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Editorial

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Postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans – 'n ondersoek vanuit 'n grammatikaliseringsperspektief

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Opsomming

Die grammatikale funksie wat liggaamshoudingwerkwoorde – oftewel postulêre werkwoorde – spesifiek die kardinale werkwoorde *sit*, *staan*, *lê* en *loop* in geskrewe Standaardafrikaans verrig, is taamlik omvattend beskryf in bestaande Afrikaanse taalkundenavorsing. Die postulêre werkwoord word algemeen in Afrikaans – net soos in Nederlands – aangewend om progressiewe betekenis uit te druk. Die vraag kan egter gevra word of dit op dieselfde wyse gebruik word in ander gebruikskontekste of variëteite van Afrikaans. In hierdie verband kan daar reeds op twee opvallende verskille gewys word in die wyse waarop Griekwa-Afrikaans, 'n streekvariëteit van Afrikaans, en Standaardafrikaans postulêre werkwoorde grammatikaal aanwend. Eerstens kan die bindingspartikel *en* uit die Griekwa-Afrikaanse V_{POS} *en* V_{INF}-konstruksie weggelaat word, terwyl dit in Standaardafrikaans nie die geval is nie. Tweedens verskil die frekwensies van die postulêre werkwoorde in Standaardafrikaans en Griekwa-Afrikaans. Van die vier postulêre werkwoorde kom *loop* verreweg die meeste voor in Griekwa-Afrikaans, terwyl *sit* die mees frekwente grammatikale postulêre werkwoord in Standaardafrikaans is. Vanuit 'n grammatikaliseringsperspektief kan sowel die vormlike as die frekwensieverskil tussen die Standaardafrikaanse en Griekwa-Afrikaanse konstruksies 'n aanduiding wees dat die werkwoorde nie tot dieselfde mate gegrammatikaliseer het in die twee variëteite nie. In hierdie artikel word daar verder vanuit 'n grammatikaliseringsperspektief ondersoek ingestel na die moontlike verskillende grammatikale gebruike of aanwending van postulêre werkwoorde in gesproke Griekwa-Afrikaans en geskrewe Standaardafrikaans. Daar word geargumenteer dat die bestaande beskrywing van die Standaardafrikaanse grammatikale postulêre konstruksie nie voldoende is om ook te geld as 'n beskrywing van die konstruksie in niestandaardvariëteite van Afrikaans nie.

Sleutelwoorde: postulêre werkwoorde, Griekwa-Afrikaans, Standaardafrikaans, grammatikalisering

Abstract
The grammatical functions that postural verbs (specifically the verbs *sit*, *stand*, *lie* and *walk*) perform in written Standard Afrikaans, is described quite extensively in existing Afrikaans linguistics research. The postural verb is commonly used in Afrikaans – similar to Dutch – to express progressive meaning. However, the question may, be asked whether it is used *in the same way* in non-standard language contexts or regional varieties of Afrikaans. There are, after all, already two notable differences in the way that Griekwa Afrikaans, a regional variety of Afrikaans, and Standard Afrikaans uses postural verbs grammatically. Firstly, the *en* conjunction in Griekwa Afrikaans V_{POS} *en* construction may be omitted, while this is not the case in Standard Afrikaans. Secondly, there is a difference in frequencies between the postural verbs in Standard Afrikaans and Griekwa Afrikaans. Of the four posture verbs, *loop* ("walk") is by far the most common in Griekwa Afrikaans, while *sit* ("sit") is the most frequent grammatical postural verb in Standard Afrikaans. From a grammaticalisation perspective, both the formalistic and the frequency differences between the Standard Afrikaans and Griekwa Afrikaans constructions can be an indication that the verbs are not grammaticalised to the same extent in these two varieties. In this article, we aim to investigate the possible differences in grammatical use or application of postural verbs in spoken Griekwa Afrikaans and written Standard Afrikaans to illustrate – from a grammaticalisation perspective – that the existing description of the Standard Afrikaans grammatical postural construction is not adequate to also serve as a description of the construction in non-standardised varieties of Afrikaans.

Keywords: postural verbs, Griekwa Afrikaans, Standard Afrikaans, grammaticalisation

1.   Inleiding

Die grammatikale funksie wat liggaamshoudingwerkwoorde – oftewel die kardinale postulêre werkwoorde – soos *sit*, *staan* en *lê* in veral Germaanse tale verrig, geniet toenemend aandag in die literatuur (vergelyk onder meer Ebert 2000: 605–653; Kuteva 1999: 191). Ook oor die grammatikalisering[1] van Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoorde het enkele publikasies onlangs verskyn (vergelyk Breed 2012, om te verskyn1,2; Breed en Brisard 2015; Breed, Brisard en Verhoeven). Postulêre werkwoorde word algemeen in Standaardafrikaans (StA) – net soos in Nederlands, vergelyk Lemmens 2003, 2005 – aangewend om progressiewe betekenis uit te druk, soos in voorbeeldsinne 1 tot 3.

1   *StA*   Sy **staan en bewe**, *haar hare staan wild en haar een skouer trek-trek*[2].
2   *StA*   *Die musiek wat ek oor die volgende 70 minute* **sit en beluister**, *laat my sprakeloos*.
3   *StA*   *En Freek het hom* **lê en doodbloei** *op die donkiekar*.

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[1] Grammatikalisering is 'n taalveranderingsproses waar 'n leksikale konstruksie (met ander woorde, 'n konstruksie waar 'n woord in sy oorspronklike of letterlike betekenis as 'n inhoudswoord gebruik word) oor tyd stelselmatig verander in 'n grammatikale konstruksie (waar die woord as 'n funksiewoord gebruik word). Die relevante aspekte van grammatikalisering word kortliks in Afdeling 3 van die artikel bespreek.

[2] Alle Standaardafrikaanse voorbeeldsinne is, tensy anders vermeld, geneem uit die Taalkommissiekorpus 1.1 (TK-korpus 2011) en alle Griekwa-Afrikaanse voorbeeldsinne is geneem uit die Griekwa-verslae of die saamgestelde konkordansie, tensy anders vermeld. Die TK-korpus bestaan uit ongeveer 60 miljoen woorde en is saamgestel in opdrag van die Taalkommissie van die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns. Die doel van die korpus is om 'n gestratifiseerde voorbeeld van geskrewe Standaardafrikaans te wees, en is saamgestel uit 'n verskeidenheid van tekste, te wete nie-akademiese tekste soos koerante, tydskrifte en boeke (ongeveer 27 miljoen woorde), akademiese tekste (ongeveer 24 miljoen woorde) en prosatekste (ongeveer 6 miljoen woorde). Die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konkordansie word in Afdeling 4.1 verder bespreek.

Die genoemde publikasies oor Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoorde beskryf uitsluitlik hoe hierdie werkwoorde in *geskrewe Standaardafrikaans* gebruik word as grammatikale konstruksies, en die vraag kan gevra word of dit op dieselfde wyse gebruik word in ander gebruikskontekste of variëteite van Afrikaans. Is die beskrywing van die wyse waarop postulêre werkwoorde in geskrewe Standaardafrikaans as grammatikale konstruksies gebruik word byvoorbeeld ook geldig vir die wyse waarop dit in *gesproke* Standaardafrikaans gebruik word, en weerspieël dit ook die wyse waarop die konstruksie in Afrikaanse streekvariëteite gebruik word?

Vanuit beskikbare inligting oor Griekwa-Afrikaans (GrA) – onder meer De Wet (1984), Du Plessis (1990), Van Rensburg (1984) en Van Rensburg, De Wet en Swanepoel (1984) – is dit duidelik dat daar ten minste twee opvallende verskille bestaan in die wyse waarop postulêre werkwoorde in Standaardafrikaans en in hierdie streekvariëteit gebruik word.

Eerstens, soos aangedui deur Kempen (1965: 89), kan die bindingspartikel *en* uit die Griekwa-Afrikaanse V_{POS} en V_{INF}-konstruksie weggelaat word, terwyl dit volgens Breed en Brisard (2015: 6) in Standaardafrikaans nie die geval is nie; vergelyk voorbeeldsinne 4 en 5:

 4   *GrA   Nou kan hulle raaisels **sit gesels**.*
 5   *StA   Hulle **sit en gesels** en dit lyk nie asof hulle iemand anders verwag nie.*

Tweedens verskil die frekwensies van die postulêre werkwoorde in Standaardafrikaans en Griekwa-Afrikaans. Van die vier postulêre werkwoorde (te wete *sit*, *staan*, *lê* en *loop*) kom *loop* volgens Du Plessis (1990: 70) "verreweg die meeste voor" in Griekwa-Afrikaans, terwyl Breed et al. () en Breed (2012: 122) aantoon dat *sit* die mees frekwente grammatikale postulêre werkwoord in Standaardafrikaans is.

Vanuit 'n grammatikaliseringsperspektief kan sowel die vormlike as die frekwensieverskil tussen die Standaardafrikaanse en Griekwa-Afrikaanse konstruksies 'n aanduiding wees dat die werkwoorde nie tot dieselfde mate gegrammatikaliseer het in die twee variëteite nie. Hoewel daar etlike bronne is wat wel die postulêre werkwoord in Griekwa-Afrikaans bespreek (vergelyk o.m. Du Plessis 1990, Kempen 1965, Van Rensburg et al. 1984), is die ontwikkeling en gebruik van die konstruksie nog nie vanuit 'n grammatikaliseringsperspektief ondersoek nie. Soos aangetoon sal word, bied die grammatikaliseringsteorie (vergelyk byvoorbeeld Bybee, Perkins en Pagliuca 1994; Hopper en Traugott 2003; Lehmann 2002; Traugott en Heine 1991) 'n nuttige beskrywingsraamwerk om veral die gebruiksverskille tussen verskillende taalvariëteite te verklaar. In hierdie artikel word derhalwe ondersoek ingestel na die wyse waarop postulêre werkwoorde in 'n gesproke streekvariëteit (naamlik Griekwa-Afrikaans) gebruik word as grammatikale konstruksie, om sodoende te bepaal tot watter mate die beskikbare beskrywing van postulêre werkwoorde in Standaardafrikaans ook geld vir die postulêre werkwoorde in niestandaardvariëteite.

Die artikel bestaan uit drie gedeeltes. In die eerste gedeelte word Griekwa-Afrikaans kortliks voorgestel as streekvariëteit van Afrikaans. In die volgende gedeelte word die tipologiese ontwikkeling van die postulêre progressief aan die hand van die grammatikaliseringsteorie verduidelik, met spesifieke toespitsing op die ontwikkeling van die postulêre konstruksie in Afrikaans. Die derde gedeelte doen verslag oor 'n korpusondersoek van die Griekwa-Afrikaanse postulêre konstruksie. Die metode van ondersoek, sowel as die resultate van die ondersoek sal in hierdie derde afdeling aangebied word.

2.   Griekwa-Afrikaans as streekvariëteit van Afrikaans

Die oorsprong van Griekwa-Afrikaans kan teruggevoer word tot vóór die koms van Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. Volgens Van Rensburg (2012: 17) het die eerste Nederlandse skepe reeds teen die einde van 1500 die Kaapse kus bereik en het dit spoedig nodig geword vir die plaaslike Khoi en die Europese seevaarders om met mekaar te kommunikeer. Die eerste fase in die ontwikkeling van Griekwa-Afrikaans begin dus op hierdie vroeë stadium van kontak tussen die Khoi en die Nederlanders, vanaf ongeveer 1595. Raidt (1976: 97) verduidelik dat, nadat Van Riebeeck begin het met die oprigting van die verversingspos, daar ook onmiddellike kontak was met die Khoi, aangesien die Nederlanders tot 'n groot mate afhanklik was van die inheemse volk se vee.

In hierdie bogenoemde tydperk waartydens Nederlandse skepe meer gereeld by die Kaap langs gekom het, het die Nederlanders nie net Khoi woorde aangeleer nie, maar het die Khoi ook Nederlandse woorde begin leer om makliker te kommunikeer en onderhandel (Van Rensburg 2012: 17). Saam met die invoer van meer slawe, wat vanaf 1658 begin plaasvind het, is ander tale ook aan die Kaap gehoor, soos Maleis en Portugees, wat die bekende handelstale van die Ooste was (Van Rensburg 2012: 21).

Tussen 1688 en 1689 was daar 'n groei in die kolonistebevolking toe 'n groep Franse Hugenote na die Kaap migreer het (Raidt 1976: 84). Nederlands is as onderrigtaal gebruik, en teen 1725 was Frans as taal nie meer lewensvatbaar in die Kaap nie (Raidt 1976: 85). Volgens Van Rensburg (2012: 18) het die aanleerderstaal wat die Khoi moes bemeester om met die koloniste te kommunikeer, mettertyd 'n onderhandelaarstaal geword en het die Khoi wat in Nederlandse huise gewerk het, Nederlands verstaanbaar begin praat. Deur die nuwe kennis onder mekaar te deel, het die Khoi ook Nederlands by mekaar geleer en dit het stelselmatig ook 'n moedertaal van die Khoi geword. Deur die loop van die 17de en vroeë 18de eeu het die invoer van baie slawe, hoofsaaklik uit die Ooste (Raidt 1976: 97), 'n groot verandering in die taallandskap veroorsaak (Van Rensburg 2012: 25). Buiten vir Maleis en Portugees, kon onder andere Duits, verskeie Afrikatale, Malgassies, Javanees, en ook Indiese tale op verskillende stadia gehoor word. In die 18de eeu het die migrasie uit Europa tot stilstand gekom, en volgens Raidt (1976: 87) het die bevolking hoofsaaklik deur "natuurlike aanwas toegeneem". Hoewel die aantal vreemdetaalsprekers dus nie meer geword het nie, het die aanleerders van Nederlands wel toegeneem, aangesien die Europeërs die Kaapse taal begin praat het (Raidt 1976: 87).

Die slawe en Khoi het skynbaar nie 'n goeie verhouding gehad nie, maar daar was deurentyd taalkontak tussen die twee groepe wat tot taalbeïnvloeding gelei het. Van Rensburg (2012: 27) wys daarop dat daar kenmerke van Khoi-Afrikaans teenwoordig is in die Slawe-Afrikaanse tekste van daardie tyd – kenmerke wat die slawe beslis al vroeër by die Khoi moes geleer het.

Van Rensburg (2012: 61) stel dat die Griekwas ontstaan het uit "'n groep basters, slawe en Khoi", wat hulself onder leiding van Adam Kok as 'n nuwe groep mense gesien het en hulself Griekwas genoem het. Hierdie groep het teen 1750 noordwaarts na die Oranjerivierstreek getrek, en hulle het oor en weer 'n vorm van Veeboerafrikaans en Khoi-Grensafrikaans gepraat, 'n soort Afrikaans wat vandag bekend staan as Griekwa-Afrikaans. Hierdie variëteit van Afrikaans toon derhalwe 'n sterk Khoi-invoed.

Die vraag wat ontstaan is waarom daar 'n verskil tussen Standaardafrikaans en Griekwa-Afrikaans is. Standaardafrikaans en Griekwa-Afrikaans het 'n soortgelyke taalherkoms, maar ná die trek van Adam Kok en sy groep mense na die Oranjerivierstreek, was daar nie meer dieselfde taalinvloede op die ontwikkelende streekvariëteit (wat later as Griekwa-Afrikaans bekend sou staan) as wat op die ontwikkelende taal aan die Kaap (wat die fondasie sou vorm van Standaardafrikaans) was nie.

Die meeste van die huidige sprekers van Griekwa-Afrikaans is tans hoofsaaklik woonagtig in Griekwaland-Oos en Griekwaland-Wes. Onder Griekwaland-Oos word verstaan Kokstad en sy onmiddellike omgewing. Onder Griekwaland-Wes word die inwoners van Campbell, Douglas, Griekwastad, Daniëlskuil, Prieska, Philippolis en Colesberg gereken (Van Rensburg et al. 1984: 669).

3.   Die grammatikalisering van postulêre werkwoorde

3.1 Die grammatikaliseringsteorie

Die grammatikaliseringsteorie beskryf die taalveranderingsproses waartydens 'n leksikale konstruksie stelselmatig ontwikkel tot 'n grammatikale konstruksie (vergelyk Hopper en Traugott 2003: 1). Hierdie teorie bied 'n bruikbare raamwerk om die ontwikkeling van postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans te beskryf, aangesien dit kan verklaar hoe die werkwoorde *sit*, *staan*, *lê* en *loop* vanaf hoofwerkwoorde wat liggaamshouding uitdruk, ontwikkel en evolueer het om as hulpwerkwoorde gebruik te word wat een of ander grammatikale funksie verrig.

Grammatikalisering word gekenmerk deur 'n aantal prosesse. Hierdie prosesse word omvattend in Breed en Van Huyssteen (2014) bespreek en met Afrikaanse taalvoorbeelde toegelig. Hieronder word die belangrikste en mees relevante prosesse van grammatikalisering kortliks beskryf as agtergrond vir die bespreking van die ontwikkeling van grammatikale gebruike van postulêre werkwoorde.

Die eerste relevante vooronderstelling is dat grammatikalisering altyd op 'n *universele roete* plaasvind. 'n Universele roete kan gesien word as die *unidireksionele* "pad van ontwikkeling" waarop 'n konstruksie grammatikaliseer, en sulke ontwikkelingsroetes stem tipologies ooreen. Met ander woorde, in verskillende tale sal 'n ooreenstemmende konstruksie (byvoorbeeld 'n werkwoord wat beweging aandui soos *go* in Engels of *gaan* in Afrikaans en Nederlands) dieselfde *leksikale oorsprong*, rigting en fases van verandering volg (vergelyk Campbell en Janda 2011: 101; Hopper en Traugott 2003: 6-7). So is bewegingswerkwoorde soos *kom* of *gaan* (wat dien as die roete se leksikale oorsprong) in verskeie tale geneig om volgens bepaalde fases te ontwikkel tot toekomsmerkers (vergelyk Bybee en Pagliuca 1985; Bybee, Pagliuca en Perkins 1991).

Tweedens ondergaan 'n konstruksie wat grammatikaliseer, geleidelik *semantiese verbleking*. Dit beteken dat die veranderende konstruksie geleidelik afstand doen van sy oorspronklike betekenis (oftewel sy leksikale gebruik) en toenemend begin om grammatikale funksies binne 'n taal te verrig. Breed (2012: 91) verduidelik hoe *gaan* as bewegingswerkwoord begin afstand doen het van sy leksikale betekenis van beweging (vergelyk sin 6) en stelselmatig al meer grammatikale funksies verrig (vergelyk voorbeeldsinne 7 en 8).

6   *StA: Die man **gaan** huis toe.*   (Breed 2012:91)
7   *StA: Die papegaaie **gaan** aan die raas.*   (Breed 2012:91)
8   *StA: Ek **gaan** hom langs haar laat sit.*   (Breed 2012:91)

Hierdie semantiese verbleking staan ook bekend as semantiese *veralgemening*. Breed (2012: 92) verduidelik die proses van veralgemening soos volg:

> 'n Konstruksie kan tot so 'n mate veralgemeen dat die oorspronklike leksikale betekenis van die konstruksie heeltemal afwesig is en dat die konstruksie dan "leksikale deursigtigheid het" (lexical transparency of opacity, soos aangetoon is deur Rhee 2008: 10). Hoe meer gegrammatikaliseer 'n konstruksie se betekenis is, hoe minder ooreenstemming bestaan daar derhalwe tussen die gebruik van die ontwikkelende konstruksie en die oorspronklike leksikale betekenis.

Derdens ondergaan die grammatikaliserende konstruksie fonetiese reduksie (Bybee et al. 1994: 6) of erosie (Heine en Kuteva 2007: 42). Hierdie proses gaan nou gepaard met die bogenoemde proses van veralgemening. Die grammatikaliserende konstruksie verander van vorm, aangesien die konstruksie verkort of saamsmelt met ander konstruksies.

> With the loss of stress or independent tone that accompanies the loss of lexical status, the consonants and vowels of grams undergo reduction processes, which often result in the reduction or loss of segmental material and a reduction in the length of the gram. (Bybee et al. 1994: 6.)

Soos die grammatikale konstruksie foneties en semanties reduseer, word dit derhalwe meer en meer afhanklik van omliggende materiaal, en dit begin saamsmelt met ander grammatikale of leksikale morfeme in sy omgewing. Hierdie samesmelting ("*fusion*") veroorsaak verdere vormlike veranderinge in die grammatikale konstruksie.

'n Konstruksie wat semantiese veralgemening vertoon, word nou in al hoe meer kontekste bruikbaar, aangesien die leksikale konstruksie se semantiese beperkinge opgehef word. 'n Vierde relevante faset van grammatikalisering is derhalwe dat 'n konstruksie wat grammatikaliseer, se *frekwensie* sal toeneem in 'n korpus (vergelyk Breed 2012: 95).

3.2 Die ontwikkeling van postulêre werkwoorde tot hulpwerkwoorde

Die grammatikalisering van die postulêre konstruksie met aspektuele waarde toon 'n herhalende patroon in talle onverwante tale (Ameka en Levinson 2007; Kuteva 1999; Lemmens 2003; Lemmens 2005: 187–189). Kuteva (1999: 192) verduidelik dat die voorwaarde vir ouksiliëring[3] die gebruik van postulêre werkwoorde as "the unmarked/canonical encodings of position of physical objects in space" is. Die postulêre werkwoord moet eerstens sy "liggaamshouding"-betekenis afskud, voordat dit 'n aanduiding kan word van die ligging van enige entiteit.

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[3] Ouksiliëring verwys na die proses waartydens komplekse leksikale strukture mettertyd ontwikkel tot hulpwerkwoordelike grammatikale strukture, tesame met al die semantiese, morfosintaktiese en fonologiese veranderinge wat daarmee gepaardgaan (Kuteva 2001: 2). Ouksiliëring, oftewel hulpwerkwoordvorming, is 'n term wat in 1968 deur Benveniste gemunt is om te verwys na die grammatikalisering van hulpwerkwoorde vanuit hoofwerkwoorde (Hopper en Traugott 2003: 26).

Dit wil voorkom of die grammatikalisering van postulêre werkwoorde volgens ŉ universele roete ontwikkel. Kuteva (1999: 191) wys op twee vereistes wat nodig is vir dié tipe grammatikalisering:

> 1) the use of the posture-verb construction as an aspectual marker correlates with the use of the posture verbs as the UNMARKED/CANONICAL ENCODINGS OF SPATIAL POSITION OF OBJECTS; and

> 2) the tendency for a language to encode the spatial position of an entity in terms of the notions of sitting, or standing, or lying elevates the corresponding verb structures to the status of basic, most common verb expressions and thus makes them appropriate source structures in auxiliation.

Kuteva (1991) onderskei vervolgens tussen vier vlakke van die grammatikaliseringsproses van liggaamlike postuurwerkwoorde na hulpwerkwoorde:

Vlak 1
i.   Liggaamlike postuur (lewende objekte)
ii. Liggaamlike postuur PLUS gelyktydige werkwoordsituasie (V_{POS} en V)

Vlak 2
i.   Ruimtelike posisie van objekte (kanoniese kodering, "canonical coding")
ii. Ruimtelike posisie van objek PLUS nog ŉ gelyktydige proses (V_{POS} en V)

Vlak 3 Kontinuatiewe/duratiewe/progressiewe met nielewende objekte

Vlak 4 Kontinuatiewe/duratiewe/progressiewe met lewende/nielewende objekte

Breed (om te verskyn1) voeg egter, op grond van ŉ ontwikkeling wat te bespeur is in die Standaardafrikaanse postulêre werkwoord, nog ŉ vyfde vlak by hierdie ontwikkelingsroete, naamlik die ontwikkeling van die postulêre aspektuele hulpwerkwoorde tot ŉ modale hulpwerkwoord. Sy dui verder aan, gedeeltelik gebaseer op die beskrywing van Lemmens (2005), en Breed en Brisard (2015), dat Kuteva se vierde vlak deur drie ontwikkelingsfases beweeg. Die ontwikkelingsroete van die Standaardafrikaanse postulêre werkwoord wat deur Breed (om te verskyn1) voorgestel word, word in Tabel 1 opgesom. Voorbeeldsinne van die konstruksies se aanwending in elkeen van die fases, word onder die tabel aangebied.

Tabel 1: Grammatikaliseringsroete van postulêre werkwoorde in Standaardafrikaans (geneem en aangepas uit Breed om te verskyn)

Vlak	Fase	Kenmerke	Sinne
I	i	Die postulêre werkwoord druk die liggaamlike postuur van ŉ lewende subjek uit. [$N_{SUB.ANIM.}$ + V_{POS} + ADV.]	9
	ii	Die postulêre werkwoord druk die liggaamlike postuur van ŉ lewende subjek uit, maar daar vind ŉ gelyktydige werkwoordsituasie plaas waarby dieselfde lewende subjek betrokke is in ŉ komplekse sinstruktuur. [$N_{SUB.ANIM.1}$ + $V_{POS.1}$ + ADV.] + en + [$N_{-SUB.ANIM.1}$ + V_2]	10
II	i	Die postulêre werkwoord druk die ruimtelike posisie van nielewende subjekte uit in ŉ simplekse sinstruktuur. [$N_{SUB.INANIM.}$ + $V_{POS.}$ + ADV.]	11

Vlak	Fase	Kenmerke	Sinne
	ii	Meerduidige interpretasie bestaan, tussen: – Die postulêre werkwoord wat die ruimtelike posisie van 'n nielewende subjek uitdruk PLUS 'n gelykgebeurende werkwoordsituasie in 'n komplekse sinstruktuur. $[N_{SUB.INAMIM.1} + V_{POS.1} + ADV.] + en + [N_{SUB.INAMIM.1} + V_2]$ en – Die postulêre werkwoord wat as hulwerkwoord aspektuele betekenis uitdruk in 'n simplekse sinstruktuur) $[N_{SUB.INANIM.} + V_{POS.AUX. IMP.} + ADV. + en + V]$	12
III	i	Die postulêre werkwoord tree as 'n aspektuele hulpwerkwoord op in 'n simplekse sinstruktuur met 'n nielewende subjek. $[N_{SUB.INANIM.} + V_{POS.AUX. IMP.} + en + V + ADV.]$	13 en 14
IV	i	Die postulêre werkwoord tree as 'n aspektuele hulpwerkwoord op in 'n simplekse sinstruktuur met 'n nielewende of lewende subjek, maar die ruimtelike posisie of liggaamlike houding van die subjek **stem sterk ooreen** met die leksikale betekenis van die postulêre werkwoord. $[N_{SUB.INANIM/ANIM.} + V_{POS.AUX. IMP.} + en + V + ADV.]$	15
	ii	Die postulêre werkwoord tree as 'n aspektuele hulpwerkwoord op in 'n simplekse sinstruktuur met 'n nielewende of lewende subjek, maar die ruimtelike posisie of liggaamlike houding van die subjek **stem gedeeltelik ooreen** met die leksikale betekenis van die postulêre werkwoord. $[N_{SUB.INANIM/ANIM.} + V_{POS.AUX. IMP.} + en + V + ADV.]$	16 en 17
	iii	Die postulêre werkwoord tree as 'n aspektuele hulpwerkwoord op in 'n simplekse sinstruktuur met 'n nielewende of lewende subjek, maar die ruimtelike posisie of liggaamlike houding van die subjek **stem nie meer ooreen** met die leksikale betekenis van die postulêre werkwoord nie. Tydens hierdie fase kan die progressiewe konstruksie gebruik word om modale betekenis uit te druk. $[N_{SUB.INANIM/ANIM.} + V_{POS.AUX. IMP.} + en + V + ADV.]$	18 en 19
V	i	Die postulêre werkwoord tree as 'n modale hulpwerkwoord op in 'n simplekse sinstruktuur met 'n nielewende of lewende subjek. Die ruimtelike posisie of liggaamlike houding van die subjek stem nie meer ooreen met die leksikale betekenis van die postulêre werkwoord nie, en kan nie meer as 'n aspektuele (progressiewe) konstruksie geïnterpreteer word nie. $[N_{SUB.INANIM/ANIM.} + V_{POS.AUX.MOD.} + en + V + ADV.]$	20

9   StA   Pieter **sit** op die bed.
10   StA   Hy **sit** by die tafel en lees koerant.
11   StA   Die potplant **staan** op die stoep.
12   StA   Die potplante **staan** op die stoep **en verdroog**.
13   StA   Baie motors het tot in die pad **gestaan en wag** om by die pompe uit te kom.
14   StA   Die ketel **staan en kook** op die stoof.
15   StA   Hy **sit en lees** en sy aandag is vasgevang deur die boek toe sy met die tee inkom.
16   StA   Die gras is droog en die son brand neer en die beeste **staan en wag**.
17   StA   Gevolglik gee hulle makgemaakte plaasdiere 'n mis weens die haglike dinge rondom slagpalekondisies en vervoer daarnatoe, maar skroom nie om wildsvleis te eet nie, afkomstig van 'n bokkie wat rustig **staan en wei** voordat hy humaan van die gras af gemaak is deur 'n professionele jagter.
18   StA   Kan so 'n vlam vir weke daar in die veld **staan en brand**?
19   StA   Maar nee, nou **loop en beskinder** julle die arme man agter sy rug.
20   StA   Vir wat **staan en nooi** jy nou die vroumens? Het ek nie genoeg probleme nie?

Die vraag kan gevra word of die postulêre werkwoord in Griekwa-Afrikaans tot dieselfde mate as dié van Standaardafrikaans gegrammatikaliseer het, met ander woorde of postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans ook gebruik kan word om modale betekenis uit te druk. Indien daar nie modale postulêre hulpwerkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans te vinde is nie, sou dit impliseer dat die Standaardafrikaanse konstruksie verder as die streekvariëteit se konstruksie gegrammatikaliseer het.

4. Korpusondersoek na Griekwa-Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoorde

'n Korpusondersoek is geloods om te bepaal tot watter mate die gebruik van postulêre werkwoorde as grammatikale konstruksies in die gesproke streekvariëteit, Griekwa-Afrikaans, ooreenstem met die wyse waarop dit in Standaardafrikaans gebruik word. 'n Griekwa-Afrikaanse konkordansie van 1 000 sinne wat elk ten minste een postulêre werkwoord bevat, is saamgestel en aan die hand van bepaalde parameters ontleed. Die resultate van hierdie ondersoek na die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konstruksie is vergelyk met afleidings wat reeds uit bestaande studies (hoofsaaklik dié van Breed 2012, om te verskyn1,2; Breed en Brisard 2015; Breed et al. om te verskyn) oor die Standaardafrikaanse konstruksie gemaak is.

Die oogmerk van hierdie korpusondersoek was dus nie om 'n vergelykende studie tussen twee taalvariëteite te wees nie, maar eerder om die spesifieke grammatikale gebruike van die postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans te bespreek ten einde te bepaal of die bestaande beskrywing van postulêre werkwoorde in Standaardafrikaans ook geldig is vir 'n beskrywing van die gebruik van postulêre werkwoorde in 'n streekvariëteit soos Griekwa-Afrikaans.

4.1 Metode van ondersoek

Die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konkordansie is saamgestel uit die transkripsies van opnames wat gemaak is vir en deel uitmaak van Van Rensburg (1984) se RGN-verslag, getiteld *Die Afrikaans van die Griekwas van die Tagtigerjare*. Opnames is gemaak van tussen 90 en 100 Griekwa-Afrikaanse sprekers, afkomstig uit Griekwaland-Oos en Griekwaland-Wes. Opnames van 35 van hierdie segspersone is deur transkripsies ontsluit (De Wet 1984: 685) en die konkordansie vir hierdie studie is uit die transkripsies van hierdie ontsluite opnames saamgestel. In totaal is 15 261 sinne in die transkripsies deurgewerk alvorens 1 000 sinne wat elk ten minste een postulêre werkwoord bevat, gekonkordeer kon word.

Die konkordansie is aan die hand van vier parameters ondersoek, te wete (i) frekwensie; (ii) fonetiese reduksie; (iii) veralgemening; en (iv) sintaktiese verskynsels.

Soos eerstens aangedui in Afdeling 3.1, kan frekwensie 'n aanduiding wees van die mate waarin 'n konstruksie gegrammatikaliseer het. Verskillende frekwensieverhoudinge is nagegaan, naamlik die frekwensies van die betrokke vier postulêre werkwoorde, die verhouding tussen die leksikale en grammatikale gebruike van elke postulêre werkwoord, en die verskillende grammatikale gebruike wat onderskei kon word.

In Afdeling 3.1 is tweedens ook genoem dat 'n konstruksie wat grammatikaliseer moontlik fonetiese reduksie kan ondergaan wat tot gevolg het dat so 'n konstruksie van vorm kan verander. Daar is dus nagegaan of die vorm van die grammatikale postulêre konstruksie in

Griekwa-Afrikaans verskil van die vorm van die ooreenstemmende konstruksie in Standaardafrikaans[4].

Derdens is daar in Afdeling 3.1 gemeld dat 'n grammatikaliserende konstruksie semanties veralgemeen, wat beteken dat die konstruksie in meer kontekste begin bruikbaar word, of vir 'n wyer reeks grammatikale gebruike aangewend kan word. Derhalwe is die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konstruksie ondersoek vir moontlike veralgemening in grammatikale gebruik.

Laastens is die vormlike of sintaktiese variasie van die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konstruksie ondersoek, aangesien 'n verskil in sintaktiese struktuur ook 'n moontlike aanduiding kan wees dat die variëteit se konstruksie grammatikaal anders aangewend word as dié van Standaardafrikaans.

4.2 Frekwensie

Soos reeds genoem, is dit te verwagte dat die mate waarin 'n konstruksie gegrammatikaliseer is, weerspieël sal word in die frekwensie van die grammatikale gebruik van daardie konstruksie. Dit sal dus nie verrassend wees as 'n konstruksie wat tot 'n hoë mate gegrammatikaliseer het, ook 'n hoë frekwensie van grammatikale gebruike sal hê nie, óf dat 'n konstruksie wat nog nie ver gegrammatikaliseer het nie, 'n lae frekwensie van grammatikale gebruike sal hê.

Die eerste frekwensieverhouding wat ondersoek is, is die frekwensies van elkeen van die postulêre werkwoorde. 'n Konstruksie wat besig is om te grammatikaliseer, sal toeneem in frekwensie. Dit is dus sinvol om die totale frekwensies van die postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans vas te stel en te vergelyk met die frekwensies van die ooreenstemmende Standaardafrikaanse postulêre werkwoorde.

Tabel 2 en Figuur 1 toon die frekwensie van elkeen van die vier ondersoekte postulêre werkwoorde, naamlik *sit*, *staan*, *lê* en *loop* in Griekwa-Afrikaans aan. Die frekwensievolgorde van die postulêre werkwoorde in die Gr-konkordansie is *loop > sit > staan > lê*.

Tabel 2: Totale frekwensies van die vier postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans.

Postulêre werkwoord	Totale frekwensies	
Sit	285	(27%)
Staan	229	(22%)
Lê	132	(13%)
Loop	394	(38%)
TOTAAL	1 040[5]	(100%)

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[4] Vir hierdie vergelyking is resultate gebruik van ondersoeke na die konstruksie se gebruik in die Taalkommissiekorpus 1.1, soos hoofsaaklik aangedui in Breed en Brisard (2015) en Breed et al. (om te verskyn).
[5] Hoewel slegs 1 000 sinne met postulêre werkwoorde in die konkordansie opgeneem is, bevat sommige sinne meer as een postulêre werkwoord, en derhalwe is die totale aantal postulêre werkwoorde wat in die konkordansie opgeneem is nie, nie beperk tot 1 000 voorbeelde nie.
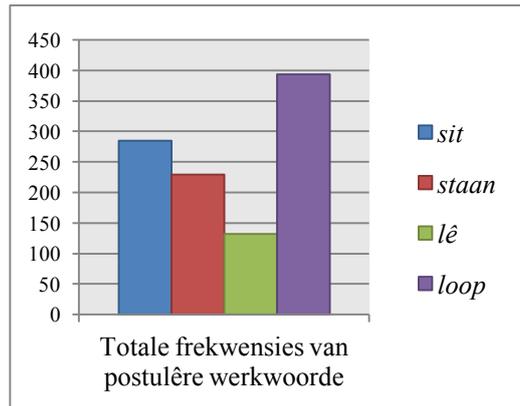
Figuur 1: Totale frekwensies van die vier postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans

Breed en Brisard (2015) dui aan dat *staan* die mees frekwente postulêre werkwoord in Standaardafrikaans is, maar *loop* is nie as postulêre werkwoord by hul vergelyking ingesluit nie. Wanneer die frekwensie van *loop* in die TK-korpus ook bygereken word, is die frekwensievolgorde van die vier ondersoekte postulêre werkwoorde as volg:

Tabel 3: Totale frekwensies van die vier postulêre werkwoorde in Standaardafrikaans.

Postulêre werkwoord	Totale frekwensies	
Sit	24 408	(25%)
Staan	34 679	(37%)
Lê	19 971	(21%)
Loop	15 234	(16%)
TOTAAL	94 292	(100%)
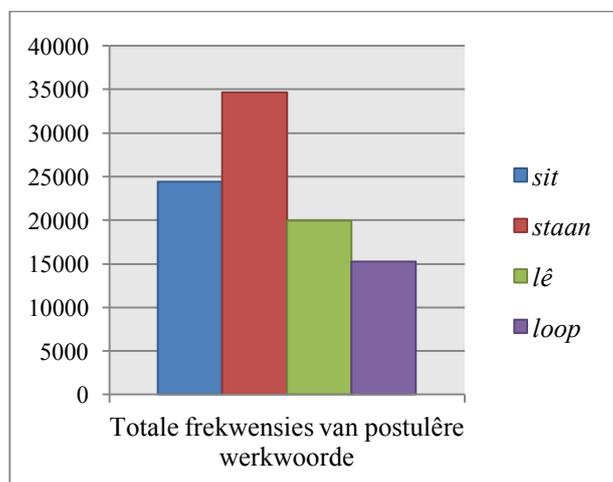
Figuur 2: Totale frekwensies van die vier postulêre werkwoorde in Standaardafrikaans.

Hierdie verskil in die frekwensieverhouding tussen die postulêre werkwoorde van Griekwa-Afrikaans en Standaardafrikaans, kan 'n eerste moontlike aanduiding wees dat daar 'n verskil is in die mate waarin hierdie twee variëteite se postulêre werkwoorde gegrammatikaliseer is. Die feit dat *loop* in Griekwa-Afrikaans die mees frekwente postulêre werkwoord in hierdie variëteit is, maar die minste gereeld in Standaardafrikaans voorkom, kan moontlik daarop dui dat *loop* in Griekwa-Afrikaans tot 'n hoë mate gegrammatikaliseer is (vergelyk Figuur 3).
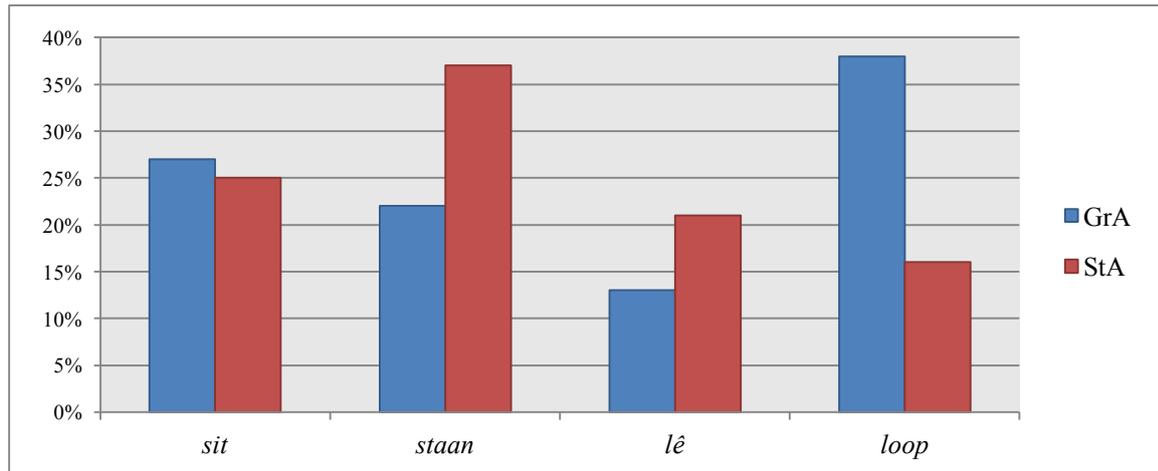
Figuur 3: 'n Vergelyking tussen die frekwensies van die Griekwa-Afrikaanse en Standaardafrikaanse postulêre werkwoorde

Wanneer die mate van gegrammatikaliseerdheid van 'n konstruksie ondersoek word, is die frekwensieverhouding tussen die leksikale en grammatikale gebruik van die konstruksie relevant, aangesien 'n konstruksie wat tot 'n hoë mate gegrammatikaliseer het, meer gereeld as 'n grammatikale konstruksie gebruik sal word in vergelyking met 'n konstruksie wat nie tot 'n hoë mate gegrammatikaliseer het nie. Soos genoem, bestaan die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konkordansie uit 'n seleksie van 1 000 sinne waarin postulêre werkwoorde voorkom. Aangesien sommige sinne meer as een postulêre werkwoord bevat, is daar nie slegs 1 000 voorbeelde van postulêre werkwoorde nie. In totaal is daar in die konkordansie 1 098[6] voorbeelde van postulêre werkwoordgebruik gevind. Die meerderheid van hierdie voorkomste van postulêre werkwoorde (735 werkwoorde) was egter ongegrammatikaliseerde hoofwerkwoorde, en 363 van hierdie werkwoorde is as hulpwoorde aangewend om een of ander grammatikale funksie te verrig (vergelyk Tabel 4 en Figuur 4).

Tabel 4: Verhouding tussen leksikale en grammatikale gebruike van Griekwa-Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoorde

Leksikaal	735
Grammatikaal	363
Totaal	1 098

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[6] Hoewel daar hoofsaaklik gefokus is op *sit, staan, lê* en *loop*, is ander postulêre werkwoorde soos *hardloop* en *hol* ook by die konkordansie ingesluit, om te bepaal of marginale postulêre werkwoorde ook besig is om te grammatikaliseer in Griekwa-Afrikaans. Aangesien hiérdie werkwoorde egter slegs leksikale gebruike getoon het, is dit nie verder by die korpusondersoek betrek nie.
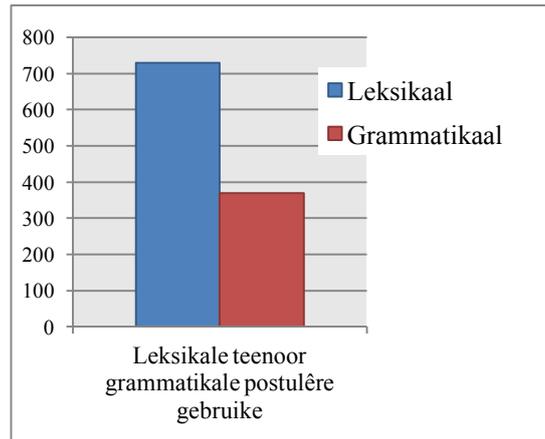
Figuur 4: Verhouding tussen leksikale en grammatikale gebruike van Griekwa-Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoorde

Wanneer egter na die afsonderlike verhouding tussen leksikale en grammatikale frekwensies vir elke postulêre werkwoord gekyk word, lyk die prentjie ietwat anders (vergelyk Tabel 5 en Figuur 5).

Tabel 5: Verhouding tussen leksikale en grammatikale gebruike van elke postulêre werkwoord

Postulêre werkwoord	Grammatikaal	Leksikaal	Totaal
Sit	46	239	285
Staan	33	196	229
Lê	36	96	132
Loop	249	145	394
TOTAAL	364	676	1 040
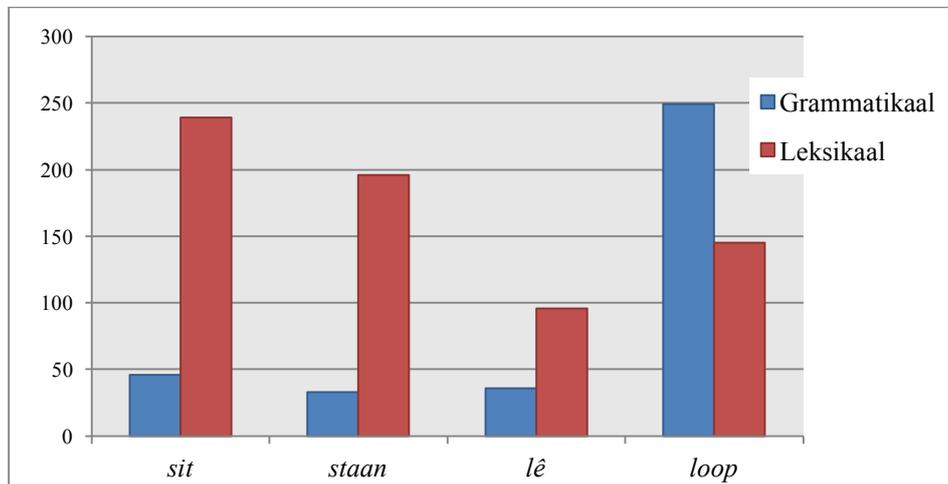
Figuur 5: Verhouding tussen leksikale en grammatikale gebruike van elke postulêre werkwoord in Griekwa-Afrikaans

Die vergelyking bevestig die vroeëre waarneming gemaak dat *loop* in Griekwa-Afrikaans tot 'n hoë mate gegrammatikaliseer het. 'n Konstruksie wat nie gegrammatikaliseerd is nie, behoort geen grammatikale gebruike te hê nie. Soos 'n konstruksie egter grammatikaliseer, neem die frekwensie van sy grammatikale gebruike uiteraard toe, en wanneer 'n konstruksie, soos *loop* in

hierdie geval, se grammatikale gebruike meer kere voorkom as die konstruksie se leksikale gebruike, dui dit aan dat die bepaalde konstruksie baie ver gegrammatikaliseer het. Hoewel dit duidelik is dat *sit, staan* en *lê* as grammatikale merkers gebruik word in Griekwa-Afrikaans, is *loop* in Griekwa-Afrikaans in die besonder ver gegrammatikaliseer. Ons kan dus verwag dat hierdie werkwoord ook tot 'n groot mate veralgemening gaan toon. Die mate van veralgemening word in 4.4 verder ondersoek.

Breed en Brisard (2015), sowel as Breed et al. (om te verskyn) stel hoofsaaklik ondersoek in na die gebruik van die postulêre werkwoord as progressiewe merkers in Standaardafrikaans. Breed (om te verskyn1) dui verder ook aan dat die postulêre werkwoord in Standaardafrikaans gebruik kan word om modale betekenis uit te druk, soos byvoorbeeld in sin 21.

21   *StA   Maar nee, nou loop en beskinder julle die arme man agter sy rug.* (Breed om te verskyn1)

Verder, hoewel Breed (2012: 160) ook kortliks noem dat *loop* in sekere kontekste in Standaardafrikaans gebruik kan word as wisselvorm vir die inchoatiewe gebruik van gaan (byvoorbeeld sin 22), word daar in geen van die reedsgepubliseerde navorsing oor die postulêre werkwoord in Standaardafrikaans, 'n bestekopname gemaak van al die moontlike grammatikale gebruike van die postulêre werkwoord nie.

22   *StA   Ons het voor die venster loop staan en die vroue oorkant die straat dopgehou.*

In die huidige artikel word nie slegs na die V_{POS} *en*-konstruksie gekyk nie, maar word alle moontlike grammatikale gebruike van die Griekwa-Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoord ondersoek.

In hierdie verband is vier[7] verskillende grammatikale funksies onderskei waarvoor die postulêre werkwoord in Griekwa-Afrikaans aangewend word, naamlik om (i) progressiewe betekenis (136 keer); (ii) inchoatiewe[8] betekenis (197 keer); (iii) modale betekenis (23 keer); en (iv) verledetydsbetekenis[9] (7 keer) aan te dui (vergelyk Tabel 6 en Figuur 6).

Tabel 6: Grammatikale gebruike van die postulêre werkwoord in Griekwa-Afrikaans

Grammatikale gebruik	Hoeveelheid gevalle
Progressief	136
Modaal	23
Verledetyd	7
Inchoatief	197
Totaal	363

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[7] Voorbeeldsinne van elkeen van hierdie gebruike word later in die artikel aangebied.

[8] Die inchoatiewe betekenis is 'n aspektuele onderskeiding wat aandui dat 'n bepaalde situasie 'n aanvang geneem het, of dat daar 'n oorgang plaasvind vanaf een situasie na 'n ander (vergelyk Bybee et al. 1994: 65).

[9] Dit was soms moeilik om te onderskei of 'n sin as 'n verledetyd- of modale sin gekodeer moet word, en daar was dikwels ook oorvleueling van interpretasie. Sinne is derhalwe as verledetyd geanaliseer wanneer geen sterk modale, progressiewe of inchoatiewe gebruik afgelei kon word nie, en die postulêre werkwoord klaarblyklik slegs gebruik is om aan te dui dat 'n situasie in die verlede plaasgevind het.
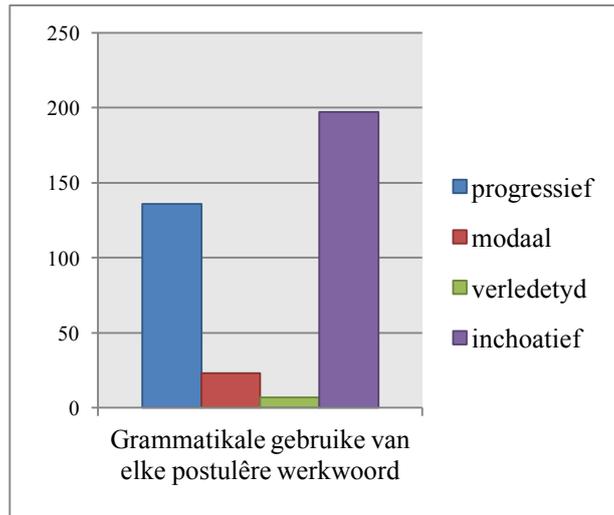
Figuur 6: Grammatikale gebruike van die postulêre werkwoord in Griekwa-Afrikaans

Dit is egter eers uit 'n vergelyking tussen die grammatikale gebruike vir elke postulêre werkwoord, wat daar 'n redelike gevolgtrekking gemaak kan word oor die mate waarin elkeen van die postulêre werkwoorde gegrammatikaliseerd is (vergelyk Tabel 7 en Figuur 7).

Tabel 7: Grammatikale gebruike van elke postulêre werkwoord

	sit	*staan*	*lê*	*loop*	Totaal
Progressief	46	25	26	39	136
Modaal	0	4	2	17	23
Verledetyd	0	0	0	7	7
Inchoatief	0	4	9	184	197
Totaal	46	33	37	247	363
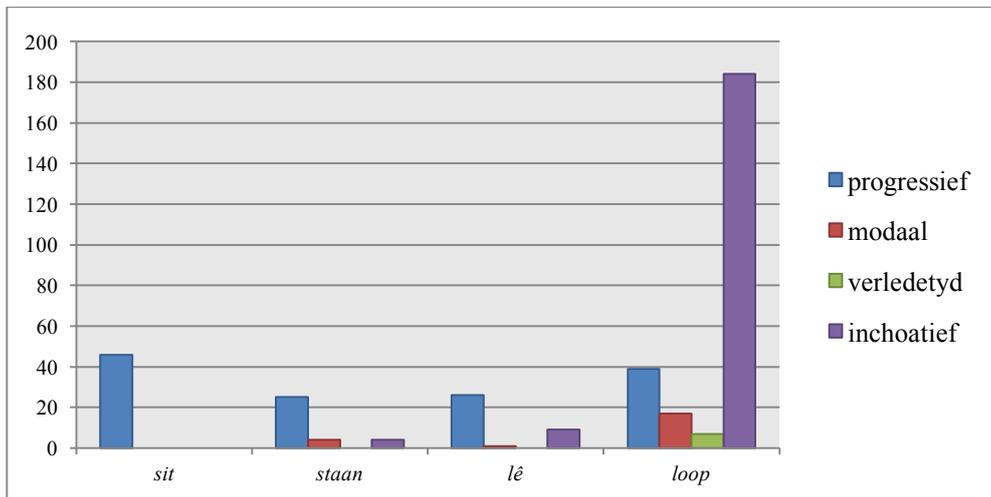
Figuur 7: Grammatikale gebruike van elke postulêre werkwoord

Soos vroeër in die artikel aangedui is, sal 'n konstruksie wat grammatikaliseer, al hoe meer veralgemeen en in meer kontekste bruikbaar wees. 'n Konstruksie wat al hoe meer grammatikale gebruike vertoon, is gevolglik verder gegrammatikaliseer as een wat minder grammatikale gebruike het. Die bevindings in Tabel 7 en Figuur 7 bevestig dus wat uit die vorige

frekwensievergelykings afgelei is, naamlik dat *loop* tot 'n hoë mate gegrammatikaliseer is. *Loop* vertoon al vier grammatikale gebruike (vergelyk voorbeeldsinne 23 tot 26), terwyl daar in die konkordansie vir *staan* en *lê* slegs progressiewe, modale en inchoatiewe gebruike gevind is (vergelyk voorbeeldsinne 27 tot 32). Vir *sit* is daar slegs progressiewe gebruike gevind (vergelyk sin 33), so daar kan afgelei word dat dié postulêre werkwoord die minste veralgemeen het.

