Variations in Singapore English A Case Study Based on an Excerpt from '*The Teenage Textbook Movie*'

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Having had its origins from British English, its superstrate language, Singapore English has now evolved to become one of several independent varieties of English; varieties which have been described in various literature as 'New Englishes' (e.g. Kandiah, 1998, Winford, 2003) as well as 'Non-Native Englishes' (e.g. Kachru, 1982). As with most other Englishes, Singapore English exists in its Standard variety (Standard Singapore English) as well as its Colloquial variety (Colloquial Singapore English). Such variations in Singapore English can be described in terms of two basic frameworks which acknowledge variations on the basis of proficiency or communicative intent as proposed by Platt and Weber's Lectal Continuum and Gupta's Diglossia frameworks as well as two other frameworks by Pakir (1995) and Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo (2000) whose frameworks acknowledge and reflect variations based on both factors. A brief look into the history of the spread of English in Singapore shows that Singapore English, in its early days, was very much influenced by the local languages, especially Chinese and Malay. It is understandable, therefore, that the resultant form of Singapore English we have today carries a significant number of features from the local indigenous languages. These features are most prominent in its colloquial form (CSE). Based on a case study of the language used in a Singaporean-made movie, it has been concluded that among the prominent features of CSE in the chosen verbal interaction are the lack of verb inflection, lack of subject and the omission of auxiliary verbs. Motivations for the use of such features have also been explored and these include the speaker's low proficiency level as well as the speaker's conscious choice to make use of a wider range of resources as a strategic move to create solidarity and mutual understanding among the interlocutors. It can therefore be concluded that substratal influence plays a very important part in the evolution of the features of Singapore English and that both the Lectal Continuum and Diglossia frameworks (and therefore, especially Pakir's and Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo's) reflect these variations in its use.

Introduction

The situation of English in Singapore, though not unique, presents itself as an interesting source of study. Having had its origins from British English, its superstrate language, Singapore English has now evolved to become one of several independent varieties of English which include Indian English, Philippine English and Nigerian English, varieties which have been described in various literature as 'New Englishes' (e.g. Kandiah, 1998, Winford, 2003) as well as 'Non-Native Englishes' (e.g. Kachru, 1982). This paper aims to look at the situation and use of English in Singapore. Through the analysis of a conversation in an excerpt of the movie '*The Teenage Textbook Movie*', it also aims to illustrate some of the linguistic features (syntactical, grammatical and lexical) of Colloquial Singapore English (henceforth CSE) and how they are used in a conversation to achieve certain communicative aims. This paper will further illustrate that variations in Singapore English can be described in terms of two basic frameworks which acknowledge variations on the basis of proficiency or communicative intent as proposed by Platt and Weber's Lectal Continuum and Gupta's Diglossia frameworks as well as two other frameworks by Pakir (1995) and Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo (2000) whose frameworks acknowledge and reflect variations based on both factors.

This paper is organized in the following manner Section 2 looks at Singapore English from a historical and sociolinguistic perspective. This section will also introduce the existence of two subvarieties of Singapore English. Section 3 identifies and briefly describes frameworks that can be used to describe the use of English in Singapore. In Section 4, I will discuss the salient features of CSE that were found in the transcript of the movie and the motivations for the participants' switches between Standard Singapore English (henceforth SSE) and CSE. I will also apply concepts and theories from the frameworks which had been discussed earlier. Section 5 will conclude my study and analysis of Singapore English and explore some future directions which I think English in Singapore will take.

English in Singapore

A Brief History of English in Singapore

The British Colonization initiated the rigorous spread of English across the globe and this resulted in the English language coming into contact with various other indigenous languages which were found in the colonized states.

A brief look into the history of the spread of English in Singapore shows that Singapore English, in its early days, was very much influenced by the local languages, especially Chinese and Malay Bao (2005) asserts that 'Singapore English is a contact language with a constant linguistic substratum and superstratum' It is evident, therefore, that the resultant form of Singapore English we have today carries a significant number of features from the local indigenous languages. These features are most prominent in its colloquial form.

