the Speech-Language Pathology (SLP) profession.

In the research survey, a random sampling survey method was used. Ideally, the chosen sampling method should select participant SLTs who are most likely to work with EAL-speaking children. However, it was difficult in this study to gather information as the sources containing these details only reflected biographical detail and did not reflect detailed information on the types of populations SLTs provided services to. A broader sample of SLTs who are registered with the HPCSA was thus used.

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The questionnaire (refer to appendix 1 in the Appendices where this can be scrutinised) comprised both open and closed-ended questions to allow for comprehensive responses (Maree, 2007). The content included information on the demographics of EAL speakers currently in the SLTs' practice, sources of information on EAL speakers, and experience and opinions of this population on challenges in working with EAL speakers (Ulin et al.,(2002). Questions encompassing each of these categories have been included in the questionnaire.

Table 4: Table shows the questions addressed in the questionnaire.

Area	Question numbers	Reason for question	Changes following piloting using 10% of total number of SLTs.
Employment	1-2	Establish place and experience.	Extension of places of employment to include NGOs.
Clients and area	3-4	Establish common areas of practice and types of clients.	Extension of practice areas to include neurological and geriatric populations.
Language	5,6,12,13,14,	Establish the language of the SLTs and their clientele as study focuses on EAL children.	Rephrasing of question.
Caseload	7,8	Determine the caseload of clinicians as caseload can affect decisions on materials.	Increase of caseload and change from daily to weekly.
Experience with EAL	9,18	Determine the experience of SLTs with EAL, as the focus of the study is EAL children.	Extension of options in terms of years of experience.
Challenges	10,15	Determine the challenges faced by SLTs to determine if the rationale for the study is relevant to the professional challenges.	Formatting changes.
Current management	11	Determine how SLTs currently assess and manage EAL, as EAL children are the focus of the study.	Original phrasing ambiguous and changed.
Solutions	15,16,17,20	Determine what solutions SLTs perceive or put in place, as the relevance of the study is part of the solution.	No changes.
Training	19	Determine the exposure to training in EAL management.	Extend options to include internet courses.

The questionnaires were sent out by post, but telephonic and electronic follow ups were done to increase the response rate (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). One thousand questionnaires were sent out and 150 were returned. Although 15% is a substantially small response rate, it was deemed adequate for the purpose of this study to provide a broad indication of the SLT profile in South Africa and its client base.

4.3 *PHASE 1*

A qualitative approach was used at all levels of this phase of the research to establish the perspectives of the various groups of participants and to analyse the findings. This provides a relevant framework to illustrate how people draw 'deeper meanings' from their social actions, background, culture and worldview, and how these responses can be interpreted, comprehended and appreciated (Maree, 2007).

4.3.1 Soliciting the Voice of the children

Piloting and preparation of the children

The children's focus group was piloted using a group of ten children consisting of equal numbers of boys and girls. A day prior to the actual testing, individual test administration piloting was conducted with six girls and boys at the venue that was used for the actual testing. Piloting of both the test administration and the 'voice of the children' group was beneficial as it acted as a dress rehearsal for the actual test administering and also provided an opportunity to review data collection techniques (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010; Maree, 2007). Problems that were identified were addressed prior to the individual trial-testing and the children's focus group sessions. Problems that were identified included improving the clarity of the questions, ensuring that sufficient rapport was established prior to the individual and group sessions and confusion on which language the children should use.

Profile of the children in the study

Black, isiZulu mother-tongue speaking children from both urban and rural schools participated in the study. The urban schools selected were ones that are categorised as 'no-fee' paying by government as the majority of the children come from low income homes. These children are predominantly Black, isiZulu mother-tongue speaking children and go to the farm areas during the holidays. Their dual experiences, of both urban and rural environments, would be reflected in their responses. Children who are from middle to high income schools have often assimilated English and Western culture to such an extent that their perspectives would be reflective thereof (Lafon, 2007). Some have undergone attrition[10] of their mother-tongue (Jose & Ramallo, 2010)and can no longer speak it; they are referred to by the community and their peers as *coconuts* or *oreos,* implying that they are only Black on the outside but regarded as white on the inside (Dlamini, 2009; Naidoo 1994). The perception of language and culture of these children, from higher income schools' will generally differ from that of the children selected for this research. The majority of previously Model C schools in South Africa use English as a medium of instruction (Landsberg, 2005). Using an English medium school will thus be reflective of the child's daily school experience. In this study only the urban school was English medium while the rural schools were isiZulu medium. The children in rural schools are only exposed to English at school or via the media.

As the test is used to assess children, it was integral to this study that the voice of the children be heard (Messiou, 2013).As depicted in the methodological design Table 2, the soliciting of the voice of the children was done through:

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[10] loss of a first or second language or a portion of that language

STEP 1 -<u>Individual sessions (this process is consistent with that used in RAPT administration)</u>

- The child was seated in front of the SLT.

- A picture from the RAPT was presented.

- A question was asked in English, based on the picture.

  Note: English was used to reflect how the test is currently used by SLTs

- The session and responses are recorded (written and audio).

- The session is terminated after each of the pictures is presented.

The responses were analysed qualitatively by implementing a content thematic analysis of the patterns of 'errors' demonstrated by each child's response, as follows:

- The frequency and types of the grammatical errors were recorded (written and audio).

- The patterns of vocabulary used were also recorded and compared against the vocabulary responses expected as part of the test.

Although the focus of the test was vocabulary and grammar, other non-verbal responses that could have a bearing on the findings were noted, such as silences.

<u>STEP 2-Focus group</u>

- The children were seated in desks facing the front.

- A picture from the RAPT was reflected on the wall in front of them.

- The children were asked to comment on the picture in any language in which they were comfortable.

- The session and responses were recorded (written and audio).

- The session was terminated after each of the 10 pictures was presented.

Although it was initially planned to use an overhead projector to present the picture stimuli that are part of the research instrument, this was abandoned due to lack of facilities at some of the schools. Instead, a picture of each of the stimuli was presented as a poster on the wall. The children were asked to comment on each picture in their own language (Greig, et al., 2007). Observations, video recordings, audio-recordings and face–to –face interviews(Barbour, 2007) were used as data collection procedures to capture both verbal and non-verbal data. Although face-to-face interviewing was used, the researcher acted more as a facilitator, encouraging the children to express their own views about each picture, and trying not to impose her own views and or biases.

Prompts used were asking the children to comment on anything about the picture, to express their thoughts about it and to state what they liked or did not like about it. The prompts were provided in an open-ended manner to encourage the children to feel free in their responses. The aim was to avoid creating the perception of a classroom structured 'question-answer' type of session. A classroom was used as classrooms and playgroups tend to be appropriate settings in research for children (Greig, et al., 2007). The language of commentary was their mother-tongue i.e. isiZulu, to promote openness and flexibility and create a relaxed ambience that would encourage the children to express their thoughts. After the session was completed, the children were each given a lollipop.

Guidelines recommended by Greig et al., (2007) for establishing a qualitative framework for implementing research with children were used. This framework guides the context within which this component of the research method should be implemented (see table 6).

Table 5: Adapted from a comparison of quantitative and qualitative frameworks for research with children(Greig, et al., 2007).

Guideline	Explanation of Guideline	How it was implemented in this research
Assumption	Child's knowledge is a social construct	Participants who form part of child's socialisation were used
Methods	Children studied in natural context	School is part of child's daily experience
Questions	Open-ended, guiding, seeking perspectives	Focus group discussion with children used open-ended questions
Contexts	Natural, socially constructed phenomena	School context
Participants	Participant's individual perspective	Focus group discussion allowed individual opinions
Data analysis	Inductive	Analysis of children's test administration responses were inductive i.e. explanation tested against interaction with participants (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011)
Findings	Revealing participants' perspectives	Children were allowed to freely express themselves in any manner or language they preferred in focus group discussion.

In the selection of the children for this research, I drew on the criteria suggested by Hill, et al.

(1996 cited in Greig, et al., 2007) when using qualitative research methods to allow the

voices of primary school children to be heard.

Table 6: Application of criteria suggested by Hill, et al., (1996 cited in Greig, et al., 2007) when using qualitative research methods to allow the voices of primary school children to be heard in this study.

Principle	How it was implemented in this research
Optimal group size of 5/6 children of same sex	The size of 5 to 6 children was not consistently adhered to, due to the limited number of consent forms returned.
Clear explanations and limited number of themes	The aims of the research were simply, clearly and sensitively explained to the children, including the process to be followed and their part in the process
Researcher to facilitate peer interaction	As the children often came from different classes and were not familiar with one another, the researcher facilitated the interaction using pictures, stories and songs

Although ethically it is important that parents and / or caregivers provide informed consent,

the voice of the children may override the significant others' consent (Keddie, 2000). In this

particular study, the voice of the child was given a greater weighting e.g. if the

parent/caregiver had agreed to the child's participation and the child refused to participate, the

child's decision was respected and they were not asked to participate. There were no instances

in the consent forms where the parent had not agreed to participation, despite the child's

consent. Should such a situation have arisen, the child would not have been included in the

study. If thechildren chose to participate, it was explained to them that that they could withdraw at any stage.

Procedure of selection

The 6 to 8 year age group of the children in the research was selected because it allowed for an adequate level of developmental maturity e.g. immaturity in articulation, concentration and understanding (Creswell, 2009). They were used for both the individual assessment and focus group session in which the test was used .The children's perceptions of the test in the focus group were solicited in small groups (see table 8).

For the purpose of this study, simple, open-ended questions in the child's mother-tongue and based on the child's developmental stage were used in the group sessions. The selected children were divided into groups according to their grades. In contexts where the children formed groups based on gender, they were allowed to remain in the same sex group. The cue was thus taken from the children on the technique implemented (Owens, et al., 2007). As the gender composition may also affect the participation and responses of the children, this concern was addressed by dividing the children into the two gender groups whenever possible(Greig, et al., 2007).

Access to participants

 Sites

Four schools (one urban and three rural) in the KwaZulu-Natal province were used to access participants. The schools were selected on the basis of convenience .They were all public schools with pupils from low socio-economic backgrounds. The urban school consisted of children of different races, cultures, ethnic groups and languages, while the children from the rural schools were from the Zulu culture and isiZulu language was their mother-tongue.

<u>Informed consent</u>

As children at KwaZulu-Natal schools are the key participants in the study, permission was requested from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and school principals to gain access to the children (see appendix 2, 3 and 4). Letters were sent to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education, the school principals and the parents of the participants in the study to inform them about the study and request their consent. The study was explained at the Parent Teacher Association meetings usually held quarterly at each of the schools. Only those children whose parents returned the consent forms were used in the study.

o <u>Selection of children</u>

The teachers at the schools assisted in the selection of the children, based on the following pre-selection criteria for the children:

a) Children under the age of 9

o Although the RAPT, is a screening test for language development used for children between the ages of 3 and 8 years, this study used a subset of this age group i.e. ages 6 to 8 years. These children fall in the grade 1 to 3 targeted in the study.

b) Children who are IsiZulu mother-tongue speakers

o IsiZulu language and culture was used as a point of reference. Children who speak this language and are from this culture were thus selected.

c) Children who have no cognitive problems

o It was crucial in this study to ascertain the responses of normally developing children who are able to express themselves clearly, to demonstrate how children from isiZulu linguistic and cultural backgrounds, with no cognitive

impairment, could be 'pathologised' when tested using a test standardised and normed on a different population. Within the profession of SLP, it is essential to establish the norm, prior to understanding any differences or deviations from the norm (Shipley & McAfee, 2004). This information will help the SLT in establishing what constitutes the abnormal, expressive language of a child from an isiZulu linguistic and cultural background. Since the norm for the EAL population from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background is not established, a test with norms established on a different population has to be used with caution and taking into account the linguistic and cultural background.

d) Children with no visual, auditory impairments or processing difficulties

   o Any impairment would compromise performance as the impairment could adversely impact the ability to respond of a normally developing child.

e) Mixed genders
   o Preferably including equal numbers of both genders would provide valuable information if gender is a factor in the responses.

f) Children who have/ are not suspected of any speech, language or learning difficulties

   o Children who have any of these problems would not be reflective of a normally developing child. The study aims to show that language and cultural differences are a significant part of the language of a normally developing child.

e) Children who have not repeated a grade

   o Children who repeat a grade may reflect being at risk for other learning problems and this could affect their ability to provide responses.

The implementation

Prerequisites for collection of data from children conducted prior testing :

- A short time was spent establishing rapport with each child and ensuring that they felt at ease. Individually spontaneous conversation i.e. unstructured informal talk on the children's interests was used and with groups, songs and stories were used.

- The children were familiarised with the test procedure to ensure that they understood what was to be done. Solarsh (2001) warns that the method of presentation of the test has to be compatible with the culture of the child to ensure non-biased testing.

- Classroom observations were conducted. In these observations, the teacher's presentation methods to which the children best responded and with which they were most comfortable were noted. A similar method of presentation, to which the children are already accustomed in class, was used (Schachter & Gass, 1996).

The only changes made were in the presentation of the pictures and the test instructions used in the urban school as, in this participator school, English was the MoI. Teachers thus used the English language to give instructions and teach, depending on whether the teacher could speak the mother–tongue of the children. Teachers who were isiZulu mother-tongue speakers used a bilingual approach when giving instructions or clarifying. The test instructions were therefore given in the children's mother-tongue i.e. isiZulu, so that the children's understanding of what was expected in the test did not adversely affect their performance. The test was conducted in accordance with the administration rules i.e. in English and the responses were expected to be in English too. The test was also administered in English to all the children to reflect how it is currently used by SLTs in the SLP profession, as illustrated by the research survey findings (see chapter 2).

As the researcher, I was sensitive to the fact that the attitude, race and experience of the tester would influence the findings or the responses of the children (Solarsh & Alant, 2006). My experiences as the researcher with isiZulu mother-tongue speakers guided me in the approach used and the adoption of a positive attitude that would not make the children feel threatened.

The administration rules of the test do not require it to be timed. Timing was therefore not used as it can have a negative impact on the response of a child (Vaughn-Cooke, 1983).

4.3.2 The implementation at the schools

Table 7: Table showing details of the composition of children in various schools where testing occurred

SCHOOL ONE:URBAN -INDIVIDUAL TESTING (in English)						
GRADE ONE		GRADE TWO		GRADE THREE		TOTAL
BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	
7	3	2	8	4	6	30
SCHOOL ONE:URBAN - CHILDREN FOCUS GROUP (in isiZulu)						
0	0	2	7	0	0	9
SCHOOL TWO:RURAL -INDIVIDUAL TESTING (in English)						
0	0	0	0	1	4	5
SCHOOL TWO:RURAL -CHILDREN FOCUS GROUP (in isiZulu)						
0	0	4	8	0	0	12
SCHOOL THREE:RURAL -INDIVIDUAL TESTING (not done)						
SCHOOL THREE:RURAL -CHILDREN FOCUS GROUP (in isiZulu)						
2	7	0	0	0	0	9
SCHOOL FOUR:RURAL -INDIVIDUAL TESTING (in English)						
0	0	2	7	0	6	15
SCHOOL FOUR:RURAL -CHILDREN FOCUS GROUP(in isiZulu)						
6	4	0	0	0	0	10
TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN USED						90

School 1 (urban)

I conducted English language enrichment classes at School 1 with grade 2's and 3', so they were accustomed to me and the use of English in class. The grade 1's however, were not part

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of this language enrichment group and the piloting showed that I needed to spend a longer period establishing a rapport with them. The participants were grouped according to grades to accommodate the grade 1's who appeared uneasy when mixed with the higher grades, while the grade 2s were used as the focus group, as they appeared to interact comfortably amongst one another. Plans to have an equal number of boys and girls could not be achieved due to the disproportionate numbers of consent forms returned.

In the individual testing, which was conducted in English to mimic how the test is currently used (see chapter 2), there was much code-mixing and code-switching, especially if they could not remember the English words. In the discussion of the findings, the significance of code-mixing and code-switching and the purposes served in conversational repair for EAL speakers is revisited. The purpose it serves, such as conversational repair, is used as a support when the partner in conversation does not seem to understand the message conveyed.

Rural schools

In this setting, the pupils felt much more uncomfortable with English, which was to be used in the individual testing. The teachers had warned that grade 1 pupils could not be used in the English part of the test administration as they were only proficient in isiZulu. These grade 1 pupils were thus going to be included in the children's focus group session which was conducted in isiZulu as they could freely express themselves in the language to which they were most accustomed. Despite their discomfort with English, the research findings (in chapter 2) illustrated that there is a significant likelihood that these children may also be tested in English by an English mother-tongue SLT, as most SLTs were conducting language assessments on EAL speakers in English or Afrikaans.

<u>School 2 (rural)</u>

Unfortunately, at the first rural school no grade 1 pupils could participate as there no consent forms were returned from this class, grade 2 children were thus used at the school for the group session and grade 3's for the individual assessment. Lessons derived from the first school, where the pupils seemed more at ease in a group setting when the group was homogenous in terms of level and familiarity with each other, were applied at the subsequent schools. Whereas, in the first school, the focus group was a mixed group of boys and girls, the genders were separated in this setting. The cue to separate the genders was derived from the group. The pupils seemed to be more aware of gender differences e.g. even when lining up outside they would do so in terms of gender. There were, however, distinct differences in terms of group dynamics in the male and female group. The girls were more at ease and communicative, whereas the boys were more reserved, so it was necessary to do more probing and prompting with the boys. The boys' more reticent behaviour could have been influenced by their smaller numbers as there were 4 boys and 8 girls in the group session.

Only nine participants, comprising five girls and four boys, from grade 3 were available for selection for the individual session at this school as theirs were the only consent forms returned. As indicated earlier, the administration of the test was in English to reflect current use. Since the majority of participants struggled with English, responses were predominantly characterised by silences, single word and telegraphic utterances. Four of the participants (3 boys and a girl) were found to be 9 years of age, thereby falling out of the age range of the test. The responses of these participants were thus excluded, thereby limiting the sample to the responses of two girls and a boy. The information gained from the groups could have had a slight gender bias by virtue of the fact that there were more female than male participants, however, according to the analysis, I was not aware of any particular gender related aspects that came to the fore.

School 3 (rural)

A focus group was conducted with this group as the children were very uncomfortable with communicating in English. Only grade 1 pupils were used and the participants from the other grades were used for individual testing. All the grade 2 and grade 3 children who were candidates for the individual testing that was to be conducted in English, refused to respond in English. They either responded in isiZulu or kept silent when encouraged to try to answer in English. The children's response to being assessed in English, despite their discomfort with the language, is significant and is discussed in chapters 1 and 5.

As with the other schools, the return rate of the consent forms was very low. Due to the small numbers of the children (see table 8), the participants in the children's focus group were not separated according to gender.

School 4 (rural)

A rapport was established with the children prior to the session. As with the other rural school, isiZulu, the mother-tongue, was the MoI in the Foundational Phase i.e. grades 1 to 3. One of the grade 2 boys, two grade 3 boys and girls were eliminated, based on the age criteria, as they were 9 years old, thereby compromising the numbers of the study.

In summary, a total of 59 children from grades 1 to 3 participated in the individual administration of the test in English, and 31 children participated in the focus group sessions. In qualitative research there is no clear guideline on the sample size. "The validity, meaningfulness and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than the sample size."(Patton, 2002, p. 245) Rather than focusing on the sample

size, the emphasis was on obtaining a comprehensive description, explanation and justification of the sampling criteria and procedures (Patton, 2002).

STEP 3:Parents and community focus group

Background

As children do not exist in a vacuum but are part of a cultural and linguistic community that influences their language and culture, a diverse group of parents and community members was included as a focus group (Moro, 2008; Taylor, 1986). The people around the children during the period of socialization are usually their immediate family members and communities. Both these parties (parents and community members) shape the children's perceptions of daily experiences and influence their interpretation of their environment (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002; Sturner et al., 1994).

An important conceptual framework used in this study is Taylor's cultural framework as a theoretical lens for observing and interpreting normal communication. It emphasizes the involvement of significant others, peers and community members and contributes towards confirming the validity of findings (Taylor, 1986). The input from family and the community helps to contextualize the statements that are uttered by the children (Naidoo, 2003).

 Furthermore, within the South African context, consulting with other individuals from the child's indigenous culture becomes more crucial in the context of this study as the majority of SLTs do not understand or speak the languages of the majority of the South African population (Penn, 1998; Solarsh, 2001). Collaboration between professionals working with children, school, the family and community, is thus necessary (Bowen, 2009).

Background and preparation for the focus group

The principal of the first school, the urban school, helped to access the eight focus group participants. It consisted of parents, teachers, grandparents and community members from the community in which the children live.

Table 8: A table reflecting the profile of the participants in the parents and community focus group:

Gender	7 females, 1 male
Marital status	3 married, 4 unmarried , 1status unknown
Age range	30 -55years
Children	All with children in the age range 3 to 30 years
Employment	7 employed (full/part-time) and 1 unemployed
Community involvement	Support children experiencing communication problems with their parents e.g. involvement with orphans from homes

Implementation of the parents and community focus group

The question schedule used to facilitate the discussion is attached in Appendix 7. The conversation was facilitated to be spontaneous using a topic guide to "keep the discussion centred while encouraging participants to speak naturally"(Ulin, et al., 2002, p. 98) .

Table 9: A table showing the guidelines on which the topic guide was based (Ulin, et al., 2002, p. 110)

GUIDELINE	IMPLEMENTATION IN RESEARCH
Composing research questions	Open-ended questions to facilitate discussion and be non-directive
Identifying topics and subtopics	Topics were kept as loosely around the focus of research as possible so as to allow spontaneous conversation to flow from the discussion of the stimuli
Deciding on a sequence	Followed the sequence of pictures as set out in the RAPT guidelines, but conversation around each was not restrictive but allowed spontaneous conversation around each picture
Developing sample questions	Sample questions based on the objectives of the study e.g. 'What do you think of this picture?'
Selecting projective techniques e.g. stories, role-plays	Facilitation through open-ended question that developed into discourse narrative. Traditional stories and those from the children's schoolbooks involving animals and humans in the pictures were used to facilitate debate

The visual stimuli from the RAPT, consisting of 10 cards with pictures, questions and expected responses, were presented to the group. The following are samples of the prompts

used in the focus group discussions with the community and parents, which were presented according to the following sequence:

- What are your opinions on the content of each picture stimulus?
- How do you think the children would respond or react to each picture stimulus?
- Do you think that the activities depicted in the pictures relate to your children's daily experiences?
- If they don't, how could they be adapted to do so?
- Do the activities depicted in the pictures relate to your children's experiences via media e.g. books, television?
- If not, how could they be adapted?
- Do you think that the pictures reflect your children's cultural experiences?
- If not, how could they be adapted?

STEP 4: Individual interviews with academics

Our use of language is influenced by our cultures and experiences. Even though we may find two people using the same language, their understanding of the same words may differ (Bryson, 1990; Burling, 1970; Celeste Roseberry-McKibbin & O'Hanlon, 2005). Experts who have insight into both the academic and language aspects of communication provided their perspectives on the adaptations that need to be made linguistically to the RAPT (Solarsh, 2001).

Selection of the academics

The criteria for this group were that they had to be isiZulu mother-tongue speakers and also be from the Zulu culture. The academics consisted of both males and females from the

University of KwaZulu-Natal Disciplines of isiZulu and Linguistics and the College of Humanities. They varied in levels of qualification from Masters to Doctorate level.

Background and preparation for the individual interviews with academics

Although a focus group was originally planned with the academics, this approach was changed due to problems with the availability of the academics as a group. An alternative method of individual face-to-face interviews was eventually used and the responses recorded and transcribed.

Implementation of the interviews with academics

Although the academics were familiar with the issues pertaining to language assessment, either from literature or personal experience, they were not familiar with the language assessment instrument used and its role within the discipline of SLP. In the preliminary discussion with each of the academics, the aim of the language assessment instrument, how it is administered and scored was explained to the academics.

They were presented with the content of the language assessment instrument i.e. pictures, vocabulary and expected responses and asked to comment on the linguistic and cultural relevance of the material in the following ways:

- Comment on the linguistic relevance of the questions and expected responses.
- How could the questions and expected responses be changed to be more linguistically relevant?
- Comment on the cultural relevance of the questions and expected responses.
- How could the questions and expected responses be changed to be more culturally relevant?

- Comment on the possible interpretation of the questions and expected responses from a semantic perspective.

- What adaptations could be made to the questions and expected responses from a semantic perspective?

- Comment on the possible interpretation of the questions and expected responses from a syntactic perspective.

- What adaptations could be made to the questions and expected responses from a syntactic perspective?

Common concerns and recommendations and themes were recorded.

Role of facilitator (in focus group and individual interviews)

It was particularly crucial in this research to contextualize myself and my position within the study as a facilitator. As a therapist who works with individuals with speech or language difficulties, and being in the relatively unique position of being an SLT from an African cultural and language background, I drew on these personal and professional skills and experiences to create a relaxed, respectful and non-judgemental atmosphere for the participants. As a multilingual speaker who faced the challenges of learning other languages that are different and are embedded in a different culture from that of the mother-tongue, I was able to bring my own knowledge and experience into the further exploration and interpretation of the issues raised in the discussion.

4.4 PHASE 2:

Review of adapted tool

Once all the data were collected from all three groups, i.e. the children, parents and community members, and the academics, analysed and interpreted, the information derived was used to adapt the RAPT.