23	*GrA*	*Die man loop en speel.*	*(progressief)*
24	*GrA*	*Toe't die kar my nou **loop** verongeluk.*	*(modaal)*
25	*GrA*	*Baie van die mense het **geloop** sterwe.*	*(verledetyd)*
26	*GrA*	*Toe gan hy loop veld toe, **lôop** weie.*	*(inchoatief)*
27	*GrA*	*Ek kan nie meer werk ga **staan** en aanvat nie.*	*(progressief)*
28	*GrA*	*Aitsê, Here, das tog nie ek wat so gelê **stan** oortree het nie.*	*(modaal)*
29	*GrA*	*Toe het my mense so **gestaan** swerf.*	*(inchoatief)*
30	*GrA*	*Ek lê en lyster vir hulle so toe hoor ek vir Mirtiens.*	*(progressief)*
31	*GrA*	*Aljimmers dan **lê** stan gee boezakgoed.*	*(modaal)*
32	*GrA*	*Die manne **lê** wakker maak.*	*(inchoatief)*
33	*GrA*	*Ons **sit** en kyk die deng so.*	*(progressief)*

Daar is egter 'n groot verskil in die mate waarin postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans en Standaardafrikaans veralgemeen het. Hoewel die postulêre werkwoord in Standaardafrikaans gebruik kan word om progressiewe en modale betekenis uit te druk, is daar tot op hede geen tempusgebruike vir die postulêre werkwoord geïdentifiseer nie. Dit wil voorkom asof die V_{POS} *en*-konstruksie in Griekwa-Afrikaans geëvolueer het vanaf aspektuele konstruksie na – ooreenstemmend met die konstruksie se ontwikkeling in Standaardafrikaans – 'n modale konstruksie, maar óók ontwikkel het tot 'n tempuskonstruksie om verledetyd te merk. Verder is slegs *loop* in Standaardafrikaans as inchoatiewe merker geïdentifiseer (vergelyk Breed 2012: 160), maar in Griekwa-Afrikaans het hierdie funksie skynbaar uitgebrei tot ander postulêre werkwoorde. Gebaseer op veralgemening van grammatikale gebruike, kan dit dus gestel word dat die postulêre werkwoord in Griekwa-Afrikaans oor die algemeen verder gegrammatikaliseer het as dié van Standaardafrikaans.

4.3 Fonetiese reduksie

Soos aangedui in Afdeling 3.1, is fonetiese reduksie 'n sterk kenmerk van grammatikalisering. Namate 'n konstruksie grammatikaliseer, skud dit vormlike eienskappe af en begin die konstruksie met omliggende konstruksies saamsmelt.

In Standaardafrikaans word die postulêre werkwoord hoofsaaklik as progressiewe konstruksie aangewend, en hierdie selfde konstruksie kan dan evolueer om modale betekenis uit te druk. In Standaardafrikaans het hierdie konstruksie egter 'n vaste vorm, naamlik dat die postulêre hulpwerkwoord met die voegwoord en verbind word aan die hoofwerkwoordstuk van die sin. Die voegwoord is verpligtend, en die konstruksie kan derhalwe nog as 'n suiwer perifrastiese konstruksie geklassifiseer word.

'n Perifrastiese konstruksie is 'n konstruksie wat uit meer as een afsonderlike woorditem bestaan, maar die items het eenheidstatus en kan nie van mekaar geskei word nie. Die perifrastiese fase is een van die eerste vormlike fases van 'n grammatikaliserende konstruksie. Die verskillende woorde waaruit 'n perifrastiese konstruksie bestaan, raak met ander woorde van mekaar

afhanklik. Soos die perifrastiese konstruksie evolueer, kan die verskillende woorde waaruit die perifrase bestaan, só van mekaar afhanklik wees dat hul begin saamsmelt om 'n nuwe vorm aan te neem. Die neiging is dus dat 'n grammatikaliserende konstruksie foneties reduseer en 'n toenemend kleiner wordende vorm word, soos voorgestel in Figuur 8.

| | Nie-gebonde | | | |
| Sintakties | Grammatikale items | Infleksie | Derivasie | Leksikaal |

Minder fusie — *Groter fusie*

Figuur 8: Fusieskaal (Bybee et al. 1994: 40, soos vertaal deur Breed 2012: 101)

'n Opvallende verskil tussen die progressiewe postulêre konstruksie van Standaardafrikaans en Griekwa-Afrikaans is die mate waarin die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konstruksie foneties gereduseer het. Terwyl dit in Standaardafrikaans verpligtend is om die progressiewe of modale postulêre hulpwerkwoord en die hoofwerkwoord met die voegwoord *en* aan mekaar te verbind, blyk dit dat die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konstruksie tot 'n groot mate al foneties gereduseer het.

Daar is, soos genoem, 136 voorbeelde in die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konkordansie van progressiewe gebruike vir die vier ondersoekte postulêre werkwoorde gevind. Waar al die postulêre werkwoorde in Standaardafrikaanse progressiewe konstruksies met 'n *en*-voegwoord verbind sou moes word, word daar in slegs 49 van die 136 Griekwa-Afrikaanse voorbeelde 'n *en*-voegwoord gebruik om die postulêre hulpwerkwoord en die hoofwerkwoord te verbind (byvoorbeeld sin 34).

34 *GrA* *Ek sal mar hier sit **en** wag.*

In ses sinne word die *en*-voegwoord op 'n foneties gereduseer (byvoorbeeld sinne 35 tot 37). Dit is egter belangrik om in gedagte te hou dat die voorbeelde transkripsies is van mondelinge gesprekke, en dat die transkribeerder dus die fonetiese reduksie getranskribeer het na aanleiding van dit wat sy of hy afgelei het van hoe die spreker die bindingspartikel uitspreek. Nietemin is dit duidelik dat die postulêre werkwoord en die hoofwerkwoord nie noodwendig deur die voegwoord *en* verbind hoef te word nie, maar dat *an*, 'n foneties gedeeltelik-gereduseerde vorm van *en*, hierdie funksie kan verrig.

35 *GrA* *Hai kan nie **lôop an** niks doen nie an ee…hai trek nie.*
36 *GrA* *Hei man moenie met my **staan in** stry nie.*
37 *GrA* *Dis waarvoor ons ok meeste vannie tyt ok mar **sit 'n** bit en smeek.*

Die meeste van die progressiewe voorbeelde (82 voorbeelde) in die konkordansie, bevat egter geen verbindingskonstruksie nie (byvoorbeeld sinne 38 tot 41).

38 *GrA* *Nou **sit** sing hille virie heeldag*
39 *GrA* *Voor wat sal hy so vinnig **stan** ry?*
40 *GrA* *hier **lê** asemskep hy*
41 *GrA* *nou weer kleerling **galoop** mak*

Hierdie is 'n verdere aanduiding dat die postulêre werkwoord in Griekwa-Afrikaans in 'n groter mate gegrammatikaliseer het as die ooreenstemmende konstruksie in Standaardafrikaans.

4.4 Veralgemening

Die belangrikste gevolg van grammatikalisering, is dat 'n konstruksie toenemend kan kombineer met leksikale woorde waarmee dit in sy leksikale gebruik nie moontlik was nie.

Breed en Brisard (2015: 17–19), en Breed et al. (om te verskyn) toon in hierdie verband aan dat die postulêre werkwoord in Standaardafrikaans wel groter veralgemening ondergaan het as die Nederlandse postulêre werkwoord, maar dat die Standaardafrikaanse postulêre progressief[10] nog tot 'n groot mate beperk is tot 'n kombinasie met hoofwerkwoorde wat 'n aksie uitdruk wat uitvoerbaar is in die liggaamshouding wat deur die postulêre werkwoord uitgedruk word.

In Griekwa-Afrikaans is daar egter 'n hele aantal voorbeelde van postulêre hulpwerkwoorde wat kombineer met leksikaal onversoenbare hoofwerkwoorde. Dit is byvoorbeeld nie fisies moontlik om in 'n lêende liggaamshouding "op te klim" of te "bontspring" nie (sinne 42 en 43), en dit is nie moontlik om gelyktydig te lê en te staan nie, en allermins nie om enige vanuit hierdie twee statiese liggaamshoudings te "ry" nie (voorbeeldsin 44).

> 42 *GrA   toe had ons **gelê opklim** troei hoeistoe met bottel sam*
> 43 *GrA   as julle eendag nog so **lê en bontseet (bontspring)** dan af die Here hier bo julle, en dan is dat klaar met griekwa se keend*
> 44 *GrA   het **gelê staan ry***

Verder, soos uit 44 gesien kan word, is dit skynbaar algemene gebruik in Griekwa-Afrikaans om meer as een postulêre werkwoord as 'n enkele grammatikale konstruksie te kombineer met die hoofwerkwoord van die sin. Ten minste 17 voorbeelde hiervan is in die konkordansie gevind (byvoorbeeld sinne 45 tot 47). In al die voorbeelde was dit egter 'n kombinasie van (ge)*lê + staan*, en slegs in 'n enkele voorbeeld (voorbeeldsin 45) word *staan* en *lê* omgeruil. Dit wil voorkom asof (ge)*staan lê* 'n nuutgevormde postulêre perifrastiese progressiewe konstruksie in Griekwa-Afrikaans is.

> 45 *GrA   aljimmers dan **stan lê** hool hy 'n end*
> 46 *GrA   ons had 'n bietjie **gelê stan** oortree*
> 47 *GrA   jy **lê staan** skint Grikwa se kind by die karakter*

Die feit dat hierdie twee postulêre werkwoorde tesame aangebied kan word, is 'n sterk aanduiding dat grammatikale postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans volledig afstand gedoen het van enige betekenis wat nog liggaamshouding uitdruk, en dus totaal veralgemeen het in betekenis.

Progressiewe konstruksies is tipologies gesproke onversoenbaar met situasietipes wat as toestande[11] geklassifiseer kan word (vergelyk Kranich 2010: 32–35). In Standaardafrikaans sal sinne soos die volgende derhalwe ongrammatikaal of semanties gemarkeerd voorkom:

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[10] Dit is hoofsaaklik in die modale gebruik van die postulêre progressief, waar die konstruksie tot so 'n mate veralgemeen het dat dit met werkwoorde kan kombineer wat aksies uitdruk wat nie uitvoerbaar is in die postulêre werkwoord so ooreenstemmende liggaamshouding nie.

[11] 'n Toestand is 'n statiese situasietipe wat oor 'n tydperk onveranderd sal bly, byvoorbeeld *liefhê, ken, weet, verstaan* (vergelyk Smith 1997: 37).

48   *StA*   **Die man is besig om Russies te ken.*
49   *StA*   **Ek is jou aan die liefhê.*
50   *StA*   *?Ek sit en weet wat is die regte ding om te doen.*

Wanneer 'n progressiewe konstruksie dan wel met 'n toestandsituasie kombineer, is dit 'n aanduiding van 'n hoë mate van grammatikalisering, aangesien die tipiese verwagte leksikale of semantiese beperkings wat met die konstruksie geassosieer word, opgehef word. In die Griekwa-konkordansie is twee voorbeelde gevind van toestandsituasies wat met die progressief kombineer:

51   *GrA*   *mar sôs ek nou hier's sôs ek hier **sit en kên** nie…want "because" ek was te klein*
           gawis daai tyd
52   *GrA*   *hy **lê weet** niks van die saal af nie*

Laastens is dit nie verrassend dat loop tot inchoatiewe aspektuele merker gegrammatikaliseer het nie, aangesien bewegingswerkwoorde (byvoorbeeld *kom* en *gaan*) tipologies geneig is om hierdie ontwikkeling te ondergaan (vergelyk Hilpert 2008: 6; Traugott 1978: 378). Hierdie inchoatiewe gebruik van loop kom in beide Standaardafrikaans en Griekwa-Afrikaans voor. Wat egter wél verrassend is, is dat hierdie inchoatiewe gebruik van *loop* uitbrei na ander postulêre werkwoorde in Griekwa-Afrikaans (vergelyk voorbeeldsinne 53 en 54).

53   *GrA*   *ja, ons het haar **gestaan** bêre*
54   *GrA*   *hy **lê** loop (met die pad saam)*

Uit bogenoemde vier bevindings, naamlik dat (i) die postulêre werkwoord kan kombineer met hoofwerkwoorde wat aksies uitdruk wat onuitvoerbaar is in die liggaamshouding wat deur 'n postulêre werkwoord uitgedruk word; (ii) meer as een postulêre werkwoord langs mekaar gebruik kan word om 'n enkele grammatikale uitdrukking te vorm; (iii) die postulêre progressief met toestandsituasies gekombineer kan word; en (iv) die inchoatiewe gebruik van *loop* ook na ander statiese postulêre werkwoorde soos *staan* en *lê* uitgebrei het, is dit duidelik dat die Griekwa-Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoord meer veralgemeen het as die Standaardafrikaanse postulêre werkwoord. Ook op die vlak van veralgemening is die Griekwa-Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoorde dus verder gegrammatikaliseer as dié van Standaardafrikaans.

4.5 Sintaktiese verskynsels

Breed (2012: 176) toon aan dat die sintaktiese organisering van die Standaardafrikaanse progressiewe postulêre konstruksie redelik beperk is, vanweë die eenheidstatus van die perifrastiese postulêre werkwoord en die opvolgende *en*-voegwoord. Dit is byvoorbeeld nie toelaatbaar om enige ander konstruksie (byvoorbeeld 'n adjunk of 'n direkte of indirekte voorwerp), tussen die postulêre werkwoord en die *en*-voegwoord te plaas nie. Die V_{POS} *en*-konstruksie dien as perifrastiese spilwerkwoordstuk, en koppel met die hoofwerkwoord wat die handeling of gebeurtenis van die sin uitdruk (vergelyk voorbeeldsinne 55 tot 57).

55   *StA*   *Ant Talieta **[sit en] naaldwerk doen** of haar lewe aan daai dun garingdaadjie*
           hang. (Breed 2012: 176)
56   *StA*   *Die swerms kom oornag tot bedaring, die insekte gaan **[sit en] verloor hul vlerke***
           sodat slegs stompies oorbly, vorm pare en begin nuwe neste. (Breed 2012: 176)

57 *StA*   *Eendag het hy hom gekry waar hy gebukkend* **die wingerd [staan en] snoei***, en
daar was trane in sy pa se oë.* (Breed 2012: 176)

Die eenheidstatus van die V_{POS} *en*-perifrase geld skynbaar nie in Griekwa-Afrikaans nie. Daar
is reeds genoem dat die perifrase tot so 'n mate foneties gereduseer het, dat dit nie noodsaaklik
is om die grammatikale postulêre werkwoord aan die hoofwerkwoord te bind met 'n
bindingspartikel nie (vergelyk weer sin 38). Hoewel daar wel ook 'n aantal voorbeelde gevind
is waar die postulêre werkwoord, ooreenstemmend met die Standaardafrikaanse sinstruktuur,
direk gevolg word deur 'n bindingspartikel (byvoorbeeld sin 58), is daar ook 'n hele aantal
voorbeelde gevind waar konstruksies, soos adjunkte of direkte voorwerpe, tussen die *en*-
voegwoord en die bindingspartikel geplaas word (byvoorbeeld sinne 59 en 60).

58 *GrA*   *Nou ja, nou sit julle* **sit en gesels**
59 *GrA*   **Lê** *innie veld sommer* **en slap**
60 *GrA*   *En daar* **sit** *ons dit* **en drink**

In Standaardafrikaans neem die postulêre perifrastiese konstruksie die spilposisie in, met ander
woorde vóór die hoofwerkwoord. Hoewel dit in Griekwa-Afrikaans oorwegend ook die geval
is, is daar voorbeelde in die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konkordansie gevind waar die postulêre
hulpwerkwoord ná die hoofwerkwoord van die sin geplaas is (byvoorbeeld sinne 61 tot 63).

61 *GrA*   *ek kan nie* **lieg sit** *nie*
62 *GrA*   *Wil sy pype* **rook set** *daar*
63 *GrA*   *Daar tyd toe't hei dit skrywe, toe* **skryf sit** *mei Vader, grootvader, hy se plaas,
op "Koningskroon"*

Breed en Brisard (2015) dui aan dat die V_{POS} *en*-konstruksie in Standaardafrikaans tot só 'n mate
geouksilieer het, dat die *ge*-partikel in verledetydsinne (byvoorbeeld sin 64) en passiefsinne
(byvoorbeeld sin 65) slegs by die postulêre werkwoord gevoeg word, en nie (ook) by die
hoofwerkwoord van die sin nie.

64 *StA*   *Die man het die boek* **gesit en lees***.*   (Breed en Brisard 2015: 21)
65 *StA*   *Hier word* **gesit en stry** *oor 'n ossewa.*   (Breed en Brisard 2015: 21)

Weer eens wil dit voorkom of hierdie geouksilieerde eenheidstatus van die V_{POS} *en*-konstruksie
nie vir Griekwa-Afrikaans geld nie, want buiten vir voorbeelde wat ooreenstem met die
Standaardafrikaanse gebruik van deelwoorde (voorbeeldsin 66), is daar ook 'n hele aantal
voorbeelde gevind waar die verledetydspartikel eerder aan die hoofwerkwoord heg
(byvoorbeeld sinne 67 en 68), of aan sowel die postulêre hulpwerkwoord as die hoofwerkwoord
van die sin (byvoorbeeld sin 69).

66 *GrA*   *ons het nog so* **geloop en praat**
67 *GrA*   *dat ek Jan* **loop geleer** *ken het*
68 *GrA*   *toe had ek vir my 'n so 'n endjie daarvan daan* **lê stan gemaak**
69 *GrA*   *Hulle't daai grond* **geloop** *va ... an plas-boere* **gevelhuur**

'n Laaste interessante sintaktiese verskynsel wat in die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konkordansie
opgemerk is, is dat die postulêre werkwoord in 'n hele aantal sinne as 'n hoofwerkwoord

aangebied word, maar dat 'n tweede postulêre werkwoord grammatikaal aangewend word as 'n hulpwerkwoord saam met 'n ander nie-postulêre hoofwerkwoord (vergelyk voorbeeldsinne 70 tot 73).

70 *GrA* *Nou ja, nou **sit** julle **sit en** gesels*
71 *GrA* *Ek sit hier stil **sit** ek hier die manne **sit en** gesels*
72 *GrA* *Dan **lôop** ons so tissin mense **loop** ek keier*
73 *GrA* *Dan kry die ouwaas my so ek **sit** hier **sit en** wag hier tot la ek nou sien dis amper, dis een-ier*

'n Moontlike verklaring vir hierdie verskynsel kan myns insiens toegeskryf word aan die semantiese verbleking wat die grammatikale postulêre werkwoord in Griekwa-Afrikaans reeds ondergaan het. Aangesien die postulêre werkwoord tot so 'n mate veralgemeen het dat daar min van die ooreenstemmende liggaamshoudingbetekenis nog in die grammatikale postulêre werkwoord teenwoordig is, plaas die spreker dus die postulêre hoofwerkwoord terug in die sin, om aan te dui dat die subjek die handeling in 'n bepaalde liggaamshouding uitvoer. Die konstruksie stem dus in der waarheid weer ooreen met Kuteva se Fase II $[N_{SUB.INAMIM.1} + V_{POS.1}]$ + en + $[N_{SUB.INAMIM.1} + V_2]$, maar kan dan eerder geanaliseer word as $[N_{SUB.INAMIM.1} + V_{POS.1}]$ + en + $[N_{SUB.INAMIM.1} + V_{POS.AUX.1} + (en) + V_2]$.

5. Gevolgtrekking

Die grammatikale postulêre konstruksie in Standaardafrikaans het heelwat aandag gekry in onlangse taalkundenavorsing, en veral die progressiewe gebruik van die konstruksie is goed beskryf. Die vraag wat egter gevra kan word, is of die beskrywing van die Standaardafrikaanse konstruksie genoegsaam is om ook die konstruksie se gebruik in niestandaardvariëteite van Afrikaans te beskryf. Breed (om te verskyn) het reeds aangetoon dat die konstruksie skynbaar veral in gesproke informele Afrikaans as modale konstruksie aangewend word, en dit is 'n eerste moontlike aanduiding dat daar tóg 'n verskil is in die wyse waarop die konstruksie in verskillende variëteite van Afrikaans voorkom.

In hierdie artikel is vanuit 'n grammatikaliseringsperspektief ondersoek ingestel na die wyse waarop die konstruksie in 'n gesproke streekvariëteit van Afrikaans, te wete Griekwa-Afrikaans, gebruik word.

Gebaseer op 'n korpusondersoek, is gevind dat die Griekwa-Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoord verder as die ooreenstemmende konstruksie in Standaardafrikaans gegrammatikaliseer het, en derhalwe ook anders gebruik word as grammatikale konstruksie. Eerstens toon die Griekwa-Afrikaanse postulêre werkwoord vier grammatikale funksies, naamlik om as progressiewe, modale, temporele of inchoatiewe hulpwerkwoord gebruik te word. Tweedens het die konstruksie tot só mate foneties gereduseer dat dit nie verpligtend is om 'n *en*-voegwoord, of selfs enige ander bindingspartikel te gebruik om die postulêre hulpwerkwoord en die hoofwerkwoord aan mekaar te verbind nie. Derdens het die konstruksie veralgemeen om op wyses te kan kombineer met ander postulêre werkwoorde of sekere hoofwerkwoorde wat nie in Standaardafrikaans moontlik is nie. Laastens geld die sintaktiese beperkinge van die Standaardafrikaanse konstruksie nie vir die Griekwa-Afrikaanse konstruksie nie, aangesien laasgenoemde konstruksie tot so 'n mate foneties gereduseer het dat die perifrastiese status van die postulêre werkwoord en die *en*-voegwoord nie meer in die streekvariëteit se konstruksie

geldig is nie. Die beskrywing van die postulêre werkwoord in Standaardafrikaans is derhalwe nie voldoende om hierdie werkwoorde se grammatikale gebruik in alle variëteite of gebruikskontekste van Afrikaans te beskryf nie. Om 'n groter prentjie te kry van hoe hierdie werkwoorde presies in Afrikaans aangewend word, behoort meer variëteite en gebruikskontekste ondersoek te word.

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An appraisal of plain language in the South African banking sector

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Abstract

The Consumer Protection Act 68 of 2008 (CPA) came into full force in April 2011. An important corollary of this Act, and the National Credit Act 34 of 2005, is the obligation that consumer documents must be in plain language. It has long been debated whether it is possible to make legal documents available in plain language for lay consumption. The aim of this study is to investigate the successes and failures of the plain language project five years after the CPA became operational. This study relies on data collected through focus group interviews with bank employees in both language units and legal divisions.

Findings indicate that, in general, both legal and language practitioners concur that legal documents can be simplified under certain conditions, although consensus has not been reached about the degree of simplification and the types of legal documents that can be simplified. Interviewees experience difficulty with the vagueness of the plain language obligation. Findings also show that legal practitioners are concerned about prejudicing the legal status of documents and are reluctant to deviate from traditional styles of drafting. According to the language practitioners interviewed, legal practitioners use this as an excuse to avoid plain language, and lack of clear enforcement measures for non-compliance results in window-dressing and paying lip service to the intent of the plain language obligation. Findings also reveal that the location of the language services unit in the institution has a marked effect on the successful implementation of plain language in the banking sector. Banks prefer a combination of approaches to plain language, but no testing is done on real consumers. Among others, poor coordination, outsourcing, lack of (ongoing) training, limited use of indigenous languages and the absence of dedicated plain language style guides impact success.

Based on the findings of this study, a model for plain language in the financial services and other industries is proposed.

Keywords: banking sector, compliance, language services, legal practitioner, language practitioner, model for plain language

1.1 Introduction

A new era for language practice has been introduced in present-day South Africa with the promulgation of the National Credit Act 34 of 2005 (NCA) and the Consumer Protection Act 68 of 2008 (CPA). In the spirit of democracy and in keeping with the Constitution, these pieces of legislation afford consumers wide protection, and promote the use of understandable language in consumer documents. The right to information in plain and understandable language is now a basic right of consumers. The objective is, among others, to prevent practices where vulnerable consumers enter into agreements of which they do not fully understand its content and consequences. Traditional styles of legal drafting result in texts that often exceed the processing capacity of lay readers, rendering such readers vulnerable. This creates a language-based problem "with a clear language component" (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2004: 3). The field of applied linguistics is where solutions to such real-world language problems are pursued. Gibbons (2004: 285) suggests three phases to approach real-world language problems: (i) the *reflection* stage during which a language problem is revealed and analysed; (ii) an *action* stage during which treatment or intervention is developed; and (iii) an *evaluation* stage to determine the success of the treatment or intervention. This study represents an effort to evaluate the success and failures of the plain language project in the banking sector in contemporary South Africa.

The recent plain language enterprise in South Africa affects not only the consumer industry, but also the language profession. According to Cornelius (2012: 8–9) the plain language provisions in the NCA and CPA create a practical dilemma of who might be best qualified to apply plain language: Those who are legally trained, or those with training in languages and/or linguistics? Two resulting questions arise:

- Do language practitioners have the required knowledge, skills and expertise to accurately convey complex legal concepts and ideas in plain and understandable language without risk to legal status and legal consequence?
- Conversely, do legal practitioners have the required (text)linguistic and other related knowledge and skills to enhance consumers' understanding of the content and significance of a complex legal text such as a credit agreement?

It seems the solution may be multidisciplinary collaboration between *language practitioners*, employed in the language offices of financial services providers, such as banks, and *legal practitioners* employed by the same institution. The rare mix of legal knowledge, knowledge of language and knowledge of text linguistics can hardly ever be found in one single person. If the language units and legal divisions do not collaborate, and if they do not depart from a common understanding of what plain language is (including its potential and limitations) and their respective roles in and contributions to the plain language project, the project is doomed to fail. The result may be the exact opposite of what both the CPA and NCA envisage, and the providers of services and goods may end up paying lip service to the plain language provisions by effecting only superficial modifications in their documents in order to comply (Cornelius 2012: 8–9).

It has long been debated whether it is possible to make complex legal documents available in plain language for lay consumption. The aim of this paper is to investigate the successes and failures of the plain language project in the banking sector in South Africa, five years after the

implementation of the CPA in April 2011. Reflecting on the practices followed in the banking sector since the inception of the NCA and the CPA, this study is guided by the following research question: Is it possible to make available complex, legally binding documents in plain language and if so, how can this be achieved?

These questions were answered by conducting focus group interviews with employees of both language offices and legal divisions in three major banks. Debates about the possibilities and limitations of plain language are briefly discussed below; followed by a discussion of the 'plain language' definition in relation to other definitions of plain language, before the findings of the study are presented and discussed. Finally, a model for plain language in the banking sector is presented.

2.   Debates about plain language

Ever since the development of the *plain language movement* during the 1960s and 1970s elsewhere in the world, it has been debated, in both legal and linguistic circles, whether it is indeed possible to make complex (legal) documents, containing complex (legal) concepts and ideas, available in plain language for lay audiences (Kimble 1998-2000; 1994-1995). There are those who are highly sceptical of plain language. Kimble (1994-1995) summarises the debates at the time and refers to the old and the new criticism. The old criticism comes principally from within the legal fraternity. According to Kimble (1994-1995), supporters of this type of criticism claim that it is not possible to convey complex legal ideas in anything other than legalese. The new criticism comes mainly from outside the legal profession. These critics hold, among others, that there is no concrete proof that the use of plain language enhances comprehension and that its use will not necessarily reduce litigation.

Then there are those who believe it is wholly possible to communicate complex ideas and concepts in clear, unambiguous terms, without loss of legal consequence or status (Kimble 1994-1995).

Kimble (1992: 19–22) presents the criticism in the form of four myths:

- *Myth 1*: Proponents of plain language "[...] want first grade prose, or want to reduce writing to the lowest common denominator".
- *Myth 2*: Plain language does not allow any form of literary expression or effect. It does not recognise the ceremonial value of legal language.
- *Myth 3*: Plain language cannot replace legal language, as the latter contains many technical (specialist) terms.
- *Myth 4*: Plain language is not attainable as a goal, as the complex ideas that underpin the law require precision and accuracy.

Kimble (1992) then continues to refute each of these myths in the form of three realities:

- *Reality 1*: Legal language fails all tests, such as readability tests and comprehension tests. Moreover, readers prefer documents that are presented to them in plain language.
- *Reality 2*: Plain language saves time and money. Its use stimulates business and promotes competition.

- *Reality 3*: The use of complex legal language results in a lack of respect for lawyers and the law.

3.   Approaching plain language in the consumer industry in South Africa

In terms of section 64(2) of the NCA and section 22(2) of the CPA, consumer documents must be in plain language, to the extent that:

> *[...] an ordinary consumer of the class of persons for whom the notice, document or visual representation is intended, with average literacy skills and minimal experience as a consumer of the relevant goods or services, could be expected to understand the content, significance and import of the notice, document or visual representation without undue effort, having regard to –*
> *(a) the context, comprehensiveness and consistency of the notice [...];*
> *(b) the organisation, form and style of the notice [...];*
> *(c) the vocabulary, usage and sentence structure of the notice [...]; and*
> *(d) the use of any illustrations, examples, headings or other aids to reading and understanding.*

Knight (2006:19), who was involved in the formulation of plain language definition observes:

> As a declared right, section 64 [of the NCA and section 22 of the CPA] enjoys a protected status within the Act. Any attempt to contract out of it would be illegal, and consumers who act to enforce this right are protected from retribution by the lender.

Knight (2006:19) also puts the right to plain language in context:

> […] clarity has been declared to be a right, alongside the right to participate in the economy, the right not to be discriminated against when participating in the economy, the right to receive information, and the right to have legal rights protected.

Cornelius (2015: 9) analyses this definition in relation to international classifications of plain language definitions and concludes that "(T)he definition […] displays characteristics of both elements-focused and outcomes-focused definition types […]". She continues as follows:

> The definition contains guidelines for readability and clarity in the form of a list of writing techniques and linguistic devices to be employed, but also suggests that testing could be an important consideration. […] Empirical testing and statistical results can inform the guidelines according to which plain language practitioners should write or rewrite consumer documents for lay audiences. Testing can eliminate subjectivity and guesswork that may be inherent in the phrase "that an ordinary consumer […] could be expected to understand".

According to the Plain Language Group of South Africa (2010: 2), South Africa takes the lead when it comes to plain language legislation and the local definition of plain language has been

widely commended for its comprehensiveness. However, for consumers to be protected by these laws the Plain Language Group warned in 2010 that standards are needed to ensure compliance and enforcement by organisations and companies, and that "a common understanding of what plain language is" is of the utmost importance to avoid costly effects of approaching the plain language project from a precarious basis.

Knight (2006: 20) addresses the issue of standards and comes to two conclusions: an objective test (such as a readability formula) would allow for "technical compliance, but substantive evasion", and a subjective test (assessing compliance in terms of the actual ability of a specific consumer to understand a document, or the probability that a particular class of consumers is likely to understand) would mean that "(I)ndustry would never have any degree of certainty that it was complying with the law, and would always be exposed to an unacceptable degree of risk". What, then, is the route out of this apparent impasse?

The answer, according to Knight (2006: 21), lies in an imagined ordinary consumer, whose "ability to read and understand a document varies with two kinds of life experience": this consumer is a "somewhat experienced reader" and a "novice debtor". The court will thus have to determine "whether it is reasonably probable that a somewhat experienced reader, even though a novice debtor, who makes a reasonable effort to do so, will comprehend the document" (ibid). In addition, and in relation to the three nouns "content", "significance" and "import", the court should take into consideration the purpose of consumers in reading the credit agreements they enter into and whether they understand (i) what the document communicates; (ii) what the document has to do with the credit arrangements; and (iii) the effect of the document. Lastly, the court, or any person who wants to determine whether a document is in plain language, should also examine four textual features: whether (i) the thought "reflected in the document […] is […] complete, comprehensive and consistent"; (ii) the organisation and presentation is logical, (iii) attention has been given to vocabulary and sentence structure; and (4) aids to understanding have been used. Finally, Knight (2006: 21) concludes that the plain language rule "requires that the intended readers will probably be able to understand the document, and directs the court and others as to how to assess whether that test has been met".

Against this backdrop, and in order to achieve the overall aim of this study, it is necessary to determine, among others (i) how major banks in South Africa interpret the definition; (ii) the specific approach they follow to ensure compliance; and (iii) what yardsticks, if any, they use to determine whether a document is indeed in plain language.

4. Methodology

This qualitative study is directed by the following research question: Is it possible to make complex, legally binding bank documents available in plain language and if so, how can this be achieved? The ways in which three major South African banks approach the plain language directive are explored by focusing on three levels, from high level ideas to project in action in divisions within the institution: (i) **macro** processes and procedures on a *regulatory level*, relating to legislative requirements, compliance, and issues of interpretation, (ii) **meso** approaches on an *institutional level*, relating to policies, practices and workflow processes within the bank; and (iii) **micro** strategies on the *language services level* relating to specific editorial practices and translation issues.

4.1 Data collection

This qualitative study constitutes a grounded theory study, as it is essentially data-driven (Henning 2004; Leedy and Ormrod 2005). This study thus attempts to develop theory, in the form of a model, by discussing and conceptualising the data. One of the methods of data collection in a grounded theory study is focus group interviews (Leedy and Ormrod 2005: 144). Indeed, Kitzinger (1994: 108) asserts that "(G)roup work is invaluable for grounded theory development".

The decision to use focus group interviews is based on the premise that focus groups do not "make statements about the population but provide insights about how people in the groups perceive a situation" (Krueger and Casey 2009: 66). In addition, focus groups are useful as "(I)nteraction among participants may be more informative than individually conducted interviews" (Leedy and Ormrod 2005: 146). Remenyi (2013: 57) refers to "multiple voices" being heard on a particular topic, providing a "richer understanding than even the most knowledgeable single voice". The researcher aimed to create conditions for a robust debate between group participants. This study aims to explore a topic, i.e. approaches to plain language in the banking sector, about which precious little is known.

The three focus group interviews were held on location; that is, in a boardroom on the premises of each of the three banks in question. Group discussions lasted on average one and a half hours.

4.2 Composition of the focus groups

According to Krueger and Casey (2009: 66) the composition of the focus group is "characterized by homogeneity, but with sufficient variation among participants to allow for contrasting opinions". Kitzinger (1995: 300) agrees:

> Most researchers recommend aiming for homogeneity within each group in order to capitalise on people's shared experiences. However, it can also be advantageous to bring together a diverse group (for example, from a range of professions) to maximise exploration of different perspectives within a group setting.

In this study, a total of three focus groups were created, each group consisting of "clusters of people who already knew each other through […] working […] together" (Kitzinger 1994: 105) on the plain language project in the three banks. These groups can be regarded as "naturally occurring" (Kitzinger 1995: 300) groups, as these people work together in a single institution. In order to investigate the research problem from two angles – from the perspective of legal and language practitioners – representatives from both language services units and legal divisions participated. This would "allow for contrasting opinions", as envisaged by Krueger and Casey (2009: 66), and would ensure that the plain language project is viewed from at least two different vantage points.

In the case of Bank B, representatives from the legal division initially agreed to participate, but cancelled as they did not feel comfortable to participate in the focus group discussion. However, this division offered to respond, in writing, to the questions outside of the focus group interview. The interview questions were sent to a representative of this division electronically and a

unified response – representing the viewpoints of the legal division – to all the questions was returned, also electronically. These responses were incorporated in the data analysis.

In the case of Bank C, representatives from the legal division were not available, for an unknown reason, when the focus group discussion took place. They initially accepted the invitation to participate, but cancelled on the day the focus group discussion was scheduled to take place. In this case, an employee from the documents section of the bank, who was, and still is, intricately involved in the plain language project, participated and was able to speak for the legal division, to a certain extent. This is not ideal, and could be seen as a limitation of the study. However, the researcher has little control over who the banks allow to participate in a research study.

In both cases, the apparent reluctance to participate occurred in the legal divisions of the banks, not in the language services units, which could be interpreted in different ways: (i) it may simply be a case of representatives genuinely not being available as other more serious work required attention; (ii) this disinclination to participate, after demonstrating initial interest, may point to an awareness of potential compliance problems; (iii) they have been instructed by higher powers not to participate, when word of the focus group interviews got out; or (iv) in the case of Bank B, they preferred to provide unified and carefully considered (not spontaneous) responses as a group, not as individuals.

The three banks that participated were included in this study as they have language services units. Banks who do not have language services units were excluded from the current study; however, in a follow-up study these banks could also be approached to find out how they carried out the plain language project in the absence of a dedicated language services unit.

Due to the relatively small number of participants in each case (no less than three, but no more than four participants per group), the groups can be regarded as "small focus groups, or mini-focus groups", with the advantage that "the smaller groups are easier to recruit and host and are more comfortable for participants" (Krueger and Casey 2009: 67). A total of 10 participants contributed to the discussions.

Each participant signed an informed consent form, in which issues of confidentiality and anonymity were dealt with, and completed a short biographical questionnaire, eliciting information such as position in the bank, length of employment in the bank, age, highest qualification, etc.

4.3 Procedure

The researcher first explained the purpose of the study and made it pertinently clear that the purpose of the study is not to check for compliance. She also explained issues relating to confidentiality and anonymity, after which she made available the consent forms for participants to read and sign. The researcher subsequently introduced the topic, starting off with (a) general, "open-ended 'grand tour' question(s) that seek to obtain participants' overall orientation toward (the) topic" (Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook 2007: 114) and then moving on to more specific questions as, according to Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick (2008: 293) "(Q)uestions should move from general to more specific questions".

The first question relates to perceptions in each bank towards the plain language project. Although the purpose of this question was to introduce the topic, to break the ice and to put participants at ease, responses are of extreme importance for the purpose of this study and the research question. Interviewees were asked to write down their responses to this question. The rationale for this was to get responses from all interviewees, not only those who took a conversational turn.

The researcher then proceeded by following a schedule consisting of a set of some 15 questions (see the interview schedule in the appendix), on three levels – from macro level to micro level – gradually moving from high-level ideas and interpretations to project in action, as already mentioned. This framework is also used for the purposes of data analysis.

- On the **macro** level: Topics were introduced to elicit responses pertaining to processes and procedures to ensure compliance with the plain language provision in the NCA and CPA. Such questions would revolve around the bank's interpretation of the plain language provisions/definition in the two acts, whether the bank has a language policy and/or a plain language policy in place, management of the project and compliance issues, etc.

- On the **meso** level: Here the discussion would focus on choices flowing from the bank's interpretation of the plain language provision and definition. Topics on this level include information regarding training and recruitment of employees to apply plain language, workload and use of resources, insourcing and outsourcing, relationships between divisions or units involved in the project, etc.

- On the **micro** level: Topics centred around specific editorial practices and translation issues. It is important to ascertain whether the banks in question have a plain language style guide in place, thereby (i) providing guidance to those involved in the actual drafting or rewriting of bank documents in plain language; and (ii) ensuring consistency in the bank's documents.

All three focus group discussions were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed.

As mentioned earlier in this paper, this study aims to explore a topic about which little is known. Stewart et al. (2007: 109) note the following: "For such exploratory research, a simple descriptive narrative is quite appropriate and often all that is necessary". In analysing the data, the "scissor-and-sort-technique" (Stewart et al. 2007: 116) was followed. Although the researcher followed a schedule, introducing one question or topic at a time, the focus group participants tended to revisit earlier topics at later stages during the interviews, for instance when they remembered something of importance later on.

The researcher thus found this technique very useful. It entailed working through the transcripts and coding information related to different topics or questions, by using the framework for analysis outlined above. Following the coding process, the data were rearranged according to the framework for data analysis, so that information relevant to a particular topic was placed together, according to the three levels (macro, meso and micro) discussed above.

In the section below, the interpretative analysis follows. To ensure confidentiality, banks' identities are withheld; instead banks are referred to as Bank A, Bank B and Bank C.

5.   Analysis and discussion of the data

5.1 Responses to the "grand tour" question

As mentioned, in each case, the focus group interview was initiated with a general question. This question asked the following, to which interviewees responded in writing: "*To what extent do you think bank documents can be successfully produced in plain language for the ordinary person to understand without much effort*?" This question was followed with: "*Has this always been your view? Or have you changed your view somewhere along the line?*"

In general, all participants, both legal and language practitioners, agree that applying plain language is possible, but not without:

- incurring relatively high cost;
- much effort;
- close collaboration between different role-players in the institution;
- uniform interpretation and set guidelines;
- taking into consideration the varied target audiences of bank documents;
- a solid grasp of the contents of the document;
- ensuring that the legal status of a document is not compromised; and
- managing risks.

Both the legal and language practitioners from Bank B provided nuanced and qualified responses. One of the interviewees (a language practitioner) from the language services unit responded as follows: "I do not think all legal contracts can be simplified and still be risk-free as far as legal enforceability is concerned. Some simplification is however possible". Another language practitioner mentioned that, in very complex legal contracts, intervention may be limited to cosmetic changes only. The legal practitioner agreed by mentioning that marketing and product material can be produced in accessible and understandable language, but in legally binding documents there is potential for prejudicing the consumer and the bank. Bank C's language practitioners intimated that legal practitioners in the bank often hide behind the idea that legal documents have to be legally binding and thus they are not always convinced plain language is an option.

In response to the follow-up question, interviewees from all banks who were initially against the idea of plain language, changed their views after increased exposure to and practice in plain language principles. A language practitioner from Bank A mentioned that she always thought "legal is legal" and that "old habits die hard", referring to the more traditional styles of legal drafting, but that she is now convinced that some simplification is possible. Thus, either interviewees were always convinced that the use of plain language is possible in bank documents, or those who were initially sceptical, became more accepting of its merits after experiencing positive results. However, interviewees across all banks agree there is always a need to carefully manage potential risks.

5.2 Data collected on the macro level

Four questions relate to regulatory issues on the macro, institutional level.

5.2.1   Familiarity with and interpretation of the plain language provision

The researcher introduced a set of related questions pertaining to the plain language provision in both acts: "*How familiar are you with the plain language provision in the NCA and the CPA? What guidance did you get from that provision, if any?*"

Interviewees from all three banks indicated that, whenever a new law is passed, legal advisors within each bank will produce a position paper. One legal practitioner from Bank A explained that the bank would arrive at a single interpretation of a particular section and come up with action plans for implementation. In the case of Bank A, for instance, all stakeholders in the bank would be informed of the bank's interpretation of a particular section. In this case, this position paper would then constitute the official plain language policy of Bank A.

Across the board, interviewees pointed out that they are familiar with the provision, but that little guidance is provided in the provision. This vacuum results in two important consequences: (i) banks are willing to take risks, as there is no indication of enforcement measures or penalties; and (ii) adaptation of bank documents for lay consumption boils down to guesswork about what plain language is, when a document can be regarded to be in plain language, what "undue effort" is, and so on. One of the legal practitioners (incidentally from Bank A) mentioned that he looked at a legal document and asked a colleague why this particular document is not in plain language, upon which the colleague replied that it is in plain language and that he is indeed looking at the plain language version.

It thus seems that the banks' position papers are therefore not really helpful to those employees working in different divisions in the bank. Again, in the case of Bank A, a language practitioner noted that the problem with the plain language provision is that there are no criteria available to measure documents for compliance. In the legal section alone, there are approximately 40 people who can, potentially, each have their own interpretation of what plain language is. This, again, indicates that the bank's position paper is not helpful.

This problem occurs in all three banks. Language practitioners from Bank B mentioned it would be possible to tick all the boxes in relation to compliance with the NCA and CPA (they have all the required clauses in their contracts, they explain everything that needs to be explained, and the customer needs to agree to and sign all confirmations). Yet, a degree of window-dressing seems to remain, as "anyone with a modest degree of creativity can assemble simple words in short, direct sentences that nevertheless obscure meaning (Knight 2006: 20).

Knight (2006: 19) advises industry as follows:

> (f)irst […] consider the scope of application of the [relevant] Act, both as to the transactions to which it applies, the borrowers who are protected by it, and the documents that are required to meet the 'plain language' standard.

Position papers should provide guidance for easy implementation and interpretations should be such that they give effect to the spirit of the plain language provision.

During all three focus group interviews, mention was made of a new regulatory approach in banks, known as the TCF (Treating Customers Fairly) doctrine to which banks subscribe. This means the National Credit Regulator (NCR) will consider market conduct at every level of dealings within the bank. There are six outcomes of the TCF policy and one of these is to make sure customers know what they are getting themselves into.

Banks, according to one of the interviewees (a legal practitioner from Bank A), have to test themselves against that principle at all times in everything it does, including making understandable agreements available. Such a philosophy moves beyond legislation and interpretation of wording; it is wider than the use of language only. A manager of language services in Bank B mentioned that they do not pay attention to the two acts (NCA and CPA) in isolation, as this would amount to window-dressing. There is a need to work wider than what legislation requires of banks. All interviewees agreed that the plain language provision in the NCA and CPA neatly dovetails with the TCF.

5.2.2 Compliance and testing

In response to the question "*Do you test your plain language documents on real readers at all?*", interviewees from all banks indicated that they do not test any of their bank documents on consumers and that they do not have standards or measures in place to ensure compliance. One of the legal practitioners from Bank A mentioned that, during drafting of agreements for instance, he tests the document on himself by assuming the role of the reader. A language practitioner from the same bank warned against this, as a drafter with legal training and experience, and domain knowledge, is never really able to put himself in the shoes of a vulnerable consumer; moreover, such a person is a sophisticated reader of the type of document concerned and, as such, can never be a reader with "minimal experience as a consumer of the relevant goods or services". Interviewees from Bank C noted that reviews of all standard legal documents are carried out every two years, but this does not involve testing on real consumers.

Testing can be a helpful tool where vagueness creates problems. As mentioned earlier, Cornelius (2015: 9) suggests that testing can "eliminate subjectivity and guesswork that may be inherent in the phrase 'that an ordinary consumer […] could be expected to understand'". Despite Knight's (2006) reservations about testing (cf. section 3), small-scale testing of documents on real readers can be very meaningful and does not have to be a costly endeavour, as Schriver (1991: 155) suggests "[…] even one protocol is better than no protocol […]". The results of a small-scale test can inform subsequent revisions to a document.

5.2.3 Language policy

The question "*Does your bank have a language policy?*" was specifically introduced to find out how banks deal with the fact that the plain language provision in the NCA and CPA ignores the linguistic landscape in South Africa, and provides no guidance on how multilingualism and multiculturalism should be dealt with in the consumer industry.

What transpired during the focus group interviews, and which is critical for this study (more important than a general question about language policy), is that banks must enter into agreements with the NCR in terms of the languages they select for use in credit agreements. All three banks have such agreements in place, undertaking to make available credit agreements in two official languages. In all cases these two languages are English and Afrikaans.

Abridged, and simplified, versions of such agreements are made available in an additional three (in the case of Bank A, four) indigenous languages. However, these abridged versions are not legally binding and for information purposes only, as the customer does not sign such a version. One of the language practitioners from Bank B mentioned that this is an attempt to work around the gap in the plain language provision (that is, that the multilingual and multicultural South African landscape is not acknowledged).

Although this attempt to address the gap in the plain language provision is commendable in some sense, an important corollary of limiting the use of the indigenous languages to abridged credit agreements without legal status, is that the indigenous languages are relegated to the background, their status is diminished and so it further perpetuates what Kahn (2001: 3) warned against: "The black languages are virtually non-existent in law and commerce".[1] Although a vulnerable consumer is provided with an abridged, and possibly more accessible, credit agreement in an indigenous language, the consumer still has to sign a full agreement in a language s/he does not necessarily understand (English or Afrikaans).

5.2.4   Legality of and signing of documents

These topics were introduced by asking two questions: "*How do you ensure that the legality of documents is not compromised by the use of plain language?*" and "*Describe the processes, if any, that are in place to ensure that legal documents are checked and signed off, after they have been revised for plain language.*"

In all three cases there are strict procedures in place for signing off documents to ensure that the legality of documents is not jeopardised as a result of any simplification attempts. Documents are usually signed off by a number of different divisions within a bank, such as compliance, credit, business, legal and language services.

Strict measures are in place in Bank A, whereby the following business units sign off on a document: compliance, credit, business and legal. The responsibility does not lie with one single unit or person, such as language services. This is in line with banks' predilection to avoid risk of any nature whatsoever, including any potential risk that might arise due to the use of accessible language.

5.3 Data collected on the meso level

5.3.1   Location of language services in the institution

Responses to the question "*Where is the language services unit located in the bank?*" revealed that the language services unit is either in a unit typically referred to as marketing and

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[1] The author of this article does not agree with Kahn's (2001) use of the term "black languages".

communication (in Banks A and C) or, as in the case of Bank B, in the compliance unit. Interviewees from Bank B noted that the issue of plain language is a compliance issue in terms of the NCA and CPA. During the interviews, it became clear that the language services unit has more authority if it is placed in the compliance unit, as they "can raise the risk" (the words of a language practitioner). This echoes a recent finding by De Scally (2015: 71) in relation to corporate language offices, such as government departments, banks and statutory bodies: "Reporting to a client impacts on credibility and is not best practice."

An interviewee from Bank C's language services unit said after translation or editing, business units can bring about any change in a document, and this directly relates to the relative position of the unit in the larger organisation (i.e. if the language services unit is not located in the unit responsible for compliance). An additional, but related, problem is that employees in the marketing and communication unit, under which languages services in Bank B resort, think that language services work for them and that their work should always receive priority (this is also in line with the finding of De Scally 2015).

A language practitioner from Bank A also agreed that the issue of location within the bank has important consequences, in the sense that it is not clear who takes responsibility to drive the plain language project in the bank (in her words: "It is all very confusing."). One of the legal practitioners agreed by saying: "If the bank's documents are not in order, compliance regulatory services must take the fall."

5.3.2   Approaches to the plain language provision

This topic was introduced by explaining to interviewees three possible approaches to the plain language provision in the NCA and CPA: formula-based, elements-focused or outcomes-focused (Cheek 2010, Cornelius 2015). Interviewees were asked the following questions: "*Which approach, or combination of approaches, did/do you follow in relation to the plain language provision in the two acts? Or did you follow a different approach altogether?*"

Responses revealed that none of the banks follow a formula-based approach (for instance, subjecting their documents to readability formulas). Bank A's language practitioner mentioned that the bank follows an elements-focused approach. Language practitioners from Banks B and C are of the opinion that they follow a combination of elements-based and outcomes-focused approaches. They thus follow writing guidelines (typical of an elements-based approach), but at the same time they consider the potential target reader (typical of an outcomes-focused approach), according to the type of document concerned.

5.3.3   Prioritising documents

Responses to the questions: "*How do you arrive at decisions about which documents to deal with first? How do you prioritise, as the bank surely has a great number of documents on its books?*", revealed that client-facing documents and marketing material are singled out for plain language intervention. An agreement between the bank and another company, for example, does not require the use of plain language. The same holds true for documents in the business and wealth units. Interviewees from all three banks indicated that they experience problems with heterogeneous readerships, even within a single category of documents, for example client-facing documents.

However, a description of particular information, provided by interviewees, regarding banks' approaches to different types of documents is needed in order to provide a complete picture of how documents are prioritised and in which cases use of plain language is regarded a priority.

In Bank A, there are two kinds of credit or transactional agreements:

- First, there are templates that are stored on the bank's system. These documents were revised some eight years ago, in order to comply with the plain language provision, when the NCA came into force. Subsequently, whenever legislation changes, only the relevant clauses that are affected by these legislative changes are revisited. One of the legal practitioners noted that plain language in these templates "died a slow death", as what was done some years ago remains, and in response to legislation changes only particular clauses are revised, when and where needed. Additionally, many different people work on the same document over an extended period of time.
- Second, there is the case of bespoke agreements. These are agreements that are drafted and tailored for specific purposes, usually in the presence of the customer. In these cases, plain language is right at the bottom of the priority list, as a result of quick turnaround times and other pressures.

The legal practitioners highlighted the problems they experience with different types of readerships and different types of legal documents, and the mind shift this requires of those involved in document drafting. Interviewees mentioned that plain language is no longer something that Bank A actively focuses on, except for SMSs, flyers and advertisements.

Interviewees from Bank B indicated that they do not use plain language in any legal agreements, due to the potential risks to the bank. However, they use plain and understandable language in explanatory statements that, as mentioned, are not legally binding. The legal practitioner mentioned that client-facing documents and marketing material are a priority.

Bank C focuses on all standard legal agreements (i.e. the terms and conditions of all their products). They recently embarked on a comprehensive simplification and consolidation project, resulting in a reduction from approximately 900 to around 400 bank documents. Interviewees alluded to the huge successes of this project.

From the above, it is clear that banks experience problems with the two-audience, or multi-audience, dilemma (Gibbons 2003: 174): the difficulty of writing for competing audiences. Such difficulties in deciding which audience to write for is ever present in South Africa, a problem compounded by a population that is characterised by wide-ranging literacy rates. Therefore, it is important for banks to categorise their documents according to potential target readerships and potential risk, and to focus on client-facing documents that have "*an ordinary consumer of the class of persons for whom the notice, document or visual representation is intended, with average literacy skills and minimal experience as a consumer*" as their primary readership.

This is echoed by Sullivan (2001: 108) when she suggested that such ordinary citizens are typically not members of the legal profession who have "above average intelligence and

sophisticated reading skills; its members [those of the legal profession] are highly educated and unusually well-informed".

5.3.4   Cooperation between divisions in the bank

Interviewees were asked: "*Describe the relationship between different divisions and role-players involved in the plain language project in your bank.*" Reponses point to high levels of cooperation in all three banks, specifically between legal and language units, but also with compliance officers in the banks. One of the language practitioners from Bank B works closely with two legal practitioners on the drafting of the explanatory statements this bank makes available in the indigenous languages. The legal practitioners are acutely aware of issues that may become problems with the ombud and the NCR, and therefore, such cooperation is crucially important. Interviewees representing Bank C mentioned that all role-players are viewed as experts in their field and, as such, they contribute specialised knowledge and skills to the plain language project.

5.3.5   Availability and use of resources

(i)   Human resources and workflow

Responses to the question "*Who does the actual plain language work in your bank*?" revealed that varied practices are followed.

