

Teaching ‘Standard English’ or local, code-switched New Englishes in schools in ‘Outer Circle’ countries? Insights from selected secondary school teachers of English in Zimbabwe

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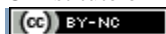
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ABSTRACT

The study investigated the English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers' perceptions on the relationship between code-switching and emerging varieties of English called New Englishes, as well as the teachers' perceptions on the teaching of such local varieties of English. The inquiry adopted a qualitative research paradigm and focused on two purposively sampled secondary schools comprising one rural day, and one urban boarding school. Four ESL teachers were interviewed (two teachers per school). The inquiry revealed that there was unanimous agreement among the four teachers that there is a relationship between code-switching and New Englishes. In addition, two of the teachers expressed the view that there is nothing wrong with teaching the local variety of English in the schools, while the other two said they preferred the teaching of Standard English. The study recommends that language policy planners in Zimbabwe consider adopting a balance of the endo-normative and the exo-normative models of English for the education system. Such a model, while acknowledging the importance of Standard English, would not undermine the importance of the local variety of English. In addition, the inquiry recommends that the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) be sensitive to aspects of the local variety of English rather than set exo-normative models. Finally, the study recommends that further research be done on the perceptions of ESL teachers on the teaching of Standard English and New Englishes in school types which were not included in the sample for the present study.

Key Words: Standard English, New Englishes, Endo-normative Model, Exo-normative Model, Inner Circle Countries, Outer Circle Countries

1.1 Background: The Status of English in Zimbabwe

Located in Southern Africa, Zimbabwe, a former British colony, has a population of about thirteen (13) million people, according to the latest (2013) national census results. The linguistic situation in the country is that Zimbabwe is a multilingual country with sixteen (16) spoken languages (Hachipola, 1998). Of these, until the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) Act of 2013, English was the official language, while Shona and Ndebele were national languages spoken by 70% and 15% of the population, respectively (Peresuh and Masuku, 2002). The others were regarded as minority languages and these include Shangani, Venda, Kalanga, Nambya, Tonga, Chichewa, Sotho, Chikunda, Sena, Barwe, Hwesa, and Tshwawo (Chimhundu, 1997).

However, the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) (2013:17) stipulates that Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa, are the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe and that an Act of Parliament may prescribe other languages as officially recognised languages.

Nevertheless, the place of English in Zimbabwe is that, like in many other former British colonies, the language continues to enjoy a higher social status than any of the indigenous languages since, for many years, it has been the only official language (Kadenge and Mabugu, 2009). However, English is the home language of less than 1% of the population (Peresuh and Masuku, 2002). English is the main language of international and intranational business, government, legislation, religion, advertisements, political manifestos, and other important documents (Mabugu, 2009). According to Mavhunga (2006:447-448), English 'has remained the language of instruction in the private and public schools. It remains the language of the office. Furthermore, the 'O' level school-leaving certificate cannot be complete unless one passes... English of course.' English is, thus, perceived to be an economic gatekeeper (Nyawaranda, 2000).

Zimbabwe's national language policy on education as contained in the Education Act of 1987 (as amended in 1990) and as quoted in Nziramasanga (1999:156-157) states that Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught in all primary schools from the first grade as follows: Prior to the fourth grade, English or Ndebele or Shona may be used as a medium of instruction, depending upon which

language is most commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils. Then From the fourth grade, English shall be the medium of instruction provided that Shona or Ndebele shall be taught as subjects on an equal-time-allocation basis as the English Language. Furthermore, in areas where minority languages exist, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to English, Shona and Ndebele.

1.2 Objectives

The study sought to achieve two objectives, namely:

- (a) To find out the perceptions of selected secondary school ESL teachers on the relationship between code-switching and New English.
- (b) To establish the teachers' perceptions on the teaching of Standard English vis-a`-vis the local English variety.

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Standard English

The term Standard English is difficult to define (Heath, 1980; Seidlhofer, 2005). There is no agreement on the definition of Standard English (Farrell and Martin, 2009).