While acknowledging the complexities of defining the varieties of English that have evolved as a result of colonization, Kandiah (1998) refers to Singapore English as one of the New Englishes. These are varieties that, for pragmatic and functional reasons, have evolved new and distinct features in order to meet the demands of its social and cultural situations, most of which occur in multilinguistic settings. With this view of Singapore English as a distinct variety in its own right, rather than the traditional perspective of Singapore English as being a 'deviant' form of British English, I shall attempt to identify and analyse its salient features and how they arc used in a conversation found in the movie clip.

SSE versus CSE

Singapore English is the result of contact between its superstrate language, British English and its substrate languages which are mainly Chinese (including its dialects) and Malay To put it simplistically, the forms that Singapore English takes differ greatly when it is used in formal and informal situations, although other factors arc also considered in an individual's decision regarding his stylistic choices In formal situations, the institutionalized form of Singapore English is used and this is referred to as SSE. Other than differences in pronunciation and in a few lexical items (e.g. void deck, handphone, bring), SSE is closely similar to other standard Englishes around the world, including the 'Native' varieties like British, American and Australian Englishes (Gupta, 1998) Disregarding the differences in accent, a person speaking and writing in SSE is therefore highly intelligible in international settings.

CSE, on the other hand, is typically and largely used in informal situations. It is the form of Singapore English that varies the most from standard Englishes around the world. Much of its differences are due to substrate influence from its substrate languages, Chinese and Malay These differences exist in the forms of syntactical, morphological, lexical as well as phonological differences. Examples include the use of 'already' to indicate

perfective and inchoative aspects (Bao, 2005), the fronting of object in a sentence to give it prominence ('*That medicine I eat already.*'), the use of particles such as '*lah*', '*meh*' and '*hor*' as well as the lack of length contrast between vowels (Bao, 1998).

Despite being very different from standard English, CSE has its own grammatical systems and rules and thus should not be viewed as 'broken' or 'bad' English (Alsagoff and Ho, 1998). While CSE is commonly used by those who may have limited exposure to institutionalized standard English, its use can also be a reflection of one's strategic communicative intent and choice in using one's range of language repertoire. This includes accommodating to others' speech patterns as well as building solidarity among speakers of CSE. In the next section, I will elaborate on the use of four analytical frameworks to explore the possible social and linguistic motivations for one's use of SSE and CSE.

Analytical Frameworks

Platt and Weber (1980) attempted to describe the use of English in Singapore using the Lectal Continuum Framework. This approach describes Singapore English as a continuum with three levels of proficiency termed as 'acrolect', 'mesolect' and 'basilect' Speakers who are at the acrolectal level are deemed to be those whose speech patterns are that which are closest to the institutionalized form of Singapore English (SSE) while those at the basilectal level are those whose speech patterns are highly 'deviant' from the institutionalized variety and which most contain features from the substrate languages. The Lectal Continuum Framework uses a speaker's educational and sociolinguistic background as a basis for the manner and register in which they speak. The table below shows Platt and Weber's definition and decriptors for each of the three levels in the continuum and their corresponding educational and sociolinguistic backgrounds.

Therefore, by Platt and Weber's definition, the highly educated as well as those with higher socio-economic status will speak SSE while those who are less educated and of lower socio-economic status will only be able to speak CSE. While Platt and Weber's framework might be highly applicable in the situation of Singapore English in the past (where only the wealthy and educated have the opportunities to be exposed to the institutionalized form and are thus able to learn it while those who are less wealthy and less educated do not have the opportunities to learn the language formally and systematically), today, it reflects the behaviour of only a certain percentage of English speakers in Singapore. The use of English by speakers in

Singapore today is not simply a reflection of their educational and sociolinguistic backgrounds. A competent speaker may choose to switch between SSE and CSE in his attempt to respond to variables in his environment (e.g. topic, interlocutors, formality of situation, etc.). This stylistic choice adopted by a speaker is best described through Gupta's Diglossia Framework (1994).