At Bank A plain language work is outsourced, as is translation into the indigenous languages. However, translation and editing work in English and Afrikaans is done in-house. At Bank B, explanatory statements are drafted in-house by one of the language practitioners (in collaboration with two legal practitioners). Outsourcing of this function was considered at some point in the past, but decided against. Translation into the indigenous languages is outsourced.

The Afrikaans and English language combination is dealt with in the language services unit. Legal practitioners of Bank C do all plain language work. Translation is the responsibility of the language services unit, who is able to deal with Afrikaans, English and Sotho in-house. However, as agreed with the NCR, translation into the indigenous languages is currently on hold (involvement of the language services unit is limited to translation of bank documents into Afrikaans only), but if customers request to have a document in a particular language, they will be assisted in their language of choice.

Interviewees across the board described outsourcing as a difficult and complex process, as quality is most often compromised. It is necessary to check the quality of freelancers' work, a problem that is exacerbated by limited time and human resources. Consistency problems are prevalent as a result of outsourcing.

(ii)   Workload and cost

As far as the question "*How did the plain language project impact your workload?*" is concerned, interviewees all agreed that the impact on workload is substantial, and that workload more than doubled since the inception of the NCA some 10 years ago. Interviewees from all

three banks also indicated that the demand for plain language by far exceeds translation demands.

When asked the question "*How costly is the project?*", interviewees from Bank A noted that outsourcing runs into millions of rand. Bank B language practitioners also noted high cost, but intimated that they are not convinced the project was cost-effective, as resources were wasted on practices that were not sensibly and sustainably conceptualised and executed. However, according to the legal practitioner, additional cost and effort ultimately benefit the banks' customers and therefore these costs are justified. Bank C interviewees warned that "business as usual" suffers as a result of the use of in-house resources (both human and financial) for plain language and simplification projects.

(iii)   Training

The researcher introduced the topic of training by asking: "*Do employees in the language services unit and legal division receive training in the principles of plain language and are they equipped to do plain language work?*"

Employees received, and continue receiving, very limited, if any, training in plain language principles or drafting of bank documents for ordinary consumers. There is a serious need for in-depth training and continued professional development. Training to date has been mostly limited to short workshops of no longer than two days at a time.

One of the legal practitioners employed by Bank A stated that there are a number of legal practitioners working at the bank who have never received any training whatsoever and incoming (new) employees are also untrained. The language practitioners representing Bank B lamented the fact that, in general, very few language practitioners are trained and adequately equipped to work in the financial services industry and thus there are not enough newly trained language practitioners entering the job market.

This problem is further exacerbated by employment equity requirements. Some years ago both legal and language practitioners from Bank B attended a training course, offered by the Law Society, but the legal practitioners walked out as the training was of very poor quality and the content not credible. In the case of Bank C, expertise was brought in from the United Kingdom (UK). Employees are not formally trained but they learn, by way of modelling, from these experts from the UK.

5.3.6   Perceptions in the bank

(i)   Perceptions about the concept 'plain language'

Interviewees were asked "*What is the general perception in your institution about plain language: Are people positive or negative towards the notion of plain language?*" Interviewees in general indicated that banks are mostly positive towards the concept and the underlying philosophy and spirit of the plain language provisions in the NCA and CPA.

However, according to the legal practitioners from Bank A, the challenge rather lies in the varied perceptions people have of what plain language is. This lack of a uniform interpretation

of the concept 'plain language' poses a bigger problem than people's acceptance of the need to make legal documents easier to understand by ordinary customers. In Bank B, the language practitioners referred to a perception among legal practitioners in the bank that the use of plain language dilutes the legal status of a document. The legal practitioner, in turn, agreed that documents can only be simplified if there is no concomitant loss of legal meaning and if the legal status of a document remains intact.

It thus seems that, although banks are positive about the need to use plain language, there is little consensus about (i) the concept 'plain language', and (ii) the degree of simplification required, and consequential legal issues and risks.

(ii)   Perceptions about success/failure of the plain language project

In response to the question: "*Do you believe the plain language project in your institution was/is a success or a failure?*" responses were varied.

Interviewees from two banks (Banks A and B) explicitly noted that banks are "getting away" due to the lack of enforcement. Bank C's interviewees described the plain language project as a huge success.

One of the legal practitioners from Bank A provided a somewhat peculiar measure of success, by responding as follows: "Well, we haven't been fined yet."[2] Viewed in this way, it means not having been fined equals success. However, he noted that a much better test would be the TCF doctrine, referred to earlier. According to a language practitioner from Bank B, banks limit their risks and deal with problems on an exception basis. This language practitioner mentioned banks can afford to do so, as in South Africa "banks operate in a market where consumers do not take them to court". Bank C interviewees described the current simplification project at the bank as a huge success, in that it facilitates translation, particularly into the indigenous languages. They also agree, as in the case of Bank A, that the bank's brand and image are in danger if customers receive documents that they cannot understand. Following the simplification drive, bank employees noticed a marked reduction of administration tasks as a direct result.

Stumbling blocks that hamper the success of the plain language project include the following:

- Documents are not revisited continuously; only when legislation changes. This results in a disorganised approach to plain language and lack of consistency in bank documents.
- Lack of planning, coordination, sound project management and centralisation leads to wasteful expenditure and other consequences (for instance, translations into indigenous languages are not updated when legislation changes and they are not offered to customers by branch employees, resulting in low uptake in these languages). A number of these problems relate to the location of the language services unit in a division other than compliance.

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[2] This may not be entirely true. Interviewees from another bank mentioned that this particular bank has indeed been taken to court on the basis of a poorly drafted contract, but the details of this case will not be divulged in this article as it will compromise the anonymity of this bank.

- The outsource model does not work well, as quality assurance problems are pervasive and checking freelancers' output is time-consuming, and often there are not sufficient human resources available for this task.
- Legal practitioners' fear of risk result in cosmetic interventions and window-dressing.

5.4 Data collected on the micro level

Data collected on the micro level mainly relate to consistency issues, ensuring that uniform editorial decisions on text level are made by all those involved in the plain language project. Two issues are considered on this level: (i) whether banks have, and follow, a dedicated plain language style guide; and (ii) what quality assurance procedures are in place.

5.4.1   Plain language style guide

The question "*Does your bank have a plain language style guide or checklist?*" revealed the following: One bank (Bank A) has two versions of a plain language style guide, whereas the other two banks do not have a plain language style guide. However, of note, is that both the legal and language practitioners from Bank A believed, at the time of the interview, that the bank does not have a plain language style guide.

A week after the interview, one of the legal practitioners informed the researcher that he obtained two different style guides, outlining plain language principles and dealing with interpretation issues. However, it is telling that none of the interviewees, at the time of the focus group interview, knew of the existence of these documents. As mentioned, Bank B does not make legal agreements available in plain language as it increases risk and therefore they do not have a style guide specifically dedicated to plain language. They have a general style guide, setting out editing principles to be followed in all bank documents. They also, on a very superficial level, edit for increased understanding, for instance by removing "shall", by opting for active voice, by avoiding excessive use of capital letters, and so forth. Bank C also has no style guide for plain language, although they have a fairly vague general style guide.

For translation and editing, style manuals and guides are important as, according to Mossop (2007: 39), they "help create a distinctive institutional voice […] and create consistency among all the texts" produced by a bank. The absence of a style guide for plain language is detrimental to consistency. Uniform approaches within an institution to plain language, grounded in research on text processing and comprehension, are critically important to ensure the success of the project.

A well conceptualised and comprehensive plain language style guide can, therefore, go a long way to alleviate some of the problems that are created by the vagueness practitioners experience in the plain language provision in the NCA and CPA, and can reduce the amount of guesswork that practitioners – both language and legal – resort to in order to comply with these acts. In addition, the existence of a plain language style guide could also provide evidence of the bank's diligence, and its commitment to the use of the understandable language, if ever a dispute arises or a complaint is lodged.

In the case of all three banks, document length is an important issue. Banks want to keep documents short, as they work from the assumption that customers are more inclined to read

shorter documents, and printing costs are thereby reduced. On the other hand, it is by now accepted that plain language documents are often longer than the original documents they are based on, as more clarification is required and examples are often provided to render content less abstract (Cornelius 2012: 271). However, (longer) plain language documents are easier to process and to translate, and less reading time is required due to the less dense packaging of information. The reputational risk a bank is likely to suffer as a result of shorter (but more difficult to understand) documents can be higher than the printing cost of longer (but easier to understand) documents. Banks need to weigh up the arguments for and against document length carefully.

5.4.2   Consistency of choices and quality assurance

The last question was "*How do you ensure consistency (of approach and choices) among all practitioners working on the project?*" All three banks rely heavily on outsourcing of different services, from plain language to translation (particularly into the indigenous languages). However, in all cases, interviewees noted a number of problems that outsourcing creates, mostly relating to mistakes and consistency issues. These problems place a burden on in-house practitioners who are already overworked – ironically, the primary reason for outsourcing in the first place.

According to a language practitioner from Bank A, different agencies or contractors follow different approaches. A single standard clause may occur in more than one agreement, yet it is treated differently by freelancers working for those agencies or contractors. Even though the bank's general style sheet is provided to outside agencies or contractors, the style sheet is not specific enough to ensure consistency for plain language revision.

Although Bank B does not revise their documents for plain language, as already noted, the explanatory statements they make available are drafted in-house, as outsourcing poses huge risks to the legal status of bank agreements. Translation into the indigenous languages is outsourced to the same agency which goes to great lengths to ensure that the same translator works on the same document or set of documents. This practice, according to interviewees, is effective.

Bank C's plain language work is done by legal practitioners within the bank, and as translation into the indigenous languages has been suspended, except when a particular request is received, consistency and quality assurance problems are limited.

6.   Recommendation: a proposed model for plain language in the banking sector

The findings reported in this article are used to inform a proposed model for plain language in the banking sector. The model suggests ideal and conducive conditions, procedures, approaches and practices that should be in place to ensure effective and successful implementation of the plain language project and to give effect to the spirit of the plain language obligations in the NCA and CPA. This model may also apply in other sectors or institutions, possibly with minor adaptation, where required. Below is a schematic representation of the model, followed by a discussion of each of its modules.
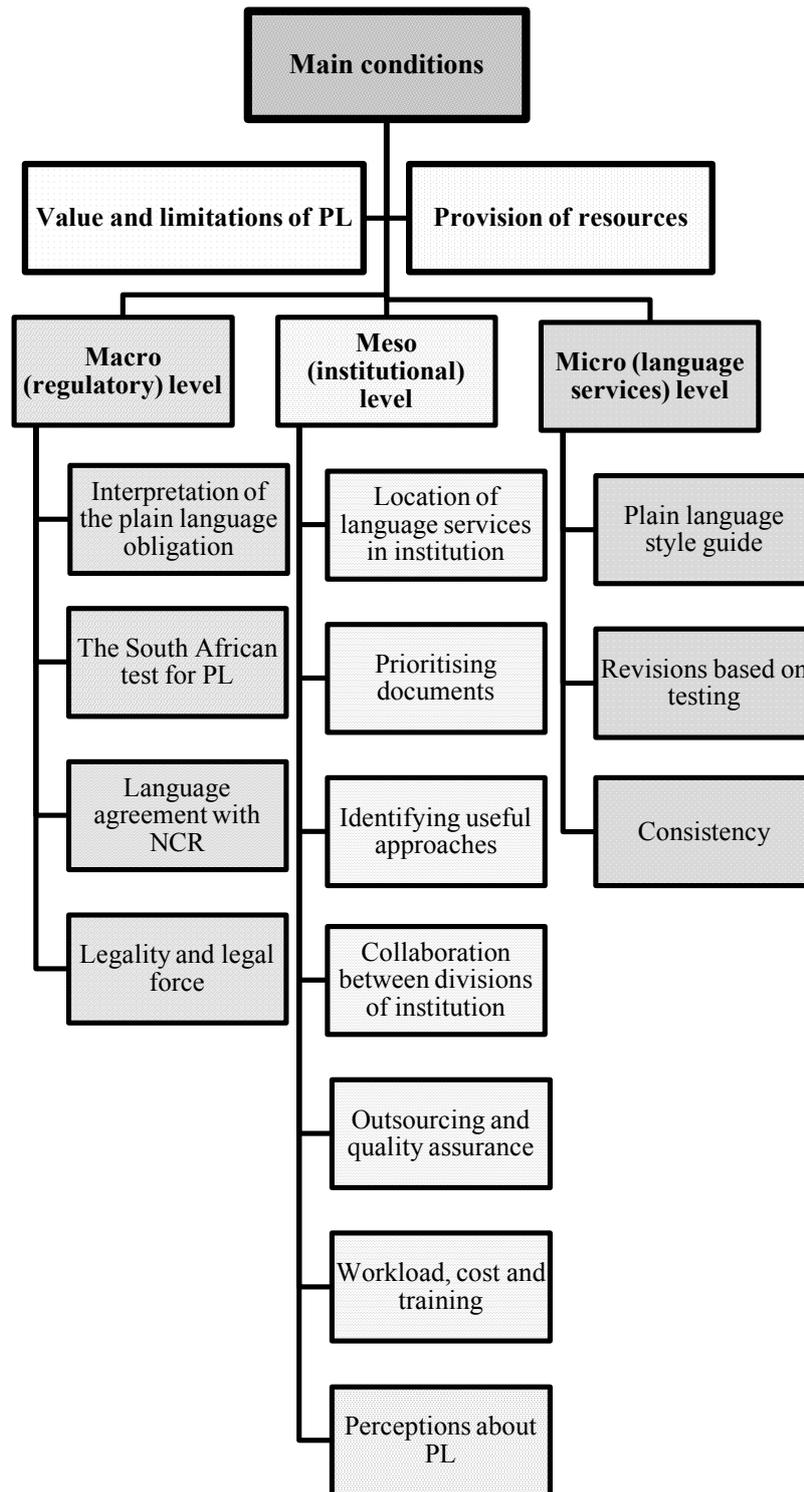
6.1 Two main criteria

The model consists of two main criteria that should be met as prerequisites for success:

Acceptance of the value and limitations of plain language. Those in management positions must subscribe to the philosophy underlying the use of plain language, and therefore, it is important

that they fully understand the requirements of the obligation, as embodied in the NCA and CPA. Top-down support is crucially important to ensure success; support that filters down to the lower echelons in the institution. Decision-makers in the institution must, among others, recognise the protection plain language affords vulnerable consumers and thus its relation to customer care and other doctrines such as the TCF. At the same time, they should appreciate that a combination of specialised linguistic and legal knowledge and skills are required to make complex content accessible to ordinary consumers. This leads to the second main criterion.

Provision of sufficient human and financial resources. Since the inception of the NCA, some 10 years ago, plain language demands in specifically the banking sector exceed, by far, demands for other language services such as translation and editing. Plain language work require collaboration between different divisions. Decision-makers in the institution must ensure that both the legal and language units are sufficiently resourced to cope with the shift in demand towards plain language work.

6.2 The macro level

On the regulatory level the following considerations should be taken into account:

Interpretation of the plain language obligation. The intent of the legislator, as outlined in Knight (2006), should be reflected in institutions' position papers, which in turn should provide practical guidance to the lower levels of the institution (those who actually have to do the work). To facilitate the plain language project, considering the specifics of the language requirements, which according to Knight (2006: 19), "are illustrative of only one of the many options available when pursuing the goal of clarity in legal texts".

The South African test for plain language. It would benefit institutions to take heed of the article by Knight (2006), who provides background information that could assist in determining what a court would consider when it conducts an enquiry into the language used in credit agreements. Knight (2006: 21) warns that documents should not be seen as static artefacts; the "interpersonal dynamic of written human communication" should be the focus. In summary, the plain language provision gives guidance to the court (Knight 2006: 20–21):

- To imagine the reader of a credit agreement as "an ordinary consumer of the class of persons for whom the subject document was intended".
- To consider "whether it is reasonably probable that a somewhat experienced reader, even though a novice debtor, who makes a reasonable effort to do so will comprehend the document".
- To take the purposes into account for which the ordinary consumer will read the credit agreement, "asking whether it is probable that the consumer could understand the content, significance and import of the document".

Language agreement with NCR. When concluding agreements with the NCR, it is necessary to also consider the potential pitfalls of making available abridged versions of credit agreements – without any legal force – in one language, but requesting vulnerable consumers to sign the agreement in another language. Little protection is afforded if consumers still have to sign a legally binding version of a full credit agreement in a language they do not (fully) understand.

Legality and legal force. Institutions should have strict procedures in place to ensure that the legality of the plain language versions of credit agreements is not compromised. This entails having signing off procedures in place whereby all relevant divisions within the institution indicate their satisfaction with the legality of the document. This is particularly important where plain language work is outsourced to agencies and contractors outside the institution.

6.3 The meso level

On the institutional level, considerations include the following:

Location of language services in the institution. The position of the language services unit in the institution can have a marked impact on the success of the plain language project. As the use of clear and understandable language in consumer documents, particularly credit agreements, is a regulatory requirement, it is best practice to locate language services in the compliance unit of the institution. This position will afford language services a higher status ("give them teeth") in the institution and will ensure better management and coordination of the plain language project.

Prioritising documents. In deciding which documents to prioritise for plain language intervention, it is imperative that an institution should revisit the intent of the legislator as described in 6.2 above and to keep in mind that documents should be categorised according to their potential target readerships. Documents with "an ordinary consumer of the class of persons for whom the subject document [is] intended", Knight (2006: 20) argues that the target reader should be given precedence. This consumer is not someone who cannot read; it is a person with average literacy skills: "a test that can, and should, be applied in a flexible manner, having regard to the various patterns of literacy in various localities and across various economic classes" (ibid). Additionally, such a consumer is not an experienced borrower.

This means that documents intended for sophisticated readers and consumers (such as business and wealth clients) do not require plain language intervention in the documents they use. Documents need to be revisited at regular intervals, and not only particular clauses that require amendment when legislation changes.

Identifying useful approaches to the plain language project. Based on the findings of this study, a combination of elements-based and outcomes-focused approaches would serve to best reflect the intent of the plain language provision. The plain language provision indeed consists of two parts. It provides:

- a profile of the ordinary consumer, having two kinds of life experience (as a reader and a borrower) and a particular purpose in reading the document concerned (this is characteristic of an outcomes-focused approach); and
- a list of textual features (this is characteristic of an elements-based approach).

Collaboration between divisions of the institution. The success of the plain language project strongly hinges on the extent of collaboration between specifically the language services unit and the legal division. However, there needs to be an acceptance of and consensus about (i) which documents to prioritise; and (ii) the degree of simplification required. Language

practitioners contribute specialised (psycho-)linguistic knowledge of how "meaning […] is created in the minds of readers applying themselves to a document and the symbols encoded upon it" (Knight 2006: 20–21), whereas legal practitioners bring knowledge of the law and regulatory requirements to the table. This kind of collaboration makes it possible to render legal documents in plain language for lay consumption.

Outsourcing and quality assurance. Outsourcing of plain language work should be avoided as far as possible. Capacity should be built within the institution, with outsourcing limited mainly to translation services.

Workload, cost and training. Decision-makers in institutions should be aware of the increased workload and cost related to the plain language project and sufficient resources should be made available, as outlined in section 6.1 (under *Provision of sufficient human and financial resources*). It has been pointed out in section 6.1 that this is one of the main criteria to ensure the success of the project. Ongoing, good-quality training should be provided to employees in all divisions of the institution, who are involved in the plain language project.

Perceptions about plain language. Although positive perceptions about plain language seem to prevail in the three major banks that participated in this study, negative or ambivalent perceptions can be changed if more local research is conducted to determine the real benefits of the use of plain language. Financial benefits as a result of increased understanding of consumer documents and consumer satisfaction will go a long way to change potential negative perceptions of plain language in the financial and business sector.

6.4 The micro level

Plain language style guide. In addition to a general style guide, institutions must have a dedicated plain language style guide, not only in cases where outsourcing takes place but also for internal departments. Such a style guide should be based on the findings of psycholinguistic research on (i) the ways in which readers typically process texts; and (ii) the linguistic constructions that have been proven to enhance or impede understanding. Reliance on a general institutional style guide is not sufficient to ensure the success of the plain language project.

Revisions based on testing. Although Knight (2006) identifies a number of problems related to objective and subjective tests, institutions can conduct small-scale testing on a limited number of respondents to determine which revisions are required to render a consumer document easier to understand by a particular target readership.

Consistency. A plain language style guide, in addition to a general institutional style guide, will ensure a consistent approach to plain language, both within in the institution and where and when outside agencies and contractors are used. This is particularly important in cases where, for example, the same clause appears in more than one credit agreement.

7. Conclusion

Although the findings of this study point to achieving some successes in the banking industry with the implementation of plain language in consumer documents, some problems remain. Despite Knight's (2006) elucidation of the plain language rule and its application, the findings

of this study suggest that, at least as far as the three major banks who participated in this study are concerned, industry is experiencing practical difficulties in fulfilling the "broad new obligation on creditors to use 'plain language' in every document that the Act requires the lender to provide to a borrower" (2006: 19).

It seems the position papers drafted by these banks do little to provide guidance to those working in the lower echelons of institutions, the level of project in action, resulting in uncertainty and, in turn, some measure of window-dressing. The extent of the alleged window-dressing should be determined in a follow-up study, by examining a selection of documents from each, assessing their quality and possibly also testing them on a sample of real consumers.

What is heartening, is the finding that the interviewees from all three banks agreed that legal documents can be simplified to be understood by people who are not trained in the law and that the plain language initiative is positively perceived in these institutions. Implementation of the proposed model for plain language in the banking sector could go a long way to reduce the stumbling blocks that are still in the way of a successful plain language project. More research on the benefits of plain language in real and tangible terms can also provide an additional impetus to the plain language drive in South Africa, beyond merely compliance to a regulatory requirement.

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Appendix

The following questions were introduced during the three focus group discussions:

1. The "grand tour" question

To what extent do you think bank documents can be successfully produced in plain language for the ordinary person to understand without much effort? This was followed with: *Has this always been your view, or have you changed your view somewhere along the line?*

2. Data collected on the macro level

2.1   *How familiar are you with the plain language provision in the NCA and the CPA? What guidance did you get from that provision, if any?*
2.2   *Do you test your plain language documents on real readers at all?*
2.3   *Does your bank have a language policy?*
2.4   *How do you ensure that the legality of documents is not compromised by the use of plain language? Describe the processes, if any, that are in place to ensure that legal documents are checked and signed off, after they have been revised for plain language.*

3. Data collected on the meso level

3.1   *Where is the language services unit located in the bank?*
3.2   *Which approach, or combination of approaches, did/do you follow in relation to the plain language provision in the two acts? Or did you follow a different approach altogether?"*
3.3   *How do you arrive at decisions about which documents to deal with first? How do you prioritise, as the bank surely has a great number of documents on its books?*
3.4   *Describe the relationship between different divisions and role-players involved in the plain language project in your bank.*
3.5   *Who does the actual plain language work in your bank?*
3.6   *How did the plain language project impact your workload?* and *How costly is the project?*
3.7   *Do employees in the language services unit and legal division receive training in the principles of plain language and are they equipped to do plain language work?*
3.8   *What is the general perception in your institution about plain language: Are people positive or negative towards the notion of plain language?*
3.9   *Do you believe the plain language project in your institution was/is a success or a failure?*

4. Data collected on the micro level

4.1   *Does your bank have a plain language style guide or checklist?*
4.2   *How do you ensure consistency (of approach and choices) among all practitioners working on the project?*

Representation of Mozambicans in the work domain in the colonial period (1970-1975) in the Portuguese newspaper *O Século de Joanesburgo*: A multimodal approach

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Abstract
This article attempts to report how Mozambicans were discursively constructed in the work domain by the Portuguese newspaper *O Século de Joanesburgo* during the colonial period, most particularly between 1970 and 1975. The overall findings show that the indigenous Mozambicans were assigned menial jobs thus portrayed as providers of unskilled labour. By assigning these jobs to indigenous Mozambicans, the newspaper reinforces the point that indigenous Mozambicans lack knowledge, competence or skills to deal with jobs that required intellectual capabilities. The discourse implies that the Portuguese (morally superior) decided what kind of jobs were reserved for blacks and under what conditions they should be carried out. Ideologically, this shows white moral and intellectual superiority over blacks.

Keywords: representation, colonialism, Mozambicans, newspaper

Este artigo aborda como o povo moçambicano foi representado no ramo de trabalho no Jornal português 'O Século de Joanesburgo' no tempo colonial de 1970 a 1975. Os resultados do estudo apontam, em geral, que se davam trabalhos de baixo estatuto ao povo indígena de Moçambique, representando-os assim como trabalhadores sem habilidades ou capacidades intelectuais. Isto reforça o ponto de que o indígena moçambicano carecia de conhecimento, competência para realizar trabalhos que exigia capacidades intelectuais. O discurso, em si, implica que o Português (provido de moral superior) decidia que tipo de trabalho era reservado para os indígenas e sob que condições tais eram efectuadas. Ideologicamente, tal prática mostra a superioridade moral e intelectual do branco em comparação ao indígena.

Palavras-chave: representação, colonialismo, moçambicanos, jornal

1. Introduction

The Portuguese colonial history is marked by intolerance, manipulation and power abuse of its colonial territories. And while incontestably true that all colonial masters brought nothing more than painful memories and suffering to the colonised people, it is believed that the Portuguese colonial style and their treatment of indigenous people was far ruthless compared to other

colonial powers. As a matter of fact, a vast amount of literature shows that the Portuguese regime was distinguished when it came to introduction of labour policies to institute a clear separate social structure between whites and blacks, while at the same time they preached the discourse of colour blindness. The notorious labour policy: *Regulamento para os contratos de serviçais e colonos nas províncias da África* (a type of regulatory labour policy), which became law in 1878 and later considered as the most complete labour law for the natives up to 1928 is one example of brutality. The policy was introduced under the Salazar dictatorship of Portugal (Duffy 1963: 131) and it contradicts the so-called civilisation mission shaped by the falsity of multiculturalism: blacks and whites are equal, which perhaps has never had any element of truth whatsoever.

The policy assisted in nurturing a strong belief among governing officials that "Portugal had to develop, and this development rested on the Mozambicans *and other Africans'* shoulders" (Duffy 1963: 131) at any cost (*My emphasis in italic*). According to Duffy (1963: 132), the main argument behind such behaviour was founded on the idea that it was the duty of Europe, in this case Portugal, to promote the African advancement into civilisation. Thus, the committee responsible for such *Regulamento*, according to this author, went on reinforcing their agenda by contending that:

> The "state, not only as a sovereign of semi-barbaric population, but also as a depository of social authority, should have no scruples in obliging and, if necessary, forcing the rude Negroes in Africa ... to work, that is, to better themselves by work and to acquire through work the happiest means of existence, to civilise themselves through work". This ideological stance of the Portuguese left "the mass of the African population living as it had done for centuries, in poverty, disease, and ignorance, its chief contact with the Portuguese world being the necessity to pay the white man his tax and to furnish his labour" (Duffy 1963: 146).

The arguments instituted by the *Regulamento* policy are clear evidence that the Portuguese regime keenly applied all available tactics to stop indigenous Mozambicans from advancement; this was accomplished by ideological means established to determine what was good for black men as opposed to what white men were capable of doing. In short, doubts always clouded the black men when it came to judge the intellectual capabilities whether he/she was fit for the job or not whereas whites were naturally talented as most findings point.

To conclude this section, it is worthy to underscore Zamparoni's (1999) view that the 1928 Lourenço Marques Census showed among the local people employed in domestic affairs, Africans (blacks) both men and women made up 95% of the workforce making it clear that a subordinate character was attributed in the minds of the employers to the kind of jobs were reserved for the racial segment known as inferior. Their duties were famously known to be shameful and demeaning. Among the professions, the scholar points to jobs that included gardeners, cooks, and general domestic workers (unskilled labour such as washermen and women, etc.). In the same line, Thomaz (2005) states that medium and high positions in the public bureaucracy were reserved for whites, including some professional jobs such as in the railway industry. Zamparoni's (1999) statistics, to a certain extent, seem to be corroborating with this newspaper's discourse in spite of this domain being structured hierarchically into three categories, namely *funciónarios*, *trabalhadores* and *operários* thus creating clear divisions in

terms of work assigned to each group. On this note, this study explores representation of Mozambicans in the work domain taking into consideration the hierarchical division established above.

O Século de Joanesburgo newspaper was founded by Portuguese migrants in 1963 in South Africa. It (had) offices throughout South Africa, as well as in Portugal (mainly Lisbon) and autonomous regions like Madeira and the Azores, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia. In addition, Glaser (2013) deems this is the most important newspaper read by literate immigrants in South Africa and elsewhere to keep them in touch with the news at home. Thus, readership for *O Século de Joanesburgo* grew substantially throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Furthermore, by the mid-1990s this newspaper had a circulation of 40 000 and a readership of over 200 000. Its columns included news from Portugal and from the Portuguese in diaspora, local community news, gossip, small business advertising and classified sections and most popularly, Portuguese football coverage (Glaser 2013: 229).[1]

2.   The Portuguese policy of indigenous people

It is of utmost importance to discuss the policy of *Indigenato* (Policy on the Indigenous People) if one wants to have a better understanding of discursive representations of Mozambicans in the workplace. The policy helped to shape various labour policies including *Regulamento*. Under the policy of *Indigenato*, for instance, Africans and *mulatos* (the coloured descendants of indigenous and colonial people) were divided into two groups. On the one hand the tiny minority classified as *assimilados* who could read and write Portuguese, rejected tribal customs and were gainfully employed in the capitalist economy. In principle, they enjoyed all the rights and responsibilities of Portuguese citizens. Africans and *mulatos*, on the other hand, who did not satisfy these requirements had to carry identity cards, fulfil stringent labour requirements and live outside European areas. These persons, known as *indígenas*, were not considered citizens, and they remained subject to customary law (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983: 39).

Although it was theoretically possible for any African or *mulato* to change his or her legal status, the constraints imposed by the colonial capitalist system – including the lack of schools, the limited opportunities for paid employment, and the culturally arrogant and racist assumptions of the authorities – effectively precluded this (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983: 39), which proves then that this system had more disadvantages than advantages as Newitt (1981: 139) lucidly explains: those who wanted to become civilised it proved very difficult to achieve the status. African *civilizados* had no rights in communally-held land; they could not become chiefs or enjoy rights under African law; they had to pay European taxes, which could weigh more heavily on them yet were easier to evade than native taxes; and did not qualify for free medical attention or free schooling. Moreover, they found themselves competing for employment with poor whites and *mestiços* (another name to designate a coloured person) and were not usually in favourable positions to make their way in the individualistic society of the whites (Newitt 1981: 139).

With this policy, the colonial authority had not only advanced in nurturing their segregation policy to divide groups onto various social and racial layers, but also created various hierarchical structures at the work domain as noted in this newspaper, which as noted earlier

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[1] For further reading on the importance of the newspaper consult Glaser (2013).

included *funciónarios*, *trabalhadores* and *operários*. This is despite state legislation principles of *assimilados* or civilised status passed in 1926 followed by the Colonial Act of 1930, which enabled Portugal to reassert its imperial presence in Africa. This policy essentially meant that all inhabitants of the colonial territories whether white or black and irrespective of their level of cultural development had to be regarded as equal in all respects and subject to the laws of the mother country (Chilcote 1967: 16). In short, the policy of *assimilados* was founded on the principle that there are no essential differences between races.

As a matter of fact, these policies were mere documents that served as reading for enjoyment not its purpose as advocated by them (documents) given that severe inequalities persisted: "under the Portuguese government, the African workers were discriminated against in many ways; one example of this was the wage level whereby African farm workers received barely 10 per cent of the salary paid to the white agricultural workers" (Torp, Denny and Ray 1989: 84). The myth of racial harmony could be contested given that Portugal's concentration on the slave trade was rooted in the belief that the African negro could be legitimately enslaved and was inferior to white men (Chilcote 1967: 16). This view contradicts Salazar's public declaration that the distinguishing features of Portuguese Africa "[are] the primacy which we have always attached to the enhancement of the value and dignity of man without distinction of colour or creed" (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983: 39). Chilcote (1967: 16) argues that in effect, the policy of assimilation served the Portuguese interest of maintaining the status quo and as such became so selective that it affected the legal status of less than one per cent of the African population. In short, the regime's propaganda aimed at legitimising colonial rule, stressing the countries' incapacity to develop on their own (Cabecinhas and Feijó 2010: 31). Therefore, Chilcote (1967: 30) concludes that the various principles enforced by the Portuguese regime resulted from the fear that the educated Africans might threaten Portuguese political interests, a view frequently advanced by Portuguese officials who argued that natives should acquire an appropriate social background before being educated.

These arguments are sufficient evidence that the negative discourse prosody used to represent indigenous Mozambicans by assigning them unskilled jobs is deliberate perhaps with intention to show how blacks were morally and educationally inferior compared with their white counterparts and they were also inept of handling their country's affairs. The only way to change such status quo is by complying with various social structures in place leading to civilisation including the law of assimilation.

3.   Theoretical framework

The analytical framework of this study is threefold. (i) It is informed by Corpus Linguistics (CL); (ii) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); and (iii) Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA). In combining these approaches the study attempts to establish the role this newspaper played in disseminating ideologies at workplace and it also labours to uncover the relationship between verbal and visual language. In short, the study attempts to ascertain the dynamics of the existing discourses in the newspaper's columns given that both verbal and visual are equally important in propagating ideologies. It is imperative to realise that in the late-modern world we live in today with its constant technological innovation, discourse producers rely equally on both verbal and non-verbal aspects of texts to propagate their ideologies. In this respect, analyses solely relying on written words while ignoring visual information lose out on the real discursive meanings implanted in the text.

CL has harvested enough reputation lately as one of the leading theoretical and methodological frameworks in the field of discourse analysis. Its approach, drawing from both quantitative and qualitative, has captivated researchers to employ it in combination with CDA, in most cases. CL is unanimously described as a bulk of text that is computer-readable and comprises different genres (cf. Baker 2009; Stubbs 2001; to mention but a few). These texts represent real-life, linguistic, communicative events (cf. McEnery and Wilson 1996; Sinclair 1991). Judging by dimension of this study, using a sizeable sum of data, it was imperative we employed CL given that it is almost unattainable to analyse such a large quantity manually. In this regard, Baker (2009) deems that CL uses large electronic databases of language to examine hypotheses about language use that can be tested scientifically with computerised tools, without the researcher's preconceptions influencing their conclusions. Furthermore, the use of this framework results in findings that have "much greater generalisability and validity" (Biber 2010: 159) and it is also inductive.

Within CL two approaches are used namely Corpus-based and Corpus-driven. The choice for the latter was stirred by its applicability. For Biber (2010: 163) this approach exploits "the potential of corpus linguistic categories and units [...] using the standard methods of linguistic analysis". This approach takes an inductive path thus relevant since, as Tognini-Bonelli (2001) puts it, this procedure is strictly committed to the integrity of the data, in other words, it provides evidence from the real data opposed to the Corpus-based, which uses a corpus as "source of examples, to check researcher intuition or to examine the frequency and/or plausibility" (Baker 2006: 16). In few words this approach tends to employ an intuitive approach to exploring data.

Moving now to CDA, its use to expose power relations in texts made it highly significant for this study. Both as a methodological and theoretical framework, it is crucial in helping to establish the nature of the power relations in the corpora of newspaper articles and pictures analysed for this study. Van Dijk (1996: 84) explains that "CDA accounts for the relationship between discourse and social power, describes and explains how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions". In a more elaborated approach Weiss and Wodak (2003: 15) contend that CDA aims to investigate critically the social inequalities as they are expressed, constituted, legitimised, and so on, by language use (or in discourse). This entails that this framework's agenda is to critically examine the existing power abuse in any society. It also "seeks to provide explanations of the causes and development of the crisis, identify possible ways of mitigating its effects and to transform capitalism in less crisis-prone, more sustainable and more socially just directions" (Fairclough 2013: 18).

The point raised by Fairclough (2013) is interesting in many ways. It suggests that the objectives of CDA are not confined to simply identifying socio-political and economic ills by discursive means, but also to suggest mechanisms to address or remedy such problems and thus lead to a more equal and inclusive society. Therefore, this objective suits the agenda of this study with its focus on the type of representation given to indigenous Mozambicans compared to their former colonial masters.

One advantage of CL analysis and CDA particularly for this kind of study employing a large selection of data is that analysts can go beyond single texts and conveniently explore quantitative patterns of ideological meaning in a large number of texts (O'Halloran 2010: 565) something that would not have been done using CDA alone.

As noted the analysis of this study is multimodal, consider both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects, thus giving an equal analytical weight to texts and pictures. The argument on the value of MDA is effectively captured by Machin and Mayr (2012: 49) as follows: "texts we come across often communicate not only through word choices but also through non-linguistic features and elements and even those texts that contain no image, communicate partly through choice of font type, colour, line spacing and alignment of texts." This is because language, be it written or spoken, always has to be realised through, and in the company of, other semiotic modes and thus any form of text analysis that ignores this visual arrangement will not be able to account for all the meanings expressed in texts (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1998: 186–219). Bateman (2008: 1) confirms this when he argues that "varieties of visually-based modes are deployed simultaneously in order to fulfil an orchestrated collection of interwoven communicative goals". As a matter of fact, "written texts and images have existed together in many registers since the emergence of writing, and inscriptions and are an integral feature of many sculpted objects and architectural artifacts" (Matthiessen 2007: 29). MDA thus is a multidisciplinary approach that combines (innovatively) both multimodal and critical discourse approach to expose and contest the various ideologies embedded in the discourse (visual). In a complementary move, Djonov and Zhao (2013: 1) define MDA as an approach that "explores the meaning-making potential of different communication modes and media and their actual use and dynamic interaction with each other and with the sociocultural context in which they operate". After all, as Harley (1992: 28) puts, "pictures are political which means that they are all politicised in more or less formal ways, caught up in myriad power struggles, large and small, by means of which people sort themselves into different communities with allegiances to different ideologies."

Harley (1992: 28) takes us to another dimension on emphasising the importance of MDA for this study by arguing that "no picture (visual text) is pure image; all of them, still and moving, graphic and photographic, are 'talking pictures', either literally, or in association with contextual speech, writing or discourse". Here, Harley (1992) stresses the active role of visual modes in providing information necessary for interpreting any discourse. Harley actually personalises pictures by investing them with human qualities in an attempt to show their credibility in terms of their powerful communicative role. After all, "photographs do not lie" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996/2006: 154). Overall, the rationale behind this argument is that no mode should be exploited at the expense of the other considering that "these visual modes all serve to structure the text and to bring the various elements of the page such as photographs, headlines, blocks of text together into a coherent and meaningful whole" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1998: 219).

From both a theoretical and practical perspective, the study draws extensively on the theoretical and analytical framework introduced by Kress and Van Leewen (1996/2006). In their study, they discuss a variety of issues related to visual representation. Among these, they provide a range of choices to researchers between 'offer' and 'demand' and the selection of a certain size of frame, but also, at the same time, the selection of an angle, a 'point of view', which according to Kress and Leeuwen (2006: 129), "implies the possibility of expressing subjective attitudes towards represented participants, humans or otherwise." Accordingly, the system of perspective that realises 'attitude' was developed in the Renaissance period. Kress and Van Leewen's (1996/2006) focus on 'subjectivity' has as its ultimate goal to illustrate that such representations are based on personal opinions rather than on facts – informed by stereotypes. In this respect, it is safe to say that "pictures are objective traces of socio-semiotic struggles (conflict),

allegiances (consensus), and ideologies (sense making practices), right across the spectrum from big-deal public politics to intimate personal culture" (Harley 1992: 29). Harley's (1992) arguments summarise the points raised earlier with regard to the significant role of both verbal and non-verbal modes in discourse production. He captures the idea of how, in its complexity, visual discourse is used to propagate various ideologies of the elite and proves how pictures, just like verbal text, are also used as powerful means of dominance and oppression, depending on who controls the discursive means (voice) as well as access to these means. Therefore, both textual and visual languages share a common and identical discursive goal of manufacturing and distributing ideologies with liberatory or oppressive agenda.

The MDA in this study, as was highlighted earlier, is largely informed by Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) theories in respect of the interactional and compositional meaning in representation. The interactional meaning on the one hand encompasses: demand (gaze at the viewer); offer (absence of gaze at the viewer); intimate/personal (close shot); social (medium shot); impersonal (long shot); involvement (frontal angle); detachment (oblique angle); viewer power (high angle); equality (eye-level angle); and represented participant power (low angle). The compositional meaning, on the other hand, includes the following positions: Centred (an element is placed in the centre of the composition); Margin (the non-central elements in a centred composition are identical or near identical, so creating symmetry in the composition); Given (the element on the left in a polarised composition); New (the element on the right in a polarised composition); Ideal (the element on the top in a polarised composition); and Real (the element on the bottom in a polarised composition). Each term suggests an interpretative framework as will be seen in the sections devoted to the findings.

4.   Methodology

The data for this study comprise a corpus of 30 934 tokens (words) taken from 50 articles from the *O Século de Joanesburgo* newspaper. It is made up of five yearly clusters ranging from 1970 to 1975 and it covers a colonial period. These articles – systematically selected from political, letter to the reader, social and editorial domains – were sourced from the newspaper archives in Johannesburg and the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town. They were retyped to turn them into an electronic format. The articles were carefully selected taking into account how Mozambicans (indigenous people) were constructed by the newspapers in the working domain. The data in electronic files (separated into five subcorpora) were imported into AntConc software to look for wordlist, collocates of words and concordance. AntConc is a free computer concordance based text analysis developed by Laurence Anthony. AntConc started out as a relatively simple concordance programme, but has slowly been progressing to become a rather useful text analysis tool using a computer.

The analysis, besides using the above corpora, also employed three articles and three photographs (found in these articles). The analysis started with CL by searching the following terms: *funcionários*, *trabalhadores* and *operários* (see Appendices for the frequency of these words and further information associated with these terms). In the search, apart from investigating frequency of these words, we also explored collocates and concordance lines. These collocate and concordance lines were analysed using CDA followed by an analysis of the articles and pictures (MDA analysis). It is imperative to point out that the analysis carried out by MDA was conducted using the techniques identified by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) as discussed in the previous section.

5.   Findings and discussion

The lexicons '*funcionário*', '*trabalhadores*' and '*operário(s)*', altogether add up to 34 frequencies in the corpus, in the work domain, thus ranking between 164 and 171 in the most frequent words. The word *funcionários* seems to enjoy higher prestige in the hierarchical scale. Interestingly enough, this word's collocates are, from the highest MI score to the lowest, *bankers*, *high profile* and *public*. From the 15 hits of the word *funcionários* (see Appendix 1 and 2), two cases are explicitly and four implicitly related to Portuguese people with regard to the collocate *bancários* (*bankers*, see concordance lines 3, 11 for explicit examples and 2, 8, 9, 10 for implicit, in Appendix 3). However, only two cases are linked to Mozambicans, most particularly Frelimo members who presumably are *assimilados*, in which this search term collocates with *altos* ("high profile"). A concordance analysis of both examples points to clear references to elite members of this organisation (Frelimo). The other case has no specific reference.

The other two examples that collocate with *públicos* ("public") (see concordance lines 12, 13, Appendix 3) are implicit. They fail to provide adequate contextual clues necessary to understand whether they refer to indigenous Mozambicans or Portuguese people (whites) as the latter cultural group was also afforded Mozambican citizenship. These collocates in relation to the search term *funcionário* express a strong discourse or semantic prosody. According to Zethsen (2006: 279), semantic prosody refers to "word forms which have a tendency to be (or in some cases which are always) followed by words with certain connotations, basically positive or negative."

The fact that all three collocates *bancários*, *altos* and *públicos* are contained in category *funcionários* rather than *trabalhadores* or *operários* (both to be discussed next) or vice versa, reveal a clear hierarchical structure on how jobs were distributed among different cultural groups in Mozambique. In this respect, the interpretation one can draw from the lexicon *funcionários* is straightforward. Its use in this discourse presupposes "employment that requires an educational or vocational/professional qualification" (Roberts, Davies and Jupp 1992: 12). While this may be the case, it is still difficult to provide evidence on whether all people referred to as *funcionários* really had these skills or were employed despite this, possibly because of race or whatsoever reason other than competence.

With regard to the search term *trabalhadores*, which, as noted in the table found in the Appendix 4 collocates with *miners*, *Mozambicans* and *Portuguese* (people), six cases refer to indigenous Mozambicans with an unambiguous link, in terms of collocates, to the former *mineiros* ("miners") and *Moçambicanos* ("Mozambicans"). From these, four cases (see concordance lines 3, 8, 9, 10, Appendix 4 are in reference to the former collocate and two cases (see lines 11 and 12 of Appendix 4) are related to the latter. As evident in the table, the collocate *mineiros* ("miners") has greater or stronger "lexical acceptability" (cf. Gabrovšek 2007:10) with search term, having 9.20638 MI score whereas the collocate Mozambicans shows the second highest MI score of 7.54341. However, two other cases are related to collocates *Portugueses* ("Portuguese [people]") as in concordance lines 4 and 14 (see Appendix 4). On the whole, these examples implicitly reveal what the jobs entail and in terms of citizenship whether *Mozambicanos* is only used in reference to indigenous people *Portugueses* or also encompasses the settlers, given that Portuguese citizenship was automatically conferred on all citizens in Portugal's overseas provinces.

Whatever the case is, the use of this word, *trabalhadores*, in reference to Portuguese people, probably refers to skilled labour given that they are *louvores* ("praiseworthy") in the countries where Portuguese people were employed. The remaining examples once again also have no clear picture of the kinds of jobs, whether skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled and of the nature of citizenship, whether the workers were Portuguese people or indigenous Mozambicans.

Lastly, the word *operário(s)* in all three hits refers to Mozambican labour only. Its use seems to be in relation to unskilled labourer as the following three concordance lines analysis reveal:

1. *inha de valorização. Moçambique precisa de muitos* **operários** *a todos os níveis. 15 de Fevereiro de 1972 SE M*
    [... Mozambique needs lots of labourers at all levels ...]
2. *sito, deveria ter industrializado seguidamente os* **operários** *da fábrica de queijos sobre a forma de "bem governar"*
    [... should have thereafter industrialised the workers of the cheese factory as a means of "good governance" ...]
3. *corpo. Como o director do campo soube que eu era* **operário** *propôs-me ir trabalhar para a oficina, continuand*
    [... Since the director of the concentration camp knew that I had some skills, he suggested that I should go work at workshop ...]

The first example (i) is used in shoemaker boy's article (see Figure 2). This statement 'Mozambique needs lots of labourers at all levels' is made in relation to the profession of shoemaking. The statement suggests that these are the kinds of jobs reserved for blacks (see further discussion in the shoemaker boy section). The second example (ii) is also used in reference to Mozambicans. The article from which this statement was extracted reports on a group of provincial major's visit to the Chocué factory in Mozambique. Their visit was to ascertain whether local Mozambicans were on the right track in terms of workforce (skills to be able to run the factory). If we look critically at the last example, (iii) the word *operário* is used in distinct ways: as unskilled labour (for the first two examples) and as semi-skilled (for the last example). For the latter example, it seems to be understandable given that it is a direct quote from a Mozambican worker who seemed to have had acquired some skills in the workplace (in a workshop industry). This influences the choice of the man in charge in a concentration camp to consider him to work in a workshop rather than in farming (a job he carried out before he was transferred to this concentration camp). By arguing that *o director do campo soube que eu era operário* ("the director of the concentration camp realised that I was *operário*"), he implies that the category *operário* in the work industry may not be the lowest rank of classification. It was perhaps the second, or third, etc. higher. In short, he implies that there were other levels of jobs below *operário*, including the farming job.

Nevertheless, when examining the word *operários* in relation to *funcionários* and *trabalhadores*, though perhaps more evidence is needed to arrive to such a conclusion, discursively this term seems to be used in the newspaper in relation to what Roberts et al. (1992: 12) brand as 'low-status' professional jobs, which as suggested is the type that black Mozambicans in general were employed to do. These are "either jobs that were semi-automated and routine or *jobs* in the lower levels of service industries" (Roberts et al. 1992: 12). In short, they were jobs that required very little or even no skills as shown in the following three figures: 1, 2 and 3.

Interestingly, research conducted by Stubbs (1996) using collocates of a large corpus to investigate the use of the terms 'work' and 'employ' seems to be related to this domain of study in many ways. He found the use of these terms to be contained principally in three terms: WORK, JOB and LABOUR. The former is the highest accolade that is described to be a "more productive kind such as well paid employment" (Stubbs 1996: 178). This includes bank workers, public servants, etc., and it is equivalent to *funcionários* here as the examples demonstrated. JOB on the other hand according to this scholar applies to limited and occasional pieces of work and this is related to *trabalhadores* (as in cases of mining workers). Lastly, the term LABOUR, which is "a low mean lucrative" (Stubbs 1996: 177) is characterised by laborious activities. This is illustrated in the findings of this study and it satisfies the category of *operários* as we shall see further. While this is the case, some slight differences are verified mainly in terms of the word *trabalhadores*, which in the newspaper can loosely also be interpreted to an extent of fitting some description of *funcionários*.
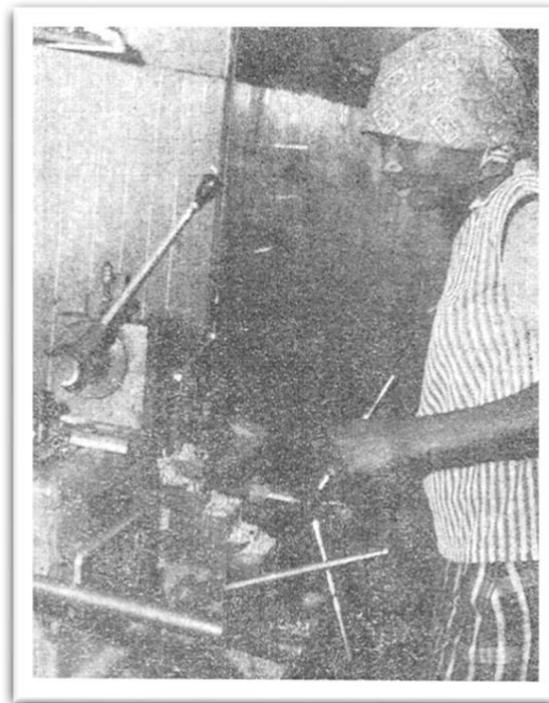
Figure 1: Lady Machine Operator (4 August 1970)

In this respect, the various labour categories stressed with regard to indigenous Mozambicans are justified by Ferreira (1974), quoting Cardinal Cerejeira's 1960 speech. Cerejeira, it must be pointed out, was one of the most respected and authoritative pillars of the Portuguese regime. In his speech, he said:

> We need schools in Africa, but schools in which we show the native the way
> to the dignity of man and the glory of the Nation that protects him. We want to
> teach the natives to write, to read and to count, but not make them doctors.

This speech of course goes in line with the practicalities of article 68 of the Missionary Statute of the Colonial Act of 1930, which states that education for the natives, besides curing them of laziness, should mainly prepare future rural workers and craftsmen to produce what they need

to satisfy their own requirements and their social obligations (cf. Ferreira 1974: 67). It presupposes that Mozambicans should confine themselves to rudimentary work, which in turn denies self-opportunity for personal growth. The position of institutionalised social structures such as the church and the constitutional laws governing the colony, explain the existing hierarchies in the labour domain.
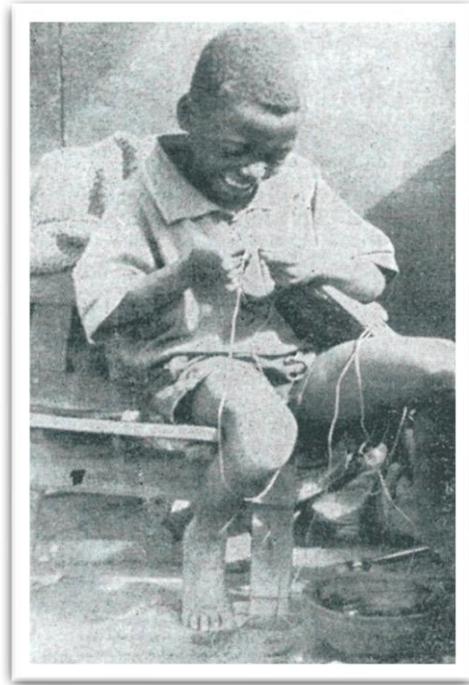
Figure 2: Shoemaker Boy (16 May 1972)

To this point, it should be clear that the corpus analysis points to a more unequal representation of Mozambicans who, in most cases, as already emphasised, were assigned work that does not require intellect or skills compared to Portuguese people (primarily whites) who were given different, more superior roles. The descriptions also extend to visual communication.

In Figures 1 and 2, for example, we see depictions of a machine operator and a shoemaker's apprentice, respectively. We start with the depiction of the boy in Figure 2. Starting with his gaze and posture, he is captured seated, smiling broadly and looking downwards, engrossed in his activity. The smile may suggest a 'demand image', which means that "the participant or actor demands something from the viewer" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996/2006: 122) or that "the viewer is asked to enter into a relationship of social affinity with the actor" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 122–3). On the other hand, the image can also be interpreted as evoking self-confidence and interest, obviously, in the activity he is carrying out. Yet the possibility also exists that perhaps he was forced to act for the camera for propaganda reasons, for example. In addition, it is not clear whether the boy's workplace is an open or closed space, since he seems to be sitting in a sunny spot in a very basic working environment. The focus also appears to be mainly on his actions as a shoemaker (i.e. on his labour), rather than on the boy himself.