The adapted RAPT was then critiqued for its cultural and linguistic relevance by a group of SLTs who work with EAL children who come from a Zulu cultural and linguistic background. The Delphi Technique was used to gain consensus among this group as a panel of experts (Graham, Regehr, & Wright, 2003; Skumolski, et al., 2007). This technique allowed for anonymity of responses from the panel and controlled feedback, while providing a reliable, thorough and creative exploration of the problem (Gupta & Clarke, 1996; Hsu & Sandford, 2007; Van De Ven & Delbecq, 1974).

Selection of SLTs for the Delphi Technique

The SLTs who participated in this phase of the study were chosen through convenience sampling according to the following criteria:

- SLTs had to be working or have worked in a setting where there are children who are isiZulu mother-tongue speakers and from the Zulu culture.

- SLTs had to have had extensive experience in working with children who are isiZulu mother-tongue speakers and from the Zulu culture.

All the SLTs had had experience ranging from five to ten years with this population. Male and female SLTs were used to get the perspectives of both genders. The SLTs also varied in experience in public, private and academic settings.

Implementation

A group of four SLTs were individually presented with the revised language screening tool and asked to comment on the linguistic and cultural relevance of the information and pictures. As indicated in the discussion of the test, the RAPT is comprised of two parts, namely information conveyed and grammar. No input was provided by the participants i.e. parents/community and academics focus groups on the grammar part of the test. It was thus excluded from the revised research instrument to be reviewed by the SLTs. The Delphi

Technique required that the data be sent out for several rounds (Fink, et al., 1984; Graham, et al., 2003). Changes were then made to the instrument in accordance with the suggestions from the SLTs until there was consensus amongst them. The suggested changes were conveyed back to the participant SLTs on the following round and the next round was done on the understanding of these changes being noted. In this study, probably due to the thoroughness of preceding data contribution, only two rounds were done as consensus was reached after the second round.

4.5 RIGOUR

- **Triangulation**

Table 10: A table reflecting triangulation used in the research

DATA SOURCE TRIANGULATION	
Data source	**Purpose for which data gathered**
Speech-language therapists	Perspectives of language professionals with in-depth understanding of the tests used for language screening about the tests they use and why
Children	The perspectives of those exposed to the tests
Academics	Perspectives of qualified language professionals with an in-depth understanding of isiZulu language and the cultural nuances related to it
Parents	Perspectives of the parents of the children upon whom the tests are used and their particular insight into the child and his/her interpretations based upon cultural nuances
Community	Consolidation of the unique perspectives related to and influenced by the cultural nuances inherent in understanding and communicating within the Zulu language and cultural milieu
METHOD TRIANGULATION	
Method	**Purpose for which used**
Focus groups	This method with children elicited a more participatory response as they were encouraged by each other's responses and interpretations. In adults, it created an environment for rich narrative to emerge and discussion of common experiences.
Interviews	This method elicited detailed information relating to the unique experiences and perspectives of each individual .
Delphi Technique	This technique provided an in-depth consultative process for gaining information on the changes made to the research instrument.

As reflected in Table 11, in this study, multiple data sources and methods of data collection were used. Although triangulation is a common feature of research that contributes to the rigour of a study, a unique feature in this study was the focus given to the input of the children. As with this study, other research studies that have been conducted have adopted an ecological approach (Bortz, 1997; Naidoo, 2003; Naudé, et al., 2007; Solarsh & Alant, 2006) however, the opinions of the children have not been central to the study. Information on the cultural and linguistic relevance of the stimuli has been based on input from adults, such as academics, community members or leaders, professionals and parents. This study has been unique in its increased weighting of the opinion of the children, which is because the test is administered on them. The study further compared the opinions or perceptions of the adults with those of the children. If the test had merely depended on the input of the adults regarding the perception of the stimuli, important information would have been omitted as the views of children may differ, according to each one's own experience. The comparison of the data from the adults with those of the children yielded richer data for the study.

- **Credibility**

Credibility was maintained in order to ensure that the analysis and interpretation of the data was consistent with the data collected and reflected what the participants intended to convey. A summary of all the information gathered from all the adult participants, i.e. SLTs who reviewed the adapted research instrument, the parents/community members and the academics, was sent to these participants for review, prior to inclusion in the final findings. Changes were made based on the feedback from these participants. During the data collection of the children's perceptions of the research instrument in Phase 1, a process of reflection was used in which the information they had just provided was repeated to them and they were asked if the statement correctly portrayed what they meant. The Delphi Technique in Phase 2 also contributed to the instrument's credibility.

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- **Confirmability**

Due to the influence that the researcher can have on the process of data analysis and interpretation, a rigorous data trail was maintained through techniques such as keeping thorough notes, so that other researchers can gain insight into the interpretations and findings of study. Detailed, comprehensive notes were taken throughout the study, together with the audio and video recordings. Some of these, such as interview schedules, have been included as evidence in the appendices. This data will be kept in a locked cabinet in safe keeping at the Discipline of Speech-Language Pathology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal for at least the next 5 years.

- **Transferability**

This research applies to the specific contexts described, i.e. the particular urban and rural schools involved. The findings could not be generalised to other similar schools as there are too many different dynamics at play in each scenario that would have to be taken into account. Other measures also have to be implemented, such as detailed descriptions of each of the schools used and the profile of the children. In each of the schools where data was gathered, a detailed description of the school, relevant dynamics during the interaction and a comprehensive description and profile of each of the children would be needed. If another researcher intends to conduct research using the RAPT or any other language screening or assessment tool, the criteria for choosing each of the participants and their descriptions can be used as a guide. Furthermore, a detailed description of the schools and the dynamics at each of them was outlined. Although the dynamics in each study cannot be replicated, the criteria can be used as a guideline.

4.6 ETHICAL AND LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this study, relevant ethical considerations and the impact of the difference in power relations between the participants and me (Schachter & Gass, 1996) were considered when planning the process of data gathering. The guidelines for good research practice, as suggested by Greig et al., (2007) were applied as a basis to guide the researcher in this process. Each of these will be discussed in detail below:

Presentation of information on the purpose, process and expectation of involvement for the child in the research: The following process occurred:

1. Permission was requested from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

2. A letter of permission that was reviewed for accuracy (in English and isiZulu) was presented to all participants of the groups, interviews and survey.

3. Letters of permission/authorisation were requested and obtained from the parents, legal guardians/ caregivers, school governing bodies and KwaZulu-Natal Education Department.

4. All participants were informed in simple and clear terms, in isiZulu, regarding the following:

- The aim of the research and purpose and process of data gathering

- Their right to choose to participate or not

- Their right to withdraw at any stage without detriment should they so wish.

- That when the researcher reports on her findings, their identities would be kept confidential

- That all information about them would be kept locked away and only the researcher and her supervisors would have access to it.

- The importance of their role in the research and what would happen to the data generated from the research

Careful choice of participants: As the researcher, I was sensitive to the cognitive and developmental stages of the child participants. Therefore, anticipating that they would have difficulties in maintaining concentration or attention span for prolonged periods necessitated that both the research tool and the children's focus group (voice of the children) did not take longer than 20 minutes. In the classroom setting, the lessons planned and implemented by the grade one to grade three teachers ranged from 30-45 minutes. The children were thus accustomed to having to focus on tasks that were for a longer period. The children were also consistently reassured that there was no failure or obligation to comment.

Engagement (respect, rapport, openness, listening): Rapport was established with each of the children by having an informal, interactive talk or game with them prior to commencement of data gathering sessions, to ensure that they were comfortable with the context and researcher.

Privacy, confidentiality, consent, choice of participation: Due to the possible bias in power relations between the children, their guardians/parents and the researcher, it was explicitly and repeatedly explained to them, in simple but clear terms, that they had the right to decline or withdraw from participating at any time and that, if they decided to decline or withdraw, this would not be held against them. It was explained to them and their parents that their participation would be kept confidential by ensuring the children's anonymity, i.e. by using coding. A simple story with pictures was used to explain the concept of confidentiality in simple terms to the children that no one but my supervisors and I would be dealing with the data and that it would be kept locked away in my home and thereafter at the Discipline of Speech-Language Pathology.

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Control of Research materials: If the parent agreed to the participation of the child but the child declined, the child's rights were respected and thus, in those instances where the parent had signed and submitted the consent form but the child was shy and did not want to participate, the child was not forced to do so. Such children were thanked with a little token in the form of a sucker and allowed to return to class. It was made clear to them that there would be no penalty.

Review, revision and dissemination of research: The school principal, participants within the community/ parents' focus group, academics who participated in the individual interviews and SLTs were given the option to receive a copy of the findings of the research in the form of a summary if they requested. These summaries would be explained in a clear, simple manner, avoiding professional jargon. Work in progress has been presented at the Conferences of South African Speech-Language and Hearing Association in Pretoria in 2010, Multilingualism Conference in Lithuania in 2010 and Canadian Speech-Language Pathologists Association (CASLPA) in Montreal in Canada in 2011. A workshop with SLTs and Audiologists in KZN was also conducted in April 2011. A publication in the biannual research journal *Studies about Languages 2010* No.17 has been produced and more publications on the study will be produced and published in accredited journals.

Use of participatory methods: The presentation of the test material in the children's focus group was done in a manner that was fun and appropriate for the age group. The mother-tongue of the children was used to address them.

Appreciation and reward: Each of the participants in the parent and community focus group was assisted financially to get to the venue of the meeting and refreshments were provided to create an informal and comfortable atmosphere. Each of the children were

thanked and rewarded with a lollipop for their participation in the study. They were not informed of their reward prior to their participation.

Careful choice of context: A setting that is comfortable, safe and predictable was used for the children. The school environment is a familiar setting that children normally regard as known and natural and therefore an appropriate setting for them. The room used was part of the administration section and was detached from the other classrooms where the other children could see them participating. It was a room that was usually used when the social worker sees the children at the school as it provided privacy.

Participant's perspective: The participants were allowed to freely express themselves with minimal intervention from me as I merely facilitated the discussion during group sessions. During the data collection and analysis, care was taken to retain the core participants' input via audio and video recording that had been set up prior to the session.

Summary

In this chapter, the methodology design, data collection with analysis and the motivation for the procedures applied in the study were discussed. It elaborated on the RAPT as a research instrument and how it was applied in the study. The preparatory stage which was comprised of the survey to the SLTs was presented. Phase 2 which included the voice of the children, focus groups of the children, parents and community member was discussed. The individual interviews with the academics also formed part of phase 2. The review of the adapted tool with the assistance of SLTs was described. The principles and techniques of rigour applied to ensure the trustworthiness of the research were explained and, finally, the application of the ethical considerations was discussed.

PRELUDE TO CHAPTER 5

This section commences with a revisit of the phases of the data collection to contextualise the findings as the presentation of the findings is based on the same structure. The findings of the study are briefly presented and the emerging patterns discussed. Implications of the findings for the Speech-Language Pathology (SLP) profession are explored. The format is to present the pictures from the test used i.e. RAPT[53]. Under each picture I present the responses from each of the participants and this is followed by a commentary on these responses. Based on these responses, changes to the tool are suggested and effected. The visual stimuli[54] are categorised into the themes depicted in the table below:

Table:11 A table outlining the content of visual stimuli in the RAPT

Subsections	Visual stimuli in RAPT (© Speechmark Ltd)
5.1: Human relations and respect	- Girl hugging a teddy bear- Picture 1 - Kneeling woman helping child- Picture 2 - Girl falling down the stairs- Picture 6 - Baby lifted by older girl- Picture 7 - Boy picking up fallen apples- Picture 10
5.2 : Perception of Animals	- Dog tied to a pole- Picture 3 - Man riding a horse- Picture 4 - Dog with a crying boy- Picture 9
5.3: View of the Cat	- Cat with mice- Picture 5 - Cat on the roof of a house- Picture 8

During the process of discussing the findings, Critical Theory is the particular lens drawn on for interpretation of the responses derived. The lens of narrative enquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990) surfaces through the vignettes, where my personal story, linked to this interpretation, is told.

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[53] The Action Picture Test is published by Speechmark Publishing Ltd, Milton, Keynes, UK
[54] The visual stimuli from the RAPT, 4th Edition published in 1997 and reprinted in 2010 were used in the study. The 2010 publication (accessed at the end of the writing of the study) of the RAPT has revised visual stimuli . The content of the visual stimuli has been modernised and also reflects different races. These revisions are noted and acknowledged but do not change the findings and central arguments in this study.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The data collection phases are depicted in the table below:

Table 12: A table depicting a summary of the data collection phase

DATA COLLECTION PHASE	
PHASE, METHOD AND PARTICIPANTS	**PURPOSE**
Preparatory Phase-Descriptive survey sent to Speech-Language Therapists (SLTs) who are members of the HPCSA	To establish current profile and practice and help establish rationale for research
Phase 1-Administration of test on 6-8 yr old children who are EAL speakers (isiZulu mother-tongue speakers)	To compare findings with the expected responses set out in the test
Phase 2- Perceptions of EAL speakers of test content via focus groups and interviews • children • parents and community • language experts	To aid in the understanding of the above findings
Phase 3- Critique of the adapted test by SLTs who work with EAL speakers	To suggest and refine a model using the feedback

The findings that are presented consist of the following:

- The findings of the survey conducted on SLTs

- The findings of the school children's responses to me in the individual screening on the RAPT

- The voice of the school children, i.e. the children's focus group discussion on their views of the RAPT

- The focus group of parents and community members from the children's communities

- The academics' individual interviews on the RAPT

- The responses of the SLTs regarding changes made to the research instrument

An analysis of each of the above findings is provided and the emerging trends in the data explored. A motivation is also provided for the pictoral and linguistic changes suggested to the original research instrument, based on input from all the data gathered.

It is crucial for the reader to be aware that even though I, as the researcher draw on other literature such as anthropological, psychological, linguistic and sociological writings (Kunnie & Goduka, 2006; Mkhize, 2004a, 2004b; Myers, 1987, 1992; Ogunniyi, 1988; Okon, 2013; Olupona, 1993) that relate to the themes emerging in the study to substantiate the analysis of findings, my worldview (Koltko-Rivera, 2004), specific experience and background as a Black African provides the support for the assertions made about African culture and experience (see chapter 1, Contextualising the Study). The Black African culture, stories, philosophy and traditions have a formidable oral tradition that is reflected in or is the underlying reason some of the practices that may be perceived as different, irrational, unreasonable, purposeless or even primitive through the Western lens (Mucina, 2013). Some of the actions or interpretations of the pictures of the participants in the study are embedded in this oral tradition and there may be a paucity of literature on them e.g. hugging in Black African culture. The responses, actions and interpretations of the pictures and words from the RAPT by the participants based on Black African cultures of the ideas and philosophies cannot always be adequately translated into another language i.e. English, without losing some meaning because each language speaks to a specific contextual symbolic encoding (Mucina, 2013) due to language translational limitation(Smit, van den Berg, Seedat, & Stein, 2006). These restrictions manifest in the analysis of the responses.

Despite the risk of overgeneralising as the Western culture is not comprised of a single, homogeneous set of values, the term 'Western' has been used as reflected in the literature based on the broad principles of individuality in Western culture as opposed to the interconnectedness of the African culture that is reflected in the comparison of African and Western world views (Biko, 2004; Fatnowna & Pickett, 2002b; Hountodji, 2002; Miller, 2012). Applying these broad principles in no way indicates that there is no individuality in Black African culture but the criteria for the individual moral decision is that they have to be consistent with communal norms. One is regarded as having become a person when able to maintain a productive community life (Dzobo, 1992, cited in Matolino, 2011). Furthermore using these principles also does not show that Westerners uphold doing wrong to others within the community i.e. don't respect or live harmoniously with fellow community members, but that there is a difference in shared identity with the community from African culture (Metz, 2007; Shutte, 2001).

FINDINGS OF THE PREPARATORY PHASE: THE SURVEY

A key part of establishing a rationale for the study was the national survey that was conducted; the findings are demonstrated in chapter 2.The findings provided information on the following:

- **Current language assessment practices**

 The SLTs revealed that the majority of SLTs are assessing EAL speaking children from indigenous language and cultural backgrounds in English. In chapter 1, reasons, such as English dominance and the preference of conducting language assessments in English by SLTs, have been extensively discussed.

- **Profile of the typical South African SLT**

The profile of the typical South African SLT is an English or Afrikaans mother-tongue speaker. As the child from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background in South Africa typically comes from an African background, there is also often a substantial difference, apart from the language differences, in the socio-cultural background of the client and the SLT. These differences influence the lens through which both the SLT and client view the world, i.e. their varying worldviews or cosmologies. A central theme that is explored in this study is the difference between the Western and African world views and its influence on the language assessment process.

- **Perceptions of SLTs on preparedness in working with EAL speakers**

The SLTs felt that they were not adequately resourced in terms of indigenous knowledge and human resources, i.e. support staff that speak an indigenous language or have knowledge of indigenous culture. They further indicated that there was a paucity of culturally and linguistically relevant language assessment material to provide the appropriate service to the child who comes from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background. They acknowledged the relationship between language and culture and, therefore, the significance of understanding indigenous knowledge as part of the interpretation of the language assessment findings and the need for culturally and linguistically relevant tools for the child from the indigenous language and cultural background. This data thus contributed to establishing and reinforcing the rationale for the study. The emerging themes in this survey are discussed extensively in the literature review.

PHASE 2 - INDIVIDUAL ADMINISTRATION OF RAPT, FOCUS GROUPS AND INTERVIEWS

- **Step 1** - The findings from the children's responses in the administration of the RAPT on the children, individually in English

- **Step 2** - The findings from the focus groups, consisting of (a) children (b) parents and community.

- **Step 3 -** The findings from individual interviews with language experts (academics)

The findings from all the above steps are presented as described in the Prelude to Chapter 5, commencing with the presentation and discussion of Pictures 1, 2, 6, 7 and 10 that relate to the theme of human relations and respect.

5.1:HUMAN RELATIONS AND RESPECT

PICTURE CARD ONE: FROM THE RAPT (1997)(© Speechmark Ltd)

1. What is the girl doing?

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES

EXPECTED RESPONSE IN RAPT	RESPONSE BY CHILDREN IN STUDY
Cuddle, hug, hold, carry, play with teddy, bear, teddy bear	Hug, hold, shoo cuddle, doll/dollie, play with, teddy, bear, teddy bear, (to) nurse, son, girl, boy, baby, play, catching.

SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN	
The children could relate to the picture and referred to the toy as *teddy bear/doll*. They did not mention hugging but rather quieting and comforting the baby '*shushuzela*'. Although the urban children did not seem to be concerned about the colour of the person depicted in the picture, the children from a rural area were very conscious of the difference in colour and the physical characteristics of the girl depicted in the picture, especially the hair and skin colour.[55]	

ACADEMICS	PARENTS AND COMMUNITY
Children won't relate to it, Western. Teddy bear and cuddling are not African concepts.	Both rural and urban children would be able to relate to it, but rural children may not be able relate to a teddy bear. Children may not relate to hugging

COMMENTARY	
It is interesting that all the children could relate to the picture as it indicates the universality of the concept of play depicted in the picture and the exposure of all children to some form of nurturing an object, either a doll or teddy. The concept of 'universalism' should, however, be used cautiously as it has been associated with the suppression of the plurality of identities (Stirk, 2000) and could be regarded as the new form of colonisation (Venn, 2006). It has been linked to the justification of generalisations that mask differences, thereby treating the 'other' as a 'generalised other' without recognising the differences (Rasmussen, 1996). The identification of the physical differences in the people depicted in the picture as representing different races by the rural children shows that the 'colour blind' paradigm (Lemmer et al., 2006) is not reflective of reality. The responses of the children, to the perceived racial differences influences their performance during the assessment. In a language assessment of a five year old isiZulu mother tongue speaking boy that I conducted, he commented that he would only use *isilungu*[56] when discussing the pictures as there were *abelungu*[57] in the pictures. Although the child who made the utterance is five years old, thereby falling outside the age range used in the data collection of the study, his comment is still relevant as it demonstrates the influence of perceptions on the assessment responses. Although the Zulu children may identify the activity in the picture as play, it does not mean that their perception and associations with play are universal or even the same as those of the therapist, who may come from a different language and culture. The connotations that they have for 'play' are a product of their background, experience, identity and socialisation. The family and	

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[55] Picture retained as Caucasian girl in revised 2010 publication of RAPT

[56] White person's language (usually referring to English)

[57] White people

community are important instruments of socialisation (Kellner, 1989; Mkhize, 2004b; Muendane, 2006).The language that the Zulu child links to play may also differ from Western language (Muendane, 2006).

The responses of the children are contrary to the expectations of the academics who believed that the children would not be able to relate to the picture. The view or truth of the academics is based on what they perceived as the children's world or lens through which they view the world. It seems to be a narrow view that does not take cognisance of the multiple worlds to which the children are exposed and that children play an active role in constructing their world (Tabors, 2008b). The parents and community members were, however, more in touch with the knowledge and preferences of their children, as their responses were consistent with those that the children presented.

The reference of the children to the toy as a 'teddy bear' also contradicts the parents, community and academics' perceptions of the children's knowledge. The opinions of all the adults may thus be underestimating the power of the media. The books at school, billboards in their environment and television are some of the media sources to which the children are exposed to and which influence their perceptions (Koopman, 2002). The interaction with peers from other backgrounds, races and cultures have a bearing on the ideas and understanding that children form about the world. Peer interaction helps to mould their formulation of what constitutes truth for them. Even if the children may not have teddy bears at home, exposure to them via the media includes teddy bears in their scope of knowledge.

Although the children did not focus on the terminology of 'hugging or cuddling', the concepts of intimate nurturing of a play object is depicted in their responses. Their response reflects their own perception or experience of intimacy in their own world.

The concept of multiple truths depicted above which are relevant to the interpretation of all the visual stimuli to be discussed in this section, is consistent with the principle of Critical Theory that truth is created by human beings. Based on their own experience of their world, the children have created their own truth. Although the knowledge that the children have is socially and culturally created, their perception of this knowledge is what constitutes truth to them. The truth of the children is thus not found but made (Sardar & van Loon, 2004) by the children, based on how they view and interpret the world around them. There are thus regimes of truth whose creation is linked to one's particular reality. The truth of the children, regarding the issues depicted in the picture, sometimes varied from the truth of the adults from the same language and cultural group. The truth of the children is based on their own experience which differs from that of the adults, although it may be influenced by the adults.

The truth of the parents and the community members will also be influenced by the roles that they play in society and their relationships with the children. As the parents are in close contact with the children on a daily basis, their perceptions of the children will be influenced by these relationships (Taylor, 1994).

The academics have no relationship with the children in the study and have limited knowledge of the basis for the responses of the children. The academics drew on their theoretical, cultural and social knowledge to predict the children's perceptions of the pictures. The inconsistency of their responses with those of the children shows how significant the impact of language experts' assumptions can be.

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SUGGESTED CHANGES AND MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE TO PICTURE ONE OF THE RAPT

PICTURE CHANGES

- The expression on the girl's face was changed to be happier as some of the comments indicated that the girl looked sad.

- The findings from the academics, parents and community indicated that a teddy bear is not a toy with which most children in the rural areas are familiar. They mostly play with dolls and, even if they do have teddy bears, refer to them or any other play item that can be personified as a *doll*.

- 'Hugging' is one of the expressions of affection that may be displayed differently in different contexts by different cultures. These differences and their varying connotations were strongly expressed in the focus groups and individual interviews. The hugging was removed from the later revised picture to eliminate any unintended connotations. However, this does not mean that in Zulu culture 'hugging 'is disallowed or unacceptable. Similarly, in other cultures, there are inter-cultural and intra-cultural differences (Hamers & Blance, 2000). As depicted in Taylor's model, which is used as the conceptual model in this study, as the child acquires her mother-tongue, she is also exposed to the culture associated with second language (L2) and she may assimilate it or not resulting in a shift in her own beliefs or communication behaviour (Taylor, 1986). Hugging may be part of the communication behaviour that has been assimilated.

 In the South African context, the SLT is typically from a context that views intimacy from a Western perspective. The Western view of intimacy in accordance with this view becomes perceived as the only truth because intimacy, as understood from the Zulu

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culture, may not be accommodated in the SLT's frame of reference. As the SLT is in a position of power, in the language assessment context, the EAL speaker from an isiZulu language and cultural background may be discriminated against based on a gap in the SLT's knowledge. This discrimination may be subconsciously, unintentionally applied but, as Foucault maintains, to determine the truth of another is equivalent to assuming power over the 'other' (Foucault,1980 cited in Hoppers, 2002, p. 75).

Unfortunately, this gap in the SLT's knowledge could be costly and disadvantageous for the Zulu child as the interpretation and response to the picture may be misunderstood and misinterpreted. As the SLT is unaware of the basis for the response, if inconsistent with the Western norms reflected in the test manual and understood by the SLT, the response by the EAL speaker from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background will be recorded as incorrect. From a Critical Theory perspective, such an act would be regarded as discriminatory and unethical (Barker, 1998) as these findings will be used to make decisions which could prejudice the future of the child.

<u>VOCABULARY CHANGES</u>

As reflected inthe responses to picture 1, the word 'cuddle' was not used by any of the children in the study, whether urban or rural. As it is a possible response it was not omitted from the final choice of vocabulary as part of the modified test. The terms used for the teddy bear were linked to terminology used for humans e.g. boy, girl, baby. A nurse is associated with taking care of others, so the word 'nurse' as a verb was frequently used and thus included as part of the information. The word 'carry 'was also seldom used by the children. It could be that for them, the picture depicted closer contact than was implied in the word 'carrying'. The word was thus also omitted from the test.

