PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY LIBYAN LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LEXICON

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To The Memory of My Father

and to My Mother

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ABSTRACT

One of the most important aspects of learning a second language is acquiring communicative competence on the lexical level. This study deals with the problems and processes of acquiring such a competence.

In the theoretical sections we discuss the linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of second language lexical acquisition. The discussion of the linguistic aspects centres on various approaches to the study of lexical meaning. The relevance of such approaches lies in their value for making descriptive linguistic statements about the learner's language. The importance of sociolinguistic phenomena for L2 lexical acquisition derives from the fact that different contexts of situation influence the selection of lexical items.

The section on psycholinguistics examines differences between acquiring the lexical structure of one's mother tongue and learning that of a second language. This section also deals with the important relationship between language and thought on the one hand and language and culture on the other. The pedagogical implications of all these phenomena are considered with specific reference to the learning of the lexical items of a second language.

The practical section of the study, using techniques developed in modern applied linguistics, deals with lexical errors made by intermediate-advanced Arab learners of English. We investigate the extent to which these errors can be related to the strategies adopted by the learners in their attempt to encode messages in spontaneous written production and also look at other factors which need to be taken into consideration in accounting for these errors. A detailed taxonomy of the strategies the learners use

for expressing meaning is proposed. Each strategy or one of its subcategories is exemplified by samples from the learners' performance. The qualitative analysis of the samples includes linguistic and psycholinguistic descriptions.

In the final chapter we consider the psychological significance of the learners' errors and strategies. A brief summary of the communicative effects of the learners' strategies is also included in this chapter. In the light of our findings regarding the learners' lexical errors and the strategies inferred from these errors, an attempt is made to examine the implications for L2 pedagogy.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THE THESIS

AE	Australian English
AmE	American English
And the second s	The American Heritage Word-Frequency Book
BE	
	British English
CA	Contrastive Analysis
CED	Collins English Dictionary
CMGS	Cassell's Modern Guide to Synonyms and Related Words
EA	Error Analysis
H	High Variety
L	Low Variety
LCA	Libyan Colloquial Arabic
Ll	First Language
L2	Second Language
LDCE	Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English
LI(s)	Lexical Item(s)
Lit.	literally
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
0	Object
S	Subject
SE	Scottish English
TG	Transformational Grammar
TLI(s)	Target Lexical Item(s)
ULI(s)	Used Lexical Item(s)
Λ	Verb
WEB	Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language
*	Indicates unacceptability
[]	Enclose a 'semantic feature' or, in a learner's
	utterance, the 'target lexical item'
()	At the end of a learner's utterance these parentheses
. ,	enclose a 'gloss' introduced where necessary to

elucidate the intended meaning

KEY TO ARABIC TRANSCRIPTION (MSA and LCA)

1. The Consonants

Orthographic symbol	Transcription	Phonetic values of the symbols	Examples
ھ	/h/	voiceless glottal fricative	/ha:ða:/
	/?/	glottal plosive	/?alam/
ع	/8/	voiced pharyngeal fricative	/Salam/
	/h/	voiceless pharyngeal fricative	/hadara/
ر غ	/4/	voiced velar fricative	/yaza:1/
خ ق -	/q/*	voiceless uvular plosive	/qamar/
÷	/x/	voiceless velar fricative	/xa:liq/
_	/g/ *	voiced velar plosive	/gidda:∫/
ك	/k/	voiceless velar plosive	/kari:m/
3	/3/ or /d3/	voiced palato-alveolar fricative, or affricate	/3amal/
ی	/j/	voiced palatal approximant	/jad/
ش	/ʃ/	voiceless palato-alveolar fricativ	e /∫ams/
j	/z/	voiced alveolar non-emphatic fricative	/zubd/
ظ	/z/	voiced alveolar or post- alveolar emphatic fricative	/zala:m/
س	/s/	voiceless alveolar non-emphatic fricative	/sali:m/
ص	/s/	voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative	/sabu:r/
	/r/	voiced alveolar trill	/ruʃd/
ر ل	/1/	voiced alveolar lateral	/lajl/
	/n/	voiced alveolar nasal	/naha:r/
ن د	/d/	voiced dental non-emphatic plosive	/dumu: \?/
- ض	· /a/	voiced dental emphatic plosive	/daraba/
ت	/t/	voiceless dental non-emphatic plosive	/taraka/
ط	/t/	voiceless dental emphatic plosive	/ta:hir/
ذ	/ð/	voiced dental fricative	/ða:lika/
ث	/0/	voiceless dental fricative	/θawb/

^{* /}q/ is confined to MSA. In LCA it is replaced by /g/ which is not used in MSA.

Orthographic symbol	Transcription	Phonetic values of the symbols	Examples
ف	/f/	voiceless labiodental fricative	/fafala/
ب	/b/	voiced bilabial plosive	/ba:b/
م	/m/	voiced bilabial nasal	/ma:hir/
و	/w/	voiced labial velar approximant	/walad/

2. The Vowels

Orthographic symbol	Transcription	Phonetic values of the symbols	Examples
ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا ا	/a/ /a:/ /i/ /i:/ /u/ /u:/ /o:/ (LCA only)	short open unrounded long open unrounded short close front unrounded long close front unrounded short close back rounded long close back rounded long half-close back rounded	/sahaba/ /sa:haba/ /riq/ /ri:q/ /husiba/ /hu:siba/ /xo:f/

^{1. /}o:/ corresponds to MSA /aw/.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Statement of Aims

1.1 Introduction

Second language (L2) learners, regardless of their cultural and linguistic backgrounds, encounter many difficulties in learning the phonological, grammatical and lexical structures of the language they learn. On the level of production, these difficulties show up in the erroneous or unnative-like utterances produced by learners when speaking or writing in the language concerned. On the level of reception, these difficulties appear in the considerable difficulty L2 learners have in understanding spoken and written utterances of the language they are learning. This, however, does not imply that the acquisition of a reasonable command of a L2 is an impossible task. But it does mean that the process of acquiring such a communicative command is often a difficult one and demands sustained efforts on the part of the learner, the teacher and all those concerned with the teaching-learning process in one way or another.

As Tran-Thi-Chau (1975: 119) points out, what it is that constitutes difficulty is still a baffling problem. In modern applied linguistics and psychology, the two fields of knowledge most concerned with L2 teaching and learning, L2 learners' difficulties are no longer attributed exclusively to the persistent habits of the learners' mother tongue (henceforth L1) or inefficient teaching techniques. Moreover,

^{1.} L2 will be used throughout this thesis to refer to second and foreign language teaching and learning. The differences between 'second' and 'foreign' language are not important for our purposes in this study

learners' errors are not looked upon simply as undesirable occurrences which must be eliminated immediately at all costs. L2 learners' errors, as will be explained in Chapter 4, are mostly regarded as natural consequences and necessary by-products of the learning process. The widely held view is that L2 learners' errors are the outcome of testing out hypotheses about the structure of the new language and strategies adopted by the learner under the pressure of need to communicate in the L2 (Corder 1967, 1973a).

For the researcher in this field, the existence and regular occurrence of errors in the performance of L2 learners is very important in that it provides a stimulus for the researcher to investigate them.

Once it is established that errors occur regularly in the performance of a group of learners, it becomes the researcher's task to find out more about their nature, their possible causes and the significance they have for the learner and for the teaching-learning process, i.e. their pedagogical implications.

1.2 L2 Lexical Acquisition

One aspect of L2 teaching and learning that has received relatively little attention in research in applied linguistics and learning psychology is vocabulary learning or lexical acquisition. The bulk of theoretical research in these fields seems to have been devoted to problems of pronunciation and grammar. Recently, however, a few authors, having realized this relative neglect of lexical acquisition, have suggested that the balance should be redressed (see Wilkins 1972, Richards 1976, Marton 1977, Levenston 1979, Cornu 1979 and Meara 1980). According to Marton 1977: 33-4) there are two reasons for this relative neglect of lexical acquisition in applied linguistics:

First, the dominant influence of linguistics on language teaching methodology for the last thirty years, and especially the dominant role of structural linguists in the development of the audio-lingual method.

Proponents of this method, sharing the structuralist approach to language, came to regard the sentence and its structure as the centre of all language teaching and learning. The advent of Transformational Grammar (TG) has not changed this preoccupation with syntax since to Chomsky and his followers syntax has been the generative component in language, and sentence structure has been central to most of their theoretical discussion. As Marton points out, generative semantics has recently challenged the centrality of syntax in language but the possible implications or applications of this theory have not found their way into L2 methodology as yet.

Second, the other reason for preoccupation with syntax, Marton says, derives from the emphasis in teaching methodology and language learning research on the beginning stages of language instruction in which the mastering of syntactic structures seems to be the most immediate task.

Although the learner's early progress and acquisition of a communicative competence in L2 depends to a large extent on the learning of more and more new linguistic items and their functioning in formal and situational contexts, as Levenston (1979: 148) points out, the most interesting problems of lexical acquisition seem to arise with intermediate to advanced learners. Findings of the present study and other studies seem to support this statement. Even at an intermediate-advanced stage the learner's lexical competence is far from being sufficient to meet his communicative demands.

The above remarks about the relative inattention to issues of lexical acquisition should not be interpreted as an effort to discredit the importance of syntax and pronunciation in L2 teaching and learning.

As the above-mentioned authors emphasize, a balance should be struck between

all language skills. Moreover, one could not accept the view that lexis would be less important than grammar in the initial stages of learning. "The fact is that while without grammar very little can be conveyed, without vocabulary nothing can be conveyed." (Wilkins 1972:111). Experience and available evidence seem to support the claim that vocabulary constitutes by far the most sizeable task for the learner. While the phonological and grammatical patterns of a L2 can be mastered with reasonable accuracy, lexical acquisition remains an obstacle to the learner's achievement of an effective communicative competence even at the advanced stages of language learning. In other words, although the learner often acquires a functional knowledge of the basic phonological and syntactic patterns, his knowledge of the appropriate lexical items (henceforth LIs) and their tendencies of co-occurrence remains in many ways restricted. Furthermore, evidence from studies on error gravity (reviewed below, see 4.2.2.6) indicates that L2 learners' lexical errors are generally regarded by native speakers as more serious than grammatical All these factors make it necessary that lexical acquisition should receive adequate attention in L2 instruction.

1.3 Aims of the Present Study

Besides what has been said about the relative neglect of lexical acquisition in applied linguistics, the present study has been motivated by the observation that even at intermediate to advanced stages, Libyan learners of English have considerable difficulties in using English LIs and producing normal collocations. Indeed, the learners' oral and written production is often characterized by frequent lexical errors which range from being completely unacceptable to being inappropriate or, to say the least, 'unnatural' and 'unnative-like'. This is often due to the fact

that in their efforts to express meaning in English, learners violate collocational syntactic and sociolinguistic restrictions on the use of LIs. Moreover, in this process learners often transfer semantic features pertinent to their Ll lexical structure onto L2.

The present study investigates certain aspects of L2 lexical acquisition. The theoretical part of the study examines linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of lexical acquisition. This section also provides the theoretical framework and metalanguage for the practical part of the study which aims to investigate the lexical errors and inappropriate usage in the written performance of intermediate to advanced Libyan learners of English. It is through the analysis of the learners' lexically deviant utterances that we intend to infer the strategies they adopt for expressing their thoughts and ideas on various topics in a free production situation. A detailed taxonomy of the strategies the learners use in this situation will be made. In the light of findings about the strategies and their communicative effects we hope to make statements about their significance for L2 learning psychology and implications for L2 lexical acquisition. It goes without saying that the study is founded on the assumption that investigating the learner's free written production in L2 can reveal his ability to use whatever knowledge he has of that language. The examination of the learner's performance, therefore, can indicate the limits of his knowledge and helps to show up the points where this knowledge is insufficient to meet his communicative demands.

1.4 The linguistic Situation in Libya

In order that the results of this study may be seen in perspective, it seems necessary to include a brief introductory survey of the place of

English language within the Libyan educational system. This survey will help to clarify the background of the learners whose linguistic performance is under investigation in this study.

Libya is an Arab Islamic country. Arabic is the official language of the country. In common with other Arab countries there are two varieties of Arabic in Libya: first, there is Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA); second, there are some varieties of Arabic spoken in the different parts of Libya and forming what may be called Libyan Colloquial Arabic (henceforth LCA). This situation is known in sociolinguistics as a case of diglossia. As defined by Ferguson (1972: 232) the term 'diglossia' refers to the situation where "... two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions". Arabic, Modern Greek and Swiss German are frequently quoted examples of such cases.

MSA which is mainly written and read is used throughout the whole Arabic-speaking world. It is also spoken by educated people in formal and semi-formal situations, e.g. lectures, sermons, broadcasts, courts, etc. This variety is the carrier of written communication notably books, newspapers and journals. On the other hand, LCA which is almost entirely spoken, is the actual language of everyday activities. While MSA is learned at school (normally from the age of six), LCA is acquired at home as the mother tongue. This means that only educated people know MSA. However, the increase of literacy all over the Arab world implies that most people have some knowledge of MSA. Since all our intermediate to advanced learners know both LCA and MSA it seems

^{1.} The official name of the country is 'The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya'. For purely practical reasons the general name 'Libya' will be used throughout this thesis.

^{2.} Modern Standard Arabic will be used throughout this thesis. Other terms used include Classical (Written) Arabic, Modern Literary Arabic, etc. See Beeston (1970) and Cowan (1958).

^{3.} The linguistic differences between the various vernaculars used in Libya, though obviously important, are insignificant for the purposes of this study.

necessary to consider both varieties to be integral parts of the learners'

Ll. Recourse to both varieties will be made in the discussion of the

learners' lexical errors and the strategies they indicate.

The abovementioned different roles for MSA and LCA make them related in a high-low (H-L) hierarchy. MSA enjoys a high prestige: both the Qur'an and the rich literary heritage are written in Classical Arabic, which forms the basis of MSA; it is the symbol of unity of the Arab world and, more importantly perhaps, the language used in the media, business, administration, politics and other official activities. This means that this variety has several economic and material advantages. The value of LCA lies in communication in everyday situations and popular folklore.

Most of the linguistic differences between MSA and LCA are on the phonological level but there are differences on the grammatical and lexical levels as well. On the lexical level, generally speaking, MSA and the regional vernaculars share the bulk of their vocabulary with some variation in form and use. However, MSA includes the non-everyday technical terms which are hardly discussed in LCA. On the other hand, LCA includes LIs and popular expressions used in informal situations. As Ferguson (1972: 242) points out, a striking feature of diglossia is the existence of paired LIs used in both varieties and having almost the same meaning

2. There are regulating bodies of the Cairo Arabic Academy, the Damascus Arabic Academy, the Arab League's Committee for Arabization etc. whose function is to Arabize technical terminology and also pinpoint LIs that are not part of the Lexicon of MSA.

^{1.} In a study on differences between MSA and one of the vernaculars (Iraqi Arabic) Altoma (1969) reported that the percentage of non-cognate pairs between the Iraqi colloquial variety and MSA ranges from 12% to 23% depending on the type of LIs included in the lists applied for comparison. Not unexpectedly, it was found that the more specialized the vocabulary of the list, the higher the percentage of non-cognates. No such studies are available for MSA and LCA but I think the percentage of difference will be, in general, similar to those reported by Altoma.

but the use of one or the other immediately identifies the utterance as standard or colloquial. The following examples may illustrate this:

MSA	LCA	English
/zahrah/	/nuwwa:rah/	flower
/bajt/	/hɔ:ʃ/	house
/ra?a:/	/∫a:f/	see
/qali:1/	/∫wajja/	little
/kam/	/gidda:∫/	how much?

1.5 The Foreign Language Policy in Libya

Libya is a developing country. In common with other developing countries Libya has realized the importance and need for an international foreign language for purposes of internal economic development and communication with the outside world and with international organizations. and French can fulfil these objectives and are both introduced in the Libyan educational system. Although both of them have the role of a foreign language, there is more emphasis on English than on French. The role of French is restricted to being taught in secondary schools and as a specialized or subsidiary subject in the university. English, on the other hand, as will be explained shortly, is introduced earlier in the preparatory stage. It is also used in the science faculties of the Libyan universities as a medium of instruction. Furthermore, English is used in some areas of business, e.g. oil companies, airlines and other international agencies. Both languages are used in diplomatic activities. Therefore, both English and French are chosen for their utilitarian rather than cultural or any other merits.

1.5.1 The role of English in the Libyan educational system

Education in Libya is compulsory and all schools are run by the state. Formal education for children starts at the age of six. The first

^{1.} The examples given in LCA represent the writer's own dialect which is spoken in the Western parts of Libya.

stage of education is 'primary education' and lasts for six years. In this stage children are taught to read and write MSA but no foreign languages are introduced.

The second stage of education is the 'preparatory education'. This stage lasts for three years. English is introduced at this stage as the only foreign language. It is taught at the rate of about six hours per week in each of the three years.

This stage is also of three years duration. In the first year and the subsequent two years of this stage French is introduced besides English as the second foreign language. Needless to say, MSA continues to be taught in both the preparatory and secondary stages. It is also used as the medium of instruction of other subjects throughout the two levels.

In both the preparatory and secondary stages there are examinations each year. However, the decisive ones are those that are held at the third and final year of every stage because their results will decide whether a pupil will be able to go to the next stage or not, e.g. at the end of the secondary stage pupils take the examination for the 'General Certificate of Secondary Education' (roughly the equivalent of the British GCE, Shawish, 1976: 3). Thus a Libyan pupil who passes this examination has approximately twelve years of MSA, six years of English and three years of French. Both English and French are compulsory subjects of the curriculum in both stages and the pupil must pass in them as well as in his other subjects.

All pupils in the Libyan preparatory and secondary schools follow the same courses in English until the second year of secondary school when

^{1.} Libya has a six-day working week.

they are divided to those who take up sciences and those who take up arts.

An English course of three textbooks English for Libya 1, 2 and 3 is used in all the preparatory schools. This course, which is written by a Libyan, includes situational texts which concentrate on spoken English with a Libyan cultural background. In the first two years of secondary school the above course is continued with two more textbooks by the same author in collaboration with others, Further English for Libya 1 and 2 for first and second year pupils. For the third year of secondary school some readers of Longman's Simplified and Structural English are used in both the Arts and Science sections. For Arts pupils there is more emphasis on literary English. For Science pupils the emphasis is mostly on scientific English.

The courses taught in the preparatory and secondary stages aim to enable the learner to grasp and use the basic English structures and fundamental vocabulary. The contexts chosen for practice, as has been said above, concentrate on spoken English within a Libyan cultural framework. Most of the texts are supplemented with pictures within the textbooks. The course is also supplemented with instruction books for guiding the teacher. The only criticism to be directed to these textbooks is that their efficiency requires up-to-date and skilful methods and techniques of L2 instruction. This implies that only highly proficient and very experienced teachers can succeed with them. Many of the teachers using these courses at present are less than highly proficient. The pupils' level of achievement is not very satisfactory: a pupil leaving school after the preparatory stage cannot express himself in simple English, neither in speech nor in writing. who has finished secondary education (i.e. had six years of English) has considerable difficulties in speaking or writing intelligible English sentences, let alone in reading and understanding specialized scientific literature in English.

As a matter of fact, the teachers' lack of high proficiency is not the sole cause of the learners' lack of achievement. Other factors play their full role in this respect. The educational system is highly dominated by examination requirements and the learner often makes plans of how to pass the examination which is only written. Moreover, visual aids which are important components in modern techniques of presentation are not often available and even where they are available they have little significance because they are not used skilfully. Language laboratories which make the practice of oral skills possible are non-existent in schools. Apparently all these factors have their bad effect on the learners' progress in the language, especially when we know that English has no function outside the classroom and there are no opportunities for contact with native speakers.

English, but not French, is also taught in teacher training colleges and other technical institutions throughout the country. Teachers of English at the preparatory stage are mostly Libyans who have done a four-year course after the preparatory school. The English courses they take are roughly equivalent to those taught in secondary school. However, there is more emphasis on teaching practice in the third and fourth years. The trainee-teachers are also taught basic principles of educational psychology and L2 methodology (in MSA). Moreover, in-service courses for practising teachers in which emphasis is on remedial English and language pedagogy are occasionally organized during summer vacations.

Teachers of English at the secondary level are Libyans and other expatriate Arabs. Most, if not all, Libyan teachers at this stage are graduates who have done English as a specialized subject at the university level, as will be explained below. Expatriate teachers have at least a first degree in English and some teaching experience.

Because of lack of opportunities for practising English outside the classroom, most Libyan teachers at the above two stages have considerable problems with pronunciation, including stress and intonation. Their performance, both spoken and written, is frequently marked by the inaccurate use of grammatical structures and erroneous use of vocabulary. The registers in which they can use English are rather restricted as well.

1.5.2 English at the University Level

There are two universities in Libya: The University of Al-Faateh in Tripoli and The University of Gar Younis in Benghazi. The two universities include science and arts faculties, e.g. The University of Al-Faateh includes the Faculties of Science, Agriculture, Medicine, Veterinary Science, Engineering, Petroleum Engineering, Pharmacy and two Faculties of Education, one in Tripoli and the other in Sebha. The University of Gar Younis includes, besides some of the above-named science faculties, the Faculties of Law, Arts, Economics and Education.

English is used in one way or another in all the faculties and departments of the two universities. In all the science faculties, English is used as a language of instruction of all subjects. It is also taught as a subsidiary subject in all the faculties of the two universities. The general aims of teaching English at the university level include: (a) to enable the students to understand and use English for purposes of communication in everyday life situations; and (b) to enable the students to read and understand scientific and specialized literature in the field of their study.

Besides the above roles for English in the university, it is taught as a subject of specialization in the Faculties of Education and the Faculty of Arts. In these courses, the aim is to improve the students'

English as well as preparing them to be the future teachers of English at the secondary level, teacher training colleges and other technical institutions. Graduates of English are also chosen for diplomatic and other official positions.

The teaching of English at the University of Al-Faateh is the responsibility of the Department of English in the Faculty of Education. The Department of English in the Faculty of Arts has a similar function in the University of Gar Younis. The teaching staff include Libyans, expatriate Arabs and British. They are often holders of postgraduate qualifications and have some teaching experience.

At the university level there is an outline syllabus for each faculty covering what courses the students take every year. The details of what to include as well as the choice of the textbooks are left to the individual teacher's decision. Language laboratories are also available at this stage and are employed as an integral part of every language course.

The level of achievement of specialists, as shown in the data for this study, still leaves room for improvement. This is mainly due to the learners' weakness during the preparatory and secondary stages. The same difficulties at the above stages seem to continue to manifest themselves. In the science faculties, the amount of achievement and progress in most subjects depends to a certain extent on the student's competence in English. This implies that weakness in English means weakness in every subject taught via this language, often by a non-native speaker of English.

1.6 The Learners' Background

The learners whose linguistic performance is under investigation in this study are university students doing English as the main subject of specialization. They include first, second, third and fourth year students

in the Faculty of Education, Al-Faateh University as well as second year students at the Faculty of Arts, Gar Younis University. The students have studied English on average for eight and a half years at the rate of six hours per week in the preparatory and secondary schools and on average for eighteen hours per week in the university. They are all speakers of Arabic as their Ll (i.e. both MSA and LCA) and both sexes are represented (the total number of the learners was 255, 114 were males and 141 were females).

The four-year course of English as a subject of specialization in the Faculty of Education aims to train and prepare qualified teachers for secondary schools and teacher training colleges. The first two years of the course are wholly devoted to improving the learners' English. This is attempted through various simplified literary readers and situational exercises. The aural/oral skills are practised in the language laboratory. In the third and fourth years of the course, although concentrating primarily on their linguistic performance, the students are also introduced to general linguistics and language pedagogy. The aim is to acquaint the learners or trainee-teachers with the basic principles and terminology of modern linguistics, techniques of L2 teaching and other pedagogical issues.

1.7 Homogeneity of the Learners

It is not our objective to compare the types of lexical errors and strategies of different learners or the various stages with each other.

Therefore, differences in the level of progress or achievement in English between the learners whose linguistic performance is under analysis are not very important for the purposes of this study. The author is aware, as is often the case, that individual differences particularly those pertaining to the type of personality, play their important role in this respect (see 5.1).

Moreover, it is understandable that learners who come from different schools often have different abilities.

It has been pointed out in the statement of aims that the practical part of the study focusses on investigating the strategies used by intermediate to advanced Libyan learners of English in attempting to express themselves and that these strategies will be inferred from the unacceptable and inappropriate lexical usage in the learners' written performance. All learners, including those who have a firm grasp of the language, make use of strategies given the need to express meaning because the learners' competence at almost all learning stages is incomplete. Needless to say, the learners' communicative needs always outpace their active knowledge of the L2. As will be explained later, it is not necessarily the weak learner who produces more lexical errors or resorts more often to various strategies. Competent learners sometimes produce more lexical errors when they attempt to use LIs and collocations which they have not mastered completely. Homogeneity, therefore, is limited to the following:

- (i) Common linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the learners.

 According to Corder (1973a: 264) this is the most important aspect of homogeneity.
 - (ii) Approximately identical conditions of learning the L2.
 - (iii) Common circumstances of production of the L2 data.
 - (iv) Approximately identical level of instruction and maturity.

Taking into consideration the fact that homogeneity is a 'more-orless thing' (Corder, Ibid), the learners whose performance is subject to analysis
in this study satisfy the above conditions and therefore, form a homogeneous
group, they include Libyans and some Arab students from neighbouring countries
who have similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds. All the students have
studied English in the preparatory and secondary schools for approximately the
same periods. The circumstances of data production are the same, namely free
production in a controlled examination situation in which the learners had no
access to dictionaries or reference books. For a description of the data used
in the study see Chapter V.

1.8 Limits of the Present Study

The present study has been undertaken with the aim of investigating the wider issues of L2 lexical acquisition, the lexical strategies and processes adopted by intermediate-advanced learners for expressing meaning and the type of lexical errors they make in this process. Our ultimate objectives are, of course, pedagogical, namely to obtain information that will have useful application in the writing of L2 teaching materials and devising effective teaching techniques for learners at this stage. The present study has its limits which may be taken into consideration in the assessment of its findings:

- (1) The method chosen for data collection in the present study is free written production. This method has its advantages and disadvantages (see 4.2.2.1). The types of lexical error and consequently the strategies and processes inferred from them should be perceived within the perspectives of It is often the case that learners' data differing along the this task. dimension of medium of discourse (see 3.1.2) leads to the identification of different types of strategies and processes. The by-products or communicative effects of such strategies and processes may also show some variation. instance, the data used in the present study did not allow for the identification of non-linguistic strategies and processes which learners often use to achieve communicative effectiveness in oral discourse. Therefore, a more comprehensive classification of the types of strategies and processes L2 learners use for encoding meaning would have been obtained if the written production data had been supplemented by spoken data from the same learners. However, for purely practical reasons this has not been possible.
- (2) The results of this study though concerned with intermediateadvanced Libyan university students, will be generalized to a whole population of Arab learners of English who have, more or less, similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

A well-known educational assumption held by most educationalists states that individual differences, motivation and other factors in the teaching-learning situation play a very important role in the learning of linguistic skills. These phenomena, therefore, influence the way learners acquire a L2 and use it. It is not assumed that all learners employ the same set of strategies and processes for expressing meaning. Nor can it be assumed that all learners of the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds produce the same types of lexical error. Even when the same syllabuses are implemented, different learners have different abilities. This also applies to groups of learners coming from various schools where the techniques and facilities of instruction cannot be always identical.

CHAPTER TWO

Lexis and Semantics

2.1 Lexis as a Linguistic Level

Lexis may be generally defined as that level of linguistics which deals with the open sets of formal items of the language, e.g. in English the LIs chair, seat, settee, stool, bench etc. form a grouping of LIs that have a common range of collocation (see 2.3.1). Apparently, all these LIs may co-occur with the LIs comfortable, high, sit etc. An indefinite number of LIs that have similar patterns of co-occurrence, e.g. armchair, sofa ... can be added to this set (see Halliday et al 1964: 33).

A dictionary of English includes in its macrostructure a list of what are accepted as LIs by the native speakers of the language. The dictionary often gives in its microstructure phonological, grammatical and semantic information for every lexical entry. A phonological description of the above LIs will account for the relationships that hold between their phonemes. On the other hand, a grammatical description of English will assign them to their grammatical classes or subclasses, e.g. class of 'nouns'. A more detailed grammatical description may state that some of these LIs can be modified by the definite or indefinite articles etc. However, after all the above phonological and grammatical statements have been exhausted there remain other statements that can be made about the nature of the relationships that hold between these LIs and other LIs in the lexical structure of English on both the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes. Such relationships can only be

^{1.} Some dictionaries include additional information, e.g. etymological and sociolinguistic.

accounted for on the levels of lexical semantics.

The following examples may help to clarify this:

- (1) (a) Our neighbours' baby cries incessantly.
 - (b) *My friend's chair snores loudly.
- (2) (a) My daughter has a chest cough.
 - (b) *Her car has a stomach ache.
- (3) (a) Our beautiful neighbour got married last Christmas.
 - (b) *His honesty had a divorce last month.

Obviously the grammatical patternings or the 'surface structures' of these pairs of examples are very similar. However, native speakers will reject the starred sentences as being unacceptable except in negligibly few contexts (e.g. in a fairy tale). The native speaker's rejection is often made on the grounds that not much meaning can be attached to the starred sentences in normal communicative situations.

On the other hand, the native speakers of English will accept the unstarred sentences as meaningful, though from a grammatical point of view all six sentences are acceptable since they do not violate the grammatical rules of the language. In some grammatical descriptions, the starred sentences are described as 'ungrammatical' and grammatical criteria are adduced to account for their unacceptability. For instance in TG, the so-called lexical rules will state that the verbs snore and divorce do not allow 'inanimate' and 'non-human' subjects respectively. What is meant by 'ungrammatical' then is that they are 'unlexical'.

Nor can grammatical descriptions account for the fact that a given sentence is ambiguous; that two sentences are synonymous, entail each other etc., As Lyons (1977: 382) puts it, "That one lexeme rather than another can be, or must be, selected in a given position in order to produce an acceptable sentence is something that falls outside the scope of syntax".

Aspects of semantic acceptability, unacceptability, ambiguity and synonymity

Briller John Liremna H (1954) and

can only be accounted for in the lexical and semantic levels and purely lexical and semantic criteria must be adduced to account for them. These criteria will be discussed in some detail within the various approaches to the study of lexical meaning.

2.1.1 Word and lexical item

The term 'lexical item' (LI) has been and will be used throughout this thesis in preference to the more traditional term 'word'. The nature and purpose of our study may not allow the discussion of the problems involved in the identification and definition of the two terms. 1 Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the term 'word' is used ambiguously in linguistics: it has been used vaguely to refer to grammatical, orthographic and semantic units. This also implies that several criteria have been included in its definition (see Krámský 1969: 67). The term 'word' as a linguistic unit cannot serve rigorously and systematically as a grammatical, an orthographic and a It is perhaps for these reasons that linguists like Halliday semantic unit. (and others) have suggested that the term 'word' as a linguistic unit should be reserved for grammar and the term 'lexical item' (sometimes 'lexical unit' or 'lexeme') used in lexis.

As defined by Sinclair and Jones (1974: 16), a LI is:

...a unit of language representing a particular area of meaning which has a unique pattern of co-occurrence with other lexical items. It cannot always be identified with the orthographic word. Other forms which it may take are:

- (a) A morpheme.
- (b) A homograph one <<meaning>> of an orthographic word which may have several meanings.
- (c) A pair or group of words associated paradigmatically.
- (d) A pair or group of words associated syntagmatically to form an <<idiom>>

The term 'lexical item', though it cannot be claimed to be very rigorously defined as is evident from Sinclair and Jones' attempt, seems to

^{1.} For a detailed discussion of the problems of identifying the 'word' see Seiler 1964, Žirmuskij (1966) and Krámský (1969).

serve better for purposes of discussion of lexical and semantic features.

This term may also be preferred for purposes of L2 teaching and learning.

In this respect it may not be even necessary to have a very rigorously defined term. It may be useful to keep the term rather flexible to cope with the dynamic nature of lexicalization, i.e. the process whereby ad hoc constructions gradually come to be manipulated as complex LIs.

Sinclair and Jones' definition of the term 'lexical item' and discussions of the term by Halliday (1961), Halliday et al (1964) and more recently Lyons (1968) and (1977) and Hudson (1979) will be adopted for the identification of LIs in the present study.

Therefore a LI or a 'lexeme' (e.g. as used by Lyons 1977) can be an orthographic word, e.g. table, book, take, beautiful etc. are single LIs. The various syntactic or inflected forms of these LIs are not usually relevant to their functioning at the lexical level. Therefore, take, takes, took and taking are different forms (i.e. orthographic and grammatical) of the same LI. A LI may also consist of two or more words to form what are traditionally known as 'idiom', 'phrasal verb' and 'cliché', e.g. kick the bucket (die), pull someone's leg (tease someone), give way (surrender), take over (receive) etc. As Hudson (1979: 4) points out, there is evidence that such phrases (i.e. idioms and clichés) function semantically as single words, e.g. kick the bucket and pull someone's leg are semantically similar to die and tease respectively. Syntactically, of course, they are complex. Moreover, as Lyons (1977: 23) reminds us, in a conventional dictionary these 'multi-word' LIs or phrases are listed under separate entries. The justification for the adoption of such a definition of the term 'lexical item' is discussed below (see 2.3.1.2).

2.1.2 Lexis versus grammar

Theoretically, the role of semantics is "...to explain those concepts, such as meaningfulness and synonymy..." and the principal purpose of grammar is "...to explain the formal distributional patterns of language: to separate items into classes and subclasses on the basis of their distribution, and to state the distributional properties of the classes in terms of constituent structure" (Leech 1969: 80). However, in practice, as Lyons (1977: 378) puts it:

There are many linguists nowadays who use the term 'grammar' to subsume everything in language that is amenable to systematic description, i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics.

Corder (1973a: 316) also points out that the two levels of lexis and grammar are interdependent and that

...in the most recent linguistic models the two interpenetrate to such an extent that the distinction between them is beginning to lose its significance.

The above statements about the interrelatedness of grammar and lexis in the most recent linguistic models and the high status given to syntax have evidence to support them: in post-Bloomfieldian Structuralism both lexis and semantics are given little attention in the belief that meaning is insufficiently structured to allow of scientific analysis (Spence 1961: 87). Moreover, Chomsky's Model of TG (1957) which has been very influential in linguistic studies, started from the belief in the non-distinctness of lexis and grammar. In fact, according to Chomsky (1965: 159):

A decision as to the boundary separating syntax and semantics (if there is one) is not a prerequisite for theoretical and descriptive study of syntactic and semantic rules.

In his view, the problem of delimiting these two levels will remain open until these fields are better understood. However, as Hudson (1979: 1) reports, one of the most obvious trends in recent linguistic studies:

...has been the growth in the importance of the lexicon, from the early days of TG where it played no role at all to the present where linguists of different schools treat it as more or less central to the grammar. As far as L2 teaching and learning is concerned, Corder (1973a: 316) maintains that the interdependence and interrelatedness of the two formal levels of grammar and lexis imply that:

...decisions made about the teaching of syntactic items necessarily involve decisions about the teaching of vocabulary, or, conversely, decisions about the teaching of vocabulary necessarily imply some decisions about grammar.

This may be explained in terms of the fact that when we describe linguistic form, i.e. grammar and lexis, we are dealing with the meaningful patterns of language or the way in which language is inherently structured to carry contrasts in meaning (Halliday et al 1964: 21).

The above remarks imply that the learning of L2 LIs and their correct use is not restricted to learning their semantic properties but also includes their syntactic functioning in the formal patterns of the language concerned. In practice too, the two tasks are often carried out in conjunction with each other. With particular reference to the analysis of L2 lexical errors and attempting to infer the strategies adopted by the learners in their production, the interrelatedness of the levels of grammar and lexis sometimes presents problems in the interpretation of erroneous utterances. The following examples, the first of which is taken from the corpus used in the present study, should illustrate this point clearly:

- (1) Those who do not attend most of the lectures they do not allow to attend the exam. So in my point of view the attending of the lectures should be <u>free</u>. (Item No. 128)²
- (2) He did not know the answer so he asked the dictionary.

2. 'Item No.' refers to the utterance number in the Appendix.

--- 1053 eeu 2977)

It is obvious that, as far as meaning is concerned, the above erroneous sentences can be corrected in at least two ways: the first can be corrected as (...the attending of the lectures should be) <u>left free</u> or (...the attending of

^{1.} The term 'utterance' will be used throughout this thesis in reference to spoken and written language. For a discussion of this notion see Harris 1951 Corder, 1973a: 160-4 and Lyons 1977, pp.26-27.

the lectures should be) optional and the second as ... so he asked for the dictionary or so he consulted the dictionary.

Therefore, two different interpretations and consequently two types of analysis are possible for each of the above errors. It is obvious that each interpretation involves a different linguistic level from the other, i.e. one grammatical, the other lexical.

The standpoint that will be taken here regarding the relationship between grammar and lexis may be summed up as follows: although the two formal levels of grammar and lexis are interdependent and interrelated to the extent that some linguists have chosen not to treat them separately, it seems necessary for purposes of L2 teaching and learning as well as for the specific objectives of interpretation, description and explanation of L2 learners' lexical errors to draw a distinction between grammar and lexis. As Halliday et al (1964: 21) say:

"What causes us to draw a distinction between grammar and lexis is the variable range of the possibilities that arise at different places in the language."

The model that has been adopted for distinguishing between grammar and lexis is that of Halliday (1961). This model has also been discussed by Halliday (1966), Sinclair (1966), Halliday et al (1964), Van Buren (1967), Sinclair and Jones (1974) and many other linguists.

Many developments have taken place since Halliday presented his model in 1961. However, the main tenet of the distinction it draws between grammar and lexis still seems valid. The new trend in general linguistics at present is for the distinctness of the two levels rather than amalgamation. This could enhance Halliday's hypotheses. More importantly perhaps, the distinctions offered by the model are still well regarded, quoted and discussed by prominent linguists in some of the most recent comprehensive references in the field (e.g. see Lyons 1968 and 1977).

Within Halliday's model, the primary levels of language are SUBSTANCE (both phonic and graphic) and FORM and CONTEXT. Under the primary level of 'form' come the specific levels or, as Ellis (1966: 80) puts it, the 'demilevels' of grammar and lexis. Halliday et al (1964: 18) presented this classification in diagrammatic form:

Subject concerned:	Phonetics		Linguistics		
level (general):	SUBSTANCE (Phonic or Graphic)	Relation of Form and Substance	FORM	CONTEXT (Relation of Form and Situation)	Situation (non- linguistic phenomena)
level (specific):	PHONETICS	PHONOLOGY	GRAMMAR AND LEXIS (vocabu- lary)	SEMANTICS	
	SCRIPT	GRAPHOLOGY' (writing system)			,

It has been stated above that lexis is that linguistic level which deals with the 'open sets' of formal items of language. Opposed to lexis in this respect is the level of grammar which is defined as that level of linguistic form at which operate the closed systems. Halliday (1961: 247) who has introduced this distinction, defines a closed system as a set of terms with the following characteristics: (a) the number of the terms is finite, they can be listed as A B C D and all other items E ... are outside the system; (b) each term is exclusive of all others: a given term A cannot be identical with B or C or D; (c) if a new term is added to the system this changes the meaning of all the others.

Contrasting with closed systems are open sets which are groupings of indefinite membership of formal items which neither exclude each other nor change their meanings through the addition of new items to the set.

Other differences between grammatical systems and lexical sets are also noticeable: the terms in a grammatical system can be defined positively as well as negatively, e.g. in a language that has a three-term number system such as Arabic: 'plural' can be defined as more than two or as not singular and not dual. In lexis this may not be possible, e.g. the LI horse cannot be defined as not camel and not elephant and ... but it may only be defined positively, e.g. through the referent's physical properties and other characteristics and functions that are relevant to the native speakers' understanding and use of the term.

Another important distinction between grammar and lexis is that the statements that are made about grammatical systems have the power of generalization. Thus it is possible to state that these terms are possible here and all the others are impossible, e.g. in English we have the grammatical system of demonstrative pronouns: this, that, these and those. In an utterance like --- books over there are mine, only those can be used but not the other three terms. On the other hand, in lexis it can only be stated that a particular item is more or less probable in a particular context. Thus in the above example it is possible to have boys, pens, cars, houses etc. etc. instead of Furthermore, because of these differences of functioning between grammatical and lexical patterns, the number and nature of formal categories required at each level are different, e.g. within the Hallidayan model of 'scale and category', 'rank scale' and the 'exponence of units on the rank scale' which are required for the description of grammatical systems, have no equivalent in lexis.

However, the above differences do not imply that a <u>clear-cut</u> distinction between grammatical systems and lexical sets is always possible. As Halliday (1961: 247) puts it:

The distinction between closed system patterns and open set patterns in language is in fact a cline; but the [General Linguistic] theory has to treat them as two distinct types of pattern requiring different categories. For this reason General Linguistic theory must provide both a theory of grammar and a theory of lexis, and also a means of relating the two.

The arbitrariness and abstractness of the distinctions made above between closed grammatical systems and open lexical sets becomes rather evident if we examine instances where it is difficult to identify whether one is choosing from a closed system or an open set, e.g. prepositions in English form a closed system in the sense that they can be exhaustively listed, but the choices made among them are not fully constrained. Each time a wide range of choice is possible, for instance on, upon, over ...; under, beneath, below ... Strictly speaking this is not characteristic of grammatical systems but etc. rather of lexical sets. On the other hand, are we to locate groups of LIs, e.g. for the 'days of the week', the 'seasons', 'months of the year' etc. into As is evident, these formal items have characopen sets or closed systems? teristics common to both. Intuitively the speaker is not often aware whether he is choosing from a closed system or an open set.

As a matter of fact, these exceptional cases do not invalidate the distinctions drawn earlier. These borderline cases can be looked upon as one aspect of the fuzziness of human languages and therefore, the distinctions made between closed grammatical systems and open lexical sets remain useful.

2.1.3 Lexical and grammatical items

A contrast is sometimes made between lexical and grammatical items (the terms 'function', 'structural' and 'empty word' are occasionally used for the latter). Several criteria have been applied by linguists for the identification of the two types of items. However, as Lyons (1968: 435-6) points out, the most satisfactory criterion is the one that has just been discussed, i.e. in terms of the distinction between closed systems and open sets. In terms of this distinction, Lyons (ibid: 436) writes "...we can say that grammatical items belong to closed sets, and lexical items to open sets". Thus we can say that

^{1.} E.g. Sweet (1892: 22-3) distinguished between the two types of items in terms of 'full words' (i.e. LIs) and 'form words' or 'empty words' (i.e. grammatical items) and C.C. Fries (1957:65-109) recognizes four 'parts of speech' and fifteen sets of 'function words'.

<u>a, the, -s</u> etc. are items of a closed system of a small membership and that <u>boy</u>, <u>beautiful</u>, <u>travel</u>, <u>quickly</u> are items of an open set of large membership. Lyons maintains that this definition, unlike other definitions, is not restricted to languages of one morphological 'type' (e.g. 'inflecting' languages). Moreover, he believes that on the basis of this distinction, elements introduced into the deep structure of sentences can be classified as either lexical or grammatical.

Another important question that has relevance for our purposes in this study is whether lexical and grammatical items have different meanings. In answer to this question, Lyons (1968: 436) states that:

The first point to notice is that lexical items are traditionally said to have both 'lexical' and 'grammatical meaning' (both 'material' and 'formal meaning ...)

Thus in traditional terms a particular LI, e.g. cow

...not only 'signifies' a particular 'concept' (the 'material', or 'lexical', meaning of the item in question), but it does so according to a particular 'mode of signifying', e.g. as a 'substance', a 'quality', an 'action', etc. ...

Lyons points out that although linguists rarely express themselves in these terms at present, this conception of the difference between the 'lexical' and 'grammatical' meaning of LIs is still commonly held and seems to have a certain validity.

As has been stated above, the distinction between what is grammatical and what is lexical is somewhat indeterminate. The case of English prepositions has already been cited. We need not further pursue this issue. It may suffice for our objectives to note that no items are completely grammatical or completely lexical (see Coseriu 1967: 80). All formal items function in both lexical and grammatical patterns. In terms of their co-occurrence on the syntagmatic level, they keep different relationships. What have been termed grammatical items are generally of higher frequency and, as Halliday (1966: 155) says collocationally largely unrestricted.

2.2 Semantics

is, more or less, unanimous agreement on the definition of semantics, such agreement is not extended to the definition of meaning. The reasons for this are obvious: meaning is a vast field which is relevant to linguistics, philosophy, psychology, anthropology and even sociology. Apparently, scholars in these various fields have different interests in the study of the phenomenon of meaning and, thus, approach it in diverse ways.

Our interest here is with what Katz (1972: 1) calls 'linguistic meaning'. Semantics, for our purposes, may therefore be regarded as the study of the meaning of formal items of language individually and in context with other items forming utterances, sentences and even longer stretches of language.

The nature and purpose of our research does not allow for a detailed discussion of all the issues relevant to the treatment of linguistic meaning. In practice we may restrict ourselves to discussing the general problems and issues considered in most semantic theories. Our exposition of such issues is intended to provide the components of a theoretical framework for the discussion of L2 learners' lexical errors and communication strategies. This will also enable us to define terms and notions that will be used throughout.

Language as a medium of communication is a system of symbols or signals. It is undoubtedly the most complex abstract symbolic system in existence and is used uniquely by human beings. The most important aspect in the description of a signalling system is the significance of its constituent symbols. According to Pyles and Alego (1970: 183) "Meaning is what language is all about" and thus when we study meaning "...we are looking into the very heart of language".

Strictly speaking, most linguists are in common agreement about the assumption that meaning is central in the description of language. But as

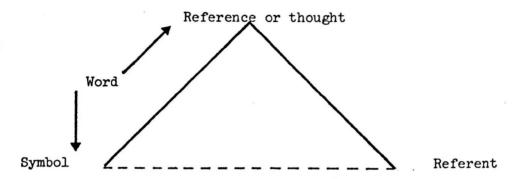
Lyons (1968: 400-402) points out, "Many of the more influential books on linguistics that have appeared in the last thirty years devote little or no attention to semantics". As has been stated earlier the reason for this is that the meanings of words are less readily accessible than their phonological structure and grammatical functioning. Therefore, some linguists "...have come to doubt whether meaning can be studied as objectively or rigorously as grammar and phonology" (ibid: 400). Nevertheless, there has been recently a growing interest in the study of semantics even though "No one has yet presented even the outline of a satisfactory and comprehensive theory of semantics". The nature of linguistic meaning and the determination of the criteria that are relevant in its analysis and description are still the subject of extensive debate among semanticists. As Lyons says, this, of course, does not mean that progress has not been made in the study of linguistic meaning. The remaining parts of this chapter will be devoted to the discussion of the various approaches to the study of meaning.

2.2.1 Traditional semantics

In ancient and traditional studies of language, the word as a unit of syntax and semantics was regarded as a 'sign' composed of 'form' and 'meaning'. Thus for the Greek philosophers, the relationship between words and things was a relationship of 'naming', i.e. words are 'names' or 'labels' for things. Traditional grammarians developed this relationship of naming to one of significance: the word 'signifies' rather than 'names' a thing. The signification (i.e. meaning) of a word is the concept associated with its form in the minds of the speakers of the language concerned.

This conception of meaning was adopted in some of the linguistic studies that appeared in earlier parts of this century: De Saussure saw this relationship between 'form' and 'meaning' as that between 'signifiant' ('signifier') and 'signifie' ('signified') which are "...a sound image and a concept both linked by a psychological 'associative' bond" (Palmer 1976: 25). Ogden and

Richards (1923), for their part, conceived of the same relationship as one of 'reference': the meaning of a particular word is the 'reference' or 'thought' associated with its symbol (i.e. form) and the 'referent'. The following diagram, known as the 'semiotic triangle' was presented by the authors to illustrate this relationship of reference (ibid: 11-12):



As the diagram indicates, 'symbol' and 'referent' are not directly connected (the dotted line is intended to indicate this) but indirectly round the two sides of the triangle through the mediating conceptual meaning (reference) associated independently with each of them.

The above conceptual theories of meaning were rejected by Bloomfield and other structural linguists. Their arguments against these theories can be summed up in the following points:

(1) The traditional definition of meaning in terms of the relationship of naming obviously applies only to one class of nouns, namely, 'concrete nouns' but if we attempt to account for LIs, e.g. <u>truth</u>, <u>justice</u>, <u>beautiful</u>, <u>sincere</u> etc. we soon encounter difficulties in the application of the definition. Moreover,

...even if we restrict our attention to words that are linked with visible objects in the world around us, they often seem to denote a whole set of rather different objects. (Palmer 1976: 21)

E.g. chairs come in different shapes and sizes, but what is it that makes each one a chair but not a stool or a settee? As Palmer (ibid: 21-2) puts it:

"...the dividing line between the items referred to by one word and those referred to by another is vague and there may be overlap".

(2) The theories of 'concept', 'significance' and 'reference' have attempted to avoid some of the above problems in that their definitions are not restricted to words that stand for visible things. However, they have problems of their own: questions arise about the nature of the 'associative' or 'conceptual' relationship in the mind. The answer, often, is that it is psychological or philosophical. This implies, according to these theories, that meaning is necessarily studied outside linguistics. As Lyons (1968: 408) says:

Traditional semantics makes the existence of 'concepts' basic to the whole theoretical framework, and therefore (almost inevitably) encourages subjectivism and introspection in the investigation of meaning.

This thesis of conceptualism was also rejected by Haas (1954: 74). In his view, "An empirical science cannot be content to rely on a procedure of people looking into their minds, each into his own".

(3) The nature of human language presents some difficulties for the above traditional definitions of meaning. "The 'ideal' language, one might say...would be one in which each form had only one meaning and each meaning was associated with only one form" (Lyons 1968: 405). In human languages this is not possible: two or more forms may be associated with or refer to the same meaning, e.g. small, little; get, obtain etc. On the other hand, two or more meanings may be associated with the same form, e.g. Arabic /3ubn/ (cheese and cowardliness); English bank ('financial institution' and 'land along the side of a river') etc. In linguistic terms, the first case is known as 'synonymy' and the second as 'homonymy'. Other problems are presented by the phenomenon of 'polysemy', where a particular LI is associated with a basic meaning then gets associated with other related meanings through metaphoric uses of language, e.g. head (part of body), head of an institution, head of beer etc.

The above and other sense relations are obviously important in the analysis of linguistic meaning. These are discussed in some detail in later parts of this chapter. Meanwhile, it may be stated here that these various associations holding in a lexical structure may not allow us to conceive of words as necessarily having fully determined meanings. For these reasons, some scholars have suggested that the study of linguistic meaning should be approached through the investigation of the context in which language is Thus, according to Wittgenstein (1953, quoted in Lyons 1968: 410) "Don't used. look for the meaning of a word, look for its use". This hypothesis has evidence in its support since in normal situations the speakers of a particular language are often in common agreement about the different uses of LIs of their language and what restrictions there are on their occurrence. This aspect of meaning is discussed further within the collocational approach (see 2.3.1).

2.2.2 Modern approaches to semantics

The difficulties listed above and the criticisms made of traditional semantics do not imply that these approaches have been abandoned completely. Although modern linguists nowadays approach and treat linguistic meaning differently, most of the traditional terms, e.g. 'reference', 'concept', 'significance' etc. are still commonly used in the discussion of linguistic and semantic issues. On the other hand, this renunciation of 'mentalism' and 'conceptualism' does not imply the acceptance of 'mechanism' (see Lyons 1968: 408). The 'mechanistic' approach seeks to identify the meanings of LIs with the full scientific descriptions of their referents. Obviously the adoption of this approach will enable us to account only for a small set of LIs, i.e. those items whose meanings are analysable by physical science.

Within our present understanding of the phenomena that seem relevant to the determination of linguistic meaning, most linguists would agree with Lyons (1968: 408) when he says "The position that should be maintained by the

linguist is one that is neutral with respect to 'mentalism' and 'mechanism', a position which is consistent with both and implies neither".

It is important to note that in modern linguistics, the objectives of studying linguistic meaning appear to have taken a new orientation. Linguists have come to realize that:

The problem of semantics is not, ... nor can it be, the search for an elusive entity called 'meaning'. It is rather an attempt to understand how is it that words and sentences can 'mean' at all, or better perhaps, how they can be meaningful (Palmer 1976: 29).

Within this perspective, modern approaches to semantics take into consideration many criteria in their discussion of linguistic meaning. These include:

- (1) The diversity of ways in which LIs are related on both the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes. On the principle of paradigmatic relations, e.g. synonymy, hyponymy, oppositeness of meaning, etc. the meaning of a given LI is discussed in terms of the opposition in meaning between that LI and other LIs that can replace it in a given context (see 2.3.2.2). The examination of the syntagmatic relations, on the other hand, shows the tendencies of co-occurrence of LIs in various contexts (see 2.3.1).
- (2) The investigation of the various ways in which the meaning of a given LI can be conveyed, e.g. ostensiveness, paraphrase, formal definition etc.
- (3) The syntactic function of the word and how it relates syntactically to other items in the linguistic context.
- (4) The context of situation in which the LIs and utterances are used. Normal communication takes place in situational contexts. In other words, every linguistic utterance occurs in a particular sociotemporal situation which includes the addresser, the addressee, the actions performed at the time, and the various external objects and events (see Lyons 1968: 413). The meaning of formal items, therefore, does not reside only in their content and the contrasts obtaining between them and the other items in linguistic contexts "...appropriateness to

the situation...is a further inescapable condition of the meaningful use of language" (Mitchell 1971: 37). However, as Mitchell points out, this does not mean that the situation determines the linguistic choices or vice versa, it rather emphasizes the relevance of the context of situation in the determination of the meaning of LIs and utterances.

2.2.3 Kinds of meaning

Taking into consideration the multifarious uses of linguistic utterances in everyday life situations, linguists nowadays distinguish many kinds of meaning, e.g. Mitchell (1971: 37) says that we might at least distinguish the 'functional', the 'emotive', the 'topical', the 'sociocultural', the 'ostensive', the 'referential' and the 'mnemonic' meanings. Leech (1974: 10-27) also classifies and discusses seven ingredients of meaning. His list includes: 'conceptual', 'connotative', 'stylistic', 'affective', 'reflected', 'collocative' and 'thematic' meanings.

In this part of our study we will confine ourselves to the two arguably most important aspects of meaning, namely, denotative (also cognitive or conceptual) meaning and connotative (or emotive) meaning. The other types of meaning will be discussed, where relevant, in subsequent parts of this thesis.

2.2.3.1 Denotation

According to Lyons (1977: 207) the denotation of a LI is "...the relationship that holds between that lexeme and persons, things, places, properties, processes and activities external to the language-system". In other words, by denotation is meant the relationship between LIs and parts of the extra-linguistic world as conceived by the native speakers of the language. Lyons (ibid) suggests that the term 'denotatum' be used in reference to the class of objects, properties, etc. to which the LI applies

and the term 'denotata' for the individual objects of the class, e.g. the denotation of <u>car</u> is the class of vehicles to which this LI applies and individual vehicles of this class are its denotata. Although denotation presupposes existence, psychologists and philosophers argue that not only material and physically existing things have denotation.

The function of denotation or cognitive meaning is the transfer of factual information about the denotata and, therefore, as Leech (1974:10) points out, can be assumed to be the central factor in linguistic communication. This, however, does not imply that the denotation of LIs is, or needs to be, very precise in order to achieve successful communication and understanding. As is well known, the denotative boundaries of most LIs are indeterminate. For instance, it is not possible to show clearly the specific point at which we draw the line, e.g. between https://distribution.org/linearized/ to show clearly the specific point at which we draw the line, e.g. between https://distribution.org/linearized/ and https://distribution.org/ and https:

Denotative meaning plays an important role in both L1 acquisition and L2 learning. Acquiring the semantic structure of a particular language implies the assimilation of the denotata of the LIs of that language. This is no easy task since, as Lyons (1977: 210) puts it, the denotation of most LIs is not

...determined solely, or even principally by the physical properties of their denotation. Much more important seems to be the role or function of the objects, properties, activities, processes and events in the life and culture of the society using the language.

Moreover, as will be explained later, denotation is an important criterion in the discussion of the phenomenon of linguistic relativity (see 3.3.1.2). One of the characteristics of human languages is that they "...impose a particular lexical 'categorization' upon the world and draw the boundaries 'arbitrarily', as it were, at different places..." to the extent that it is sometimes impossible to establish equivalence between different languages (Lyons 1968: 426).

2.2.3.2 Connotation (emotive meaning)

In linguistics the term 'connotation' is used in reference to 'emotive meaning' and 'evaluative associations' (cf. Lehrer 1974: 13). LIs can be used in a variety of ways, e.g. to express anger, politeness, sadness, sympathy, sarcasm etc. Two LIs may have the same denotative meaning but convey different connotative or emotive meanings. Thus a particular LI may be used to express pleasant or desirable connotations while its denotative synonym is used to express unpleasant or undesirable connotations, e.g. slim and skinny, have, more or less, the same denotative meaning but differ in their emotive meaning:

slim has favourable connotations and skinny has unfavourable connotations
(Lehrer 1974: 1). In this usage, the connotation of a LI may be thought of as the emotive or supplementary component to its central meaning (see Lyons 1977: 176 and Nida 1975: 35-9).

Although the additional connotative meanings which LIs have play an important role in a speaker's choice of the lexical content of the utterances he produces, "It would be wrong to assume that the emotive connotations of a word are always relevant to its employment" (Lyons 1968: 449). Apparently, a speaker's feelings and emotions constitute only one of the criteria which determine his lexical choices in various situations.

2.3 Linguistic Approaches to the Study of Semantics

The status of semantics has been rising in linguistic studies but it must be re-stated that no-one has as yet introduced a complete theory of semantics. Neither has it been possible to turn this level of linguistics into an empirical science. Part of the difficulty, as has been seen, is caused by the complex nature of linguistic meaning and the diversity of the criteria relevant to its investigation. The relatedness of semantics to grammar on the one hand and the direct relevance of the cultural background of the lexical structure (forthcoming,

see 3.3.2.2) on the other, seem to add to this complexity and consequently to the difficulties encountered by researchers in the field.

In what follows, we will discuss the principles and techniques of some of the approaches to the study of lexical meaning. Our purpose is to explain, albeit in tentative terms, how various approaches handle the problem of analysing the meaning of LIs. We will also examine how matters of semantic acceptability and semantic anomaly are accounted for in these approaches. Our objectives are essentially pedagogical and pragmatic, namely, to obtain theoretical information and insights that have useful application in the analysis of L2 learners' lexical errors so that we can infer the strategies and processes the learners use in their attempts to express meaning in English.

2.3.1 The collocational approach

The terms 'collocation' and 'meaning by collocation' were introduced by J.R. Firth in his paper 'Modes of Meaning', first published in 1951, to account for the tendency of linguistic forms to co-occur in various contexts. Firth did not give an explicit definition of the term 'collocation' but for him

Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual or idea approach to the meaning of words. One of the meanings of <u>night</u> is its collocability with <u>dark</u> and of <u>dark</u>, of course, collocation with <u>night</u>. (1957: 196)

In fact, the notion of 'collocation' was introduced as part of the framework of Firth's general linguistic theory, an outline of which was given in his article 'A synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955'. Therefore it may be more useful to interpret and discuss the notion within its Firthian framework or model of linguistics.

Firth conceived of the object of linguistics as being not confined to the study of structural relations within language but to include the context in which language is used. As he saw it (1968: 171): "This study of what people say and what they hear and in what contexts of situation and experience they do these things is properly the province of linguistics". Moreover, Firth (1957: 190) believed that the main concern of descriptive linguistics is to make statements of meaning. The central proposal of the theory, he maintained (1968: 173-4) is: "...to split up meaning or function into a series of meaning functions. Each function will be defined as the use of some language form or element in relation to some context". Meaning, therefore, for him was regarded "...as a complex of contextual relations, and phonetics, grammar, lexicography and semantics each handles its own component of the complex in its appropriate context". As Berry-Rogghe (1974b: 9) points out, in Firth's theory, the terms 'meaning' and 'semantics' are not to be interpreted in the usual sense.

Instead of being confined to the realm of semantics, 'meaning' is the concern of all levels of linguistic analysis; for it interprets the structural relations not only within each level but also between the various levels, including the "situational level".

Mitchell (1971: 65) outlines three salient features of Firthianism:

(i) insistence on the centrality of meaning in all its aspects, (ii) adoption of a basically inductive approach to language study, and (iii) recognition of the priority of syntagmatic analysis. We will confine ourselves to the discussion of the last of these three features, i.e. syntagmatic or collocational analysis of meaning. 1

Collocation, therefore, is but one of the categories proposed by Firth for the study of the meaning of LIs. It is introduced to account for the tendency of LIs to co-occur in various contexts. As Firth saw it, at least part of the meaning of a LI can be obtained through the examination of its relationships with other LIs on the syntagmatic axis. Thus, at this so-called collocational level, Firth proposed to handle one part of lexical meaning, i.e. that part of meaning which is conveyed through the tendency of co-occurrence of LIs rather

^{1.} For further pursuit of the first two features, the reader is referred to Mitchell (1971: 65-68) as well as to Firth's above-mentioned works.

than grammatical function or context of situation (see Lyons 1977: 612).

It is perhaps for this reason that Firth suggested a contrast between 'collocation' and 'colligation' (the latter term refers to relationships of coccurrence holding between grammatical classes). An important distinction is drawn between these two notions: whereas the distribution of grammatical classes or colligations is a statement of 'occurrence' versus 'non-occurrence', the distribution of LIs or collocations is a statement of 'greater or lesser likelihood' of occurrence. Hence Firth referred to collocations as 'habitual', 'usual' or 'common' (see Berry-Rogghe 1974b: 105, and Firth 1968: 180-182).

For Firth, the collocational approach was intended to be a theory of meaning that could be applied to all languages. By means of collocational analysis, Firth suggested and indeed showed that it is possible and useful to approach the study of semantics through the investigation of 'restricted languages' or the stylistic analysis of various restricted registers.

From the starting point of Firth's theoretical outlines and views explicit and implicit in his writings, other scholars of what may be called the British (or Neo-Firthian) School of Linguistics have attempted to develop the collocational approach into a theory of lexis. Mitchell (1958) discussed syntagmatic relations in language. Halliday (1961) introduced a tentative outline of what lexis is and how lexical patterns can be distinguished from grammatical patterns. More elaborations were given by Halliday et al (1964) and Halliday (1966) attempted to give a rigorous definition of lexis through the description of the nature and functioning of lexical patterns in language. Sinclair (1966), Van Buren (1967), Mitchell (1971) and Sinclair and Jones (1974) discussed the possible techniques of studying lexical patterns in the light of Moreover, Berry-Rogghe (1974a) proposed an approach the available information. for the automatic identification of phrasal verbs through collocational analysis and Berry-Rogghe (1974b) made a study on the computation of collocations and their semantic significance.

We will not go into detailed discussion of the views presented by these authors and the techniques they followed in their studies. Nevertheless, in the light of the above authors' discussion of the notion of collocation and other relevant issues, we will attempt to show how the collocational approach works in the general analysis of lexical meaning.

2.3.1.1 Collocational analysis

Halliday (1961: 276) gives a more comprehensive definition of the term collocation than the one quoted above:

Collocation is the syntagmatic association of lexical items, quantifiable, textually, as the probability that there will occur, at n removes (a distance of n lexical items) from an item x, the items a, b, c... Any given item thus enters into a range of collocation, the items with which it is collocated being ranged from more to less probable.

As defined here, collocation is a useful criterion which enables us to group LIs on the basis of their co-occurrence into 'lexical sets'. A lexical set is defined as:

a grouping of words having approximately the same range of collocations. Train, car, taxi and so on frequently collocate with take, drive, passenger, engine and others. Contextually, the set is a grouping of words having the same contextual range, functioning in the same situation types. (Halliday in McIntosh and Halliday 1966: 20)

According to Sinclair (1966: 427) "A lexical set is a discrete part of an organization of the lexical items of a text where each lexical item appears once only".

Some examples are required to clarify the above points. If we take the LI book (N) as a node (i.e. an item whose total collocational relationships are under examination) and try to find out its habitual collocates, we may find, on analysing spoken and written texts, that among the collocates of book are: read, write, reserve, edit, paperback etc. These LIs form an open-ended grouping to which any other LIs found to be among the collocates of book are added, e.g. shelf, library, copyright etc. This means, then, lexical sets are set up SHEFFIELD

entirely on the basis of collocability of individual LIs. Of course, the assignment of a given LI to a particular lexical set does not imply that it cannot operate in another set too. The use of LIs and their frequency of occurrence are the only factors that determine the nature and number of the lexical sets in which they may be included.

It is evident that LIs vary enormously in their range of co-occurrence, or, put in other terms, the collocational restrictions imposed upon their use. Some LIs are almost collocationally unrestricted, e.g. LIs such as good and bad collocate virtually with any noun. On the other hand, there are others which are very restricted in their collocation and may co-occur only in conjunction with a few LIs, e.g. rancid often collocates with bacon, butter; addled with brains, eggs. Moreover, two LIs may have arguably the same denotative meaning yet their collocability be different. For example, pretty and handsome both have the meaning 'good looking' but they may be distinguished by the range of nouns with which they are likely to co-occur (see Leech 1974: 20):

As Leech points out, the ranges may of course overlap, thus pretty woman and handsome woman are both acceptable though they suggest different kinds of attractiveness. Accounting for this linguistic phenomenon, Palmer (1976: 97) distinguishes three kinds of collocational restriction: (i) those that are based wholly on the meaning of the LI as in the unlikely green cow, (ii) some are based on semantic range - a LI may be used with a whole set of LIs that have some semantic features in common. This accounts for the unlikeliness of The rhododendron passed away (pass away being used with animals and humans), and equally of the pretty boy (pretty being used with words denoting females), and

(iii) some restrictions are collocational in the strictest sense, involving neither meaning nor range, as <u>addled</u> with <u>eggs</u> and <u>brains</u> but not with, e.g. <u>whelks</u> and <u>intellect</u>.

It has been stated above that collocations are bounded only by probabilities. In other words, the distribution of LIs on the syntagmatic axis or collocation is a statement of greater or lesser likelihood of occurrence. This means that no collocations can be written off as impossible in language use. McIntosh (in McIntosh and Halliday 1966: 189) gives the example This lemon is sweet. As he says, sweet is less probable than sour which is more likely in the description of the taste of lemons (though sweet lemons are found in some parts of the world). But the collocation sweet lemon is by no means impossible, e.g. where two people are discussing two different colours of fabrics or dresses.