What is also notable in the picture is the fact that the depicted boy's face is turned away from the viewers in what Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 154) describe as an 'offer' image, which contradicts the smile. Nevertheless, according to these scholars, a barrier or a sense of

disengagement (real or imaginary) is erected between the represented actor and the viewers (when an 'offer' image is in question). It can be inferred that in this context, the barrier or disengagement applies to whites or other Mozambicans (readers of the paper) who do not share the socio-cultural values or the lowly employment depicted in this picture. As Machin and Mayr (2012: 103) would argue, "this image serves not to depict a particular boy working, but actually symbolises a generic career of poor black people, suitable only for the most menial of jobs". Furthermore, to reduce the boy's image and in turn his labour's worth, the picture appears to be taken from some 'social distance' and slightly at a 'high angle'. This results, according to Kress and Van Leeuwen's interpretation (1996: 132–146), in the *boy* being shown impersonally, as a stranger with whom we do not need to become acquainted; by making the subject look small, strangeness is inferred and power given to the viewer over the represented little shoemaker.

In the same vein, the shot is taken from a slightly oblique angle rather than a full frontal, which suggests that "what you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with [...] or simply the one who does not belong to our society" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 143–4). This increases a sense of detachment rather than connection between the actor and viewer, on the one hand, and as stressed "makes the subject (the *boy*) look insignificant" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 146), on the other. While the boy may look like a stranger to those who do not share the boy's identity (in this case, primarily whites), it may invoke a different sentiment (of involvement) in those who share his identity (poor, working class blacks) who may develop "a relationship, perhaps admiration for, and identification with, a national hero" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 122).

Ironically, the boy is a shoemaker but he himself is barefooted. Since the advent of the colonial empire, walking barefoot in some African societies connotes primitivism or being uncivilised. On the whole, the above image suggests that poverty is associated with this profession and those who pursue it. As Machin and Mayr (2012) contend, it is important in such cases that images can be used to say things that we cannot say in language. In short, the text is almost superfluous, "but the images can be used to foreground this kind of idea" (Machin and Mayr 2012: 9).

In the accompanying article, the boy is only introduced as *aprendiz de sapateiro* ("shoemaker's apprentice"). Nothing is known about his name, age, place of origin, who introduced him to this profession, who his parents are, etc. While this can suggest positive representation, if interpreted as being treated as a 'private matter', the situation points more to a negative representation. As Van Leeuwen (2008: 40) comments, in the press, stories about nameless characters fulfil only passing, functional roles and do not become points of identification for the reader or listener. One can thus assume there is a situation of suppression of information and facts, which also results in a reductionist strategy of portraying the boy, like his female counterpart, as an object. The nameless character, knits well with the very basic setting, which, in turn, indexes typical negative attributes associated with this career as an *operário*.

Like the boy, the black woman is also an 'offer' image. She also detaches herself from the viewer by looking slightly downwards, but in contrast with the smiling boy, her facial expression is tired and somewhat passive, her lips curved in the slightest of smiles. The picture suggests dual or even multiple, complex interpretations. Perhaps she is not comfortable in this environment; perhaps she has been forced to be photographed in this working environment (and

ordered to smile); or perhaps she is proud to have been picked from the workforce for this photo. This picture leaves one to wonder whether it is a "posed image and not an image of a woman in a naturalistic setting" (Machin and Mayr 2012: 201).

Furthermore, she is depicted in a very oblique angle, in this case at nearly 90° from the left side, thus cutting out almost half of the image. The move presupposes that she is "shown as an 'other'" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 157). In addition, the focus on the setting here seems to be on the machine, symbolising labour (as with the boy's picture), rather than on her, the labourer. The machine in this depiction seems to be presented as 'given' information, i.e., "it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and agreed-upon point of departure for the message" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 187). The woman is presented as something 'new'; something which is not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer, hence as something to which the viewer must pay attention (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 187). This ends up scaling the issue of disengagement and attachment between the depicted or represented and the viewer as the 'given' becomes "commonsensical and self-evident" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 187) and the 'new' in this case provides us with a different explanation (something unknown or mysterious to the viewer).

Nonetheless, caution should be exercised when using Kress and Van Leeuwen's framework for 'offer' and 'demand' images, as this framework is primarily designed to interpret images in a 'Western' context. As Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:3) note: "we have confined our examples to visual objects from 'Western' cultures – elements and rules underlying a culture-specific form". In interpreting images from an African context, we should refrain from generalisations. For instance, in some African cultures, including that of some Mozambican ethnic groups, eye-contact with men or older persons by women and children is generally avoided as a symbol of respect. This respect was probably even stronger when interacting with white men, given that during colonialism they were all treated as the *patrão* [boss], whether or not there was any employer-employee relationship. Thus an 'offer' image depicted in an African context does not necessarily imply that the actor does not "want direct contact or that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relationship with him or her" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 123) while in turn a 'demand' image may suggest a different explanation.

Notably, the author of the article accompanied by the picture of the woman seems to provide quite a lot of information on this machine operator. Her full name (Georgina Evaristo Macambo), age (24) and place of origin (Lourenço Marques) are provided. Even so, she is not given the same honorific respect rendered to the boss of the firm. He is referred to as *Sócio Gerente* ("Manager Partner") and Sr. (acronym for 'Mr' in the English language). By providing us with her full name, we can say that she is given a semi-honorific treatment and in turn a positive representation of some degree; throughout the article she is referred to simply by her first name.

The use of the name Georgina, on the one hand, could signal that intimacy is being established between her and the reader and, on the other hand, that she is being reduced to a person of little importance in society. The conduct contradicts the semi-honorific treatment that reinforces her detachment or exclusion from Portuguese society, making her the *other*. Yet at the same time, the headline seems to carry ambiguity and even irony. The only thing that suggests that this article is referring to a black woman is perhaps her surname 'Macambo' and the picture itself, nothing else. If we remove both elements from the article, we would have thought it refers to a

white woman given that the article clearly suggests that 'the Portuguese woman' is making inroads in the 'Mozambican industry'.

The headline accompanying the article is capitalised **A MULHER PORTUGUESA** NA INDÚSTRIA DE MOÇAMBIQUE ("THE PORTUGUESE WOMAN IN MOZAMBICAN INDUSTRY"), reproduced as from the original. This capitalisation invests the verbal text with high modality: "truth value or credibility" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 164). By providing this information an identity is established that will create an emphasis on her profile, giving the "reader a very realistic impression of the object" (Stockl 2004: 24) seeing that the intention here is "aimed at the complete transformation of minds, judgements, values, and actions" (Ellul 1973: 61) of the local and international community about the Portuguese style of ruling its overseas provinces.

With reference to the headline accompanying the woman's photograph, we would like to focus now on the feminine and singular adjective Portuguesa and its respective plural form *Portuguesas*. Both are translated as *Portuguese [women]*. This term occurs 74 times (for the former), occupying a prominent place 69th in the corpus' ranking. The latter shows 16 occurrences. Combined they add up to 90 tokens. While not all cases in reference to this word are related to the Portuguese affairs, nothing much can also be said about its link to this Mozambican woman – referred to as Portuguese in the headline. This argument perhaps can be confirmed by looking at collocates of *Portuguesa* that are arranged from the highest MI 9.58189 to the lowest MI 7.41196, relevant to this interpretation (see Appendix 5 for other collocates and MI score of each). These include: *mocidade* ("youth"), *soberania* ("sovereignty"), *administração* ("administration"), *comunidade* ("community"), and *bandeira* ("flag"). As can be noted, the use of *Portuguesa(s)* seems to occur more in its sense of Portuguese properties, perhaps excluding its overseas provinces. If so, a discourse of exclusionary is propagated here, thus establishing evident boundaries in respect of citizenship, possessions, etc. – coloniser versus colonised. These collocates appear to have a clear and strong collocational relationship with search terms given that most of them materialise next to it and in turn influence discourse in respect to *us* (Portuguese people) and *them* (Mozambicans).

From the 90 occurrences of this term, 35 cases are neutral or have no explicit reference to their addressee and 26 are used to refer to Portuguese or Mozambican people, while the remaining cases are decontextualised from this discussion.

Starting with neutral examples, one wonders whether the reference to 'Portuguese *youth*', 'Portuguese *sovereignty*', 'Portuguese community', etc. (see Appendix 6 on concordance analysis for the function or use of these collocates) refers solely to Portugal within European parameters or includes its overseas provinces. The context of use in this newspaper could encompass both Mozambique and Portugal's affairs, most particularly when one acknowledges that the former was a provincial *ultramarina* ("an overseas province") meaning that just as all Portuguese people born in either Mozambique or Portugal were considered Portuguese citizens, then Mozambicans born in Mozambique should also bear similar characterisation.

Coversely, the 26 specific examples showed a clearer cut use. *Tropas Portuguesas* ("Portuguese troops") (lines 1, 6, 7, 12) – used in reference to the troops who were about to leave for Portugal; *províncias Portuguesas* ("overseas provinces") (lines 3, 31, 33, 35) – used in reference to the Portuguese colonial territory; *vocação Portuguesa* ("Portuguese vocation") (line 3) – also used

strictly in reference to Portuguese professionalism/skills. These examples, according to Neocosmos (2008), are discourses of exceptionalism that portray Portuguese people (excluding people from its colonies) as more advanced as in:

> *moral, aos princípios e às leis da administração portuguesa. Talvez que o homem primitivo, vivendo no seio da*
> [... to the laws and principles of the Portuguese administration. Perhaps more than primitive man living among ...]

This example is linked to 'Portuguese vocation'. Its focus is to highlight the superiority of the Portuguese people educationally, behaviourally and perhaps technically, etc.

To return to the article on the machine operator, we learn from the adjective *Portuguesa(s)* that its applicability has nothing to do with Mozambican women as claimed in the headline. Secondly, it is relatively illusive and misleading ideologically since, in most cases, it sounds inclusive (*us* all, coloniser and colonised), creating a sort of solidarity or sentiment of citizenship and belonging (reflect on the issue of 'overseas provinces'), when in fact this is not the case. Thirdly, in some examples, the contexts have a strict function hence their use is exclusive to *us* Portuguese people only which, of course, is a clear de-identification with Mozambicans and citizens of other overseas provinces.

Nevertheless, as already pointed out above, the event of having a black woman as a machine operator advocates rarity in this prestigious industry. By taking such a stand, the author is able to create this utopian idea of equal economic opportunity and multicultural and multiracial (MI 8.58, ranking 6, see again Appendix 6 collocates of *Portuguesa* discussed above); therefore, inculcating the ideology of egalitarianism in the labour industry at large and in terms of citizenship, even though as pointed out, these professions (particularly the boy's profession), tend to be highly stigmatised or undervalued in some *lusófonos* ("societies"), including Mozambique, if not across Africa. It ranks at the bottom of the social status, particularly the way it is portrayed in the picture. Furthermore, just as they have chosen a photograph of a woman (given the central role of women in society), they also use a boy's photo here. This could be tied to the strong belief that children are the future of any country thus society should strive to equip them with better education or skills. This photo thus suggests, particularly in the profession he is exercising, that the boy has been given the best education/skills, which is reinforced in the article by the author:

> *«O esforço está sendo desenvolvido no sentido de melhorar as escolas de arte e ofícios já existentes e de caminhar abertamente de modo a dar a cada distrito de Moçambique pelo menos uma dessas escolas»* [All efforts are being put in place in order to improve the existing vocational and arts schools [....] to give each district of Mozambique at least one of these schools].

In analysing this utterance, one can conclude that: (a) the setting in which this boy is photographed is being compared to a normal educational or vocational school and as such; (b) the existing schools are in the condition in which this boy is working, though they require urgent attention in order to improve them; and (c) this improvement (which the author fails to pinpoint), will result in more schools opening in each Mozambican district for indigenous people. The author uses the phrase *pelo menos* ("at least"), which implies that they expect to

open more schools (two, three, four, a hundred? – nobody knows). Interestingly, the article concludes by articulating that:

> *Moçambique precisa de muitos operários a todos os níveis»* [Mozambique needs labourers of all kinds].

Nevertheless, a more balanced statement would be worded as *Moçambique precisa de muitos trabalhadores* ("Mozambique needs many workers") rather than *operários*. The word *operário* has its origin from the Latin word *operari* ("to work") and the nouns '*operarius* or '*operarium*', which apply to those who work for hire, or as a labourer, a salaried worker. The immediate synonym for the noun *operário* is laborer. Its most primary meaning is regarded as a person engaged in work that requires bodily strength though here it may also suggest someone who needs some sort of skills or training of a kind thus a reason vocational schools are needed. As stated earlier, these are jobs mostly reserved for blacks since they require not so much intellectual knowledge – which as suggested, only whites are gifted with this kind of capability.

On these grounds, the dream to open more schools of this nature is to draw more black Mozambicans to the profession and thus create more black *operários* like this boy. Thus, the word *operário* in this context carries a negative prosodic weight. A neutral word, instead of *operário*, which should create a more balanced or fairer representation of all workers would be *funcionários* or at least *trabalhador*, which as seen, mean both workers/employees or even *profissões/competências* ("professions/skills"), which encompasses all kinds of skills; hence the choice of the word *operário* is no doubt a deliberate attempt.

This example does not limit itself to the boy's interpretation but also to the machine operator and her position in the factory or workshop. This is noted on the emphasis on what she was doing: *A trabalhar numa oficina com torno mecânico* ("working in a factory/workshop with a mechanic lathe"), *embora…a posição ideal é no Lar* ("although … her ideal place is at home [dealing with family matters]"). Her competence for this job is compromised by her domestic skills. According to the *Dicionário Universal de Língua Portuguesa*, the word *lar* has its origin from the word Latin *lare*, that has the primary meaning of something that is 'part of the kitchen where the fire is made'. Furthermore, under normal conditions, this lexicon should be written in lower case which is not the case here. With these examples, therefore, the author endeavours to underline the point that her place is not in the factory but rather at home (dealing with family matters).

Em Moçambique também existem
campinos como no Ribatejo. A
gravura documenta, um campino
da ganadaria moçambicana de
Feliciano António

Figure 3: A Mozambican herdsman

The picture Figure 3 is complex. In contrast to both pictures discussed previously, this one seems to be a 'long shot' (for the depicted herdsman) but a 'medium shot' for at least some of the animals he is caring for. The distance could be indicative of the impersonal relationship between the herdsman and the viewer while the closeness of the cattle indicates that there is some social relationship between them and the viewer. In this case, the herding, which embodies or represents the kind of labour attributed to this man, is foregrounded. It is the centre of attention here, not the herdsman himself who has "a much less significant role to play" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 114). In the same vein, while both Figures 1 and 2 are shot obliquely, this is taken from a frontal angle, suggesting different information. Here the herdsman is clearly depicted as one of 'them' or the 'other'. Even if he is photographed frontally and is looking "directly at the viewer [...] he does so from a long distance, which greatly diminishes the impact of his look" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 126). Thus, he is depicted as an object of contemplation, not as a subject with which the Portuguese people can have a social relationship. These are all negative portrayals as they express prejudice about this farm worker in terms of his insignificant job and low social status in society. In addition, the distance (long shot) seems to be hiding a lot of information: whether he is smiling or not, whether his eyes are open or closed, etc. Like the lady machine operator, he is also provided with honorific treatment. He is called by his given first and surname, Feliciano António, and provided with *Moçambicana* ("Mozambican") citizenship, which indicates positive representation. This positive presentation is extended to the 'eye-level angle' from which the picture is shot, and which implies equality or solidarity between the depicted and overall viewers. The photographer took this picture from an angle that captures the animal in the foreground which seems to share common features in terms of colour and shape with the herdsman: white shirt and boots, grey coat and cap and black trousers which are also the colours of the animal.

The text's caption reads:

> *Em Moçambique também existem campinos como no Ribatejo. A gravura documenta, um campino da ganadaria moçambicana de Feliciano António* [There are also herdsmen in Mozambique just like in the Ribatejo. The picture shows a Mozambican herdsman, Feliciano Antonio, working with the livestock.]

By stating that in both Mozambique and Ribatejo (in Portugal), there are herdsmen, the author makes a clear comparison between both physical spaces in terms of existing herdsmen. But the first clause: 'In Mozambique there are also herdsmen just like in the Ribatejo', suggests that Ribatejo had herdsmen before Mozambique. This is implied by the adverb *também* ("also") which means 'in addition'. If this is the case, we suppose the author would have perhaps started the sentence with Ribatejo rather than Mozambique as suggested: *Tal como em Ribatejo, em Moçambique também existem campinos.* ("Just like in Ribatejo there are also herdsmen in Mozambique") or Em Ribatejo e Moçambique existem campinos ("Both in Ribatejo and Mozambique there are herdsmen"). Looking at these possible alternatives of sentence construction leaves one to wonder why the author decides to start the above sentence with Mozambique and not Ribatejo. In this respect, the hierarchical structure of placing the word Mozambique before Ribatejo is an ideological and deliberate attempt to emphasise the kind of people that characterises the country in terms of skills/labour. Besides, despite the verbal text making a comparison, as discussed, between both Mozambique and Ribatejo, only a picture that depicts a Mozambican herdsman is shown to corroborate the verbal assertions, hence providing a strong credibility as to the nature of menial jobs of Mozambicans and, even though implicitly stated, the low level of their education. After all, "a picture is worth a thousand words"[2]. But in contrast, very little information, except the verbal, is provided about the Ribatejo's herdsmen.

Nevertheless, the absence of any reference to a white cultural group with regard to *operário*, as we witness in the captions of the shoemaker boy, a woman in the factory and herdsman, is ideologically motivated in the researcher's opinion. It may suggest that whites, both young and old, are open to perhaps more dignified careers, with the status of *funcionários*, for example becoming medical doctors, teachers, scientists, politicians and so forth while blacks are confined to the kinds of work as depicted in the photos. On this note, Dyer (2002: 4) clearly states that the groupings that have not been addressed in 'images' of work, are those with the most access to power and the problem of not addressing them as such is that they function as simply the human norm. In short, what Dyer is trying to say is that when one group is stereotyped at the expense of the other group (which is left out), the latter group (non-represented) becomes the norm or standard to which everything else is compared.

6. Conclusion

Overall, the study, using linguistic and non-linguistic approach, has shown that blacks are portrayed as providers of unskilled labour in this newspaper during the period in question, which was argued that it was ideologically motivated to suggest white moral and intellectual superiority over blacks. This is opposed to whites that are explicitly, being represented as in most cases, through implication that jobs that required intellectual capabilities were assigned to

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[2] http://www.learnnc.org/lp/pages/677.pdf. Accessed 13/08/2012

them. The move, of course, reinforces the point that black Mozambicans lacked knowledge, competence or skills to deal with jobs that required intellectual capabilities. Such negative representation of black Mozambicans at work place is strategically, as Machin and Mayr (2012) put, proclaimed by the newspaper in using both linguistics and a visual approach that appear normal or neutral on the surface, but which in fact are ideological and seek to shape the representation of these events and these persons' inferiority compared to their white counterparts and thus dominate them.

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Appendices

Appendix 1, Frequency and Collocates for Workers

Search term	Frequency	Collocate as per MI score	Translation
Funcionários	15	• *bancários (11.88445)* • *altos (11.88445)* • *públicos (11.29949)*	• *bankers* • *high profile* • *public*
Trabalhadores	16	• *mineiros (9.20638)* • *Moçambicanos(7.54341)* • *Portugueses(6.23675)*	• *miners* • *Mozambicans •Portuguese*
Operários	3		–

Appendix 2, collocates of *Funcionários*

FUNCIONÁRIOS

RANK	FREQ	LEFT	RIGHT	MI STAT	COLLOCATE
1	2	0	2	11.88445	bancários
2	2	1	1	11.88445	altos
3	2	0	2	11.29949	públicos
4	2	0	2	8.97756	banco
5	2	2	0	7.67500	alguns
6	2	0	2	6.32986	portugueses
7	2	2	0	5.77593	todos
8	3	1	2	4.91099	frelimo
9	5	5	0	4.88671	os
10	7	1	6	4.70881	da
11	2	1	1	4.31080	por
12	2	1	1	4.06427	na
13	2	2	0	3.73979	para
14	3	0	3	3.63178	do
15	9	5	4	3.55154	de
16	2	1	1	3.38860	se

Appendix 3, concordance lines of Funcionarios

FUNCIONARIOS

1	ão de Samora à população foi feita na presença de	funcionários	altos da Frelimo e do comandante Rosa Coutinho, o
2	a obrigatoriedade de fato e gravata para todos os	funcionários	bancários: a introdução de "guias de marcha" para
3	xigir determinada quantia em dólares, para que os	funcionários	bancários portugueses fossem autorizados a sair d
4	jornais sul-africanos "In Court" o nome de alguns	funcionários	da Frelimo por transferências ilegais ou apanhado
5	stou-se um grande desvio de fundos praticado por	funcionários	da APIE, na cidade da Beira, cujos dinheiros esta
6	os da Zâmbia, outros elementos do Governo e altos	funcionários	da Presidência da República da Zâmbia. Primeiras
7	icana. A Frelimo desconhece o paradeiro de alguns	funcionários	daquela secção da chamada " Administração do Parq
8	Cabora Bassa. 23 de Abril de 1979 Frelimo expulsa	funcionários	do Banco de Fomento Nacional Regressaram na seman
9	na semana passada quarta-feira a Lisboa todos os	funcionários	do Banco de Fomento Nacional colocados no departa
10	ções provenientes da capital moçambicana, aqueles	funcionários	do BFN foram expulsos pela Frelimo, estando a sua
11	esperava por discussões « mais frutuosas» com os	funcionários	portugueses , no próximo mês sobre os meios de p
12	exploração ou utilização através de um quadro de	funcionários	públicos e de algumas empresas capitalistas. Reti
13	gar enxada largos sectores da população incluindo	funcionários	públicos, estudantes e muitos outros milhares de
14	indicam que o conteúdo tem de ser analisado pelos	funcionários	que, de caminho, aproveitam para ler as missivas.
15	de algumas empresas capitalistas. Retiraram-se os	funcionários	vieram-se embora os raros colonos ou deixaram-se

Appendix 4, concordance lines of Trabalhadores

TRABALHADORES

1	Moçambique à Frelimo nada se promoveu a favor dos	trabalhadores.	Antes, pelo contrário, somos mais roubados". M
2	eologia burguesa dominante que influenciou ALGUNS	trabalhadores	"... Entre os produtos alimentares que escasseiam
3	er o que o governo português estava a fazer pelos	trabalhadores	". Mineiros há, que sempre se sentiram portugueses
4	CONTRO GOVERNANTES DE PAÍSES ONDE SE EMPREGAM	TRABALHADORES	PORTUGUESES OIÇO ESPONTÂNEOS LOUVOURES À NOSSA
5	cente-se que com a decisão de Samora os primeiros	trabalhadores	a sentirem o desemprego serão os do porto da Beir
6	o suborno dos guardas fronteiriços da Frelimo. Os	trabalhadores	acidentados que regressam a suas casas para conva
7	organizações afiliadas de obra especializada dos	trabalhadores	de Moçambique, a Frelimo pretende que aos salário
8	l". Trata-se de uma dupla tributação aplicada aos	trabalhadores	mineiros, em moeda estrangeira, a que determinada
9	TE DA FRELIMO CORRIDO À PEDRADA PELOS MINEIROS Os	trabalhadores	mineiros foram estacionados nas instalações minei
10	er cobrado obrigatoriamente aos mineiros e outros	trabalhadores	moçambicanos na África do Sul o chamado imposto d
11	boa, a Frelimo é um partido de vigaristas. Mas os	trabalhadores	moçambicanos sabem-no. 24 de Abril de 1978 REPRES
12	o contrário, somos mais roubados". Muitos são os	trabalhadores	nascidos em Moçambique que às minas sul-africanas
13	vidade reduzida e que, como resultado, muitos dos	trabalhadores	poderiam perder seus empregos temporariamente. Ac
14	e encontro governantes de países onde se empregam	trabalhadores	portugueses, oiço espontâneos louvores à nossa ge
15	deslocou foi corrido à pedrada e à paulada pelos	trabalhadores,	prova mais do que insofismável de que estes nada
16	ara apagar o fogo e disse que "foi a actuação dos	trabalhadores	que se engajaram de imediato no combate ao incênd

Appendix 5, collocates of Portuguesa

Total No. of Collocate Types: 47
Total No. of Collocate Tokens: 336

1	3	3	0	958.189	mocidade
2	3	2	1	958.189	embaixada
3	5	4	1	909.646	soberania
4	2	0	2	899.693	chefiada
5	2	2	0	858.189	servem
6	2	2	0	858.189	multirracial
7	2	2	0	799.693	administração
8	2	2	0	777.453	expressão
9	5	5	0	765.589	sociedade
10	6	6	0	758.189	delegação
11	3	3	0	725.996	comunidade
12	2	0	2	699.693	chegou
13	3	3	0	691.892	província
14	4	4	0	688.145	nação
15	4	1	3	662.769	joanesburgo
16	2	2	0	658.189	companhia
17	2	2	0	633.396	acção
18	3	1	2	543.893	hoje
19	78	2	2	537.243	portuguesa
20	2	0	2	533.396	tinha
21	2	1	1	529.649	elementos
22	6	5	1	524.799	áfrica
23	3	1	2	510.076	ministro
24	3	0	3	495.740	era
25	2	0	2	485.397	esta
26	2	1	1	443.214	porque
27	2	1	1	441.196	ter
28	3	0	3	411.157	já
29	22	21	1	405.833	da
30	7	0	7	405.385	moçambique

Appendix 6, concordance lines of Portuguesa

#	Left context	Node	Middle	Right context
1	itório da costa Oriental de África sob soberania	portuguesa	A embaixada portuguesa chegou	
2	e da cidade da Beira. Segundo a agência noticiosa	portuguesa		ANOP, que refere notícias de fonte particular, os
3	O COM UMA CRUZ NO BRAÇO, COM UM GRUPO DA MOCIDADE	PORTUGUESA		ATRAVESSANDO O RIO LIMPOMPO EM VILA JOÃO BELO. CO
4	de Manica, de 30 anos de idade e de nacionalidade	portuguesa.		Acusados pelos comunistas da Frelimo, de "alta t
5	O Presidente da República	Portuguesa,		Almirante Américo de Deus Rodrigues Tomás, dirig
6	andes Costa e esposa. 14 de Junho de 1972 A NAÇÃO	PORTUGUESA		COMEMOROU O SEU DIA NACIONAL O SANGUE LUSÍADA DER
7	S, PROFERIDAS NO JANTAR OFERECIDO PELA COMUNIDADE	PORTUGUESA		DE JOANESBURGO. JOANESBURGO – A comunidade portu
8	amanhã. AS FORÇAS MILITARES QUE SERVEM NA ÁFRICA	PORTUGUESA,		E QUE HOJE TEM CERCA DE METADE DOS SEUS EFECTIVO
9	pelos horizontes acanhados da tauromaquia apeada	portuguesa.		E foi pena. Entretanto, quando saí à praça, José
10	um qualquer cidadão pode requerer a naturalização	portuguesa.		Em Moçambique e a filhos de portugueses, uma lei
11	em seguida sido saudado por filiados da Mocidade	Portuguesa		Feminina, que prestavam a guarda-de-honra ao ilus
12	Date???? A MULHER	PORTUGUESA	NA INDÚSTRIA DE MOÇAMBIQUE	
13	NVERGOU COM ENTUSIASMO A CAMISA VERDE DA MOCIDADE	PORTUGUESA.		NA GRAVURA QUE HOJE PUBLICAMOS PODE VER-SE O DR.
14	tanto proféticas dos ideiais que fizeram a Nação	Portuguesa.		Não pensava Salazar que servisse a Humanidade a
15	ção de uma festa tão enroncada na melhor tradição	portuguesa.		O cartaz já foi anunciado. Na primeira corrida
16	ninguém neles contesta a sua integração na Nação	Portuguesa.		Percorre-se a Guiné, anda-se pela vastidão da te
17	elos caminhos pouco honrosos de uma política anti-	portuguesa.		Por intermédio de uma "informação aos missionári
18	erdade e necessidade da estrutura cristã da Nação	Portuguesa.		Se, pois, com seriedade e boa fé, foi possível e
19	moral, aos princípios e às leis da administração	portuguesa.		Talvez que o homem primitivo, vivendo no seio da
20	nais, visto que só a bandeira e Portugal a língua	portuguesa,		a soberania portuguesa lhes dá personalidade e u
21	olongue para além do prematuro termo de soberania	portuguesa		a fim de que possa perdurar, naquela terra, pelos
22	resolver: a de extensão dos direitos da cidadania	portuguesa,		aos brasileiros, em correspondência por reciproci
23	is dias, terminado nesta capital, com a delegação	portuguesa,		chefiada pelo ministro dos negócios estrangeiros
24	equipa composta por três elementos da delegação	portuguesa		chefiada pelo Dr.Mário Soares. O preside
25	erania portuguesa A embaixada	portuguesa		chegou a esta cidade 6:45 horas, tendo sido receb
26	dez contos por dia. "O Olhanense da II Divisão	portuguesa		chegou a oferecer-me 35 contos por mês e quase qu
27	que pode ser mostrada ao mundo como uma afirmação	portuguesa		com sentido universal»- declarou, ao chegar a Lis
28	viagem, o Dr.Mário Soares que chefia a delegação	portuguesa		concedeu momentos depois, uma conferência de imp
29	GUESA DE JOANESBURGO. JOANESBURGO – A comunidade	portuguesa		de joanesburgo, ofereceu na passada quinta-feira,
30	hia de Cimentos de Moçambique, de que a Companhia	Portuguesa		de Cimentos era a principal accionista. Está por
31	ricana encontrou, no que ainda é hoje a província	portuguesa		de Moçambique, um país verdejante e uma populaçã
32	stas que foram implantadas na África de expressão	portuguesa?		22 de Maio de 1978 Frelimo tenta operação de sab
33	ra homenagear o mais alto magistrado da Província	portuguesa		de Moçambique, nesta sua visita oficial à África
34	todos aqueles milhares de portugueses entoaram a	Portuguesa.		31 de Julho de 1973 TEMOS DE ESTAR ATENTOS
35	do antigo preço da onça, ao governo da Província	Portuguesa		de Moçambique que, por sua vez, creditava ao trab
36	al accionista. Está por isso, a primeiro ministro	Portuguesa		de parabéns pelo belo " presente" que ofereceu a
37	clubes para saber das possibilidades de um dia a	Portuguesa		de Desportos ter Eusébio no seu ataque, nem que f
38	ma conferência de imprensa. O chefe da diplomacia	portuguesa		declarou que lisboa aceitava o princípio da auto
39	para a África do Sul e aqui representar a equipa	portuguesa		do Lusitano. A informação foi-nos dada por Gabrie
40	da Companhia Industrial da Matola, de propriedade	portuguesa		e que era a maior indústria de produtos alimentar
41	uma comissão mista do COPCON, a famosa "Gestapo"	portuguesa,		e da Frelimo que se encontra revelando fotografi
42	, a grande Nação que sempre foi. Essa é a vocação	portuguesa		e Portugal deixará de ser Portugal se não for ist
43	rou uma fotografia, género postal, com a bandeira	portuguesa		e a foto de Salazar, o qual rasgou em virtude de
44	overnos. As forças militares que servem na África	portuguesa,		e que hoje têm cerca de metade dos seus efectivo
45	que. Mas como começou o caso? Durante a soberania	portuguesa,		e porque o Governo chegou à conclusão que a verd
46	sim fosse – uma campanha de denegrimento da acção	portuguesa		em Moçambique, sobretudo no que respeita à acção
47	vizinhos. Quando quiser fazer o balanço da acção	portuguesa		em Moçambique deve partir-se da miséria e da nude
48	ta aos leitores uma panorâmica da posição militar	portuguesa		em Moçambique. Os leitores de
49	que se pretendem alcançar. Para destruir a África	Portuguesa		era necessário, na opinião dos países "nossos ini
50	, e acho que até o Mundial da Alemanha a selecção	portuguesa		estará novamente apta a brilhar. Como em 1966, na
51	por certo, modificar muito do que a administração	portuguesa		fez de bom em Moçambique. Mas não os aldeamentos
52	iça. Como primeiro servidor da nova sociedade	portuguesa,		já legitimada pela inequívoca adesão do povo à l
53	nte de confiança mútua . « A delegação	portuguesa		levou consigo elementos que constituirão a base p
54	deira e Portugal a língua portuguesa, a soberania	portuguesa		lhes dá personalidade e unidade; não existindo es
55	posição de único órgão de imprensa de expressão	portuguesa		na África do Sul e Rodésia . N
56	escalar Kartum e Nairobi. Aguardavam a Embaixada	portuguesa		o Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros da Zâmbia, o
57	nção de raças ou de cor. Queremos que a sociedade	portuguesa,		onde quer que esteja na Europa, na África, na Á
58	a para a capital suazi num táxi aéreo. Na capital	portuguesa		onde já tinha a família, Pereira Leite viria a pe
59	ràpidamente construirmos a sociedade multirracial	portuguesa,		para erguermos neste mundo divisões e de ódios,
60	de Portugal no ano de 1971. Tem a opinião pública	portuguesa		podido acompanhar, através dos diferentes orgãos
61	da no Songo. Em Lisboa, um porta-voz da companhia	portuguesa		proprietária de Cabo Bassa confirmou que os forne
62	o território. « Achamos que a delegação	portuguesa		pôde apreciar concretamente a nossa capacidade de
63	o rio fronteiras como que um alerta duma presença	portuguesa		que jamais será retirada porque jamais Portugal d
64	mportantes assuntos relacionados com a comunidade	Portuguesa		residente no território do Indico. Profundamente
65	Momentos ápos a chegada em Lusaka da delegação	portuguesa,		seguiu-se uma conferência de empresa durante a
66	ão não demasiado brusca, queremos que a sociedade	portuguesa		seja uma só, uma sociedade em que homens de qualq
67	cujos antigos hangares, deixados pela Força Aérea	portuguesa,		serviam de armazém para equipamento e munições.
68	ornalista. Resposta de Mário Soares : « Da parte	portuguesa		significa a victória do bom senso e da paz. Rel
69	s no departamento que aquela instituição bancária	portuguesa		tinha em Lourenço Marques. Segundo informações pr
70	rior para receber os representantes da autoridade	portuguesa		à porta do veículo que os transportava, hoje não
71	imento, com as quais podem provar ter ascendência	portuguesa		àqueles que duvidem que estes jovens não tenham a
72	, clara e vivamente, ao prof. Silva Cunha, quanto	portuguesa		é toda esta mole de gente que no seu calor de aco
73	. A construção pacífica de sociedade multirracial	portuguesa		é única via que leva a resultados construtivos
74	mos unidos em comunhão de serviço porque a Pátria	Portuguesa		é obra de Mortos e de Vivos, por ser feita de tem

Omission and other sins: Tracking the quality of online machine translation output over four years

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Abstract

Online machine translation (MT) has empowered ordinary language users to have texts translated all by themselves. But are these users aware of the pitfalls? This article draws on a longitudinal study that explored the quality of output by online MT application Google Translate in the language combination Afrikaans–English. We investigated the distribution of errors in two sets of translations (slide-show text and news report text) that we had Google Translate produce annually over a period of four years, 2010–2013. Omission, Mistranslation, Non-translation and Grammar were error categories that scored high in the analyses. In addition, we found that although the quality of the translations seemed to improve up to 2012, the pattern of improvement levelled off, with some of the 2013 output containing more errors than that of the previous year. We believe users should be made aware of the risks they unknowingly take when using online MT.

Keywords: error categories, Google Translate, machine translation, mistranslation, non-translation, translation quality

1. Introduction

Online machine translation (MT) has tipped the scale: translation is not reserved for translators anymore, but has become everyone's business. Garcia (2009: 205) illustrates the state of affairs when he says: "[Online] MT embodies the trinity of our brave new web world: free, instantaneous, and easy to use." The latest Google Translate mobile application is further testimony to this: any smartphone user can now use the phone's camera to have a sign in a foreign language translated at once – for some languages, without even having to take an actual photo. In January 2015, the official Google Translate blog estimated that more than 500 million people used Google Translate, in mobile app format or online, every month (Google 2015).

Google Translate is but one manifestation of how translation and technology connect constantly in new ways. Online MT makes it possible to find out within seconds what the gist of a text in

a foreign language is, potentially opening new worlds to its users (Doherty and O'Brien 2014: 40; Garcia 2009: 206; Hartley 2009: 121; Sager 1994: 262).

Not only the general public resorts to online MT – in a survey conducted in 2012, language professionals reported using free online MT (Gaspari, Almaghout and Doherty 2015: 14). The authors who conducted the 2012 survey also reported on the 20 top language combinations for which respondents used MT (Gaspari et al. 2015: 15; 17). The most frequent combination was English–French, followed by English–Italian and French–English, since the respondents originated mainly from Europe. The combination relevant to this study, Afrikaans–English, ranked 18th, since 50 of the 438 respondents were in fact South African.

Despite the increasing popularity of online MT among the general public and even translators, raw online MT output is rarely useful for more than gisting, due to the errors that occur in such translations. The output, as with other MT output, could be used as a starting point and post-edited to be improved to the level required, an approach whereby quality criteria are set by the purpose of the translation (Drugan 2013: 98; Garcia 2009: 206; Koponen and Salmi 2015: 119), but casual users of online MT do not necessarily know that.

Subsequently the question arises that, if one were to use the raw output of an online MT engine, what errors could be expected? Previous studies in this context have identified particularly two kinds of error that could compromise the transfer of meaning severely, namely omission and mistranslation.

The omission of certain words is a recognised high-risk practice in several MT systems, as DeCamp (2009) has pointed out with reference to Chang-Meadows' (2008) study of Chinese–English translations. DeCamp (2009) further remarks that uninformed users are not even always aware of what is omitted in the translations they obtain from online MT. In their research on the TC-STAR project with English–Spanish MT, Vilar, Xu, D'Haro and Ney (2006) have also identified "missing words" as a frequent error.

Mistranslation in MT has been flagged by Gaspari, Toral and Naskar (2011), who highlight the mistranslation of compounds in particular as a prominent error in German–English MT. Studies conducted in 2012 in language combinations such as Portuguese–English (Valotkaite and Asadullah 2012) and Spanish–English (Avramidis, Burchardt, Federman, Popović, Tscherwinka and Vilar 2012) also highlight mistranslation as the most frequent error encountered. In her error analysis of English–Finnish Google Translate output of three different text types, Koponen (2010: 7) found the most typical error to be "mistranslating an individual concept".

With a view to the above, we were interested in seeing how Afrikaans–English output of an online MT application would fare in an error analysis – also to be able to advise the general public better on this matter.

2.   Context of this study

At the Stellenbosch University Language Centre[1], we observe an awareness of the new possibilities that the integration of language and technology opens to the students and staff of our university. Since the Centre renders a translation service, among others, questions regarding the use of free, online MT – and Google Translate, in particular – have been directed to us by clients ranging from students to staff and external clients. A frequent question posed is whether it would not be faster and more cost-effective than regular translation to employ online MT, given the need for the availability of texts in both Afrikaans and English in our higher education setting.

Translation is an everyday need at Stellenbosch University, as it is at many universities in South Africa. Despite the country's 11 national languages, English dominates nationally as the language of academic instruction and scholarship. Stellenbosch University functions as a multilingual institution that focuses on three languages: Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa (Stellenbosch University 2014). The University aims to accommodate students by offering learning opportunities in Afrikaans and in English, while developing and furthering isiXhosa[2]. Afrikaans is spoken by 13.5% of South Africans as their first language, while English is the first language of 9.6% of the population. IsiXhosa is spoken by 16% of South Africans as their first language. (South Africa.info 2012).

With a view to exploring the usability of online MT for University students who frequently rely on translation for both academic reading and writing, we began investigating the quality of translation products delivered by Google Translate in 2010 (see Lotz and Van Rensburg 2014; Van Rensburg, Snyman and Lotz 2012). The current article takes forward this ongoing research over a longer time span and with a further analysis of the distribution of errors. In this article, we report on (i) the distribution of errors in two sets of translations obtained from Google Translate annually over a period of four years, and (ii) whether the initial pattern of improvement in the quality of Google Translate output we saw in Lotz and Van Rensburg (2014) has continued since we added another kind of text and another year's output to the 2014 study results.

The next section will describe the methodology of our research, detailing the online MT application, texts, assessment tool and assessors involved. This is followed by a discussion of the results of our error analysis, focusing on the most frequent errors in each of the two texts, and commonalities in errors between the two kinds of text. In the concluding section, we summarise the findings of this study and discuss their implications for users of online MT.

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[1] The purpose of the Stellenbosch University Language Centre is to render language support to students, staff and external clients who require such assistance. The Language Centre offers academic literacy modules, language acquisition modules, language planning expertise, document design services and language editing, translation and interpreting services. It also operates a writing laboratory and a reading laboratory.

[2] The current Stellenbosch University Language Policy applies until the end of 2016, and incorporates English in addition to Afrikaans as a language of instruction. A new language policy will take effect in January 2017, which will aim to ensure that no student will be excluded from the Stellenbosch University academic offering based on the student's command of Afrikaans or English. The 2017 policy explicitly makes provision for students who prefer to study in Afrikaans, while also improving access to education for students who are proficient in English only (Stellenbosch University 2016).

3.   Methodology

At the end of October for four consecutive years, namely 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013, we had two texts (text from a slide-show presentation and an online news report, see 3.2 for more detail) translated from Afrikaans to English by the online MT application Google Translate. At no stage did we use edit-and-improve suggestions that may have been offered by the application, and the source texts (STs) and resulting target texts (TTs) were not made public in any way. This means that the translated pairs could not re-enter Google Translate's database to be recycled. The process yielded eight translation products, which we analysed by means of an error analysis to determine the distribution of errors in the texts.

3.1 Translation application

Google Translate is the most widely-used free online translation application available currently (Drugan 2013: 170) and has been offering Afrikaans since September 2009 as one of the 103 languages into or from which it translated by July 2016 (Google n.d; 2009). Our clients enquired specifically about harnessing this application for translation between Afrikaans and English. Hence, Google Translate was used to produce the translations that were to be analysed.

Google Translate employs statistical machine translation (SMT) to compute the probability of what a translation would be (Kenny and Doherty 2014), after which it produces the translation with the highest probability. The computing process employs (i) translation models that have been trained on parallel corpora (an extraordinary large collection of STs and corresponding TTs translated by humans), and (ii) language models of the target language, which enables the system to check whether a certain combination of words is a likely sequence in the target language before it produces that sequence (Hearne and Way 2011).

Since the models reflect the data that were used to train them (Kenny and Doherty 2014: 284), it follows that, if one were to use Google Translate to translate a text in a subject field in which the system's language and translation models had no corpora to "learn" from, the results would be poorer than when the system translated something in which it had had training. The general public does not necessarily know or understand this. We concur with Kenny and Doherty (2014: 288) who observe that Google Translate actually may be "too easy to use" in that such systems "[obscure] the human labour that produces the translated and other data on which [SMT] is based; [they] also obscure the labour of the computer scientists who builds [SMT] systems". Free online translation gives the impression that translation is "an agentless, automatic function that can be realised in no time at all" (Cronin 2012: 47, in Kenny and Doherty 2014: 288), while that is not the case. We believe that users of free online MT may be deceived by how easy it is to obtain such translations, and that they may be unaware of the errors lurking in those translations.

3.2 Texts

We chose to work with two kinds of text that we encounter in our daily lives: slide-show text of a university lecture and an online news report. We regarded each of these texts as broadly representative of other texts similar to them in terms of function and form. With "kind of text", we thus mean what is called "*Textsorte*" in German, according to Kussmaul (1997: 69) and Snell-Hornby (1997: 278), and for the purposes of this study we distinguish between texts on

the basis of their specific formal and linguistic features and the particular situation in which they function. This makes it possible to distinguish between categories such as slide-show text, news reports, manuals, instruction leaflets, business letters, weather reports, cooking recipes, examination papers and minutes of a meeting.

In our experience, slide-show text and online news reports are two kinds of text that are often translated online in real-life situations – for example, over the past few years we had numerous students enquiring about using Google Translate to translate lecturers' slide-show texts, usually provided in either Afrikaans or English. Furthermore, Google Translate output of this particular slide-show text and news report respectively scored the highest and the lowest in an earlier phase of our study in which we evaluated six different kinds of text: a news report, minutes, an official letter, an examination paper and the slide-show text of a lecture. At the time, we had respondents evaluate the quality of the translations by means of a more holistic instrument than the method in the current study, namely an adaptation of Colina's (2008, 2009) evaluation instrument, as reported in Van Rensburg et al. (2012).

The slide-show ST was originally created as a Microsoft PowerPoint (MS PP) presentation in Afrikaans for a lecture in social anthropology and consisted of 312 words organised into 10 slides. The text in the presentation was copied from MS PP and pasted into an MS Word document, which was subsequently submitted to Google Translate. The text is characterised by short, bullet-like sentences that are dense with information. The correct translation of terminology would be key for this kind of text.

The online news report ST originated from an Afrikaans newspaper (in print and online) that circulates in the Western Cape Province, namely *Die Burger*, and consisted of 438 words. The online text was copied and pasted into an MS Word document, after which it was submitted to Google Translate. The text is characterised by full sentences, written in a typical journalistic style detailing the progress made in a case of disciplinary action against a politically active figure. Due to its political angle, the text contains many names. Therefore, it would be important that the names and dates are transferred correctly in the translation, and that the sentences in the translation are well formed. Rather than choosing a 312-word excerpt for the analysis so that it could be comparable with that of the 312-word slide-show text, we analysed the whole report. We wanted our analysis to be representative of typical online news reports, and analysing a 312-word excerpt would not serve the purpose. The fact that we worked with two texts with a word-count difference of more than 100 words had implications for the way in which the results could be compared. We took that into account.

3.3 Assessment tool

The evaluation of SMT output is a complex and contentious issue. Automatic metrics such as the Word Error Rate, the Position Independent Word Error Rate and the BLEU (Papineni, Roukos, Ward and Zhu 2001), NIST (Doddington 2002) and METEOR (Banerjee and Lavie 2005) evaluation metrics are prominent in SMT evaluation, since they give fast and cost-effective evaluations of (mostly evolving) translation models. However, their results are not failsafe. According to Callison-Burch (2009: 286), "they only loosely approximate human judgments", while Vilar et al. (2006) consider the interpretation of these measures as not clear at all. Daelemans and Hoste (2009: 9) hold that automatic evaluation measures "are only indirectly linked to translation usability and quality".

We chose not to work with automatic evaluation metrics, due to the mentioned concerns, and since the results would not have given us or our clients what we needed. Van Slype (1979, in Daems, Macken and Vandepitte 2013: 63) already argued more than 30 years ago that, since translation quality is not an absolute concept, it should be assessed "relatively, applying several distinct criteria illuminating each special aspect of the quality of the translation". Our analysis was a small one, and we needed an analysis by humans for humans, containing simple, practical examples of how the output of an online MT system looked, and what errors could be expected for texts similar to those we used in our study.

We therefore decided on a method that would usually be used to measure the quality of human translation – we adapted the Framework for Standardized Error Marking of the American Translators' Association (ATA) to perform the error analyses of the online MT output in our study. The ATA Framework is a "ready-made, standardised, time-tested, and professionally recognised model for conducting theory-based, systematic, coherent, and consistent" evaluation of translations (Doyle 2003: 21) and is used in the ATA certification examination (ATA 2015a,b). It enables the analyst to specify errors by type, which made it a useful evaluation tool for our purposes. We needed an instrument that could be applied as objectively as possible in the naturally subjective process of evaluating the quality of a translation product. Our error typology included categories such as Mistranslation, Addition, Omission, Non-translation, Switched elements, Terminology, Inconsistency, Grammar, Syntax, Word form, Spelling, Punctuation and Capitalisation.[3] Generally MT itself has no conception of such categories or other linguistic categories, as Kenny and Doherty (2014) argue, but our purpose in using the error analysis, as stated earlier, was to give prospective users of Google Translate insight into the possible errors they might encounter if they chose to translate texts similar to those we used in our study. Our framework for error marking is available as an appendix to this article.

3.4 Errors

With 'error' in this article, we mean that something in the translation output is wrong (Hansen 2010: 385). In translation studies, a distinction is often made between the kinds of error that occur in translated texts. Koby and Champe (2013: 165) distinguish between language errors, which entail "error[s] in the mechanics of target language usage", and translation errors, which concern errors in the "transfer of meaning". Correspondingly Pym (1992, 2010) differentiates between errors for which a clearly wrong and a clearly right option exist, calling them binary errors, and non-binary errors, for which there would be at least two right options in addition to the wrong option(s). Most language errors are binary errors, whereas there usually are multiple ways to correct translation errors, due to their non-binary nature.

In this study, all errors were marked and counted to establish how many errors there were and how frequently they occurred – regardless of whether those errors would be language errors or translation errors. In section 5, we use these scores to make several comparisons and observations regarding the distribution of errors in the two texts concerned. However, to make provision for how errors differ in gravity or severity regarding the influence they have on the meaning of a TT (Hansen 2010; Koby and Champe 2013: 165), we also assigned weights to the various errors to obtain an additional score: a weighted error score. Severe errors (that have a

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[3] For a discussion of the error categories and how we adapted the Framework for our purposes, please see Lotz and Van Rensburg (2014).

significant impact on the transfer of meaning) were assigned a weight of 2, and less serious errors were weighted as 1. The weighted error score works counterintuitively: the higher the score, the lower the quality of the translation. We contrast the weighted error scores with scores obtained from the error analyses in the discussion of the results.

3.5 Assessors

The first author performed the error analysis on the two texts in question, and the second author verified them. At the time of the error analysis, the first author had a master's degree in general linguistics and 14 years' experience as a language practitioner. The second author had a master's degree in translation and was working on her PhD. She had 12 years' experience as a language practitioner. Both assessors also had experience in the revision, evaluation and assessment of translation products. Before performing the analyses, both assessors had done extensive reading on MT and had already investigated online MT by means of another evaluation instrument (Van Rensburg et al. 2012).

4.   Results

The results of the assessment of the slide-show text will be described first, followed by those of the newspaper article. The categories we regarded as the most conspicuous, either due to significant changes in error counts over the four years or due to another reason, will be discussed for each text.

4.1 Errors in the slide-show text

The distribution of errors in the slide-show text translated by Google Translate over the four years in question is represented in Figure 1.
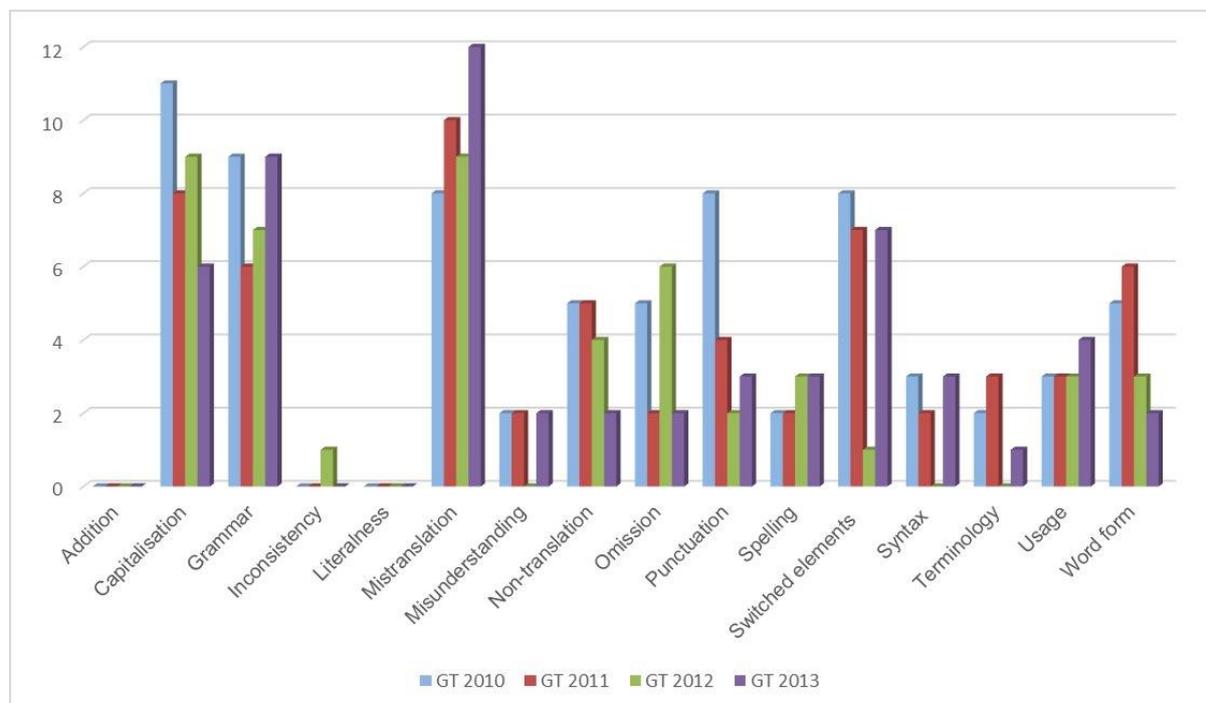
Figure 1: Distribution of errors in slide-show text output per year: 2010 to 2013

The highest number of errors in any category in any of the four years was recorded in the Mistranslation category for 2013. As mentioned in the introduction of the article, Koponen (2010: 7) found the most typical error to be "mistranslating an individual concept" in her error analysis of English–Finnish Google Translate output of three different text types. In our analysis, Mistranslation errors increased from 8 in 2010 to 10 in 2011, decreased by 1 in 2012 and shot up by 3 to make a total of 12 mistranslations in 2013. Mistranslation in the 2013 text constitutes 21,5% of all errors in that text – a large percentage, particularly in light of the serious impact that mistranslation could have on the quality and trustworthiness of a translated text. As already mentioned, in an earlier part of our study (Van Rensburg et al. 2012) we found that, of the six kinds of text that we had previously investigated, Google Translate had performed best when translating slide-show text. Thus, the application still did not perform well in this crucial category even when translating a kind of text that we found more suitable than other kinds of text for online MT. It could be argued that the system was not trained to perform optimally when translating this kind of text or in this subject field. However, that was exactly the point of this study: to simulate the circumstances under which a member of the general public would run a text through a free online MT system – a system that was not trained specifically for the text it was used for.