2. What is the mother going to do?

EXPECTED RESPONSE IN RAPT	RESPONSE BY CHILDREN IN STUDY:
Put on, pull off, take off, get off, girl, daughter, wellington, wellie, boot	Put on, take off, get on, baby, child,girl, boots, going to school, shoes, school, sister, girl, mother

SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN	
The children could relate to the picture. They highlighted the mother kneeling. The helping of a child to dress was associated with a younger child. They could identify boots but referred to them as boots/shoes.	

ACADEMICS	PARENTS AND COMMUNITY
Children won't relate to picture. It is culturally inappropriate for the mother to kneel for child. Most children are without boots so won't know them.	They were concerned with the age of a child who is still being helped to put on shoes i.e. level of care inconsistent with age. It is culturally inappropriate for an adult to kneel for a child in the Zulu culture.

COMMENTARY	

The kneeling of the mother, an adult, for a young child seems to have consistently surfaced in all the focus group discussions. The reason may be linked to the perception and role that kneeling plays in Zulu culture. Kneeling is an intrinsic aspect of demonstrating respect (Joyce, 2009; Streets, 2011) . The person who kneels is usually of lower status or position in the relationship and honours the individual of higher status through the act of kneeling. In Zulu culture, the woman would kneel when giving her husband food as a sign of respect to the man as the head of the household (Elliot, 1996). This is generally not a common practice in Western culture and its significance may thus not be fully understood when one is not part of the culture. An act in the Western world that can be described as similar, but not equivalent, is bowing or curtseying to royalty. Although this parallel can be drawn in an attempt to explain it, the significance of the African and European act cannot as they vary in deeper meaningand interpretation.

According to African culture the relationship between children and adults is unequal. As the adult is regarded to have higher stature, behavioural expectations are consistent with this relationship. Since kneeling is reserved for one of higher stature or position, it is inappropriate for the reverse, as depicted in the picture, to occur. Culturally, a mother would not kneel for a child and the child would not expect it of the mother. The reason the child would not expect it is that such an act would not be part of her daily experience.

The children did not explicitly state that there was a problem with the kneeling, but their focus on it is significant. They may lack the cognitive and linguistic maturity to explain why it would be regarded as culturally inappropriate. Although, culturally, it may never have been overtly explained to them, the absence of it in their daily experience and the language associated with their relationship with an adult or parent may covertly indicate that an adult kneeling for a child is not culturally acceptable.

The focus group discussion with the parents and community and the interviews with the academics highlighted that it is not just the kneeling, but the link between the age of the child and the kneeling that is a cause for concern. It is interesting to note that, despite the concerns raised, the children could generally relate to the picture, even though the academics did not think they would be able to.

The focus on the kneeling or the age of the child being assisted would have been insignificant to an SLT who has no knowledge in the culture. Although none of the children responded that the mother is taking the child's shoe to hit her with it (as indicated by some of the academics), if they did respond in this manner, it would seem to the SLT from a Western background that the respondent's answer is irrelevant and lacking in reason. In terms of the understanding of the culture and maybe her own personal experience, which is culturally-based, such a response would be totally appropriate. It would, however, not be one of the options provided in the test and the child would be marked as having provided an erroneous response. This decision by the SLT would be influenced by the lens through which she is viewing the response, and the score will determine the nature of intervention. The limitations of the SLT's understanding are masked by the hegemony of the Western view and power relations. A possible way of bridging this lack of knowledge would be to be aware of the power of the SLT and give some of this power back to the child by giving her an opportunity to explain her answer. However, the

RAPT test manual does not give guidance to the SLT to ask for an explanation to understand the response better. In this way the status quo is reinforced.

Reflection on respect in African society
The issue of inhlonipho[58] *takes me back to my first visits to white friends' homes where I was incredibly shocked to see how white children related to their parents. At the time, I thought that they were very rude to their parents. The greatest shock to me was that they never put their hands together when accepting something from an adult which was regarded as extremely rude in my culture. I soon learnt that it was not lack of respect but was just not part of the expectation in their culture. I adapted to their culture and didn't put my hands together when accepting something from their parents as my friends constantly laughed and questioned what I was doing when I did so.*

I adapted to Western culture but the same could not be said for white friends who interacted with my parents. Western culture was dominant and continues to be. I was expected to assimilate Western norms and standards to 'fit in' but there was, and there continues to be, inadequate reciprocation of understanding of my culture.

My parents never questioned my assimilation of Western norms and culture, provided that I was in the context of Whites, as they were aware of the expectation. At home, however, I was reminded that I had to draw a clear distinction between my behaviour with Whites and Blacks as I must never forget that I have black skin. They accepted the ruling ideology outside the home. The only place where they had the opportunity for cultural empowerment was within the confines of their home or community.

MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE TO PICTURE 2 OF THERAPT

PICTURE CHANGES

The findings of the focus groups and the individual interviews reflected the inappropriateness of an adult kneeling to serve a child who isof an age when she is self-sufficient. Kneeling, in the Zulu culture, is an act of respect that is reserved for individuals of higher stature. In Zulu culture, age and gender play a critical part in respectful behaviour, *inhlonipho* (Elliot, 1996).

Helping to put on the shoe of a self-sufficient child was also questioned. Even though the children did not directly indicate this concern, they indirectly raised the fact that the act in the picture would have occurred when they were much younger. Both the academics and the

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[58] An isiZulu word meaning respect

parent-community focus groups indicated that the role played by the mother in the above picture would, in Zulu culture, have been played by an older sibling.

Traditionally, Zulu children, particularly girls, are taught by their mothers to be responsible for their younger siblings (Elliot, 1996). This resulting socialization by peers is a similar phenomenon observed with Puerto Rican children (Owens, 1988). Older siblings often play the role of caregiver that, in Western society, would usually be associated with the mother.

In adapting the picture, the kneeling was removed and the age of the child was changed to reflect that of an infant who would still be regarded as helpless and in need of assistance.

A shoe was used in the picture since most of the children referred to the footwear as 'shoes' rather than boot. The use of 'boots' may have been confusing as boots are not worn as commonly in KwaZulu-Natal as the weather is warm throughout most of the year. They were however aware of what boots are.

VOCABULARY CHANGES

The word 'wellington[59]' is a British word used to refer to a particular type of boot. It is not commonly used in the South African context by English L1 speaker or EAL speakers who are from the Zulu cultural and linguistic background. It was thus omitted. The attire of the little girl in the pictures i.e. a plain dress with a white blouse or shirt is similar to many uniforms worn at schools, especially in the townships,[60] where most school uniforms for girls comprise a white shirt and a dress or skirt. The children therefore mostly associated the attire with school uniform. The word 'school' was thus a common response. Although many of the children would be aware of boots, they mostly used the word 'shoes' to refer to footwear. It is possible that they perceive boots as belonging to a common category of shoes.

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[59] Retained in the revised 2010 publication of the RAPT.
[60]*Township* is a name that is commonly used for the areas where Black people mostly live

6. What has happened to the girl?

EXPECTED RESPONSE IN RAPT	RESPONSE BY CHILDREN IN STUDY
Fall, trip, slide, slip down, on, over, stairs, steps, break, crack, smash, glasses, spectacles	Fall/fall down, stairs, break, glasses, cry, rolled ,girl, floor, mother, steps

SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN

They could relate to the picture as they had fallen down stairs themselves or had witnessed others doing so at home, school, on TV or in books. They commented that parents or teachers had glasses. No concerns or comments on race were raised by the urban children.

ACADEMICS	PARENTS & COMMUNITY
Clear picture, child can relate but more for an urban child Steps and spectacles are not common in African settings, especially rural ones	Children would be able to relate to the picture as it reflects a typical daily event that can occur. A child can fall down stairs at home or school.

COMMENTARY

The responses of all the academics, community members and parents, were consistent with those of the children; however, the academics' assumption that the rural children would not have been exposed to glasses was inaccurate. Children in rural areas also had parents, teachers or relatives who wore glasses. The media also depicted people wearing glasses.

The children used in the study are living in an era where there are numerous, intricate and rapidly changing technological advances in media. These advances have resulted in greater exposure to knowledge of populations and areas from which they were previously sheltered. Foucault maintains that knowledge is reinforced by the principles of exclusion and prohibition (Rajchman, 1985). In media, these principles are reflected in the influence of the of the reporting and presenting of the knowledge or truth, validating certain discourses while discrediting others (P. Barker, 1998). If the media emerges from a society that is dominated by Western principles, the truth, subject of discourse and picture it will present will be reflective and will be validating thereof. Adult figures who wear glasses would be more common in music videos, local soapies and on newsreaders on television stations with news in indigenous languages.

There are also many projects, such as mobile trains to rural areas providing eye screening, surgical operations and other interventions, including supplying glasses, thereby increasing the access of populations that would previously not have been exposed to these services. The rural children in this research are part of these communities, seeing either adult family or community members getting glasses or they themselves getting glasses.

Personal Reflection

As I reflect on my own childhood, which included both urban and rural experience, glasses have been part of each of these environments. My sister wore glasses from Sub A (currently Grade 1). My father always wore glasses. When we went to Healdtown, a rural area in the Eastern Cape, during the school holidays, my granny, who was a teacher in a school, also wore glasses. As children, we were always sent to fetch her glasses for her to read. As glasses formed part of our daily experience, adults, especially fathers, also wore glasses when we played 'house'.

MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE TO PICTURE 3 OF THE RAPT

PICTURE CHANGES

As most of the children, from both urban and rural areas, could relate to this picture, the

picture was retained as it was. The only modification related to the context in which children

are exposed to steps. None of the rural children had steps at home but some of the urban children resided in flats, which had stairs. The rural children, however, had experience of steps from school as most of the schools used in the research were not located on flat land. They were thus exposed to steps at school. The experiences they related of falling down steps were linked to school. The girl falling down the steps was thus changed to portray a girl wearing a school uniform, to reflect the children's experience.

VOCABULARY CHANGES

The words 'trips', 'slide', 'slip down', 'smash' and 'spectacles' were not used by the children. The words 'trip', 'slide' and 'trip down' indicate a specific type of falling e.g. 'slide' implies there is a slippery surface. A child who is an EAL speaker from an in indigenous linguistic and cultural background may still be in the process of expanding their vocabulary, and may be using the word 'fall 'for every type of fall that could be described in a more specific manner. The same argument could be used for 'smash', 'crack' and 'break'. The word 'spectacles' is usually the more formal word used for glasses so the children predominantly used the informal term 'glasses'. The children also used the word 'floor' frequently referring to where the glasses fell. According to the guidelines of the RAPT, 'floor' does not receive a full point as it is non-specific. All the more specific words that were not used by the children were omitted from the revision of the test and 'floor' was added as one of the most commonly used words by the children.

7. What has the BIG girl done?

EXPECTED RESPONSE IN RAPT	RESPONSE BY CHILDREN IN STUDY
Lift up, hold up, put up, pick up, baby boy, brother, post, mail, put in letter/mail/postbox, letter, post/ postcard	Lift up, hold up, put up, pick up, make child baby boy/ little boy, girl, child, carry, letter, post, iposi/pos* postbox, ticket, paper, book, newsletter, letterbox, card, poster, paper
SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN	
Although all the children could relate to the picture, there was a mixed response to the post-box. Most of the rural children could relate to a post-box[61] while the urban children confused the post-box with other objects 'posted', such as library books. All the children felt it was appropriate that the mother was holding the baby as the baby was young. No concerns were raised about the adult letting the child put in the mail.	

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[61] Red postbox retained in the revised 2010 publication of the RAPT but the people look African

ACADEMICS	PARENTS & COMMUNITY
There were mixed responses but they predominantly regarded the picture as inappropriate. Appropriate: They remarked that the child can relate to post-boxes as they are common but that it does not make sense for a child to be used to post the letter and not the adult as they felt it would be more appropriate for the adult to post it as a letter is important. Inappropriate: The child cannot relate to it as it is outdated, as posting no longer occurs. A letter-box can be confused with other similar boxes e.g. DVD returns. People in rural areas do not have post boxes and urban people do not send letters.	Children will not be able to relate to the picture as no-one posts in the current age of technology. Most people no longer write letters. However, they noted that pictures of posting letters are reappearing in the revised curriculum school books, although they were not commonly seen for a while. Lifting of the child by the mom is normal as the child is very young.

COMMENTARY
The parents, community members and academics were inaccurate in terms of how the children would relate to the picture. Their responses indicated that the picture was inappropriate and the children would not relate to it but both the urban and rural children did. The responses of the rural children were especially interesting as the academics felt that these children had specifically not been exposed to post boxes. The outcome of the responses to this picture demonstrates how important the children's voice is in the establishing of test norms. The concerns about this picture were linked to technological advances rather than human relations. All the participants considered it normal and acceptable that an adult should assist a younger child due to the age of the child, i.e. an infant. The picture also does not depict any act that could be regarded as disrespectful in terms of relations between an adult and a child, individuals belonging to different levels and positions of power. The participants' response to how the adult-infant relationship was depicted illustrates that the manner in which parties in a picture test stimulus are portrayed is significant as it influences the respondent's interpretation thereof.

MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE TO PICTURE 7 OF THE RAPT

PICTURE CHANGES

The main concern of all parties with this picture was the post-box. The academics, parents and

community members were concerned that the children may not be familiar with a post box

and may misinterpret it as a DVD box or a library book return box. The red post box was changed into a box that could be used for posting other items, such as DVDs. The picture was thus changed to reflect the advancement in technology and society. All the other aspects of the picture were retained as there were no concerns expressed about the age of the child carried and the fact that an older lady was carrying the child.

VOCABULARY CHANGES

The key words that give meaning to the picture were not commonly found in the responses of the children in the study. These include 'lift up', 'hold up', 'pick up' and 'put up'. As these words are significant in providing meaning to the picture, they were still included in the revision, despite their omission by the children.

There are some words that were not frequently used by all the children, but some of the children. These words include 'dvd', 'newsletter', 'paper', 'ticket', 'card', 'book'. They were included in the revision as they reflect words that could be used by children, based on their experience of their environment. DVDs are returned via boxes similar to the post box in the picture. A box for posting may thus be related to this background by a child. At school sometimes, the teacher puts a box similar to the posting box in the picture for the children to 'post' school newsletters when returning them. Currently in our society, there is much awareness of recycling and papers are placed in containers similar to post boxes in appearance. Children may thus relate the post box to this experience. At shopping malls sometimes, boxes are used to place tickets or cards from competitions and they resemble post boxes. Libraries usually provide the public with a box for book-returns afterhours and these boxes can be similar to post boxes. All the responses by the children for the post box are thus plausible when taking into account their experience of the world around them. The options of the words in the test thus need to reflect this reality.

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None of the children used the word 'mail' so the word was omitted.

When languages meet it is a common occurrence that they influence each other(Abudarham, 1997; Battle, 2005) The English word 'post' and Afrikaans word 'pos' have been borrowed by isiZulu. The isiZulu word used for post is 'iposi.' Some of the children used it. It could be described as a form of code-switching which is a common phenomenon in bilingualism. The word was thus included in the revision.

The next picture that will be reviewed within the theme of human relations and respect theme is of a man picking up apples that are falling from a woman's torn shopping bag.

PICTURE CARD TEN: FROM THE RAPT (1997)(© Speechmark Ltd)

10. Now, look at this picture. (Take your time!) Tell me what's happening.

EXPECTED RESPONSE IN RAPT	RESPONSE BY CHILDREN IN STUDY
Lady, woman, mother, mom/my, apple, tomato, orange, drop, fall, come, lose, run, all with /out, from, down, through, hole, burst, bag, boy, man, pick up/try to, get, fetch, steal	Lady, woman, mother, mama, mom/mum, ma, apple, drop, fall down, lose, down from, hole, bag, open, plastic, boy, man, son, pick up/try to, help, torn, buy, open, broken, can't see, going, take, fruits

SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN

The children could all relate to the picture as an event that could occur to anyone and in their own context. There was no mention of race[62] from the urban children but the rural children focused on race-related physical features. The comments included stealing.

ACADEMICS	PARENTS & COMMUNITY
The picture was regarded as very confusing as apples look like they are rolling down but there was no slope. They commented that it does not make sense that apples would be kept in the type of bag in the picture, a ladies handbag. It is unclear because the child should be indicating to the lady that the apples are falling	Children can relate to the picture. It depicts a normal event.

COMMENTARY

The responses of the academics were generally inconsistent with the children's responses. The only response that correlated with the academics, perceived the boy as stealing.

The academics were concerned with the age of the male in the picture picking up the apples, since it appeared that he was stealing them. In African culture a man is perceived as honorific and respectful due to the rite of passage undergone and the teachings learnt on respectful behaviour (Joyce, 2009), so the act of stealing is not consistent with this respect. It would thus be more appropriate for a boy to engage in such an act.

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[62] In the revised 2010 published RAPT the lady looks African and the ma/boy, White. The eyes of the boy/man are open and can be perceived as looking as if he is enjoying taking/stealing the apples.

MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE TO PICTURE 10 OF THE RAPT

PICTURE CHANGES

No major modifications were made to this picture as the children could relate to it. The person picking up the apples was shown to be a boy rather than a man to address the inappropriateness of a man perceived as stealing apples from a lady who is unaware.

VOCABULARY CHANGES

Most of the vocabulary that is in the test was consistent with the vocabulary that was used by the children in the study. The only words that were not used were 'burst' and 'orange'. None of the children perceived the fruit as an orange. They rather used the more collective word 'fruit.' The word 'burst' is a more high level word. The lower level word would be 'break'. The children mostly used 'break'. Instead of using the more specific word 'hole', the children used 'open.'

HUMAN RELATIONS AND RESPECT IN AFRICAN CULTURE

As the theme that has been consistently portrayed in all the visual stimuli of the RAPT discussed thusfar is human relations and respect in African culture, it is fitting to conclude this section with a review of human relations and culture in African culture.

Although respect is important in every culture, it is an intrinsic aspect that governs human relations in African society and the Zulu culture (Koopman, 2002). This respect manifests in language used such as *ukuhlonipha*[63]*(Mestherie, 2002). Ukuhlonipha* (respect) can be traced back to the African philosophy of the connection between humans, spiritual beings and ancestors (Ntuli, 1999). It is reflected in behavioural and cultural practices between genders, peers, siblings, adults/children and age groups. Language, names and forms of address depict

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[63] The respectful language used by the married woman to respect the family of her in-laws

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the nature of these relationships, thus guiding the behaviour and expectations from society (Tempels, 1959). Interaction, language and respect given to relations is based on the principle of respecting and having gratitude for all of our relations as part of the energy flux constituting life (Mucina, 2013).

An illustration is the word 'aunt'. Whereas it is a single word in English, irrespective of the position in family, in isiZulu there are different names for 'aunt', depending on whether she is paternal or maternal. The referent will also differ depending on her position in the family i.e. younger or older aunt. During a traditional ceremony or other family event, merely by introducing herself using her referent it informs those in the context of her role and guides them on behaviour pertaining to respect towards her. These practices become part of daily lived experience of the members of the community. In terms of the application of these practices, there may be differences between households, ethnic groups and urban or rural people (Rudwick, 2006).

A core aspect of the theme of human relations and respect is the principle of *ubuntu,* regarded as the foundation of African wisdom (Burnham, 2000) as it includes details on human understanding, capacity for inner healing, self-image, personal security and moral lessons (Metz, 2007; Waldron, 2012). *Ubuntu* means *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* and the translation is' I am because we are.'(Mbiti, 1970). It manifests through language and social symbol expressions. Permitting the African epistemology to penetrate the language assessment process will empower and authenticate the EAL's who comes from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background's voice by acknowledging the values and knowledge inextricably linked and produced from the daily experiences and cultural histories

 The interpretation of the objects, events and world is in terms of this belief system. Pictures 1,2,6,7 and 10 used the lens through which the isiZulu language and culture perceive human

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relations and respect to make sense of the responses of the children and adults from aZulu

language and cultural background.

Reflection on boyhood vs manhood

As I read the respondents' comments about their perceptions of the boy in picture 10, I am reminded of the changes I experienced in relating to my own brothers after they underwent the rite of passage of circumcision. As I was a 'tomboy', born after two boys, I enjoyed engaging in activities, pranks and sports with them, such as soccer and marbles. After they returned from circumcision school when they were teenagers, my life changed as they were no longer regarded as boys but men and I had to relate to them in a completely different manner. I had to show them a different kind of respect involving changes in language, behaviour and activities. They received preferential honorific status from all members of the family and society. The adults' expectations of them had however also increased in accordance with their newly found status. Unfortunately, there was a distinct delineation from their lives as boys so they could also no longer retain, or were discouraged from retaining, friendships or having close associations with past friends who were not 'men' i.e. not circumcised, as these friends could be a bad influence because they still exhibited the habits of the boyhood stage. My brother, who attended the University of Fort Hare[64], returned home during the holidays with stories of the ostracisation of Xhosa young male students on campus who had not undergone the rite of passage of circumcision and were thus still regarded as 'boys.' They were not regarded as worthy of respect or certain privileges by fellow students who were 'men'.

All the pictures that have been discussed until now pertain to humans and human

relationships. The following part changes from humans to animals and their relationship or

perceived relationship with humans. This relationship is reflected in the language used

pertaining to animals.

5.2 - PERCEPTION OF THE ANIMAL WORLD

In the section that follows, the theme of the perception of the animal world shall be explored.

The visual stimuli from the RAPT that will be presented are pictures 3, 4 and 9.

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[64] A university that was in the Eastern Cape
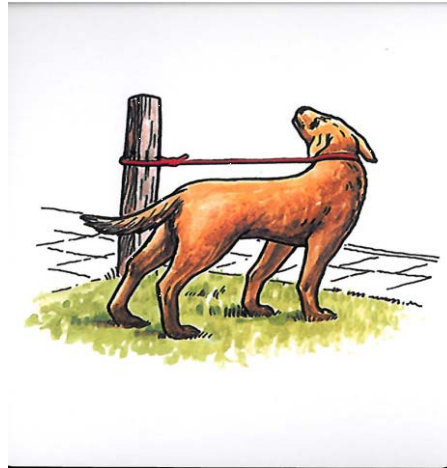
3.What HAS been done to the dog?

EXPECTED RESPONSE IN RAPT	RESPONSE BY CHILDREN IN STUDY:
Tied, strapped, locked, chained, to, on, on to, with, post, pole, wood, stake, stick	Tied to, tie him, punished , fastened/fas to, pole, plank, log, tree, wood

SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN
The children could relate to picture 3 from daily experience. They were comfortable with the dog being tied and offered reasons. They perceived the dog as for protection. It was seen as a pet but they clarified that it was not to be stroked or stay in the house.

ACADEMICS	PARENTS & COMMUNITY
Picture 3 appropriate, child can relate but urban child may not relate to tied dog as in the suburbs dogs are often not tied.	Common picture all children should be able to relate to it. Children from the suburbs may see it as animal abuse.

COMMENTARY
All the participants involved were comfortable with the picture. There was consistency in the responses of the adults and children, despite expressing clear differences in the Western and African views on treatment of animals(Ayisi, 1992). The consensus in the response to the picture may be related to the positioning of the dog outside, in what is regarded as its natural habitat. The harmonious balance between humans and nature is thus retained as it is not infringing on human habitat.

Although the responses of the children were mostly consistent with the expected responses in this test, in a subtest such as the oral vocabulary of the TOLD-P (Hammil & Newcomer, 2008) where the child has to define or give associations with the word, the child's associations with the word may lead her to give responses that are not part of the options in the test. These responses may be marked as incorrect by an SLT who comes from a linguistic and cultural background that differs from that of the child.

MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE TO PICTURE 3 OF THE RAPT

PICTURE CHANGES

Most of the participants in the study could relate and were comfortable with this picture so few changes were made to it. The only modifications were based on concerns about animal abuse as the leash of the dog was too short and possibly too tight. Questions were also asked about the nourishment for the dog. Changes made to the picture included ensuring that the leash is loose, a fence[65] indicating a yard so the dog belongs to a home and a bowl of food was placed. It was interesting that the concerns about abuse came from the urban school children as these are issues that are often highlighted more in the urban areas. The language and perceptions of the children were thus shaped by their contexts and the experiences of their backgrounds. Whereas the children in the rural areas did not know the Society for the Prevention of Animal Cruelty (SPCA) (an animal rights group), it was known to the urban children.

Most of the children, especially the rural children, were very comfortable with the dog being tied up as a dog was perceived as potentially dangerous if allowed to roam loosely.

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[65] The picture in the revised 2010 publication of the RAPT has a fence

<u>VOCABULARY CHANGES</u>

The words 'strapped', 'locked', 'chained', 'post' and 'stick' were not used by any of the children in the study. In South African English, the word 'strapped' implies that the object is secured with straps which are not depicted in the picture. The word 'locked' implies that there is an enclosure and the animal is in it and unable to get out. The animal in the picture is not enclosed. Although the word 'post' could be regarded as an appropriate label for the piece of wood that the dog is attached to, it was not used by the children as they may not have been commonly exposed to it. These words were thus omitted, except for 'stick.' 'Stick' was retained as it is a word that fits into the prototype of pole or wood. The younger child usually uses general prototypes to describe groups of objects e.g. all wild animals would be 'lions' till the names of the other animals are established (Trask & Stockwell, 2007). Younger children may call all wooden strip objects, irrespective of thickness, by the same name i.e. overextension, until the vocabulary is established. In this study, children in the age group 6 to 8 years were used but the RAPT covers the age group 3 to 8yrs. The 3-year old child may thus still be using the generalised word that is characteristic of the prelinguistic to linguistic stage in language development(Burger, 2000).