McIntosh's above example brings in the relevance and indeed the importance of the other Firthian notion of 'context of situation' in the discussion of collocations, e.g. the LI <u>run</u> habitually collocates with <u>boy</u>, <u>horse</u>, <u>hound</u>, <u>rabbit</u> etc. but because this LI is used in many contexts, it also collocates with <u>word</u>, <u>nose</u>, <u>business</u>, <u>water</u>, <u>tap</u> since we can have <u>the 2,000 running words</u>, <u>she has a running nose</u>, <u>he's been running this business for years</u>, <u>the running waters of the Nile</u> and <u>a running tap can flood a house</u>. Moreover, the context of situation may account for the acceptability of collocations that would otherwise be thought unacceptable, e.g. <u>Our garden smiled happily!</u> may not be acceptable in normal situations but the occurrence of this utterance and similar ones is conceivable in a fairy tale.

In fact the determination of the semantic acceptability or unacceptability of collocations is not an easy task. As McIntosh (ibid: 189) points out, it is not clear how we are able to decide in favour of one collocation and reject another. In his view:

As defined by Sincleir (1965, Ale: 1995)

...we do not write off collocations as impossible simply because we have never encountered them before. For if we did, we could not give our blessing to any new sentence except one which was made up, by some different permutation, of old familiar phrases. And even here we should have to say that those phrases collocated in a new way and could not therefore be legitimately juxtaposed.

In common with other linguists, proponents of the collocational approach involve deviant sentences to illustrate the adequacy of collocational analysis to handle problems of unacceptability and ambiguity. 1 Thus accounting for the eligibility of collocations, McIntosh points out that the native speaker of English will accept The aged chemistry professor caused a sensation, but reject The molten postage feather scored a weather though he has never encountered either of the utterances before. Obviously, the deviancy of the latter utterance is neither ontological nor grammatical but nevertheless, the collocation violates certain formal linguistic rules governing the regularities of co-occurrence between the LIs used in the utterance.

In taking two different attitudes towards these two utterances, McIntosh maintains, we do not rely only on the test of familiarity but also on the criterion of range. Therefore, McIntosh says, if an attempt is made to use molten with a LI having different collocational habits, such as feather "...the only experience we can fall back on to deal with it is experience of that aspect of linguistic form which in one way or another has to do with the phenomenon of range".

Confronted with molten feather we are likely to attempt to draw on this experience. We shall do so both for its direct bearing on these two words and for what it can provide for us in the way of other previously encountered words and collocations which in one way or another may seem analogous. According to our personal experience and how we draw upon it, we may react in at least three different ways:

(1) We may write the whole thing off as meaningless.

2. As defined by Sinclair (1966: 426) 'range' refers to the internal

consistency of the cluster.

^{1.} E.g. Chomsky (1965: 149) uses the sentence colourless green ideas sleep furiously; Katz and Fodor (1963: 200) unmarried bachelor and Lyons (1963: 20) John drinks cheese.

- (2) Because we recall having encountered this kind of possibility before, we may search around for some hitherto unexperienced meaning of one or other of the two words, in the hope that this single adjustment will put everything right.
- (3) In accordance with an intuitive understanding of 'range-extending' tendencies which are characteristic of language, ...we may seek to read into one or the other of the words some plausible extension of a familiar meaning, i.e. an extension of collocational range which we might be ready to accept on account of analogous phenomena with which we are already familiar in connection with other words, particularly other words whose collocational habits associate them fairly closely with molten itself.

The deviancy of the co-occurrence of molten and feather can then be explained by examining the range of these two LIs, e.g. if we examine the contexts in which molten is used, it will be possible to list a cluster of collocates which is likely to include gold, silver, lead etc. On the other hand, the cluster of feather is likely to include wing, bird, nest etc. The semantic analysis of these two clusters will reveal that the collocates of the two LIs do not share common semantic properties which may include 'hard', 'heavy', 'metal' etc. for molten and 'light', 'soft', 'fluffy' etc. for feather.

However, as McIntosh (ibid: 191) says, in examining deviant collocations we should always be guided by collocational evidence of a varied sort:

What this molten feather 'is' (if it is anything) will be decided not only on the basis of possibilities we can think of in the various ways suggested above, but also on the basis of such evidence as the kind of verb our phrase is in subject relation with and numerous similar factors.

Moreover, the assessment should include all the LIs in the linguistic context which may also affect our interpretation of the LI in question. The relevance of the situational context in this process has already been mentioned.

^{1.} The 'cluster of a lexical item' refers to the LIs that have a tendency to collocate with it in various contexts (see Sinclair 1966: 417).

2.3.1.2 Collocation and the definition of 'lexical item'

It has been stated above that a lexical item can be a single word, a pair or a group of words associated paradigmatically or syntagmatically etc. (see 2.1.1). However, no justification was given for this statement. This definition of the term 'lexical item' is founded on collocational criteria. As has been explained, the variations in word forms due to their grammatical functioning may be disregarded as far as their relationships of co-occurrence on the syntagmatic axis are concerned.

It has also been claimed that collocational analysis may help to clarify other lexical problem-areas, e.g. homonyms, compound and hyphenated words, idioms and proverbs etc. (see Halliday 1966).

Homonyms (discussed below, see 2.3.2.2) are commonly defined as words which have the same form, but differ in meaning (Lyons 1977: 22), e.g. English bank, capital; Arabic /Jubn/ (cheese and cowardliness), /Jami:1/ (beautiful and favour)...

On the syntagmatic level homonyms behave differently from one context to another as is evident from the following examples:

- (1) Tripoli, the capital of Libya, is on the Mediterranean.
- (2) There has been a new call for capital punishment in Britain.
- (3) Please fill in the form using capital letters.
 - (4) I receive a monthly statement from the bank.
- (5) Let's have a walk along the bank.

Obviously we cannot count all the occurrences of <u>capital</u> or <u>bank</u> in all these sentences as one LI because in each context the collocational behaviour of these forms is completely different from one context to the other. A

^{1.} It must be mentioned, however, that some studies on collocations have found evidence that differently inflected forms of the same LI may collocate in various ways, see Demonet et al (1975: 222).

collocational analysis of the above and other contexts will presumably reveal that these LIs have different clusters in each context. Therefore, on purely a collocational basis, homonyms are different LIs that have the same phonological and/or orthographic forms.

Similarly we can treat the so-called compound and hyphenated words

(i.e. words apparently containing two or more free forms) that function as single

units and refer to a particular area of meaning, e.g. https://pexpect.no.in/blackboard,

ladybird, hand-made etc. as single LIs rather than combinations

of words habitually collocating with each other. Collocationally, these

lexical units behave as single LIs and their collocates may not be semantically

related to those of their constituent parts when they behave as free forms.

A further category that may be accounted for in collocational terms includes idioms, phrasal verbs, proverbs and cliches. An idiom or a cliche is a habitual collocation of two or more words that have a tendency to co-occur in a particular order and refer to a particular area of meaning not readily deducible from its individual components, e.g. run out of, kick the bucket, give way, buy a pig in a poke etc. These strings include two or more orthographic free forms or words but collocationally they behave as single units and the lists of their collocates do not necessarily contain the collocates of their individual parts and vice versa, e.g. the cluster for run out of is likely to include petrol, bread, matches, steam etc. but unlikely fast, water or hotel which are among the collocates of run in some of its uses.

Therefore, these strings, though apparently consisting of formal items which in other contexts have the status of independent LIs have to be considered as single LIs here. Idioms and cliches are sometimes referred to as 'polymor-phemic' LIs but, this apparently does not help to identify them as such because 'polymorphemicness' is characteristic of other types of LI which are not necessarily idioms or cliches, e.g. compound and hyphenated words.

To conclude this section it may be stated that the collocational approach provides useful criteria for identifying LIs and describing lexical relations on the syntagmatic axis. However, this approach is not without its limitations. The practical problems involved in collocational analyses are immense: the examination of the collocational behaviour of a few LIs requires that the linguist should examine their various co-occurrences in different A full collocational description of the lexical structure of any contexts. language involves the analysis of a great number of texts. The collocational studies completed to date, e.g. those of Sinclair and Jones, Berry-Rogghe and Van Buren indicate that a huge amount of data is required for the collocational study of even a small group of LIs. The figure of twenty million words, Halliday (1966: 159) has suggested for the full description of English seem to have been rather optimistic. It is true, as S. Allen (1970: 260) points out, that the use of the computer "...has brought about a radical change in the working conditions of the linguist. What is more, it has made possible a variety of investigations that were unattainable before".

As Lyons (1977: 607) says,

The Firthian view of meaning has been influential; and it has something of value to contribute to what might ultimately count as a comprehensive and materially, as well as formally, adequate theory of semantics. Since no satisfactory formal theory of meaning has yet been proposed by anyone, the semanticist cannot afford to discount the insights and suggestions of someone like Firth...

2.3.2 Structural semantics

The central thesis of Saussurean and post-Saussurean linguistics is that:

...every language is a unique relational structure, or system, and that the units which we identify, or postulate as theoretical constructs, in analysing the sentence of a particular language (sounds, words, meanings, etc.) derive both their essence and their existence from their relationships with other units in the same language-system (Lyons 1977: 231-2).

According to this thesis, the meaning of any linguistic unit in the language is regarded as being determined by the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations which hold between that particular unit and other units in the language. The meaning of a given LI is, therefore, specified by the set of all the meaning postulates in which it occurs.

The motivation for extending the structural approach to the study of lexis has been its relative success in the domains of phonology and grammar. Therefore, the application of structural principles to the study of lexis is based on the prior belief that the lexicon of a language is structured like its phonology and grammar. Structural approaches, as Berry-Rogghe (1974b: 148) points out, have at least one important feature in common, namely that they:

...profess to be purely "linguistic" theories of meaning, based on the assumption that the structuring principle lies within language itself and does not derive from some extra-linguistic order.

In what follows we will discuss some of the approaches which have applied structural principles to the study of lexical meaning.

2.3.2.1 The Semantic Field Theory

According to proponents of the semantic field theory, the lexicon of a language can be classified into sets which are related to conceptual fields and divide up the semantic domain in a certain way. As defined by Lehrer (1974: 1), a semantic field is "...a 'group of words closely related in meaning, often subsumed under a general term'", e.g. in English the LIs red, white, green, blue, yellow etc. constitute the semantic field of 'colour'. The terms in this field are said to be in a relationship of contrast and each of them covers an area of meaning not covered by the others.

The field theory was put forward by a number of German and Swiss scholars in the 1920s and 1930s: notably by Ipsen (1924), Jolles (1934),

Porzig (1934), Trier (1934) (see Lyons 1977: 250). De Saussure's notion of 'association' has also been influential in this respect. Of course, as Spence (1961: 87) points out, the field idea dates back to the German Romantics and in particular to von Humboldt's idea of language as an organically articulated totality.

We will not go into detailed discussion of field theories. It suffices for our purposes to sum up the main principles of one of these theories, namely 'Trier's field theory'.

As reviewed in the works of Lyons, Lehrer, Spence and many others, Trier regarded the lexical structure of a language as an integrated system of LIs interrelated in sense. This system is in constant flux: not only may previously used LIs disappear and new ones be introduced in the system, but also the sense relations holding between LIs in the language continuously change and thus result in the widening or narrowing of the meaning of individual LIs (see Lyons 1977: 252).

Trier distinguished between 'lexical' and 'conceptual' fields. As he saw it, the lexical field divides the conceptual field into parts with meaning divisions. Conceptual fields shape the raw material of experience and divide it up without overlapping like the pieces of a completed jigsaw puzzle. The individual field is, then, a mosaic of related words or concepts. Within a conceptual field a LI acquires its meaning through distinguishing itself from its neighbours and from opposition to other LIs in the field. Furthermore, Trier believed that semantic fields are not isolated but rather that they "...join together to form in turn fields of higher orders, until finally the entire vocabulary is included" (Öhman 1953: 127). As he conceived them,

Fields are living realities intermediate between individual words and the totality of the vocabulary; as parts of a whole they share with words the property of being integrated in a larger structure...and with the vocabulary the property of being structured in terms of smaller units... (Trier quoted in Lyons 1977: 253, see also Ullmann 1957: 157).

Trier's theory has been praised as well as criticised. According to Ullmann (1962: 7) Trier's field theory "...opened a new phase in the history of semantics...". Those who have praised the theory favoured the structural approach it adopts for the analysis of linguistic meaning. On the other hand, many criticisms have been made of this theory. Spence (1961: 87) is sceptical of the whole idea of field semantics. In his view, some scholars strongly support the field idea because it implies a structural approach to meaning. While he shares this support he believes that "...'field' theories have generally been applied in too rigid a way and have sometimes been completely misapplied, to produce mere pseudo-structures".

In his criticism of Trier, Spence (ibid: 192) says:

Basically, Trier's field theory depends on the validity of several hypotheses about the nature of language and of thinking and the relationship between the two: firstly, that the whole vocabulary is organized, as he believes, within closely-articulated fields which fit into each other and delimit each other in the same way as the words within the individual fields, without any overlapping; and secondly, that the single word gets its meaning only through distinguishing itself from its field neighbours.

Spence (ibid: 94) maintains that arguments can be brought against

Trier's main postulate expressed in the first hypothesis, i.e. "...that closelyintegrated conceptual fields, expressed in linguistic ones, cover the whole field
of experience (and of the vocabulary) without gaps and without overlapping". In
his view, this is not generally true of the way vocabulary is organized in the
consciousness of the individual, let alone a heterogeneous group of individuals.
Therefore, "Basically, the theory is one about the way the mind works - and as
such, would be better tackled by psychologists than by linguists".

In fact there appears to be a unanimous rejection of this hypothesis.

Lehrer (1974: 17) points out the result of her own analysis of 'cooking words' indicates that there are very definitely gaps and overlaps. Moreover, as she says, the results of Berlin and Kay's study (1970: 154) of colour terms have

revealed that speakers of the same language disagree among themselves as to where to draw the line between colours, e.g. red and orange; and that the judgements of the same speaker may differ on various occasions. Their study also shows that there are some parts of the colour spectrum which are not covered at least by a basic term.

In reply to Trier's second hypothesis, Spence (ibid: 93) states that:

Whatever the validity of the oppositional approach in determining linguistic units such as phonemes and morphemes, it seems doubtful whether word-meanings <u>are</u> based on oppositions between words in the same conceptual field. This idea of the element only deriving its meaning from the system as a whole has to be qualified so much that it really ceases to have much point, e.g. I can know the Russian for 'to walk' (habitually) without knowing the Russian verbs for 'run', 'hop', 'skip' or 'jump' (habitually or otherwise).

Obviously, Spence's criticism of Trier on this point is not wholly justifiable, first, Trier is concerned with first language acquisition and use rather than learning a second language. Second, in his argument, Spence has ignored the fact that as an adult speaker of English, he has a prestructured semantic structure (i.e. of his Ll) which influences him in distinguishing semantic fields in Russian or any other language.

between his 'conceptual' and 'lexical' fields. Even when he attempted to separate the two fields, he seemed to indicate that conceptual divisions are expressed in linguistic ones (see Lehrer 1974: 16 and Spence 1961: 93). As will be seen later in the discussion of the phenomenon of linguistic relativity (see 3.3.1.2), some semanticists have expressed the view that conceptual fields are not identifiable outside linguistic ones. Furthermore, Trier has been criticised for his preoccupation with paradigmatic sense relations to the exclusion of syntagmatic relations (see Lyons 1977: 260-261).

It must be made clear, however, that despite the above and other criticisms of the field theory, the idea of field semantics has been of interest to many

researchers in the fields of linguistics and logic. As Lyons (1977: 267) says, though vaguely formulated,

...field-theory has proved its worth as a general guide for research in descriptive semantics over the last forty years; and it has undoubtedly increased our understanding of the way the lexemes of a language are interrelated in sense.

We will now turn to the discussion of two main approaches to the paradigmatic study of lexical meaning. These are 'sense relations' and 'componential analysis'. Both approaches are founded upon the above structural principles: the former has been developed as part of the field theory and the latter, though arising separately, has many affinities with the field idea.

2.3.2.2 Sense relations

By 'sense relations' is meant the paradigmatic relations of sense holding within sets of LIs. The discussion of sense relations rests on the principle that "...every linguistic item has its 'place' in a system and its function, or value, derives from the relations which it contracts with other units in the system..." (Lyons 1968: 443).

The approach in which the lexicon of a language is considered as being to some extent structured in terms of logical relations such as synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy etc. goes back to traditional semantics. This approach has been revived in modern semantics by some scholars, notably Lyons, Ullmann and many others who still believe that these relations are the most basic structuring principle of the lexis of a language. As Berry-Rogghe (1974b: 150) emphasizes, the main difference between the traditional and modern approach is that within the former, these relations are defined within the framework of a referential theory whereas a modern structural approach seeks to define them within a language. Lyons (1963: 59) made this perspective clear in an early major work:

I consider that the theory of meaning will be more solidly based if the meaning of a given linguistic unit is defined to be the set of (paradigmatic) relations that the unit in question contracts with other units of the language (in the

context or contexts in which it occurs), without any attempt being made to set up 'contents' for these units.

Under sense relations we will here discuss synonymy, incompatibility and antonymy, polysemy, homonymy and hyponymy. Other, less prominent paradigmatic relations will be defined in their appropriate place in later parts of this thesis. The role various sense relations play in communication and in L2 teaching and learning is also discussed in some detail in the sections dealing with the learners' communication strategies.

(i) Synonymy: synonymy is generally defined as the association of two or more linguistic forms with the same concept or meaning, e.g. <u>buy</u> and <u>purchase</u>, <u>world</u> and <u>universe</u> etc. Lyons (1968: 447) points out that "It is a widely-held view that there are few, if any, 'real' synonyms in natural languages". According to Ullmann (1957: 108-9) "...it is almost a truism that total synonymy is an extremely rare occurrence, a luxury which language can ill-afford". In his opinion, "Only those words can be described as synonymous which can replace each other in any given context, without the slightest alteration either in cognitive or in emotive import".

Lyons (1968: 448) draws a useful distinction between a 'stricter' and a 'looser' sense of synonymy. Loose synonyms are LIs that are similar in sense, e.g. pleasing, good, exact etc. may be regarded as synonyms of nice. Under the stricter interpretation, two LIs may be regarded as synonymous if they have the same sense. In his view, synonymy, like all sense relations, is context-bound. He says: "The main objection to the definition of synonymy proposed by Ullmann (and others) is that it combines two radically different criteria and prejudges the question of their interdependence".

According to Lyons, granted the validity of a distinction between 'cognitive' and 'emotive' meaning, we may use the term <u>complete</u> synonymy for equivalence of both cognitive and emotive meaning and restrict the term <u>total</u> synonymy to those synonyms that are interchangeable in all contexts. This

classification allows him to recognize four kinds of synonymy: (a) complete and total synonymy, (b) complete but not total, (c) incomplete but total, and (d) incomplete but not total. Lyons says:

It is complete and total synonymy that most semanticists have in mind when they talk of 'real' (or 'absolute') synonymy. It is undoubtedly true that there are very few such synonyms in language.

Lyons' treatment of synonymy seems satisfactory. However, one may elaborate further that there are many ways in which so-called synonymous LIs may differ: (a) two synonyms may be used in different styles, e.g. gentleman, man, chap, fellow and pass away, die, pop off etc; (b) some synonyms differ in their collocational behaviour and the restrictions imposed upon their co-occurrence, e.g. addled and rancid have more or less the same meaning but collocate differently; addled eggs, brains, but rancid butter, cheese; (c) some synonyms may belong to different dialects, e.g. Scottish English flesher and Standard English butcher; (d) some synonymous LIs differ primarily in their emotive expressive meaning, e.g. negro, nigger.

Obviously, a definition of synonymy such as the one proposed by Ullmann (i.e. complete and total synonymy) is too narrow for purposes of L2 vocabulary teaching and learning and in particular the specific purposes of discussing L2 learners' lexical errors. For such purposes, it seems more useful to loosen the requirements for synonymy. Therefore, synonymy will be conceived of as the interchangeability of two or more LIs in some, but not necessarily all, contexts as may be illustrated by the following example:

Through patience and persistence one can $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{accomplish} \\ \text{achieve} \\ \text{attain} \\ \text{reach} \end{array} \right\}$ one's objectives.

Moreover, a single LI may be synonymous with two or more LIs related syntagmatically, e.g. \underline{fly} : travel by $\begin{cases} plane \\ air \end{cases}$; \underline{drive} : travel by $car; \underline{sail}$: travel by $\begin{cases} ship \\ sea \end{cases}$.

(ii) Incompatibility and antonymy: incompatibility is the term used to describe the sense relation holding within a many-member set (i.e. a set of more than two LIs). The LIs in such a set are said to be incompatible. Generally, the lexical relation of incompatibility is established in terms of 'meaning exclusion'. Therefore, in an incompatible set of LIs, the assertion of one member of the set excludes the other members, e.g. X is white excludes X is black, green or yellow. On the other hand, its negation, i.e. X is not white does not entail the assertion of any of the other members of the set.

unordered sets of incompatible LIs in which there is no natural way, from a semantic point of view, of arranging the LIs in any kind of order, e.g. the colour terms in any language (i.e. in the layman's use of them), and (b) cyclically and hierarchically-ordered sets in which the LIs in the set are ordered in terms of successivity, e.g. the LIs denoting units or periods of time such as 'parts of the day': morning, noon, afternoon, evening; 'seasons': spring, summer, autumn and winter, or serially-ordered sets in which the sense of each LI is determined by its position in the rank order, e.g. within the set of LIs for military ranks the LIs general, lieutenant, corporal have their meaning between the outmost members, i.e. field marshal and private (see Lyons 1977: 289-290).

Antonymy, on the other hand, is the traditional term used in reference to the phenomenon of oppositeness of meaning which is found in all languages.

Most semanticists (e.g. Lyons, Palmer...) recognize three kinds of opposites:

'antonyms', 'complementaries' and 'converse LIs'.

A: Antonyms: these opposites are antonyms par excellence, e.g.

big:small; tall:short; wide:narrow; old:young etc. It is characteristic of
these adjectives that they may be seen in terms of degrees of the quality
involved. Sapir (1944) suggested that these opposites are better handled in
terms of 'gradability'. As Lyons (1977: 271) says, grading is bound up with

distinguishing feature of these

the operation of comparison which can be either implicit or explicit.

According to Lyons (1968: 463) explicitly comparative sentences fall into two types: (1) two things may be compared with respect to a particular 'property' and this 'property' predicated of the one in greater degree than it is of the other, e.g. Our house is bigger than yours; (2) two 'states' of the same thing may be compared with respect to the 'property' in question, e.g. Our house is bigger than it used to be. Moreover, the two types of explicit comparison may be combined in the same sentence, e.g. Our house is bigger than yours used to be.

On the other hand, in sentences where antonyms are not explicitly gradable, the denial of the one does not imply the assertion of the other, e.g. Our garden is not big does not imply our garden is small (although our garden is big does imply our garden is not small) (see Lyons 1968: 465).

A further important feature of gradable antonyms is that in each pair one term is 'marked' while the other is 'unmarked'. Therefore, only one of the terms (the unmarked) is used for asking about the degree of the quality as well as for the answers to that, e.g.

How {high is it? old is she? wide is the space?

It's 10 feet high. She's fifteen years old. It's four metres wide.

but not:

How is it?

*young is she?

*narrow is the space?

*It's two feet low.
*She's ten years young.

*It's four metres narrow.

Exceptionally, however, the questions, e.g. how short is John? or how small is the garden? are used. These do not invalidate the above statements because such questions are based on the presupposition that John is short and the garden is small. In other words the question is marked and not neutral.

B: Complementaries: opposites that come under this category are seen as complementary to each other, e.g. <a href="mailto:mailto

implies the assertion of the other and vice versa, the assertion of the one implies the denial of the other, e.g. <u>Mary is not married</u> implies <u>Mary is single</u> and <u>Mary is married</u> implies <u>Mary is not single</u>. However, as Palmer (1976: 80-1) says, on a few unusual occasions we can treat some complementaries as gradable since we can have: <u>John is more married</u> and <u>Jane is more female</u>.

Lyons (1968: 461) suggests that complementarity may be regarded as a special case of incompatibility holding between two-term sets. Complementaries seem to satisfy the conditions for incompatibility since in normal usage the assertion of one member of the set implies the denial of each of the other members in the set taken separately and the denial of one member of a set implies the assertion of the disjunction of all the other members. As Lyons puts it,

In a two-term set of incompatible terms, there is only one other member. Conjunction and disjunction therefore fall together: 'both \underline{y} and \underline{z} ' and 'either \underline{y} or \underline{z} ' amount to the same thing if \underline{y} and \underline{z} have the same value.

(C) Converse LIs: converseness is the kind of oppositeness holding between pairs like <u>buy:sell</u>; <u>husband:wife</u>; <u>lend:borrow</u> etc. <u>husband</u> is then the converse of <u>wife</u> and <u>wife</u> is the converse of <u>husband</u>.

It is characteristic of converse LIs that they exhibit the reversal relationship between the two concepts in question, e.g. if A buys from B then B sells to A and if X is the husband of Y then Y is the wife of X.

In fact converseness can be extended to many pairs of LIs which express this reversal relationship, for instance, LIs referring to spatial position, e.g. above:below; north of:south of. Similarly the grammatical categories of 'active' and 'passive' are conversely related, e.g. If A gives B C then B is given C by A (Palmer 1976: 82).

(iii) Polysemy and homonymy: polysemy and homonymy are well-known phenomena in all languages. Homonymy has been defined as the association of two or more different meanings with the same form. Polysemy, on the other hand, may be defined as the association of two or more related meanings with the same

form. Holec (1974: 19) defines a polysemic LI as:

Un terme polysémique est un terme dont le signifiant comporte plusieurs signifiés caractérisés par le fait qu'ils sont en partie identiques. L'existence de ces signifiés est rélevée par la commutation et la distribution.

The following examples may illustrate the above definitions:

- (1) He was shot in the head.
- (2) I'm going to see the head this afternoon.
- (3) She dislikes the head on her beer.
- (4) We left him near the head of the river.

...etc.

Similar examples can be given with many other LIs, e.g. <u>foot</u>, <u>leg</u>, <u>eye</u>, <u>hand</u>, <u>key</u>, <u>hot</u>, <u>channel</u> etc. These examples make it clear that polysemic LIs have direct or basic senses and other extended or derived senses obtained through metaphoric uses of language in various situational contexts.

Although we have attempted in the above definitions to distinguish between polysemy and homonymy, a clear-cut distinction between the two phenomena is not always possible. The criteria suggested earlier in terms of 'relatedness' and 'unrelatedness' of senses are basically founded on intuitive and historical norms. In a conventional dictionary, polysemes are listed under the same entry but homonyms are treated under separate entries. This is, however, of little help since the lexicographer often makes his decisions in the light of the abovementioned criteria, e.g. table as 'a piece of furniture' and 'a matrix of numbers' are listed under the same entry as two senses of the same LI in both The Shorter Oxford Dictionary and The American Heritage Dictionary.

According to Lehrer (1974: 10) in the field theories the problems of distinguishing polysemy and homonymy are avoided because LIs belonging to different semantic fields will be treated as different LIs (i.e. homonyms).

The criterion of collocation which has been discussed above may prove useful for the separation of homonymy and polysemy. The examination of sets of

collocates of each LI may enable us to determine whether two items have related senses (i.e. polysemes) or mere identical forms (i.e. homonyms). However, collocational studies are still at their elementary stage and it may be long before linguistic phenomena such as polysemy and homonymy are studied collocationally.

For the purposes of discussion of L2 learners' lexical errors and indeed the general purposes of L2 teaching and learning, a clear-cut distinction between homonyms and polysemes is not essential. The criteria of formal and intuitive knowledge of the language in question besides the criterion of the context of situation may be sufficient to show whether the learner is confusing two related meanings or two formally similar LIs.

(iv) <u>Hyponymy</u>: hyponymy is a sense relation holding between a LI with a more general meaning and another with a more specific meaning. Technically, the former is known as the 'superordinate term' and the latter as its 'hyponym'.

'Hyponymy' is now the standard term for this sense relation.

Traditionally, in both logic and linguistic studies this sense relation had been discussed in terms of 'class inclusion', e.g. the meanings or senses of tulip, rose, daffodil are said to be included in the meaning of flower and the senses of cow, camel, horse etc. are included in the sense of animal. However, as Lyons (1977: 291) says, there are problems in defining hyponymy in these terms. In his view

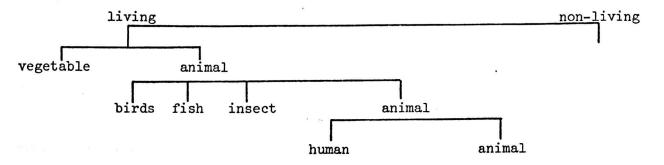
...it is unclear whether we should say that a hyponym is included in its superordinate or a superordinate in its hyponym(s). If we consider the extension...of lexemes, we would say that the superordinate lexeme is non-inclusive; but as far as the intension...of lexemes is concerned the hyponym is more inclusive (tulips have all the defining properties of flowers, and certain additional properties which distinguish them from roses, daffodils etc.).

It is for this reason that Lyons suggests that the term 'inclusion' be used for logic and the term 'hyponymy' used in semantics.

The paradigmatic relation of hyponymy is defined in terms of unilateral implication, e.g. <u>crimson</u> is established as a hyponym of <u>red</u> and <u>buy</u> as a

hyponym of get by virtue of the implications: she bought a crimson dress implies she bought a red dress and she bought it from a store implies she got it from a store. Since the sense relation is unilateral, the converse implications do not hold and therefore red does not imply crimson nor get implies buy (ibid: 292).

Moreover, Lyons (ibid: 292) states that hyponymy is a transitive relation: if \underline{x} is a hyponym of \underline{y} and \underline{y} is a hyponym of \underline{z} then \underline{x} is a hyponym of \underline{z} , e.g. <u>lion</u> is a hyponym of <u>mammal</u> and <u>mammal</u> is a hyponym of <u>animal</u>, then <u>lion</u> is a hyponym of <u>animal</u>. Needless to say, with polysemic LIs, it will be noticed a LI can be superordinate for itself. In the following example <u>animal</u> occurs three times as the superordinate term (Palmer 1976: 77):



Although the rule for hyponymy as "...a paradigmatic relation of sense which rests upon the encapsulation in the hyponym of some syntagmatic modification of the superordinate lexeme" (Lyons 1977: 294) applies to all types of LI, the test of entailment for hyponymy in terms of unilateral implication does not seem to work in the same way for other parts of speech as it does for nouns. As Lyons (ibid) points out, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and other parts of speech cannot be inserted into the formula 'x is a kind of' without prior nominalization and even then the resultant sentence is rather unnatural, if not altogether unacceptable (e.g. 'buying is a kind of getting'). One may also add that collocational restrictions seem to play their role in this respect, e.g. I bought some bread from the shop entails I got some bread from the shop but although committing something implies doing something, I committed a crime does not

entail *I did a crime. For this reason we have proposed a dichotomy between 'hyponymy proper' and 'general verbs' for the discussion of the learners' lexical errors and the strategies they indicate (see pp. 201-202).

2.3.2.3 Componential analysis

The componential analysis approach to the study of lexical meaning is basically founded on the principle that the total meaning of a LI can be analysed or broken down into a set of semantic features (or components). As defined by Lehrer (1974: 46) semantic features are

...theoretical constructs which can characterize the vocabulary of a language; each lexical item will be defined in terms of the components. In a sense, a dictionary definition is an informal componential analysis, in which each part of the definition is a component.

Componential analysis was developed in the field of anthropology for the descriptive and comparative study of kinship terms in different languages, e.g. Lounsbury (1956 and 1964), Goodenough (1956), Wallace and Atkin (1960) etc. Soon after, the technique attracted semanticists in their study of lexical meaning, e.g. Lamb (1964), Bendix (1966), Nida (1975) and Lehrer (1974).

Nida (1975: 32) explains the objectives of approaching the study of lexical meaning via componential analysis:

In order to analyze any referential meaning...one must identify those "necessary and sufficient" features that distinguish the meaning of any one form from every other form which might compete for a place within the same semantic territory.

Moreover, he emphasizes that in addition to discovering these semantic features, it is necessary also to find out what relations there are between them, since that is also crucial for the understanding of meaning.

Van Buren (1975: 134-6) lists three main tasks for componential analysis:

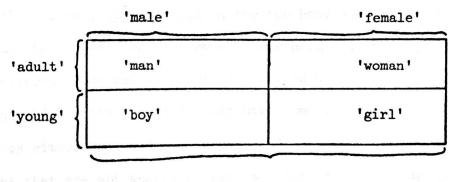
(i) To discover and state as economically as possible what semantic components or distinctive features there are in a language and more specifically across languages which amounts to a statement about the structural properties of

a vocabulary system. However, as Van Buren points out, this is an immense task and in practice only a few well-defined fields, e.g. 'kinship', 'colour', 'cooking', have been studied.

- (ii) To label the semantic features in such a way that they reflect cognitive reality.
- (iii) Componential analysis is seen by its enthusiastic advocates as being the postulation and empirical confirmation of all those features "... whose corresponding cognitive reality resides in the collective mind of the human race".

Scholars and researchers have applied different versions of componential analysis according to their objectives and fields of interest. The nature and purpose of our study do not require the evaluation and discussion of these various versions and their similarities or differences. Our concern is limited to showing how the technique works in general terms in the analysis of lexical meaning.

The way componential analysis works can best be explained by examples given by scholars. According to Leech (1974: 96), "The analysis of word meanings is often seen as a process of breaking down the sense of a word into its minimal distinctive features, that is, into components which contrast with other components' e.g. man, woman, boy, girl and other LIs in the field of 'human race' and the relations holding between them can illustrate this adequately as can be seen in the diagram:



'human'

Leech explains that the diagram illustrates two dimensions of meaning: that of 'sex' and that of 'adulthood'. A third dimension is presupposed by isolating the field as a whole, e.g. 'human' and 'non-human' species.

A more convenient way to represent these senses, Leech says, "...is to write formulae in which the dimensions are expressed by feature symbols like HUMAN and ADULT":

```
+HUMAN 'human' +ADULT 'adult'
-HUMAN 'animal, brute' -ADULT 'young'

+MALE 'male'
-MALE 'female'
```

The meanings of the above LIs can then be given by combinations of these features:

```
man: + HUMAN + ADULT + MALE
woman: + HUMAN + ADULT - MALE
boy: + HUMAN - ADULT + MALE
girl: + HUMAN - ADULT - MALE
```

Lyons (1968: 470) gives a more general example:

man	woman	child
bull	COW	calf
rooster	hen	chicken
drake	duck	duckling
stallion	mare	foal
ram	ewe	lamb

Lyons states that the native speaker's intuitive appreciation of the meaning of these LIs enables him to group them in the following order:

```
man : woman : child : : bull : cow : calf.
```

As Lyons says, this equation expresses the fact that, from a semantic point of view, the LIs man, woman, child on the one hand and bull, cow, calf on the other all have something in common. Furthermore, that bull and man have some features in common which are not shared by either cow and woman or by calf and child; that cow and woman have some features in common that are not shared by either bull and man or calf and child; that calf and child have features that are not shared by bull and man or cow and woman. What these groups of LIs have in common we will call a semantic feature.

Componential analysis, as is apparent, presupposes aspects of the semantic field theory: the analyst necessarily investigates a set of LIs in a carefully delineated area which have basic semantic features in common but whose meanings contrast with each other by virtue of one or more differences in respect of other features (see Lehrer 1974: 46-7 and Lounsbury 1956: 193).

Moreover, Palmer (1976: 88) indicates that componential analysis has been used to bring out the logical relations between LIs e.g. by giving man the component [+ male] and pregnant [- male] we can rule out the occurrence of *pregnant man.

Leech (1974: 97) maintains that by using componential formulae we can show the synonymy of two LIs by giving them both the same componential definitions, e.g. adult (in its human sense) and grown up can be given the same definition [+ HUMAN], [+ ADULT] though they clearly differ in stylistic meaning, the one being rather formal, the other colloquial.

Other scholars have suggested that it is possible to distinguish between polysemic and homonymic LIs by counting or comparing semantic features.

According to Weinreich (1963: 177-180) polysemes must have at least two semantic features in common. Conversely, LIs are homonymous if they have no features in common but share the same form.

Of course, componential analysis has its advocates and critics. As Lyons (1977: 333) points out:

The recent literature of linguistic semantics is full of programmatic statements to the effect that the meaning of all lexemes in all languages can, and must, be accounted for in terms of the combination of allegedly more basic, and possibly universal, sense-components.

But as has been mentioned earlier, only a few lexical fields in relatively few languages have been investigated.

Even proponents of the technique of componential analysis recognize its inherent limitations. Nida (1975: 19) points out that:

It would be a mistake to think that one can always describe easily the relations between related meanings. For some sets of meanings there may be no readily available terms with which one can talk about the differences.

E.g. although we recognize differences between the colours <u>violet</u>, <u>blue</u>, <u>green</u>, <u>yellow</u>, <u>red</u> etc. we have no metalanguage to describe these differences.

Nida (ibid: 62-3) also draws attention to the difficulties that it is not always possible to find meanings which constitute a contiguous set and that some LIs differ only in 'degree' or 'intensity', e.g. <u>toss</u> and <u>hurl</u> refer to 'types of throwing' but their major difference is one of intensity.

Palmer (1976: 88), too, argues that componential analysis does not handle all semantic relations well. In his opinion it is difficult to reduce the relational opposites to features, e.g. the relation of parent/child cannot simply be handled by assigning components to each unless those components are in some sense directional. He suggests that it is possible, as Leech does, to treat these as having the same features but in a different 'direction' "...but by introducing 'direction' into components we are, in effect, admitting that they ARE relational and not simply 'atomic' components of meaning". Moreover, the psychological reality of semantic features as well as their alleged universality have often been called into doubt (Lyons 1977: 333).

2.3.2.4 Katz-Fodor semantic theory

A theoretical approach that merits discussion in this part of our study and indeed one that should be taken into consideration, besides the above approaches, in working out a framework for the discussion of L2 learners' lexical errors is the theory presented by Katz and Fodor (1963).

Katz and Fodor's approach is an attempt to formulate an outline of a theory in which semantics and syntax are combined. As has been mentioned earlier, the relationship between these two levels has become one of the central issues in modern linguistics.

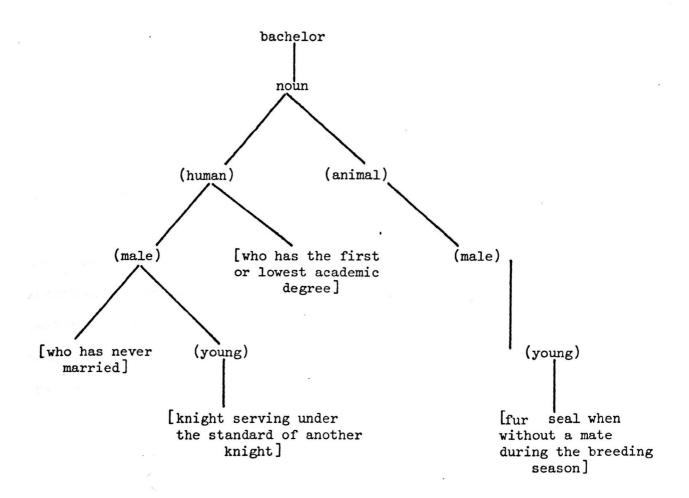
In their attempt to formulate such a theory, Katz and Fodor have combined the principles of componential analysis with those of TG. As Katz

and Fodor see it the central problem for a semantic theory is the 'projection problem', i.e. a semantic description of a language must provide <u>rules</u> which will project and generate an infinite number of sentences in such a way that these rules will reflect the native speaker's ability to produce and understand an infinite number of novel sentences of his language. Moreover, such a semantic theory must mark the distinction between semantically anomalous and semantically regular sentences (p. 186).

Katz and Fodor's theory has two components: 'a dictionary entry' and 'projection rules'.

The dictionary entry provides representations of the semantic characteristics of LIs that are necessary to account for the meaning of sen-The dictionary entry consists of two parts: (a) a grammatical section which specifies the grammatical categories to which the LIs belong, and (b) a semantic section which represents the various meanings of the LIs. The semantic section is divided into 'paths' according to the number of senses a LI has. The meanings of LIs are indicated by 'markers' (shown in round brackets), e.g. (human), (animal), (male) etc. as well as 'distinguishes' (placed in square brackets). The following diagram is given by the authors as a dictionary entry for bachelor and distinguishes its four meanings: (a) 'a man who has never married', (b) 'someone who holds the first or lowest academic degree', (c) 'a young knight serving under another', and (d)' a young unmated fur seal during the mating season!:

^{1.} Although Katz and Fodor speak about sentences, their theory is based on word meanings.



According to Katz and Fodor, dictionary entries are not sufficient on their own to determine the correct number and content of interpretations of a sentence or account for semantic acceptability or ambiguity. Therefore, projection rules are needed to take account of the semantic relations between LIs and the interaction between semantic and syntactic information. Projection rules are then important in that they mark semantic acceptability and ambiguity as well as aspects of paraphrase. This syntactic information then will help in the disambiguation of some sentences, e.g. if we have the sentence the stuff is light which is ambiguous (i.e. has two interpretations) projection rules can be applied to disambiguate this sentence by providing interpretations for the LI light, i.e. in terms of its two meanings related to 'colour' and 'weight'.

Projection rules are then introduced to provide further branching into paths to represent the number of markers (i.e. features or components) of the LI(s) in question.

This has been a brief and in many respects an oversimplified presentation of Katz and Fodor's theory. We will not go into a discussion of the amendments made by Katz in response to scholars' criticism of the theory. Our objective has been to explain the main principles of the Katz-Fodor approach and its contribution to the study of lexical meaning.

Obviously this theory has certain advantages in that it attempts to integrate semantic and syntactic information which are both necessary for the semantic interpretation of linguistic units. This theory also reflects recent approaches and views about the nature of language and language acquisition, particularly the creative aspect of language use. Nevertheless, there has been some criticisms of Katz and Fodor's theory which may be summed up under the following points:

- (1) Bolinger (1965: 566-9) points out that the theory cannot account for the native speaker's linguistic ability while at the same time maintaining that there should be an economy of markers. In his opinion, each dictionary entry will have an interminable string of markers if it must account for the native speaker's ability in his language. Palmer (1976: 45 and 90) raises the same criticism when he states that any piece of information can be used to disambiguate and can, thus, function as a marker.
- (2) According to Bolinger (1965: 558-61) there is no need for the dualism of markers and distinguishers. He shows that it is possible to do away with this dualism by turning the distinguisher into a string of markers. Moreover, he believes that the distinction between the marker and distinguisher does not appear to correspond to any clear division in natural language (although Katz has dropped the distinction in later versions of the theory but the problem of infiniteness remains as specified under (1) above).
 - (3) Katz and Fodor have also neglected certain aspects of semantics

^{1.} For further reading and discussion of this approach see Katz (1972).

that are inherent components of the native speaker's knowledge of his language. These include: metaphoric, idiomatic and stylistic uses of language as well as the relevance of the situational context in the process of communication.

(4) According to Katz and Fodor's theory <u>bachelor</u> constitutes one LI with four readings. Many semanticists seem to disagree with the authors on this point, e.g. according to McCawley (1968: 125-6):

...one could perfectly well take the notion 'lexical item' to mean the combination of a single semantic reading with a single underlying phonological shape, a single syntactic category, and a single set of specifications of exceptional behaviour with respect to rules. Under this conception of 'lexical item', which was proposed by Weinreich (1966), there would simply be four lexical items pronounced bachelor rather than a single four-ways ambiguous lexical item. There are a number of compelling reasons for believing that language operates in terms of Weinreich lexical items rather than Katz-Fodor lexical items....

Moreover, Katz and Fodor's view clashes with some of the approaches discussed above, e.g. a collocational analysis may reveal that <u>bachelor</u> in each of its four uses keeps different collocational relationships on the syntagmatic axis which can allow us to recognize four semantically unrelated LIs.

Conclusion

The above discussion of the principles and hypotheses of the various theoretical approaches to lexical meaning explains the statement made earlier that no one has as yet presented a satisfactory comprehensive theory of semantics. As has been seen, there are many approaches and each can be applied to handle certain aspects of lexical meaning and lexical relations of language. As Leech (1969: 3) puts it, "The ability of any theory to account for more than a selection of the semantic facts of natural languages has yet to be established".

The above statements, then, imply that there is no one particular approach the researcher in the fields of lexis and semantics can adhere to.

The lexical structure of a language is a network in which LIs are related to each other in a variety of ways. "There is no single semantic description which shows all of these relationships, and different approaches highlight different aspects of the network" (Lehrer 1974: 7).

This is also the approach we will adopt in this study for the purposes of linguistic description of our learners' lexical errors. It is an eclectic approach which makes use of some aspects of all the theories discussed above. Indeed, for our specific purposes we may need to refer to particular features present in one theoretical approach but not in the others. For instance, we will refer to the collocational approach for the analysis of errors that seem to violate restrictions of co-occurrence on the syntagmatic level; to structural semantics to discuss the sense relations holding between LIs; to componential analysis for investigating the semantic content of LIs etc. Moreover, the theoretical information provided by the above approaches will be useful in the comparison of lexical categories and semantic phenomena in the learners' LI and the L2. Needless to say, the various linguistic notions, e.g. 'denotation', 'connotation', 'hyponymy', 'synonymy' and so on, which have been discussed under the various approaches, provide the metalanguage required for the description of many categories of lexical errors and the strategies inferred from them. Therefore, the various theoretical approaches to lexical meaning and their rich terminology, though confusing sometimes, are useful components for establishing a general framework within which the learners' interlanguage can be studied from a lexical point of view.

CHAPTER THREE

Sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistic Aspects of L2 Lexical Acquisition

3.1 Sociolinguistic Factors in L2 Lexical Acquisition

Language as a medium of communication varies according to the different situations in which it is used. Obviously, we do not use language in isolation, but within the framework of social contexts. As Wilkins (1972: 134) says, "Language will occur almost wherever we come into contact with other people and will be different according to the nature of the contact". In short, various social contexts and activities play an important role in our selection of linguistic forms and in the way we use them. These issues of what we do with language in different situations are studied in a field of General Linguistics known as 'sociolinguistics' (sometimes institutional linguistics).

Our discussion of sociolinguistic issues will be confined to those phenomena which we consider as most relevant to problems of L2 lexical acquisition in general and discussion of L2 learners' lexical errors and the strategies they indicate in particular. These include 'dialect' and 'register'.

3.1.1 Dialect

As defined by Halliday et al (1964: 87) a 'dialect' is "...a variety of a language distinguished according to the user: different groups of people within the language community speak different dialects". Gregory and Carroll (1978: 12) use the term to refer to "...the relationships of language habits with the speaker's place on dimensions of individuality, time, place, social class and speech community". However, one must elaborate that a prior condition

^{1.} Another important phenomenon for our purposes in this study is 'diglossia'. This is discussed within the linguistic situation in Libya (see 1.4).

for establishing distinct dialects within a given language community is that the differences must be on all the linguistic levels, i.e. phonology, grammar and lexis. Where the differences are limited to the phonological level we will have different accents.

According to the above definitions, therefore, each language community includes dialects of the same language. Scholars often distinguish three types of dialect: (a) regional or geographical dialect; (b) temporal dialect, and (c) social dialect. Combinations of these are also possible, e.g. 'socioregional'. In other words, then, what a speaker utters on particular occasions reflects, in part at least, his geographical provenance, generation and the social class to which he belongs.

Regional or geographical dialects are set up on the basis of the speaker's geographical provenance, e.g. within the English language community it is possible to distinguish the following regional dialects: British English (BE), American English (AmE), Canadian English (CE), Scottish English (SE), Australian English (AE) and many others. All these dialects or varieties of English which are spoken by more or less homogeneous groups of people, make up the English language community. It is also possible to recognize further subregional dialects within the above broad categorization.

A temporal dialect is a variety of language related to the provenance of the speaker (or writer) or the text he has produced, in the time dimension, e.g. 'contemporary English', 'Elizabethan English', etc. (Catford 1965: 85).

Social dialects, or sociolects, on the other hand, are found in most of the language communities in which boundaries between social classes are noticeable. In other words, the organization of people into different social classes according to economic, educational, religious and other dimensions is realized linguistically in the existence of social dialects, e.g. in England, these differences form a continuum rather than discrete sociolects between upper

and non-upper or lower working classes. In linguistic terms, what one says will be partially determined by where one fits in the hierarchy of social structure.

It has been pointed out that one of the criteria for establishing dialectal differences within a particular language community are variations on the lexical level. Such lexical differences may include:

(i) Two lexical forms (i.e. of the same LI) may be pronounced or written differently in two dialects of the same language, e.g. on the phonological level the LIs right, side, mile etc. are pronounced differently by the speakers of BE and SE thus: [raIt], [saId], [maIl] and [rejt], [sejd], [mejl] respectively. On the other hand, LIs which contain the phoneme /o/ are often pronounced differently in BE and AmE, e.g. not, comedy etc.: BE [npt], [kpmIdI]; AmE [nat] and [kamIdI]. The LI tomato is also pronounced differently in BE and AmE thus [təma:təu] and [təmeItəu]. In terms of social dialectal differences the LI garage is pronounced differently by 'middle class' and 'working class' people in England, thus [gæ'ra:3] and ['garId3] respectively.

On the orthographic level some differences of spelling are found between BE and AmE as can be seen from these examples:

BE: colour, honour, programme, practise (v)

AmE: color, honor, program, practice (v)

Strictly speaking the above do not constitute lexical differences though they may on some occasions present difficulties to L2 learners.

- (ii) Some LIs may exist in one dialect but not in the other, e.g. throng and cairns are found in Yorkshire and SE; jerks, phonies, guy etc. in AmE; kookaburra and wonga pigeon in AE. 1
- (iii) A particular LI may be used by all the language community with a given meaning but it may acquire additional meanings in individual dialects, e.g. starve has the general meaning 'to suffer hunger' but it is also used in

^{1.} I owe these examples to Quirk (1968: 93-4).

the sense 'to suffer cold' in Northern England and the Midlands; yellow generally refers to 'yellow colour' but it is also used in the sense of 'cowardly' in AmE.

(iv) In addition to the above relatively clearcut differences, there are some less noticeable ones such as using different collocational patterns and having different connotations for some LIs. Needless to say, the frequency of occurrence of LIs and collocations may not be similar in all the dialects of a given language.

Sociolinguistic variations within a particular language community seem to have their pedagogical implication for children in the same language community. According to the findings reported by Bernstein (1972) in a study on social class, language and socialization, different kinds of meaning are made available to working and middle class children through the use of different speech codes by the social classes they belong to.

For purposes of L2 teaching and learning, the category of dialect is not very important: the L2 learner is often introduced to what is called the 'standard variety'. This is supposedly a regionally-neutral variety of the Thus, a learner of English is taught Standard English (Southern British English) and a learner of French is introduced to Parisian French. Although this is the most practical solution, and is often effective, it does not guarantee that the learner is not going to encounter difficulties in understanding and using LIs that are peculiar to or used differently in regional or social dialects. Moreover, the adherence to the standard variety may have its bad effects on the learner's personal relationships in the language community at large and the assimilation of its culture. While the standard variety will meet most of the learner's educational and essential communicative needs including formal relationships, it may act as an obstacle on the learner's participation in many informal activities in which the colloquial varieties are the codes.

3.1.2 Register

'Register' is the term used to account for what people do with their language and therefore this variety of language is distinguished according to use (Halliday et al 1964: 87). A more rigorous definition is given by Halliday (1978: 111):

A register can be defined as the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type. It is the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context.

As is apparent, one's utterances vary according to the context of situation in which language is used and different contexts of situation require different LIs and collocations. The LIs and collocations used to describe a horse race will be different from those used in a lecture on physics and those used in the latter may not be used in a criminal court.

In the discussion of the category of register, most scholars (e.g. Halliday et al 1964, Catford 1965, Halliday 1978) suggest three parameters that can be taken into account in distinguishing various registers. These are: the 'field of discourse', the 'mode of discourse', and the 'style of discourse' or 'tenor'.

(a) The field of discourse:

As Gregory and Carroll (1978: 28) see it, the field of discourse is "...the linguistic reflection of the purposive role of the language user in the situation in which the text has occurred..." Field of discourse includes the topic or subject matter of the linguistic event. According to this dimension one may distinguish technical or specialized registers (e.g. legal register) and non-technical registers.

It can be shown that registers differ in their lexical content according to their fields of discourse. LIs found in one register may not be used in another, e.g. compassionate and merciful are more likely to occur in the religious register than in the political or legal registers. In many

instances some LIs are used in more than one register but their ranges of occurrence are different from one register to the other. Moreover, as Halliday et al (1964: 88) point out:

Some lexical items suffice almost by themselves to identify a certain register: 'cleanse' puts us in the language of advertising, 'probe' of newspapers, especially headlines, 'tablespoonful' of recipes or prescriptions, 'neckline' of fashion reporting or dress-making instructions.

This of course does not mean that it is always possible to identify distinct registers through the examination of individual LIs. It is often the habitual collocation of two or more LIs that identifies a particular register: <u>field</u> may be neutral on its own but <u>field artillery</u> puts us in the military register, field study in that of academic research etc.

(b) Mode of discourse:

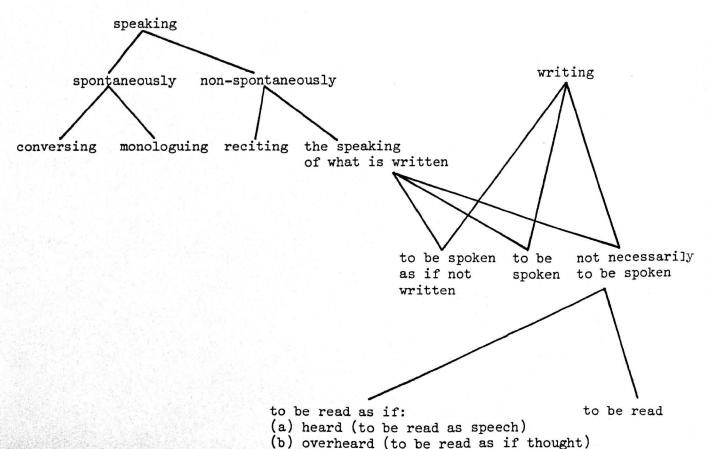
The mode of discourse "...refers to the medium or mode of the language activity, and it is this that determines, or rather correlates with, the role played by the language activity in the situation" (ibid: 91).

On the dimension of mode of discourse, the primary distinction can be made between spoken and written varieties. The former involves sounds and the latter written symbols. It is evident that differences in the medium used by the performer often yield variations in the same language. It is often the case that spoken and written languages differ significantly from each other in lexis and grammar. Some LIs and structures used in speech may not Corder 1973a: 62-3) gives two reasons for be used in writing and vice versa. these linguistic differences between spoken and written language. "Firstly, in writing we cannot make use of the information carried by features of the We must therefore voice such as intonation, rhythm and stress or voice quality. compensate for this by various alternative linguistic devices. Secondly, we use written language in different situations from speaking; for example, we

do not have a 'hearer' present in time and place, indeed we may not have a specific hearer or group of hearers in mind as we must do in a speech situation". In other words, in writing there is no spontaneous response to our linguistic performance which may pose a limitation on the type of language we use.

However, it must be pointed out that languages vary enormously in the nature and degree of linguistic difference between the spoken and written varieties. For instance, the differences between spoken and written English are quite minor compared to those between spoken and written Arabic or any other language with a diglossic situation (see 1.4).

Within the above broad categorization of medium into spoken and written varieties, the choice of the lexical content and grammatical structure of a particular text will be determined by many other factors. Obviously, a text written to be read silently is often lexically and grammatically different from one prepared for acting on the stage and a speech given on radio may be lexically and grammatically different from one delivered spontaneously to a gathering. Gregory and Carroll (1978: 47) suggest the following distinctions along the dimension of the language user's mode:



(c) Style of discourse (tenor):

Style of discourse or tenor refers to relations between the participants in the language activity, i.e. addresser (speaker or writer) and addressee(s) (i.e. hearer(s) or reader(s)).

Catford (1965: 85) distinguishes three types of style: 'formal',
'colloquial' and 'intimate'. Joos (1960) gives a more delicate classification
in which five types of style for English are recognized: (i) intimate, (ii)
casual, (iii) consultative, (iv) formal and (v) frozen. The use of these
styles depends primarily upon the addresser's relationship with his addressee(s).
Therefore, the intimate style may be used within the family circle and very
close friends, the casual with friends, the consultative with strangers and
the formal in formal situations. The frozen type of style often requires
special skills in the choice of the lexical content and thus is used by
highly-skilled people, e.g. politicians, lawyers etc. As Gregory and Carroll
(1978: 50) point out, the nature of addresser-addressee relationship:

...depends upon divisions of social structure; on the way in which any society is organized. It is the social structure which determines the number and types of roles we can play, either in relation to sociological attributes ...or personal attributes...

In other words, it is the nature of these roles that determines our linguistic performance in the recurring everyday life situations and therefore, the style "...expresses the roles and statuses of the participants in this scene. Their linguistic roles are not created in language; rather they are created in the external, real-world environment (ibid: 55)."

The selection of the lexical content of an utterance or a text is determined to an important extent by the style of discourse. The LIs one uses with one's family, e.g. <u>darling</u>, <u>sweetheart</u>, <u>love</u> etc. which are very frequent in the intimate type of style are not often used with strangers. On the other hand, the LIs one uses with one's colleagues at work may not

be used at home.

A further feature that relates to the style of discourse is the variation between the speech of the two sexes as well as that between people from different generations. In most languages, there are some LIs and habitual collocations that seem to be used more frequently by one sex than by the other. It is also noticeable that one does not speak at the age of sixty as he did at sixteen.

These are the general features of the relationship between language use and various social contexts which seem to apply to most language communities. However, it must be pointed out that due to cultural non-isomorphism (see 3.3.2) languages vary enormously in the nature and number of social roles, the styles used and consequently in the linguistic features used to express them, e.g. Japanese tends to vary along this dimension much more than English or Chinese. Although as has just been said, in all languages there are some LIs that are used more frequently by one sex than another, in Japanese there are also grammatical features that are restricted to the speech of one sex only (see Halliday et al 1964: 93). Moreover, in languages which have dual systems of address, e.g. French vous (singular) and tu, only one can be used: vous marks 'formality' and respect while tu marks 'familiarity' (see Gregory and Carroll 1978: 58).

According to the findings reported by Lambert and Tucker (1976: 143) in their investigation into the use of address forms "...address patterns have different meanings for each of the partners to the interaction". In the interpretation of the social-psychological significance of the results of their investigation they conclude that address patterns signify many corelationships between the participants which include ages, sexes, settings, social class and roles and statuses.

The category of register seems important for L2 lexical acquisition.

As has been seen, it is the register which to a very great extent, determines

what a speaker or writer can do with his language: the selection of the lexical content and the way it is used in utterances depend primarily upon the field of discourse, the medium of expression and more importantly, perhaps, the relationship among the participants in the language activity.

In the learning of L2 lexical structure, the phenomenon of register presents serious problems. As Halliday et al (1964: 88) put it: "The choice of items from the wrong register and the mixing of items from different registers, are among the most frequent mistakes made by non-native speakers of a language".

Richards (1971: 19) suggests that:

In examining instances of interference...we...need to consider more than just the linguistic variables and their distribution across languages; we need also to consider social reactions to different aspects of language use, since these too may be carried from one language to another, influencing the sort of sentences that may be formulated in the second language.

One may elaborate further that negative transfer or interference may take place as a result of the learner's carrying over of habits and social relationships and the way they are lexicalized in his L1 onto the L2.

Evidence from the present study as well as from earlier studies in error analysis and interlanguage seems to support the above hypothesis. Many of the errors which indicated the learners' resort to lexical language transfer (see 6.3.2) showed that some learners in their drive to express meaning in L2, transferred sociolinguistic features pertinent to their L1 onto L2 LIs (e.g. see Appendix , Items No. 300, 396, 402...).

The instances where such transfer took place will be discussed in some detail in following parts of this thesis. Meanwhile, it must be pointed out that the native speaker of any language acquires the differences in register (including the relevant social features) in the process of acquiring his Ll as well as through formal education. In this way the variations in register become an established inseparable part of his semantic competence to the extent

that he unconsciously switches from one variety to the other according to the requirements of the context of situation in which he happens to participate.

The L2 learner, on the other hand, encounters a totally different situation: the selection and use of LIs and collocations appropriate for various situations imply that besides learning the L2 forms and their linguistic meaning he has to learn the extralinguistic features which include the socially determined relationships and the distribution of roles and statuses in the language community. Needless to say, the learning difficulties are increased where the learner's cultural background is totally non-isomorphic with that of the L2 community.

3.2 Psycholinguistic Factors in L2 Lexical Acquisition

In this part of our study we will examine some of the psycholinguistic issues that seem to have direct relevance to L2 lexical acquisition. One of the most important issues in this respect is the fact that the learner has a pre-established semantic competence in his Ll. This will lead us to consider what differences there are between acquiring the lexical structure of one's Ll and learning that of a L2. Some other topics that seem to have utility for our purposes in this study and, therefore, are worthy of discussion in the following sections of this chapter, include the relationship between language and thought on the one hand and language and culture on the other. light of the former we will discuss the notions of linguistic universality and linguistic relativity. The discussion of the relationship between language and culture will allow us to examine the interrelationship between culture and lexical structure and consider briefly what differences there are between languages on the lexical level. The pedagogical implications of all these phenomena for L2 teaching and learning will be discussed in this section as well.

It must be pointed out, however, that no predictions will be made

concerning the difficulties L2 learners are likely to encounter in learning L2 LIs and collocations. We would rather return to these phenomena in the process of explaining our learners' lexical errors and making hypotheses about the strategies that led the learners to their production.

3.2.1 Differences between acquiring L1 and learning L2

It is fairly evident that acquiring the core of one's L1 lexical structure is different in many dimensions from that of learning a communicative lexical competence in a L2:

First: the child acquires the bulk of his L1 vocabulary as well as the sense relations and culturally and socially determined meanings at an early age. (In normal cases this takes place between the ages of 1 - 9.) The L2 learner, on the other hand, is often introduced to the L2 at a later age (in most countries L2s are taught from the ages of 11 - 12). In other words, L2 learning starts after L1 has already been firmly established. Moreover, the child by that stage must have acquired the mechanical skills of reading and writing in his L1.

Second: the methods of acquiring L1 are different from those of learning L2. Children acquire their L1 at home from the parents and other family members, playmates, the media, the language community at large and in only a small measure through formal instruction. L2 learners are normally introduced to the language through formal instruction: classroom settings, textbooks, language laboratories etc. Teaching and learning take place at specified times according to planned syllabuses and teaching techniques. This implies that the amount and nature of exposure to L1 and L2 are completely different: the children's exposure to L1 is continuous but the learners' exposure to the L2 is rather limited.

^{1.} Exceptions to this are the rare cases of co-ordinated bilinguals for whom L1 and L2 are acquired simultaneously.

Third: the motivation for acquiring the native language and learning a L2 is also different: for the child, acquiring his L1 is the only way to communicate with others. For the L2 learner, as Taylor (1978: 461) points out, motivation is generally weak because the learner already possesses a well-established and perfectly useful L1. Needless to say, learning a L2 requires considerable effort and time.

The above differences between acquiring L1 and learning L2 give many useful insights to the researcher in the field. The fact that L2 learning starts after Ll has been well-established, means that the learner's mind is not a tabula rasa or as Stern (1975: 308) puts it, the learner "...is not an empty passive container whom we, as language teachers, fill with words and sentence patterns". The learner has an advanced linguistic competence covering all the three linguistic levels, phonological, syntactic and lexical. The lexical competence (with which we are more concerned here) includes knowledge of what LIs mean (i.e. their denotation and connotation) in various linguistic and situational contexts as well as the ability to use paraphrase and circumlocution. The learner's competence also includes knowledge about the world and social relationships in his language community, and how it is encoded linguistically. Such knowledge, though it is implicit, enables him to understand collocational, syntactic and semantic restrictions on the use of LIs. (For a detailed discussion of the components of a lexical competence see 7.3.3.1)

According to some theorists, the L2 teacher is not teaching language as such but rather "...a new manifestation of language". Because the learner has a full communicative competence in his L1, the language teacher can be seen as "...teaching a new way of doing what the learner can already do. He is attempting, therefore, to extend, to a greater or lesser degree, the behavioural repertoire, set of rules or ways of thinking of the learner" (Corder 1973a: 113). Corder and many other applied linguists and psycholinguists nowadays hold the view that language learning (in common with L1 acquisition)

is a form of cognitive learning and the L2 learner is using any human being's capacities for language learning" (Corder 1975b: 410). Furthermore, L2 learning (again in common with L1) is regarded as a creative activity; a process of discovering some sort of regularity in the language data presented to the learner.

But what do the above differences between L1 acquisition and L2 learning mean? Corder (1973a: 113-4) suggests an answer to this question:

...it is the <u>circumstances</u> (learner, teacher and linguistic data) in which learning takes place that are different. It does not necessarily follow for that reason that the <u>processes</u> of learning are different.

The main argument in favour of assuming that language learning and language acquisition are different processes is that the language learner is a different sort of person from the infant; that there has been some qualitative change in his physiology and psychology at some point in his maturation process; and that these changes in some way inhibit him from using the same learning strategies that he used as an infant, or make available to him some whole new range of strategies which he did not possess before.

Corder (ibid: 115) maintains that we can conclude from this, not that the processes of acquiring L1 and learning L2 are different,

...but rather that there are some fundamental properties which all languages have in common (linguistic universals) and that it is only their outward and perhaps relatively superficial characteristics that differ; and that when these fundamental properties have once been learned (through their mother-tongue manifestations) the learning of a second manifestation of language (the second language) is a relatively much smaller task.

The above hypotheses about language acquisition and language learning are in line with the present trends in General Linguistics and Psychology. It can be seen that these hypotheses reflect the Chomskian view of language acquisition as a cognitive creative process. However, what is more important for us here is to find out in what ways does the fact that the learner has a pre-established semantic competence (i.e. of his L1) affect his strategies of learning and using the lexical structure of a L2?

