

VERBAL NEGATION IN THE INTERLANGUAGE
OF ARABIC-SPEAKING WOMEN ACQUIRING
ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

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*To Soeliah Tjokrosoedjono, who coped so well with
her second language and its environment*

The University of Aston in Birmingham

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ABSTRACT

The present investigation is an empirical study in second language acquisition. It offers a careful examination of certain syntactic structures as produced by adult learners of English as a second language in an untutored, natural linguistic environment. The area which is under investigation is the negation of the verbal phrase within the sentence (intrasentential verbal negation). The corpus consists of language material which was recorded at a number of consecutive meetings with five women whose first language was Arabic. The study offers a description of the methodology followed in collecting the material, as well as the problems encountered during this process.

All the utterances comprising intrasentential verbal negation have been extracted from the corpus for a detailed analysis. They are classified on the basis of the types of verb negation structures attested in the data. The analysis of each class of data incorporates several aspects. It comprises the incidence of each class in the corpus; the developmental significance of a category in the acquisition process; the development of a class in the second language production of an individual learner over a period of time; a comparison of negative and affirmative utterances with identical verb structures, where relevant; variation in the use of particular verb negation classes within the population; and the degree of variability in the expression of negatives. Where appropriate, the data are compared with findings from previous studies in first language and second language acquisition in order to highlight similarities and differences. Factors that are assumed to influence the acquisition process, namely specific learner types and socio-psychological variables, are related to the data.

Key words: Psycholinguistics
Second-language
Acquisition
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CHAPTER 1

1 INTRODUCTION

This study is a data-orientated empirical research project concerned with the interlanguage of some Arab women who were in the process of acquiring English as a second language. The acquisitional data come from a corpus of linguistic material produced by five subjects, none of whom followed English courses during the sampling procedure. Sampling of their spoken English took place longitudinally, that is, over a period of several months, with samples ranging from 2 to 11 recordings per subject.

The objective of the project is to closely examine and describe the language production of these subjects, and thereby to throw light on some aspects of the complex processes involved in second language acquisition. It is hoped that, ultimately, such careful inspection of linguistic data will enhance the understanding of language acquisition in general, and that it may contribute specifically to an integrated theory of second language acquisition. Such understanding and theory may in turn prove to be relevant to different aspects of second language teaching.

The focus of the study is on the syntactic area of intrasentential verbal negation and the construction through which this is expressed by the subjects in the population. The selection of verbal negation is based on several grounds. In the first place, negation is claimed to be a universal concept and is therefore expected to be expressed linguistically in all languages. Secondly, verbal negation is a syntactic area which is relatively complex in English, as it requires both a negative marker and an auxiliary verb.

In the third place, the area of negation has been dealt with extensively in linguistics, not only as regards its theoretical issues, but particularly in empirical studies on first language as well as on second language acquisition. Fourthly, verbal negation has the advantage of being manifest in the surface structure, so that its features as produced by second language learners are easily accessible to the investigator and may be examined for linguistic analysis on the basis of produced language data.

This dissertation is divided into 6 chapters, this introduction being the first. The second chapter deals with the development of linguistic science, starting with Chomsky's at the time innovative theory on language and language acquisition. The chapter then examines some of the successive research into the ways in which children come to speak their first language. Subsequently, it describes how the insight and understanding obtained in that field led to a further interest in second language learners, either involved in a guided programme of instruction, or in a situation in which their learning takes place in an untutored, naturalistic manner. In order to distinguish between these two different learning processes, this dissertation refers to the former as second language learning, while the latter is referred to as second language acquisition, in accordance with the distinction made by Krashen (1981:1,2). However, those involved in either of these processes will here be referred to as (second language) learners, irrespective of the nature of the process itself. Special attention is paid to previous empirical research into the acquisition of negation, either by children acquiring their mother tongue, or second language learners.

The third chapter deals with the methodology followed in the collection of linguistic material in this study. It describes the various relevant aspects of the sampling procedure, as well as some of its preparatory measures and the transcription of recorded language afterwards.

The fourth chapter offers a syntactic analysis of the data selected from the corpus, viz. data referring to intrasentential verbal negation as expressed by the women in the population. The chapter provides a classification based on the constructions of negation found in the subjects' samples. It examines differentiating factors, such as frequency of particular structures, possible restrictions on verb forms, range of verb negation types in an individual subject's English and differences between the various second language learners in the population. Furthermore, the chapter attempts to account for some of the phenomena observed in the data, mainly through relating it to previous research in the field.

The fifth chapter offers a summary of the analysis given in the preceding chapter and draws conclusions concerning the analyzed data and the process of second language acquisition. The next chapter gives recommendations for further research in second language acquisition and related areas. The appendix, which comes after chapter 6, comprises forms, diagrams and tables. Some tables, however, are included in the chapters themselves.

CHAPTER 2

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The concept of interlanguage and research in second language acquisition have been logical extensions of previous developments in linguistics. Their history goes back about a quarter of a century, namely to the first ideas of transformational grammar as postulated by Chomsky. His introduction of the theory of transformational generative grammar did not only start off the development of theoretical linguistics, but it also gave a new impetus to research into psychology, as far as first language learning is concerned, and into language teaching. These two areas subsequently developed into the disciplines of psycholinguistics and applied linguistics respectively. Before dealing with the investigation into the area of second language acquisition, it is essential to understand the major issues that have preceded and influenced its research.

Some of the traditional and earlier views on language behaviour had evolved in psychology from Skinner's theory of behaviorism. Skinner was partly interested in explaining language production, for which purpose he proposed a model that fitted in with his ideas on animal learning. Thus he extended behaviorism and the methods deployed in experimental psychology to language learning. Verbal behaviour was explained in terms of the concepts that he had used in laboratory experiments on animal learning, such as 'stimulus', 'response', 'reinforcement' and 'conditioning'.

Skinner's book "Verbal Behavior" (1957) was reviewed by Chomsky (1959), who set out to demonstrate that Skinner's concepts cannot be used in explaining language learning. Chomsky took each of Skinner's

concepts and their definitions to show that they do not shed light on verbal behaviour at all. In their literal meaning, Skinner's description scarcely covers any aspect of language behaviour convincingly, while in the metaphorical sense, the terms become so vague that they are no better at explaining verbal behaviour than previous traditional approaches to language and can hardly claim to be scientific or objective.

Chomsky stated that in order to be able to predict behaviour of a complex organism like the human species, one does not only need information about external stimulation (the field that Skinner had concentrated on before), but also knowledge of the internal structure of human beings, the way input information is processed and the way the human species organizes its own behaviour. Whereas Skinner had omitted a discussion of fundamental factors in language behaviour, viz. the higher mental faculties of human beings, Chomsky showed that verbal behaviour could not be explained without insight into the inborn structure of these faculties, their genetically determined course of maturation and their past experience.

Chomsky's contribution to the understanding of language was that with his views he revolutionized language study by presenting a new conception of language and a theory of the acquisition of language, which he considered to be a product generated by human beings through mental processes. His theory went well beyond Skinner's limited scope, which merely involved external influences and observable data. In Chomsky's theory there is a fundamental distinction between on the one hand the concept of competence, which represents the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his/her language, and on the other hand, the concept of performance, which is the actual use of language by the speaker-hearer

in real-life situations. Competence is a system of processes that generates language consistently. This system of rules has been mastered by the speaker-hearer, who puts it to use in his or her performance. Competence, therefore, is the mental reality which underlies the actual behaviour of the speaker-hearer in concrete situations. This distinction is also important in the analysis of language produced by second language learners, as will be seen later.

The linguist (or the child learning his/her language, for that matter) is confronted with the problem of discovering the nature of competence, since, being an underlying system, it is not directly accessible through observation. As a result, the linguist has to rely on the data available, that is to say, those utterances used by speakers of the language, in order to arrive at an insight into and knowledge of their underlying rules (cf Valian, Winzemer and Erreich, 1981). The process of discovering the underlying system of a language may be similar in the case of an adult learner of a second language in a non-tutored situation. Theories about the nature of such insight have to be partly speculative and cannot be conclusive, as long as so relatively little is known about the intricacies of the human mind.

The theory of linguistic competence is comprised in a generative grammar, which gives an account of the speaker-hearer's competence and the way it generates language. Ideally, this grammar would include aspects of language in general, as well as the features that are specific to one particular language.

Although it is not yet possible to find out the general nature of language, some characteristics have been found to be common to all existing languages. Any language has a creative aspect, that is, any

speaker can use his/her language in such a way that he/she produces a new sentence that nobody else has uttered before by stringing known words and constructions into a new sequence. Similarly, any other speaker-hearer of that language would be able to understand this new string on the basis of his/her competence. As a consequence, the fact that language can make infinite use of finite means can be regarded a universal characteristic pertaining to all languages. A universal grammar accommodates the creative aspect of language use and indicates the deep-seated regularities of all possible human languages.

A grammar of a particular language is a description of the ideal speaker-hearer's intrinsic competence of that language. Every speaker-hearer has mastered and internalized a generative grammar which expresses his/her competence of his/her language. It is a system of rules that assigns structural descriptions to sentences of the speaker/hearer language in an explicit and well-defined manner. The generative grammar differs from the traditional grammars in that it would not omit any of the basic regularities of a certain language, whereas the traditional grammar only classifies examples without formulating the generative rules of the language.

It should be noted that, despite the fact that a generative grammar deals with mental processes that occur in the speaker-hearer, the internalized grammar exists beyond the level of the individual's actual or potential consciousness. Correspondingly, the fact that a generative grammar attempts to specify what the speaker-hearer truly knows about his/her language does not necessarily coincide with what this person reports to know about it. Thus, a generative grammar is not a model for a speaker or hearer; it merely attempts to characterize in neutral terms the abstract knowledge of a language

that provides the basis for the actual use of this language by a speaker-hearer. In addition, a statement about the manner in which a sentence is derived in relation to the rules of a particular generative grammar does not represent either an explanation about how the speaker-hearer may proceed to construct the derivation of the sentence in question in concrete situations, or an account of the way in which he or she initially acquires the system of rules of the language.

As for language acquisition, Chomsky was not mainly concerned with the way a learner acquires a second language, but made suggestions as regards the way a child acquires a first language. However, the latter field is important in investigating the former. What should be borne in mind is that as yet little is known about how and why a child acquires the first language, as the complex activities of the human mind remain far from comprehensible.

What seems to be clear is that the child learner is exposed to language from people in the immediate environment and can observe the application of a specific term to certain instances. What is less obvious is the way that this language input is handled. The child proves to be capable of processing the information, forming a hypothesis about the extension of a term to a class of intricately related instances (which is the stage of constructing a system of grammatical rules of the language in his/her mind) and generating the rules in his or her own language.

There are a number of influences which might contribute to this complex phenomenon, such as reinforcement from those who surround the child, mimicry and natural inquisitiveness, but these definitely do

not decide the actual nature of language acquisition. Chomsky proposes the possibility that the child is capable of taking in observed sentences and extend their structures to other sentences in other instances through an intricate process of induction. This inductive capacity of the brain may be largely innate or develop through acquisition or through a process of genetically determined maturation of the nervous system. Chomsky has called this remarkable capacity the 'language acquisition device'. This view then goes against the behaviorist assumption of language acquisition through habit formation.

Interestingly, however, some linguistic research has meanwhile established that there may be some relationship after all between the learner's output and what is produced by the specific environment. In other words, certain model sentences produced by competent speakers are 'picked up' and subsequently produced by learners. Their output thus correlates with the received input and can be claimed to reflect some type of habit formation, either with reference to a learner's production of what is most frequently heard (e.g Larsen-Freeman, 1976; Wagner-Gough and Hatch, 1975), or to strings of language items which have been memorized in their entirety (cf Hanania and Gradman, 1977). Such findings certainly do not rehabilitate Skinner's ideas on verbal behaviour, but do demonstrate that some of the learner's responses may be explained in terms of the influence of the language input. This then operates alongside with the inductive capacity of the 'language acquisition device' (LAD).

An example of how this LAD would operate is the manner in which the learner acquires the sound system of the language concerned. The child produces an intricate arrangement of sound features which

constitute the phonological structure of the language by taking in the auditory input from other speakers and inductively selecting those features that are phonologically relevant to the language. This process of the learner does not result in the immediate acquisition of the totality of rules. In fact, the learner forms a series of hypotheses concerning the phonological features of the language. One particular hypothesis is applied in his/her language performance and, if it proves to be inconsistent with the language produced by other speakers, the learner rejects it and replaces it by another hypothesis, after which another cycle of hypothesis testing would occur. It is not until the final stage that the complete phonemic system of the language can be produced by the child. Such gradational development has been demonstrated by Smith (1973), who has investigated his child's acquisition of English phonology and discovered that his son generated certain distinctive features of English phonemes correctly before he was ultimately capable of accomplishing the complete phonemic system.

Although the results of the research project mentioned above concern the acquisition of phonology, what needs to be borne in mind is that it specifically deals with a first language (L1) learner and that Smith does not claim that the conclusions may be extended to the acquisition of phonology by a second language (L2) learner. As a matter of fact, adults involved in L2 learning generally prove to be incapable of arriving at the final stage, in which the L1 learner accomplishes the entire phonemic system. An example of such phonological failure is given by Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1975), who tested different linguistic areas with native speakers and L2

learners. Their adult subjects were able to function as adequate bilinguals in their L2 environment, but testing showed that at the phonological level they retained a strong L1 accent. However, the same L2 learners scored very high on the morphology and syntax tests and approached the number of correct responses given by native speakers in the same age range. Therefore, it appears that at the morphological and syntactic level L2 learners are capable of attaining the native level of performance and achieve the internalization of morphological rules just as children acquiring their mother tongue do.

The acquisition of morphological rules by L1 learners had already been investigated by Berko (1958) long before the above project, which in fact used an adaptation of her so-called 'wug test'. Shortly after Chomsky wrote his critique of Skinner, she explored the area of morphology and arrived at conclusions which supported some of Chomsky's then recent claims about language learning and refuted the idea of language production as an outcome of mere habit formation and storing up of rehearsed utterances. Her objective was to explore if children have an internalized working system of certain morphological rules and if they are able to generalize these rules to new cases correctly. She concentrated on several morphological areas.

A test was devised to discover if children could apply the relevant morphological rules to nonsense (and, therefore, to the learner new) words through processes of inflection, derivation and the formation of compound noun phrases. It was found that most subjects could produce those morphological endings which complied with morphological rules concerning actual English words.

As most of the answers to be elicited concerned nonsense words that the subjects could never have heard before, they could not have

supplied any answers according to Skinner's behaviorist view on language learning as a result of memorization. However, the subjects were generally able to supply correct allomorphs, which meant that they must have internalized a working system of the relevant English morphological rules, which they could then generalize to new items.

Berko's conclusions proved to be highly relevant to psychologists who were interested in the way that children develop and learn in the first years of their lives, particularly with reference to their acquisition of the mother tongue. Thus cognitive psychology and the theory of generative grammar became more closely linked, since both disciplines purported to investigate the mental structure and predispositions of human beings. It was in the beginning of the 1960s that this inter-disciplinary connection resulted in the recognition of the new discipline of psycholinguistics. Rather than focussing on comprehension and production of language or on the complex relationship between grammatical competence and language performance of human beings in general (Clark, 1974; Clark and Clark, 1977), psycholinguistics mainly concentrated on the field of language acquisition.

The research findings are of great significance to investigation into L2 acquisition. The comparison of the adult learner acquiring his/her second language with an infant acquiring the mother tongue has demonstrated certain parallel developments in these two processes. In addition, the two fields have in common certain techniques for the discovery of linguistic structure (Brown and Fraser, 1963). Later sections will elaborate specific areas where such parallels are of direct relevance to the data analyzed.

Psycholinguistic research has concerned itself with the question of how L1 acquisition occurs, a problem which may be subdivided into three major areas (de Villiers and de Villiers, 1979). The first centres around the question of how the child speaks the language so well in such a relatively short period, that is, before the age of five. It takes into account the influences of the child's experiences and environment on his/her ability to acquire the language, such as imitating adult speakers' utterances (e.g. Fraser, Bellugi and Brown, 1963; Brown and Fraser, 1963; Brown and Bellugi, 1964), parents' responses to the infant (e.g. Brown and Bellugi, 1964; Bellugi, 1971) and limiting factors such as deafness or retardation. The second area deals with the course of the child's language acquisition. This incorporates matters related to the child's knowledge about the language at a particular point in time (e.g. Brown and Hanlon, 1970), changes in this knowledge and typical constructions in his/her utterances (e.g. Klima and Bellugi, 1966; Bloom, 1970; Brown, Cazden and Bellugi-Klima, 1969).

The third area covers the problem of how the researcher could discover what the child knows about the language. How to arrive at a child's competence through investigating his/her performance is a question which involves matters such as the (un)reliability of children as informants (illustrated by Bellugi, 1970), the validity of comprehension tests carried out by children and the study of a child's utterances over time in order to follow the stages of learning in what have become known as longitudinal studies (Miller and Ervin, 1964; Bloom, 1970). As to the latter, a frequently used sampling technique is to record the speech of a small number of children of roughly the same age at regular intervals. This method assumes that analysis of

the utterances produced gives a satisfactory and valid insight into the underlying mental activities.

On the basis of developmental analysis it has become clear that a child's grammar is not simply an incomplete version of an adult's grammar. A child's performance shows grammatical regularities different from the adult speakers', which implies that the child invents his/her own system of grammatical rules. Chomsky's theory that the learner is engaged in a recurrent cycle of hypothesis formulation, testing and rejection during the language acquisition process, has therefore been substantiated by empirical data from psycholinguistics.

As far as the learning of a foreign language (FL) is concerned, Lado (1957) proposed his theory of 'contrastive analysis' (CA). He argued that successful FL learning and teaching largely depends on a comparison between the native language (NL) of the learner and the foreign language to be learned. It was assumed that what learners find difficult in the foreign language are those areas whose rules are different from those in their mother tongue. Conversely, what they find easy are those areas with similar rules. Therefore, the teacher needs to have a thorough understanding of the two languages involved. In order to arrive at an insight, research needs to provide a scientific description of the language to be learned as well as of the learner's mother tongue, and make a careful comparison between them.

Lado's ideas were partly founded on behaviorist experiments on animal learning, demonstrating that earlier learned responses influence later responses. This observed influence on subsequent learning activities came to be known as 'interference'. However, it could not account for certain deviant structures that learners produce

in the FL, nor for the application of NL language rules to nonsense words (as in Berko's test), whereas such phenomena were explicable in terms of a Chomskyan conception of language acquisition. This does not imply that the notion of interference is inherently incompatible with later psycholinguistic approaches to language learning and acquisition, but it means that contrastive analysis does not answer a large number of the questions arising in attempts to explain deviant structures in the learner's language production.

In more recent theories of second language learning/acquisition (Selinker, 1972; Corder, 1967) the focus shifted from the teacher's role in the language learning process to the learner who is involved in learning or acquiring the second language. One of the most important concepts in this field is that of 'interlanguage', a term coined and defined by Selinker (1972). In the article, in which the concept is introduced, he concentrates on two of the psycholinguistic aspects of second language acquisition. In the first place, he suggests the existence of a 'latent psychological structure' in the learner's brain. Secondly, he discusses the processes that the learner utilizes in acquiring a second language. Thus Selinker explores the theoretical preliminaries which need to be clarified before the researcher is able to determine which data are relevant. These preliminaries decide what constitutes so-called attempted meaningful performance, that is, a situation where an adult attempts to express meanings in a language which he/she is in the process of acquiring. Those behavioral events which would lead to an insight into the psycholinguistic structure and processes underlying attempted meaningful performance would represent data relevant to the researcher involved in language study.

Concerning the first psycholinguistic aspect, the internal structure of the learning organism, Selinker postulates that there must be two different mechanisms in the brain. One of them is the 'latent language structure', postulated by Lenneberg (1967). It is activated by the child when he/she acquires the mother tongue. This latent language structure, the biological counterpart to the universal grammar, is an already formulated arrangement in the brain and is transformed by the learning child into a realized structure of one specific grammar in accordance with particular maturational stages. Selinker suggests that the brain also has a separate mechanism for second language learning, but that it does not contain a genetic timetable. It remains latent in the brain as well, until the learner attempts to learn a second language and thus activates it. This mechanism, then, has been termed the 'latent psychological structure'.

Although claims about the composition of the human brain are not verifiable so far, it nevertheless seems untenable to postulate the existence of two different language acquisition mechanisms in the brain, associated respectively with Selinker's distinction between 'attempted learning' (taking place in the latent psychological structure) and 'successful second language learning' (resulting from reactivation of the latent language structure). The two processes, after all, cannot be taken as discrete phenomena, but rather represent the extremes of a continuum, on which every second language learner could be placed, with a position relative to either end.

The second psycholinguistic aspect has proved to be of greater importance to second language acquisition research than the first. It refers to the 'interlingual identification'. An interlingual

identification is a learner's attempts to understand or produce second language sentences and identify a particular linguistic aspect in the two languages, such as a phoneme, a semantic feature or a grammatical relationship. The idea of an interlingual identification was first presented by Weinreich (1953), referring to bilinguals, but Selinker extends this notion to second language learners in general. He refers to the second language learner aiming to generate sentences of the language to be learned (the 'target language', or TL).

The learner, then, produces utterances that for the most part do not correspond to those that a native speaker of that particular target language would have constructed when wanting to express the same meaning. Instead, the learner produces utterances with a distinct system of 'interlingual identifications'. The term used to refer to this linguistic system at an intermediate stage between native language (NL) and target language (TL), is interlanguage (IL). A theory of second language learning would have to determine the potential surface structure of an interlanguage in a particular behavioral event with a certain second language learner. The observable data available for analysis are represented by the utterances of the interlanguage surface structure.

Data that are relevant to 'interlingual identifications' can be classified in three groups. First, there are the utterances in the learner's native language (NL). Secondly, there are the utterances in the learner's interlanguage (IL). And the third group comprises the target language utterances produced by native speakers of that target language. With the aid of these three systems the psycholinguistic processes underlying interlanguage behaviour may be investigated.

Of special interest and related to these processes are items that

have become fossilized in the IL. Fossilization is the mechanism which causes certain linguistic structures deviating from the TL norms to remain in the learner's interlanguage. Fossilized material cannot be eradicated, regardless of the quality or the amount of instruction that the learner receives.

Selinker assumes the existence of five central processes in the learner's latent psychological structure, viz. (1) language transfer; (2) transfer of training; (3) strategies of second language learning; (4) strategies of second language communication; and (5) overgeneralization. Linguistic items and grammatical rules may occur in the IL performance as fossilized material owing to one process or a combination of some of these processes. The first is that of language transfer, comparable to what used to be called interference in earlier theories, such as contrastive analysis. It concerns errors that originate from the learner's native language. The second is known as transfer of training and involves items and rules that stem from training procedures. The third process, strategies of second language learning, comprises errors which are identified as being caused by the approach that the learner adopts towards the TL material to be learned. The fourth involves items and rules that are effectuated by the learner's approach to communication with native speakers of the target language (strategies of second language communication). And finally, there is the process of overgeneralization of TL linguistic material, which means that the application of a certain TL rule to some instances is extended by the learner to other, seemingly analogous instances, when such application is in fact grammatically incorrect.

The theoretical issues of second language learning and acquisition were further discussed by Corder in the sixties and seventies (see Corder, 1981). With his theory of error analysis (EA) he too clearly departed from the previously current contrastive analysis. The main focus of EA is on the errors which the L2 learner produces during the learning/acquisition process and which deviate from the language to be learned. However, since these errors are regular rather than arbitrary they prove to be systematic. It is this very systematicity of errors on which grounds the learner's knowledge of the specific language to date may be reconstructed. This knowledge is termed the learner's 'transitional competence', which is the system that underlies the language used by the learner. Corder has called this type of language the 'idiosyncratic dialect', comparable to Selinker's concept of 'interlanguage'.

This competence combines two sets of rules. One comprises certain rules from the language to be learned, the target language. The other set consists of rules which are peculiar to the language produced by second language learners, and therefore are not found in dialects or sociolects used by native speakers of that target language. Even though the sum of all these rules is deviant from that found in the TL, it represents a language in its own right by virtue of its systematicity.

This language system is unstable, since the rules of which it is composed, change continually and are replaced by others, in accordance with how the learner's L2 development evolves. At one point in time, then, the learner has mastered a particular system which is of a transitional nature, as it is to be replaced subsequently by another, slightly different set of rules. The successive systems together form

a developmental continuum with a fixed course which is followed by every L2 learner, irrespective of the point finally reached on this continuum.

Consequently, error analysis provides an important pedagogic tool, because through an examination of the learner's errors it is possible to determine which stage the learner has achieved in the process of trying to master the language. In addition, the errors themselves are of importance to the learner, because they are an inevitable and necessary part of the strategy employed in order to learn or acquire the second language (even if the learner is unlikely to be aware of this procedure). Furthermore, an investigation of learner's errors is of major interest in descriptive linguistic investigation, because they demonstrate how the process of language learning/acquisition evolves. This is connected with another area tackled by error analysis, namely, the question which errors are made and what explanations may account for them.

The final point to be raised is that a learner's sentence which is not deviant from the target language cannot be taken as evidence that the particular structure has been mastered. Non-TL rules may underlie sentences which superficially agree with the target language. This point is especially relevant to the data on negation structures in this project.

A great deal of empirical research in the study of language has been carried out since the above theoretical constructs were postulated. The development of rules for negation in English as far as children learning their mother tongue is concerned, has been studied by Bellugi (1967). Her results are of interest and relevance to the

investigation into rules for negation in second language learners. Bellugi's objective was to discover some general principles underlying children's language acquisition through a description of basic regularities in their grammar. In a longitudinal study she collected samples of mother and child interaction, with a population consisting of three children who were unacquainted with each other (of 18, 26 and 27 months old at the beginning of the period of observation).

In their language production the subjects displayed systematic regularities which shared significant characteristics, namely:

- 1- they were found in the language of more than one child
- 2- they were used productively and creatively, that is, the children did not use these forms holophrastically
- 3- they were deviant from constructions in adult language
- 4- they were later substituted by a more mature syntactic system, so that they could be assumed to have constituted 'transient hypotheses' in the child's mind
- 5- they were semantically specified and the message of the utterance did not lack any semantic information

At stage 1 the children expressed negation with limited means. The proposition of the utterances, exclusive of the negative element, was termed the 'nucleus', which was found to have a structure of uninflected nouns and verbs (a type of language called 'telegraphic', Brown and Fraser, 1963). At stage 2 the system of stage 1 was still applied, but supplemented by some other rules, introducing, for instance, can't and don't. By stage 3 the verbal element had further developed: do-support was extended by the past tense form didn't, while the modal won't and the copula in various forms appeared.

Bellugi was criticized on several points by Bloom (1970) on the

basis of her own data, obtained from a longitudinal study with three other children. She argued that not only surface structure of negation needed to be dealt with, but also the function of negation or the way in which the negative element is related to the rest of the sentence, thus involving an analysis of the contents. In order to discover the effect of negation on the underlying structure, Bloom related the children's negative utterances to affirmative ones in the same discourse. She found that the introduction of the additional structure of a negative element entailed a limitation in the production of the remainder of the sentence. This seemed to indicate that insertion of the negative was a syntactic operation which increased sentence complexity to such an extent that it occurred at the expense of another constituent.

As far as second language acquisition is concerned, it is important to obtain detailed descriptions of data on the performance of L2 learners, either to find supporting evidence for the theoretical models proposed, or in order to arrive at answers to yet uninvestigated questions and gain new insights that may be deduced from empirical studies. Such projects, including this one, have mainly concentrated on issues that are in or closely related to the syntactic area. This kind of research carried out to date comprises several studies on the acquisition of negation, thus linking up with previous L1 acquisition research in the same field.

One of the early comparisons of first language and second language acquisition was made by Dulay and Burt, whose work had a considerable impact on subsequent research (Dulay and Burt, 1973, 1974a-d, 1978). As their analysis took account of the language

development of the child learner, their method of investigation was called 'developmental analysis'. They found that the structures which are produced by an L2 child learner and which deviate from those used by native speakers of that language, correspond to those structures which are produced as regular errors by children acquiring the same language as their mother tongue. These are termed 'transitional constructions', which are defined as "the language forms learners use while they are still learning the grammar of the language" (Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982:121). On the basis of their empirical data, then, Dulay and Burt came to the conclusion that significant parallels and similarities exist between the processes of children's L1 and L2 acquisition. This model of second language acquisition, postulating an invariant acquisition order, became known as the L2 = L1 hypothesis.

Closely connected with an examination of errors in the learner's performance is the notion of a 'monitor', expounded by Krashen (1981). His monitor theory states that someone's development in the acquisition of the second language is affected significantly by the learner's use of the monitor. This is a mental device which the learner may resort to as a feedback mechanism in order to correct errors performed in the second language. The model claims that a good L2 learner makes extensive use of the monitor, while the less successful learner does not and therefore cannot make any substantial progress.

The conclusions which are drawn in empirical studies on the grounds of real data could differ widely. One of the reasons for such variation might lie in the method of investigation. Rosansky (1976) discovered that results vary a great deal by virtue of the fact that individual language learners themselves produce highly variable forms.

She discovered that cross-sectional sampling, though a seemingly reliable method of data collection, could mislead the researcher, because learners' individual variability is not considered. As a consequence, longitudinal sampling is to be preferred. Variability in one subject's performance may become manifest to the investigator more easily and thus may be taken into account, so that eventually conclusions are more valid than those from projects with cross-sectional data collection.

Several studies in L2 acquisition have followed the longitudinal mode of sampling. The acquisition of German as a second language was investigated and described in detail in its various aspects by the Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt "Pidgin-Deutsch" (1978, 1979). Most of the literature on longitudinal studies of L2 acquisition, however, seems to pertain to English as a second language. Projects involving child learners were executed, for instance, by Wode (with L1 German speakers, 1977a, 1979, 1980), Ravem (with L1 Norwegian subjects, 1968, 1974, 1978) and Hakuta (with an L1 Japanese child, 1974a, 1974b, 1976). The population of Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1975), however, comprised both children (of two different age groups) and adults; all these subjects had an L1 Spanish background.

From the analysis of syntactic structures in learners' L2 production an interest arose in what the learner intends to convey in the second language and the way in which this is done linguistically. It was found that learners employ certain identifiable approaches in their interaction with a target language speaker. These are generally known as 'communication strategies', a notion which was already proposed by Selinker (1972) in his theoretical model of interlanguage.

The concept was elaborated and further investigated by Tarone, Cohen and Dumas (1976), Tarone (1980) and Stovall (1977). Analysis of the various approaches which an L2 learner may resort to in communication with an interlocutor, has yielded different classifications. One useful typology was presented by Tarone (1977), who distinguishes five basic conscious communication strategies, viz. avoidance, paraphrase, conscious transfer, appeal for assistance and mime.

Concentration on the intended message implies that more attention is given to the meaning which is attached to the learner's utterances. This involves a shift of attention away from the sentence level of syntax, that is, away from language form as it is produced by the L2 learner as an individual in isolation. Instead, interaction and the role of the interlocutor are recognized as significant factors in the L2 learner's output and, consequently, are becoming increasingly important in the investigation into second language acquisition. This has resulted in an analysis of L2 data which takes account of different aspects of the discourse.

For instance, an examination of the learners' production was found to correlate with what was said by native speakers of the target language with whom they were in contact. It was shown that the frequency of particular structures and morphemes in the input data could explain to some extent the learner's order of acquisition of those structures and morphemes (Larsen-Freeman, 1976; Hatch, 1974; Wagner-Gough and Hatch, 1975).

More recently, the application of discourse analysis to second language acquisition research has been advocated (Hatch, 1978a and 1978b; Hatch and Long, 1980). Hatch (1978a) proposes that, rather than merely describing what is acquired and produced, linguists also need

the methodology of discourse analysis, particularly of conversational analysis, in order to gain some understanding of how the acquisition process evolves.

Such a different approach implies that the premise underlying the notion of language learning/acquisition needs to be changed as well. This then would affect the presupposition that the child learner (and the language learner in general) develops from one-word phrases via complex structures to the eventual rules of conversation. Instead of this presumed development, Hatch considers the possibility that syntactic structures grow out of learning how to carry on conversation. In an examination of patterns of conversations in which L2 learners participate, she identifies certain essential discourse tasks, such as getting the interlocutor's attention, nomination of the topic and requests for topic clarification (repair solicits).

Hatch postulates that the principal problem for the adult second language learner is to identify the discourse topic accurately. Adult conversation is usually too abstract to be predictable, whereas the interaction with child learners is often constrained by immediate and concrete references. As a consequence, the difference between these two types of learners is that success for adults is a function of establishing topic appropriateness, while this is scarcely applicable to child learners.

What the adult L2 learner is engaged in, then, is a process of topic recognition, after which there is a shift towards the prediction of possible questions on the basis of shared knowledge and past discourse. If the prediction is correct, the learner is likely to give a topic-relevant response; but if it is not, that is, if the discourse

comes to a break-down point, the learner may solicit a repair and form a new hypothesis about the discourse context. However, the fact that the adult learner already knows the rules of discourse of the mother tongue has certain implications not directly obvious to the investigator. For instance, a topic-relevant response may only mean that the learner applied such knowledge to the second language and made appropriate guesses about the topic, but could not be taken as evidence of the learner's comprehension of what was previously said.

An example of conversational analysis in ESL acquisition is given by Simonot (1983) in her empirical study of an L1 Punjabi speaker. She found that in their unguided recording sessions the learner displayed a measure of interactive competence, which manifested itself in identifiable discourse strategies. These included appropriate turn-taking, offering asides such as background information and comments, smooth topic-shifting, and signalling indirect speech through a change of pitch. Thus, it was shown that the L2 learner's lack of grammatical accuracy was largely compensated by his conversational competence.

In brief, research into second language acquisition has shown a number of variables. Different methods of inquiry have been applied in order to gain access to L2 data, different theoretical models have been proposed to account for certain observed phenomena and different conclusions have been drawn on the basis of research findings.

In empirical research into second language acquisition three of the most practised methodological procedures are the experimental method, the morpheme study and the longitudinal investigation. In the experimental method large populations are tested at a cross-sectional point to discover their language development in a number of skills (e.g. syntax, vocabulary, phonology). The morpheme study investigates

the level of accuracy in the use of particular morphemes by different learners, with the objective of establishing a rank order of morpheme acquisition. The longitudinal research method, which is also applied in this project, examines spontaneous L2 speech data collected in sessions extending over a certain period.

Three of the most prominent theoretical issues in second language acquisition continue to present themselves despite revealing results from research projects. These issues emanate from a wide range of descriptions of varying language data. The first is the question whether L2 acquisition is similar to L1 acquisition; the second relates to the question of L1 transfer; and the third pertains to the role of the age variable.

The first issue is closely linked with the ideas of universality underlying different types of language learning/acquisition, and of an invariant order of L1 and L2 acquisition data. It hinges on the postulation of an LAD (Language Acquisition Device), the innate mechanism in the brain which is activated by language input, either for a first language or a second language. This notion could also be associated with universal strategies to which the learner reverts in attempts to master the language concerned or to communicate with an interlocutor. Furthermore, there appear to be general constraints on possible relevant responses in conversation, which perhaps might also contribute to similar orders of acquisition.