The children associated being tied with punishment and precautionary measures so they regarded the tying of the dog as appropriate because of the role a dogs plays and the potentially dangerous characteristics of a dog. The word 'punishment' occurred frequently.

In South African English a piece of wood is commonly referred to as a 'plank'. This term was used by the children.

In isiZulu the word for 'tie' is 'fasa'. This term is reflected in the vocabulary used by the

children. It is an indication of the phenomenon of language transfer where a word or concept from one language is transferred to another language by the language user (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

Wood comes from a tree and in the rural areas, the actual stem of a tree is used as wood for cooking. The children from the rural areas thus use the word 'tree' to reflect their own experience.

Based on the above explanations, the words 'fas', 'school', 'plank' and 'tree' were included in the vocabulary of the revised test.

Reflection on the perception of dogs

In chapter1, I reflect on my experience of dogs from an African perspective and from a Western perspective. At home we had our dogs, Jock and Rover, that we loved but we were clear about the nature of the relationship between us and them. We looked after them by washing them and providing them with nutrition. They, in turn, would protect the household. They ate food prepared for dogs and stayed where dogs stayed, i.e. outside. Although the word 'voetsek'[66] was regarded as derogatory when used with humans, it was accepted and expected to be used on dogs when they misbehaved or transcended the boundaries that had been outlined. Physical contact with the dogs was mostly when taking care of them and did not include any stroking. Hands would be washed immediately after touching any animal.

It was thus an enormous shock when I visited my white friends' homes where dogs were treated very differently. They went inside the house, were stroked after which food was touched, slept on human beds or inside the house and were even served special treats, such as biscuits, that in my culture would be reserved for humans. This exposure expanded my world, my truth, knowledge, associations with the label and actual referent of the word 'dog'. I realised that my truth about what a dog is was not the only truth. I was enlightened about the Western perception of a dog but am unsure if the enlightenment was reciprocal. My white friends retained their Western knowledge of a dog and I wondered if they would dare to know my truth about a dog, which is based on my culture, experience and background.

The differences in African and Western perceptions of dogs became a source of controversy when the South African President, Mr Jacob Zuma, was quoted in the media (Hans & McAravey, 2012) as saying that ownership of dogs was unAfrican. The responses in both social and formal media revealed that the statement had created emotionally charged responses and indicated that there are differences and similarities in African and Western perception of dogs and that both African and Western communities are not homogenous groups.

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[66] Expletive that originates from the Afrikaans language and it means 'get out' or 'go away'

4.Tell me all about what the man is doing.

EXPECTED RESPONSE IN RAPT	RESPONSE BY CHILDREN IN STUDY
Riding on, make jump, horse, jump, jump over, jump with, going over, fence, gate, hedge	Riding on, jump/ing, over, horse,fence, gate, climbing, run/ning with

SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN
They could all relate to the riding of a horse. Whereas the rural children could not relate to the horse as depicted in sport in the picture, the urban children could as they had watched horse racing and their fathers had engaged in betting. The rural children did not know the concept of a jockey. They had seen a horse on TV in films, on the road and when used on farms. They saw it as a useful animal that can save one from danger. They did not understand the saddle as the horses they see in their daily lives do not have saddles. The urban children commented that they had seen police on horseback at the beach, in their communities or on TV. The urban children were fascinated by the notion of hitting the horse if it would not ride. They did not see horses as pets and had no such associations.

ACADEMICS	PARENTS & COMMUNITY
Children may be familiar with horse riding but not in the context of the picture i.e. not as sport Exposure to horses is a daily experience or they are seen on TV.	Picture depicts 'July Handicap'. Whites may be used to horse races. Children from farms are used to horses but

	not linked with horse racing.
	Children see horses in films and on TV.

COMMENTARY
The responses of all the participants in the adult interviews and the focus group were consistent with the responses of both the rural and urban children. The same theme that occurred in picture 3 of the dog, of an animal being viewed in terms of its practical value in the African community rather than for social use or entertainment, re-emerges.

MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE PICTURE 4 TO THE RAPT

PICTURE CHANGES

One of the criticisms of standardised tests is that they assume that all the children are from similar backgrounds with similar experiences (Leonard & Weiss, 1994). One of the principles of Critical Theory is that knowledge cannot be separated from the context in which one lives and experiences (Higgs & Smith, 2006). The rural children in the study could not relate to the horse as a sport animal as it was reflected in the picture. None of the rural children were aware of horse racing as a formal sport, while in the urban schools most of the children were not familiar with horse racing, even though some of them mentioned that their dads placed bets at races. The concept of the horse being used for sport, the associated setting and dress was thus not appropriate for the children to whom this picture was presented and all the other parties i.e. parents, community members and academics' responses were consistent with this view.

The children's responses indicated that they were familiar with a horse as an animal that is used for practical purposes i.e. for riding as transport. The picture was thus changed to reflect this opinion of a horse in a rural setting where the horse is used for travelling.

<u>VOCABULARY CHANGES</u>

The only word that was not used by the children was 'hedge'. This may be attributed to the

fact that the horse in the picture is not jumping over the hedge but over the gate so it may be

perceived by the children as playing a peripheral role. The word was thus omitted.

Reflection on experiences with horses

As I grew up in the township, I do not remember seeing horses, but only donkeys. Donkeys were used to carry wood, other materials and heavy loads but were never brushed or stroked. My first experience of horses, which was consistent with the description given by the children in the study, was in Lesotho when visiting my uncle in Maseru[67]. When we visited him I saw horses in the township. They were used as a form of transport and were mostly used by men and boys. I was however extremely startled when, after enjoying biltong[68] one night, my uncle announced that we had just eaten horse meat. My siblings were disgusted at the thought of having eaten a horse but my cousins were not as their truth about a horse differed from ours.

<u>PICTURE CARD NINE: FROM THE RAPT(1997) (© Speechmark Ltd)</u>

9. What is the boy doing?

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[67] Capital city of Lesotho, a country in Southern Africa
[68] Biltong is tried meat usually eaten as a snack

Expected response in RAPT	Response by children in study
Cry, shout, scream, dog, puppy, has, has got, take, bite, nick, chew, snatch, won't give, back, steal, take off, get, eat, play with slipper, shoe	Cry, dog, puppy, has, has got, take, bite, won't give, shoe, eating, baby, boy

SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN	
They could relate to the picture and had dogs at home. Dogs were however not perceived as pets in the Western sense. They were seen as animals to protect one and to play with. Most of the boys could not relate to the boy crying as they would just beat the dog.	

ACADEMICS	PARENTS & COMMUNITY
It is unclear if it is a dog or cat in the picture so children may not relate If a Black child's shoe is taken by the dog, they will not cry but beat the dog Picture incident implies that the dog was in the house when the shoe was taken. In African culture, dogs do not go in the house so scenario in the picture would not arise	The children can relate to the picture as it reflects a common occurrence but picture unclear if cat/dog.

COMMENTARY	
The responses of the academics were inconsistent with the responses of the children to the pictures. Aspects of the challenge of manhood (boys not crying) were raised by the children but it is questionable if this is an African view or a product of socialization of male children in both Western and African culture. The different perception of pets in African and Western culture raised by the academics also emerged in the responses of the children.	

MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE TO PICTURE 9 OF THE RAPT

PICTURE CHANGES

Insignificant changes were made to this picture as most of the children could relate to it.

VOCABULARY CHANGES

Vocabulary excluded was 'nick', 'chew', 'snatch' and 'slipper' as none of the children used it.

'Puppy' was not used by the children. Although it is a common word, it could be regarded as

a part of the prototype of the general category 'dog'. The term 'dog' may be regarded as the

general term, while 'puppy' might mean a more specific type of dog. It is however a term that the children may possibly use, so it was included. An EAL may only have the general part of the specific (Paradis, 2007a). The word 'nick' was not used by the children which may be a reflection of their lack of exposure to it in their current environment. The word 'chew' implies that the item is 'being grinded between the teeth' (Oxford dictionary) which is not depicted in the picture. The word 'snatch' is a higher level word describing the type of taking. A child learning English may not have it in their vocabulary yet. The word 'slipper' is usually associated with night wear or pyjamas. The boy in the picture is not wearing pyjamas so the children did not associate the shoe with slippers. All the words commented on above were thus omitted. A word that was commonly used by the children instead of 'bite' was 'eat'. Once again, the children's response may be related to the general-specific use of terminology. 'Eat' may be perceived as a general term that includes 'bite', which would be more specific. This word was thus included in the revision.

ANIMAL PERCEPTION IN AFRICAN CULTURE

Although there may be some similarities between the African and Western view of animals, there are also significant differences (Mutwa, 2003; Jacob Kehinde Olupona, 1993). The relationship between man and animals is intertwined with African culture, tradition and belief system(Onuoha, 2007; Tangwa, 2000). The attitudes, language and names used to refer to various animals reflect the nature of this relationship. Animals form part of the interconnectedness between nature, spiritual beings and ancestors (Behrens, 2010). For example, different animals would be used in varying cultural events or ceremonies, depending on whether the event forms part of a family celebration or communication with the ancestors. As cattle hold a highly esteemed place in the Zulu household, they would be mostly used for

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important celebratory events, such as weddings and *umemullo*[69]. The importance of cattle(Olupona, 1993) is reflected in the stature given to the cattle kraal. It can be equated with the temple of the home. Crucial decisions are usually made by men in the cattle kraal.

Even in communication with the ancestors, the choice of the kind of animal to be used would depend on the purpose, i.e. gratitude or request. African spirituality and perceptions about nature, such as land, river and sea, will influence the relationship with these animals. Some of these complex relationships are well illustrated in African folklore and stories(Mhlophe, 2006; Mutwa, 2003). In African culture, there may be differences from the Western treatment of animals, depending on perception. The next section on cats will demonstrate these differences further.

Generally however, all animals are perceived as being part of nature rather than the human world but interconnected and harmonious with the human world (Ayisi, 1992). They are thus never treated as one would treat a human being. For example, it may be accepted in Western culture for an animal to share space that is regarded as human space, such as a home, whereas in African culture it is not acceptable. It is also unheard of in African society, in the township, to take an animal to the vet as only humans go to the doctor. Although in African culture there is a relationship between humans, animals/nature, it is important that a harmonious balance in this relationship is maintained by not crossing the boundaries(Ntuli, 2002).

The relationship between animals and society is reflected in the names given to them. These names are an extension of names in African society and differ significantly from the Euro-Western use of a name as a label or tag (Koopman, 2002). In traditional African culture, a name is not just a form of reference or direct address. Sometimes a name is avoided and

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[69] A ceremony celebrating the coming of age of a Zulu maiden

alternate forms of address are used, such as *hlonipha*[70]. Humans are given names for varying reasons, such as reflecting the family structure, for example, denoting the gender of a child or twin status e.g. *Mfanofuthi* (another boy). Further examples are names showing the *perceived role of GodNomusa* (grace of God); state of mind of parents such as feelings of love, happiness, pride *Jabulani* (be happy), indicating the circumstances at birth; *Nomthandazo* (at prayer); *Zwelinzima* (the world is hard) referring to the difficulties in the world around them at the time of birth; from the wider clan , *NomaHlwane* (from the Hlwane clan) and other miscellaneous terms, such as denoting position in the family e.g. *Ntombenkulu* (oldest girl)(Koopman, 2002).

The names given to animals show their relationship with human society. A member of the society who feels that the society members are doing things behind his back may name his ox *'Bathangiboni'*[71]. Dog names can be used for the same purpose or as disciplinary messages such as *'Qedumona'*[72]. The name of the dog can also be used for social comment. A dog owner from Pietermaritzburg, who saw Blacks and Whites in harmony at a University Club meeting, went home and named his Dalmatian puppy *'Bahlangene'*[73](Koopman,2002). Names can also refer to the personality or characteristics of the dog e.g. *Ndlayivalwa*[74] . The characteristics of a dog are not only expressed in isiZulu. A word in another language, such as English or Afrikaans, depicting characteristics, e.g. Danger; an animal media character, e.g. Rex; or features from a fictitious dog in a book, e.g. Jock[75], may also be used. The link between culture and animals is also illustrated in the use of praise names that are usually reserved for people of important stature (Molefe, 1992, cited in Koopman, 2002) . Praise

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[70] Respect reflected in the language used.
[71] Translation: They think I don't see
[72] Translation: End your envy
[73] Translation: They (the Blacks and whites) are together
[74] Translation: The house is not closed up, implying he is such a dependable dog that there is no need to lock the house
[75] From Jock of the Bushveld book and film

names are, however, more common with horses after they have been broken in, e.g. *Gqakaza*[76] (indicating that it has shown bravery and strength in fighting).

Both Koopman (2002) and Joyce (2009) emphasize that it is an assumption that the link between the living and the spirit world is only characteristic of the beliefs of rural, elderly or illiterate Zulu people; it features significantly in the lives of modern Zulu people. The child who comes from a community that shares this belief system will thus reflect their beliefs in her language and interaction. The language and interpretation skills of the EAL child from an isiZulu language and cultural background who will be undergoing a language assessment will be influenced by the background described above.

5.3 <u>WHAT ABOUT THE CAT?</u>

The cat has been given a separate section in this discussion as its perception in African culture has particular significance and the intense reactions of people mentioned in the reflections illustrate this relationship. Although the cat is kept as a pet, it is perceived as a stray animal that has the characteristics of a wild animal and is thus to be feared. When it is black, it is associated with witchcraft and other negative practices. As a pet, it is to protect the home by killing unwanted pests, such as snakes and mice (Mutwa, 2003). Picture cards 5 and 8 from the RAPT shows the cat.

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[76] Roughly broken

PICTURE CARD 5 FROM THE RAPT (1997)(© Speechmark Ltd)
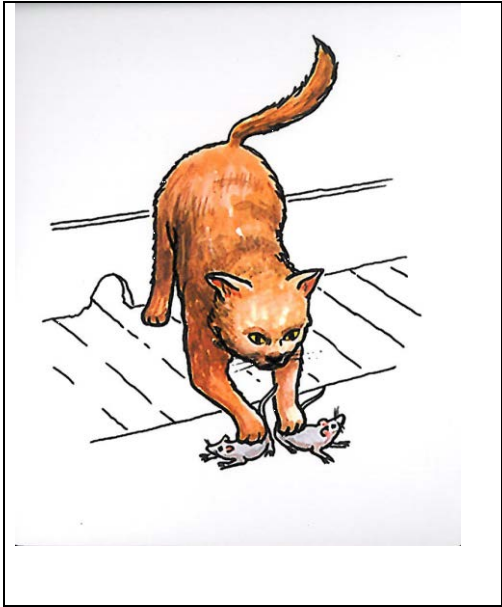
5. What has the cat just done?

EXPECTED RESPONSE IN RAPT	RESPONSE BY CHILDREN IN STUDY
Catch, grab, step on, put paws on, play with, jump on, mouse	Jump on, mouse, step/pingon, chase/ing, scratch, rat/s, run away, try/try eat, hold, take, kill

SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN	
They could relate to the picture as they had seen a cat catch mice in real life, on TV or in books. The urban children associated the picture with the character of Garfields films. The rural children also expressed positive views on the role of a cat within the household. They had experienced seeing a cat catch mice in real life and in school books. Some of the children called the mice 'rabbits[77]'.	

ACADEMICS	PARENTS & COMMUNITY
Both the urban and rural child can relate to it but in the urban areas, Ratex[78] is used to kill rats/mice, so they would not have seen real cats catch mice.	All children can relate to the picture in pre-school books, but a cat catching a rat is not part of children's daily experience. Children often confuse the rat with a rabbit.

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[77] The mice look slightly bigger in the revise 2010 publication of the RAPT and may possibly be more easily confused with little rabbits by the children

[78] Ratex is a commercially available poison for killing rats or mice.

COMMENTARY

There is generally consensus amongst the children and all the adults (parents, academics and community members) on the understanding of the picture. The practical role of the animal is once again highlighted. The picture could thus be described as depicting a universal phenomenon i.e. a cat instinctively catching mice. There was no need to make any changes to this picture as its understanding transcended language and culture.

MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE TO PICTURE CARD 5 OF THE RAPT

PICTURE CHANGES

Although some of the responses from the academics reflected that this picture may be inappropriate for urban children as they had never seen a cat catching a mouse in real life, the children's responses indicated the contrary. Even though they may never have seen this in real life, they had seen it in books. The children in the urban school spontaneously broke out into a chorus narrating the poem, 'This is the house that Jack built' when presented with this picture. In this poem, there is a section that is related to the picture that reads 'this is the cat that ate the mouse that stayed in the house that Jack built'. In the school books with this poem, the corresponding illustrations are present. The children are thus exposed to these illustrations. They would be familiar with a picture of cats catching mice from these books and the accompanying discussion in class by the teacher would help to clarify the picture.

The children also mentioned Garfield and a scene involving a mouse. Garfield is a cat character from media (comic books) and films. Some of the children have watched the film at a cinema, DVD or TV. At times, their schools also use these DVDs to entertain children at school as part of fundraising.

The experience of cats of the children from rural schools showed that they had first-hand experience and could explain the dangers and damage a mouse could cause. Based on these responses, insignificant modification was made to this picture.

<u>VOCABULARY CHANGES</u>

The children did not use the words 'paws' and 'grab'. The word 'mouse' was used interchangeably with 'rat'. The words 'chase', 'kill', and 'try to eat' were used often by the children. According to the scoring guidelines of the test, these terms are not to be allocated a full point as they do not express the "full idea completely "(Renfrew 1997a, p. 8). Words that are regarded as "extra and not adding information to the content" do not receive a full point. Renfrew further highlights that "only the most common responses are listed"(1997a, p. 8).The words 'scratch' and 'step on' were also frequently used. The words 'catch', 'step on', 'jump on', 'mouse' and 'kill' were included in the revised test as the most frequently used terms by the children. The motivation for the inclusion of these items is that the items in the RAPT only reflect the items collected from children from English-speaking homes. "The scores from children in non-English speaking homes were not included in the standardisation"(Renfrew 1997a, p. 21). All the children in the study come from non-English speaking homes, thereby influencing their language experience and use.

8. Tell me what the man is doing.

EXPECTED RESPONSE IN RAPT	RESPONSE BY CHILDREN IN STUDY
Climb up/on, go up to, try to go up, ladder, get, fetch, reach, save, rescue, cat, kitten, pussy, on /off, down from/off, from roof, top of house	Climb up/on, go up, try to go up, ladder, get, cat on /off, from roof, roof, chase, fix, step/ stairs, take, catch, run away, man, get, catch, father, boy, up, cat, top

SUMMARY OF VOICE OF ALL CHILDREN
They did not like the picture, although they admitted to having cats at home, including black ones. The children who perceived the cat as scary were concerned about dad exposing himself to the danger of a scary cat. The black cat[79] was associated with witchcraft and bad luck. They could, however, relate to a cat as they had cats at home. The cat in the picture was described as particularly fierce-looking. The rural children did not have a negative view of the picture. They viewed the role of the man in the picture as protecting the home from damage by the cat on the roof e.g. damage to electricity wires. Despite the fear expressed about a cat, they still perceived it as necessary for practical reasons, such as catching mice. Most of the children did not know what a chimney was or its function. They also used the word 'steps' for ladder.

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[79] In the revised RAPT published in 2010 the cat is bigger but grey , not black

ACADEMICS	PARENTS & COMMUNITY
A black cat is associated with witchcraft in African culture. Most houses are without chimneys The concept of rescuing an animal is foreign, Western. No rescuing of cats occurs in African culture because animals take care of themselves. A Black cat is an insult. A cat would not be stranded on top of the house as it can jump down by itself. Although there is a word in isiZulu for ladder, the word for steps is commonly used to refer to a ladder too.	It's a disturbing picture due to the black cat. Participants' own children are scared of a black cat as it is scary It is associated with bad luck. They felt the cat in the picture looks as if it's about to pounce/fight. Children won't understand why dad is putting himself in danger of attack from the cat. Houses with chimneys are not common. They were commonly found in homes with coal stoves to release the smoke. It is normal for someone to use a ladder to go on the roof but they won't use the word 'ladder' but 'steps'.

COMMENTARY
It was interesting that the concepts of witchcraft and traditional African values are usually mostly associated with the rural areas(Durrheim , et al., 2011) and yet it was the urban children who did not like the picture, due to these associations. The rural children's fear of a cat was similar to their fear of any other potentially dangerous animal and was not for culturally related reasons. This response shows that the assumptions that are often associated with the distinction between urban and rural are not always accurate.

MOTIVATION FOR THE CHANGES MADE TO PICTURE 8 OF THE RAPT.

PICTURE CHANGES

This was unanimously the most controversial picture amongst the children,

parents/community and academics. The controversy was around the black cat and how it is

perceived in the Black community(Mutwa, 1998). A black cat is usually associated with

witchcraft and negativity. The concept of rescuing a black cat was regarded as inviting

danger. The responses from the children clearly indicated that the security of the man

climbing the stairs was at stake. The black cat was removed and replaced by a ball that would be removed from the roof of the house. The picture was adapted to be culturally appropriate.

The children's responses in this study are consistent with the responses of children in a study by Solarsh (2001) in which she was translating and adapting the Test of Ability to Explain (TATE) for isiZulu-speaking children. The picture of a man in one of the visual stimuli in the test climbing on the roof to fetch a cat was changed to a picture of children climbing a tree to fetch a ball. The reason for the change was cultural inappropriateness.

<u>VOCABULARY CHANGES</u>

The words that were not used by the children were 'reach', 'save', 'rescue' and 'pussy.' The words 'save' and 'rescue' are linked to the perception of the cat as being in danger and needing help. The omission of these words may be linked to the perception of a black cat described above. In South African English, the word 'pussy' is not usually used in isolation but is linked with 'cat' viz. pussy-cat. However, the children were not even using the word 'pussy-cat'. The word 'rescue' could be regarded as a high level word for an EAL who is in the process of learning English.

Although 'ladder' is a commonly used word in English, colloquially, African language speakers have often replaced it with the word 'steps.' This phenomenon was noted in the utterances of the children, as they referred to the ladder as 'steps'. Even though there is an isiZulu word for ladder i.e. *ileri*, in isiZulu it is often replaced with *amastepisi* (steps).

> *Reflection on the African perception of a cat -*
>
> *Personal Research Journal Entries: 17 Aug 2010 16h45*
>
> *I have just returned home from fetching my friend that I grew up with from the bus station. She has come to Durban to attend an interview and will be residing at my house for the duration of her stay in Durban. I have a black and white cat called Storm. As soon as my friend sees the cat lying on the mat outside the front door, she refuses to step near the door. She expresses disgust and fear at the presence of a black cat in the house. For the duration of her stay, all windows had to remain closed so that the cat would not enter.*
>
> *20 June 2012*
>
> *There is a Rabies outbreak in KwaZulu-Natal and the provincial government is engaged in a vaccination campaign of all animals, but predominantly dogs and cats. My daughters and I are standing in the queue for the vaccination, covering the cat to shield it from the barking dogs. There are two queues serviced by a White and a Black man respectively. We are in the queue serviced by the Black man and all the other animals in our queue were dogs. As soon as we get to the front of the queue, the Black man apologises, saying in isiZulu "Hawu ! sisi nawe uyazi abantu abazithinti lezi (Sister you know that Black people don't touch these ones) and requests that I stand in the queue with the White man. We are not offended in any way as we understand that his response is based on his truth about cats, based on African cultural beliefs.*

5.4 REVISTING THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

As was indicated in the research methodology chapter, chapter 4, the RAPT, which has performed several roles in the research, including that of being a research instrument, was adapted after phase 2 of the study. The pictures and content were adapted according to all the responses from the participants. The adapted version of the RAPT depicted below was presented to SLTs using the Delphi technique (see chapter 4) and the findings are discussed in this chapter.

1. What is the girl doing?

Information	Grammar
Hug**,** teddy bear, (to) nurse, doll(dollie), son, girl, boy, baby, play, catch, hold,play with	Present participle e.g. holding, hugging

RESPONSE BY SLTS TO ADAPTED VERSION
The content is linguistically and culturally relevant but: • The girl in the picture is not hugging the doll so 'hug' is no longer relevant in the information   • There is no longer a teddy bear so the word should be omitted from information   • The phrase 'to nurse' can be ambiguous as it is associated with sickness

2. What is the mother going to do?

Information	Grammar

Put, put on, pull off, take off, get off, child, shoes, boots, school, sister, girl, mother, ma, mama, baby	Future tense
	 pull- put-
	
	Poss, noun or fem
	Poss. Pronoun or preposition with noun
	Girls's, her, on the girl
	
	Note
	    • No gender pronouns in African languages e.g. her
	    • Limited prepositions in African languages

RESPONSES BY SLTS TO ADAPTED VERSION	
• Culturally and linguistically relevant but picture is unclear • Unclear what the mother going to do i.e. looks like she is tying the shoe not 'putting on/off'	
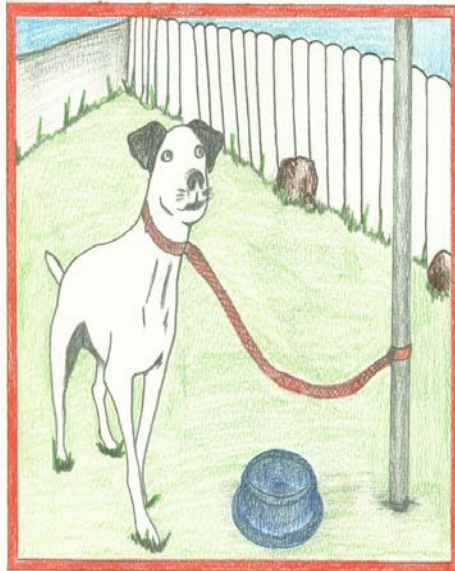
3. What HAS been done to the dog?