The fact that the learner possesses a semantic competence implies, at least in traditional terms, that his concepts about the world have been formed. During the process of his physical and mental maturation, the child associates the linguistic forms of his language with features of the extralinguistic world, i.e. in the learner's environment. Corder (1975b: 411) again explains this in cognitive learning terms. Following Piaget and other cognitive theorists, he says:

...the sense we make of our environment depends upon what we already know about it; we see the world in the light of the knowledge we already have about it. In other words, the existing cognitive structures which we possess - existing hypotheses we have about reality - condition the way we perceive and process new experience. In this particular instance, the relevant existing cognitive structures may be those of the mother tongue, any known dialects of the mother tongue or any other partially known languages.

According to Arcaini (1968: 113), normally the relationship established between L2 and the universe is not a direct one; the L1 intervenes to compensate for the absence of co-ordination between the different levels of substance and form which the learner has not yet assimilated. Levenston (1979: 149) expresses the same view: "For the compound bilingual L2 lexemes are mediated through L1. Each concept already tagged with a L1 lexeme has another L2 label added". Experiments carried out to test the value of visual aids in the elimination of L1 interference seem to support the above hypotheses. The results obtained by Hammerly (1974) indicate that at least in the initial stages L2 forms are strongly associated with L1 concepts and that the learner tends to think in the L1 at this stage.

3.2.1.1 Pedagogical implications

The L2 learner as has been stated above, approaches the task of learning the new language with particular assumptions and hypotheses, i.e. those that have been formed in the process of acquiring his L1. Faced with

his new task, the learner starts to test unconsciously some strategies to "...discover the nature of the data he is exposed to" (Corder 1975b: 411). The learner's linguistic competence in Ll is not the sole criterion that determines the nature and number of the hypotheses he adopts in his new task, the learner's age, the nature of the teaching-learning situation and the nature of the L2 itself are equally important factors and seem to play their role in this process. Of course, as the learner develops in his learning he will adopt new strategies and drop old ones that have proved useless. What is important for our purposes as researchers is that the hypotheses or strategies the learner uses will be reflected in his output, i.e. his 'interlanguage' or 'transitional competence' (see 4.2.1).

The pedagogical implications of the fact that the learner has a prestructured semantic competence for L2 learning are seen to be characterized in the psychological phenomenon of <u>transfer</u>: the learner is assumed to be transferring the habits of using his L1 onto L2 or, as Corder (1973: 132) puts it, "...some of the rules they (i.e. the learners) already know are also used in the production and understanding of the second language".

The assumption stated above that there are some fundamental properties common to all human languages should not deter us from accepting the fact that different languages, while having many similar features, also have many differences on all levels. The argument for and against semantic universalism as well as the possible aspects of similarity and difference will be discussed in the forthcoming sections of this chapter. Meanwhile it suffices for our present purposes to point out that the hypothesis of applied linguistics and that of contrastive linguistics in particular, as put forward by J.B. Carroll (1968: 114) states that "...whenever there are similarities, learning can be facilitated, and wherever there are contrasts, learning may be retarded or interfered with".

According to this hypothesis there are two types of transfer in L2 learning: (a) positive transfer, which results in the facilitation of learning, and (b) negative transfer, which results in interference and difficulty of learning.

Positive transfer is said to take place where the Ll rules can be applied in the L2. The learner transfers by analogy aspects of his Ll semantic competence that have their equivalence in the L2. With particular reference to lexical acquisition, positive transfer may take place in learning LIs, collocations and other semantic features that are represented linguistically and culturally in similar ways in both the L1 and L2, e.g. an Arab learner of English who has mastered differences in word-order between English and Arabic may encounter no difficulty in understanding and producing collocations that have their straightforward translation equivalents in his L1:

free market /su:qun hurratun/
wise decision /qara:run haki:mun/
give one's word /?asta: kalimatahu/

etc.

Negative transfer, on the other hand, takes place where the learner's L1 and the L2 differ. Interference at the lexical level may be provisionally defined as the use of L2 LIs on the model of L1 LIs as well as the transfer of L1 collocational patterns onto L2. On the level of perception too, interference may take place when the learner interprets L2 LIs in terms of his L1 meanings. Interference, it is claimed, occurs where the L1 and L2 lexical structures are non-isomorphic. According to this hypothesis, from a theoretical point of view L1 interference will be parallel to the contrasts and variations between the two lexical structures. Moreover, Weinreich (1953: 1) maintains that "The greater the difference between the two systems, i.e. the more numerous the mutually exclusive forms and patterns in each, the greater the learning problem and the potential area of interference".

There are arguments for and against the above hypotheses which will be discussed in some detail in a forthcoming chapter (see 4.1.1).

3.3 Language Thought and Culture

Before we attempt to examine aspects of lexical non-isomorphism between different languages, it seems useful to discuss the relationship between language and thought on the one hand and language and culture on the other.

3.3.1 Language and thought

Language as a symbolic system of communication does not exist in a vacuum. It is used for expressing concepts, thoughts and feelings as well as describing objective and subjective events. Obviously, unless these phenomena are perceived in the same way by the participants in the linguistic event, communication may not take place. The question that arises, then, does not concern the existence of the relationship between language and thought itself but rather the nature of this relationship and more importantly which one influences or determines the other. In other words, is the linguistic system we use influenced by our thoughts, ideas, conception of reality etc? Or does this linguistic system determine the way we conceive of the world and influence our thoughts and ideas?

In answer to the above questions there have been two extreme points of view. We will discuss these under 'linguistic universality' and 'linguistic relativity'. A less extreme version 'linguistic neutrality' that holds the balance between the two seems to serve better the purposes of L2 teaching and learning will be discussed in this section as well.

3.3.1.1 Linguistic universality

As Chase in the Foreword to J.B. Carroll (ed.) (1956: vii) says:

The Greeks took it for granted that back of language was a universal, uncontaminated essense of reason, shared by all men, at least by all thinkers. Words, they

believed, were but the medium in which this deeper effulgence found expression.

Henle (1965: 1) maintains that language's:

...fluent and easy use leads us to the assumption that it is a transparent medium for the transmission of thought. Because it offers no apparent obstacle to our customary flow of ideas, one assumes that it is a vehicle equally fitted to convey any beliefs.

Implicit in the above views is the idea that a line of thought or a concept expressed in one language could be translated into another without losing its meaning.

In modern studies in the interrelated fields of linguistics, psychology and anthropology, the above assumptions have been revived as well as challenged.

According to Chomsky, language is an innate human capacity and human beings are endowed with an innate predisposition to acquire language. Moreover, Chomsky claims that children must possess a hypothesis of what language is like, some innate predisposition to look for certain language features and not others. In his view the features children look for are those that are common to all languages. From this starting-point other theorists have expressed the view that languages differ in their surface structures but are very similar in their deep structures.

These hypotheses have stimulated linguists and anthropologists to look for similarities between languages in order to establish language universals in this so-called deep structure. Clark and Clark (1978: 230) assert that:

Many features common to languages are not specific to language per se, but are derived from the human capacity to perceive, categorize and socialize.

In their view:

The first universals to be taken up are those that probably derive from the human capacity to organize and categorize perceptual information.

Some semantic fields have been investigated with the aim of establishing language universals. These included: the conception of colour, number, negation, kinship terms etc.

In the field of colour, the widely-held view that languages divide up the colour spectrum arbitrarily has been challenged. The results obtained by Berlin and Kay (1969: 2-3) in their investigation into the use of colour terms in various languages have shown that languages derive their colour terms from a hierarchy of colour categories. They have also found that although different languages encode in their vocabularies different numbers of colour terms, any given language draws its basic terms for colour from a list of eleven basic colour terms: black, white, red, yellow, green, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange and grey. While some languages use all these eleven terms, others may More importantly, however, for languages which do not use all use only two. the eleven terms the selection is not random but rather hierarchical. language that uses two terms only will have black and white (sometimes called dark and light). A language that has three colour terms will have red besides black and white. In a language that has four terms, the fourth term will either be yellow or green, while languages with five terms will have both. A term for blue will be the sixth and a term for brown will be the seventh. Languages which use eight colour terms or more will have terms for purple, pink, orange, grey or some combination of these.

In the field of kinship too, scholars have found that although different languages have different numbers of kinship terms and thus may be said to divide the kinship semantic field differently, nevertheless there are some universal features in this field as well. According to Greenberg (1966) all languages distinguish at least three characteristics in relatives: 'generation', 'blood relationship' and 'sex'. Therefore all languages keep generations apart by including terms for parents, grandparents, children and grandchildren. A distinction is also made between blood relatives and spouse relatives, e.g. English father and father in law.

Obviously, it is possible to list similar features in other semantic fields. The important question that arises is whether such similarities allow

us to recognize the notion of semantic universalism.

As a matter of fact, the above-mentioned and similar features found in many languages have not yet gained strong ground for semantic universality, at least not in its strong version. As will be seen in the following section of this chapter, most linguists and anthropologists are aware of the differences in lexical and semantic codification between genetically and culturally unrelated languages.

The notion of semantic universality, as has been mentioned above, is central to the technique of componential analysis (see 2.3.2.3). Enthusiastic advocates of the approach postulate that semantic features, e.g. 'human', 'male' etc. are part of the cognitive structure of the human mind, i.e. universal.

Lyons (1968: 473) does not accept this assumption. As he sees it:

Little need be said about the alleged universality of semantic components, except that it is an assumption which is commonly made by philosophers and linguists on the basis of their anecdotal discussion of a few well-chosen examples from a handful of the world's languages.

In reply to Chomsky's remark that it is our ignorance of the relevant psychological and physiological facts that makes possible the widely held belief that there is little or no a priori structure to the system of attainable concepts, Lyons says that the belief that there are few if any universal features:

...is probably most widely-held among those linguists who have had some experience of the problems of trying to compare the semantic structure of different languages in a systematic fashion: many have tried, and failed, to find a set of universal components.

In his more recent work in semantics, Lyons (1977: 423 and 230-8) attempts to hold the balance between the two extremes of universalism and relativism. Insufficient evidence in support of either points of view seems to have made many linguists take similar stands. Leech (1976: 233-4) suggests a distinction between a strong and a weak version of universalism. According to the strong version all languages will contain 'x'; while in terms of the

weak universality, 'x is a member of a universal set'. It must be pointed out, however, that the existence of a universal set is theoretically trivial. It will only be interesting if the set is fairly small and there is a lot of overlap between languages.

3.3.1.2 Linguistic relativity (the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis)

As Carroll (1973: 126) reminds us, there has always been the speculation that languages exert an influence on the minds or mental outlook of their users. However, this view was developed into a theory of linguistic relativity by Sapir and Whorf. According to these scholars, languages dissect nature and classify items of experience in different ways. Therefore, all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same world-view unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar or can in some way be calibrated. The following extract from the writings of Whorf (Quoted in J B Carroll 1973: 128) explains the thesis of what came to be known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis:

We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds - and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significancies as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way - an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory [Whorf's emphasis]. We cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees.

Whorf based his hypothesis of linguistic relativity on the differences he noticed between the language of Hopi Indians and English. He found that there were grammatical differences and contrasts in lexical codification between the two languages, e.g. in Hopi, <u>lightning</u>, <u>wave</u>, <u>flame</u>, <u>meteor</u>, <u>puff of smoke</u>,

pulsation which are nouns in English, are verbs - events of necessarily brief duration cannot be anything but verbs. English has the LIs pilot (n), fly (n), aeroplane etc. but Hopi has only one LI mas'ytaka to refer to anything flying. On the other hand, English has only one LI for water but Hopi has two LIs distinguishing 'running water' from water in a container, i.e. 'stationary'. According to Whorf, these and other differences in language structure are associated with actual differences in the ways of perceiving the world (Fishman 1973: 119).

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has been praised as well as criticised. Advocates of the theory are those linguists and anthropologists who have come to agree with Sapir and Whorf that there is a strong relationship between the lexical structure of a language and the perception of reality. As Sapir (in Mandelbaum, ed, 1949: 90-1) saw it, the lexicon of a language reflects the physical and social environment of its speakers and indeed may be considered as "...a complex inventory of all the ideas, interests and occupations that take up the attention of the community". From this, some have concluded that the world appears different to persons using different lexical structures. In Henle's view (1965: 7) "The use of a language would call attention to different aspects of the environment in the one case than it would in the other".

Critics of the theory, on the other hand, have expressed the view that the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis represents too extreme a version of linguistic relativity. It is the main assumption of the theory that critics find most unacceptable. As J B Carroll (1956: 27-8) puts it:

It seems to be agreed that languages differ in many strange and striking ways, but it is a moot point whether such differences in language structure are associated with actual differences in ways of perceiving and conceiving the world.

Moreover, most authors agree that evidence available up to the present time does not support such an extreme version of linguistic relativity.

According to Carroll (1973: 138) and other theorists, the evidence available from common knowledge indicates that any world-view can be expressed in any language. Moreover, most languages seem sufficiently flexible to embrace any new science, technology and philosophy. Evidence from translation also seems to support this view. Many famous literary works, e.g. those of Shakespeare, Omar Khayam (a Persian poet) and many others have been appreciated in both their source languages and the languages into which they were translated.

To conclude on this point, it may be stated that the extreme version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has proved unacceptable to modern scholars in the belief that differences of world-view cannot be established solely on the basis of differences in linguistic structure (see Lyons 1977: 250). On the other hand, in post-Chomskian linguistics the general trend of research has been for finding universal linguistic features. However, as has been explained, research for universals has not been markedly successful and it seems to have been a fashion that is now on the wane.

3.3.1.3 Pedagogical implications for L2 lexical acquisition

Obviously the adoption of either of the above two extreme points of view will have its pedagogical implications for L2 lexical acquisition and, indeed, for L2 teaching and learning in general. The adoption of the concept of semantic universality would mean that L2 learning involves learning L2 forms only. The semantic features do not need to be emphasized because these are already established in the process of learning the L1, e.g. an Arab learner of English must only be taught the phonological and orthographic forms of English LIs as well as their functioning in grammatical patterns. Moreover, interference will not be significant and translation between languages is an easy task.

The adoption of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, on the other hand, would

imply that learning a L2 involves learning its native speakers' mental outlook, i.e. the acquisition of a new conceptual system completely different from the one the learner already possesses. Correct and adequate translation would almost be impossible.

The above expositions show that there are some aspects in both theories of universalism and relativism that would have useful applications in L2 lexical acquisition. The discovery of universal features will certainly facilitate the learner's and the teacher's tasks. On the other hand, it is generally accepted that L2 learning involves, to a certain extent, the acquisition of the native speakers' world-view and culture.

However, within the evidence available at the present time, we may better abandon the adoption of extreme points of view on either side. As Carroll (1973: 138) suggests, for the practical purposes of applied linguistics

...we may be well advised to abandon the notion that languages impose world-views on their speakers or that a language tends to reflect a world-view of its own.

3.3.1.4 A developmental theory of linguistic relativity

In preference to the above theories of universality and relativity we will adopt a theoretical approach that seems to hold the balance between the two extreme points of view. This approach has been formulated by Carroll (1973: 138-144) as a 'developmental theory of linguistic relativity'. It is also central to the contrastive analysis hypothesis as discussed by Lado, Fries and many others. Carroll (1973: 139) explains the main tenet of this hypothesis:

Insofar as languages differ in the ways they encode objective experience, language users tend to sort out and distinguish experience differently according to the categories provided by their respective languages. These cognitions will tend to have certain effects on behaviour. [Carroll's emphasis]

Evaluating the pedagogical implications of this hypothesis for L2 learning, Carroll (ibid: 140-1) points out that theoretical considerations and

experimental evidence seem to support this limited version of linguistic relativity.

As he puts it:

This hypothesis relates to the fact that when any two languages are compared, some instances will usually be found in which the codification of a given range of experience differs as between the two languages, one language having a more highly differentiated codification than the other. It is obvious that the native speakers of these languages must learn to pay attention to whatever discriminations are required in their respective languages.

This hypothesis therefore,

...asserts merely that the process of learning these discriminations requires the speakers of the language with the more highly differentiated referential system for any given range of experience to pay more attention to these aspects of experience, and that this increased amount of attention can have certain effects on behaviour over and above acts of communication.

This approach seems to offer adequate foundations for discussing problems of L2 lexical acquisition. It recommends the use of results of contrastive studies in L2 teaching and learning. As will be explained later, results obtained from lexical contrastive analysis can have useful applications in investigating a L2 learner's lexical errors and inferring the strategies and processes behind their occurrence (see 4.1.1).

3.3.2 Language and culture

Let us now examine the relationship that holds between language and culture. 'Culture' is often defined as "ways of a people" or, more rigorously, a structured system of patterned behaviour (Lado 1957: 110-1). However, our concern here is not with the various definitions of culture or its components but rather with the nature of the relationship that holds between the linguistic system of a particular language community and its culture.

Unlike the relationship between language and thought, the relationship between language and culture is not a matter of dispute. There seems to be

complete agreement among linguists and anthropologists that there are strong correlations between language and culture. Some definitions of language state explicitly that language is a function of culture. Thus, according to Sapir (1949: 4), language or speech, unlike instinctive functions, e.g. walking, is a non-instinctive acquired, cultural function. As he conceived it, the two phenomena are not in any true sense <u>causally</u> related, "Culture may be defined as <u>what</u> a society does, but language is a particular <u>how</u> of thought" (ibid: 218).

With particular reference to semantics, Greenberg (quoted in J B Carroll 1961: 114) maintains that a complete description of the semantic component may only be possible through reference to cultural facts. This point of view is still explicitly made in the most recent comprehensive reference-work in semantics. Lyons (1977: 210) believes that the study of cultural phenomena is a prerequisite factor to the determination of meaning of LIs. In this respect he considers the role or function of objects, properties, activities and events in the life of the society using the language as very important. Therefore, in his view:

Until we have a satisfactory theory of culture, in the construction of which not only sociology, but also both cognitive and social psychology, have played their part, it is idle to speculate further about the possibility of constructing anything more than a rather ad hoc practical account of the denotation of lexemes.

3.3.2.1 The role of a language in a culture

As has been stated above, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis gives a language a supreme role in the determination of its native speakers' perception of the world-view of which the culture forms a substantial part. This hypothesis has been rejected, at least in its strong version. Nevertheless, if it is partially true (and as has been seen, it is) then language plays an important role in the culture of the language community. According to Brooks (1964: 85)

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"Language is the most typical, the most representative, and the most central element in any culture".

On the other hand, it is most evident that the culture of a particular society has its direct influence in the linguistic system that society uses.

As Lyons (1977: 248) says:

Every language is integrated with the culture in which it operates; and its lexical structure...reflects those distinctions which are (or have been) important in the culture.

However, it must be pointed out that cultures are not always coterminous with languages (Lyons 1968: 433). Although there are many processes, objects, institutions, customs, social activities etc. that are peculiar to particular language communities and have no equivalent in others, there are many others which have their equivalent in other language communities. As Lyons (ibid: 433) puts it:

In general, it may be assumed that there will be a greater or less degree of <u>cultural overlap</u> between any two societies; and it may be the case that certain features will be present in the culture of all societies.

These may include human activities, states and events, e.g. 'eating', 'drinking', 'living', 'dying', 'sleeping', 'walking', 'getting hungry', 'buying', 'selling', 'borrowing' etc. Of course, it is the substance of these activities, states or events which may be similar. Their form and distribution are often different (see Lado 1957: 118-120).

with particular reference to our learner's culture (i.e. Arabic-Islamic) and that of the L2 (i.e. English) we can assume that there are many features, besides the above-mentioned, that are common to both cultures. These may include some of the sports, business administration, some aspects of education etc. In these areas, the factor of cultural borrowing may have been playing its role. Nevertheless, there are some fundamental differences between the Arabic-Islamic and English-Western cultures in the social, religious, political, moral and many other domains. The analysis or description of such differences

falls outside the scope and purpose of the present study. Our interest is to discuss how such similarities and differences are encoded in the lexical structures used in each language community.

3.3.2.2 Culture and lexical structure

The lexical structure of any language represents the raw material from which utterances and larger stretches of language are made in various contexts of situation. The relationship established between language and culture can therefore be seen in more rigorous terms as one between the lexicon and culture. Languages reflect in their lexical structures the culturally-important distinctions of the society which uses the language (see Lyons 1968: 433). Thus it is assumed that all human languages will lexicalize (i.e. provide LIs) for features that are common to all human cultures, e.g. all languages will have LIs for water, fire, tree, air, man, woman, sleep, eat, drink, die and so on. But because, as has been stated above, there are some cultural phenomena that are found in one culture and not in another, the cultures that have these phenomena will provide LIs for their description. Cultures which lack these features will have no LIs in these areas.

It has been pointed out above that some cultural phenomena have different functions in different societies. Two activities or events may exist in two cultures but their degree of importance may be different from one society to the other. This becomes very obvious if we examine marriage ceremonies, funeral services, prayers etc. These differences in distribution, function and importance are often encoded in the lexicon of languages: a language community that gives special importance to a particular object or activity will have more LIs to describe its functions and the native speakers' interests in them. Needless to say, the variation in cultural phenomena and the fact that they are represented in the lexicon will be reflected in the

lexical relationships on both the paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels. This may account for the differences between different lexical structures in synonymy, antonymy, polysemy as well as collocational ranges of LIs.

It is hoped that the examples given in the following section will clarify the above theoretical postulates.

3.4 Language Differences on the Lexical Level (lexical non-isomorphism)

Let us now examine in the light of the above discussed correlations between language and thought on the one hand and language and culture on the other, the type of lexical differences between languages. However, it must be pointed out that in a study of this type with the objectives specified above, it may be neither appropriate nor possible to account for all the aspects of lexical non-isomorphism between any two languages in full detail. Our aim is to pinpoint the general type and most outstanding lexical differences. It is hoped that the exposition of these differences will be useful in the process of explaining some of our learners' lexical errors. Therefore, no predictions will be made about the possible errors in the discussion of lexical differences in this section. We would rather return to these differences in the process of error description and explanation. Moreover, the lexical errors themselves may help call our attention to more subtle differences on the lexical level.

The ways in which lexical structures may differ are diverse and often interrelated. Nevertheless, we will confine ourselves to the discussion of the following:

3.4.1 Differerences in lexical correspondence

Differences in lexical correspondence may take the following forms:

^{1.} For the practical purposes of this study our examples in this section will be, as far as possible, from Arabic and English, being the learners' L1 and L2 respectively.

(a) One-to-nil correspondence:

The most extreme case of non-isomorphism is where a language lexicalizes a particular meaning which is not lexicalized in another. As Lyons (1977: 236) puts it:

In the most trivial instances this may be simply because the language which lacks a lexeme for a particular meaning is spoken in a part of the world in which a particular object or class of objects does not exist.

Such LIs are referred to under 'culture-bound' LIs because they have no equivalent in other cultures. Examples:

English supper has no equivalent in Arabic. It is often translated as $\frac{\sin a}{\pi}$ which is the translation-equivalent of dinner.

Arabic /suḥu:r/ (a meal taken at night anytime before dawn during Ramadan) has no equivalent in the English culture.

Arabic /razaqa/has the meaning of English give or donate but it is restricted to contexts where the donor is Allah (i.e. God).

Obviously, LIs for clothes, pieces of furniture, food stuffs and dishes, instruments etc. provide numerous examples of culture-bound LIs.

(b) One-to-many correspondence:

It is a common feature of most languages that they contain in their lexical structures several LIs to refer to or describe particular classes of object, event or situation because of their vital importance. The proliferation of LIs in these cases reflects the native speakers' deep interest in the objects, events etc. However, because of cultural non-isomorphism we find that a particular language may have one LI to describe a particular class of object or event, but another language provides a score of LIs for the same class of object or event. In this case the language with a single LI for a particular

^{1.} Ramadan is a holy month in the Islamic culture during which adult Muslims are required to fast from dawn to dusk.

meaning will have partial translation-equivalents in the language with many LIs. Examples:

In English there are many LIs for 'pig meat', e.g. ham, bacon, pork, etc. All these are translated into Arabic as /lahmu lxinxi:ri/ (i.e. pig meat). On the other hand, Arabic has tens of LIs referring to the different breeds of horses and camels. An Arab scholar listed 96 LIs for the description of the physical features of horses and 86 for camels (see Al-Tha'aliby 1954: 264-279). The Eskimos have three LIs for what English refers to under snow or Arabic /0alz/.

One-to-many correspondence may also be the outcome of difference of lexicalization of the same physical reality in two languages: e.g. In Arabic /?as:abi?/ corresponds to English <u>fingers</u> and <u>toes</u>. Therefore, when a speaker of Arabic wants to be specific he has to use a phrase, i.e. /?asa:bi?u ljadi/ (lit. fingers of the hand) and /?asa:bi?u rriʒli/ (lit. fingers of the foot).

Moreover, many languages have only one LI corresponding to English leg and foot; hand arm, as the following examples illustrate (see De Pietro 1971: 131):

English	Irish	Russian	
leg	. Landinger - Johnson	nogá	
foot	cos		
arm	- lamh	anula a	
hand	Tamn	ruka	

(c) Many-to-many correspondence:

The important point to make about many-to-many correspondence is that the two sets of LIs from different languages often divide up the semantic field or part of the universe differently, e.g. there is a set of LIs in English, mat, rug, carpet etc. and a set of LIs in French, tapis, paillasson, carpette etc. but

none of the French LIs has the same denotation as any one of the English LIs and the systems of categorization seem incommensurate (Lyons 1977: 238). Colour and kinship terms also provide good examples of many-to-many correspondence.

3.4.2 Differences in connotation

Speakers of different languages often have different connotations for the LIs and collocations they use in various situations. The connotations of a LI depend on the culture in which they are applied. Therefore, two LIs from two languages may have, more or less, equivalent denotative meanings while their connotations are dissimilar. Examples:

pub and /ha:nah/ serve the same function (i.e. a public place where people go for an alcoholic drink). However, the English LI has favourable connotations but the Arabic equivalent has unfavourable connotations since it has the meanings of 'committing a sin against God's laws' and 'breaking the principles of morality'. English <u>fat</u>, applied to humans, has unfavourable connotations in Britain and the United States but its equivalent in Spanish has favourable connotations and is even used as a compliment (Lado 1957: 83).

The fact that connotative meanings are closely related to the culture of the language community implies that most LIs that refer to social customs, religious ceremonies, political activities, etc. have special connotations in different languages. For this reason too, the connotations of high level abstractions, e.g. morality, honesty, equality, responsibility, freedom etc. are often conceived differently by speakers of different languages.

An important aspect of connotation is represented by LIs that have similar basic meanings in two languages but vary in their transferred or metaphoric meanings, e.g. Arabic /kurah/ is the translation_equivalent of ball but it is not used metaphorically in the same contexts in which ball is used. It can therefore be used without fear of ridicule in contexts where

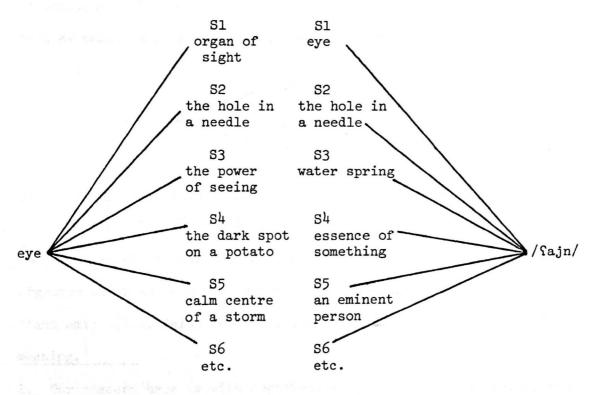
English ball(s) would run the risk.

Moreover, taboo LIs in any language constitute an important category of connotative meanings because taboos are often culture-bound.

3.4.3 Differences in paradigmatic relations

Different lexical structures vary in their paradigmatic relations which include:

- (a) Synonymy: differences in synonymy occur in cases of one-to-many and many-to-many correspondence which have just been discussed.
- (b) Polysemy: languages vary enormously in the number and nature of polysemic LIs they include in their lexical structures. As has been mentioned above, some LIs are used metaphorically (i.e. polysemes), e.g. the Arabic translation-equivalents of head, hand, arm, body etc. are also polysemic and are used in nearly all the contexts in which the English LIs are used. However, this does not apply to all LIs: some LIs are polysemic in one language but not in the other and two LIs from different languages may both be polysemic but not necessarily share all their senses as the following diagram shows:

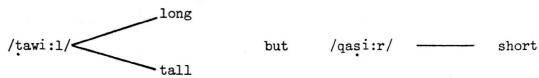


The above diagram indicates that although eye and /Sajn/ have many shared metaphoric senses, their ranges of application are not co-terminous.

(c) Hyponymy: languages differ in their relationships of inclusion of meaning; what constitutes a superordinate term in one language may not do so in another. Moreover, the number of hyponyms and their paradigmatic structuring often differ from one language to the other, e.g. in Arabic the LI /?ibil/ is the generic, superordinate term and /3amal/ (male camel) and /na:qah/ (female camel) are its hyponyms. In English camel has no hyponyms. The pronouns he and she are used with camel to indicate the male and female, respectively.

In English <u>brush</u> is used as a superordinate term and <u>toothbrush</u>, <u>shoe brush</u>, <u>clothes brush</u> etc. are its hyponyms. In German there is no superordinate term but rather separate specific LIs for brushes according to their shape and purpose (Kirkwood 1966: 177).

(d) Antonymy: the phenomena of non-isomorphism and differences in paradigmatic relations are often reflected in one way or another in differences in antonymy. Therefore, lack of equivalence and non-correspondence can occur here as well: e.g. an antonym in one language may have two equivalents in another:



3.4.4 Formal similarity 'cognateness'

In related languages, there are many LIs that have similar phonological and orthographic forms, called cognates. These are of two types: (a) proper cognates which are similar in both form and meaning and (b) 'deceptive cognates', 'faux amis' (i.e. false friends), which are similar in form but different in meaning. 1

^{1.} Our concern here is with cognateness from a synchronic rather than diachronic or etymological point of view.

Cognateness between Arabic and English, being genetically unrelated, is uncommon except for a few 'loan words'. Languages that have been related in their origin and/or evolution such as English and French, Spanish and Italian and many others contain thousands of cognates, e.g.

English	French
domestic	domestique
mysterious	mystérieux
vocabulary	vocabulaire
immortality	immortalité
aggravate	aggraver
etc.	etc.

These proper cognates function, more or less, similarly in both languages. However, it must be pointed out that instances of synonymy and polysemy present problems in this respect. One-to-one correspondence is not always possible: a cognate may have one or more synonyms in one language but not in the other, as shown in the following examples:

English	French
receive obtain get	recevoir obtenir
commence start begin	commencer - -

Furthermore, two cognates may have similar forms and meanings but their collocational ranges and frequency of occurrence are different.

A more serious problem is presented by deceptive cognates, e.g.

English <u>car</u> = automobile, motorcar, but

French $\underline{car} = (motor) coach$

Spanish camión) = a lorry or truck, but French camion)

in the Mexican variety of Spanish, camion is a bus.

Although, as has been said above, formal similarity between Arabic and English LIs rarely exists, there are some loan words used in both languages. These are LIs that have been transferred from one language to the other through cultural contact. For instance, English has borrowed, with some deviation in their forms, tariff /ta?ri:fah/; sugar /sukkar/; alcohol /alkuḥu:l/; admiral /?ami:ru lbaḥri/ etc. Arabic, on the other hand, has borrowed many modern technical terms from English, e.g. television, telephone, hotel, camera, radio, film etc. Most of these LIs have their counterparts in Arabic, e.g. /ha:tif/ (telephone), /miðja:?/ (radio) but the English forms are still widely used in the colloquial varieties all over the Arab world.

3.4.5 Differences in collocation

Different languages often differ in the collocational patterns of their LIs. It is the rule, and not the exception, that languages are rather non-isomorphic in this respect. Differences in paradigmatic relations, connotations and register often result in different collocational tendencies. Thus two translation-equivalents may have similar denotative meanings but their collocational behaviour is different. Moreover, in many cases one language will use a syntagm where another uses a single LI in reference to the same meaning, e.g. English kick and Arabic /rafasa/ have their equivalents in French as donner un coup de pied (i.e. to strike by foot) and punch and /lakama/ have their translation-equivalent as donner un coup de poing (i.e. to strike with the fist).

Differences in synonymy and polysemy also imply different collocational habits and restrictions on LIs, e.g. Arabic /fa:sid/ has among its translation-equivalents in English: rotten, rancid, addled, sour etc. but their collocational patterns and restrictions are different. In Arabic, one can say /labanun fa:sidun/ (i.e. sour milk), /Jubnun fa:sidun/ (i.e. rancid cheese) and /bajdun fa:sidun/

(i.e. addled eggs). In English there are restrictions on the use of <u>rancid</u> and <u>addled</u>: the former more habitually co-occurs with <u>butter</u>, <u>cheese</u>, <u>bacon</u> etc. and the latter with <u>eggs</u>, brains etc.

Another aspect of collocational difference is symbolized in idioms, cliches, habitual collocations and stereotype constructions. All these lexical strings show wide discrepancies in form and meaning between languages. true that there are some idioms and proverbs that are used with the same meaning in more than one language, e.g. <u>black market</u>, free market, wolf in sheep's clothing etc. but such idioms, which are often the result of the phenomenon of 'lexical borrowing', are relatively rather few. Generally speaking, languages have their own ways of coining idiomatic structures and clichés, e.g. the formulae run out of, get rid of, give in, call up have no equivalent in Arabic Moreover, some idioms and proverbs are culture-bound, e.g. break or French. Other cliches the ice, she went for him hammer and tongs, kick the bucket. are different only in form but have the same basic meaning, e.g. to buy a pig in a poke has an equivalent in LCA which may be translated as to buy a cat in The basic meaning of these two cliches are similar but their ranges a sack. of application are not co-terminous.

3.4.6 Syntactic differences

Learning L2 LIs involves learning their syntactic functions and the grammatical restrictions imposed upon their use. The syntactic functions of LIs are among their properties and have a decisive role in determining their meanings (see Stockwell et al 1965: 267).

As Lyons (1977: 520) says: "There are considerable differences between languages in the degree of independence or interdependence that holds between the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of lexemes". The discussion of the various ways in which languages represent syntactic information and how they relate to semantic phenomena is obviously outside the scope and

purpose of this study. It is our objective to call attention to differences that must be taken into consideration in investigating L2 learners' lexical errors.

The syntactic functioning of LIs in sentences is determined by the rules of the language concerned. Catford (1969: 312) points out that "Languages differ...in the surface representation of those universal categories, particularly with respect to their linear ordering". As he says, the three dominant sequences are SVO, SOV and VSO. English is a typical SVO language. Hindi and Japanese are SOV languages and Arabic and Celtic languages are typical of the VSO sequence, e.g. in English we may say: The boy bought a toy which in Arabic would normally V S O be rendered as /?ijtara lwaladu lufbatan/.

More noticeable differences between languages can be found on the morphological level. Different languages classify and categorize meanings differently and what is a lexical meaning in one language can be a morphological meaning in another, e.g. English hand is used as a noun and verb as in I have a rash on my hand and Please hand this letter to him.

Arabic /jad/ (hand) is used as a noun only. A separate LI /sallama/ (to deliver) is used in the above context in which hand is used as a verb, thus: /min fadlika sallimhu ha:ðihi rrisa:lata/.

Moreover, languages have their own systems of affixation (i.e. suffixation, prefixation and infixation). The derivation of new LIs through the affixation of the root morphemes is also different from one language to another, e.g. the prefixes pre-, ante-, over- etc. have no equivalent in Arabic. Needless to say, each language has its own system of case, gender and number. For instance, English has a two-term number system, i.e. singular and plural, but Arabic has 'dual' in addition. Moreover, the Arabic number system is always marked for gender.

^{1.} SVO is possible in Arabic but it is not the dominant sequence.

One may conclude that every language has its own syntactic as well as phonological and lexical patterns and must be described in terms of the relationships holding within those patterns and not in terms of those of other languages.

Conclusion

The above has been a brief account of the types of differences that can be found in various languages on the lexical level. The list of areas of difference is by no means exhaustive. Obviously there are considerable variations in the frequency of assumed translation-equivalents in any two languages. One also assumes that there are differences in register due to variation in the contexts of situation from one language community to the other. However, in the present state of lexical studies, it is not possible to account for such differences. Even in the areas that have been discussed in this section contrastive information is almost non-existent. Lexical contrastive studies are badly needed in all the areas that have been touched upon in this brief and in many respects preliminary treatment.

It must be stated clearly once again, that our objective in the discussion of the above lexical differences as well as sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic phenomena is <u>not</u> to make predictions about the difficulties of learning L2 LIs. Our ultimate aims remain, of course, pedagogical, namely, to account for our learners' lexical errors as indicators of the strategies they used for expressing meanings in English.

CHAPTER FOUR

Approaches to L2 Learners' Difficulties: Contrastive Analysis, Error Analysis and Interlanguage Studies

As was pointed out in the introduction, all L2 learners encounter difficulties in learning a L2 and these difficulties invariably manifest themselves in errors recurring in the learners' attempts to express themselves in speech and in writing. An instance of a learner acquiring an effective communicative competence without making errors has yet to be found (Myint Su, 1971:1).

In applied linguistics and psychology, the two fields most concerned with problems of L2 teaching and learning, there have been three main approaches to L2 learners' difficulties. These are: (i) contrastive analysis; (ii) error theory and (iii) interlanguage studies. It seems useful, perhaps essential, to discuss the theoretical assumptions and techniques of these approaches since these have direct relevance for our own investigation into difficulties of L2 lexical acquisition. This exposition will also allow us to define the terms that will be used throughout.

4.1 Contrastive Analysis

Contrastive analysis (henceforth CA) may simply be defined as the comparative study of two languages in a way that enables the linguist to make descriptive statements about their similarities and differences at various linguistic levels. Although CA has applications in many fields, e.g. translation and etymology, because of its closeness to L2 teaching and learning and to the more general concept of bilingualism, CA has always been considered

as a branch of applied rather than theoretical linguistics. The relevance of contrastive statements about similarities and differences to L2 teaching and learning is said to be in their pedagogical implications. It is claimed that on the basis of results obtained from comparing two languages, it is possible to predict the instances of difficulty or ease which native speakers of either language will encounter in learning the other.

Although, as Stig Johansson (1975: 311) says, there has always been an element of CA in L2 teaching and learning, interest in CA in applied linguistics can be traced to C.C. Fries (1945: 9) who said:

The most efficient materials are those that are based upon scientific descriptions of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner.

However, actual relevance of CA to L2 teaching and learning was only realized after Lado's seminal book <u>Linguistics Across Cultures</u> (1957). In the introduction to his book, Lado explains his thesis:

The plan of the book rests on the assumption that we can predict and describe the patterns that will cause difficulty in learning, and those that will not cause difficulty, by comparing systematically the language and culture to be learned with the native language and culture of the student.

Lado's work set off a series of contrastive projects in the United States and Europe. Several contrastive works have been written, e.g. for English and German, Moulton (1962), Kufner (1962), for English and Spanish, Stockwell et al (1965) and Stockwell and Bowen (1965), for English and Italian, Agard and Di Pietro (1965). In Yugoslavia, Filipovic et al have been working on the Serbo-Croat-English contrastive project.

Theoretically, the CA approach aims at the contrastive study of two corresponding systems in two languages. Lado's own work deals with techniques for comparing pairs of systems in two languages, e.g. the phonological systems, the vocabulary systems, the grammatical systems etc. In practice, this

objective has not been easy to achieve. With particular reference to syntax and semantics, it soon became clear that only sub-systems rather than full ones can be compared, e.g. the tense systems in two languages; colour terms (e.g. Berlin and Kay 1970); kinship terms (e.g. Lounsbury 1964); LIs used in the semantic field of cooking (e.g. Lehrer 1969 and 1974). The nature and purpose of our work do not require a review of the results of contrastive research in the above fields. Our objective is limited to discussing the relevance of CA to problems of L2 teaching and learning.

From a pedagogical point of view, CA is founded on the assumption that the errors and difficulties that occur in learning and using a L2 are caused by interference from L1. Proponents of CA in its classical form maintain that wherever the structure of the L2 differs from that of the L1 we can expect difficulty in learning and errors in performance. According to Fries (in foreword to Lado 1957) learning a L2 constitutes a very different task from learning the L1. In his view:

The basic problems arise not out of any essential difficulty in the features of the new languages themselves but primarily out of the special 'set' created by the first language habits.

Moreover, it is sometimes claimed that the bigger these differences the more serious the difficulties and that the sum of differences between L1 and L2 constitutes the total number of areas of difficulty in L2, i.e. the areas where the learner will predictably make errors. It followed from this that learning a L2 is learning the differences it has with the L1. Conversely, advocates of CA argue that, where the L1 and L2 structures are similar or isomorphic, learning will be facilitated because positive rather than negative transfer (or interference) will take place.

The major contribution of CA is said to be in its predictive value:

by contrasting L1 and L2 structures, contrastivists say, it becomes possible

to predict the type of errorslearners make. The pedagogical implications are also

obvious: by devising syllabuses and teaching techniques which concentrate on the areas of difference between the two languages we can avoid the difficulties predicted by the CA of the two languages.

4.1.1 Arguments for and against CA

These claims of CA advocates have not been fully accepted but rather have called forth some counter arguments from linguists, psychologists and language teachers, e.g. Corder (1967), Lee (1968), Richards (1971), Baird (1967) and Wilkins (1972).

We may summarize these counter arguments as follows:

- (1) L1 interference does not constitute the sole source of difficulty in L2 learning. CA, by virtue of its working premise, can only predict difficulties that derive from the structural differences between the languages in question.
- (2) CA predictions about potential areas of difficulty are not always reliable.
- (3) Dissimilarities between L1 and L2 do not necessarily cause difficulty in learning a L2. Moreover, the assumption that the bigger the differences, the more serious the areas of difficulty is rejected by some educationalists.

Carl James (1971) and more recently Sanders (1976) argue that CA advocates have never claimed that L1 interference is the only source of difficulty. As James (1971: 54-5) says:

...CA has never claimed that L1 interference is the sole source of error. As Lado put it: 'These differences are the chief source of difficulty in learning a second language', and, 'The most important factor determining ease and difficulty in learning the patterns of a foreign language is their similarity to or difference from the patterns of the native language' (Lado 1964: 21 and 91). 'Chief source' and 'most important' imply that L1 interference is not conceived to be the only source.

In answer to the criticism of CA's reliability for locating potential areas of difficulty in L2, James (ibid: 57) says:

...CA has never claimed to be able to predict all errors, nor has it claimed linguistic omniscience about which 'choices' speakers will make. Lado (1968: 125) claims no more than ability to predict 'behaviour that is likely to occur with greater than random frequency'.

Sanders (1976: 68) adds that no one now claims 100% reliability for CA since it cannot predict which of several items will be chosen by certain foreigners learning another language. Therefore, in her view, more research needs to be done on CA, on L1 and L2 interaction and on psychological phenomena affecting performance.

Attempting to refute the criticism levelled at CA that similarity or difference between L1 and L2 do not necessarily determine ease or difficulty of learning, James says that the evidence available does confirm the CA assumption that it is the L1 which determines whether any particular L2 will be difficult or easy. In answer to Lee's claim (1968) that learning Chinese "lifted him to a new orbit", i.e. to a situation where no interference took place, James (p. 63) says:

When the Italian learns Spanish, he has a lot to fall back on, but in learning Chinese he has nothing. If he wishes to learn the L2 he must at all costs perform in that language, and as soon as he starts to perform he will fall back on the L1: there is no free will for him. His falling back jeopardizes his L2 performance more when it is Chinese than when it is Spanish, this is interference.

One may also add that as regards languages which do have many similar features, e.g. Italian and Spanish or English and French, aspects of positive transfer and facilitation of learning will usually outweigh those of interference. In learning a language that is completely different from the learner's Ll, positive transfer is almost non-existent, while negative transfer is substantial and thus the learner's task is made more difficult.

James' and Sander's defensive arguments seem to be convincing enough as far as the above points of criticism are concerned. The pioneers of CA

have not made some of the claims attributed to this subdiscipline of applied linguistics. Research results in L2 learning have shown that L1 interference or negative transfer, does constitute a major source of error in L2. This implies that CA has a role to play in explaining the difficulties encountered in L2 acquisition, as will be seen later in this chapter.

So it would seem that the above and similar criticisms do not constitute a serious challenge to the validity of CA. But recent developments in the fields of linguistics and psychology have made most of those concerned with language acquisition re-assess the importance of CA from psychological and pedagogical standpoints.

First of all, CA at least in its classical form, has been associated with the structuralist and behaviourist schools in linguistics and psychology respectively. We do not need to go into a detailed exposition of the views of these two schools about language and language acquisition. The following assumptions listed by Rivers (1968: 38) seem sufficient to explain the structuralist-behaviourist view about language and language acquisition.

- (1) Language is speech and not writing.
- (2) Language is a set of habits.
- (3) A language is what its native speakers say and not what someone thinks they ought to say.
- (4) Languages are different.

Obviously some of these assumptions are those of modern linguistics. In the last three decades or so some linguists and L2 teachers have been at pains to apply research findings in linguistics and psychology to L2 instruction. It is claimed that information obtained in these two fields, particularly the scientific descriptions of languages and the hypotheses about language learning processes provide the L2 teacher and the textbook writer with data and insights useful for their tasks: the former can use this information for classroom

instruction and the latter can apply the findings in writing of materials for L2 learners.

These contributions from linguistics and psychology have not been underestimated by those occupied with language instruction. But the emergence of the TG theory in linguistics as well as the subsequent research into psycholinguistics have shaken some of the beliefs in structuralism, behaviourism and in an indirect way CA itself.

The TG theory as stated by Chomsky (1957) is founded on the assumption that language is an <u>innate capacity</u>. This means that every human child, given normal environmental circumstances, is bound to acquire a linguistic system.

One of the striking features of this system, Chomsky says, is its <u>creativity</u>, i.e. the child is endowed with an ability to produce an infinite number of sentences including ones he has never heard before.

This TG assumption contradicts and in fact uproots the abovementioned behaviourist assumption that language is a set of habits and therefore a L2 can be learned through making the learner perform a set of patterns that are drilled until they are established as habits.

Chomsky has also introduced an important distinction between two notions, namely 'surface structure' and 'deep structure'. According to Chomsky, human languages appear different on the surface structure, but they are very similar in their deep structures. This Chomskian hypothesis has stimulated interest in research aimed at finding linguistic universals (see 3.3.1.1). These developments have therefore challenged the structuralist assumptions that languages are different and that every language is <u>sui generis</u> and therefore its categories can be described only within its own structure. Strictly speaking, the assumptions upon which CA was based lead to the conclusion that the contrastive study of any two linguistic systems is a very difficult, if not impossible, task.

The emergence of new views and the eclipse of others in linguistics

and psychology have been the characteristics of research in these fields. This has even made some linguists and psychologists express scepticism about the contribution of these two fields to L2 pedagogy. According to Chomsky (1973: 29), despite the progress linguistics and psychology have made, they have little or nothing to contribute to language pedagogy. In his view:

These disciplines are, at present, in a state of flux and agitation. What seemed to be well-established doctrine a few years ago may now be the subject of extensive debate.

Corder (1967: 163) maintains that one effect of these developments in the fields of linguistics and psychology has been the shift of emphasis away from a preoccupation with teaching towards a study of learning.

The above developments and other practical factors represented in the fact that full contrastive analyses of any two linguistic systems is, at least at present, difficult to accomplish have made most applied linguists less than enthusiastic for CA in its classical form. Wardhaugh (1970) has suggested a useful distinction between two versions of CA, a 'strong version' and a 'weak The strong version refers to CA in its classical form as stated by version'. Lado and others, i.e. CA as a predictor of L2 learners' errors and difficulties. The weak version gives CA no more than explanatory function for one type of error namely, errors deriving from the learner's Ll. Wardhaugh (1970: 125) says that the strong version is quite unrealistic and impracticable, even though it is the one on which those who write contrastive analyses usually claim to On the other hand the weak version does have certain base their work. possibilities for usefulness. Moreover, he points out that the strong version of CA makes demands of linguistic theory and, therefore, of linguists, that they are in no position to meet.

As will be seen later, for our present purposes in this study, CA will be used in its weak or explanatory version. Contrastive information will be utilized for describing and explaining the processes involved in Ll-based

strategies, i.e. the instances which indicated the learners' resorting to aspects of their Ll under the pressure of need to express meaning in the L2 (see 6.3.2).

4.2 Error Theory

The second approach to L2 learners' difficulties is commonly known as 'error analysis'.

4.2.1 Assumptions

It should be said at the outset that the development of error analysis (EA) as a subdiscipline of applied linguistics did not take place as an outcome of dissatisfaction with CA. In fact, EA owes much to developments of research in linguistics and psychology. The emergence of TG has brought to the fore the concept of 'universality' of linguistic features in human languages. As Corder (1975a: 203) points out, explained in psychological terms, these features are interpreted as inherent properties of the human mind.

Language acquisition and second-language learning could now be approached as a problem of cognitive learning and the possession of a second language was seen as the possession of knowledge of a certain kind ('competence') rather than as a set of dispositions to respond in a certain way to external stimuli.

The hypothesis that within this cognitive framework L1 acquisition and L2 learning are regarded as fundamentally one and the same process has been mentioned earlier (see 3.2.1). Dulay and Burt (1974: 109) have suggested that this hypothesis rests on three assumptions, namely:

- (1) The language learner possesses a specific type of innate mental organization which causes him to use a limited class of processing strategies to produce utterances in a language.
- (2) Language learning proceeds by the learner's exercise of those processing strategies in the form of linguistic rules which he gradually adjusts

as he organizes more and more of the particular language he hears...

(3) The process is guided in Ll acquisition by the particular form of the Ll system and in L2 acquisition by the particular form of the L2 system.

The acceptance of these psycholinguistic principles has had a bearing on attitudes to L2 learning and L2 learners' errors. Besides the abovementioned shift of emphasis away from preoccupation with teaching towards learning, there has been a fundamental change in attitudes towards L2 learners' errors. The view held by cognitivists as Corder (1975a: 203) puts it, states that:

A language user possesses a set of cognitive structures acquired by some process of data-processing and hypothesis formation in which the making of errors was evidence of the learning process itself and probably not only inevitable but necessary...

EA may be defined as the descriptive study of erroneous or ill-formed spoken and written utterances produced by L2 learners or, as Richards (1971: 12) puts it, the field "...dealing with the differences between the way people learning a language speak, and the way adult native speakers of the language use the language".

errors from that of CA. Errors are no longer looked upon merely as the outcome of inefficient teaching techniques or inadequate language materials. More importantly, the learner's errors are not wholly attributed to the persistent habits of the L1. Proponents of EA accept the learner's errors as part of the learning process and indicators of the strategies employed by the learner for learning and communication. Corder, whose influential paper 'The significance of learners' errors' (1967) initiated interest in learners' errors as important phenomena which would yield psycholinguistic insights into the strategies and processes of L2 learning and indeed gave the field of EA academic recognition, says that a learner's errors provide evidence of the system of the language he is using (i.e. has learned) at a particular point in the course of his learning.

Some linguists have gone so far as to describe the L2 learner's language as a variety of the language he is learning. Nemser (1971) used the term 'approximative system' in reference to this variety. Corder (1971) used 'transitional competence', Carl James (1969 and 1972) called it 'interlingua' and Selinker (1972) gave it the collective name 'interlanguage'. Corder (1976: 12-13) explains the theoretical differences between these terms:

Each of these terms draws attention to different aspects of the phenomenon. The terms interlanguage and interlingua suggest that the learner's language will show systematic features both of the target language and of other languages he may know, most obviously of his mother tongue. In other words his system is a mixed or intermediate one... The term approximative system, on the other hand, stresses the goal-directed development of the learner's language towards the target language system. My own term transitional competence borrows the notion of 'competence' from Chomsky and emphasises that the learner possesses a certain body of knowledge which we hope is constantly developing, which underlies the utterances he makes and which it is the task of the applied linguist to investigate.

As Corder says, it is Selinker's term 'interlanguage' which has gained the widest currency among applied linguists.

Proponents of EA claim a reliable and scientific basis for this approach. It has been noticed by language teachers that learners of common linguistic and cultural backgrounds tend to produce utterances, both deviant and correct, that have similar features. Moreover, these features seem to follow certain rules in their occurrence and are systematic. Error analysts, therefore, see to it that the data they investigate is taken from a homogeneous group. It must have been clear from the foregoing discussion that there is a prior assumption that errors will occur systematically in the learning of a L2. The frequency of occurrence of these errors will be proportional to the degree of difficulty in learning and, of course, to the learner's competence in L2 and the communicative demands made upon it.

^{1.} The term 'interlanguage' will be used throughout this thesis in reference to L2 learner's language.

As to the objectives EA serves, most applied linguists (e.g. Strevens (1971), Zydatiss (1974), Johansson (1975), Corder (1975a and 1976) discuss at least two basic functions for EA: the first is pedagogical and applied in aim particularly in devising appropriate remedial procedures and the design of syllabuses (see 7.3.1.2). The second objective is theoretical: "...leading to a better understanding of second-language learning processes and strategies" (Corder (1975a: 205)).

4.2.2 Techniques in EA

As a subdiscipline of applied linguistics, EA has its methodology which merits examination for its direct relevance in building a theoretical framework for the present study.

4.2.2.1 Data for EA

Different methods of L2 data collection are used by error analysts. The most common are free composition, picture description, translation, recording of spontaneous conversation, retold stories and multiple choice tests. The choice of a particular method for data collection is often determined by the purposes of the analysis and, of course, the facilities at the investigator's disposal. Two or more methods of data collection are often used, e.g. Duskova (1969) used free written production, Myint Su (1971) in her investigation into errors made in sets of LIs used sentence formation, free composition and translation, Scott and Tucker (1974) employed written and oral production samples as well as picture description and Shawish (1976) in his study of errors made by Libyan learners of English in the use of articles, used essays written by university students. In the present study free composition and comprehension papers written by intermediate - advanced learners of English are used for the investigation into the types of lexical errors they make and the strategies and processes adopted by the learners under the pressure of need

to express meanings in L2 (see Chapter 5).

Of course, each of the above methods of data collection has its advantages and weaknesses. This means, as most error analysts already know, that the method of data collection often influences the results of the analysis and the conclusions drawn from them.

Let us now take some of the above methods individually. Free composition (or free written production) has the advantage of making the learner reveal his creative skills and offers the learner an opportunity to use collocations and structures sometimes beyond his active knowledge of the L2. certainly helps to reveal valuable information about the strategies the learner uses for expressing his intentions and, consequently, the creative aspect of From this aspect, free written production is possibly the learning process. the nearest method to natural communication. According to Jones (1971), free composition is a useful basis for EA because the very freedom of choice extended to the learner encourages him to produce utterances which he believes he can handle carefully, and others which include unusual collocations and inappropriate choices. Moreover, Nickel (1973) considers essay writing or the writing of compositions undertaken with a high degree of personal engagement as more effective than other types of testing for investigating interlingual transfer.

However, free composition has the limitation that the learner can impose certain constraints on his output since he is in a position to choose only those LIs and collocations which he is very confident are correct and avoid those which he finds more difficult (Corder 1973b: 40). These constraints make it almost necessary that a great amount of data is examined in order that the investigator can make general statements about the learner's interlanguage. The above point of criticism may also apply to the technique of recording of spontaneous conversation. The latter is also said to cause emotional stress

to the learner which could prevent his linguistic performance being a true reflection of his competence.

It must be pointed out, however, that the criticism of the technique of free production on the grounds that it is 'error avoiding' does not seem to apply to all learning stages and all types of learners to the same degree. From experience in investigating learners' compositions in the present study it appears that this criticism is more characteristic of the learners at the lower reaches of proficiency and the less confident type of learners rather than of advanced and confident learners. In fact, some 'over-confident' learners, as their performance shows, are even ready to disregard the L2 code rules in order to express their intentions and meanings. These are what Rubin (1975) and Stern (1975) describe as the 'good language learners' who are willing to do many things in order to get their message across, i.e. have a strong drive to communicate and learn from communication.

In the present study the effects of this weakness are reduced through the examination of overt and covert errors (see 4.2.2.2) and more importantly by considering the various strategies and processes adopted by the learners and which did not necessarily result in unacceptable usage. In this way the learner's attempts to play safe by adhering to only those forms and structures of which he has full grasp can often be detected in his use of various strategies, e.g. paraphrase and circumlocution or generalizing more frequent and general LIs to contexts where others are more appropriate. It must also be pointed out that it is not our objective to investigate errors in a predetermined list of LIs or sets of LIs for which free production on its own may not provide the appropriate elicitation procedure.

As to the technique of picture description, the investigator is often in a position to describe not only the theme but also some of the vocabulary and structures to be used by the learner. However, this technique has an

inherent weakness in that some pictures are ambiguous and can therefore be described in many ways.

The use of translation also has its merits and critics. Some applied linguists and language teachers believe that the use of translation in L2 testing is unsuitable. The argument centres on the fact that translation is a special language activity that has to be learned like any other skill. In other words, knowledge of two languages does not guarantee the ability to translate from one to the other. Nevertheless, when used for EA, translation exercises have the advantage of enabling the investigator to control the learner's output and the occasions upon which he is likely to produce erroneous utterances. This is perhaps characteristic of multiple choice and sentence completion tests too.

LoCoco (1976a) compared the effectiveness of three of the above methods of L2 data collection, namely, free composition, translation and Her objective was to discover how the results vary picture description. when different methods of data collection are used. Twenty eight university students on an elementary Spanish course, all having English as their Ll, took part in the exercises which included (a) for free composition the students were assigned a composition, the subject being of their own choice, (b) for translation, twelve sentences which included LIs and syntactic structures that appeared to cause difficulty for the learners, and (c) for picture description the students were given 16 pictures for which they had to provide an explanation. The pictures depicted one or two persons involved in an activity, e.g. walking, entering a room, sitting down etc. This task also aimed to elicit some structures of apparent difficulty.

The results of LoCoco's study have provided evidence to support the hypothesis that the method of data collection can influence the results of EA, particularly with regard to the number of certain types of error. The results obtained from the compositions and picture descriptions tended to be similar for most categories. However, greater differences in results were found between these two methods and the translation task.

Discussing her findings, LoCoco points out that the analysis of errors suggests that some differences could be reduced through adjustments to the statistical analysis. With a slight adjustment of the statistical analysis, she concludes, the results obtained from the three methods should be very similar.

As to the influence of the medium used for eliciting L2 data in their investigation into the learning strategies of Arab students, Scott and Tucker (1974) reported that in general a higher percentage of errors was made in oral production than in written production at Time I (low-intermediate stage) while on Time II (intermediate-advanced stage) about the same percentage of errors was registered in oral and written production. Moreover, they have found that some error-types, e.g. preposition errors, had similar frequencies in writing and speech while other classes, particularly verbs, followed different patterns in the two modes of expression.

Obviously, further research is much needed into the methods of data collection and to what extent these influence learners' output and consequently the findings of EA. At present it may be assumed that there is no single method that can be considered as wholly reliable to reveal all types of errors, let alone the various strategies and processes followed by L2 learners. It is also important to note, as Corder (1973b) points out, that in the investigation of the learner's language we need to supplement textual data by intuitional data and devise systematic methods of investigating them. These are related to the two levels of adequacy, observational and descriptive, respectively. As Corder (ibid: 39) puts it:

Error analysis is based on textual data and can therefore not achieve, in theory at least, more than observational adequacy. In practice, however, it is usually carried out by a teacher who has considerable insights into the linguistic development of his pupils and is usually bilingual in the mother tongue of his pupils and in the target language. He has therefore at some point in his career actually been a native speaker of his pupil's interlanguage. He is therefore usually in a similar position to the linguist when he is describing his own mother tongue who consciously or unconsciously makes use of his native intuitions about it. For this reason most Error Analysis implicitly incorporates considerable intuitional data.

As will be seen in the following section, intuitional knowledge is indispensable in the whole course of doing an EA, i.e. identification, classification, description and explanation of errors.

4.2.2.2 The identification of errors: what constitutes a lexical error

Identifying an error is an essential prerequisite to its description. As Corder (1973a: 272) puts it: "You cannot begin to describe something until you are aware of its existence".

as a basis for initial identification of errors. In the light of Chomsky's dichotomy between performance and competence, Corder proposed a distinction between 'mistakes' or 'lapses' and 'errors'. Mistakes are failures to utilise a known system correctly. Errors, on the other hand, are "... typically produced by people who do not yet fully command some institutionalised language system..." (Corder 1975a: 204).

As Corder (ibid) points out, native speakers are assumed to have a perfect knowledge of their language but they still produce utterances that are regarded by other native speakers as 'ill-formed'. However, native speakers' ill-formed utterances are not the result of deficiency in competence; they are mistakes of performance since the native speaker is capable of correcting himself once his attention is drawn to them. These mistakes result from "... some neurophysiological breakdown or imperfection in the process of encoding

and articulating speech". Although L2 learners, too, produce mistakes of performance, most of their deviant utterances reflect ignorance of rule restriction, wrong hypotheses and lexical gaps in their competence. Therefore, the learner, unlike the native speaker, is not often able to correct himself if his attention is drawn to a deviant utterance he has produced.

This does not imply that a clear-cut distinction between mistakes and errors is always possible. A sharp distinction between performance and competence, especially on the level of lexis (including collocation) cannot be justified since some people are more competent than others in the use of certain registers.

In our learners' data, it may be assumed that all the lexical deviations are errors of competence. First, most of the errors showed systematic recurrence in the data and, more importantly, the strategies employed by the learners were systematic. Second, the data was written and not spoken. In the composition papers most of the learners had enough time to write a first draft and a final draft. The errors often occurred in both drafts. This means that they had the chance to review what they had written.

Even if we consider all learners' deviations in written discourse as errors of competence, there are problems of identification. With specific reference to lexical errors, whether a particular LI or a collocation is erroneous or not depends on whether it is acceptable to competent native speakers of the language or not. We may, therefore, consider an acceptable utterance as:

...one that has been, or might be, produced by a native speaker in some appropriate context and is or would be accepted by other native speakers as belonging to the language in question (Lyons 1968: 137).

The native speaker's judgement on the acceptability of a LI or a collocation is, then, based on whether it is conceivable in a given situation or not.

McIntosh (1966), as has been mentioned above, maintains that native speakers

rely on their previous linguistic experience in assessing the intelligibility of collocations (see 2.3.1.1). Moreover TG is founded on the hypothesis that native speakers can be relied upon to reject all deviant or ungrammatical sentences. But does this mean that native speakers are able to identify all errors made by a learner of their language?

In a small-scale investigation of the above-mentioned TG hypothesis, Hill (1961) reports that native speakers are very unreliable when questions of judgement about tokens of their own language use are concerned. His findings show that native speakers base their judgements upon parameters that are so diverse and dependent on idiosyncratic interests, experience etc. that it is difficult to tell how native speakers judge acceptability. According to Strevens (1971: 3):

The identification of error is essentially subjective. It is possible for two educated native speakers to differ, in a surprising large proportion of cases, as to whether particular items are acceptable or unacceptable, and hence as to whether they should be counted as errors.

Hill's and Strevens' remarks should not be taken to imply that native speakers' knowledge of the grammatical rules, semantic restrictions, paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of their language is incomplete. They rather imply that this knowledge is, except for linguists, implicit and not explicit. Moreover, with specific reference to learners' errors, unfamiliarity with the learners' L1 and the relevant extralinguistic phenomena determined by the learners' culture often make it difficult for native speakers to identify most of the errors learners make. Therefore, what looks or sounds, for a native speaker, a perfectly acceptable utterance, may nevertheless contain errors (Corder 1973a: 272). This has made Corder (1971) suggest an important distinction between overt errors and covert errors. An overtly erroneous utterance is one that is superficially deviant and its unacceptability is accounted for in terms of the rules of the language (semantic components,

collocational restrictions, syntactic properties etc. for lexical errors, e.g.

- (1) My father goes to the mosque to do [say, offer up] his prayers. (item no. 13)
- (2) My brother <u>said</u> [told] some jokes which he could not forget at all. (item no. 61)
- (3) I left the hospital and I was announced [told] that my sister had put (i.e. had had) a baby but it died. (item no. 68)

Covertly erroneous utterances, on the other hand, must be superficially well-formed but yet they are deviant since they "...are not appropriate in the context in which they occur" (Corder 1973a: 272-3). The following examples from our learners' corpus may illustrate this:

- (1) On (i.e. in) Ramadan we cook many different meals [dishes, types of food]. (item no. 50)
- (2) ...in my point of view the attending of lectures should be <u>free</u> [optional, not compulsory]. (item no. 128)

Taken out of context these two utterances may not be considered as lexically deviant. However, within the context in which they occurred they were, since the learners used meals and free to express the meanings for which native speakers of English would use dishes (or types of food) and optional In other words, meals and free did not (or not compulsory) respectively. convey the meanings intended by the learners. Obviously native speakers are unlikely to be able to identify such errors but language teachers who are familiar with their learners' Ll, culture and way of using their competence for communicative purposes often have no difficulty in detecting them. also shows that the situational context plays a primary role in error identifi-"Any identification of error...necessarily involves interpretation cation. in the context" (Corder 1973a: 273).

In the light of the preceding discussion, we may now define a 'lexical error'. Our main interest in this study lies with the types of strategies and processes employed by intermediate-advanced learners for expressing meaning. Lexical errors found in the performance of the learners are investigated

primarily from this point of view, i.e. as indicators of the learners' strategies and processes for expressing meaning while their L2 competence is too inefficient to meet their communicative demands. As will be explained later in this chapter, non-erroneous utterances (e.g. using a well-formed paraphrase) also can indicate resort to strategies under the pressure of communicative need. Although throughout we will be examining the rules and restrictions that come to be violated or disregarded as a by-product of the learner's strategies, a rigorous definition of what constitutes a lexical error may not be essential. Nevertheless, in the light of what has been said on error-identification, a lexical error may be defined as the learner's use of a LI or a habitual collocation in linguistic and situational contexts in which competent native speakers would not normally choose. Two criteria therefore are relevant in writing off a given LI as erroneous: acceptability and appropriateness. In terms of acceptability a LI is regarded erroneous where it can be shown that its denotative meaning does not convey the semantic concept in question, i.e. it does not include the semantic components required to express the intended meaning or where the use of a LI results in violating the relevant collocational norms and syntactic restrictions.

On the other hand, since it is our objective in language teaching to "...turn out people who are capable of producing and recognizing utterances which are both acceptable and appropriate" (Corder 1973a: 101), a learner's utterance may also be regarded as lexically deviant if it contains a LI used inappropriately. However, as Corder (ibid: 103-4) reminds us, appropriateness covers a multitude of relations which range from the reference relations of LIs (i.e. referential appropriateness) to their matching the social roles and statuses of the participants in the linguistic event. In the light of our discussion of the phenomenon of register we may treat LIs which do not satisfy the criteria of field of discourse, mode of discourse and style of discourse

as inappropriate (see 3.1.2), as in for example:

He should apply [ask, beg/for] forgiveness from his family which he destroyed by his useless and shameful doings.