However, McArthur (2003:442) defines Standard English as "the variety most widely accepted, understood, and perhaps valued within an English speaking country." Other characteristics of this variety are that it is easiest to identify in print because written conventions are similar world-wide, it is usually used by news presenters, and its usage relates to the speaker's social class and education.

2.1.2 New Englishes

English has now become a global language (Crystal, 2003), hence the advent of New Englishes.

Also known as World Englishes (WEes), or Global Englishes, New Englishes are defined as all the local Englishes that are used by people of different nations to communicate (Lee, 2012). In support, Matsuda and Matsuda (2010:370) assert that 'The English Language is not a monolith but a catchall category for all its varieties – linguistic and functional – hence the term World Englishes (WE).' Kadenge (2009) defines New Englishes as recently emerging varieties of English, especially in non-Western settings, such as India, Singapore, China and many parts of Africa. In these settings, English is the official language but not necessarily the first language of the inhabitants. Kachru (cited in Groves, 2010) conceptualises World Englishes in terms of three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle refers to native-English-speaking countries such as the UK and New Zealand who use English as their primary language and are norm-providing or endocentric. The Outer Circle includes those countries where English was spread as a second language through colonisation. The Outer Circle varieties, mostly in Africa and Asia, have undergone some acculturation and nativisation, and their users are norm-developing. Zimbabwe, being a former colony of Britain, obviously belongs to the Outer Circle. The Expanding Circle refers to countries where English is regarded as a foreign language, such as China and Thailand. Such countries are norm-dependent, looking to 'standard English' for their norms.

Groves (2010) calls for a flexible attitude to new varieties in the classroom and quotes Lowenberg (1992), who says differences between Standard English and local varieties should be taken into account when tests are given. Kirkpatrick (2007) observes that it would be advantageous to employ multilingual teachers of ESL (rather than monolinguals) who understand English from the perspective of both 'standard English' and New Englishes. Kirkpatrick also sees advantages in outer circle countries choosing an endo-normative or nativised model of English. He feels that local teachers would be advantaged in choosing the local model because they speak that model. Thus, their model of English is legitimised and therefore the teachers' self-confidence and self-esteem are increased.

Furthermore, choosing the local model would result in the multilingual competence of the teacher being recognised and exploited in the classroom.

Kirkpatrick (2007) also identifies disadvantages inherent in choosing the exo-normative or native speaker model of English. One of the disadvantages is that the value and legitimacy of the non-native local teacher's own model of English is automatically undermined. In addition, the non-native speakers would be required to teach a model which they do not speak, thereby reducing their self-confidence. Furthermore, the local multilingual teacher's 'knowledge of the language of their students, far from being seen as a strength, is seen as a weakness' (Kirkpatrick, 2007:186), since English is seen as the only language of the classroom and the monolingual teacher is viewed as the ideal teacher.

Adedimeji (2007:2) acknowledges that English is now seen as a global language that is 'susceptible to the subtleties and idiosyncracies of regional linguistic behaviours.' Adedimeji (2007) identifies transfer as a feature of Nigerian English.

Kamwangamalu and Moyo (2003) observe that Lesotho Malawi Swaziland (LMS) Englishes are made up of borrowed cultural vocabulary from local languages.

In Botswana, studies have shown that Botswana English (BE) has 'distinctive characteristics some of which are products of its coexistence with Setswana, the national language' (Alimi, 2011:124). According to Alimi (2011) many scholars have argued that New Englishes should be recognised as appropriate models for instruction in schools, a view which challenges the 'centrifugal' perspective of adopting the native-speaker standard as the only appropriate model of English Language instruction. Alimi (2011) observes that Botswana English is characterised by Setswana words and/or translated into English, and proposes the inclusion of Botswana English and other New Englishes in vocabulary teaching in schools in Botswana and other 'Outer Circle' countries.