Information	Grammar

Go, home, dog, tied to, fastened to /fas to, punished, wood, plank, stick	Nom. Sing. Pronoun or noun
	{ It, he, she, the dog, someone, his/her master, his/herlead
	Auxiliary is, has, was
	Passive got
	-appropriate to form of question been
	Past tense or past partiple tied
	Note:
	  1. No gender pronouns in African languages
	  2. Research shows passive acquired earlier in isiZulu

RESPONSE BY SLTS TO ADAPTED VERSION
- Culturally and linguistically relevant but too much information in picture and affects focus.   - Gender pronoun difference - not relevant - any would be relevant for the dog. Questioning the relevance of early acquisition of passive voice in isiZulu when test is in English.

4   Tell me all about what the man is doing?

Information	Grammar
Going on,horse, boy, man up, riding on, make jump,horse, jump, jump over, jump with, going over, gate,fence	Present participle Jumping, riding, going

RESPONSE BY SLTS TO ADAPTED VERSION

- Culturally and linguistically relevant but excessive contextual information.
- Black and white poles not culturally relevant, should be brown/black, like a fence usually is.
- Concern with front view, suggestion - side view better visually.
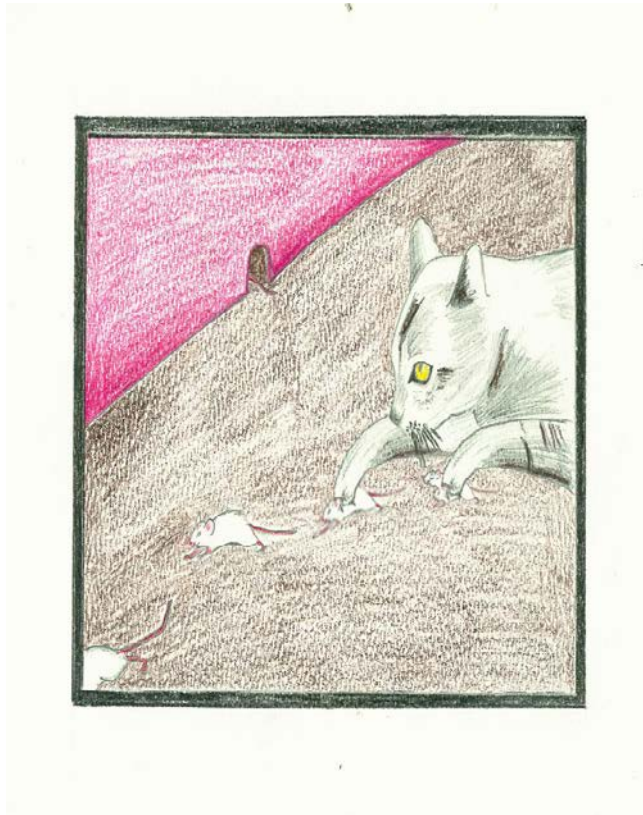
5. What has the cat just done?

Information	Grammar
Cat, catch, step on, jump on, mouse, kill	Past tense, verb, regular ending - catched, killed Past tense verb, correct irregular ending – caught, got Plural, noun, regular ending - mouses Plural noun, irregular ending - mice Note: No irregular plural or past tense in African languages or Afrikaans
RESPONSE BY SLTS TO ADAPTED VERSION	
Culturally and linguistically relevant but picture unclear. Mice need to be darker.	

6   What has happened to the girl?

Information	**Grammar**
Girl, fall, down, on, over, steps, break, glasses, floor	- Fem. Nom. Sing pronoun, or noun. She, the girl - Past tense verb, regular form falled, tripped - Past or perfect tense, verb, correc irregular form has fell, fell - Incorrect combination for past tense has fell, after falling - Coordinating conjuction - Past tense verb, regular ending breaked, smashed - Past tense verb, correct irregular - Broken (with 'has' above) - Broke (with 'fell' above) - Past tense verb but inconsistent with verb in main clause broke (with 'has fallen') - Broken (with 'fell')
RESPONSE BY SLTS TO ADAPTED VERSION	
Culturally and linguistically relevant.	

7   What has the BIG girl done?

Information	Grammar
Make child, take, book, baby, mother, big girl, catch, post, lift up, hold up, put up, pick up, baby boy, brother, post(posi), put in letter/ dvd/newsletter/paper/ticket/card/book in postbox	Past tense verb lifted, helped, tried to help Subordinating conjuction to, so (that), because Coordinating conjuction 'and.'
RESPONSE BY SLTS TO ADAPTED VERSION	
Culturally and linguistically relevant. Concerns about the picture are: • The woman's smiling facial expression can be a distraction • The woman in the picture is no longer 'an older girl' more like a 'gogo' • Does not look like a posting box but a DVD slot	
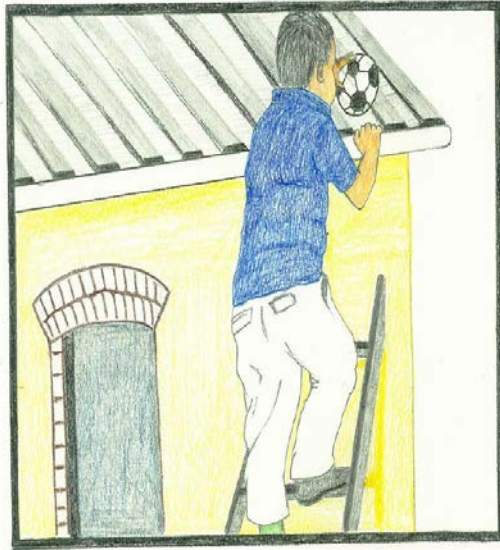
8. Tell me what the man is doing?

Information	Grammar
Man, get on, roof, catch, father, boy, up, climb, steps, get, fetch, ball, on/off, down from/off, from roof, top of house	Present participle or future climbing, going to fetch
	Subordinating conjuction to, so (that), 'because,'
	Coordinating conjuction ' and'
RESPONSE FROM THE SLTs TO ADAPTED VERSION	
Culturally and linguistically relevant	
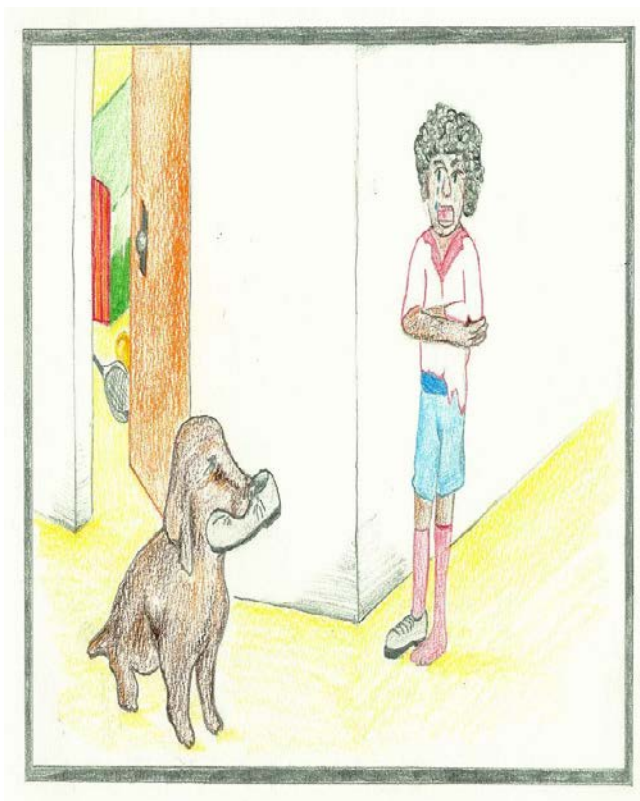
9. What is the boy doing?

Information	Grammar
Boy, baby, cry, shout, scream, dog, has, has got, take, bite, won't give, back, take off, get, eat, shoe	Present partiple crying Subordinating conjuction because Coordinating conjuction and Present tense verb eating, has got Past tense verb, regular ending taked, stealed, chewed, bited Past or perfect tense verb, correct irregular ending Has taken/bitten, took, bit
RESPONSE BY SLTS TO ADAPTED VERSION	
Culturally and linguistically relevant. Concerns about picture: • Too much contextual information • Boy looks more like shouting than crying • Boy looks like he's hurt his arm, so distracting from focus • Appears as if boy is hiding from the dog	
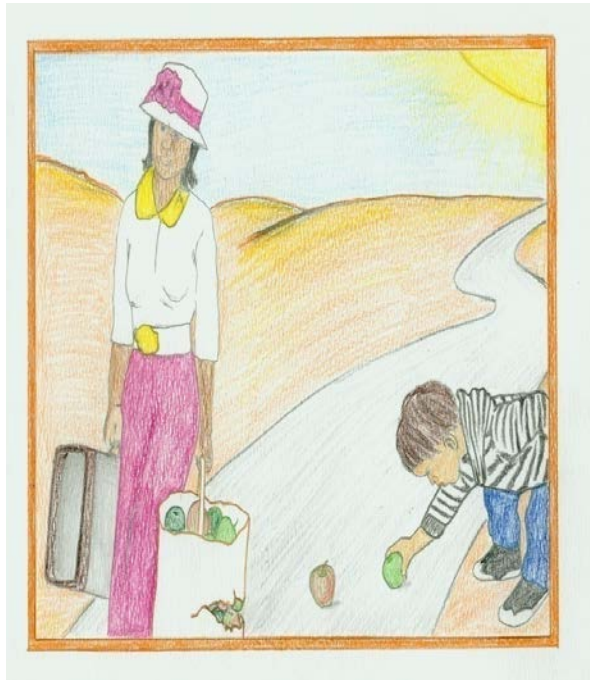
10. Now look at this picture and tell me what is

happening?

Information	Grammar
Lady, woman, mother, mom/mum, ma, mama, apple, tomato, drop, fall, come, open, lose, run, all with/out, from, down, torn, can't see, hole, break, bag, plastic, boy, man, pick up/try to, get, fetch, steal	Main clause subject: noun phrase or noun with determiner - there is a a/A/ The lady, boy, apple (s), hole, bag Main clause verb, any tense has, is falling, dropped, going to pick, got Conjuction (score only one) – subordinating because, to Coordinating , and Relative pronoun that, which, who Subsidiary verb (score only one) any tense picking, going to pick, came Pronoun referring to noun previously used it, them, one, they
RESPONSE BY SLTS TO ADAPTED VERSION	
Culturally and linguistically relevant	

SUMMARY

In this chapter, a comprehensive presentation and explanation of the findings from the individual administration of the test on the children, the children's focus groups, parents and community members' focus group and academics' individual interviews was provided. A basis for the vocabulary and picture adaptations was given. Finally, the responses from the SLTs on the research instrument that have been adapted were presented. Vignettes interspersed the findings to elucidate the information as it emerged. A further critique, to be derived from the findings and implications for the language assessment of EAL speaking children from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds, is given in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6

A CRITIQUE OF THE FINDINGS

This chapter takes a comprehensive look at the findings that have been described in chapter5. Concepts that were raised in the literature review in chapter 3 are revisited in the context of the findings. Comparisons are made and patterns that emerge are further explored. Some of the themes that emerge include differences in the responses of the children from urban and rural areas. Significant variations appeared between the adults' responses (parents, community and academics, the language experts) and children's responses. This chapter concludes with a detailed critique of the children's voices.

6.1 COMPARISON OF THE URBAN AND RURAL CHILDREN'S VOICES

In general, the urban and rural children's perceptions of the pictures are similar. The main difference is that the rural children are more conscious of the race differences than the urban children. Although the urban children are aware that the people in the pictures are different from them in terms of race, their focus is not on race but on the commonality of the experiences. The rural children also had experience of a real cat catching a mouse, while the urban children had only seen a depiction of the scene via media i.e. books or TV. The rural children could relate more to the post-boxes (in picture 7) than the urban children, as the urban children are exposed to similar boxes in their environment that are used for different purposes e.g. returning library books afterhours. The similarity in these responses indicates that it is crucial that the Speech-Language Therapist (SLT) be cautious of using typical stereotypes pertaining to urban and rural communities (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011). when conducting language assessments. These stereotypes perceive the urban Black person as modern and advantaged, while the rural person is seen as traditional, poor and respectful (Durrheim , et al., 2011). The similarity in these responses challenges these stereotypes so the

SLT should do the same when considering applying these stereotypes in the interpretation of findings.

6.2 COMPARISON OF THE CHILDREN'S VOICES AND THE PARENT/COMMUNITY'S.

Although there were some inconsistencies between the children's and parent/community's responses, most of the responses were similar. The parents and the community members seemed to be aware of the vocabulary and associations of the vocabulary to which their children are exposed letters. The parents /community however sometimes underestimated that knowledge that the children would have. For example they were concerned that the children would not be able to relate to a post box or the concept of posting a letter due to the changes in the nature of communication with advances in technology. Other forms of communication, such as cell phones, are more commonly used than posting. Although this was a valid concern, as some of the children linked the post box with advances in technology such as DVDs, most of the children could relate to a post box. As discussed in chapter 5, the media is a powerful tool that the children are exposed to. It is so pervasive that the parents and community often have limited control over what their children see. The perceptions of the parents and community are based on what they think that the children have access to in their daily experience. They are perhaps unaware of the extent to which the children's experiences are expanded by the media. Although the information gathered from the parent or guardian during the case history interview (which forms part of the assessment) is essential in helping to shape the perceptions of the SLT regarding the knowledge about the child, the findings of this study indicate that it should only be used as a guide. The child's exposure to media and other possible factors may also influence what knowledge emerges during the language assessment session.

6.3 COMPARISON OF THE CHILDREN'S VOICES AND THE ACADEMICS

There were both similarities and differences in the responses between the children and the academics. The parents/community responses were, however, much closer to the children's responses than the academics'. The greater consistency between the children and the parents/community responses indicated that the parents and community had a better understanding of the children than the academics did, even though the academics were language experts who shared culture as the participants. Some of the concerns that the academics raised about the images and vocabulary were not raised by the children. For example, some academics felt that the children would find picture 10, with the boy picking up the falling apples unclear and difficult to interpret. None of the children in the study, whether from a rural or an urban area, experienced difficulty with this picture. These differences in responses have implications for the selection of the participants in research. Although the responses of the academics, who are language experts, are important, children in this study provided the most accurate information about their own linguistic knowledge. Children's voices should thus form an integral part of any study that pertains to children.

6.4 A CRITIQUE OF THE CHILDREN'S RESPONSES

6.4.1 Understanding the children's responses

The administration of the test to individual children mimicked the current use of the test by SLTs in the profession when working with EAL children (see survey findings in chapter 2) i.e. it was administered in English. Due to a paucity of resources, including human resources in the Speech-Language Pathology (SLP) profession (see chapter 2 and 3), services are more available in urban areas (Roberts, 2000). The children who come from the rural areas would thus more likely to be attended by an SLT in a public institution, such as a public hospital. As reflected in the research survey, most SLTs are English or Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers.

As English is more common in Kwazulu-Natal (www.stats sa.gov.za), where the children come from, they would most likely be attended to by an English mother-tongue speaker, and the language assessment will probably be in English. The SLTs in the research survey also commented that access to an interpreter is a constant challenge.

In the South African school system, the children used in the study fell with the Foundation Phase (see Education in SA in chapter 3) i.e. grades 1 to 3. In the rural areas, most of the children in Grade 1 were unfamiliar and uncomfortable with English, so they were not included in the individual administering of the test. Only the grades 2 and 3 were included in the individual administering. Although children from these grades participated, the children from the rural schools in these grades were still very uncomfortable with communicating in English, their second language(L2). Their level of discomfort was reflected in their behaviour and responses. They would not respond verbally in English, but would answer in their mother-tongue (even though asked in English), saying that they did not know the English language or respond non-verbally by shaking their heads. From a Critical Theory perspective, this group would be perceived as vulnerable (Badmington & Thomas, 2008) in a context where English is the dominant language. As part of empowering this vulnerable group, it is important to explore and understand the reasons for their responses. There are many factors that could have contributed to these responses. These include:

- **Unfamiliarity with a testing situation** - Research (Battle, 2005; Carter et al., 2005) has shown that children's unfamiliarity with a testing situation will influence their responses. Despite the pilot administration of the research instrument in their familiar school setting, the possible expectations they might have faced in the testing situation may have been still unknown to them.

- **The use of English** - Although English is taught in grades 2 and 3, it is taught as a subject during the English language or First Additional language (FAL) lesson (see chapter 3) and only used in the classroom context during the lesson. During general interaction in the classroom, at breaktime or at home, the children use their mother-tongue i.e. isiZulu.

- **Their perception of the researcher**-As I, the researcher was an African female who could speak isiZulu, the children were aware of this and expected me to communicate in a language that is common to us. Anecdotal evidence has shown that children expect *umlungu* (a white person) to be speaking *isilungu* (white person's language) with them. English is associated with a white person. Research has shown that the perception of the partner in conversation or interlocutor will influence the response and the language used in the response (Riley, 2007).

- **Personality** – The personality of the child will impact on her response in a test context. A child who is an extrovert will communicate easily and openly, while an introvert may be more reserved (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002). The personalities of the children were also demonstrated in their coping strategies. Even though English was not the mother-tongue of all the rural children and most felt uncomfortable with it, the extroverted children eagerly responded, using many compensatory strategies, such as merely responding in any words that they know in English, irrespective whether they are relevant to the question or not. The introverts, however, were very shy and indicated non-verbally that they did not know the response or whispered their response.

The findings of the study are consistent with those outlined by Carter et al., (2005) where it was found those factors such as culture, familiarity with the testing situation, the effect of the

language of formal education and picture recognition (see chapter 5) influenced the outcome of cross-cultural assessment.

Valdes and Fugueroa (1994, p. 57) observe that psycholinguists argue that, when assessing a bilingual child, there are other factors that need to be taken into consideration, such as :

- **Reaction or latency-time taken to encode or decode in the second language**

The slowness in response of the participants during the administration of the research instrument may be due to a delay in decoding the contents of the question.

- **Word detection**

The detection of the words in the question and planning a response based on the detected word is a complex process when the question is not in the L1. This slowness in word detection may be misinterpreted as word-retrieval or word-finding problems. De Rauville (2004) argues that in EAL speakers certain behaviours may seem to be word-finding errors, such as word-searching whereas these errors may be a reflection of their limited semantic knowledge in the second language (De Rauville, 2004, p.17). Word-finding is one of the skills that form part of the Renfrew battery of tests, Renfrew Word-Finding Scales (RWFS) (Renfrew, 1997) used by the SLT. If the words are part of the child's language and culture, there could likely be increased speed of detection as increased usage and exposure to the words influences the speed of word detection (Perani, Abutalebi, Paulesu, Brambati, Scito, Cappa & Fazio, 2003)

- **Verbal association**

The verbal associations with the picture or words may be different from those expected by the clinician, as associations are linked to experience, background and culture. Verbal associations are thus linked to sociolinguistic factors (refer to examples provided at the beginning of chapter 3).

- **Interlingual flexibility**

When an isiZulu mother-tongue speaker is responding in an L2 (i.e. English in this study) they need to possess the flexibility to change from isiZulu to English that a native English (L1) speaker does not need to have. This skill will differ from speaker to speaker and may also be influenced by other psycholinguistic factors, such as confidence in the L2, context and audience, or partners in conversation (Myers-Scotton, 2006)

- **Interlingual ambiguity**

Words that have a meaning that may be clear for an English L1 speaker, may not necessarily have the same meaning from the perspective of a L2 speaker. They may be ambiguous based on how the L2 speaker has experienced their being used (see chapter 1). Even though I, as the researcher, am not an English L1 speaker, my competence and greater exposure to English did result in the use of words where I assumed there was shared meaning with the children. The resulting ambiguity or misunderstanding was managed through conversational repair strategies, such as code-switching.

6.4.2 Code switching

The responses of the children to the language instrument reflect an important aspect of L2 development or bilingualism. The children presented with code switching and language transfer. These are normal phenomena in second language development (Miller, 1984; Roseberry-McKibbin, Brice, & O'Hanlon, 2005; Tabors, 2008b). Code switching can be defined as the changing between languages during an utterance within sentences or between them. Gumperz (1982 cited in Downes, 1998, p. 80) defines code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems". Although this definition encompasses key aspects of code switching, its focus on grammatical systems is limiting as code switching manifests more broadly. Although code mixing is sometimes used differently from code-

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switching (Pfaff, 1979 cited in Downes, 1998) , many authors use the two terms interchangeably, together with the term 'bilingual borrowing.'

The use of code switching or code mixing is influenced by factors such as affective factors, knowledge, types of information to be conveyed, the responses of the partner in conversation, the characteristics of the partner in conversation, such as race or religion and context. It may be deliberate or not and can be used metaphorically or tactically. It can be used to establish bonds, reject, include or exclude individuals in a conversation (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Parents would often use it in front of their children when wanting to exclude the children from the conversation due to the sensitivity of the content. Although code-switching has been rejected by language purists who aspire towards a homogeneous speech community, it is an important part of language learning (Hamers & Blance, 2000).

In this study, the use of code-switching by the children was tactical. It was a conversational strategy to compensate for their limited proficiency in English or for conversational repair. Conversational repair refers to changing one's utterance, based on how one perceives the response from the partner in conversation or interlocutor, as indicating a need for clarification. (Finegan & Besnier, 1989). Their use of code-switching reflected the covert linguistic constraints that govern code-switching, such as the use of free or bound morphemes (Hamers & Blance, 2000). For example, the bound morpheme *mouse* would not be split in use. Changes were only made morphologically where a prefix or suffix was included e.g. *imouse.* The prefix 'i' may be added to the word *mouse.*

Cummins (cited in Baker, 1988) would argue that one of the major influences of the utterances of bilingual children are 2 types of communication skills namely BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP (Cognitive or Academic Language Proficiency). BICS are the basic interpersonal skills that are used in day-to-day language. They are usually context-based and informal in nature. The child usually uses these skills at

home e.g. *I want this yoghurt, over here*. CALP are the more high level formal skills that a child would use e.g. *The picture, hanging on the green wall, is from grade 3*. These are skills demanded in a formally structured setting, such as school. The use of these skills is not context-bound.

The EAL speaker in the study may have both CALP and BICS in the L1 but not necessarily in the L2. The skills required for the children to respond to the task would be consistent with the higher level skills required in the classroom setting (Jordaan, 2013). The child needs to use CALP to be successful in classroom-based tasks. If the child had adequate BICS in the L2 but insufficient CALP in L2 as they are still undergoing bilingualism i.e. in the process of developing the L2, the findings are a reflection of their CALP skills in the L2 only and not their CALP skills in their mother-tongue. It is only if an informal context that simulates a naturalistic home context is created that their BICS and CALP skills in both languages could be derived. An informal language sample from a child could thus assist the SLT to gain information on both the BICS and CALP of the child and plan management based on comprehensive data.

Vygotsky (Daniels, Cole, & Wertsch, 2007) demonstrates the connection between language and culture. By the 1920's and 1930's, he was already explaining that human activities occur in a cultural context and are mediated by language (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996, p. 191). He also linked his argument to the Sapir-Whorf theory (Kozma, Bressler, Perlovsky, & Venayagamoorthy, 2009) that focuses on the relationship between language, culture and cognition. He outlines 2 main cognitive styles: field dependent and field independent (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). While the field dependent cognitive style is more holistic and social in orientation, the field independent cognitive style tends to be more focused on detail and is more analytical. In this study, he would argue that one of the factors that may influence the child's response is different cognitive styles. If the SLT conducting the language assessment

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expects a response based on one cognitive style, the child's response which is inconsistent with this style may be misinterpreted, thereby influencing the result e.g. instead of giving a specific response that says that the child is hugging a doll (in response to picture 1), a more long winded response that is embedded in a story may be given .The SLT may perceive such a response as indicative of poor narrative pragmatic skills.

6.4.3 Language transfer

Language transfer occurs when the characteristics of one language affect those of another. These may occur at a morphological, syntactic, semantic or pragmatic level (Ball, 2005; Hamers & Blance, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006). An understanding of the structure of isiZulu as a language will help to make sense of theselanguage differences, which may be depicted as errors due to misinterpretation or misunderstanding.

The structure of isiZulu

IsiZulu is one of the Bantu languages (Nyembezi, 1995). 'Bantu' is a linguistic word whose literal translation means people, denoting the language of the people (Poulus & Msimang 1998). Its misuse by the apartheid government in SA has resulted in the term acquiring negative connotations for many Africans (Cook, 2007; Kamwangamalu, 2000; Lafon, 2007). The term 'Nguni group of African languages,' shall be used instead, when making reference to this group of languages.