In spite of certain similar trends, however, the amount of variation found among different language learners makes it difficult to extract the general patterns. This in turn complicates any attempt to determine whether the emerging similarities justify the posited

existence of underlying universality and, if so, to establish the exact nature of these universals.

The role of the learner's first language is a further significant variable which is repeatedly discussed in the analysis of errors found in L2 data and which, as a result, constitutes another theoretical issue. The assumptions about the causes of errors changed from the presupposition of contrastive analysis, viz. that all L2 errors are based on the first language, to the other extreme viewpoint, viz. that all errors are developmental and hence none relate to the L1. On the grounds of empirical data, however, the present understanding in L2 research holds an intermediate position. In other words, some errors are presumed to derive from the learner's mother tongue, whereas others do not. This still begs the question where exactly the distinction lies, what principles give rise to either type of error and how L1 transfer may be identified.

The third theoretical issue is the question of age and other related variables, and originates from the perceived difference between children and adults acquiring a second language. The importance of neurologically determined language development and fixed cognitive progression does not cease to be a controversial point of debate. This may partly be due to the fact that claims about changes in the structure of the human brain are generally beyond careful verification. On the other hand, external influences can be indicated as discriminating factors. A significant discrepancy between adults and children is shown to exist with respect to the constraints and pressures on their respective L2 development. The differences stemming from the adult learner's social and cultural background as well as psychological elements could perhaps account for some of the observed

distinctions between age groups. Moreover, the rules of conversation in L2 adult and L2 child discourse appear to vary widely, which might have a decisive effect on the eventual second language development. Notwithstanding such factors, research has also yielded examples of learners offering strong counterevidence against the hypothesized age determinant.

In conclusion, research into second language acquisition has yielded some valuable insights and provided interesting answers. However, even though explanations have been indicated for hitherto unaccountable phenomena or uninvestigated questions, the various theoretical models and the different methods of inquiry have also highlighted further major problems about the L2 acquisition process which have yet to be solved. It is still unknown what precise function needs to be attributed to the various factors which so far are assumed to influence the acquisition process, and to what extent such factors interact and determine the rate of success of the L2 learner. It is only hoped that further research will enhance the knowledge and contribute to a fuller understanding of the intricacies of the process of second language learning and acquisition.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

The research project follows an experimental procedure which starts with sampling linguistic material from a limited population over an extended period (observational-longitudinal case study). Subsequently, a selection of suitable data is classified and analyzed. Further conclusions are based on this analysis. Such a method of research has proved to be popular in the investigation into L1 acquisition (e.g. Brown et al., 1970; Bellugi, 1967) as well as the study of L2 acquisition (e.g. Schumann, 1975; Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt "Pidgin-Deutsch", 1975-1978c). It is applied in linguistic research which focuses on developmental sequences in the language learning process and which is concerned with an in-depth study of language acquisition.

3.1.1 SUBJECTS

It is usual for the population in a longitudinal study of second language acquisition to consist of a small number of subjects. Such studies can concentrate on the second language development of a single subject (Hakuta, 1974; Chamot, 1978; Rouchdy, 1975) or may involve more than one subject (2 in Raven, 1974; 6 in Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, 1975). In the research project concerned here five women learners were taken as subjects for regular sampling of linguistic material. For the selection of these women certain conditions had to be met. The first one was that their first language was Arabic and that they had not received English tuition beyond

secondary school (FL) level. A further condition was that they had not lived in an English-speaking country before their present stay in Britain and had not spent longer than a few weeks in the UK prior to the period of observation.

3.1.2 MEETINGS

In studies of this type, in order to obtain data from spontaneous speech in a communicative situation, an interviewing technique can be adopted, usually involving the experimenter's presence. In such projects arrangements are made between each subject and the experimenter to meet regularly. During the first meeting in each set of interviews preliminary contact may be established and essential information about the subject's background may be gathered (see section 3.1.2.1.). At each subsequent session a part of the total interaction is recorded. These recordings represent the material from which suitable data are to be selected for further analysis.

3.1.2.1. PRELIMINARY MEETING

It was decided that, during each first meeting with a particular subject no recording should be made, as the meeting was intended to be an occasion when the experimenter and subject could meet each other for the first time. The aims of the project could be outlined and the subject's role in the experimental procedure described and explained. Furthermore, it provided an opportunity to ask the subject a number of preliminary questions, which were considered to be relevant to her linguistic background and aptitude for later language acquisition. The purpose of the questions was twofold. In the first place, the answers

were essential to obtain a general idea of the subject's educational and social background. Secondly, through the subject's answers some indication was given with respect to her communicative skills in the English language. The questions were divided into three sections dealing with different areas of interest. All the answers were written down on a form made for this purpose (see appendix 1).

- 1) In the first section questions concern the subject's and her husband's name; her age; her nationality; her date of marriage; her own town of residence and that of her family and of her parents-in-law.
- 2) In the second section questions refer to the subject's previous education and possible profession; her husband's previous and present university courses; the English tuition she has enjoyed; her knowledge of first and foreign languages; and her status as a monolingual or bilingual speaker.
- 3) In the third section questions deal with her travelling experience in Arabic-speaking countries, in Europe and in any other parts of the world; her arrival date in the U.K. and possible previous visits to the country; possible contacts with friends and relatives in the U.K.; the number of British friends; and the language used for most of the subject's communication in daily life.

The completed answer forms are shown in appendices 2a to 2e. The original names, however, have been altered.

3.1.2.2. RECORDING SESSIONS

After the preliminary meeting it was planned to make an arrangement for the first recording session (or "interview"). At each

interview an appointment for the following session could be made. During these sessions samples of the interaction between experimenter and subject were to be recorded on tape.

3.1.2.2.1. RECORDINGS

The material which was recorded on each occasion represents a sample of the total interaction taking place. The length of most recordings was kept constant at half an hour. This implies that, even though experimenter and subject stayed together for a different length of time at different meetings, recordings do not reflect such variation, but have roughly similar duration.

The intervals between the recording sessions were intended to vary according to a particular pattern. The most rapid progress in the subject's language acquisition was expected to occur in a short period immediately after her arrival in England. Consequently, meetings were to be carried out with short intervals at the beginning of the observation period. After the initial three or four interviews successive meetings were to take place with progressively longer intervals. These could increase from about two to three and, finally, four weeks.

The expectation concerning rapid progress in early stages has been based on teachers' general observations that L2 learning develops remarkably quickly with elementary L2 students in taught courses. However, some theorists believe that progress as measured by L2 production seems to be manifested differently in L2 learning (that is, involving classroom instruction) and L2 acquisition (that is, naturalistic, untutored second language development). Someone who acquires an L2 without any formal instruction, often goes through "a

silent period" at the earlier stages. During this period he/she does not produce a great deal of language, whereas marked improvements in language production are noted at a later stage (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982:22,23; Hanania & Gradman, 1977:81,88).

This would suggest that the planning of intervals between the recording sessions was based on an incorrect assumption. In relation to the population of this project, however, two points need to be borne in mind. Firstly, the observations about "a silent period" refer to a limited number of subjects investigated so far. They may therefore not reflect personal styles of L2 acquisition. Secondly, all the women in this project had received some EFL tuition, so that upon arrival in the U.K. they were likely to have already passed through the stage of the silent period.

The total number of recordings could range from about five to ten tapes per subject in order to achieve some level of continuity. For a population of four subjects this amounts to approximately thirty to forty recordings in the entire project.

3.1.2.2.2. EQUIPMENT

It was decided that recordings should be made with the aid of a small portable cassette recorder. This had the advantage that both subject and experimenter could move around if they wished or needed to do so, rather than being confined to a static position during the recording. Moreover, a tape recorder of that size had the advantage of not being an obstructive piece of equipment. A bigger tape recorder might have made the subject feel uncomfortable and have inhibited her in her communication.

Sometimes a special microphone was used in order to register the speech of both nearby and remote speakers, and generally improve the quality of the recorded signal.

The tapes were ordinary cassettes of 30 minutes per side (C60 cassettes).

3.1.2.2.3. LOCATION

During the early recording period, meetings were intended to be largely held at the subject's house, as this was the place where she felt most at ease. After a satisfactory relationship between subject and experimenter had been established, attempts could be made to change the location of these sessions to other places of interest. This was expected to elicit a different type of speech from the subject, as she would be involved in various sorts of sociolinguistic interaction. This corresponds with some of the sampling done by Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, who recorded both spontaneous speech involving the experimenter and subject, as well as what they call "pre-planned sociolinguistic interaction...in order to collect speech in varied natural situations" (1974:80).

Communication environments where recording with the Arab women could take place included a doctor's practice or hospital, a market or shop, a friend's house, a bus or train, a station or street. Besides the varied environment, it would have the advantage that the experimenter's presence as an interlocutor was not required in a particular situation where somebody else took up this role. As a consequence, the subject could take up a variety of roles if the setting was changed. This could shed new light on her communication skills in English.

3.1.2.2.4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXPERIMENTER AND SUBJECT

As mentioned above (section 3.1.2.), the sampling of linguistic material involved an interviewing technique whereby the experimenter engaged each subject in a conversation and recorded part of her spontaneous speech on tape. It was expected that, if she did not feel sufficiently comfortable in the interviewer's company, the subject concerned would be inhibited unnecessarily and be prevented from fully participating in the English conversation. This would inevitably hamper the sampling procedure. Therefore, it was considered essential to establish a satisfactory relationship between each subject and the interviewer, and to keep the atmosphere during the meetings as natural and informal as possible.

In order to achieve this, a number of prerequisites were of vital importance to the interviewing technique of this project:

- It was considered essential for the experimenter to be a woman. A male experimenter might inhibit the subject unnecessarily or possibly be totally unacceptable as an investigator. This is related to the values of Islamic culture as regards the protection of the honour of the family and the virtue of women.

One of the commonest Arab proverbs says, "Whenever a man and a woman meet together, the devil becomes the third amongst them". This is based on the view that one of the most prominent characteristics of women is considered to be her seductiveness ("fitna"). Nawal El Saadawi (1980:136,137) explains that "Man in the face of such seduction was portrayed as helpless, drained of all his capacities to be positive or to resist...Woman was therefore considered by the Arabs as a menace to man and society and the only way to

avoid the harm she could do was to isolate her in the home".

Although some Arabs might find El Saadawi's words put too strongly, it became clear during the course of the study that each woman in the population complied with the above ideas to a greater or lesser degree. Therefore, her contacts with men, apart from her husband, were limited. In the life style of one woman (Nadia), men and women were strictly segregated, which implied that she stayed in another room when a man visited her husband for the first time, and that she did not allow herself to be seen by potential male passers-by in the street when she opened the front door.

- It is vital in such a study that the experimenter be familiar with the basic values of the cultural and national background of each subject in the population. The purpose of such knowledge is not to offend or upset the subject unreasonably during the recording sessions; otherwise, contact between the two women could become slightly strained or artificial. Obviously, such development would have a detrimental effect on their verbal communication as well.

Familiarity with cultural values proved to be important in this study also because each subject felt that people in her surroundings generally showed little understanding for or interest in her own "foreign" background.

- A third condition refers to the investigator's familiarity with the subject's mother tongue, i.e. Arabic. Knowledge about the language had an ambivalent status in this project. On the one hand, it was of diplomatic significance in the relationship if the experimenter knew the subject's mother

tongue to some extent, especially since so few Europeans are known to show an interest in learning Arabic as a foreign language. On the other hand, if the experimenter was felt to be highly competent in Arabic, the subject would not be inclined to speak English during the interviews, as communication in English would have been clearly inappropriate. Consequently, the experimenter's knowledge of Arabic needed to be sufficiently limited to adhere to English at each meeting.

Besides these prerequisites a number of factors were felt to have a positive effect on each individual woman's attitude towards the interviewer. Two of these concerned certain similarities between the two women, which helped the subject to identify with the experimenter in some respects. The first of these was the age group that both women belonged to. As a result of this, there was no inhibiting difference in status, as might be expected in the case of an experimenter considerably older than the women in the population. The other similarity was their equivalent status as foreign women in an English-speaking environment: the subject knew that her interviewer was, like herself, a woman from abroad who needed to settle in Britain on a temporary basis.

In addition to these similarities, it was stressed that the experimenter would not take up the role of a teacher during the meetings and, consequently, did not intend to correct or reproach the subject concerned if she spoke incorrect English. This point was emphasized particularly if the subject seemed to associate teachers with authoritarian behaviour from her previous school experience. Incorrect assumptions about the experimenter's role would otherwise have led to inhibited behaviour on the part of the subject.

3.3.2.2.5. TOPICS OF CONVERSATION

Selection of the main topics of discussion during the meetings was intended to be left to the subject for two reasons (see also 3.2.5.4.). In the first place, the research project attempted to follow the unguided development in the linguistic competence of each subject. The exclusive suggestion of topics of conversation by the interviewer might have resulted in a distorted view of the subject's second language acquisition. Guidance of the discussion by the experimenter was avoided, since it could resemble the steering of a foreign language teacher. This would inevitably have led to a situation where the subject's output was strongly influenced by the experimenter's input. Furthermore, it is contended that language which is elicited by an interlocutor may vary greatly from the language that the subject produces spontaneously. Following the interlocutor's guidelines she would have been restricted in the topics to be discussed, rather than getting to engage in topics of her own choice.

In the second place, it is assumed that a subject feels more at ease, if she can choose the subject-matter of the conversation for herself. Free choice in that respect could reinforce the establishment of a positive relationship between her and her interviewer and thus enhance the subject's free speech.

3.2. DATA COLLECTION

Before data collection could be started, certain preparatory arrangements needed to be made. These concerned contacts through which women were suggested as potential subjects. In the subsequent preliminary meetings it could be decided whether or not one particular

woman was a suitable candidate for the project. After selecting the women who would be included in the eventual population, arrangements for further meetings could be made.

3.2.1. CONTACTS

For the purpose of selecting subjects a great many people and organisations had to be contacted, both outside and within the University of Aston. Those outside included the British Council, the British Council Overseas Students' Wives Club, the Commonwealth Students' Children Society, Selly Oak Colleges, Brasshouse Centre, the Arab Society of Birmingham and the General Union of Palestinian Students. Connections with the University of Aston involved the Adviser to Overseas Students, the Welfare Officer in the Guild of Students, the Overseas Students Officer, the Chaplaincy, the University Nursery, the Palestinian Society, the National Union of Iraqi Students, the Algerian Society, the Sudanese Society, the Egyptian Society, the Syrian Society and the Libyan students on the Gar Younis Programme.

In a longitudinal study of this kind it is important to pursue as many channels as possible in order to find suitable subjects, even with an intended population of only a few individuals. Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, for instance, made a great number of contacts before selecting their six subjects (1975:73-76).

3.2.2. SELECTION OF SUBJECTS

Through the contacts of the formal channels a number of women were found willing to cooperate on a voluntary basis. Their readiness to commit themselves to regular meetings must be appreciated taking into consideration that there was no reward or payment for their

assistance. In this study their real names have been changed in order to secure anonymity.

| SUBJECT'S NAME | ABBREVIATION | COUNTRY OF ORIGIN |
|----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Khadidja | Kh | Iraq |
| Imaan | Im | Sudan |
| Ibtisaam | Ib | Iraq |
| Nadia | Na | Algeria |
| Lamya | La | Palestine/Kuweit |

TABLE 1 Names, their abbreviations and the country of origin of the five subjects in the population

These women had a common background in a number of aspects. They all spoke Arabic as their mother tongue. All of them had had some formal kind of EFL learning in their respective countries. They had been engaged in EFL learning at secondary school level and had not received English tuition in any post-secondary institution.

Each woman got married shortly before she arrived in Britain with her husband. The husbands of all subjects were registered for higher degrees as full-time students either at the University of Birmingham or at the University of Aston in Birmingham.

The women fell in the age group of 19 to 27 years when the preliminary meetings took place. For each subject her arrival in Great Britain had been the first time that she had visited the country. None of the women had taken up employment in the UK. In each case recording sessions started in the first few months of her stay in Birmingham, that is, the first 3 months after their arrival (except in Lamya's case where it was about 5 months). This starting point is parallel to that in the sampling procedure of the longitudinal study of Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974:80).

3.2.3. PROBLEMS AT PRELIMINARY MEETINGS

In general, contact with the husband was taken up before the preliminary meeting with the woman concerned. In the preparation of the selection procedure his permission and cooperation proved to be an essential prerequisite without which continuation was impossible, but difficulties could also arise at a later stage.

In one case, one of the husbands had been prepared to offer help and had assisted his wife (Aisha) in answering the questions during the preliminary meeting. However, at the beginning of the first recording session he adopted a less cooperative attitude and raised insurmountable objections against the taping of his wife's English, in spite of his previously expressed consent. When appeals to him as a sympathetic student in research work, as well as arguments explaining the necessity of recording, failed to moderate his views, it became obvious that further work with his wife was not feasible. Meetings were therefore discontinued.

A similar situation arose with another woman, Lubaba. To start off with, her husband had answered virtually all the questions for her in the preliminary meeting. Although at the first recording session he did allow his wife to be interviewed and did not explicitly object to the recording, stumbling-blocks were created afterwards. As soon as attempts were made to arrange a second recording session with Lubaba, her husband's attitude was typified by general avoidance. He refused to make clear arrangements on her or his own behalf, gave evasive answers about possible appointments with Lubaba and continually postponed meetings or did not appear at all. Despite the fact then that the first recording session had seemed successful and promising, further recordings had to be stopped.

In another case (Fatma), it became clear when the experimenter

and potential subject were introduced to each other, that the woman concerned would not be a suitable subject for the study. She differed from the other women in that she had been married for several years already, was slightly older than the others and had two children, one of whom was at school age. These factors may have distinguished her from the other women significantly, so that she was not included in further meetings.

None of these three women has been included in the tables or appendices.

3.2.4. NUMBER AND DATES OF RECORDINGS

There were four subjects who were interviewed regularly, that is, who participated in between 5 and 11 recording sessions. In the case of one additional woman, sessions were discontinued after the two initial meetings. On almost every occasion the period of recording was approximately 30 minutes. However, there was a small number of meetings at which the recording was slightly shorter, due to unforeseeable circumstances (e.g. the subject feeling ill; the meeting not having been pre-arranged).

The total number of meetings yielding suitable recorded material amounts to 38. These are distributed over the individual subjects of the population as follows:

| <u>SUBJECT</u> | <u>NUMBER OF RECORDINGS</u> |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| Khadija | 10 |
| Imaan | 11 |
| Ibtisaam | 10 |
| Nadia | 5 |
| Lamyia | 2 |
| <hr/> | |
| TOTAL | 38 |

TABLE 2 Number of recordings with each subject

Appendix 3 shows the number of recording sessions and the dates when each individual session took place.

3.2.5. RECORDING SESSIONS PLAN

Recording sessions were intended to occur according to a particular schedule. Arrangements concerning their frequency, their content and their setting needed to be adjusted to what appeared to be feasible in the contact with each individual subject, without doing damage to the original objectives of the sampling procedure.

3.2.5.1. FREQUENCY AND INTERVALS

In order to follow a systematic sampling procedure, it was important to pre-plan the frequency of and intervals between the occasions during which language material would be collected (see also section 3.1.2.2.1.). At the preliminary meeting with each subject it was therefore explained that recordings would take place regularly, that is, with short intervals initially and with progressively longer intervals afterwards, in accordance with the intended recording schedule. In fact, there were a number of factors which influenced or determined the eventual recording dates.

It appears that in similar projects it is often the case that the eventual sampling of language data happens less rigidly than is planned at the beginning of the project. It was found that the intervals between the recording sessions varied slightly, e.g. as a result of illness or vacation. Such variation also occurred in other studies with longitudinal sampling procedures (Klima & Bellugi, 1966:186; Brown, Cazden & Bellugi-Klima, 1969:28; Milon, 1974:137; Chimombo, 1979:205,206). Re-arranging the initial recording sessions plan also happened in the sampling procedure that Wode (1976)

describes with reference to the longitudinal study of language acquisition (including ESLA) which was part of the Kiel Project. He explains,

"Throughout the project we have found it useful not to rely on a rigid pre-planned data collecting procedure. Instead, it has been our experience that in order to get rich and insightful data, the methodology and the procedure have to be flexible enough to be adaptable to the type of child under observation." (Wode, 1976:5,6).

Sometimes problems that a particular subject had in her personal life also constituted serious impediments to the recording. Two of them, Ibtisaam and Nadia, had miscarriages after a few months of their pregnancy. In the case of Ibtisaam, her miscarriage caused her to be ill for less than a fortnight, so that recording sessions with her could be resumed fairly quickly. However, in the case of Nadia, severe complications happened in relation to her miscarriage, as a result of which she needed to be taken to hospital twice. After her operation she felt so weak and depressed that she was unable to continue to participate on the project.

There were other factors which complicated systematic recording. Occasionally, it posed problems to make an appointment for a subsequent meeting with a particular woman. This was sometimes due to other arrangements she had made involving, for instance, her absence from Birmingham. It also resulted from unforeseen circumstances, such as sudden illness or unannounced visitors whom she had to entertain. Furthermore, when the subject had forgotten previously made appointments, attempts to visit her in order to record her speech were abortive.

An additional and principal impediment affecting the verbal behaviour that each subject displayed is associated with these women's status as wives. If the husband of the subject was present during the meeting, he almost invariably inhibited his wife in her general behaviour and, thus, prevented her from speaking English. This situation arose either because his wife would partly or completely withdraw from the interaction of her own accord, even if her husband encouraged her to participate in the conversation, or because he determined or dominated the course of the conversation by answering on behalf of his wife.

Such behavioural patterns correspond to what has been observed by Rita Giacaman, a Palestinian university teacher who tried to interview Arab women at home. After she had experienced repeated instances of their husbands' intervention, she drew the conclusion that interviews with these married women could only be conducted provided that their husbands were absent (Burger & Hoogenboom, 1981:55).

For identical reasons it was decided in this project that recording sessions with each subject should take place during her husband's absence as much as possible. This implied that meetings with each woman were usually restricted to office hours of a normal working day when her husband attended university, thus excluding evenings, weekends and university holidays. Such planning constituted a further constraint on adhering to a fully consistent recording schedule.

A table showing the intervals between recording sessions for all subjects is given in appendix 4.

3.2.5.2. RECORDING QUALITY

For the recording a small portable cassette recorder (Sony TCM - 260) was used, sometimes with the aid of a special outside microphone

which could be attached to the clothes of the subject concerned. In general, the quality of the recorded signal proved to be satisfactory, although there were inevitable circumstances when recording could not be of a high standard. Occasionally, this was caused by irrelevant external noise that could not be filtered out, for instance, from kitchen utensils or passing traffic. In other situations recording was hampered by unforeseen circumstances arising from a faulty connection or from power failure, either of batteries or the mains. Furthermore, some of the features normally occurring in spontaneous speech in unguided conversation made recording awkward (e.g. when two people were talking at once; when the volume of the interviewee's voice dropped so low that the microphone did not register the signal; or when a certain speaker talked from too great a distance to be recorded satisfactorily).

3.2.5.3 RECORDING LOCATION

Most recording sessions were held at each subject's house. It was intended that after the early recordings other places should be included, so as to obtain material on every woman's interlanguage in diverse circumstances (see section 3.1.2.2.). Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974:80) mention parties, restaurants, museums and sport events as examples of varied natural situations in which the speech of the subjects in their study could be recorded. However, these situations were not relevant to the women in this project, since none of them was interested in or accustomed to visiting such places. Consequently, in order to arrange the recording of the subjects' interaction in situations outside the home environment, places different from those mentioned above were selected.

With each of the regular subjects (Khadidja, Imaan, Ibtisaam and Nadia) attempts were made to arrange meetings with the investigator in various communication environments. Those considered to be essential in daily life involved the subject visiting a doctor, meeting a friend, making use of public transport and doing her shopping.

Unfortunately, it proved to be difficult, if not impossible, to get a definite commitment from the women to engage in activities in different settings outside their homes. The intended arrangements were regularly hampered by a number of factors which were part of their daily or weekly routine. Changing the communication environment of a particular woman was troublesome for a variety of reasons. Some of these relate to the particular location chosen.

- As to medical visits, recording could not be arranged if the woman concerned would only visit places where she could receive medical help, if she was accompanied by her husband. In this case the woman would not require to speak English at all, since her husband would be responsible for all communication with medical staff.
- As to visits to friends, recording sessions could not take place if the woman concerned had no friends of her own that she would meet without her husband's company. Moreover, none of the subjects had non-Arabic speaking friends, so that during a pre-arranged visit to a friend English would only be used because of the investigator's presence.
- As to use of public transport, a number of women hardly ever took a bus or train alone. The reason for this was that she relied on her husband's driving their car, or that she did not leave the house on her own very often.

- As to shopping, it proved to be awkward to arrange recordings, because buying food and other necessities was usually done by the woman and her husband together, so that the subject was not required to speak English.

In addition to the reasons which are stated above and which are related to the specific activities outside the home environment, there were other factors which hampered recording in different places. First, altering the recording location could not be arranged if the woman concerned never left her house except in her husband's company. Secondly, on a few occasions a particular woman forgot or changed her mind about an appointment made at a previous meeting. As a consequence, the initially planned recording in a different communication environment could not take place (see section 3.2.5.1).

However, in spite of these impediments it was possible to change the recording location with the regular subjects in a number of instances. The set of interviews with Imaan includes one recording made while she took a bus to another part of town and visited a friend of hers. In the case of Ibtisaam recordings were arranged in a clinic, in a bus and in a shop. In addition, there were recording sessions both with Imaan and with Ibtisaam when they received visitors (albeit L1 Arabic speakers) at their homes. In the cases of Khadidja and Nadia, as well as the two sessions with Lamyia, all interviews were held in the domestic environment.

3.2.5.4. PROBLEMS WITH TOPIC SELECTION

For reasons set out in section 3.2.5.4, the choice of the topics of conversation was intended to be left to the subject concerned during each recording. However, the implementation of this principle proved to be less straightforward, since on many occasions the

particular subject did not initiate a topic. Even if it was made clear through behavioural clues that the subject was given ample chance to initiate a new topic, the subject frequently refrained from doing so.

This type of difficulties may be further investigated by discourse analysts who have a special interest in aspects of verbal behaviour of second language learners. Without being drawn into a thorough investigation of the exchanges in the discourse produced in the samples of this project, however, it may be sufficient to describe the above phenomena in terms of the categories which Allwright (1980:168,169) presents in relation to turn-taking. It seems then that, despite the fact that a particular subject was given the opportunity to "get a turn", she frequently "missed" it. In other words, she "failed to respond to the turn" which was made available to her, sometimes even through a "personal solicit" by her interlocutor. As a result of such behaviour on the part of the subject, the experimenter needed to suggest a topic by asking specific questions or making remarks that would, it was hoped, elicit productive response from the subject.

It is not easy to determine why a certain woman missed turns during the interview, either with respect to topic initiation or topic continuation, but possible factors may be indicated. They may be divided into two main groups, the first being the inability to express herself or to understand the solicit in her second language, and the second relating to her unwillingness to do so as a result of extralingual factors. The first group of factors refers to her limited linguistic L2 competence, which may have been insufficient to communicate, or to the mental effort which was necessary, but which she was not prepared to make. On the other hand, the subject may not

have felt predisposed to engage in a specific topic of conversation for other reasons, which do not bear any relation to the L2 acquisition process per se.

This unwillingness can be further specified as follows:

- a) the subject's lack of personal interest in a specific topic
- b) the stigma attached to a topic which represents an area which is taboo or socioculturally unacceptable to the subject
- c) the subject being unaccustomed to responding elaborately to such a topic because of her social role.

The next exchange between the experimenter and Khadidja (in her sixth sample) exemplifies how the discussion of a particular topic comes to a halt as a result of the subject's response during the discourse.

experimenter: Maybe you can tell me a bit about Iraq
and the history of Iraq. Can you?

subject: I can't, no.

In this interview it was not possible, even after further prompting, to find out whether Khadidja's response was based on her restricted L2 competence or whether it could be explained in another way. If the response was not caused by her restricted L2 competence, she may have responded in the above manner either because she disliked the suggested topic personally, or because she felt that it was inappropriate to express her views about her home country to a stranger, or because such a topic is not usually discussed by women in her culture. In the example quoted, it proved to be particularly difficult to decide why this individual subject did not react favourably to the topic suggested by her interlocutor. On the basis of

Khadidja's attitude and responses in previous interviews, her behaviour in the exchange taken from sample 6 (above) could have been accounted for by any of the factors which have been indicated above.

Apart from these factors, the subject must have been affected by an inherent feature of the sampling technique, i.e. an inevitable element of artificiality in the methodology followed, consisting in three principal inhibiting influences. The first derives from the recording equipment. Although it was used as unobtrusively as possible (see 3.1.2.2.2.), each individual subject expressed her dislike for the use of the cassette recorder. On a number of occasions, the subject was only willing to talk about a topic of interest after the recorder had been switched off. The second influence results from the psychological pressure from having to converse in English, the language which the subject was in the process of acquiring. Even if she was linguistically capable of engaging in the discussion of a certain topic, she may have been discouraged by the need to do this in a language which was not her own. And in the third place, her pre-arranged contact with the experimenter may have had an impact on the way she decided to select a topic of conversation, since her interlocutor/experimenter had been imposed on her. Though careful attempts were made to create a relaxed atmosphere which was conducive to the subject talking freely about any topic of her choice (see 3.1.2.2.4.), it is possible that certain personality differences influenced the subject's attitude towards her interlocutor and kept her from discussing topics of conversation that she would gladly have taken up with someone with whom she had a more intimate relationship.

Such influences are comparable with the inherent constraints of the formal interview discussed by sociolinguists. Milroy points out,

...an interview is in our society a clearly defined and quite common speech event to which formal or careful speech is appropriate (this is particularly the case with tape-recorded interviews). This perception of the interview as a speech event subject to clear rules (of a sociolinguistic type) persists, however carefully the interviewer modifies the formality of this approach (Milroy, 1980:24,25).

The above problem in sociolinguistic investigation also applies to this research project, although the restriction does not lie in gaining access to a speaker's vernacular (as in Milroy's study), but to any productive participation in the interviewee's second language, viz. English. Both types of linguistic research need to deal with the so-called "observer's paradox" (Labov, 1972:209,210) consisting in the adverse effect of systematic observation on the subject's language production. In order to partly circumvent this problem and elicit linguistically interesting and relevant responses, sociolinguists have designed techniques which involve a likely emotional response from the interviewee. An example is the "Danger of Death" device used by Labov (ibid.), in which the subject is asked whether he/she has ever been in danger of being killed. In this way the obstacles of the formal interview could be reduced to some extent and the subject made to feel more predisposed to talk spontaneously, thus providing the data sought by the investigator. An illustration of this with respect to the topic of conversation is given in the next section.

3.2.5.5. TOPICS DISCUSSED

Notwithstanding the fact that in practice the topic selection during the recordings was a matter that could not simply be left to the subject involved, but that often required cautious prompting from the experimenter, a number of topics of conversation occurred frequently. These are found in the list below. They are arranged in no

special order, in other words, the level of importance, the frequency of occurrence and the length of time with which the individual topics were discussed during the sampling procedure is not reflected in the way they are listed.

- cooking and recipes
- family and friends
- the subject's cultural background and customs
- comparison of the subject's culture and that of the U.K.
- the subject's problems with getting accustomed to the British way of life
- problems with the English language
- the subject's pregnancy and pre-natal treatment
- visits to other parts of Britain
- the subject's wedding celebrations
- recent history and politics of the subject's home country

There was one device that proved to be a fruitful way of eliciting language from the subject relating to topics of conversation. It was especially valuable in the early recording sessions, when she had not known the experimenter for a long time yet. This method relied on photographs of the subject's relatives and friends. She was asked to take out her pictures and subsequently say something about each of them by commenting on the people and places on the photograph and giving additional background information.

This technique had a double advantage: the experimenter could show and interest in an area which clearly centred around the subject being interviewed, which was thought to be of diplomatic importance. In addition, the interviewee was engaged in talking about something

that touched upon her personal life, so that presumably she felt a certain degree of emotional involvement to this topic, and consequently, might want to react spontaneously. This device was thought to diminish the effect of the "observer's paradox" (see section 3.2.5.4.).

3.2.6. TRANSCRIPTION

After the samples of speech were recorded, the tapes in question needed to be transcribed. It seems that in linguistic research there is a choice of various sets of conventions for transcribing spoken material, and the application of a specific method of transcription largely depends on the aims of the investigation and the speakers involved. Decisions need to be made as to what aspects of the spoken material are essential and therefore are to be included, and what features may be disregarded.

Edmondson (1981:11) offers certain conventions for the transcription of spoken discourse of native speakers of English, but also points out that the representation of recorded spoken language through a transcript is a falsification in itself. His corpus of conversational talk differs considerably from the samples of this project in that the native speakers in his population have achieved linguistic competence in English, whereas second language learners, such as the subjects in this project, are still in the process of acquiring the English language. This is an important distinction to make, since the learners' performance is taken as the key to investigating and understanding their acquisition process and assessing the level of their interlanguage.

Despite the distinction between different types of interviewees and despite the inherent shortcomings of a transcript of spoken language, Edmondson indicates some important guidelines in this respect, as he claims that "the less technical and more immediately comprehensible a transcription, the less its potential falsification" (ibid.). This has proved to be an important principle to follow in devising the transcription rules for this project.

On the above basis the recorded material has been transcribed according to the following conventions:

- 1) When a speaker takes a turn, the utterance produced is written on a new line preceded by the person's initials
- 2) When recognisable words are used, they are represented according to their conventional orthography in Standard English. Phonetically interesting features have therefore been disregarded.
- 3) Where a lexical item non-existent in English is expressed by the subject in place of an existing English word, a phonemic representation corresponding to English orthographic rules is given to denote this lexical item (e.g. "industuary" instead of "industry", sample 2 from Nadia).
- 4) Where non-verbal conversational noises occur, they are transcribed as "eh", "uhum" or "hm" according to what seems appropriate in a particular instance.
- 5) Where the recording is not clear, words which are in doubt are underlined. If, however, the spoken material is not identifiable at all, this is represented by underlining on its own in the transcript, while it is marked by xxx in extracts quoted in this thesis.

- 6) Pauses are represented by dots in the transcript regardless of their duration on the tape.
- 7) Each quotation is identified by the first two letters of the subject's name (see section 3.2.2.), the interview number and the page number of the transcript. This may either follow the quoted language or, as in the case of slightly longer quotations, precede it. For example, "Doesn't matter" (Kh 7,10) means that Khadidja said "Doesn't matter" in her seventh interview and that the quotation is found on page 10 of that specific transcript. In addition, "E" is used to indicate the experimenter's words, while "S" refers to the subject concerned.

In quoting data from the transcripts in this thesis, certain hesitations and repetitions have been omitted, except where these relate to the negation in the utterance itself.