In agreement, Jindapitak and Teo (2013) see it as a myth to expect pure English - similar to the one spoken by a native speaker in England and America - when English is spoken by non-native speakers in non-native contexts. The authors go on to observe that the various names given to English (in the advent of World Englishes)

suggest that English has been acculturated and transmitted to release multiple characteristics deviant from its mother in the Inner Circle... obsolete ELT paradigm, that is based on the ideology that native speakers are the authority of the language, needs to be replaced by a newer paradigm that relates language classroom to the world and takes into account local adaptation and appropriation (Jindapitak and Teo, 2013:197).

Jenkins (2009: 95) alludes to the relationship between code-switching and New Englishes or World Englishes by observing that since 'almost all Asian-English speakers are bi- or multilingual and make extensive use of CS (code switching) and code mixing, it seems logical to include this phenomenon in grammars and dictionaries of Asian English.'

2.1.3 Code-switching and the Zimbabwean Variety of English

Studies show that code-switching pervades many facets of the linguistic landscape in Zimbabwe and this involves many instances where English is the Matrix Language and a local language is the embedded language, thereby rendering the Zimbabwean variety of English a 'code-switched variety.' These include studies by Mugari (2014:228) investigated code-switching in 'urban grooves' music and concluded that code-switching by urban groovers symbolises the phenomenon of code-switching in Zimbabwe, reflecting the larger social scenario. Mareva and Mapako (2012) investigated code-switching in the comments by readers of *The Herald Online* between 13 September and 20 September 2011 and established that 39% of the comments on selected news articles contained code-switching. Mareva and Mapako conclude that code-switching has become a prevalent feature of the multi-lingual Zimbabwean society. Veit-Wild (2009) observes that code-switching between English and Shona or between English and Ndebele is very common among most urban and many rural bilinguals. Veit-

Wild's (2009) study also revealed that, in Zimbabwean literature, Chenjerai Hove and Dambudzo Marechera transplant Shona linguistic concepts into their English narratives. Veit-Wild also found out that Shimmer Chinodya in his two novels *Chairman of Fools* and *Strife* also inserts Shona expressions and phrases into his works, mainly when the characters are engaged in dialogues. Mukenge and Chimbarange (2012) attest to the prevalence of code-switching in the Zimbabwean linguistic landscape. In their study on the film *Yellow Card*, Mukenge and Chimbarange (2012) found out that code-switching has also pervaded the Zimbabwean film industry.

The Zimbabwean variety of English as used in education is also characterised by code-switching as revealed in studies by Dube and Cleghorn (1999), Viriri and Viriri (2013), and Marungudzi (2014).

2.1.4 Related Studies on the Teaching of New Englishes

Young and Walsh (2010) investigated the beliefs of 'non-native English speaking' teachers from Europe, Africa, West Asia, South-East Asia and East Asia about the usefulness and appropriateness of teaching English varieties such as English as International Language (EIL) and Lingua Franca (ELF), when compared with native speaker varieties. The results revealed that the majority of the teachers were for teaching the 'standard' variety of English. The major reason that was given was that the teachers felt that they needed to teach the standard variety so as to address learners' needs and expectations, for example, the needs of learners who would have lots of future contact with the English Native variety when they proceed to higher education and employment in countries such as the USA, Canada, UK, New Zealand and Australia. Most of the teachers showed a belief in the 'standard' English variety even though they 'acknowledged that it does not really correspond to the reality of Englishes which are in use worldwide' (Young and Walsh, 2010:135).

In a related study, Tweedie (2013) investigated the attitudes of 'native speakers' and 'non-native speaking' English Language teachers in Singapore towards the role of Colloquial Singapore English (CSE) or Singlish. The results showed, ironically, that the 'non-native' English speaking teachers had a negative view of Singlish while their 'native speaking' counterparts had the view that Singlish is a legitimate English variety in Singapore. This is in spite of the fact that Singlish is a common phenomenon in Singapore.

Despite official pronouncements against this variety of English, despite government campaigns promoting a more 'standard' alternative, despite EL syllabus with 'standard' ideals, and despite multitudinal efforts by individual school leaders to discourage the use of CSE, Singlish persists in the school canteens, morning assemblies, staff rooms and Singapore classrooms (Tweedie, 2013:34).