As reported in Lotz and Van Rensburg (2014), a major mistranslation in the 2010 to 2012 output occurred in the following instance:

> Afrikaans ST: *bier, handel en buite-egtelike verhoudings*.
> Benchmark English TT: beer, trade and extramarital affairs.

The 2010 to 2012 Google Translate output for the above phrase is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: 2010 to 2012 Google Translate output: "buite-egtelike verhoudings" (Lotz and Van Rensburg 2014)

Year of output	Output
2010	beer, trading and extra-marital ***relations**
2011	beer, *marketing and extra-marital ***relationships**
2012	beer, trade and ***foreign** affairs

*denotes an error

We have since analysed the 2013 output, which showed that Google Translate recovered from its 2012 "blunder" (seen from a user perspective) in its 2013 output:

> 2013: beer, trade and extra-marital *relationships

However, the string "extramarital relationships", which was also produced in 2011, still is not quite an adequate translation for what should have been "extramarital affairs". Therefore, we marked it as a Mistranslation error in the error analysis.

Now consider an example of Non-translation that evolved into a Mistranslation error. Table 2 contains the relevant Google Translate output in the four years under review.

> Afrikaans ST: *Rituele mistifiseer die rol van vroue*.
> Benchmark English TT: Rituals mystify the role of women/Ritual mystifies the role of women.

Table 2: 2010 to 2013 Google Translate output: "mistifiseer"

Year of output	Output	Error marked
2010	Ritual ***mistifiseer** the role of women	Non-translation
2011	Ritual ***mistifiseer** the role of women	Non-translation
2012	Ritual ***demystify** the role of women	Mistranslation, concord
2013	Rituals ***demystify** the role of women	Mistranslation

Google Translate did not translate the word "mistifiseer" in 2010 and 2011. The untranslated word was copied into the translated text, without further processing. Failure to translate this word was marked as a Non-translation error. In 2012 and 2013, the application used "demystify" as a translation equivalent for "mistifiseer" in the ST, which means exactly the opposite. Consequently, it was marked as a Mistranslation error.

The error count for Capitalisation was also quite high in 2010 but has decreased sharply over the four years. Since capitalisation does not influence the transfer of meaning in an Afrikaans–English setup significantly, we will not discuss that category further here.

Grammatical errors, starting at nine errors, initially decreased by three from 2010 to 2011, but then increased to seven errors in 2012 and to nine in 2013, thereby equalling the initial error count. Despite the fluctuation in the number of errors there seems to have been no overall improvement on the grammar front over the four years.

An important category concerning the transfer of meaning that reflected improvement over the four years is Non-translation. This is a black-or-white category in the sense that a word is either translated or not – there are no nuances that may have influenced the identification of this kind of error. We added this category to our framework to provide for a common Google Translate error mentioned earlier, namely that, if the application does not find a match for a ST word or combination of words, it simply copies the ST word into the TT. In 2010, five non-translations were recorded, with no improvement in 2011, but 2012 yielded four errors and 2013 only two.

An example of non-translation is Google Translate's dealing with "deelsaaiery", of which the benchmark translation would be "share-cropping". In 2010 and 2011, the application did not translate this word, inserting the untranslated word in the TT. In 2012, it used "share – cropping", but used spaces and an en dash instead of a hyphen, which means that typographically the translation was still incorrect. In 2013, it reverted back to not translating the word and copying "deelsaaiery" in the TT.

The last category to be highlighted in Figure 1 is Switched elements – another category that we added to our framework to provide for a frequent error in Google Translate output, in our experience. "Elements" may refer to words or phrases. This category involves two adjacent elements that were translated correctly in the TT, but that appear to be switched around, in comparison to their position in the ST (Lotz and Van Rensburg 2014). An example of an error in this category is presented in Table 3. (Although there are many errors in the output in this example, we focus only on Switched elements here).

> Afrikaans ST: *Periferie = buite die kern, uitgebuite gebied*
> Benchmark English TT: Periphery = outside the core, exploited area

Table 3: 2010 to 2013 Google Translate slide-show text output: Switched element error

Year of output	Output	Error marked
2010	= Periphery outside the core area exploited	Switched elements
2011	= outer periphery of the core area exploited	Switched elements
2012	Periphery = exploited area outside the nucleus	–
2013	= Periphery outside the core area exploited	Switched elements

In the 2010 and 2013 output in Table 3, the first two elements, namely "periphery" and "=" have been switched, which influences the transfer of meaning significantly. In the ST and the 2012 output, the text that follows the equation mark serves as a definition of what precedes the equation mark, whereas the 2010, 2011 and 2013 output incorporate what preceded the equation mark (in the ST) in the nonsensical definition that follows the equation mark. In this example, an error of Switched elements results in no term to be defined as well as a nonsensical definition in the TT.

Switched elements in the slide-show text started off with eight errors in 2010, decreased by one in 2011 and then dropped to only one error in 2012. Then, in 2013, the count rose to seven again, constituting 12.7% – the third highest score – of all errors in 2013. The increase in Switched element and Mistranslation errors in 2013 influenced the year's total error score greatly, as will be shown later.

4.2 Errors in the news report

The distribution of errors in the translated news report text over the four years in question is represented in Figure 2.
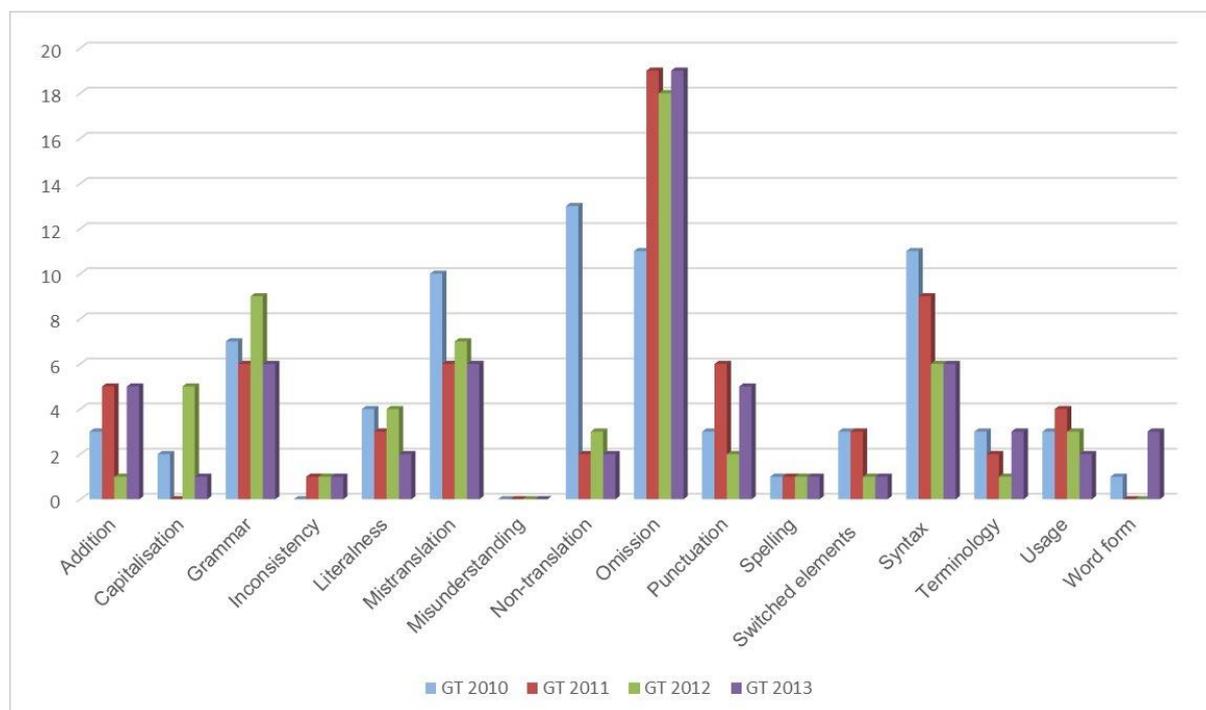
Figure 2: Distribution of errors in online news report output per year: 2010 to 2013

The most conspicuous error category in Figure 2 is Omission. In 2010, it started off with a score of 11 errors and then increased sharply to 19 errors in 2011. The error count seems to have stabilised with 18 errors in 2012 and once again 19 errors in 2013. If one regards Omission in isolation, there is no sign of improved quality in this text, but there are other categories to consider.

The pattern of improvement that we saw in Non-translation in the slide-show text analysis is repeated in the news report analysis. In 2010, 13 Non-translation errors were recorded, which decreased dramatically over the four years to only 2 in 2013. This improvement is in accordance with the claim by the developers of Google Translate that the application would improve over time (Helft 2010). From our results, it would seem that the Google Translate vocabulary has definitely improved. However, one should, keep in mind that Non-translation errors often evolve into other errors, as shown in the discussion of Non-translation errors in the analysis of the slide-show text.

Overall, Mistranslation errors also decreased markedly, although the improvement from 2010 (10 errors) to 2011 (6 errors) levelled off with 6 errors in 2013. Tables 4, 5 and 6 set out a few examples of Mistranslation. The applicable ST and benchmark TT precede the table in each instance.

Table 4 illustrates Google Translate's inefficiency when translating a title that seems to not have occurred in its training data. "Me." in Afrikaans means "Ms" in English, but Google Translate translated "Me." with "sorry." in 2010 and 2011. In 2012 and 2013, the title was simply not translated and the Afrikaans "Me." was reproduced in the translation. We marked this as Non-translation.

> Afrikaans ST: *Me. Ayanda Dlolo*
> Benchmark English TT: Ms Ayanda Dlolo

Table 4: Example of Mistranslation error in news report translation output: title

Year of output	Output	Error marked
2010	*sorry. Ayanda Dlolo	Mistranslation
2011	*sorry. Ayanda Dlolo	Mistranslation
2012	*Me. Ayanda Dlolo	Non-translation
2013	*Me. Ayanda Dlolo	Non-translation

A mistranslated surname came up where "Mr Mathews Phosa" in the ST became "Mr Slabbert" in the 2012 TT, as shown in Table 5. Seeing that Mr Phosa is a well-known politician and that the surname Slabbert is also associated with a well-known politician in South African politics, this mistranslation is somewhat ironic in a South African context. In the following year, the surname was again as it should be, namely "Phosa".

> Afrikaans ST: *[Mnr Mathews] Phosa*
> Benchmark English TT: [Mr Mathews] Phosa

Table 5: Example of Mistranslation error in news report translation output: surname

Year of output	Output	Error marked
2010	Phosa	–
2011	Phosa	–
2012	*Slabbert	Mistranslation
2013	Phosa	–

We also came across the mistranslation of an indication of time, as shown in Table 6. "Vandag" in the Afrikaans ST, which should have been translated as "today", was translated as "on Monday" in 2013. What we found interesting here is that the specific day in 2010 on which that news report was published was in fact a Monday. Table 6 contains the output in the different years.

> Afrikaans ST: *Volgens die ANC moet Malema hom vandag by Luthuli-huis aanmeld…*
> Benchmark English TT: According to the ANC, Malema should report at Luthuli House today…

Table 6: Example of Mistranslation error in news report translation output: indication of time

Year of output	Output	Error marked
2010	Today	–
2011	Today	–
2012	Today	–
2013	on Monday	Mistranslation

Lastly, the name of the newspaper from which this report originated, *Die Burger*, was mistranslated in each of the four years under review, as shown in Table 7.

> Afrikaans ST: *City Press*, *susterkoerant van Die Burger…*
> Benchmark English TT: *City Press*, sister paper of *Die Burger…*

Table 7: Example of Mistranslation error in news report translation output: name of newspaper

Year of output	Output	Error marked
2010	The Citizen	Mistranslation
2011	The Citizen	Mistranslation
2012	The Argus	Mistranslation
2013	The Citizen	Mistranslation

"Citizen" may have been a good translation equivalent for "burger" if one wished to translate the word in its regular sense, but a proper name should not be translated. Moreover, a South African newspaper going by the name *The Citizen* in fact exists. In 2012, Google Translate used "The Argus" as a translation, which is in part the name of another existing South African newspaper, *Cape Argus*, and that of a UK newspaper. None of the papers *The Citizen*, *Cape Argus* or *The Argus* are translated versions of *Die Burger*. Errors of this nature underscore the fact that the system performing this translation did not have the contextual reference and agency to come up with a solution for this translation challenge.

Errors with regard to Literalness, a category closely related to Mistranslation in that both have a direct bearing on the transfer of meaning, follow more or less the same pattern as Mistranslation errors, albeit on a smaller scale: starting at four errors in 2010, decreasing to three in 2011, increasing by one again in 2012 to decrease to only two errors in 2013.

The Syntax category showed significant improvement over the four years, with an initial error count of 11 in 2010, decreasing to 9 in 2011, decreasing further to 6 in 2012 and levelling off with 6 errors in 2013. Syntax may well be regarded as more of a language error than a translation error, but syntax has a marked influence on the readability – and therefore usability – of a translated text. Percentage-wise there were more Syntax errors in the news report than in the slide-show text to start off with in 2010. This could be expected, as a news report consists of running text, while a slide-show contains factual information with a simpler structure. Nevertheless, the improvement regarding Syntax errors in running text specifically is noteworthy. Consider the example of an error-free, acceptably translated sentence that Google Translate produced in Table 8:

Afrikaans ST: *Dié optrede sal geskied onder leiding van mnr. Derek Hanekom, adjunkminister van wetenskap en tegnologie en die voorsitter van die tugkomitee.*

Table 8: Example of acceptable sentence in Google Translate output in all four years

| Year of output	Output
2010	This action will take place under the **guidance** of Mr Derek Hanekom, deputy minister of science and technology and the chairman of the disciplinary committee.
2011	This action will take place under the **direction** of Mr Derek Hanekom, deputy minister of science and technology and the chairman of the disciplinary committee.
2012	This action will take place under the **leadership** of Mr Derek Hanekom, deputy minister of science and technology and the chairman of the disciplinary committee.
2013	This action will take place under the **guidance** of Mr Derek Hanekom, deputy minister of science and technology and the chairman of the disciplinary committee.

The English TT produced by Google Translate over the four years differ only regarding the translation of one word, namely "leiding". All the translation equivalents offered – "guidance", "direction" and "leadership" – were acceptable in this context.

5.   Discussion

In the slide-show text analysis Mistranslation, Capitalisation, Grammar, Non-Translation and Switched elements were the categories that represented the most prominent errors and in which there was significant variation in the number of errors over the four years. In the news report analysis Omission, Non-Translation, Mistranslation, Literalness and Syntax accounted for the most prominent errors and error movement in that text. Non-translation and Mistranslation are categories that scored high in the analyses of both texts – two categories that have a major impact on the transfer of meaning.

5.1 Error category totals

An additional way to gain insight into the distribution of errors is to consider pie charts representing the results of the error analyses. Figure 3 shows the number of errors counted for each category in the slide-show text over the four years.
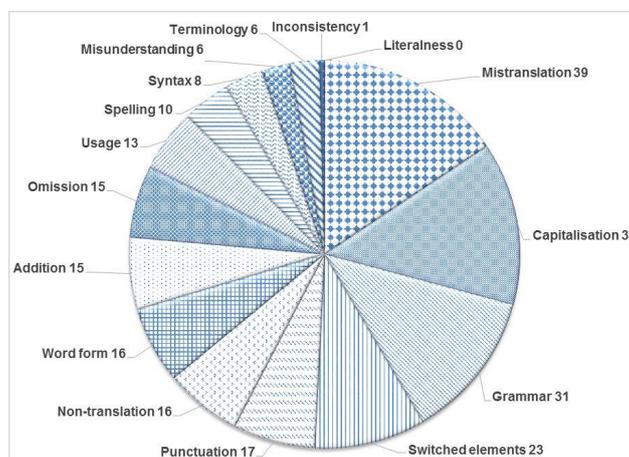
Figure 3: Number of errors in each error category for slide-show text output: 2010 to 2013

The four most prominent error categories over the four years under review in the slide-show text were: Mistranslation (39 errors), followed by Capitalisation (34 errors), Grammar (31 errors) and Switched elements (23 errors).

Contrast these numbers to those in Figure 4, which shows the distribution of errors in specifically the 2013 slide-show output.
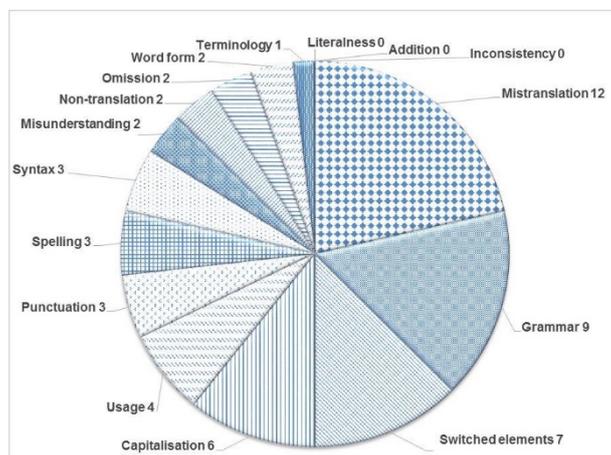
Figure 4: Number of errors in each error category for slide-show text output: 2013

Since the 2013 output is the most recent output in the study, Figure 4 gives the best overview of the kinds of error users of Google Translate could expect when having a similar text translated. In the 2013 slide-show output Mistranslation, Grammar, Switched elements and Capitalisation were still the categories with the highest error scores, and therefore the four most likely areas in which errors could be expected in future translations. Compared to the 2010 to 2013 totals, Mistranslation stays the greatest concern for this text.

Figure 5 shows the number of errors recorded for each category in the news report text over the four years.
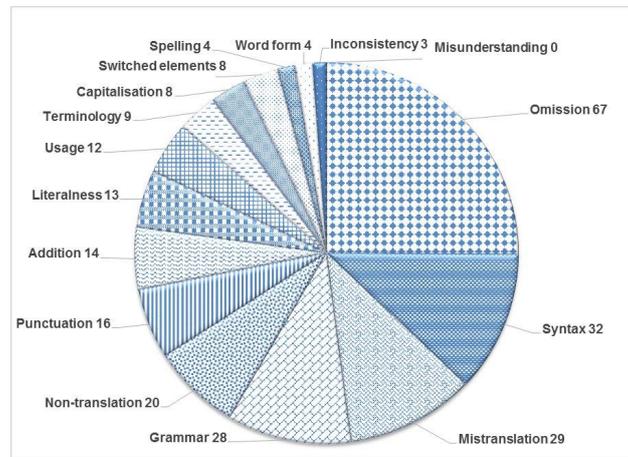
Figure 5: Number of errors in each error category for news report output: 2010 to 2013

In the news report output over the four years, the category of Omission had the most errors: 67. Syntax was second (32), followed by Mistranslation (29) and Grammar (28). In Figure 6, the isolated 2013 output results show that the four most likely areas in which errors would occur if Google Translate were to be used to translate a news report are the same: Omission, Syntax, Mistranslation and Grammar.
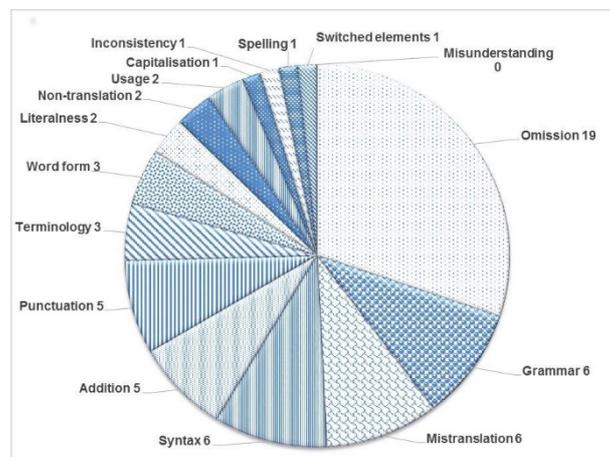
Figure 6: Number of errors in each error category for news report output: 2013

As explained before, the error category totals of the two texts should not be compared at face value, since the news report consisted of more words than the slide-show text. A longer text carries the possibility of more errors, therefore the aim of figures 3 and 5 is to give an overview of the errors that were encountered in each text type over the four years of investigation. What becomes clear from juxtaposing those two figures is that the error categories Mistranslation and Grammar were prominent in both analyses.

5.2 Distribution of errors over the four years

In figures 1 and 2, which show the number of errors in each category per year for each text by means of bar charts, the 2012 translations of both texts registered more errors in several categories than the 2011 translations. Also, despite improvement in some categories in the 2013 translations, there was also an increase in errors in quite a few categories. In the analyses, we observed that new errors were made in later years. Some errors made in earlier years were resolved, but then new ones would appear in the following year's translation – often elements that had in fact been correct in previous translations.

This observation brings a new question to mind: How does the distribution of total number of errors over the four years for each text compare to each other? To compare the error totals of the two analyses and the results for the different years, the total error score for each year of each text had to be converted to a percentage. We obtained percentage values by dividing the total error score of each year's analysed text by the word count of the applicable ST. The results of this process are shown in Figure 7.
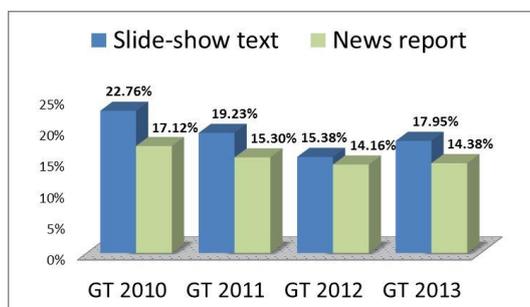
Figure 7: Totals of both text types as percentages for comparison

Figure 7 reflects a steady decrease in total errors in both texts up to 2012. However, both 2013 texts contained more errors than the texts produced in the previous year. The increase in errors in the 2013 slide-show text was much more pronounced, containing eight more errors, than in the news report, which contained only one more error than the previous year's text.

The weighted error scores (as introduced in the methodology section) also reflect an increase in 2013, with a more pronounced increase in the 2013 slide-show text than in the news report. Consider Table 9 in this regard, keeping in mind that the higher the score, the more questionable the quality of that translation.

Table 9: Error scores versus weighted error scores

		2010	2011	2012	2013
Slide-show text	Number of errors	71	60	48	56
	Weighted error score	107	92	69	86
News report	Number of errors	75	67	62	63
	Weighted error score	111	95	88	87

We believe that the new errors in the latest translations in particular, may be a reflection of the unpredictable quality of the corpora from which Google Translate draws its translation equivalents. New bilingual corpora could be sourced from virtually anywhere, influencing the

quality of the translation equivalents the system offers positively or negatively. Therefore, it may be that Google Translate sometimes seems to revert to mistakes made in earlier years, even if it used an acceptable translation equivalent for a while, because new data (which could also be recycled data) are still being added to the system. The stream of new data is declining; however, and Macduff Hughes, engineering director of Google Translate, acknowledged in an interview published in April 2015 that, "for the most common language pairings, 'we have reached about the limit where more data is helpful'" (Greene 2015: 33). The system needs a radical breakthrough for a new leap forward in quality. Until this breakthrough, we suspect the quality of Google Translate output will not necessarily continue improving over time as it did initially – by 2013 it had levelled off for the texts we analysed, for example.

This is a very small study in, globally seen, a very small language pair. However, there are similarities with what researchers found in other studies on MT. Omission and mistranslation, the categories mentioned in the introduction of this article, are also prominent in our study in that mistranslation stood out as the greatest concern in particularly the slide-show text, and 30% of all errors identified in the 2013 news report text were errors of omission. In light of these findings, casual users of online MT need to be made aware of the probability of particularly mistranslation and omission in the translations they obtain from online MT systems.

6. Conclusion

The results of the current study confirm the present dialogue on the quality of online MT, summarised in Gambier's (2014: 11) statement that "the translations produced by Google Translate, for example, are of good enough quality because they are consulted rather than actually read or assimilated". Online MT that has not been trained for translation in a specific subject field could be useful – but within certain parameters. We are concerned that casual users of online MT, particularly students and staff in our case, do not necessarily use online MT within those parameters, since they are not sufficiently aware of the high probability of errors in online MT translations. Casual users often lose sight of the fact that the system performing the translation lacks agency and does not automatically have the contextual reference they may take for granted.

This article presented the results of a study conducted to investigate the distribution of errors in two sets of translations (slide-show text and news report text) produced by Google Translate annually over a period of four years, 2010 to 2013. What we found was that the error categories Non-translation and Mistranslation – which have a major impact on the transfer of meaning – and Grammar scored high in the analyses of both texts. Other studies confirmed mistranslation (the highest scoring category for the slide-show text) and omission (the highest scoring category for the news report text) as high risks in MT.

In addition, we wanted to determine whether the initial pattern of improvement in the quality of Google Translate output that we had seen in Lotz and Van Rensburg (2014) would continue after we had added another kind of text and another year of output for the purposes of the current study. We found definite improvement in quality in the Google Translate output of the first three years under investigation. However, there were more errors in the output of the last year (2013) in both texts than in the output of the previous year (2012). From the error analyses, it seemed that new errors had been introduced in the 2013 translations. The improvement that was observed over the first three years of the study thus levelled off in 2013. The results of this

study confirm the observation of Lotz and Van Rensburg (2014: 248–9) that the very quality that enables Google Translate to improve dramatically over a span of time, its data-drivenness, also seems to make the application unpredictable and might hamper its progress.

Subsequent analyses of Google Translate output of 2014, 2015 and years to come of the same and possibly additional kinds of text may shed more light on whether the application's prowess improves further. Studies on the post-editing effort required for similar texts created by online MT in the language combination Afrikaans–English (and vice versa) in particular, would also be meaningful.

What the findings of this study mean for translators and the translate-it-yourself public alike is that it confirms that using an online translation application like Google Translate is a risk. Users of free online MT may not always be aware of (or qualified to determine) what has, for example, been omitted or mistranslated in the resulting TT. They may be deceived by how easy it is to obtain translations, and be unaware of the errors lurking in those translations. When they choose to use online MT, they should be educated enough to take a calculated risk. In this regard, Vitek (2000), an American freelance technical translator, had the following insight in 2000 already: "[i]t is up to us, translators, to explain to the general public what machine translation is, what are its strengths and weaknesses, and what is its likely role in the future development of our civilization".

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Testing controlled productive knowledge of adverb-verb collocations in junior researchers using English as a foreign language

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Abstract
The present study examines English as a Foreign Language (EFL) junior researchers' use of adverb-verb collocations of academic vocabulary in both free-written and controlled productions. A small corpus was compiled and analysed in order to identify verbs in adverb-verb combinations and examine which ones were collocated correctly or erroneously. A controlled productive test of adverb-verb collocations, with verbs selected from the Academic Word List (Coxhead 2000) and adverbs selected from Crowther, Dignen and Lea's (2002) *Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English* was also administered to participants. Results indicate that free-productive knowledge of adverb-verb collocations is challenging for EFL users. This finding supports previous studies that focused mainly on verb-noun collocations, and that reached the conclusion that EFL students are not sensitive enough to collocations to use them in their written productions (cf. Nesselhauf 2005). This finding is extended here to adverb-verb collocations. The study also reveals that controlled productive knowledge of adverb-verb collocations is less problematic. Based on these results, teaching strategies aimed at improving the use of adverb-verb collocations among EFL users are proposed.

Key words: academic writing, adverb-verb collocations, productive knowledge of collocations, English as a Foreign Language (EFL), Academic Word List (AWL)

1. Introduction

Given their widely accepted importance in second/foreign language (L2 or SL/FL) contexts, collocations have attracted considerable research attention over the last three decades (Barfield and Gyllstad 2009). They have been found to characterise overall proficiency, with empirical evidence demonstrating that there exists a clear relationship between knowledge of collocations – both receptive (Eyckmans 2009; Gyllstad 2007, 2009; Keshavarz and Salimi 2007; Nizonkiza 2011a) and productive (Bonk 2001; Eyckmans, Boers and Demecheleer 2004; Gitsaki 1999; Nizonkiza 2011b) – and proficiency. It is particularly striking that, although the studies were conducted on students from different backgrounds, using different approaches; they have shown that more proficient learners know more collocations. Additionally, collocations have been shown to perform an important function in academic texts (Gledhill 2000; Laufer and

Waldman 2011; Nesselhauf 2005; Nizonkiza 2014). Nonetheless, they have been found to be problematic for EFL users even at an advanced learning stage (Howarth 1998; Laufer and Waldman 2011; Nesselhauf 2005). Even though collocations consisting of verb-noun combinations occur most frequently and are central to conveying meaning in a text (Gyllstad 2007), collocations involving adjectives and/or adverbs also perform a variety of rhetorical functions (Hinkel 2004) in academic texts. Quoting Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Hinkel (2004) maintains that adjectives and/or adverbs are frequent word forms and can be found in every sentence. With respect to adverbs Hinkel (2004) specifies that adverbs provide additional information while modifying verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs, which means that they are highly effective in communicating meaning.

However, research evidence seems to suggest that non-native speakers of English experience difficulty with adverbial markers in their academic texts (cf. Granger 1998; Hinkel 2003, 2004, 2005; Louw 2005). Hinkel (2004: 209) observes that non-native speakers frequently use intensifying adverbs (*really*, *totally*, *extremely*, etc.), but not hedging adverbs (*possibly*, *perhaps*, etc.) meant to limit the breadth of claims and generalisations used in academic texts. With respect to text type, adverbs seem to be playing an important role in academic texts. Hinkel (2004: 211–212) stresses the role adverbs play by linking them to verbs from Coxhead's (2000) Academic Word List (AWL) and showing how they add to the verbs' meanings, as in: *quickly/immediately* vs. *slowly/eventually **dissipat**e*; *firmly/solidly* vs. *weakly/temporarily **establis**h*; *completely/greatly* vs. *sporadically/occasionally **rely***. These examples are good indications of where adverbs can affect the meaning being conveyed. Indeed, *dissipating immediately* and *dissipating eventually* clearly mean two different things. In this case, the adverbs play a focusing role, especially if the verbs or the entire sentence they modify are broad in meaning (Hinkel 2004).

Even though adverbs have been extensively investigated in EFL and ESL research in terms of their role/function in academic texts and their use by non-native speakers as opposed to native speakers, much less attention has been directed to adverbs in the adverb-verb combination. This neglect of adverb-verb collocations can be interpreted as if the combination is not prominently featuring in EFL writing in general or adverbs may not have an important function. The first argument seems more plausible to us, because the available literature on the role of adverbs in the academic writing of EFL students shows indeed that adverbs can have a considerable impact on the meaning of academic texts, notably because of their hedging or reinforcement function (Hinkel 2004, Louw 2005) or their persuasive function (Charles 2009). However, of the studies on collocations (described in section 2.2), only Martelli (2007) while inventorying collocation errors by EFL students attended to this type of collocation and found that adverb-verb combinations accounted for less than 4% of the total collocation errors. However, this does not mean, that participants had mastered this type of collocations. It could rather be the result of "an avoidance strategy: students, feeling unsure about how to combine a verb with an adverb in an appropriate manner, may choose to avoid the use of adverbs" to quote Martelli (2007: 57).

Based on the above-mentioned – adverbs being important, but less researched in the combination adverb-verb – the fundamental question worth raising here is the extent to which adverb-verb combinations may be problematic for non-native users of English when they produce academic texts. We aim to illuminate the use of adverb-verb collocations and therefore complement other studies focusing on other types of collocations and those examining adverbs

in instances other than their collocational behaviour. Specifically, the following questions will be examined:

(i) To what extent do EFL junior researchers use adverb-verb collocations of academic vocabulary – pertaining to the Academic Word List (AWL) – in their free-written productions? Put differently, we aim to investigate if the verbs used in students' productions are correctly collocated (with adverbs).

(ii) To what extent do EFL junior researchers master adverb-verb collocations of academic vocabulary in a controlled setting?

To date, the most widely used academic vocabulary list for both research and teaching is Coxhead's (2000) AWL (cf. Coxhead 2011; Durrant 2009; Nation 2001; Paquot 2007; Schmitt and Schmitt 2005). It consists of a list of 570 word families compiled from a corpus of 3.5 million running words from a wide range of academic texts. A general observation is that academic words may be particularly difficult to learn for EFL students, because they do not occur frequently enough in general language contexts to be part of the common/general vocabulary that can be learned implicitly; nor are they specific enough to be taught as part of the technical vocabulary of the core subject courses (Coxhead 2000, Nation 2001). Since publication, until now, the AWL has been influential in testing, teaching and designing materials to teach for academic purposes (Coxhead 2011; Durrant 2014; Hyland and Tse 2007; Paquot 2007) and the "coverage figures of AWL over the various university-level corpora are consistently around 10%[1]" (Coxhead 2011: 357), the AWL will be the source for selecting the target verbs investigated in this study.

2. Related literature

2.1 Definition of collocations

The term 'collocation', which is "... used to refer to some kind of syntagmatic relation of words" (Nesselhauf 2005: 11) such as *make a decision, bitter disappointment* (Nesselhauf 2003: 223), has been approached in diverse ways (cf. Gyllstad 2007; Nesselhauf 2005). However, there are two prominent approaches commonly known as the "frequency-based" and the "phraseological" tradition (Barfield and Gyllstad 2009; Granger and Paquot 2008; Gyllstad 2007; Nesselhauf 2005). The former considers frequency as the main criterion for defining a collocation, while the latter dismisses frequency and considers the syntactic categories of collocations' constituents, their transparency in meaning, and the degree to which co-occurring words can be substituted by others as the defining criteria. In the frequency-based approach, frequently co-occurring words at a certain distance from each other constitute collocations (Halliday 1966; Sinclair 1991). This entails that statistics is used to determine whether or not co-occurring words are collocations; and Sinclair (1991) worked out a formula to be used to this end.

However, proponents of the phraseological tradition propose a scalar analysis of collocations (Gyllstad 2007; Nesselhauf 2005). For them, collocations lie on a scale ranging from free

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[1] Coxhead (2011) made this observation based on studies that had investigated AWL distribution in academic texts from different fields over a period of 10 years prior to his work.

combinations to pure idioms through restricted collocations and figurative idioms (Cowie 1998; Howarth 1998), which Howarth (1998: 28) defines in the following terms:

> free combinations […] consist of elements used in their literal senses and freely substitutable […] Restricted collocations have one component […] that is used in a specialized, often figurative sense only found in the context of a limited number of collocates. While figurative idioms have metaphorical meanings in terms of the whole and have a current literal interpretation, pure idioms have a unitary meaning that cannot be derived from the meanings of the components and are the most opaque and fixed category.

Howarth (1998: 28) distinguishes between free collocations (e.g. *blow a trumpet*), restrictive collocations (e.g. *blow a fuse*), figurative idioms (e.g. *blow your own trumpet*), and pure idioms (e.g. *blow the gaff*). *To blow a trumpet* is a free combination in which both *blow* and *trumpet* retain their literal meanings, and in combination they mean: playing this musical instrument (trumpet) by blowing into it. *To blow a fuse* is restrictive and means *to lose your temper*[2] (informal). It is a metaphor with *fuse* alluding to the *failure of an electrical circuit or engine as a result of overheating*. In this case, it is the meaning of the noun *fuse* which dictates the verb(s) that can collocate with it; thus, making restrictions. This is not the case for *blow your own trumpet* – meaning *talk openly and boastfully about your achievements* – which is a fixed metaphorical expression. Its meaning is deciphered from the expression as a whole; entailing that the meaning of the expression cannot be assembled from the meanings of its constituents. This is even more so for the expression *to blow the gaff*, which is totally opaque in meaning – *to reveal or let out a plot or secret* – and has no relationship with the meanings of each of its constituents.

It is worth noting; however, that some scholars adopting this approach exclude idioms and rather focus on restricted collocations, which for Howarth (1998) constitute the central area of the spectrum of the phenomenon of collocations and therefore are more significant than others. According to this scholar, restricted collocations constitute the biggest part and cause more problems to students and should thus be focused on more. The best classification of restricted collocations (operationalised through verb-noun collocations) to date comes from Howarth (Gyllstad 2007; Nesselhauf 2005). Howarth's (1998: 169–170) classification resulted in the following five subdivisions of collocations, "Level 1 being the most free and Level 5 being the most restricted".

- Level 1 allows freedom of the noun substitution, but has some restriction on the choice of the verb such as in *adopt/accept/agree to a proposal, suggestion, recommendation, convention, plan*, etc.
- Level 2 accepts some substitution of both nouns and verbs as appears in examples such as *introduce/table/bring forward a bill/an amendment*.
- Level 3 suggests some substitution of the verb with greater restriction on the choice of the noun, for example in *pay/take heed*.
- Level 4 places greater restriction on the choice of verb, with some substitution of the noun as in *give the appearance/impression*.

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[2] The explanations of these expressions were taken from Siefring's (2004) *Oxford dictionary of idioms*.

- Level 5 includes examples such as *curry favour*, which entails placing complete restriction on the choice of both nouns and verbs.

For descriptive purposes, Howarth (1998) suggests placing the cut-off point for defining collocations somewhere on the above scale. In his study, collocations are to be found between Level 2 and Level 5.

2.2 Research on productive knowledge of collocations among EFL students

The importance of collocations in EFL proficiency both in speaking and writing has led EFL researchers to trying to identify the problems collocations cause for EFL learners (cf. Barfield and Gyllstad 2009; Laufer and Waldman 2011; Nesselhauf 2005). Three main methodologies, i.e. "traditional error analysis of selected language samples, elicitation of collocations by various elicitation techniques, and finally, the analysis of large learner corpora, using commonly established corpus analysis techniques" have been used in the study of collocations (Laufer and Waldman 2011: 649). The third approach to studying collocations, corpus analysis, has allowed researchers to investigate collocations produced by EFL learners and draw conclusions from larger corpora (Barfield and Gyllstad 2009; Laufer and Waldman 2011). Studies that involved verb-noun collocations – the most widely investigated type of collocation – and combinations involving adverbs, which form part of the combination explored in this study, will be briefly reviewed in this section.

To date, the most comprehensive study that analysed collocations from students' written productions is Nesselhauf's (Gyllstad 2007; Laufer and Waldman 2011). Nesselhauf (2005) extracted 2 000 verb-noun collocations from the Louvain *International Corpus of Learner English (LICLE)*[3] German sub-corpus of approximately 154 191 words. The results of her study indicate that a quarter of the collocations studied contained errors, with another third of them judged as wrong by some of the referees. Regarding the causes of errors, Nesselhauf (2005) found that about 50% of the errors were L1 related. A comparable study, which also investigated verb-noun collocations, was carried out by Laufer and Waldman (2011), who compiled a learner corpus called the *Israeli Learner Corpus of Written English (ILCoWE)* that contained approximately 300 000 words of argumentative and descriptive essays (a total of 759 essays), written by native speakers of Hebrew. They selected the 220 most frequent nouns from both the native speaker's part of the LICLE, i.e. the Louvain *Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS)*[4], and their own learner corpus, and extracted related verb-noun collocations. Comparing EFL students' collocations with those of native speakers revealed that EFL students produced far fewer collocations than native speakers, who produced almost twice as many collocations as EFL students. Their analysis along the line of proficiency level of the participants (three groups were involved: basic, intermediate and advanced) showed that the use of collocations grows slowly and unevenly, with significant differences only emerging at

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[3] The Louvain *International Corpus of Learner English (LICLE) is* one of the most important sources of EFL corpora that contains sub-corpora of European languages mainly, most of which are argumentative essays produced by higher intermediate to advanced students of English from several L1 backgrounds (Bulgarian, Chinese, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, Tswana, Turkish). This information was accessed on 2 June 2013 from: https://www.uclouvain.be/en-cecl-icle.html.
[4] LOCNESS is a corpus of native English essays that consists of: British pupils' A level essays: 60 209 words; British university students' essays: 95 695 words; and American university students' essays: 168 400 words. This information was accessed on 2 June 2013 from: https://www.uclouvain.be/en-cecl-icle.html.

the advanced level. Furthermore, their findings about the causes of errors confirmed Nesselhauf's (2005), i.e. about 50% of the errors were L1 related.

Verb-noun collocations have also been studied by Howarth (1998), who examined non-native speakers' essays of about 25 000 words written by postgraduates coming from a large variety of L1-backgrounds. The essays were analysed and compared with native speaker counterparts whose texts were selected from two corpora, i.e. the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus (58 000 words) and papers written by students at Leeds University (180 000 words). Howarth (1998) identified all the verb-noun collocations from both corpora, which he assigned to five different categories depending on the degree of semantic transparency. These were then grouped into three, i.e. free combinations, restricted collocations, and idioms. Howarth (1998) studied the category of restricted collocations and identified a total of 6 500 collocations of which more than 5 000 came from native speakers' texts while only around 1 000 collocations were produced by non-native speakers. He found that native speakers employed about 50% more restricted collocations and idioms than EFL students, confirming the results from Laufer and Waldman (2011) and Nesselhauf (2005). Furthermore, while native speakers produced less than 1% of deviant collocations, non-native speakers produced more than 75% of unconventional collocations. For Howarth (1998), this is a clear indication that non-native speakers are not fully aware of the phenomenon of collocations.

This lack of familiarity with collocations among non-native speakers was confirmed by Granger (1998), who investigated the use of adverb-adjective combinations in native and non-native counterparts' essays. She identified all the *–ly* adverbs (amplifiers) from the essays consisting of 234 514 words for native speakers and 251 318 words for non-native speakers. The non-native speakers were French L1 students of English at an advanced level and their texts formed a sub-corpus of the current LICLE. The native speakers' texts were retrieved from three corpora, i.e. the Louvain Essay Corpus, the International Corpus of English, and the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus. She observed a tendency of using amplifiers not as prefabricated patterns, but rather as "building bricks", and therefore reached the same conclusion as Howarth (1998) above: that non-native users are not entirely familiar with collocations. She also found that non-native speakers significantly overused two amplifiers, *completely* and *totally*, while another amplifier, *highly*, was underused. Granger (1998) explained that *completely* and *totally* had direct equivalents in French; complètement and totallement, respectively. She also observed that *highly*, the underused amplifier, had a direct equivalent in French – *hautement* – but it is only used in formal settings. Obviously, as Granger observed, the direct relationship between French – the native language of the participants – and English caused both overuse and underuse. Therefore, she concluded that L1 transfer plays a role in collocation use; lending support to previous findings about collocation errors caused by language transfer, especially the learners' native languages.

Martelli's (2007) study has also confirmed the challenging nature of collocations. Martelli (2007) analysed 236 essays of approximately 141 000 words and tagged all the collocation errors with reference to collocations dictionaries and native speakers' judgements, with the aim to classify and rank the errors Italian students of English make. Martelli (2007) identified the following categories: (i) wrong choice of adjectives in an adjective-noun combination (e.g. *heavy expectations* rather than *high/great expectations*[5]); (ii) wrong choice of verb in a noun-

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[5] Martelli (2007: 41) studied examples in the LICLE, Italian sub-corpus.

verb combination (e.g. *requests grow up* rather than *requests increase/grow*); (iii) wrong choice of verb in a verb-noun combination (e.g. *make influence* rather than *exercise/exert/have influence*); (iv) wrong choice of adverb in an adverb-verb combination (e.g. *erroneously hurt* rather than *accidentally hurt*); and (v) a whole expression that is wrong, i.e. where both constituents are wrong (e.g. *small criminality* rather than *petty crime*). On comparing the types of collocations that were more problematic than others, Martelli (2007) found that verb-noun (in the V+N combinations) collocations constituted half of the mistakes and therefore were more problematic. They were followed by adjective-noun and whole expression collocations, each totalling one fifth of the errors. Fewer errors came from verb-noun (in the N+V combination) and adverb-verb collocations. While Martelli (2007) did not attempt to elucidate the causes of the verb-noun errors in the N+V combinations, she suspected that avoidance strategies could account for the fact that fewer errors were produced in the adverb-verb combinations. As opposed to the studies described above, Martelli (2007) did not find much influence of L1 in the deviant collocations produced. However, she acknowledged that the category of whole expression was much affected by the learners' L1.

These studies provide a detailed overall picture of the use of collocations in free-written production in EFL contexts. However, we believe that more work needs to be done in order to gain more insight into the phenomenon of collocations, particularly the types that have been less studied.

3. Methodology

3.1 Participants

For the present study, students taking a writing course at a university in Belgium were invited to participate in a study to inform the content of their teaching programme. There were 35 respondents, who took part in the study voluntarily. All participants were non-native speakers of English (EFL) and were working on their PhD theses. They could thus be considered to at least have been introduced to if not acquainted with the academic register and the type of language required within their domain of study. The majority of the group had a European background, but there were also some Asian and African participants. The participants constituted a diverse population as they came from different faculties and institutes of the university. Of the 35 students who took part in the study, 63% were situated in the humanities (31% of the group were language students, 23% political and social sciences, 9% applied economics and law) and 37% from the Sciences (i.e. 20% hold a degree in the sciences, 14% in health care, and 3% in engineering).

3.2 Instrument

For this study, we used two types of instruments: an open writing task (small corpus) and a controlled completion test.

The first instrument was a small corpus of academic writing consisting of a total of 16 660 words divided across 35 research abstracts totalling about 7 800 words and 24 conclusions of about 8 860 words. Both text types are typical for the humanities and the sciences. We anticipated that these two text components could be good representations of the use of adverb-verb collocations in that the abstract, due to its restriction in scope (around 250 words), may

have a low occurrence of adverbs, whereas the conclusion requires more hedging, and hence more adverbs, especially when referring to future work to be undertaken. The abstracts and conclusions were collected during a writing course in which the PhD students were enrolled. Students were encouraged to submit different academic texts, with the objective to support and enhance their publication output by providing them with individual feedback on their extracts. For comparative purposes, however, we only retained (for this study) abstracts and conclusions of students who participated in the completion task. It should also be noted that not everyone who submitted an abstract also submitted a conclusion, which is the reason why we collected 35 abstracts and 24 conclusions in all. This corpus was compiled in order to analyse adverb-verb collocations of academic vocabulary from free-written productions.

The second instrument is a collocation test that was developed for the purpose of this study. It is a controlled completion test (see Appendix A). The test is controlled in the sense that items to test are predetermined and embedded in a restricted context. The test was modelled on Laufer and Nation's (1999: 37) controlled productive vocabulary level test that measures:

> the ability to use a word when compelled to do so by a teacher or researcher, whether in an unconstrained context such as a sentence writing task, or in a constrained context such as a fill in task where a sentence context is provided and the missing target word has to be supplied.

In order to design the test, two sources, i.e. Coxhead's (2000) AWL and the *Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English* (Crowther et al. 2002), were used. The former was used for selecting target words (verbs), while the latter was used for selecting their collocations and the sentential contexts in which they were embedded. The verbs were selected using random sampling technique and a total of 30 verbs were retained. Their collocations were selected by looking up the target words (verbs) at their entry in the collocation dictionary that lists adverbs collocating with them. As the collocation dictionary does not always give example sentences for each combination, our principle was to retain the first adverb-verb combination where an example sentence was provided.

As Laufer and Nation (1999) suggest, the words investigated (adverbs)[6] were deleted with the first two letters provided. Participants were instructed to supply them and an example was given (see Appendix A). Participants were awarded one point per correct answer and zero points per wrong or no answer; the test was marked out of 30.

4.   Analysis and results

4.1 Productive use of adverb-verb collocations by junior EFL researchers

The first research question examined in this study is the extent to which EFL junior researchers use adverb-verb collocations at an academic level in their free-written productions. To start with free-productive knowledge of collocations, verbs involved in the adverb-verb combinations selected from abstracts and conclusions were checked against Nation's (2006) frequency bands and the AWL with the aim to find which ones belonged to the AWL. Out of the 69 verbs involved in the aforementioned combinations, 30.43% (21 out of 69) were found

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[6] Participants were specifically instructed that the word to supply was an adverb.

to be included in the AWL (e.g. *access, affect, communicate, enforce, establish, focus*, etc.: see Appendix B). Combinations in which they appeared were analysed with reference to the *Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English* (Crowther et al. 2002) in order to see which ones were correctly collocated.

Two native speakers with a linguistic background (referees) were also involved in the rating of the combinations under study. The referees were asked to assist in deciding whether a combination could be acceptable as a collocation in case it was not found in the collocation dictionary. They were also asked to assess the ones that were judged as wrong according to the collocation dictionary. The combinations were judged on the following three-point scale: definitely not a collocation; acceptable combination, but not a collocation; and possible collocation. As it could be expected and as appears in their explanations, the referees used their native speaker's intuition in their judgements. The first referee explained his rating in the following terms:

> "Essentially, in reviewing and responding to your items, I expressly avoided assessing their acceptability with reference to any written material and opted instead to run them through my own internal English word bank, housed (more or less safely) in my memory.
>
> 1. Those items that seemed to me to have a full *collocative* relationship, that is, that I would explain to a student as "typically going together", I marked as such. Their status as collocation in my responses is determined solely by the fact that they seem to me to be so! I use them this way; I expect them this way; I see their collocation as a set unit.
>
> 2. The ones that, in my view, combine acceptably but not as a collocation were assessed identically as above. In making that assessment, I asked myself if I "feel" these words as an organically linked unit. If not, then they were clearly not a collocation to me; but in reviewing their combination, I found it to be either communicatively (i.e., lexically) effective or else not to infringe [on] any grammatical rule.
>
> 3. A possible collocation for me was an item that was assessed identically as above (1 and 2) but for which I felt the acceptability of the collocation to be less satisfactory than in (1). No infringement of rules but a less *harmonious* combination. Comprehensible, yes; satisfactory, no".

He added, "I recognise that this is more intuition than fact", which was confirmed by the second referee who stated that "I tried to give quick, gut responses as a native speaker, rather than thought-out considerations as a linguist". This corresponds to what Hartwell (1985) calls the "grammar in our heads", which was summarised by Bean (2011: 70) in the following way: "[t]he internalized, preconscious knowledge of word arrangement and inflectional endings shared by all native speakers of a language". In order to measure the consistency in their judgements, the inter-rater reliability was calculated, which is .840** for abstracts and .809** for conclusions respectively (and significant at the 0.01 level, 2-tailed), and thus within the acceptable range, which should be from .7 upwards (Green 2013).

Results indicate that 47.61% (10 out of 21) were used correctly (e.g. *clearly communicate, mainly focu*s), while 52.38% (11 out of 21) could be considered as wrongly collocated (e.g.

initially affects, *clearly diminishes*). These results answer the first research question pursued in this study about the performance of EFL junior researchers on adverb-verb collocations in their written productions. Overall, their performance may be considered unsatisfactory.

4.2 Mastery of adverb-verb collocations from a controlled setting

The second research question addressed in this study is the extent to which EFL junior researchers master adverb-verb collocations in a controlled setting. It was achieved by analysing the test scores from the completion task. Firstly, the reliability of the instrument was tested by computing Cronbach's Alpha, which turned out to be .6. Considering Pallant's (2007) suggestion (that Alpha should be at least .7), Cronbach's Alpha in this test falls slightly below the cut-off point. This could be accounted for by the items that could be either unsuitable for the level of the participants (too difficult or too easy) or inconsistent, and thus bad items, or it could be accounted for by the low number of participants or by the group that could be considered as homogeneous in terms of their familiarity with academic register. While this needs further elaboration (for instance, by involving a larger number of participants from clearly different levels of proficiency), we find the latter reason more plausible since all the participants were junior PhD students. Therefore, they could be assumed to have a comparable knowledge of the academic register after having been exposed to the discourse of their discipline for a minimum of five years and after having taken part in at least one academic writing programme during the course of their studies. Even though no attention was paid to the AWL during the writing course students take as part of the PhD programme, topics like academic register and style, false friends, phrasal and prepositional verbs and the like are incorporated in the course (see course materials of the Antwerp Doctoral School Programme for the course: Academic Writing).

The mean score of the test marked out of 30 was calculated as 20.66. This score is below Schmitt's suggested cut-off point. According to Schmitt (personal communication), quoted in Xing and Fulcher (2007), a particular word band or AWL is mastered if the score is 80% and above[7].

For comparative purposes, the incorrect combinations according to the *Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English* (Crowther et al. 2002) were also judged by the referees on the three-point scale: definitely not a collocation; acceptable combination, but not a collocation; and possible collocation (see Appendix C). In total, we counted 97 (217 tokens[8]) deviant collocations, which were sent to the referees for assessment. After analysing the referees' judgements, we found that they were consistent in their rating, with an acceptable inter-rater reliability of .831** (significant at the 0.01 level, 2-tailed).

More than half of the combinations, i.e. 58.7% were judged as definitely not a collocation (e.g. *synchronisedly analyse, *audaciously assume*); 19.5% of the combinations were judged as acceptable combination, but not a collocation (e.g. *simply analyse, symmetrically analyse*); while 21.6% were judged as possible collocations (e.g. *simultaneously analyse, concisely categorise*). Based on the referees' judgements, we decided to also award the combinations that were rated as "possible collocations" and the completion task was graded again. The new

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[7] We agree with Xing and Fulcher (2007: 184) that this cut-off point is not the result of any empirical evidence; yet, it remains the basis for determining vocabulary level especially for studies that use the Vocabulary Levels Test.
[8] The terms 'token' and 'type' are distinguished as follows: the same wrong combination could appear twice or more for instance and should not be counted as a different mistake: this is a type. If we count the total wrong combinations though, all the wrong combinations occurring twice/or more are counted: these are tokens.

average score was 24.86 out of 30 and Cronbach's Alpha, which was also computed anew, was now .623. While Alpha remains almost the same, the overall score changes and rises slightly above Schmitt's cut-off point. Considering this new score, we can say that adverb-verb combinations had been mastered by junior EFL researchers in a controlled setting, which answers the second research question.

5.   Discussion

The present study is an attempt to gauge junior researchers' use of collocations of the type adverb-verb combinations – especially those of verbs selected from the AWL – from the perspective of both free and controlled productive knowledge. This was achieved by analysing EFL users' academic texts – adverb-verbs from abstracts and conclusions – and engaging the same participants in a completion task.