4 ANALYSIS OF NEGATED VERBS

One specific way of expressing negation is by negating the verbal phrase. In the target language there are two ways of doing this, depending on the type of verb involved. If the verbal phrase contains a main verb in a simple tense, negation of the verb is expressed through the addition of do-support with not. In this case the main verb is preceded by do not, does not, did not or the contracted forms don't, didn't or doesn't. Alternatively, if the first element of the verbal phrase consists of a form of to be, to have or a modal auxiliary, negation is expressed through the addition of not, resulting in, for instance, aren't, hasn't, cannot and mustn't.

Considering these two different types of negation with a verbal phrase, it is interesting to investigate the ways in which these types of negation are handled by the second language learners in the project. The principal focus of this chapter is on their expression of negated verbs interpreted at the level of surface structure. Furthermore, this chapter includes one communication strategy employed in order to express negation in a different manner, that is, not through the combination of a negator and a verb.

Negated verbs appear in the data of all four regular subjects (Khadidja, Imaan, Ibtisaam and Nadia) and the additional subject (Lamy). In those utterances which contain negated verbs, a number of significant features are revealed. In the first place, two classes of main verb negation (or Vneg) are frequently produced by Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, but do not appear in the speech of Nadia and Lamy. These are the classes no + V and not + V (see 4.1.). Secondly, negated forms of to have as a finite verb occur in the data of the

two subjects Nadia (20 times) and Lamya (8 times), whereas they are completely absent in the data of Imaan and Ibtisaam, and hardly appear in Khadidja's data (see 4.5.). This unbalance exists despite the fact that Nadia and Lamya were involved in only 7 interviews, while the total of samples of the other three subjects amounted to 31 (namely, Khadidja 10, Imaan 11 and Ibtisaam 10 recording sessions respectively). In the third place, negated forms of to be occur less regularly in the data of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam than in the samples obtained from Nadia and Lamya (see 4.6.). These three features require special attention, as they may reveal significant aspects of the second language acquisition process of the subjects involved.

This chapter is organized on the basis of the classification of the data and the significance of the different classes of verbal negation in the L2 acquisition process.

An analysis of the data of the five subjects producing negated main verbs (Vneg) demonstrates that five separate Vneg classes may be distinguished *. These are:

- 1) a main verb preceded by no (no + V) (section 4.1.1.)
- 2) a main verb preceded by not (not + V) (section 4.1.2.)
- 3) don't plus a main verb (don't + V) (section 4.2.1.)
- 4) other forms of do-support ('analyzed do-support', or 'an.do-sup' in its abbreviated form) which are followed by a main verb (section 4.2.2.)
- 5) a main verb preceded by not to (not to + V) (section 4.4)

The first two classes have in common the characteristic that neither exists as a class of verb negation in the target language. Considering this characteristic as well as the fact that no + V does

* No instances of "I don't know" have been included in the analysis of main verbs, as it is produced as a routine (see 4.2.1).

not occur very frequently in the data, these classes can be combined in the group of classes no + V/not + V. The third and fourth classes both contain a do-element on the surface level. This similarity makes it possible to join them provisionally in the group don't/an.do-sup + V. The fifth class is not attached to any of the other four, but seems to stand on its own.

There are four more classes of negated verbs, namely:

- 6) the negation of to have as a finite verb (HAVEneg) (section 4.5.)
- 7) the negated forms of to be (BEneg) (section 4.6.)
- 8) the negation of modal auxiliaries (MODneg) (section 4.7.)
- 9) an alternative way of expressing negated verbs (there + [be] + no) (section 4.8)

The ninth class does not refer to verbal negation in its strict sense, but deals with a formula which one subject employs as a substitute for intrasentential verbal negation structures.

4.1. no + V/not + V

Main verb negation consisting in the placement of no or not in front of the main verb frequently occurs in the data of the subjects Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam. However, there are important differences between these two classes, despite the fact that they have certain aspects in common. Consequently, they will be dealt with separately in the following sections.

4.1.1. no + V

It is interesting that all three women mentioned in 4.1 produce no + V, although none of them produces this class on a large scale.

Khadidja uses it once only ("No tell me", Kh 8,2) and so does Imaan ("No mix, but in the north mix with Arab", Im 5,3). Ibtisaam is more prolific, as she uses no + V six times in total, distributed over four different interviews (e.g. "No come back", Ib 7,9; "No like that recorder", Ib 2,1). All no + V utterances are listed in appendix 15. These no + V constructions, then, do not represent a large proportion of the negated verbs in the speech data. For Khadidja it is only 1% of all negated main verbs, while this proportion is 4% for Imaan and 5% for Ibtisaam.

The no + V construction has proved to be an important way of expressing negation as a stage in English language acquisition in general. In first language learning the appearance of no + V seems to precede that of not + V. Bellugi (1967:37-39) lists utterances, such as "No go back", "No sit there" and "No Mommy read" as examples of an L1 developmental stage. These utterances were produced by the three children in her population during the period she identified as Period A, occurring before the emergence of not + V. Bloom (1970:159) also found no + V in her children subjects, who produced utterances like "I no reach it", "Man no go in there" and "Kathryn no like celery". She explains that no was the only form of the negative particle at the early stages of language development, before other forms (e.g. can't) started to appear in the children's speech.

As far as second language acquisition is concerned, the no + V construction has been found in several studies. Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974:92 and 1978:210) analyzed the speech of Spanish-speaking learners of English. Five of their six subjects produced no + V a great deal. In fact, this construction marked an early developmental stage in their population. Adams (1978:284) also found that no preceded the main verb in her ESL learners.

Furthermore, Wode (1976:17 and 1979:224) discovered that no + V was the first verb negation construction to emerge in his study (e.g. "No play baseball" and "Me no close the window"). His population consisted of children who were L1 German speakers.

These studies have dealt with different types of English language learners (L1 and L2) and different L1 backgrounds (Spanish and German). Thus, the occurrence of no + V is not restricted by age, type of learner or a specific first language. This may indicate that no + V is a verb negation construction which is developmental in the acquisition of English and which may represent a manifestation of a language learning universal.

The above studies show that no + V proves to be a syntactic class which is regularly used by English learners in the early part of their acquisition process. Such learners are often shown to produce no + V before other verb negating devices have emerged in their speech. The subjects in this project, however, used a range of negating devices. Possibly, this was because they had already learned some English prior to the sampling sessions. On the basis of their previous tuition in English and their range of verb negation categories, the conclusion can be drawn that these women had already passed the initial stage of negative development when no + V is produced frequently by English language learners.

What is clear is that no + V does not represent a large proportion of the negated verbs in the sample (Khadidja 1%, Imaan 4% and Ibtisaam 5%). There seem to be two possible explanations for these small proportions. The first is that they previously used no + V on a wide scale, but that this class was already declining when sampling took place. The second is that this Vneg category never appeared in

their speech extensively, due to the fact, for instance, that they were taught different (viz. TL) categories in English courses at school. However, in this project the true explanation for the limited occurrences no + V cannot be traced.

4.1.2. not + V

The construction not + V is produced by Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam more extensively than no + V. In fact, the instances of not + V represent a sizable part of their total verb negation. The numbers and proportions of not + V in these women's data of negated main verbs are as follows:

| <u>SUBJECT</u> | <u>OCCURRENCE OF not + V</u> | <u>PERCENTAGE OF not + V</u> |
|----------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Khadidja | 36 X | 33% |
| Imaan | 7 X | 10% |
| Ibtisaam | 99 X | 71% |

TABLE 3 Number of instances of not + V and their incidence as a proportion of all negated verbs from each individual subject (Percentages have been rounded off)

It needs to be pointed out that to count the number of instances and to make a comparison of the frequency between the three speakers on a numerical basis may provide a misleading picture: Imaan uses not + V only 7 times, while in Ibtisaam's speech it occurs as much as 99 times. In order to avoid misrepresentation, it is important to take the proportions of these instances into account (third column of the table above), as they may reflect the significance of this syntactic structure more accurately than numbers. For Khadidja the proportion of not + V in the total of negated main verbs is one third, for Imaan this is almost one tenth, while Ibtisaam uses not + V in more than two thirds of her instances of main verb negation. Thus it becomes clear

that not + V is a major Vneg construction in the interlanguage of each of these three women. The distribution of instances of not + V over the samples of the three subjects in question is shown in appendix 6.

As in the case of no + V, the construction not + V has also been found to occur in the data of English language learners in other language acquisition projects. Yet again, the occurrence of not + V has been observed in first language as well as second language learners. This construction differs from no + V in that not + V is reported to emerge at a more advanced level than no + V.

In a longitudinal study of children's first language acquisition Bellugi (1967:57-60,220-225) and Klima and Bellugi (1966:196) find that instances of not + V emerge after the stage in which no + V appears. Examples of not + V in Period B of Bellugi's data are "I not get it dirty", "Not go in there" and "You not have one".

In studies of second language acquisition, utterances containing not + V have been found to exist in data obtained from children learning English as their L2. Ravem (1974:128) reports that children whose mother tongue is Norwegian produced not + V (e.g. "I not like that"). Milon (1974:140,142) states the same about a girl who is an L1 Japanese speaker (e.g. "I not cheat" and "I not give you candy"). The German-speaking children studied by Wode (1980:113) produced utterances such as "You not shut up" and "I not get away from Larsie". However, an interesting aspect of the Spanish-speaking population of Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1975) is that not + V is not reported to appear in the speech data at all, whereas, as mentioned before, no + V was one of the regular verb negation constructions in five of their subjects. This will be further discussed in the next section.

4.1.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF no + V/not + V IN THE ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

It is important to consider the aspect which no + V and not + V have in common. Although the distribution of these constructions shows certain differences, no + V and not + V share the feature that the target language does not have either structure and that, consequently, ESL learners are unlikely to hear these from native speakers. Neither no + V, nor not + V appears in the English speakers' language which constitutes the input language to the subjects. Nevertheless, there are a great many instances of no + V and not + V in the subjects' speech. In addition, the same Vneg classes have regularly been found in first and second language studies (see table from Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982:124). On the grounds of these identical observations in different research projects, the conclusion can be drawn that in the acquisition of English these two constructions no + V and not + V constitute transitional constructions of verb negation which can be explained as developmental structures.

A significant distinction between no + V and not + V is the fact that the word no is never used for intrasentential verb negation in Standard English. On the other hand, even if not + V is not a target language construction, the word not itself is always required for the negation of a verb phrase, either in conjunction with do-support or without. Wode and Rölke-Dravina (1976:371,372) deal with this distinction and with the question why no + V should occur at all, rather than not + V exclusively. They explain this phenomenon through an investigation of negation in children's L1 acquisition of German, English, Swedish and Latvian. They claim that the developmental sequences are as follows. First, holophrastic negation is acquired ('No' in English). The second stage involves anaphoric negation (e.g.

"No, outside" meaning "No, I want to go outside") and constituent negation (what Wode and Růke-Dravina call non-anaphoric multi-word negation, e.g. "No close" for "I can't close the box"). In the third stage intrasentential negation is produced through the placement of the negative element between various constructions. However, for the expression of this type of negation, the same particle which was used in the previous two stages (viz. holophrastic, anaphoric and constituent negation) also functions as the intrasentential negator rather than its equivalent from the Standard language. For English this means that the word no is used rather than the Standard form not. Hence, the utterance "Kathryn no like celery" (Bloom, 1970:159).

These sequences, it is true, have only been reported in children's acquisition of negation. However, since Wode and Růke-Dravina have considered different languages and have argued the case for a developmental sequence in the acquisition of negatives, it might be expected that these sequences are found in L2 adult learners to some extent as well. This may be the case with the L1 Arabic speakers acquiring English as their second language. The three women who produce Vneg transitional constructions without a do-element all produce instances of no + V, even though numerically not + V is shown to be a more significant structure. Unfortunately, the no + V emergence and occurrence vis-a-vis the not + V structure is not proved to represent an earlier step in the developmental sequence, as these two structures do not clearly display a specific chronological order. For Khadidja no + V appears in interview 8, when not + V has already consistently been produced from interview 2 onwards. For Imaan the occasion of emergence of no + V and that of not + V coincide in interview 5. Ibtisaam uses not + V in every interview from the beginning of the sampling procedure, while no + V emerges in



interview 2 and occurs less frequently and less consistently. However, although their Vneg data do not display a clear-cut progression of transitional constructions in terms of steps in a developmental sequence does not apply to their L2 acquisition process. It is very well possible that at the moment when sampling started each of the three women had already reached the stage in which she made use of a range of Vneg structures in her expression of negation.

A closer look at adult L2 acquisition may reveal more about the developmental sequence in question. At this point it is therefore relevant to compare the Arab women in this project with the Spanish speakers studied at Harvard University (Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, 1975; Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, 1974 and 1978). If the focus is on main verb negation without a do-element, it becomes clear that their informants used different constructions to negate main verbs. Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974) describe verb negation development in their population and explain that in the early stages a main verb is usually preceded either by no (e.g. "Carolina no go play", "I no come for my mother" and "I no remember") or don't ("He don't have a hands", "She don't saw him", and "They don't like").

Although not + V does occur sporadically in their study (e.g. "I not remember the word"), its occurrence is not sufficiently prominent to be included in the figures showing the development of negation of each individual subject in their population (or to be included in Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, 1975). A similar example of the same phenomenon has been provided by Adams (1978:284). Her population, also consisting of Spanish speakers, frequently used no + V, but a main verb was never found to follow not. One potential confounding factor is the phonological similarity between no and not,

which may lead to erroneous interpretation of the recorded material on the experimenter's part, but it is assumed here that no such mistakes have been made during the transcription process of any of the projects concerned.

The inevitable question arises as to why these Spanish-speaking ESL learners in different research projects use no + V almost at the exclusion of not + V, while the Arabic-speaking subjects showed the opposite preference. Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam produced not + V a great deal, whereas no + V occurred only on a limited scale. This unbalance in the application of the two syntactic constructions demonstrates that there is a difference between the Spanish-speaking and the Arabic-speaking subjects.

It is proposed here that, in the occurrence of no + V and not + V, there are first language influences which may play a role, in addition to the overall developmental aspect of these two syntactic structures. This claim can be supported by examining the negating devices in the first language concerned and determining what similarities exist between the first and the second language.

In Spanish there is only one lexical item, viz. the word no, which expresses both holophrastic negation (the equivalent of English no as the opposite of yes) and intrasentential negation (which is the equivalent of English not). A Spanish speaker learns that for holophrastic negation English uses an item which is lexically identical and phonologically similar to the item used in Spanish (viz. Spanish no = English no). The use of this holophrastic English negator may be overgeneralized to English negation within a sentence, or alternatively the Spanish speaker may transfer the L1 intrasentential negator no to a syntactically similar L2 environment.

As a consequence, the Spanish speaker does not restrict not to the TL holophrastic function, but erroneously applies no in proposition negating utterances as well, emanating in e.g. "The boy no run". This no + V construction then is not a learner's error which can be explained unequivocally as a case of either L1 transfer or overgeneralization in Selinker's terms (1972). Either of these two learning processes would result in the same structure (no + V), so that the process underlying a no + V instance could not be determined merely on the basis of the surface structure. In fact, the no + V in Spanish ESL learners may be regarded as a combination of these two psycholinguistic learning processes applying simultaneously and therefore overlapping.

As to Arabic speakers, L1 transfer is less likely to take place in the acquisition of English as a second language. In the subjects' mother tongue the equivalents of no and not bear no phonological resemblance to their English counterparts. In addition, there is a clear lexical and phonetic distinction between the holophrastic negator in Arabic (mainly /la/) and the proposition negating devices (viz. /ma/, /mu/, /muʃ/, /ʃ/ or /leisa/). This phonological discrepancy between Arabic and English negators, on the one hand, and the lexical distinction between holophrastic and proposition negation in the two languages, on the other, may account for the fact that the Arabic women were not restricted to no + V, as the Spanish speakers were. Consequently, the Arabic speakers were not influenced by the combination of overgeneralization and L1 transfer applicable to L1 Spanish learners. The Arab women only seem to overgeneralize the use of the holophrastic negator ('No') to intrasentential negation. Their L1 cannot be said to interfere.

What needs to be borne in mind in this comparison of Spanish-speaking and Arabic ESL learners is the fact that noted differences between the two groups of subjects do not imply that evidence is given against the existence of developmental rules and language learning universals. Rather, the argument constitutes a refinement of previously accepted hypotheses concerning language learning. The strong version of the L2 acquisition = L1 acquisition hypothesis (Dulay and Burt, 1974d) has been interpreted as predicting the same acquisitional sequence and frequency of constructions for L1 and L2 learners. However, this assumption of the identity hypothesis has been refuted by the findings of several investigations. The L1 = L2 hypothesis and its implied assumptions about language learning universals need to be interpreted in a modified way, as Dulay and Burt (1974a; see also Tarone 1974:59,63) have actually proposed themselves. It must acknowledge the influence that the first language exerts on the L2 learner. This has also been argued by Wode (1976) in his study on children learning English as their second language. He states,

"...if the claim that L2 and L1 acquisition are the same is to be upheld, as I think it should for the time being, it can only be that L2 and L1 acquisition are governed by the same set of principles. These principles will lead to different surface forms depending on the total information the L2 child has at his disposal, i.e. depending, mainly, on the structure of the respective L1" (Wode, 1976:25)

In fact, the same point of view is held by Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1975), who could only account for certain syntactic structures in their data if they rejected the strong version of the L2 = L1 hypothesis and accepted it in the weaker version which also acknowledges first language interference.

These two studies with L1 German and L1 Spanish speakers therefore come to the conclusion that empirical data show transfer to be one of the processes existing in second language acquisition. This supports the theoretical postulation that developmental processes as well as first language influences play a role in L2 acquisition (Selinker, 1972).

It would be interesting if the argument above could be substantiated by similar findings. In the first place it seems that by now no + V has been established as a developmental structure and consequently is expected to appear in naturalistic speech of an L2 learner. In the second place, the learner's first language may influence L2 negation structures. Combining these two factors certain questions are raised. On the one hand, the question is whether those L2 learners whose L1 has identical holophrastic and intrasentential negators, tend to overgeneralize the no + V construction in their interlanguage a great deal (e.g. Spanish no = English no or not). And on the other hand, the question is whether those ESL learners with clearly different lexical items for these two types of negation in their L1, make use of a wider range of transitional constructions in their interlanguage to negate verbs (e.g. Arabic /la/ = English no, while Arabic /mu/ etc. = English not).

4.2. MAIN VERB NEGATION WITH A DO-ELEMENT

As mentioned before (section 4), in the classification of the data, there are two categories of main verb negation containing a do-element, namely don't plus a main verb (don't + V) and other forms of do-support followed by a main verb (analyzed do-support + V or an.do-sup + V). These classes are distinguished from no + V and not + V in their relation to the target language (TL). On the one hand, no + V

and not + V are categories which do not correspond to target language constructions. On the other hand, since main verb negation in English requires do-support, don't + V and an.do-sup + V represent classes which do occur in the TL, unlike the other two categories. This implies that utterances with the latter Vneg constructions approach the target language surface structure more closely than utterances with no + V or not + V. As a consequence, ESL speakers who produce don't + V and an.do-sup + V with some degree of regularity may be regarded as more advanced learners of English than those whose speech only displays no + V and not + V constructions.

An important observation to make about the data of this project is that all five subjects involved produced don't + V and an.do-sup + V. In this respect, the group no + V/not + V differs significantly from the group don't/an.do-sup + V. What must be kept in mind is that the latter group of negative classes only occurs in the samples obtained from three of these five women, that is, in the data from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, while Nadia and Lamya did not produce even one instance of no + V or not + V.

However, even though don't + V and an.do-sup + V have in common the fact that they occur in the data of all five subjects in the project and that they approximate target language surface structures as far as the presence of a do-element is concerned, these two categories also differ in some other respects. For this reason, these two structures will be dealt with separately.

4.2.1. don't + V

In the classification of the data, don't + V is a class which occurs frequently in the language of all five subjects. The category don't + V refers to the surface structure of certain utterances more

expressly than other classes, for reasons set out in 4.1.2.3. It is the type of main verb negation which consists of the contracted form of do not (usually pronounced as /dəunt/) followed by a main verb. This implies that the uncontracted form do not is not included in this category, and neither are the forms does not, doesn't, did not and didn't. Examples of utterances falling in the category don't + V are "she don't do this for other people" (Na 1,5), "The milk I don't like that" (Ib 8,5) and "Why don't go with, by train? (Kh 7,9).

The purpose of distinguishing between these various negatives with do-support is that /dəunt/ is assumed to represent an allomorph of not to some second language learners. In spite of this allomorphic status it will be represented here as don't, that is, in accordance with the orthographic rules. Consequently, not + V and don't + V are variants of the Vneg interlanguage variable.

The view that don't can represent an allomorph of not to the L2 learner rather than a composite of do and not may be supported by several observations and arguments. The first concerns the repeated absence of analyzed do-support forms (do not, does not, doesn't, did not and didn't) when a subject uses don't + V with some degree of regularity. This applies especially to the interlanguages of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam. Their total of 31 samples comprises a mere 6 interviews which contain don't + V as well as an.do-sup + V data. On the other hand, not + V and don't + V occur together within one particular sample more often (namely, in 14 of the total of 31 interviews). Whenever these latter structures co-occur, the subject only produces the other forms of do-support on a very limited scale or does not produce them at all. This seems to point at a closer link

between not + V and don't + V than between don't + V and an.do-sup + V in the linguistic competence of these three women.

The second argument refers to the status of don't as a learned unit. Whilst not + V is a regularly occurring Vneg construction, the subject in question has no difficulties in producing "I don't know". This indicates that she produces this phrase as a so-called 'routine formula' (Hatch, 1974:4), alternatively termed a 'learned chunk' (Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, 1974:86). This means that the subject does not realize that "I don't know" comprises a form of do-support, the contracted form of not and a main verb. It is possible, though not verifiable in practice, that, by the time she negates other main verbs in combination with don't, this phrase don't still represents a learned chunk with the semantic status of a negator, as in the already previously occurring phrase "I don't know". This explains why sometimes a sample may contain instances of "I don't know", while all the other structures of main verb negation are of the type not + V (e.g. interviews Ib 1, Ib 2 and Ib 5).

A striking instance of the difference between a routine formula and the learner's usual way of constructing main verb negation is seen in Khadidja 7,5. The conversation ran as follows:

- Kh 7,5 S: One month or two weeks or three weeks. I
don't know
- E: xxx happy to see you again
- S: Yea
- E: Um, did Ihsaan ask you to tell me if you have
the recipes?
- S: Eh, yes, but I not eh know the name of eh
some vegetable

This extract shows that the first time Khadidja negates the verb 'to know', she produces it as the usual routine formula. This means that all constituents are fixed and syntactically unanalyzed, although the surface seemingly demonstrates the use of do-support and appears as a native speaker's utterance ("I don't know"). The second time there is an additional constituent, viz. the object 'the name of some vegetable(s)'. This addition probably changes the status of the verb 'to know' from one specific part of a routine formula into a main verb which is to be negated in the way which is normal in Khadidja's interlanguage, that is, in accordance with the not + V structure. This then results in the utterance "I not know the name". These two utterances, though containing the same verb ('to know'), are therefore different in structure. This underlines the status of don't as part of a formula and supports the view that, at this stage of Khadidja's L2 acquisition don't should not be regarded as a contraction of do-support and not, but as a variant realization of the negator (cf examples of utterances which Ravem (1978:150) selects from his child's L2 production, viz. "I not know it more - I don't know it more" and "I not know what is edge paa (in) Norwegian").

Thirdly, on a few occasions, the don't + V construction appears with a main verb which is also negated by the not + V construction, either immediately before, or just after the don't + V utterance in question. An example is from an interview with Khadidja.

Kh 10,6 E: Is this a special building?

S: I don't know. Don't see, I not see that

Another example is produced by Ibtisaam, who may have been influenced to use the don't + V construction, because it had just been produced by her interlocutor.

Ib 10,8 S: In Muslim...not speak Arabic, but in Muslims
 ...
 S: Muslim?
 E: Yea
 S: Muslim? Hm. Is good
 E: But they don't speak Arabic
 S: Yea, don't speak Arabic. Pakistani Muslim, but
not speak Arabic. You write and read Arabic,
 in Qur'an
 E: Hm
 S: But not speak Arabic

Ibtisaam's utterance "don't speak Arabic" cannot be discarded as a simple case of parroting one part of the preceding (viz. her interlocutor's) utterance, since in fact Ibtisaam has already produced don't + V utterances spontaneously prior to the example mentioned above.

In the fourth place, instances of don't + V are sometimes found in a sample in which not only not + V, but also the early acquisitional structure no + V occurs. In these cases then, there are three distinct constructions of main verb negation occurring side by side: no + V, not + V and don't + V. These samples are Khadidja 8, Imaan 7 and Ibtisaam 8. These three distinct structures of main verb negation may be represented by the following rules:

Vneg -----> Negator V

Negator -----> { no
not
don't }

V -----> V
[main verb]

Although these rules may show how three different constructions co-occur, they cannot be assumed to demonstrate the general development of acquisitional structures in the subject's interlanguage, nor do they provide any information about the frequency with which each construction appears. However, the point here is that if one particular subject produces the early developmental structure no + V, she is unlikely to be aware of the composite nature of don't at the same time or to apply the do-support rule in her own language production.

There is a remarkable and perhaps not so obvious aspect of the application of don't as a negating device in the speech of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam. Even though don't appears to represent an allomorph of not, resulting in the co-occurrence of don't + V and not + V in a great number of samples of these three subjects, all three seem to realize that the use of don't is restricted to application in conjunction with a main verb. This conclusion can be drawn, as there are no instances of don't in combination with the verb 'to be' or a modal auxiliary, such as can or will. All instances of negated forms of 'to be' and negated modals contain not or n't (e.g. isn't, cannot, mustn't), but never the negator no, as is the case with main verbs (no + V). Thus, don't only seems to be an alternative negating device of no and not and is only interchangeable with these two negators, provided that it is followed by a main verb. This gives further support to the view that don't represents an allomorph of the negators no and not, rather than a form of do-support with not.

It could be reasoned that each separate argument mentioned above is not convincing evidence for the proposition that don't in the interlanguage of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam has the status of an allomorph of not. However, the sum of these arguments seems to provide

sufficiently strong support to this claim. Therefore, it is contended here that don't is an allomorph of not. Notwithstanding this supposition, there are some problems, which will be discussed later (see section 4.1.2.3).

Appendix 7 shows the number of instances of don't + V in each sample.

4.2.2. ANALYZED DO-SUPPORT + V

The class of analyzed do-support + V (or an.do-sup + V) refers to verb negation in those utterances in which the main verb is preceded by do not, does not, did not or the contracted forms doesn't or didn't. Consequently, it excludes negated main verbs of the type don't + V, which have been dealt with in the previous section.

An.do-sup + V differs from don't + V in that the subject can distinguish between the negator not used separately with a main verb and not preceded by a form of do which is a marker of tense and agreement. It is exactly on the basis of this feature of do that the assumption can be made that a particular subject does not regard the combination of do-support and not as an allomorph of separate not any longer, but that she has some understanding of the syntactic significance of do-support in main verb negation.

Instances of verb negation with analyzed do-support occur regularly in the five interviews with Nadia (6 times) and the two interviews with Lamyia (9 times), but do not appear so frequently in the samples from Khadidja (5 times in 10 interviews), Imaan (2 times in 11 interviews) and Ibtisaam (3 times in 10 interviews). In fact, there is not even one instance of an.do-sup + V in the first five interviews with Khadidja (Kh 1 - 5) or the first four interviews with

Ibtisaam (Ib 1 - 4), while in Imaan's case this construction does not appear before the ninth sample (no instance of an.do-sup + V in Im 1 - 8). Even after an.do-sup + V has emerged in their data it does not appear with such regularity that each subsequent sample contains instances of this structure. Appendix 9 lists all the instances of an.do-sup + V in the corpus.

The analyzed do-support + V construction seems to be considerably difficult for Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, since in their application of this Vneg rule other parts of the same utterance may show errors. This is illustrated in several instances. Three of Khadidja's five an.do-sup + V utterances display errors, closely related to the verbal phrase. Twice the subject constituent is left out. This concerns the omission of 'you' in "Why do not go by train?" (Kh 7,2) and omitted 'it' in "Doesn't matter" (Kh 7,10). The last example can be contrasted with Lamy's utterance "It doesn't matter" (La 2,11). Khadidja's first instance of an.do-sup + V ("Then why you do not go to Holland to your family?", Kh 6,6) contains the subject 'you', but the rule by which the do-element and the subject are inverted is not applied.

A plausible explanation is that in applying the rule on analyzed do-support Khadidja has come to the highest level of syntactic complexity in English which she may possibly reach to produce a certain utterance. Her use of an.do-sup + V occurs at the expense of the correct application of other syntactic rules of the TL. This could result in errors, such as word order. The sequence "why you do not go" (Kh 6,6) corresponds to the transitional construction found to occur in L1 acquisition studies carried out by Brown, Cazden and Bellugi-Klima (1969) and in children's L2 acquisition investigated by Dulay and Burt (1974b) and Ravem (1974).

Brown, Cazden and Bellugi-Klima (1969:57) discuss what they call 'the child's Wh-question as a hypothetical intermediate in adult grammar'. In such questions (e.g. "Why it's resting now?"), the child does not apply any subject-verb inversion. Other examples are "What color it is?" (from Dulay and Burt, 1974b:116) and, more specifically concerning the structure Why + Vneg with do-support, "Why we don't go to Norway?" and "Why Toto don't cry?" (Raven, 1974:151). These structures are explained in terms of derivational complexity by Brown and Hanlon (1970), who argue that the longer the derivation of sentence is in terms of TG grammar, the more difficult this sentence becomes to the learner and the later it may be expected to emerge in the learner's developing language. Brown and Hanlon describe how their subjects "asked Wh-questions with preposed question words, but without interposing subject and auxiliary, long before they made Wh-questions in which they did both" (1970:41). Although their subjects represent L1 learners, the same principle may operate with L2 adult learners as well, since the empirical data of the two types of learners correspond in this respect.

These studies mainly focus on the constituent order of Wh-questions at stages in English language acquisition. However, these examples from other studies and from this project serve to demonstrate here that analyzed do-support + V in Vneg constructions is so complex to an English language learner in whose interlanguage this construction has just emerged, that it puts constraints on the production of the rest of the utterances concerned. An additional striking example is given by Ibtisaam. It could be speculated that, when she said, "Why do you, do not eat the pork?" (Ib 5,4), she had to choose between either expressing the subject in accordance with the subject-auxiliary inversion rule, or expressing the intended negation

through the insertion of not after the do-element. She could not combine the two and produce the TL version "Why don't you eat (*the) pork?" or "Why do you not eat (*the) pork?"

It is not argued that the learner's utterance necessarily goes through the same transformational processes which some proposed TG derivations of the sentence in question display. In addition, it is understood that the corpus of this project does not give substantial evidence to the claim that analyzed do-support in verb negation is applied at the inevitable expense of other syntactic processes. However, it is contended that the learner finds an.do-sup + V syntactically complex. Consequently, this construction emerges after simpler forms of verb negation have appeared, it may have an unfavourable influence on the rest of the sentence (as in the examples discussed above) and it is likely to take the learner some time before an.do-sup + V can be used regularly and correctly. Conversely, if a learner can apply an.do-sup + V correctly and with a certain degree of ease, this implies that the learner may be considered to have advanced beyond the initial stages of English language acquisition.

An important feature of the category analyzed do-support + V could easily be overlooked, as it is not conspicuous. If the list of all the an.do-sup + V utterances in the corpus (appendix 9) is considered more closely, it is remarkable to find that in all instances do-support itself is not only analyzed (viz. it differs from the don't version), but is also analyzed correctly in terms of tense and agreement, even if the actual subject constituent is deleted. In other words, does only occurs with third person singular subjects, while do is applied for all other subject constituents, and at the

same time did is restricted to marking tense of past events, while the other forms all refer to the present tense.

Even in the apparently anomalous utterance "But now I didn't put" (La 2,10), didn't in fact marks a past tense and refers to an action carried out in the recent past, the adverbial 'now' meaning 'just now'. Thus the data of the subjects conform to the requirements of the target language in the specific respect of all the do-support rules.

This conformity with the standard language is comparable to what Brown and Bellugi (1964:136,137) discovered in relation to word order in first language acquisition, namely that the children in their study adhered to the constituent order found in adult language. This illustrates a particular problem in psycholinguistic research projects of this kind. Since a learner's language usually displays notable deviations from the model language, significant similarities (such as word order in children's speech or tense and agreement of do-support rules in an L2 learner's interlanguage) become relatively less salient and may even be taken for granted. Thus, it is worth specifically pointing out instances of the successful acquisition of such linguistic features.

The development of analyzed do-support + V for the different subjects throughout the sampling period is given in appendix 8.

4.2.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF AND PROBLEMS WITH don't + V/an.do-sup + V

A number of points needs to be made with reference to the two classes don't + V and an.do-sup + V. It has been argued that from the use of an.do-sup + V it can be inferred that the learner understands that the syntactic negating device is composed of a form of do-support plus not or n't. The argument is based on the analysis of the surface structure of the utterances produced. However, this raises the

question of when the learner makes the transition from conceiving don't as one lexical unit, viz. the allomorph of not, to considering this negating device as a composition of a do-element plus the not-element. More specifically in terms of language production, the difficulty is to determine at which point in the acquisition process the learner stops using don't as an alternative to not, and starts using don't as a combination of do and not. The latter combination is in fact an analyzed form of do-support, but is not formally included in the category analyzed do-support + V in this study.

In order to understand this problem, the two subsequent stages need to be considered more closely. At the earlier stages the interlanguage systems generate negation of the main verb through preposing no, not or don't, while at the later stage in the acquisition process the interlanguage system generates some form of do in conjunction with some form of not (viz. not or n't). Thus both these grammatical systems may generate don't + main verb, although their underlying structures differ significantly. The later stage corresponds with the target language in that do-support is involved. The earlier constructions, however, do not conform to the rules of the TL. Such non-TL constructions have been labelled "transitional constructions" by Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982:121) (see also chapter 2).

At the two subsequent stages, then, identical surface structures are generated. Consequently, it seems impossible to recover the point of transition from the one stage to the next through an exclusive analysis of the utterances with don't + V constructions. Concerning the determination of the status of don't + V in a particular utterance, a number of factors needs to be taken into account,

relating to the presence or absence of different categories of main verb negation and to overlapping interlanguage systems.

In the first place, it is unlikely that an L2 learner who frequently uses constructions such as no + V and not + V, understands the syntactic significance of do-support and is capable of breaking down this negating device into its two components (do and not). Therefore, don't probably represents an allomorph of not when it co-occurs with no + V or not + V. Such co-occurrence can be seen in most interviews obtained from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam.

If, on the other hand, an L2 learner never uses no + V or not + V and, in addition, regularly produces instances of an.do-sup + V, it is plausible that this learner also produces don't as an analyzed form of do-support. This applies to all interviews with Nadia and Lamya, who never produced no + V or not + V.