From the study, however, the researcher (Tweedie, 2013) got insights from language teachers into the possibilities of accepting Singlish, not as an obstacle to 'standard' English proficiency, but as a potentially helpful tool for making learners achieve 'standard' English proficiency.

Tweedie's study seems to confirm Kachru's (1992) observation that local English varieties are often barely accepted in their own environment, where it seems the interaction between language and that environment is not viewed as reason enough to deviate from the metropolitan ('standard' English) norm or the so called Prestige variety. Also in relation to the rejection of local English varieties in preference of 'standard' English, Norrish (1997) observes that the devaluation of home-grown language forms is strengthened by the effects of examination boards which set models of English that not many teachers would adhere to. Matsuda and Matsuda (2010) argue for the teaching of both the dominant 'standard' varieties as well as local varieties because students need them both. The authors argue for considering intelligibility and comprehensibility as goals for English instruction, rather than focusing on a single variety (Standard English).

In relation to this, Kachru (1992) argues that the native speaker of English is not always a valid yardstick with which to measure the global uses of English.

In another related study, Prashanti and Bhavani (2016) carried out an inquiry into secondary school teachers' perspectives on the teaching of pronunciations, accents and varieties of English in India. The researches established that the teachers were of the view that both native speaker (NS) norms and Indian variety of English are important models but unlike in Tweedie's (2013) study in which the non-native English speaking teachers had a negative view of the local variety of English, the Indian teachers seemed to prioritise non-native speaker norms. Also, the majority of the teachers said they preferred to retain their L1 identity rather than speak like native speakers of English.

3.1 Methodology

The study employed the qualitative research designed that used the interview tool to gather data.

3.1.1 Qualitative Research

Miles, Huberman and Saldama (2013) observe that, in qualitative research, the researcher seeks to gain a holistic or integrated overview of the study, which includes the perceptions of participants. Focus is, thus, on understanding behaviour, beliefs, opinions, emotions, views, processes, social interactions and meanings (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011).

3.1.2 Sample

Two selected secondary schools, an urban boarding school and a rural day school (School A and School B respectively) as well as four ESL teachers from the schools (Teacher A, Teacher B, Teacher C and Teacher D), were purposively sampled. This is in keeping with qualitative research.

The two secondary schools selected for this study, School A and School B, were purposively sampled on the basis of their different locations and distinct characteristics.

School A is an urban government boarding secondary school, while School B is a rural day secondary school that is run by the Masvingo Rural District Council. I, therefore, felt that the teachers of these distinctly different secondary schools would provide useful, insights on the perceptions of ESL teachers on the relationship between code-switching and New Englishes and on the teaching of Standard English vis-a-vis the local English variety in secondary schools in Zimbabwe.

Two Form Three and two Form ESL teachers were also purposively sampled on the basis of being trained teachers of English who have taught the subject for a minimum of ten years. I, therefore, felt that this sample of four teachers would provide some useful insights on the phenomenon under investigation.

3.1.3 Data Collection Tool

Data were gathered using interviews, one of the tools that are in keeping with qualitative research (Nyawaranda, 2003; Punch, 2005; Merriam, 2009; Best and Khan, 2014; Gray, 2014).

The four ESL teachers were interviewed on a one-to-one basis using the semi-structured interview guide so as to gain insights into their perceptions on the relationship between code-switching and New Englishes and on the teaching of Standard English and the local variety of English in Zimbabwe.

4.1 Results

4.1.1 Results from Interview with Teacher A

When asked if he thought there was a relationship between code-switching and New Englishes, Teacher A said he believed code-switching is part of New Englishes since no language remains static. He observed that code-switched New Englishes are a result of people's quest to show their culture and identity. In Teacher A's own words, "Yes native languages are having an influence on English varieties. Zimbabwean English is full of code-switching – full of Shona words. Code-switching is part of New English as people seek to show their culture and identity through language."

On being asked if the code-switched variety of English should be officialised and taught in schools Teacher A said he believed to some extent this variety should be taught in the schools, as long it makes sense, as learners will understand it better. Teacher A added: “We should accept our own modifications of English. It makes us eh original. In any case eh what is termed ‘standard’ is an adoption of other cultures. We should eh speak English according to our own standards.”