(The subject had committed a crime, an action which affected the family's reputation. Therefore he should apologize and ask for forgiveness from his family, item No.90).

The learner's use of <u>apply</u> in the above sentence is inappropriate since it is often marked for mode of discourse: 'in writing' and style 'formally'. The context of the utterance shows that the required LI should be unmarked for the mode of discourse and more pertinent to an informal situation: <u>ask</u> for is therefore the appropriate LI because it has the necessary features.

4.2.2.3 The reconstruction of errors: problems of interpretation

Once a learner's utterance has been identified as erroneous the next step is to attempt to interpret and reconstruct what the learner intended to say in the L2. With lexical errors this involves the replacement of the erroneously used LI (henceforth ULI, i.e. 'used lexical item') with a LI assumed to be more appropriate to convey the meaning in question (henceforth TLI, i.e. 'target lexical item').

Corder (1971 and 1973a) distinguished between 'authoritative' and 'plausible' interpretations which result in authoritative and plausible reconstructions respectively. An authoritative interpretation can be achieved by asking the learner on the spot what he intended to say, at least by providing a translation of his utterance into his LL. A plausible interpretation, on the other hand, depends on inference from the context and knowledge about the learner, his LL and, of course, the L2 (Corder 1973a: 274).

As Olsson (1977: 73) points out, in general the wide range of alternatives to a deviant lexical utterance make it very difficult to arrive at the intended L1. The following examples taken from our corpus may illustrate this:

- (1) The family will be <u>counted</u> [considered, regarded, looked upon] as dishonest and not honourable family. (item no. 88)
- (2) While we were crossing the road the car came faster and pushed [hit, struck, knocked down, ran over,...] my friend. (item no. 146)

These examples show that very often there are several TLIs which can replace a given ULI. However, this problem which is caused by the phenomenon of synonymy should not constitute an obstacle to reconstruction, classification, description and explanation of lexical errors, except where the investigation involves the examination of a particular LI or a set of LIs. In this case more refined elicitation procedures are necessary. But for the general purposes of EA and interlanguage studies "...forms produced by learners are not properly to be regarded as right or wrong in themselves, but only as evidence for a right or a wrong system" (Corder 1973a: 274).

Myint Su (1971: 16-7) outlines three criteria on the basis of which the hypothesized LI (i.e. TLI) may be chosen: (a) the context of situation in which the utterance occurs, (b) the context in which the LI is set, ie. its collocational relations in that context, and (c) consideration of the other LIs which can occur in place of the ULI, i.e. the LIs with which it is related paradigmatically. She says:

...Corder states these three points as requirements for determining the meaning of an item. In our aim of finding the correct lexical item, we reverse the process. We are in possession of the meaning, from consideration of the same three points and we must find the item in the language that will fit that meaning.

A further point may be added to the above three points: (d) the way the deviant utterance or the ULI translates to the learner's L1.

These criteria make some demands on the researcher in the field of EA which may include: (i) knowledge of the L2 including explicit knowledge of its semantic and syntactic rules as well as familiarity with the culture of its speakers; (ii) knowledge of the learner's linguistic and cultural backgrounds;

(iii) knowledge of the way the learner uses language for expressing himself and the type of errors he makes in the process, and (iv) the researcher who is a non-native speaker of the L2 will need recourse to the intuitions of the L2 native speakers where required.

As will be explained later in the interpretation and reconstruction of our learners' utterances the aim has been to infer the TLIs for which the learners adopted certain strategies and processes for expressing meaning. Therefore, all the above types of information have been indispensable (see 5.3).

4.2.2.4 The classification and description of errors

An objective system of classification of learners' errors is required in order that statements about the relative importance of the various types of error can be made. Traditional approaches classify errors into either omission, addition or substitution, but as Corder (1975a: 205-6) says, this classification is too superficial to be of benefit to the learner let alone serve the general objectives of applied linguistics. According to Corder:

Satisfactory classifications begin with an analysis which assigns errors to levels of language description, i.e. errors of orthography or phonology, of morphology or syntax, of vocabulary, and within each level according to systems, e.g. vowel or consonant systems, tense, aspect, number, gender and case. More recent classifications attempt to explain errors linguistically within the framework of various generative and transformational models of description. In such cases errors are described in terms of breaches of the rules of the grammar or phonology.

The linguistic levels and the linguistic categories recognized by various linguistic models at each level provide adequate frameworks for the initial classification of errors. However, since the ultimate objective of EA and interlanguage studies is to describe learners' linguistic competence and the strategies and processes learners follow in learning and using a language, psycholinguistic criteria have to be taken into consideration in

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the classification of learners' errors. Once the errors have been explained in psycholinguistic terms they may be classified according to the particular strategies and processes adopted by the learners in their production. As will be explained shortly, errors which show features from the L1 are classified as 'transfer' or 'interlingual' errors. On the other hand, errors which originate in the L2 are classified as 'overgeneralization' or 'intralingual' errors. Moreover within this broad categorization the internal grammatical and lexical rules may be used for the location and classification of errors.

In the present study, the learners' lexical errors are classified and discussed according to the strategies and processes the learners employed in their attempts to express meaning in L2 (see Chapter Six).

The description of L2 learners' errors involves making descriptive statements about the type of rules the learner violates. Linguistics provides a framework within which errors can be described from a linguistic point of view. However, with special reference to lexis, it has been mentioned above that no linguistic model explains all aspects of lexical meaning but different models may be applied to explain some of the relationships in a lexical structure (see 2.3). This statment also applies to lexical errors: different linguistic descriptions can be employed to characterize the various types of lexical errors, e.g. the collocational approach may only account for the incompatibility of LIs on the syntagmatic axis brought on by the learner's violation of collocational restrictions on the use of some LIs as in:

- (1) The film show the people in all the world the crimes the whites made [committed] to (i.e. against) the blacks (Topic: A summary of "Roots", a film about racial discrimination in the USA, item no 22).
- (2) These are some of my hopes, I don't know if I'll do [realize] them or no (The subject was writing about his hopes for the future, item no 16).

Componential analysis is also relevant in the study of lexical errors. However, as has been explained above, this technique has not been developed to the stage where it can be applied to the analysis of general vocabulary let alone handle the highly-complicated sense relations operating in a lexical atructure (see 2.3.2.3).

For the purposes of this study a <u>rigorous</u> componential analysis is not essential. Our objective is to show what meaning components the ULI and the TLI have in common in a given utterance and what components the ULI does not possess and the TLI does that make the latter but not the former more appropriate to convey the intended meaning in that particular context. For such purposes, it seems sufficient to refer to the two LIs in question as 'sharing' or 'not sharing' a 'meaning component', a term for which we claim no more than an ad hoc pragmatic validity. 'Meaning component' therefore, unlike 'semantic component or feature', certainly does not imply a single atomic or universal component.

Paradigmatic relations, on the other hand, make possible the description of the relationship between the ULI and the TLI, e.g. superordinate-hyponyms, quasi-synonyms, cause-effect etc.

Contrastive descriptive statements are obviously relevant where the ULI bears the semantic or syntactic properties of a LI from the learner's LI and, of course, to show how the L1 and L2 differ in the lexicalization of a given concept or in expressing a message.

4.2.2.5 The explanation of errors

The explanation of errors is perhaps the most important stage in doing an EA. Explanation involves attempting to find plausible causes for the learner's errors. The importance of this stage derives from the fact that in the light of findings about error-causes theorists make hypotheses about the learning process. Syllabus writers and language teachers gain

useful pedagogical insights from such information which can enable them to devise the necessary remedial procedures.

Various studies in EA have reported many specific causes for the different types of error identified. We will not go into the discussion of the causes of particular types of errors. Suffice to say that most EA studies identify and discuss three principal causes for learners' errors:

(i) <u>Language transfer</u>: (sometimes referred to as 'interference' and 'negative transfer') results in 'interlingual' errors, i.e. errors which are accounted for in terms of influence of the learner's L1, or any other language he has learned previously. The phenomenon of transfer is interpreted differently in the behaviourist and cognitivist schools of psychology.

Behaviourists, as has been seen above, view it as the transfer or interference of L1 habits (see 4.1). Cognitivists, on the other hand, consider this phenomenon as a learning and communication strategy. This cognitivist view will be discussed in more detail in the introduction to the types of L1-based strategies or lexical language transfer adopted by our learners (see 6.3.2).

Meanwhile, whatever the explanation of this phenomenon, it is important to note that most studies in EA have reported varying proportions of interlingual errors in their learners' data, e.g. Sah (1971) found that 50% of the errors were attributable to the learners' L1; George (1972) found that one third of his learners' errors was caused by interference from their L1; Grauberg (1971) reported more or less the same percentage and Tran-Thi-Chau (1975) considered 'interlingual interference' as the greatest single cause of errors, accounting for approximately 51% of the number of errors.

(ii) <u>Intralingual errors</u>: The term 'intralingual' was introduced by Richards (1971a: 205) to account for those errors which, unlike interlingual errors, do not reflect features of the learner's Ll but rather "...the learner's competence at a particular stage, and illustrate some of the general charac-

teristics of language acquisition". The origins of these errors are found in the L2 itself. As Corder (1975a: 207-8) sees it:

Learners are seen to make inductive generalizations about the target language system on the basis of the data to which they are exposed. Since the data is necessarily restricted they will tend to overgeneralise and produce incorrect forms by analogy.

Richards (1971a) reported that he had found intralingual errors to involve overgeneralization of L2 rules, ignorance of rule restrictions and incomplete application of rules. Overgeneralization which most scholars consider the principal cause of intralingual errors may be generally defined as:

The use of previously available strategies in new situations... In second language learning...some of these strategies will prove helpful in organizing the facts about the second language but others, perhaps due to superficial similarities, will be misleading and inapplicable (Jakobovits 1970: 111-2)

The following are some of the grammatical and lexical errors that are often attributed to overgeneralization: the learner who has acquired he plays football and he can may produce by analogy *he can plays football, and the learner who has acquired to do a job, to do a favour and to do something may produce *do a prayer, *do a crime (see items nos 10-19).

Lexical overgeneralization often involves the use of LIs in inappropriate contexts. A definition of lexical overgeneralization and the types of lexical overgeneralization we have identified in our learners' performance are discussed in 6.3.1.1. It suffices for our present purposes to point out that intralingual or overgeneralization errors indicate that the learner is creating a system for himself to facilitate learning and communication. They also provide evidence that the learner is thinking about the language and therefore confirm the hypothesis which considers language learning as a cognitive creative process. James (1972: 75-79) says that it is perhaps the intelligent learner who is most prone to these errors. Needless to say, since these errors

result from the learning process itself, they are made by all L2 learners irrespective of their linguistic background. Moreover, they are by no means restricted to L2 learning situations. They are also made by children learning their L1.

(iii) Extralingual causes of errors: Although most learners' errors are systematic and can be classified as either interlingual or intralingual, there are some errors that are less systematic and seem to result from faulty teaching techniques or inefficient teaching materials. Richards (1971a) attributes these errors to 'hypothesizing of false concepts'. He says that he has traced errors which involve confusion, e.g. too, so and very; come and go etc. to classroom presentation and particularly to contrastive teaching. Corder (1973a: 283) calls these errors 'redundant', as opposed to 'normal' errors. According to Corder many factors may cause redundant errors, e.g. lack of motivation, inattentiveness, and emotional stress. Stenson (1975) discusses this type of error under 'induced errors', i.e. induced by the teacher's techniques and the teaching materials.

In the present study some lexical errors in the categories of 'oppositeness' and 'incompatibility' (see pp.215-222) e.g. using <u>buy</u> for <u>sell</u> and <u>dry</u> for <u>wet</u>, and also in 'formal relatedness', e.g. using <u>feel</u> for <u>fail</u>, <u>walk</u> for <u>wake</u>, <u>complete</u> (v) for <u>complement</u> (v) (see 6.3.1.3.) may be the outcome of contrastive decontextualized presentation.

The above classification of errors into interlingual, intralingual and extralingual should not be interpreted too rigidly. As Jain (1974: 190) points out:

...errors do not seem to submit themselves to any precise systematic analysis; the division between errors traceable to L1 interference and those that are independent of L1 interference is not invariably clearcut; the phenomenon of errors caused by the cross-association of both L1 and L2 also seems to exist...

Corder (1973a: 290) also says that when it comes to explaining learners'

errors there is a large area of uncertainty and speculation:

In very many cases there appears to be several simultaneous processes going on: transfer, overgeneralization, faulty categorization, not to mention lapses and syntactic blends which operate in the planning and execution of an utterance.

Errors exemplifying this are those in which one cannot confirm whether the learner's overgeneralization derives from L1 or L2, e.g. the use of <u>hear</u> for <u>listen</u> in the following utterance can be explained in terms of overgeneralization within the L2 and also transfer from the L1 (see p.235).

When I was hearing (listening) to him I was very sorry about what had happened to my friend. (The writer was on a visit to a friend in hospital. He was listening to his friend telling him about the accident he had had, Item No.91).

4.2.2.6 The evaluation of errors

For the purpose of making decisions on priorities in remedial work dealing with learners' errors we need information about the relative gravity of the various types of error. As Broughton et al (1978: 137) point out, generally speaking, the more serious the error, the higher priority it should receive in remedial work.

Error evaluation has received relatively little attention in EA studies (see Johansson 1978:1). Moreover, there is no general agreement about a scale for measuring error gravity.

Corder's abovementioned distinction between 'mistakes' and 'errors' may be initially regarded as a useful basis when considering the relative seriousness of a given deviant form. On this basis, a performance mistake will be considered as less serious than an error of competence. However, as has been explained earlier, EA is concerned with systematic mistakes which reflect a deficiency in competence. Therefore, the evaluation necessarily concerns what are identified as errors. Obviously, not all types of error have the same degree of gravity.

Burt and Kiparsky (1975) drew a distinction between 'global' and 'local' mistakes. Global mistakes are those that violate rules involving the overall structure of a sentence, the relations among constituent clauses, or, in a simple sentence, the relations among major constituents. Local mistakes, on the other hand, cause trouble in a particular constituent of a simple sentence or in a clause in a complex sentence. Global mistakes are considered as more serious and therefore should have priority in correction. However, the authors point out that the notions 'global' and 'local' are only relative; something that is global in one sentence may become local when that sentence is embedded in a bigger sentence.

The authors do not make it clear whether lexical errors can be regarded as 'local' or 'global'. A lexical error often affects a single LI but from a semantic point of view this effect includes the whole utterance in which the LI is used.

A more delicate scale of error evaluation has been introduced by Johansson (1973 and 1978). According to Johansson, since the ability to communicate in the L2 is regarded as the primary goal, the first question we have to ask in evaluating an error is not whether it involves a general rule or a frequent LI but rather how it affects communication. "The more the error interferes with communication, the more serious it seems from the point of view of the learner" (Johansson 1978: 4). Introducing his model of error evaluation, Johansson says that the effect of errors on communication could be two-fold:

- (a) They could affect the comprehensibility of the message.
- (b) They could affect the relationship between the speaker and the listener (e.g. make the listener tired or irritated or draw away his attention from the content of the message).

Taking into consideration the criteria of error 'frequency' and 'generality' besides those of 'comprehensibility' and 'irritation' Johansson

suggests a functional approach for error evaluation: errors which either affect comprehensibility or cause a high degree of irritation and have a high frequency and generality represent the highest grade of error on the scale. On the other hand, errors which do not affect comprehensibility or cause a high degree of irritation and have low frequency and generality represent the lowest grade of error on the scale (i.e. least serious).

Johansson's approach has the advantage of using linguistic and psychological criteria as a basis for error evaluation. However, some of these criteria cannot be subjected to objective investigation given our present knowledge, e.g. the degree of irritation in the listener or reader depends basically on the context of situation which includes the speaker (or writer), the listener (or reader), their relationship with each other, what they take for granted etc. What may cause irritation in one person may not do so in another. Moreover, Johansson's approach, in common with other evaluation methods, seems to be applicable to overt errors only. Native judges, as has been said above, may not be able to identify covert errors let alone pass judgement on their comprehensibility or the degree of irritation they cause.

Despite their questionable validity, some of the above scales of error evaluation have been used for investigating the relative gravity of the various types of error:

Using the approach described above, Johansson (1978) investigated a limited number of examples of lexical and grammatical errors. His findings show that a higher 'irritation quotient' was given to lexical than to grammatical errors. It was also found that lexical errors present more problems of interpretation than grammatical errors. However, Johansson says that conclusive evidence should await the investigation of a wider range of errors.

The findings reported in Lucas (1976) indicate that native speaker judges consider lexical errors as more serious than pronunciation and grammar errors. Interpreting this tendency, Lucas says that native speakers might have felt that communication is disrupted more by lexical errors than by either grammar or pronunciation errors.

It has not been the purpose of the present study to investigate through empirical procedures the effects of the learners' errors or the use of various strategies on comprehensibility or the degree of irritation they may cause in native speakers. Nevertheless, throughout the analysis of samples of the learners' interlanguage, the linguistic and sociolinguistic restrictions the learners violated are pointed out. These effects on intelligibility and communication are also discussed in a separate section (see 7.2).

4.2.3 Lexical errors in EA studies

It seems useful to conclude this section with a brief review of the findings reported by researchers in the field of EA on the types and causes of errors which are specifically lexical. It must be pointed out right from the start that the relative neglect of problems of L2 lexical acquisition mentioned in the introduction to this study is nowhere more conspicuous than in the rich literature on EA: although one finds studies which deal with phonological and grammatical errors, studies devoted exclusively to investigating lexical errors are almost non-existent. Nevertheless the findings reported and hypotheses made by some authors remain useful for our purposes.

One study that has dealt exclusively with lexical errors and one that merits a detailed review is <u>Analysis of Lexical Errors</u> by Myint Su (1971).

Myint Su investigated errors made by Burmese learners of English in the use of ten lexical sets comprising a total of 74 LIs. Her objectives were:

(1) To discover more about the nature of lexical errors made by Burmese learners of English.

- (2) To see how far these errors can be related to the structure of the learners' L1.
- (3) To find out how successfully we can apply a linguistic theory and test its explanatory power in the analysis of such errors.
 - (4) To gain insights that may lead to better pedagogical methods.
- (5) To discover the psychological implications, if any, of such a study for learning a L2.

The type of material used in this study was mentioned in the section on data for EA (see 4.2.2.1). The errors investigated in this study, the author says, are what can be called 'the wrong choice of a word'. Adjectives and adverbs are sometimes wrongly used but on the whole it is with verbs that most errors are detected.

Explaining the technique she followed in her study, the author says that from a few class essays by university students the LIs most commonly misused were collected. To them were added the LIs postulated as correct. In this way lexical sets were formed by putting together items actually used by the learners with semantically related items they should have used. The following examples were given by the author to explain this technique:

- (1) My friends speak to me to go to England.
- (2) I say to Maung Ba to come back early in the afternoon.
- (3) I cannot hear, so you say loudly.
- (4) I talked him to do it.
- (5) They talk me whether I will come the Inya Lake.

Ignoring all other deviances, the author says, one would normally correct the above sentences by substituting tell for speak in (1), tell for say in (2), speak for say in (3), tell or ask for talk in (4) and ask for talk in (5). With the corresponding syntactic changes we can have a lexical set: speak, say, tell, talk and ask based on the learners' performance. This set, the author points out, does not represent a comprehensive collection of all the LIs that share the same or similar sense relations or contain a number of common

semantic features. Only those items that figure or should figure in the sample of the students' production are considered so that <u>utter</u> is not included in the set though it can obviously form a member of a set of 'verbs of saying' (pp. 5-6).

The model used as the basic framework for the discussion of the errors in this study was the Katz-Fodor-Postal formulation of the semantic component of a TG.

We will not go into further details of the analysis of the errors in this study but rather confine ourselves to the general statements about the results and the concluding remarks made by the author. The following are some of the findings:

- (i) The use of one LI for another is usually accompanied by a reciprocal situation, e.g. where <u>say</u> is used for <u>tell</u>, <u>tell</u> is also used for <u>say</u>. In other words, the use of the LI A in error for item B is followed by the erroneous use of B for A.
- (ii) The erroneous use of A for B and B for A in the majority of cases (a) hinges on one semantic element that is either wrongly attributed to or not realized in the semantic content of the item used, and/or (b) is due to contrasting elements in one dimension in the semantic content of both LIs.
- (iii) More lexical errors seem to be made because of attribution rather than non-realization of semantic elements in LIs.
- (iv) With some lexical pairs, errors made in one direction, i.e. A for B, are significantly greater than errors made in the opposite direction, i.e. B for A. No reason can be discovered for this phenomenon.
- (v) For pedagogy, the analysis of actual errors made by learners is superior to contrastive analysis per se.

However, the author points out that CA can predict difficulty in cases of lexical non-isomorphism but what it cannot predict:

...are the specific items of a set that are mistakenly used one for the other and the fact that one member...

of a set will provoke a significantly greater proportion

of error than the other when there is as yet no known reason why this should be so. Only error analysis reveals which items prove more difficult and so should receive greater emphasis in teaching (p. 32).

As to the possible causes of errors, Myint Su (ibid) says:

The degree to which the mother tongue can be related to the errors in the performance of learners is not as considerable as made out by those that say 'Ll interferes with L2'. Only errors due to literal translation or transfer of Ll lexical structure deserve the term 'interference' and such errors are in the minority as seen in this study.

4.2.3.1 Other types of lexical error

Myint Su's study dealt with errors in the use of semantically related LIs or, put more specifically, in the use of synonymous verbs. The other types of lexical error that have been identified and discussed in studies which have not dealt with lexical errors only include notably the following:

- (1) Confusion of words on the grounds of formal similarity within the L2, e.g. thing: think; role: rule; refuse: refute etc. (Dusková 1969, Grauberg 1971, Sah 1971).
- (2) Confusion of formally and semantically related words within L2, e.g. Dusková found that learners tend to confuse institution for institute, latter for last, lie for lay etc.
- (3) Underdifferentiation errors where a particular LI in the learner's L1 has two or more equivalents in the L2, i.e. one-to-many correspondence, e.g. Dušková found that Czech learners of English have difficulty with English do and make which have as their equivalent in Czech (delat); way journey (cesta), repair correct (spravit) etc. Grauberg attributed 35 of the 102 lexical errors he identified in his learners' performance to 'faulty equivalence between English and German words' and Hocking (1973) maintained that where one language splits up a concept between two or more words and the other does not, interference can be expected, e.g. English know covers the meanings of both Spanish saber and conocer, as well as French savoir and connaître.

- (4) Overgeneralization of the semantic range of L2 LIs which Jain (1974) says, results in the learner's failure to observe restrictions on the co-occurrence of items within a sentence. Jain discusses two types of restrictions, lexical and grammatical. Lexical restrictions deal with the co-occurrence of wholly lexical items and rule out the co-occurrence of some words with others because of the incompatibility of pairs of words, e.g.

 *He drives a scooter. Grammatical restrictions, on the other hand, determine the occurrence of items in grammatical contexts; they do not permit certain words to enter at all into certain grammatical constructions, e.g. *We want that Hindi be the medium of instruction is not acceptable because want cannot be followed by a that clause.
- (5) L1 interference errors, interference on the lexical level may show itself either in the learner's literal translation of Ll collocations (Grauberg 1971, Sah 1971) or in the extension of the semantic range of a L2 LI on the model of a Ll LI. The latter type of interference is said to take place where the semantic ranges of two LIs in two different languages only partly coincide. Hocking exemplifies this type of error. He says that the semantic range of Swahili weza is considerably wider than that of the roughly corresponding English can. Weza covers the area of 'moral capacity' for doing something and hence the condition of being quite likely or liable to do it because that is one's nature. English can touches this area but only in a very restricted way. Therefore, the Bartu speaker's error *He's a very cruel man; he can beat his children with a hoe is interference.

The above are all the most important types of lexical error that have been identified in studies in the field of EA. Some studies which have taken as their object the investigation of the learner's interlanguage as a whole (i.e. not only the errors) have reported evidence about the lexical strategies and processes employed by L2 learners for learning and communication. These will be discussed shortly in this chapter.

In the present study too, the learners' errors are categorized and studied on the basis of the strategies and processes employed by the learners in their production. Nevertheless, the error types discussed under various strategies and processes seem to lend support to the findings and views reported in the above-mentioned studies:

The errors which indicated our learners' resort to sense relations (see 63.1.1.1) lend support to the findings reported by Myint Su, Grauberg, Sah and Jain; those which showed resort to formal relatedness within L2 (see 6.31.1.1) confirm Duskova's, Grauberg's and Sah's findings and the learners' appeal to L1-motivated overgeneralization and using L2 LIs on the model of L1 LIs (see 6.32.1) confirm the categories reported by Duskova, Myint Su, Grauberg and Hocking.

4.3 Interlanguage Studies

As Corder (1975a: 208) puts it:

A distinction has been drawn between studies of errors with a pedagogical objective of pointing to the development of appropriate remedial techniques and materials, and performance analysis, the study of the learner's language system in order to discover the psychological processes of second language learning.

It must be pointed out, however, that although the latter type of studies takes into consideration the wider aspects of the learner's language, errors have continued to have primary importance.

Findings of research in EA have stimulated interest in the study of how people learn a L2 and use it for communicative purposes. Having observed that learners' errors are systematic and that L2 learners often regress to previously acquired items and systems in new communicative situations, Selinker (1972) concluded that interlanguages in common with pidgins at a certain stage reach a state of fossilization regardless of the amount of instruction or

practice learners receive in the L2. Selinker (ibid: 216-7) postulated five central processes for determining the nature of interlanguage. If it can be demonstrated that fossilizable items, rules and systems which occur in interlanguage performance are a result of the L1 then we are dealing with the process of language transfer; if they are a result of identifiable items in training procedures, then we are dealing with the process known as transfer of training; if they are a result of an identifiable approach by the learner to the material to be learned, then we are dealing with strategies of L2 learning; if they are a result of an identifiable approach by the learner to communication in L2, then we are dealing with strategies of L2 communication; and finally, if they are a result of a clear overgeneralization of L2 rules and semantic features, then we are dealing with overgeneralization of L2 linguistic material.

Two of these central processes, 'strategies of learning' and 'strategies of communication' have been taken up by researchers in studying interlanguage systems and discovering the psychological processes that take place when learners learn a L2 and attempt to communicate in it. Faerch and Kasper (1980: 47-8) point out that it has become widely recognized that processes and strategies in learning and communication will be constitutive components of any theory of L2 acquisition. More importantly, a better understanding of the strategies and processes of L2 learning and communication is highly relevant for all concerned with L2 teaching and learning: deeper insights into the processes involved in L2 learning and into the strategies L2 learners use for coping with communication tasks will enable us to set up more reasonable learning objectives and to devise more adequate teaching techniques.

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^{1.} The other three, i.e. language transfer, transfer of training and overgeneralization, have come to be studied as specific processes within these two types of strategies.

4.3.1 What constitutes a strategy?

The term 'strategy' has been used in the literature on interlanguage without being rigorously defined. According to Selinker (1972: 219):

...little is known in psychology about what constitutes a strategy, and a viable definition of it does not seem possible at present. Even less is known about strategies which learners of a second language use in their attempt to master a TL and express meaning in it.

In his view strategies for handling L2 material evolve whenever the learner realizes either consciously or unconsciously that he has no linguistic competence with regard to some aspect of the L2. Jordens (1977: 14) seems to reiterate this view when he says "...whenever problems have to be solved, strategies are used to solve these problems as quickly as possible [Jorden's emphasis]. The essential thing is that strategies can only be applied when something is acknowledged as problematic".

It seems obvious that we are not going to arrive at a clear definition of the term 'strategy' until we have a more explicit psycholinguistic account of the internal mental processes that take place when learners learn and use a L2. Until then we may be well-advised to call it 'a problem-solving procedure' (Smith 1979: 69).

We will not go into the discussion of the question whether strategies and processes used by L2 learners are conscious or unconscious. This issue is the subject of much controversy at present. According to some scholars, e.g. Jordens (1977: 15), transfer and overgeneralization errors are produced without the learner being aware of them and therefore, in his view, do not constitute strategies. However, as will be seen shortly in this chapter, most authors do recognize these phenomena as strategies of learning and communication, and argue that strategies are consciously developed and employed.

^{1.} Selinker attributes this statement to E. Tarone through personal communication.

In the absence of empirical evidence and convincing argument it may be assumed, at least for the purposes of the present study, that strategies and processes can occur at the conscious and subconscious level (see Selinker et al, 1975: 141).

4.3.2 Learning versus communication strategies

Although the terms 'learning strategies' and 'communication strategies' have been widely used in interlanguage studies a clearcut distinction between them is not always made. Richards (1971a) drew a distinction between errors which derive from communication strategies and those deriving from learning The former include errors which derive from the fact that heavy communication demands are made on the L2 forcing the learner to mould whatever he has assimilated of the L2 into a means of saying what he wants to say. The latter include errors attributable to the learner's attempt to reduce the learning burden of what he has to assimilate. Corder (1977 and 1978b) who calls for keeping separate the two types of strategy, seems to have introduced the only explicit distinction between them: strategies of learning refer to the "...mental processes whereby a learner creates for himself or discovers a language system underlying the data he is exposed to..." Communication strategies on the other hand, refer to "...the devices whereby he exploits whatever linguistic knowledge he possesses to achieve his communicative ends". While learning strategies are, by definition, used by learners only, communication strategies are used by native speakers as well as L2 learners (Corder 1977: 12).

The reasons for confusing the two phenomena seem to lie in the strong relationship between them. As Corder (ibid: 12-3) puts it:

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^{...}a) one of the motivations for developing an interlanguage must be that the speaker finds his strategies of communication inadequate for his communicative needs...and b) the data on

the basis of which a learner creates for himself his interlanguage system is that produced by other speakers using their communication strategies - these may be deliberately simplifying as perhaps a mother to a child, a native speaker to a foreign learner, or a teacher to a pupil, or in some cases another interlanguage speaker to the learner.

Faerch and Kasper (1980: 51) attribute the reason for not observing the distinction between strategies of learning and strategies of communication in some interlanguage studies to the fact that learning, especially in informal L2 learning contexts, takes place through communication, and that one particular act of verbal behaviour can have both learning and communicative functions for the learner.

In their discussion of how communication strategies can lead to learning Faerch and Kasper (ibid: 102) point out that the use of a communication strategy presupposes that the learner experiences a problem because his interlanguage does not yet contain the appropriate item or rule; that the appropriate item or rule is difficult to retrieve or is considered problematic from a correctness point of view. Therefore, they conclude, that communication strategies which aim at solving problems can lead to L2 learning with regard to hypothesis formation. Hypothesizing about the type of strategies that can lead to learning and those that cannot, the authors classify interlingual transfer, generalization and word-coinage as '+ potential learning' strategies. Paraphrase, code-switching and non-linguistic communication strategies are classified as '- potential' learning.

As Corder (1978a: 85) says, the interest in the L2 learner's communication strategies lies in their relation to learning. Corder distinguishes between two types of communication strategies: 'risk-avoiding strategies', e.g. message adjustment or avoidance, and 'risk-taking strategies', e.g. paraphrase, transfer, word-coinage and guessing. Corder says that the risk-avoiding strategies can scarcely lead to learning:

"If we are never prepared to operate beyond our self-assessed capacities then we never enlarge our knowledge". The risk-taking strategies, on the other hand, may lead to learning:

If a guess is accepted by our interlocutor, then the form is incorporated into our repertoire as part of the target language. A translation or borrowing that succeeds is similarly incorporated. Those that fail provide information about the limits of the target language.

The present study deals with communication strategies or, more specifically, with the <u>lexical strategies</u> developed by intermediate-advanced learners for expressing their intentions in written discourse. In other words, our objective is to find out what strategies and processes the learner uses when he is faced with the problem of expressing a particular meaning beyond the bounds of his lexical competence. These strategies and processes will be investigated through the learner's lexical errors and utterances which, though not necessarily <u>formally</u> deviant, nevertheless indicate that the learner was using strategies for expressing meaning because of a lexical gap in his competence or uncertainty about the use of a given LI.

No attempt will be made to identify which communication strategies and processes may lead to learning and which may not. In fact, for the purposes of this study, a hard and fast distinction between the two types of strategy, even if it were conceivable, is not essential. First, learning as has just been said, takes place through communication. Second, most communication strategies adopted by L2 learners lead to the development of their interlanguages, i.e. learning: experienced language teachers are often able to detect their learners' resort to communication strategies and interpret their intentions. Eventually, they devise plans to remedy deficiencies in the learner's competence by providing the appropriate LIs which the learner does not know yet and by explaining the rule restrictions the learner violates in the communication

process. Therefore, if a learner resorts to paraphrase to express a meaning for which his interlanguage does not include the appropriate LI, e.g. using doctor of animals, put in the grave, boxes of bees etc. The teacher will understand that the learner needs to know vet, bury and bee-hives respectively. Moreover, experienced teachers with the help of their knowledge of their learner's world-view and the theme of conversation are able to discover lexical gaps in a learner's competence that are compensated for by non-linguistic strategies in oral discourse.

It may be assumed, therefore, that in a formal learning situation, communication strategies lead to better learning than in a free learning situation because the teacher, unlike the native interlocutor, does not find it offensive to correct the learner.

4.3.3 Communication strategies

Tarone et al (1976: 78) provide a useful definition of the term
'communication strategies': "...a systematic attempt by the learner to express
or decode meaning in the target language in situations where the appropriate
systematic target language rules have not been formed". For Corder (1978b: 103)
communication strategies are

...a systematic technique employed by a speaker to express his meaning when faced with some difficulty. Difficulty in this definition is taken to refer uniquely to the speaker's inadequate command of the language used in the interaction.

For the specific purposes of examining the lexical aspects of L2 learners' interlanguage a communication strategy may be defined as any systematic attempt by the learner to express or encode meaning in the L2 where the appropriate LIs or the relevant restrictions on their use have not been acquired or present certain inherent difficulties.

4.3.4 Simplification and avoidance

Before we turn to the discussion of the various types of communication strategies and processes that have been proposed or identified through investigating interlanguages we intend to discuss two general notions that have been invoked by some authors in studying learning and communicative strategies.

These are 'simplification' and 'avoidance'.

4.3.4.1 Simplification

According to some authors, simplification is a universal phenomenon and all the strategies and processes used by a learner for learning and communicating are instances or aspects of simplification (e.g. see Widdowson 1979: 197 and Richards 1975: 118). In Richards' (ibid: 116) view "By simplification is meant increasing the generality of rules, through extending the range of application and through dropping rules of limited applicability".

However, this view of simplification is not shared by some scholars. Corder (1975a and 1977) points out that the process of overgeneralization in learning results in approximative systems which are structurally simpler than those of the L2 but as he (1975a: 211) puts it:

...we cannot simplify what we do not possess and a language learner can scarcely be said to be simplifying the rules of the target language in any psychological sense. What results from his learning strategies may, however, result in a system which is linguistically simpler.

Corder (1977: 12) therefore, maintains that simplification:

...cannot be a learning strategy itself, though it may well be a 'strategy of communication'...i.e. how a speaker uses his knowledge in order to communicate effectively; equally no doubt true of native speakers as of interlanguage speakers and more obviously of <u>teachers</u> of second languages.

Levenston and Blum (1977 and 1978) have confined themselves to investigating lexical simplification which they define as "...the process and/or result of making do with less words" (1978: 399). As seen by these

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authors lexical simplification is a feature of many linguistic activities and can be studied in many contexts, e.g. the performance of L2 learners, translation, pedagogical materials, children's performance in L1 etc.

For L2 learners, Levenston and Blum point out, the need to simplify is explained by the complexity of the task of acquiring command of all aspects of the native speaker's semantic competence. In their view there are two alternative ways in which lexical simplification within L2 learning can be studied parallel to the ambiguity of the word simplification itself:

- (1) 'Simplification' is understood as the <u>result</u> of simplifying, the end-product of the learner's use of the language.
- (2) Simplification is understood as the <u>act</u> of simplifying, the strategy of communication, the process whereby specific meanings are communicated on specific occasions.

Explaining these two approaches the authors point out that "An oversimple view of lexical simplification would concentrate on the <u>result</u> of making do with less' and view the task of research as lexicographic". For every LI in the L2 one would just have to list all the alternatives found in the learners' utterances. This, however, will lack information about the processes and strategies used by the learner. A subtler view of lexical simplification, though still concerned with the end-product would attempt semantic "mapping" through the comparison of the broader areas of lexical territory and how it is divided up in the learner's L1 and the L2.

Levenston and Blum (1977: 52-5) maintain that these two views of lexical simplification are attempts to describe the end-product but not the processes. The first approach is inadequate and the second is impossible to achieve. Needless to say, they are both based on a shaky hypothesis, namely that the learner's interlanguage remains stable enough for description to be completed. For these reasons they propose instead an approach which concentrates

on the study of the processes of lexical simplification especially the communication strategies adopted by the learner.

It is true that our interest in studying interlanguage is to discover the strategies and processes adopted and adapted by the learner rather than his end-product. However, the strong relationship between the two should not be disregarded: unless our statements about the strategies and processes are to be hypothetical our only means of inferring the learner's strategies and processes is the end-product, i.e. his simplified systems or interlanguage.

Another important point concerning the status of simplification as a communication strategy is the claim that the processes of simplification adopted by the learner operate according to universal principles and derive from the learner's competence in Ll (Levenston and Blum (1977 and 1978)). This hypothesis has been given more emphasis in recent studies on communicative competence. Thus, according to Widdowson (1979: 197), the strategies and processes:

...take place because the learner attempts to adjust the language he is learning to make it an effective instrument of communication and he does so by calling upon those strategies which he employs in the use of his own language.

In the present study, as in Selinker et al (1975), simplification may be considered as a "superordinate strategy" and overgeneralization, paraphrase and language transfer as some of its hyponyms, i.e. types of simplification.

These types of simplification may also be regarded as having the same end-product, i.e. systems which, compared to those used by a native speaker in the same communicative situation, are in many ways simplified. The effects of these types of strategies on correctness and consequently on the communicative value of utterances are different from one strategy to the other.

As to the claim that the processes of simplification are universal, our discussion of the various strategies and processes will show, we hope, that resorting to e.g. paraphrase and overgeneralization exploiting relations of synonymy, hyponymy etc. is characteristic of many communicative activities in all languages. The learner's knowledge of his L1 which includes his ability to paraphrase and his awareness of the paradigmatic relations between LIs undoubtedly helps him in his new task. However, the intermediate-advanced learner's knowledge of the L2 is another equally important resource in this process. The findings of this study indicate unequivocally that the learner's strategies and processes derive from both types of knowledge, i.e. L1 and L2. Moreover, in many instances it is not possible to determine whether a particular strategy derives from L1 or L2.

4.3.4.2 Avoidance

One of the criticisms that have been raised against EA is that it tends to completely overlook potential cases of avoidance because it works with a corpus of actually observed errors (Schachter 1974: 213).

In recent studies on interlanguage some researchers have attempted to account for L2 learners' tendency to resort to escape routes and "avoid" using LIs and structures which are not yet at their disposal or present some difficulties in terms of 'strategies of avoidance'.

Tarone et al (1976: 82-4) listed six communication strategies which they had classed as:

...different types of <u>avoidance</u>, that is, these strategies are all different means of getting around target-language rules or forms which are not yet an established part of the learner's competence.

These are: (i) topic avoidance in which communication is totally avoided on topics which require the use of L2 rules or forms which the learner does not yet know very well; (ii) semantic avoidance in which the learner evades the communication of content for which the appropriate L2 rules and forms are not available by talking about related concepts which may presuppose the desired

content; (iii) appeal to authority, when the learner asks the teacher or someone else to supply a LI, whether a LI is correct or else 'look it up'; (iv) paraphrase, i.e. rewording of the message in an alternative L2 construction; (v) message abandonment whereby communication on a topic is initiated but then cut short because the learner runs into difficulty with the L2 rule or form; (vi) language switch: where the learner transports a LI or expression untranslated into the interlanguage.

In his typology of the communication strategies employed by American students of Russian, Ervin (1979) includes two of the above avoidance strategies: topic avoidance and message abandonment accounting for 36% and 5% of the 267 instances of strategy use respectively.

According to Blum and Levenston (1978: 400), "Learners, teachers, text-adaptors and translators...share the obligation to express meaning while avoiding certain lexical items that are not at their disposal". In their papers on lexical simplification and issues of L2 lexical acquisition, Levenston and Blum (1977 and 1978), and Levenston (1979) discussed many types of avoidance:

(a) phonological avoidance, occurring where a learner avoids LIs which present phonological difficulties; (b) morphological avoidance in which LIs are avoided for morphological reasons; (c) semantic avoidance which occurs with LIs which present semantic difficulties to the learner; (d) void avoidance which is said to take place in instances where a given L2 LI has no precise equivalent in the learner's L1.

However, as Kleinmann (1978: 158) puts it:

An individual cannot be said to be avoiding some linguistic feature of which he has no knowledge any more than he can be said to be avoiding doing anything which he is unable to do. Avoidance presupposes choice. Thus, to be able to avoid some linguistic feature, one must be able to choose not to avoid it, i.e. to use it.

The findings of Kleinmann's study on avoidance of grammatical categories by Arab, Spanish and Portuguese learners of English showed that these learners

had resorted to an avoidance strategy which cannot be attributed to lack of knowledge of the avoided categories but rather to differences in categorization between the two languages in question (i.e. what Levenston and Blum called 'void avoidance'). Moreover, the results of the study seemed to suggest that:

...CA is a fairly good predictor of potential cases of avoidance, although admittedly, it cannot predict when a given structure will be avoided as opposed to when it will be produced with the likelihood of error. To do this, psycholinguistic studies need to be undertaken examining in detail variables such as anxiety, confidence, and risk-taking in order to give a better profile of potential avoiders and nonavoiders (ibid: 165).

In the present study too, avoidance will not be used in relation to strategies and processes which indicate lexical gaps in the learner's competence but rather to apparent inherent linguistic difficulty and particularly where it is assumed that the learner has encountered the LIs in question, e.g. in the following two examples from our corpus the learners might have attempted to avoid the TLI strength because of its inherent difficulty.

- This shows us that old people as well gave the games a great importance because they believed that sporting games build (up) body's and mind forces [strength].
 (Topic: The Olympic Games, item no 320).
- 2. They built a fortress with a very strong door, the highest of the walls...All these prevents (i.e. obstacles) were against the power [strength] of the gorilla. (Topic: review of the film King Kong, item no 321).

In these two utterances force and power were used by the learners instead of the more appropriate LI strength. Although we have listed and treated these as a case of Ll-motivated overgeneralization resulting in underdifferentiation due to lexical non-isomorphism (see 63.21.2) it is possible that the learners avoided strength because of its relative inherent difficulty: from a phonological point of view the consonant clusters [st-] and [-90] or [-9k0]

are difficult for Arab learners of English. Moreover, <u>strength</u> is more difficult to write than <u>power</u> and <u>force</u>. It is also less frequent. 1

This type of avoidance also applies to multi-word LIs, i.e. idioms, cliches and proverbs whose constituents have to be produced in a pre-set order.

Besides the above-mentioned type of avoidance attributed to inherent difficulty, avoidance was conspicuous in the learners' abandonment of topics for which they seem to have lacked vocabulary. Topic avoidance is not, of course, characteristic of learners' performance only, since it is found in native speakers' use of their L1. There are many topics for which one finds it difficult to express onself because of the lack of the relevant concepts and the LIs used to designate them. However, because a learner's interlanguage is more restricted, topic avoidance is often conspicuous in his performance. In our learners' data most learners tended to choose topics which related to their local environment and culture, i.e. those for which they possessed concepts and vocabulary, e.g. 'a day in the life of a Libyan farmer', 'Ramadan', etc.

Although the above observations seem to apply to most learners, place must be left to individual differences and the personal chracteristics of the learner. In a free expression situation all learners have the opportunity to control their linguistic output and avoid using LIs which present difficulties on the production level because they have no full control yet on their relations of co-occurrence and syntactic functioning. However, it has been noticed that the over-confident type of learner seems to resort more to risk-taking strategies. It is no wonder, therefore, that such a learner commits more errors than a learner who adopts a risk-avoiding strategy,

The American Heritage Word Frequency Book (Am. HER. WFB), Carroll et al 1971, which is based on the study of over five million graphic words will be used throughout for comparing the frequencies of LIs. In the Am. HER. WFB strength has a frequency of 354, force 651 and power 1065.

i.e. use only those LIs of which he is very sure in rather familiar constructions.

4.3.5 Types of communication strategies and processes

The classification of the learners' lexical strategies and processes used in the present study makes use of some of the categories mentioned in other studies. It seems useful, therefore, to include a brief review of the taxonomies that have been suggested or identified by researchers in the field. As has been mentioned above, this study is concerned with linguistic or more specifically lexical types of strategies and processes. For this reason, research findings in this area will be given more emphasis in this short review. On the other hand, this review will allow us to discuss some of the strategies and processes which were not inferrable through the data used in our study.

In a paper that initiated interest in the study of learners' communication strategies, Váradi (1973, published 1980) says that in assessing success in L2 acquisition, the question of how close the learner comes to communicating what he wanted to say must not be disregarded. In his view, the starting point in an examination of communication is the meaning the learner wishes to convey. The learner's problem is to find the appropriate L2 form to convey the intended meaning (optimal meaning). This is no easy task since the learner's competence in L2 is, by definition, impoverished.

In a small scale experiment, Varadi sought to investigate learners' strategies of communication through the comparison of the same message in L1 and in interlanguage. Two groups of nine and ten adult learners of English at an intermediate level were selected as subjects. The experiment was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, both groups were asked to describe a related series of drawings. Group I was asked to describe the picture story in English and group II to describe it in Hungarian without

using a dictionary. The papers were collected. Then the learners were asked to describe the picture again in the other language. In the second phase of the experiment, the subjects were asked to translate their Hungarian versions into English and vice versa.

Reporting on the results of the experiment, Váradi (ibid: 67) says:

Of course, certain events, things, people in the story could not be left unmentioned. We can briefly examine the strategies employed by the subjects in attempting to communicate certain concepts of key importance to the story expressed by the pictures and formulate a somewhat complete view of reduction.

He distinguished between two types of reduction in meaning: <u>intensional</u> reduction which is defined as relaxation of precision caused by the selection of forms whose meaning, though related to it, falls short of the optimal meaning (e.g. <u>salesman</u> > <u>man</u>) and <u>extensional reduction</u> which is the elimination of part of the meaning and is manifested in the omission of particular forms (e.g. <u>a young man of 50 with a Chaplin-style moustache</u> > <u>man</u>). The distinction between the two types of reduction, Varadi explains:

seems to be blurred with regard to form, since owing to the sequential nature of speech, all intensional reduction necessarily involves extensional reduction as well.

Within intensional reduction Varadi distinguished two different strategies: (a) generalization, for instance, using a superordinate term in reference to its hyponyms, and (b) approximation, which may be roughly defined as an attempt to reconstruct the optimal meaning by referring to some of its semantic components (e.g. <u>balloon</u> > <u>air ring</u>).

The other strategies identified by Váradi were 'formal replacement' and 'formal reduction'. Formal replacement is realized through paraphrase and circumlocution. Formal reduction, on the other hand, may include: (a) elimination of certain L2 forms or, more importantly, (b) reduction of the range of synonyms, i.e. overuse of one form at the expense of the others.

In the light of these findings, Váradi (ibid: 71) suggests that for grading a comprehensive assessment of the learner's proficiency in communicating in L2:

...the various types and the extent of message-adjustment should be related to well-formedness (acceptability and appropriateness) of the actual message. Thus it will be possible to ascertain whether error-free speech was achieved at the expense of abandoning...the learner's optional meaning on the one hand, or whether...errors are largely due to the learner's refusal to compromise his optimal meaning despite the inordinate gap that exists between his optimal meaning and his encoding capabilities in the L2.

As can be seen, Varadi did not account for many of the strategies adopted by learners for encoding meaning, e.g. language transfer was not considered in any way. Moreover, the findings reported by Varadi have to be interpreted within the perspective of the tasks the learners were assigned, i.e. picture description and translation. The meanings communicated in these tasks are not thought out by the learner himself. In translation particularly, the learner's task is to find equivalents to Ll LIs. Nevertheless, the findings remain useful and have undoubtedly stimulated interest in studying strategies and processes adopted by learners for expressing meaning.

Selinker et al (1975) attempted to demonstrate that the interlanguage hypothesis can be extended to children L2 learners. The interlanguage hypothesis' claims that the L2 learner's utterances rarely conform to utterances produced by native speakers in similar contexts; that these utterances are not exact translations of L1 utterances and that they differ from L2 utterances in systematic ways. The authors point out that until recently this hypothesis has been applied only to adult L2 learners.

Therefore, one of the purposes of their paper was to argue that the hypothesis can be extended to children learners and also against Selinker's claim that the latent psychological structure is activated after puberty, wherever a

learner attempts to express meaning in a L2.

The subjects in this study were ten boys and ten girls, all at the age of about seven and a half years, and all native speakers of English learning French as a L2. The data included tape-recorded conversation in French of 10-15 minutes in length with each of the ten boys and ten girls. Forty-eight examples which appeared to represent unambiguously the operation of strategies were selected.

Selinker et al identified three strategies which accounted for the learners' data: 'language transfer', 'overgeneralization' and 'simplification of L2 rules'. The latter, as has been said earlier, was used by the authors as a superordinate strategy with overgeneralization and transfer as sub-types of simplification.

Lexical language transfer involved using L2 LIs on the model of L1 LIs without paying attention to the different syntactic functions, literal translation of English words into French and inserting English words in L2 utterances. The following examples illustrate this:

- (1) Elle marche les chats ('She's walking the cats'), i.e. Elle fait faire une promenade aux chats, or Elle promène les chats.
- (2) Des temps ('sometimes')
 i.e. parfois, quelquefois, des fois.
- (3) Il regarde comme six ('He looks like six years old')
 i.e. Il a l'air d'avoir six ans.
- Je dois de <u>spell</u> mon nom pour toi ('I have to spell my name for you')
 i.e. Je dois (épeler mon nom pour toi)
 (t.'épeler mon nom)

Overgeneralization was evident in the application of L2 rules to contexts where they were not required, e.g. overgeneralizing the subject form of the French personal pronoun to a context where the object form is required as in:

Je lis des histoires à il en français ('I read stories to him in French', or 'I read him stories in French') i.e. Je lui lis des histoires en français.

In conclusion, Selinker et al (ibid: 150) point out that it is in the consistent use of these strategies that the learner's interlanguage is viewed as systematic. Moreover, they say, in some cases several strategies may be operating simultaneously or sequentially.

Reference has been made above to Tarone et al's paper (1976) (see 4.3.3). Their typology of communication strategies included:

- (1) Transfer from L1, resulting in utterances that are not just inappropriate but actually incorrect by native standards. In lexis, transfer takes place when the learner indulges in 'loanshift' whereby he transfers the semantic range of a L1 LI onto a LI in the L2: e.g. <u>Je sais Jean</u> instead of <u>Je connais Jean</u>.
- (2) Overgeneralization. In the use of LIs, overgeneralization occurs where an item is used in inappropriate contexts because the learner is unaware of the semantic limitations on its use, e.g. <u>He is pretty</u>.
- (3) The use of prefabricated pattern which is defined as a regular patterned segment of speech employed without knowledge of its underlying structure, but with the knowledge as to which particular situations call for what patterns. This, the authors say, may be considered as a subcategory of overgeneralization, e.g. the <u>do you</u> pattern may produce <u>What do you doing?</u> for What are you doing?
- (4) Following Levenston (1971), the fourth strategy listed by the authors is "overelaboration" in which the learner, in an attempt to produce correct L2 utterances, produces utterances which are inordinately formal. Such utterances, while not native-like, might well be grammatical. With reference to lexis, overelaboration may be shown in the use of esoteric LIs in place of more frequently used L2 LIs, e.g. The people next door are rather indigent where poor would be more appropriate.

It must be pointed out, however, that in the classification adopted in our study, 'overelaboration', 'over-indulgence' and 'underdifferentiation'

Levenston (1971) are not regarded as communication strategies themselves. It is argued that they are results or by-products of other communication strategies and processes (see 6.3.2.1.2).

The rest of the strategies identified by Tarone et al were classed as different types of avoidance and have been mentioned in the discussion of this phenomenon (see 4.3.4.2).

Levenston and Blum (1977 and 1978) studied lexical simplification in the performance of advanced learners. These authors' views on simplification have been discussed above (see 4.3.4.1). Here we will examine the types of strategies and processes of lexical simplification which were discussed in some detail in their 1978 paper.

It is important to note that Levenston and Blum (1978: 402) drew a distinction between 'strategies' and 'processes, terms which have been used by most authors (e.g. Tarone et al 1976) as, more or less, synonymous. In the view of these authors a strategy

...refers to the way the learner arrives at a certain usage at a specific point of time, and process refers to the systematic series of steps by which the learner arrives at the same usage over time.

Moreover, the authors maintain that processes are inferrable from strategies just as strategies are inferrable from interlanguage performance.

In the light of this distinction, the authors proposed to divide all strategies of lexical simplification into two groups: (a) strategies that initiate processes and which produce potentially fossilizable usages, and (b) strategies that are situation-bound and do not initiate processes. The following table includes both types of strategies (ibid: 403):

Gro	Group (a): Process initiating		Group (b): Situation-bound	
I	Overgeneralization 1) superordinate terms 2) approximation 3) synonyms 4) word coinage 5) converseness	II Langu III Appea IV Chang	umlocution and paraphrase mage switch al to authority ge of topic attic avoidance	
II	Transfer			

Five of the above strategies were chosen for discussion by the authors:

(i) Superordinate terms: where a word is set up as superordinate in the learner's interlanguage and used in contexts where the majority of native speakers would use a hyponym, e.g. <u>happy</u> used for <u>content</u> and <u>satisfied</u>.

In our learners' data, although this process seems to have been more frequently used, some instances indicated the reverse process, i.e. using the hyponym for the superordinate term (see pp.207-208).

(ii) Approximation: this term was used by the authors in the same way it is used in translation in reference to:

The selection of words whose area bounds upon the blank space and which by insertion into the context of the word they are made to translate will suggest to the reader the association of that word (Rubin 1958 (quoted in Blum and Levenston 1978: 405-6))

e.g. using <u>develop</u> for <u>exploit</u> as in: <u>I think he's been given enough</u>

opportunities. The trouble is that he does not know how to develop them.;

develop and exploit have the semantic component [+ use] in common.

In our classification this process is discussed under 'Weak sense relations (see pp. 247-252).

- (iii) Synonymy: Blum and Levenston recognize three distinct kinds of situation that may develop with respect to the use of synonyms in a learner's interlanguage:
- (a) Of a pair of synonyms that differ in register, the more frequent is learned first and as a result, its relative frequency in the learner's

interlanguage is greater than in the normal usage of native speakers. This however, does not lead to inappropriate usage.

- (b) A pair of synonyms share the same components of meaning but differ in register and collocation. The learner, aware of only one of the pair, uses it regardless of the collocational restrictions on its use, e.g. a beautiful man used by a learner who does not know handsome.
- (c) Two LIs that share most of their semantic features but are not true synonyms become such in the learner's interlanguage and are used interchangeably, e.g. using speak and say for each other.

In our learners' data the overgeneralization of synonymous relations between LIs constituted one of the principal strategies for expressing meaning (see pp. 228-247).

(iv) Transfer: according to Blum and Levenston (ibid: 409), all L2 learners probably begin by assuming that for every word in L1 there is a single translation-equivalent in the L2. However, as they point out, learning a L2 involves gradually abandoning the equivalence hypothesis and internalizing the semantic relationships in the L2 independently of their L1 equivalent.

Assessing the role language transfer plays in learners' interlanguage, Blum and Levenston point out that if by lexical transfer is meant attributing to a L2 LI all the functions - referential and conceptual meaning, connotation, collocability and register restriction of its assumed Ll translation-equivalent, then it is a strategy of communication.

The other type of lexical transfer mentioned by the authors is 'language switch' which they maintain is resorted to where there is no direct translation-equivalent in L2.

(v) Circumlocution and paraphrase: the technique of elicitation used by the authors, i.e. sentences with single blanks for single missing words, did not give the learners the opportunity to use this strategy.

Nevertheless, the authors hypothesize that learners resort to paraphrase and circumlocution by exploiting the semantic relationships between LIs, e.g. 'oppositeness', thus <u>failed</u> may be paraphrased by <u>did not succeed</u>, <u>single</u> by <u>not married</u> etc.

As shown in our study, paraphrase and circumlocution seem to constitute major strategies for expressing meaning in a free expression situation (see 6.3.1.2).

In conclusion, Blum and Levenston indicated that the categories in the taxonomy proposed could be subclassified with even greater delicacy. Our classification of the subcategories of the strategies of overgeneralization and transfer has proved, we hope, the correctness of this suggestion. Overgeneralization, it will be shown, is not limited to reliance on the acknowledged sense relations of hyponymy and synonymy but also includes other relations between LIs, e.g. 'cause-effect', 'part-whole' etc. (see pp. 222-228).

Ringbom (1978) investigated the systematic devices the learner adopts when he is faced with the problem of not knowing a particular English LI for rendering the meaning of a LI in his Ll. The study was confined to those strategies which derive from the learner's Ll.

The test in Ringbom's study consisted of twenty-eight English sentences in which a total of sixty-eight LIs had been replaced by LIs from the learners' Lls, Finnish or Swedish. The learners were asked to translate these LIs into English.

We will not go into the variation between Finnish and Swedish learners and the frequencies for different LIs. It suffices for our purposes to review the results reported by the author about the strategies the learners used for their task.

Ringbom (p. 89) says that there are two types of lexical influence

from other languages. When selecting an English LI, the learner may assume that the L1 and L2 overall have the same semantic structure and produce either a 'loan translation' or a L2 LI the meaning of which has been extended on the model of a L1 LI. The other main type of lexical influence is formal similarity between the L1 and L2 which may lead the learner to proceed in one of four ways:

- (a) He may transfer elements from another language unchanged (language switch), e.g. *sylt for jam in Swedish learners.
- (b) He may mix elements of two languages into either hybrids or blends, e.g. Finnish jillo for jam (jam + Finnish hillo).
- (c) He may make an attempt at anglicizing a Ll word, thereby creating a nonce word, e.g. Sw. *stedge for ladder (Sw. stege = ladder).
- (d) He may confuse the word with another English word that is formally similar to, but semantically different from the Ll word, e.g. Fi. and Sw. *punish for blush (Fi. punstua = blush).

However, as Ringbom points out, it must be remembered that in a situation of translation, influence from Ll can be expected to be greater than in a spontaneous speech situation. In translating the learner's task is primarily to find L2 equivalents to Ll LIs, not to communicate meanings he himself has thought out. Nevertheless:

...the ways in which the Ll influence manifests itself are probably very largely the same, though the frequencies would no doubt be wholly different in other contexts and media (ibid: 94).

In a study of the communication strategies used by American learners of Russian for describing picture stories, Ervin (1979) collected 267 instances of strategy use. His typology included five major strategies of communication:

(i) avoidance strategies; (ii) interlingual strategies; (iii) intralingual strategies; (iv) appeal to authority, and (v) mime (the nature of the data used in the study did not allow for the use of (iv) and (v) but they were included

in the typology, Ervin says, in the interests of completeness).

Finally, in a comprehensive review of the literature on communication and learning strategies and processes, Faerch and Kasper (1980) suggested a highly delicate classification in which three major categories of communication strategies were suggested:

- (1) Formal reduction strategies in which the learner communicates by means of a "reduced" system in order to avoid producing erroneous utterances. This has four subtypes: 'phonological', 'morphological', 'syntactic' and 'lexical'.
- (2) Functional reduction strategies in which the learner reduces his communicative goal in order to avoid a problem. This category has three subtypes: 'topic avoidance', 'message abandonment' and 'message replacement'.
- (3) Following Corder (1978a) the authors' third category is 'achievement strategies' in which the learner attempts to solve communication problems by expanding his communicative resources. These have many subtypes, e.g. 'interlingual transfer', 'intralingual transfer', 'generalization', 'paraphrase' 'word-coinage' and 'non-linguistic strategies'.

The classifications of communication strategies suggested by researchers in the field provide a useful framework within which our learners' lexical strategies can be distinguished and studied. In the light of the processes inferred from the learners' utterances we hope to develop further the typology of the strategies used by the learners for expressing meaning. The role played by these strategies and processes in communication in L1 and in teaching a L2 will be considered as well. Furthermore, for pedagogical purposes it seems valuable to examine the communicative effects of the strategies and processes adopted by the learners, i.e. the type of restrictions they violated and their likely effect on the comprehensibility of the utterances in question.

Conclusion

The above expositions of the approaches of CA, EA and interlanguage studies has shown, we hope, that they are complementary rather than mutually exclusive: CA, in its explanatory version, is indispensable for describing interlingual errors and inferring the strategies and processes which indicate reliance on language transfer. Obviously we cannot firmly conclude that the learner's Ll has been interfering with his learning or that the learner has been borrowing from Ll under communicative need unless we compare his interlanguage utterances with features of the Ll or any other language he knows. EA, on the other hand, provides useful techniques for studying a learner's errors regardless of their origin. although we do not, as has been explained, nowadays base our hypotheses about the strategies and processes learners develop for learning and using L2 on formally erroneous utterances only, learners' errors still constitute the backbone of the data we use for investigating interlanguages. standing the strategies and processes learners use for handling problems of learning and communication seems a prerequisite for formulating a theory of L2 learning.

CHAPTER FIVE

Description of Data and Procedures

5.1 Data for the Study

The data for the present study included 226 final examination papers of free composition for first, second, third and fourth year students in the Department of English Language, Faculty of Education, Tripoli. It also included 63 comprehension papers for third and fourth year students of the same group. Some short compositions and essays written in the classroom under the teacher's supervision by second year students in the Department of English Language, Faculty of Arts, Benghazi, were also included in the material.

The free composition papers which constituted the core of the material covered a wide range of topics which allowed for the description of cultural and social phenomena in the learners' environment. They also included topics that gave the learners opportunities for describing their own experience of the world and interests in life. Table 1 shows the distribution of the composition papers by year and by topic.

This diversity of topics should have provided contexts for using LIs and collocations from different semantic fields. Moreover, the topics which involved describing aspects of Ll culture should have provided good contexts for revealing any occurrences of interlingual transfer. From a pedagogical point of view, a learner's performance in any of the above topics has important implications: it would indicate the state of the learner's active competence in the register concerned and the ways in which his competence had been insufficient to meet his communicative needs.

First and second year students were given one and a half hours to write their compositions and third and fourth year students were given a period

TABLE 1

Year	Topic of Composition	No of papers
First	Describe a Libyan wedding.	1
	Imagine you have an English friend. Write him a letter describing how you spent the month of Ramadan.	19
	Your friend has had an accident and has been taken to hospital. Write a composition describing your visit to him or her.	13
	Write a composition based on the details given below. You can introduce any other details you like but your composition should include these sentences: On Friday we usually go to the beach; My mother makes a picnic; My father goes to the mosque; The road is long and straight; When it is warm we enjoy a swim; Children play on the sand; We always come home tired but happy.	31
	Describe the first students' picnic you attended.	3
	Give an outline of your first year at university.	10
	Retell the story of Eveline from the point of view of Frank, her boyfriend.	7
	The green revolution in Libya.	3
	Write a letter to a friend abroad inviting him or her to have a holiday in Libya. Describe briefly what you would like them to see here.	5
Second	Describe a typical day in the life of a Libyan farmer or shopkeeper.	25
	Should men and women receive anidentical education?	8
	Review a film you have seen or a book you have read recently.	14
Third	The most exciting day of my life!	17
	I have lost the key!	18
	All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy.	4
Fourth	Racial discrimination in the USA and South Africa.	25
	A day in the life of a university student.	5
	A day in the life of a housewife.	7
	A woman's place is at home. Discuss.	11

of three hours to write theirs. In both cases the time allowed seemed sufficient.

Most of the learners found time to write a first and final draft in the specified time. No dictionaries or reference works were allowed.

The comprehension papers for the third and fourth year students consisted of answers to questions about a short story the learners had studied in the classroom. The story was about a boy who had lost his mother in early childhood and had been brought up by his father and sister. The boy had been convicted of theft and turned to his father for help. The story describes the feelings and reactions of the father towards his son. The students were asked to answer the questions which covered content and vocabulary using their own words. A period of three hours was allowed for the learners to complete their work and no reference to the story-book or dictionaries was allowed.

5.1.1 General observations

It has been noted that the composition papers varied in length. was partly due to the fact that different periods of time were given to first and second year students on the one hand and third and fourth year students on the other. In common with other subjects, individual differences in this respect were quite marked. Some students within the same time group were able to write more than others. The learner's level of progress in the language should have played some part as well, and it may be assumed that the more advanced the learner, the better equipped he was to express his ideas and intentions. The average lengths were as follows: about 200 words for first year students, about 340 words for second year students, about 440 words for third year students and about 450 words for fourth year students. These differences, however, have no actual significance so far as the results of the present study Our approach will be mainly qualitative rather than quantitative. are concerned. Although we will make statements about the general trends in the use of some

strategies and processes, no attempt will be made to study their frequency of occurrence by rigorous statistical techniques with reference to the different levels. Our interest lies with the common strategies and processes adopted by the learners for expressing meaning at this broad level which may, on the whole, be considered as an 'intermediate-to-advanced stage of learning'.

The learners' papers were obtained by the present writer after they had been corrected by the learners' teachers and grades had been given. It must be pointed out that no attention was given to the teachers' corrections or the grade that had been given for each paper. The examiner's objectives are obviously different from ours since in his assessment he takes into account the learner's overall linguistic performance which includes spelling, grammar, lexis, content, style, etc.

Initial examination of the papers showed that some papers were almost error-free. Others were generally comprehensible but contained lexically as well as grammatically unacceptable and semantically inappropriate utterances. Yet some were completely incomprehensible either because of unintelligible handwriting or violation of the basic English structures. Therefore, from the point of view of intelligibility or comprehensibility it was possible to distinguish three categories of papers:

- (i) The first category included compositions written either by highly competent students who had attained a very good command of English through extra personal effort or taking intensive courses abroad, or those students whose grasp of English was reasonable and had followed a strategy that enabled them to use only those LIs and structures of which they were very sure, restricting their use to rather familiar contexts.
- (ii) The second category included fairly comprehensible-to-good compositions in which the learner's performance was characterized by the erroneous use of some LIs, grammatical structures and, occasionally, bad

whose command of the language was fairly good but who may be described, in the light of their linguistic performance, as over-confident (what Rubin (1975) and Stern (1975) call 'the good language learners', and Corder (1978a and b) 'risk-takers'). Such learners attempted to use the LIs at their disposal creatively in new contexts by relying on knowledge of their L1 lexical structure and the sense relations holding within it as well as by extending the denotative range of LIs to related concepts. Such learners are apt to make lexical and grammatical errors. The learners in this group, therefore, used different strategies from those adopted by the group mentioned above, i.e. the less confident type of learners who kept themselves within the bounds of those LIs and structures which they had fully grasped, or, to put this another way, they followed a strategy of 'error-avoidance'.