Nevertheless, these two factors still cannot determine when exactly don't emerges as a composite negating device. A look at the data reveals that during the sampling procedure three subjects begin to produce an.do-sup + V, while instances of no + V or not + V remain in their Vneg systems. For Khadidja the beginning of an.do-sup + V is observed in interview 6 ("Then why you do not go to Holland to your family?", Kh 6,6), for Imaan this is in interview 9 ("She didn't find", Im 9,1) and in Ibtisaam's case it is found in interview 5 ("Why do you, do not eat the pork?", Ib 5,4). Even after these interviews these women continue using no + V/not + V. The question remains then whether the don't + V construction in the interviews Khadidja 6 to 10, Imaan 9 to 11 and Ibtisaam 5 to 10 falls in the group of Vneg classes no/not/don't + V, or whether this construction comprises a contracted do-support form in these women's interlanguage.

The answer seems to be simple: the status of don't + V cannot be determined as being clearly the one or the other during the period when no + V/not + V and an.do-sup + V co-occur. However, this co-occurrence is less paradoxical than it appears and can be accounted for by the following explanation.

It is plausible that the learner does not change the interlanguage rules abruptly, but that two systems overlap for a while. This means that in the period of overlap, don't may sometimes be the result of a system in which it is an allomorph of not, while at other times it is a form of negated do-support. This proposed overlap can be supported by the argument that the same phenomenon has been described in other research projects in which one syntactic field may display distinctly different surface structures. In these cases, the new and more advanced system of syntactic regularities is not substituted for the previously established system abruptly, but co-exists with the more elementary rules that the learner applies.

This has been proposed by psycholinguists concerned with empirical data on first language acquisition. For instance, Klima and Bellugi (1966) state:

"A characteristic of child language is the residue of elements of previous systems, and the sentences produced might well be described as a co-existing of the rules at stage 1, and a new system" (ibid.:194)... "There seems to be a gradual development of rules and not necessarily the wholesale replacement of one set by another" (ibid.:203)

The co-occurrence of rules has also been argued in similar studies dealing with second language learners. Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974) concentrate on the acquisition of negation in particular and speculate that,

"the subjects' language is developing and that one characteristic of such growth might be the acquisition of multiple negating devices which are then used in free variation" (1974:93-94)

In their data different negating devices mark distinct developmental stages in the acquisition process of their subjects. These negating constructions may co-occur in several combinations, for example, no + V, don't + V, not + V and do not + V in their subject A on tape 6; and no + V and don't + V in their subject J on tape 5 (ibid.:92). Such overlap corresponds with the observations of the negating devices in this project. This can be seen in appendix 16, which shows the range of verb negation structures found in each separate sample from each individual subject.

This phenomenon of overlapping developmental stages has been called the 'blending of transitional steps' by Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982), who explain:

"Language development is not a series of plateaus, but a continuum. Learners typically use transitional constructions representative of one step while they try out forms representing the next step" (ibid.:125)

With the specific negated structure in question, don't + V, this blending creates a problem to the observer. Since the difficulty with don't + V utterances is that the subsequent developmental stages result in identical surface structures, the blending of transitional steps is not clearly identifiable, nor can their duration be determined. Notwithstanding this obstacle, the distinction between don't + V and an.do-sup + V as two discrete categories is adhered to in the classification of this study.

4.3 DEVELOPMENT IN THE PRODUCTION OF Vneg

4.3.1 ORDER OF MAIN VERB NEGATION

If the Vneg structures of main verbs are arranged in accordance with the theoretical model of acquisition, the developmental stages could be represented as follows:

| | |
|-----------|---------------|
| stage I | no + V |
| stage II | not + V |
| stage III | don't + V |
| stage IV | an.do-sup + V |

This order may be justified by the following arguments. The structure no + V is the first verb negation construction which emerges in the speech of English language learners. Subsequently, not + V emerges. This relative order of the above two constructions has been observed in empirical studies executed by Bellugi (1967), Klima and Bellugi (1966), Bloom (1970) and Wode (1976). As to this order Wode and Růke-Dravina (1976) compare different languages and explain that no + V can in fact be expected to precede not + V in the acquisition process. Their argumentation is that verb negation first incorporates the holophrastic negator (in English the particle no), before it develops into a construction involving a lexical item which differs from this holophrastic negator (in English the particle not). This has also been discussed in section 4.1.1.3.

After stage I (no + V) and stage II (not + V), the don't + V structure emerges. In stage III the negating part don't first represents an allomorph of not, after which it becomes negated do-support, as in the target language. The category don't + V has been found to follow the not + V stage. Subsequently, main verb negation takes the form of the target language and is represented by analyzed do-support + V, which represents stage IV.

4.3.2. THE BLENDING OF STAGES

In examining the data it is interesting to note that, over a period of several months, Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam produce various Vneg structures, some of which are transitional constructions

not present in the TL. A close look at appendix 16 shows that this use of variant forms is not straightforwardly arranged in a chronological order. This implies that one variant form of Vneg cannot be said to emerge when the subject has clearly stopped applying another variant. Instead, a blending of steps can be observed. This does not only concern two successive transitional constructions from the developmental sequence, but may also involve three or more of such constructions occurring simultaneously.

This blending then may result, for example, in a co-occurrence of structures that have emerged at stage I, stage II and stage III. Even a structure from stage IV might be added to these Vneg rules at one particular moment in the acquisition process.

Examination of the numbers in appendix 16 that refer to the Vneg data shows that Khadidja uses her first an.do-sup + V utterance (along with not + V and don't + V) in interview 6, and that she also produces it in interviews 7 and 8. However, in interview 8 there is also one instance of no + V (stage I). Thus her Vneg incorporates the three stages II, III and IV in interviews 6 and 7, while in 8 she uses the constructions from all four stages, including stage I.

Imaan uses Vneg constructions sparingly. She never produces more than two variant forms in one sample of main verb negation. In interview 5 these comprise stages I and II (viz. no + V and not + V), in interviews 6 and 8 they include stages II and III (viz. not + V and don't + V), while in interview 9 she produces constructions from stages III and IV (viz. don't + V and an.do-sup + V). This could perhaps indicate that Imaan's interlanguage progresses relatively steadily and linearly, although not in discrete steps.

Ibtisaam's data display a very different picture altogether. There are instances of the stage I transitional construction no + V from interviews 2 to 8 (viz. in Ibtisaam 2, 4, 7 and 8), while stage IV (an.do-sup + V) appears between interviews 5 and 10 (viz. Ibtisaam 5, 7 and 10). In one specific sample, namely interview 7, the entire range of main verb negation constructions is used (cf Kh 8), as she produces no + V 3 times, not + V 8 times, one instance of don't + V and one instance of an.do-sup + V.

Since the entire range of developmental steps is only found in the three subjects mentioned above, but not in the samples from Nadia and Lamyā, it is important to demonstrate that, however discrete the stages may be from a theoretical point of view, that is, in a description of the developmental sequence, real data do not display steps which are marked by the same neat order and contained by clear time boundaries. Instead, as to the production of Vneg structures, stages not only overlap if they are successive (e.g. stages I and II), but may even overlap if they are further apart (e.g. stages I and III). Most significantly, co-occurring utterances may be manifestations of structures from widely different stages (e.g. stages I and IV) or an early developmental structure may re-appear in the learner's speech ('backsliding'), while at the same time later structures seem to become more firmly established in the subject's interlanguage.

The description of the above phenomena fits in with the distinction between two types of L2 learners mentioned by Hatch (1974:7). One of them she calls a 'rule former', that is, a learner whose L2 development from one stage to a subsequent stage is neatly

marked. The other type is the so-called 'data gatherer', whose spoken data generally do not show the application of a single rule for any length of time and whose L2 acquisition gives the investigator the impression of lacking any organisation or ordered development.

If appendix 16 and the corresponding information on the Vneg data from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam (described above) are considered once again, two aspects become clear. Firstly, Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam all exhibit a certain degree of overlap in their use of Vneg structures in specific samples. For Imaan this applies less so than for Khadidja and Ibtisaam, as her samples often comprise one Vneg structure only. In the second place, none of them could be regarded as an exemplary rule former, since the Vneg developmental steps cannot be said to occur in a linear and discrete manner. These subjects are data gatherers to some extent, but Imaan proves to be so the least of all three, and thus comes closest to the definition of a rule former. Ibtisaam presents herself as a pre-eminent data gatherer, because most of her interviews exhibit an interesting variety of Vneg structures.

It is tempting to interpret these data as being direct evidence of progress in these women's second language acquisition. After all, Imaan's no + V construction appears some time before the emergence of her an.do-sup + V construction; and Ibtisaam's data on no + V are found in an earlier period (Ibtisaam 2 - 8) than those on an.do-sup + V (Ibtisaam 5 - 10), even though the time spans concerned partly overlap. In this perspective Khadidja's no + V instance in sample 8 could be explained as an instance of backsliding, after she has already started and continued the use of an.do-sup + V in interviews 6, 7 and 8.

However, this may not be fully justified. The difficulty is that there are sometimes very few instances (often 1 or 2) on which interpretations concerning such progress and backsliding are based. In addition, the acquisitional order of transitional constructions cannot be interpreted in an unequivocal way as a result of overlapping developmental stages. Furthermore, additional restrictions may have arisen from the methodological mode. Perhaps the sampling period or the individual samples were too short to show the unfolding of different developmental stages. Perhaps the previous EFL tuition that each subject had received made an impact on their L2 acquisition during their stay in Britain, for instance resulting in their use of do-support alongside with earlier structures (no + V and not + V). Perhaps also their second language acquisition, and thus their main verb negation, evolved relatively slowly by virtue of their limited contacts with English speakers in daily life (see also 5.2).

Nevertheless, the Vneg development of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam cannot be said to be static. In their Vneg production it is possible to discern some progress overtime, as pointed out above. What their data definitely illustrate is that real language production does not exactly match the models found in theoretical description of L2 acquisition and that allowances must be made for intraspeaker variation of one syntactic area, such as main verb negation.

4.4 not to + V

It has been shown that in the interlanguage of the five women in the population main verbs can be negated in different ways, as represented by the four classes that constitute the developmental sequence (see section 4.3). However, there are a number of data that do not fit into any of these four categories. These data refer to utterances in which the infinitive of a main verb is preceded by the combination of not to.

A number of observations about the not to + V structure are of interest. As to its occurrence it can first be noted that this construction is only found in interviews from Nadia and Ibtisaam, while the levels of L2 competence of these two women are widely apart in terms of their approximation of the target language. Secondly, the other women do not display any instances of not to + V in their samples. And thirdly, not to V is produced by Nadia and Ibtisaam almost throughout the sampling period. Nadia uses it from her first up to her last interview (Nadia 1 - 5), while Ibtisaam produces her first instance in interview 2 and the last not to + V structure in interview 9 (Ibtisaam 2 - 9). The last point is that not to + V does not represent one of the major negation structures described in the literature of ESL acquisition. In this respect, not to + V differs from the structures no + V and not + V, which have been observed in so many different language acquisition projects and which occur as transitional constructions so frequently in ESL learners' interlanguage that presumably they are part of a universal sequence of development.

If these four points are taken into account, they seem to indicate that not to + V is a verb negation structure which is not

specifically associated with a certain stage in the acquisitional process, and additionally, that its use is subject to the personal preference of an individual learner. Once a learner has adopted not to + V as a verb negation structure, it may then be used regularly and may not disappear from the learner's linguistic output (as is the case with the transitional constructions in a developmental sequence when they are replaced by other constructions).

These observations do not imply, however, that no differences between the instances of not to + V can be distinguished in the speech of Nadia and Ibtisaam. For Nadia it constitutes a structure which may stand on its own. In one case she applies ellipsis in accordance with TL rules of syntax, as shown below.

Na 1,7 S: I was ashamed to put scarf on...to...to
hide my...my hair

E: Yes

S: Not to ma...put make-up

In two other instances the string not to + V is an expression of what could be described as a 'negative purpose' or 'negative intention'. This becomes clear if the surrounding discourse is taken into account, as illustrated in the following extracts.

Na 1,6 S: I put on a coat which is...whi...which
is...which is not form the...my body

E: Yes

S: Not to make this (unidentifiable)

Na 4,1 S: I want to...to learn how I speak, with
people outside

E: Yes

S: And um...um...about um...every day,
every day and, for example, I meet
somebody I ...I know um...you see, not
um to...to speak about history and...

The illocutionary force of 'negative purpose' can also be found in the last instance where presumably Nadia uses a complex verbal phrase, namely 'try' followed by a negated verbal complement.

Na 5,2 S: You know, I try not to..(unidentifiable)
(Unfortunately, the last part of the utterance is not clearly identifiable on the recording, but Nadia is likely to produce the infinitive of a verb, analogous to an utterance in the affirmative from the same interview:

Na 5,1 S: I try to write to you a letter, when
I...)

Most importantly, Nadia appears to produce not to + V as a construction which negates an infinitive, and thus she approaches TL usage closely in form. In addition, during the interview her instances of not to + V did not seem to deviate from the target language and did not hamper communication from the point of view of the experimenter.

In Ibtisaam's utterances, on the other hand, the structure not to + V functions differently. It does not occur as a negated infinitive, as in Nadia's samples. This becomes clear if Ibtisaam's utterances are paraphrased. Although there are always inherent pitfalls in inferring the intended meaning from an L2 learner's utterances on the basis of the context and the interlocutor's interpretation, it is assumed here that the paraphrases below are reasonably accurate.

| | <u>IBTISAAM'S UTTERANCES</u> | <u>PARAPHRASED TL EQUIVALENTS</u> |
|--------|---|---|
| Ib 2,4 | in the last week I not to see | Last week I didn't see (the doctor) |
| Ib 4,3 | No, not to seen the road? | No, didn't you see him on the road/ in the street? |
| Ib 4,3 | Not to see the road? | Didn't you see him on the road/in the street? |
| Ib 4,6 | Not to stay in the home the whole day | I don't want to stay at home the whole day |
| Ib 8,3 | And too late and not to see her | I was too late and I didn't see her |
| Ib 9,7 | Sometimes questions anyone, when you wanted anything, not to see that | Sometimes I ask someone, when I want something and I don't see that/something that I can't find |

TABLE 4 Ibtisaam's not to + V utterances and their paraphrases

Ibtisaam seems to use not to + V as an alternative way of expressing intrasentential verb negation. This structure is used side by side, and perhaps therefore is interchangeable with other verb negation structures (no + V, not + V, don't + V and analyzed do-support + V) in various interviews. This implies that the target language infinitival function of the verb form associated with the word 'to' seems to have become irrelevant in Ibtisaam's use of not to + V. In her interlanguage to + verb does not represent an infinitive.

Her first instance is the most obvious example of this, since the utterance contains a subject NP (the pronoun 'I'), which is followed

by the not to + V structure. Also in the other instances, not to + V does not represent a negated infinitive, even though the structure is not combined with a subject NP in the surface structure. Ibtisaam seems to delete her subject constituents regularly, but from the topic of conversation each subject NP can easily be inferred. It may be that she considers the subject as redundant and limits herself to a negating component (in the above cases not to) and a following verb. In one instance, however, it is interesting to note the self-correction on Ibtisaam's part as far as the verbal element is concerned. She originally combines not to with a past participle ('seen') in Ib 4,3. Then she repeats the utterance, but corrects the verb form, changing it from 'seen' into 'see', as formally required by the preceding word 'to'. Ibtisaam may therefore be more concerned about the verbal form at that moment than about the expression of a subject constituent or the TL usage of a negated infinitive.

Perhaps the main point to be made about not to + V in the corpus is that a learner is not restricted to transitional constructions from a developmental sequence, but could resort to other types of negation structures. Nadia could have adhered to her use of don't + V and an.do-sup + V, but chose to use not to + V as well. From the point of view of variation, Ibtisaam is an even more striking ESL learner. Despite the fact that her L2 competence is elementary, she makes use of whatever structures she has at her disposal in her interlanguage in order to express verb negation. Thus a range of verb negation structures are found in her samples. All of these prove to express sufficiently what Ibtisaam intends to communicate during her samples.

4.5. NEGATION OF 'TO HAVE': HAVE_{neg}

For the category labelled HAVE_{neg} two points need to be taken into account. HAVE_{neg} is restricted to the type of negation of the verb 'to have' as it is expressed by the word not following a form of have. This means that this category does not include instances in which have is negated by other verb negation rules, such as in the utterances "because we don't have that" (La 2,4) and "I think they don't have" (Im 9,3). The reason for this exclusion is that have negated by no + V/not + V or don't/an.do-sup + V needs to be treated as a regular verb, analogous to, for instance, the verb 'like' in "I don't like the television" (Kh 4,4). The second point is that no syntactic distinction is made between the negation of have as a main verb and that of have as an auxiliary verb in the perfect tense.

It is worth noting that the occurrence of HAVE_{neg} structures in the data is limited to three subject (see appendix 10). In two sets of samples, namely Imaan's and Ibtisaam's, there are no instances of HAVE_{neg} at all. This is especially interesting in Ibtisaam's case, as she makes ample use of different structures for the negation of main verbs. Khadidja has only one instance of HAVE_{neg} ("when the man you haven't work, you xxx", Kh 6,1), in which case it could be said to mark some sort of possession*. Though the recording of this utterance is not completely clear, it still shows some interesting features. The word 'you' is slightly confusing, but in Khadidja's samples it regularly seems to function as a dummy element attached to the subject. HAVE_{neg} has a third person subject constituent here, viz. "the man". In the have-form there is no agreement with "the man",

*For a discussion of this, see Lyons (1968) ch.8, section 4.

perhaps because agreement-rules would make the entire utterance too difficult for this learner who has just used HAVEneg for the first time.

In contrast, the HAVEneg class is found as a regular construction in the samples from Nadia and Lamya, as it occurs in every single interview with them. In Nadia's interviews have assumes three different functions: it may be the semantic marker of possession (e.g. "They haven't a lot of money", Na 3,5), it may represent the auxiliary required to form the perfect tense ("I haven't understood", Na 2,6), or it may express necessity ("and I haven't to...to go out", Na 1,6, meaning (from the context) "and I needn't go out").

In Lamya's set of samples have fulfills the syntactic function of an auxiliary almost exclusively. There is only one instance ("but you...you haven't...you know", La 2,1) which does not clearly refer to a perfect tense, but as Lamya does not complete this utterance, the function of have cannot be determined. However, it is noteworthy that Lamya produces utterances where have as a main verb is negated by do-support (e.g. "in any country you don't have this", La 1,2). The utterance might therefore be an incomplete form of the perfect tense.

Nadia, who produces a total of 21 instances of HAVEneg uses have as an auxiliary in 6 cases. It is interesting to notice how she changes negation of the perfect tense construction in the middle of one particular utterance, viz. "they haven't...they have never go to school" (Na 2,4). After she has produced "haven't", she hesitates and changes the negator from not into never. Subsequently, she provides go as the verbal element which follows have, instead of the past participle gone. Whether this error is influenced by her hesitation after "haven't" or by the complexity of the HAVEneg construction, can only be speculated. The fact is that, as far as form is concerned, the

major part of Nadia's perfect tense utterances are well-constructed and that she is usually able to provide the correct past participle, either in the affirmative (e.g. "we have bought another field", Na 2,7) or in the negative ("I haven't seen", Na 3,2; "I haven't found", Na 3,1; "I haven't noticed", Na 4,8). An interesting anacoluthon is seen in Nadia 2. At first she apparently wants to use have as a main verb and negates it by preposing don't. She hesitates after don't and continues her utterance with a HAVEneg construction, resulting in "but in Algeria we don't...have not this things" (Na 2,2,).

Although HAVEneg formally includes three forms plus their contractions, namely have not/haven't, has not/hasn't and had not/hadn't, it can be seen from the list with all the HAVEneg utterances (see appendix 10) that only present tense forms occur. In other words, these data always contain has or have with the negator not or n't. Firstly, in English language acquisition the verb have is a late auxiliary in comparison with the so-called early auxiliaries, such as is, are and was (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982:128,129). It is possible that consequently the past tense had can only be expected to emerge after the present tense forms have and has are established in the learner's interlanguage. Thus absence may indicate that the learner has not reached the appropriate level concerned yet.

Other explanations may be less tentative and less closely linked to acquisition levels. The absence of had not/hadn't can be accounted for in different ways. The number of HAVEneg data in the corpus is limited. With a total of 30 instances it is possible that all of them happened to refer to events genuinely requiring a present tense in English. If the context is taken into account, the past perfect tense

might be preferred to the present perfect tense in only two of all the HAVE_{neg} utterances in the corpus, both in Nadia 3,5 ("they haven't a lot of money" and "even they haven't a lot of things to..."). These two instances come from a description which Nadia gives about her country of origin and its history. However, as she switches tenses a great deal in this description, it is difficult to argue that she used the present perfect as a substitute for the past perfect tense.

In addition, considering the difference between have as an auxiliary and as a main verb, the following can be noted. The past perfect tense consisting of had (or its allomorph 'd) followed by a past participle is a construction which is considered to have a low frequency in spoken English. This means that in a corpus of spoken English obtained from adult native speakers in similar situations the same absence of had not/hadn't + past participle might be found as in the HAVE_{neg} data in this project (cf Joos, 1964:143). As to have as a main verb, negation of the past tense may be expressed with the aid of do-support, thus resulting in didn't have. Theoretically, an utterance comprising this form would fall in the category of an.do-sup + V rather than HAVE_{neg}. However, no such data occur in this corpus.

Moreover, one of the constraints on natural speech is the topic of conversation concerned. If the conversation incorporates topics which are unlikely to elicit the use of a particular syntactic construction, its absence cannot be accounted for on other grounds (e.g. on the basis of a low level in the acquisition process). That the use of a certain tense is influenced by the topic of conversation can be seen in La 1,12, when Lamyia talks about the war in Lebanon and correctly produces no less than four instances of the present perfect tense within a short time span.

4.6 NEGATION OF 'TO BE': BE_{neg}

In English the verb 'to be' occurs frequently and fulfills various semantic and syntactic functions. This variety of functions has been described by several linguists in different ways (cf Huddleston, 1971:7.6.3, 8.1.10 and 8.4; Palmer, 1974:3.1.1 and 6.1.1; Bolinger, 1977:ch.5; and Joos, 1964:ch.4). This section, however, does not intend to provide a theoretical discussion or a description of the classification of the different functions of the verb 'to be'. For the purpose of treating the data it is sufficient to distinguish only those functions of 'to be' whose negated forms appear in the corpus. The verb 'to be' has the following functions (examples of the affirmative forms are taken from the corpus):

- 1 'to be' is required to form the progressive tense (e.g. "they are treating us badly", La 1,3)
- 2 'to be' is needed to construct the passive (e.g. "Especially they are killed", Na 2,3)
- 3 'to be' may be used in combination with a locative (e.g. "Where is Baab? Where is Dad?", Im 9,6)
- 4 'to be' represents the copula when followed by a predicator (e.g. "The room is very beautiful", Kh 8,6)
- 5 'to be' has the existential function in conjunction with the word there (e.g. "There's the central...what do you call...", La 2,2)

The negated forms of these different functions are comprised in the single class BE_{neg}. They have not been categorized separately for four reasons. First, their differences do not justify a more detailed classification, since the number of instances for some of these functions is not sufficiently high. A subcategorization of BE_{neg} constructions would therefore mean that their shared characteristics

may be ignored. In the second place, it is the surface structure which determines whether or not a particular instance is included in the BEneg class. If a distinction were to be made between the different syntactic and semantic functions, a classification of the data would involve some degree of speculation with BEneg constructions which occur in unfinished utterances. This problem does not arise if only one general class comprises all BEneg instances. Two examples of utterances which could not be categorized in a more detailed classification may illustrate this potential problem.

Ib 7,4 E: How often do you go to the doctor?

S: Hm. Is not...

Na 1,2 E: And you have photographs of your marriage?

S: No. Uhm...I have a lot in Algeria and some aren't...How I...Some aren't...I haven't

Thirdly, it may be argued that certain utterances are BEneg sentences in which be-deletion has taken place, thus resulting in the absence of a verbal form of 'to be' in the surface structure. This type of utterance may then be taken as an instance of the BEneg class. However, it would be impossible to distinguish it from utterances in which the interviewee is probably not capable of supplying the required 'be' form because of her relatively low level of linguistic competence (e.g. "If Ihsaan not busy, I come" Kh 6,2), but which nonetheless have a surface structure similar to the be-deletion type of sentence (not followed by a noun, adjective or adverbial phrase). In order to avoid confusing the BEneg issue, instances such as the following examples have therefore been excluded from the BEneg category and are regarded as instances of not + adjective, not + noun or not + adverbial constructions respectively.

Kh 10,2 E: But they're expensive

S: No

E: Aren't they?

S: Not very expensive

Ib 6,5 E: In Arabic it's I think 'qirfi'.

S: Qirfi? Krinfil. You say krinfil. Not 'qirfi'.

Ib 6,3 E: Was it on a Wednesday?

S: On Wednesday?

E: How did you come to Aston?

S: No. Not in Wednesday.

Fourthly and most importantly, in the negation of forms of 'to be' the different functions do not affect the surface level in Standard English, since the indicative of the verb 'to be' is always followed by the negating particle (not or n't). Analogous to the discussion of HAVEneg structures, the treatment of surface form does not necessitate a more specific categorization of BEneg instances as regards their syntactic and semantic distinctions.

As far as frequency is concerned, examination of the data shows that there are 71 instances of be forms which are negated by not or its contracted form n't. Similar to the investigation of HAVEneg and analyzed do-support + V constructions (see sections 4.2.2 and 4.4), distribution of BEneg shows that there is a discrepancy between Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam on the one hand, and Nadia and Lamya on the other. The number of instances of BEneg which the former group of women uses in a total of 32 interviews is considerably lower (viz. 24) than that produced by Nadia and Lamya in their 7 interviews (viz. 47 instances). The disparity between the subjects may be best illustrated

by the average number of BE_{neg} instances per subject per interview. Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam produce less than 2 instances on average, whereas these figures are 4.5 for Nadia and 7.6 for Lamya respectively (see table below).

| NAME OF SUBJECT | NUMBER OF BE _{neg} INSTANCES | TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS | AVERAGE PER INTERVIEW |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Khadidja | 6 | 10 | 0.6 |
| Imaan | 1 | 11 | 0.9 |
| Ibtisaam | 17 | 10 | 1.7 |
| Nadia | 38 | 5 | 7.6 |
| Lamya | 9 | 2 | 4.5 |

TABLE 5 Number of instances of BE_{neg} and its ratio of production

The presentation of a mean (last column above), however, obscures certain aspects which are essential in the acquisition process, in particular the notion of emergence of the BE_{neg} structure in the data. The table below shows in which interview the first instances of this structure are found.

| SUBJECT | INTERVIEW WITH FIRST BE _{neg} INSTANCE |
|----------|---|
| Khadidja | 4 |
| Imaan | 10 |
| Ibtisaam | 3 |
| Nadia | 1 |
| Lamya | 1 |

TABLE 6 First BE_{neg} instance found in each subject's interlanguage

It is worth pointing out that the concept of emergence is scarcely relevant with respect to Nadia and Lamya. The interlanguage of these two women displays negated forms of 'to be' from the beginning of the sampling procedure. Consequently, their emergence can be assumed to have taken place before data collection started and, therefore, falls outside the scope of this project. Khadidja and Ibtisaam, on the other hand, start producing BE_{neg} utterances some time after the beginning of the sampling sessions (their fourth and

third interview, respectively). With Imaan the occasion of emergence takes place very late, viz. during the tenth recording. It is unlikely that the absence of BE_{neg} constructions in the previous samples can be accounted for on the grounds that the topic of conversation did not need such use. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that Imaan did not master the BE_{neg} structure in her first 9 interviews.

It is significant that all the data on BE_{neg} show a correct implementation of the TL agreement rules, that is, in no utterance do the number of the subject NP and that of the form of 'to be' clearly clash. There is one apparent mismatch. This concerns the BE_{neg} construction "Isn't", when the subject refers to a plural, viz. 'letters' (Im 10,5). Imaan talks here about the fact that her typewriter has not letters printed on the keys. She expresses this first by saying, "Because my machine there is no letters", slightly later to be followed by the short utterance "Isn't". Since she produces the 'is'-form in combination with 'there' in the first utterance, it can be argued that she uses the singular verb form in the second utterance as a repetition of the preceding form of 'to be'. The plural NP 'letters' does not seem to function as the constituent governing the agreement of the verb (for a further discussion of there + be, see section 4.8).

A further point of interest refers to the word order of negated verbs. Almost all of the 71 BE_{neg} instances in the corpus display the correct placement of the negator, namely after a form of 'to be'. The reverse order is only found twice, both produced by Ibtisaam, namely "Mohamed not is big" (Ib 5,3) and "And...not is...tomato puree is big" (Ib 9,11). Possible reasons for this error will be indicated later in this section. The correct word order in the majority on BE_{neg}

instances may imply that all the subjects have internalized the rule which places the negator after this particular verb. On the other hand, they have also internalized the rule which places the negating element before the verbal phrase, if this involves a main verb. In order to understand this paradox on verb - negator position with respect to these two rules, it is necessary to focus on the negatives of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam only.

In the interlanguage of these women the two rules mentioned above constitute (superficially) contrasting rules on negator placement, as can be seen from their formulation:

$$\text{VERB } \begin{array}{l} \text{neg} \\ \text{[be]} \end{array} \quad \text{-----} \rightarrow \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is} \\ \text{am} \\ \text{are} \\ \text{was} \\ \text{were} \end{array} \right\} + \text{NEGATOR}$$

$$\text{VERB } \begin{array}{l} \text{neg} \\ \text{[main verb]} \end{array} \quad \text{-----} \rightarrow \quad \text{NEGATOR} + \text{VERB } \begin{array}{l} \\ \text{[main verb]} \end{array}$$

The second of these IL rules accounts for constructions in which the main verb is preceded by no, not or don't (when it is the allomorph of not), since the negator in a main verb environment is defined as follows:

$$\text{NEGATOR} \quad \text{-----} \rightarrow \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{no} \\ \text{not} \\ \text{don't} \end{array} \right\}$$

Obviously, this rule is deviant from TL negation rules in that, at this stage of the language acquisition process, the required insertion of do-support is ignored. In fact, the two separate rules ignore the general principle on negation in the TL (cf Klima, 1964), namely the rule which requires a verb form with auxiliary status before the negator (do in the case of a main verb in a simple tense). The assumption that this requirement on negation formation is not yet part of the competence of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam is based on the

different Vneg constructions produced by these learners, viz. no + V, not + V and don't + V. Nevertheless, their correct application of these contrasting interlanguage rules on negator placement illustrates that these subjects have attained a level in their L2 at which they are capable of distinguishing between different types of verbs in English and thus do not overgeneralize one specific verb negation construction to all their verbs. This discussion of the paradox of distinctly different verb negation rules does not apply to Nadia and Lamyia, since in these women's utterances the negator is always preceded by some auxiliary verb (as in the TL) and since they do not make any use of no + V or not + V constructions.

Investigation of the various forms of 'to be' in the BEneg data reveals certain differences between the subjects with respect to inflection and tense. Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam use the form is (or its contracted form 's) almost exclusively. The form am (or the contracted version 'm) hardly appears: it is only used by Ibtisaam on two occasions. This happens once with a predicated copula 'be' form ("I'm not hungry", Ib 9,3), while she produces the other instance in an unfinished utterance ("I'm not...but your...", Ib 3,6). Khadidja and Imaan then restrict their BEneg utterances to the third person singular form of the present tense, while Ibtisaam only makes sporadic use of the first person singular.

This observation needs to be compared with two other types of utterances. The first involves the omission of I am/I'm. It is plausible that the subject deletes I am/I'm in a negative utterance only if the context makes clear that the speaker refers to herself. An example of this is given by Ibtisaam, who was told by the doctor that she was not pregnant.

Ib 8,2 S: The first lady, you say, not pregnant
 E: Really?
 S: The sec...Yea, because the...test in water.

.....

S: In this hospital. And you say, not pregnant

The second type refers to utterances in which I am/I'm does appear, but only in the affirmative. This is illustrated by the following example.

Im 5,1 S: I can't make the typing
 E: You...you can't?
 S: Yea
 E: Why not?
 S: Because I'm tired

In another example Ibtisaam talks about her argument with a doctor to defend her desire to have a baby. She has no difficulty in producing the copula form I'm and even overuses it, as she combines it with the verb 'like', as well as with the predicator 'alone'.

Ib 3,3 S: You like the baby? I'm like the baby! Not my husband. I'm like the baby. Because I'm alone
 E: You're right, Ibtisaam
 S: Yea. Because I'm alone

Summarizing, I am/I'm scarcely occurs in conjunction with not or n't, although Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam are capable of using I am/I'm in the affirmative, as well as expressing negator + predicator to refer to the first person singular. It may then be concluded that I + am + negator is a construction which is too complex for these women to produce at this stage of their acquisition process.

Further investigation involves the following BEneg forms, viz. are (or 're) and was (or the contracted /w z/ and /wz/ forms) followed by not/n't. The interviews from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam comprise no instances of are + negator or was + negator. These samples can be compared with the two samples from Lamyā. Her BEneg data exhibit two different forms of 'to be', namely 8 instances of is/'s and one instance of the contracted form 're. I + am + negator does not appear. Here again BEneg utterances are restricted to present tense forms, but this may be affected by the limited number of sampling sessions rather than reflect Lamyā's competence in English. In brief, none of the four women mentioned above produces was + not, while Lamyā has only one instance of are + not.

The discussion of was + not and are + not is parallel to that of the structure I + am + negator. Although these BEneg constructions appear only sporadically, the corpus does incorporate their affirmative counterparts, as demonstrated below. Lamyā is quite proficient and is capable of producing (near-)TL structures.

La 1,2 S: But it is our country and they are treating
us badly

La 1,6 S: And his sister was living before in Sheffield

Khadidja can express herself adequately, even though she may not have acquired the various tense rules of English verbs, as is clear from the second example below.

Kh 3,4 S: But Ihsaan was very busy in the university

Kh 4,7 S: When you phone to me, I expected you come and go with you to Asda and you are late

Imaan seems to use are only in short utterances. Interestingly, the first example shows how she inserts are in an utterance to correct the previous one, where the form of 'to be' was omitted.

Im 1,5 S: All this girls dancing. They are dancing

Im 8,8 E: But they're not Christians

S: They're Christian. Hm

Ibtisaam, the only woman of the four subjects concerned here who produces I + am + negator, uses was correctly, but sometimes has difficulty with you + are and the syntactic environment required. She may use this form in a correct environment, but alternatively may insert it as a dummy element (/jor/) without any obvious meaning or as a substitute for some other word. In Ibtisaam 9,6 the second you're (or rather /jor/) probably replaces the pronoun they.

Ib 9,8 E: Where is that? Is that Erdington?