IsiZulu is characterised by an alliterative agreement or concordial system that is linked to the noun class system depicted in table 14 (Doke & 1968; Doke, Malcolm, Sikakane, & Vilakazi, 2001; Poulus & Msimang 1998). Nouns are grouped in accordance with the prefixes reflected in the table. These prefixes are not linked to sex (Ferguson, 1978) but rather class gender i.e. noun stems divided into sets of genders (originating from the Latin word *genus* meaning kind) based on the 'agreement' of the morphological form in one or more classes (Nyembezi, 1995).

Table 13: A Table showing the isiZulu noun class system (Taljaard & Bosch, 1988)

Class Number	Prefix	Example
1	Umu-	Umuntu –person
1(a)	u-	Umama-mother
2	Aba-	Abantu-people
2(a)	o-	Oomama-mothers
3	Umu-	Umuzi-house
4	Imi-	Imizi-houses
5	Ili- /i-	Ilitshe-stone
6	Ama-	Amatshe-stones
7	Isi-	Isizwe-nation
8	Izi-	Izizwe-nations
9	In-	Inyoni-bird
10	Izin-	Izinyoni-birds
11	Ulu-	Uthi-stick
14	Ubu-	Ubuhle-beauty
15	Uku-	Ukubhala-to write

As reflected in Table 13, the noun consists of the prefix, which can be singular or plural, and stem e.g. umu=prefix plus ntu=stem. These prefixes establish the agreement for the rest of the sentence e.g **u**muntu **u**dla **u**mfino 'the person eats spinach'.

Although adjectives in English are usually regarded as adding to the richness of the utterance, in isiZulu there are very few adjectives (Doke, 1968). The same function of adjective is fulfilled by relative pronouns and the possessive case e.g. abantu abamnyama 'Black people'. IsiZulu mother-tongue speakers may thus apply the same principle in English and appear to be using restricted adjectives.

The characteristics of isiZulu, the mother-tongue, are often transferred to English as language transfer is a common phenomenon in bilinguals (see 6.4.3). De Klerk and Gough inMesthrie(2002) in the book *Language in South Africa*, highlight features of Black South African English (BSAE) some of which are the result of language transfer; the examples used are a direct translation from L1.

Language transfer errors[80] noted in the children's utterances included the following:

- Confusion of gendered grammatical structures, such as pronouns e.g. he, possessive e.g. *the girl* hold *his* (instead of her)*baby* (referring to picture 1)

In isiZulu there are no sex gender-related (i.e. referring to masculine or feminine) grammatical structures. The children thus often transferred their isiZulu grammar onto English manifesting in a confusion of the use of these structures. Ball and Peltier (2003) present research that reveals that the absence of gendered grammatical structures is also a common feature of the languages of the First Nations and manifests as confusion in the use of gender-related structures when the First Nations child learns English.

- Subject –verb agreement

The foundation of isiZulu syntax is the concordial system, based on noun classes (Nyembezi, 1995). Each of the prefixes (reflected from class 1 to 10 in table 14) has a singular and a plural. The prefix of the verb thus always follows the prefix of the preceding noun e.g. a**ba**ntu **ba**yadla (people eat), **u**muntu **u**yadla. The subject verb agreement e.g. the man eats, the men eat, does not exist in isiZulu. IsiZulu mother–tongue speakers often find this structure difficult in English. In South Africa, the difficulty with subject–verb agreement is not unique to African language speakers. Afrikaans mother–tongue speakers also display a similar problem (Booij, 1995) as in Afrikaans, the verb does not change when the subject is plural e.g. die kat **eet**, (the cat eats) vs die katte **eet** (the cats eat).

- Incorrect use of tense, especially past tense

In English, the suffix 'ed' is used to denote past tense. IsiZulu mother-tongue speakers thus often struggle with past tense and may simplify or omit it (Mestherie, 2002).Thordardottir

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[80] Error is used to refer to deviation from Standard English

(1994)shows that the patterns or errors found when individuals are in the process of learning English, follow a similar sequence to the errors of English mother-tongue speakers who are in the process of language acquisition. During language development, the first tense to emerge is the present tense (Brown, 1973; Crystal, 1974). In L2 learning, the same usually holds true (Shipley & McAfee, 2004; Van Riper & Emerick, 1984). The speaker, usually only uses the present tense, irrespective of whether they are speaking about a current or past occurrence e.g. in response to the question *what has the big girl done* (picture 7), the response from the children in the study was *take the baby up.*

- Confusion of irregular plural/past tense

In isiZulu, the plural or past tense is linked to the noun class system and the agreement of the subject and verb. There are no irregular plurals or past tense. According to the developmental model of English language development, the irregular plural and past tense are also acquired later by English mother-tongue speakers (Shipley & McAfee, 2004). The language acquisition of the L2 speaker /learner of English follows a similar pattern to English L1 speakers(Tabors, 2008b)e.g. in response to the question *what has the cat just done* (picture 5 with 2 mice), the response from that children in the study *was eat the mouse.*

- Use of prepositions

Although there are prepositions in isiZulu e.g. ngaphansi (under), spatial relations between objects are often indicated morphologically, using a prefix or suffix (Taljaard & Bosch, 1988) e.g. **e**tafule**ni** (on the table). In terms of English L1 development, prepositions are regarded as the last of the four major word classes to emerge in children's spontaneous speech(Romaine, 1995). "It takes monolingual English speakers a number of years to master the preposition system correctly" (Romaine, 1995, p. 220). English L2 speakers would thus follow a similar pattern(Tabors, 2008b) meaning that prepositions are one of the last structures that they learn.

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In terms of the developmental model of language acquisition, the first prepositions to develop are 'in' and 'on' (Shipley & McAfee, 2004). Second language development usually follows the same pattern as first language development (Tabors, 2008a)but the age at which these prepositions appear in first language development is early by Stage 2 in Brown's stages of syntactic and morphological development, by approximately 3 years (Brown, 1973)

- Omission or confusion of auxiliaries or articles

IsiZulu has no auxiliaries or articles (Poulus & Msimang 1998). Their function is performed morphologically, using a prefix. It is a common feature of the L2 learning of English process to exclude the 'small words,' such as auxiliaries and articles."Second language learners of English often have consistent difficulty in the use of articles until very late stages of acquisition, or do not ever reach native-like level of performance" (Zdorenko & Paradis, 2007, p. 483). It is significant to note that this error is not peculiar to EAL speaking children. Research has shown that children who are under 4 years of age frequently omit the article and later confuse the definite and indefinite article 'a' and 'the'. They overuse 'the' instead of 'a' (Brown,1973; Maratsos,1974; Schaeffaer& Matthewson, 2005 inZdorenko & Paradis, 2007). The children in the study, although older than 4 years, displayed the same phenomenon. They used 'the' instead of 'a'. Zdorenko and Paradis explain this finding as:

> The definite article in English is easier to acquire because in principle the definite article can be applied to any noun regardless of its number or count/mass properties. The semantic conditioning of the indefinite article, on the other hand, is more complex than that of the definite article. (Zdorenko & Paradis, 2007, p. 489).

- Duplication of subject e.g. the man, he

The isiZulu concordial structure e.g. **u**muntu **u**hamba (the person walks) is transferred onto English.

- Much code mixing and code switching, especially as a strategy when the individual cannot access the English word (refer to psycholinguistic factors in 6.4.1)

Code mixing and code-switching are often used by L2 learners or speakers as a conversational repair strategy(Setati, Adler, Reed, & Bapoo, 2002). During the test administration, there was a potential breakdown in communication when the child did not have the English word to complete the utterance. The isiZulu word was used to retain the utterance as semantically meaningful e.g. The girl *ishushuzela* (comforts) doll.

- Second language transfer noted phonologically e.g. de man (the man), semantically and syntactically

There are no dental sounds e.g . 'th' **th**is, **th**ing in any of the African languages, including isiZulu (Doke, 1968). It is a common phenomenon for speakers to replace the phonetic sound with the closest sound phonetically e.g. the voiced quality of the'd' and 'th' sounds in *the man*. Ball and Peltier (2003) also highlight the same feature showing that it occurs in other languages.

- When unsure, respondents merely give any information about the picture, even if it irrelevant e.g. the dog say woof

The interlocutor or partner in conversation would often rather break the maxim of relevance than the flow of the conversation (Blum-Kulka, 1982). The chid tries to maintain pragmatic appropriateness by providing an answer to a question, even if not relevant. It is also common for English L2 learners to provide the sound made by the object if they do not have the vocabulary to express themselves (Paradis, 2007a) e.g. in response to the question *what is the girl doing?* (picture 1) , the children in the study,

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paused and then responded by naming body parts such as face, mouth, eyes to break the silence.

- Conjunctions most commonly used are 'and' and 'because'

Co-ordination of sentences develops prior to subordination in language development. (Brown, 1973).Co-ordination is the joining of sentences with a conjunction. In L1 acquisition (Shipley & McAfee, 2004) 'and' together with 'because' are the first two to emerge as the child develops e.g. *the mother walk and the plastic break and the apple fall and the boy take the apples* (picture 10)

In normal conversation deictic terms such as 'those' (while pointing) are used when the interlocutor or partner in conversation is present, but when absent the speaker will use more specific words to convey the information. In normal language acquisition, young children use deictic terms such 'this' 'that' and 'here' as their language is still context-bound (Clark, 1978; Karmiloff-Smith, 1981; Shipley & McAfee, 2004). Theses deictic terms are usually accompanied with gesture as the goal of the child is to communicate rather than use words (Burger, 2000). As their language, cognitive and emotional maturity develops, the use of these terms decreases as their language becomes less context-bound. In school their dependence on language accompanied with gesture or non- verbal communication is discouraged and communication through specific words is encouraged, in preparation for scholastic demands such as essays (Burger, 2000). EAL speakers follow the same pattern of initially using deictic terms to aid in conveying the information e.g. *the girl hold this* (referring to the teddy bear in picture 1). Deictic terms are also characteristically overused by children with a language and/or learning disorder and present with restricted vocabulary. This child aims to compensate for the limited vocabulary through the deictic term and gesture. Research has, however, also

found that they are a common feature in English L2 learners or speakers to achieve a similar purpose (Paradis, 2007a).

In the above interpretation of the patterns of utterances made by the children in the study, the developmental model was used which is based on the universal perspective of language and language development. Solarsh (2001) however, warns that the universal perspective merely provides principled guidelines for language development and that there may be differences between children's languages and cultures. An example of such a deviation is the acquisition of the passive voice which according to the developmental model, is acquired fairly late by English speaking children (Brown, 1973), usually around 6 or 7 years old, but is one of the earlier structures to develop in the language acquisition of isiZulu-speaking children, by 3 years (Suzman, 1991).

6.4.5 Significance of the patterns of errors

It is important for the SLT to be aware of the pattern of errors and their link to L2 development, as this information will enable the SLT to distinguish between language pathology and a language difference. Knowledge of differences related to bilingualism will enable an SLT to plan an intervention that is appropriate to the diagnosis. Whereas a child with a language or learning difficulty would benefit from language therapy, a child who presents with a language difference may need language stimulation. For example, a child with language pathology may not have the concept or the label for the concept, whereas the child who is engaging in bilingualism may have the concept but lack the label in the L2, even though it is present in the L1. The principle of any intervention should thus be applied i.e. using the strength to address the weakness. The SLT can use the strength, the knowledge of the concept and the L1 label to introduce and attach the L2 label.

6.4.6 Language difference or language pathology?

Both Archibald (1997) and Paradis (2007a) warn that the patterns of language differences that the bilingual may present with may be similar to those noted in a child with a language disorder. It is therefore possible that the SLT can mistake these for a language disorder if a thorough assessment, that takes into account the principles of L2 development, is not conducted. The inappropriate use of deictic terms to compensate for specific language by a grade 3 learner is a typical example, as this may be interpreted as restricted vocabulary. The limited vocabulary can be due to limited exposure to the L2 or language impairment.

However, Kavannaugh and Kennedy (1992) would argue that access to the above information is insufficient to help the SLT make a distinction between language pathology and difference. The lens through which the SLT views and interprets this information will determine how it is used. If the SLT uses his or her own frame of reference to interpret, the picture presented may still be skewed. For example, the SLT may choose to see any deviation from what she regards as the English standard as a disorder. The replacement of dental sounds, due to their absence in isiZulu e.g. *den* for 'then', *fin* for 'thin', may be perceived as defective and be 'corrected' as part of therapy. They may be perceived as articulation errors that require articulation therapy. Van Riper (1984) Flower (1994) and Palmer &Yantis (1990) give the criteria for the definition of a communication disorder. These are: when the disorder draws attention to itself i.e. it is conspicuous, troubling the speaker, has a psychological impact and impacting negatively on the conveying of the message between the communication partners.

These criteria seem to be very clear and straightforward but Taylor (1986) and Kathard (1998) remind us of the heterogeneity of perceptions of communication differences or difficulties in different communities and cultures. Even though the dominant culture at school (predominantly from the English L1 background) may view the communication difference as

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pathological, the community at home who speaks the L1 of the child may perceive it as normal. It may thus draw attention at school but not at home. Often, the perception of the dominant culture is used as a basis for whether it is pathological or not. In SA, the Western culture of the English L1 speaker is often the part of this dominant culture (see section 3.2 on Language and Culture in chapter 3) and Western standards become the basis for the decision as to whether a communication difference is a communication difficulty or difference. The case below demonstrates the complexity of this decision:

> Child A is a seSotho mother–tongue speaker from Lesotho. He is a quiet, reserved 8-year old little boy in Grade 2. He presents with an 'r' sound that is different from English but typical of seSotho speakers in Lesotho and many parts of South Africa, such as the Orange Free State. It is a velaric 'r'. His articulation of the 'r' sound is different from the other children at school. The school is an English medium, Model C school. He is referred for speech therapy by his teacher.

In the above case, Van Riper (1984) , Palmer & Yantis (1990) , Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas(2002) and Westby (2009)would argue that the relevant questions to be asked would be:

- Does it bother him? How does he feel about it?
- Does it impede others' understanding of his speech?
- Does it draw negative attention to him when he communicates?

However, Taylor (1986) would argue that more questions need to be asked:

- Does it bother him at home? Does it bother him at school?
- Where and with whom does it impede understanding of his speech?
- With whom and where does it draw negative attention when he communicates?

- Are all the above influenced by cultural and linguistic factors? If so, how will these be included in the decision regarding whether intervention is needed and the form it should take?

Most of the differences that could be perceived as errors that are presented by the children in this study are consistent with those often found in children with a language disorder, language learning disorder or specific language learning disorder (Paradis, 2007a). The SLT has to ascertain whether the child presents with a language pathology or language difference. Even if it is a language difference, the errors still need to be addressed, but the method and nature of intervention would differ.

<u>Summary</u>

In this chapter the patterns emerging from the study and the comparisons between the children's responses and those of the parents, community and academics, the language experts were further analysed and interpreted. The children's responses and their context were discussed and further explained using concepts such as code-switching and language transfer. The chapter concluded by showing how a better understanding of the children's responses can aid in distinguishing between a language disorder and language difference.

CHAPTER 7

THE FINDINGS AND THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the findings that have been presented and critiqued in the previous chapter have been interpreted using Taylor's framework for the assessment and management of communication disorders (1986) in culturally and linguistically diverse populations. Each of the principles outlined in this framework is linked with the findings of the study.

Principle 1

Communicative norms of any speech community are linked to its cultural values, perceptions, attitudes and history (Taylor, 1986) .

The communicative norms of children reflect the cultural values, perceptions, attitudes and history of their own speech community. The speech community in which the children in the study live is a Zulu speech community, where the predominant language and culture is isiZulu. The children do not exist in a vacuum but in a social and cultural context where they assimilate these values, attitudes and perceptions, which are shaped by the history of the speech community in which they live. It is therefore significant that in this study the speech community from which the children assimilate values is included. The information that can emanate from members of this community can provide invaluable input and insight for the Speech –Language Therapist (SLT) during the assessment of the child.

Principle 2:

All human beings belong to a primary indigenous culture even though they may acquire the knowledge of other cultures which may change or shift their indigenous cultural norms (Taylor, 1986).

Even though the primary culture of the isiZulu mother-tongue speaking children from urban and rural areas is the Zulu culture, they are exposed, via media, to other cultures, such as the Western culture. They can thus relate to other cultures aside from their primary culture. The children from the rural school were aware of other races and the differences in their physical characteristics but, in their responses, the differences in their physical features were highlighted as they were not part of their own daily experience. In the pictures, the children from the rural schools were also familiar with the post boxes even though within their own immediate environment there were no post-boxes. They had seen the post- boxes when they went to 'town' with their parents (see responses to picture 7 of the RAPT in chapter 5). In the assessment the SLT may also get responses from the children that may not necessarily be consistent with the parent input during the case history interview, but a response that is influenced by the media.

Both the parents and children were very aware of the differences in the perception and treatment of animals in Western and African communities. For example, in Western culture, a dog can stay in the house and is often given treatment that is comparable to that of a human being. In Zulu and other African culture, a dog should not be treated similarly to a human but is perceived rather as a protective animal (see responses of the children to pictures 3, 4 and 8 of the RAPT in chapter 5). The SLT should be aware that the responses of the children during the language assessment will reflect these differences so that the responses can be interpreted accordingly.

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Principle 3:

Even though there are some cultural specific rules and definitions within cultural groups, there are also many commonalities between cultures pertaining to child rearing, family and communication (Taylor, 1986).

Some of the pictures and words in the original test were not adapted as a result of the data collection because the children could relate to them. The ability of the children to relate to the pictures and words that were the product of research with children who are from a different country, speak a different language and have a different culture, shows that there are certain universal aspects in all cultures. In most contexts, the primary caregivers are the parents i.e. the mother or father. The children referred to most adults in the pictures as either a mother or father. All the children found it acceptable that a young child be helped by an adult e.g. in the picture of the child lifted to post a letter (see picture 2 of the RAPT in chapter 5) and a child being helped to put on a shoe (see picture 2 of the RAPT in chapter 5). It is common in every culture that the power relations between the child and adult differ and thus the role of the parent is to assist the child. The form this help takes may differ from culture to culture. For example, whereas it is acceptable in Western culture for an adult parent to kneel to help a school-age child with a shoe, in Zulu culture kneeling is associated with respect and should only be done to an individual of higher stature (Elliot, 1996). It is thus not acceptable for the mother to kneel to help a school–age child, whereas it would have been appropriate if the child was an infant and perceived as helpless. An understanding of these power relations in the African culture may help the SLT to understand the responses and interpretation of the pictures that may seem inappropriate or irrelevant.

Principle 4:

All languages have dialects that can be traced to political, social, cultural and historical causes and these dialects are often mutually intelligible within one language(Taylor, 1986).

The children in the study speak a dialect of English called Black South African English (BSAE). Mesthrie (2002) discusses the characteristics of this dialect in detail and differences and commonalities with other South African English dialects. The BSAE reflects the history, politics and culture of the Black South African. The words that are used are reflective of the social context. For example, the children in the study often referred to toothpaste as Colgate, margarine or butter as Rama and every canned drink as Coke, as these are the brand names of the brands that were most frequently seen on the advertising billboards in the township where many of Black people live (see chapter 1). Anecdotal evidence shows that these branding terms are particular to the Black South African from the township or who would have township experience. De Klerk (2006) mentions these brands as she discusses the formulaic utterances in Xhosa English some of which have been influenced by South Africa's historical and political background. These terms have been carried from generation to generation as children who are living in urban contexts and are exposed to more brands continue to use these brand names as generic terms for the items.

These terms are also not specific to a particular region or province in South Africa. As an SLT who has been exposed to children from several South African provinces, such as KwaZulu-Natal (where I currently reside and work), Eastern Cape (where my home and family is) Western Cape (where I have worked), Gauteng (where I studied and worked as a student), Free State (with family ties) and Mpumalanga (where part of my student clinical training was done), the phenomenon described above has been commonly noted. The SLT

should be aware that the responses of the children in the language assessment may include a specific brand that refers to the category that the brand item belongs to.

When children who are in an English medium school meet and interact, there is mutual understanding, even though they may be speaking different dialects. In the first school used in the study, English is the medium of instruction and the children and staff complements are of different races and language dialects. There is, however, mutual intelligibility in English. The SLT should be cautious not to allow the mutual intelligibility to mask the language nuances in BSAE.

Principle 5

Even though there may be some differences in developmental milestones, there is generally a universal pattern of first language acquisition(Taylor, 1986).

Although the passive voice e.g. 'The cat was chased by the mouse', grammatical structure is one of the structures in language development that is acquired later in English, Suzman (1991) demonstrated that it is acquired earlier in isiZulu. IsiZulu mother–tongue speaking children were using sentences with adult-like language structures by 3 years of age (Suzman, 1991). These developmental milestones reveal differences with the developmental milestones that are typically described in English specifically pertaining to the passive voice (Suzman, 1991). However, they follow the universal pattern of simple to more complex structure, gradual increase in vocabulary with age and cognitive maturity and shift from literal language to more figurative comprehension and expression (Paradis, 2007a). The SLT can be guided by the general universal principle of simple to complex in language development when interpreting the findings of the language assessment.

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Principle 6:

The acquisition of the second language is not arbitrary but a clear rule –governed process which may be affected by when the language is acquired and the social context (Taylor, 1986).

The patterns of differences that can be regarded as errors that the children in the study present with show that their development of English is not arbitrary but follows a certain pattern of rules. The general process of second language development has been described as the following (Tabors, 2008):

I. Mother-tongue use

II. Nonverbal stage

III. Telegraphic stage

IV. Production of language

I.   Mother-tongue use

When a child is still at the mother–tongue stage, it presents as a problem in a class where English is the MoI, or where a language assessment is to be conducted by an SLT who does not speak the child's mother-tongue. The child at this stage will start by responding only in their mother-tongue in communication, irrespective of whether the interlocutor speaks the language or not. During the test presentation stage of data gathering in the study, if the children could not or were not comfortable with communicating in English, they would respond in their mother-tongue i.e. isiZulu, reflecting that they were still at the first stage of second language (L2) development. Sometimes, their responses in the mother-tongue would reveal that there is an understanding of the question posed in the L2 i.e. English. This response is in accordance with the norms of language development. Even though they

understand what is asked in English (L2), they do not yet have the capacity or confidence to express themselves in it.

II.   *Non-verbal*

During the presentation of the test in English (L2) some of the children did not respond. Even when encouraged to respond in the L2 they chose to remain quiet. Tabors (2008), refers to this stage as the quiet stage. During this stage, the child silently collects much data on the second language, listening and rehearsing. This process is facilitated by a context where there is constant exposure to the L2. Lack of or restricted exposure to the L2 during this period can slow down the process of the L2 development.

In the urban schools used in the study, English was the MoI at the school. There was thus more exposure to the English language. The context facilitated faster development and confidence in the L2. In the rural schools however, the children only encountered the L2 during the English language lesson in accordance with mother-tongue government language policy in schools (Brock-Utne, 2005; Government, 2001a). The children from the rural school in the study had more restricted exposure to the L2, despite the media e.g. TV and lacked confidence in expressing themselves in the L2.

III.   *Telegraphic*

Most of the utterances of the children from the rural area consisted of telegraphic utterances or phrases. Telegraphic utterances usually consist of key words that convey meaning in the utterances but omit 'small' words such as prepositions, articles and determiners e.g. 'girl play baby' for 'the girl is playing with the baby'. In this utterance, the determiner (the), copula (is) and preposition (with) have been omitted. The present progressive form of the verb (-ing) has also been eliminated. The present or present progressive tense is usually the first tense to

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develop in language acquisition, thus L2 speakers often use the present or present progressive tense, even when referring to an event in the past or future(Paradis, 2007a).

IV.   ***Production of language (expansion of telegraphic*)**

As the child becomes more confident and comfortable with using the L2, there is increasing expansion of the telegraphic utterances to fuller utterances with more varied vocabulary, grammatical and morphological structures (Tabors, 2008). The instances of language production are also more frequent. In the urban school, many of the grade 2 and grade 3 learners were at this stage of language production, whereas the majority of the grade 1 pupils were at the lower stage of L2 production. The longer and more opportunities for exposure and experience with the L2 may be contributing factors to this confidence. As English was the medium of instruction (MoI) at the urban school were more likely to have more exposure to English. In the rural schools however, most of the grade 2's and grade 3's were still at the silent or telegraphic stage. An example of a telegraphic utterance is 'mommy bag', when referring to the lady carrying a bag with falling apples in Picture 10 of the RAPT.

Knowledge of these stages of L2 language development will assist the SLT to understand and interpret the responses in terms of the stage it may be reflecting.

Principle 7:

Communication behaviour, whether verbal or nonverbal, is directed by cultural rules. These cultural rules control the communicative event, and speech acts are a function of these cultural rules(Taylor, 1986).

A typical incident that would clearly demonstrate this point is the use of *hlonipha* language by one of the children in the rural school. In terms of Zulu culture, as part of respect there are certain words or sounds related to the family name or elders that one may not use. These are usually replaced with another word or sound. At one of the picture viewing sessions, the child used a *hlonipha* word with which I, the researcher was not familiar. He did so as the utterance he wanted to say would have contained the family word that it would not be respectful to use e.g. if the family name is Sizani[81], when the child wants to say use the phrase *help* (plural) in the sentence *Sizani laba bantu (*help those people), they may say *Khakhani laba bantu. Khakhani* is not a real word but substituted to avoid using the respected *sizani.*His verbal behaviour is thus a product of his cultural values. The cultural value of respect of the family name is reflected in this communicative behaviour. It was fortunate that the teacher knew the child and could identify the utterance as it is not always easy to identify these words as the replacement may be a meaningless word.