Teacher A, however, observed that “we are a product of colonialism where we dignify ‘standard’ English.

4.1.2 Results from Interview with Teacher B

Teacher B revealed that she was of the view that there was a relationship between code-switching and New English varieties and she attributed this to L1 influence on L2, and the influence of social and cultural factors. “Yes code-switched English is a variety of English and it shows the influence of the L1 on the L2. It is a result of socio-cultural factors.”

However, Teacher B said she believed that schools should only teach ‘standard’ English because this will enable learners of English to develop the ability to proficiently converse with any speaker of English from any part of the world. She opined that if the code-switched English variety were to be officialised in the schools, “at the end of the day we won’t be producing internationally up to standard pupils.” She said she believed that code-switching should only be a transitional phase to English proficiency, which will end once full target language competence has been achieved, adding that “Schools should only accept standard English because the English exam does not test such code-switched varieties.”

4.1.3 Results from Interview with Teacher C

Teacher C revealed that she viewed code-switched New Englishes as a reality and attributed them to L1 influences and one’s origin. Said Teacher C: “Yes code-switched New Englishes are a reality because the L1 influences one’s communicative style. The place of origin determines one’s language variety.”

However, Teacher C said she believes that the New Englishes compromised the mastery of ‘standard’ English and therefore they should not be officialised in the school curriculum. We should teach standard English because if we teach the Zimbabwean variety of English pupils will face problems in composition writing as they will produce ridiculous idioms which are unacceptable in the final examination.” The code-switched variety “affects English. If it was possible to use English only it would be better but the problem is that pupils do not always understand without code-switching,” said Teacher C.

4.1.4 Results from Interview with Teacher D

Teacher D felt that code-switching is part of New Englishes emanating from L1 influence.

Asked about the possibility of teaching the code-switched variety in schools, Teacher C revealed that she thought so since learners are likely to be able to express themselves better in the code-switched English variety. She also observed that there is nothing wrong in teaching the code-switched English variety as it is a reflection of what is happening in the wider Zimbabwean society. Said Teacher A: “Such varieties are a reality in our communities and people communicate and solve human problems through them. Therefore they must have a place in our school systems. Insistence on ‘standard’ English means fighting against reality and hence the schools should find ways to improve these varieties so that they enrich the communication world. Even in workplaces there is code-switching. We train children to fit into society, to be a part of society. If what we teach them is to make them relevant then there is no problem in teaching the code-switched variety in schools.”

4.1.5 Discussion

All the four teachers of English at the two secondary schools who participated in the present study felt that there is relationship between New Englishes and code-switching and observed that the New Englishes are a result of the contact between English and local languages. This observation is shared by Adedimeji (2007) who acknowledges that English has become a global language that is susceptible to the subtleties and idiosyncracies of regional linguistic behaviours. For Lee (2012:191), ‘The relentless expansion of the language (English) in diverse sociolinguistic contexts has also brought about the development of new recognised forms and norms of English in local contexts.’ Alimi (2011) also alludes to the fact that New Englishes emerge as a result of the contact between English and local languages when the author observes that Botswana English (BE) has features which show its co-existence with Setswana, notably Setswana words and/or translations. Kirkpatrick (2007:5) also confirms that New Englishes are indeed influenced by local languages when the author defines local varieties or nativised varieties as ‘newer varieties that have developed in places where English was not normally spoken and which have been influenced by local languages and culture.’

The four teachers’ perception of the existence of a relationship between code-switching and New Englishes is shared by Kamwangamalu and Moyo (2003) who observe that Lesotho Malawi Swaziland (LMS) Englishes are made up of borrowed cultural vocabulary from local languages. In the same vein, Jenkins (2009:95) seems to discern a relationship between code-switching and New Englishes by stating that because ‘almost all Asian-English speakers are bi- or multilingual and make extensive use of CS (code-switching), it seems logical to include this phenomenon in grammars and dictionaries of Asian English.’ Norrish (1997) also perceives a relationship between code-switching and local English varieties both of which the author describes as features of multilingual societies.