S: Erding...I think so, yea. It was very good

Ib 10,7 S: Good eh speak English

E: Oh, good

S: Oh...are you speak English

Ib 9,6 S: Because you're afraid in Arabic, yea, but you're eh speak with you and learn

It is only in the BEneg data obtained from Nadia that the complete range of inflected 'to be' forms is found. She uses all the present tense forms (is, am and are), as well as the past tense forms (was and were).

If the observations above are taken into consideration, two conclusions may be drawn with respect to the BEneg structures. The first refers to the order of negated 'to be' in the interlanguage of these ESL learners. Is + not is the earliest form of BEneg to be established. Subsequently, am and are emerge, after which the past tense forms was and were appear. The table below shows which BEneg forms are produced by a specific subject.

| | Imaan | Khadidja | Ibtisaam | Lamya | Nadia |
|------|-------|----------|----------|-------|-------|
| is | X | X | X | X | X |
| am | | | X | | X |
| are | | | | X | X |
| was | | | | | X |
| were | | | | | X |

TABLE 7 BEneg forms produced by each individual subject

In the second place, the negated forms of 'to be' do not appear, while at the same time their affirmative forms are produced. This may indicate that negation is a syntactic construction which represents an additional complication to a learner who can produce certain structures in the affirmative. For this reason, affirmative be forms appear before the emergence of BEneg forms in the learner's interlanguage.

One other factor may have contributed to the absence of BEneg structures in the corpus, namely the topic of conversation. Being restricted by the subject-matter discussed the subject may not need to use any BEneg forms or, conversely, may be induced to make use of these forms repeatedly. An example of frequent use is given in the third interview with Nadia, who emphasizes the fact that Arabic was not her favourite subject at school. She uses BEneg four times in a short period of time.

- Na 3,3 S: I wasn't very interested in Arabic and um not....
not very...not very...in um in mathematics
- E: Yes
- S: I wasn't um good
- E: Average?
- S: Yea. So the...the manager of our school um um told
me that I must go to...literature
- E: Yes, to the literary stream
- S: Yea, I have to...to do that
- E: So in fact you had problems with Arabic
- S: Yea, 'cause um when I was little I um I wasn't
very interested by Arabic. Um I don't...if I'm not
very...because I'm not very interested

Despite the influence of the subject-matter, however, it is contended here that the constraints due to the selection of the topic of conversation do not ultimately determine the occurrence of certain BEneg constructions. Therefore, the arguments concerning the order of emergence and the contrast between affirmative and negative use of be forms are still assumed to be valid.

An important aspect of the BEneg utterances is the frequent absence of a subject NP. This is observed in the interlanguage of all five women, who omit the subject NP in 14 of the 71 BEneg instances. A closer analysis reveals that these data all involve the third person singular in the present tense. The omission of the subject constituent occurs most frequently in Ibtisaam's data; 9 of her 15 is/'s + negator utterances contain no subject NP. However, even with the two more advanced learners, Nadia and Lamyā, this phenomenon is noticed ("But here is...is not...good", Na 2,2; "Is not good", Na 2,2; and "Is not necessary to put fresh", La 2,6)

This absence of a subject NP can be related to a number of observations. There may be a parallel with the earliest transitional construction in main verb negation, viz. no + V. As can be seen from the list of no + V instances in the corpus (see section 4.1.1 and appendix 5), none of these utterances contains a subject noun phrase. In contrast, almost all of the instances of analyzed do-support + V (which is a more advanced Vneg structure) have subject constituents. This indicates that these learners sometimes leave out the subject of a verbal phrase in the earlier stages of their language acquisition. This corresponds with what has also been described by Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982:155), who list a selection of data from previous research projects. These show that English language learners often omit the subject constituent when they are in the early stages of language acquisition. This applies not only to L2 learners, like the subjects in this population, but also to children learning English as their mother tongue. This description of subject omission is compatible with the observation that one of the learners considered to be less proficient in English, viz. Ibtisaam, displays a high number of BEneg utterances without any subject constituent.

However, it is debatable that this is the only reason, although it might be one of the factors contributing to the omission of the subject NP. If it is inferred from the context what the deleted third person subject may be, it is found that the BEneg utterances concerned never refer to a person ('she' or 'he'). Therefore, it seems that in the majority of these cases the utterance could have contained the pronoun 'it'. This 'it' has either the anaphoric function or

represents what is here called 'a dummy subject'. The latter type of 'it' has no clear referent, but refers to the general situation discussed.

Examples of the anaphoric deleted 'it' in which the referent is contextually clear, are "Is not like Birmingham" (Ib 7,9) when Ibtisaam has just mentioned Austria; "Is not good" (Ib 6,2) when she talks about a particular doctor; and "Is not a fruit" (Ib 10,4) when she tries to explain a specific Middle Eastern ingredient.

In the case of a dummy subject, it sometimes becomes more difficult to determine what the deleted 'it' may have referred to. In "Is not hot" (Kh 8,7) Khadidja seems to talk about the weather or the climate. This is what Quirk and Greenbaum have called the empty it subject or 'prop' subject (1973:173). In "Before...three day...three month is not good" (Ib 10,7) deleted 'it' must have referred to Ibtisaam's upset stomach or her general health. "But here is...is not...good" (Na 2,2) apparently refers to the evils and dangers of British society in comparison with the subject's home country. Presumably, in the latter two cases deleted 'it' also has some characteristics of the 'prop' subject it, but can be said to refer to the general situation just talked about rather than to a specific and clearly stated referent. It may therefore correspond with what Halliday and Hasan call 'textual reference' (1976:32).

It needs to be borne in mind that the inferences about the omitted subject NP's of dummy 'it' remain speculative to some extent and that a rigid categorization cannot be maintained. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that, in spite of some degree of uncertainty, communication did not seem to suffer as a consequence of the omission of this pronoun 'it'. Interpretation of the BEneg utterances without subject NP's during the interview was possible exactly because the

referent had been mentioned before or because the omitted subject constituent, although not previously mentioned, was still specific enough to be inferred from the topic discussed. This might mean that the dropping of the pronoun 'it' only occurs if the woman concerned senses that this deletion does not hamper communication. In addition, it may mean that the English language in particular requires the word 'it', either anaphorically or as a dummy element, in order to construct a well-formed sentence, whereas the learner's L1 does not always necessitate the use of such a semantically empty element. This will be discussed later.

As to the various functions of 'to be', the BENeg data demonstrate that some are much more widely used than others. The occurrence of certain functions appears to be related to the level of language acquisition. Negated forms of the progressive tense, of 'to be' with a past participle and of the type there + be + NP (existential 'to be') are not found in samples from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam at all. In contrast, copula 'be' followed by an adjective or noun appears in approximately 65 % of the BENeg utterances (viz. 46 out of 71). This establishes the copula as the most frequent function of negative 'be' forms in this corpus.

The function which is used with the lowest frequency is the existential 'be'; in fact, only one negated instance occurs. It is produced by Nadia, who says "There isn't a lot" (Na 2,7). This limited incidence is slightly surprising considering that Imaan, Nadia and Lamya use there + be constructions in the affirmative several times and, consequently, are obviously capable of producing it (e.g. "There is another book", Im 10,3). An interesting detail about the existential affirmative utterances is the fact that the number of the

verbal form of 'to be' is not always governed by the complement following it. This can be seen in the following examples:

La 2,5 There is mis...mixed spices

Na 3,5 When France saw that there is...there is people
 in...

This lack of agreement applies to an example mentioned in the section on agreement of BEneg utterances ("Because my machine there is no letters", Im 10,5). It is not clear why these women do not implement the agreement rules in this specific syntactic environment. Perhaps they assume that the constituent determining the number of the verbal form always precedes the verb, which is the word there in existential sentences. In any case, it is regrettable that, considering the lack of agreement in some affirmative there + be + negator constructions, the corpus does not include more there + be + negator structures. Such instances would possibly have shed more light on the special status of existential 'to be' in the interlanguage of ESL learners.

As to the absence of instances of there + be + negator, Khadidja and Ibtisaam never use the affirmative there + be + NP structure at all, so that it can be expected that its negated version does not occur in their samples either. With respect to Imaan, Nadia and Lamy, it is plausible that the expression of the negative makes a sentence more difficult to produce than its affirmative form, which results in these women not attempting to use this negative construction. Another possible reason is that there may not have been a suitable topic of conversation during the recording procedure when any of these three women would have made use of the negative existential structure, even if it was part of her competence in English.

Negatives consisting of be + negator + past participle do not occur in the samples from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam. This construction is only found in the samples from Nadia (8 instances in 5 interviews) and Lamya (once in 2 interviews). A complete list of these instances is given in appendix 11.

As far as surface structure is concerned, this construction is identical to the syntactic form which is required for the passive voice. Theoretical linguists could argue that semantically the past participle (or V-ed) may adopt an adjectival as well as a verbal status and that, consequently, sentences with a be + past participle form need to be subdivided into those being stative (and therefore consisting of be combined with an adjectival element) and those representing a genuine passive (thus being agentive). Such subdivision cannot always lead to an unequivocal semantic interpretation of a particular instance with a be + past participle form. In fact, none of the instances in the corpus could be interpreted unambiguously from this point of view. In order to circumvent this problem and to avoid an inconclusive theoretical argument, this be + V-ed function is restricted to surface form.

This might pose another categorization problem. Taking into account the potentially adjectival status of the V-ed form, instances of be + past participle could be argued to be subsumed in the function of 'to be' as a copula (followed by a predicator). However, there are some objections. First, incorporation into the copula 'be' function would not do justice to those instances which contain a passive voice construction rather than a stative and which, consequently, would be erroneously included in a copula + predicator category. Secondly, the

surface form of be + predicator differs from be + past participle in that the latter shows whether or not the language learner has mastered the complex verbal form concerned (viz. the V + affix -ed). Command of this composite form demonstrates that the learner can distinguish between uninflected and inflected verbal forms in language production. This distinction is illustrated by Nadia, who on one occasion hesitates and changes her previously uninflected verb into a correctly formed past participle:

Na 2,2 because poor country is not develop....developed

It is exactly the complexity of 'to be' with a negator followed by an inflected verb form (V-ed) that may account for the absence of this structure in the data from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam. In fact, neither Imaan, nor Ibtisaam produces the affirmative form be + past participle, but this structure does appear in Khadidja's samples, e.g.:

Kh 3,3 Because the...the inter....international lane are engaged every...always

Kh 10,1 When you are finished

It is not clear why Khadidja produces only affirmative forms. It may be the additional complicating factor of negation which causes Khadidja not to use be + negator + V-ed, or it may be the limited occurrence of the be + V-ed structure in general which largely restricts the chance that the negated version appears in this specific corpus.

It is remarkable that virtually all the instances conform with the required set of TL rules concerned, rather than with only some of them. The instances of be + negator + V-ed contain a subject NP, comply with the agreement and tense rules of the verbal form of 'to be', show well-formed past participles and adhere to the target language word order, that is, subject NP + be + negator + V-ed. Only in one instance does Nadia use a present tense where the past tense would have been more appropriate ("Because I'm not very interested", Na 3,3). This compliance with TL structures needs to be contrasted with instances of other functions of 'to be'. The omission of a subject NP occurs either in utterances where the function of 'to be' cannot be identified, or in utterances where 'to be' is a copula. Although the agreement rule is implemented in all the BEneg instances, examination of the tense rules is hardly relevant, as all the women, except Nadia, restrict BEneg to present tense forms. The reverse word order of BEneg ("Mohamed not is big", Ib 5,3; "And eh...no is eh...tomato puree is big", Ib 9,11) is found in instances with the copula function of 'to be'. It seems then that a particular subject only uses the negated be + V-ed function if she has developed a degree of competence in English which allows her to produce it correctly, that is to say, in compliance with the target language rules required.

A parallel argument applies to another BEneg construction involving an inflected 'be' form, namely the negated progressive tense. Unfortunately, data on this function are scanty. There are only two instances in the entire corpus: one produced by Nadia, the other by Lamy. These two instances are given below.

Na 5,2 S: I'm not feeling well

La 2,1 S: But he is not doing a research now

As can be seen, the verbal phrase and its subject NP are well-constructed in either case, which corresponds to the observations about the instances of BEneg in the be + V-ed function.

The negated progressive tense form does not appear in the samples of the other women. It seems unlikely that Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam had no opportunity to use this syntactic structure during their total number of interviews (10, 11 and 10 respectively), so that it can be assumed that the BEneg progressive function was not sufficiently established in their interlanguage to be used productively. Perhaps here again the complexity of the entire construction is only produced if the subject is reasonably confident in her second language and feels capable of approaching the target language norm.

For the purpose of comparison, a number of utterances containing only particular elements of the be + negator + V-ing structure are presented. All of these come from the samples obtained from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam. The first set of examples have V-ing forms, but lack the auxiliary 'to be' (NP + V-ing).

Kh 1,6 In the evening I wearing this

Im 1,5 I laughing

Im 9,3 I think the bus coming

Ib 4,6 When eh wrong eh speak English, my, my brother laughing

The second group displays lack of inflection of the main verb (the omission of the affix -ing), but shows that the auxiliary is produced (NP + be + V).

- Kh 2,2 Your (h.l.= her) husband is study in Birmingham...
 Birmingham University
- Im 10,7 Are you visit eh...eh doctor?
- Ib 9,6 But you're eh speak with you
- Ib 10,7 Are you speak English

The third group includes instances of the well-formed progressive tense in the affirmative (NP + be + V-ing). This construction is not found in Ibtisaam's interviews at all.

- Kh 10,1 Are you going by train?
- Im 1,2 They are dancing, all this

The first two groups of examples may well represent transitional constructions which these subjects employ in their interlanguage when they are in the process of acquiring the progressive tense form. All three sets of examples involve structures that are less difficult than the target language BEneg equivalent (NP + be + negator + V-ing) in terms of sentence length, verbal phrase complexity and negator insertion. Considering their relative simplicity, as well as the absence of the negative progressive form in the samples from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, the three structures in question can be said to precede that of NP + be + negator + V-ing in the learner's second language production.

The verb 'to be' in its function of expressing equivalence occurs only twice. Both are produced by Lamya, who says:

- La 2,5 because it is not our house
- La 2,6 it's not powder

The structure is basically simple, as it consists of a subject NP, the verb 'to be' and the negator, followed by another NP constituent. As to form of the target language structure, it resembles

the copula function of 'to be' when this is followed by a predicator NP. However, the equivalence function appears considerably less (2 X) in the data than the copula function (46 X). In spite of the fact that this difference in frequency must be affected by the topic of conversation, it is not clear why the women in the population would make disproportionately more use of attributive BEneg (copula function) than of BEneg for the expression of equivalence.

The overwhelming majority of BEneg instances, then, involves 'to be' as a copula with a constituent which attributes a certain quality or identity to the subject NP. Out of the total of 71 BEneg utterances, 46 are classified as being attributive (that is, 65 %). However, the significance of the copula function in the BEneg instances is more prominent, if its incidence is calculated in a different manner. Two aspects need to be considered. First, the function of 11 BEneg instances cannot be identified due to the fact that the utterance concerned is unfinished (e.g. "I have a lot in Algeria and some aren't...", Na 1,2). Secondly, it is possible that each of the 9 BEneg instances with a past participle (V-ed) involves 'to be' as a copula, since it is followed by a V-ed form with an adjectival status (e.g. "If she isn't married", Na 1,5). Taking these two points into account, the proportion of the copula in all the classifiable BEneg instances becomes even higher, namely 55 out of 60 (that is 92 %). Appendix 12 shows the occurrence of BEneg instances as produced by each individual subject in each sample.

The question arises why copula 'be' should have such a high incidence in the samples of these second language learners. It may not be feasible to discover a straightforward answer. Nevertheless, it is

possible to identify some factors which must have affected the large proportion of the copula in the BEneg data in this corpus. In the first place, the complexity of both be + negator + V-ed and be + negator + V-ing explains the low frequency of these structures in the data, which in turn accounts for the relatively high frequency of copula 'be' instances. Furthermore, the limited incidence of negated existential 'to be' (1 X) and the absence of negatives of 'to be' introducing a locative contributes to the high percentage of the negated copula. It seems then that the considerably large proportion of the negated copula in the data is an important indicator of the degree of difficulty with which other functions of 'to be' are produced, rather than evidence that the copula is an intrinsically simple structure for these ESL learners. If this is a reasonable conclusion to draw, it nonetheless leaves some questions unanswered, namely, why negated 'to be' forms expressing equivalence, introducing a locative or having an existential function are apparently more complex than the negated copula.

At this point it is important to make a comparison of the BEneg data with reference to the status of 'to be' in the acquisition of English as a second language as discussed in Dulay, Burt and Krashen, since it is of great interest to find out where the two sets of observations overlap or contradict each other. Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982:128) classify forms such as is, are and was as early auxiliaries, which emerge in the stage which they call step 2. This stage in the acquisition process comes after the one in which the learner uses virtually no morphemes or grammatical words. Consequently, step 2 in their definition constitutes the first stage when morphological markers are employed. Step 4 involves the emergence of the so-called late auxiliaries, such as do, am, has and been.

In fact, the data in this project do not correspond to what Dulay, Burt and Krashen postulate as developmental steps, especially as far as the internal order of emergence of 'to be' forms is concerned. The first difference refers to the emergence of was, which they group with the early auxiliaries is and are. Although in the data concerned in this project is proves to be established at an early stage (thus corresponding to Dulay, Burt and Krashen's observations), was seems to be amongst the last forms of 'to be' to appear. Admittedly, this order has not been substantiated by an observed development in the data of one particular subject, but it is noteworthy that Nadia is the only subject who produces the past tense forms was and were in her BEneg forms, so that she can be regarded as the most competent learner in this respect. None of the other women uses these forms at all; Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam restrict their BEneg almost entirely to the form is. The form was is therefore not shown to belong to the early auxiliaries in this corpus.

The second difference involves am, which Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982:129) mark as a late auxiliary. Am is said to appear in their step 4, that is, long after the establishment of was, which appears in step 2. However, in this project am is already produced by Ibtisaam in her BEneg data, when she is not yet capable of producing any past tense forms of 'to be'.

Thirdly, do, like am, is marked as a late auxiliary by Dulay, Burt and Krashen, and thus is supposed to appear long after the 'to be' forms is, are and was. In contrast, the BEneg data examined demonstrate that the emergence of do-support does not take place at a

significantly later stage than the emergence of is. A comparison of the syntactic structures in question illustrates this point, as these two auxiliaries seem to roughly co-occur, rather than succeed one another.

| | interview with first negated instance of ' <u>DO</u> ' | interview with first negated instance of ' <u>BE</u> ' |
|----------|---|---|
| Khadidja | 6 | 4 |
| Imaan | 9 | 10 |
| Ibtisaam | 5 | 3 |
| Nadia | 1 | 1 |
| Lamyia | 2 | 1 |

TABLE 8 First observed instance of negated auxiliaries 'do' and 'be'

In addition, the results in this project contradict some of the findings described by Hakuta (1974a). His subject, an L1 Japanese child, acquired the forms be, am, is and are in the functions of the copula and the auxiliary for the progressive relatively early. According to what Hakuta refers to as the 'simplicity principle', the learner picks up regularly occurring patterns and uses them frequently, which would account for the fact that Hakuta's subject produces the above forms of 'to be'. However, this too disagrees with the observations about the five Arabic-speaking women.

There is then considerable discrepancy between the observed orders of emergence of 'to be' forms from different studies. Such discrepancy may be caused by a number of factors. One important distinction is that Dulay, Burt and Krashen deal with the general emergence of particular auxiliaries in L2 acquisition, whereas the data concerned here are clearly restricted to negative forms of 'to be' only. It is plausible that such restriction affects the analysis in such a way that it provides an entirely different picture from a

more general investigation of the acquisitional stages of these specific forms. As a result of the fact that the process of negation may have a significant effect on the learner's language production and change the internal order of emergence of the verb forms, the two types of analyses might not even compare. Furthermore, Hakuta's subject is a young child acquiring English as a second language, while the subjects in this project are adult learners. Age may determine or influence certain aspects of L2 production in a way not investigated so far.

However, other factors can account for the difference in observations about the acquisition of English as a second language. The interlanguage of the subjects involved is likely to be affected by their first language. Presumably, the L1 of the subjects discussed by Dulay, Burt and Krashen is different from the L1 of the subjects in this population (probably Spanish, Japanese and Chinese in their data versus Arabic in this project).

As to the functions of the verb 'to be' considered in this section, a contrastive analysis must recognize that English differs greatly from Arabic. One distinction is that English requires 'to be' as an auxiliary verb for particular verbal forms where Arabic does not employ any auxiliaries. Another distinction is that the use of the functions of 'to be' as a main verb differs considerably in the two languages. A further complication is the dichotomy between the language which Arabic speakers learn as little children and which can therefore be taken to be their mother tongue (viz. Colloquial Arabic) and the language that they are required to learn at school and which is here conveniently referred to as Standard Arabic. Without indulging

in a lengthy discussion about this dichotomy and its theoretical and practical implications, this section only deals with the rough distinction between the two varieties.

One auxiliary function of 'to be' is associated with the passive voice in English. An auxiliary with a function which is equivalent to 'to be' is not required in Arabic, since the passive of transitive verbs is formed merely by inflecting the verbal form. This inflection consists of a vowel change, as shown in the following example:

| | | |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| ACTIVE VOICE | He hits Rami | /JaDrab rami/ |
| | He hit Rami | /Daraba rami/ |
| PASSIVE VOICE | Rami is hit | /juDrab rami/ |
| | Rami was hit | /Duriba rami/ |

It should be noted that this example refers to Standard Arabic. Colloquial Arabic has differently inflected verbal forms, but in spite of its different forms, it corresponds to Standard Arabic in that the passivization of an active verb form involves a vowel change without the requirement of an auxiliary (Elhassan, 1982:48,49).

The problem for the L1 Arabic learner is that the English passive cannot simply be expressed by producing a verb morphologically marked for voice, but that it needs the insertion of 'to be'. The acquisition of this new and different syntactic operation involves a considerable degree of difficulty in the passive formation to the L1 Arabic speaker, particularly as far as the proper auxiliary construction is concerned (Defense Language Institute, 1969:99; Elhassan, 1982:67). It is impossible to arrive at the target language structures simply by substituting English lexical items for Arabic words that correlate. Since the Arabic learner with a limited command of English can be expected to omit the auxiliary form with some regularity, such omission must in turn affect the frequency of BE_{neg} in the surface

structure in comparison with a native speaker. Indeed, it has been observed that BEneg followed by a past participle does not occur in the data of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam at all.

Any correspondence between the two languages pertains to functions of 'to be' as a main verb rather than as an auxiliary. The Arabic verb for 'to be' (/jaku:n/) can refer to existence (cf existential 'to be'), express equivalence, represent a copula when followed by a predicator or introduce a locative. Although in Arabic there is no distinction between the various uses of these functions as far as form is concerned, it is necessary to distinguish other aspects of Arabic usage of /jaku:n/ in which it differs from English 'to be'. One of these refers to tense. In Standard Arabic the verb /jaku:n/ has a present tense form, namely /ka'in/. This can only be used in certain functions, viz. to apply to existence or to introduce a locative. However, this form is not obligatory in the contexts of these functions and may be deleted. Thus:

/hasan ka'in fi lubnan/ (Hasan is in Lebanon)

is semantically equal to:

/hasan fi lubnan/ (literally: Hasan in Lebanon)

While for the past or the future tense a form of /jaku:n/ is required, the deletion of the present tense form actually occurs on a wide scale in Standard Arabic. The form /ka'in/ is hardly ever used; it is, in fact, considered to be so formal and literary that its use sounds odd or artificial to most speakers of Arabic.

This must be related more closely to the use of /jaku:n/ in the native language which all subjects learned in their childhood, namely Colloquial Arabic (rather than Standard Arabic). It is significantly deviant from Standard Arabic in a great many respects. What is

relevant here is the fact that the majority of dialects of Colloquial Arabic does not employ any present tense form of /jaku:n/, irrespective of the particular function of the verb. Only the past tense and the future tense forms require lexical items equivalent to forms of English 'to be'. Therefore, Arabic learners need to apply a verbal element of 'to be' in English in order to express the present tense where the surface structure of their mother tongue contains no lexical item at all. This insertion is noted to constitute a difficult operation for most L1 Arabic speakers, resulting in the omission of 'to be' forms required in the target language. Such omission inevitably decreases the incidence of BEneg forms in the data.

An interesting exception to the deletion rule concerning the present tense of the Arabic equivalent form of 'to be' is the dialect of Colloquial Arabic spoken in the eastern part of Algeria. Unlike many others, these Arabic speakers do use /ka'in/ in their informal, conversational speech. This linguistic phenomenon is relevant with respect to one of the subjects in the population, namely Nadia, who comes from the region concerned. In this context it is remarkable that it is Nadia who uses BEneg as much as 38 times in her 5 interviews, while the total of BEneg is 71 in 38 samples. Thus she is responsible for 54% of these instances, which is a considerably high percentage in view of her limited number of interviews.

Contrastive analysis may offer a simple and straightforward explanation for the relative ease with which this subject produces BEneg: her mother tongue utilizes an equivalent of present tense 'to be', so that she only needs to find the English correlating forms in order to be able to produce correct TL forms. However, such reasoning

is likely to be simplistic, although it may point in the direction of one of the contributing factors. Other and perhaps more important aspects need to be taken into consideration.

In the first place, Nadia is a much more advanced learner than Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, as on the one hand she produces well-constructed TL structures more extensively than the other three women, while on the other hand her performance displays fewer non-TL structures. It is not surprising then that she has mastered particular English constructions as a result of her L2 development. In this acquisition process her first language may have played only a minor role.

The second consideration refers to the fact that Nadia, being Algerian, was obliged to spend a great deal of time learning French at secondary school. Her presumably near-native command of a foreign language besides her mother tongue (Colloquial Arabic) might also have influenced her acquisition of English in a positive way. Unfortunately, very little is known so far about the question how and to what extent the learning or acquisition of a particular language is affected by the learner's knowledge of a previously learned foreign language. In brief, it is impossible to come to a conclusive answer to the question why Nadia seemed to have fewer problems with BE_{neg} constructions than other women in the population. Most likely, this is accounted for by the general developmental level of her ESL acquisition, but it is thought that other credible answers, however partial these may be, have also been indicated here.

It is significant that one specific function of 'to be' in English as it is used by the subjects in this population seems to refute contrastive analysts' claims that the first language has a direct influence on the second language acquisition process. This is

the function of 'to be' as an auxiliary in the progressive tenses. In Standard English 'to be' is an obligatory auxiliary for the expression of a progressive aspect. Concerning negation, the corpus of 38 samples comprises only two instances of BEneg in a progressive tense, as described before. This low incidence, it could be argued in contrastive analysis, is accounted for by the fact that Standard Arabic does not have a similar aspect expressed in the verb (Defense Language Institute, 1969:94). As a consequence, the English progressive is a linguistic process which L1 Arabic learners must learn as a new syntactic operation. In contrast, certain dialects of Colloquial Arabic can express the progressive aspect in the verbal phrase. The auxiliary in the past tense is derived from the Arabic equivalent of was/were (the inflected form /kunt/ from the infinitive /jaku:n/), but for the present tense another auxiliary must be used, literally meaning 'sitting' (/ga d/). The Arab women involved in this project are therefore familiar with the progressive aspect. Nevertheless, they do not readily produce its negated form in their English. It has already been illustrated before that the less advanced subjects find it difficult to produce well-formed progressive constructions. This seems to be a clear case where contrastive analysis falls short while the developmental approach to L2 acquisition can account for the data. Auxiliaries, as 'to be' in a progressive tense, do not emerge in the early phases of the language acquisition process, disregarding the first language of the L2 learner. Therefore, the occurrence of BEneg in the auxiliary function of the progressive aspect might be expected to be restricted with these subjects.

Summarizing, it is not postulated that contrastive analysis provides a conclusive explanation for the perhaps surprisingly low incidence of BEneg instances in the corpus or that transfer from Arabic into English is the only factor which has contributed to the limited number of BEneg data (71 instances in 38 interviews). After all, forms of 'to be' are extensively reported to have been omitted by English language learners in the early stages of their acquisition process (Bellugi, 1967:69-71; Brown, 1976:246,308).

Notwithstanding these observations about other ESL learners, it is plausible that the variety of functions of 'to be' in English makes the production of its forms difficult to the Arabic learner, in particular if 'to be' has to be inserted where the L1 of the learner would not require a similar operation. It is also plausible that the presumably lower frequency of the equivalent of 'to be' in Arabic enhances this degree of difficulty, so much so that the subjects in this project refrain from using 'to be' forms in their second language. Such factors must at least be taken into consideration. In this respect, the production of forms of 'to be' by ESL learners could be compared with main verb negation structures, discussed before (see sections 4.1 to 4.3). Spanish-speaking ESL learners in other research projects were not found to produce completely different constructions, but only differed from the Arabic learners in the frequency and proportion with which they used particular constructions. The effects of various L1 backgrounds may only become noticeable in a careful analysis which takes account of slight variations. In short, contrastive analysis may only help to explain subtle differences between second language learners from different L1 backgrounds that cannot otherwise be accounted for.

4.7 NEGATION OF MODAL AUXILIARIES: MODneg

The negation of modal auxiliaries is produced by all five women in the population. Out of the total of modals in English, as discussed by several grammarians (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973:3.2.1; Palmer, 1974:2.1.3 and 2.2; Joos, 1964:ch.6), only a limited number appears in the corpus in negated form. These are the three modals can, will and must. The number of these MODALneg (or MODneg) instances amounts to 70 in the total of 38 recordings. What is particularly striking is that the majority of these instances refers to can + negator, viz. 67 out of all 70. This leaves only three instances of MODneg which do not refer to can + negator, all of which are found in Nadia's samples. This may indicate that can + negator, or CAN neg, is the first negated modal auxiliary to emerge and to become established in the interlanguage of the subjects involved. The incidence of negated modal constructions is given in the following table.

| | INSTANCES OF MODneg | TOTAL OF SAMPLES | RATIO OF MODneg PRODUCTION PER SAMPLE |
|----------|------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Khadidja | 30 | 10 | 3 |
| Imaan | 20 | 11 | 1.8 |
| Ibtisaam | 2 | 10 | 0.2 |
| Nadia | 10 | 5 | 2 |
| Lamya | 8 | 2 | 4 |

TABLE 9 Number of instances of MODneg and its ratio of production for each subject

Calculating the ratios of the number of MODneg instances to the number of interviews per subject gives a rough idea of the frequency with which each of the women produces negated modals, although the point in the sampling period at which these modals emerge is ignored. A comparison of these ratios shows that Ibtisaam has the lowest incidence of MODneg. From this it can be inferred that this

structure is not yet firmly established in her competence. This claim is especially reinforced if not only the number, but also the structure of her MODneg instances is considered. Two of the features in her data relate to word order and contraction. The negated modals in her utterances, namely

Ib 3,1 I not can walk

Ib 10,9 You cannot marry in Christian,

display deviations from the structures in the other women's data. In the first utterance she makes an error in the word order by placing the negator not in front of the modal auxiliary can. This error is the only example in the data where the order of the modal and the negating particle is inverted. Even in Nadia's utterance

Na 4,7 And it will be not like a man,

in which the order of the various constituents deviates from the TL sentence "And it will not be like a man", Nadia correctly places the modal auxiliary will before the negator not. This correct order has also been reported by Hatch (1974:4). Interestingly, it has been observed that Ibtisaam is also the only subject in the population who reverses the order of a verb form of 'to be', viz. is, and the negator not on two occasions (see section 4.6 on BEneg). In her second instance of MODneg, found seven interviews after the occurrence of the first instance, the order of the modal auxiliary and the negator is correct, which might be interpreted as a sign of progress in Ibtisaam's competence. The number of data, however, is very limited. Moreover, if the construction MODneg has actually become more advanced in her interlanguage over time, it is surprising that the six intermediate interviews do not display additional instances of MODneg

which could illustrate such progress.

The MODneg structure in Ibtisaams's last interview distinguishes itself from the other women's data in that it concerns the uncontracted form of CANneg, namely cannot, pronounced as /ka not/. Almost all of the other instances in the corpus involve contraction, viz. the form can't, either pronounced as /ka nt/ or /k :nt/. It needs to be pointed out that L1 learners have been shown to acquire the uncontracted form of certain auxiliaries before they apply contraction to the lexical items involved, irrespective of the model sentences produced by the children's interlocutors (Brown, 1976:416). This indicates that such uncontracted forms appear at a developmentally earlier stage than their more current contracted counterparts, regardless of the learner's input data. the learner.

Another instance without contraction of CANneg is produced by Nadia when she says,

Na 2,6 But there are some who cannot...

The subject NP of CANneg is the relative pronoun 'who', which introduces an embedded clause. It is not clear whether it is the complication of a relative clause which could account for the fact that Nadia does not finish her otherwise well-constructed utterance. What is peculiar is the fact that the only two instances of uncontracted CANneg in the entire corpus occur in linguistically difficult situations. In Ib 10,3 CANneg represents the first case in which MODneg appears in the correct word order, while in Na 2,6 the learner is involved in a complex TL construction incorporating the sentence embedding of a relative clause. However, it is not known if contraction correlates with the attained level in the L2.

In the 67 CANneg utterances there are only two instances which

lack a subject NP. In the first case, Imaan says,

Im 1,5 ...can't,

but this is an addition to a verbal phrase which she has just uttered before and which has the first person singular subject. Therefore, the negated modal form mentioned above can be said to display ellipsis of the subject noun phrase I and the MODneg utterance can easily be interpreted without any ambiguity. In the other case, it is clear from the context and situation that the omitted subject is also I, since in the utterance

Im 3,2 Can't understand,

Imaan must have referred to herself.

The omission of the subject NP is considerably lower in the MODneg category (twice) than in the class of BEneg forms, which is of the same size approximately (71 BEneg versus 70 MODneg instances) and which has 16 instances where the subject NP is omitted. Admittedly, in the BEneg instances the deleted subject NP usually has a fairly unspecific referent (such as a 'prop' subject; see section 4.6 on BEneg). In contrast, all the CANneg data have a human being as the subject NP. There is some variation in this usage, as shown below in the table which also includes the number of omitted subjects.

| <u>SUBJECT NP</u> | <u>OCCURRENCE IN CORPUS</u> | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| I | 52 | X |
| you | 4 | X |
| we | 4 | X |
| they | 1 | X |
| who | 1 | X |
| 3rd ps singular | 3 | X |
| ∅ | 2 | X |

TABLE 10 Types of subject noun phrases and their incidence in MODneg utterances

What is most striking in the numbers of the table above is that the overwhelming majority of CANneg has a subject in the first person singular (I), namely 52 cases. Most of these are formed by the pronoun I followed by the contracted form can't, or more precisely, more than 70% of all the MODneg instances consists of the string I can't.

The question arises why this should be so. It may be hard to arrive at a clear-cut explanation, as it might involve plausible, but unquantifiable factors, such as the speaker's egocentricity inherent in naturalistic, informal speech, or certain semantic restrictions of the verb form can. Nevertheless, other contributing factors may be hinted at. For this purpose, the co-text needs to be taken into account before an investigation of such factors can be undertaken.