Since a link has been drawn between the conceptual framework used in the study and the findings, it is important to pursue a discussion on the key issues that emerge from the findings. These key issues are conscientisation of the SLT in the SLP profession and redefining of the role of the SLT . Finally, guidelines for the language assessment of EAL speakers are provided.

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[81] Directly translated means *help (*plural)

7.1 KEY ISSUES EMERGING FROM FINDINGS

7.1.1 Conscientisation of the SLTs in the profession

Within the profession, both globally and locally, there is consensus on the need to transform the current paucity of material and guidelines on the assessment and management of culturally diverse populations. Research, assessment tools and profiles (Alant & Pakendorf, 1997; Bortz, 1997; Naudé, et al., 2007; Pascoe & Norman, 2011; Suzman, 1991) have been developed by professionals and tertiary institutions in an attempt to bridge this gap. There is, however, an acknowledgement that, despite these attempts, what has been produced to resolve this social reality is a drop in the ocean in terms of the needs within the profession.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that there is a more disturbing practice. It appears that, despite the extremely limited resources available for assessment of the EAL speaker, the tools that exist are not optimized. As an SLT who is currently involved in the management of EAL speakers, the issue of resources relevant for EAL speakers is of special interest to me. In discussions with other SLTs in other areas and in my own personal experience in various settings, locally and nationally, I have been interested in anecdotal evidence which suggests that most of the tests that have been developed for this population group are not being used. The question that arises is: Why? Are they not accessible? If they are accessible, why are they not being used?

There has been very little research that has tapped into this issue in South Africa. There is thus no definite answer, but personal experience, locally and nationally, suggests that there is very limited and in some instances, no use of these resources. The literature review has shown that some of the changes made to the research instrument, the RAPT, based on the responses of the participants (see picture 8 responses in chapter 5), have been made to other tests (Solarsh, 2001) but these changes have not been implemented in the use of these tests. They are still used in their original form, not taking into account the research-based adaptations for

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multicultural clients. The question that arises is whether SLTs are guilty of what critical theorists would describe as 'social oppression' by ignoring more culturally and linguistically appropriate resources for assessment. If the answer is positive, the critical theorists propose a process of assisting them to become aware of the manner in which this social oppression operates through the process of conscientisation i.e. a process of creating awareness of others' social reality, thereby helping to free them from social oppression. As this process of self reflection occurs, it findings in the discovery of what 'enslaves others' (Higgs & Smith, 2006, p. 85).

This process of conscientisation is also central to Paulo Freire's educational theory of radical social change (Freire, 2000), which focuses on the root causes of social and political problems rather than the symptoms, to allow for the planning of strategies to address them. Freire argues that critical consciousness is essential to reassess the types of ideas, contexts and relationships that are typically 'taken for granted' or accepted as the norm prior to ascertaining the root causes of social oppression (Freire, 1998) .

Based on Freire's argument a question that arises is whether SLTs are complacent with the current scenario of the scarcity of appropriate and culturally relevant assessment instruments for EAL speakers from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Freire regards such a scenario as 'our complicity in ideology'(Sim & van Loon, 2004). This means that SLTs may be aware of the gaps or contradictions but choose to turn a blind eye to them.

As an SLT, I argue that conscientisation forms part of the solution. I believe that this process is long overdue and would play a significant role in addressing the social injustices of South Africa's past(Kathard & Pillay, 2013). The continued use of tests that are normed on predominantly English- speaking UK or US populations in their current form on EAL speaking children can present the SLT with inaccurate findings which may be used to

determine the future of the children assessed. The future of these children therefore rests on the use of the test in a culturally and linguistically relevant manner. Furthermore, the SLT will be able to conduct a comprehensive assessment and make an informed decision based on a holistic picture of the child's competencies. The SLP profession has a responsibility to conscientise itself (Kathard & Pillay, 2013) in a culturally and linguistically relevant manner regarding the use of the currently available tools.

7.1.2 Redefining the role of the SLT

According to the Government White Paper 6 (Government, 2001b) services provided to individual children only by the profession are a luxury that the country cannot afford due to, amongst other things, the ratio of professionals to the population in need of the services. According to the records of registered SLTs provided by the HPCSA for the survey conducted (see chapter 2), there are fewer than 2000 SLTs nationally to service the SA population of more than 51.8 million (www.stassa.gov.za). White Paper 6 suggests rather that the SLTs   play a more collaborative and consultative role to other professionals. In the education sector, the SLTs can play a significant collaborative role due to their expertise in language development and communication (Jordaan, 2013; Kathard, et al., 2011).

In this study, the focus was on the culturally and linguistically relevant assessment of the normally developing EAL speaker. SLTs need to know what is normal language and communication, in order to distinguish it from the pathological. Knowledge that the SLTs accumulate about the language and communication of the EAL speaker can assist in the classroom. The Curriculum 2025 policy introduced in schools in 2010 includes an additive bilingual approach for the Foundation Phase i.e. grades 1 to 3 (Burger, 2011). The knowledge of the SLT , especially of cultural and linguistic knowledge in language development and assessment that is the focus of this study, can play an invaluable part in assisting the teachers

in the implementation and dealing with the language challenge that will emerge (Kathard, 2010).

If SLTs are expected to use the tests and take cognisance of the cultural and linguistic background of the client, it is crucial that they be given guidelines on how to accomplish this task.

7.2. GUIDELINES FOR THE LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT OF EAL SPEAKERS

In a conference for Canadian Speech-Language Pathologists and Audiologists (CASLPA) held in Montreal, Thordadottir (2011) commented that there is extensive literature on the guidelines for professionals on the assessment of EAL or non-English speakers, however there is limited literature on how to implement these principles practically. In this study, I have thus decided not to focus merely on the language assessment of this population, but more specifically on how to manage the language assessment process when using currently available, predominantly English tests that are normed on predominantly UK or US populations as the findings of the survey done as part of establishing the rationale for this study (see chapter 2) have shown the dominance of the use of English language assessment tools in South Africa. Although the principles of the guidelines that are presented in this chapter are in the literature (Carter , et al., 2005; Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002; Westby, 2009), the content has been tailored to the SLT working in a South African context with EAL speakers form an indigenous cultural and linguistic background. The content is also influenced by my specific experience and background (see chapter 1). The guidelines are as follows:

7.2.1 Know the language of the client

Ideally, all SLTs should be communicatively competent in the language of their client. In South Africa, most of the SLTs can only speak English or Afrikaans (Jordaan, 2008; Naudé,

et al., 2007), yet their clients may predominantly speak any number of African languages. However, as part of their training, SLTs in many universities learn an African language and study linguistics courses, a scientific analysis of language as part of the curriculum for the SLP degree (www.ukzn.ac.za). Even if SLTs cannot speak the mother tongue of their client, language research into the features of the language can help them to gain a better understanding of it and be able to do a contrastive analysis with their findings in the English language assessment(Shipley & McAfee, 2004). A contrastive analysis with the mother-tongue of the client entails comparing the features of the client's mother-tongue with those derived from the findings of the language assessment in English. The benefit of this contrastive analysis will be to understand the impact of language transfer on their findings. During language transfer, the L1 can affect the understanding or production of the L2 syntactically, semantically, morphologically and pragmatically (Myers –Scotton, 2006). In this study some of characteristics of Black South African English (BSAE) have been mentioned to help the professional gain this knowledge of the language and more information is accessible in literature(Mestherie, 2002). The advances in technology, such as the internet, have also increased the accessibility of this information. There is therefore no excuse for a SLT not to be fully informed about a client's L1 even if she does not speak the language.

7.2.2 Know the culture of the client

Throughout the study, the link between language and culture has been demonstrated. The findings of the study have also shown that culture is a key element in the interpretation and responses to the test stimuli. There are many sources that the SLT can use to access this information, such as books, internet and speakers of the language. In South Africa, especially during the 2010 soccer World Cup, much literature, such as the *Hello South Africa Phrasebook: 11 official languages* (Gautschi, 2010) was produced and made commercially

available about the different cultures. Although the intended target market were the visitors from other countries, the content could be very useful for the SLT.

7.2.3 Know the bilingual type of the client

Knowledge of the type of bilingual provides the SLT with crucial background information that can be used to contextualise the client's responses. Types of bilinguals include simultaneous bilinguals (the two languages are learnt simultaneously), sequential bilingual (the L2 is learnt after the acquisition of the L1), active bilingual (the two languages are actively used on a frequent basis) and passive bilingual (the L2 is not actively used on a frequent basis, even though the individual can understand it(Myers-Scotton, 2006; Tabors, 2008b). Information on the bilingual type will allow the SLT to better understand the L2 responses based on type and length of exposure to the L2. Knowledge of the typical characteristics of the bilingual will also help the SLT to predict what to expect, as bilinguals are not be a homogeneous group (see Threshold Theory in chapter 3). In the same way that professionals research the typical characteristics of certain disorders that they may not be fully conversant with when working with a new client and anticipate certain responses, knowledge of the bilingual type can also equip the SLT in a similar manner.

7.2.4 Knowledge of bilingualism and second language acquisition

The process of L2 acquisition is different from L1 acquisition. The process has been explained in the literature review (chapter 3), the findings of the study and in the discussion of Principle 6 of the conceptual framework in this chapter. Shipley and McAfee (2004) however, present a wider range of knowledge that is expected of the SLT in terms of L2 acquisition. The SLT should have knowledge of language interference/ transfer, the silent period (See Tabor's stages of L2 development), code switching and language loss, in order to distinguish between a language difference and pathology.

The above guidelines are consistent with the principles of assessment that are embedded in the professional body, South African Speech-Language and Hearing Association, SASLHA and the Health Professional Council of South Africa (HPCSA). The adoption and implementation of these guidelines will always present with challenges, due to the inaccessibility (due to paucity or other socio-economic related factors) of resources, such as interpreters, but if professionals constantly aspire to achieve them, it will make the assessment of EAL speakers a much fairer and more accurate process.

7.2.5 Know the test manual guidelines

The administration manuals of most standardised tests have a section on how the norms of the test were derived. Typically in this section, the populations that were included and the findings of each of the different populations are presented. If there are any differences in the performance of the different populations explanations and guidelines are given on the interpretation of the test, based on the differences encountered. Guidelines provided in standardised tests include those for clients who are EAL speakers. In some tests, such as the CELF-IV (Wiig, Semel, & Secord, 2003), there are comprehensive guidelines on accommodating cultural and linguistic differences, while in other tests there are even illustrations of typical differences, such as dialectally based differences that the SLT can draw on. Ignoring these guidelines is likely significantly impact on the nature of assessment and interpretation of findings. It would benefit South African SLTs to use evidence to develop their own guidelines.

7.2.6 Multiple and varied assessment procedures

Even though the focus of this study has been on the use of the standardised tests, it is crucial to acknowledge that available standardised tests are not culturally and linguistically appropriate for EAL speakers and even the English L1 speaker in South Africa (see survey findings in chapter 2 and Literature Review in chapter 3). In the literature review of the study,

the reasons have been discussed. Their bias has been the reason for calls by some researchers to stop their use (Watson, 2001). The paucity of culturally and linguistically relevant material for assessment and intervention remains the reason that SLTs rely on the currently available standardised tests. Taking these factors into account, it is imperative that, in conjunction with using the guidelines provided to conduct a culturally and linguistically relevant language assessment, the standardised tests that are currently used (see chapter 2) be combined with multiple and varied assessment procedures to increase the validity and reliability of the findings. Such procedures can include the use of a language samples and narrative-based or dynamic assessment (Damico & Damico, 1993).

7.2.7 Use of an interpreter

Generally, the use of an interpreter is associated with translation, when the SLT uses a different language from that of the client being assessed. If the L1 of the client differs from that of the SLT, a knowledgeable and well trained interpreter can provide the SLT with much valuable information on the cultural and linguistic differences that can manifest in the L2 due to language transfer. As the SLT is a trained professional with knowledge of linguistics, communication and speech-language development, she would possess the expertise to direct the interpreter to the kind of questions that need to be answered. For example, if there is a pattern of confusing gender pronouns, possessives or reflexive pronouns in English, the SLT can enquire if the L1 possesses these structures so that if there has been an element of language transfer, it can be noted. Language transfer can also be noted in the direct translation of L1, manifesting in syntax, semantics or pragmatics that differ from the standard language e.g. *I had a work at home (Benginomsebezi ekhaya)*. In its current form, the sentence in English is semantically and syntactically incorrect. Semantically, it can be meaningful when the explanation of the word 'work' as a traditional ritual and its direct translation from isiZulu

is provided. The semantic analysis will thus change when this information from the interpreter is provided.

 Shipley and McAfee (2004) suggest that the SLT can also use the interpreter for the debriefing session. They describe the debriefing session as the period following the assessment when the SLT discusses the impression of the interpreter of the session pertaining to the verbal and nonverbal responses of the child and any problems encountered. In this debriefing session, much non-verbal behaviour, which could easily be interpreted as pragmatically inappropriate behaviour, can be discussed so that the analysis of the EAL speaker's performance is more accurate.

Figure 11 presents a model (presented as a poster at the SASLHA national conference in 2010) that could be used for a culturally and linguistically relevant assessment. It is based on Taylor's (1986) cultural framework for viewing communication pathology and Westby's principles (2009) on management of multicultural populations by the SLT profession. Adult–child interaction, the child's environment, affective factors, the language spoken by the child and the community from which the child comes, are not only key drivers of the assessment process but its success is dependent on them. The approach and the practical translation of this approach into the adoption of procedures, protocol and techniques, that are consistent with the key drivers, will determine the success or failure of the assessment. For example, if the principle of a culturally and linguistically relevant assessment is embedded in all assessment and professional documents, but the protocol and the elicitation techniques do not take into account the impact of differences in language and culture, the findings of the assessment can be inaccurate findings, a dissatisfied clinician and a frustrated client, who may not have confidence in the process. The key drivers of the assessment process are thus also critical success factors.
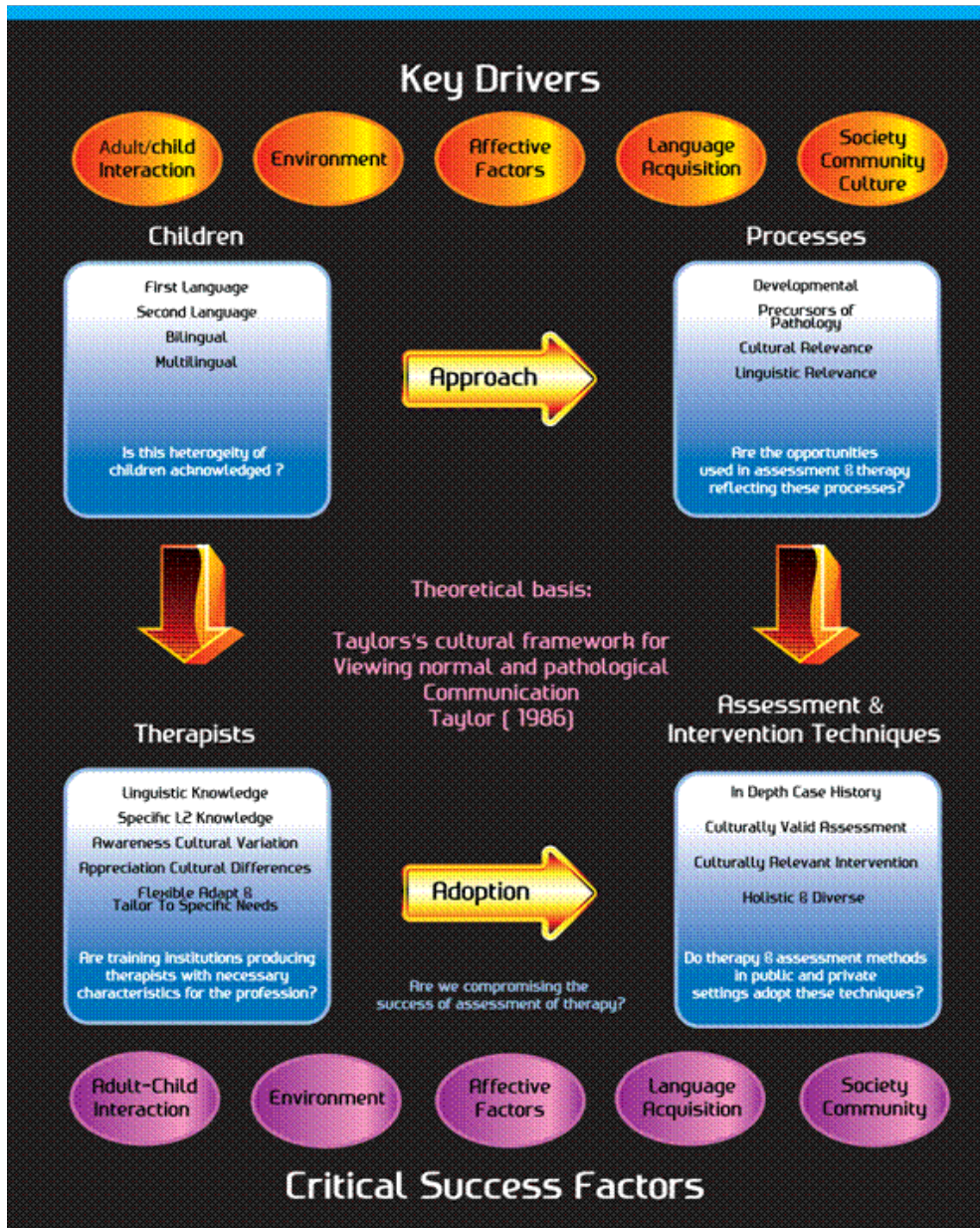
Figure 11: A model illustrating how SLTs can assess and manage bilingual populations.

<u>SUMMARY</u>

This chapter provided a more in-depth interpretation and understanding of the findings in chapter 5 by linking the findings with the conceptual framework. The implication of the findings for the language assessment of EALs, from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds was explored. The chapter concluded with guidelines for the SLT on the language assessment of this population.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

In this study the assessment of EAL speaking children was explored and critiqued, globally and within the South African context with a focus on the complexity of the issues surrounding the assessment of this population, within the profession of Speech-Language Pathology (SLP).These issues are, however, not only pertinent to the discipline of SLP, but as been demonstrated by Moro (2008) in the discipline of psychiatry and Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas (2002) in psychology, relevant to all, as the key issues were drawn from multiple fields, such as linguistics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, education, medicine and politics. The outcome of the study will therefore be relevant across many disciplines.

As this study was conducted in South Africa, a linguistically and culturally diverse country, the central area of the research was this diversity. The aim of the research was to critique the use of a language assessment instrument on EAL speaking children from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background and provide a framework that can be used by the Speech–Language Therapist (SLT) in the language assessment of this population. The study commenced with collecting data about the current practices by SLTs when assessing EAL speaking children by means of a survey (see chapter 2). The findings of the survey helped to establish the rationale for the study i.e. there is a need to review the use of the currently used standardised tests that are predominantly normed on UK/US populations as they are not linguistically and culturally appropriate for EAL speaking children in their current form. This presents the SLTs with many challenges and dilemmas when assessing and managing this population (Moodley, 2000; Wium, 2010b).Although multiple challenges were clear from the findings of this survey, one of the key aspects highlighted was the dominance of English within the profession. As the SLP profession is a microcosm of society, this hegemony of

English is reflective of South African society (Alexander, 1997; Kamwangamalu, 2000; Lafon, 2007).

In this study an English language screening instrument was administered on EAL speaking children from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background in English to reflect dominance of the use of English. Previous research has addressed the need to adapt or translate the English standardised language assessment tools that have been normed on UK/US populations-based, explored developmental norms of different language groups or profiles for the identification of language impairment in various populations, and translated tests into African languages (Bortz, 1997; Mzimela, 2002; Naidoo, 2003; Naudé, et al., 2007). In previous studies the linguistic and cultural aspects are extensively highlighted and addressed. There is however a significant missing link between the linguistic and cultural diversity of the SA population to the dominance and use of English in society or the SLP profession. This study addresses this gap in the research by investigating what linguistic and cultural aspects should be taken into consideration when using a language assessment tool in the L2 (in English in this study) of the EAL speaker. South Africa is a multilingual country with eleven official languages and isiZulu is the language and culture of the majority of the South African language speakers (D. Burger, 2011) , therefore the language and cultural group selected for the study was Zulu. The study was also undertaken in KwaZulu-Natal, where isiZulu mother-tongue speakers are the majority (www.stassa.gov.za).

A language screening tool that emerged (from the research survey in chapter 2) as one of the most commonly used standardised tests by SLTs, the RAPT, was selected as the research instrument. It was presented in English to EAL speaking children from an indigenous linguistic and cultural background in the age group 6 to 8 years and the findings were interpreted qualitatively. The voice of the children regarding the test material was sought, using a focus group comprised of children. An ecological approach was adopted as the

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cultural and linguistic relevance of the linguistic and picture stimuli of the RAPT was evaluated by presenting them to all the groups who are relevant in the child's development, such as parents and the community. As the research instrument is a language test, academics were included as Zulu language professionals. Finally, SLTs evaluated the changes suggested to the RAPT on the basis of input from all the parties concerned.

It is this focus on the voice of the children that makes this study unique. Despite seeking the opinion of the various parties, the opinions of the children took precedence. The findings showed that this was a critical aspect of the study as there were often discrepancies in the perspectives of the other parties, of the adults. As the test is used on children, their opinion became the most relevant as it provided invaluable input on the interpretation of the findings.

Conclusions that can be reached from the findings of this study are that firstly, English standardised tests that are normed on predominantly UK/US-based populations need to be adapted when used with South African children, particularly EAL children from indigenous linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The adaptation of the tests is to be based on knowledge of the language, culture, administration guidelines in the manual for various speakers, the theory of bilingualism and the norms of second language acquisition. Secondly, multiple stakeholders involved in the profession and the children's lives need to be consulted regarding the assessment and management of children. The weighting of the children's opinions should be carefully considered, especially in instruments that are to be administered on children. Each assessment should thus be treated as a research project with all the above components such as comprehensive data collection.

8.2 Summary of findings of the study

- The research survey confirmed that, despite the growing awareness and research within the profession of multilingualism and multiculturalism, the need for culturally and linguistically relevant materials or guidance on using current tools in a more culturally and relevant manner for language assessment and management persists and continues to present a challenge to clinicians.

- The findings of the administration of the selected test in English to EAL speakers highlighted the influence of several factors on the assessment. These include :

  - Unfamiliarity with a testing situation

  - The challenges that accompany the use of English for EAL speakers

  - The influence of the client's perception of the SLT

  - The influence of the context

  - The impact of the client's stage of L2 acquisition

  - Whether the client had BICS or CALP in language of assessment

  - The cognitive style used by the client

  - The cultural and linguistic background of the client

  - The social and political associations with the language

  - Personalities of the SLT and client

  - Assumptions of the SLT and client

  - Exposure of the client to formal education

  - Type of bilingual the client is

  - Type and length of exposure to L2

  - Psychological factors e.g. attitude to language

  - Sociolinguistic factors e.g. ambiguity of language

All the above factors could have a positive or negative impact on the success of the assessment. It is only when the SLT is aware of them and takes them into account in the process of evaluation and interpreting the findings that a clearer, more accurate picture of the client's language proficiency emerges.

- The focus group of children showed that the opinions of the children cannot be underestimated in their value to the study. Despite their age, they could generally eloquently express their opinions in an explicit, unambiguous manner. Their opinions added much depth to the study and the validity of its findings.

- Despite the differences that exist between the urban and rural communities, the findings from the children from both communities showed that one should be cautious of drawing conclusions based on certain assumptions and stereotypes of each of these settings. The responses of the children from the rural area demonstrated that the media plays a significant role in bridging their knowledge of aspects of the urban community. They had knowledge of things their parents thought they would not have as they had seen them on media such as TV or billboards. Furthermore, many of their parents function in both the rural and urban communities through employment and accessing of certain services, rural children also become exposed to the urban setting, even though it may not form part of their daily experience.

- The perceptions of the parents and community, as expressed in the focus groups, showed that there are aspects of the children's knowledge that the adults underestimate. An example is the agreement among the adults that the children would not be able to relate to the post box. The children's responses, in general, were inconsistent with this view.

8 .3 Contributions made by the study

The study serves to facilitate a better understanding of the responses of the EAL speaking child in language assessments. Such information would be relevant for:

- SLTs working with EAL speaking children.
- Other disciplines, such as psychology, when tests involve language interpretation.
- The training of SLTs and the inclusion of guidelines the assessment of the EAL speakers in the curriculum.
- The training of teachers who are adopting a bilingual approach in the Foundation Phase, as per of the government's Curriculum 2025.
- The provision of guidelines for teachers in English medium schools with diverse languages and cultures in their classroom.

8.4 Limitations of the study

- As isiZulu mother-tongue speakers are not a homogenous group, there may be inter- and intra-linguistic and cultural variability from the findings of the study.
- The small number of responses to the research survey may affect the generalisability of the findings. There was only a 15% response rate.
- The researcher's familiarity with the urban school children could have influenced their responses and introduced a bias into the responses.
- The limited response of the respondents to the scoring of the grammar part of the test eliminates its applicability to the study.
- The changing of the nominal group technique to individual interviews for the isiZulu language academics could have adversely affected findings, due to the potential loss of richer data that is influenced by group dynamics.