The study's first aim, i.e. exploring the extent to which junior researchers use adverb-verb collocations (with verbs from the AWL), was achieved by analysing adverb-verb combinations in free-written productions. Results indicate that less than 50% of the adverb-verb collocations were correctly collocated. This finding is a clear indication that free-productive knowledge of collocations represents a high level of word knowledge and confirms the poor performance observed in previous studies. The latter indeed showed that EFL students are not sensitised enough to the use of collocations – verb-noun collocations in particular – when they produce academic texts (Granger 1998; Howarth 1998; Laufer and Waldman 2011; Nesselhauf 2005). At the same time this study extends this finding to another type of collocation. This finding also supports Martelli's (2007) observation that Italian students of English made less adverb-verb collocation errors in their essays because of avoidance strategies.

The second aim pursued in this study was to examine the extent to which junior researchers who are advanced EFL users master adverb-verb collocations in a controlled setting. This aim was achieved by analysing the participants' test scores. The results indicate that adverb-verb collocations from a controlled setting are not as problematic as adverb-verb collocations used in free production. These findings show that when EFL users are guided to the correct collocations, they perform well. Assuming Nation and Beglar (2007: 13) are correct in their observation that whichever 10 words from a particular frequency band are selected, they represent the entire frequency band, and all the other words are likely to be known to the same extent, we can claim that the present study shows that free-productive knowledge of adverb-verb collocations lags behind controlled productive knowledge, even though not exactly the same words were investigated. This finding is a clear indication that free-productive knowledge represents a high level of word knowledge. Junior researchers had gotten a chance to use different strategies, including avoidance strategies, and could have thus used adverb-verb collocations they were certain of in their free productions as opposed to controlled productions in which they were forced to use predetermined adverb-verb collocations with the first two letters of the required words provided. However, they still made more mistakes in free productions. This finding supports Laufer and Paribakht's (1998) observation that receptive vocabulary is larger than controlled active vocabulary, which, in turn, is larger than free active vocabulary. This study's findings thus refine Laufer and Paribakht's (1998) findings to mean not vocabulary but collocations of the adverb-verb type.

As a whole, the results of the present study show that correct use of adverb-verb collocations in free productions totals less than 50% while performance in the same type of collocation use in a controlled setting is much better, but still just slightly above the cut-off point. For this reason, we repeat the call for teaching explicitly adverbs, on the one hand (see among others Charles 2009), and collocations on the other (cf. Boers, Eyckmans, Kappel, Stengers and Demecheleer 2006; Granger and Meunier 2008; Lewis 2000; Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992; Nesselhauf 2005; Nizonkiza and Van de Poel 2014; Nizonkiza, Van Dyk and Louw 2013; Ozaki 2011). We agree with Nizonkiza et al. (2013) that teaching collocations of words from academic vocabulary, such as the AWL, could contribute to improving the written output of EFL users. The collocations could be selected from a collocation dictionary such as the *Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English* (Crowther et al. 2002) if it is not for students from a subject-specific course for whom subject specific dictionaries might be more relevant, as Paquot (2007) proposes. We suggest adopting/adapting the collocation web model (Nizonkiza and Van de Poel 2014), which is an adaptation of McCarthy and O'Dell's (2005) model.

The collocation web model is production-oriented and could possibly be more beneficial for the learners more than a receptive approach (cf. Paquot 2007). This view is supported by Nation and Chung (2009) for whom teaching productively also has a direct positive influence on receptive knowledge growth. The collocation web model is thought to match Nation's (2001) psychological conditions for teaching any vocabulary item, i.e. *noticing*, *retrieving*, and *generating*. For Nizonkiza and Van de Poel (2014), Nation's conditions above constitute the theoretical foundation underpinning this approach. The collocation web model suggests placing the target word at the centre of a word web. The latter is linked to the collocates, which are placed in small circles by means of lines and Nizonkiza and Van de Poel (2014) suggest doing so following the syntactic nature (parts of speech) of the collocates. This way, students can notice the collocation constituents, the directions of the collocations – collocations to the right or to the left of the target word – as well as their syntactic categories (parts of speech). As a result, the creation and recreation of collocation webs in students' minds could facilitate their retention and retrieval (Handl 2009). The proposed exercises take the form of completion tasks where the target word is embedded in a minimal context and where the collocate has been deleted; but the first two letters may be provided. This is the format Laufer and Nation (1999) suggest with regard to testing controlled productive knowledge of vocabulary. This is teaching through cued recall, somewhat productive in nature, which is likely to result in more positive outcomes (Nizonkiza and Van de Poel 2014: 309). The exercises contribute to generating the collocates.

6.   Conclusion

The present study explores free productive use of adverb-verb collocations in general and both their free and controlled productive knowledge in academic contexts (vocabulary operationalised through the AWL) among junior researchers using English as a foreign language for written communication. Results indicate that free adverb-verb productive knowledge of collocations from academic vocabulary is problematic for EFL users. However, in a controlled setting, adverb-verb collocations from academic vocabulary appear to be somewhat less problematic. Given the limited scope of the corpus analysed in this study and the nature of the texts selected for analysis; however, we urge caution in generalising these results. These findings allow us to answer the initial research questions and are certainly indicative of the collocational behaviour of adverb-

verb combinations of academic vocabulary among EFL junior researchers. We also believe that they could be complemented in follow-up studies.

Firstly, in line with our suggestion in the above section to attend to AWL verbs in a writing course, the only way to test whether or not intervention may result in improved use of adverb-verb collocations or any other type of collocations judged relevant is by presenting the relevant collocations in a pre-/post-experimental design. A follow-up study of this nature may tell us more about the effect of specific interventions.

Secondly, a direct comparison between free productive and controlled productive knowledge of adverb-verb collocations from academic vocabulary could help form insights into the nature of productive knowledge. Instructing participants to use the verbs as used in the completion task and asking participants to generate adverbs that can be used with them in adverb-verb combinations can prove useful to this end. This could not only allow the drawing of a direct and straightforward comparison between free and controlled productive knowledge, but it could also contribute towards gaining useful insight into the construct of controlled productive knowledge. As defined by Laufer and Nation (1999), controlled productive knowledge does not make any distinction between unconstrained context, referred to as sentence writing tasks, and constrained context, referred to as fill-in-the-blank tasks where a sentence is provided, which might tap into different constructs.

Finally, a more robust analysis involving a larger corpus and especially other parts of academic texts could yield results that could potentially confirm or challenge the findings of the present study and therefore expand our knowledge of adverb-verb collocations in academic texts written by EFL junior researchers.

All in all, much has been said about the knowledge and use of different types of collocations. Based on the conclusions this study points to, we believe that focusing on academic vocabulary collocations during an academic writing course might help students write better research papers and communicate their research more fluently and more accurately.

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Acknowledgements

Appendices

Appendix A: Productive Vocabulary Test
Name:

Native language:	Date:
Level of study (year):	Start hour:
Faculty:	End hour:
University:	

Instruction: **An adverb has been deleted in each of the sentences below, please supply it. The first**

two letters have been provided to give you a hint.

Example: Her death affected him de....………… .
                    Her death affected him deeply.

1. The results must be sy………………….. analysed before we can draw any conclusions.
2. I au ………………….. assumed that you knew about this, otherwise I would have told you.
3. These factors can be con………………….. categorised under the following three headings: school, home, society.
4. The minister commented fa………………….. on the proposal: He clearly liked it.

5. His research has contributed en………………….. to our understanding of this disease, so we now can find a remedy.
6. The movement of the dot on the screen corresponds ex………………….. with the movement of the control lever. This accuracy has never been seen before.
7. It is important to define these terms ac………………….. in order to be able to work with them.
8. This study cl………………….. demonstrates that the play was written by Shakespeare.
9. They run sp………………….. designed course for managers. Their tailor-made courses are fashionable.
10. His position in the organisation is now fi………………….. established and his career is guaranteed.
11. The evidence should be ca………………….. evaluated before we can draw any conclusions.
12. The study focuses ex………………….. on secondary schools. All the other factors are part of a follow-up study.
13. His ideas are always very pr………………….. formulated. He has a clear style.
14. His question me………………….. illustrates his ignorance of the subject.
15. Expense does not ne………………….. indicate worth. It can mean many other things.
16. This hormone interacts cl………………….. with other hormones in the body to generate new energy levels.
17. The term 'business' is here interpreted br………………….. to include all types of organisation in the public and private sectors.
18. The machine can pr………………….. locate radioactive material so it can be removed on the spot.
19. They will have the opportunity to participate ac………………….. in the decision-making process. So, all stakeholders will be able to have their say.
20. Opportunities for learning occur sp………………….. every day, so you just have to keep your eyes open for them.
21. The police must be able to react sw………………….. in case of an emergency not to lose valuable time.
22. The use of these chemical products is st………………….. regulated in order to minimise any risks.
23. They relied en………………….. on these few weapons for their defence.
24. Many of the refugees ur………………….. require medical treatment in order to survive.
25. The government is considering new laws which will fu………………….. restrict people's access to firearms.
26. The winning entry will be selected ra………………….. by a computer.
27. She did not specify pr………………….. how many people were involved in the incident, so we don't know.
28. She had structured her argument very ca………………….. and everyone felt reassured.
29. Skills cannot be transferred di………………….. from trainer to trainee.
30. What can be found will in………………….. vary according to the area under study, so we have to keep an open mind.

Appendix B: Verbs from the AWL

access, affect, analyse, communicate, conduct, consist, contribute, demonstrate, diminish, enforce, establish, focus, incorporate, occur, reject, respond, utilise

Appendix C: Deviant collocations produced in the completion task rated by referees

(Referees' judgements are presented as figures in the last column, which should be interpreted as follows: 1 = definitely not a collocation; 2 = acceptable combination, but not a collocation; 3 = possible collocation)

Correct collocations as found in the *Oxford collocation dictionary*	Deviant collocations	Token	Referees' judgement
1. Systematically analyse	1.*Simply analyse 2.*Simultaneously analyse 3.*Symmetrically analyse 4.*Synthetically analyse 5.*Synchronisedly analyse 6.*Synonymously analyse	1 1 1 2 2 1	**2** **3** **2** **2** **1** **2**
2. Automatically assume	1.*Audaciously assume 2.*Authentically assume	3 2	**1** **1**
3. Conveniently categorise	1.*Concisely categorise 2.*Consequently categorise 3.*Consecutively categorise 4.*Consistently categorise 5.*Consciously categorise 6.*Conclusively categorise 7.*Contentwise categorise 8.*Constantly categorise 9.*Conceptually categorise 10.*Continuously categorise	5 7 2 2 1 1 1 5 1 1	**3** **1** **3** **3** **2** **3** **1** **1** **3** **2**
4. Comment favourably	1.*Fairly comment 2.*Fantastically comment 3.*Fabulously comment 4.*Factually comment 5.*Fanatically comment 6.*Faithfully comment	3 2 2 1 1 1	**1** **1** **1** **1** **1** **2**
5. Contribute enormously	1.*Contribute endlessly 2.*Contribute entirely	4 1	**1** **1**
6. Correspond exactly	1.*Correspond explicitly 2.*Correspond extremely 3.*Correspond enormously 4.*Correspond exponentially 5.*Correspond exclusively 6.*Correspond excellently 7.*Correspond exhaustively	2 2 1 3 1 1 1	**3** **1** **1** **1** **3** **2** **1**
7. Define accurately	1.*Define accordingly	4	**3**

Correct collocations as found in the *Oxford collocation dictionary*	Deviant collocations	Token	Referees' judgement
8. Clearly demonstrate	1. *Closely demonstrate	1	1
9. Specially/specifically designed	1. *Speedily design 2. Spontaneously design 3. Spotless design 4. *Specialised design	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1
10. Firmly established	1. *Finally establish 2. *Fiercely establish	17 2	3 1
11. Carefully evaluate	1. * Cautiously evaluate 2. *Categorically evaluate	2 1	3 2
12. Focus exclusively on	1. *Focus exactly 2. *Focus explicitly 3. *Focus extensively 4. *Focus exceptionally	2 6 1 1	1 3 3 3
13. Properly formulate	1. *Pragmatically formulated 2. *Precisely formulate 3. *Practically formulate 4. *Prudently formulated 5. *Priory formulated 6. Nothing (left blank) 7. *Principally formulated 8. *Profoundly formulated	1 21 2 2 1 1 1 1	2 3 1 3 1 NA 2 1
14. Merely illustrate	1. *Meaningfully illustrate 2. *Meticulously illustrate 3. *Messily illustrate	1 1 1	3 2 1
15. Necessarily indicate	1. *Neatly indicate 2. *Nearly indicate 3. *Needlessly indicate	2 1 1	1 1 1
16. Interact closely	1. *Interact clearly 2. *Interact cleverly	9 3	3 1
17. Interpret broadly	1. *Interpret briefly 2. *Interpret bravely 3. *Interpret brilliantly	3 1 1	1 1 1
18. Precisely locate	1. *Probably locate 2. *Practically locate 3. *Primarily locate 4. Properly locate	2 1 3 1	2 1 3 1
19. Participate actively	1. *Participate actually 2. *Participate accordingly 3. *Participate accurately	1 4 1	1 2 2
20. Occur spontaneously	1. *Occur speedily 2. *Occur specifically 3. *Occur practically	1 2 1	1 1 2
21. React swiftly	1. Nothing (left blank)	6	NA

Correct collocations as found in the *Oxford collocation dictionary*	Deviant collocations	Token	Referees' judgement
22. Strictly regulate	1.*Strenuously regulate 2.*Strongly regulate	1 10	**2** **1**
23. Rely entirely	1.*Rely enormously 2.*Rely encouragingly 3.*Rely endlessly	6 1 1	**1** **1** **1**
24. Urgently require			**NA**
25. Fully restrict	1.*Fundamentally restrict 2.*Furthermore restrict 3.*Functionary restrict 4.*Fuzzily restrict	5 1 1 1	**3** **1** **1** **1**
26. Randomly select	1.*Rapidly select	1	**1**
27. Specify precisely	1.*Specify properly 2.*Specify principally 3.*Specify previously 4. Specify priory	2 1 1 1	**2** **1** **1** **1**
28. Structure carefully	1.*Structure calmly 2.*Structure cautiously 3.*Structure capably	3 4 1	**1** **2** **3**
29. Transfer directly	1.*Transfer dimly 2.*Transfer differently 3.*Transfer diagnostically	1 1 1	**1** **1** **1**
30. Inevitably/necessarily vary	1. *Invariably vary 2. *Certainly vary 4. *Possibly vary 5. *Ultimately vary 5. *Strongly vary 6. *Definitely vary 7. *Surely vary 8. *Broadly vary 9. *Evidently vary 10. *Probably vary 11. *Specifically vary 12. *Highly vary 13. *Completely vary 14. *Largely vary 15. *Potentially vary	1 5 2 1 2 2 1 1 3 3 1 1 1 1 1	**3** **3** **3** **3** **3** **3** **3** **2** **3** **3** **2** **1** **1** **1** **1**

Die toepassing van die K3-model op die televisieteks *Colour TV*

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Abstract

There are very few instruments of use for the editing of multimedia television scripts. Commissioning editors are responsible for both quality assurance and quality control. Where quality control is a retrospective process, quality assurance is intended to anticipate problems that might occur in order to mitigate them during the production process. This article examines the applicability of Renkema's CCC model as adapted by Carstens and Van de Poel to a particular television script, namely the first episode of the television show *Colour TV*. In spite of the generous budget allocated to the show, the length of time spent on content development, the large production team as well as the favourable time-slot in which it was broadcast, the show did not do well. Instead of being the flagship series it was meant to be, research indicates that it confused and offended its intended audience, namely the Afrikaans speaking coloured people of South Africa. By analysing the first episode of the series using the adapted CCC model, it is shown that the show failed in as far as the text type, aspects of the content, the structure, and to a certain extent, the formulation were concerned. The CCC model proved to be a handy, but clumsy, instrument for use by commissioning editors. Consequently, it is suggested that the model be simplified for editing television scripts.

Keywords: CCC model, television scripts, quality assurance

1.   Inleiding

Daar is min instansies in Suid-Afrika wat gerigte opleiding in teksredaksie as dissipline aanbied. Redakteurs voltooi gewoonlik algemene taalstudies en/of graadkursusse op tersiêre vlak en ontwikkel dan hulle vaardighede in redaksie- of korporatiewe kantore. Ten einde hierdie leemte te help vul, het die boek *Teksredaksie* deur WAM Carstens en Kris van de Poel oorspronklik in 2010 verskyn, met 'n hersiene weergawe in 2012. Hierin word die K3-model ondermeer ook voorgehou as 'n rigtinggewende raamwerk vir teksredakteurs. Die K3-model is gebaseer op Jan Renkema se Nederlandse CCC-model, waar die drie C's onderskeidelik *correspondence* (korrespondensie), *consistency* (konsekwentheid) en *correctness* (korrektheid) verteenwoordig.

Die doel van die teksredigeringsproses is om daartoe by te dra dat die teks wat uiteindelik die lig sien, die beste moontlike afgeronde produk is waarmee daar sonder probleme gekommunikeer kan word.

In hierdie artikel word daar van die veronderstelling uitgegaan dat indien die K3-model as 'n nuttige handleiding vir die redigering van skriftelike tekste gebruik kan word, dit dan moontlik is dat dit ook aangepas kan word vir televisietekste. Die term televisieteks word hier in die wydste sin gebruik as aanduidend van 'n teks wat vir televisie-uitsending bedoel is en nie net na draaiboeke vir byvoorbeeld televisiedramas nie. Televisietekste pas in by 'n algemeen aanvaarde definisie van 'n teks. Carstens en Van de Poel (2012: 55) definieer 'n teks as "... 'n vaste struktuur wat 'n herkenbare eenheid vertoon wat ook voldoen aan die vereiste van begryplikheid".

Daar is tans internasionaal, maar veral ook plaaslik, 'n tekort aan instrumente vir die redigering van televisietekste. Daar is wel redigeringsinstrumente in die vorm van skryfwenke vir die skryf van dramadraaiboeke beskikbaar. Op die Nasionale Film- en Videostigting (*National Film and Video Foundation*) se webwerf is daar 'n aantal skakels na bronne wat as hulpmiddels kan dien vir die skryf van draaiboeke (www.nfvf.co.za). Daar is egter min handleidings vir die skryf van Suid-Afrikaanse televisie-inhoud buiten dié van drama. Geen Suid-Afrikaanse instansies bied tans redigeringskursusse aan vir toesighoudende vervaardigers nie. Die toesighoudende vervaardiger is die persoon by 'n uitsaaier wat verantwoordelikheid aanvaar vir die vervaardiging van die visuele tekste wat uitgesaai word. Hierdie rol word by alle uitsaaiers regoor die wêreld aangetref. Dié persoon is dikwels iemand wat in 'n kreatiewe bedryf werksaam was as vervaardiger, deel van die regie-span is, of 'n skrywer van programinhoud.

Oor die algemeen word toesighoudende vervaardigers intern deur die spesifieke uitsaaier ter sprake opgelei. Die opleiding fokus op die vervaardigingsproses in die breë, maar geen aandag word aan die redigeringsproses gegee nie, omdat daar aanvaar word dat die persoon reeds oor die vaardigheid beskik om 'n televisieteks te redigeer. Alhoewel dit soms wel die geval is, is dit nie altyd waar nie. Die stand van sake is bevestig deur die hoof van Musiek en Vermaak van die Afrikaanse kanale by M-Net, Janine Opperman (Opperman 2016).

Ten einde hierdie probleem te oorkom het die openbare uitsaaier, die Suid-Afrikaanse Uitsaaikorporasie (SABC), in 2005 'n reeks gidse ontwikkel vir hul toesighoudende vervaardigingspan. Die primêre teks, *Content is 'Queen'. Introducing the Content Hub*, is as 'n riglyn ontwikkel vir die prosesse wat die toesighoudende vervaardiger moet volg om televisietekste van hoë gehalte in samewerking met die gekose produksiemaatskappye te vervaardig. Yvonne Kgame, destydse hoof van die SABC se kwaliteitsversekeringsafdeling, Content Hub, het in 2004 die hoofdoel van die toesighoudende vervaardiger beskryf as die persoon wat vir *kwaliteitsversekering* en nie soseer *kwaliteitsbeheer* verantwoordelik is: "Quality control is a retrospective process, checking after the work has been completed to see if it is up to standard. However, quality assurance is intended to anticipate problems that might occur, so that quality controllers end up with very little to reject" (SABC 2004: 33). Kwaliteitsversekering moet gevolglik plaasvind voordat die finale produk afgelewer word.

Omdat kwaliteitsversekering só belangrik tydens die inhoudsontwikkeling van televisietekste is en daar tans nie veel riglyne vir televisietekste in die algemeen is nie, word daar vervolgens gekyk na die toepaslikheid van die K3- model in hierdie konteks.

2. Oorsig van die K3-model

Jan Renkema is die skepper van die CCC-model, 'n diagnostiese instrument wat gebruik word om die kwaliteit van 'n teks aan die hand van drie hoofkriteria te bepaal, naamlik: of 'n teks korrespondensie toon tussen die doel van die skepper enersyds, en die verwagtinge en behoeftes van die ontvanger(s) andersyds, of dit aan die eis van konsekwentheid voldoen en of dit wat daarin voorkom korrek is betreffende taal en inhoud. Die veronderstelling is dat die model die teksredakteur (of in hierdie geval die toesighoudende vervaardiger) in staat sal kan stel om presies te bepaal waar probleme met teksgehalte voorkom sodat dit reggestel kan word voordat die produk gebeeldsend word (Carstens en Van de Poel 2012: 61).

Die K3-model bestaan uit 15 ykpunte wat gebaseer is op die idee dat elke teks se gehalte bepaal kan word deur drie kwaliteitsvoorwaardes (korrespondensie, konsekwentheid en korrektheid). Dit word gemeet in terme van vyf teksvlakke, naamlik tekssoort, inhoud, struktuur, formulering en aanbieding. Die teksvlakke word telkens beoordeel ten opsigte van die drie kwaliteits- voorwaardes. Die voorwaardes en die teksvlakke word teenoor mekaar geplaas in 'n tabel wat soos volg daar uitsien en wat in totaal 15 ykpunte het (Carstens en Van de Poel 2012: 63).

Figuur 1: Die K3-model

TEKSVLAKKE	ANALISEKRITERIA (Kwaliteitsvoorwaardes)		
	KORRESPONDENSIE	KONSEKWENTHEID	KORREKTHEID
A. TEKSSOORT	1. Gepastheid van teks (Y1)	2. Genresuiwerheid (Y2)	3. Korrekte toepassing van genrereëls (Y3)
B. INHOUD	4. Voldoende inligting (Y4)	5. Ooreenstemming van feite (Y5)	6. Korrektheid van feite (Y6)
C. OPBOU/ STRUKTUUR	7. Voldoende samehang (Y7)	8. Konsekwente struktuur (Y8)	9. Korrekte verbindingswoorde en argumentasiestrukture (Y9)
D. FORMULERING	10. Gepaste formulering (Y10)	11. Eenheid van styl (Y11)	12. Korrekte sinsbou en woordkeuse (Y12)
E. AANBIEDING	13. Gepaste en effektiewe aanbieding (Y13)	14. Ooreenstemming van teks en uitleg (Y14)	15. Korrekte spelling en interpunksie (Y15)

(Carstens en Van de Poel 2012: 69)

3. Die televisieteks

Colour TV was 'n komediereeks wat in 2011 deur die SABC uitgesaai is. 'n Totaal van 13 episodes is vervaardig waarvan elk 48 minute lank was. Ten einde dit wat later aan bod kom te onderlê, word die proses wat die uitsaai van die reeks vooraf gegaan het, eers bespreek.

In die eerste konsepdokument (Curious?ictures 2011) wat in 2011 deur die vervaardiger aan die uitsaaier voorgelê is, is die doel van die program soos volg uiteengesit: Eerstens moes die program 'n satiriese en humoristiese verskeidenheidsprogram (met ander woorde 'n program

wat fokus op vermaak en musiek) in die formaat van 'n televisiekanaal wees wat tong-in-die-kies insig bied in Suid-Afrika se bruin gemeenskap. Die voorstel was dus om 'n program te maak wat soos 'n verkorte weergawe van 'n hele televisiekanaal werk. Net soos wat 'n televisiekanaal, byvoorbeeld KykNET, 'n redelike vaste verloop het deurdat daar laatmiddae sepies gewys word wat dan gevolg word deur die nuus, verskeidenheids-, aktualiteits- en sportprogramme, sou *Colour TV* dieselfde subgenres bevat, maar gekondenseerd. Dit wat dus tipies deur die loop van sê maar een dag deur ander televisiekanale aangebied word, sou nou weekliks as een program aangebied word op SABC 2. Die konsepdokument het ook aangedui dat die program die kleurvolle aard van bruin en Afrikaanssprekende mense moes uitbeeld ("A show that depicts the colourfulness of Coloured and Afrikaans speaking people"). Derdens moes die program die geweldige rykdom aan talent in die bruin gemeenskap inspan, en hierdie talent aan 'n algemene gehoor aanbied. Laastens moes die program die verdraaiings en halwe waarhede oor bruin Suid-Afrikaners uitdaag (Curious?ictures 2011: 1). Die dokument brei nie uit oor wat presies met die "kleurvolle aard van bruin en Afrikaanssprekende mense" bedoel word nie en dieselfde geld "verdraaiings en halwe waarhede". Uit die voorlegging wat deur een van die skrywers van hierdie artikel bygewoon is, het dit egter geblyk dat dit die bedoeling was om in die eerste plek die bruin, Afrikaanssprekende mark te teiken, maar om nie ander Afrikaanssprekendes wat nie bruin is nie, uit te sluit nie. Wat die halwe waarhede betref, het dit daarom gegaan dat bruin mense nie as bespotlik en stereotiperend voorgestel moes word nie.

Die idee was nuut: 'n program in die formaat van 'n televisiekanaal wat op 'n bestaande televisiekanaal uitgesaai word. Dit het byval gevind by die uitsaaier. Voor die program egter vervaardig kon word, het daar 'n breuk tussen die vervaardiger en die produksiemaatskappy ontstaan en die vervaardiger moes 'n nuwe produksiemaatskappy aanstel om die program te vervaardig.

Hierdie nuwe span het die doel van die program herdefinieer met slegs drie doelwitte: Ten eerste sou dit 'n verskeidenheidsprogram wees wat komediesketse bevat wat grootliks parodieë sou wees van bekende internasionale en plaaslike persoonlikhede/entiteite waarmee die gehoor vertroud sou wees. Die tweede doelwit was dat *Colour TV* 'n vlagskip-, algemene vermaaklikheidstelevisieprogram sou wees wat die formaat van 'n televisiekanaal sou aanneem en wat die leefwêreld van bruin mense weerspieël. Niemand moes egter bewus wees van die feit dat hierdie "kanaal" slegs uit bruin mense bestaan nie en selfs aksent moes dit nie suggereer nie. Die rede vir hierdie besluit was geleë in die siening dat nie alle bruin mense, in alle situasies, hulle streekstemme (d.i. aksente) gebruik nie. Derdens is daar besluit dat terwyl die stories op hierdie program universeel sou wees – en gevolglik ook stories waarmee almal kan identifiseer – die perspektief en tekstuur uniek moes wees met inagneming van die feit dat so 'n tekstuur en uniekheid van streek tot streek sou verskil en gevolglik parogiaal sou wees (Bonngoe Production/Bernie Brand/Jungle Works 2011: 2).

Daar is ooreengekom om die oorspronklike formaat van die program as 'n bruin kanaal te behou, maar 'n universaliteit by die inhoudsplan te voeg waar slegs die perspektief en tekstuur van die inhoud 'n bruin nuanse sal hê en die inhoud nie soseer slégs vir 'n bruin kykersmark sou wees nie. Die span het ook besluit dat die inhoud nie uitsluitlik komies sou wees nie en insetsels soos 'n kort sepie oor die vete tussen twee families sou ingebring word, asook 'n joernaalinsetsel genaamd *Kuier*, waar op suksesstories oor bruin sakemense in die besigheidswêreld gefokus

sou word. Teen die einde van die ontwikkelingsproses sou helfte van die inhoud 'n komiese aard hê en die res 'n neutraler of ernstiger toon.

Die nuwe span het ook bewus geword van nuwe navorsing oor die profiel van die Kaapse bruin gemeenskap wat in 2010 deur OIL, 'n advertensiemaatskappy in Kaapstad, gedoen is. Die navorsing is oorsponklik gedoen met die doel om advertensieveldtogte aantrekliker vir hierdie mark te maak. Die advertensiemaatskappy het hul navorsingsmetode soos volg verduidelik: "OIL's approach to investigating the coloured market took place in the form of ethnographic research which was supported by SAARF/AMPS TGI (Dec 08) as well as social networks/blogs" (Botha 2010: 13). Die doel van die navorsing was om insigte oor die bruin gemeenskap te bekom "to provide marketers with a deeper understanding of the dynamics within the coloured market in South Africa, in order to create more effective brand communication strategies" (Botha 2010: 14).

Die etnografiese navorsing het op vyf bruin families van verskillende demografiese agtergronde en leefwyses gefokus. Die spesifieke families is ook gekies omdat hulle as invloedryk binne hul gemeenskappe beskou is en die navorsingsmaatskappy met ander soortgelyke families in aanraking kon bring. Die navorsing is in die vorm van direkte waarnemings van die families se optredes oor 'n tydperk van vier agtereenvolgende dae gedoen en die navorsers het met elkeen van die familielede onderhoude gevoer. Op dié wyse het 60 mense deel uitgemaak van die etnografiese navorsing. Die navorsers het ook, deur middel van die Amps-data en digitale netwerke, met 11 384 mense in aanraking gekom wat op vraelyste gereageer het (Botha 2010: 14).

Op grond van die waarnemings, onderhoude en vraelyste het OIL tot die volgende gevolgtrekkings gekom: (i) die definisie van bruin het vanaf 'n eendimensionele omskrywing gebaseer op velkleur en ras verskuif na 'n meer komplekse definisie gebaseer op lewenstyl en gedrag; (ii) bruin identiteit word nou gedefinieer op grond van gedragseienskappe wat spesifiek is aan die bruin mark; (iii) hierdie gedrag is egter stereotiperend bruin; (iv) hoe minder van dié gedrag 'n mens openbaar, hoe minder word jy as 'n bruin mens beskou; (v) indien iemand ('n bruin persoon) aanstoot neem oor hierdie stellings, word hulle nie as bruin mense gesien nie en bly hulle nie getrou aan die eienskappe van bruin wees nie; (vi) mense assosieer dikwels bruin mense as 'n groep met stereotiepe gedrag en lewenstyle, maar die bruin mark is baie divers; en laastens (vii) die post-apartheid- bruin mark kan gedefinieer word deur vier groepe, wat onderskeidelik as die *ontsnappers*, die *tussen-inners*, die *presteerders* en die *silwer teelepels* bekend staan.

Botha (2010: 22, 23) omskryf die vier groepe soos volg: Die *ontsnappers* word beskou as mense wat aan die daaglikse realiteite van hul lewens wil ontsnap. Na berekening val ongeveer 231 000 mense in die Wes-Kaap in hierdie groep met 'n gemiddelde maandelikse inkomste van R1 098.67. Hulle lewens word deur onstabiliteit getipeer, waar dwelm- en alkoholmisbruik alledaags is. Die ontsnappers is die mense wat gewoonlik tandeloos is of goue insetsels in hul tande het. Ongeveer 645 000 mense kan as *tussen-inners* bestempel word. Hulle gemiddelde maandelikse inkomste beloop R1 616.21. Hulle is vasgevang in 'n leefstyl van materiële gemiddeldheid aan die een kant en armoede aan die ander kant. Wat kleredrag betref, dra baie van hulle duur handelsname as 'n teken van sukses. Die *presteerders* word gesien as dié met die minste stereotipiese bruin identiteitsmerkers. In die Wes-Kaap is die groep presteerders 1.1 miljoen mense sterk. Hulle verdien 'n gemiddelde maandelikse inkomste van R10 074. Vir hierdie groep is opvoeding van

groot belang en hulle het 'n minder materialistiese leefstyl as die tussen-inners. Die *silwer teelepels* is die kinders van die presteerders. Hul populasiegrootte is 88 000 met 'n maandelikse gemiddelde inkomste van R9 487. Hulle het nie 'n intieme verhouding met die Kaapse bruin identiteit nie en is slegs daaraan gebonde deur hul ouers se identiteit.

Die OIL-navorsing het 'n groot impak op die finale doelwitte van die program gehad, deurdat die woorde 'bruin' en 'bruin mens' nie in die program gebruik is nie omdat die gemeenskap nie eenvormig is nie en omdat 'n groot gedeelte van die presteerders en silwer teelepels hul identiteit as swart beskryf. Voorts is kort tussen-insetsels ook vervaardig sodat die geskiedenis wat vir 'n bruin kyker van belang is, ook uitgebeeld kan word. Die televisiereeks sou slegs in 'n ateljee en in neutrale plekke opgeneem word wat nie stereotiep van die Kaapse Vlakte of bruin townships is nie omdat bruin kykers in 'n verskeidenheid ruimtes te vinde is. Wat taal betref, sou daar gewissel word tussen Standaardafrikaans, Kaaps en Engels, maar daar sou in die besonder op Kaaps gefokus word omdat die bruin gemeenskap in die Wes-Kaap die grootste in die land is en hierdie gemeenskap tot 'n groot mate die primêre teikenmark was.

Teen hierdie agtergrond is elke episode van *Colour TV* binne die raam van 'n fiktiewe televisiekanaal geplaas, met kort insetsels wat die vorm van verskillende televisieformate aangeneem het. Die patroon is telkens in die onderstaande volgorde herhaal:

- 'n Kort toespraak deur die (fiktiewe) president van die (fiktiewe) kanaal (30 sekondes).
- Die Nuus – satiriese nuusbulletins, die weer en finansiële nuus – aangebied deur komediante (3 minute).
- 'n Sepie genaamd *Give a Little Love* waarin die vete tussen twee families binne 'n betreklike kort tyd uitgebeeld is (6 minute).
- 'n Speletjiesprogram, *Wil djy broke wees*? waarin paartjies vir geld speel (7 minute).
- 'n Skertsprogram, *Late Night with Terence*, aangebied deur die bekende akteur Terence Bridgett waar daar met bekende en geliefde bruin persoonlikhede gesels is (15 minute).
- 'n Tydskrifprogram, *Kuier*, waar profiele van suksesvolle bruin sakemense gewys is (5 minute).
- *Het jy geweet?* – kort tussen-insetsels waarin minder bekende historiese feite oor die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis soos dit bruin mense raak, vertoon is (10 sekondes).

Die vervaardigers het baie besliste riglyne gevolg wat die inhoud betref. Slegs bruin akteurs, skrywers en redigeerders is gebruik. Die woorde 'coloured' of 'bruin' is nie in die reeks gebruik nie, maar wel die woord *chlora* (sien 4.2 hieronder). Die Wes-Kaap en Gauteng is gekies as die ruimtes waarin die reeks afgespeel het. Daar was geen stereotiepe uitbeeldinge van bruin mense wat verband hou met dinge soos alkohol-en-dwelmmisbruik, bendegeweld, onsedelikheid en werkloosheid nie. Parodie is ook nie dikwels gebruik nie, omdat dit te na aan komedievorme soos *blackface* beweeg (vergelyk Padgett 2015 vir 'n kort oorsig oor *blackface*).

Colour TV is in 2011 vervaardig en het ná 'n volle jaar van inhoudsontwikkeling op die lug gegaan. 'n Aanvaarbare ontwikkelingsperiode vir vermaaklikheidsprogramme soos komedie is gewoonlik drie tot vier maande voor die reeks opgeneem word. Die produksiespan het bestaan uit vier inhoudsvervaardigers, twee navorsers, twee draaiboekskrywers, 'n redigeerder en twee

uitvoerende vervaardigers. Dit is 'n groot span gesien in die lig van die feit dat 'n normale span gewoonlik slegs uit een inhoudsvervaardiger, 'n navorser en 'n skrywer bestaan.

Die reeks het 'n stewige begroting gehad, net oor die R8 miljoen – ruim vir 'n splinternuwe program. 'n Begroting van R5 miljoen is gewoonlik die standaard bedrag vir nuwe vermaaklikheidsprogramme. Die program is ook in 'n prominente tydgleuf in die SABC se Vrydagaandskedule geplaas vanaf 19:30 tot 20:30. Hierdie tydgleuf is goed vir 'n nuwe program omdat 'n groot aantal kykers gewoonlik op hierdie tyd televisie kyk. Groot kykersgetalle is uiteraard 'n belangrike maatstaf vir sukses in die televisiebedryf. Die reeks is ook ondersteun deur 'n goeie bemarkingsveldtog. Die verwagtinge van die uitsaaier was kykersyfers van 2 miljoen weekliks.

Alhoewel die reeks groot belangstelling by kykers en kritici uitgelok het, was dit nie baie suksesvol nie en die verwagte kykersyfer is nie behaal nie. Die TAMS (Television Audience Measurement Survey) -syfers toon dat tussen 1.5 en 2 miljoen kykers die eerste drie episodes van die reeks gekyk het. In die middel van die reeks het die kykersyfers tot 800 000 gedaal en teen die einde van die reeks het die kykersyfers weer gestyg tot nét oor die 1 miljoen kykers (SAARF 2011). Gegee die hulpbronne wat aan die reeks spandeer is, is daar verwag dat die reeks baie beter sou vaar.

In die volgende afdeling word die eerste episode van *Colour TV* aan die K3-model gemeet om te bepaal of die model van hulp sou wees in die vervaardigingsproses en sodoende die reaksie op die teks sou kon verbeter.

In die ontwikkelingsfase van die vervaardigingsproses word toetsepisodes aan die toesighoudende vervaardiger gewys. Die toesighoudende vervaardiger kan ook vra dat 'n toetsepisode aan 'n toetsgehoor gewys word. Die skrywers van hierdie artikel is van mening dat indien die aangepaste K3-model, soos in 5 hieronder aangetoon, reeds in hierdie fase gebruik is tydens die wys van toetsepisodes aan toetsgehore, dit 'n wesenlike bydrae sou kon lewer tot die kwaliteitsversekering van die teks voordat dit finaal gebeeldsend is. Dit is egter nie gedoen nie.

Die analise vir hierdie studie is gevolglik gedoen nadat die reaksie van die teikenkykers reeds bekend was deur dit wat op onder meer in briewe in koerante en op sosiale media gesê is. Voorts steun die insigte oor die kykers se reaksies ook op die werk wat Shelley Bradfield oor *Colour TV* gedoen het (Bradfield 2013, 2015a,b). Bradfield het ten tye van die skryf van hierdie artikel nog nie haar werk gepubliseer nie, maar van haar resultate goedgunstig met hierdie skrywers gedeel, van wie een die toesighoudende vervaardiger vir *Colour TV* was (onder die naam J. Rainers). Bradfield se navorsing het berus op fokusgroepbesprekings met kykers van *Colour TV* in die Wes-Kaap wat onder meer vraelyste en besprekings oor die reeks ingesluit het.

4. Analise: Die toepassing van die K3-model op die eerste episode van *Colour TV*

In die analise wat volg word die drie kwaliteitsvoorwaardes kortliks bespreek waarna die vyf teksvlakke met hulle ooreenstemmende ykpunte uiteengesit en as vertrekpunt vir die analise gebruik word.

Korrespondensie word gedefinieer as die instansie wanneer die oorspronklike vooropgestelde doel van 'n teks ooreenstem met dit wat die ontvanger wil weet of verwag. "As die skrywer

daarin slaag om sy/haar doel te bereik en in hierdie proses dit ook regkry om die behoeftes of verwagtinge van die ontvanger – dit wil sê wat die ontvanger verwag om uit die teks te kry – te bevredig, dan voldoen die teks aan die korrespondensie-eis ten opsigte van kwaliteit (Carstens en Van de Poel 2012: 63).

Onder korrespondensie val daar vyf ykpunte waaraan die teks beoordeel word. Dit is die gepastheid van die teks (ykpunt 1), of die teks voldoende inligting verskaf (ykpunt 4), of die teks saamhang (ykpunt 7), of die korrekte formulering gebruik word (ykpunt 10) en of die aanbieding van die teks gepas en effektief is (ykpunt 13) (Carstens en Van de Poel 2012: 69).

Vervolgens word elk van die 15 ykpunte op die teks van toepassing gemaak en onder die drie K's georden om te bepaal aan watter kwaliteitsvoorwaardes die televisieteks voldoen het of nie.

4.1 Teksvlak A: Tekssoort

Figuur 2: Teksvlak A

TEKSVLAKKE	ANALISEKRITERIA (Kwaliteitsvoorwaardes)		
	KORRESPONDENSIE	KONSEKWENTHEID	KORREKTHEID
A. TEKSSOORT	1. Gepastheid van teks (Y1)	2. Genresuiwerheid (Y2)	3. Korrekte toepassing van genrereëls (Y3)

Volgens die K3-model kan tekskwaliteit bepaal word deur eerstens aandag te skenk aan die *tekssoort* (genre). Daar word van die veronderstelling uitgegaan dat elke teks tot 'n besondere tipe behoort wat gepas moet wees vir 'n voorafbepaalde publiek. Die teks moet ook beantwoord aan besondere tekssoortkenmerke waarin die genrereëls korrek toegepas moet word (Carstens en Van de Poel 2012: 441).

Om die gepastheid van 'n teks te bepaal, moet vrae soos die volgende beantwoord word: Wat is die doel met die teks? Wie is die teikengroep van die teks? Is die gekose tipe teks die gepaste tipe om te gebruik om die doel te bereik? Pas die teks by die konteks?

Die verskillende doelwitte met die reeks is in 2 hierbo uiteengesit. Die doelwitte was van meet af problematies in dié sin dat dit enersyds verdraaiings en halwe waarhede oor bruin Suid-Afrikaners wou regstel en uitdaag, maar terselfdertyd ook wou vermaak. Soos later in die bespreking sal blyk, is hierdie doel nie verwesenlik nie en is stereotipes juis bevestig en in teenstelling met vermaak, het kykers beledig gevoel (vgl. Bradfield 2015a). Die rede hiervoor is terug te vind in die heterogene aard van die teikengehoor.

Die teikengroep van die program was in die eerste instansie die Afrikaanssprekende bruin kyker binne Suid-Afrika asook die wit Afrikaanssprekende kyker. Die profiel van die gereelde kyker in die Vrydagaandtydgleuf om 19:30 sien soos volg daaruit:

Figuur 3: Profiel van SABC 2-kykers in die Vrydagaandtydgleuf om 19:30

Geslag	Ouderdom	Ras	[1]LSM-vlak
57% vroue	35–50 jaar: 86%	Wit: 54.7%	LSM-vlak 5-8: 41%

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[1] Lewenstandaardmeting

		Bruin: 30.9%	LSM-vlak 9-10: 56.9%

(SAARF 2011)

Daar is verwag dat *Colour TV* dieselfde kykersprofiel sou lok, wat nie gebeur het nie. Die *Colour TV* kykersprofiel het soos volg gelyk:

Figuur 4: Profiel van die *Colour TV*-kykers

Geslag	Ouderdom	Ras	LSM-vlak
55% vroue	35–50 jaar: 66%	Wit: 16% Bruin: 57.4%	LSM-vlak 5-7: 62% LSM-vlak 9-10: 34.8%

(SAARF 2011)

Die programinhoud het die kykermark verander tot 'n oorheersende bruin, werkers- en laemiddelklaskyker. Die program het dus nié die bedoelde teikengroep binne die tydgleuf getrek nie, maar 'n nuwe groep kykers gelok wat nie tradisionele kykers vir daardie tydgleuf was nie.

Wat betref die vraag of die gekose tipe teks die gepaste tipe was om die aanvanklike doel te bereik, moet daar in ag geneem word dat *Colour TV* die eerste van sy soort was wat binne hierdie tydgleuf uitgesaai is. Hierdie tydgleuf is tradisioneel die tuiste van die bekende Afrikaanse musiekspeletjiesprogram, *Noot vir Noot*. Vorige programme wat in hierdie tydgleuf uitgesaai is, was musiek- en speletjiesprogramme soos die plaaslike popsanger Patricia Lewis se *Supersterre* en *Kom 'n bietjie binne met Dozi*.

Die kwessie oor die profiel van die tydgleuf, sluit nou aan by konteks. Die SABC is die enigste openbare uitsaaier in Suid-Afrika en het 'n mandaat om inhoud aan te bied wat inlig, vermaak en opvoedkundig is. Die uitsaaier beskik oor vier kanale met SABC 2 wat oorspronklik as die kanaal vir Afrikaans- en Sothosprekende kykers beskou is. (vgl. Smith 2002 vir 'n uiters volledige bespreking van die mandaat van SABC 2).

Alhoewel SABC tans eerder as 'n Suid-Afrikaanse kanaal beskou word, het *Colour TV* in 2010 as 'n (deels) Afrikaanse program by die gekose kanaal gepas. Uit die reaksie op die reeks het dit egter geblyk dat die toesighoudende vervaardiger nie volkome insig in die gekose kyker se profiel gehad het nie en dat die programinhoud en genre verwyder was van die tipe inhoud wat tradisioneel in dié tydgleuf vir kykers aangebied is. Die reeks het nie aan die verwagtinge van die tradisionele kykers vir die tydgleuf voldoen nie omdat die inhoud nie vir hulle aanvaarbaar was nie (vgl. Bradfield 2013). Ten einde die gaping tussen die uitsaaier en die bruin kykersmark verder te belig, word daar vervolgens by konsekwentheid stilgestaan.

Konsekwentheid kan gedefinieer word as suksesvol wanneer die keuses wat gedurende die skeppingsproses gemaak word (soos tekssoort), volgehou word deur die loop van die teks (Carstens en Van de Poel 2012: 65). Hier is dit veral ykpunt 2 wat ter sprake is waar dit gaan om genresuiwerheid en of die tekssoort korrek is vir die doel wat bereik wil word.

Wat genre betref, kan *Colour TV* as 'n multigenretelevisieteks beskou word. Die oorkoepelende genre is 'n variasie van die verskeidenheidsgenre wat gedefinieer kan word as 'n program waar 'n verskeidenheid opvoerings plaasvind, soos musiek-, dans- of komiese vertonings. In *Colour TV* was daar agt tot tien subgenres wat gewissel het van 'n sepie tot 'n joernaalprogram. Die

genre is gekies omdat die vervaardiger die programteks in die vorm van 'n verkorte televisiekanaal wou aanbied om sodoende 'n ideologiese stelling te maak wat sê dat die realiteite van bruin mense se wêreld dieselfde waarde het as enige ander kultuurgroep wie se wêreld op televisie uitgebeeld word. Die span vervaardigers het hul inspirasie geput uit wyse waarop genres op 'n ware vermaaklikheidskanaal gewoonlik gerangskik word en daarom is die subgenres altyd in dieselfde volgorde aangebied: begin met die nuus en eindig met 'n kletsprogram (kyk 2 hierbo). Die gevolg van die keuse van 'n kanaal as genre met die gevolglike subgenres het daartoe gelei dat die teks elke ses tot agt minute van subgenre verwissel het. As dit belangrik is vir die verstaanbaarheid van 'n teks om konsekwent dieselfde keuse te maak, lyk dit asof die gebruik van verskillende genres 'n konsekwentheidsfout was wat verstaanbaarheid kon belemmer het. Volgens Bradfield (2015b) en ook Ferreira (2011) het die kykers nie die konsep van 'n kanaal-as-verskeidenheidsprogram verstaan nie en het die program nie vir hulle sin gemaak nie. Die voortdurende afwisseling van genres het verstaanbaarheid belemmer en so gesien is die voorwaarde van konsekwentheid gevolglik verbreek.

Korrektheid het te doen met die uitvoering van die reëls van 'n besondere taal en die uitbeelding van die juiste inhoud in die werklikheid (Carstens en Van de Poel 2012: 65) met veral ykpunt 3, die korrekte toepassing van genrereëls, wat ter sprake is. Omdat die oorkoepelende verskeidenheidsgenre nie in sy tradisionele wyse toegepas is nie, stem die teks nié ooreen met die genrereëls nie. Alhoewel kykers die genrereëls van verskeidenheidsprogramme verstaan, was hulle nie daarvan bewus dat *Colour TV* veronderstel was om 'n verskeidenheidsprogram te wees nie (Bradfield 2015b). Elke insetsel het by die reëls van daardie tipe subgenre soos joernaal, sepie of sketsinsetsel gehou, maar die vinnige wisseling het ook tot verwarring gelei omdat die program as 'n samehangende geheel nie sin gemaak het nie (vgl. Bradfield 2015b). *Colour TV* is nie eksplisiet aangekondig of bemark as 'n verskeidenheidsprogram nie. Inteendeel, 'n genredefinisie is nooit in die program gebruik nie, behalwe wanneer daarna as *'n kanaal* verwys is. Die gebruik van 'n kanaalformaat as oorkoepelende genre was 'n konsekwentheidsfout omdat die genrereëls voortdurend verander het. Dit sou reggestel kon word, deur *Colour TV* duidelik as 'n verskeidenheidsprogram te benoem.

Voordat daar na teksvlak B beweeg word, kan daar ten slotte gesê word dat die eerste teksvlak van die K3-model baie nuttig was om probleme mee te identifiseer.

4.2 Teksvlak B: Inhoud

Figuur 5: Teksvlak B

TEKSVLAKKE	ANALISEKRITERIA (Kwaliteitsvoorwaardes)		
	KORRESPONDENSIE	KONSEKWENTHEID	KORREKTHEID
B. INHOUD	4. Voldoende Inligting (Y4)	5. Ooreenstemming van feite (Y5)	6. Korrektheid van feite (Y6)

Teksvlak B, oftewel *inhoud*, behels dat daar nie alleen voldoende inligting moet wees nie, maar dat daar ook ooreenstemming van feite moet wees en dat die inhoud ook feitelik korrek moet wees (Carstens en Van de Poel 2012: 441–442). Voldoende inligting het betrekking op die hoeveelheid inligting wat oorgedra word. 'n Balans moet binne die teks gehandhaaf word tussen te veel en te min inligting.

Om hierdie vraag te beantwoord, word daar vervolgens na kykers se reaksie soos verkry uit kommentaar en briewe wat in koerante en op sosiale netwerke soos Facebook, Twitter en blogs gepubliseer is in die tydperk wat die program uitgesaai is. (Soos reeds genoem, sou dit baie gehelp het indien die sentimente wat hier verwoord word, reeds in die toetsfase ingewin is – dan sou die regstellings betyds gemaak kon word).

Episode een van *Colour TV* (Engel en Mitchell 2011) begin met die volgende teks wat op die skerm verskyn en wat ook deur 'n manstem hardop gelees word:

"Hierdie program bevat uitdrukkings wat nie alombekend is nie".

Dit word opgevolg met die woorde:

"Publieke aankondiging".

En dan verskyn daar 'n aankondiging van die president van die kanaal. Hy sê:

"Goeienaand, ek is Gershwin D. Fortune. Now, I grew up in the dusty windswept streets of the Cape Flats. Ek het ook tyd in die buiteland spandeer toe ek in Engeland gestudeer het. When I returned I realised I was living in a world where my life experiences just wasn't reflected anywhere especially not on TV. So I decided to create a platform that celebrated my world. Colour TV was born. It's a channel all of its own rolled into one, met iets vir almal. So hold onto your nearest and dearest because this is going to be a kwaai mix bag. This is the world as we see it. Colour TV. Duidelik en uiteindelik".

Dan sny die beeld na 'n ateljeetoneel waar twee karakters met hul rûe na die kamera sit en hulle sê:

Karakter 1: "Colour TV. Here we come".

Karakter 2: "Is ja. Tyd vir die nuus".

Dit is al inligting wat aan die begin van die eerste episode verskaf word. Die toesighoudende vervaardigers was van mening dat die aankondiging deur die president van die kanaal, die program voldoende sou kontekstualiseer wat betref die uitbeelding van die bruin leefwêreld. Daar word niks gesê oor die titel *Colour TV* en wat presies daarmee bedoel word nie. Geen inligting word gegee oor die spesifieke formaat van die program en of al die karakters in die program werklike mense is of slegs akteurs is wat rolle speel nie. Die kyker word ook nie voorberei op die humoristiese of komiese aard van die program nie.

Die plaaslike televisieresensent Tinus Ferreira, skryf die volgende op sy blog (Ferreira 2011):

"Confused viewers and readers have been asking me for weeks: What is Colour TV? They're wondering whether it means a new TV station is coming from the SABC (no). Some are thinking it might be the launch of a 3rd party pay TV channel (no). Meanwhile SABC2 has done a big hallabaloo about nothing as it fails to actively tell viewers what Colour TV is, and has so far failed miserably

in being upfront with the press or engaging entertainment journalists about the show that is supposed to start in a mere three weeks. If viewers think your failed clip campaign is about the SABC going digital, another pay TV channel or TopTV, I would venture to suggest you have a problem, SABC2."

Die bostaande bevestig die vermoede dat daar verwarring onder kykers asook resensente was wat betref die titel van die program omdat dit voorgekom het asof dit moontlik 'n nuwe, afsonderlike kanaal is wat begin word.

Sommige kykers was baie ongelukkig oor die programtitel en inhoud. In een brief in die *Timeslive* koerant van 17 Julie 2011 kort ná die program se eerste verskyning, skryf 'n kyker (Probert 2011):

> "The title of the comedy is derogatory and racist. A co-worker literally ran to ask me if I had seen the programme of 'you people' on SABC2. From years of being a member of the UDF back in the day, I tried to get away from the 'coloured' classification bestowed upon us. In fact, my mother's ID reads 'other coloured' and her children were 'Cape Coloured'. To title a programme Colour TV is just not on. We are going back to the old apartheid days Jimmy Manyi's utterances of 'too many coloured people in Cape Town', and now this, is cause for concern. I am disgusted and disappointed in the SABC."