Starting with a focus on the form of the direct linguistic environment, an examination of CANneg shows that this negated modal may either be followed by a verb form or stand on its own. No subsequent verb is attached to CANneg in 17 of its 67 instances. This may refer to an unfinished utterance in which the intended meaning is not clear, such as in the next example:

Na 2,6 But there are some who cannot...

Sometimes, the omission of the verb does not hamper communication:

Kh 7,7 But I can go shopping, and I can't

Here Khadidja talks about cooking, so that I can't is understood to refer to preparing food.

On some occasions, ellipsis of the verb results in a perfectly understandable and even well-formed structure, as demonstrated below.

Kh 6,1 E: Maybe you can tell me a bit about Iraq and
the history of Iraq. Can you?

S: I can't, no

Im 9,6 E: Can I clean it myself?

S: No, you can't

As to these structures it is impossible to determine whether the subject does not supply a verb subsequent to the modal because she finds it difficult to insert an infinitive after the negated auxiliary, or whether she applies ellipsis similar to the way a native speaker might do. In other words, the surface structure does not show if she omits the verb or if she understands and applies the complex TL rules on ellipsis.

Errors are more easily detected in the other group of CANneg instances where the negated modal is followed by a verbal form. Since the target language requires an uninflected verb after the modal auxiliary, deviations are clearly marked in the surface structure. These instances comprise the erroneous use of either a gerund or the past tense of a verb. The data concerned amount to a total of four, namely in following utterances:

Kh 5,1 I can't eating anything

Kh 2,6 But I can't found a watermiliter (= watermelon)

Im 4,6 When I can't went with Mahjoub, he tell you

Im 4,6 If I can't went with Mahjoub, he tell you

As the last two of these utterances are identical apart from the conjunction at the beginning, it seems that in repeating this MODneg structure Imaan consolidates her error of joining a modal auxiliary with the past tense of a main verb. This contrasts with the other 11 CANneg instances in which she correctly combines the auxiliary with an infinitive. Besides the four errors found in the CANneg data, all subjects provide verb forms according to TL requirements, that is,

CANneg is followed by an uninflected verb, thus resulting in well-formed verbal phrase constructions.

Having established the formal characteristics of the CANneg data, the investigation may now return to the question why a great many instances of MODneg consist of I can't. A first step is to take account of the subsequent infinitives. An examination of the lexical items following the negated modals shows that a large proportion of the infinitives fall into a particular semantic field (see appendix 13 for a total list of the MODneg utterances). No fewer than 24 of these verbs refer to the concept of communication and include words such as 'understand', 'explain', 'speak' and 'answer'. Examples are the three utterances below.

Kh 6,3 I can't answer you this question

Im 8,5 Sometimes I can't understand

Na 3,1 I can't speak English very well

The notion of communication may even be inferred in some of those instances where CANneg is not followed by a verb. This becomes clear if the surrounding discourse is taken into account, which is illustrated by the next two pieces of interaction.

Kh 7,6 E: Partly it is because I want you to try and
tell me

S: I can't

Kh 7,6 E: And what do you add?

S: I tell you. I can't in English

There are other instances where the subject apparently wants to use a verb which semantically refers to communication, but stops short after the CANneg form. However, in order to avoid speculation, it may

be sufficient to consider only those CANneg instances which precede a verb. A closer investigation shows that as many as 23 infinitives have semantic components that fall in the area of communication. Since these verbs are used in conjunction with a first person singular and a CANneg form, all these instances then verbally express the speaker's inability to interact in accordance with her wishes and intentions, either in her conversation with the experimenter, or in situations with other interlocutors that she describes to the experimenter. This could be called interactive inability.

A parallel with another frequently occurring phrase may be drawn here. This is the phrase 'I don't know', which Hatch (1974:4) calls a 'routine formula' (see also sections 4.2.1 and 4.8). If this phrase is considered in terms of its function in the discourse rather than with a view to its presumed holophrastic nature in the syntax of the subjects' interlanguage, an interesting observation can be made. Some subjects seem to resort to the phrase 'I don't know' to express the idea that communication in their second language has come to a halt. This may be for lack of suitable lexical items or syntactic structures in their L2 competence, or alternatively because expressing themselves in their L2 becomes too much of an effort (see also sections 3.2.5.4).

Although they may not understand the internal grammatical structure of the phrase, they are capable of using it appropriately during the conversation. It seems as if a learner readily makes use of the routine formula as some type of escape route. After all, if communication in the second language becomes slightly too difficult, the learner can always utter "I don't know" as a communicative device

to indicate interactive inability. The speaker can thus express to the interlocutor that communication in the second language has come to a standstill.

Apparently, interactive inability can be expressed verbally in various ways. Sometimes it is sufficiently marked by the routine formula, which is especially useful for elementary ESL learners. However, a further advanced and more sophisticated way is to say I can't and combine it with the appropriate word (for instance, understand, speak, answer, talk). This string is sometimes used to adequately describe situations in which the particular woman was unable to communicate with other people. However, in her conversations with the experimenter the expression of interactive inability has a different and double function. On the one hand, the subject shows that she is still participating in the conversation, but on the other hand can also make clear that no further participation is possible or desirable from her point of view. The MODneg structure therefore proves to be important as a discourse marker.

In brief, the data demonstrate that in the ESL production of some women MODneg is often used, predominantly with the modal auxiliary can. Syntactically, it does not pose a great many problems, since form is usually correct from the point of view of the target language. Semantically, it frequently expresses interactive inability, which is mostly manifested through a combination with an infinitive relating to some aspect of communication. The subject may use the entire string to mark inability or unwillingness to continue the conversation in her second language. Appendix 14 shows the development of MODneg as produced by each subject over the entire sampling period.

4.8 A PREFABRICATED PATTERN AS A COMMUNICATION STRATEGY:
there + [be] + no

One subject, Imaan, displays relatively few negated verbal phrases despite the fact that she has been involved in more sampling sessions than any other subject (11 interviews versus 10 for Khadidja and Ibtisaam, 5 for Nadia and 2 for Lamya). Imaan produces no HAVEneg instances and only one utterance with BEneg. Also her negation of main verbs is far from frequent. This can be compared with what is produced by Khadidja and Ibtisaam, whose samples comprise the same type of verbal negation structures and approach Imaan's interviews in number.

| | IMAAAN | KHADIDJA | IBTISAAM |
|---------------------|--------|----------|----------|
| no + V/not + V | 8 | 37 | 105 |
| don't/an.do-sup + V | 17 | 33 | 10 |
| BEneg | 1 | 6 | 17 |
| HAVEneg | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| MODneg | 20 | 30 | 2 |

TABLE 11 Incidence of verbal negation classes as produced by Imaan, Khadidja and Ibtisaam

The table above shows that Imaan lags far behind Khadidja and Ibtisaam in the frequency of no + V/not + V and BEneg. The numbers of HAVEneg instances are scarcely relevant for a comparison, as they only show that the construction have + negator is not at all established yet in the interlanguage of any of these women. As to the class of don't/an.do-sup + V, Imaan with 17 instances ranks between Khadidja (33 X) and Ibtisaam (10 X). Juxtaposition of these numbers, however, obscures the fact that don't/an.do-sup + V are only two of the four alternative classes to negate main verbs and therefore ought to be associated with the other Vneg classes, viz. no + V/not + V. Adding up the numbers for all these Vneg categories illustrates again that Imaan is much less prolific than Khadidja and Ibtisaam (25 versus 70 and 115

utterances respectively). It is only the MODneg class that is found in Imaan's data with some measure of frequency (20 versus 30 and 2 data).

This short exercise in arithmetic introduces the question why there are so relatively few negated verbs in Imaan's samples. It seems hardly likely that she has had no opportunity during the conversations to express negated verb phrases. Moreover, she proves capable of using affirmative verbs, although she does not do it extensively. Examples of Imaan's affirmative utterances containing verbal phrases are given below.

Im 3,1 But we made eh this like this

Im 6,1 In this heater we use all day. Eh, until we want
 to sleep

Im 7,6 That is because a long time passed?

A possible answer is that the syntactic process of negation itself poses problems to Imaan. This explanation is assumed to apply here, as it is observed that in all her data on negatives two distinct phenomena co-occur. More specifically, a low incidence of negated verb structures runs parallel to a high incidence of another particular structure, occurring as often as 25 times. The latter seems to function as a substitute for TL verb negation rules and to satisfactorily convey the intended message in an alternative way. It can therefore be said to constitute what Selinker (1972:37) calls a 'communication strategy', which in his definition is "a result of an identifiable approach by the learner to communication with native speakers of the TL". The specific structure found in Imaan's data occurs in the other women's data only sporadically. Thus Imaan seems to have created an idiosyncratic communication strategy, since none of

the other subjects in the population resorts to its use as a substitute for alternative negation structures.

The formula of this communication strategy consists of the word there, a form of the verb 'to be' (virtually always the form is) and the negating particle no, which normally precedes another constituent. For the classification of negatives it is significant here that the negating particle is no rather than not, as shown later.

Since this formula is recurrently found throughout Imaan's samples (from the first to the eleventh interview) with no changes in form, except for one case, it seems to qualify as a prefabricated pattern, as described by Hakuta (1974:289). In other words, it is observed that the string there is no is a memorized entity which does not undergo any syntactic alteration in its internal structure and, therefore, does not represent creative language. Only the lexical items following the determiner no vary, so that this part reflects the creative aspect of Imaan's interlanguage. It is exactly this variable part that characterizes the prefabricated pattern and distinguishes it from a phrase or utterance which is entirely memorized (labelled a 'prefabricated routine' in Hakuta (ibid.:288) or 'routine formula' in Hatch (1974:4); see also sections 4.2.1 on don't + V and 4.7 on MODneg).

It is a coincidence that the limited number of articles about empirical data on prefabricated patterns in adult second language acquisition includes a study with another L1 Arabic woman, called Fatmah (Hanania and Gradman, 1977). Her level of ESL acquisition, however, is elementary, since she did not know any English before her arrival in the English-speaking environment. As Imaan, on the other hand, had already followed EFL tuition in her home country, her

knowledge of English is noted to be beyond the beginner's level, so that unfortunately the data on the prefabricated patterns produced by these two Arabic-speaking women do not easily compare.

Interestingly then, Imaan's English demonstrates a concurrence of two phenomena which are important for the understanding and analysis of data on ESL acquisition. This combination of interlanguage concepts is manifested in the fact that Imaan makes use of a 'prefabricated pattern' as a 'communication strategy'. While the former concentrates on syntactic form, the latter concept comprises aspects relating to the intended message as well. These two different points of focus will later be joined in the discussion of Imaan's data.

In English grammar no has the status of a determiner (Quirk and Geenbaum, 1973: 4.5, 7.36). Considering surface form, the distinction is that not in there + [be] + not negates the verb 'to be', so that utterances with the latter structure come under the category BEneg in its existential function (see section 4.6). On the other hand, the determiner no in there + [be] + no is incomplete without a noun associated with it. As no is syntactically connected to this subsequent noun, the entire construction is not classified as a verb negation structure, but belongs to the NP category of negator + noun.

In practice, it often does not make a difference whether the speaker uses the one rather than the other construction. Both may be syntactically correct and are sometimes synonymous, as from a grammatical point of view a sentence like "There is no time" is as acceptable as "There is not time". In Standard English no alterations or additions need to be made, as "time" is an uncountable noun. This is different in the case of countable nouns, as the paraphrasing of

the there + [be] + no + noun structure becomes slightly more complex. In the sequence there + [be] + not a subsequent noun requires agreement of the form of 'to be', while both the plural and the singular of such countable nouns need the insertion of a determiner in front of the noun. The discrepancy is illustrated by the following sentences.

There is no time

There is not time

There is no problem

There is not a/any problem

There are no English people

There are not any English people

The invented utterances

*There is not problem

and

*There are not English people

are anomalous in the sense that the TL requires a determiner. Considering that there + [be] + not has different requirements for the subsequent noun phrases, the there + [be] + no + noun structure then seems to circumvent such complication and constitutes a simpler English construction to the ESL learner.

Despite this relative simplicity, an investigation of Imaan's data shows that her utterances do not always correspond to the target language equivalents. Her principal concern is to express a certain message, for which she resorts to this particular communication strategy. Sometimes this yields an acceptable TL sentence, while at other times Imaan produces interesting errors.

Focussing on what is conveyed by there + [be] + no + noun, this formula appears to be similar to a differently worded message which may not be part of Imaan's competence in English yet. For instance, when she says,

Im 10,3 There is no time,
this utterance seems to be identical to:

"I haven't time"

Such interpretation is made on the basis of the current topic of conversation. In another example, her utterance:

Im 9,5 There is no medicine for this
can be interpreted to mean:

"There isn't any medicine available for this".

In the previous examples the message proves to be clear to Imaan's interlocutor and, as far as form is concerned, the utterances are syntactically well-formed.

Form, however, may not always be correct when Imaan uses the above construction. A closer examination of there + [be] + no + noun in Imaan's utterances reveals that she ignores rules on verb form agreement and on the obligatory presence of a noun. Errors concerning the former refer to plural nouns which have a singular form of 'to be'. The only exception to that is found in Imaan's last interview ("There are no English people", Im 11,7), where the agreement rule appears to emerge in Imaan's competence.

The lack of agreement in, for instance, "There is no tapes in library?" (Im 11,3) may match an apparently similar construction produced by Lamya ("There is no very cold winters there", La 2,2). Both utterances contain the word there, the singular form is, the negative determiner no and the plural of a countable noun ('tapes' and 'winters' respectively). Both therefore flout the verb agreement rule. However, drawing such a parallel misses the point of the use of the communication strategy in question. Although Lamya can be said to make

a common ESL learner's error in the field of TL agreement rules, Imaan's use of the string there + [be] + no cannot be captured accurately by a description of the syntactic rules which have not been applied by her.

This becomes obvious in an investigation of the lexical items that follow the word no. In most cases this is a noun (either in a singular or a plural form), as required by the negative determiner, but alternatively it can be a part of speech which is never combined with no in the target language. This sometimes concerns an adjective, as seen in the instances given below:

There is no difficult (Im 4,2 and Im 8,5)

But English and French there is no interested (Im 8,7)

There is no dangerous (Im 9,6)

In four instances the determiner is not followed by anything (no plus null element, or no + ∅), as in:

But south there is no (Im 5,2)

There is no (Im 7,6; Im 8,4; and Im 10,3)

From the surface form it is not clear in which group the utterance "There is no here in Birmingham" (Im 2,4) should be included. No seems to be combined with the adverb 'here', but as Imaan talked about Arab newspapers, presumably "here in Birmingham" represents an adverbial phrase of place which is not connected to the negative determiner no. She could have presented this utterance in the order "Here in Birmingham there is no". The above utterance may therefore be grouped with the no + ∅ category. For Imaan the corresponding TL structures:

There are none here in Birmingham

There are not any here in Birmingham,

the corpus where the there + [be] + no string precedes an infinitive. Taking these counterarguments into account, it is here provisionally assumed that 'mix' has a verbal status and that in this instance there + [be] + no is therefore followed by a verb.

Summarizing, it can be deduced from Imaan's data that she operates the following negation rule in her interlanguage:

$$\text{NEG} \quad \text{[proposition]} \quad \text{---->} \quad \text{there + [be] + no + } \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{noun} \\ \text{adjective} \\ \text{verb} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} ,$$

where [be] is predominantly represented by the form is. This construction has the status of a prefabricated pattern where only the last constituent is variable. The pattern functions as a general negation construction for propositions, which is not restricted to the existential function of 'there is' or 'there are' in the target language. A complete list of the 25 instances concerned is given in appendix 15, including a classification of the lexical items which follow the negative determiner no. The only other four instances of there + [be] + no in the corpus (all produced by Lanya) are added at the bottom of the list of Imaan's data.

What is remarkable is the fact that in Imaan's last interview (sample 11) all the utterances with there + [be] + no contain a noun, as required by Standard English. She does not produce any of the alternatives previously used, namely adjective, verb or null element \emptyset . Furthermore, Imaan uses the correct form are for the first time in this structure. This manifestation of the rule that the number of the noun following no determines the number of the verb form of 'to be' in the there + [be] + no string, constitutes the emergence of this rule

in Imaan's performance. This does not mean that she would invariably apply it correctly, as during the same interview she omits to apply the agreement rule in two other utterances, namely,

There is no tapes in library? (Im 11,3)

I think there is no tapes (Im 11,4)

Nevertheless, these observations relating to the last of her interviews could indicate that her interlanguage has developed up to the stage where Imaan rejects adjective, verb and \emptyset as possible constituents to follow the negative determiner no. Moreover, she may be on the point of finishing the previous usage of overgeneralized is for all nouns and developing the TL agreement rules in this syntactic environment. Unfortunately, there are no further and later data which could substantiate the claim that this is the case. However, if this possibility applies to the data in question, it implies that the pattern that Imaan utilized to avoid negated verb phrases and as a strategy to communicate negation in an alternative manner, is shifting its function, although not necessarily its surface form. This means that Imaan is in the process of analysing the syntactic components and coming to an understanding of the internal structure of what used to represent a prefabricated pattern to her. As a consequence, her language production becomes 'creative', rather than memorized, as she constructs the separate speech segments into a structure which adheres to the target language rules. This process would result, in the first place, in form becoming well-constructed from the point of view of Standard English. Secondly, the there + [be] + no pattern would lose its function as a communicative strategy in Imaan's interlanguage, while 'creative' language construction gains

ground in her expression of negation.

How the process itself evolves from memorization to creativity in the second language production of ESL learners is not clear. Concerning the influence of the prefabricated pattern on the production of 'creative' language, Krashen and Scarcella (1978:284) indicate two hypotheses. One postulates that the production of prefabricated patterns is independent of the development of creative language, which implies that at some point in the language acquisition process the learner re-analyzes the patterns employed. The other hypothesis contends that memorized units and creative language are closely connected, since prefabricated patterns have a mediating function in the development of creative language construction.

It is regrettable that Krashen and Scarcella do not have enough data at their disposal and thus cannot offer conclusive evidence for one particular hypothesis about the relationship between prefabrication and creativity in ESL acquisition. Neither are the empirical data in this project sufficient to provide a final analysis. What is needed is further research in this field before it can be shown that there is a possible shift in the underlying status of the prefabricated pattern.

The final point to be raised about the there + [be] + no string refers to the presumed antithetical relationship between 'creative' and 'memorized' language production. Imaan's data indicate that there is no is a memorized string, which therefore precludes a creative use of other (IL or TL) verb negation structures in those data. In fact, Imaan is the only subject who expresses herself with the aid of this specific communication strategy. No other subject in this population or in other research projects has been reported to

make use of the same prefabricated pattern.

Imaan, then, appears to have 'picked up' a TL structure expressing some type of negation (viz. existential negation of singular nouns) and to have incorporated it in her IL. Subsequently, she has extended this structure to the general expression of verbal negation and proves to be successful in making herself understood in this way. Thus, she seems to have creatively adapted the there + [be] + no string for her own purposes, namely communication in English. This means that this aspect of her interlanguage shows a synthesis of two linguistic concepts which so far have been presented as being mutually exclusive, viz. creativity and memorization.

5 RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

5.1 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

This study has investigated the interlanguage of five Arabic-speaking women. Sampling took place with intervals gradually increasing from 1 week to a maximum of 7 weeks, while the total range of sampling sessions per individual subject extended over a period of about 1 month to a maximum of 7 months (see appendices 2 and 3). The focus has been on the syntax of their expression of intrasentential verbal negation. All negated verbs found in the total of 38 samples obtained from the five subjects (Khadidja, Imaan, Ibtisaam, Nadia and Lamy) have been classified on the basis of the distinct structures found in the data.

The classification comprises 9 different verb negation categories, which may be subdivided into:

- I 5 classes dealing with the negation of main verbs (Vneg),
- II 3 classes dealing with the negation of auxiliary verbs,
- III 1 class which represents an alternative way of expressing verbal negation.

Two of the five classes of main verb negation refer to transitional Vneg constructions that are not found in the target language (see section 4.1 ff). The first is expressed by a main verb preceded by the word no (no + V, e.g. "Today no come back", Ib 7,9), which appears in the samples from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, albeit on a limited scale. All no + V utterances are listed in appendix 5. The second transitional construction consists of the word not followed by the main verb (not + V, e.g. "I not speak with anyone", Kh 4,4).

Yet again, this structure is only found in the data obtained from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, and in fact there are more instances of not + V than of no + V in the corpus.

Although neither no + V nor not + V is produced by native speakers of English, both of these transitional constructions have been observed in other empirical studies on English language acquisition. Since previous research projects involved children acquiring their mother tongue, as well as second language learners with different L1 backgrounds, no + V and not + V can be taken to be developmental manifestations of language acquisition universals. The presumed universal nature of these transitional constructions, then, is substantiated by the findings of this project.

Of these two developmental structures, no + V has been found to be established before not + V emerges in the learner's production in other studies. The reason for this developmental order seems to be linked to the fact that no is the holophrastic negator in English and that learners acquire this first, subsequently overgeneralizing it to the production of intrasentential verbal negation (see 4.1.3).

Subtle distinctions between different L2 learners in their production of no + V and not + V appear to correlate to the L1 background (section 4.1.3). L1 transfer may explain why no + V is produced extensively by L1 Spanish speakers, who have a phonologically similar negator (no) in their first language, while not + V appears hardly at all in their data. In contrast, the L1 Arabic subjects in this project are not influenced by this type of L1 transfer, which may account for the fact that no + V is not produced a great deal in the

corpus of this project, whereas not + V occurs with a relative frequency which is higher than that found with L1 Spanish speakers in other studies.

The third and fourth Vneg classes are related in that their surface structure includes a do-element, which appears to indicate that the speakers' performance more closely approximates the TL. The third class is don't followed by a main verb (don't + V, e.g. "She don't do this for other people", Na 1,5), while the other includes all other forms of do-support plus not followed by a main verb (analyzed do-support + V, or an.do-sup + V, e.g. "Why do not go by train?", Kh 7,2). Instances of these two types of structures are found in the samples of all five women in the population.

The difference between don't + V and an.do-sup + V is that it is shown that, whereas an.do-sup + V could be interpreted to represent a negated do-support form with a main verb, don't + V could not, as don't sometimes constitutes an allomorph of not. Several arguments support the claim that don't has this allomorphic status in the data from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam (section 4.2.1). First, don't + V appears in many samples which do not contain any forms of analyzed do-support + V. Secondly, don't is shown to be a learned chunk in the routine formula "I don't know", which in several samples is the only utterance with don't in its surface structure. Thirdly, don't + V co-occurs with the transitional construction not + V, which seems to indicate that they constitute alternatives that are equivalent to the subject concerned. Finally, in some samples don't + V co-occurs not only with not + V, but also with the earliest developmental structure no + V. On the grounds of these observations don't is assumed to be an

allomorph of not rather than a contracted form of do and not. As for this assumption, however, certain problems arise (discussed in 4.2.3).

As far as the structure analyzed do-support + V is concerned, L1 and other L2 development projects have demonstrated its late emergence in the acquisition process. This is supported here by the fact that it occurs less frequently than don't + V. Furthermore, its syntactic complexity seems to account for the repeated occurrence of errors in other parts of the utterances in which an.do-sup + V is produced. Whenever this structure is used by a particular subject, however, the actual do-support itself is analyzed correctly, that is, the learner applies the right tense and agreement rules. This can be seen in the complete list of the an.do-sup + V utterances from the corpus, given in appendix 9.

The fifth Vneg class consists of not to and a main verb (e.g. "In the last week I not to see", Ib 2,4). The use of such constructions is restricted to Ibtisaam and Nadia. Their performance in comparison with target language use depends on the syntactic environment of the sentence in which the structure appears, as in some instances it agrees with the TL negation rules, while at other times it deviates from them.

One interesting feature of all five Vneg classes is that they refer to data which contain main verbs exclusively. This means that none of the subjects makes the error, attested in previous research, of combining a Vneg structure with a primary or modal auxiliary.

The order of acquisitional stages in the negation of main verbs demonstrates a development from transitional constructions (i.e. without do-support) to structures with a do-element. In the transitional stage verb negation starts with the word which is also

the English holophrastic negator (no), before this is replaced by the intrasentential negator (not). In the structures with a do-element, don't first appears as a learned unit in an unanalyzed form, after which it appears as a contraction of do plus not, together with other forms of do-support. The order then is:

| | |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| stage I | no + V |
| stage II | not + V |
| stage III | don't + V |
| stage IV | analyzed do-support + V |

The three classes of negated auxiliaries include two categories of primary auxiliaries, viz. negation of the verb 'to have' (HAVEneg, e.g. "They haven't a lot of money", Na 3,5) and negation of the verb 'to be' (BEneg, e.g. "I know it's not very difficult", La 1,11). The other negated auxiliaries have been grouped together in the class of negated modals (MODneg, e.g. "You cannot marry in Christian", Ib 10,9).

HAVEneg is produced by Nadia and Lamya, as well as once by Khadidja, but this category does not appear in the data from Imaan and Ibtisaam at all (see section 4.5). In Lamya's data HAVEneg appears only as an auxiliary to form the perfect tense, while Nadia also uses it to express other functions of 'to have' (namely, possession and necessity). The fact that HAVEneg is not produced by Imaan and Ibtisaam and only once by Khadidja seems to indicate that it is syntactically complex and can be expected to emerge late in the learner's interlanguage. No HAVEneg forms in the past tense have been observed. All the HAVEneg utterances are listed in appendix 10.

All subjects produce instances of BEneg, but the data show restrictions on form and function, as well as variation amongst the different subjects. With respect to Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, the data demonstrate a low ratio of production of BEneg and instances of this class emerge after interview 1, that is, during the course of the sampling procedure. These observations might correlate with two other phenomena in their interlanguage, namely repeated instances of be-deletion in their affirmative sentences and frequent omission of the subject noun phrase in their BEneg utterances. The relatively low overall production of BEneg by the subjects in this population may be associated with their mother tongue, which does not use present tense forms of the Arabic equivalent of 'to be'.

The instances of BEneg in the corpus refer principally to the form is + not, with few forms of the first person singular (am + not). Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam do not use are, was or were in their negation of 'to be'. Nadia is the only subject who makes use of the present tense forms (is, am and are) and past tense forms (was and were) in her interlanguage. However, these five forms of 'to be' do occur in affirmative sentences produced by different subjects. This seems to indicate that negation itself is a psycholinguistically difficult process which puts constraints on the L2 production of the learner.

The auxiliary functions of 'to be' in combination with a past participle and to construct a progressive tense occur only in the BEneg data from Nadia and Lamya. The predominant use of BEneg in the corpus is in its function as a copula, namely 65%. However, in all those BEneg data where the function of 'to be' is classifiable, the

copula function is as high as 92%. These figures, then, clearly show that the copula is the preferred function in the negation of 'to be' in this study.

The class of negated modal auxiliaries, MODneg, comprises mainly instances with the negated form of can, Nadia being the only subject who produces MODneg with will and must. Can + negator, usually in its contracted form, is found in 67 of all 70 MODneg instances (i.e. more than 95%). Of these utterances more than two thirds have the first person singular as their subject noun phrase, that is, 70% of all MODneg data. This relatively high incidence of I can't appears to be closely connected with the semantic field of the subsequent infinitives, many of which (viz. 24) refer to the notion of communication (e.g. 'speak', 'answer', 'understand'). This sequence of I can't followed by a verb of communication fulfills an important function in the discourse of the specific L2 learner, because it may express her inability to interact adequately in her second language ('interactive inability'). All utterances with a MODneg structure are given in appendix 13.

The ninth and last class investigated (there + [be] + no) does not refer to negated verbs per se, but represents a construction which is demonstrated to function as intrasentential verbal negation in the interlanguage of one specific subject, viz. Imaan. It consists of the pattern there is no, which may precede a variety of constituents: noun, adjective, null element (\emptyset) or verb (e.g. "There is no difficult", Im 4,2). The entire structure establishes a communication strategy through which Imaan expresses intrasentential negation when other verbal constructions, either TL or transitional, appear to be

relatively difficult for her to produce or are not yet part of her linguistic competence in her second language production. Appendix 15 lists all the utterances in the corpus which display a there is no pattern.

The table in appendix 16 shows the incidence of all the nine individual classes of verb negation structures as produced by the five individual subjects of the population during each individual recording from the corpus of 38 samples.

The incidence of one specific class of verb negation structures as produced by all the different subjects in their individual samples is only given if at least three subjects in the population make use of this class with a certain degree of regularity. This means that only the incidence of not + V, don't + V, an.do-sup + V, BEneg and MODneg is represented in a figure, viz. in appendices 6, 7, 8, 12 and 14 respectively.

Furthermore, the incidence of the classes as produced by each individual subject in the total of her samples is given in the table in appendix 17. What needs to be borne in mind is that in this table the numbers pertaining to the classes no + V and not + V are grouped together, since they are both transitional, non-TL constructions. Also the numbers pertaining to the classes don't + V and an.do-sup + V have been grouped together, as they both contain a do-element. This appendix also shows the total occurrence of verb negation structures found in the total of samples obtained from each individual subject.

The same numbers are given in appendix 18 as well, but in the form of a histogram. It is thought that this way of representing the numbers from appendix 17 (mentioned above) provides a clearer visual

picture of the differences between the language production of the individual subjects, as well as between the frequencies with which they make use of particular verb negation categories. It shows, for instance, that Ibtisaam is particularly prolific in her production of not + V, and that transitional constructions are only used by Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam.

In order to demonstrate the proportion with which each individual category appears in the total data from each subject, rather than only its frequency, the incidence of each class is also expressed as a percentage of all the verb negation data produced by each subject. In this way, the relative importance of a specific class in the interlanguage of one particular subject is shown. These percentages are given in the table in appendix 19. As is the case in appendices 17 and 18 (mentioned above), the classes of no + V and not + V, as well as those of don't + V and an.do-sup + V are joined, so that the respective percentages refer to the combined numbers of these classes.

In order to present the above proportions in a more illustrative way, they are also expressed in pie-charts in appendix 20. Each pie-chart demonstrates the relative proportion of the different types of verb negation structures as they are produced by an individual subject, with each separate class being reflected by a matching segment of the circle. It shows, for example, that the proportion with which HAVEneg or BEneg appears in the data, varies greatly from one subject to the next. Thus, these pie-charts may highlight the fact that the interlanguages of different subjects display a considerable degree of variability.

5.2 CONCLUSION

In connection with the analysis of the data, a number of key issues arise which are considered in this section. The first is the question of successive stages in the acquisition of verb negation and their overlap. This can be linked to the issue of observed variation between the different learners in the population. Furthermore, those differences in the L2 speakers' interlanguages which do not appear to correlate with acquisition levels, will be considered with a view to differences between L2 learner types. Finally, the apparent lack of development in verb negation will be related to psychological and sociocultural variables applying to the subjects' situation.

The first question is whether successive stages can be discerned in the second language development of the subjects in the population. Although the sampling of linguistic material took place longitudinally (with recordings from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam reaching at least ten interviews), the data from any individual subject do not show an unequivocal course of development in the various forms produced. This can be demonstrated if the first instances of all the individual verb negation classes are considered per subject in the population. A table with such information ('time-chart') shows the emergence of each category in the total corpus of each woman and the chronological order of her L2 production of negatives. These time-charts are given below (tables 12 to 16). It should be noted, however, that the notion of 'emergence' can be problematic, especially if a specific verb negation class appears from the first interview onwards. It is then likely that the emergence occurred before the sampling procedure took place. This applies to tables 15 (Nadia) and 16 (Lamy) in particular. For this reason, it is believed that the notion of 'first observed instance' is more accurate than that of 'emergence'.

| CATEGORIES | NUMBER OF INTERVIEW | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| no + V | | | | | | | | X | | |
| not + V | | X | | | | | | | | |
| don't + V | X | | | | | | | | | |
| an.do-sup + V | | | | | | X | | | | |
| not to + V | | | | | | | | | | |
| HAVEneg | | | | | | X | | | | |
| BEneg | | | | X | | | | | | |
| MODneg | | X | | | | | | | | |
| there + [be] + no | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE 12 First observed instance of each verb negation class in Khadidja's corpus

| CATEGORIES | NUMBER OF INTERVIEW | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| no + V | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| not + V | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| don't + V | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| an.do-sup + V | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| not to + V | | | | | | | | | | | |
| HAVEneg | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BEneg | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| MODneg | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| there + [be] + no | X | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE 13 First observed instance of each verb negation class in Imaan's corpus

| CATEGORIES | NUMBER OF INTERVIEW | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| no + V | | X | | | | | | | | |
| not + V | X | | | | | | | | | |
| don't + V | | | X | | | | | | | |
| an.do-sup + V | | | | | X | | | | | |
| not to + V | | X | | | | | | | | |
| HAVEneg | | | | | | | | | | |
| BEneg | | | X | | | | | | | |
| MODneg | | | X | | | | | | | |
| there + [be] + no | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE 14 First observed instance of each verb negation class in Ibtisaam's corpus

| CATEGORIES | NUMBER OF INTERVIEW | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| no + V | | | | | |
| not + V | | | | | |
| don't + V | | X | | | |
| an.do-sup + V | | X | | | |
| not to + V | | X | | | |
| HAVEneg | | X | | | |
| BEneg | | X | | | |
| MODneg | | X | | | |
| there + [be] + no | | | | | |

TABLE 15 First observed instance of each verb negation class in Nadia's corpus

| CATEGORIES | NUMBER OF INTERVIEW | |
|-------------------|---------------------|---|
| | 1 | 2 |
| no + V | | |
| not + V | | |
| don't + V | X | |
| an.do-sup + V | | X |
| not to + V | | |
| HAVEneg | X | |
| BEneg | X | |
| MODneg | | X |
| there + [be] + no | X | |

TABLE 16 First observed instance of each verb negation class in Lamy's corpus

On the basis of an examination of the first observed instances of the different verb negation categories, it is impossible to find a general sequence of language development. In other words, the data on negation do not demonstrate that developmentally early structures are observed early in the corpus, while other, relatively sophisticated structures emerge late. In this respect the data are distinguished from first language acquisition findings, where a clear course in the L1 development of forms has been attested. What does present itself

more clearly is a measure of variability within the population as a whole. This agrees with Rosansky's findings (1976), who also noted a great deal of variability amongst her six subjects (for which reason she argues that cross-sectional sampling is less valid than longitudinal sampling).

This degree of variability is mainly manifested in two ways. In the first place, with respect to L2 development the population can be divided into two groups of subjects. In the second place, distinctions between different subjects can be seen within the second of these two groups.

As far as different developmental levels are concerned, the most obvious distinction in this respect is between Nadia and Lamya on the one hand, and Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, on the other. Nadia and Lamya appear to be reasonably stable in their English language production, but analysis of their data is restricted by the fact that the sampling period with them is more limited than that with the other subjects of the population. Two points need to be considered here. In the first place, if the interlanguage of Nadia or Lamya underwent any progress over the sampling period, then such development may not have been observable on the basis of data on verbal negation alone. In fact, it is possible that development proceeded in other areas of syntax or in the field of lexis, which have not been investigated in this project. In other words, the restriction arising from a focus on verbal negation may possibly have obscured other areas of interest in L2 development. Secondly, Nadia and Lamya had reached a level in their second language which was sufficiently advanced to communicate fairly satisfactorily with their interlocutor on such topics as were presented, as shown by their data. Thus, they may not have felt the need, consciously or unconsciously, to improve their L2 competence.