Lects	Typical background of speakers
Acrolect	Tertiary education. If lower educational standard then definitely higher status position.
Upper Mesolect	'A' Level and often some further training. Higher clerical positions, etc. If older age group – Senior Cambridge and often additional training.
Lower Mesolect	Reached Secondary Four and (usually) passed GCE, maybe additional training. In medium status positions, e.g. typists, sales assistants in department stores, etc.
Basilect	Only primary education or a few years at secondary If up to Secondary Four then either GCE was not attempted or passed in only a few subjects. Lower status positions, e.g. packers, waiters and waitresses in smaller restaurants, barboys, lift attendants, etc.

Table 3 1   Relationship between sub-varieties of Singapore English and the typical background of their speakers (Platt and Weber, 1980)

Gupta (1994) proposes a polar approach in analyzing variations in Singapore English where Singapore English consists of two sub-varieties, the H-variety (SSE) spoken in formal contexts and the L-variety (CSE) spoken in informal contexts. One main difference between Gupta's and Platt and Weber's (1980) frameworks is that while the latter attributes the variations in the use of Singapore English as that which has a basis the speaker's proficiency level and socioeconomic status, Gupta's acknowledges that the variations may be due to the speaker's communicative choice and intent. Based on her hypothesis, SSE is used in formal contexts such as in school, during meetings, in public speeches and in domains related to the government and administration (Pakir, 1995) while CSE is used in informal contexts such as conversations between friends, recreational time with family members and with sellers at the market. Based on the above description, therefore, the use of CSE is not confined to those who are less proficient in the target language but also includes use by highly proficient

acrolectal speakers who may switch to CSE during informal interactions with friends and family members.

Alternatives to the two frameworks above are models proposed by Pakir (1995) and Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo (2000) which acknowledge and incorporate both Platt and Weber's framework as well as Gupta's framework. Pakir (1995) uses a model of expanding triangles to represent and reflect that variations in Singapore English occur on the basis of the speaker's proficiency as well as the formality of the speech situations. The bases of the triangles represent the situations when CSE is used while the highest peak represents that of SSE. At the extreme end, CSE is used during intimate situations and by speakers who have rudimentary proficiency in the target language and according to Pakir, these colloquial features are shared among the basilects, mesolects and acrolects. It is at the peaks of the triangles that we can see the differences between the features of the three groups, with the acrolectal speech patterns (SSE) being at the advanced level of proficiency and used in formal situations.
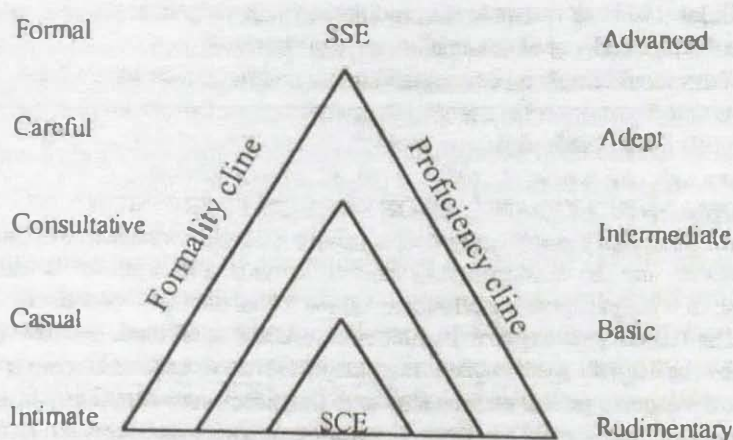

Figure 3 1 The Expanding Triangles of English Expression (Pakir, 1995)