Asked about their perceptions on the teaching of the local variety of English, Teacher A (School A) and Teacher D (School B) revealed that they believed that there was nothing wrong in teaching the local variety of English as long as it makes sense as learners will understand better (Teacher A and Teacher D), and because the local code-switched English variety is a reflection of what is happening in the wider Zimbabwean society (Teacher D).

Teacher A and Teacher D’s perception that the local variety of English could be taught as long as it makes sense coincides with Jindapitak and Theo’s (2013) argument that it is a myth to expect pure English when English is spoken by non-native speakers in non-native contexts. This is supported by Kadenge (2009:158) who contends that African Englishes which were once stigmatised as non-standard have now gained prestige, and that such varieties are ‘a distinct, systematic, endo-normative variety of English, which cannot be judged by the norms of the older varieties such as British English or American English.’

Furthermore, Teacher A and Teacher D’s belief that there is nothing wrong in teaching the local English variety is also in tandem with Matsuda and Matsuda’s (2010) argument that because English in (Kachru’s, 1992) expanding circle situations has a multiple of international and intranational uses, the traditional model of setting a single target English variety has become problematic. Instead, consideration for intelligibility (word or utterance recognition) and comprehensibility (word or utterance understanding) as goals of English instruction no longer appears to be farfetched. In support of this notion is Groves (2010) who calls for a flexible attitude to new English varieties in the classroom and cites Lowenberg (1992) who proposes that differences between Standard English and local varieties should be taken into account when tests are given. Also in support of teaching local varieties of English is Alimi (2011) who proposes the inclusion of Botswana English (BE) and other New Englishes in vocabulary teaching in schools in Botswana and other ‘Outer Circle’ countries. Sharing the same view is Kirkpatrick (2007) who feels that it would be advantageous to ‘Outer Circle’ countries (such as Zimbabwe) if they choose an endonormative or nativised (local) model of English to be taught in schools. Kirkpatrick argues that local teachers would be advantaged in choosing the local model since they speak that model so their self-confidence and self-esteem are boosted. Also, the teachers’ multi-competence would be recognised and exploited in the classroom. On the other hand, if ‘Outer Circle’ countries choose the exonormative or native speaker model of English, the

value and legitimacy of the non-native local teacher's own model is undermined and the non-native speakers would be required to teach a model which they do not speak, thereby reducing their self-confidence.

The two teachers who argued for the teaching of the local variety of English in the present study seem to confirm the findings of Prashanti and Bhavani's (2016) study on secondary school teachers' perspectives on the teaching of pronunciation, accents and local varieties of English in India. The researchers found out that the teachers were of the view that although both native-speaker (NS) and the Indian model of English are important varieties, the teachers seemed to prioritise native speaker norms and the majority of the teachers wanted to retain their L1 identity instead of speaking like native speakers of English. In a related study, Tweedie (2013) established that though non-native English speaking teachers of English in Singapore were against the teaching of Singlish (local variety of English in Singapore), their native speaker counterparts saw Singlish as a valid variety of English in Singapore. As has happened in the present study in which I got insights from the two teachers into the possibility of accepting the Zimbabwean variety in the schools Tweedie got some insights from language teachers into the possibility of accepting Singlish not as a hindrance to developing proficiency in 'standard' English, but as a potentially useful tool for making learners achieve 'standard' English proficiency. In the same vein, Matsuda and Matsuda (2010:372) argue that 'To overlook alternative (local variety) uses of English can actually work against the goal of helping students develop an accurate understanding of how the English Language works and how it changes over time.'

However, the other two of the secondary school teachers of English who participated in the present study, Teacher B (School A) and Teacher C (School B), expressed a negative perception on the teaching of the local variety of English. The reasons that were put forward were that teaching the standard variety would make the learners of English develop the ability to proficiently converse internationally (Teacher B), and that the Zimbabwe School Examination Council English examinations does not allow for the local variety of English (Teacher B and Teacher C).