Focussing on main verb negation in the data from Nadia and Lamya, this level is demonstrated by the absence of the transitional constructions no + V and not + V. At the same time, they both frequently implement the complex TL rules on analyzed do-support for main verb negation (though no an.do-sup + V appears in Nadia sample 5 or Lamya sample 1).

As to HAVEneg, BEneg and MODneg, three phenomena relating to the developmental level are noted in the interlanguage of Nadia and Lamya:

- 1 - Each of these categories appears in every single interview obtained, which indicates that Nadia and Lamya use these in their ESL production without great difficulty.
- 2 - The total frequency of these negated auxiliary classes per interview is generally higher than that found in the separate samples from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam.
- 3 - These three categories are represented in the data by forms and functions which are not found in the interlanguage of the other three subjects. More specifically, this means that in Nadia's and Lamya's recordings HAVEneg appears in its auxiliary function for the present perfect tense. As to BEneg, this class may be used with a past participle, as well as in combination with a present participle (for the progressive tense). Also, both women use BEneg with both singular and plural subjects and demonstrate the correct use of concord in this category. In addition, Nadia extends her BEneg usage to the existential function and its past tense forms. Finally, the MODneg data show that Nadia does not restrict herself to the modal can, but also uses must and will. None of the functions and forms given above occur in the data from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam.

In conclusion, Nadia and Lamya's negation approaches the target language relatively closely. Whenever their verbal negation does not correspond to the TL superficially, these deviations constitute errors in the area of morphology (viz. agreement or tense rules) or word order in multiple element constructions of verbal negation. Examples of errors in their ESL production are given below:

- They have never go to school (Na 2,4)
- She don't do this for other people (Na 1,5)
- There is no very cold winters there (La 2,2)
- There's no villages at all there (La 2,3)
- And it will be not like a man (Na 4,7)

The above errors do not hamper communication and in context their message is easily interpretable. A number of psycholinguistic factors could account for them. These errors, for instance, could show that the particular morphological rule is not yet firmly established in the learner's interlanguage. A different explanation is that the errors are part of a communication strategy followed by the subject, with the understanding that her interlocutor would grasp the message. Alternatively, they may be testimony of a process of backsliding, which means that the subject produces an error in an otherwise well-applied TL rule. In fact, it is even possible, considering the relative fluency of these two second language learners, that some of these errors resemble the lapses appearing in native speakers' performance, rather than consistent errors.

Since such explanations are beyond any measure of verification, no definite statement concerning the causes of these errors may be ventured. What needs to be emphasized, however, is that Nadia and Lamya have reached a stage in their second language development at which a range of negation constructions are produced with a certain

degree of ease. At the same time, errors in verbal negation principally occur at the morphological level, which, after all, carries less communicative weight (and is therefore less important from the point of view of keeping the conversation with her interlocutor going) than the production of the verbal negation categories themselves.

Although the three subjects Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam have been grouped together as regards their developmental level (i.e. in opposition to Nadia and Lamya), this does not mean that there is no variation between their respective ESL data. The type and measure of variability in their data is particularly interesting, because analysis of their expression of verbal negation does not reveal discrete stages.

With reference to main verbs, the data then do not present a clear sequence from no + V to not + V, then to don't + V and finally to an.do-sup + V. Of the four structures, not + V and don't + V prove to be most firmly established in the interlanguages of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam. For Khadidja the production of these two structures extends over almost the same period (with the exception of interview 1, in which only don't + V occurs). The two therefore seem to be variants that co-occur in Khadidja's interlanguage, apparently with no distinct preference for either.

For Imaan the overlap of not + V and don't + V is only found from sample 6 to sample 10. A surprising aspect of her ESL data is that don't + V appears in the first, second and third interview, that is, even before she begins producing not + V in sample 5 (see also table 13). This is a good example of how real data may deviate from the course of L2 development posited in theoretical models.

Ibtisaam's data show a yet different picture. Not + V occurs throughout the sampling period, while don't + V appears in sample 3 for the first time and its incidence increases from sample 7 onwards. This may mean that don't + V emerges and subsequently becomes more stable in her interlanguage.

The early developmental structure no + V and the most advanced structure, analyzed do-support + V, need to be dealt with separately, but both can be compared with the above constructions not + V and don't + V. Considering that Khadidja scarcely uses no + V, but has no difficulty in producing not + V and don't + V throughout the sampling period, her only instance of no + V in interview 8 might be a case of 'backsliding'. In other words, she seems to regress to an earlier stage, even though this stage is not observed and described in this project, because presumably it falls outside the scope of the corpus. For Imaan the only no + V instance, appearing in sample 5, co-occurs with the beginning of her production of not + V. These transitional non-TL stages of sample 5 occur after Imaan's don't + V instances (interviews 1, 2 and 3). The earlier production of this more advanced negation structure does not seem compatible with the later production of the two transitional constructions from the point of view of chronologically defined ESL development. However, their incidence may prove again that the theoretical description of a developmental sequence is inevitably idealized and, as a consequence, does not necessarily match or may even run counter to the production of structures observed in empirical studies.

Ibtisaam is more prolific in her use of no + V than Khadidja or Imaan, though the instances are scanty and spread over a period running from sample 2 till sample 8. Compared with the incidence of not + V, no + V constitutes a minor verbal negation structure in

Ibtisaam's interlanguage.

What has been observed concerning the occurrence of no + V, seems to apply to the data on an.do-sup + V as well, that is, that their appearance in the corpus is not found to adhere to the chronological order postulated in the idealized theoretical sequence. Khadidja's instances (in interviews 6 and 7) appear after she has started using not + V and don't + V, but before the instance of no + V (which supports the alleged status of the incidence of this early structure as a case of backsliding). Imaan's only instance an.do-sup + V is seen relatively late (interview 10), again after her usage of not + V and don't + V, as well as after her only instance of no + V (interview 5). Ibtisaam's three an.do-sup + V instances are produced between samples 5 and 10, while in that same period she also uses the firmly established not + V construction, as well as don't + V and the early structure no + V.

It is the extensive overlapping, described above, which renders any attempt to extract a developmental sequence problematic. This might be caused mainly by the fact that the above Vneg structures all negate main verbs and that their relative order in an individual subject's ESL production is therefore functionally insignificant. In the interlanguage of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam the structures are at a certain stage interchangeable for the negation of the same type of verb: main verbs. A different and slightly less varied picture, however, is seen in the other verb negation structures.

The treatment of HAVEneg can be fairly straightforward. It must represent a complex, advanced structure, since neither Imaan, nor Ibtisaam produces it in the data. If any development of HAVEneg can be observed at all, then Khadidja's sample 6 demonstrates its occasion of

emergence, with no re-appearance of HAVENeg in the following four samples.

The situation is different with reference to the BEneg and MODneg data from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam. MODneg appears as the negated form of can in the samples 2 to 10 from Khadidja (except in 8 and 9) and in the samples from Imaan (except in 2 and 10). This indicates that MODneg is established in their interlanguages, even if it is restricted to CANneg. This does not apply to Ibtisaam, who only produces it once in interview 3 (with an error in the word order) and once in interview 10.

The BEneg data show a slightly similar picture to what has been noted for MODneg, but interestingly for different subjects. Khadidja uses it from sample 4 to sample 8, but produces no instances afterwards, while in Ibtisaam's interviews its occurrence extends over a greater number of recordings (samples 3 to 10, with the exception of 4). With the BEneg structure it is Imaan who proves to be the least productive subject, with only one instance in interview 10. However, Imaan does produce forms of 'to be' in her alternative verb negation structure there + [be] + no. She resorts to this prefabricated pattern in order to communicate negation in all her recorded interviews (with the exception of interview 3).

In short, what emerges from the data obtained from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam is that a degree of variability is noticed within this population. This is observed in two respects, viz. in terms of actual verb negation classes, as well as of the relative frequency with which each class is produced.

As to the actual classes, MODneg hardly appears in Ibtisaam's data, while Imaan's interlanguage scarcely comprises BEneg data, but displays the use of there + [be] + no, while a superficially similar

structure is only found in Lamy's samples. As regards the relative frequency of each class, Ibtisaam is seen to make extensive use of not + V. Preferences of the individual subjects are revealed most clearly when the percentages of different classes from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam are compared. For Khadidja the three most frequently produced classes are no + V/not + V, don't + V/an.do-sup + V and MODneg, which means that in her verbal negation main verbs dominate. Imaan's preferences are represented by there + [be] + no, MODneg and don't + V/ an.do-sup + V; of these three, she makes use mostly of her idiosyncratic communication strategy (which is a prefabricated pattern) to express negation (35% of her data). The most prominent phenomenon in Ibtisaam's data is the predominant use of not + V, which amounts to 75% of all her data.

However, differences and preferences do not merely reflect the level which the interlanguage of an individual subject has reached. It has been contended that they also demonstrate what type of ESL learner she represents. This view is supported by this research. This becomes especially clear with Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, because it is difficult to rank their interlanguages in terms of most advanced and least developed. A distinction pertaining to learner types is offered by Hatch (1974:7,8), who classifies learners as either "data gatherers" or "rule formers". If these concepts are applied to the subjects concerned here, Imaan of all three seems to come closest to the definition of a "rule former", although her data certainly do not display discrete stages. Ibtisaam, with her abundant production of data on verb negation and with her many co-occurring structures, seems to represent a "data gatherer" par excellence.

However, it is unlikely that Hatch's distinction will prove to be

adequate in describing various learners and explaining the discrepancy in their data. Presumably, there is more than one dimension in the definition of L2 learner types.

Considering the data from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, two more dimensions present themselves, one pertaining to the quantity of obtainable linguistic material and one referring to the type of L2 data produced by learners who appear to be at the same level of second language development in terms of their general verb negation.

The first is based on the contrast between Imaan and Ibtisaam. Imaan proved to be a cautious ESL producer who made use of the "monitor" (see Krashen 1981:4), though she was very willing to participate during the recordings. Ibtisaam, on the other hand, not only showed her readiness to take part in the conversation, but her spontaneity prompted her to communicate with her interlocutor, even if from the point of view of linguistic competence she seemed to be 'lost for words'. These contrasting attitudes towards L2 production and communication could be captured by the two labels of the cautious monitorist versus the spontaneous communicator to denote different types of learners.

The other dimension is mainly inspired by the observations concerning Imaan's data, in particular the way in which she memorizes and uses there + [be] + no. This prefabricated pattern replaces other verb negation structures to a large extent. The two subjects Khadidja and Ibtisaam resort to memorized language much less so, although all three produce the sentence "I don't know" holophrastically, that is, without analyzing its internal structure. Transitional constructions therefore seem to assume a greater relative importance in the interlanguages of Khadidja and Ibtisaam than in Imaan's second language. These different types might be labelled the prefabricator

(such as Imaan) versus the creative language learner (Khadidja and Ibtisaam).

It is not claimed that any individual learner falls into one of these specific categories. It needs to be borne in mind that the above proposed dimensions making up different L2 learner types, are concepts relative to each other in each dimension and constitute continua on which every second language learner might be placed depending on the data from the second language production. In addition, different factors operate and need to be examined simultaneously in order to appropriately classify a given L2 speaker.

Further reservation is required with respect to the third dimension, relating to the notion of 'creativity'. This contrasts with memorization, which presumably is associated with habit formation. However, analysis of Imaan's data has shown that the underlying process may be more difficult to describe. In her interlanguage she has taken over and memorized a phrase from the language input, subsequently to adjust it to her own needs. The result is a formula which she has adapted in an original way, so that she can make use of it as a strategy to communicate what otherwise would be too complex for her to express, namely, intrasentential negation. Thus, this phenomenon seems to represent a tangential area in her linguistic competence where creativity and memorization meet and interact.

Summarizing, linguistic analysis shows an interesting degree of variation in the data from all five subjects, both with regard to the verb negation constructions themselves, and to preferences for using some of them in particular. This is not simply associated with the level of linguistic competence achieved, since variability is also observed in the data from Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, who are

approximately at the same developmental level in their second language and sampling with whom has taken place over extended periods. Variability in verb negation is therefore observed both amongst the individual L2 learners (interspeaker variation) and in the interlanguage of an individual subject (intraspeaker variation).

Notwithstanding the intraspeaker variation of Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam, differentiation in their formation of negation could not be interpreted straightforwardly as changes and progress in the language system of the specific learner. It may be surprising that what appears instead is a level of L2 competence which remains reasonably stable over the period examined, with only odd instances of particular verb negation classes indicating backsliding to developmentally earlier structures. Furthermore, since the instances of previously unobserved advanced structures are scanty, there is no means of knowing whether these indicate the emergence of new forms in the interlanguage or whether they are re-occurrences of structures acquired before sampling in this study began. Thus there is no conclusive evidence for backsliding or emergence.

The inevitable question arises as to why this stability is exhibited in the data and why surprisingly little progress is perceived in the L2 development, despite the fact that sampling took place longitudinally. Several reasons may explain this stability. Perhaps the period for the collection of linguistic material was not sufficiently long to show each subject's progress. Maybe the data were recorded at a stage where the blending of steps occurred, while this overlap lasted for the entire sampling period. Alternatively, the number of odd instances of the various verb negation categories may have been so large as to confuse the issue of progress and language development. The above three possible reasons would have been remedied

if sampling had been extended over a longer period.

However, the lack of discernible L2 progress may be explained in different ways. The simplest explanation is that none of women developed her competence in her second language expression of verb negation, but had reached a plateau at which her L2 syntax of negatives remained fossilized. If this is the case, it still begs the question why this applies to all subjects in the population.

One important factor that needs to be considered is the exposure to spoken English that each woman received. Certain features of the every-day routines of the women in the population can be noted and are likely to be relevant to their second language development. In the first place, each woman had little contact with native speakers of English or other people with whom she had to communicate in the English language. In the second place, the language spoken at home and with friends and acquaintances was invariably Arabic (appendices 2a to 2e). Thirdly, even attending to the basic needs in her daily life did not give the individual subject a great deal of opportunity to use her second language. Her need to be engaged in activities such as shopping, making use of public transport on her own and asking for medical assistance, was highly restricted as a result of her husband's role. It was on his help, both in the linguistic sense, as well as otherwise, that she was largely or even entirely dependent.

There proved to be one specific type of English language input to which some of the women were exposed to a considerable extent, namely, television. Khadidja, Imaan and Ibtisaam consistently watched television from a few programmes to many hours a day. However, from their data there is no direct evidence of the positive influence that television may have exercised on their second language production.

This means that, if television has a major influence on L2 acquisition at all, it cannot be perceived directly. Instead, television linguistic input might perhaps show long-term results in the form of data which would appear in someone's L2 at a later stage, that is, long after the exposure to the input by the learner. Alternatively, television alone might have a negligible effect on L2 development. Statements concerning the role of television, however, need to remain speculative here. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that its influence on the syntactic development of verbal negation was not observed in the L2 production of the women in this population.

An attempt to explain why the L2 production of all subjects in the population did not clearly demonstrate any development and seemed in many respects to be fossilized, needs to go beyond a description of the features of the learner's every-day routine (mentioned above). The question is why the individual subject hardly had any contact with English speakers and did not try to undertake certain activities requiring the use of the English language.

Although this study is not primarily concerned with such matters, they need to be taken into account, as they play a definite role in L2 acquisition. They involve psychological aspects related to the learner's L2 acquisition, such as attitude and motivation. Considered from this perspective, the above-mentioned features of the daily life of the Arab women seem to indicate that their motivation to communicate in English was instrumentally orientated. In other words, each subject resorted to English to fulfil certain basic needs, that is, if using the language was a means to achieve what was practically necessary (for instance, buying food, taking a bus or answering a doctor's questions).

Such factors influencing L2 development have been dealt with by

Schumann and are termed 'affective variables' (1975:209). He posits that a learner with an instrumental motivation has little interest in the native speakers of the target language, so that L2 development is restricted by what is required for effective communication for utilitarian purposes.

In addition to these psychological issues, sociocultural factors also need to be considered in the examination of the subjects' L2 acquisition. For this purpose the concept of 'social distance', referring to the proximity between the group of L2 learners (2LL) and the target language group, may prove to be useful (Schumann, 1976: 135,143). Its discussion will be based both on information gathered at the onset of the sampling process (see also appendices 2a to 2e) and information and insights gained during the recording sessions.

With respect to social distance, six separate issues are posited as characteristics which influence the rate of success of a second language learner. One of these factors pertains to the cohesiveness and size of the 2LL group. Schumann claims that this factor is positive and that circumstances are conducive to a good language learning situation, if the number of L2 learners is small and if they do not form a cohesive group together. This was the case with the population in this project: the Arab women did not know many other women in similar conditions (not even each other), but felt highly isolated and, therefore, were not part of a large Arab community living within Britain. This then appears to represent a social factor which should have promoted the subjects' acquisition of the English language.

The data can be further examined with a view to 'social distance', as this notion may help to clarify the apparent lack of L2

development. It becomes that, considered from this perspective, the acquisition process of the Arab women was largely impeded by negative factors that are captured by the other five variables that Schumann proposes in his model.

The first factor, pertaining to the 'modal' status of the 2LL group, is negative since the five subjects come from countries which are technically subordinate to the TL group. This is actually linked directly to the reason for their stay in Britain, namely, the fact that their husbands had come to the UK to follow post-graduate courses not available in the educational institutions in their own countries.

The second factor relates to integration with respect to values and life-style. This, too, is negative for the population concerned, as the type of integration strategy adopted by the Arab women and their husbands was one of maintaining their life-style as much as possible. Thus, they chose preservation of their own cultural patterns rather than assimilation or acculturation of the TL culture. This causes considerable social distance, which in turn hampers successful L2 acquisition.

Thirdly, the 2LL culture, (here roughly denoted as 'Arab') and that of the target language group are clearly dissimilar in values and various aspects of daily life. This results in a considerably wide culture gap. Therefore, the level of congruence of the two groups is relatively low, so that integration, and thus the acquisition of the TL, is inhibited.

The fourth factor takes into account the attitudinal orientation of the two groups. As became evident during the recording period, the 2LL group did not hold a highly favourable opinion of the members of the English community in which it had to live. At the same time these subjects perceived a lack of interest or even hostility on behalf of

the English community. Moreover, the Arab women did not experience many incidents and did not meet many individuals of the TL group that might have changed such an evaluation of their host country. As a result, social distance increased.

Finally, the intended length of residence in Britain was limited for each individual subject, viz. 1 to about 3 years (that is, until her husband had completed his studies). She was therefore unlikely to develop extensive contacts with people who originated from and had settled in the target language area. It appears then that social distance played an important and adverse part in the L2 acquisition process of the Arab women.

Summarizing, the verbal negation of the 5 subjects demonstrates a degree of both intraspeaker and interspeaker variability. The 3 least advanced subjects produce negation constructions which are transitional and which are identical to those found in L1 child development and in other L2 acquisition studies, either with children or non-Arabic adults speakers. However, though some negation constructions are identical in structure, their relative frequency sometimes differs from that described in other studies. This discrepancy is also found as regards non-transitional constructions and their produced frequency. Such differences in structure and frequency might be accounted for on the grounds of individual learner's preferences, of various learner types or of age and L1 background. These areas and the way they impinge on second language acquisition are not yet fully investigated or understood so far.

Furthermore, comparison of negative and affirmative utterances seems to indicate that the expression of negation itself constitutes a psycholinguistically difficult process which therefore represents an

additional complication to the L2 learner in the second language production.

It is noteworthy that analysis of the data on negatives does not display a development that could be unequivocally interpreted as being positive, that is, with the subject's competence in English negation gradually approaching TL-norms and becoming more complex and extensive. Instead, the expression of negation, especially in the interlanguage of the more elementary learners, seems to have become fossilized, showing no obvious improvement. It is proposed that factors of a psychological and sociocultural nature could underlie the apparently stagnant L2 development. This would imply that in different circumstances a more favourable language acquisition situation might have been created and the Arab women concerned might have felt more disposed and motivated to acquire English as a second language.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A number of findings in the analysis of the data from this project call for further investigation. These findings refer to L1 transfer, the issue of the emergence of new structures, prefabrication in L2 production and the influence of the discourse on the acquisition of syntax.

The question of L1 transfer remains a controversial point in second language acquisition research. It has been shown that the L2 production in main verb negation (pp. 69-70), as well as in the negation of 'to be' (pp. 127-130) is influenced to some extent by the first language of the particular learners. Differences may not be manifest in the types of structures found in their interlanguages, since these are the same regardless of different L1 backgrounds, but in more subtle areas. Consequently, distinctions might be seen in the frequency with which a certain structure is used by a population with a specific L1, or its significance in the production of negatives in comparison with other negation structures. An empirical study examining the role of L1 transfer could collect L2 data from a large number of subjects and follow their development in the initial stages of naturalistic L2 acquisition. Alternatively, a comparative study of the data from different projects carried out so far might reveal the similarities and distinctions between L2 learners with different L1 backgrounds, especially as manifested in the production of errors.

Another area where the examination of errors may reveal insights is linked to new structures in the learner's interlanguage. It has

been shown that the instances of an.do-sup + V, HAVEneg and MODneg often contain syntactic errors at the point when the particular class emerges in the subject's L2 production (see pp. 80-82, 98-99 and 135). Such errors refer either to the construction of the specific class of verb negation, or to other aspects of the utterance (e.g. word order, constituent deletion). It might prove to be interesting to find out if errors are more likely to occur at the emergence level of a structure and, if this is the case, what type of errors are committed most frequently.

Since the concept of emergence itself poses several problems to the researcher investigating interlanguage, an important field to be developed is a methodology for data elicitation in order to obtain a better understanding and more accurate knowledge of the subject's L2 competence. Devising a suitable elicitation test battery which draws upon different techniques (e.g. imitation, multiple choice), may thus provide the investigator with a tool to gain access to forms and vocabulary in the interlanguage which hitherto have not been produced by the learner concerned.

It has been demonstrated that one subject adapted a particular prefabricated pattern to adequately express negation. It is of interest to investigate the role of prefabrication in L2 acquisition, as it is yet unknown whether it promotes or impedes creative language construction (see p.153). Furthermore, it is significant to find out which routines and patterns are picked up by elementary L2 learners and what functions they fulfill in the discourse. If the results of such a study show that prefabricated routines and patterns play a

positive role in L2 acquisition, this might also have implications for syllabus design in second language teaching.

An analysis of the discourse involving L2 learners is likely to open up new perspectives in second language acquisition research. It has been demonstrated that the discourse has some influence on the production of syntax (see pp. 101, 112, 114-115). An close examination of the data on negatives may reveal whether the discourse topics correlate with particular types of error, or whether the structure of the co-text induces a certain choice of form.

APPENDICES

Questionnaire about personal background, to be
answered by each subject

SUBJECT

NAME

AGE

HUSBAND'S NAME

DATE OF MARRIAGE

NATIONALITY

TOWN OF RESIDENCE

RESIDENCE PARENTS

RESIDENCE IN-LAWS

HUSBAND'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION

HUSBAND'S PRESENT EDUCATION

SUBJECT'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION

ENGLISH TUITION

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

MONO/BILINGUAL

LANGUAGES LEARNED

VISITS TO ARAB COUNTRIES

VISITS TO EUROPE

OTHER TRAVELLING

PREVIOUS VISITS TO U.K.

DATE OF ARRIVAL IN U.K.

RELATIVES IN U.K.

FRIENDS IN U.K.

BRITISH FRIENDS

LANGUAGE FOR COMMON USAGE

Completed questionnaires with background information
about each individual subject

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <u>SUBJECT</u> | 1 |
| NAME | Khadidja Hamza I. F. |
| AGE | 26 |
| HUSBAND'S NAME | Ihsaan F. |
| DATE OF MARRIAGE | 3-8-79 |
| NATIONALITY | Iraqi |
| TOWN OF RESIDENCE | Baghdad |
| RESIDENCE PARENTS | Baghdad |
| RESIDENCE IN-LAWS | Baghdad |
| HUSBAND'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | B.Sc. Physics, Baghdad |
| HUSBAND'S PRESENT EDUCATION | Ph.D. Physical Metallurgy, B'ham |
| SUBJECT'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | secondary school; Art College (4 ys) |
| ENGLISH TUITION | 13 ys |
| PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE | primary school teacher (for 2 ys) |
| MONO/BILINGUAL | monolingual Arabic |
| LANGUAGES LEARNED | Arabic; Kurdish; English |
| VISITS TO ARAB COUNTRIES | ∅ |
| VISITS TO EUROPE | ∅ |
| OTHER TRAVELLING | ∅ |
| PREVIOUS VISITS TO U.K. | ∅ |
| DATE OF ARRIVAL IN U.K. | 4-8-79 |
| RELATIVES IN U.K. | cousin in Glasgow |
| FRIENDS IN U.K. | other Arabs |
| BRITISH FRIENDS | ∅ |
| LANGUAGE FOR COMMON USAGE | Arabic |

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <u>SUBJECT</u> | 2 |
| NAME | Imaan Nasser A. |
| AGE | 21 |
| HUSBAND'S NAME | Mahjoub T. |
| DATE OF MARRIAGE | 4-9-79 |
| NATIONALITY | Sudanese |
| TOWN OF RESIDENCE | Khartoum |
| RESIDENCE PARENTS | Khartoum |
| RESIDENCE IN-LAWS | Ilfasher |
| HUSBAND'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | B.Sc. Statistics, Khartoum |
| HUSBAND'S PRESENT EDUCATION | M.Sc. Operational Research, Aston |
| SUBJECT'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | secondary school |
| ENGLISH TUITION | 6 ys |
| PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE | ∅ |
| MONO/BILINGUAL | monolingual Arabic |
| LANGUAGES LEARNED | Arabic; English |
| VISITS TO ARAB COUNTRIES | ∅ |
| VISITS TO EUROPE | ∅ |
| OTHER TRAVELLING | ∅ |
| PREVIOUS VISITS TO U.K. | ∅ |
| DATE OF ARRIVAL IN U.K. | 6-10-79 |
| RELATIVES IN U.K. | cousin in London |
| FRIENDS IN U.K. | other Arabs |
| BRITISH FRIENDS | ∅ |
| LANGUAGE FOR COMMON USAGE | Arabic |

| <u>SUBJECT</u> | 3 |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| NAME | Ibtisaam Albadri M. |
| AGE | 27 |
| HUSBAND'S NAME | Mohamed M. |
| DATE OF MARRIAGE | 30-8-79 |
| NATIONALITY | Iraqi |
| TOWN OF RESIDENCE | Baghdad |
| RESIDENCE PARENTS | Baghdad |
| RESIDENCE IN-LAWS | Baghdad |
| HUSBAND'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | B.Sc. Physics, Baghdad |
| HUSBAND'S PRESENT EDUCATION | M.Sc. Physics, Aston |
| SUBJECT'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | secondary school |
| ENGLISH TUITION | 8 ys |
| PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE | ∅ |
| MONO/BILINGUAL | monolingual Arabic |
| LANGUAGES LEARNED | Arabic; English |
| VISITS TO ARAB COUNTRIES | Syria; Jordan |
| VISITS TO EUROPE | Austria (1974) |
| OTHER TRAVELLING | ∅ |
| PREVIOUS VISITS TO U.K. | ∅ |
| DATE OF ARRIVAL IN U.K. | 30-8-79 |
| RELATIVES IN U.K. | ∅ |
| FRIENDS IN U.K. | ∅ |
| BRITISH FRIENDS | ∅ |
| LANGUAGE FOR COMMON USAGE | Arabic |

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| <u>SUBJECT</u> | 4 |
| NAME | Nadia Harkou B. |
| AGE | 22 |
| HUSBAND'S NAME | Abdelkarim B. |
| DATE OF MARRIAGE | 13-9-79 |
| NATIONALITY | Algerian |
| TOWN OF RESIDENCE | Oued Athmenia |
| RESIDENCE PARENTS | Oued Athmenia |
| RESIDENCE IN-LAWS | Oued Athmenia |
| HUSBAND'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | B.Sc. Health and Safety, Aston |
| HUSBAND'S PRESENT EDUCATION | M.Sc. Health and Safety, Aston |
| SUBJECT'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | secondary school |
| ENGLISH TUITION | 2 ys |
| PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE | ∅ |
| MONO/BILINGUAL | bilingual (Arabic; French from age of 8) |
| LANGUAGES LEARNED | Arabic; French; English |
| VISITS TO ARAB COUNTRIES | ∅ |
| VISITS TO EUROPE | ∅ |
| OTHER TRAVELLING | ∅ |
| PREVIOUS VISITS TO U.K. | ∅ |
| DATE OF ARRIVAL IN U.K. | 22-9-79 |
| RELATIVES IN U.K. | ∅ |
| FRIENDS IN U.K. | other Arabs |
| BRITISH FRIENDS | ∅ |
| LANGUAGE FOR COMMON USAGE | Arabic |

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <u>SUBJECT</u> | 5 |
| NAME | Lamya Q. |
| AGE | 19 |
| HUSBAND'S NAME | Basil Q. |
| DATE OF MARRIAGE | 21-6-79 |
| NATIONALITY | Palestinian/Lebanese |
| TOWN OF RESIDENCE | Kuwait |
| RESIDENCE PARENTS | Kuwait |
| RESIDENCE IN-LAWS | Kuwait |
| HUSBAND'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | B.Sc. Civil Engineering, Cairo |
| HUSBAND'S PRESENT EDUCATION | M.Sc. Civil Engineering, B'ham |
| SUBJECT'S PREVIOUS EDUCATION | secondary school |
| ENGLISH TUITION | 8 ys |
| PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE | ∅ |
| MONO/BILINGUAL | monolingual Arabic |
| LANGUAGES LEARNED | Arabic; English |
| VISITS TO ARAB COUNTRIES | Lebanon, Egypt, Morocco |
| VISITS TO EUROPE | Greece |
| OTHER TRAVELLING | ∅ |
| PREVIOUS VISITS TO U.K. | ∅ |
| DATE OF ARRIVAL IN U.K. | 1-8-79 |
| RELATIVES IN U.K. | brother-in-law in Cardiff |
| FRIENDS IN U.K. | ∅ |
| BRITISH FRIENDS | ∅ |
| LANGUAGE FOR COMMON USAGE | Arabic |

| number of interview | KHADIDJA | IMAAH | IBTISAAM | NADIA | LAMYA |
|------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1 | 23-10-79 | 9-11-79 | 15-11-79 | 15-11-79 | 14- 3-80 |
| 2 | 30-10-79 | 16-11-79 | 22-11-79 | 22-11-79 | 21- 4-80 |
| 3 | 6-11-79 | 23-11-79 | 5-12-79 | 6-12-79 | _____ |
| 4 | 16-11-79 | 30-11-79 | 4- 1-80 | 3- 1-80 | _____ |
| 5 | 23-11-79 | 12-12-79 | 18- 1-80 | 13- 2-80 | _____ |
| 6 | 11-12-79 | 15- 1-80 | 19- 2-80 | _____ | _____ |
| 7 | 8- 1-80 | 1- 2-80 | 18- 3-80 | _____ | _____ |
| 8 | 29- 1-80 | 15- 2-80 | 10- 4-80 | _____ | _____ |
| 9 | 29- 2-80 | 29- 2-80 | 7- 5-80 | _____ | _____ |
| 10 | 20- 3-80 | 21- 3-80 | 11- 6-80 | _____ | _____ |
| 11 | _____ | 9- 5-80 | _____ | _____ | _____ |

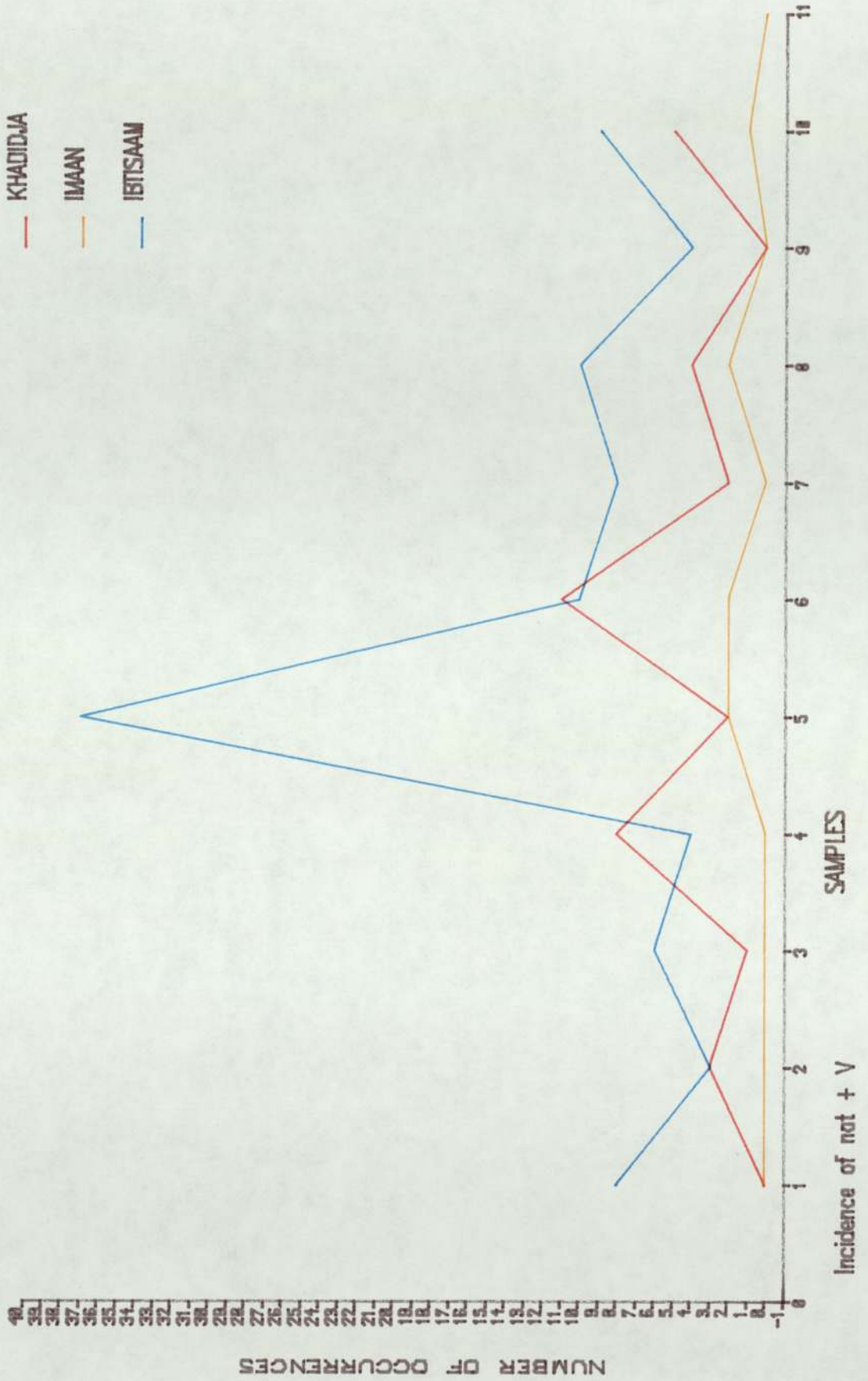
Table of number and dates of recording sessions with each subject