Op 20 Julie 2011, verskyn die volgende brief van 'n kyker in die *Timeslive* koerant (Marina 2011):

> "With this 'colour TV' programme as we as South African 'coloured' do not live like this 'portrayed image' of the coloured nation, not to mention the language usage – in which year was this programme made? Wake up SABC – we are a proud nation of South Africans and do NOT want to be labelled as 'coloureds' anymore – we are moving forward. If this is what we are paying our tv licenses for – I am ashamed at the SABC for portraying the coloured nation in this manner – shame on you SABC. We as the coloured people are still 'sidelined' and pushed aside – first we were 'too black' – now we are 'too white' we are still in the middle of the population gap – and now this 'colour TV' portraying us to be 'uneducated and stupid' – pls stop showing this programme on tv 'julle is 'n klap in die gesig' vir ons nuwe generasie."

Dié reaksie van kykers waaruit duidelike verwarring oor wat die program probeer doen, word ook gerugsteun deur die navorsing wat Bradfield (2013: 1) oor *Colour TV* gedoen het. Soos reeds genoem, het haar navorsing berus op fokusgroepbesprekings met kykers van *Colour TV* in die Wes-Kaap wat onder meer vraelyste en besprekings oor die reeks ingesluit het.

Bradfield (2015a,b) het bevind dat die kykers uit die middelklas die programinhoud stereotiperend ervaar het en meer krities en ook meer negatief teenoor die inhoud gestaan het as ander groepe. Daarteenoor het spesifiek werkersklaskykers die uitbeelding van humor en die gebruik van streekstaal nié stereotiperend gevind nie en hulself in die uitbeeldings gesien. Die tong-in-die-kies-humor was egter nie altyd geslaagd nie. Sekere respondente het gesê dat dit baie sinvoller sou wees as programinhoud gebruik is wat die sosio-ekonomiese werklikhede van bruin mense realisties uitgebeeld het. Die vraag ontstaan natuurlik watter werklikheid hier

ter sprake is, gegee die heterogene aard van die bruin gemeenskap. Die punt bly dat daar gemeen is dat die inhoud soos aangebied, bygedra het tot die stereotiepe uitbeelding van bruinmense as mense wat nie ernstig opgeneem kan word deur die res van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing nie. Die inhoud van *Colour TV* moet gevolglik as onvoldoende beskou word aangesien die humor aanstoot gegee het en kykers eerder 'n feitelik korrekte uitbeelding van die bruin gemeenskap wou sien.

Die inhoudsanalise van 'n teks vereis ook dat daar gekyk word of alle woorde en begrippe voldoende verklaar word. Soos bo vermeld, begin *Colour TV* met die teks "Hierdie program bevat uitdrukkings wat nie alombekend is nie". Dit herinner aan waarskuwings soos "Die program is nie vir sensitiewe kykers nie". Die titel van die program, *Colour TV*, die klingel 'duidelik en uiteindelik' en die woorde *chlora* en *gam* word dikwels in die teks gebruik, maar nêrens verklaar nie.

Die titel van die program, *Colour TV*, word, soos in meeste ander gevalle, nie deur die loop van die program verduidelik nie. Die vervaardiger se bedoeling met dié benoeming was om te sinspeel op die idee dat die program op "coloured" of bruin kykers gerig is omdat dit soos "coloured tv" klink as dit uitgespreek word. Dit is belangrik om te let dat die program nooit die woord "coloured" of kleurling/bruin in die programinhoud gebruik het nie. Die naaste wat dit daaraan kom, is deur die gebruik van die titel *Colour TV*. Die vervaardigers en uitsaaier het teen die gebruik van die woord "coloured" besluit omdat dit vir sommige burgers 'n kontroversiële woord is en ook omdat daar nie 'n eenvormige "coloured" of bruin identiteit in die land bestaan nie. Die programnaam is gevolglik problematies omdat die woord "coloured" of bruin 'n kontroversiële identiteit verteenwoordig. Die bruin identiteit is ook nie homogeen nie; nie alle mense wat hulself as bruin beskou, aanvaar die woord nie (kyk 2 hierbo waar die OIL-navorsing uiteengesit word). Daar bestaan egter ook 'n argument vír die gebruik van die woord "coloured" of bruin aangesien dit steeds gebruik word vir rasaanduiding in amptelike dokumente en ook in die media.

Die klingel vir die program is "duidelik en uiteindelik". Dit is verstaanbaar binne 'n bepaalde kulturele konteks, want die woord "duidelik" is deel van die streekstaal op die Kaapse Vlakte, maar met 'n ander betekenisonderskeiding as in die standaardvariëteit. Dit beteken 'goed' en 'ondubbelsinnig' en gepaard met "uiteindelik" was die bedoeling dat *Colour TV* 'n program is wat 'n outentieke beeld van bruin Suid-Afrikaners wil oordra – iets wat, soos blyk uit die reaksie van die kykers, nie die geval was nie. Die klingel word egter nooit eksplisiet in die program verduidelik nie.

Chlora is Wes-Kaapse streekstaal vir bruin. Die konnotasies hiermee is neutraal. Die program gebruik die woord sonder om dit te verduidelik of konteks te gee en daar was geen klagte van kykers nie. Dit is wel 'n binnegroep-term, in dié sin dat dit aanvaarbaar is vir een bruin persoon om na 'n ander bruin persoon as 'n *chlora* te verwys, terwyl buitestanders dit nie mag doen sonder om aanstoot te gee nie. Die uitsaaier het ook geen klagtes van kykers ontvang oor die gebruik van die woord *chlora* nie. Inteendeel, op die sosiale netwerke Facebook en Twitter het kykers die gebruik van die woord verwelkom. Op Facebook skryf 'n kyker (Howard 2011) die dag ná die eerste episode uitgesaai is: "Lol. Wow! Its amazing 2c how all da kloras are like…Nw dats wat u call heritage".

Die woord *gam* is ook Kaaps en beteken 'lelik' of 'platvloers'. Die woord word gewoonlik in 'n beledigende konteks gebruik met verwysing na iemand wat voldoen aan die ergste negatiewe stereotipering van bruin mense, bv. iemand wat aan drank- en/of dwelms verslaaf is, werkloos is, nie voortande het nie en so meer. In *Colour TV* word die woord binne die programkonteks egter op sy kop gedraai en so te sê teruggeëis deur dit in 'n eretitel te omskep. Die programaanbieder verduidelik dit in episode een soos volg:

> "We've devised a little *Late Night Talk with Terence* ritual. You will have the honour of being the first guest to take the *Late Night with Terence* WHAT KIND OF CHLORA are you test.
>
> I'm going to ask you three questions. Based on the answers the boys (band) are going to help me decide: is djy gam, is djy lam[2] of vat djy vlam[3]? Are you ready? First question:
>
> 1.   Did you receive a key for your 21st birthday?
> 2.   Rollers, hairdryer or GHD[4]?
> 3.   Have you ever dated anyone who drove a car with mags or drop suspension?"

Na aanleiding van sy gas, die voormalige Mej. Suid-Afrika, Amy Kleynhans-Curd, se antwoord, kom die aanbieder tot die gevolgtrekking dat sy *gam* is waarop sy skertsend reageer met: "dankie vir die bevestiging".

Uit die reaksie van die kykers, is dit duidelik dat daar nie voldoende inligting (ykvlak 4) vir die sinvolle interpretasie van die teks was nie. Ook ykvlakke 5 en 6 waar dit gaan oor die ooreenstemming van feite en die korrektheid van feite blyk problematies te wees omdat die kykers nie voorberei is op die bedoelde humoristiese aanslag van die teks nie.

4.3 Teksvlak C: Opbou/Struktuur

Figuur 6: Teksvlak C

TEKSVLAKKE	ANALISEKRITERIA (Kwaliteitsvoorwaardes)		
	KORRESPONDENSIE	KONSEKWENTHEID	KORREKTHEID
C. OPBOU/ STRUKTUUR	7. Voldoende samehang (Y7)	8. Konsekwente struktuur (Y8)	9.Korrekte verbindingswoorde en argumentasiestrukture (Y9)

Die derde teksvlak, *opbou/struktuur* (C) hou verband met die teks se die logiese of beredeneerde aard en ook die korrekte volgorde van die teks en val saam met ykpunt 7, waar dit gaan oor of daar 'n duidelike samehang tussen die onderafdelings van die teks is en ook ykpunt 8 wat vereis dat sake wat bymekaar hoort, wel bymekaar staan.

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[2] Pap of vervelig
[3] Aan die brand/witwarm
[4] Handelsnaam van 'n apparaat om hare mee reguit te maak, maar wat deesdae as generiese benaming vir hierdie tipe apparaat gebruik word.

Die formaat van die reeks as 'n televisiekanaal het beteken dat elke episode 'n vaste volgorde gevolg het met kort insetsels uit verskillende genres met hulle eie insetseltitel, aanbieders en inhoudstyl. Die insetsels is met kort visuele skakels verbind, maar nie deur die ankeraanbieders aangekondig nie. Die karakters wat die skakels aanbied, sit in 'n beheerkamer met hul rûe na die kamera en praat met mekaar en nie direk met die kykers nie. Die feit dat die skakelkarakters se gesprekke nie 'n direkte verband met die vorige insetsel óf die daaropvolgende insetsel het nie, lei tot 'n verlies aan samehang en verklaar ook waarom kykers nie die konsep van die program-as-kanaal gesnap het nie. Die verskillende insetsels vertoon wel interne samehang in die sin dat dit wat bymekaar hoort, wel bymekaar geplaas word en op 'n wyse wat die kyker waarskynlik kan voorspel. As voorbeeld kan daar na die eerste 10 minute van elke episode gekyk word wat die formaat van 'n tradisionele nuusbulletin aanneem. Daar is 'n nuusstel, twee nuusaanbieders en nuusinsetsels. Die bulletin begin met nuusberigte, gevolg deur 'n finansiële verslag en dan 'n sportverslag. Die tipiese looporde van 'n tradisionele nuusprogram word sodoende gevolg waar aktuele sake, finansies en sport in 'n sekere volgorde aangebied word.

Die probleem bly egter dat die teks as geheel nie noodwendig sin maak nie. Die fiktiewe president van die fiktiewe kanaal se toespraak aan die begin van die program, is veronderstel om die program te kontekstualiseer. Maar omdat die toespraak nie direk na die doel van die program verwys nie en ook nie die formaat van die program verduidelik nie, is die kykers aan hulle eie lot oorgelaat. Die formaat van die program bring ook mee dat kykers gapings ervaar het omdat die teks van een perspektief na 'n ander spring, sonder om 'n definitiewe punt te maak. Die nuusbulletin is byvoorbeeld geensins ernstig of realisties nie, terwyl die kort tussen-insetsels van 10 sekondes elk waarin minder bekende feite wat veral op bruin geskiedenis gerig is, soos die geskiedenis van die ontstaan van Afrikaans, wel korrek is.

'n Voorbeeld hiervan uit episode een is:

> "Did you know that words like 'aitsa' and 'eina' and 'gogga' and 'dagga' were actually given to us by early Khoisan languages and words like 'piesang' and 'piering' and 'lemoen' and 'blatjang' actually comes (sic) from a Portuguese/Malaysian dialect and in order to understand each other, early slaves developed a creole-Dutch which later became known as Afrikaans. And did you also know that the first Afrikaans words that were written down were actually from an attempt to translate the Koran. Did you know?"

Die idee met hierdie soort insetsel was een van die doelwitte van die program, naamlik om bruin mense se regmatige plek in en bydrae tot die breër samelewing uit te lig. Die spronge tussen wat feitelik is en dit wat as komies bedoel is, werk egter verwarring in die hand in die interpretasie van die geheel en voldoende samehang (ykpunt 7) ontbreek.

4.4 Teksvlak D: Formulering

Figuur 7: Teksvlak D

TEKSVLAKKE	ANALISEKRITERIA (Kwaliteitsvoorwaardes)		
	KORRESPONDENSIE	KONSEKWENTHEID	KORREKTHEID
D. FORMULERING	10. Gepaste formulering (Y10)	11. Eenheid van styl (Y11)	12. Korrekte sinsbou en woordkeuse (Y12)

Teksvlak D, *formulering,* behels die vlak en keuse wat betref die styl en register van die teks en of dit in ooreenstemming met die vermoë van die doelgroep is. Dit val saam met ykpunt 10 wat vra of die regte tipe teks gekies is. Uit die bespreking tot dusver blyk dit dat die regte tipe teks nie gekies is nie en dat die teks as 'n televisiekanaal nie in ooreenstemming met die vermoë van die doelgroep was nie en dat kykers gesukkel het om die teks te verstaan. Die gebruik van verskillende subgenres in die verskillende insetsels sonder sinvolle skakels tussen die insetsels, het ook begrip belemmer. Die teks is gevolglik nie noukeurig genoeg geformuleer nie. Die bedoelde humoristiese aanslag van die teks was ook nie altyd geslaagd nie (kyk ook Bradfield 2015a,b se navorsing hierbo waar veral kykers uit middelklasagtergronde beledig gevoel het). Kykers het gevoel die program spot met die bruin gemeenskap terwyl dit geensins die aanvanklike bedoeling was nie. Terselfdertyd het die komiese insetsels 'n negatiewe impak gehad op die manier waarop meer feitelike insetsels deur kykers ontvang is aangesien hulle onseker was of dit ook as komies bedoel is of nie.

'n Ondersoek na die formulering van 'n teks vra ook antwoorde op vrae soos of die teks aantreklik is om te lees (of in hierdie geval om na te kyk), of daar genoeg afwisseling in die teks plaasvind, of die woordkeuse geskik is vir die teikengroep en of die teks enige vooroordele (byvoorbeeld rassisme of seksisme) of stereotipes bevat.

Waar afwisseling in tekste normaalweg in 'n teks se guns tel, het dit in *Colour TV* se geval teen die teks getel omdat daar te veel afwisseling was met die teks wat elke ses tot agt minute van genre en inhoud verander het. Die eenheid van styl is gevolglik verbreek.

Die grootste kritiek teen die program was, die vervaardigers se goeie bedoelings ten spyt, dat dit 'n stereotiepe beeld van bruin mense bevestig en voortgesit het. 'n Kyker skryf op Twitter: "Its no use beautifying the outside but inside its rotten to the core #colourtv" (@linomedia, 2011).

Ykpunt 12, wat korrekte sinsbou (sintaksis) en woordkeuse (betekenis en registergebruik) betrek, is in hierdie geval ietwat van 'n tameletjie omdat die vervaardigers van meet af aan besluit het om nie net Standaardafrikaans nie, maar ook Kaaps en Engels te gebruik. Die program het juis ook gegaan om die verkenning van niestandaardvariëteite sodat die vraag as sodanig eintlik nie van toepassing is nie.

In die geheel gesien, het hierdie teksvlak nie soveel probleme uitgewys as die voriges nie.

4.5 Teksvlak E: Aanbieding

Figuur 8: Teksvlak E

TEKSVLAKKE	ANALISEKRITERIA (Kwaliteitsvoorwaardes)		
	KORRESPONDENSIE	KONSEKWENTHEID	KORREKTHEID
E. AANBIEDING	13. Gepaste en effektiewe aanbieding (Y13)	14. Ooreenstemming van teks en uitleg (Y14)	15. Korrekte spelling en interpunksie (Y15)

Die laaste teksvlak wat van toepassing is, is teksvlak E, die *aanbieding* wat toets of die aanbieding gepas en effektief is. Uit die bespreking tot nou het dit geblyk dat die aanbieding nie deur die kykers as gepas beskou is nie en daarom ook nie effektief was nie.

In teenstelling met die ander vier teksvlakke van die K3-model, het hierdie teksvlak nie veel opgelewer nie. Die rede hiervoor hou verband met die aard van die teks as multimedia-televisieteks. Ykvlak 14 (ooreenstemming van teks en uitleg) en ykvlak 15 (korrekte spelling en interpunksie) is nie ter sake nie.

5.   Gevolgtrekking

Uit die voorafgaande analise blyk dit dat die K3-model op 'n vervaardigingsproses vir televisie toegepas kan word. Die ykpunte help 'n analiseerder om by die oorspronklike doel van die teks te bly. Die K3-model kan ook reeds tydens die inhoudsontwikkelingsproses gebruik word omdat dit veral die tydperk is waartydens die toesighoudende vervaardiger die geleentheid het om kwaliteitsversekering toe te pas.

Uit die analise van die eerste episode van *Colour TV* aan die hand van die K3-model, blyk dit egter dat sommige aspekte van die model nie werklik tot nuwe insigte gelei het nie. Dit geld veral teksvlak (E) *aanbieding* en tot 'n mindere mate teksvlak (D) *formulering*. Die rede hiervoor kan terugherlei word na die spesifieke tekssoort of genre wat geanaliseer is, naamlik 'n visuele televisieteks in die vorm van 'n verskeidenheidsprogram wat in die formaat van 'n televisiekanaal geraam is. Ykpunte 12 (korrekte sinsbou en woordkeuse), 13 (gepaste en effektiewe aanbieding), 14 (ooreenstemming van teks en uitleg) en 15 (korrekte spelling en interpunksie) is eerder op geskrewe tekste afgestem en het in hierdie analise van 'n visuele, multimediatelevisieteks nie iets nuuts opgelewer nie. Dit beteken nie dat dit moontlik in ander televisietekste, byvoorbeeld formele nuusbulletins wat gelees word, nie toepaslik kan wees nie. Die argument bly dat die model in sy geheel sinvol is vir geskrewe tekste, maar aangepas moet word vir sekere ander soort tekste soos multimediatelevisietekste soos *Colour TV*. Uit die perspektief van 'n toesighoudende vervaardiger is daar ook gevind dat die analise besonder baie tyd in beslag neem en daarom word daar voorgestel dat die model soos volg vereenvoudig en aangepas word:

Figuur 9: Die aangepaste K3-model vir multimediatelevisietekste

| | ANALISEKRITERIA (Kwaliteitsvoorwaardes) | | | |
	FORMAAT	MANDATE	SKRIF	INSIGTE
A. GENRE-SOORT	1. Gepastheid van genre (Y1)	2. Genresuiwerheid (Y2)	3. Korrekte toepassing van genrereëls (Y3)	
B. INHOUD	4. Voldoende inligting (Y4)	5. Ooreenstemming van feite (Y5)	6. Korrektheid van feite (Y6)	
C. OPBOU/ STRUKTUUR	7. Voldoende samehang (Y7)	8. Konsekwente struktuur (Y8)	9. Korrekte argumentasie-struktuur (Y9)	
D. FORMULERING	10. Gepaste formulering (Y10)	11. Eenheid van styl (Y11)		

Die aangepaste vereenvoudigde model doen weg met teksvlak E (*aanbieding*) en verander ykpunt 9 van *korrekte verbindingswoorde en argumentasiestrukture* na *korrekte argumentasie-strukture*. Ykpunte 12, 13, 14 en 15 val in geheel weg.

Soos in die inleiding hierbo uitgewys is, is daar tans baie min modelle wat televisievervaardigers en toesighoudende vervaardigers geredelik kan gebruik om kwaliteitsversekering te bewerkstellig. Die aangepaste, vereenvoudigde K3-model kan hierdie rol vervul en as 'n nuttige instrument optree om sodoende swak plekke vinnig in die inhoudontwikkelingstydperk te identifiseer. In hierdie fase kan die model byvoorbeeld gebruik word tydens die toetsfase wanneer toetsgroepe uit die teikengroepkykers betrek word. Die K3-model sal die toesighoudende vervaardiger in staat stel om te verseker dat dit wat in die doelstellings van 'n program in die vooruitsig gestel is, wel verwesenlik word in die ervaring van teikenkykers of anders gestel, seker te maak die kykers verstaan die bedoeling van die teks. Die instrument sal ook help om blindekolfoute, soos hieronder bespreek, wat nie altyd vooraf voor die hand liggend is nie, uit te wys.

Die eerste groot blindekolfoute in *Colour TV*, soos uitgewys deur die analise hierbo, het te make gehad met die feit dat die bedoeling van die vervaardigers, naamlik om die leefwêreld van Afrikaanssprekende bruin Suid-Afrikaners op 'n deels komiese, maar nieneerhalende wyse uit te beeld, nie so deur die teikenmark ervaar is nie. Inteendeel, daar is gevoel dat stereotipes gehandhaaf en voortgesit word. Tweedens het kykers nie aanklank gevind by die idee van 'n program wat enersyds as 'n nuwe kanaal uitgebeeld is, maar andersyds as 'n verskeidenheidsprogram voorgehou is nie. Alhoewel die vervaardigerspan en die toesighoudende vervaardiger asook al die akteurs bruin was, was die program nie 'n sukses nie.

Wat nodig was, was 'n instrument wat veral die toesighoudende vervaardiger in staat sou stel om die voorafbepaalde doelwitte op 'n objektiewe manier te analiseer en te toets, en wel reeds gedurende die ontwikkelingsfase. Die aangepaste K3-model sou só 'n instrument kon wees.

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An alternative to the Lewisian view of conventions

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Abstract

Lewis (1969) characterises conventions as regularities that arise from recurrent coordination games. I argue, contra Lewis, that conventions are rules that promote a relevant goal in virtue of coordinating our behaviour. I demonstrate the virtues of this view by showing that it provides an elegant way of dealing with four basic objections to Lewis's view, namely that Lewis requires agents to understand their own situation too well, that his view robs conventions of explanatory force, that it mischaracterises cases where someone has non-prudential reasons to follow a convention, and that it mischaracterises situations where the relevant behaviour is non-uniform.

Key words: conventions, Lewis, rules

1.   Introduction

In *Convention* (1969), Lewis sets out to investigate the platitude that language is conventional. His key idea is that conventions are regularities that result from recurrent coordination games and where the parties to the coordination game are aware of the status of the resultant regularity. In this paper, I claim, contra Lewis, that conventions are not regularities of a certain type, but rules of a certain type. A convention exists in a society when the members of a society are disposed to follow such rules. Furthermore, I will claim that such rules need not resolve coordination games. Rather, it just needs to be the case that such a rule promotes a relevant goal in virtue of coordinating our behaviour. I will defend my proposal by working through four objections to Lewis's view that motivate departing from his views in the way that I propose.

2.   Lewis's view of conventions and the nature of the present inquiry.

Lewis analyses conventions as follows:

> A regularity *R* in the behaviour of members of a population *P* when they are agents in a recurrent situation *S* is a *convention* if and only if it is true that, and it is common knowledge in *P* that, in any instance of *S* among members of *P*,
>
> (1) everyone conforms to *R*;
>
> (2) everyone expects everyone else to conform to *R*;
>
> (3) everyone has approximately the same preferences regarding all possible combinations of actions;

(4) everyone prefers that everyone conform to *R*, on condition that at least all but one conform to *R*;

(5) everyone would prefer that everyone conform to *R′*, on condition that at least all but one conform to *R′*,

where *R′* is some possible regularity in the behaviour of members of *P* in *S*, such that no one in any instance of *S* among members of *P* could conform both to *R′* and to *R* (Lewis 1969: 76).

Lewis (1969: 78) develops a definition later on that allows for exceptions to the strict conditions given above. I will, as most of those writing about Lewis do, focus mainly on the exceptionless version. The core of Lewis' theory is that conventions are regularities that arise in response to game-theoretical coordination problems where participants are aware of the status of the resultant regularity. The defining characteristic of a 'game' as such is that the context of interaction must be *strategic*, i.e. optimal strategy for one party must depend on the behaviour of the other party (or parties) involved. A game is a game of coordination if the interests of the actors are *aligned*, i.e. actors have the same ordinal ranking of the different outcomes[1]. However, Lewis (1969) does not require that the parties to a convention have perfectly aligned preference. Rather, in condition (3), he merely requires that preferences must be 'approximately' the same (Lewis 1969: 76). This allows Lewis (1969: 14) to treat games like 'battle of the sexes'[2] as potentially giving rise to conventions, even though the preferences of the parties involved give rise to differing ordinal rankings of the possible outcomes.

The basic constraint on the game theoretical structure of the interaction that Lewis (1969) imposes depends on his ingenious notion of a *coordination* equilibrium. The standard notion of an equilibrium in game theory is that of a set of strategies such that no actor can make himself better off by unilaterally changing his strategy. Such strategies are said to be in equilibrium as, if the actors somehow hit on such a combination, the outcome thereby reached is likely to be stable. Lewis's (1969) notion of a coordination equilibrium differs from that of a standard equilibrium in that, in a coordination equilibrium, no actor can be made better off by *any* actor changing their strategy. Mutual defection in a prisoner's dilemma[3], for instance, is an equilibrium, but not a coordination equilibrium, as one party can make the other better off by cooperating. Using this notion of a coordination equilibrium, Lewis (1969: 16) ultimately imposes the requirement that the kind of coordination game needed to give rise to a convention must be a game with multiple coordination equilibria.

One way of understanding the conceptual question as to the nature of a convention is to understand it as an analysis of everything to which we apply the natural language term 'convention'. The basic goal of such an enquiry would be to try to arrive at an analysis that

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[1] Lewis (1969: 13–14) follows Schelling (1960) in distinguishing between games of pure coordination and games of pure conflict.

[2] In a typical 'battle of the sexes', two parties have to choose between going out and staying in. Both would prefer the outcomes where they choose the same option to those where they choose different outcomes. However, one party would prefer both parties going out to both parties staying in, and the other party would prefer both parties staying in to both going out.

[3] In a typical two-person prisoner's dilemma, parties have to choose between 'defecting' and 'cooperating'. Both would prefer to be the sole defector, whereas both need to avoid being the sole cooperator. It is further stipulated that both prefer mutual cooperation to mutual defection. The sole equilibrium (i.e. state with no incentive in favour of unilateral deviation) in a one-shot prisoner's dilemma is mutual defection.

gives necessary and sufficient conditions that apply to everything that a competent speaker of English would call a convention. However, this is not what I will be trying to do. It is far from clear that the things we call a 'convention' form a kind. The things that we most commonly think of when we think of conventions include the matter of driving on the same side of the road in a given country and linguistic rules like referring to Kripke as 'Kripke'. My analysis will apply well to such cases, but there are also other forms of behaviour that we call conventions that it does not straightforwardly apply to. Many will claim that, 'in some sense', fashion is a matter of convention, that working until five o' clock is a matter of convention, that proper table manners and other matters of etiquette are conventional, and so on. While, for instance, how we use language and how we choose to dress are presumably related in some non-trivial way, it seems *prima facie* unlikely that we are here dealing with exactly the same kind of behaviour. Lewis (1969), similarly, was not trying to give an account that would capture every single use of the word 'convention'. Where his theory clashed with ordinary usage he was untroubled, admitting the existence of "genuine usages that do not fall under my analysis"[4] (Lewis 1976: 113). My goal here is similar. I will not be trying to give a theory of everything that can be called a 'convention', i.e. trying to do the job of a lexicographer.

Lewis wrote *Convention* with the aim of arriving at a theory of conventions that can be useful in the study of language. His theory aims primarily at, and is tailor-made for, capturing what we may call 'the conventionality of language'. I will proceed similarly. I will attempt to develop a notion of convention that is important, with this importance being a matter of being useful in explaining our use of language. Hence, in the first instance, the task is not one of analysing what we *mean* by 'conventions', but developing a notion that captures at least some of what makes an action one that accords with what we call a 'convention', and is useful in explaining linguistic behaviour. This task can be glossed as being a matter of 'explaining the sense in which language is conventional'. For this reason, I will continue talking of giving a theory of 'convention', where this task is understood as explained here. I take it that, as explained above, this is what Lewis (1969) was also trying to do.

The difference between what I will try to do and an analysis that captures how we use the term 'convention' should not be overstated. Where possible I will try to develop a theory that is consistent with how we use the term 'convention'. The only difference is that, if our usage differs from the theory to be developed here, but the way in which usage differs has little or no explanatory value when it comes to language or introduces needless complication, I will ignore common usage. Where such considerations do not apply; however, I will try to make the theory consistent with common usage. In fact, I am of the opinion that the view to be defended here sticks closer to how we apply the term 'convention' than Lewis's (1969) view does.

3.   Conventions are Coordinating rules

The task to be carried out then, is this: develop a theory of 'convention' that explains our linguistic behaviour and departs from common usage of the term 'convention' only when necessary. In order to state my view in an intuitive form, several notions need to be defined, the first being the notion of a 'rule'.

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[4] Lewis (1976: 113) suggested that such usage may be derivative in some way, i.e. to depend on his notion of convention in some deep sense. I suspect the same of the view developed here.

Rule: A rule *R* is an injunction to perform an action *K* if specified circumstances *C* obtain. Rules can be stated in the form 'if *C* obtains, perform *K*'.

Rules are employed by agents to promote various goals. In this way, the rules of valid inference promote truth-preservation, the codified rules of food labelling promote consumer safety, some self-imposed rules of conduct promote productivity, and so on. For current purposes, a goal of action must be distinguished from a mere benefit that is realised in virtue of action. Take for, instance, someone who takes up jogging to improve his health. Further stipulate that the person enjoys meeting the kind of people one meets through jogging, but this consequence of jogging would not have been sufficient to motivate him to take up jogging. Ordinarily, we would not object if the person said that he jogs to improve his health and meet people. On the definition used here; however, only the health benefits of jogging count as a goal of action, the latter is a mere benefit.

We can allow for cases of self-deception or a lack of self-knowledge by not requiring that the goal the person thinks motivates his behaviour, actually be the goal that motivates his behaviour, or that the person is aware of the goal that motivates his behaviour. Consider someone who drives on the left-hand side of the road, thinks that he does so due to religious conviction, and does not realise that, if driving on the left did not enable him to avoid head-on collisions, he would switch to driving on the right. Such a person essentially has an incorrect theory about why he persists in a specific course of action. In such a case the goal of obeying a divine injunction does not, for our purposes, count as a goal of action, while the goal of avoiding head-on collisions does. On the final analysis then, we can define a goal[5] of action as a reason for action that explains why an action is committed, independently of whether the person is aware of the fact that the outcome motivates his action.

All rules promote a goal through a certain *mechanism*, i.e. in a certain way. For example, the way in which the rule 'if at the office, don't use the internet' promotes productivity is that it eliminates one source of distraction, the way in which the rule 'if you experience severe pain while exercising, stop' promotes being healthy is that it stops those who follow it from exacerbating a serious injury, and so on. One mechanism whereby a rule can promote a goal is coordination. Intuitively, a rule that promotes a goal via coordination does so in virtue of making it come about that our actions are similar or differ in some relevant way. More precisely, we can define the notion of a *Coordinating* rule as follows:

A rule *R* that promotes a goal of action *G* is a Coordinating rule if, and only if,

(1) *R* is followed in order to promote *G*;

(2) the effectiveness in promoting *G* of an action that exhibits *R* in a strategic *context* of interaction *C* primarily depends on the number of actions in *C* that exhibit *R*;

(3) the effectiveness in promoting *G* of an action that exhibits *R* in *C* increases as a function of the number of actions in *C* that exhibit *R*;

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[5] For an alternative view that defines conventions in terms of (entities like) rules and goals, as opposed to regularities and preferences, see Miller (1992). Miller (1992: 436–437) defines conventions in terms of 'procedures' and 'collective ends'. Though the substance of my theory differs significantly from his, my choice of terminology is not supposed to be indicative of any deep difference on the nature or role of goals and rules.

(4) if *all* actions in *C* exhibit *R*, then there is no action in *C* such that, if replaced by an action that violates *R*, the replacement action would have been more effective in promoting *G*; and

(5) if all actions in *C* exhibit *R*, then there is no action in *C* that exhibits *R* such that it would have been more effective in promoting *G* if some combination of the other actions in *C* violated *R*.

For present purposes, I define the notion of behaviour 'exhibiting a rule' as behaviour that accords with what the rule prescribes, independently of whether we would class the behaviour as rule-following or not. The notion of a strategic context, in turn, is defined as a situation in which the optimal action to perform depends on what other actions will be performed. Note that condition (4) is an adaptation of the standard idea of an equilibrium, whereas condition (5) is an adaptation of Lewis' (1969) idea of a coordination equilibrium. Including condition (4) allows us to exclude rules that advise us to cooperate in prisoner's dilemmas. This is required as such rules are not conventions, but moral norms. Including condition (5) allows us to exclude rules that advise us to defect in prisoner's dilemmas. This is required as, at least in one-off cases, defection is optimal independently of how others behave, whereas, in the case of conventions, the best way to promote a relevant goal is conditional on how others behave.

Note that the above definition of a coordinating rule is not stated in terms of agents who perform actions, but instead in terms of the actions themselves. This is done as, strictly speaking, conventions only require a multiplicity of actions that are strategically related, not a multiplicity of agents. Hence, we should include cases in which the interactive context is an intertemporal one where different actions of the same individual promote some goal in virtue of all such actions being actions that exhibit the same rule. Consider a being who must eat once a day and who can minimise his chances of falling ill by spacing these meals as far apart as possible. This implies that the being should eat at the same time every day, but it does not matter when he does so. If such a being adopts a rule 'every day, eat at noon', then this counts as a coordinating rule, even if only one person[6] is involved. Note that, by the same standard, a secret script that an individual invents in order to keep his diary entries private also counts as a set of coordinating rules.

Most relevant contexts of interaction will feature different agents with each performing an action, and, as formulating such cases in terms of the actions themselves can be somewhat inelegant, I will mostly formulate my claims in terms of agents performing actions. So, turning to some everyday examples, the rule 'if in the UK, drive on the left' is a Coordinating rule on the above definition as: (i) people do so in order to avoid head-on collisions; (ii) the effectiveness of driving on the left in avoiding head-on collisions primarily depends on how many people also drive on the left when I encounter them; (iii) the effectiveness of driving on the left in avoiding head-on collisions increases as a function of how many people also drive on the left when I encounter them; (iv) no person can improve his chances of avoiding a head-on collision by driving on the right; and (v) no person, or group of persons, can improve the chances of anyone who drives on the left to avoid a head-on collision by driving on the right. Equivalent claims are true for the way in which linguistic conventions promote communication, the way in which adopting a given currency lowers transaction costs, the way in which having the initial caller call back when a call is dropped aids speedy resumption of the call, and so on.

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[6] Alternatively, we could define conventions as holding between 'agents', where agents are objects that can be persons or time-slices of persons.

Note that the above construal of conventions as Coordinating rules is not incompatible with the truism that conventions often advise us to do different things. Even in such cases we all still 'do the same thing' in the sense of all *exhibiting the same rule*. Conventions that advise us to all do different things can be phrased as rules that all can follow, so that it is natural to say we all do the same thing. Even when we say that everyone in the UK 'drive on the same side', this only makes sense if we implicitly interpret 'same side' in terms of egocentric coordinates like left and right. The whole point of such a convention is to ensure that vehicles going in opposite directions drive on *different* sides of the road. If everyone really only ever used the same side, where 'same' is defined without reference to egocentric coordinates, it would have disastrous consequences.

The view I defend is that conventions are coordinating rules. If this is accurate, then the conditions under which a convention can be said to exist are the conditions under which we can say that someone follows a coordinating rule. To do this, we need to first pay attention to the conditions under which someone who should count as a rule-follower of the required type would have a good reason not to follow the rule. We need to distinguish between two kinds of defeasibility, call the first 'internal defeasibility'.

> A rule *R* is internally defeasible if, and only if, *R* is followed in order to promote a goal *G* and there can be occasions where violating *R* is more effective than following *R* in promoting *G*.

All rules are not, of course, internally defeasible. The rules of valid inference cannot be overruled in the required manner by some feature of a specific context. However, a Coordinating rule must always be internally defeasible. Consider the matter of driving on the left-hand side of the road in the UK. As people generally obey it, it is rational to adopt the rule 'if driving in the UK, stick to the left-hand side'. However, there can be occurrences of driving in the UK in which this is no longer an optimal way of not-crashing. I can always encounter some other driver who, either by mistake or not, drives on the right and effectively forces me to break the rule. This is true of all Coordinating rules. The efficacy of Coordinating rules depends on other people also obeying them. This means that there can always be a scenario where others' breaking the rule creates a situation where I have a *prima facie* reason to break the rule. Hence, all Coordinating rules are internally defeasible rules.

Coordinating rules are also defeasible in a broader sense, which I will call 'external defeasibility'.

> A rule *R* is externally defeasible if, and only if, it is followed in order to promote a goal *G* and there can be occasions where some goal *G'* is more motivating than *G* and achieving *G'* necessitates violating *R*.

Consider cases where the specific circumstances force my hand in some way by, for instance, providing a non-strategic reason for action. If, for example, I am driving in the UK and there is no car within a mile from me, but there is a giant pothole in front of me, I have a reason to drive on the right in order to get around the pothole. In such a case, the goal of not-crashing does not guide my behaviour, as the goal of avoiding the pothole is more motivating. The motivating power of a Coordinating rule is always externally defeasible, as the goal of following the rule

can always be superseded by some more motivating goal. Hence, Coordinating rules are both internally and externally defeasible.

With the above notions defined and explained, a relatively simple statement of the conditions under which a convention exists can be given.

> A rule *R* is a *convention* among a sub-group *S* of a population *P*, if, and only if, *R* is a coordinating rule that, absent external or internal defeaters, and absent relevant false beliefs, all members of *S* are disposed to follow.

Call the above view the *Coordinating rule view of conventions*. Some of the reasons for adopting it should already be clear from the above discussion. The clause about the absence of relevant false beliefs is included in order to deal with cases where people try to coordinate their behaviour, but happen to be mistaken in some relevant way. In other words, cases where some person is disposed to drive on the right in the UK in virtue of thinking that driving on the right is the current, dominant driving standard in the UK, or a case where someone uses 'Lucas' to speaker refer to Krugman in virtue of thinking that it is standard usage, etc. In such case, even though the behaviour of the person will not generate the regularity that allows him to be a part to a 'convention', as Lewis (1969) defines it, there is a clear sense in which the person is a party to the convention, despite merely violating it by mistake.

Below I will discuss the objections to Lewis' (1969) account that motivate rejecting his view in favour of the Coordinating rule view.

4.   Objections to Lewis

4.1 Objection 1: The knowledge requirement.

Lewis (1969), in his characterisation of conventions, requires that his conditions (1) – (5) must be common knowledge among the parties to the convention. This requirement is convincingly criticised in Burge (1975)[7]. Burge (1975: 250) points out that we can imagine speakers who are only aware of the existence of one language and believe that the words in the language are somehow 'naturally', or by supernatural fiat, connected to what they mean. Such speakers would not understand their own language use as conditional on how others use language. Yet we would not hesitate to call their language use conventional, despite the fact that that they will explicitly deny its conventional nature.

Burge (1975: 250–251) also points out a deeper problem. Throughout the history of philosophy, many have claimed that certain values and beliefs, thought to be somehow natural, are actually based, in some deep sense, on conventions. In this way, certain basic doctrines in mathematics, logic and ontology have been claimed to reflect human conventions, as opposed to how things objectively are. On Lewis' (1969) construal, such a move would seem to be inherently absurd, as it would be constitutive of conventions that those who use them understand their continued use to be conditional on other people also conforming to the same convention. The claim that such an argumentative move is intrinsically incoherent is implausible.

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[7] Burge's (1975) argument has generally been found to be persuasive. See, for example, the discussion in Blackburn (1984: 120–122).

The Coordinating rule view does not require the parties of a convention to understand the state in which they find themselves. As such it does not, by definitional *fiat*, rule out the possibility of discovering that some aspect of our behaviour is conventional. Note that this is not to deny that common knowledge has a fundamental role to play in explaining the origin or persistence of conventions, as clearly it does. All that is denied is that the parties to a convention need to understand why they act as they do.

4.2 Objection 2: Rules instead of regularities

Below I will argue that conventions are not regularities, but rules. Before we get to the meat of the argument, note one initial point in favour of such a claim. Conventions, as a quick google search will confirm, are commonly said to be the kinds of things we can follow or violate. If conventions are rules of a certain kind, then this matter of common usage is explained as rules are also commonly said to be the kinds of things we can follow or violate. However, regularities are not the kinds of things that are commonly said to be followed or violated. The expressions 'follow a regularity' and 'violate a regularity' are simply not standard in English. We can, of course, speak of 'actions in accord with a regularity', as we can speak of 'actions in accord with a convention'. But, we can equally well speak of 'actions in accord with a rule', and hence this latter usage does not favour the regularity-view over the rule-view. The basic point is that we typically portray conventions as things that can be followed or violated. This matter of usage is explained by rule-view of conventions, but not on a regularity-view of conventions. This fact should serve to give the rule-view some initial plausibility.

The main aim in this paper, however, is not to explain maters of usage, but to develop a notion of convention that is of use in explaining phenomena like language. To this end, consider the regularity that is supposed to be constitutive of the existence of a convention. In the case of conventions concerning driving, this is a matter of the side of the road that different people choose to drive on being highly correlated. How do we explain this regularity, i.e. the fact that people generally drive on the left-hand side of the road in the UK, etc.? The intuitively appealing answer is that the regularity is explained by the convention of driving on the left-hand side of the road. This would both fit our common usage of the term 'convention' and allow an analysis that uses conventions to have explanatory force. However, Lewis (1969) cannot give this type of answer. On Lewis' (1969) view the existence of the regularity is *constitutive* of the existence of the convention, and hence cannot explain the existence of the convention. Conventions can only explain regularities if they somehow give rise to them. Such an explanation presupposes that the notion of a convention is independent of that of a regularity, and the existence of the convention as prior to the existence of the regularity.

If we wish to save the idea that conventions explain regularities in action, conventions cannot be equated with regularities. Is there a way of defining the notion of a convention so that conventions can have such explanatory force? One way of doing so would be to restrict the analysis to conventions that exist only in virtue of explicit agreements, or promises to act in a certain way. Take, for instance, a case where all drivers explicitly agree to drive only on the left-hand side of the road. We can now simply define the notion of a convention in terms of an agreement to follow the agreed *rule*. This agreement to follow a certain rule then gives rise to the regularity, and hence we save the idea that conventions explain the later regularity in action.

However, the above proposal has obvious drawbacks. It can only account for the special case where explicit agreement gives rise to the regularity. Moreover, the whole point of Lewis' analysis was to show that conventions need not be based on explicit agreements. Fortunately, we can gain the relevant explanatory power of rules without requiring such rules to be followed in virtue of explicit agreements. When people agree to follow a convention, this amounts to an agreement to, when a certain set of circumstances occur, act in a certain way. We can distinguish between different ways that it can come about that people follow a rule. One way of making this come about is by explicit agreement, but this is not the only way that it can happen. Rule-following can emerge spontaneously in any number of ways, most prominently as a response to a coordination problem. This means that we can identify a convention with a certain type of rule, independently of how it came about that the rule is to be followed.

Note that defining the existence of a convention in terms of a *disposition* to follow a rule also secures the result that a convention can exist even if it has not yet been followed. This is a virtue as, if this were not so, it would *never* make sense to explain the first instance of some action in accord with a convention as being due to the convention in question. Consider, again, the case of two people explicitly agreeing to drive on a certain side of the road. Their agreement to drive on the left uncontroversially constitutes a convention. The first time that either of them drives on a road, this act is explained by the existence of the convention explicitly agreed to. But, once again, this can only be so if the convention existed prior to the act of driving. Hence, it cannot be constitutive of a convention that it has been followed, but only that the parties to the convention are disposed to follow it.

Note that defining the existence of a convention in terms of a disposition to follow a rule is useful in explaining, for instance, how a baptism can make it come about that a name conventionally refers to a particular individual. In a typical baptism, a name is mentioned, not used, and so we cannot say, after a baptism, that the relevant convention has been followed. Yet a baptism can make it come about that a person has a certain name, prior to the name actually being used. This is explained by the fact that a baptism can *dispose* people to use a name in a certain way in virtue of making the relevant rule salient. Such a disposition, then, is the fact that is constitutive of the particular individual having the relevant name.

Lewis (1969: 100–107) considers the possibility of defining conventions as rules. Lewis (1969: 104) acknowledges that it is hard to "argue that some conventions are not naturally called rules", but rejects any attempt at characterising conventions as rules. His objection is "that the class of rules is a miscellany, with many debatable members" (Lewis 1969: 105). This is defended by pointing out the many kinds of things that we call 'rules' that are obviously not conventions.

It is hard to see exactly what Lewis's (1969) argument is supposed to be. Lewis (1969) argues by constructing a list of things we call 'rules' and pointing out that most of them are not convention. However, this is a weak objection to a view taking the approach of the Coordinating rule view of conventions. On the Coordinating rule view it is not the case that all rules are supposed to be conventional, just that some are. One could construct an equally weak argument against the regularity-view of conventions by pointing out that there are all kinds of regularities that are not conventions. This argument would be weak, as Lewis (1969) is not claiming that all regularities are conventions, but only that regularities of a certain type are conventions. The Coordinating rule view similarly only claims that rules of a certain type are conventions.

Lewis (1969: 105) also argues that the notion of a rule is "an especially messy cluster concept". This may well be true, but I do not see this as a major objection to characterising conventions as rules. The notion of a rule has been defined here quite precisely as an instruction of the form 'if *C* obtains, perform *K*', where *C* is a situation or context and *K* an action. It takes only a moment's reflection to see that most of what we sometimes call 'rules' (moral norms, rules of etiquette, rules of inference, linguistic conventions, etc.) can be stated in this form, even if the formulation is sometimes a bit inelegant. I do think that uses that do not have this form (e.g. Lewis's (1969: 100) example of it being a rule that all meat is more tender if cooked at low temperatures) tend to be examples of loose usage or to be derivative of the notion I have defined here. But, be that as it may, I will not argue that here, as nothing depends on it. How we use the term 'rule' is, ultimately, a matter of mere lexicography, what matters at present is what conventions are. If the reader is unconvinced that my characterisation of rules reflects common usage, he can simply interpret my use of 'rule' as a technical term that, by stipulation, has the form 'if *C* obtains, perform *K*'. Note that nothing of consequence would change if I were to call the view defended here the 'Coordinating instruction view', 'Coordinating injunction view' or 'Coordinating imperative view', or even make up a new term altogether. Whether conventions have the form 'if *C* obtains, perform *K*' is an important matter of substance, whether we should call anything with such a form a 'rule' is, ultimately, trivial.

4.3 Objection 3: Promises, overdetermination and coordination games

Lewis's (1969: 73) construal of conventions requires, at least in the case of games with discrete moves that the context of interaction amounts to a coordination game in the sense of having at least two coordination equilibria[8]. This requirement leads to a problem when people promise to follow a course of action that we would generally consider conventional.

We can distinguish two cases. Consider, firstly, a society where everyone makes a binding promise, if they drive a car, to do so on the left-hand side of the road. Stipulate that avoiding head-on collisions is reason for action among them, i.e. if they encounter a society that drives on the right, they will keep their promise, not by driving on the left and crashing, but by simply not driving at all. In such a case, Lewis (1969) will not consider their action of driving on the left a convention, as their preference for driving on the left is not conditional and they have no inclination to drive on the right, even if everyone else did so. On the Coordination rule view of conventions this would still count as a convention, as it is still the case that driving on the left satisfies conditions (1) to (3). On the Coordination view, we should simply say that the people involved follow the convention of driving on the left as they had promised.

Consider a second case, where the members of a society promise to drive on the left, meaning that they will do so even if it would lead to crashing their cars. In such a case, Lewis (1969) would not classify their behaviour as conventional, as their preferences are not conditional on how others behave. Here the coordination view would agree that the behaviour is not conventional, but would ascribe this to the fact that avoiding head-on collisions is not a goal of action. Even if the people would, all else being equal, prefer not crashing to crashing, this does

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[8] Lewis explicitly states that, if the context is not of this kind, then there can no longer be a convention. See, for instance, his discussion of notations (Lewis 1969: 103–104). Here Lewis (1969: 103) states that if a standard notation in logic is enforced by editors with a threat of non-publication, such a notation is no longer a convention. This is both implausible and cuts reality up in a way that makes things needlessly complicated.

not guide their action, and where not-crashing is achieved it would be a mere benefit of action, and not a goal of action. On the coordination rule view, accidentally generated benefits are not the kinds of outcomes that are constitutive of the existence of a convention.

Lewis would see neither case as conventional, while the coordination view would treat the first as conventional, the second not. Note that the first case is essentially a problem of overdetermination. The people on the island have prudential reasons to drive on one side of the island, but also have non-prudential reasons to do so. Promises are not the only complicating factor that raises difficulties related to overdetermination for Lewis' account. Consider the Burge (1975) objection to the common knowledge requirement discussed above, but add the stipulation that we are dealing with a society that believes the rules of language were laid down by God. Furthermore, stipulate that they believe that breaking such rules is punishable by eternal damnation. Once again, in such a case, Lewis (1969) cannot characterise their linguistic usage as conventional, as, given their beliefs[9], they have non-strategic reasons to use the rules they use. The context of interaction encountered by such a society does not amount to a coordination game as there is no alternative that they are inclined to follow, and hence Lewis (1969) must characterise their behaviour as non-conventional.

I take it we would still use the notion of 'convention' to describe the driving behaviour of the people in the first scenario, though not in the second scenario. This may be arguable in the case of those who made a promise to drive on one side of the road, but, in the case of those who follow linguistic rules in virtue of divine *fiat*, we would not hesitate to say that the community in question employs linguistic conventions. Matching our linguistic intuitions is not, as was explained before, an overriding goal of this inquiry. The deeper goal is that of trying to explain various forms of behaviour. Here the Coordinating rule view seems to carve up reality in a more useful way than Lewis' (1969) view does. It brings to the surface what we have in common with those who promise to drive on a specific side of the road, namely that this practice achieves a shared goal and does so to the degree that it is shared behaviour. A society may follow linguistic rules on religious grounds, yet their practice allows them to communicate for the same reason that we can communicate, namely that we all follow the same rules. Ultimately, it would be useful to be able to say, whether we follow linguistic rules on religious grounds or not, that some claim like '"Quine" refers to Quine' is true in virtue of a convention that is followed by users of 'Quine'. On the coordination view of conventions this remains true, even if some idiosyncratic society would rather stay quiet than use 'Krugman' to refer to Quine. In this way, the Coordinating rule view captures what such behaviour has in common, irrespective of the fact that their behaviour may be overdetermined[10].

4.4 Objection 4: Against characterising conventions in terms of exhibited regularities.

Lewis (1969) requires that every, or almost every member of a community must conform to the regularity involved. This is a strange thing to say, as presumably it is uncontroversial that a

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[9] One could defend the Lewisian view by requiring that the beliefs in question must be true. In which case, stipulate that the society contains people who flog those who break linguistic rules.

[10] Lewis (1975) would object that, in effect, the coordination view allows games with one coordination equilibrium to count as generating a convention. His objection is that such games are trivial, as common knowledge of rationality is sufficient to generate a unique solution (Lewis 1975: 16–17). This is true, but I see no reason why we would demand that parties to a convention need to have a particularly challenging problem to solve. Especially if this leads to the view that punishing linguistic mistakes makes language less conventional, that laws punishing driving on the wrong side of the road makes driving on a specific side less conventional, and so on.

convention can exist in a community even if several members of the community violate it or are entirely unaware of its existence. In later work, Lewis (1976) clarifies the content of his theory by saying that a convention 'holds in a population' is ambiguous. It can mean that all (or almost all) of a group participate in a convention, or that some sub-population of the relevant population follow a convention (Lewis 1976: 116). The latter use, then, is the same as my use of the phrase 'sub-group of a population'. On the first usage, he would describe a situation in which there is non-universal conformity, and his other requirements are only partially met, by saying that in such a case a community has a convention "to a certain degree" (Lewis 1969: 78–80). The basic idea is that, if there is non-universal conformity, the community only has the convention to the degree that the relevant conformity obtains and the other criteria that he lists are met.

On both formulations though, the fact that conventions are defined in terms of exhibited regularities leads to the following oddity: imagine a community of a hundred people in which all are trying to drive on the same side of the road. Stipulate that the community lives on a large piece of land and that they do not drive very often at all. In fact, in this community one could drive on the wrong side of the road for quite some time without being alerted to one's mistake, both in virtue of not encountering other cars and, when encountering cars driving on the side different from one's own, assuming the mistake lies with them. Assume that a convention of driving on the left has been established, either in virtue of explicit agreement or spontaneously in virtue of the context of interaction being a coordination problem. Now imagine that, after some time, five people suffer a cognitive glitch and misremember the content of the convention. They now believe that the convention advises them to drive on the right, and they proceed to do so over an extended period of time. When they encounter someone driving on the left, they simply assume that the other person got it wrong. In such a case, it would be uncontroversial to say that there is one convention, namely driving on the left, and that the five deviants are party to the convention, even though they violate it. However, Lewis (1969) cannot portray the situation in this way. Given that Lewis (1969) defines conventions in terms of exhibited regularities, he would have to say, on the first usage, that the convention to drive on the left now exists to a lesser degree. Or, on the second usage, that the sub-population within which the convention exists has shrunk. Surely, portraying the situation in this way is perverse. We would never say that the convention now only holds to a degree, or that it now exists between fewer people. Lewis' (1969) view departs from common usage[11] and seems to miss something important, namely that the people involved are trying to coordinate, but some are simply failing to do so. The Coordinating rule view yields the intuitively compelling answer. All the relevant parties are disposed, absent defeaters and absent false beliefs, to drive on the left. Hence the Coordinating rule view yields the answer that there is a convention, namely to drive on the left, and that all one hundred people are party to it.