Also noteworthy could be that Teacher A and Teacher C's belief that teachers should not teach the standard variety of English only because the English examinations in Zimbabwe do not tolerate local variety features such as code-switching seems to confirm Norrish's (1997) observation that the devaluation of local English varieties is strengthened by both local and international examination boards that set up specific (standard) models of phonology and syntax.

The other reason that was given for the teaching of the standard variety only in the current study (Teacher B) was that the standard variety enables learners to develop the ability to communicate proficiently at international level. Such a sentiment also emerged in Young and Walsh's (2010) study on the beliefs of 'non-native English speaking' teachers from Europe, Africa and Asia about the usefulness and appropriacy of teaching English varieties such as English as an International Language (EIL) and Lingua Franca (ELF). The study established that the majority of the teachers who participated in the inquiry advocated the standard English variety, purportedly to address learners' needs and expectations, such as the needs of the learners who would in future go to the USA, Canada, UK, New Zealand and Australia for higher education and employment. In a related study by Tweedie (2013), 'non-native speaking' teachers of English in Singapore also showed a negative perception of the local English variety called Singlish. Also in support of the teaching of the dominant or 'standard' English varieties are Matsuda and Matsuda (2010:372) who argue that,

as long as the dominant varieties prevail in public perception and teaching material ... language teachers have the obligation to make those discursive resources available to students so students can appropriate them for their own purposes ... To not make the dominant codes available to students who seek them would be doing disservice to students, leading to their economic and social marginalisation.

In summary, the study established that all the four teachers who participated in the study believed there is a relationship between code-switching and New English, an observation which is alluded to by scholars such as Norrish (1997), Kamangwamalu and Moyo (2003), Adedimeji (2007), Kirkpatrick (2007), Jenkins (2009), and Alimi (2011). Also, two of the four teachers of English were agreeable to the teaching of the local variety of English, thereby echoing the views and/or findings of such authors as Kirkpatrick (2007), Kadenge (2009), Groves (2010), Matsuda and Matsuda (2010), Alimi (2011), Jindapitak and Theo (2013), Tweedie (2013), as well as Prashanti and Bhavhani (2016). However, the other two teachers expressed their preference for the teaching of the 'standard' variety of English, thus, confirming of studies by Matsuda and Matsuda (2010), Young and Walsh (2010), and Tweedie (2013).

5.1 Conclusion and Recommendations

It can be concluded, from the findings of the study, that secondary school teachers of ESL are aware of the relationship between code-switching and New Englishes, and that these New Englishes are legitimate varieties that can be taught in schools. However, the 'standard' variety is still the dominant variety that is enjoying a higher status, and, therefore, some teachers prefer that the variety continue to be taught.

There might also be need for a paradigm shift on the part of language policy planners in Outer Circle countries such as Zimbabwe from the current exo-normative model to a balance of the the endo-normative or nativised model and the exo-normative model, which would be advantageous not only to teachers by legitimising the teachers' own model thereby boosting the ESL teachers' self-confidence and self-esteem (Kirkpatrick, 2007), but also learners who may easily identify with the endo-normative model and, thus, find it easier to master.

To examination boards of 'Outer Circle' countries such as the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, I recommend, without advocating for acceptance or condoning of errors, that the examination boards be sensitive to aspects of local English varieties rather than prescribe exo-normative or native speaker models, which both ESL teachers and learners would find difficult or impossible to achieve. It is my submission that the goal of L2 instruction should be communicative competence, not necessarily native-speaker proficiency. This is supported by Brown (1987), Richards and Rodgers (2007), Hoff (2013), and Ohmaye (2013).

Finally, although this study has apparently gained useful insights into teachers' perceptions on the relationship between code-switching and New Englishes, and on the teaching of Standard English vis-à-vis the local variety of English in secondary schools in Zimbabwe, and contributed to the body of knowledge on L2 pedagogy, there might be need for further research into the perceptions of other ESL teachers at other types of secondary school, such as mission boarding schools and private schools.

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