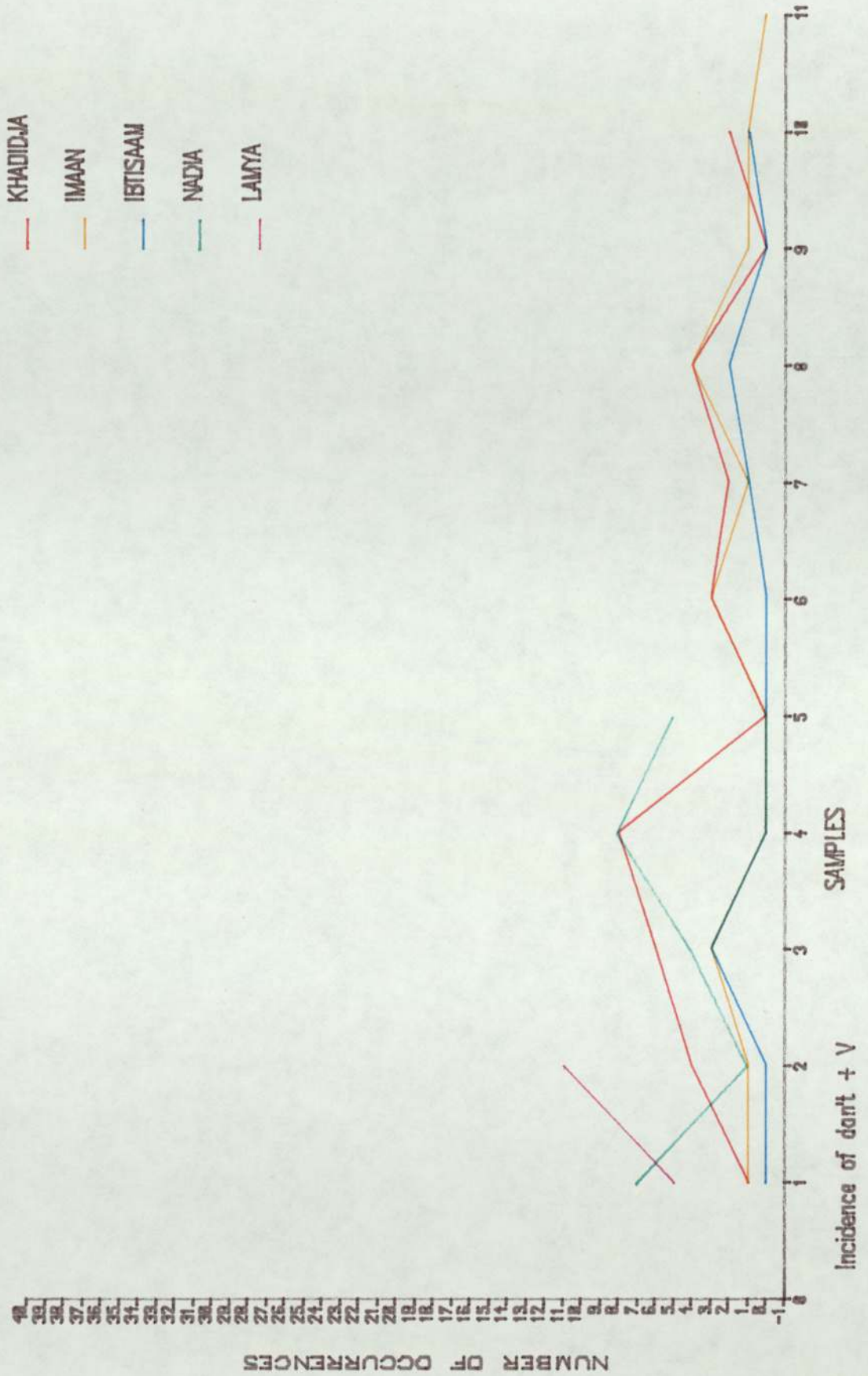
| numbers of consecutive samples | KHADIDJA | IMAAH | IBTISAM | NADIA | LAMYA |
|--------------------------------------|----------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| 1-2 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| 2-3 | 7 | 7 | 13 | 14 | ---- |
| 3-4 | 10 | 7 | 30 | 28 | |
| 4-5 | 7 | 12 | 14 | 41 | |
| 5-6 | 18 | 34 | 32 | ---- | |
| 6-7 | 28 | 17 | 28 | | |
| 7-8 | 21 | 14 | 23 | | |
| 8-9 | 31 | 14 | 27 | | |
| 9-10 | 20 | 21 | 35 | | |
| 10-11 | ---- | 49 | ---- | | |

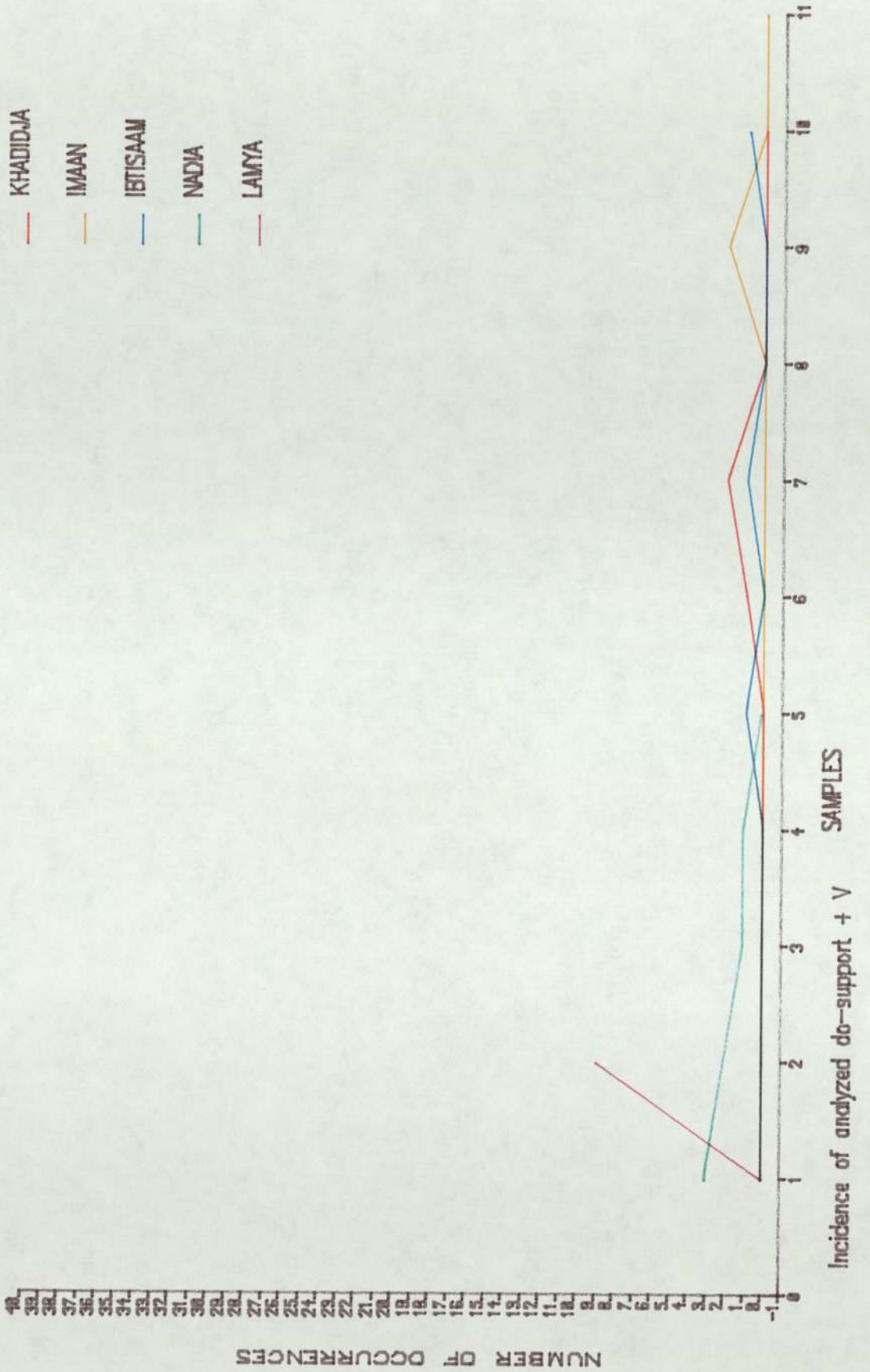
Table of length of intervals between as samples measured in days

List of utterances with no + V structure

| | |
|--------|--|
| Kh 8,2 | No tell me |
| Im 5,3 | No mix, but in the north mix with Arab |
| Ib 2,1 | No like that recorder |
| Ib 4,4 | No speak English |
| Ib 7,3 | No drink |
| Ib 7,9 | No come back |
| Ib 7,9 | Today no come back |
| Ib 8,6 | No smoked cigarette |







List of utterances with analyzed do-support + V structure

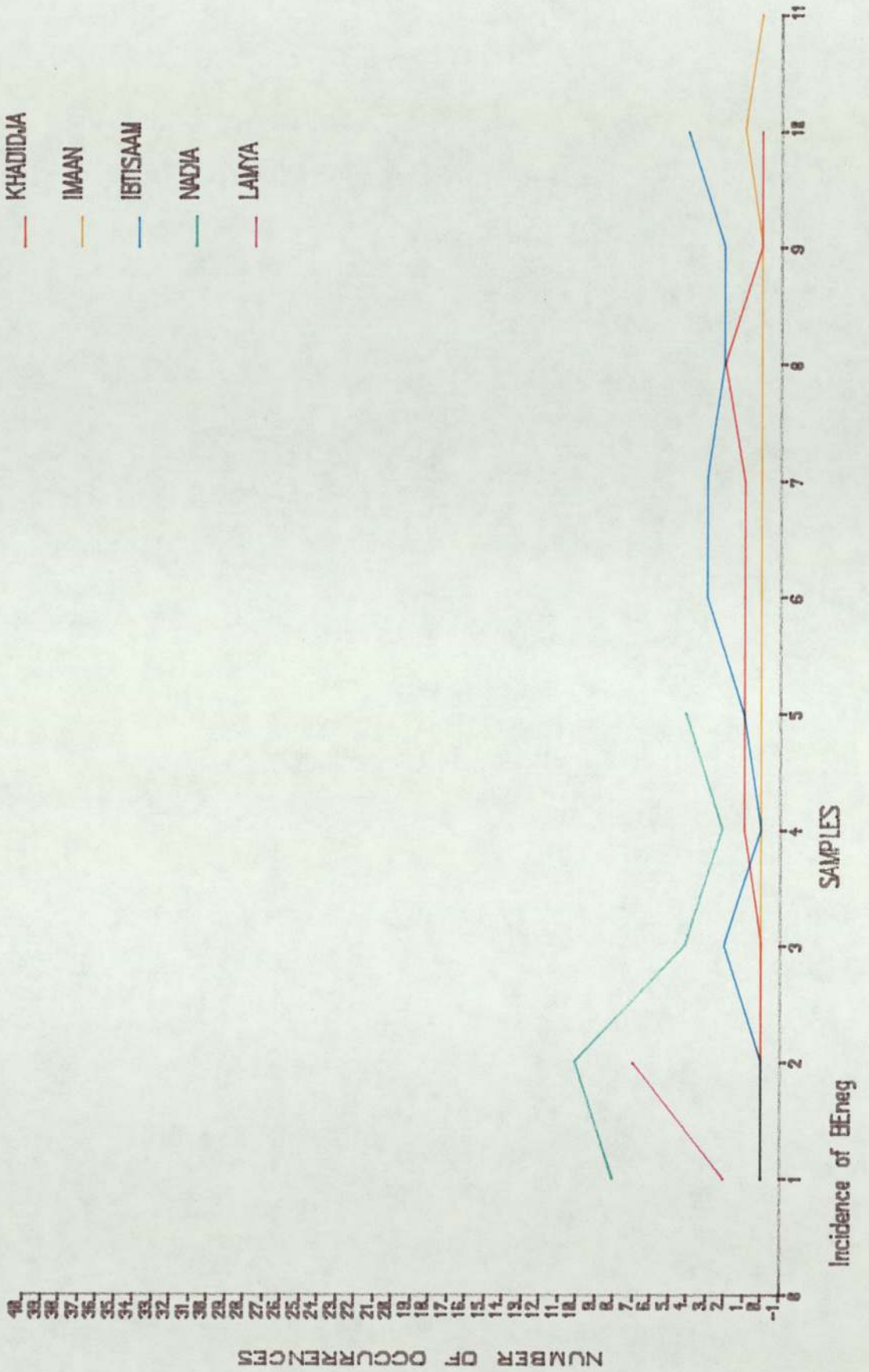
-
- Kh 6,6 Then why you do not go to Holland to your family?
- Kh 7,2 Why do not go by train?
- Kh 7,8 Do you not buy jelly?
- Kh 7,10 Doesn't matter
- Kh 8,6 Why do you not live in eh Dalton Tower or...?
- Im 9,1 She didn't find
- Im 9,6 He didn't like clothes
- Ib 5,4 Why do you, do not eat the pork?
- Ib 7,2 But Mohamed did not like that
- Ib 10,3 I didn't see the time
- Na 1,1 He didn't stand her
- Na 1,5 My father doesn't go to school anymore
- Na 1,6 My husband doesn't agree to let me working out
- Na 2,4 She doesn't want to go out
- Na 3,1 If we rent a house, it...it doesn't...
- Na 4,4 He didn't know if I am pregnant
- La 2,1 But I didn't buy it
- La 2,8 Basil doesn't like to eat the thing
- La 2,8 He doesn't like to eat it today
- La 2,8 So you didn't tell me how do you do the 'banya'?
- La 2,9 I didn't like it
- La 2,10 Because they didn't say Palestine
- La 2,10 But now I didn't put
- La 2,11 It doesn't matter
- La 2,11 Basil have to study, does not have to cook

List of utterances with HAVEneg structure

- Kh 6,1 When the man you haven't work, you xxx
- Na 1,2 I haven't...
- Na 1,2 We haven't them yet
- Na 1,2 But we have the film, but we haven't the camera to show it to...
- Na 1,6 and I haven't to...to go out
- Na 1,7 but when he hasn't enough, I...he...we take the bus
- Na 1,8 I ha...haven't
- Na 2,2 but in Algeria we don't...we have not this things
- Na 2,4 they haven't...they have never go to school
- Na 2,5 she has not an occasion to do that
- Na 2,6 I haven't understood
- Na 3,1 but I haven't found
- Na 3,1 I haven't found yet
- Na 3,2 they haven't what material..the things which we put on the material
- Na 3,2 and lots of things which I...I haven't seen here
- Na 3,3 but we haven't a lot of hours
- Na 3,5 they haven't a lot of money
- Na 3,5 even they haven't a lot of things to...
- Na 4,4 But I haven't...
- Na 4,4 I haven't my period
- Na 4,8 I haven't noticed if he ...he treat...
- Na 5,3 I have not my husband and...
- La 1,2 I haven't been there
- La 1,12 seven years I haven't been there
- La 1,12 since the war started I haven't been there
- La 1,12 we know, we haven't been there, so...
- La 1,12 and we haven't talked to them
- La 2,1 but you..you haven't...you know
- La 2,1 he hasn't finished yet
- La 2,11 I haven't put 'bhaar' yet

List of BEneg utterances with [be] + not + past participle structure

-
- Na 1,5 if she isn't married
- Na 2,2 Because poor country is not develop...developed
- Na 2,4 until he...he is not worried
- Na 2,5 which is not married yet
- Na 3,3 I wasn't very interested in Arabic
- Na 3,3 Yea, 'cause when I was little I wasn't very interested by Arabic
- Na 3,3 because I'm not very interested
- Na 3,4 and people were not established
- La 2,1 you're not supposed to go or not



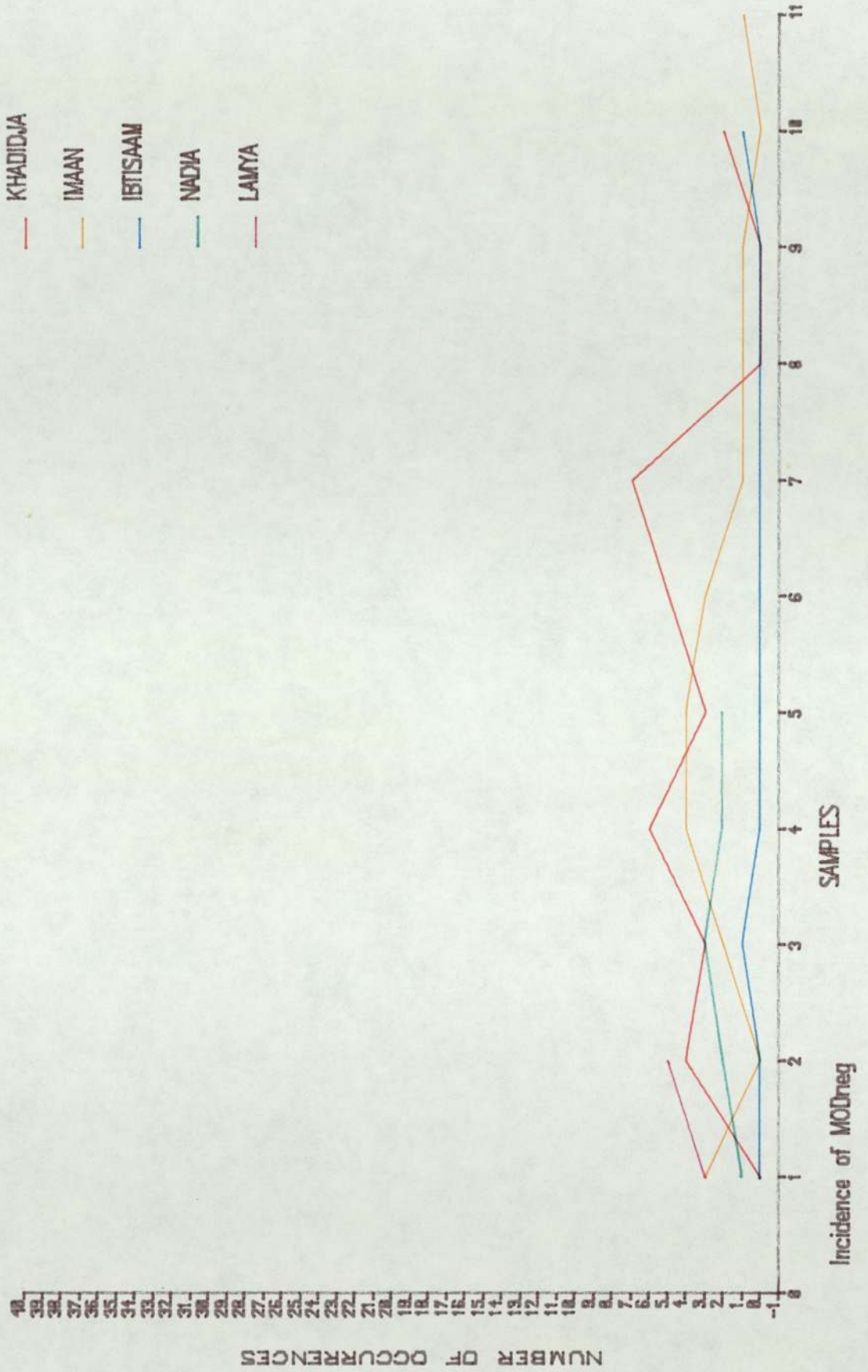
List of utterances with MODneg structure

-
- Kh 2,4 But I can't
 Kh 2,6 No, I can't
 Kh 2,6 But I can't found a watermiliter
 Kh 2,7 I can't, because Ihsaan not enter with me
 Kh 3,4 when I go with Ihsaan with the car, I can't walk
 Kh 3,5 I can't go to bed
 Kh 3,5 I get up, I can't go to bed
 Kh 4,4 I can't answer
 Kh 4,5 and I expected baby, I can't go
 Kh 4,6 I can't tell you
 Kh 4,6 I can't go to the shopping
 Kh 4,6 I can't tell you from evening or from...
 Kh 4,6 I can't go with the bus
 Kh 5,1 I can't eating anything
 Kh 5,1 I can't sleep
 Kh 5,2 I can't speak
 Kh 6,1 I can't, no
 Kh 6,1 I can't speak about this
 Kh 6,3 I can't sp...
 Kh 6,3 I can't answer you this question
 Kh 6,3 And many sentences I can't I understand it
 Kh 7,6 I can't explain in English
 Kh 7,6 I can't
 Kh 7,6 I can't in English
 Kh 7,7 I can't make it
 Kh 7,7 but I can go to shopping and I can't
 Kh 7,7 No, I can't
 Kh 7,8 because I can't walk to Asda
 Kh 10,3 I want to go, but I can't
 Kh 10,7 And Ihsaan can't go to market.
- Im 1,4 I can't
 Im 1,5 I can't eh
 Im 1,5 can't
 Im 3,2 can't understand
 Im 3,7 maybe, but now I can't
 Im 4,3 Maybe I can't understand the teacher
 Im 4,5 I can't understand you
 Im 4,6 When I can't went with Mahjoub, he tell you
 Im 4,6 If I can't went with Mahjoub, he tell you
 Im 5,1 I can't make the typing
 Im 5,2 I can't speak by politics
 Im 5,4 they can't do anything
 Im 5,6 I can't talk to you
 Im 6,6 Everybody can't
 Im 6,6 he can't do anything
 Im 6,8 but I can't tell xxx
 Im 7,4 Sometimes I can't hear
 Im 8,5 Sometimes I can't understand
 Im 9,6 No, you can't
 Im 11,6 But I can't

Ib 3,1 I not can walk
 Ib 10,9 you cannot marry in Christian

Na 1,5 in Islam the woman mustn't show her form
 Na 2,2 The girl mustn't sleep with a man
 Na 2,6 but there are some who cannot...
 Na 3,1 I can't speak English very well
 Na 3,1 In Algeria we can't leave easily
 Na 3,3 I can't use it here
 Na 4,3 and sometimes I can't eat and...
 Na 4,7 and it will be not like a man
 Na 5,2 I can't explain you how I feel
 Na 5,3 I can't sleep xxx

La 1,5 I can't say Arabic
 La 1,12 so I can't tell you anything exactly
 La 1,13 only by international call you can't ask just this question
 La 2,3 I can't tell you how to get it
 La 2,8 You can't without frying
 La 2,9 but we can't use it in frying
 La 2,9 we can't
 La 2,10 so we can't get anything from Palestine in Kuwait



List of utterances with there + [be] + no structure

| <u>INSTANCE</u> | <u>UTTERANCE</u> | <u>FOLLOWING CONSTITUENT</u> |
|-----------------|---|------------------------------|
| Im 1,5 | there is no dance | noun |
| Im 2,4 | there is no here in Birmingham | ∅ |
| Im 4,2 | there is no difficult | adjective |
| Im 5,2 | but south there is no | ∅ |
| Im 5,3 | but south there is no mix | verb |
| Im 5,7 | there is no relation in Egypt | noun |
| Im 6,8 | there is no dance | noun |
| Im 7,1 | there is no lecture? | noun |
| Im 7,6 | there is no | ∅ |
| Im 8,3 | there is no letter with (unidentifiable) | noun |
| Im 8,4 | there is no | ∅ |
| Im 8,5 | there is no difficult | adjective |
| Im 8,6 | there is no problem for him | noun |
| Im 8,7 | but English and French there is no interested | adjective |
| Im 9,1 | there is no work | noun |
| Im 9,3 | there is no work | noun |
| Im 9,5 | there is no medicine for this | noun |
| Im 9,6 | there is no dangerous | adjective |
| Im 10,3 | there is no | ∅ |
| Im 10,3 | there is no time | noun |
| Im 10,5 | because my machine there is no letters | noun |
| Im 11,3 | there is no tapes in library? | noun |
| Im 11,4 | I think there is no tapes | noun |
| Im 11,7 | there are no English people | noun |
| Im 11,9 | because there is no lecture | noun |

Existential there + [be] + no + noun

| | |
|--------|-------------------------------------|
| La 1,9 | there's no "maftul" here |
| La 2,2 | there is no very cold winters there |
| La 2,3 | there's no villages at all there |
| La 2,5 | there is no "bhaar" |

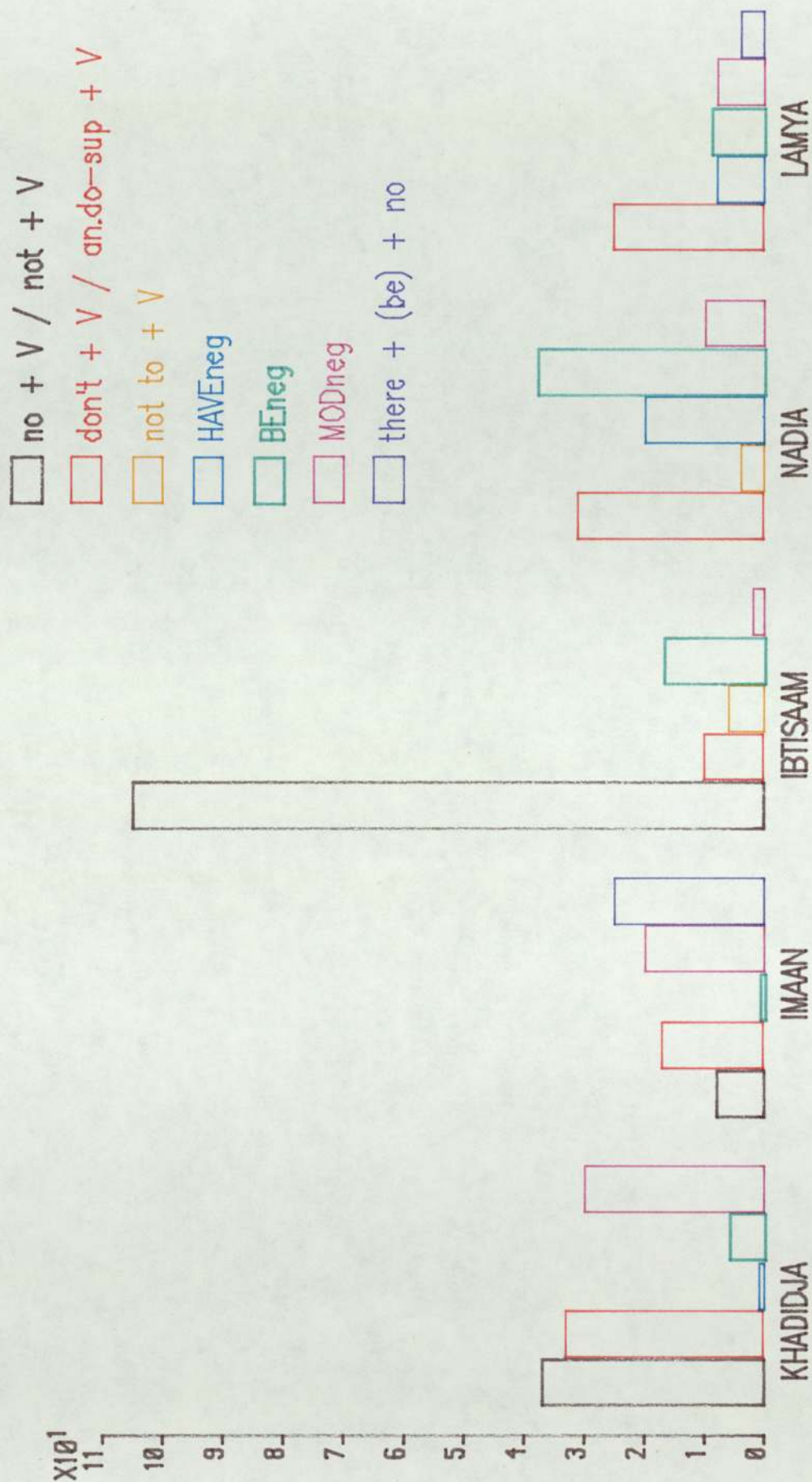
| INTERVIEW | KHADIDJA | | | | | | | | | | IMAAH | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|----|-------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| no + V | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| not + V | | | 3 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 11 | 2 | 4 | 5 | | | | | 2 | 2 | | 2 | | | 1 |
| don't + V | 1 | 4 | 6 | 8 | | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | |
| an.do-sup + V | | | | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | |
| not to + V | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| HAVEneg | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| BEneg | | | 4 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 7 | | 2 | | 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| MODneg | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| there [be] no | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| INTERVIEW | IBTISAAM | | | | | | | | | | NADIA | | | | | | | | | | LAMYA | |
|---------------|----------|---|---|---|----|----|---|----|---|----|-------|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|-------|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| no + V | 1 | | | | | | 3 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| not + V | 8 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 37 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 4 | 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| don't + V | | | | 3 | | | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | 7 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 5 | | | | 5 | 11 | |
| an.do-sup + V | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 9 | |
| not to + V | 1 | | | | 3 | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| HAVEneg | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BEneg | | | | | 2 | | 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 | | 6 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 1 | | | | 5 | 3 | |
| MODneg | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | 8 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 4 | | | | 2 | 7 | |
| there [be] no | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | | | | 3 | 5 | |

Table of number of instances of each verbal negation class per sample ("interview") from each subject

| class of negated verbs | KHADIDJA | IMAAH | IBTISAAM | NADIA | IAMYA |
|------------------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-------|
| no + V/not + V | 37 | 8 | 105 | | |
| don't + V/ an. do-sup + V | 33 | 17 | 10 | 31 | 25 |
| not to + V | | | 6 | 4 | |
| HAVEneg | 1 | | | 20 | 8 |
| BEneg | 6 | 1 | 17 | 38 | 9 |
| MODneg | 30 | 20 | 2 | 10 | 8 |
| there + [be] + no | | 25 | | | 4 |
| TOTAL | 107 | 71 | 140 | 103 | 54 |

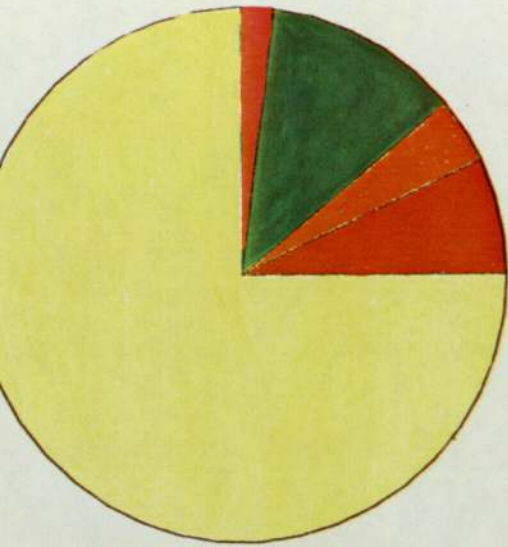
Table of number of instances of each verbal negation class as produced by each subject in her total of samples



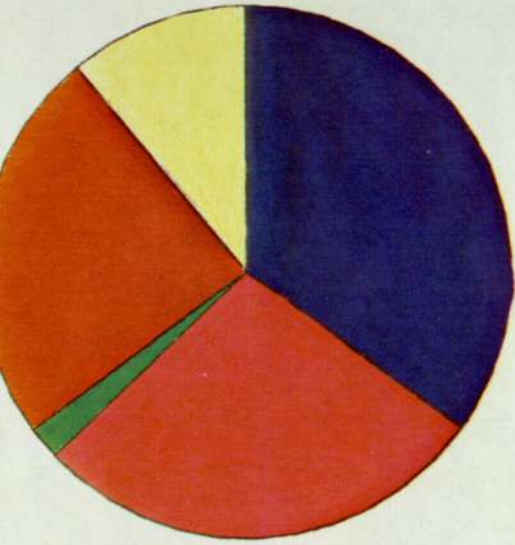
Incidence of each verbal negation class as produced by each subject in her total of samples

| class of negated verbs | KHADIDJA | IMAAH | IBTISAAM | NADIA | LAMYA |
|------------------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-------|
| no + V/not + V | 35 | 11 | 75 | | |
| don't + V/ an. do-sup + V | 31 | 24 | 7 | 30 | 46 |
| not to + V | | | 4 | 4 | |
| HAVEneg | 1 | | | 19 | 15 |
| BEneg | 6 | 1 | 12 | 37 | 17 |
| MODneg | 28 | 28 | 1 | 10 | 15 |
| there + [be] + no | | 35 | | | 7 |

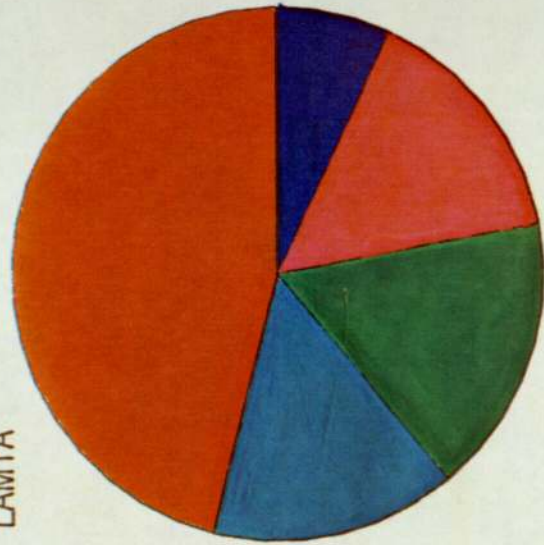
Table of incidence of each class per subject as a percentage of her total negation production
(Numbers of percentages may not add up to 100 as a result of rounding off)



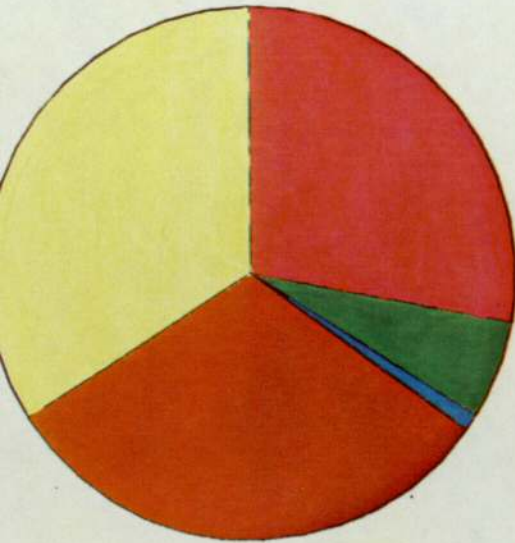
- no + V / not + V
- don't + V / an.do-sup + V
- not to + V
- HAVEneg
- BEneg
- MODneg
- there + (be) + no



LAMYA



NADIA



Proportion of each verbal negation class as produced by each subject.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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