The second type of learners in this category included learners whose linguistic competence had not reached the stage which would enable them to produce error-free utterances. Under the pressure of need to express meaning in L2 these learners failed to observe the relevant restrictions on the use of some LIs.

(iii) At the lower extreme there was a small third category of papers which included compositions written by those learners who had not yet acquired the basic grammatical structures and the fundamental vocabulary. Their performance was not only erroneous but also marked by a low degree of creativity.

Obviously, for purposes of research on L2 lexical acquisition, the second category is the most important since it is the one that provides the data required.

5.2 Procedures for identifying errors and instances of strategy use

Following the techniques of EA and interlanguage studies, all the lexical errors (as defined on pp.131-2) and the utterances which may not have been formally erroneous but which indicated recourse to a strategy for expressing a particular meaning (see 4.3.3) by the learner, were These were listed, each on a separate card, within their full relevant linguistic contexts. It must be pointed out, however, that with some utterances the linguistic context proved too lengthy to be included in This also showed the apparent difficulty the learners seem to have full. had with the English punctuation system and sentence structure. As a solution to this minor problem it was decided to include only the necessary parts of the context, i.e. those parts which we considered essential to the meaning of the LI or collocation in question. Utterances which contained more than one LI used erroneously, i.e. which indicated the learner's resorting to the same strategy or to more than one strategy in the same linguistic context were listed as many times as necessary. The following utterances, for example, were listed twice each:

- (1) He receives his <u>people</u> [customers] in smile face and sold the <u>things</u> [goods] in simple (A description of a day in the life of a Libyan shopkeeper. Intended meaning: He receives his customers with a smile and sells the goods to them items no 1 and 2).
- (2) At first days I felt <u>ashamed</u> [shy, embarrassed] because it was the first time I <u>read</u> [had studied] with boys (The subject was a female student describing her first day at university. Intended meaning: I felt shy because it was the first time I had studied with male students, items no 129 and 303).
- In (1) the use of people for customers and things for goods involved the same process, namely, the use of a superordinate term for a hyponym or a

more specific LI. In (2) the learner resorted to two different strategies in the same utterance: first she resorted to overgeneralization and used ashamed for its quasi-synonyms shy or embarrassed and, second, relying on a strategy of transfer, she overgeneralized read on the model of its LCA equivalent /gara:/in the sense 'to say or understand something written' to arrive at a meaning for which a native speaker of English would use study.

All the spelling mistakes in the utterances listed were corrected but those in grammar or morphology were left as they occurred in their respective contexts so as not to conceal their idiosyncratic characteristics.

5.3 Reconstruction of TLIs

Problems of reconstruction and interpretation of learners' deviant utterances have been discussed above in some detail (see 4.2.2.3). The criteria outlined earlier for reconstructing lexically erroneous utterances were used in our hypothesizing about the TLI (or TLIs) that can replace a ULI. These included:

- (i) The context of situation in which the ULI occurred: this involved the examination of the total context of the utterance taking into consideration the field of discourse, the learners' cultural background and their world-view as in, for example:
- (1) My friend...told me that she did not <u>run</u> [drive] fast once again (The writer's friend had had an accident and had resolved not to drive fast again, item no 292).
- (2) Our God ordered the Islamic people to <u>prevent about the eat</u>

 and drink [fast] in this month (Intended meaning: God ordered Muslims to

 fast during this month, i.e. Ramadan, item no 266).
- In (1) the context of situation showed that the TLI was drive: the writer was writing about a visit she had paid to a friend who had had an

accident and been kept in hospital. The way the utterance translates to LCA also made us conclude that the hypothesized item must be <u>drive</u> since /3ara:/ (run) is normally used in this sense as will be explained later, (see p. 282).

In (2) the learner was writing a letter to an English friend about Ramadan. Because he lacked the TLI <u>fast</u>, he resorted to paraphrase in order to express the intended meaning.

However, we found that with many utterances, considered apart from their context, the context in which the ULI occurred was not sufficient to explain the reasons for choosing the TLI. Consider the following:

I go to the kitchen to helping (i.e. help) mother for cooking the lunch [dinner] (item no 41).

Taken out of context, as here, the reader sees no reason why <u>lunch</u> should be inappropriate. Having read the total discourse we identified the TLI as <u>dinner</u> and not <u>lunch</u> because the writer was describing what she does to help her mother during Ramadan in which Muslims do not take a midday meal.

In order, therefore, to elaborate the situational context of the utterances it was decided, except where the context was sufficient and misinterpretation was unlikely, to include a gloss between two parentheses at the end of the learner's utterance. Moreover, with some utterances a complete reconstruction of the intended meaning was included in the gloss. The gloss for the above example was: (The subject was describing what she does at home during the month of Ramadan: Intended meaning: I go to the kitchen to help my mother cook the dinner).

It must be pointed out, however, that in a few instances, the context of situation did not succeed in restricting the options to a single TLI but left open a set of TLIs with different denotative meanings. For instance, in the following utterance in which the learner resorted to

paraphrase or circumlocution to express the intended meaning, the context of situation did not reveal what animals were kept on the farm and, therefore, the LIs stable, sheep-fold or cowshed were possible:

He (i.e. the farmer) gives the water and the grass for his animals and he cleans the <u>place of animals</u> [stable, sheep-fold, or cowshed] (item no 252).

(ii) Consideration of the collocational context of the ULI

Very often in the attempt to express meaning the learner uses a LI in a collocational pattern in which another LI habitually occurs. The two LIs are often semantically related but one is habitually used rather than the other. For instance, in the following utterance the ULI and the TLIs are quasi-synonyms which are even interchangeable in some contexts but in the context involved in the learner's utterance the TLIs are more appropriate on collocational grounds:

I think the <u>chief</u> [head, administrator] of the hospital is pleased from them and their help to the sick children (The writer was referring to two doctors working in a children's hospital. Intended meaning: the head of the hospital is pleased with them.. item no 108).

This also applies to LIs with two or more words where one of the words is replaced either by using a semantically related word or through literal translation as in:

- (1) The father was angry and he didn't agree with his son's <u>system</u>

 [way] of life (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: the father was angry and he did not like his son's way of life, item no 115).
 - (2) I and my mother prepare the eating table [dining table] (item no 381).
- (iii) Consideration of the LIs that are paradigmatically related to the ULI in the context concerned: for example:

The family will be <u>counted</u> as dishonest and not honourable family (item no 87).

The use of <u>count</u> calls attention to its quasi-synonyms, i.e. <u>consider</u>, <u>regard</u>, <u>look upon</u>, etc. but less likely <u>insult</u> or <u>address</u>.

In this respect it may be pointed out that where more than one TLI was an appropriate alternative to a given ULI as here, it will be considered as such. Our interest lies with the strategies and processes used rather than with the particular target forms. If reasons existed for making one particular TLI more appropriate than the others, then these are pointed out in their analysis.

- (iv) Consideration of the way the ULI or collocation in question translates to the learner's L1 (MSA and LCA). Bilingual teachers often recognize instances where the learner is using a strategy of lexical language transfer either through overgeneralization of L2 LIs on the model of L1 LIs, literal translation of L1 habitual collocations and idioms onto L2 or formal similarity, as in:
- (1) We sometimes open [switch on, turn on] the radio and listening sweet music (Intended meaning: we sometimes switch on the radio and listen to the music, item no 298).
- (2) He succeeded in the <u>interview examination</u> [interview] and felt very happy (item no 384).
- In (1) the learner overgeneralized <u>open</u> on the model of /fataha/
 its equivalent in the sense of 'to cause to become not closed' as in <u>open</u>
 the door. In (2) the learner translated with the necessary changes in
 word order, the L1 collocation /?imtiha:nu lmuqa:balati/.
- (v) Knowledge of the learners' linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the L2 and the way the learners use their English to express meaning, though essential, was not sufficient to meet all the requirements of reconstructing the learners' deviant utterances. The present writer, being a non-native

speaker of English had to use native-speaker informants to confirm the hypotheses made about the TLIs and to provide firm answers to some problematic utterances which involved idiomatic and proverbial expressions. The use of thesauri and dictionaries was also indispensable in this process.

In the reconstruction process it was decided to exclude some utterances which contained LIs used erroneously and which indicated recourse to particular strategies. The reasons for this were either that the linguistic context was grammatically deviant to the extent that a gloss was not sufficient to clarify the relationship between the ULI and the TLI, or else, the reasons for the erroneous use of the ULI were grammatical rather than lexical, as in:

He told that that was the most exciting day of his life.

In this utterance, although it is possible to substitute <u>said</u> for <u>told</u>, it is probable that the learner was not aware that <u>tell</u>, unlike <u>say</u>, <u>suggest</u> and <u>announce</u>, does not take a 'that clause object' when used transitively but rather must be followed by a 'noun' or a 'noun-like object'. Therefore, the error can be accounted for by the omission of the indirect object, e.g. us, them or his friend.

5.4 The corpus

The corpus for this study included 422 utterances. Each of these utterances either contained at least one LI used erroneously or, if not formally erroneous, indicated that the learner was employing a strategy of communication because of a lexical gap in his competence (see appendix).

It is through the qualitative analysis of samples from this corpus, and specifically the examination of the relationship between the ULI and the TLI, that we hope to infer and classify in some detail the types of strategies and processes the learners used for encoding meaning in L2.

These strategies and processes will reveal, therefore, in what ways the learners exploited their total cognitive knowledge to offset deficiencies in their L2 lexical competence. On the other hand, through this analysis of samples of the learners' performance, we hope to find out the communicative effects of the various strategies and processes of communication as shown in the learners' violation of restrictions on the use of LIs.

5.5 A note on grammatical errors in the learners' data

Although our study deals only with problems of L2 lexical acquisition and the study of learners' lexical errors, it does not seem out of place to make a brief note of the grammatical types of error encountered in the data.

The general observations about the types of grammatical errors in the learners' papers seem to confirm the findings of studies of grammatical errors of Arab learners of English carried out by, for example, Scott and Tucker (1974), Shawish (1976) and Mukattash (1978).

As revealed by their recurrent errors, the learners seemed to have considerable difficulties with the verb in English, and the use of auxiliary and irregular verbs. Similar difficulties were apparent in the use of articles, prepositions, compound adjectives and nouns, the repetition of subjects and objects and the confusion of word classes. Interlingual transfer or interference was also noticeable in all these categories, especially in the use of articles and prepositions, the omission of the auxiliaries and the use of the simple past where the present perfect tense was required. The following examples taken from the learners' data may be sufficient to illustrate the learners' difficulties in the use of the categories mentioned above:

- (1) Errors in the use of the auxiliary:
- (a) Wrong auxiliary:

She was died young and he wished she alived longer.

(b) Auxiliary redundant:

It was looks like a piece of cloth.

(c) Auxiliary omitted:

They ___ not be sad because the accident ___ not difficult.

- (2) Errors in the use of articles:
- (a) Article omitted:

On Friday we usually go to ___ beach especially in ___ summer holiday. We take a lot of time to reach ___ beach.

(b) Article redundant:

All the people wash and got to the mosque to pray for $\underline{\text{the}}$ God. There is no difference between the men and the women.

(3) Errors with compounds:

This workhouse took all the morning. He had enough moneypocket.

(4) Errors with irregular verbs:

We rided the car and went to the house.

We <u>sitted</u> to the busses and began the travelling by the road near Sabbratha.

(5) Errors with tenses:

After we <u>finish</u> all our doing we <u>starting</u> the voyage, we <u>take</u> the car and we watching the road, it is long and straight.

When the weather is warm we enjoyed a swim. Then my brothers and sisters they were played football beside the beach.

(6) Errors with word class:

I am very pleasure to write to you my friend. You can go there there is nothing danger. I answered on a frankly way. He went to the shop to joy himself two hours.

(7) Errors in the repetition of objects:

This is the summarise of the story I had seen it in the film. The first city we will see it is called Zavia.

(8) Errors in the use of prepositions:

Now he cutting the woods from trees in order to make a shelter $\underline{\text{to}}$ his dog.

I left my house at five o'clock at the morning. So we find the farmer work happily at his farm.

CHAPTER SIX

Lexical Strategies of Intermediate-Advanced Libyan Learners of English

6.1 Introduction

The lexical strategies adopted by intermediate-advanced Libyan learners of English are diverse and often interrelated. In common with L2 learners generally, their lexical competence in English is incomplete: even at an intermediate-advanced stage the learner's lexical resources are much less than those of the native speakers of the language. Therefore, when the learner attempts to use the L2 in various contexts he does so under conditions which do not obtain for speakers using their L1, namely, communicating with restricted vocabulary and inadequate knowledge of the relevant semantic and sociolinguistic restrictions. It goes without saying, that the L2 learner, particularly in formal learning situations, is often exposed to texts of rather restricted lexical content and very simplified structure.

On the other hand, as has been explained in the section on the psycholinguistics of lexical acquisition (see 3.2), the learner approaches the L2 learning task with a prestructured semantic competence which includes the universal features of highly complicated relations between LIs on both the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes. On the paradigmatic axis, these relations are notably synonymy, hyponymy, oppositeness of meaning and other sense relations (see 2.3.2.2). On the syntagmatic axis they include relations of co-occurrence which hold between LIs in various linguistic contexts.

Moreover, the learner's linguistic competence in his L1 includes the possibility of avoiding particular LIs through paraphrase and circumlocution as well as the metaphorical use of LIs through transferred senses in many contexts.

However, although the learner approaches his task under these conditions, he is often unaware of the aspects of lexical or semantic non-isomorphism between his L1 and the L2. Aspects of non-isomorphism between two languages are found on all linguistic levels. On the lexical level, it has been shown that languages vary in the lexicalization of concepts, semantic fields and in the semantic range of LIs. The collocational and sociolinguistic restrictions which LIs are subject to in their various occurrences also vary from one language to another (see 3.4).

But what does the intermediate-advanced learner do when faced with a situation in which he needs to express meanings beyond the bounds of his lexical resources? What are the strategies that he adopts and develops in order to express his intentions and ideas? In what ways does his adoption of such strategies influence his linguistic output from a lexical point of view? To what extent are these attempts of his likely to enable him to make himself understood by others and to get his meanings across? More importantly, perhaps, to what extent do the learner's lexical errors reflect the strategies and processes employed by the learner to convey meaning and what other factors need to be taken into account in attempting to infer their causes?

Faced with the need to express meaning despite restricted and in some respects inadequate lexical competence, the learner will do his best to get his meanings across and at the same time demonstrate his ability to write good English, i.e. attend to the intelligibility of his utterances. Granted that the learner has a strong desire to communicate or that he takes a deep personal interest in writing (e.g. writing a free composition for an examination in the case of our learners), the learner will make many attempts to produce clearly encoded messages. In other words, the good learner will give priority and indeed special importance to the semantic component of the utterance. However, because for the learner, unlike the native speaker, the

relationship between lexical resources and communicative goals or, as Corder (1978b: 9) puts it, between means and ends, is not ideally balanced he has to look for escape routes by adjusting his ends to his means, i.e. by restricting his communicative goals to his linguistic resources and also by increasing the communicative power of his interlanguage through 'resource expansion'. Violating the various restrictions on the use of LIs can be seen as a by-product of the learner's attempts to adjust his language in the interests of communicative effectiveness (Widdowson 1978: 198).

6.2 Lexical strategies of intermediate-advanced learners: a preliminary discussion

In the discussion of the notion of simplification it has been suggested that all learners' strategies and processes may be regarded as types of simplification or leading to the same end-product, i.e. simplified language (see 4.3.4.1). In other words, simplification may be regarded as a cover term for the other more specific communication strategies such as transfer or However, this notion seems too general to allow an overgeneralization. insightful classification of the strategies and processes adopted by learners for expressing meaning, let alone investigating the psycholinguistic causes behind the learners' lexical errors. As will be seen, the examination of learners' interlanguage shows that they follow very many processes in attempting to encode messages in L2. It does not seem sufficient, therefore, to identify all learners' strategies and processes as types of simplification. Only a more detailed classification of the strategies and processes followed by learners as revealed in their utterances can serve the objectives specified above.

6.2.1 Reliance on previous knowledge

Before we present the classification of strategies and processes inferred from the learners' utterances, it seems useful to give a brief answer to the question: What is it that enables the learner to adopt a particular strategy or process to achieve communicative effectiveness?

It is at this stage that the above-mentioned learner's prestructured semantic competence in his L1 and his incomplete competence in the L2 play an important role: the semantic competence in the L1 and the partial knowledge of the L2 seem to form the backbone of the systematic strategies that the learner resorts to when faced with the problem of not knowing or choosing to avoid a particular L1 or phrase. The learners' utterances analysed in this study provide evidence that the intermediate-advanced learner of English exploits to the maximum his linguistic resources in both the L1 and the L2. There is also evidence tending to confirm that the learner makes use of the general communication strategies and processes employed by native speakers in various situations. The way the learner employs his knowledge of the L1, the L2 and 'ways of communication' to express meaning will be discussed under the specific strategies and processes in some detail.

6.2.2 The problem of overlap

As will be seen in the analysis of samples of the learners'

performance, in a few cases, a single error may be the result of two or more
simultaneous processes. Moreover, sometimes it is impossible to decide by
which of two or more processes the learner has arrived at a certain ULI.

However, such borderline cases should not invalidate the basis of our
classification of the strategies and processes because there are sufficient
clear instances of each category. Nevertheless, where cases of overlap do
arise, all the possible processes behind their occurrence will be explained.

6.2.3 The problem of frequency

A further statement should be made about the relative significance of the various strategies and their subcategories from a quantitative point of view. It has been made clear throughout that our approach in investigating the learners' lexical errors and the strategies they indicate is qualitative. Therefore, although the number of errors assigned to each strategy or a subcategory of a given strategy will be given, these should be taken only as rough indications of their relative proportions in the corpus. The nature of our data which was obtained under free production conditions, the above-mentioned cases of overlap between the various processes employed by the learners in the production of a few utterances and the fact that some borderline cases (i.e. between grammar and lexis) and grammatically deviant utterances were excluded from the corpus are some of the limitations that must be taken into consideration when comparing the relative proportions of the learners' recourse to various strategies.

An alternative to the present strategy-based classification of lexical errors would be one in which the errors are classified according to their word classes, e.g. 'verb', 'noun', 'adjective', etc. Or alternatively, in terms of 'omission', 'substitution' etc. Obviously, such classifications will be inadequate for purposes of discussing and analysing the semantic interrelationships between the ULIs and the TLIs, even less, the psycholinguistic processes followed by the learners in different communicative situations.

The treatment of lexical errors with reference to the strategies and processes that were employed by the learners in their production will, we hope, enable us to make use of the lexical, semantic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic notions discussed in the preceding parts of this thesis.

These phenomena which provide the classes of the strategies and their sub-

categories, will be constantly referred to in discussing the lexical errors and the processes they indicate.

6.3 The lexical strategies and their subcategories

An examination of the 422 utterances in the corpus has shown it to be possible to classify them into two major types of strategy:

- (a) L2-based strategies, i.e. those originating in the L2, and
- (b) L1-based, i.e. those originating in the learner's L1.

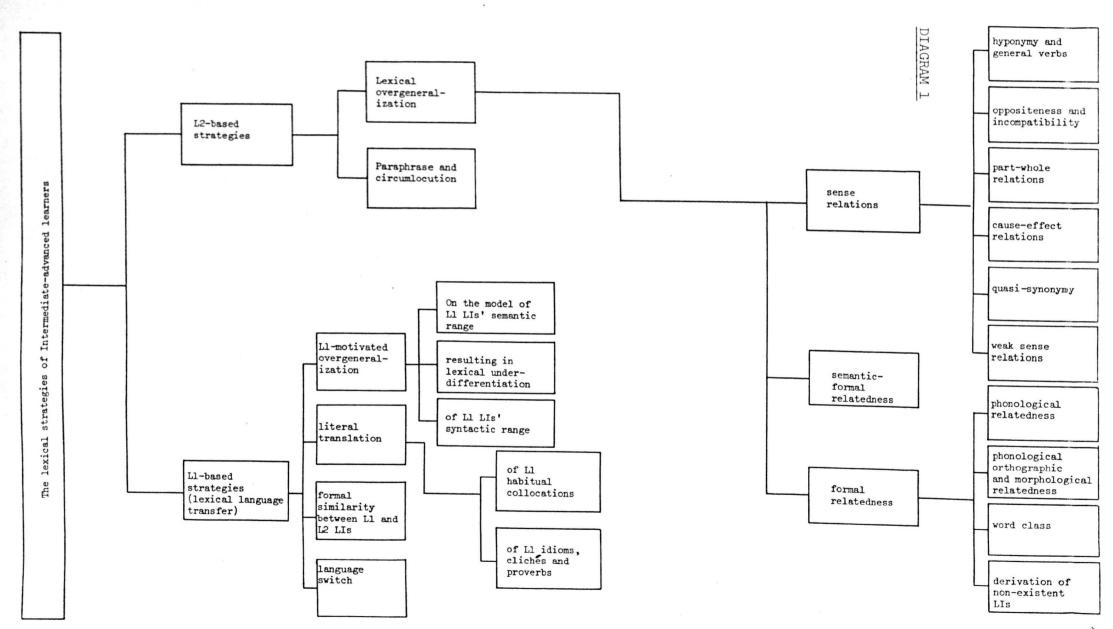
 The former accounts for 291 errors and instances of strategy-use and the latter accounts for 131 of the total number of utterances.

As diagram 1 shows, the L2-based strategies include the principal strategies of (i) overgeneralization, and (ii) paraphrase and circumlocution.

L1-based strategies include (i) L1-motivated overgeneralization, (ii) literal translation, (iii) formal similarity to L1 LIs, and (iv) language switch.

The same diagram indicates that some of these strategies branch out into further subcategories in accordance with the processes involved.

In the following sections of this chapter we will take each strategy separately and discuss the processes or means used in its implementation. Utterances from the learners' performance from which the strategies and processes are inferred will be employed to exemplify these strategies and processes. Where it is conceivable that a particular error was caused by a factor other than the one specifically under consideration, this will be pointed out.



6.3.1 L2-based strategies and processes

6.3.1.1 Lexical overgeneralization

As has been seen in Chapter four, the results of most EA studies have indicated that overgeneralization is one of the important causes of intralingual errors. Interlanguage studies too have identified overgeneralization as one of the communication strategies learners use for message adjustment and semantic avoidance. Results obtained from the analysis of lexical errors which indicated our learners' recourse to this strategy seem to confirm these findings.

A general definition of the strategy of overgeneralization has been given above (see 4.2.2.5). With specific reference to L2 lexical acquisition overgeneralization may be defined as a process in which the learner, under the pressure of communicative need, applies LIs which he has acquired in relation to particular meanings to other communicative situations for which they are not appropriate. Therefore, through various processes, the learner extends the semantic range and other semantic features pertaining to some LIs into other situational contexts for which other (often semantically or formally related) LIs are appropriate. Following this strategy the learner often approximates the intended meaning in varying degrees depending on the degree of semantic relatedness between the ULI and the TLI.

As a communication strategy, then, overgeneralization is resorted to because of deficiencies in the learner's productive lexical competence. In other words, communicative need compels the learner to adjust the intended message by using a LI which though not appropriate, approximates the target meaning. As a learning strategy, overgeneralization takes place as a result of the learner's attempt to exploit what he has learned of the L2 in new situations. The learner attempts to regularize and simplify the linguistic

complexities of the L2 (B.P. Taylor 1975a: 86). However, because human languages include in their structures many irregularities and restrictions on the use of LIs in various contexts, the learner's attempts lead him to produce errors. From a psycholinguistic point of view, the learner's attempts are important in that they are a vivid proof that the learner is using his L2 linguistic competence creatively by exploiting his overall knowledge of its lexical structure. This creative aspect of the learner's interlanguage gives useful insights into the L2 learning process.

Taking into consideration the relationship between the ULI and the TLI in each utterance, it has been possible to identify three main subcategories of lexical overgeneralization (see diagram 1 above);

- (i) Overgeneralization on the basis of the sense relation holding between the ULI and the TLI.
- (ii) Overgeneralization on the basis of both semantic and formal relatedness between the ULI and the TLI.
- (iii) Overgeneralization on the basis of formal relatedness alone between the ULI and the TLI.

The total number of utterances which indicated that the learners were overgeneralizing the use of LIs to contexts where other LIs were required was 242. Table 2 gives the number of errors or approximations in each of the above subcategories of lexical overgeneralization.

TABLE 2

Lexical overgeneralization: subcategories	No. of errors	Percentage	
Sense relations	176	72.7	
Both semantic and formal relatedness	9	3.7	
Formal relatedness alone	57	23.6	
Total	242	100.0	

6.3.1.1.1 Overgeneralization deriving from the sense relation between the ULI and the TLI

Resorting to the sense relations which hold within the L2 lexical structure seems to constitute one of the most important strategies adopted by intermediate-advanced learners for expressing meaning. The above figure of 176 constitutes about 41% of the total number of errors and instances of strategy use and about 60% of the errors and instances which involved L2-based strategies.

Reliance on sense relations seems qualitatively important as well. On classifying the errors which indicated the learners' resort to semantic criteria to express meaning it has been possible to find firm examples of overgeneralization which provided evidence that the learners had exploited most if not all the semantic links holding within the L2 lexical structure. It is on this basis that we have been able to set up the classes of 'hyponymy', 'oppositeness and incompatibility', 'cause-effect', 'part-whole' and 'quasi-synonymy' (see diagram 1 above).

However, having allocated the lexical errors that were apparently instances of overgeneralization to the above-acknowledged sense relations, we were left with some errors in which although there is obviously a semantic link between the ULI and the TLI, it was not possible to assign them to any of the above classes of sense relation. Therefore, it was necessary to provide a further class to which the name 'weak sense relations' was given. This class embraces those utterances in which the two LIs in question, i.e. the ULI and the TLI share an element of meaning or, to say the least, common membership of a wide semantic field. Table 3 gives the number of errors which were assigned to each of the above classes and their relative frequencies:

TABLE 3

subcategories of sense relation	number of errors	percentage	
Hyponymy and general verbs	33	18.7	
Oppositeness and incompatibility	15	8.6	
Part-whole relations	6	3.4	
Cause-effect relations	14	2.3	
Quasi-synonymy	84	47.7	
Weak sense relations	34	19.3	
Total	176	100.0	

The above classification seems to indicate that the learners' reliance on semantic criteria for expressing meanings was not restricted to what may be called the 'strong semantic relations' or the acknowledged sense relations within the L2 such as those holding between a superordinate LI and a hyponym or between the senses of a pair of quasi-synonyms. The learners' attempts show clearly that the learners exploited all the semantic affinities between LIs on the paradigmatic axis including the ones we have described as 'weak sense relations'.

From a psycholinguistic point of view, it has been pointed out in the introduction to this chapter that the L2 learner's semantic competence in his L1 includes implicit knowledge of the universal features of sense relations. Therefore, the adult learner intuitively knows that LIs can be in a super-ordinate-hyponym (or general-specific), cause-effect, or part-whole relationship. He is also aware that a pair or a group of LIs can have opposite or incompatible meanings as well as instances where two or more LIs refer to the same conceptual phenomena (i.e. quasi-synonyms). Moreover, the adult native speaker recognizes, at least implicitly, that some LIs are semantically related in a way that others are not.

On the other hand, it may be assumed that by the time he has reached an intermediate-advanced level in the L2, the learner has become acquainted with

the existence and functioning of paradigmatic relations in the L2 as well. Indeed, according to certain contemporary views in psycholinguistics, the learner's innate language acquisition device helps him to look for and try to discover these universal features within the L2 lexical structure. Be that as it may, it seems clear that previous experience in using a well-structured semantic system (i.e. of his L1) will help the learner in his new learning task. However, because of the above-mentioned constraints on the learner's competence characterized as incomplete knowledge of the L2 and lack of awareness of the relevant restrictions, the learner's attempts to express meaning by relying on semantic criteria are apt to lead him to produce lexical errors. The analysis of samples of the learners' actual performance in the following sections, we hope, will provide sufficient evidence to support the above contention.

In the light of the preceding discussion, our investigation of the way the learners made use of the sense relations holding within the L2 lexical structure as well as other strategies and processes to express meaning may now proceed as follows:

- (i) Most of the sense relations used in the classification have been defined in a previous chapter (see 2.3.2.2). We will therefore restrict ourselves here to a brief preliminary discussion of the role played by the sense relation in question in various communicative situations and its utility for L2 pedagogy.
- (ii) A presentation of a table containing the LIs which occurred in the learners' utterances. This will include the ULIs, TLIs and their serial numbers in the appendix where the reader may find the full linguistic contexts tagged with the glosses introduced, where necessary, to elaborate the intended meaning in terms of our understanding of the total discourse.
 - (iii) Analysis of a sample of the learners' lexical errors. The

representative sample from each category will be analysed from linguistic and psycholinguistic points of view. The linguistic analysis focuses on the semantic relationship between the ULIs and the TLIs in the learners' utterances. The psycholinguistic description aims at finding plausible causes for the learners' lexical choices. The number and type of examples to be chosen for analysis in each category will be determined by the processes followed by the learners as well as by the problems involved, particularly the types of restrictions violated. Moreover, as far as possible, utterances produced by different learners from different levels, i.e. first, second, third and fourth years, will be used.

(iv) Throughout, the effects of the learners' overgeneralizations on the communicative value of the utterances and the restrictions that come to be disregarded in the process of attempting to express meaning will be pointed out. However, because these effects are common to all the types of overgeneralization as well as other strategies, they will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter (see 7.2).

I. Hyponymy and general verbs

Knowledge of hyponymy in one's L1 implies that one knows that in some contexts a superordinate LI can be substituted for one of its hyponyms and vice versa. For instance in English, the LI <u>flower</u> can be used in place of its hyponyms <u>rose</u>, <u>carnation</u>, <u>tulip</u> etc. and the hyponyms themselves may on certain occasions be used in place of the superordinate term, i.e. <u>flower</u>. It is also evident that for the native speaker this process takes place both consciously and unconsciously. Therefore, in normal communicative situations a speaker may overspecify (i.e. use specific LIs) or underspecify (i.e. use general LIs) according to the demands of the context of situation in which he happens to perform (see Cruse 1977: 156-7). The native speaker's knowledge

of the relevant situational constraints enables him to do so successfully.

In all languages the sense relation holding between a general LI and a more specific one plays an important role in communication. It is frequently used by native speakers when they speak with each other. One often hears speakers of English making use of this sense relation particularly in utterances such as: this is a kind of --- and this is a sort of ---, or --- is a kind/sort/type of ---. Therefore, according to the context of situation in which one happens to perform, one may be either overspecific or On some occasions the context may leave the options open for underspecific. the speaker by not forcing a choice at all. Moreover, the phenomenon of emotive meaning and other extralinguistic features seem to play an important role in the speaker's choice from the levels of specificity provided by the languages, e.g. take that animal away signals stronger negative feelings than take that dog away.

Discussing the question of the semantic import of marked levels of specificity, Cruse (ibid: 163) says:

...underspecification de-emphasizes the feature which is omitted, while overspecification emphasizes or intensifies the added feature. Whether the added emotive colouring in a marked utterance is positive or negative will depend on the basic emotive significance of the feature concerned.

However, as Cruse points out, it is possible to find instances of meanings associated with marked levels of specificity which cannot be explained in this way. These are some of the cases he has noticed:

- (i) Expressions of compassion, or pity, not infrequently contain underspecifications: The poor creature!, The way they treat that wretched animal is disgraceful.
- (ii) Underspecification can signal simple reluctance to give information without implying any attitude towards the referent. Consider

^{1.} I owe this example to Cruse (1977: 162).

the following exchanges:

- A: What have you got in that case?
- B: A musical instrument.
- A: What did you buy in town this morning?
- B: A garment.

As Cruse (ibid) puts it:

In each case, B is giving less information than A conventionally has a right to expect but presumably does not want to go as far as breaking the contact altogether. B's intended message could be anything from It's a secret to Mind your own business.

- (iii) Taxonomic underspecifications attributable to the speaker's ignorance do occur, but are usually signalled linguistically:
 - A: What have they got in that cage?
 - B: Some animal or other.
- (iv) A speaker may use underspecifications to suggest that he is an expert in a particular field, or has at least an everyday familiarity with some class of things. He may for instance refer to a <u>diamond</u> as a <u>stone</u>; a <u>horse</u> as an <u>animal</u>; or a <u>violin</u> as an <u>instrument</u>, etc.

The above observations by Cruse seem to explain the role played by the sense relation of hyponymy in communication. However one may add that this sense relation is also used by native speakers as a strategy of lexical simplification especially when they address children and foreigners, e.g. crimson may be explained as a kind of red; vulture as a kind of bird, etc.

Within the domain of L2 pedagogy the contrast between a LI with a general meaning and another of a more specific one is often exploited for the above-mentioned purpose of lexical simplification in the preparation of L2 textbooks as well as in the adaptation of literary and scientific texts. This sense relation is also commonly employed by language teachers as one of the linguistic techniques of presentation of new vocabulary. If the learner knows the meaning of the superordinate LI, this can be used to convey the

meanings of the hyponyms and vice versa.

In some of the studies reviewed in an earlier chapter hyponymy has been reported as one of the strategies that L2 learners resort to under the need to express meanings when their lexical resources are limited or inadequate. The learners' lexical errors confirm the general findings of these studies. The learners' interlanguage, samples of which will be analysed presently, provides sufficient evidence that the learners exploited the sense relation of hyponymy to express meanings in a free production situation.

The learners' errors which indicated resort to hyponymy or those which can be accounted for in terms of a general-specific relationship may be sub-divided into two groups: (a) hyponymy proper, and (b) general verbs. (For distinction, see pp. 61-2).

On examining the learners' errors in this subcategory it has been found that the instances of resort to hyponymy manifested different processes between nouns and verbs: with nouns the learners used the superordinate LIs for their hyponyms and vice versa. With verbs the general tendency was to use a general verb where a more specific one was required, but not vice versa.

(a) Hyponymy proper

Table 4 includes all the LIs which were involved in the learners' overgeneralizations (see Appendix, Items 1-9).

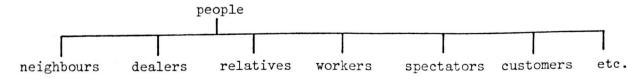
TABLE 4

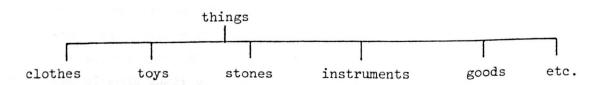
ULI	TLI	ITEM No
things people state state state nuts fine nephews voyage	goods customers mood mood mood almonds punishment relatives journey	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

The processes followed by the learners in exploiting hyponymy proper for encoding meanings may now be explained in the light of the learners' actual use of the LIs displayed in the above table. The processes may be described as follows: faced with the problem of not knowing a particular LI to express the intended meaning, the learner relied on criteria connected with meaning. In the case of LIs in a superordinate-hyponym relationship he found a solution: the learner's active competence as well as the type of LIs in question determined his lexical choice and therefore, (a) used a superordinate LI of a very general meaning when the communicative situation required a specific LI, or (b) vice versa. The analysis of the following sample of errors illustrates both processes:

- (1) He (i.e. the shopkeeper) receives his <u>people</u> [customers] in smile face and sold the <u>things</u> [goods] in simple. (A description of a day in the life of a Libyan shopkeeper. Intended meaning: he receives his customers with a smile and sold the goods to them. Items 1 and 2)
- (2) He hoped to catch his father in a good state [mood]. (The subject was a son who had been convicted of theft and wanted to tell his father, asking for help. He hoped to catch his father in a good mood. Item no 5).
- (1) and (2) are instances of (a), i.e. using a superordinate LI for a hyponym.

 In (1) the learner adopted a strategy of choosing a superordinate LI twice: he used people for customers and things for goods; people and things are too general to convey the target meanings. As can be seen below, they act as superordinates to large numbers of hyponyms:

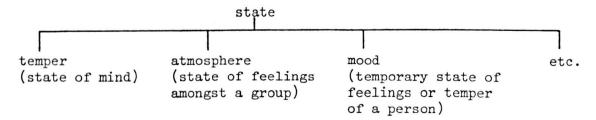




customers which may be referred to as 'kind of people' or more specifically 'people who regularly buy from a shop or from a person' and goods which may be explained as 'kind of things' or in more rigorous terms 'things or articles displayed for sale' are the specific LIs which native speakers would use in this context.

That <u>customers</u> and <u>goods</u> are hyponyms of <u>people</u> and <u>things</u> respectively can be inferred from the equations <u>X</u>, <u>Y</u> and <u>Z</u> are <u>customers</u> implies that <u>X</u>, <u>Y</u> and <u>Z</u> are <u>people</u> and <u>A</u>, <u>B</u> and <u>C</u> are <u>goods</u> implies that <u>A</u>, <u>B</u> and <u>C</u> are things. The reverse implications do not generally hold, i.e. <u>X</u>, <u>Y</u> and <u>Z</u> are <u>people</u> does not necessarily imply that <u>X</u>, <u>Y</u> and <u>Z</u> are <u>customers</u> and <u>A</u>, <u>B</u> and <u>C</u> are things does not necessarily imply that <u>A</u>, <u>B</u> and <u>C</u> are goods. The sense relations between <u>customers</u> and <u>people</u>, and <u>goods</u> and <u>things</u>, therefore, meet the conditions for defining hyponymy, namely, unilateral implication.

The use of state for mood in (2) is subject to the same process: a superordinate LI was used in a context where a LI of a more specific meaning was required; state is inappropriate in this context because of its underspecificity; mood which means 'a kind of state', namely, a 'psychological state' or a 'temporary state of the feelings or temper' (CED)¹ is therefore, the TLI in the learner's utterance.



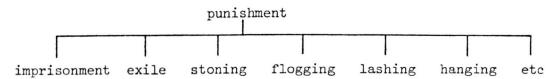
(3) I was ashamed to request more sugar. I forced myself and my friend to drink it without sugar as a kind of <u>fine</u> [punishment]. (The subject was having tea on a plane. By mistake he has emptied the sugar he was given into the soup thinking it was salt. He was too shy to ask for more sugar. He and his friend had to drink their tea without sugar as a kind of punishment, Item no 7).

^{1.} Collins English Dictionary.

(4) After we finish all our doing we starting the <u>voyage</u>
[journey] we take the car and we watching the road.

(The subjects were going on a picnic by car, Item no 9).

Sentences (3) and (4) are examples of the reverse process, i.e. using a hyponym for a superordinate LI. In (3) <u>fine</u> was used for <u>punishment</u> and in (4) <u>voyage</u> was substituted for <u>journey</u>. The LIs <u>fine</u> and <u>voyage</u> are in a specific-general relationship with <u>punishment</u> and <u>journey</u> respectively: <u>fine</u> is a 'kind of punishment' or more specifically a 'sum of money paid as a punishment' and <u>voyage</u> means a 'journey by ship or boat'. Therefore, <u>fine</u> and <u>voyage</u> are marked for overspecificity because they have the meaning components 'a sum of money' and 'by sea' respectively, in addition to the meanings of their superordinates; <u>punishment</u> in particular is superordinate to many LIs besides <u>fine</u>:



From the above semantic analysis it can be shown that <u>fine</u> and <u>voyage</u> are not acceptable in the learners' utterances because they do not convey the intended meanings: in (3) the specific meaning of <u>fine</u> was not the meaning aimed at by the learner; <u>punishment</u>, which is the unmarked LI, expresses the meaning the learner attempted to convey. The use of <u>voyage</u> in (4) is unacceptable because its meaning is restricted to a 'journey by ship or boat' but the context of the utterance refers to a journey by car; <u>journey</u> is therefore the TLI because it refers to a 'trip of some distance' (LDCE), without reference to the means of transport.

For hypotheses about the possible causes of these overgeneralizations we need to turn to psycholinguistics.

^{1.} Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.

Apparently the two processes of using a superordinate LI for a hyponym and using a hyponym for conveying the meaning of its superordinate term not only indicate the learners' resort to the paradigmatic relation of hyponymy under the pressure of need to express meaning in the L2 but also that the learners exploited previously-acquired competence creatively in new contexts. It is also obvious that the learners' attempts enabled them to approximate the intended meanings. But what is it that motivates the learners' lexical choices in both processes? Besides the urge of need to encode meaning there are some psycholinguistic factors for the learners' overgeneralizations.

In the first instance, i.e. overgeneralizing a superordinate LI to a context where a more specific one was required, it does not need proof that the superordinate LIs things, people, state etc. are more general and more frequent than their hyponyms. Moreover, the learners are often taught the superordinate LIs before their hyponyms which implies that they are firmly established.

Needless to say, these LIs have their direct translation-equivalents in the L1 and they do not present any phonological, orthographic or grammatical problems.

The use of the hyponyms where the superordinate LIs were required cannot be accounted for by the same criteria. It cannot be claimed that <u>fine</u> and <u>voyage</u> are more general or more frequent than <u>punishment</u> and <u>journey</u> respectively.

Nevertheless, there are plausible linguistic and pedagogical causes for the learners' overgeneralizations: <u>fine</u> and <u>voyage</u> are easier to pronounce and to write than <u>punishment</u> and <u>journey</u>. The latter in particular is difficult for Arab learners of English because the phoneme /3:/ has no equivalent in Arabic.

From a pedagogical point of view the learners' lexical choices might have been the outcome of a teacher's adherence to direct method presentation whereby linguistic techniques are used in explaining the meaning of these and similar LIs, for instance <u>fine</u> is explained as a <u>punishment</u> and <u>voyage</u> as a

journey. The meaning components which mark specificness may come to be overlooked in this process. This teaching technique added to the fact that some of these pairs are used interchangeably in some contexts might have encouraged the learners to use them as though they were quasi-synonyms.

Another plausible cause for the learner's use of <u>voyage</u> is that in learning French the learner should have encountered the French cognate LI <u>voyage</u>. This could have made English <u>voyage</u> more easily established in the learner's active vocabulary.

(b) General verbs

The term 'general verbs' is used here with reference to those verbs which have large numbers of hyponyms such as <u>make</u>, <u>do</u>, <u>take</u> and <u>get</u>. It has been explained above that the test of entailment for hyponymy does not work in the same way for nouns and verbs. For example, <u>I bought some daffodils</u> implies and indeed may be replaced by <u>I bought some flowers</u>, but, although 'committing' implies 'doing', <u>he committed a crime</u> cannot be replaced by *he did a crime for reasons that will become clear in the following discussion.

It must also be pointed out that with some of the lexical errors treated under the subcategory of general verbs there is no obvious explicit semantic relationship between the ULIs and the TLIs, i.e. the LIs in question are not conceivably in a superordinate-hyponym relationship. However, it has been decided to treat these under this subcategory because they too indicated the learner's recourse to a strategy of overgeneralizing general verbs to contexts where more specific ones were required.

It has been demonstrated in the analysis of the cases of hyponymy proper, that with nouns the process worked reciprocally. In the case of general verbs the process was always unidirectional: it was the superordinate or the more general LI which was used for the hyponym or in a context where a less general LI was more appropriate as can be seen in Table 5 (see Appendix, Items 10-33).

TABLE 5

ULI	TLI	Item No
do	say/offer up	10
"	11 11	11
,,	11 11	12
"	11 11 11	13
"	11 11	14
"	11 11 11	15
"	realize	16
"	wish/hope for	17
**	commit	18
"	11	19
make	say/offer up	20
"	11 11 11	21
**	commit	22
11	create	23
"	arrange/make a decision	24
**	pay	25
11	take	26
11	put	27
take	choose, find	28
"	buy/rent	29
go	run	30
**	drive	31
get	realize	32
use	show	33

Table 5 shows that <u>do</u> and <u>make</u> were the most frequently overgeneralized verbs (together they occurred in 18 of the 24 instances). It will also be seen that Arab learners of English have considerable difficulties with these verbs due to lexical non-isomorphism between their Ll and the L2 (see 6.3.2.1.2).

Let us now examine some examples to try to discover the processes followed by the learners for expressing meaning by resorting to general verbs.

- (1) My father goes to the mosque to do [say, offer up] his prayers (Item no 13)
- (2) In this month (i.e. Ramadan) Muslims always go to the mosque to make [say, offer up] a special kind of prayers (Item no 20)
- (1) and (2) are examples of using do and make in contexts in which native speakers of English would usually use say or offer up. In this sense, say is more frequent than offer up which is more formal.

Say and offer up may be seen as co-hyponyms of do and make since they readily satisfy the entailment test for hyponymy: saying or offering up something imply doing or making something, but not vice versa. However, the collocations do/make a prayer will be regarded as deviant by competent speakers of English: prayers are said or offered up, but not done or made.

Both <u>do</u> and <u>make</u> have wide semantic ranges of application which give them high frequency of occurrence in numerous contexts. Because of this high frequency and generality the intermediate-advanced learner will certainly be acquainted with <u>do</u> and <u>make</u> on the levels both of reception and production e.g. <u>do an action</u>, <u>do a portrait</u>, <u>do good</u>, <u>make a sound</u>, <u>make music</u>, <u>make a noise</u> ... are only a few of the occurrences of <u>do</u> and <u>make</u> which the learners might have encountered.

Therefore, the learners, being aware of some of the above and indeed many other uses of <u>do</u> and <u>make</u>, might have been motivated to overgeneralize them to contexts requiring other LIs. In this particular context, it cannot be argued that the learners did not know the LI <u>say</u> but rather the collocations say and offer up a prayer.

In Arabic the verb /salla:/ (to pray) and /?adda ssala:ta/ (lit. to perform the prayer)² are often used in this context. /jaqu:lu ssala:ta/

^{1.} In the Am. Her. WFB do has a frequency of 12,695 and make 8,333.

^{2.} According to some native speakers of English to perform a prayer in the sense of 'to say or offer up a prayer' is acceptable.

which is the literal translation of say the prayer is not used in Arabic.

Cultural interference is another cause that needs to be taken into consideration in this respect. Muslim prayers involve physical actions in addition to the reciting of Qur'anic texts. It is possible for this reason that the learners rejected <u>say</u> on the assumption that it does not convey this meaning and adopted a strategy of overgeneralization in which <u>do</u> and <u>make</u> provided useful semantic approximations.

- (3) He feels that Freddy has <u>done</u> [committed] his crime and he must be responsible on it (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son had been convicted of theft, Item no 18)
- (4) The film show the people in all the world the crimes that the whites <u>made</u> [committed] to (i.e. against) the blacks (Topic: a summary of 'Roots', a film about racial discrimination in the USA, Item no 22)

In examples (3) and (4) do and make were overgeneralized to contexts where commit would normally be used. Commit has the meaning of 'do or make something' but its affected entity must be a LI drawn from a lexical set which contains such LIs as crime, sin, error, murder, adultery etc, i.e. LIs which may be said to have the meaning components 'wrong, bad, unlawful'. Moreover, collocationally, do/make a crime is not acceptable. Although do and make collocate in some contexts with some of the LIs in the above lexical set as in I didn't expect him to make such an error, You've made too many errors in the report, commit is more appropriate since it habitually collocates with these LIs.

(5) Her family <u>made</u> [arranged, made a decision on] her marriage (Reference is to a girl whose marriage has been arranged to a man of her family's choice, Item no 24)

Arrange or make a decision are the LIs which express the intended meaning in (6) but not make. Apparently, make in the sense of to 'draw up',

'establish' or 'form' acts as a superordinate LI to many LIs in addition to arrange, e.g. prepare, plan, design etc. However, make is too general to convey the meaning aimed at by the learner; arrange, which is more specific and has the meaning components needed for this context, i.e. 'make plans' and 'in advance', is the appropriate LI.

Another possible interpretation is that the learner's use of <u>make</u> might have been motivated by the habitual collocations <u>make an arrangement</u>, <u>make a decision</u>, which would have been acceptable in this context. The validity of this interpretation will indicate incomplete learning of correct forms.

- (6) ...but his father <u>make</u> [paid] no attention about what Freddy is talking about (Freddy, the son, had stolen a gold ring from a shop. He turned to his father for help but the father paid no attention to Freddy's demands, Item no 25)
- (7) We <u>made</u> [took] a lot of photos (The subject was on a picnic in the countryside and took a lot of photos, Item no 26)

The collocations <u>make attention</u> and <u>make photos</u> in (6) and (7) respectively are not acceptable. The habitual collocations <u>pay attention</u> in the sense of 'give willingly proper thought and consideration' and <u>take</u> <u>photos</u> in the sense of 'to make by photography' (LDCE) are the appropriate LIs. However, the learners apparently not possessing these LIs in their active competence, resorted to a strategy of using a general verb.

- (8) They went and took [bought/rented] a house and lived in it together (The subjects have moved to a new house, Item no 29)
- (9) My small brother asks my father to go [drive] faster than his speed at the country roads (A family going on a picnic in a motor car. The father was asked to drive faster, Item no 31)

The use of take in (8) and go in (9) have something in common in that they are both from linguistic and communicative points of view acceptable.

They are included in this sample on psycholinguistic grounds: they both

indicate resorting to a strategy of communication by the learners, namely, choosing general LIs when more specific LIs would perhaps have been more normal.

In (8) the context does not make it clear whether <u>take</u> was used for <u>buy</u> or <u>rent</u>. If <u>take</u> was used in the sense of <u>buy</u> it may indicate a strategy of avoidance as well. The learner might have avoided the form <u>bought</u> for its grammatical irregularity.

On the other hand in (9) <u>drive</u> would be more appropriate to refer to a context of situation in which the subjects were travelling in a motor car; go in this sense is superordinate to many LIs, e.g. <u>walk</u>, <u>run</u>, <u>sail</u>, <u>drive</u>, <u>fly</u> etc. It is also the unmarked term with reference to 'means of travel or movement'.

(10) I must work hard to get [realize] these hopes (The subject was writing about his own hopes for the future, Item no 32)

In the last sentence of this sample, i.e. (10), realize is the LI

English speakers would use and not get. Semantically get and realize are
in a general-specific relationship: realize which is the more specific, means
to 'carry out', 'come real', 'make actual or concrete' etc. In this sense
it often collocates with ambition, hope, plan, intention. On the other hand,
get in the sense in which it is used in the learner's utterance means 'receive',
'acquire' or 'obtain'. Therefore, to realize something implies to get
something or get the fruits of something. To realize a hope is to get the
thing hoped for. This shows that the learner's use of get was semantically
motivated. However, besides its semantic inappropriateness, get is
collocationally unacceptable since get a hope violates the collocational
norms in English.

II. Oppositeness and incompatibility

The terms 'oppositeness' and 'incompatibility' have been defined above (see pp 56-8).

The paradigmatic relations of antonymy (in its more general sense, i.e. oppositeness of meaning) and incompatibility play an important role in communication in all languages. It is probably for this reason that structural linguistics emphasized the importance of paradigmatic opposition. As Lyons (1977: 270) puts it,

Trier himself opens his major work 1931 with the challenging statement, that every word that is pronounced calls forth its opposite...in the consciousness of the speaker and hearer, and this statement can be matched with similar assertions by other structural semanticists.

Moreover.

Trier...claims as others have done, that the opposite is in some way present in the mind of the speaker and hearer during an act of utterance.

As Lyons says, whether the above structuralist claims are true or not is a matter for psycholinguists to decide. For our purposes suffice to say that oppositeness and incompatibility play a role in various communicative situations. For instance it soon becomes apparent that oppositeness of meaning is continually resorted to by native speakers of a language for the purposes of lexical avoidance and lexical simplification. For euphemistic and sociolinguistic purposes a speaker may choose to avoid some LIs through the phenomenon of oppositeness, e.g. in Arabic /basi:r/ (endowed with eyesight) is used in the sense of 'blind'. In some contexts, speakers of English avoid using LIs such as ugly, filthy, rude etc and replace them by their negated opposites, i.e. unpleasant, unclean and impolite respectively.

When the need for lexical simplification arises, particularly in addressing children and foreigners, a speaker may resort to the sense relation of oppositeness of meaning. For instance the meanings of object (v),

pessimistic and atheist may be conveyed by disapprove, not optimistic and non-believer respectively, assuming that the addressee understands the meaning of approve, optimistic and believer. Following similar processes one may express meanings for which one does not possess or fails to recall the appropriate LIs.

Within the domain of L2 teaching, oppositeness is occasionally used for conveying new meanings. If the learner has acquired the meaning of one of the LIs in a pair of antonyms it becomes possible to use it in conveying the meaning of the unknown LI. For example, the meanings of profit, loosen and clear may be used to explain the meaning of their opposites, loss, tighten and vague respectively. Similarly, in languages which indicate opposition of meaning of some LIs through the addition of prefixes or suffixes as in English or French, these can be used by the teacher for conveying meaning. If the learner is already familiar with the meaning of the roots of the LIs and knows the general meaning of the affixes it may not be difficult to convey to him the meaning of the new forms consisting of the roots and the derivational morphemes, e.g. the meanings of immoral, illiterate, disqualify, unsatisfactory and intolerable may be explained in terms of their opposites.

With reference to communication strategies adopted by L2 learners, oppositeness of meaning has been reported only in one of the studies reviewed above, Levenston and Blum (1977: 66). In that study only one pair of antonyms was investigated and the results made the authors confirm that "...resorting to antonymy is clearly one possible strategy, though not as common as we had hypothesized".

Evidence from the present study seems to support the above authors' conclusion. In a free production situation, oppositeness of meaning did not seem to constitute a common strategy for expressing meaning by intermediate-advanced learners of English. There were only 15 instances where the learners

used LIs which have direct opposite or incompatible meaning to the acceptable alternatives. Yet few of these may be firmly attributed to the adoption of a strategy of communication by the learner. They rather seem to indicate that the learners, for reasons to be discussed presently, confused antonyms and incompatible LIs. However, it must be pointed out that there were few instances where the learners overgeneralized the rules for deriving opposites and ended up with non-existent LIs in the L2. These utterances which were placed in the subcategory of formal relatedness because they indicated the learner's reliance on previously acquired rules of derivation of LIs in English, will be discussed here as well as indicators of attempts to express meaning through oppositeness.

Table 6 contains all the LIs involved in the learner's lexical errors in the subcategory of oppositeness and incompatibility (see Appendix, Items 34-48).

TABLE 6

ULI	TLI	Item No.
wet	dry	34
sell	buy	35
buy	sell	36
buy	sell	37
afternoon	evening	38
noon	evening	39
evening	afternoon	40
lunch	dinner	41
supper	dinner	42
supper	dinner	43
useful	useless	44
come	go	45
put off	put on	46
detach	involve, concern	47
against	for	48

Samples for analysis:

- (1) The revolution built a number of factories and it made the wet [dry] desert green farms (Topic: The Green Revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: the revolution has turned the dry desert into green farms, Item no 34)
- In (1) the learner confused the gradable antonyms dry and wet. He used wet in a context which required dry.
 - (2) We sell [buy] beautiful flowers and some sweets. After a hour we enter the hospital (The subjects were visiting a friend in hospital. They bought a bunch of flowers before the visit, Item no 35.

Sentence (2) is an instance where the learner confused converse LIs. Table 6 shows that with converse LIs the use of <u>sell</u> for <u>buy</u> was followed by the use of <u>buy</u> for <u>sell</u>. More generally this implies that using LI A for B may be followed by the reverse process.

That <u>sell</u> is the converse of <u>buy</u> and <u>buy</u> is the converse of <u>sell</u> can be inferred from the following equations: <u>X sold Z to Y</u> implies that <u>Y bought</u> <u>Z from X and X bought Z from Y</u> implies that <u>Y sold Z to X</u>. Therefore the substitution of <u>sell</u> for <u>buy</u> or vice versa changes the meaning of the utterance, i.e. the relationships between the participants in the situational context.

The only plausible reason for the learners' confusion of gradable and converse opposites is the teaching technique used in their presentation.

Decontextualized opposition between pairs of such LIs often leads the learner to confuse them on the level of production.

- (3) At 8 o'clock in <u>afternoon</u> [evening] my father told me to find my brother and the children because he wanted to return to house (The subjects were a family going home after they had spent a day on the beach, Item no 38)
- (4) At 4 o'clock evening [afternoon] we played football...I like this game too much (Item no 40)

- (5) I go to the kitchen to helping (i.e. help) mother for cooking lunch [dinner] (The subject was describing what she does at home on a day of Ramadan in which no midday meal is served. Intended meaning: I go to the kitchen and help my mother cook the dinner, Item no 41)
- (6) I start with my mother to prepare the <u>supper</u> [dinner] (Same context as (5), Item no 42)

Sentences (3) - (6) are examples of lexical errors which involved LIs belonging to sets of incompatible LIs.

(3) and (4) indicate that the learners confused the LIs for the different parts of the day for each other: afternoon and evening are members of a cyclically-ordered set of incompatible LIs which also includes morning and noon. The members of this set divide the semantic spectrum for parts of the day between them in a way that makes their meanings incompatible with each other: morning refers to 'the period of midnight to midday', noon to 'midday', afternoon to 'midday to 6 p.m.' and evening to 6 p.m. to midnight'. However, in the layman's use of these LIs the distinctions are not always made precise. For instance, for most people evening is the 'period between the end of the day's work and bedtime', for some people afternoon is 'the period between midday and sunset' and morning as 'the period between sunrise and the middle of the day'.

Nevertheless when specific reference is made in terms of hours as indicated above, the semantic references of the LIs in this set do not overlap and the distinctions are made clear. It is for this reason that the learners' substitution of afternoon for evening in (3) and of evening for afternoon in (4) are not acceptable.

In (5) <u>lunch</u> was used for <u>dinner</u> and in (6) <u>supper</u> was substituted for <u>dinner</u>. <u>Lunch</u>, <u>dinner</u>, <u>supper</u> together with <u>breakfast</u> form a grouping of incompatible LIs.

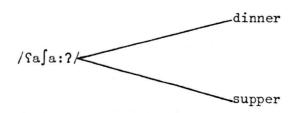
With particular reference to the English culture the LIs <u>breakfast</u>, <u>lunch</u>, <u>dinner</u> and <u>supper</u> are semantically incompatible: <u>breakfast</u> refers to 'the first meal of the day', <u>lunch</u> refers to 'the meal taken about the middle of the day' and <u>dinner</u> is 'the main meal of the day' which is taken either at about midday or in the evening. If it is taken at about midday, the evening meal is called <u>supper</u> (sometimes tea) but if it is taken in the evening, the midday meal is referred to as <u>lunch</u> (LDCE). <u>Supper</u> which refers to 'the last meal of the day' is a culture-bound LI. It is often translated into Arabic as /\sum_{a}a:?/ which is the translation-equivalent of <u>dinner</u>. <u>Supper</u> is thus similar to Arabic /suhu:r/ (a meal taken during Ramadan at night anytime before dawn, i.e. before fasting starts).

Having stated the differences in semantic reference between the LIs in this set, let us now account for the unacceptability of the learners' errors in (5) and (6):

In (5) the learner appears to have confused the meanings of <u>lunch</u> and <u>dinner</u> for obvious reasons; as has been explained, <u>dinner</u> as 'the main meal of the day' is either taken at about midday or in the evening. Therefore, the learner might have acquired <u>lunch</u> and <u>dinner</u> as quasi-synonyms.

In the learners' culture the meanings of /futu:r/ (breakfast), /yaða:?/ (lunch) and /faa:?/ (dinner) are kept apart and do not overlap.²

The use of <u>supper</u> for <u>dinner</u> in (6) might have been the outcome of L1-motivated overgeneralization due to lexical non-isomorphism, i.e. one-to-many correspondence (see 6.3.2.1.2).



^{1.} Usually upper class people in Britain and the USA have dinner in the evening, but working class people have this meal at noon.

^{2. /}futu:r/ (breakfast) also refers to the first meal if one has been fasting (e.g. in Ramadan), in which case it is taken at dusk.

It has been pointed out above that there were few instances where it was obvious that the learners were exploiting oppositeness of meaning for expressing their intentions in the L2. The following three examples may explain this:

- (7) Some old friends were at the funeral, but Paula was not, she has gone...the stopless [ceaseless] rain quickly covered her grave (A summary of a short story, Item no 235)
- (8) I was very sad, I was <u>disoptimistic</u> [pessimistic] (The subject was describing his own feelings on a particular occasion,

 Item no 236)
- (9) And his family's name will be again in the white list [regain its honour or reputation] within the social framework (The family's son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: if he is not convicted of theft his family would regain its good reputation in society, Item no 238)

Within our classification, these errors were assigned to the subcategory of 'formal relatedness' within the L2 because they involved the overgeneralization of previously-acquired rules of derivation for purposes of expressing meaning, a process which led to the production of non-existent forms in the L2. However, these will be considered here from another aspect, namely, resorting to oppositeness for conveying meaning.

It can be seen that in (7) and (8) the morphemes <u>less</u> and <u>dis</u>respectively were used to convey oppositeness. The learners know from
experience in using the L2 that these morphemes express oppositeness as in
<u>lawless</u>, <u>regardless</u>, <u>aimless</u>, <u>disagree</u>, <u>disregard</u>, <u>dishonest</u> etc.

In both instances the learners did not seem to have in their active vocabulary the appropriate LIs <u>ceaseless</u> and <u>pessimistic</u> respectively.

Therefore, in order to convey the intended meanings they resorted to morphemes which indicate oppositeness and used them with previously acquired LIs. These

attempts which certainly enabled the learners to approximate the target meanings resulted in unacceptable expressions: in (7) stop does not take the suffix -less meaning 'without'. Speakers of English would use cease which is a quasi-synonym of stop and can take -less to indicate oppositeness. On the other hand, stop can take the prefix non- which also means 'without' but cease does not, thus non-stop but not non-cease.

In (8) oppositeness in English as well as in Arabic is indicated lexically, i.e. by providing two distinct LIs optimistic (/mutafa:?il/) and pessimistic (/mutafa:?im/).

In (9) the learner's knowledge of <u>black list</u> led him, under the pressure of communicative need, to produce by analogy <u>white list</u> in the hope that it would convey the intended meaning, i.e. 'no longer on the white list'. While <u>black list</u> is used in English and has its translation equivalents in many languages including Arabic and French, white list is non-existent.

III. Part-whole relations

The paradigmatic relation that holds within sets of LIs such as finger: hand: body or roof: house is referred to as 'part-whole relation'.

The recognition and study of part-whole relations are important in the description of the meaning of some LIs in a language. Apparently, there are numerous LIs in the lexical structure of languages:

...whose meanings cannot be specified independently of some part-whole relation of sense. How could we hope to analyse the meaning of 'sleeve' or 'lapel' without invoking a part-whole relation between the lexemes and 'coat', 'jacket', 'garment' etc. (as well as the different relation which holds between 'sleeve' and 'arm'? (Lyons (1977: 314))

The scope and purpose of our research do not require a detailed discussion of the kinds of part-whole lexical relations. For our purposes

it seems more useful to note that this sense relation is a component of the native speaker's semantic competence and therefore has its function in communication. This sense relation is also used by L2 textbook writers, language teachers and dictionary makers for conveying meanings. For example, explaining the meaning of LIs such as morning:day;; foot:leg etc. involves in one way or another referring to the part-whole sense relations between them.

The small number of lexical errors obtained from our learners' data indicates that some learners exploited this sense relation for expressing meaning. Table 7 contains all the LIs which were involved in the learners' errors (see Appendix, Items 49-54).

TABLE 7

ULI	TLI	Item No.
meal	dish/type of food	49
TT.	и и и и	50
11	11 11 11	51
dinner	main course	52
accent	language	53
accommodation	furniture	54

Samples for analysis:

- (1) We sit around the table and eat the different <u>meals</u> [dishes, types of food] (The writer was describing the occasion of having dinner with his family. Reference is made to one meal only, Item no 49)
- (2) On Ramadan we cook many different <u>meals</u> [dishes, types of food] (The writer was describing the different types of food they cook for a dinner in Ramadan, Item no 50)

Table 7 shows that in five out of the six instances which involved LIs that are in a part-whole relation, it was the LI referring to the 'whole' which

was overgeneralized to a context in which the LI for 'part' was required.

(1) and (2) are examples of using <u>meals</u> for <u>dishes</u>. <u>Dish</u> and <u>meal</u> are in a part-whole sense relation: <u>meal</u> in the sense of the 'food served or eaten on one occasion' denotes a whole entity, but <u>dish</u> refers to part of that entity, namely, 'one type of (prepared) food'. This, of course, does not mean that a meal must necessarily consist of many dishes. A meal may include only one kind of food, i.e. only one dish.

Dishes is the TLI in the learners' utterances because it refers to 'the various types of food served or eaten on a particular occasion', the meaning aimed at by the learners. The use of <u>meals</u> conveys a meaning different from the one intended by the learners. This is particularly true of sentence (2) where, without consideration of the total discourse and the learners' cultural background <u>meals</u> can be interpreted to mean that the subjects were in the habit of having many meals during the month of Ramadan.

(3) All the family sit by the table...there is a cooking called sharba (i.e. soup), it is the best thing to eat before the dinner [main course] (A description of a Libyan dinner. Intended meaning: we sit at the table and have soup first, it is the best thing to eat before the main course, Item no 52)

There is a part-whole sense relation between the ULI <u>dinner</u> and the TLI <u>main course</u>: the dictionary definition of <u>course</u> in this sense is 'any of the several parts of a meal' (LDCE) or 'a part of a meal served at one time' (CED). In a multi-course dinner, <u>main course</u> constitutes a part of the whole entity. The other parts may include <u>starters</u> and <u>dessert</u>.

However, the learner, not possessing in his active vocabulary the collocation main course, resorted to a strategy of overgeneralizing a LI which denotes the whole entity to convey the intended meaning.

(4) He spoke something in his <u>accent</u> [language] we couldn't understand him except a word visa (The writer was on a visit to a foreign country. He was addressed in a foreign language, 'Polish', Item no 53)

The use of <u>accent</u> for <u>language</u> in (4) indicates the reverse process, i.e. using the more specific LI which refers to 'a part in a context which required a LI referring to the whole entity'.

Accent is a term which refers to 'the phonetic features of one's native dialect'; language, on the other hand, refers to the 'whole system of vocal communication used by a language community'.