The last framework that reflects the varying speech patterns of Singapore English speakers is one that has been proposed by Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo (2000). In this model, the salience of ethnicity features is represented in addition to that of proficiency and formality This model of inverted triangles show that at the most formal end, the speech patterns of educated Singaporeans cannot be distinguished based on their ethnicity;

that is, evidences of ethnicity either do not exist or are sparingly found in their formal speech styles. At the lower end of the continuum, however, the three triangles separate to show that in informal situations, ethnicity speech markers are more salient in the speech of educated speakers, showing that more variations exist in their informal speech styles.
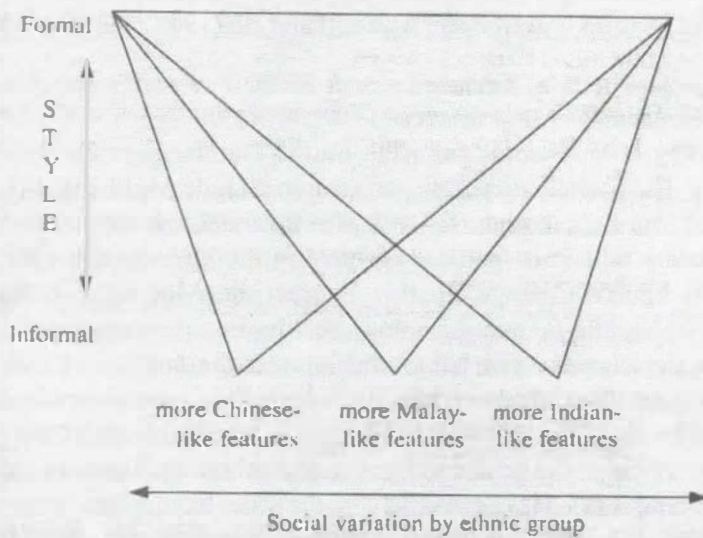

Figure 3.2. Stylistic variation by ethnic group among educated Singaporean English speakers (Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo, 2000)

In the preceding paragraphs, I have discussed four frameworks that can be used to show the variations in the use of English among Singaporean speakers. These frameworks show that these variations exist not simply because of the proficiency of the speakers but are also due to the domains of use and the communicative intents of the speakers.

Data Analysis and Discussion

Methodology

For the purposes of this study, an excerpt from the local movie '*The Teenage Textbook*' had been identified and isolated as it was found to contain a significant use of CSE. The excerpt was later transcribed (see Appendix 1) and analysed for instances of the use of CSE features. In analyzing the use of CSE by the speakers in the movie clip, reference has been made to the grammatical features described by Alsagoff and Ho (1998) and Bao (1998).

Contextualisation

The recording is an excerpt from the movie *The Teenage Textbook* by Adrian Tan. The participants of the interaction include Mui Ee (f, 17), Kai (m, 17) and Mui Ee's mother (f, 40+). Mui Ee and Kai have just finished their secondary education and are enrolled in the three-month course at Paya Lebar Junior College. In this interaction, Mui Ee's mother is reprimanding Mui Ee for coming home late. Mui Ee tries unsuccessfully to explain her situation and gain her mother's understanding.

Among the three speakers, Mui Ee's mother, a Chinese female in her late thirties or early forties, seems to be the speaker who uses CSE most significantly. This could be due to her Chinese ethnic background and her low educational level. Mui Ee and Kai, on the other hand, seem to speak in a more acrolectal level of the language. At certain points, however, Mui Ee does switch to CSE perhaps in her desperation to make her mother understand her plight. In this interaction, it seems that there is a lack of understanding and compromise between Mui Ee and her mother

Discussion of CSE Features in Transcript

Among the more striking features of CSE in this conversation is the omission of the auxiliary verbs, 'be', 'have' and 'do' For example, in line 1, Mui Ee's mother says 'Late again' instead of 'You are late again' Other examples include 'Your father sick' (line 10) instead of 'Your father is sick' and in line 26 where the clause 'Go where' is used instead of 'Where did you go' This feature is common in CSE and is primarily due to the speaker's lack of proficiency in the language. It then becomes more practical for the speaker to learn and use only the main verbs in the utterance like the verb 'go' in line 26. This gives rise to CSE clauses like 'What you eat' and 'Why you sing' instead of 'What did you eat' and Why did you sing'

The less 'important' verbs, which do not affect the 'action' in the utterances are thus omitted. Another explanation for this feature could be that of substratal influence. Neither Chinese nor Malay require the use of auxiliary verbs in their constructions and instead simply use the main verbs. For example:

Language	Construction	English translation
Malay	*(1) Apa awak makan?*	What you eat?
Mandarin	*(2) NH chF shQn me?*	You eat what?