- There could have been an equal number of urban and rural schools as the greater number of rural schools in the study sites of data collection could have skewed the findings.

8.5 Suggestions for further research

- Current study to be conducted with a larger sample of children. The number of children used in the study was limited to the consent forms returned.

 As there were few consent forms returned, there was a restriction on the number of children used in the study. If the number of children is larger, the findings of the study could be better used as a basis for the development of norms for the development of a culturally and linguistically valid test   for EAL speakers from an indigenous cultural and linguistic background.

- Current study to be done with children from different language and cultural groups that represent the various South African languages and cultural groups.

South Africa has eleven official languages and a diversity of cultural groups. This study is only the tip of the iceberg as it only considers a single group i.e. the isiZulu language and cultural group. A broader research with different languages and cultural groups will be more representative of the South African population and a step closer to providing the SLP profession with resources to serve the wider population.

- Broader spectrum of schools to be used to compare urban and rural children's responses

The study used a single urban school and three rural schools. A broader spectrum of schools where there is a balance of urban and rural schools could help eliminate the possible bias in the study.

- The adapted version of the test to be presented to isiZulu mother-tongue speakers in English and the findings compared with those of the current study, using the RAPT in its current form.

The findings of such as study could provide information as to whether the proposed changes to the RAPT in its current form have succeeded in making it more culturally and linguistically relevant for the children. In this study it is only SLTs who were given the opportunity to give their opinion on the cultural and linguistic relevance of the adapted tool.

Summary

This chapter concludes the study with a summary of what the study entailed its findings and contributions. Limitations of the study are outlined and suggestions for further research are presented.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

As I draw to the end I reflect on how tumultuous a journey writing this study has been. Even though it is a 'Nisale kakuhle[82]' to the readers of this study, for me as the author it is 'nkqo, nkqo molo![83]', to the revelation of a new and exciting beginning. I have commenced an exhilarating journey of heightened consciousness, self-reflection, growth at multiple levels including emotional, social, professional, academic and intellectual. As I integrated the pieces of the puzzle of this study I felt as if I was slowly being disintegrated and challenged to a search for new kinds of knowledge to paste the pieces together. Each chapter and part of the study played its own role in this regard. I have selected two incidents to illustrate the transformation that is gradually occurring during the writing of this study.

Reading through the various theoretical frameworks and findings, the one that would best fit my study had a profound impact on me and my view of the world. The Critical Theory and African philosophy were especially significant to me. As a Black African I was empowered by the literature on African Philosophy as I began to understand and gain the language to explain many of my beliefs, traditions and rituals in African culture. The literature also provided me the tools to critique them. I started to view my world and experiences in a different light. An example is my disgust of my daughters' thinking that the blue eyes in a White person are an indication of beauty. I held the contrary view since blue eyes in a person induced negative feelings within me. Blue eyes made me cringe as they reminded me of cat's eyes at night. In African culture a cat is associated with witchcraft, especially a black cat (refer to Findings, chapter 5). My reaction to the blue eyes was linked to how a cat is perceived in the African world. The Critical Theory challenged my negative judgement of my daughters' view as being unAfrican. I was imposing my truth on my daughters. Whereas my

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[82] Nisale kakuhle: direct translation is 'stay well'
[83] Nkqo , nkqo molo: direct translation is 'knock , knock greetings'

truth on what blue eyes represented was informed by my African background, their perception was influenced by a different experience that shaped their own truth. I realised that their truth is as real as mine is for me. The solution to this revelation was not for me to purge my own truth but to expand the nominalist, restrictive truth I was using, to accommodate that of my daughters. The change was from viewing my daughters' perception as being abnormal and irrational, to perceiving it as merely being different from mine. This was the lens I also used to critique President Zuma's statement reported in the newspaper that "Keeping dogs as pets is not African"(Hans & Mcaravey, 2012) in which he criticized the ownership of dogs by Africans (see chapter 5).

The second moment of true enlightenment occurred while I was writing the first chapter. As I positioned myself in the study I related the extent to which my siblings and I abhorred the imposition of English in our household as my parents tried to improve our English expressive language skills. We were forced to speak English so we chose silence as we were uncomfortable with the new language that was strange to us. I report in the first chapter that the new rule created tension in the house. As a parent of daughters who are being raised in a context where English is very dominant I had the opposite experience. My daughters are more comfortable with communicating in English than any of the indigenous African languages. They predominantly express themselves in English and have negative connotations attached to indigenous African languages as being 'not cool.' As a professional working with language I have even begun to note there are indications of subtractive bilingualism [84] as the English is developing at the expense of the indigenous African languages.

As a mother who is proud of her African language, culture and upbringing, this practice and attitude frustrated me. I attempted different ways to instil and inculcate African pride in the indigenous African languages. I had implemented all the strategies of language enrichment I

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[84] Loss of the mother-tongue

usually recommend to parents who present with similar concerns. As a Speech-Language Therapist I had drawn on the well researched and reputable medical model to 'diagnose the problem' and had devised a plan to' rehabilitate my daughters. I was using my academic foundation to deal with what I perceived as a problem. The problem was that my daughters were engaging in an unAfrican practice of being Anglicised and Westernised to the detriment of their African language and culture. As I wrote the section on the link between language and culture, my head buzzed with negative ideas of how they would lose their culture and I had the important role of preventing that abomination. I introduced the' no English 'rule at home. Initially it was a blanket rule and then reduced to only 'no English on Monday'.

As I wrote my first chapter and related my experiences with English I realised that the 'no English' rule in my own household had the same effect as the 'English only' rule in my home at the time when I was growing up. The atmosphere was characterised by uncomfortable deadly silences and intense tension. I was not advised of crucial school notices and my daughters conversed with each other and excluded me. As I wrote my theoretical framework I started critiquing and interrogating the basis for my own decision to introduce the rule.

During this introspection I realised that I had abused my position of power as a parent by imposing the rule on my daughters. I had infringed on their freedom of expression. I used my own knowledge of myself to impose my truth on them. This knowledge was dogmatic and had a sense of finalism to it. I used my knowledge to dominate and subjugate my daughters into speaking indigenous African languages. I substantiated it using my own standards of normality, rationality, reason, ethics and morality. Prior to writing my study I was determined to adhere to my decision despite the repercussions, as I perceived it as being an objective decision that was in the best interests of my daughters. I did not realise that even though I was

writing about linguistic and cultural ethnocentricsm[85], I was an agent thereof in my own household. I was unconscious of the role of 'the self' in my thoughts that culminated in my decision. 'The self' was a product of my upbringing and life experiences. I did not have to obliterate that past but be aware of its influence in my thought processes, the lens through which I view the world around me and the decisions that I take. The decision I made regarding language in my household had significant implications for others i.e. my daughters. I reduced their freedom and needed to review my own concept of truth to realise what I had created.

Professionally, as a Speech Language Therapist I have changed how I assess and conduct therapy. The questions that I ask during the case history interview and the aspects that are pertinent to me in the responses to the questions have also changed. I probe further on issues pertaining to language and culture. For example details of where, how, with whom the child is exposed to the first and second language, and their response in the different contexts and to the varying individuals has become more significant. The interview may be more protracted but there is a greater wealth of information derived that informs the assessment.

The commencement of the journey of consciousness of the self assisted me in the transformation I have undergone including making the decision to abolish the 'no English' rule. It has been an emotional rollercoaster, a complex and often challenging road but I don't regret having undertaken it. As I indicated at the beginning of this section, I am aware that it is just the beginning of this transformation. I trust that through this study and the knowledge presented in it the readers may start to travel their own journeys of transforming the self. I hope this study will encourage more analysis and synthesis of knowledge .in the human and /health sciences by shifting tacit acceptance and accommodating new kinds of knowledge

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[85] The imposition one's language or culture on another as it is perceived as better

especially pertaining to the language assessment of English Additional Language speakers from an indigenous language and cultural background.

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APPENDIX 2
Request for permission for data collection from the Department of Education

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
Discipline of
Speech Language Pathology

LETTER TO KZN DEPT OF EDUCATION.

The District Manager - Umlazi
KwaZulu-Natal Dept of Education
KwaZulu-Natal

Dept of Speech-Language Pathology   16 April 2010

Dear Mr. Ntombela,

Request for participation of pupils in schools for research

South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural country. However, currently in South Africa in the field of Speech-Language Pathology, there is a shortage of language assessment tools that are appropriate for the child who is an English Additional Language speaker (EAL). There is thus a need to review and adapt the current language evaluation instruments to be linguistically and culturally relevant to the EAL population of South Africa.

I am doing research on how the American or British English language tests that are currently used can be adapted to be more linguistically and culturally appropriate for the South African EAL speaker. I am using a language test called the Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT) as a basis for this research. The outcome of my research will be an adapted linguistically relevant expressive language qualitative test and a model of guidelines to be followed in the assessment of EAL speakers.

I am writing to request permission to use pupils at a Department of Education School i.e. _____ Primary School in_____, _____ Durban, as part of my research. Approximately 40-50 isiZulu mother – tongue speaking children, between the ages of 6 and 8years (i.e. Grades 1 to 3) will be the participants .The RAPT will be administered individually in a 5-10 min session per learner. In a group session, the children will also be asked for their opinion of the picture stimuli in the test. These sessions will be conducted in May 2010 over a period of about a week. Permission will be sought from the principal of the school and the parents of the pupils at the school. The pupils and parents will be advised that the pupils' participation will be purely voluntary and that there is no penalty should they decline to participate. Even if they decide to participate, they will be advised of their right to withdraw at any stage without any negative consequences. Anonymity of responses will be maintained. The results of the research will be presented to University staff who will be involved in evaluating it.

Please return your response to Thandeka Maine by 21 April 2010. Should you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me at (031) 2608649/ or 0723717100 or mainet@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your co-operation.

Thandeka Maine   Dr Penny Flack

Speech-Language Therapist   Supervisor

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APPENDIX 3
Letter from the Dept. Of Education
granting permission for use of schools

kzn education

Department:
Education
KWAZULU-NATAL

UMLAZI DISTRICT
UMLAZI DISTRICT

Enquiries: M.G. NTOMBELA

Phone: 031-9188400
Fax: 031-9061451D

Date: 03 May 2010

TO: Ms Thandeka Maine
University of KZN-Natal
Department of Speech-Language Pathology

Email address: mainct@ukzn.ac.za

RE: RESEARCH LANGUAGE EVALUATION INSTRUMENTS TO BE
LINGUISTICALLY AND CULTURALLY RELEVANT TO THE (EAL)
POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Your email has reference.

Permission is granted for you to conduct your (EAL) studies in the field of Speech-Language
Pathology and Evaluation in the Carrington Heights Junior Primary School, which falls under
Umlazi District

Please note, your interaction must comply with requirements in terms of ethical conduct and
arrangements would have to be done through the Principal of the school.

I wish you every success in your studies.

M.G. NTOMBELA
DISTRICT DIRECTOR: UMLAZI

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APPENDIX 4
Request for permission to school principals for data collection at schools

Discipline of
Speech-Language Pathology

LETTER TO PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOL

31 May 2010

Westville campus
Private bag X54001
Durban
4000

Dear Sir/Madam

Request for participation of pupils in school for research

South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural country. However, currently in South Africa in the field of Speech-Language Pathology, there is a shortage of language assessment tools that are appropriate for the child who is an English Additional Language speaker (EAL). There is thus a need to review and adapt the current language evaluation instruments to be linguistically and culturally relevant to the EAL population of South Africa.

I am doing research on how the American or British English language tests that are currently used can be adapted to be more linguistically and culturally appropriate for the South African EAL speaker. I am using a language test called the Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT) as a basis for this research. The outcome of my research will be an adapted linguistically and culturally relevant expressive language qualitative. test and a model of guidelines to be followed in the assessment of EAL speakers.

I am writing to request permission to use pupils at your school,…………………….. as part of my research. IsiZulu-speaking children between the ages of 6 and 8 years will be the participants. Testing, using the RAPT, will be conducted individually and the children will also be asked ~~of~~ for their opinion of the test in a group session. Each individual session will be approximately 10 minutes. The group session consisting of grade one to three girls and boys in groups of six will be approximately 20 minutes each. The pupils and parents will be advised that the pupils' participation will be purely voluntary and that there is no penalty should they decide ~~not~~ to refuse. Even if they decide to participate, they will be advised of their right to withdraw at any stage, without any negative consequences. Anonymity of responses will be maintained. The results of the research will be presented to University staff who will be involved in evaluating it.

The testing discussion will take place on the date agreed upon with the school.

Please return your response to Thandeka Maine by _____. Should you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me at (031) 2608649/ 0723717100.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Thandeka Maine   Penny Flack

Speech-Language Therapist   Supervisor

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APPENDIX 5
Permission request for participation of parents and community in focus group

Discipline of
Speech-Language Pathology

11May 2010

Dear Sir/Madam

Request for participation in the focus group

South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural country. However, currently in South Africa in the field of Speech-Language Pathology, there is a shortage of language assessment tools that are appropriate for the child who is an English Additional Language speaker (EAL) There is thus a need to review and adapt the current language evaluation instruments to be linguistically and culturally relevant to the EAL population of South Africa.

I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu –Natal doing research on how the American or British English language tests that are currently used can be adapted to be more linguistically and culturally appropriate for the South African EAL speaker. I am using a language test called the Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT) as a basis for this research. The outcome of my research will be an adapted linguistically and culturally relevant expressive language qualitative test and a model of guidelines to be followed in the assessment of EAL speakers.

I am writing to request your assistance in this research. You will be part of a group of parents and community members who will be looking at this test (RAPT) and providing me with your opinion on it. The information you will provide will be very helpful in adapting the test. Participation will be purely voluntary and there is no penalty should you decide to refuse. Even if you decide to take part, you have the right to withdraw at any stage without any negative consequences. Anonymity of your responses will be maintained. The results of the research will be presented to University staff who will be involved in evaluating it.

The focus group discussion will take place at _____ Primary School for approximately an hour. I will take responsibility for all transport costs to the venue and back. Attached find a permission slip which is to be completed and returned.

Please return your response to Thandeka Maine by 20 May 2010. Should you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me at (031) 2608649/ 0723717100.

Thank you for your co-operation

Thandeka Maine   Dr Penny Flack

Speech-Language Therapist   Supervisor

APPENDIX 6
Permission request to academics for participation in data collection

Discipline of
Speech-Language Pathology

Dear Sir/Madam   16 August 2010

Re: Request for participation in Research

South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural country. However, currently in South Africa in the field of Speech-Language Pathology, there is a shortage of language assessment tools that are appropriate for the child who is an English Additional Language speaker (EAL) There is thus a need to review and adapt the current language evaluation instruments to be linguistically and culturally relevant to the EAL population of South Africa.

I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu–Natal doing research on how the American or British English language tests that are currently used can be adapted to be more linguistically and culturally appropriate for the South African EAL speaker. I am using a language test called the Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT) as a basis for this research. The outcome of my research will be an adapted linguistically and culturally relevant expressive language qualitative test and a model of guidelines to be followed in the assessment of EAL speakers.

I am writing to request your assistance in this research to help assess the cultural and linguistic relevance of the above mentioned language tool, the RAPT. I request that you take part in an individual interview to review this tool. The results will help in giving me information on the adaptation of the test. Participation will be purely voluntary and there is no penalty should you decide to refuse. Even if you decide to take part, you have the right to withdraw your permission at any stage without any negative consequences. Anonymity of your responses will be maintained. The results of the research will be presented to University staff who will be involved in evaluating it.

Should you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me on (031) 2608649/ 0723717100.

Thank you for your co-operation.

_____   _____

Thandeka Maine (Speech-Language Therapist)   Dr Penny Flack (Supervisor)

APPENDIX 7

Interview schedule for parents and community focus group

1. What are their opinions on the content of each picture stimulus?

2. How do they think the children would respond or react to each picture stimulus?

3. Do they think that the activities depicted in the pictures relate to their children's daily experiences?

4. If they do not, how could they be adapted to do so?

5. Do the activities depicted in the pictures relate to their children's experiences via media e.g. books, television?

6. If not, how could they be adapted?

7. Do they think that the pictures reflect their children's cultural experiences?

8. If not, how could they be adapted?

APPENDIX 8

Procedural guidelines that were followed for the focus group discussions (Ulin et al., 2002)

- AT THE SITE, PRIOR TO DISCUSSIONS
    - The room was set up
    - The refreshments were placed on the tables
    - The video camera to record the session was prepared and the audio recorder also secured
    - Participants were greeted
    - Numbered labels corresponding, to data recording sheets to easily identify the speakers, were handed out / made available?

- COMMENCING THE DISCUSSION
    - Researcher and participant introductions
    - Summary of purpose of study given
    - The process and format of the focus group discussion is explained and questions invited
    - The structure, time and role of surrounding equipment explained
    - Group members encouraged to participate freely as the context is unlike a test where there are correct or inaccurate answers.
    - Participants encouraged to express themselves in either language they feel most comfortable i.e. isiZulu or English
    - Information that was in the informed consent reviewed to ensure understanding
    - Confidentiality revisited - participants also asked to keep the content of the discussion confidential

- PROCESS OF CONDUCTING THE DISCUSSION
    - Commence with comfortable warm-up and open questions
    - Group dynamics closely monitored to ensure equal active participation of all participants
    - Broad open-ended questions to be used to facilitate discussion
    - Constant probing of responses given
    - Effective use of the silences
    - Non-verbal responses to be recorded and noted

- END OF DISCUSSION
    - Participants to be thanked
    - Explanation of how the information will be used and reassurance of confidentiality
    - Collection of all recordings

- POST DISCUSSION
    - Do brief summary of discussion focusing on non-verbal responses immediately
    - Transcribe tapes
    - Review transcribed notes

Permission request to Speech-Language Therapists for participation in study

Discipline of
Speech-Language Pathology

Dear Speech-Language Therapist   14 January 2011

Re: Request for participation in Research

South Africa is a multilingual and multicultural country. However, currently in South Africa in the field of Speech-Language Pathology, there is a shortage of language assessment tools that are appropriate for the child who is an English Additional Language speaker (EAL). There is thus a need to review and adapt the current language evaluation instruments to be linguistically and culturally relevant to the EAL population of South Africa.

I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu –Natal doing research on how the American or British English language tests that are currently used can be adapted to be more linguistically and culturally appropriate for the South African EAL speaker. I am using a language test called the Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT) as a basis for this research. In the research, the RAPT has been adapted to be a more linguistically and culturally relevant expressive language test based on input from EAL, Zulu speaking children, family, community members and academics.

I am writing to request your assistance in this research to help assess the cultural and linguistic relevance of the above mentioned revised language tool, the RAPT. I request that you be part of a group of Speech-Language Therapists (SLTs) to review this revised tool. I will use a consensus method called the Delphi Technique where, through several rounds, the document will be reviewed by SLTs for its cultural and linguistic relevance. The SLTs thus need to commit to a minimum of at least 3 rounds. The results will help in giving me information on the adaptation of the test. Participation will be purely voluntary and there is no penalty should you refuse to participate. Even if you decide to take part, you have the right to withdraw your permission at any stage without any negative consequences. Anonymity of your responses will be maintained. The results of the research will be presented to University staff who will be involved in evaluating it.

Should you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me at the (031) 2608649/ 0723717100.

Thank you for your co-operation.

_____   _____

Thandeka Maine (Speech-Language Therapist)   Dr Penny Flack (Supervisor)

APPENDIX 10

Permission from Speechmark to use the Renfrew Action Picture Test (RAPT)

From: Jenny Monk
Sent: 17 August 2011 11:24
To: 'thandekamd@gmail.com'
Subject: RE: Catherine Renfrew Action Picture Test

Dear Ms Mdlalo
You enquiry about the Renfrew Action Picture Test has been passed to me. Because your work on the APT is, for the present, purely academic, we do not require a fee. However, if at a later date you decide to publish and sell it, you would need to have a formal contract with Speechmark Publishing and pay us a royalty on any revenue from sales. A share of that royalty would then be paid to the author's estate.

University College London has responsibility for Catherine Renfrew's estate and it is important that they approve any work produced under her name. Today I have contacted the person we deal with there to inform them about your study. Unfortunately, it is now the summer vacation, so I may not hear from them immediately.

Could I ask you to display the following text on your research project:
The Action Picture Test is published by Speechmark Publishing Ltd, Milton Keynes, UK

Finally, I wish you success and hope your project is well received.

With best wishes,
Jenny Monk
Speechmark Foreign Rights Department

APPENDIX 11
Ethical clearance from the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

University of KwaZulu-Natal
Research Office, Govan Mbeki Centre
Westville Campus
Private Bag x54001
DURBAN
4000
Tel No: +27 31 260 3587
Fax No: +27 31 260 4609
sshrec@ukzn.ac.za

10 MARCH 2010

Mrs T Maine
School of Audiology, Occupational Therapy and Speech-Language Pathology
WESTVILLE CAMPUS

Dear Mrs. Maine

ETHICAL APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0115/10D
PROJECT TITLE: "The use of an English Language Assessment Instrument on English Additional Language (EAL) Speakers: A Critical Evaluation"

In response to your application dated 5 March 2010, Student Number 209539350 the Humanities & Social Sciences Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been given **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation.   Please quote the above reference number for all queries relating to this study.
PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc. Supervsor (Dr. Penny Flack)
cc. Dr. Robin Joubert
cc. Mr. S Reddy

Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood   ■ Howard College   ·· Medical School   ■ Pietermaritzburg   ■ Westville

APPENDIX 1

Survey to Speech-Language Therapists on language assessment of EAL speakers

Questionnaire

I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal currently doing research on the language assessment of English Additional Language Speakers[1] (EAL) speakers. Your completion of this questionnaire would be helpful in this regard.

Please complete the questionnaire and return at your earliest convenience.

Reminder: Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained.

SECTION A

Note: EAL refers to English Additional language, as in children who are EAL speakers e.g. an isiZulu mother tongue speaker who speaks English as a second language.

1. Indicate your place of employment with a tick(√):

    __School   __Hospital

    __Hospital/clinic   __ Community centre

    __Private practice   __ Other (e.g. NGO)

2. How long have you been practising? (Please tick)

    __less than a year   __1-2years

    __3-5years   __5-10years

    __more than 10 years

3. With which population do you mostly work? (Please tick)

    __infants   __preschool children

    __school age children   __adults

---

[1] An EAL speaker does not speak English as a mother-tongue but as an additional language.

4. With which age group do you mostly work ~~in~~? (please tick; you may tick more than one)

    __language disorder   __ articulation and phonology

    __fluency   __language learning disabilities

    __voice   __ neurologically acquired communication disorders

    _geriatrics   __other (please specify)

5. Language/s you know- Please tick the relevant block below:

LANGUAGE	SPOKEN	UNDERSTOOD
English		
Afrikaans		
IsiZulu		
SiSwati		
IsiNdebele		
IsiXhosa		
SeSotho		
SeTswana		
Xitsonga		
TshiVenda		
SePedi		
Other (Specify)		

6. Which of the above do you use in therapy? (Please tick)

    __English   __Afrikaans   __Isi Xhosa   __IsiZulu

    __SePedi   __SeTswana   __IsiNdebele   __TshiVenda

    __Xitsonga   __SiSwati   __Other (specify)

7. What is your typical weekly caseload?

    __None   __1-5 clients

    __6-10 clients   __10-20 clients

    __20+ clients   __30+ clients

    __more than 40 clients per week

8. Are any of the above EAL speaking children? Yes____   No____

   If yes, what percentage of your current caseload are EAL speaking children?

       __less than 5%   __5-10%

       __10-20%   __20-50%

       __50-70%   __70-100%

9. How would you describe your experience in working with EAL speaking children?

       Good__   Average__   Difficult__

   Please give reasons for your response_____

   _____

   _____

10. What challenges do you face in dealing with EAL speaking children in assessment?

    _____

    _____

    _____

11. What tools do you use for language assessment of EAL speaking children? Please tick

    Formal standardized tests __   (please indicate which ones)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    Informal testing ____   (Please specify)

    _____

    _____

    _____

    Criterion based assessment __

Other (Please specify)_____

_____

12. What language do you use for assessment of EAL speaking children?

        Child's mother tongue __   English__   Afrikaans _

13. In which language do you conduct therapy with EAL speaking children?

        Child's mother tongue __   English__   Afrikaans _

Please specify reasons for your choice

_____

_____

_____

14. If there is a language barrier, how do you bridge it?

        Translator__   The child's significant other__

        Other staff members__   Writing__

15. What challenges do you face in working with EAL speaking children in therapy?

_____

_____

_____

16. What suggestions can you make in the assessment of EAL speaking children?

_____

_____

17. Are you an EAL speaker? __yes   ___no

If yes, what is your mother–tongue? _____

17. Do you feel sufficiently equipped to work with EAL speaking children?

       Yes__ No__

Please give reasons for your answer_____

_____

_____

19. Have you received any training in working with EAL speaking children? Yes__ No__

If yes, please tick relevant part

       Undergraduate training __   workshops__

       CPD courses__   postgraduate training __

       Working with other EAL therapists__   online courses __

Please give details of any of the above selections_____

_____

_____

20. Any other relevant comments regarding the assessment and therapy with EAL speaking children.

_____

_____

_____

If you would like to know the outcomes of this research study, please supply contact details that will enable me to send a summary of the research findings to you. You may send these contact details under separate cover to ensure your questionnaire remains anonymous.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!