The context of situation of the learner's utterance makes it clear that the intended LI was <u>language</u> and not <u>accent</u>: the learner was on a visit to Poland. He was addressed by a customs officer in Polish, a language which the learner did not know.

The motivation for the learner's use of <u>accent</u> is not obvious.

Language is, of course, more general and more frequent than <u>accent</u>. The only plausible explanation is that the error was teaching-induced. The learner might have acquired the two LIs as quasi-synonyms because of faulty teaching techniques adopted by the teacher in the presentation of <u>accent</u>.

IV. Cause-effect relations

Cause-effect is one of the sense relations implicit in lexical structures and is expressed in several ways (Lyons, 1977: 490). Explaining this sense relation, Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976: 468) point out that:

The lexical expression of causality can be appreciated most directly by contrasting particular verbs. The difference between 'die' and 'kill' is frequently taken as an example. 'Sid died' says nothing about causes; whereas 'Bruce killed Sid' means that Bruce in some way caused Sid to die.

^{1.} In the Am. HER.WFB language has a frequency of 1,041 and accent 204.

Put in simple terms, kill refers to 'cause' and die to 'effect'.

The objectives of our study do not require discussion of the various ways in which causality is expressed in languages and the relationship between causality and transitivity. What needs to be emphasized for our particular purposes is that this universal sense relation plays an important role in both productive and receptive communication. For example from John has killed the tiger and Jane has shown the photos to Bill, the competent native speaker of English spontaneously understands that 'the tiger has died' and that 'Bill has seen the photos' as a result of John and Jane's actions respectively. In other words, the listener or reader will not normally ask whether the tiger has died and whether Bill has seen the photos or not.

The relevance of this sense relation to L2 vocabulary teaching and learning is also obvious: the cause-effect sense relation holding between two LIs can serve the purposes of their selection and presentation.

In common with the preceding strategy of part-whole, reliance on the sense relation of cause-effect for expressing meaning has not been mentioned in any of the studies on interlanguage. However, the small number of lexical errors obtained from our learners' written data seems to indicate that L2 learners employ this sense relation for encoding meaning. The instances registered in the learners' performance indicated that the learners followed one process only: it was the LI for 'effect' which was always used for the LI for 'cause'. The reverse process, though feasible as in for example, using remind for remember was not observed in the learners' data. Table 8 contains all the LIs involved in the learners' errors (see Appendix, Items 55-58).

ULI	TLI	Item No.
die	dash/kill/smash/put an end to/destroy	55
lose	waste	56
hear	announce/declare	57
migrate	expel	58

Samples for analysis:

(1) The husband of his mother followed him there again to make troubles in his way to <u>die</u> [dash, kill, smash, put an end to, destroy] his hopes (A summary of a short story about a boy who was maltreated by his stepfather, Item no 55)

In (1) <u>dash</u> is the LI that habitually collocates with <u>hope</u> in this context but the other LIs are also acceptable alternatives. The quasisynonymous TLIs are in cause-effect sense relation with <u>die</u>: although all these LIs have their supplementary meanings, they all share the meaning components 'cause to come to an end' or 'cause to cease to exist'. <u>Die</u> means 'come to an end' or 'cease to exist'.

The learner having lacked any of the TLIs which referred to 'cause', resorted to a LI which refers to 'effect'.

It is a rather remote possibility that the learner was overgeneralizing under the influence of his L1. In common with English, Arabic lexicalizes the verbs /qatala/ (to kill) and /ma:ta/ (to die) which are in a cause-effect sense relation. However, in Arabic there is also by morphological prefixation /?amata/ (to cause to die) which shares the same root with /ma:ta/. But /qatala/ is the more frequently used LI. /?amata/ pertains almost exclusively to the classical variety of the language, especially Qur'anic texts.

Whatever the cause of the learner's lexical choice, he violated the syntactic restrictions on the use of <u>die</u> by using it transitively when it is an intransitive verb.

(2) He works hard, he didn't <u>lost</u> [waste] his time in anything except his duty (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: the farmer does not waste his time. He devotes all his time to his work, Item no 56)

<u>Waste</u> in the sense of 'use wrongly' or not use is the TLI in this Context. Waste is in a

cause-effect sense relation with <u>lose</u> in that one of the meanings of <u>waste</u> is 'cause to lose, particularly strength, flesh etc. by degrees' as in <u>The strange disease wasted his whole body</u> (LDCE).

This strong sense relation between <u>lose</u> and <u>waste</u> made the learner overgeneralize lose to a context which required waste.

V. Quasi-synonymy

The sense relation of synonymy and the differences between quasi-synonyms have been treated in a previous chapter (see pp 54-5).

Implicit awareness of the sense relation of synonymy is an important component of the adult native speaker's semantic competence (Blum and Levenston, 1978: 408). Moreover, the native speaker's competence includes an intuitive grasp of the emotive associations of synonymous LIs and the restrictions on their co-occurrence on the syntagmatic axis.

As has been demonstrated above, different contexts of situation in which one happens to perform, constrain lexical choices in accordance with the field, mode and tenor of discourse (see 3.1.2). Synonymy is one of the sense relations which enables speakers to select the appropriate LIs required for each context. Therefore, from two or more LIs which denote more or less the same conceptual phenomena, a speaker may choose the one which fits the register in question.

Synonymy is also constantly used by native speakers of a language for the purposes of lexical simplification especially in describing specialized subjects to non-specialists and more often in addressing unskilled speakers of the language including children and foreigners. For example, the meanings of prohibit, recite, rigorous and miscellaneous may be illustrated for purposes of simplification by using their quasi-synonyms, i.e. forbid, read, precise and diverse respectively.

Within L2 teaching, as Cohen and Mauffrey (1978: 95) point out, most, if not all, language teachers employ synonymy extensively in explaining L2 LIs. Following this technique the teacher can use the supposedly known LIs to convey the meaning of their unknown quasi-synonyms. For instance, if the learners have acquired the meanings of <u>build</u>, <u>argument</u>, <u>decision</u> and <u>decisive</u>, the teacher may use these to convey to them the meanings of <u>construct</u>, <u>debate</u>, <u>resolution</u> and <u>conclusive</u> respectively since these pairs of LIs are interchangeable in some contexts with some variation in their degree of formality and collocational ranges.

In L2 lexical acquisition, evidence from some of the studies reviewed earlier and also from the present study indicates unequivocally that L2 learners resort to the sense relation of synonymy in order to encode messages. The learners' interlanguage, samples of which will be examined presently, provides confirmation that the learners employed synonymy as one of the principal strategies for expressing meanings.

Resorting to the paradigmatic relation of synonymy to encode meaning in the L2 while their knowledge of the relevant linguistic and situational restrictions on LIs was not yet complete, the learners produced lexical errors. The 84 lexical errors in this subcategory, which are themselves vivid proof of the learners' recourse to synonymy under the need to express meaning, present evidence that the learners generalized LIs to contexts where their quasi-synonyms were required.

The problem of overlapping meanings may not present serious difficulties for the learner on the reception level. Indeed, the learner may cope well by relying on his partial lexical competence in inferring meaning from the total discourse.

When the need to express meanings arises the learner may find himself in a more difficult situation: (a) because of a lexical gap in his competence

the learner may not know the appropriate LI for a given concept; (b) he may remember having encountered the appropriate LI but for some reason fails to recall it at the moment, and (c) he may know the TLI but chooses to avoid it because he is not sure of its spelling (or pronunciation in oral discourse), grammatical functioning or the LIs with which it collocates in that context. Therefore, in order to encode his messages, the learner finds himself compelled to look for alternatives. In the case of LIs which overlap in meaning he finds a solution and thus uses a quasi-synonym in the hope that it conveys, or at least approximates, the intended meaning.

We now turn to the analysis of samples of the learners' interlanguage. It must be pointed out that although, as in the preceding subcategories of overgeneralization, our concern is with the ULI and the TLI in the specific context of the learner's utterance, in the discussion of quasi-synonyms reference will occasionally be made to other contexts in which the ULI and the TLI are used interchangeably for clarifying the process by which the learner arrived at the ULI.

For practical purposes, namely the relatively large number of lexical errors in this subcategory, it has been decided to subclassify the 84 utterances which involved reliance on synonymy into four subclasses according to the word-class of the ULI and the TLI. These included: (i) verbs (39 errors), (ii) nouns (30 errors), (iii) adjectives and adverbs (11 errors) and (iv) others (4 errors).

(i) Quasi-synonymous verbs

Table 9 includes all the LIs which were involved in the learners' overgeneralizations of quasi-synonymous verbs (see Appendix, Items 59-97).

ULI	TLI	Item No.
 say	tell, report	59
11	tell	60
"	tell	61
"	tell, ask	62
"	describe	63
tell	suggest, propose	64
"	ask, invite	65
retell	describe	66
speak	say, utter	67
announce	tell	68
carry	take, give a lift	69
lift	take	70
"	raise	71
see	watch	72
***	look at, have a look at	73
fix	watch	$7^{1_{4}}$
seize	fix	7 5
gaze	stare at	76
recognize	get to know	77
"	know	78
know	realize, notice	79
run	escape	80
share	take part, participate, contribute to	81
enforce	carry out, execute	82
work out	keep, fulfil	83
drink	absorb, take in	84
please	enjoy	85
fix	have treated	86
count	consider, regard, look upon	87
divide	distribute	88
catch	take	89
apply	ask (for), beg (for)	90
hear	listen	91
show	express	92
belong	concern	93
contain	reserve, remind	94
get	make	95 96
pass mend	have restitution	96 97

Table 9 shows that the learners' overgeneralization of synonyms included lexical sets as well as single pairs of LIs. At least four such lexical sets were involved in the learners' utterances: (a) 'verbs of communication' or more specifically 'verbs of saying': say, tell, ask, speak, suggest, describe and announce; (b) 'verbs of carrying': carry, lift, take and raise; (c) 'verbs of seeing': see, watch, look, gaze and stare; (d) 'verbs of recognition': know, recognize and realize.

The LIs in each of these lexical sets share some meaning components and at least pairs of them are used interchangeably without significant changes in the denotative meanings of the resulting utterances.

However, whether the learners' overgeneralizations included verbs in lexical sets or single pairs of LIs they all involved the same process, namely, using a LI in a context where one of its synonyms was required. They also had similar communicative effects. Although by following this process of formal substitution the learner always approximated the intended or optimal meaning, in all the utterances verbs were used without due regard to the semantic, syntactic, collocational and sociolinguistic restrictions which they are subject to.

Samples for analysis:

- (1) This is how his story started as it was <u>said</u> [told, reported] by him (The writer was reporting what a friend had said,

 Item no 59)
- (2) My brother <u>said</u> [told] some jokes which he couldn't forget at all (Item no 81)
- (1) and (2) are examples of the utterances in which <u>say</u> was overgeneralized in a context where <u>tell</u> was the TLI. The two LIs are quasisynonymous and can even be used interchangeably without the loss of the conceptual meaning of the utterance but, as can be seen, they require

different grammatical structures:

From a semantic point of view, wherever the context of situation makes it clear that information is conveyed about something, tell is the LI to be used because it has the meaning components 'make known' or 'informative' which say does not possess. This could account for the acceptability of What did the parrot say to you? but not *What did the parrot tell you?

Moreover, <u>tell</u>, but not <u>say</u>, is used in the sense of 'relate' or 'narrate' (see Thompson and Martinet 1969: 189). It is probably for this reason that <u>tell</u> habitually collocates with LIs such as <u>story</u>, <u>tale</u>, <u>joke</u>, <u>lie</u> etc. This accounts for the unacceptability of the collocations

*say a story and *say a joke in the learner's utterances.

(3) I left the hospital and I was <u>announced</u> [told] that my sister had put a baby but it died (Intended meaning: I was told that my sister had had a baby but it had died, Item no 68)

Announce and tell are both used in the sense of 'make known' or 'let know' and can be substituted for each other with the necessary syntactic modifications as in:

However, the two LIs are subject to different situational and syntactic restrictions: while <u>announce</u> pertains almost exclusively to 'public' or 'official' statements (CMGS), tell is used in everyday situations and is also highly frequent.

The above strong sense relation between <u>announce</u> and <u>tell</u> could have made the learner acquire them as complete synonyms. In order to demonstrate

^{1.} I owe these examples to Myint Su (1971: 148).

^{2.} Cassell's Modern Guide to Synonyms and Related Words.

^{3.} In the Am HER WFB tell has a frequency of 3,715 and announce 32.

his linguistic ability the learner used the more formal LI, i.e. announce which presumably was acquired at a later stage than tell. Using announce in this context resulted, incidentally, in violating the syntactic restrictions which it is subject to.

(4) After that I smoke and took a rest about one hour and <u>saw</u> [watched] the television (The subject was writing about what he did on evenings. Intended meaning: I have a cigarette, take a rest and watch TV, Item no 72)

Both <u>see</u> and <u>watch</u> refer to 'viewing of something' which can be either accidental or deliberate. However, <u>watch</u> but not <u>see</u> stresses 'intention' or 'fascination' and suggests the complete engagement of interest, at least while the viewing continues (CMGS).

These meaning components make <u>watch</u> more appropriate to convey the intended meaning in the learner's utterance.

The high frequency and generality of $\underline{\text{see}}$ made it more accessible for the learner while he lacked knowledge of the TLI $\underline{\text{watch.}}^1$

(5) It was the last night for it. Even a person couldn't <u>run</u> [escape] of death (Intended meaning: it was the last night of its life (i.e. their cow). Even a human being cannot escape from death, Item no 80)

Run followed by the adverb away, i.e. run away is a quasi-synonym of escape as in: She hit the boy and { ran away escaped } . Run away in this context has the meaning 'escape' or 'reach freedom or safety by running'. This strong sense relation made the learner overgeneralize the use of run in the above utterance to convey the meaning 'avoid an imminent evil or danger'. Run does not refer to this meaning but escape, which the learner apparently lacked in his active vocabulary, does.

^{1.} In the Am. HER WFB see has a frequency of 8,715 and watch 969.

(6) When I was hearing [listening] to him I was very sorry about what was happened to my friend (The writer was on a visit to a friend in hospital. He was listening to his friend telling him about the accident he had had, Item no 91)

There can be many reasons for the learner's use of <u>hear</u> in the sense of <u>listen</u> in (6). <u>Hear</u> means 'to perceive (a sound) with the ears' and <u>listen</u> 'to give attention in hearing' (LDCE) or 'concentrate on hearing something' (CED), i.e. <u>listen</u> essentially implies 'a deliberate activity'. However, in some contexts, <u>hear</u> is used in the sense of listen as in:

The case was heard by Mr Justice Smith. I don't want to hear any excuses.

It is also possible that the learner was overgeneralizing hear under the influence of his Ll: Arabic lexicalizes /sami\(\frac{a}{a}\) (to hear) and /nasata/ or /sa\(\frac{a}{a}\): (to listen or concentrate on hearing) but there is also by prefixation and infixation /?istami\(\frac{a}{a}\) (to listen) which shares the same root with /sami\(\frac{a}{a}\). Moreover, /nasata/ is not used in LCA./ sama\(\frac{a}{a}\) (LCA form) is used for both meanings.

From a psycholinguistic point of view, <u>listen</u> is relatively more difficult to write and pronounce than <u>hear</u> because of the 'silent letter' t [llsən].

Whatever the cause of the learner's use of hear, he violated the syntactic restrictions which it is subject to: hear as a verb of perception does not normally occur with the progressive aspect. Furthermore, hear, unlike listen, cannot be followed by the preposition to.

(7) He should apply [ask (for) beg (for)] forgiveness from his family which he destroyed by his useless and shameful doings (The subject had committed a crime, an action which affected his family's reputation. Therefore, he should apologize and ask for forgiveness from his family, Item no 90)

Apply (for) is quite inappropriate in the learner's utterance.

Native speakers of English would use ask (for) or beg (for) in such a context of situation. Presumably beg for forgiveness is a collocation which the learner would not have encountered.

Apply (for) and ask (for) are quasi-synonyms in that they are both used in the sense of 'request' but otherwise have different ranges of application. However, with specific reference to the learner's utterance, 'asking for forgiveness' is an activity which involves the person concerned in some sacrifice of self-esteem, in putting himself at some disadvantage vis-a-vis the potential 'forgiver'. Such a situation bears some similarity to that in which 'an applicant' finds himself. Compare: to apply for permission / for a job, etc. Apply (for) is unacceptable with forgiveness 'forgiving' is essentially a matter of personal relationships because whereas apply (for) is limited to impersonal relationships such as that between a member of the public and a clerk in a government agency, between a potential employee and a potential employer, etc. Moreover, whereas 'asking (for)' is not marked for mode of discourse, 'applying (for)' is usually done in writing.

In a formal learning situation, <u>ask (for)</u> will presumably be presented and acquired earlier than <u>apply (for)</u> and therefore, the learner's misuse of <u>apply</u> cannot be attributed to lack of knowledge of <u>ask (for)</u>. The above similarity between a context of situation which involves 'asking for forgiveness' and that of 'applying for something' might have motivated the learner to use <u>apply</u> on the assumption that it is a better word.

(ii) Quasi-synonymous nouns

Similar processes to those followed in using synonymous verbs have been observed in the learner's overgeneralization of quasi-synonymous nouns.

As can be seen in Table 10, the learners' overgeneralizations included synonyms

in lexical sets and single pairs of LIs. It will also be demonstrated that in their attempts to encode meaning the learners violated the above-mentioned restrictions which the LIs are subject to in various contexts. Table 10 includes all the LIs which were involved in the learners' use of quasisynonymous nouns (see Appendix, Items 98-127).

TABLE 10

ULI	TLI	Item No.
position	standing	98
ranks	positions	99
level	status, condition	100
movement	work, activity	101
rest	laziness, idleness	102
duty	work, job	103
job	duty	104
amount	number	105
share	part, portion	106
parts	sectors	107
chief	head, administrator	108
knowledge	idea	109
interview	meeting	110
instruments	tools, implements	111
problem	cause	112
way	health, spirits	113
works	services	114
system	way	115
fault	mistake	116
fault	mistake, error, minor offence	117
case	situation, state of affairs	118
case	situation, state of affairs	119
seashore	seaside, beach	120 121
"	11	122
"	" "	123
house	home	124
11		125 126
houses	homes	127

Samples for analysis:

- (1) He thought about his social position [standing] and the great consideration he had among his social members (The subject was a father whose son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. The father was worried about his family's standing in society, Item no 98)
- (2) The woman able to reach the same ranks [positions] as the men reach (Intended meaning: women are able to obtain the same positions in society as men, item no 99)
- (1) and (2) are examples of overgeneralizing synonyms in a lexical set of nouns which included: position, standing, rank, level and status (see Table 10). These LIs which overlap in meaning have different rates Nevertheless at least pairs of of frequency and ranges of collocation. them are used interchangeably in some contexts, as can be seen from the following examples:

position, status: The president wanted to be informed about the current { position } of the disarmament negotiations.
What's his { rank position } in the company?

On the other hand, due to variation in their ranges of application, in many contexts it is not possible for pairs of LIs of this set to replace each other as in:

Although he has been in the Army for over twenty years, he still holds

on the top of the hill gives us a good view of the coast.

The unacceptability of the starred LIs is attributed to the fact that each of the above LIs has meanings and supplementary components which it does

not share with the other members of the set, as can be seen from their analysis: position which is the most general and most frequent Ll of the set has the meanings of 'place' as in Libya has a good position on the Mediterranean; 'attainment of something as a result of competition, e.g. He came in in first position in yesterday's race; 'a job', e.g. He was offered a good position in the new company; 'a state or situation', e.g. By not telling me the truth you've put me in a very difficult position; 'a stand, an opinion or judgement', e.g. The developed countries have got themselves into an indefensible position with regard to the Third World. Standing is distinguished from the other members of the set in that in its reference to 'social position, status or rank' it has the supplementary meaning component 'established on the basis of experience or others' respect' Rank refers to the 'degree of value, importance or ability in a group' (LDCE). It also has the meaning of 'high social position or status' as in He is a person of rank. It is distinguished from the other LIs in that it suggests more definable qualities, particularly those specific titles indicated in a hierarchical scale. Although in this sense it is used in reference to many positions organized hierarchically, it is particularly associated with the military register. Status refers mostly to 'indefinable qualities concerning one's position in relation to others'. At variance with the other LIs except rank, When not qualified status has a positive meaning, i.e. 'high prestige' as in His research on heart diseases gave him status in the medical school. Status is also used in the sense of 'condition in relation to others' as in I have the status of an alien in the UK (i.e. as opposed to a citizen). Level in the sense under which it is included in this set refers to 'position, especially in society, power, learning etc'

^{1.} In the Am HER WFB these LIs have the following frequencies: position: 540, level: 531, rank: 76, status: 43 and standing: 4.

(LDCE), e.g. The proposed plan is being discussed at the ministerial level.

In the light of the foregoing semantic information, we may now account for the inappropriateness of the learners' lexical choices in the above utterances: in (1) standing is more appropriate than position because it has the supplementary meaning component 'based on others' respect' which is important for the meaning the learner intended to express. Having lacked knowledge of standing, the learner resorted to a more frequent LI to express this meaning.

Rank in (2) is inappropriate because, as has been explained, it pertains more to 'hierarchically-arranged positions', a meaning which was not intended in the learner's utterance. <u>Position</u>, which is the unmarked LI with reference to 'job or employment' is the appropriate LI.

(3) A little <u>amount</u> [number] of people believed him and the most of them said that he had become mad (A summary of a film about the history of Islam. Intended meaning: a small number of people believed him (i.e. prophet Muhammed) while most people considered him mad, Item no 105)

Being unaware of the syntactic differences between amount and number, the learner used the former in a context where the latter was required. From a semantic point of view the two LIs are quasi-synonyms with reference to the meaning 'quantity or sum' but they are subject to different syntactic restrictions: amount is used with 'uncountable nouns', but number is used with 'countable nouns' and is appropriate with plurals.

Since <u>number</u> is more frequent than <u>amount</u> and presumably was in the learner's active competence, the only plausible cause of the learner's overgeneralization of <u>amount</u> is the close semantic relationship between the two LIs. 1

^{1.} In the Am HER WFB number has a frequency of 6,059 and amount 701.

(4) There no difference between black and white people and we support the <u>problem</u> [cause] of the black in America and South Africa (Topic: racial discrimination in the USA and South Africa, Item no 112)

Problem and cause are sometimes used synonymously, especially in the language of politics as in: The Palestinian { cause problem . However, the two LIs differ in their supplementary meanings: problem is emotively neutral towards the referent, i.e. it does not express any emotions towards the issue or person in question; cause, on the other hand, expresses sympathetic attitudes towards the referent. In this sense it has the meaning 'a principle or movement strongly defended or supported' (LDCE). For this reason, one may support a cause, but not a problem.

The learner's overgeneralization cannot be attributed to language transfer or lexical underdifferentiation within the L2 since Arabic, too, lexicalizes the two concepts as /muʃkilah/ (problem or issue) and qadijjah/ (cause).

Moreover, it is obvious that <u>cause</u> does not present special difficulties that might have compelled the learner to adopt a strategy of avoidance. Therefore, only two explanations remain plausible: (a) the learner did not know <u>cause</u> in this sense, or (b) the learner acquired cause and problem as complete and total synonyms and used them so.

- (5) I went house [home] and I told my wife, of course my wife agreed... (Item no 125, see also items 124 and 126-7)
- (5) is an instance of the learners' substitution of house for home. The reverse process was not found in the data. There is a distinction in meaning between these two LIs in the English culture: a 'house' is 'a building for human habitation', but a 'home' is 'a house where one lives, etc.'. English people think that one's home is the place to which one belongs and where one feels comfortable, and that is more than just a

Thus one often hears statements like Our new house is beginning house. to look more like a real home (LDCE).

However, unaware of the connotations which home has in the English culture, the learners overgeneralized house to contexts which called for In L2 textbooks, house is often presented earlier than the use of home. home, which might have made it better established and consequently more frequently used in the learner's interlanguage. Needless to say, not all teachers will make the distinction in connotation between the two LIs explicit to their learners.

(iii) Quasi-synonymous adjectives and adverbs

The learners' overgeneralization of adjectives and adverbs were mostly confined to single pairs of quasi-synonyms. Table 11 includes all the LIs which were involved in the learners' utterances (see Appendix, Items 128-138).

TLI Item No. ULI 128 free optional ashamed shy, embarrassed 129 ** 130 certain exact, fixed, specified 131 132 little small violent, conflicting 133 strong 134 heavy difficult, embarrassing rough harsh 135 136 ugly unpleasant swiftly fast, at a high speed 137 138

TABLE 11

Samples for analysis:

fast

(1) Those who don't attend most of the lectures they do not allow to attend the exam. So in my point of view the

quickly

attending of the lectures should be <u>free</u> [optional] (Intended meaning: the students who do not attend most of the lectures are not allowed to sit for the examination. In my view attendance at lectures should be optional, Item no 128)

In (1) the use of <u>free</u> may be understood as 'without payment' when the target meaning was 'not obligatory or compulsory' for which <u>optional</u> is the appropriate LI. <u>Free</u> can be used in this sense but it requires a different grammatical structure. For example, <u>The students were told that attendance on Tuesdays is optional</u> has the same meaning as <u>The students were told that they are free to choose whether or not to attend on Tuesdays</u>.

The learner did not seem to have <u>optional</u> in his active vocabulary and therefore resorted to a more frequent LI, but failed to integrate it appropriately into the linguistic context.

(2) At first days I felt <u>ashamed</u> [shy, embarrassed] because it was the first time I read with boys (The subject was a female student describing her experience on the first day at university. Intended meaning: I felt shy because it was the first time I had studied with male students, Item no 129, see also 130)

Ashamed is often used by Arab learners in contexts where <u>shy</u> or <u>embarrassed</u> are required. These adjectives share the meaning 'psychological discomfort' but differ in their degree of intensity according to the cause behind this feeling: <u>ashamed</u> means 'feeling shame, guilt or sorrow, often because of something done'; <u>embarrassed</u> means 'feeling socially uncomfortable' and <u>shy</u> 'feeling nervous in the company of others and not putting oneself forward'.

There are two plausible explanations for using <u>ashamed</u> in contexts where <u>shy</u> or <u>embarrassed</u> are the TLIs as in (2): (a) it is possible that the learner acquired <u>ashamed</u> at an earlier stage than its quasi-synonyms and

^{1.} In the Am HER WFB free has a frequency of 805 and optional 26.

continued to use it even in contexts where its quasi-synonyms are more appropriate, and (b) in LCA /mitahaffim/ is used with reference to all the concepts referred to by the above LIs, i.e. ashamed, shy and embarrassed. In other words, we have an instance of one-to-many correspondence which might have caused the learner to underdifferentiate in the L2 (see 6.3.2.1.2).

(3) His father started blaming him with <u>rough</u> [harsh] words and became very angry (The writer was describing the reaction of a father towards a son who had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: his father blamed him using harsh words, Item no 135)

The ULI rough and the TLI harsh in (3) are quasi-synonyms which are interchangeable in contexts such as: This cloth is { rough } to the touch. Although the two LIs are very similar in meaning, they vary in their ranges of application and consequently in the type of collocational patterns they enter into: rough has the meanings: (a) 'having an uneven surface' or 'not smooth'; (b) 'strong or violent (especially of weather, the sea)'; (c) 'not gentle, or polite (especially of people or behaviour'; harsh, on the other hand, means: (a) 'unpleasant or causing pain to the senses' as in a harsh light (i.e. too strong for the eyes) and harsh voice, harsh colours, etc; (b) 'cruel' or 'severe' (especially of people or punishment) (LDCE). In some of these meanings harsh and rough can be said to share the meaning components 'not gentle' and 'not pleasant'.

However in this context the learner appears to have wished to convey the idea that the father, in his choice of words, did not spare his son's feelings and for this purpose <u>harsh words</u> is the appropriate collocation. Insofar as <u>rough words</u> can be given an interpretation, it would seem rather to imply the non-respect of social proprieties (compare <u>rough language</u>). The learner, not having <u>harsh</u> in his active vocabulary, used one of its frequent synonyms.

^{1.} In the Am HER WFB rough has a frequency of 292 and harsh 61.

(4) My father was walking swiftly [fast, at a high speed] to arrive us early (The subject was going for a picnic with his family in a motorcar. Intended meaning: my father was driving fast in order that we get home early Item no 137)

In (4) the adverb <u>swiftly</u> was used in acontext in which a native speaker of English would normally use <u>fast</u>. Swiftly and <u>fast</u> with other adverbs, e.g. <u>quickly</u>, <u>rapidly</u> etc. share reference to 'speed of movement' which is the basis of their synonymity. However, the two LIs in question, i.e. <u>swiftly</u> and <u>fast</u> differ in their supplementary meanings: <u>swiftly</u> indicates 'shortness and suddenness of the movement'. <u>Fast</u>, on the other hand, refers to 'something in sustained motion' and indicates 'a high rate of speed or capacity for such movement' (CMGS). It is for this reason that they have different ranges of application, as can be inferred from the following examples:

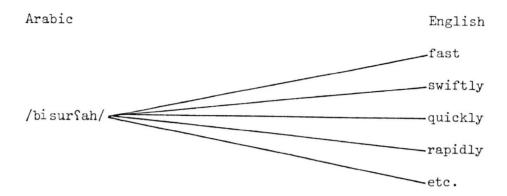
His mood changed swiftly when she arrived.

He was stopped for driving fast on a busy street.

When applied to physical motion <u>swiftly</u> tends to be confined to literary usage in modern English.

The learner's error can be accounted for in many ways: (a) in terms of the above close semantic relation between the two LIs: assuming that the learner knew both LIs, he might have failed to distinguish their differences in application; (b) the learner might have assumed that <u>fast</u> was used only as an adjective; and (c) interlingually, i.e. reflecting the learner's inability to differentiate in the L2 due to the fact that the concept in question is lexicalized differently in the learner's L1 and the L2:

^{1.} For the other lexical errors in the utterance see p.288 and p.295.



(iv) Others

It has been found that sometimes the ULI and the TLI are apparently quasi-synonyms but belong to different parts of speech. This has been particularly evident in the learners' substitution of <u>during</u> for <u>while</u> and vice versa, as can be seen in Table 12 (see Appendix, Items 139-142).

 ULI
 TLI
 Item No.

 during
 while
 139

 "
 "
 140

 "
 "
 141

 while
 during
 142

TABLE 12

Samples for analysis:

- (1) <u>During</u> [while] we were eating she joked about eating and <u>during</u> [while] we were playing she was swim and joking (A family on a picnic at the seaside, reference is made to a particular person in the family, Item no 139)
- (2) I went to a flowers shop, I bought some flowers so that offer to him while [during] the visit (The subject was going to visit a friend in hospital. Intended meaning: I went to a flower shop and bought some flowers to give to him during my visit, Item no 142)
- In (1) the preposition <u>during</u> was used in a context which required the conjunction <u>while</u>. In (2) the reverse process took place. <u>While</u> and

during are quasi-synonymous in the sense 'at the time of or when...'
differing only in syntactic function as in:

- (i) This is a friend I met while I was on a visit to Tunisia.
- (ii) This is a friend I met during my visit to Tunisia.

These examples show that with some modification in their linguistic contexts the learners' utterances can be made acceptable, i.e. in (1) during the dinner she joked and in (2) while (I am) visiting him. Nevertheless, the learners' uses indicate that, given the need to express meaning, the learner is prepared to disregard syntactic restrictions on LIs.

VI. Weak sense relations

Under the subcategory of 'weak sense relations' will be treated those instances of overgeneralization where the sense relation holding between the ULI and the TLI is not strong or precise enough to make us confirm the existence of any of the preceding acknowledged sense relations, e.g. hyponymy, synonymy etc. However, the LIs in question have an element of meaning in common or, at the very least, share membership of a wide semantic field.

The term 'semantic approximation' is sometimes used with reference to such instances (e.g. see Ervin, 1979: 331). However, 'approximation' does not seem to meet the requirements of a delicate classification of the types of overgeneralization such as the one used here. As has been explained, all types of semantic overgeneralization result in the learner's approximation of the intended meaning in varying degrees.

Although the learners' recourse to weak sense relations between LIs involved the same process as that followed in the preceding types of semantic overgeneralization, namely using a previously acquired LI to convey a meaning which required another semantically related LI, the errors in this subcategory

presented more difficulties of interpretation and reconstruction. The fact that the sense relation between the ULI and the TLI(s), as has been said, is not strong or precise implies that they have different ranges of application and collocation. Using the former in a context which required the latter had adverse effects on the comprehensibility of the utterances.

Table 13 contains all the LIs which were involved in the learners' overgeneralizations in this subcategory (see Appendix, Items 143-176).

TABLE 13

ULI	TLI	Item No.
reduce	dismiss, sack	143
repeat	revise	144
deal	mix, mingle	145
push	hit, strike, knock down, run ove	er 146
drown	bring low, smirch, tarnish	147
give	export	148
share	help, assist	149
join	count, gather	150
culture	knowledge	151
study	degree	152
lesson	lecture	153
gold	pearl, jewel	154
way	journey	155
incidents	arrangements, preparations	156
case	mood	157
sign	feature	158
medicine	fertilizer	159
"	"	160
behaviour	mood	161
atmosphere	" .	162
room	stable, sheep fold, cowshed	163
record player	radio cassette	164
fight	conflict, argument	165
mercy	favour, gift	166
board	railway station	167
"	" "	168
funny	happy, pleased, glad	169
learning	educational, teaching	170
rude	severe, stern	171
difficult	serious	172
stranger	stray	173
effective	serious, grave	174
crowded	heavy	175
according	towards, in the direction of	176

Samples for analysis:

(1) I slept while I was repeating [revising] what I had studied. Suddenly I heard a voice calling (The subject was a student. Intended meaning: I fell asleep while I was revising my lessons. Then I heard someone calling, Item no 144)

In (1) the learner used <u>repeat</u> in a context where <u>revise</u> is the TLI.

Repeat in the sense under which it is used in the learner's utterance means

'to do or experience (something) again'. Revise is used in BE in the sense

'to reread (a subject or notes on it) so as to memorize it, especially in

preparation for an examination' (CED). In these senses <u>repeat</u> and <u>revise</u>

can be said to have the meaning component 'again' in common. Revise is the

appropriate LI in this context because it specifically refers to the meaning

the learner intended to convey.

The learner apparently lacked active knowledge of <u>revise</u> in this sense and therefore, under the pressure of communicative need, resorted to the lexical substitute <u>repeat</u> which has at least one component of the intended meaning.

(2) While we were crossing the road the car came faster and <u>pushed</u> [hit, struck, knocked down, ran over] my friend (The writer's friend was hit by a car while they were crossing the road, Item no 146)

Push has the sense 'to apply steady and gradual pressure or force against an object in order to move it'. The application of force or pressure can be slight or considerable.

The essential difference between <u>push</u> and all the LIs which, despite their differences in meaning, could fit the context is that <u>push</u> necessarily involves more than 'momentary application of force or pressure'. Although the TLIs convey different meanings, none implies more than momentary contact, which is an essential component in describing a situation in which a vehicle comes into a violent physical contact with a person. Of course there may be

occasions when a vehicle does push a person, but this is clearly not one of them.

There are two explanations for the learner's use of <u>push</u> in this context: (a) either the learner did not have in his active lexical competence any of the above LIs which could fit the context and therefore used a LI which shares with the TLIs the meaning component 'come into physical contact', or (b) the learner avoided the TLIs because of their inherent grammatical difficulty.

- (3) Now Libya give [exports, sells] the plants and vegetables
 ...to another country (Topic: The Green Revolution in Libya.
 Intended meaning: now Libya exports the crops and vegetables
 to other countries, Item no 148)
- In (3) give, at least remotely, approximates the optimal meaning in the learner's utterance in that 'giving' entails 'transfer of possessions'. Nevertheless give is not fully acceptable in this context: give implies free and gratis when the context of situation in the learner's utterance refers to a transfer of possessions which normally involves a transaction of sale, i.e. payment. Sell is therefore more appropriate than give.

 Moreover, give does not convey any information about the destination of the possessions or goods but the context in which it was used refers to the 'transfer of goods out of a country for sale' (LDCE). Export which specifically applies to this meaning is, therefore, even more appropriate than sell.
 - (4) There are many important buildings in it. It is a gold [jewel, pearl] of the desert (The writer was describing Ghadames, an oasis situated in the western part of Libya. It is often referred to as the jewel of the desert for its beauty, Item no 154)
- In (4) the learner attempted to translate into English the Ll fixed expression /3awharatu ssahra:?i/ (the jewel or pearl of the desert). Because

he lacked knowledge of the translation-equivalents of /ʒawharah/ (jewel or pearl) he resorted to a strategy of using a lexical approximation which shares with the TLIs the meaning components 'precious' and 'valuable'.

(5) He always brings the chemical <u>medicine</u> [fertilizer] to improve the growth of the plants (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer, Item no 159; see also 160)

Lacking active knowledge of <u>fertilizer</u> in the sense of 'a chemical or natural substance that is put on the land to make the crops grow better', the learner used <u>medicine</u> in the hope it would approximate the intended meaning. As can be seen below, <u>medicine</u> and <u>fertilizer</u> share at least two meaning components:

Meaning component	medicine	fertilizer
'substance' 'chemical' 'for treating humans and animals' 'for making crops grow better'	+ + - +	+ + - +

Although the above semantic link between the ULI and the TLI could account for the learner's lexical choice, lexical transfer is not ruled out:

/dawa:/ (medicine) is sometimes used in LCA in reference to /sama:d ki:ma:wi:/

(chemical fertilizer).

(6) ...may be there is a <u>stranger</u> [stray] animal in it (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: he looks out for any stray animals that may enter the farm, Item no 173)

In the last sentence of this sample (i.e. (6)), the learner used the noun <u>stranger</u> when the intended meaning required the adjective <u>stray</u>. Among the senses of <u>stranger</u> which is used only as a noun are: 'one who comes from

a foreign place - foreigner', 'not in the place where his home is' etc (WEB)¹ or expressed in other terms, 'a person who is unfamiliar', 'a person in a new or unfamiliar place' (LDCE). Stray, on the other hand, has the senses of 'separated from home or from a group of its kind', 'wandering, lost, misplaced or isolated from the principal body'. Whereas stranger is almost always used of humans, stray is often used in reference to domestic animals, e.g. stray cats, dogs, cows etc. but also can refer to humans, as in a stray child.

From the above senses of <u>stranger</u> and <u>stray</u> it can be deduced that they share some meaning components, e.g. 'not familiar', 'away from home', 'alien' etc. It is this semantic link which seems to have motivated the learner to use <u>stranger</u> to encode a meaning for which <u>stray</u> was the appropriate LI.

Ll-motivated overgeneralization is a remote possibility in this context. Although Arabic /yari:b/ is used as a noun (stranger) and also an adjective (strange), the two concepts in question are lexicalized /yari:b/ (stranger) and /da:l/ (stray).

6.3.1.1.2 Semantic-formal relatedness

The few lexical errors or approximations (only nine in the whole corpus) included under this heading may lend support to the hypothesis that in their attempts to convey meaning L2 learners are sometimes guided by both semantic and formal relatedness (Ringbom, 1978: 87). In other words, the learners' lexical errors in this subcategory can be accounted for in terms of the semantic and formal relatedness between the ULIs and the TLIs in the learners' utterances.²

^{1.} Webster's Third New International Dictionary.

^{2. &#}x27;Formal' will be used throughout in reference to phonological, orthographic and morphological associations between LIs.

From a psycholinguistic point of view, two processes might have taken place in the learner's overgeneralizations: (a) the learner might have acquired the two forms, i.e. the ULI and the TLI and the concepts they denote but because of semantic and formal relatedness he occasionally failed to distinguish them from each other. Thus he used A for B, or vice versa, or (b) faced with the problem of not knowing a particular LI to express a given meaning, the learner fell back on a previously acquired LI which semantically somehow relates to the intended meaning and also happens to have formal resemblance with the TLI.

Therefore, those learners who followed the first process were guided by both semantic and formal relatedness, but those who followed the second process were guided by semantic relatedness on its own. Admittedly, we have no objective criteria for determining by which process the learner could have arrived at a particular ULI. The important point to make is that whatever process the learner followed he was always approximating the target meaning. Furthermore, both processes had similar communicative effects characterized in making wrong lexical choices and violating various restrictions on the use of LIs. Table 14 contains all the LIs which were involved in the learners' overgeneralizations (see Appendix, Items 177-185).

TABLE 14

ULI	TLI	Item No.
complete (v)	complement (v)	177
11 11	n n	178
still	stay	179
realize	recognize	180
discover	uncover	181
joys	toys	182
fee	fine	183
row	roar	184
hard	harsh	185

Samples for analysis:

(1) There is no difference between man and woman each one completes [complements] the next (Topic: emancipation. Intended meaning: there is no difference between men and women. They complement each other, Item no 177; see also 178)

The verbs <u>complete</u> (the ULI) and <u>complement</u> (the TLI) have similar phonological and orthographic forms. They are also semantically related:

<u>complete</u> means 'to make whole or perfect' or 'add what is missing' as in

<u>This coin will complete my son's collection of Roman coins.</u> Complement,

on the other hand, means 'to make complete' or 'form a complement to' (CED)

as in <u>Most applied linguists maintain that contrastive analysis and error</u>

analysis complement each other.

From a psycholinguistic point of view, the learner appears to have lacked knowledge of <u>complement</u> and therefore, in order to encode his message, he used <u>complete</u> which, as has been pointed out, relates to the intended meaning. <u>Complete</u>, besides being more frequent, should have been encountered by the learner in almost every language lesson which in the drill section would contain the phrase <u>complete</u> the following sentences. 1

(2) Every father take his children to the market to choose a clothes and many joys [toys] to play with in the feast (The writer was describing what people do on the 'Feast of breaking the Ramadan fast'. Intended meaning: every father takes his children to the market to choose clothes and toys to play with on the Feast day, Item no 182)

In (2) the intended meaning was 'objects designed (for children) to play with' for which toys is the appropriate LI. Joys and toys have similar phonological and orthographic forms /d3oIz/ and /toIz/ respectively (i.e.

^{1.} In the Am HER WFB complete has a frequency of 1,445 and complement 83.

differ in one phoneme only). There is also a semantic link between them:

joy (uncountable) refers to 'a deep feeling or condition of happiness' (CED)

as in On receiving the news he was full of joy, or (countable) 'someone or

something that causes happiness', e.g. Her children are a great joy to her.

The weak sense relation which seems to have motivated the learner to use joy when he lacked knowledge of toy can be inferred from contexts such as:

Toys are a great joy to children, On seeing the toys I brought her, she was full of joy, etc.

(3) Freddy found the father in a terrible anger and the voice looked like a <u>row</u> [roar] of a lion (The writer was describing the reactions of a father towards a son who had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: Freddy found his father very angry and his voice sounded like the roar of a lion, Item no 184)

In (3), <u>roar</u> is the LI which English speakers would use in reference to 'a loud cry or noise of a wild beast, especially a lion'. <u>Row</u> /rau/ and <u>roar</u> /ro:/ are phonologically similar and have some meaning components in common: <u>row</u> is used in informal situations in the senses of 'a noisy quarrel' and 'a loud sound or noise' (LDCE and WEB) as in <u>Stop making such a row</u>. Therefore both LIs involve 'noise or sound' in some of their applications.

Two plausible explanations of this error are possible: (a) the learner might have lacked knowledge of <u>roar</u> and therefore under the pressure of communicative need resorted to a previously acquired LI, i.e. <u>row</u> which has semantic links with the intended meaning; or (b) the learner might have acquired both LIs but due to formal and semantic proximity he confused their use on the production level.

6.3.1.1.3 Formal relatedness

Under the subcategory of formal relatedness are included those overgeneralizations in which the learners were guided by phonological and orthographic similarity between the ULI and the TLI. This subcategory also includes morphological approximations and instances where, in their attempts to encode messages in the L2, the learners applied previously acquired derivational rules and produced non-existent LIs.

Strictly speaking then, the errors or approximations discussed in this subcategory are not purely lexical. In fact they fall on the borderline between all the linguistic levels. However, it seems useful and relevant to examine in what ways L2 learners exploit formal relations between L2 LIs in their attempts to express meaning and what errors they make in this process.

The contention that our intermediate-advanced learners exploited to the full their partial knowledge of the L2 has already been made. the preceding section it has been shown with sufficient evidence, we hope, that the learners whose written performance is being investigated in this study employed all the types of sense relation holding within the L2 lexical structure for conveying meanings. The same written data provides evidence that the learners occasionally exploited formal relatedness for these same It must be pointed out, however, that instances of resorting objectives. to formal proximity were less frequent than the semantically motivated ones. Moreover, some of the errors in this subcategory were apparently due to the learners' confusion of the forms in question rather than the adoption of communication strategies. In other words, some of the errors listed in this subcategory may be regarded as performance errors since native speakers of English are prone to make them as well.

As has been stated earlier, in discussing aspects of L2 lexical acquisition, we are often concerned with the learners' competence rather than their performance. However, in the assessment of the dichotomy between performance and competence it was pointed out that a hard and fast distinction between mistakes and errors, especially on the lexical level, is not always possible (see 4.2.2.2). Nevertheless, since in L2 teaching and learning we are concerned with the learners' competence and performance and because learning L2 LIs and using them to achieve communicative effectiveness is not restricted to acquiring their semantic reference and collocational ranges but also includes their phonological, orthographic and grammatical forms, it is useful to examine at least tentatively, the learners' performance from these aspects.

From a psycholinguistic point of view the fifty seven errors in this subcategory indicated the following processes:

(i) Phonological relatedness

Table 15 contained all the LIs which were involved in the learners' utterances (see Appendix, Items 186-190).

TABLE 15

ULI	TLI	Item No.
write	right	186
ш	п.	187
wrights	rights	188
weather	whether	189
brake	break	190

Samples for analysis:

(1) I have the <u>write</u> [right] to reject the idea of racial discrimination (The writer was expressing his views about racial discrimination in the USA, Item no 187)

- (2) He went to the boxes of bees to see <u>weather</u> [whether] there was enough honey to be taken (Topic: a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: he checked the bee-hives to see whether there was any honey to be taken, Item no 189)
- (1) and (2) are obviously examples of errors which are made by children learning English as their Ll. The ULI and the TLI in each case are homophones, i.e. /raIt/ and /weðə/ respectively. Because their pronunciation does not conform to their orthographic representation, they are instances of inherent difficulty in English. It is very unlikely that these errors indicate the adoption of strategies for expressing meaning by the learners.

(ii) Phonological, orthographic and morphological approximations

These have been registered where the ULI and the TLI resemble each other phonologically and/or orthographically as well as being in some cases morphologically related. Table 16 contains all the LIs which were involved in the learners' errors (see Appendix, Items 191-222).

TABLE 16

ULI	TLI	Item No.
2.1	7.1	101
quality	equality	191
advance	advice	192
destiny	destination	193
intention	attention	194
feel	fall	19 5
11	11	196
11	"	197
"	"	198
fall	feel	199
fail	fall	200
walk	wake	201
·		202
"	"	203
11	11	204
10 H	11	205
talk	take	206
shock	shake	207
bite	beat	208

ULI	TLI	Item No.
enjoy	join	209
${ t respect}$	react	210
force	face	211
insult	consult, ask, question	212
generate	generalize	213
look for	look after	214
11 11	11 11	215
11 11	11 11	216
look after	look for	217
put on	put up	218
get up to	get in	219
already	ready	220
out of order	an outlaw	221
indeed	in need	222

Samples for analysis:

- (1) All the messages assert the quality [equality] between the human beings without colour considerations (Topic: racial discrimination in the USA. Intended meaning: all religious teachings assert equality between human beings regardless of their colour, Item no 191)
- (2) I got out of the car but she <u>felt</u> [fell] down (The subject's friend fainted while they were driving around, Item no 196)
- (3) Some friends laughed, some other <u>fell</u> [felt] sorry about that bad news (The writer was describing the reactions of a group of friends on a particular occasion, Item no 199)
- (4) I <u>walked</u> [woke, wake] up at 8 o'clock so I <u>walked</u> [woke] my young sister (Item no 203)
 - (5) I shocked [shook] the hand of my friend and I offered him the flowers (Item no 207)
 - (6) When Freddy came back to his home his sister <u>insulted</u> [consulted, asked, questioned] him about his late and then he went to bed (The subject was late one night; his sister questioned him about the cause of his lateness, Item no 212)
 - (7) My grandfather who I lived with was very kind to me. He spent his life <u>looking for</u> [looking after] me (Item no 215)

(8) I have broken the law and became <u>out of order</u> [an outlaw] when I take up the life of crime (The subject had been convicted of theft. He was blaming himself for what he had done, Item no 221)

The above errors form a representative sample of the instances we have attributed to phonological, orthographic and morphological relatedness between It does not seem necessary to examine these errors individually since the relationship between the ULI and the TLI is often evident. most of these errors have in common is that they mostly involve inherently difficult LIs. This is particularly obvious in the case of irregular verbs which have similar phonological and orthographic forms, e.g. fall, feel, take, shake etc. They also included morphologically complex LIs, e.g. look for, look after, put on, out of order etc. With these LIs it can be noticed that the use of a LI A for B was sometimes followed by the reverse process, e.g. feel was used for fall and also fall was used for feel. However, when regular verbs were used for irregular verbs with which they were formally similar, the process was unidirectional. It was the regular verb that was always used in a context where the irregular verb was required. For instance, walked was used for woke, talked for took, shocked for shook etc. but not These errors are apparently the outcome of the learners' overvice versa. generalization of the general rule for the formation of past tense in English, i.e. root + -ed.

From a psycholinguistic point of view it has already been pointed out that most of the instances in this subcategory involved intrinsic linguistic difficulty. Therefore, it may be hypothesized that either the learners confused the ULIs and the TLIs with each other and applied previously learned rules to contexts where they do not hold, or because of formal relatedness some learners might have wrongly established semantic links between the ULIs and the intended meanings. In both cases the learners' errors indicated

incomplete learning of the forms concerned. Although the learners' attempts resulted in unacceptable uses they remain important. They reveal that, given the need to express meaning, some learners are prepared to use morphologically complex and inherently difficult LIs of which they have no firm grasp yet.

(iii) Word class

The errors in this subcategory may legitimately be regarded as more grammatical than lexical. They include instances where the learners did not know the correct grammatical forms of the TLIs and consequently used grammatically related forms. Therefore, the learners may rightly be said to have confused two grammatically related forms rather than used different LIs for each other. Alternatively, it may be argued that some learners exploited morphological relatedness for expressing meaning in the L2. Table 17 contains all the LIs which were involved in the learners' errors (see Appendix, Items 223-234).

TABLE 17

ULI	TLI	Item No.
success	succeed	223
pleasure	pleased	224
lost	loss	225
cooker	cook	226
11	"	227
interesting	interested	228
hot	heat	229
warm	warmth	230
social	society	231
danger	dangerous	232
especially	special	233
theft	thieve, steal	234

^{1.} This is not a complete list of all the instances where the learners failed to give L2 LIs their accurate grammatical forms. It is rather a small sample which has been included to exemplify this type of error.

Although, as can be seen in Table 17, all the learners' errors in this subclass involved using one of the grammatical forms of a LI for another, for instance using a noun for a verb or vice versa, some errors were the outcome of overgeneralizing previously acquired L2 derivational rules. use of cooker for cook (n) which constitutes a very common and systematic error made by Libyan and other learners of English, is a very good example of this: the learners who used cooker in the sense of 'a person who cooks or prepares food' (i.e. cook) were generalizing a previously acquired grammatical rule for deriving nouns in English, i.e. root + er. were not aware that this rule is applied for deriving the noun which refers to 'the apparatus used for cooking' but not the 'person who cooks or prepares food'. L2 learners are also often puzzled by the fact that the addition of the same suffix for deriving nouns in English, i.e. -er to synonymous LIs can result in opposites, e.g. prison and jail are synonymous but prisoner and jailer are not since the former refers to 'the person kept in prison' and the latter refers to 'the person in charge of a prison or prisoners'.

(iv) Derivation of non-existent LIs

This is a process by which some learners under the need to express meaning produced, by overgeneralizing rules for word formation in the L2 and also on the basis of existing LIs, non-existent LIs. The low frequency of these errors in the learners' data confirms the hypothesis that intermediate-advanced learners are less prone to make such errors. At an intermediate-advanced stage learners become aware of most rule restrictions in the L2. Moreover, at this stage, learners have less risk-taking strategies for expressing meaning, e.g. using a superordinate LI or a synonym. Table 18 contains the non-existent LIs produced by the learners and the TLIs (see Appendix, items 235-242).

TABLE 18

ULI	TLI	Item No.
stopless	ceaseless	235
disoptimistic	pessimistic	236
unashamed	revealing, indecent	237
(be in) white list	regain honour, reputation	238
distingation	distinction	239
playings	games	240
prevents (n)	obstacles, obstructions	241
enjoyed (adj)	pleased, happy, joyful	242

Samples for analysis:

- (1) I was very sad, I was very <u>disoptimistic</u> [pessimistic] (The subject was describing his own feelings on a particular occasion, Item no 236)
- (1) exemplifies the instances where a learner overgeneralized an affix for indicating oppositeness and consequently produced a non-existent LI.

 These instances which also apply to Items no 235, 237 and 238, were discussed before as indicators of the learners' recourse to oppositeness of meaning in order to convey meanings for which they did not possess the appropriate LIs (see pp.221-2).
 - (2) The other students also walked and played football and other <u>playings</u> [games] (The subjects were on a picnic in the countryside, Item no 240)
 - (3) I succeeded to make him <u>enjoyed</u> [pleased, happy, joyful].

 After the visiting had finished... (The subject was visiting a friend in hospital, Item no 242)
- In (2) and (3) the learners apparently did not have in their active vocabulary the appropriate LIs games and pleased (or one of its quasi-synonyms) respectively.

In an attempt to encode the intended meaning in (2) the learner nominalized the verb <u>play</u> and produced <u>playings</u> on the model of <u>book</u>:

<u>bookings</u>; <u>meet</u>: <u>meetings</u>; <u>save</u>: <u>savings</u>, etc. Alternatively, the learner's overgeneralization might have derived from Arabic: the verb <u>play</u> in the senses of 'to occupy oneself in (a sport)', or 'amuse oneself in a (game etc)' has its translation-equivalent in Arabic /lasiba/. But while English lexicalizes <u>toy</u> and <u>game</u> which are not morphologically related with <u>play</u>, Arabic has one LI /lusbah/ which shares the same root with /lasiba/ and refers to the meanings covered by <u>toy</u> and <u>game</u>, i.e. a polyseme, thus /lusbatu ttifli/ (child's toy) and /lusbatu kurata lqadami/ (football game). Therefore, we do not only have a case of lexical non-isomorphism but also differences in derivation. The learner might have derived <u>playings</u> on the assumption that <u>play</u> is subject to similar rules of derivation as its Ll translation-equivalent.

Similarly (3) reflects the overgeneralization of a pattern for deriving adjectives in English, as in <u>please</u>: <u>pleased</u>; <u>interest</u>: <u>interested</u>; <u>satisfy</u>: <u>satisfied</u>; <u>neglect</u>: <u>neglected</u> etc. Therefore, by analogy the learner used <u>enjoyed</u> which is the past participle of <u>enjoy</u>. However, even if the learner were to derive the correct adjective, i.e. <u>enjoyable</u>, it would not have been appropriate since it refers to 'the thing or experience that gives joy or pleasantness' rather than describing the feeling itself.

6.3.1.2 Paraphrase and circumlocution

As Dubin and Olshtain (1977: 171) put it:

One of the important characteristics of knowing a language is the ability to paraphrase. If we say something one way in a language in which we are competent, it is almost always the case that we can rephrase or paraphrase the idea: we can say approximately the same thing as far as the meaning of the message is concerned but use different words and different syntactic arrangements.

Moreover, in their view:

An ultimate objective in learning a new language is to reach the stage where the ability to paraphrase operates as surely.

The above extract seems sufficient to explain and indeed define the general linguistic process involved in paraphrase and circumlocution. No attempt will be made here to provide a rigorous distinction between the two operations of paraphrase and circumlocution. For purposes of the present study and those of applied linguistics in general, such a clearcut distinction may not even be required. As Varadi (1980: 63) says, for those purposes the difference between the two linguistic operations may be regarded as:

...one of relative conciseness: while both paraphrasing and circumlocution leave the meaning unaffected, the latter is understood to involve substantial restructuring of the message, often resulting in awkward verbosity. A paraphrase, on the other hand, is a much more felicitous and concise rendition of the original form than is circumlocution, although it is still not a distributional equivalent of the form it replaces.

The following two examples from our corpus may illustrate this difference:

- (1) He gathered the fruit and vegetable which were completely grown.
- (2) He put them in a lesser smaller position among the others.

The first sentence is an example of paraphrase where the meaning of ripe was paraphrased as completely grown, which is as precise as a dictionary definition (see p.271-272). Sentence (2) is an instance of circumlocution that requires considerable reconstruction in order to arrive at the intended meaning which is normally referred to by humiliate, shame, disgrace, bring low etc.

Although the distinction suggested by Varadi is clear enough in principle, with particular reference to learners' interlanguage it may not always be easy to apply in practice. Experience in interpreting and reconstructing the learners' utterances shows that it is not always possible to determine whether substantial reconstructing is involved or not since we have no objective criteria that can enable us to do so. Comparison with

monolingual dictionaries' definitions can be useful in this respect but the strategies and processes used by L2 learners for expressing meaning do not always coincide with the techniques employed by dictionary writers. For instance, where the learner produces a paraphrase or resorts to circumlocution, a dictionary writer may use a quasi-synonym. Moreover, as has been shown, with lexically erroneous utterances, there are often many alternatives to a particular ULI (including paraphrase or circumlocution). For example, in (2) above humiliate, disgrace, shame and bring low were some of the TLIs which could fit the context. Compared to humiliate or disgrace the learner's utterance can be regarded as resorting to circumlocution. If we take bring low as the TLI then it is a paraphrase approximating that of a dictionary definition.

It may be practicable then, to treat both paraphrase and circumlocution as one single linguistic operation involving more or less the same processes and having approximately the same end-product as will be explained shortly.

The contention that paraphrase and circumlocution are important components of the native speaker's lexical competence which play an indispensible role in communication has already been made in the introduction to this chapter. Using this linguistic process, a speaker may refer to things for which he does not know the specific LIs, e.g. unmarried man for bachelor, the thing on your head for hat etc. Circumlocution is also used for reasons related to emotive meaning particularly for euphemism to achieve a pleasanter or less direct reference to something unpleasant, e.g. using he fell asleep for he died. More importantly still, paraphrase and circumlocution are widely deliberately used for purposes of simplification by native speakers, translators, writers of L2 textbooks, simplified readers and dictionaries, as well as by L2 teachers.

It does not seem to need a proof to state that the native speakers of

a language use paraphrase to simplify for children and non-native speakers of their language. For example, the meanings of vet, slice (v), penalty and spinster may be paraphrased as an animal doctor, cut with a knife, punishment for breaking the law and an unmarried woman regarded as being beyond the age of marriage respectively.

In translation, paraphrase and circumlocution are often resorted to by interpreters to transform meanings which are not lexicalized in the target language as well as those for which the translator does not know or fails to recall the appropriate LIs in a particular situation (especially in simultaneous translation).

With reference to compiling dictionaries, the examination of just a few lexical entries in a monolingual dictionary will reveal to what extent lexicographers exploit paraphrase and circumlocution for conveying meanings of LIs in any language.

Within the domain of L2 instruction, paraphrase and circumlocution are also universally used by writers of textbooks and simplified readers, as well as by L2 teachers for two main objectives: (a) to avoid LIs unknown by the learners, and (b) to present new ones. As a matter of fact, in writing L2 textbooks recourse to paraphrase and circumlocution is almost a necessity because the author often works with restricted word lists. Used skilfully, paraphrase and circumlocution can provide useful linguistic techniques for simplifying and conveying meanings. Moreover, they can assist memorization and retention of previously-acquired LIs by providing contexts for their use and drilling.

Finally, with specific reference to L2 learning, of which we are more concerned here, evidence from some of the studies reviewed above (see 4.3.5) and also from the present study indicates that L2 learners resort to paraphrase and circumlocution as one of their fundamental strategies for expressing meaning. In the case of our learners, paraphrase and circumlocution,

in common with overgeneralization, were resorted to under the pressure of communicative need either as a consequence of acknowledged lack of lexical knowledge or for purposes of lexical avoidance. Both types will be exemplified by utterances from the learners' data.

Recourse to paraphrase and circumlocution has many features in common with semantically-motivated overgeneralization: first, the learner's competence in his Ll, as has been mentioned, includes both sense relations and the ability to use paraphrase and circumlocution; second, as in the case of sense relations, paraphrase and circumlocution are widely used by textbook writers, dictionary compilers and teachers in the classroom. In other words, throughout the learning process the learner is familiar with this linguistic operation; third, in relying on paraphrase and circumlocution, the learner exploits his partial lexical resources in the L2 following, more or less, the same process used in overgeneralization, namely, formal replacement. The learner's competence in his L1 helps him only indirectly.

The psycholinguistic processes relating to the learners' resort to paraphrase and circumlocution have already been brought up in the foregoing discussion. These may now be explicitly summed up as follows: faced with the need to express a particular meaning for which he did not know or chose to avoid the appropriate LI, the learner fell back on his lexical resources. Where he found available a semantically related LI which could convey the intended meaning he used it (as has been seen in the preceding subcategories of overgeneralization). On the other hand, if he found that a single LI was not attainable or would be inappropriate in that particular context, he adopted a strategy of paraphrase and circumlocution.

As will become clear from the learners' utterances, paraphrase and circumlocution took the forms of (a) a concise definition approximating that used in a dictionary entry, or (b) an expanded description in which the learner's

own words were used. The first process always enabled the learner to render the intended meaning but still indicated simplification since it would not be used by native speakers in normal situations. The second process often resulted in utterances which presented difficulties in interpretation and reconstruction. Moreover, in a few utterances the elicitation of the intended meaning seemed to require knowledge of the learners' cultural background. To conclude this point then, although all the attempts of using paraphrase and circumlocution to express meaning indicated unnecessary simplification, some utterances were not lexically deviant in any way. On the other hand, others were completely unacceptable from a semantic point of view. Nevertheless, using this strategy, the learner often approximated the intended meaning in varying degrees of accuracy and therefore, it seems reasonable to refer to the utterances in this category as 'approximations'.

Forty nine firm instances of resorting to paraphrase and circumlocution were registered constituting about 11.6% of the whole corpus and about 17% of the intralingual errors and resort to L2-based strategies.

However, it was hypothesized that intermediate-advanced learners would resort to paraphrase and circumlocution as one of their strategies for expressing meaning because their competence in the L2 would enable them to do so. Moreover, free production on a wide range of topics seems to have provided a suitable method for investigating recourse to this strategy. The learners were in no way deterred from using this strategy whenever they needed. Other methods of elicitation may not allow the learner to resort to paraphrase and circumlocution as freely. For instance, Levenston and Blum (1977) admit that sentence completion by using single LIs in the spaces left in the test sentences which was their technique of studying lexical simplification, did not allow the learner to adopt a strategy of paraphrase and circumlocution. It would be interesting to find out to what extent L2

learners make use of the strategy of paraphrase and circumlocution in other tasks which seem to allow recourse to this strategy, such as picture description and translation into the L2.

Table 19 contains the learners' approximations and the TLIs (see Appendix, Items 243-291).

TABLE 19

ULI	TLI	Item No
completely grown	ripe	243
grown up	"	244
sea clothes	swimming costumes, beach wear	245
playing thing	toys	246
uncle's daughter	cousin	247
problems of money	financial problems	248
man of a middle age	middle-aged man	249
to put under sand in a grav	e to bury	250
set in his mind	decide, determine	251
place of animals	stable, sheep-fold, cowshed	252
opposite of	against	253
oil trees	olive trees	254
with each other	together	255
white clothes	uniforms	256
come in front of	cross, have access to	257
doctor of animals	vet	258
husband ofmother	stepfather	259
11 11 11	" "	260
boxes of bees	bee-hives	261
heavy with population	heavily-populated	262
a house bread	home-made bread	263
have a narrow mind	be narrow-minded	264
not eat or drink	to fast	265
prevent about the eating		-
and drinking	11 11	266
leave the eat and drink	11 11	267
cannot eat anything or drink	x " "	268
put in a lesser smaller	humiliate, dishonour, shame,	269
position	bring low	
put in a low position	humiliate, dishonour, shame,	270
The same and production	bring low	
make feel with shame	humiliate, dishonour, shame,	271
	bring low	
fall down with shame	humiliate, dishonour, shame,	272
	bring low	•
make down in the society	humiliate, dishonour, shame,	273
	bring low	
make in a bad case and		
force to	tempt	274
take care of	accept	275
take all the anger in the	accopo .	-17
chest out	release (anger)	276

ULI	TLI	Item No.
to believe in his father's		
helping	depend on his father	277
be not condemned with the		
police	released, freed, not imprisoned	278
have a rough pass	scrape through, just pass	279
out of her sense	unconscious, senseless	280
little time	short while	281
approaching together	similar	282
open lands	countryside	283
do a big fault	commit a serious crime	284
give salute together	congratulate each other	285
to treat with	participate, take part, help	286
take her hand	ask for her hand in marriage	287
lines of water	water pipes	288
socialist devices	social ability	289
without following an	-	
indirect way	clearly, directly	290
badly manners	theft, crime	291

Samples for analysis:

- (1) He gathered the fruit and the vegetable which were <u>completely</u> grown [ripe] to take them to the market (Topic: a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: he gathers the ripe fruit and vegetables to take them to the market, Item no 243; see also 244)
- (2) He call the doctor of animals [vet] if any of the animals is a patient (Topic: a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: he calls the vet if any of the animals on the farm falls sick, Item no 258)
- (3) How can I get it out of the stable to put it under sand in a grave [bury it] (The writer was referring to a cow that had died, Item no 250)
- (1), (2) and (3) are examples of paraphrases which approximated closely to dictionary definitions in accuracy. Lacking the TLIs <u>ripe</u>, <u>vet</u> and <u>bury</u> respectively the learners resorted to paraphrase to convey the intended meanings. If we compare their paraphrases to dictionary entries we can find out how successful the learners were in approximating these meanings.