Another feature of CSE that is observed in this conversation is the omission of the subject of the sentences. In line 1 'Late again, huh?', the subject 'you' is omitted. This occurs in line 2 as well. In line 11, the subject 'father' is omitted while in line 15, the subject 'you' is omitted. The lack of subject is also found in line 27. This pro-drop feature in CSE has been documented by Gupta (1994), Platt and Weber (1980) and Tay (1979). 'This is done when the identities of those pro-dropped elements are recoverable from the context of the utterances' (Alsagoff and Ho, 1998·147). In lines 1 and 2, the subject, that is Mui Ee, is recoverable from the context as there were only she and her mother participating in the conversation and her mother was addressing her. In line 11, the subject 'father' can be deduced from the line before that, 'Your father, hah, so sick' where the father is indicated as the subject. It is therefore a common practice to drop the subject of the sentence in CSE when the subject has been indicated before or during the utterance. This CSE feature can be attributed to the influence of its substrate languages namely Hokkien which is a pro-drop language (Platt and Weber, 1980 72) as well as Mandarin and Malay which are 'topic prominent languages and null-subject languages' (Poedjosoedarmo, 2000). The influence of the substrate languages on the form of CSE is therefore especially evident in this case.

My next point of discussion involves the use of adverbials. In SSE, adverbials usually occur at the end or near the end of the sentence. Speakers of CSE, however, frequently front the adverbials to give them prominence in the sentence. In lines 2, 4, 15 and 20, the adverbials 'everytime', 'always' and 'every day' are put at the initial positions of their respective sentences so as to give these words prominence. In line 2, for example, rather than saying 'You are late everytime', the word 'everytime' is fronted to stress the frequency of Mui Ee's lateness. Similarly, in line 20, instead of saying 'her daughter comes back early every day', the CSE speaker says 'her

daughter every day come back early' to give emphasis to the frequency of the event as this is the problem that is being discussed between Mui Ee and her mother, that of the frequency of her late nights. The fronting of adverbials is also a feature found in Mandarin [see construction (3)]

Language	Construction	English translation
Mandarin	*(3) MGng tiAn wM*	**Tomorrow** I want
	yAo huG jiA.	(to) go home.

Another salient feature of CSE is the use of verbs. Verbs in SSE are often inflected to show whether the event in the sentence occurs in the present, past, perfective or progressive tense. In CSE, however, verbs take the same form, that is, the base form, regardless of the tense of the sentence. In line 6, the verb 'keep' retains its base form rather than existing in its perfective form. Therefore, 'I have kept quiet' is being uttered as 'I keep quiet' The past tense of the verbs in lines 12 and 20 are also not indicated. The verbs 'ask' and 'say' are not inflected into their past tense in CSE. Rather than 'I asked you' and 'Mrs Phua said', the base forms 'ask' and 'say' are used. CSE therefore makes no distinction between the forms of the verbs to indicate tense. Verbs retain their base forms while tenses are indicated through the use of adverbials like 'already' and 'just now' While this could be due to reasons of simplification, it could also be attributed to influences from Malay and Mandarin which do not inflect their verbs. The word *makan* in Malay, for example, is not inflected in constructions that express different tenses and aspects [see (4) and (5)] while in constructions (6) and (7), *chF* is again uninflected despite the differences in tense and aspect in their English equivalents. Adverbials are used instead.

Language	Construction	English translation
Malay	*(4) Saya sudah makan.*	I have eat(en).
Malay	*(5) Saya sedang makan.*	I am eat(ing).
Mandarin	*(6)* WM yAo **chF.**	I want (to) eat.
Mandarin	*(7) WM chF le.*	I (have) eat(en) already.