Note that the Lewisian analysis would also run into similar trouble where people's behaviour does not exhibit the required conformity due to the occasional presence of internal or external defeaters. On the Lewisian view this would undermine the existence of the convention to some degree. On the Coordinating rule view, and here it agrees with our common understanding of the situation, such cases do not affect the existence of the convention. The basic problem with

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[11] The situation may be even worse. Lewis (1969: 64–68) states that the beliefs of the participants need not have general content, but need only be beliefs about the behaviour of specific drivers. If this is allowed, the five drivers can have the relevant attitudes, and so their behaviour and attitudes constitute a differing convention. Now the situation becomes one where there are *two* conventions, and these exist to radically different degrees.

characterising conventions in terms of exhibited regularities is that the required regularities may well not be exhibited, and yet the existence of the convention need not be affected in the least. If a German were to drive on the right in the UK due to a false belief about the dominant standard, or I swerve into an empty right-hand lane to avoid a pothole (external defeater) or to allow a police car to pass (internal defeater), this has zero consequence for whether a convention to drive on the left exists or whether I am party to the convention. This is so, even if the defeaters and false beliefs occur quite frequently. The Coordinating rule view captures this.

The above argument is consistent with the idea that, if a *sufficient* number of people were to start acting in accord with a deviant rule, the originally deviant rule may become the new convention. It follows from the nature of coordination games that a rational agent would be disposed to switch their allegiance if enough other people were to switch their allegiance, even if this originally occurred by mistake. The objection to Lewis's (1969) discussed above only pertains to cases where this has not yet happened, i.e. cases where the amount of people acting in accord with a deviant rule does not yet rationally motivate individual agents to switch their allegiance to the deviant rule. Lewis's contention that such cases are cases where the convention exists to a lesser degree, or that the sub-population in which the convention holds has shrunk, mischaracterises what is really going on.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that Lewis' (1969) analysis of convention suffers from certain defects that can be resolved by adopting the coordination rule view. The problems are: (i) that it requires agents to understand their own situation too well; (ii) that it robs conventions of explanatory force; (iii) that it mischaracterises cases where someone has non-prudential reasons to follow a convention; and (iv) that it mischaracterises situations where the relevant behaviour is non-uniform. Characterising conventions as Coordinating rules, and the existence of conventions in terms of the conditions under which we can say such rules are followed, allows us to answer these objections and give a useful statement of the sense in which natural languages are conventional.

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Using readability, comprehensibility and lexical coverage to evaluate the suitability of an introductory accountancy textbook to its readership

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Abstract
At universities, textbooks are still a primary source of course content. However, this can only be efficacious if the intended readers are able to comprehend the content of the textbooks adequately. This study investigated three possible approaches to determining whether the intended readership of a prescribed Introductory Accountancy textbook (Cornelius & Weyers 2011) will be able to make meaning of that textbook. Such an investigation has important implications for authors, publishers of textbooks and subject lecturers prescribing the texts. Readability of the textbook was determined by using the Flesch Reading Ease and Flesch-Kinkaid Grade Level indices, as well as the average of five conveniently calculated grade level reading indices. A Cloze procedure test was administered to a selection of students to determine their reading comprehension of a reading text. Finally, Nations' Vocabulary Size Test (Nation and Beglar 2007: 9, 11) was used to determine whether the vocabulary size of the selection of students provides adequate lexical coverage of the lexis used in the textbook to enable comprehension of the text. The findings were somewhat conflicting. The readability indices, and to a lesser extent the vocabulary size test, indicated suitability of the textbook to its intended readership. The Cloze test results suggested contradictory findings that users of the textbook will be reading at their frustration level. These conflicting findings are discussed.

Keywords: readability, reading comprehension, vocabulary size, higher education

1.   Introduction

In academic and other contexts, textbooks are used as a primary source of course content, and courses are often conveniently structured around prescribed textbooks (Cline 1972: 33; Jones 2011: 29; McFall 2005: 72; Phillips and Phillips 2007: 25). Students, while regarding textbooks as valuable to the learning process are fearful that textbooks will be too complicated. They rely heavily on content delivered during lectures, referring to textbooks mostly when they still struggle with material after attending lectures (Jones 2011: 31; Phillips and Phillips 2007: 29). For students to be empowered by the content of their textbooks, they have to extract meaning from the content communicated by the textbooks (Smith and Taffler 1992: 84; Snyman 2004: 15).

In these textbooks, meaning is mostly conveyed by the vehicle of language. However, first-year students at the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) have poor English literacy skills (Dockrat 2007: 11), owing to the fact that they are often not English First Language (EFL) speakers. It follows then that these students might have difficulty mastering the learning content provided in their textbooks when that content is expressed in the English language.

Authors of prescribed textbooks often gear their writing towards finding peer approval, rather than meeting the instructional needs of students (Cline 1972: 34). Typically the factors considered when selecting a textbook include (i) the pedagogical approach followed by the author(s); (ii) how well the required course material is covered and organised; (iii) illustrations and exhibits included; (iv) supplementary materials; and (v) the facilitator's previous experience with the textbook (Plucinsky, Olsavsky and Hall 2009: 119). However, authors such as Adelberg and Razek (1984: 109–110), Plucinsky et al. (2009: 119) and Smith and DeRidder (1997: 367) suggest that the ability of students to understand the learning content of the textbook should play a far greater role in textbook selection. In order to provide the ability to make meaning from text content with the consideration it deserves in the textbook selection process, factors that influence reading comprehension – such as readability, comprehensibility, the reader's knowledge of the vocabulary used in the text and the interrelationship of these factors with the reader's ability to make meaning of the texts – must be understood better.

To address this issue, this article reports one such an investigation. The aim of the study was to determine whether the textbook prescribed for a university module titled *Accounting for Marketers* presented at the TUT is written at a level that will enable the readers of the textbook to make meaning of the text.

The main research question that guided this investigation is: How do readability, understandability and readers' lexical coverage interrelate as measures for determining the suitability of a prescribed textbook to its intended readership?

This research question was operationalised in terms of three sub-questions:

1.   To what extent is the prescribed textbook sufficiently readable as measured by a selected number of readability formulae?
2.   To what extent is the prescribed textbook sufficiently understandable with reference to the scores achieved by its intended readership in a Cloze test drawn from the content of the text book?

3.   How can the readers' lexical coverage of the lexis used in a textbook be used as indication of the readers' ability to adequately make meaning of the prescribed textbook?

2.   Prior research

Previous studies have mainly relied on measures of readability and comprehensibility to assess the suitability of textbooks for the target readers. After a distinction is drawn between readability and comprehensibility, a synthesis of some of these earlier studies is provided, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of the two approaches. A case is then made for investigating the appropriateness of lexical coverage as an alternative approach to determining the suitability of an academic text to its target readership.

2.1   Readability and comprehensibility

While Adelberg and Razek (1984: 109) do not distinguish between readability and comprehensibility (or understandability), others (Chiang, Englebrecht, Phillips and Wang 2008: 48; Jones 1997: 105; Smith and Taffler 1992: 85) make such a distinction, pointing out that while the two attributes are closely related, they are intrinsically different. Similarly, Smith and Taffler (1992: 85) suggest that it is not justified to treat 'readability' and 'understandability' as synonyms as there is a marked, measureable difference between the two concepts. Elucidating this difference, Wray and Dahlia (2013: 73) explain readability as a characteristic of the text itself and understandability as an indication of the readers' ability to make meaning of the text. While a text has to be readable to be understandable, comprehensibility is not only affected by syntactical difficulty, but also by "reader characteristics such as the reader's background, prior knowledge, interest and general reading ability" (Jones 1997: 106).

2.1.1   Readability

Readability refers to the linguistic characteristics of a text, which impacts the ease or difficulty with which a reader will be able to read and understand the text. Readability is distinct from legibility, the latter referring to the actual ease with which a text can be read. The readability level of a text is an indicator of the textual difficulty level of the text and the suitability of the text to readers of particular age groups or grade levels. It is fixed for a given text and is not varied by reader characteristics (Chiang et al. 2008: 48; Jones 1997: 105–106; Lee and French 2011: 694; McLaughlin 1969: 640; Plucinsky et al. 2009: 119).

Word difficulty and familiarity, along with sentence length, may be useful as indicators of reading difficulty. The difficulty of individual words used in a text influences a reader's ability to understand the text. Word difficulty depends on the length and familiarity of a word. The basic assumption is that longer, less familiar words are harder to read than shorter ones, though there are exceptions such as technical words that may be short, but unfamiliar. Word familiarity relates to a word's ranking in word frequency lists. A relatively large proportion of English text is made up of a relatively small number of English words, meaning that these words are very familiar. Frequency of use varies between different nationalities and different age groups, which consequently reduces the value of word frequency as indicator of word familiarity. In addition to these two factors, sentence difficulty also impacts readability. As a rule, longer sentences are harder to read than shorter ones. However, shorter sentences may contain concepts that are complex and difficult to understand, while longer sentences may provide more

helpful clues to the meaning being conveyed. Cohesion and coherence within a text may aid readability for those readers with sufficient reading skills (Klare 1974: 97–98; Stevens, Stevens and Stevens 1992: 368–369; Wray and Dahlia 2013: 74–76).

The extent to which the writer shares meaning with the reader can be enhanced when the writer takes the lexical, textual and background knowledge of the reader into consideration while composing the text (Snyman 2004: 16). However, this may be near impossible with texts published and prescribed globally. Therefore, the selection of the text must be conducted thoughtfully. At the same time, care should be taken not to oversimplify language in an attempt to improve readability. While shorter sentences and words with fewer syllables are considered easier to read, simple language might not foster the development of complexity in mental models where such complexity is necessary to deal with complex situations and course content. Absence of sentence complexity in the prescribed texts read by students may also have a negative impact on students' ability to convey complexities in their own writing (Davidson 2005: 71–72; Lee and French 2011: 695).

Spinks and Wells (1993) recommend that readability should be a prime measure for textbook selection. While there may be other influencing factors besides readability, academic performance and student retention decline as textbooks become more difficult to read. Peterson (1982: 2) found a significant relationship between text readability and academic achievement in Accounting. He concludes that readability may be used to predict which students might experience academic difficulty in technical subjects such as Accounting.

Davison and Kantor (1982: 189, 191) warn that readability formulae do not define actual readability and should not be used unguardedly as actual readability is not a simple function of objectively measureable properties such as word and sentence length. Syntax (sentence length and grammatical complexity) and semantics (difficulty of words measured in number of syllables) are commonly used in calculating indices of readability, but these calculated indices of readability take no account of whole-text aspects and reader characteristics such as skill, motivation and experience (Bargate 2012: 5; Chiang et al. 2008: 48–49; Sydes and Hartley 1997: 143; Sydserff and Weetman 1999: 459).

Readability is also influenced by a number of subjective factors, such as "the explicitness of connection between clauses, the extrasentential, pragmatic factors of discourse and sentence topic and focus, the inference load placed on a reader, the epistemological status of statements, and finally, the appropriateness of vocabulary for a particular audience reading with limited background knowledge" (Davison and Kantor 1982: 189, 191).

Courtis (1995:6), Fry (1989: 294), and McConnell and Paden (1983: 66) add that concept density, level of abstraction, complexity of ideas, extent to which these ideas are reinforced through repetition or restatement, the effect of the author's writing style on reader's interest and motivation, use of active voice, use of illustrations, and a number of other factors all have an influence on readability. They also mention the inappropriateness of using readability formulae where understanding relies heavily on whether or not readers are familiar with subject-specific terminology.

While all these points of criticisms are valid, the formulae remain useful for predicting a reader's reading comprehension, oral reading errors and willingness to carry on reading.

Readability formulae have been well researched as being indicative of whether a text will be understood by its intended readership and should be used, in conjunction with other factors, to aid in textbook selection (Courtis 1995: 6; Fry 1989: 294–296).

There are more than 200 objective, valid, easily administrable and repeatable reading indices (Chiang et al. 2008: 50; Fry 1989: 294; Lee and French 2011: 695; Shuptrine and Moore 1980: 397, 400). Reading indices such as the Flesch Reading Ease and Flesch-Kinkaid Grade Level indices are included in some word processing packages, making calculation easy. These indices are calculated with reference only to the average sentence length of a text and the average number of syllables per word of the text. The indices offer a pragmatic approach to determining a single, summary average readability score without requiring access to information of the characteristics of the eventual readers of a text (Courtis 1995: 6; Fry 1989: 294–296).

The Flesch Reading Ease index in particular is often used or referred to in research into the readability of texts (Bargate 2012: 9; Jones and Smith 2014: 191). This index scores the readability of text samples within a range of 0 to 100. Text with a readability score of 0 would be very difficult to read, while text with a readability score of 100 would be very easy to read. Text with a readability score of 90 to 100 indicates that a reader, who has completed Grade 4, should be able to correctly answer 75% of comprehension questions set over the text. Every 10 points of the scale increases the grade level of the text by one grade up to about Grade 7. Thereafter, grade levels are impacted to an increasing degree (Flesch 1948: 225).

The Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level index (FKGL) uses a simplified formula to directly predict the grade level for which the text is suitable (Kincaid, Fishburne, Rodgers and Chissom 1975: 19). In order to interpret her findings, Bargate (2012: 14) used readability scales adapted for use in South African educational grade levels. This adapted scale is displayed in Table 1, which also includes the type of text typically written at that readability level (Flesch 1948: 230).

Table 1: Seven-point General Reading Ease scale adapted for South Africa

Flesch Reading Ease Index	Reading level	Text type
90 – 100	Very easy (Grade 5)	Comics
80 – 89	Easy (Grade 6)	Pulp fiction
70 – 79	Fairly easy (Grade 7)	Slick fiction
60 – 69	Standard (Grades 8 and 9)	Digests
50 – 59	Fairly difficult (Grades 10 to 12)	Quality
30 – 49	**Difficult (Undergraduate)**	**Academic**
0 – 29	Very difficult (Postgraduate)	Scientific

Table 1 summarises characteristics of the text in terms of degrees of reading level. These levels are reflective of the reader's ability to make meaning of texts at each of these levels.

Much criticism has been levelled against the use of readability indices as indicator of readers' ability to understand a text. The main objection is that these indices measure qualities of the text, and not qualities of the reader (Bargate 2012: 5; Chiang et al. 2008: 48–49; Sydes and Hartley 1997: 143; Sydserff and Weetman 1999: 459). However, this study still included readability, as the aim was to establishing how readability indices compare with other measures of comprehensibility when evaluating the suitability of a text for its intended readership.

Objections against using measures of readability can possibly be addressed by using a measure of comprehensibility such as the Cloze test[1]. Cloze tests are used widely to measure reading comprehension objectively, reliably, validly, and with due consideration for reader qualities (Adelberg and Razek 1984: 109; Bormuth 1969: 358–363; Stevens, Stevens and Stevens 1993: 291; Taylor 1957: 20). Comprehensibility and the use of Cloze tests to measure comprehensibility is discussed next.

2.1.2   Comprehensibility

Readability, which is essentially fixed for a given text, contributes to, but is not equal to understandability of the text, which can vary among readers of the same text. For a text to be understood by a reader, it has to be readable by that reader. A text being readable does not guarantee that it will be understandable, although understandability of a text can at least partially be predicted by readability indices. (Flory, Phillips and Tassin 1992: 152; Jones 1997: 105–106; Plucinsky et al. 2009: 119; Smith and Taffler 1992: 94). Adelberg and Razek (1984: 109) define understandability as "the ability of readers to comprehend … textbooks and to complete the act of communication initiated by the writers of those textbooks." According to De Vos and Raepsaet (2010: 5) a text is understandable when the receiver receives the message as intended by the sender. Given this distinction between readability and understandability, it is necessary to think twice about using readability measures as indicators of understandability, as readability may not be directly related to understandability (Davidson 2005: 59; Smith and Taffler 1992: 85, 93).

Meyer (2003: 205) identifies four sets of variables that interact to influence understanding, viz. reader variables (such as verbal ability, word knowledge, education and age), strategy variables (such as structure strategy, rereading and underlining), text variables (such as structure, topic content, word familiarity and cohesion) and task variables (such as mode and rate of presentation, response mode and task requirements). Understandability concerns itself with the reader's ability to understand the content dealt with in a text, and is dependent on reader attributes such as the reader's background, prior knowledge, interests and reading skills. (Chiang et al. 2008: 48; Jones 1997: 105–106).

Comprehensibility measures are essential in ensuring appropriate text selection. To illustrate the importance of understandability of text, Wray and Dahlia (2013: 72) use the example of a test item with a readability level that exceeds the readers' reading ability. Such an item may no longer assess subject matter knowledge but rather their reading ability. Razek, Hosch and Pearl (1982: 23) point out that an easily understandable textbook enables independent self-study by students, thereby allowing for lecture time to be used for supplementary learning activities.

The Cloze procedure was initially introduced as a measure of readability, but its usefulness was soon extended to include application to understandability. In a Cloze test, a number of passages of equal length are selected from a text. Passages are then mutilated by deleting selected words and replacing the words with a standard sized blank space. The test is administered by requiring participants to guess the deleted words, gaining clues from words remaining in the passage. Where a high number of deletions are guessed accurately, the text is considered more understandable than

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[1] Cloze procedure tests are constructed by deleting random words, significant words or every n[th] word from a text paragraph, and replacing the deletions with spaces of equal length. Test subjects have to 'close' the gaps by guessing the missing words and inserting them into the blank spaces. The ability to correctly guess the missing words is thought to rely on the subject's ability to make sense of the remaining text in the paragraph (Taylor 1957: 19).

a text where only few deletions are guessed accurately (Taylor 1956: 81–83; Taylor 1957: 19–20). Where a distinction is made between readability and understandability, the Cloze procedure is superior to readability indices as indicator of text understandability (Jones 1997: 106). By testing reading skills, Cloze tests require reader-text interaction and so overcome many of the objections against readability indices, which rely on syntactic and vocabulary features of text as indicators of understandability (Bargate 2012: 7–8; Jones 1997: 106; Smith and Taffler 1992: 87; Taylor 1957: 20). A Cloze test measures reading comprehension objectively, reliably and validly (Adelberg and Razek 1984: 109; Bormuth 1969: 358–363; Stevens et al. 1993: 291).

Jones (1997: 106), among others, is critical of using Cloze procedures, contending that they do not necessarily measure reading comprehension; that validating results of Cloze tests against readability indices is problematic; that there is a lack of consensus about interpreting scores meaningfully; and that using Cloze tests for technical texts presents challenges. Flory et al. (1992: 152) also argue that Cloze tests are difficult to administer and time consuming for research subjects, possibly leading to researchers using only a small number of passage selections. Too small a number of passage selections may not be representative of the entire text, especially where more than one author contributed to the text. In refuting this argument, Stevens et al. (1993: 290–291) point out that three randomly selected passages are sufficiently representative of a text. Furthermore, it should be noted that some software applications such as Blackboard Learn[TM] now offer Cloze-type questions as a standard feature, making compilation and administration of Cloze tests somewhat easier.

An important aspect to be considered when using Cloze tests is the interpretation of scores. There is need for a frame of reference when relating a Cloze score to corresponding scores in a reading comprehension test. The rule of thumb for oral reading texts at the *instructional* level, suited to supervised textbook-based instruction, is that a student should be able to score at least 75% in a comprehension test covering the text. For *independent* level texts (reference and voluntary reading) the student should be able to score 90% in such a comprehension test. The related Cloze scores are 44% and 57%, respectively. Cloze scores of 43% and lower characterises understanding at the reader's *frustration* level and indicate that the text is too difficult for students (Bargate 2012: 16; Bormuth 1968b: 196; Bormuth 1971: 147). Rankin and Culhane (1969: 197) have determined corresponding required Cloze scores for instructional and independent level texts at 41% and 61%, respectively. In her study, Bargate (2012: 16) used Bormuth's (1968b: 196) guidelines to interpret the results of her Cloze test. These guidelines are set out in Table 2.

Table 2: Cloze comprehension levels

Cloze score	Level
0% – 43%	*Frustration level* – language is too difficult for readers to cope with
44% – 57%	*Instructional level* – readers able to cope, but some assistance required
58% – 100%	*Independent level* – readers able to cope with the language

While there is little consensus about how understandability should be measured, most recent research in readability of Accounting texts has focused on Cloze procedures. However, Cloze procedures may not measure understandability, but rather only the ability to infer missing words correctly (Jones and Smith 2014: 184–187; Jones 1997: 118). These and other limitations in current approaches to measuring understandability, such as the difficulty to administer Cloze

procedures (Flory et al. 1992: 152), require investigation into an alternative approach to assessing understandability. Direction might be found in the consistently strong positive correlation found between vocabulary knowledge and reading comprehension, almost irrespective of the research design (Stahl 2003: 241).

2.2 Vocabulary knowledge and reading comprehension

A strong, but not necessarily causal relationship exists between vocabulary knowledge and reading comprehension (Hu and Nation 2000: 404; Qian 1999: 299), to the extent that a reader's knowledge of words used in a text is the leading predictor of the reader's ability to understand that text (Stahl 2003: 241). Laufer (2013: 869–871) indeed suggests determining the difficulty of text for a reader with reference to the proportion of words used in that text which the reader understands (lexical coverage). This could be done by measuring the reader's vocabulary size, compiling frequency lists for the textbook and then determining the reader's lexical coverage of the prescribed textbook by expressing vocabulary size as a percentage of the number of words used in the text. This is somewhat similar to the approach followed by Nation (2006: 79) and Anderson (2013: 61), although both these studies simply measure the number of word families in a text against the benchmark of 8 000 to 9 000 words established by Hu and Nation (2000: 422) as the vocabulary size required by a typical reader to be able to understand a text. If the vocabulary of the students using the textbook adequately matches the word tokens used in the selected textbook, it is likely to aid those students' understanding of the content, in the process of assisting them to improve the level of their language skills and their academic performance.

Numerous studies have found a strong positive correlation between vocabulary size and reading comprehension (Baleghizadeh and Golbin 2010: 33; Carroll, Bowyer-Crane, Duff, Hulme and Snowling 2011: 2; National Institute of Child Health and Human Development 2000: 2.12). Stahl (2003: 241) adds that this correlation is usually stronger than 90%, and that the difficulty of the words used in a text is the foremost determinant of the difficulty of that text (Stahl 2003: 246). While empirical evidence of a causal relationship between vocabulary size and reading comprehension is not yet conclusive (Lubliner and Smetana 2005: 189; National Institute of Child Health and Human Development 2000: 4.15), the body of evidence which suggests that a student's ability to comprehend a text is influenced by the size of the student's vocabulary seems to be expanding (Stanovich 1986: 379).

Vocabulary knowledge is a multi-faceted construct. Qian (2002: 514–516) surveys a number of authors' criteria for *knowing* a word in proposing four dimensions of word knowledge, namely vocabulary breadth (or size), vocabulary depth, lexicon organisation and automaticity of receptive or productive knowledge. Studies of vocabulary have primarily focused on breadth of knowledge, referring to the number of words of which the meaning is at least superficially known, and depth of word knowledge, referring to how well a word is known. Qian (1999: 299) suggests a strongly positive association and interdependence between the breadth and depth dimensions of vocabulary knowledge.

In connection with depth of word knowledge, Nation's (2001: 27) model identifies form, meaning and use as general aspects of knowing a word. In the context of second language learning, Laufer, Elder, Hill and Congdon (2004: 206–207) differentiate between four degrees of word knowledge based on two distinctions. This classification is set out in Table 3.

Table 3: Types of vocabulary knowledge

	Recall	**Recognition**
Active or productive knowledge (retrieval of the correct word form)	Active recall	Active recognition
Passive or receptive knowledge (retrieval of the correct meaning of the word)	Passive recall	Passive recognition

A word is known actively (productively) when with or without a cue the correct L2 form of an L1 word can be retrieved. It is known passively (receptively) when an L2 word is provided and the L1 meaning can be retrieved. A word is recalled when its form or meaning can be provided, and recognised when its form or meaning can be selected from a set of options (Laufer et al. 2004: 206).

Research has mostly focused on the relationship between the number of words known (*breadth of vocabulary knowledge*) and reading comprehension, as it is easier to measure vocabulary breadth than to measure how well a word is known (*depth of vocabulary*). Instruments measuring breadth are better developed and perhaps as a consequence, more studies have explored the relationship between vocabulary breadth and reading comprehension (Qian 2002: 517). For practical reasons, then, this study focuses on the breadth dimension of vocabulary, hereafter referred to as vocabulary size.

Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski (2010: 15–19) explain how the number of words that can be understood out of context (sight vocabulary) determines the percentage of total running words or tokens in a text that a specific reader can understand (lexical coverage). The sight vocabulary size required for sufficient lexical coverage to adequately understand a typical academic text is referred to as the lexical threshold. The threshold is probabilistic, meaning it is possible for one with a smaller sight vocabulary and consequent lexical coverage to understand the text adequately, but it is not likely.

However, adequate understanding is not a clearly defined term and may vary depending on the context. One could relate *adequate comprehension* to the level of comprehension required to achieve Cloze scores of 43% and above for *instructional* level texts and 57% and above for *independent* level texts (Bargate 2012: 16; Bormuth 1968b: 196). According to Biemiller (2001: 1), students will comprehend the meaning of a text if they understand the meanings of at least 95% of the words making up that text. Laufer (1989: 319–321) supports this estimate, while Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski (2010: 15) suggest using 8 000 word families yielding 98% lexical coverage as an optimal threshold where *adequate comprehension* is meant to be synonymous with *independent comprehension.* They set 4 000 to 5 000 word families, yielding 95% coverage, as a minimal threshold where *adequate comprehension* is meant to mean *reading with some guidance and help.* Schmitt, Jiang and Grabe (2011: 26) as well as Hu and Nation (2000: 414–415) also find the 98% estimate more appropriate than 95%. In their study, Hu and Nation (2000: 414–415) defined *adequate comprehension* as the understanding required to score about 85% in a reading comprehension test using a fiction text where lexical coverage was 100%. They predict that most readers would already achieve this level of adequate unassisted comprehension where lexical coverage was 98%, which can be achieved at a probabilistic sight vocabulary threshold of 8 000 to 9 000 word families including proper nouns for written text (Hu and Nation 2000: 422; Nation 2006: 59). Regardless of whether one accepts the 95% or the 98% estimate, there certainly appears to be a strong relation between knowing the meaning of words used in a text, and comprehending that text.

Krashen's (2009: 21) input hypothesis furthermore proposes that students will improve their knowledge of a language when they are exposed to texts (input) that are just a little beyond their current ability (i+1) in that language. Krashen (2009: 21) refers to such texts as comprehensible input. Having existing knowledge of a sufficient number of words used in a text to adequately comprehend that text will allow students to derive the meaning of the unknown words from the context in which they appear. Improving vocabulary in such a way is strongly associated with improved reading comprehension. In terms of textbook selection, one could then recommend that chosen texts contain between 95% and 98% of words that are familiar to students to enable them to make meaning of the content itself, including the unknown words comprising the remaining 5% to 2% of the text.

In this section, three different approaches to evaluate the suitability of a prescribed Accountancy text book to its intended readership were discussed in detail. These approaches are (i) readability of a text as measured using a selection of readability indices; (ii) comprehensibility of the text as measured using a Cloze test; and (iii) readers' lexical coverage as determined with reference to the readers' vocabulary size and the lexis used in the text. Authors such as Davidson (2005: 59), and Smith and Taffler (1992: 93) advise against using readability indices as measures of understandability. Objections typically point out that they measure qualities of the text, and not qualities of the reader experience (Bargate 2012: 5; Chiang et al. 2008: 48–49; Sydes and Hartley 1997: 143; Sydserff and Weetman 1999: 459). Being widely accepted as measuring reading comprehension objectively, reliably and validly and with due consideration of reader qualities (Adelberg and Razek 1984: 109; Bormuth 1969: 358–363; Stevens et al. 1993: 291; Taylor 1957: 20), Cloze procedures have been touted as an alternative. A Cloze test has its own challenges, not the least of which concerns the difficulty level of administering Cloze tests (Flory et al. 1992: 152). A third alternative for determining the appropriateness of a textbook to its intended readership proposed by this article would be to match the readers' vocabulary size against the word tokens used in the prescribed textbook in an attempt to easily match reader characteristics to the challenges set to the reader by the text. This measurement, referred to as lexical coverage, has the potential to provide a more reliable yardstick with which to measure the readership's likelihood of being able to understand the meaning of the words used in the text and perhaps of the meaning of the text itself. The research methodology followed in the study is described next.

3.   Research methodology

This paper provides a quantitative examination of the appropriateness of a specific prescribed text in terms of its readability, understandability and lexical coverage of students in the course for which the text is prescribed. As such, the design may be considered a case study.

The tools used were selected in order to show how the experiment could be repeated, using freely available electronic tools, by researchers without expert levels of linguistic knowledge. The following tools were used for the purpose of this study:

- Readability indices available from readability-score.com (Child 2014), read-able.com (Simpson 2013) and from within Microsoft Word[TM]
- The Blackboard Learn[TM] *Fill in Multiple Blanks* question type, which allows for the construction of Cloze tests;

- Nation's Vocabulary Size Test (VST) (Nation, Chui, Chung, Nakata, Sasao, Quero et al. 2014) accessible from my.vocabularysize.com; and
- BNC 20k vocabulary profiler (Cobb 2013), available from lextutor.ca.

3.1 Participants in the study

All first-year students registered in 2013 for the National Diploma: Marketing at the TUT, with the exclusion of students registered for the extended curriculum programme, were invited to participate in the study. While *Accounting for Marketers* is a second-year subject, the first-year students were chosen as participants as the purpose of the study was to establish whether the textbook is suitable for use by students new to the subject. Second-year students might have encountered Accounting terminology in the classroom, which could have influenced test results. Participation in the study was voluntary. Students in the cohort who did not participate either chose not to participate, or were not present at the time the tests were administered.

3.2 Data collection

The assessment battery used in this study included Nation's VST (Nation and Beglar 2007), and a Cloze test based on text from the prescribed textbook. Students were allowed to complete the assessment battery at their own pace, but with an overall time limit of approximately two hours – the scheduled duration of the lecture period during which the assessments were administered. Participant results were organised and analysed according to student number. Participants were required to supply student numbers for the English Language Skills Assessment and the VST, and Blackboard Learn[TM], used for administering the Cloze test, automatically captured student numbers of participants. While comparative analyses of results required participants to be individually identifiable, the results were treated confidentially.

3.2.1 Passage selection

The prescribed textbook in question – *Accounting All-in-1* (Cornelius and Weyers 2011) – is used for the course *Accounting for Marketers* at the TUT. A digital copy of the text, in Microsoft Word[TM] format, was obtained from the publishers. Calculation of reading indices and construction of Cloze tests were facilitated by having access to an electronic copy of the text.

To allow for a comparison of readability and understandability across all chapters and between authors, the Cloze test selections were spread across text sampled from each of the 19 chapters in the textbook. A page was randomly chosen from each chapter, and a suitable paragraph selected from the page. Passages were selected randomly to ensure a representative sampling of different levels of textual difficulty within the textbook was examined. For a passage to be suitable for inclusion in the Cloze test it had to, apart from the first and last sentences, contain approximately 40 words as eight deletions of every fifth word was required. In cases where the selected page did not contain a suitable passage, another passage from a different page was chosen.

3.2.2 Readability

As previously mentioned, readability was included in the study to compare readability indices to indicators of understandability and lexical coverage as measure of readers' ability to make meaning of a text. Two readability indices were used: The Flesch Reading Ease index (FRE)

and the Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level index (FKGL). These indices were chosen following earlier, but similar studies (Bargate 2012; Chiang et al. 2008; Plucinsky et al. 2009). The indices are also convenient and easy to use, one measuring instrument being an embedded functionality of Microsoft Word[TM], and two others – Readability-Score.com and The Readability Test Tool – being freely available online (Child 2014; Simpson 2013). Using these two indices, readability was established for each of the 19 passages selected for the Cloze test.

In determining the indices using Microsoft Word[TM], no adjustments were made to the texts. A passage was simply selected, and the indices for the selected passage calculated. When calculating the indices using Readability-Score.com and The Readability Test Tool (Child 2014; Simpson 2013), certain minor text modifications were made in order to obtain the same result from both applications. Both these online tools provide a basket containing five grade level readability indices:

- Flesch-Kinkaid Grade Level (FKGL) index;
- Gunning-Fog Score index;
- Coleman-Liau index;
- Simple Measure of Gobbledygook (SMOG) index; and
- Automated Readability index.

An average grade level is automatically calculated by both applications from these five indices. As this average grade level is available with no additional effort it is also reported in the results, as it could provide a convenient alternative measure for evaluating the readability of a text.

3.2.3   Understandability

Cloze tests were chosen as measure of understandability for this study. While many questions about the validity of Cloze tests may be raised, evaluating the validity of Cloze tests and the assumptions underlying them are beyond the scope of this paper. The deletion pattern chosen – eight deletions of every fifth word from the passage selected from each of the 19 chapters – resulted in a total of 152 deletions, consistent with the number of deletions used by Bargate (2012: 13) and Baghaei (2011: 689).

The first sentence of each selected passage was left intact to provide context for the remainder of the passage (Bargate 2012: 13). A random number between one and five was used to determine the first deletion in the second sentence of the passage (Adelberg and Razek 1984: 113). Thereafter, every fifth word was deleted until eight deletions were made. Deleting every fifth word allows the greatest number of deletions possible per passage without compromising the reliability of the test. Increasing distance between deletions to more than five words has little effect on a reader's ability to restore deletions (Adelberg and Razek 1984: 113; Bargate 2012: 13; Bormuth 1968a: 432; Macginitie 1961: 129). According to Baghaei (2011: 688) more deletions per passage provide more reliable ability measures, but the ability scores themselves are not affected by the number of deletions.

The fifth word deletion pattern was only disrupted for duplicate words in the same passage (Blackboard Learn[TM] does not allow for duplications), proper nouns, amounts, and simple words, such as *an*, *the*, and *is*. In these cases, the immediately following word would be deleted.

The sentence following the one in which the eighth deletion occurred would be the last sentence of the passage, and would once again be left intact to provide context. A typical paragraph would look like this:

> **Sales returns and allowances**
> When customers purchase goods from a trading entity, there is always the possibility that they may not be satisfied with the goods they purchased. [(1) This] may be due to a [(2) number] of reasons; for example, the [(3) goods] may be incorrect or [(4) damaged]. The customer may then [(5) return] the goods to the [(6) entity] (sales returns). If the goods [(7) were] purchased for cash, the [(8) customer] will receive a cash refund and if the goods were purchased on credit, the customer's account will be credited by the entity. It is also possible that the customer may decide to keep the goods, albeit at a lower price (sales allowance).

In this example of a selected passage, the fifth word deletion pattern was disrupted for "a", "the", and "goods" (already selected in this passage). Word classes was not taken into account, because doing so would affect the objectivity and repeatability of the test. Furthermore, the measures used during this study was purposefully selected for not requiring specialised linguistic expertise to administer. This should make it easy for non-linguist subject matter experts to use in their own attempts to establish the suitability of texts for their own specific areas of study. Selecting every n^{th} word for deletion renders the test more objective and repeatable, and does not require specific linguistic competence.

The test was administered using the *Fill in Multiple Blanks* question type featured in the Blackboard Learn[TM] learning management system. When presented, deletions are replaced by evenly sized blank text boxes, which do not provide any clue to the length of deleted words (Bargate 2012: 13; Culhane 1970: 412). The Cloze scores were interpreted with reference to the levels described in Table 2: Cloze comprehension levels. Other than for minor misspellings, only exact replacements were accepted. Allowing synonyms would be cumbersome: it would require manual assessment of each test submission to evaluate whether the synonym was a suitable alternative to the exact word. An automated assessment of viable alternatives would similarly require all assessments to be examined for acceptable synonyms, so that these alternatives could be included in the software's marking rubric. However, previous studies have shown that the additional effort to allow synonyms would not lead to significantly different results (Bargate 2012: 15; Culhane 1970: 412; Hartley 2004: 931; Taylor 1957: 22).

3.2.4 Vocabulary size

The instrument used in this study to measure word knowledge is the online version of Nation's VST (Nation et al. 2014). This standardised instrument reliably, accurately and comprehensively measures receptive recognition of the 14 000 most frequently used English word families in the British National Corpus (BNC), and requires a moderately developed understanding of a word's full meaning for the word to be included in the measured vocabulary size (Nation and Beglar 2007: 9, 11). The test consists of 10 multiple choice items per 1 000-word list for a total of 140 items. The score achieved is multiplied by 100 to estimate the number of known word families in the participant's vocabulary.

Next, the number of word families used in the relevant texts were determined using a BNC 20k vocabulary profiler (Cobb 2013). The profiler produces a report of the cumulative percentage of word tokens in the text drawn from each group of thousand words in the BNC 20k list – starting from the 1 000 most frequently used words (K-1) and progressing to the 1 000 least frequently used words (K-20). The group of 1 000 words where the required 95% to 98% lexical coverage required for understanding the text is reached, indicates the approximate vocabulary size required to be able to read the text with adequate comprehension (Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski 2010: 15) or independent comprehension (Hu and Nation 2000: 414–415). In order to be able to compare the readers' vocabulary size to the vocabulary required to make meaning of the text, this approach relies quite heavily on vocabulary being acquired sequentially, as Biemiller (2001: 2) suggests, from the most frequently used words to the least frequently used words.

4.   Results and discussion

Results obtained based on the above-mentioned measurements are reported and discussed consecutively.

4.1 Readability scores

The results of the FRE, FKGL and the average score for a basket of the five other indices are shown in Table 4. The table shows the range of readability scores as well as the mean scores and standard deviation for the 19 passages. The scores were calculated using Microsoft Word™ (Legend = W), readability-score.com and read-able.com (Legend = R). The average score of the basket of readability scores calculated on readability-score.com and read-able.com is also shown. Readability of the passages are then discussed firstly with reference to FRE, then with reference to FKGL and finally with reference to the average of the basket of indices.

Table 4: Readability scores

	Tool	Flesch Reading Ease	Flesch-Kinkaid Grade Level
Range	W	18.3 – 64.7	8.7 – 18.7
	R	17.7 – 68.2	9.8 – 18.9
	Basket	8.8 – 19.1	
Mean	W	43.7 Difficult (Undergraduate)	12.2 Fairly difficult (Grades 10 – 12)
	R	46.2 Difficult (Undergraduate)	12.2 Fairly difficult (Grades 10 – 12)
	Basket	12.9 Fairly difficult (Grades 10 – 12)	
Standard deviation	W	12.4	2.1
	R	13.3	2.3
	Basket	2.5	
Legends	W	Microsoft Word™	
	R	Reconciled readability-score.com and read-able.com	
	Basket	Reconciled readability-score.com and read-able.com (basket of 5 indices)	

When using Microsoft Word™ to determine FRE for the 19 passages, readability ranged from 64.7 (*Standard*, suitable for Grades 8 and 9 students) to 18.3 (*Very difficult*, suitable only for

postgraduate students). The average of the values was 43.7 (*Difficult*, suitable for undergraduate students) with a standard deviation of 12.4, indicating the relatively wide variability within the calculated values. Corresponding values for the 19 passages were calculated using readability-score.com and read-able.com, the range being from 68.2 (*Standard*, suitable for Grades 8 and 9 students) to 17.7 (*Very difficult*, suitable only for postgraduate students). The average of the values was 46.2 (*Difficult*, suitable for undergraduate students), with a standard deviation of 13.3, again indicating the relatively wide dispersion of the calculated values.

When calculating FKGL, Microsoft Word^{TM} shows readability to range from 8.7 (*Standard*, suitable for Grades 8 and 9 students) to 18.7 (*Very difficult*, suitable only for postgraduate students). Average readability was 12.2 (*Fairly difficult*, suitable for students in Grades 10 to 12) with a standard deviation of 2.1 grade levels. Scores calculated using readability-score.com and read-able.com ranged from 9.8 (*Standard* to *Fairly difficult*, suitable for Grades 9 to 10 students) to 18.9 (*Very difficult*, suitable only for postgraduate students). Average readability was also 12.2 (*Fairly difficult*, suitable for undergraduate students), the standard deviation from mean being 2.3 grade levels.

The basket of Grade Level indices confirms the FRE and FKGL measurements. The index basket average ranges from 8.8 (*Standard*, suitable for Grades 8 and 9 students) to 19.1 (*Very difficult*, suitable only for postgraduate students) with an average readability of 12.9 (*Fairly difficult*, suitable for students in Grades 10 to 12) and a standard deviation of 2.5 grade levels.

The readability analysis seems to indicate that the prescribed textbook will be suitable to undergraduate students. There were some instances where readability measured at a *very difficult* level, suitable only for postgraduate students. In these instances some rewriting might be required to make the text more accessible to the target readership of undergraduate students. From a purely readability point of view, this rewriting would entail reducing average sentence length and using words with fewer syllables.

4.2 Cloze scores

Results of the Cloze procedure test are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Cloze scores

n = 58	Score	Average level (24.6%)
Range	2.0% – 53.3%	**0% – 43%: Frustration level**
Mean	24.6%	Language is too difficult for readers to cope with.
Standard deviation	13.2%	
n(<44%) = 54 (93%)	n(44% to 56%) = 4 (7%)	n(>56%) = 0 (0%)

As can be seen from Table 5, when reader abilities are taken into account with reference to Table 2: Cloze comprehension levels, it would appear as if the prescribed textbook is written at a level at which the vast majority of the target readership cannot make adequate meaning of the content. The mean score of 24.6% is well below what is required for readers to be able to cope with the text. Only four students would be able to cope with the content of the text if some assistance were provided – such as by a lecturer in a classroom – while the language used in

the text would be too difficult for the remaining readers to cope with. None of the students tested would be able to read the text independently.

Results of the Cloze test illustrate, as a number of studies have cautioned (Sydes and Hartley 1997: 143; Sydserff and Weetman 1999: 459; Wray and Dahlia 2013: 79–84), the difficulty in attempting to establish whether a text is suitable for readers using readability measures that do not take reader characteristics into account. This difficulty with readability measures is aggravated where the intended audience does not have the reading skills normally associated with their particular grade level, as might well be the case in this study. Such an explanation would be consistent with a study by Dockrat (2007) in which she reported that only 5% of the 2007 student intake at the TUT had English literacy skills at the level of Grade 12 and above.

4.3 Vocabulary size

The selected passages contained 1 781 word tokens in total. Of these words, 94.43% falls within the first 3 000 (K-1 to K-3) most used English words from the British National Corpus (BNC), while 97.58% falls within the first 4 000 (K-1 to K-4) most used words. This implies that a vocabulary size of 3 000 to 4 000 word families should be sufficient to achieve the lexical coverage of 95% and larger suggested by Biemiller (2001: 1) as being necessary to make meaning of the passages selected for the Cloze test. By the same reasoning, a vocabulary of 4 000 to 5 000 word families is required to achieve 95% coverage of the 45 776 word tokens in the book as a whole. This finding is consistent with an estimate by Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski (2010: 15) of the vocabulary size required to be able to read a text "with some guidance and help".

Hu and Nation (2000: 414–415), as well as Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski (2010: 15), set the lexical coverage required for independent comprehension at 98%, which in their study was achieved at a vocabulary size of 8 000 to 9 000 word families. In this study, a vocabulary size of 4 000 to 5 000 word families is required to achieve such comprehension for the Cloze passages, and 6 000 to 7 000 words for the book as a whole.

When examining the measured vocabulary sizes of the test group, the mean vocabulary size was 6 769 word families, with a standard deviation from the mean of 1 518 word families. Measured values were dispersed over a range from 4 100 families to 10 900 families. The lowest vocabulary size measured of 4 100 families should, for this book, provide the 95% coverage necessary to read the text with some assistance (Biemiller 2001: 1; Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski 2010: 15), while the average vocabulary of 6 769 should provide the 98% lexical coverage required for being able to read the textbook independently (Hu and Nation 2000: 414–415).

Table 6 contains the word frequency profile for the text used in the passages selected for the Cloze test as well as for the textbook as a whole. It also shows descriptive data in respect of the VST administered during the experiment.

Table 6: Word frequencies and vocabulary sizes

Frequency level	Selected passages				Complete textbook			
	Families	**Types**	**Tokens (%)**	**Cumulative token %**	**Families**	**Types**	**Tokens (%)**	**Cumulative token %**
K-1 words	231	303	1 450 (81.41%)	81.41%	526	90	34 280 (74.89%)	74.89%
K-2 words	68	82	191 (10.72%)	92.13%	265	385	6 524 (14.25%)	89.14%
K-3 words	24	26	41 (2.30%)	94.43%	110	129	893 (1.95%)	91.09%
K-4 words	19	20	56 (3.14%)	**97.58%***	85	112	1701 (3.72%)	94.81%
K-5 words	8	9	15 (0.84%)	**98.42%***	41	55	777 (1.70%)	**96.50%***
K-6 words	3	4	16 (0.90%)	99.32%	29	33	638 (1.39%)	97.90%
K-7 words	1	1	2 (0.11%)	99.43%	15	17	295 (0.64%)	**98.54%***
K-8 words	1	1	1 (0.06%)	99.49%	17	17	43 (0.09%)	98.63%
K-9 words	1	1	5 (0.28%)	99.77%	6	8	452 (0.99%)	99.62%
K-10 words					6	6	87 (0.19%)	99.81%
K-11 words					3	3	4 (0.01%)	99.82%
K-12 words	1	1	1 (0.06%)	99.83%	3	3	13 (0.03%)	99.85%
K-13 words					1	1	1 (0.00%)	99.85%
K-14 words					2	2	2 (0.00%)	99.86%
K-15 words								
K-16 words					1	1	5 (0.01%)	99.87%
K-17 words					1	1	3 (0.01%)	99.87%
K-18 words								
K-19 words								
K-20 words								
Off-list words	3	3	3 (0.17%)	100.00%	16	16	58 (0.13%)	100.00%
Totals	360	445	1 781 (100%)		1127	879	45 776 (100%)	

Vocabulary size test (n = 42)							
Vocabulary size	**4 000 to 5 000 words**	**5 000 to 6 000 words**	**6 000 to 7 000 words**	**7 000 to 8 000 words**	**8 000 to 9 000 words**	**9 000 to 10 000 words**	**10 000 to 11 000 words**
Distribution	n = 3	n = 11	n = 9	n = 12	n = 5	n = 0	n = 2

Mean 6 769 word families
Range 4 100 – 10 900 word families
Std. deviation 1 518 from mean

∗   Percentages in bold indicate at what K-level the 95% and 98% coverage levels are achieved, both for the selected passages and for the textbook as a whole.

The results of matching readers' vocabulary size to the vocabulary used in a text as indicator of the ability of readers to adequately comprehend that text, produced unexpected results. According to the results of this test, the textbook is suitable for the intended readership, perhaps with some support from lecturers. This largely contradicts the results of the Cloze test, which found the text to be too difficult for its intended readership. A possible explanation comes from a more detailed analysis of the vocabulary size test results, as indicated in Table 7.

Table 7: Vocabulary size per thousand words

Vocabulary size test (n = 42)															
Frequency level		K-1	K-2	K-3	K-4	K-5	K-6	K-7	K-8	K-9	K-10	K-11	K-12	K-13	K-14
Mean %		78.1	71.4	67.4	60.0	60.0	44.0	40.7	52.9	34.0	31.9	35.5	41.0	23.8	32.1
Range	Low	30	30	10	10	0	10	10	20	0	0	0	10	10	10
	High	90	100	100	90	100	80	70	100	80	70	90	60	50	70
Std. deviation		13.0	20.3	21.8	21.0	22.7	18.7	15.6	18.3	16.9	16.7	20.0	11.7	11.7	16.7

This table shows the average percentage of words known by participants for every grouping of 1 000 words from the first 14 000 most frequently used words from the BNC (K-1 to K-14). It also shows the lowest and highest percentage achieved per 1 000 words, and the standard deviation per 1 000 words. Strongly sequential vocabulary acquisition would be indicated by high average word knowledge for early groups of 1 000 most used words from the BNC, and low average word knowledge for the later groups. From this table it seems as if the vocabulary size of the test group does not display the strong evidence of being sequentially acquired that Biemiller (2001: 2) has found. While more words are known from the more frequently used groupings, the highest average percentage of known words per grouping of 1 000 words is 78.1%, which is well short of the 95% to 98% required for adequate comprehension (Biemiller 2001: 2; Hu and Nation 2000: 414–415; Laufer and Ravenhorst-Kalovski 2010: 15). The progression is also not linear. For example, K-8 shows a larger average word knowledge than K-6 and K-7.

Ideally, the three measures used in this study to establish readers' ability to make meaning of a text would have provided congruence in their results. Unfortunately, this proved not to be the case. The study did not find a definitive approach to establishing the comprehensibility of a text book. However, the results provided indication of the possible direction future studies have to take in order to provide congruence between measures of readability and understandability, as indicators of readers' ability to understand a text. These are discussed in the following section.

5.   Limitations of the study and areas for further research

Readability indices were determined with reference to grade levels established in the USA. These grade levels might not be appropriate to levels generally encountered in the context in which this study was conducted, where students do not necessarily possess the ELS normally expected for a specific grade level. Research should be undertaken to establish grade levels more appropriate to the context of the study (Dockrat 2007: 11).

A relatively small sample size (n: Cloze tests=58; n: VST=42), selected from only one subject at one University of Technology was used in the study. The study should be undertaken using a larger sample from a more diverse readership of the textbook to improve the generalisability of the research findings related to the Cloze test and the VST.

A number of participants, when completing the Cloze test, filled in meaningless answers (e.g. *kk*, or *ergtt*) for some of the deletions. While this could be interpreted as the student legitimately not knowing the specific answer, it could also be an indication of the participant wanting to get the test over and done with without really trying to guess the correct word. If the latter explanation is the case, it would have an impact on the validity of the test results.

In line with previous studies (Adelberg and Razek 1984: 113; Bargate 2012: 13; Bormuth 1968a: 432), this study has followed the practice of deleting every fifth word when developing the Cloze procedures test. This practice traces its origin back to a study by Macginitie (1961: 129), confirmed by Alderson (1979), who found little positive effect of a context – the distance between deletions – of more than about five words. However, a context of five words is achieved by deleting every sixth word. Using a context of five words might have improved the results of the Cloze tests. A future study of this nature could be conducted to assess the impact of using a deletion rate of every sixth word.

This study did not show the strong sequential order in which vocabulary is acquired that Biemiller (2001: 2) has found. The order in which English vocabulary is acquired by students similar to the participants in this study should be investigated. Once this sequence is established, a future study using readers' vocabulary size as predictor of readers' ability to understand a text might be of great value.

6.   Conclusion

The usefulness of textbooks to students is conditional upon the students' ability to understand the contents of those textbooks (Smith and Taffler 1992: 84; Snyman 2004: 15). The present study examined three measurements viz. readability indices, comprehensibility and lexical coverage for their usefulness to gauge the suitability of a prescribed text to its intended readers' abilities.

The results of this study were contradictory in that two measures – readability and vocabulary size – point to the textbook being appropriate to its intended readership of undergraduate students newly entering into higher education while the third measure – understandability – seems to indicate that the readership may be reading the textbook at their frustration level – ideally a textbook should allow for independent study (Bormuth 1968b: 196).

It is unsurprising that results should differ between readability measures on the one hand and understandability measures on the other hand, as they measure different things. Readability formulae measure qualities of text, while understandability measures reflect reader characteristics, specifically the readers' ability to interact meaningfully with text (Jones 1997: 105). Furthermore, readability formulae such as the Flesch formulae were developed about 70 years ago in the USA (Flesch 1948: 221), while the population in this study are South Africans with poor English literacy skills (Dockrat 2007: 11). The specific readability formulae used might therefore not be valid in the South African context.

However, one would have expected a closer match between the results of the assessment of suitability of a text to the intended readership when using understandability and lexical coverage, as both these measures are determined with reference to reader characteristics. The discrepancy can possibly be explained by the fact that general vocabulary acquisition for the test group, outlined in Table 7, was not as strongly sequential in the order that Biemiller (2001: 2) suggests, resulting in a vocabulary measurement which does not strongly predict lexical coverage of the text sufficient for adequate comprehension.

It might be more appropriate to use a vocabulary size test made up of test items drawn from the word families used in the specific text, rather than a test of general vocabulary size such as Nation's VST (Nation et al. 2014). The lexical coverage of a text determined for a specific student might then more closely reflect students' understanding of the meaning of that text. This should be investigated in a further study. Further investigation into the order in which vocabulary is acquired by participants from similar contexts as in this study should also be considered, as a clearer understanding of this order would enable authors to better suit vocabulary used in textbooks to the vocabulary of target readers. It could also be worthwhile to conduct a comparative study for a given text between a Cloze test and a comprehension test standardised for readers such as the participants in this study. Such a comparison might give indication of the validity of a Cloze test for use in similar contexts as measure of understandability of the text.

That vocabulary acquisition did not seem to occur in the same strong sequential order as previously believed for this group of participants, has important implications for classroom practice. Attention should be paid to direct priming vocabulary instruction of not only the Academic Word List and subject-specific jargon, but also, to a larger extent than previously considered necessary, of K1 and K2 words. Such an approach to expanding vocabulary would assist readers to gain better lexical coverage of the lexis used in their prescribed text books, and aid them in improving their understanding of the content thereof.

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THE **SPIL** LOGO

The logo on the front cover depicts Simon van der Stel, Dutch governor of the Cape of Good Hope from 1679 to 1699, and the founder of Stellenbosch. We have chosen to portray Van der Stel in our logo for reasons of symbolism that relate to his historical significance, his intellectual qualities, and his creole descent. Simon van der Stel was the man who, in founding the town of Stellenbosch, took a deliberate initiative towards establishing the permanency of the young Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. He has been portrayed as a man endowed with special intellectual qualities, who set great store by clear, factual thinking --- a quality which we value. His creoleness, to us, is symbolic both of the melting pot from which emerged the South Africa of the 18th century and of the kind of future that we envisage: a future unmarred by the racist divide that plagued our country in the past. Our commitment to a future free of racism, as well as our reasons for portraying Simon van der Stel in the **SPIL** logo, are stated more fully in **SPIL** 17 of 1988.