TLI	Learner's approximation	Dictionary definition (LDCE)
ripe	completely grown	(of fruits and crops) fully grown and ready to be taken
vet	doctor of animals	a trained animal doctor
bury	to put under sand in the grave	to put into the grave

- (4) Our God ordered the Islamic people to prevent about the eating and drinking [fast] in this month (Topic: write a letter to an English friend about Ramadan. Intended meaning: God ordered Muslims to fast during this month, Item no 266; see also 265, 267 and 268)
- (4) exemplifies the learners' paraphrasing of the meaning of the verb fast in the sense of 'to abstain from eating food...especially as a religious observance'. Most of the learners who had written about Ramadan seemed to have lacked this LI which was essential for the field of discourse. The learners therefore were compelled to paraphrase or use circumlocution. In their attempts, the learners achieved varying degrees of accuracy: for instance to prevent about the eating and drinking is lexically erroneous but we cannot eat or drink until... is concise enough to almost conceal the fact that the learner was using a communication strategy.
 - (5) I arrived home and my girl friend was <u>out of her sense</u> [unconscious, senseless] (The writer's friend fainted while they were driving around, Item no 280)
- (5) is an example of using paraphrase and circumlocution inaccurately, a process which can lead the learner to convey a meaning different from the one he intended. The intended meaning in the learner's utterance was 'the condition of being unable to understand what is happening' or 'lacking normal sensory awareness of the environment' (CED) for which unconscious and senseless are normally used. However, the learner either attempted to

paraphrase <u>senseless</u> or use circumlocution and produced <u>out of...senses</u> which out of the total discourse would be interpreted to mean that the subject has gone mad.

(6) He was very pleased to announce my engaging to my <u>uncle's</u> <u>daughter</u> [cousin] (The writer was describing his father's feeling on announcing his son's engagement to his cousin, Item no 247)

In (6) it can be seen that the learner produced a very accurate paraphrase of cousin. From a psycholinguistic point of view three plausible hypotheses can be made about the learner's utterance: (a) it is possible that the learner did not know cousin and resorted to paraphrase as a strategy of communication; (b) the learner might have translated /bintu l?ami, bintu lxa:li/(lit. daughter of the uncle); and (c) the learner's paraphrase may be regarded as an instance of overdifferentiation due to lexical non-isomorphism between the Ll and the L2: in Arabic there is no single LI for the relations referred to by English cousin but more specific phrases are used as can be seen below. The learner might have felt that cousin was ambiguous and did not convey the intended meaning.

English	Arabic
	/?ibnu/ (son)
cousin	/bintu/ (daughter) / Sammah/ (father's sister) /xa:lah/ (mother's sister)

(7) We find him gives a water to the trees and he carrying the <u>lines of the water</u> [water pipes] from this place to the other (A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: the farmer waters the trees and moves the water pipes from one place to another, Item no 288)

The circumlocution in (7) is of the type that requires familiarity with the learner's culture for inferring the intended meaning and reconstructing

the learner's utterance. On a Libyan farm water pipes, often made of light metals, are used to water the trees and crops. The learner wanted to express this meaning while he lacked the LI <u>pipes</u>. He resorted to circumlocution and produced <u>lines of water</u> which may not be easily understood by someone who had no experience with the learner's environment. The motivation for using <u>lines</u> for <u>pipes</u> is obvious: 'water pipes' stretch in straight lines on a farm.

(8) He put them in a lesser smaller position [humiliated, dishonoured, shamed them, brought them low] among the others (The subject was a boy who had been convicted of theft, an action which had its effects on his family's reputation, Item no 269 and also 270-3)

In order to convey the general meaning referred to by <u>humiliate</u>, <u>dishonour</u>, <u>shame</u>, <u>bring low</u>, etc which they did not possess in their active vocabulary, the learners resorted to a strategy of paraphrase and circumlocution: <u>put in a lesser smaller position</u>, <u>put in a low position</u>, <u>make feel with shame</u>, <u>fall down with shame</u> and <u>make down in society</u>. As can be seen, this strategy enabled the learners to approximate the target meaning in varying degrees of accuracy.

(9) Now Libya produces wheat...and the desolate ground removes to green ground and becomes heavy with population [heavily populated] (Topic: the Green Revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: the desolate land turns to green land and becomes heavily populated, Item no 262)

The paraphrasing of <u>heavily populated</u> as <u>heavy with population</u> in (9) is interesting. The learner's use indicates that he had encountered this fixed expression but he did not acquire its correct form to be able to use it on the production level. Being of the overconfident type of learner, he used a paraphrase which, though formally erroneous, approximated the intended

^{1.} For the other lexical errors in this utterance see p.291.

meaning.

- (10) His reaction made the son felt that he had done a big fault [committed a serious crime] (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: the violent reaction of the father made the son feel that he had committed a serious crime, Item no 284)
- (10) is an example of how far the learner is ready to simplify in order to encode his messages. It can be seen that simplification through formal replacement was applied to three LIs in the utterance: do was used in the sense of commit, big in the sense of serious and fault in the sense of crime. The sense relations between these pairs of LIs helped the learner to use circumlocution: do and commit are in a superordinate-hyponym relationship (see p.212) big and serious are quasi-synonyms and fault and crime are weakly semantically related, having the meaning component 'something wrong or undesirable' in common.

6.3.2 Ll-based strategies: lexical language transfer

In this section of our study we will examine those strategies and processes which indicated the learners' resort to parts of their L1 lexical structure in their attempts to express meaning in the L2. As with the preceding L2-based strategies and processes our means of investigating the learners' recourse to lexical language transfer is the learners' own interlanguage or, more specifically, the lexically erroneous parts of their performance represented in 131 deviant utterances.

The notions of 'transfer' and 'interlingual interference' have been generally discussed in earlier parts of this thesis. In almost all the studies reviewed in chapter four 'negative transfer' (interference), has been reported in varying proportions as one of the most important causes of error

in L2 learning. It has also been pointed out that not all psychologists and applied linguists view interlingual errors in the same way: proponents of CA as the predictor of errors and areas of difficulty in L2 learning regarded the learner's errors as persistent habits of his L1 that need to be stamped out by all means. On the other hand psychologists who have adopted the view that language learning is a creative, rule-governed process have accepted errors, including the interlingual type, as useful insights into "...how the learner is setting about the task of learning..." (Corder 1976: 11) and attempting to achieve communicative effectiveness in the L2. The review of the literature on interlanguage has shown, we hope, that the latter attitude towards the learner's errors has been gaining stronger ground in applied and psycholinguistics. The phenomenon of transfer is not then, a matter of dispute but the explanations are various (Corder 1973a: 284).

We now turn to defining lexical language transfer and discussing the ways in which this phenomenon manifests itself on the lexical level.

With particular reference to L2 lexical acquisition, transfer may be defined as:

...attributing to a lexical item of the second language all the functions - referential and conceptual meaning, connotation, collocability, register-restriction - of its assumed first language translation equivalent... (Blum and Levenston 1978: 409)

One may add that lexical language transfer may take the form of literal translation of Ll habitual collocations, idioms and proverbs and of rendering Ll LIs unchanged into the L2, a process known in interlanguage studies as 'language switch'. The above definition of lexical transfer accounts for

^{1.} The relationship between learning and communication strategies has been mentioned above (see 4.3.2). It is important to note here that Corder (1978a: 85-6) suggests a distinction between transfer features in utterances which may be the result of either a restructuring process or a creative learning process, and borrowed features, which are the result of a communication strategy. In his view, we can distinguish between the two in terms of the systematic nature of transfer features and the nonce occurrence of borrowings.

instances of lexical overgeneralization deriving from the characteristics of the LL. As Corder (1973a: 289) puts it: "...the learner may assign an item to a class on the analogy of the assignment in the mother tongue".

This type of LL-motivated overgeneralization is exemplified in our learners' data by the errors in which the learners extended the semantic and syntactic ranges of L2 LIs on the model of those of L1 LIs (see 6.3.2.1).

In the preceding section on L2-based strategies and processes it has been demonstrated with sufficient evidence that our intermediate-advanced learners exploited their incomplete lexical competence in many ways for communicative purposes. Through the analysis of their interlingual errors we intend to examine in this section in what ways they made use of features of their L1 lexical structure for similar objectives.

The view that the L2 learner's lexical competence is incomplete throughout the learning stages has already been expressed in the introduction to this chapter. As explained by Corder (1975b: 412) this implies that the learner "...cannot use his interlanguage for all the communicative needs which he has as a native speaker of his mother tongue". Therefore, faced with an urgent need to express meaning beyond the bounds of his L2 lexical competence the learner has to resort to previous knowledge including that of the L1. To put it another way, some of the rules the learner already knows are used in the production as well as the understanding of the L2 (Corder 1973a: 132). As Corder (ibid) puts it:

This is what is meant by 'transfer'; learners transfer what they already know about performing one task to performing another and similar task.

The parts of learners' interlanguage which show characteristics of their Ll, are a vivid proof of resorting to this strategy.

The learner's recourse to his L1 where its categories coincide with those of the L2 results in what has been called 'positive transfer' which does not cause errors or hinder communication. On the other hand, resorting to the L1 where there is no punctual lexical correspondence between its categories and those of the L2 often results in the so-called 'negative transfer' and production of errors. It is here, therefore, where the abovementioned instances of lexical non-isomorphism (see 3.4) become relevant.

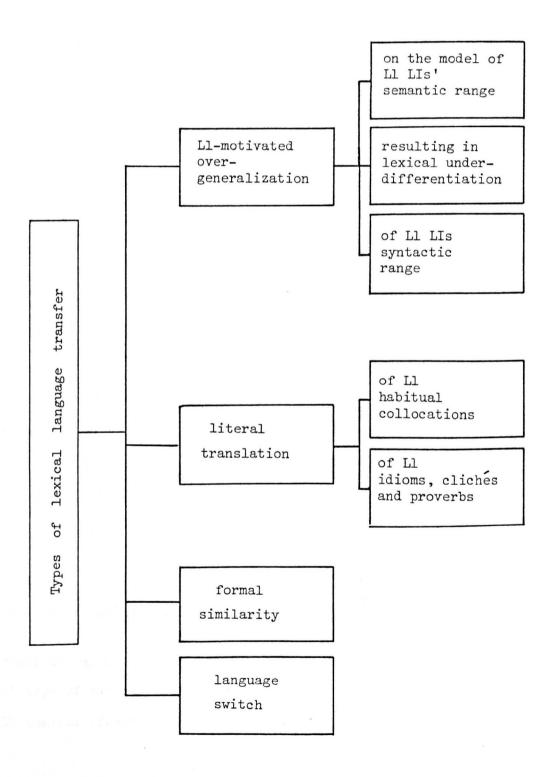
Resorting to features of the L1 where there is a difference between the semantic and syntactic ranges of LIs or in the lexicalization of concepts, collocation and register often leads the learner to produce lexically erroneous utterances. The features that are categorized differently will tend to be replaced by corresponding features from the learner's L1. The instances of transfer themselves remain important in that they provide insights about the learner's efforts to overcome deficiencies in his knowledge of the L2 with reference to the messages he intended to convey.

In attempting to classify the 131 lexical errors which manifested characteristics of the learners' L1 it has been possible to allocate them to the subcategories or types of lexical language transfer shown in Diagram 2. Table 20 shows the number of errors in each of the four principal types of lexical language transfer.

TABLE 20

Subcategory	Ll-motivated over- generalization	literal translation	formal similarity	language switch
Number of errors	57	61	14	9

DIAGRAM 2



From a quantitative point of view it can be seen that the interlingual type of errors in our learners' corpus were less frequent than the intralingual type, accounting for about 31% of the total number of utterances. However, for the reasons outlined in the introduction to this chapter, these figures should only be taken as approximate indicators of the learners' tendencies. Nevertheless, the preponderance of the intralingual type of errors seems to indicate the learners' tendency to rely on their partial knowledge of the L2 more than on transfer or borrowing from their L1. The implications of this trend are discussed below (see 7.1.3).

Table 20 also shows that for our intermediate-advanced learners literal translation and Ll-motivated overgeneralization were the most frequently used Ll-based strategies for expressing meaning. Formal similarity and language switch, as hypothesized, were the least used strategies. These tendencies have their psycholinguistic and pedagogical implications which will be examined in a forthcoming chapter (see 7.1.2).

In what follows we will take each of the above types of lexical language transfer separately and examine samples of the learners' performances exemplifying them. This, we hope, will enable us to discover the processes the learners followed in exploiting their L1 lexical structure in their attempts to express themselves in the L2. Sufficient examples will be analysed to pinpoint these processes and their communicative effects. It must be pointed out, however, that our analyses of L1 LIs and their L2 equivalents will be confined to the meanings in question, i.e. those intended in the learner's utterance.

6.3.2.1 Ll-motivated overgeneralization

6.3.2.1.1 Transfer of Ll LIs' semantic range onto L2 LIs

The first type of overgeneralization that seems to have derived from the learners' Ll lexical structure is the transfer of Ll LIs' semantic range

trasfur of Linto LZ

onto their L2 translation-equivalents in other contexts. This took place when the learners attributed, by guessing, to the L2 LIs all the conceptual and connotative meanings of the L1 LIs. In other words, the learners, assuming the identity of the L1 and L2 lexical structures, extended the ranges of application of the L2 LIs on the model of their L1 translation-equivalents with reference to other meanings. This type of transfer took place in using non-technical vocabulary where punctual lexical correspondence does not normally exist. Moreover, although this type of transfer occurred in instances where the semantic ranges of the L1 and L2 L1s do not coincide, it seemed more frequent in cases where the semantic range of the L1 LIs is greater than their assumed L2 equivalents. The end-product of the learners' recourse to this strategy was the application of the L2 LIs to contexts where they were unacceptable or inappropriate and producing unusual collocations in the L2.

This type of transfer has been reported in many of the studies reviewed above, particularly by Arcaini (1968), Hocking (1973), Jain (1974), Selinker et al (1975), LoCoco (1976b), Tarone et al (1976), Levenston and Blum (1977 and 1978) and Ringbom (1978). The sixteen firm instances of transferring Ll LIs' semantic range onto L2 LIs lend support to the above authors' findings. Table 21 contains the ULIs and the TLIs involved in this type of lexical transfer (see Appendix, Items 292-307).

TABLE 21

ULI	TLI	Item No.
run " spend pay oven ride	drive " say, offer up " bakery got in, get inside	292 293 294 295 296 297

⁽¹⁾ In scientific terminology, on the other hand, there is often identity of semantic range of application between Ll LIs and their translation-equivalents in the L2 and, therefore, this type of transfer is not so common.

ULI	TLI	Item No.
open	switch, turn on	298
stand up	wake up, get up	299
papers	cards	300
read	study, attend	301
"	study	302
11	"	303
cook	dish, type of food	304
cooking	dish	305
country	town, city centre	306
paper	note, message	307

Samples for analysis:

(1) My friend...told that she did not <u>run</u> [drive] fast once again (The writer's friend had had an accident and resolved not to drive fast again, Item no 292, see also 293)

The learner's use of <u>run</u> in this context shows evidence of lexical language transfer: in MSA and LCA /3ara:/ is used basically in the sense of <u>run</u> and both LIs have their first meaning as 'to go by moving the legs quickly, go faster than a walk' (WEB). However, both LIs are polysemes and their ranges of application are not co-terminous. One of the uses of /3ara:/ in LCA is 'to move fast with a vehicle' which was transferred onto <u>run</u>. Of course, <u>run</u> can be used in the sense 'to cause a vehicle to advance quickly' as in <u>I'll run the car into the garage</u>, a meaning of which the learner presumably was not aware. Moreover, in this use, <u>run</u> is always followed by 'a nounlike expression' in position 3 as a direct object. Therefore, by using <u>run</u> on the model of /3ara:/ in this context, the learner failed to attend to the syntactic restrictions on its use.

(2) He <u>spend</u> [says, offers up] his prayers and eating his breakfast (Topic: a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: he offers up his prayers and takes his breakfast, Item no 294)

The use of <u>spend</u> in (2) exemplifies the phenomenon of 'overindulgence (see pp.303-4) /qada:/ which is the translation-equivalent of <u>spend</u> in the

sense of 'pass (time) in a specific way, activity, place etc' (CED) as in /qaḍa: ?iʒa:zatahu fi: lʌndən/ (he spent his holidays in London), /qaḍajna: ʃahran fi: ṭara:bulasa/ (we spent a month in Tripoli) etc. is also used in the sense of 'perform or execute a duty'. In this sense it pertains more to the religious register as in for example, /qaḍa: farḍahu/ (he executed his religious duty), /qaḍa: sala:tahu/ (he said or offered up his prayer), spend is not used with this meaning. The learner's attempt to extend its semantic range to this meaning ended up in the production of the deviant collocation spend prayers.

In everyday life situations, Arabic speakers use /salla:/ (to pray) or /?adda ssalata/ (perform or offer up a prayer). /qada:/ is used in the highly formal type of style. The transfer of its meaning to the L2 by using spend may, therefore, indicate overindulgence characterized in the search for highly-flown forms under the influence of the L1.

- (3) We sometimes <u>open</u> [switch on, turn on] the radio and listening sweet music (Intended meaning: we sometimes switch on the radio to listen to the music, Item no 298)
- In (3) open the radio is a word-for-word translation of LCA /fatah arra:dju:/. 1 /fataha/ is the translation-equivalent of open as in /fataha lba:ba/ (to open the door) /fataha maktaban/ (to open an office). Lacking knowledge of switch on, turn on which native speakers of English would use in this context, the learner used open assuming that it has the same semantic range as /fataha/.
 - (4) At first days I felt ashamed because it was the first time I <u>read</u> [had studied] with boys (The subject was a female student describing her first day at university. Intended meaning: I felt shy because it was the first time I had studied with male students, Item no 303).²

^{1. /}miðja: ?/ is the Arabic translation-equivalent of radio but its use is restricted to MSA and scarcely used in LCA.

^{2.} The erroneous use of <u>ashamed</u> in this utterance has been discussed above, see pp 241-242.

In (4) read was used to convey a meaning for which study is the appropriate LI. Arabic lexicalizes both /qara?a/ (to read) and /darasa/ (to study). However, in LCA the verb /gara:/(i.e. the colloquial form of /qara?a/) is used in the senses of (a) 'to read', i.e. 'to understand written language or to say or recite what is written' and (b) 'to study' or 'attend at any educational institution for learning'. Thus, /gara likta:b/ (he read the book) and /jagra fi lmadarsa/ (he attends or goes to school) are both used in LCA.

In English the verb <u>read</u> is used transitively in the sense of 'to study' but its reference is restricted to the university level as in <u>John is reading Law at Cambridge</u>. If the learner had attempted to use <u>read</u> in this sense, he obviously violated the syntactic restrictions on its use but we can probably assume that the learner did not know this use of <u>read</u> anyway.

(5) All the family sit by the table...there is a cooking [dish] called sharba, it is the best thing to eat before the dinner (The writer was describing a Libyan dinner. Intended meaning: we sit at the table and have soup first. It is the best thing to eat before the main course, Item no 305)¹

Lacking dish in his productive vocabulary, the learner derived cooking which is non-existent with reference to this meaning. Cooking is only used as a verbal noun (gerund) or as an adjective in the sense of 'something suitable or used in cooking as in, for example, cooking apples, cooking cheese etc.

It is on the model of the Ll (tabi:x/ (an article of cooked food or dish) which is derived from /tabaxa/ (to cook) that the learner derived cooking as a noun in order to express the intended meaning.

(6) I take my brothers to the <u>country</u> [town or city centre] and buy them some new clothes (The subject was describing what he does on the days preceding the Feast, Item no 306)

^{1.} The other lexical errors in this utterance are accounted for under other subcategories, see 6.3.2.4 and p. 224 and p. 314.

In (6) the learner seems to have transferred the meaning of the LCA/bla:d/ used (in Tripoli only) as a polyseme: with the senses (a) 'country' with reference to 'a nation or a state with its people and land' and (b) 'town or city centre'. It is the latter meaning that the learner attempted to convey by using country which it does not cover and, therefore, is unacceptable. In fact in one of its uses country denotes the opposite of the meaning intended in the learner's utterance, namely, 'land outside cities' for which Arabic /ri:f/ is used.

The learner's use of <u>country</u> shows that he lacked knowledge of <u>city</u>

<u>centre</u> or <u>town centre</u> and, of course, was not aware that /bla:d/ (or MSA

/bila:d/) and <u>country</u> only coincide in their primary meaning indicated under

(a) above.

6.3.2.1.2 <u>Ll-motivated overgeneralization resulting in lexical</u> underdifferentiation

The notion of 'underdifferentiation' has been introduced by Levenston (1971) to account for L2 learners' tendency to generalize one L2 form or rule to cover the uses of two or more because of non-isomorphism between their L1 and the L2.

Underdifferentiation is used in this study as explained by Kapper (1979: 270), i.e. not as a communication strategy itself, but rather as a product of a transfer strategy which is inferrable from such a product.

Moreover, it must be pointed out that although we have decided to treat the errors which showed the learners' inability to differentiate in the L2 under L1-based strategies, overgeneralization resulting in lexical underdifferentiation may rightly be regarded as falling on the borderline between L1 and L2 based strategies. In effect it takes place in the L2 and involves two or more forms being quasi-synonymous or somehow overlapping in meaning. From a psycholinguistic point of view, the process of overgeneralization derives

from the learner's L1 because the meanings in question are lexicalized differently in its structure.

This type of Ll-motivated overgeneralization has been reported as one of the causes of lexical errors in L2 by many authors, for example, Levenston (1971), Sah (1971), Corder (1973a), Hocking (1973) and George (1972). The 32 lexical errors registered in our learners' corpus support the findings of these studies. Taking into consideration the fact that these errors occurred in data obtained through free spontaneous production, their frequency seems significant. It may be hypothesized that this type of error will be even more frequent in data obtained through other techniques of elicitation, especially those which force the learner to make lexical choices from a finite set of LIs and in which resorting to other strategies is minimized or eliminated, for instance, sentence completion using single LIs.

Theoretically, overgeneralization resulting in lexical underdifferentiation is said to take place in instances where the L1 and the L2 lexical structures are non-isomorphic. In practice, as will be shown in the analysis of a sample of the learners' lexical errors in this subcategory, overgeneralization seems more likely where the L1 has one LI for a given concept or meaning while the L2 has two or more LIs, i.e. in instances of one-to-many correspondence. Although underdifferentiation occurred in instances of many-to-many correspondence as well, the underdifferentiated LIs more often were those which had a smaller number of equivalents in the L1. This seems to confirm the hypothesis that where the LI has a lesser number of equivalents, the learner will have difficulty in differentiating between L2 LIs and wrong lexical choices will take place on the production level.

On the other hand, where it is the L1 which has two or more LIs for a particular concept and the L2 has only one LI the learner will have difficulties

on the reception level. Arab learners of English often find English uncle, aunt, man etc which have two equivalents each in Arabic, not specific enough to express the meanings involved. Uncle, for example, does not specify whether it is the 'father's brother' or the 'mother's brother' that is being referred to.

The analysis of samples of the learners' actual performance will reveal, we hope, in what ways their Ll influenced the lexical choices they made in cases of lexical non-isomorphism and the effects of this type of overgeneralization on the communicative value of the learners' utterances. Table 22 contains all the LIs which were involved in this subcategory (see Appendix, Items 308-340).

TABLE 22

ULI	TLI	Item No.
walk	go, drive	308
11	drive	309
drive	fly, pilot	310
stop	take a stand	311
make	do	312
11	u .	313
do	make, prepare	314
sink	drown	315
spot	stain, smirch	316
remove	turn	317
address	title, name	318
turn	role	319
force	strength	320
power	11	321
old	ancient	322
demand	application	323
11 147	11	324
once	time	325
"		326
trace	effect	327
work	action	328
earth	land	329
ground	11	330
11	11	331
case	state, condition, position	332
toys	games	333
illness	patient, the sick	334
patient	sick	335
level	standard	336
.11	"	337
fast	high speed, driving fast	338
fastly	quickly	339
careless	neglected	340

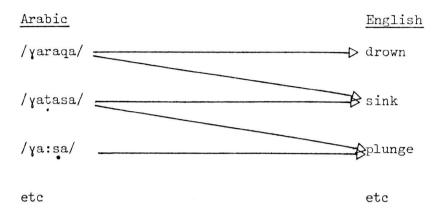
Samples for analysis:

(1) While we are <u>walking</u> [going, driving] we see the building and trees. The road is long and straight (The subjects were a family going for a picnic in a motorcar, Item no 308, see also 309)

Generalizing <u>walk</u> to a context where <u>go</u> or <u>drive</u> was required in (1) shows evidence of L1-motivated overgeneralization: in LCA /masa:/ is used both in the sense of <u>walk</u> and also <u>go</u>, i.e. as a hyponym and as a super-ordinate LI respectively. Of course, in contexts where it is used in the sense of <u>go</u> it is not marked for the means of movement and is applied in contexts where this means is a motorcar. MSA lexicalizes both concepts as /masa:/ (walk) and /ðahaba/ (go).

The wrong lexical selection in the learner's utterance appears to have been caused by the learner's identifying of walk with /masa:/, its equivalent in the sense of 'to move along or travel on foot' and overgeneralizing its semantic reference to all the contexts in which /masa:/ is applied. Although go is acceptable in this context, drive is more specific and more appropriate to refer to a context where the means of movement is a motorcar.

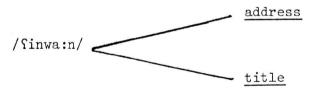
- (2) Of course he was good swimmer so he didn't <u>sink</u> [drown] (Reference was to a particular boy, Item no 315)
- In (2) the learner used <u>sink</u> to convey the meaning 'to suffer death by suffocation under water', for which English speakers would use <u>drown</u>. Here we have an instance of many-to-many correspondence between the Ll and the L2 where the semantic spectrum is differently divided between the LIs in each set in the two languages as can be seen below:



The cause of underdifferentiation in the learner's utterance seems to be in the lack of correspondence between the Ll and the L2: /yaraqa/ which can be translated as <u>drown</u> or <u>sink</u>, is used in reference to '- animate' subjects as in, for example, /yaraqa lwaladu/ (The boy drowned) and /yaraqat ssafi:natu/ (The ship sank). In English, although <u>drown</u> and <u>sink</u> in one of their senses share the meaning 'disappear or be under the surface of water', their meanings are clearly distinguished from each other since <u>drown</u> in the sense under consideration implies 'dying' and sink does not.

(3) I saw a very sad film on the TV its <u>address</u> [title, name] was 'The Sadness Woman', Item no 318

Address is unacceptable with reference to a film or a book, but title is the appropriate LI. The learner's Ll has one LI corresponding to both:



The learner, lacking <u>title</u> in his active vocabulary, overgeneralized <u>address</u> on the model of its translation-equivalent in the sense of 'the conventional form by which the location of a building is described' or 'the written form of this, as on a letter or parcel, preceded by the name of the person or organization for whom it is intended' (CED) as in /Sinwa:nu lbajti/ (home address). But /Sinwa:n/ is also used in other contexts where English speakers use title, as in /Sinwa:nu lkita:bi/ (the book title), /Sinwa:nu lmaqa:li/

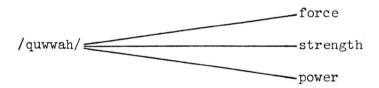
(the article's title).

Another alternative to <u>address</u> in the learner's utterance is <u>name</u> which has its translation-equivalent in Arabic as /?ism/.

(4) That shows us that old people as well gave the games a great importance because they believed that sporting games build body's and mind forces [strength] (Topic: the Olympic Games. Intended meaning: ancient people gave the sports a great importance because they believed that they help build up the body's and mind's strength, Item no 320, see also 321)

The use of <u>force</u> in (4) and also <u>power</u> for <u>strength</u> in item 321, have been partially accounted for above as possible instances of lexical avoidance (see 4.3.4.2).

Another plausible interpretation is that they represent cases of underdifferentiation due to lexical non-isomorphism between the Ll and the L2:



Although some of the above English LIs correspond to other Arabic LIs in some of their senses, for instance, <u>power</u> is translated as /sultah/ in the sense of 'control or influence over others' and /maqdirah/ in the sense of 'ability', in many of their uses, <u>force</u>, <u>strength</u> and <u>power</u> correspond to /quwwah/ as can be seen below:

English	Arabic
military force	/quwwatun Saskarijjatun/
physical strength	/quwwatun badanijjatun/
moral strength	/quwwatun ma\nawijjatun/
purchasing power	/quwwatun ∫ira:?ijjatun/

It is possible, therefore, that the learner having acquired one of these L2 quasi-synonyms as the translation-equivalent of /quwwah/ with reference

to a given meaning and overgeneralized its reference to all the contexts where he would use the LL LI. Needless to say, even if the learner had at his disposal all the three LIs he would have had no criteria for distinguishing the differences in application between them which are mostly on the collocational level (see Halliday 1966: 150-152).

Whether the learner's use is avoidance or Ll-motivated overgeneralization, the end-product was violating the collocational norms on force.

(5) Since the revolution...everything began to change one of this things the <u>earth</u> [land] has become green (Topic: the Green Revolution in Libya, Item no 329)

The use of <u>earth</u> for <u>land</u> in (5) and also <u>ground</u> for <u>land</u> (items 330-1) are obvious instances of underdifferentiation caused by lexical non-isomorphism between English and Arabic. As can be seen below, English <u>earth</u>, <u>land</u> and <u>ground</u> translate into Arabic /?ard/:

English	Arabic
any place on earth	/?ajju maka:nin Sala <u>1?ardi</u>
agricultural <u>land</u>	/?ardun zira: Sijjatun/
he fell to the ground	/waqasa sala <u>1?arqi</u> /

(6) All these changes had led to the rising of living level [standard] and culture <u>level</u> [standard] (Reference was being made to the changes that took place in Libya after the discovery of oil, Item no 337)

The learner's use of <u>level</u> in a context which called for <u>standard</u> in (6) resulted in the production of the deviant collocations <u>living level</u> and <u>cultural level</u>. <u>Standard of living</u> or <u>living standard</u> are the normal collocations in English.

Standard and level are quasi-synonyms in that standard in the sense under consideration means 'a level of excellence or quality' (CED) but the

two LIs have different applications and habits of co-occurrence.

Because of lack of knowledge of <u>standard</u> the learner seems to have identified <u>level</u> with his Ll /mustawa:/ which is applied to contexts in which either <u>level</u> or <u>standard</u> is used as can be seen in the following English phrases and their Arabic translation-equivalents:

English	Arabic
standard of living educational standard	/mustawa lmasi:∫ati/ /mustawa ttasli:mi/
water <u>level</u>	/mustawa lma:?i/

6.3.2.1.3 Transfer of Ll LIs' syntactic range onto L2 LIs

The contention that the native speaker's competence includes implicit knowledge of both semantic and syntactic ranges of LIs of his language and that the restrictions on these ranges are important components which determine their use in various contexts has already been made in an earlier chapter (see 3.4.6).

Our objective in this study, as has been stated elsewhere, centres primarily on aspects of Lexical meaning. Syntactic and other criteria are only brought in where they have direct relevance to the meaning of LIs, particularly where the denotative range of the LIs in question intimately depends on their syntactic functioning. However a clearcut distinction between linguistic levels, especially in the discussion of aspects of meaning, is not always possible (see 2.1.2). Needless to say, in teaching and learning L2 lexical structure, such a distinction may not even be necessary since we are always concerned with all the linguistic properties of LIs.

Within this perspective we will examine some of the instances where the learners, under the pressure of need to express meaning in the L2 transferred the syntactic range of L1 LIs onto corresponding LIs in the L2 and thus violated the relevant restrictions in the L2 itself. By discussing a sample of the learners' errors in this subcategory we hope to draw attention to one of the often overlooked aspects of lexical language transfer (i.e. transferring Ll LIs' syntactic range onto L2 LIs). Table 23 includes all the LIs which were involved in the learners' utterances (see Appendix, Items 341-348).

TABLE 23

ULI	TLI	Item No.
dress (v)	put on	341
study (v)	teach	342
reach (v)	take, drive	343
arrive	take	344
descend	unload	345
relax	comfort	346
feel	make feel	347
enjoy	lead to enjoyment, change for better	348

Samples for analysis:

(1) After that I dressed [put on] my clothes (Item no 341)

In (1) the learner used <u>dress</u> transitively with the noun phrase (NP) <u>my clothes</u> as a direct object and thus violated the syntactic restrictions on its use: <u>dress</u> can be used both transitively and intransitively. Intransitively, <u>dress</u> can be used in the sense of 'put clothes on oneself' or 'clothe oneself', the meaning intended in the learner's utterance as in <u>Mary dressed</u>. In this use <u>dress</u> does not permit any object complement.

When used transitively, <u>dress</u> takes a simple direct object which must be a NP or a pronoun that has the meaning component '+ animate' as in <u>Leila</u> dressed her daughter and Hana dressed her. This means that in this use the

object of <u>dress</u> refers to 'the person on whom the clothes are put' and not 'the clothes themselves'.

Lacking active knowledge of <u>put on</u> which is grammatically inherently difficult, the learner used the quasi-synonym <u>dress</u> but failed to attend to the syntactic restraints on its range. He overgeneralized its reference on the model of the semantically corresponding Ll LIs /labisa/ and /?irtada:/ which are the translation-equivalents of <u>put on</u> and also <u>dress</u> when used intransitively as has been explained above. In common with <u>put on</u>,/labisa/ and /?irtada:/ are used only transitively with reference to this meaning as in, for example: /labisa lwaladu qami:sahu/ (The boy put on his shirt) and /?irtada lʒundijju badlatahu/ (The soldier put on his uniform).

(2) The third film study [teaches] the boys some sport play (The writer was reviewing a film about athletics, Item no 342)

The type of lexical error in (2) is also made by children using their L1 as well. The present writer heard a seven-year-old English child say I'll learn you this game when he meant teach. The use of learn for teach is also widespread amongst people of little formal education, especially in the phrase that'll learn you!.

Study and teach are semantically related: study is used in the sense of 'to apply the mind to the learning or understanding of (a subject) especially by reading' (CED), and teach means 'to give knowledge, skill, lessons or training to someone else'. This shows that the learner generalized the semantic reference of study to a meaning for which it is not applied.

The above semantic relation between <u>study</u> and <u>teach</u> might have motivated the learner's use of <u>study</u> for <u>teach</u>. It is also possible that the teaching technique used in their presentation made the learner confuse them. A further plausible explanation seems to derive from the morphological structure of the translation-equivalents in the learner's L1: in Arabic /darasa/ is the

translation-equivalent of study and /darrasa/ of <u>teach</u>. As can be seen, /darasa/ and /darrasa/ share the same morphological root, i.e. /drs/ from which /dars/ (<u>lesson</u>), /dira:sah/ (<u>study</u>) and /tadri:s/ (<u>teaching</u>) are also derived.

Therefore, it is possible that the learner generalized study on the model of the corresponding Ll LIs in the hope that it would only be slightly different in its orthographic form.

Similar processes seem to have taken place in the learners' use of reach for take or drive (Item no 343), arrive for take (Item no 344) and descend for unload (Item no 345) whose equivalents in Arabic have similar morphological structure, thus:

6.3.2.2 Literal translation

By literal translation is meant the process of transferring Ll habitual collocations, idioms and proverbs word-for-word into the L2. As is usual in this type of translation, changes in conformity with the L2 grammar are sometimes made but lexically the utterance tends to remain word-for-word (Catford, 1965: 25).

Instances of resorting to literal translation, in common with other types of lexical language transfer, are evidence of the learner's attempts to realize in the L2 his intentions and meanings in the same way as in his L1. From a pedagogical point of view, the learner's attempts indicate that at an intermediate-advanced stage the learner is at pains to use highly complex

LIs including idiomatic expressions and proverbs. The implications of this will be considered later (see 7.3.5.5).

Literal translation of L1 habitual collocations, idioms and proverbs seems to constitute one of the important components of L1-based strategies. Yet, it has received relatively little attention in EA and interlanguage studies. This is not surprising since, as has been seen above, most studies do not go into the subclassification of interlingual errors or the investigation of the various processes involved in the types of lexical language transfer. Nevertheless, in a few studies, literal translation has been explicitly reported as one of the strategies learners employ for expressing meanings in L2 (see 4.3.5).

For our intermediate-advanced learners whose Ll is unrelated to the L2, literal translation accounted for about 46% of the instances of lexical language transfer and about 14% of the total number of lexical errors and approximations. In Ervin's study which dealt with the strategies of American learners of Russian, literal translation accounted for 7% of the 261 instances of strategy use (Ervin 1979: 332).

On examining the 61 firm instances of resorting to literal translation it was found that they could be further subdivided into two main subcategories:

(i) literal translation of Ll habitual collocations, and (ii) literal translation of Ll idioms, clichés and proverbs.

6.3.2.2.1 Literal translation of Ll habitual collocations

(i) Collocations with make and do

Twenty five of the sixty one instances of literal translation involved habitual collocations in which <u>make</u> and, less frequently, <u>do</u> were used. The preponderance of <u>make-do</u> collocations can be readily attributed to the fact that the equivalents of these two verbs in MSA and LCA, as in English, are very frequent and used habitually in many collocations pertaining to

everyday life situations as will be explained presently. 1

Table 24 contains the ULIs which involved <u>made/do</u> collocations in the learners' utterances and their approximate equivalents in the L2 (see Appendix, Items 349-372).

TABLE 24

ULI	TLI	Item No.
make a very small party	have a very small party	349
make a small party	have a small party	35 0
make a party	have a party	351
III II II	II II II	
11 11 11	11 11 11	352 353
make a good party	house a good neath	354
	have a good party	
make a big party	have a big party	355
make a dush (i.e. douche: shower)	have/take a shower	356
make sunbaths	have, take sunbaths	357
make a bath	have, take a bath	358
make a sunbath	have, take a sunbath	359
make an accident	have an accident	360
make accident	11 11 11	361
make a crash	cause, have a crash	362
make a picnic	go for a picnic	363
11 11 11	11 11 11 11	364
make the visa	get the visa	365
11 11 11	11 11 11	366
make a sports' week	have, organize a sports' week	367
do an operation	operate on	368
do an accident	have an accident	369
do a shower	have/take a shower	370
do parties	have parties	371
" "	" " "	372

The above lexical errors are sufficient to confirm the considerable difficulty the learners had in producing collocations which conveyed their intended meanings. In all their attempts the learners produced strikingly deviant collocations in the L2.

Both <u>make</u> and <u>do</u> which overlap in meaning in the sense of 'carry out or effect' have one translation-equivalent in LCA /da:r/. Lexical under-

⁽¹⁾ In a short report on the areas of difficulty for the Libyan learner of English prepared for the British Council, Libya, Evans and Werth (1968-9) list some errors involving collocations with <u>make</u> and <u>do</u> without accounting for them.

differentiation takes place in the learners' use of the two verbs as a consequence of this instance of lexical non-isomorphism (see Items 312-4).

The learners' errors in this subcategory indicate that in contexts where the appropriate translation-equivalent of the LCA /da:r/ is a LI other than make or do the learner's task is made much more difficult. Unless the learner has acquired the L2 habitual collocation in question, he is more likely to produce a deviant collocation because neither make nor do which have been acquired as the equivalents of /da:r/ (or MSA /Samila/, /faSala/ or /sanaSa/) will be acceptable. Therefore, the errors in this subcategory cannot be attributed to L1-motivated overgeneralization since the semantic range of the L1 LI is not covered by its L2 dictionary equivalents but rather by a habitual collocation in which words other than make and do are used.

The learners' errors, therefore, can only be attributed to the lack of knowledge of the habitual collocations used with the intended meanings. This lack of knowledge made the learners resort to literal translation using L2 dictionary equivalents for their Ll LIs. As their utterances show, the learners often conformed to the grammatical rules of the L2. The following examples from the learners' performances illustrate this:

Learner's interlanguage	Ll (LCA)		L2
We ${\text{made} \atop \text{did}}$ a party	/dirna: (Lit. did we	haflah/ party)	We had a party
We $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{made} \\ \text{did} \end{array} \right\}$ a picnic	/dirna: (Lit. did) we	zarda/ picnic)	We went for a picnic
I made a bath	/dirt (Lit. did) I	hamma:m/ bath)	$I \begin{Bmatrix} had \\ took \end{Bmatrix} a bath$
$ He \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{made} \\ \text{did} \end{array} \right\} $ an accident	/da:r $\left(\text{Lit.}_{\text{made}}^{\text{did}}\right)$ he	ha:diθ/ accident)	He had an accident

Learner's interlanguage	Ll (LCA)	L2
We made the visa	/dirna (Lit. made) we	tta:∫i:ra/ the visa)	We got the visa
did an operation	/da:r /ʕamil	Samalijja/	had an operation
	(Lit. did) he	operation)	

(ii) Literal translation of other Ll habitual collocations

This subcategory includes the habitual collocations which were translated literally from the learners' L1 and involved LIs other than <u>make</u> and <u>do</u>.

Table 25 contains all the LIs involved in this subcategory (see Appendix, Items 373-389).

TABLE 25

ULI	TLI	Item No.
close the telephone	hang up, put the receiver down	373
fall in many mistakes	commit many errors, make many mistakes	374 375
wave his hands	wave	376
	go to see a film	377
blood is bleeding	•	378
take a bad idea lunch table	get a bad idea, form a bad opinion dining table	379 380
eating table	II II	381
part of the accidents	casualty department	382
noon news	twelve o'clock news	383
interview examination old man	interview a man, an adult	384 385
built a pure friendship		386
It's 12½ o'clock	it's half past twelve	387
eight and a half		388 389
three hours and a half	three and a nall hours	309

Samples for analysis:

(1) I <u>closed the telephone</u> [hung up, put the receiver down] quickly, bought a bunch of flowers and went directly to the hospital (The subject was told on the telephone that one of his friends had had an accident, Item No. 374, see also 373)

- In (1) <u>closed the telephone</u> is a direct literal translation of the LCA /sakkarta ttalifu:n/ used in contexts where a native speaker of English would use <u>I hung up</u> or <u>I put the receiver down and finished the call</u>. /sakkar/ is the LCA translation-equivalent of <u>close</u> or <u>shut</u> in the sense of 'cause to be not open'. However, neither <u>close</u> nor <u>shut</u> is used in collocation with telephone in this sense.
 - (2) Many parents <u>fall in many mistakes</u> [commit many errors, make many mistakes] of that (i.e. type) but all this refers (i.e. is referred) to the ignorance (The writer was discussing the methods followed by parents in the upbringing of their children, Item no 375)

Following the process of literal translation, the learner produced the lexically deviant utterance <u>fall in mistakes</u> in (2). Arabic /waqa?a/ and its English translation-equivalent <u>fall</u> which have the meanings 'to descend by the force of gravity from a higher to a lower place', 'to drop suddenly from an erect position', 'to collapse to the ground' etc (CED) are used metaphorically in similar contexts such as: /waqa?a fi: hubbiha:/ (he fell in love with her), /waqa?a fari:satan/ (he fell victim) etc. However, there are many contexts where the applications of /waqa?a/ and <u>fall</u> do not coincide, for example, /waqa?at lharbu/ (lit. the war fell, i.e. the war broke out) and also as in the learner's utterance /waqa?a fi lxata?i/ (lit. he fell in the mistake or error, i.e. he committed an error or made a mistake).

Lacking the appropriate L2 collocations the learner translated literally a L1 habitual collocation in the hope it would convey the intended meaning.

- (3) I and my mother prepare the <u>eating table</u> [dining table] (Item no 381)
- In (3) the learner translated literally, while keeping in conformity to the rules of English word order, the Ll habitual collocation /ta:wilatul?akli/ (lit. table of the eating, i.e. dining table). The collocation

/ma:?idatu lsasa:?i/ which is the translation-equivalent of dinner table is also used but its use is confined to formal contexts such as reporting about a dinner party offered in honour of a dignitary. The learner who produced lunch table (Item no 380) probably was transferring this collocation.

(4) I entered in and went to the <u>part of the accident</u> [casualty department] (The subject was visiting a friend in hospital, Item no 382)

Part of the accidents in (4) is a literal translation of the Arabic habitual collocation /qismu lhawa:diθ/ which denotes what is referred to in English by casualty department. The deviant collocation in the learner's utterance is partly attributed to lexical non-isomorphism between the L1 and the L2. As can be seen below, we have a context of many-to-many correspondence with variations in the divisions between the quasi-synonyms covering the semantic spectrum in question. The differences in application between the LIs in each set are mainly collocational:

English	Arabic
department	/qism/
part	/3uz ? /
section	/∫u?bah/
etc	etc

(5) We have <u>built a pure friendship</u> [established a firm friendship] and sincere relations since we were in the secondary school (The subjects were two male students, Item no 386)

The collocation <u>pure friendship</u> in (5) may be interpreted to imply that the subjects were not having a homosexual relationship, a meaning which the learner did not intend to convey. He rather wanted to describe the relationship he had with his friend as 'strong', a meaning for which native speakers of English would use the collocation firm friendship and Arabic speakers

/sada:qatun mati:natun/ or /sada:qatun wati:datun/ (i.e. firm or strong friendship). However, /sa:fi:/ and /xa:lis/ which are the translation-equivalents of <u>pure</u> and <u>clear</u> in the sense 'free from any harmful matter' are also used, especially in the literary register, in many contexts for which <u>pure</u> or <u>clear</u> may not be used as in /sa:fi nnijjati/ (lit. has pure or clear intention, i.e. sincere).

- (6) My father said "Oh it is $12\frac{1}{2}$ O'clock" [half past twelve] (Item no 387)
- (6) is an example of resorting to literal translation under the pressure of need to express meaning while lacking the stereotype expression for telling the time. The learners used 12½ o'clock and eight and a half (Item no 388) under the influence of LCA /tna: wa nus/ (lit. twelve and a half, i.e. half past twelve) and tamanja wanus/ (lit. eight and a half, i.e. half past eight.

6.3.2.2.2 Literal translation of Ll idioms, clickés and proverbs

The linguistic phenomena of idioms, cliches and proverbs have been discussed in an earlier chapter (see 2.3.1.2).

The learners' errors in this subcategory confirm the hypothesis that intermediate-advanced learners strive to use idiomatic and proverbial expressions when expressing themselves in a L2. A free production situation, for instance writing a free composition, offers opportunities for the learners to use such expressions as freely as possible. In the case of our learners, the motivation for using idioms and proverbs derives from their linguistic background. In a diglossic situation, idioms, cliches and proverbs, especially those used in the 'H' variety are highly esteemed. Moreover, in common with other L2 learners, the ability to use idioms and proverbs in a L2 is often considered

^{1.} These errors indicate resorting to literal translation of Ll habitual collocations. Errors in word order occurring in the learners' written data were excluded from the corpus of this study on the assumption that they are more grammatical than lexical.

by teachers and learners as a notable feature of a high degree of competence in that language and knowledge of its speakers' culture.

Of course, where the learners have acquired the idioms in question and also where the L2 translation-equivalents of L1 idioms and cliches are lexically congruent, the learners did not produce errors. Therefore, such instances were not listed in our corpus because: first, they pointed to lack of learning difficulty; second and more importantly, they gave no indication of the strategies and processes by which the learners had arrived at the correct forms. The following are just a few examples of this category:

A house without a wife as a kitchen without a knife.

A woman is working shoulder by (i.e. to) shoulder besides the man.

I lost my temper and could not hold myself.

On the other hand, the twenty errors in this subcategory provided evidence that some learners fell back on literal translation of Ll idioms, cliches and proverbs in order to express meaning in the L2. Literal translation seems to have taken place in (a) where an idiom or a proverb existed in both the Ll and the L2 but was lexicalized in two different ways, and (b) where an idiom or a proverb existed in the L1 but not in the L2, i.e. culture-The former instance indicated lack of knowledge of the L2 LIs bound LI. and the latter showed the learner's inability to distinguish which idioms and proverbs are characteristic only of the Ll. Moreover, the applications of some idioms and proverbs used in the two languages may not always coincide and therefore the learners often transferred Ll specific meanings onto the L2. It can also be seen that some errors did not only show lexical. deviation but also stylistic inappropriateness which can be referred to two main factors:

(a) The first relates to what Levenston (1971) calls <u>overindulgence</u> and Tarone et al (1976) as overelaboration, whereby in an attempt to write

good and idiomatic English, the learner ends up in producing inappropriate utterances.

(b) The second factor relates to the diglossic situation in the L1. Many of the literal translations in this subcategory, especially those made in the topic on 'letter writing' showed the learners' tendency towards the high-flown type of style. This seems to support the hypothesis made by George (1972: 178) that learners whose mother tongues have a distinction between 'high' and 'low' styles "...often bring to English aesthetic views about vocabulary derived from their mother tongue practice".

All the above-mentioned trends will shortly be exemplified from the learners' actual interlanguage. Their pedagogical implications will also be considered in a later chapter in this thesis.

Table 26 contains all the learners' errors in this subcategory and their correct alternatives (see Appendix, Items 390-409).

TABLE 26

ULI	TLI	Item No.
to enter to Stella's heart	to win Stella's heart	390
give his soul	give his life	391
luck laughs at	fortune smiles on	392
take the world easy	take life easily, as it comes, be easygoing	393
I must receive my account	take the punishment I deserve, take my punishment	394
give our hands and legs to the desires of our bodies to lead us	give in to the desires of our bodies	395
walk on the straight line	be well-behaved, be a good girl	396
	feel normal again, save face	397
I hope to meet you in a new letter	I hope to hear from you soon	398
I hope to meet you in another letter	11 11 11 11 11	399
don't prevent us the honour of your coming	do not deprive us the honour of having you	400
have the honour	be honoured, be pleased	401
to remove his tears from his cheek	wipe away the tears, be sympathetic towards, console	402
to swim in an empty circle of thoughts	(my) thoughts are going round in a circle, my head (mind) is in a whirl	403

ULI	TLI		Item No.
train of civilization be in a limited situation, two ways the easiest is	march of civilization be in a dilemma, be between and the deep blue sea	the devil	404 405
very sour be between two things the sweetest is sour	be in a dilemma, be between devil and the deep blue sea	the	406
	two-faced, a wolf in sheeps clothing		407
every great man is followed by a woman	behind every successful man is a woman	there	408
behind each a great man woman	behind every successful man is a woman	there	409

Samples for analysis:

- (1) In spite of the black soldier gave his soul [gave his life] to (i.e. for) his country but he is still called a 'nigger' (Topic: racial discrimination in the USA. Intended meaning: although the blacks gave their lives for their country, they were still being maltreated and called 'niggers', Item no 391)
- (2) I like my aunt very much. She take the world easy [is taking life easily, taking life as it comes, is easygoing] and I like such person (Item no 393)
- (1) and (2) are examples of idioms which have a certain similarity in both English and Arabic but are lexicalized differently. In (1) the learner translated literally /wahaba ru:hahu/ to express the meaning for which English speakers would use give one's life. However, in Arabic too /wahaba haja:tahu/ (donate one's life) is used in this context. Both idioms have the meaning component 'sacrifice' but /wahaba ru:hahu/ (lit. to donate one's soul) is more specific since it necessarily means 'die for a cause' which makes it more appropriate in the learner's utterance.
- In (2) take the world easy is an approximate word-for-word translation of LCA /ja:xud iddinja bibasa:tah/ (lit. take the world with ease). In MSA the idiom /?axaða l?umu:ra bibasa:tatin/ (lit. take the matters with ease) is used in this context. English lexicalizes this meaning under take life easily, take life as it comes or be easygoing, but these idioms were not

apparently in the learner's active competence and therefore, he had to resort to literal translation from the L1.

- (3) I must be punished as a man. I must <u>receive my account</u>
 [take the punishment I deserve, take my punishment (as a man)]
 (The subject was a boy convicted of theft, Item no 394)
- (4) I'm quite sure that she is <u>walking on the straight line</u>
 [well-behaved, good girl] (Reference was being made to the subject's girl friend, Item no 396)
- (3) and (4) are instances of literal translation of L1-specific idioms. In (3) the LCA /ja:xud ihsa:bah/ (lit. he takes or receives his account) is used in the sense of 'take the punishment he deserves'.
- (4) is a word-for-word translation of MSA /masa: Sala: xattin mustaqi:min/
 (lit. walk on line straight, i.e. be well-behaved), /masa: Sala: tari:qin
 mustaqi:min/ (lit. walk on way or road straight) is also used with the same
 meaning. In its transferred reference, Arabic /mustaqi:m/ in common with
 its English dictionary equivalent straight, is used in the sense of 'honest',
 'respectable' and 'truthful'. In this sense it often has religious connotations
 and righteous seems to be its most appropriate translation-equivalent. The
 learner's utterance shows that he was at pains to use a high-flown form under
 the influence of his L1.
 - (5) Now goodbye and I hope to meet you in a new letter [hear from you soon] (The subject was writing a letter to an English friend, Item no 398, see also Item no 399)
- (5) is an example of over-elaboration. The learner transferred the stylistic features of personal letter-writing in Arabic into English. It is evident that the two languages exhibit lexical and stylistic differences in this respect which account for the inappropriateness of the learner's utterance.
 - (6) Dont't prevent us the honour of your coming and staying with us [deprive us of the honour of having you] (The subject was writing

- a letter to a friend inviting him to visit him, Item no 400)
- (7) If his father died his uncle would <u>remove his tears from his</u>
 cheek [wipe away the tears, be sympathetic towards him,
 console him] (A summary of a short story about an orphan boy,
 Item no 402)

Both (6) and (7) are instances of transferring of culture-bound meanings which pertain to L1 idioms onto the L2. (6) is an approximate literal translation of /la: tuḥrimna: mina ttaʃarrifi bizija:ratika/ which represents a highly-formal way of inviting a friend. (7) is a translation of /masaḥa ddumu: a an xaddajhi/ (lit. wipe away the tears off his two cheeks) which is used in the sense of 'to console' or 'to treat, especially a child, rather sympathetically'. Ordinarily one would use /atifa alajhi/ (i.e. to have sympathy for him).

- (8) I was between two things the sweetest was sour [between the devil and the deep blue sea, or in a dilemma] (The subject was in a difficult situation, Item no 406, see also 405)
- (9) In short behind each a great man woman [behind every successful man there is a woman] (Item no 409, see also 408)
- (10) We have a proverb which says "on the face a mirror but in the other side a blade" [two-faced, a wolf in sheep's clothing]
 (Item no 407)
- (8) to (10) are examples of literal translations of proverbs which are differently lexicalized in Arabic and English. (8) is more or less a literal translation of /kuntu bajna ?amrajni ?ahla:huma murru/ (lit. I was between two matters the sweetest of the two is bitter) which is semantically the equivalent of <u>I was between the devil and the deep blue sea</u>, or simply <u>I was in a dilemma</u>. And in (9) the learner was attempting to transfer /wara:?a kulli Sazi:min ?imra?ah/ (lit. behind every great woman).
- (10) on the other hand, is a word-for-word translation of LCA /fi lwa3h mra:ja: wa fi lgifa: barra:ja/ (lit. in the face mirror and in the

back blade). In English this meaning can be expressed either by the proverb a wolf in sheep's clothing or the idiom two-faced. The applications of the Arabic and English proverbs in actual communicative situations vary in accordance with the culturally-determined relationships in their language communities.

Apparently in all the above three instances, the learners did not have in their lexical competence the appropriate L2 proverbs and, therefore, resorted to transfer from the LI under the need to express meanings. The learners' utterances provide evidence of attempts to use their total knowledge as creatively as possible.

6.3.2.3 Formal similarity between L1 and L2 LIs

By formal similarity is meant the learner's appeal to phonetic resemblance between LIs from his L1 (or any other language he knows) and L2 LIs in his attempts to express meaning.

In the case of our learners, appeal to formal similarity was the least used of the L1-based strategies. Only four instances where the learners were presumably guided by formal similarity between L1 and L2 LIs were registered. This trend seems to confirm the hypothesis that at an intermediate-advanced stage Arab learners become aware that their L1 is, at least on the phonological and orthographic levels, so different from English that they do not attempt to use this type of transfer (see 7.1.2).

Learners whose Ll is related to the L2, for example, English and French or Spanish and Italian, are often influenced by formal similarity when performing in the L2. In other words, they assume semantic similarity on

^{1.} Although the learners have studied French in the secondary school for three years, we found no errors that could be attributed to formal similarity between English and French LIs.

the basis of formal similarity. Of course, where both phonetic and semantic similarity coincide, i.e. in instances of 'proper cognates' learning is facilitated and the learners' task is confined to acquiring the proper pronunciation and writing of the new forms. This, however, does not mean that negative transfer is completely excluded in the learners' use of proper Formally and semantically similar LIs in two languages often cognates. have different ranges of application and frequencies of occurrence in the two languages. Negative transfer thus may take place as the outcome of the learner's tendency to use the L2 cognate in all the contexts in which the L1 cognate is used, i.e. the learner assumes, mistakenly, that the L2 cognate has the same range of application and frequency as the Ll cognate when it has not; compare English pardon and French pardon, excuse me and excusez moi, certainly and certainement etc. Moreover, the collocational and syntactic restrictions these cognates are subject to in the two languages may not be identical.

Furthermore, the phenomena of synonymy and lexical non-isomorphism must be taken into consideration in examining aspects of lexical transfer involving cognates. Cognates in the Ll and the L2 may have quasi-synonyms on each side, as can be seen from the following examples:

English	French	
support -	supporter soutenir	
commence	commencer	
begin	-	
start	-	

Lexical transfer may take place in the learner's use of LIs in the above and similar contexts. The English learner of French will tend to generalize the use of supporter to contexts where native speakers of French

would use <u>soutenir</u>. On the other hand, French learners of English will tend to use <u>commence</u> in contexts where <u>begin</u> or <u>start</u> is more appropriate.

For the reasons stated above this type of transfer was not hypothesized to take place in our learners' interlanguage. The lack of actual lexical errors from this study and indeed from any known study may not allow us to pursue this point any further. Our objective has been to draw attention to this important aspect of transfer concerning the use of cognates in languages which have been related in their origin or evolution. Further research is apparently much needed in this area of L2 teaching and learning.

With deceptive cognates, i.e. where the similarity is restricted to the phonological and/or orthographic but not the semantic aspects (see 3.4.4), learning is often made difficult. The learner's recourse to his L1 results in producing lexical errors. Because such errors are L1-motivated they may be classified as interlingual. According to Corder (1973a: 289-90) this class of error involves both analogy and the characteristics of the L1. He defines these as "...the incorrect choice of a word in the second language because of its physical resemblance to a word in the mother tongue". The following are some of the examples given by Corder:

- (1) Actuellement, je ne le crois pas.
- (2) Il n'avait pas realisé que les autres attendaient toujours.
- (3) I assisted at the class since three years.

In some of the studies reviewed above, deceptive cognates have been reported as one of the important causes of lexical error in learning related languages. In her study on L3 acquisition, LoCoco (1976b: 52) classified a lexical error as interlingual "...when the meaning of a phonologically similar item in L1 or in L2 was extended to the item in L3". Arabski (1968: 80) reported that errors occur with the words whose written form in English and Polish is similar or identical but whose meanings are

entirely different, e.g. English <u>rope</u> is used like Polish <u>ropa</u> (i.e. oil). Ringbom (1978), George (1972) and Efstathiadis and King (1972) attributed to formal similarity varying proportions of lexical errors.

Table 27 contains all the ULIs and the TLIs involved in the learners' utterances (see Appendix, Items 410-413).

TABLE 27

ULI	TLI	Item No.
either	as well, also, too	410
fix	search	411
fix	search	412
salute	greet	413

Samples for analysis:

(1) I saw my very close friend Sami who was coming to see me either [also, as well, too] (Item no 410)

In (1) the learner appears to have identified either /aIða/ with the formally similar LI /?ajḍa/. The two LIs have different meanings: either means 'one or the other' but /?ajḍa/ means 'as well, also, too'. It is this meaning which the learner intended to express and for which he used either which is unacceptable.

Another plausible cause that needs to be taken into account is overgeneralization within the L2 itself: <u>either</u> as an adverb is used with negative expressions in the sense of <u>too</u> as in:

I haven't seen the film and my wife hasn't either.

John can't drive and Richard can't either.

Therefore, it is possible that the learner generalized this use of either to positive contexts where too, as well and also are the appropriate LIs but not either.

(2) I <u>fix</u> [searched] my pocket, but I didn't find my keys. I said to my friends in whisper 'I have lost my key' (Item no 411)

In (2) the use of <u>fix</u> where <u>search</u> was required cannot be accounted for except in terms of the approximate phonetic resemblance between <u>fix</u> and LCA /fatti \int / (the MSA form is /fatta \int a/). The learner, it may be assumed, associated <u>fix</u> with the meaning of /fatti \int / (i.e. <u>search</u> or <u>look for</u>) and continued to use it in all the contexts in which the Ll form is appropriate.

6.3.2.4 Language switch

As Tarone et al (1976: 84) puts it, language switch takes place when "...the learner transports a native word or expression, untranslated, into the interlanguage utterance". In their view,

...the motivation for the language switch may be either linguistic (an attempt to avoid a difficult target language form or one that has not yet been learned) or social (such as a desire to fit in with one's peers)

Blum and Levenston (1978: 410) made a distinction between transfer and language switch. As they saw it,

If a learner, attempting to communicate in the second language, uses a term from his mother tongue and makes no attempt to adjust either the morphology or the phonology, he is employing the strategy we have labelled 'language switch'.

In their view:

This too is a strategy common to learners and translators, who, when faced with a lexical void in the target language, resort to italicized citation of the source language term...

On the other hand, they maintain that where:

...the learner creates appropriate second language morphology and phonology, he may be said to have resorted to transfer.

In our own classification of the L1-based strategies and processes, in common with Tarone et al, Ervin, Ringbom and many others, language switch is used to account for one kind of lexical language transfer, namely, the

transliteration of L1 (or any other known language) LIs to express meaning in the L2. The motivation for resorting to this strategy, as will be explained shortly, derives from the inadequacies of the learner's lexical competence in the L2. Moreover, in some cases, it can indicate the adoption of strategies of avoidance as a consequence of inherent linguistic difficulty.

Language switch has not been reported to constitute an important L1-based strategy for expressing meaning in any of the studies reviewed above, for instance, Ervin (1979) reported that language switch was the least used of the strategies observed, accounting for only 2% of the 267 instances of strategy-use. Blum and Levenston (1978) noticed only one instance of language switch and Ringbom (1978) found 33 instances of language switch out of the 746 errors made by Finnish subjects and 20 instances of the 660 errors made by Swedish subjects.

In our learners' corpus, 9 lexical errors could be attributed to language switch (i.e. about 2% of the total number of the learners' lexical errors). This seems to confirm the above authors' findings that language switch does not constitute one of the principal strategies for L2 learners. Moreover, it lends support to the hypothesis which states that in a free productive situation intermediate-advanced learners will tend to keep to a minimum using foreign LIs in their utterances because they are often aware of them. Needless to say, the wide range of strategies and processes for expressing meaning at the learners' disposal makes their resorting to language switch less required. However, it must be pointed out in this respect that the present writer's observation of co-ordinate bilingual children has convinced him that language switch is more frequently resorted to by co-ordinate bilinguals than by compound learners. The age of the learner seems to be another important factor as well, and it may be assumed that the younger the learner the less inhibited

he is to use foreign LIs in his L2 utterances.

From a qualitative point of view, it will be seen that the transliterated LIs were either Ll LIs or lexical borrowings which have been included in the vocabulary of LCA. Table 28 contains all the LIs involved in the learners' utterances (see Appendix Items, 414-422).

TABLE 28

ULI	TLI	Item No.
souk	market	414
"	"	415
"	II .	416
general souk	public market	417
sharba	soup	418
mass	diamonds	419
cassa	safe	420
dush (i.e. douche)	shower	421
coiffeur	hairdresser	422

Samples for analysis

- (1) He went to the <u>souk</u> [market] and sell the produced of the farm in it (a description of a day in the life of a Libyan farmer.

 Intended meaning: he went to the market and sold the farm produce, Item no 415, see also 414, 416, 417)
- (2) All the family sit by the table...there is a cooking called sharba [soup] it is the best thing to have before the dinner (A description of a Libyan dinner. Intended meaning: we sit at the table and have soup first, it is the best thing to eat before the main course, Item no 418)

The use of <u>souk</u> /su:q/ (LCA /su:g/) in (1) and <u>sharba</u> LCA /\sqrt{arba/} in (2) are instances of direct transfer of Ll LIs. The learners presumably lacked the appropriate LIs <u>market</u> and <u>soup</u> respectively and therefore resorted to a strategy of language switch in an attempt to express the intended meaning.

The learners who systematically used <u>souk</u> might have done so under the assumption that English people understand the meaning of this LI. The learners were not aware that even those who have some experience with the Arab culture understand this LI mostly in reference to the traditional Arab market, i.e. 'bazaar street' but not in its generic reference which is the translation-equivalent of <u>market</u>.

- (3) My friend decided to buy a new car. He has enough money in his iron cassa [metal safe] in his house (Item no 420)
- (4) When we went home I felt I was very tired, I went to make (i.e. have or take) a dush [shower] after that (Item no 421)
- (5) And after going to her (i.e. her friend) I went to coiffeur [hairdresser] to wash my hair (Item no 422)
- (3) to (5) are examples of language switches which involved borrowed LIs in LCA. In (3) cassa is the Italian for safe (or cash desk), dush /dus/ is the LCA for French douche or Italian doccia (shower or bath) and coiffeur is one of the 'internationalisms' occasionally used in LCA as well as in English in the sense of 'hairdresser'.

Arabic lexicalizes these meanings as /xiza:nah/ or /xazi:nah/ (safe), /hamma:m/ (bath or shower) and /muzajjin/ (hairdresser).

Under the need to express meanings while not possessing in their active lexical competence the appropriate LIs, i.e. <u>safe</u>, <u>shower</u> and <u>hairdresser</u> respectively, the learners resorted to direct language switch and transliterated LIs used in their L1. Although the ULIs are part of the learners' L1 lexical competence, it is assumed that learners at the university level are aware that /ka:ssa/,/do: \int and /kwaffi:r/ (LCA forms) are lexical borrowings.

Therefore, a plausible cause for their use in English may lie with the learners'

assumption that these forms are used in English as well. In fact the first two LIs have their false cognates in English, i.e. case and douche respectively. Case is used in reference to a 'large box in which goods can be stored' and 'a box or container for holding or protecting something'. It does not have the specific meaning of cassa and safe, i.e. 'a box or a cupboard with thick metal sides...used for protecting valuable things'.

Douche in English is restricted to 'an instrument for forcing a stream of water into or onto any part of the body to wash it' but not 'a washing of the body by standing under an opening from which water comes out in many small streams' (LDCE), for which shower is usually used.

<u>Coiffeur</u> is used in English as well in the sense of 'hairdresser' but is confined to the formal type of style.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Significance of the Learners' Lexical Strategies, their Communicative Effects and Pedagogical Implications

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter we will examine the strategies our intermediate-advanced learners employed in their attempts to express meaning in the L2. Through this examination we hope to discover what significance these strategies may have from a psycholinguistic point of view.