Another feature of CSE that involves verbs is the lack of subject-verb agreement. In line 11, the verb 'work' should take the form 'works' as the subject 'father' is singular. The verb, however, retains its base form. This feature is also evident in lines 20 and 22 which should be "Mrs Phua says' and 'his daughter goes' respectively Verbs in CSE, therefore, not only

have no inflection but do not make a distinction to agree with the subject as well Once again, these uninflected forms can also be found in the substrate languages, Chinese and Malay

This next section focuses on the use of WH-pronouns in CSE. In CSE, WH-pronouns like 'what', 'where', 'why', 'when' and 'how' are basically aligned to two rules. The first states that the WH-pronouns are accepted to occur at the initial as well as final positions. This differs from Standard English where the words occur only at initial positions for interrogative clauses. Therefore, while Standard English rules that only 'Where did you go?' is correct, CSE rules that 'Where you go?' and 'You go where?' are perfectly acceptable. Mui Ee's mother has illustrated this CSE feature in line 22 where she says 'his daughter go where' This rule or practice is believed to have been the result of substratal influence of the two other prominent languages in Singapore, namely Malay and Mandarin. '*NH qX nD lH*' in Mandarin and '*Awak pergi ke mana*?' translate directly to 'You go where?' In addition to that, Malay also allows the WH-pronoun to occur in initial position. Therefore, 'Mana awak pergi?' is also possible. Due to this influence, it has been observed that in CSE, 'the interrogative pronoun can remain *in situ*' (Chow, 1995, Gupta, 1994, Tay, 1979 cited in Alsagoff and Ho, 1998 149) as well as at the initial position, following SSE and Malay syntax rules.

The second rule for the WH-pronouns, however, involves only the pronoun 'what' where it is used at the final position as a pragmatic particle. In line 13, Mui Ee says 'I said I was going what!' in response to her mother's accusation. The WH-pronoun is, however, not used as an interrogative here. Here Mui Ee uses the term 'what' at the final position 'to contradict' some assumption that the former (in this case, her mother) attributes to the latter (Mui Ee) (Wee, 1998 192). Mui Ee has therefore used the term 'what' in the final position to contradict and disagree with her mother's previous statement. An SSE equivalent construction would be the construction of tag questions like 'I said I was going, didn't I?' The use of its alternative CSE form is common among CSE speakers. One can therefore hear expressions like 'I didn't eat what!' and 'I got sing what!' used in situations where the speaker is disagreeing with the comment made about him/her. The pronoun 'what' is therefore used as a pragmatic particle instead of as an interrogative pronoun. In this case, the use of a pragmatic particle could be said to be filling a gap in the target language. Although such CSE constructions may be expressed sufficiently through the use of tag questions in SSE, the use of 'what' in its CSE form, however, imply a more intense

tone and meaning not expressed in the SSE forms. Therefore, it could be said that 'what' in the above cases, not only serves as an expression of contradiction but as an intensifier of the contradiction expressed.

Having discussed the features of CSE found in the excerpt and the possible motivations for such constructions, I will now examine how the patterns of speech in the excerpt reflect the frameworks normally used to describe and explain variations in Singapore English. As mentioned in my earlier paragraphs, the principal user of CSE in this interaction is Mui Ee's mother and this, consistent with Platt and Weber's Lectal Continuum framework, could be due to her educational background and thus level of proficiency Notice, however, that although Mui Ee speaks mostly in Standard English, she did move down to the mesolectal level at two significant points in the conversation. This occurs in lines 24, 29, 30 and 31. Why would an otherwise fluent speaker of Standard English suddenly decide to switch to CSE? We must keep in mind that Mui Ee and her mother are having an argument about her late nights. Mui Ee is trying desperately to explain her reasons to her mother and garner her support. Her switch to CSE could therefore be an attempt made on her part to narrow the gap between her mother and herself. She is probably making use of a wider range of resources available to her (CSE and SSE) in trying to convince her mother and getting the latter on her side. Accommodating to her mother's linguistic level is therefore a conscious and strategic attempt to create a sense of solidarity and mutual understanding between her and her mother It is a strategic communicative choice and therefore an illustration of Gupta's Diglossia framework.

I have therefore identified the prominent features of CSE in this interaction among which are the lack of verb inflection, lack of Subject and the omission of auxiliary verbs. I have also explored some possible reasons why the speakers 'chose' to use CSE rather than SSE, namely the low proficiency level and the use of a wider range of resources as a strategic move to create solidarity and mutual understanding. It can therefore be concluded that substratal influence plays a very important part in the evolution of the features of Singapore English and that both the Lectal Continuum and Diglossia frameworks (and therefore, especially Pakir's and Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo's) reflect these variations in its use.

Singapore English: Future Directions

The use of CSE has long been actively discouraged by the government, media and the educational system (Bao, 2003). It has sometimes been

described as 'pidgin' English (Arends et al., 1994 cited in Bao, 2003) and is often considered as a stigmatized variety of Singapore English that is spoken by those with a poor command of the language. Several moves have been initiated recently in the hope of eradicating CSE. This includes the Speak Good English campaign initiated in 2000, the 'English As It Is Broken' column in the Straits Times and the employment of 'native English teachers' by the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2006).

Nevertheless, through surveys carried out by The English Language Curriculum and Pedagogy Review Committee (henceforth ELCPRC) set up in 2005, it was found that despite the government's efforts, students were still reluctant to use Standard English with their peers (Ministry of Education, 2006). While the use of SSE seems to imply arrogance or that someone is 'uppity', the use of CSE is often perceived as 'cool' This is further supported by Poedjosoedarmo's research (1995) which found that although the use of SSE and non-local accents were perceived to be indications of intelligence, those with CSE accents were seen to be more authentic and endearing.

An important function of CSE is its use as a stylistic resource to forge solidarity and ingroup-ness among its speakers. Although stylistic choices are also available in SSE where the construction 'Just leave it on the table' implies less formality and more casualness than 'You are requested to leave your belongings on the table in front of you', a CSE construction like 'Put on the table *lah*' would imply a stronger sense of shared histories and commonalities among its speakers and may explain why this is preferred. It has to be noted, however, despite its use as a stylistic resource among CSE speakers, such utterances may not be understood by foreigners and other non-CSE speakers and therefore may be a source of miscommunication.

Despite the use of CSE for purposes of solidarity and instilling a Singaporean identity, it cannot be denied that the use of CSE does interfere with the learning of the target language, SSE, especially among children. Most are not able to switch between CSE and SSE when the occasion calls for it because they are unaware that their constructions are 'deviant' from Standard English. Over familiarity with CSE constructions will result in the learners thinking that such constructions are actually 'correct' and 'grammatical' Therefore, although CSE should still play an important role in the social domain, there needs to be further emphasis that its use is inappropriate in other domains like education. Speakers and learners need to be aware of the linguistic differences between CSE and SSE so that

they will not confuse the two forms. Conscious teaching of the differences between the two and their appropriateness are thus recommended. Perhaps MOE's recent move to include the use of local literature in the English Language and Literature curriculum (Shanmugaratnam, 2005) could be one medium in which such distinctions could be made and reiterated to students. Literature written by local writers such as Kuo Pao Kun, Christine Lim and Boey Kim Cheng (Shanmugaratnam, 2005) about local settings and themes would most probably consist of the use of both SSE and CSE among its characters. This could be used as samples as well as triggers for further discussions on the appropriateness of the use of CSE and SSE.

Knowledge of the differences between CSE and SSE however may not guarantee that speakers will use SSE even when the occasion calls for it. Therefore, there should be a move from presenting SSE as something academic and formal to presenting it as a modern and useful tool that speakers can make use of to achieve their educational and social aims, much like the 'Hua Yu Cool' campaign. Awareness could be created of the stylistic potential of SSE. A nation-wide campaign that 'rebrands' SSE could therefore be mounted in the near future.

The recommendations above, therefore, aim to allow for the complementary use of CSE and SSE. They acknowledge the role that CSE plays as a tool for solidarity that ties the different races and social groups together Nevertheless, it is also acknowledged that the use of the former may interfere with the learning of the latter.

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