In the analysis of samples from the learners' performance we have attempted to point up the various restrictions the learners violated in the process of encoding messages in the L2. Therefore, for the purposes of discussing the pedagogical implications of the learners' strategies, it seems useful to include a brief summary of their communicative effects. In the section on the pedagogical implications of the learners' strategies, we hope, in the light of our treatment of the learners' lexical errors and discussion of the characteristics of the ideal communicative competence, to suggest remedial procedures for the types of lexical error the learners made and the deficiencies which seem to mark their performance at this stage.

7.1 Significance of the learners' lexical strategies

7.1.0 Evidence for using lexical strategies

The present study has been carried out with the aim of discovering the lexical strategies and processes adopted by intermediate-advanced Arab learners of English in free written production or, put in other terms, what do the learners do when they find themselves in a position where their lexical

competence is inadequate to meet their communicative demands. It has also been our objective to find out the types of lexical error and approximation the learners make in this process, classify, describe them from a linguistic point of view and make hypotheses about their potential causes. It is through the learners' lexical errors that we hoped to infer the strategies and processes they make use of in their attempts to encode messages.

This study has found sufficient evidence that the learners used a battery of strategies in their attempts to express their intentions in English. Through the analysis of the learners' lexical errors and approximations it has been possible to achieve a detailed taxonomy of the strategies employed by the learners (see diagram 1, p 195). It has also been shown that the learners exploited to the full their incomplete knowledge of the L2 and their competence in the L1.

7.1.1 Significance of the L2-based strategies

The two principal L2-based strategies were overgeneralization and paraphrase and circumlocution. When the learners resorted to overgeneralization of L2 LIs' semantic range they seemed to rely on three criteria: the sense relations between LIs, semantic-formal relatedness and formal relatedness.

The errors which indicated resort to sense relations provided evidence that the learners exploited all the semantic links holding within the L2 lexical structure. These were not confined to the acknowledged sense relations of synonymy, hyponymy and antonymy which have been mentioned in some of the studies reviewed in 4.3.5. Although in the present study too these seem to be more frequently used, semantically-motivated overgeneralization was by no means limited to them. It also included resort to less important sense relations between L2 LIs such as 'cause-effect' and 'part-whole'. Moreover, it was shown that some learners in search of a means for expressing meaning took advantage of the minimal semantic associations between L2 LIs, for

instance, having a meaning component in common or sharing membership of a wide semantic field.

Formal relatedness between some L2 LIs provided another basis for overgeneralization. Phonetic, orthographic and morphological relatedness between pairs of LIs could have made some learners establish semantic links between them and use one in a context where the other is required. Of course, in some cases the learners could have merely confused the related forms for each other. Moreover, in a few instances previously acquired rules of derivation were employed in the production of non-existent LIs.

7.1.1.1 Overgeneralization and vocabulary encoding

The lexical errors which indicated resort to the various types of overgeneralization and their relative proportions to each other seem to confirm at least partially, the findings reported by Henning (1973). In a study carried out to determine whether L2 learners encode vocabulary in memory by families associated with meaning and/or interrelated sounds (semantic and acoustic encoding clusters) and to ascertain the correlations between such encoding and language proficiency, Henning claims that it was found that L2 learners "...do encode vocabulary in...memory in clusters according to associations in meaning and sound". Moreover, Henning found that in the earlier stages of learning, LIs may be stored according to acoustic links (i.e. LIs which sound similar are stored together) whereas advanced learners stored words on semantic basis. This made him conclude that there is a correlation between acoustic and semantic encoding of vocabulary and language proficiency.

Our findings also seem to conform to evidence obtained from tests on word-associations. Such tests often involve the presentation of a number of single LIs to the subjects participating who are instructed to reply with the first LI that comes into mind as they are presented with each LI. Evidence

from such studies indicates that

...most people's responses are characteristically shared with a large proportion of the rest of the population of normal adult native speakers... In English, for example, over 70 per cent of people produce WHITE in response to BLACK, WOMAN in response to MAN, BUTTER in response to BREAD and so on. (Meara, 1980, p 234)

In free written production, intermediate-advanced learners seem to rely more on semantic than on acoustic criteria. Yet these findings can be taken only as tentative indicators of trends. Further research with data produced under varying conditions is needed to confirm them. The pedagogical implications of these findings will be considered in later parts of this chapter (see 7.3.5.1).

7.1.1.2 Overgeneralization and the criteria of generality and frequency

We have found some evidence that there are systematic trends in the learners' reliance on semantic criteria for expressing meaning. been particularly obvious in the subcategories of sense relations, i.e. hyponymy, synonymy, part-whole, cause-effect and weak sense relations. Generally speaking, the learners' errors indicated that they often tended to overgeneralize the more general and more frequent LI to a context where a less general and less frequent LI was required. For instance, in the subcategory of hyponymy (i.e. hyponymy-proper and general verbs) the learners more often used a LI which was superordinate to the TLI than they used a LI which was a hyponym of the TLI. For example, the learners used people, things, state, do and get where customers, goods, mood, commit and realize were the TLIs respectively. Where the reverse process took place, there were often obvious grounds for assuming that the learners were using a strategy of avoidance due to inherent linguistic difficulty. Needless to say, it is not always the superordinate LI that is the more frequent, cf. vehicle: car, bus; building: house, flat, etc.

The tendency of using the more frequent and more general LI in a

context where a less frequent and less general LI was required was also generally observable in the learners' use of synonyms. Moreover, in lexical sets which include many LIs such as 'verbs of saying' or of 'seeing', or LIs referring to 'one's place or position in society' etc. some learners seemed to have set up the more general and more frequent LIs acquired in the earlier stages and used them to express meanings for which they lacked the appropriate LIs, for example, tell was used for suggest; say for describe; see for watch and look at etc.

The instance where the erroneous use of a LI A for a LI B was followed by the reverse process (reported in Myint Su 1971, p. 315) was only observed where the LIs in question were both of high frequency and where there was a considerable overlap between their semantic ranges of application, e.g. say and tell.

7.1.1.3 Evidence for creativity

From a psycholinguistic point of view, the learner's recourse to aspects of his L2 lexical competence whether through semantically and formally motivated overgeneralization or through paraphrase and circumlocution suggests that he is an active participant in the learning process since he is exercising his already acquired knowledge of the L2 creatively in new contexts. Taylor (1975b: 393) puts it, the learner "...is neither imitating what he hears around him nor transferring native language structures in his target language attempts". In a way the learner can be compared to the child learning his L1 in that the L2 learner, like the child, attempts to use the L2 before he has full control over its structure. His attempts will, of course, include erroneous elements which show up where his competence is This implies that L2 learning is an active creative process incomplete. in which the learner continuously attends to meaning and does not depend on the parrotting of what he memorizes of the language (Corder 1975b: 410).

7.1.2 Significance of the L1-based strategies

The analysis of the interlingual errors has shown that in their attempts to encode messages in the L2 the learners made use of their L1 lexical structure in many ways: they overgeneralized L2 LIs' semantic and syntactic ranges on the model of L1 LIs. They also translated literally L1 habitual collocations, idioms and proverbs into the L2. However, as hypothesized, with Arabic and English being unrelated languages, formal similarity did not constitute one of the principal strategies of lexical language transfer. For similar reasons the strategy of language switch was not frequently used in the learners' attempts. The few instances in which this took place mostly involved lexical loans which have been included in the lexical structure of LCA. The learners therefore, presumably used these LIs on the assumption that they have their cognates in English.

Therefore, it seems an oversimplification of the problems to restrict lexical language transfer (or interference on the lexical level) to deceptive cognates.

It may be true that these constitute an important cause of error for learners whose Ll is related to the L2. In the case of unrelated languages this subcategory of error does not seem quantitatively important.

The finding that even at an intermediate-advanced stage the learner transfers the semantic ranges of his Ll LIs onto the L2 LIs seems to confirm the weak claim of linguistic relativity that the speakers of a language conceptualize the world in terms of their lexicon (see 3.3.1.2).

The analysis of errors which indicated resort to lexical language transfer has also provided evidence to support the hypothesis that for learners whose L1 has a diglossic situation, transfer derives from both the 'H' and 'L'

^{1.} According to George (1972: 175) interference on the lexical level "...is broadly speaking the transfer to English of mother-tongue homophony".

It has been demonstrated that some instances of lexical transfer indicated resort to MSA and others to LCA and yet others to both, where the LIs in question are used in the two varieties. This then seems to point to a weakness in the common belief which considers transfer (or interference) to take place from one of the two varieties only. With particular reference to lexical acquisition, both varieties of Arabic seem to act as the Ll for intermediate-advanced learners of English. Moreover, the lexical errors made by the learners give evidence against the widely-held view that the 'L' variety "...is the source of most phonological problems, where as H is the source of most writing and vocabulary problems" (Ibrahim, 1977: 162). rather indicate that in writing too, lexical transfer derives from both The general tendencies are that when the learners were describing an everyday life situation dealing with social and entertainment activities, transfer took place from the 'L' variety (i.e. LCA) whereas when writing about learned subjects, for example 'emancipation', 'racial discrimination', 'writing a letter to a friend' etc. they transferred from the 'H' variety This is, of course, not unexpected since in informal situations discourse normally takes place in LCA and the discussion of the above and similar learned subjects in MSA. The fact that each variety has LIs and collocations which may not be used in the other has already been mentioned (see 1.4).

Apparently further research with Arab and other learners of similar diglossic backgrounds at different learning stages is required to confirm which of the two varieties is resorted to more often and under what conditions. Research is also needed to investigate the correlation between lexical transfer and the medium of discourse (i.e. spoken and written) in this situation.

The finding that 'formal similarity' and 'language switch' were not used frequently by the learners in their attempts to encode messages seems to lend some support to the suggestion that learners have certain notions about

language-specific characteristics which inhibit them from transferring features of their L1 onto the L2 because they know in advance that these features will lead to error or to unsuccessful communication (Kellerman 1977: 99-111 and Corder 1978a: 86). However, our findings on literal translation do not seem to support Kellerman's proposition that non-transfer of language-specific features applies also to L1 habitual collocations, idioms and proverbs. As has been shown, in a free production situation, given the need to express meaning and strong motivation to demonstrate his linguistic ability, the learner is ready to transfer L1-specific collocations, idioms and proverbs. Apparently, where the L2 equivalents of these features are not known by the learner he has no reason to believe that they are lexicalized differently in the L2.

7.1.3 Significance of the approximate quantitative differences in strategy use

It has been pointed out that the quantitative differences between the number of errors in the main categories and between the subcategories in each of them are to be taken only as approximate indicators of general trends. Taking this into full consideration, it can be seen from the preponderance of the intralingual type of errors that the learners resorted more to aspects of their knowledge of the L2 than to that of the L1. This seems to confirm, in part, the findings reported by B.P. Taylor (1975a and b). According to Taylor (1975b: 394), although elementary and intermediate L2 learners do not appear to use the strategies of overgeneralization and transfer differently, they seem to use them to different degrees.

While overgeneralization and transfer errors may not be qualitatively different for elementary and intermediate language learners, they were found to be quantitatively different. The results indicate that intermediate subjects made a higher proportion of errors attributed to overgeneralization than did the elementary subjects. And conversely, the proportion of elementary errors attributable to transfer from Spanish exceeded the proportion of intermediate transfer errors.

From this study, which was concerned with grammatical errors, Taylor concludes that reliance on overgeneralization is directly proportional to proficiency in the L2 and reliance on transfer is inversely proportional. Explaining this, Taylor says:

...as a learner's proficiency increases he will rely less frequently on his native language and on the transfer strategy, and more frequently on what he already knows about the target language and on the overgeneralization strategy. As proficiency increases, reliance on transfer decreases and reliance on overgeneralization increases.

As Taylor points out, these findings appear to be consistent with a theory which considers L2 acquisition to be an active creative process depending upon the learner's ability:

...to assimilate and subsume new information into already existing cognitive structures (i.e. relate what he is learning to what he has already learned). For the elementary student, the structure of the native language seems to be the only "meaningful"...system on which he can rely. Transfer from the native language therefore results. For a more advanced student, however, the system of the second language has become more "meaningful" and can begin to work within that framework, irrespective of any other system. Increased overgeneralization of the target language syntactic system results.

In a study on L3 acquisition, LoCoco (1976: 58) reports that her findings support those of Taylor. She concludes that "...at the initial stages learners rely extensively on their native language, but as proficiency in the target language increases, they rely proportionally less on the mother-tongue system". Her findings on the qualitative nature of errors seem to support Taylor's as well in that increased proficiency in English does not qualitatively affect the kinds of error which a learner makes (ibid: 60).

All the errors in the present study were produced by intermediate-advanced learners and, therefore, we had no access to errors produced by elementary learners. Our results, as has been stated earlier, support Taylor's only partially, i.e. that intermediate-advanced learners tend to

rely more on what they know of the L2 when they perform in free written discourse. However, it must be pointed out that although first-year students made more errors in both types (i.e. interlingual and intralingual), their share of the intralingual type was less than that of the interlingual type of errors (about one third of the intralingual errors and about half of the interlingual errors).

Furthermore if we take first and second-year students on the one hand (as intermediate) and third and fourth-year students on the other (as advanced), it appears that there were some differences in the learners' qualitative use of lexical language transfer: while the intermediate learners had a tendency to rely more on overgeneralizing of L2 LIs on the model of L1 LIs, advanced learners seemed to rely more on the translation of L1 habitual collocations, idioms and proverbs. Moreover, paraphrase and circumlocution seem to have been used more by advanced learners.

These findings seem to conform to the assumed strong correlation between language proficiency and the ability to use language in various contexts. The advanced learner's knowledge of the L2 enables him to attempt to translate L1 habitual collocations and idioms and also make use of paraphrase and circumlocution. On the other hand, the intermediate learner's lexical resources are by definition more restricted and therefore he has to revert to the overgeneralization of the LIs at his disposal and the use of L2 LIs on the model of L1 LIs. The same restrictions may not allow the intermediate learner to translate the L1 collocations and paraphrase meanings in the L2.

From a theoretical point of view, as Taylor points out, the strategies of overgeneralization and transfer appear to be two distinct linguistic manifestations of one psychological process which involves reliance on prior learning to facilitate new learning. Moreover, the motivation behind the

learner's adoption of either strategy is the need to communicate and make up for deficiencies in his competence. Therefore, "whether transfer or overgeneralization will be the dominant strategy for a given learner will depend on his degree of proficiency in the target language" (Taylor 1975b: 394-5). It must be added, however, that other factors such as the learner's age, type of personality and the context in which teaching and learning as well as language use take place seem to play an important role in the learner's use of communication and learning strategies. These do not invalidate the findings reported in interlanguage studies because researchers work with homogeneous groups of learners.

It is certainly the case that information about quantitative and qualitative variation in the strategies adopted by L2 learners at different stages of learning would have useful applications in L2 teaching. However, in the present state of our understanding of the relevant psycholinguistic processes and because, as has been shown, the strategies used by learners occasionally overlap, the findings reported by Taylor and in other studies including ours should be regarded only as preliminary indicators of possible trends. Further research with learners at different stages of language proficiency using data produced under varying conditions and covering a wide range of topics is needed to find out in what ways and to what extent L2 learners make use of the strategies of learning and communication.

7.1.4 Conclusion

To conclude this section, the above findings and observations about the strategies and processes employed by intermediate-advanced Libyan learners of English have their limitations which must be taken into consideration when generalizing the results to a population of Arab learners of English at this stage:

First, it cannot be claimed that in a free production situation all

learners use the same strategies for expressing meaning. Corder (1975b: 411) points out that we cannot assume that any learner has command of all the possible strategies of learning since these strategies themselves "...are something that the learner has also learned. They are part of the equipment of cognitive structures he brings with him to the task". This statement seems to be true of communication strategies as well. Many factors appear to determine to what extent a learner can use his cognitive knowledge for communicative ends. The personality factor seems to be one of the most important of these (Corder, ibid). As has been said in the characterization of our data, the overconfident or risk-taker type of learner who does not hesitate to exploit his linguistic competence creatively in new contexts often makes use of more strategies than the less confident or the risk-avoider type of learner.

Second, our attempt to infer the strategies the learners used for encoding messages in the L2 from their lexical errors as well as categorizing and explaining the errors in the light of the processes behind their occurrence should not be understood to imply that all the learners' lexical errors were the outcome of these strategies and processes. Although a single error can indicate a particular strategy, some errors might have been due to faulty teaching techniques and inefficient materials. It has been pointed out that some lexical errors in the subcategory of oppositeness and incompatibility, for example using buy for sell, wet for dry etc. might have been the result of decontextualized presentation of these LIs. Moreover, not all the errors in subcategory of formal relatedness indicated the adoption of a communication strategy or establishing semantic links on the basis of formal relatedness between L2 LIs.

Third, we make no claim to an exhaustive typology of communication strategies. Our interest has been limited to the <u>lexical</u> type of strategies

used by intermediate-advanced learners in <u>free written production</u> for expressing their intentions and ideas on various topics. Therefore, we have not dealt in any form with the non-linguistic (or paralinguistic) type of strategies for expressing meaning such as facial expressions and other body movements known as 'mime' (Tarone, 1980). Moreover, the nature of our data did not allow for the discovery of certain strategies reported in other studies, for instance 'appeal to authority' and 'message abandonment' (Tarone et al 1976 and Tarone 1980). Apparently, these strategies will be more frequent and can be better studied in speech than in writing.

However, in the light of the errors found in our data we have suggested a taxonomy of the lexical strategies the learners used for encoding messages. The proposed classification which made use of classifications included in previous studies suggests a more detailed typology of some of the categories in the Ll and L2-based strategies. Yet, we do not consider the taxonomy as all-inclusive. It is hoped that further research on communication strategies and L2 lexical acquisition will provide a fuller and more refined classification of the various strategies and processes followed by L2 learners when they use their interlanguage to achieve communicative effectiveness.

7.2 The Communicative Effects of the Learners' Lexical Strategies

Because their lexical competence in the L2 was incomplete and because of lexical non-isomorphism between their L1 and the L2, the learners' adoption of strategies for encoding messages in the L2 often resulted in unacceptable and inappropriate usage. Nevertheless, the learners' errors, as has been shown, are important in that it was via their analysis that we were able to infer the strategies and processes followed by the learners in their attempt to express meaning. Moreover, as Widdowson (1979: 197-8) puts it, the

learners' errors are

...evidence of success and not of failure, that the failure to conform to given code rules is the consequence of success in developing context rules. To put it another way, the learner focuses on strategies of use, rather than on norms of usage. In this way, he is in effect providing the language he is learning with a communicative significance which the actual teaching very often does not allow for.

Throughout the analysis it has been demonstrated that in their attempts to express meanings the learners violated many selection rules and restrictions by using LIs in contexts in which they were inappropriate. The rules and restrictions that came to be ignored in this process were not limited to semantic range but also included those relevant to collocation, syntax and register. Furthermore, in the errors which manifested lexical language transfer the learners often imposed semantic, syntactic and stylistic features of their L1 on L2 LIs. In order to perceive in what way the learners overgeneralized rules and disregarded restrictions on LIs the reader is referred to the samples of errors in the various subcategories. Nevertheless, these may be summed up here.

7.2.1 Violation of restrictions on the denotative range of L2 LIs

This has been most obvious in almost all the instances of overgeneralization. The use of a LI A for B means the widening of the semantic range of A at the expense of that of B, for instance, using say for tell, do for commit, run for escape, and drink for absorb meant attributing to say, do, run and drink the meanings for which native speakers would normally use tell, commit, escape and absorb or take in, respectively. In the acute instances of transference of LI LIs' denotative ranges, L2 LIs were applied to meanings for which native speakers would not use them, e.g. games was used for toys, earth for land, country for city centre etc. Violating the restrictions on denotative range, obviously, has direct bearing on the communicative imports of the utterances in which the LIs are used.

7.2.2 Violation of the collocational norms for using L2 LIs

In the analysis of samples of errors it has been shown that the infringement of L2 restrictions on co-occurrence is involved in almost all the instances of unacceptable and inappropriate lexical choices whatever their cause. However, there were at least two circumstances where it was more conspicuous: (a) where the ULI and the TLI were closely related in their referential and emotive meanings but differed in their collocational ranges, and (b) where a L2 LI was given the semantic range of a L1 LI as in spend a prayer, open a radio and address of a film (see 6.3.2.1.1) and also in contexts where a L1 habitual collocation or a fixed expression was translated literally by the learner and did not correspond to the L2 habitual collocation as in do/make a bath, do/make a party or train of civilization (see 6.3.2.2.1).

7.2.3 Disregard of the syntactic restrictions on the use of L2 LIs

It has been shown on many occasions that in the process of semantic overgeneralization some learners violated the syntactic restrictions on the use of the LIs they chose. This took place especially in the use of quasisynonymous verbs. The syntactic restrictions that were overlooked included those relating to transitivity/intransitivity and on the type of the object and subject a verb can take in a particular context. In a few cases, previously acquired derivation rules were overgeneralized and caused the learners to produce non-existent LIs such as *disoptimistic, *stopless, *playings, *prevents (n). Moreover, it was shown that occasionally learners assigned to L2 LIs the syntactic ranges of L1 LIs.

7.2.4 Violation of register restraints

The learners' adoption of strategies for expressing meaning sometimes resulted in semantic inappropriateness because the learners failed to attend to the sociolinguistic distinctions relevant to L2 LIs. Apparently the

learners might not have been aware of such distinctions in the first place. The sociolinguistic restrictions that were often overlooked related to the field and style of discourse. Furthermore, the errors which indicated reliance on literal translation gave support to the hypothesis that L2 learners resort to overindulgence or overelaboration and that learners with a diglossic linguistic background tend to carry over distinctions between the 'H' and 'L' varieties in their L1 and thus use a high-flown type of style while writing in the L2 which gives their utterances an alien world-view.

7.2.5 Others

- (a) Some errors in the subcategory of formal relatedness indicated that some learners did not give the L2 LIs their accurate orthographic representation and correct grammatical forms.
- (b) Verbosity. This was particularly evident in instances where the learners resorted to paraphrase and circumlocution. The use of a phrase where the native speaker would use a single LI often made the learner's utterance verbose.
- (c) The application of LIs to contexts where others were required or more appropriate implies that the ULIs, besides being inappropriate in the contexts in question, were given higher frequencies of occurrence in the learners' interlanguage mismatching their frequencies in the native speakers' use. This claim cannot be properly substantiated without evidence obtained through statistical procedures.

7.2.6 Effects on comprehensibility

It is difficult to assess objectively the degree of success the learners have had in their attempts to express meaning through using various strategies. The assessment of the learners' utterances from this point of view necessarily takes into consideration the ability of competent native speakers to comprehend

the meanings intended by the learners. It is for this reason that objective judgements and statements about the learners' attempts require evidence obtained empirically in the field of error gravity. It has been mentioned above that evidence from the few studies carried out in this field seem to indicate that lexical errors are regarded as <u>more</u> serious than grammatical errors because they often prevent comprehension (see 4.2.2.6).

However, from experience in the treatment of lexical errors in the different subcategories and also from experience gained from using the same communication strategies we may be in a position to make at least tentative observations about the learners' attempts from this point of view.

The learners' utterances show that some attempts resulted in completely unacceptable usage, others led to the production of inappropriate approximations. Moreover, occasionally many restrictions were violated simultaneously: violating the normal semantic range sometimes coincided with disregarding the relevant syntactic constraints as well as norms of collocation and register. Therefore, the effect on the communicative value of an utterance, it may be assumed, correlates with the degree of its deviance. Strictly speaking, the more restrictions violated the less comprehensible the utterance will be.

Nevertheless, when considering the effects of lexical errors on comprehension there are many factors that need to be taken into account:

First, with particular reference to the lexical errors which involved overgeneralization, whether motivated by sense or formal relations in the L2, or deriving from the L1, success in communication seems to correlate directly with the degree of relatedness between the ULI and the TLI. In other words, where the sense or formal relationship holding between the two LIs was very strong, such as that holding between a superordinate LI and one of its hyponyms or two quasi-synonyms, the learner's chances of success in conveying or, at least, approximating the intended meaning were better than where the

two LIs have only a minor semantic feature in common or merely share membership of a wide semantic field. For example, the use of <u>say</u> for <u>tell</u>, <u>do</u> for <u>commit</u> or <u>fine</u> for <u>punishment</u> does not seem to obscure meaning as the use of <u>reduce</u> for <u>dismiss</u> or <u>study</u> for <u>degree</u> would.

Second, some instances of recourse to paraphrase and circumlocution did not seem to affect the comprehensibility of the utterances in any way and the intended meanings were very clear. With such instances the learners' paraphrases took the form of, more or less, dictionary definitions which were also conceivably used by native speakers in contexts of lexical simplification. For example, using completely grown for ripe, problems of money for financial problems, doctor of animals for vet etc. However, other instances of paraphrase and circumlocution caused the intended meanings to be obscured, as in to treat with for participate or take part in, lines of water for water pipes, badly manners for theft etc. (see 6.3.1.2).

Third, the errors which indicated the learners' resort to lexical language transfer seem to present more serious difficulties of interpretation and comprehension than the intralingual errors, especially for those who have no prior knowledge of the learners' Ll and their cultural background. Although all types of lexical language transfer seem to present difficulty because, as was seen, they often took place in situations of lexical non-isomorphism between the Ll and the L2, it is highly probable that the instances which involved literal translation of Ll-specific collocations and idioms as well as overgeneralization of L2 LIs on the model of Ll LIs will present maximum difficulty of comprehension.

Fourth, the effect of errors on the communicative value of the learners' utterances is not restricted to their comprehensibility and the ability to attach meanings to them. In the light of the findings reported by Johansson (1973 and 1980, see 4.2.2.6), we need to take into account the degree of irritation the errors cause in the reader or listener. According to the

evidence reported by Johansson a higher degree of irritation is caused by lexical errors than by grammatical errors. The question as to which lexical errors are more prone to cause a higher degree of irritation does not seem to have been investigated. Apparently, it cannot be assumed that all types of lexical error cause the same degree of irritation. It may be hypothesized that errors which result in strikingly deviant collocations or disregarding of register restrictions, particularly those relating to stylistic distinctions are likely to cause the highest degree of irritation. This is also true of errors which tend to reflect an alien 'world-view' as a consequence of the learners' transfer of emotive meanings relevant to Ll LIs. Errors which exhibit the phenomenon of overindulgence undoubtedly fall into this category. It goes without saying that lexical errors showing more than one of these features will cause the highest degree of irritation. Further research is needed in this very important area.

7.3 Pedagogical Implications of Findings about the Learners' Lexical Strategies for L2 Lexical Acquisition

As Corder (1975b: 409-10) says in studying learners' language our objective is to:

...gain an insight into the processes of second language learning and to understand something about the strategies of language learners. In this sense it is clearly a learner-centred investigation we are concerned with and only secondarily would it be regarded as concerned with teaching.

Undoubtedly, language teaching and learning remain the most important field in which findings and insights obtained from research on the learner's interlanguage are ultimately applied. The adoption of appropriate pedagogical procedures hinges on the degree of our understanding of the strategies learners use for learning and communication or, as Taylor (1975b: 395) puts it:

...If we can achieve some degree of understanding of how a learner actually learns we should be able to utilize our findings in classroom teaching and materials preparation.

Therefore, the researcher's and pedagogue's lack of enthusiasm for application of findings in interlanguage studies owes much to the unavailability of conclusive evidence. In the present state of our understanding of the strategies adopted in learning and communication it seems "...too easily to draw conclusions of an immediate practical sort..." from the findings in studies on interlanguage and learners' strategies (Corder 1975a: 212).

This, however, should not deter us from pointing out what insights and applications can be gained from findings about the learners' lexical errors and the strategies they indicate in teaching English to intermediateadvanced learners. Since we are convinced that the learner's errors are necessary by-products of the learning process and indicate resort to communication strategies while his competence is still incomplete, we should not expect to find techniques that will eliminate them completely. In fact even at an intermediate-advanced stage errors will occur because the communicative demands constantly outpace the learner's competence in the L2, (see Richards 1971: 19). It is for this reason that any application of the findings of research will necessarily take the form of remedial procedures for dealing with errors after their occurrence. On the other hand, the learner's errors and the processes they indicate, systematically provide us with useful insights into the learner's communicative demands and in what respects his lexical resources are insufficient to meet these needs. In the light of such information we may adapt our syllabuses and teaching techniques to the learner's needs.

7.3.1 Applications of findings of EA and interlanguage studies

The view held by prominent applied linguists at present states that:

Efficient language teaching must work with, rather than against, natural processes, facilitate and expedite rather than impede learning. Teachers and teaching materials must adapt to the learner rather than vice versa (Corder 1976a: 32).

Widdowson (1979: 198) expresses, more or less, the same view when he says:

I think that the (relative) failure of a good deal of language teaching endeavour is the result of an attempt to make the language learner conceive of language in a way which is contrary to his own experience. In a sense his errors represent an instinctive protest.

Various suggestions have been put forward about adapting language teaching to the processes followed by the learner. According to Nickel (1973: 25)

...One would in theory even have to consider the possibility of errors being built into language material of any kind whatsoever.

Nickel points out that this will hardly be possible for various pedagogical reasons, nevertheless, he sees no objection to simplifying the structures and forms included in textbooks:

...in such a way as to correspond to a certain language learning age even if they are less frequent and less elegant than other lexical items and structures.

Widdowson (1979: 199) seems to reiterate a similar view when he writes:

...one might devise syllabuses which actually presented the erroneous forms which particular groups of learners were prone to produce, gradually bringing 'correct' standard forms into focus as the course progressed.

As the above authors, as well as Corder (1975a and 1976) point out, the suggestion that the learners' actual interlanguage should be included in the teaching materials, though it seems theoretically interesting, is pedagogically unworkable and at least at present, most teachers are unlikely to accept it. An orientation in the teachers' attitude seems a prerequisite for the implementation of such a syllabus (Widdowson 1979: 199). Corder

(1976:33) therefore, suggests that a more realistic approach towards the learner's interlanguage should be adopted. As he sees it, by a selective correction of the learner's so-called errors: "...attempt to teach only what his interlanguage system permits him to learn at any particular moment".

7.3.2 A shift of emphasis towards communication

Corder's suggestion seems useful. Moreover, since communication is the principal function of a linguistic competence and the learners' strategies are evidence of this we need, as Corder, Wilkins, Widdowson and many others have suggested, a shift of emphasis in teaching away from preoccupation with the grammar of the L2 towards a concern with communication in the L2.

The suggestion that more emphasis should be given to the communicative requirements of the learner should not be interpreted as a call for neglecting the errors learners make in the process of using their L2. It seems important to realize that the view that L2 learning "...is a matter of acquiring correct usage is deeply ingrained in all language users and not only in those who are professionally concerned with the teaching of language" (Widdowson 1979: 199). Efficient operation in a language requires attention to comprehensibility of the message and also to the rules and restrictions of the L2. It is the task of those concerned with L2 instruction to create conditions that will encourage the learner to communicate in the L2 and at the same time devise the necessary remedial procedures that will help bring the learner's language into conformity with the L2 code rules and restrictions including those relating to In this way the learner can develop an effective stylistic appropriateness. communicative competence in the L2 given that the other relevant factors are favourable.

7.3.3 A communicative lexical competence

Before we discuss what remedial procedures can be adopted in the light of our findings about our learners' strategies and the errors they made, let us examine the aspects of an effective or 'ideal' lexical competence or find answers to the questions: What does it mean to have a productive lexical competence in a L2?, or What does it imply to know the LIs of a L2?

As Richards (1976: 78) points out, no native speaker of any language acquires all the LIs of his L1. While the grammatical and phonological structures are acquired at an early stage in life, the acquisition of the lexical structure is a continuous development that goes beyond childhood. In fact, adults continue to acquire new LIs throughout their life. The adult native speaker's vocabulary has been estimated at between 10,000 words for a non-academic adult to upwards of 80,000 words for a professional scientist. College students are said to be able to recognize between 60,000 and 100,000 words (Mackey 1965: 173). However, lexical competence and fluency are generally judged on

...people's ability to communicate effectively in the specific social circumstances in which they need to function and not in terms of a percentage of the number of words known to the total number of words in the language. (Judd, 1978: 11-12)

The contention that lexical acquisition is the most sizable and most tedious task for the learner has been emphasized in the introduction to this thesis. The examination of the learners' utterances has shown, we hope, that the interesting problems seem to occur in the intermediate-advanced stage, i.e. when learners begin to make use of their knowledge of the L2 creatively. The learners' attempts to express their intended meanings were not always successful because they constantly made wrong lexical choices and violated linguistic and sociolinguistic restrictions on the use of LIs.

7.3.3.1 Components of a communicative lexical competence

Our attempt to answer the question: What does it mean to know a given LI?, will be made in the light of the weaknesses observed in our learners' performance:

(i) Knowledge of a LI implies knowing the meanings associated with it in various contexts, i.e. knowing its semantic range. Apparently the use of LIs in various contexts is primarily dependent on the knowledge of their denotative ranges. The fact that some LIs overlap in meaning implies that native speakers know intuitively the distinctive semantic features inherent in each LI which make it more appropriate to realize a particular concept. It is this knowledge which enables a native speaker to deal cognitively with his environment (see Lennenberg 1967: 334). The native speaker of English, for instance, knows intuitively when to use stare at, commit, escape and fast rather than gaze, do, run and swift respectively. He acquires the distinctions between the above and similar LIs in the maturational process and they become established components of his lexical competence.

For the L2 learner, it is obviously impracticable to learn all the semantically related LIs or the semantic ranges of a given LI simultaneously. Teaching and learning extend over a long period of time: the adult learner's problems are increased in that his concept formation is more or less complete by the time he starts to learn the L2 (see 3.2.1). Although this knowledge, as has been shown, is an asset and in many respects useful, the learner encounters difficulties because the semantic ranges of assumed equivalents are not always co-terminous in his L1 and the L2 (see 3.4.1).

(ii) Knowledge of LIs implies familiarity with the relevant sociolinguistic constraints on their occurrence. The native speaker's lexical competence includes recognition of the register characteristics of LIs which enables him to adapt to the demands of the various communicative situations and, thus, makes his lexical choices in accordance with their appropriateness to the field, mode and tenor of discourse. For the learner, therefore, knowledge of the sociolinguistic phenomena is indispensible because LIs derive their emotive meanings from the sociolinguistic phenomena which are determined by the culture of the language community.

(iii) Having a lexical competence entails knowing the associations LIs have on both the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes. As Richards (1976: 81) says:

Words do not exist in isolation. Their meanings are defined through their relationships with other words and it is through understanding these relationships that we arrive at our understanding of words.

The native speaker's knowledge of a given LI includes recognition of the LIs that are related to it paradigmatically by sense relations and also its likely collocates on the syntagmatic axis. It has been pointed out above that tests on word-association and also findings on learners' communication strategies provide evidence that paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations seem to play an important role in the way we recall and use LIs (see 7.1.1.1). It follows that this aspect of the native speaker's lexical competence allows him to reject any deviant collocations he encounters and also observe collocational restrictions on the use of LIs in various contexts.

(iv) An important aspect of a communicative lexical competence is knowledge of the syntactic range of LIs. The native speaker acquires the syntactic properties of LIs concurrently with their semantic ranges. The fact that there is no clearcut distinction between semantic and syntactic ranges has already been indicated. Suffice it here, to say that syntactic features such as transitivity, intransitivity and restrictions on the type of subject and object a verb can take are important features of some LIs. As Richards (1976: 80) reminds us: "Our knowledge of a word is not stored simply as a concept; we also associate specific structural and grammatical properties with words".

The native speaker's lexical competence also includes knowledge of the grammatical forms of the same LI and, at least, implicit knowledge of the morphological rules for deriving new LIs and using words in compounds.

- (v) Inherent in the native speaker's lexical competence is the ability to simplify through paraphrase and circumlocution semantically or morphologically difficult LIs and avoid using some LIs on particular occasions for sociolinguistic reasons. Equally important is the speaker's ability to use complex LIs such as idioms, proverbs and other fixed expressions to achieve stylistic excellence. In all these cases, a competent native speaker will do so and yet keep in conformity with the rules prescribed by his language.
- (vi) As Corder (1973a: 87-8) puts it: "One outstanding characteristic of human language that differentiates it from animal communication is its creativity". With specific reference to lexical competence, native speakers constantly use LIs in new collocations and still conform to the collocational norms. L2 learners too, as is noticed in their utterances, use the LIs at their disposal in new collocations. However, the collocations learners produce are often identified by native speakers as deviant because in their attempts to express meaning learners bring together on the syntagmatic axis mutually intolerant LIs.

The above features of an ideal communicative lexical competence provide a useful framework for an approach to teaching and learning a L2 lexical structure. Language syllabuses and teaching techniques can derive from these assumptions insights about the characteristics of the desired end-product in teaching the lexical structure of a L2. To give the learners control of L2 LIs, it is necessary to put them in full command of the various ranges LIs have in different linguistic and situational contexts. In other words, the learners' lexical competence remains incomplete as long as they are lacking knowledge of some of the above aspects.

As Stockwell et al (1965: 280) say: "it is not practicable, of course, to present at one time all the ranges of each new LI". Therefore, they suggest that provision must be made to cover in a systematic progression the largest practicable number of these important features.

In addition to Stockwell et al's valuable observation, it must be pointed out that L2 teaching and learning, especially its lexical structure, stretches over a fairly long period of time. Learners constantly attempt to use their partial knowledge of the L2 in communicative situations before they have a full grasp of the relevant restrictions. As has been shown throughout, this leads to making errors of different types. It is not conceivable that learners will acquire native speakers' knowledge of even a small group of LIs without ever making lexical errors (Myint Su 1971: 324). It remains, therefore, the teachers' task to devise the appropriate remedial procedures to deal with their learners' errors.

7.3.4 Remedial procedures in L2 lexical acquisition

If it is accepted that errors will be made systematically in the learning of a L2, that they are a necessary by-product of the learning process and that, by their very nature, represent violations of L2 rules and restrictions, then remedial procedures have to be adopted for their correction in the classroom.

In view of the findings about the nature of language learning as a cognitive process, the technique of error correction cannot be:

...one of simply presenting the data again and going through the same set of drills and exercises to produce the state of 'overlearning'. It requires, on the contrary, that the teacher understand the source of the errors so that he can provide the appropriate data and other information, sometimes comparative, which will resolve the learner's problems and allow him to discover the relevant rules. (Corder, 1973a: 293)

The findings and insights provided by a study of the learners' lexical errors and interlanguage at large, can therefore have their applications in the

preparation of teaching materials and also to the teacher's techniques of presentation in a controlled order to help the learner discover the underlying rules, lexical interrelations and restrictions on lexical choices. Correction procedures founded on linguistic and psycholinguistic analyses of the deficiencies shown in the learners' performance undoubtedly can help the teacher not only correct his students' errors but also guide them to develop their interlanguage into a useful means of communication.

Correction procedures adopted by L2 teachers often deal with individual The process necessarily involves discovering the causes of lexical errors. the learners' lexical choices. The teacher has, therefore, to carry out a linguistic analysis of the ULI and the TLI, attempt to find out what semantic distinctions differentiate their meanings to make one rather than the other more appropriate to express the meaning intended by the learner. analysis on the model of the one followed with samples of the learners' errors in the various subcategories seems sufficient for such purposes. The distinctions and the LIs that are found to present difficulty for the learner should be pointed out and receive exceptional emphasis in the re-teaching programme. In practice, however, it may not always be possible to correct all the errors learners produce. Nevertheless, correction may be limited to the more frequent and more habitual errors of the whole group of learners. Correction may also The errors which seriously hinder communication be related to error-gravity. or cause a high degree of irritation should receive more attention.

As Sah (1971: 32) puts it:

If at every stage we keep in view the errors that the learners actually commit and plough back our results into our teaching, we will obtain a gradual reduction of errors. This is because errors arising from all sources and not only from interference will be corrected at every stage. Thus eventually we may reach the stage where all errors are eliminated.

7.3.5 <u>Pedagogical implications of the lexical-error types and the</u> strategies they indicated

The scope and purpose of this thesis may not allow the examination of all the possible practical applications of findings from a study of the learners' lexical errors and the strategies these errors indicate. Issues relating to aspects of lexical pedagogy and in particular the various techniques of presentation of L2 LIs and their memorization have been the subject of a previous study by the present writer and it does not seem appropriate to reproduce this here. The foregoing discussion in this chapter and elsewhere seems sufficient to show the relevance of findings in the study of interlanguage to L2 pedagogy. It seems more to the point to make some pedagogical remarks on the types of lexical error and problems our study has shown to be characteristic of intermediate-advanced Arab learners of English and, therefore, require special consideration in the teaching programmes devised for learners at this stage.

7.3.5.1 Pedagogical implications of semantically-motivated overgeneralization

The lexical errors in the subcategories of sense relations indicated that the learners seemed, at least at this level, to store their vocabulary by families associated with meaning. As has been shown, in all the subcategories the ULIs bore semantic relations to the TLIs. This finding about the processes followed by the learners which, as has been explained, is parallel to evidence in word association tests seems to lend support to the arguments of proponents of the semantic field theory about the psychological validity of conceptual fields. They are also in agreement with the views that some LIs are more closely related than others and that the meaning of each LI is determined in opposition to the other members of the same lexical field (see 2.3.2.1).

The pedagogical implications of this finding for teaching the lexical structure of a L2 are obvious: if it is accepted that LIs are better implemented

in memory and recalled if learned in semantically-related groupings, then one may suggest that the selection of LIs in each lesson and the techniques of presentation and practice should be carried out in a way as close as possible to the way LIs are organized within a memory, i.e. in semantic fields (see Cornu 1979: 264). The actual realization of this suggestion requires that the lexical structure of the L2 be divided into 'sub-fields' containing LIs bearing close semantic relations to each other on the model of the lexical groupings in the Roget's Thesaurus; for example, verbs of saying: say, <a href="https://utter, state, suggest, describe etc., LIs referring to one's place in society or profession: position, place, rank, standing, status etc. These semantic fields "...provide 'natural' groups of the vocabulary which could serve as 'items in a syllabus'" (Corder 1973a: 316-17).

As Corder (ibid: 317) points out, there has always been an element of a semantic field in L2 textbooks. For instance, the LIs for 'parts of the body', 'vegetables', 'colours', 'sports' etc. are often grouped and presented in the However, the selection of the lexical content of a language same lesson. syllabus cannot be based exclusively on the paradigmatic relations holding Lexical fields include many LIs which may not be relevant to between LIs. the learners' communicative needs. Different stages of learning seem to require different lexical choices. On the other hand, it has been explained above that LIs derive their meanings from their use in linguistic and situational In such contexts both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations give The relevant syntactic properties play their important LIs their meanings. Needless to say, successful communication requires that learners role as well. should attend to sociolinguistic and culturally determined features of the situation. In short, "Learning vocabulary is learning how words relate to external reality and how they relate to one another" (Wilkins 1972: 133).

What is needed therefore, is a lexical syllabus that combines all the aspects which are prerequisite for communicative efficiency. Such a syllabus

has been discussed in pedagogical literature under different names, e.g. 'situational' or 'functional' (Corder 1973a), 'notional' (Wilkins 1976) and more recently, 'communicative' (Widdowson 1979).

In such a syllabus

...the criteria for grouping the material are derived from the natural interests and objectives of the learner, and typically take the form of a series of 'centres of interest' or 'topics' such as: the house, the family, the school, the post office, the street, etc. (Corder 1973a: 318).

The lexical content of a communicative syllabus can be derived from an analysis of the various topics that are likely to occur in the language use of a given group (Wilkins 1976: 76). The establishment of topics or themes of this type can provide useful contexts in which paradigmatically and syntagmatically related LIs can be presented. For instance, in a topic on 'shopping' the lexical content may include shop, store, sell, goods, cheap, price, bargain and many others. Since the context of situation of the topics or themes will determine our lexical selection, sociolinguistic restrictions can be simultaneously attended to, i.e. the selected LIs will be appropriate to the field, mode and tenor of discourse. Moreover, because the LIs will occur in full linguistic contexts their morphological forms and the relevant syntactic constraints will be acquired concurrently.

The adoption of such a communicative approach should not be expected to stamp out lexical errors in the use of semantically related LIs. The communicative demands made on the learners, especially on the production level, constantly exceed their lexical resources. Besides, intermediate-advanced learners encounter LIs from various sources and are tempted to use them in

^{1.} In view of his definition of 'situation' as "...the sum of the observable and independently describable features of the context in which a language event occurs" Wilkins (1976: 15-18), maintains that a situational syllabus, though useful in certain circumstances "...does not offer a general solution to problems of syllabus design". He presents his 'notional syllabus' which he says takes the desired communicative capacity as the starting point. For our purposes in this study this distinction between the two terms is not very important and 'communicative syllabus' will be used throughout.

their performance before they have full control over their use. For these reasons learners overgeneralize semantic ranges of LIs, extend rules and drop out restrictions in order to achieve communication. The teacher's techniques of error correction should deal with these.

Lexical errors which show overgeneralization accounted for in terms of the sense relations between the LIs in question are pedagogically useful for the language teacher in two ways:

First, the use of a LI A where B is required indicates that the learner does not have, at least in his active vocabulary, LI B and vice versa. For example, the learners who used erroneously the LIs things (item 1), people (item 2), state (items 3 and 4), lose (item 87), migrate (item 58), most probably had not acquired the appropriate LIs, i.e. goods, customers, mood, waste and expel respectively. This, of course, does not mean that the learners did not know the latter LIs as orthographic forms but rather that they lacked knowledge of them as semantic units with reference to the intended meanings. Moreover, firm instances of lexical avoidance can reveal to the teacher what features seem to present difficulties to the learner on the production level.

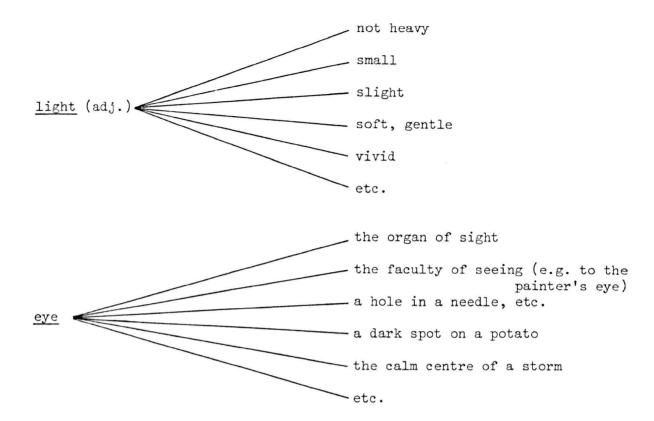
Second, the erroneous use of the overgeneralized LI (i.e. the ULI) is a vivid proof that the learner does not yet have an intuitive knowledge of the restrictions on its use. In both cases therefore, the learner's errors reveal to the teacher the weaknesses of the learner's competence and the aspects where his knowledge is insufficient to meet his communicative demands.

The analysis of lexical errors has shown that overgeneralizing a LI to a context where another semantically related LI was required often resulted in the infringement of the collocational syntactic or register restrictions on its use. Therefore, in a remedial programme, it seems necessary to pinpoint to the learner any such restrictions and a variety of contexts should be provided for practising the LI in question.

Paradigmatic relations provide useful monolingual techniques for the presentation of new LIs. For instance, a previously acquired superordinate LI may be exploited in elucidating the meaning of its hyponyms and vice versa. This also applies to quasi-synonyms, opposites and LIs in a part-whole or cause-effect sense relation. The semantic features these LIs have in common or in opposition can be employed in illustrating their meanings, e.g. the LIs state, journey, do, fine and die can be used to explain the meanings of mood, voyage, commit, punishment and kill respectively.

It must be emphasized, however, that adopting linguistic techniques which make use of sense relations require a high degree of skill and caution on the part of the teacher. Sense relations, as has been explained, are context-bound. To use paradigmatically related LIs for defining each other's meaning out of context is misleading and is more likely to confuse the learner. Many inappropriate lexical choices in the subcategories of overgeneralization can be attributed to faulty teaching techniques. What should always be borne in mind is that definitions which do not relate LIs to their linguistic and situational contexts will only be superficial because they do not often account for the semantic distinctive features which identify semantically related LIs, let alone the collocational, syntactic and register restrictions they are subject The general verb do, for example, cannot be used to convey the meaning of commit unless it is clearly stated that the referent has the characteristics of being 'bad', 'wrong' or 'unlawful' and that the collocation do a crime is Similarly, voyage cannot be defined precisely by journey without deviant. the proviso that it is usually a 'long journey made by boat or ship'.

The phenomena of polysemy and homonymy also make it necessary that semantically related LIs are presented in their appropriate contexts. The following examples illustrate this:



Furthermore, it has been stated above that some research findings indicate that there is significant variation in the collocational ranges of different forms of the same LI (see p. 46). It does not seem to require similar evidence to argue that even the semantically most closely related LIs behave differently on the syntagmatic axis, e.g. work and labour, as nouns, share reference to 'activity which uses effort'. The only difference between them lies in the supplementary meaning components 'unpleasant' and 'tiring' which are inherent in the meaning of labour. Collocationally, it can be shown, they behave differently as in:

He was sentenced to ten years with hard { labour } .

Therefore, traditional lists of synonyms and antonyms prepared by some teachers and also imprecise definitions which make use of the sense relations out of context do not serve the learners' communicative demands.

Sense relations should not be regarded as a source of difficulty or an obstacle to acquiring an effective lexical competence. On the contrary, they play a very important role in the process of L2 lexical acquisition. Wilkins (1972: 131) puts it, "Whenever the learner is in contact with spoken and written utterances, he is exposed to these intralinguistic relations...". Moreover, the adult learner is intuitively equipped to search for these interrelations which form essential components of his L1 competence. sense relations are useful in what is traditionally known as 'vocabulary Through extensive reading and exposure to texts from various registers the learner can increase his passive vocabulary. linguistic and situational contexts help the learner to infer the general meaning of LIs, the specific meanings of overlapping LIs remain only dimly known. On the production level, therefore, learning to discriminate interrelated meanings, to pay attention to the relevant sociolinguistic features and make the appropriate lexical choices is a gradual process. What is important, however, is that intermediate-advanced learners, as the analysis of their lexical errors has shown, resort systematically to sense relations to express meanings. The adoption of adequate corrective procedures for the errors the learners produce will help them acquire the finer distinctions between related LIs and gain awareness of the various restrictions on their use.

7.3.5.2 <u>Pedagogical implications of overgeneralization deriving from</u> formal relatedness

We have attributed to overgeneralization errors motivated by phonological, orthographic and morphological links between LIs. Whatever process the learners followed, their attempts resulted either in wrong lexical choices or failure to give the TLIs their appropriate orthographic and morphological forms.

Moreover, in the few instances of reliance on previously learned derivation

rules, some learners produced by analogy non-existent LIs with reference to the intended meanings.

It has been stated in the analysis of the errors in this subcategory that such errors are not purely lexical since their analysis requires statements made at the other linguistic levels. However, in linguistics, clearcut distinctions between levels of analysis are not always possible to draw.

Moreover, the ability to give a particular LI its accurate orthographic and morphological forms and to know the limits of applicability of the L2 derivation rules are essential components of an effective lexical competence. The fact that some of these errors are also occasionally made by native speakers should not deter us from adopting the required remedial procedures to deal with them.

Native speakers are often able to correct themselves spontaneously but learners' formal relatedness errors are usually persistent.

The finding that intermediate-advanced learners tend to confuse physically similar LIs and as a consequence of this sometimes establish semantic links seems to have pedagogical implications for the selection and presentation of LIs. In selecting the lexical content of a text adapted for L2 learners, care should be taken not to include confusable LIs in the same text, such as quality: equality; fail: feel; attention: intention; weather: whether etc. The learner should encounter them at different times and thus the opportunities for confusing them are minimized. More importantly, however, formally related LIs should always be presented in their appropriate linguistic and situational contexts so that they can be related to their concepts and collocates. Contextualization can help consolidate learning these LIs as well as their The adoption of a communicative syllabus, as described above, in retention. which the selection of lexical content is made on semantic rather than formal criteria does not often give rise to the occurrence of physically similar LIs in the same context. Decontextualized contrastive presentation, on the other

hand, seems to strengthen the learner's tendency to confuse formally related LIs for the reasons stated earlier.

Learners, of course, never acquire a competent knowledge of a L2 lexical structure without making false analogies and therefore, remedial procedures seem necessary. Remedial teaching in this area should aim at improving the learner's awareness of the distinctions in meaning between formally related LIs. This can be achieved by treating each Ll in such pairs separately without drawing attention to their formal similarity.

The grammatical forms of the same LI, especially of the so-called irregular verbs such as feel, wake, break, take etc. should receive exceptional emphasis in a remedial programme. Moreover, at an advanced stage the teacher needs to point out to his students the limits on the applicability of derivation rules, for example, that the same forms do not necessarily take synonymous affixes, cf. pre-natal and ante-natal, but preview and not *anteview, premature but not *antemature, ceaseless and not *stopless, non-stop but not *non-cease, etc.

7.3.5.3 Pedagogical implications of resort to paraphrase and circumlocution

It was shown in 6.3.1.2 that the learners' resort to paraphrase and circumlocution ended in the production of utterances which ranged from being almost error-free to being inappropriate and even incomprehensible. Moreover, because the learners exploited their total cognitive knowledge when using paraphrase, some utterances required for their interpretation and reconstruction familiarity with the learners' cultural background (e.g. see items 254 and 288).

The contention that the ability to paraphrase meanings and use circumlocution successfully are important components of one's competence in one's Ll
has been made above (see pp.264-65). Apparently, the ability to do so in a
L2 marks a high degree of competence in that language. Therefore, the learner's
resort to paraphrase and circumlocution, regardless of the degree of
comprehensibility of the resulting utterances, provides useful information

on the general state of his productive lexical competence and about the aspects in which it is inefficient to meet his communicative demands.

The analysis of the learners' utterances in this category indicated that, generally, the learners had no full control of these linguistic operations. Their performance showed that they resorted to paraphrase and circumlocution under the pressure of need to express meanings for which they lacked the appropriate LIs. For instance, in items 265-268 the learners lacked the verb fast and in items 269-273 the learners did not possess humiliate, shame, dishonour or bring low which, despite their semantic differences, could have conveyed the target meaning.

Therefore, instances of recourse to paraphrase and circumlocution in written (and spoken, where relevant) performance on a given topic indicates to the teacher what LIs are not yet in the learner's active vocabulary, or, put in other terms, what concepts are still not lexicalized in the learner's productive competence. In the light of findings about the learner's requirements, the appropriate remedial procedures can be adopted. It may be necessary to review LIs that have been taught previously but are still confined to the learner's receptive competence. Moreover, sometimes it is vital to include some new LIs which have been identified as indispensible for the learner's expressive needs in a given field of discourse.

7.3.5.4 Pedagogical implications of Ll-motivated overgeneralization

The occurrence in the learner's performance of errors indicating resort to lexical language transfer has implications for L2 teaching and learning.

The learner's transfer of semantic ranges of Ll LIs onto L2 LIs, as has been said earlier, seems to confirm the hypothesis that adult learners tend to conceptualize the world in terms of their lexicon. However, as Wilkins (1972: 130) puts it:

Vocabulary learning is learning to discriminate progressively the meanings of words in the target language from the meanings of their nearest 'equivalents' in the mother-tongue. It is also learning to make the most appropriate lexical choices for particular linguistic and situational contexts.

In contexts of one-to-one correspondence and in instances where the L1 provides many LIs for a given concept which is lexicalized in the L2 by a single LI (i.e. many-to-one correspondence) the learner faces no difficulty on the production level. He has only to learn and produce the form in question when referring to the intended meaning (Myint Su 1971: 322). The situation of many-to-one correspondence seems to present difficulties on the level of reception. The learner finds that the L2 does not make the finer distinctions which are lexicalized in his L1. The examples of English cousin, uncle, man and their equivalents in Arabic have already been cited (see 6.3.2.1.2).

On the other hand, recourse to L1 where the semantic and syntactic ranges of L1 LIs are wider than their L2 assumed translation-equivalents and also in cases of one-to-many and many-to-many correspondence, as has been demonstrated, presents serious difficulties to the learners. Differences in semantic and syntactic ranges caused the learners to underdifferentiate in the L2. The reasons for difficulty seem clear: as Myint Su (1971: 323) puts it in the case of one-to-many correspondence:

If one linguistic unit in the Ll corresponds to many in the L2, it is most probable that finer distinctions are made in the L2 which are not made in the Ll. He has to learn these distinctions and must know which lexical item to apply to each specific context. It takes an effort to learn to look at a familiar area in a new way, through a new 'grid' provided by the L2.

In contexts of many-to-many correspondence:

...the conceptual area is the same but each language has a number of linguistic units segmenting it in different ways and each unit in each language corresponds to another unit in the other language but not over a coterminous area. An example of this is <u>drown</u>, <u>sink</u> and <u>plunge</u> and their Arabic equivalents /yaraqa/, /yatasa/ and /ya:sa/ (see pp. 288-9). According to Myint Su (ibid: 323-24), "In such cases the learners will make errors in what may seem a random way, choosing one item and then another for the same context at different times". However, in free written production this statement seems to be true only of highly frequent groups of synonyms which are all known by the learner. In most situations the learner seems to have in his active vocabulary one or two members of the lexical set of overlapping LIs. Therefore, he overgeneralizes their reference to all the meanings for which he uses his Ll LIs, (unless he chooses to adopt any other strategy, e.g. paraphrase).

Moreover, decontextualized presentation and using bilingual techniques for defining meanings can cause the learner to underdifferentiate. It must, therefore, be emphasized that Ll LIs which refer to concepts lexicalized differently in the Ll should always be presented and practised within their proper linguistic and situational contexts which determine their semantic ranges and syntactic functioning.

A contrastive analysis of English and Arabic (taking into account both MSA and LCA) can predict the areas of difficulty in cases of lexical non-isomorphism. The existence of other extralinguistic factors in the teaching-learning situation implies that only the study of the learner's performance can confirm what errors the learners actually commit. Nevertheless, knowledge of the linguistic problems involved remains indispensable for discovering the causes of such errors and dealing with them in a remedial programme. At an intermediate-advanced level, errors due to lexical non-isomorphism can be used to explain differences between the L1 and the L2 in the lexicalization of conceptual fields as well as variation in semantic content, syntactic functioning and register restrictions of the LIs covering the same field in the two languages. Furthermore, at an advanced stage, and particularly where the learners are trainee-teachers who are also introduced to applied linguistics (e.g. our third and fourth year

students), the teacher can assign the learners the task of providing contrastive linguistic descriptions of errors involving lexical non-isomorphism and also to search for potential instances which may cause such errors. At this stage the learners' attention should also be drawn to the differences between Arabic and English in deriving words, and to the fact that in English one cannot derive words as easily as in Arabic.

7.3.5.5 Pedagogical implications of resort to literal translation

The learners' resort to literal translation of L1 habitual collocations, idioms and proverbs resulted in unacceptable sentences. The learners' utterances provide unmistakable evidence of the shortcomings of their lexical competence with regard to these categories in English.

The observation that most lexical errors result in the production of inappropriate collocations has already been made. This is often the outcome of the learner's combining on the syntagmatic axis two or more incompatible or mutually intolerant LIs. It is obvious, however, that these are not often so strikingly deviant as in the cases of transfer of Ll habitual collocations which are differently lexicalized or non-existent in the L2 as in: *make/do a bath, a party, a picnic (items 349-367), *receive one's account (item 394), *walk on the straight line (item 396), *the train of civilization (item 404) etc.

Recourse to literal translation, therefore, results in errors because, as has been explained, apart from the rather few idioms and proverbs which may be regarded as universal, most languages do not allow the collocational patterns and idiomatic structures found in other languages (see 3.4.5). Moreover, the applications of idioms and proverbs are, to a very great extent, culturally determined. From a psycholinguistic point of view, then, resort to literal translation of habitual collocations and idioms, more than any other strategy (except perhaps language switch), indicates that the learner operates within

his Ll's world-view and culture. It has been shown in many instances that the learners frequently transferred emotive meanings and stylistic features characteristic of their Ll. More importantly, the learners' utterances sometimes showed the effects of a diglossic situation characterized in the use of the high-flown type of style pertaining to the 'H' variety of MSA. It is true that in all languages which have linguistic differences between the spoken and written varieties, writers have to pay attention to the stylistic distinctions in accordance with the mode of discourse. Awareness of the deep differences between the two varieties in a diglossic situation seems to increase this tendency.

Literal translation of Ll conventional syntagms by intermediate-advanced learners in free production has pedagogical implications. Obviously, resort to these aspects of the Ll lexical structure shows unequivocally that the learners lacked the appropriate L2 conventional syntagms to express the intended meanings. This also shows that the corresponding L2 collocations or idioms are aspects of inherent difficulty and constitute principal obstacles to the acquisition of an effective communicative competence in the L2.

For the native speaker, knowledge, both receptive and productive, of the conventional syntagms forms an important element of his lexical competence.

For the learner, too, familiarity with these morphologically complex LIs

"...is normally considered a mark of high proficiency in a foreign language"

(Wilkins 1972: 129). Therefore, at an intermediate-advanced stage, this aspect of L2 competence needs to be given exceptional emphasis in the teaching programme. In Alexander's view (1979: 193-94):

In the higher reaches of proficiency in English one factor which prevents non-native speakers from simulating native speakers' command of the language is the failure to employ either correctly or typically certain classes of fixed expressions.

^{1.} The fact that idioms and proverbs are often paraphrased by native speakers when addressing children and foreigners is a recognition of their inherent difficulty.

The sources of difficulty in learning and using fixed expressions are obvious too: they are multi-word LIs that have to be memorized as prestructured whole units. Furthermore, since most idioms and proverbs, as has just been said, are deeply embedded in the culture of the language community, the appreciation of their full import and that of the utterances containing them hinges upon sharing the relevant sociolinguistic presuppositions.

In a remedial teaching programme for Arab learners, special attention should be devoted to the high frequency English habitual collocations, particularly those with take and have. This study has found evidence that, even at an intermediate-advanced level, Arablearners of English have difficulty with these and tend to replace them systematically with L1 collocations using do and make through literal translation. The LIs the L2 uses for expressing meanings for which the learners occasionally use L1-specific idioms and proverbs should also be pointed out to the learners.

Conventional syntagms, in common with other types of LI, should be taught and learned in their proper contexts. Memorizing lists of them out of context, apparently, does not meet the communicative demands of the learner because he will be unable to restrict their use to the appropriate contexts (Wilkins 1972: 129). Moreover, this class of LI seems to require more time to shift from the receptive to the expressive competence for the reasons stated earlier. Therefore, throughout the teaching-learning process, opportunities for using them in both the spoken and written modes of the language should be made available to the learner.

7.3.5.6 Pedagogical implications of appeal to formal similarity and language switch

The low frequency of errors attributed to formal similarity (i.e. between L1 and L2 LIs) and language switch made us conclude that in learning a language

unrelated to one's L1 these do not seem to constitute important strategies for expressing meaning. On the other hand, in learning a related language, for example French for English speakers, or Spanish for speakers of Italian and vice versa, some of the studies reviewed above have found evidence tending to confirm that learners rely on formal similarity and language switch as strategies for encoding meaning.

Therefore, in learning related languages which have large numbers of 'true' and 'deceptive' cognates, learners' performance will include formal similarity and language switch errors. In the light of the processes discovered about the learners' use, appropriate remedial procedures will have to be devised to deal with them.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has investigated the problems of acquiring and using the LIs of a L2. It has been shown that linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic phenomena are relevant to the treatment of this subject. It seems useful to make general and final remarks on the issues that have been investigated. In doing so, we will point out the limits of this study and where further research and follow-up investigations are needed. In this section we will also briefly consider what implications our findings have for the English teaching-learning situation in Libya.

(1) Our treatment of the linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of L2 lexical acquisition in the theoretical parts of this study has been limited to issues which, in our view, are most relevant. However, the discussion of some of these issues cannot, at least in the present state of research in these fields, be more than tentative. general linguistics, as has been explained, until recently lexis and semantics have received relatively little attention. The strong interrelations between grammar and lexis on the one hand (see 2.1.2) and language and culture on the other (see 3.3.2), have made it difficult to have a comprehensive theory Nevertheless, there have been different approaches of lexis or semantics. which have attempted to define some of the basic units and account for the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations holding within lexical structures (see These approaches are invaluable to research on L2 lexical acquisition 2.2.2). because they provide the metalanguage which makes descriptive linguistic statements about the learner's interlanguage possible.

The relevance of sociolinguistic phenomena to L2 lexical acquisition cannot be disputed since, as has been explained, language is a social activity and the LIs one uses in various situational contexts vary along the dimensions

of the subject of discourse, mode of utterance and, no less important, the relationships one has with one's interlocutors (see 3.1.2). The learner's task, therefore, is not confined to acquiring lists of L2 forms and how they function in sentences but also how they are used in the various contexts of situation in which he finds himself. It is no exaggeration to say that for most learners, sociolinguistic phenomena constitute the principal obstacle to acquiring a near-native competence in a L2.

Similarly, from a psycholinguistic point of view, differences between acquiring one's L1 and learning a L2 and the fact that the adult learner possesses a prestructured semantics of his L1 have implications for learning the lexical structure of the L2 (see 3.2.1). Although, as has been pointed out, knowledge of the L1 is a useful asset in learning a L2, in many ways it presents problems due to differences between languages in the lexicalization of concepts and the strong relationship between language and thought and also language and culture (see 3.3). Acquiring a communicative competence in a L2 involves some familiarity with its native speakers' world-view. We will return to this point when we come to consider the implications of this study for the English teaching-learning situation in Libya.

Further research is badly needed on all the abovementioned linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of L2 lexical acquisition.

(2) In Chapter Four we discussed some of the approaches to L2 learners' difficulties in the field of applied linguistics. These included CA, EA and interlanguage studies. Findings of research in all these subdisciplines of applied linguistics have utility for investigating the strategies L2 learners adopt and adapt for learning a L2 and using it for communicative purposes.

CA, in its weak version, is almost indispensable for the linguistic description and diagnosis of interlingual errors which indicate the learner's resort to lexical transfer or borrowing under communicative need. EA, on the other

hand, provides useful techniques for the descriptive study of errors regardless of their origin. Interlanguage studies investigate the total linguistic output of the learner and attempt to find out the processes he follows in order to learn and make his cognitive knowledge an effective tool for communication. Viewed in this perspective, these subfields of applied linguistics are complementary and not mutually exclusive. Further research, especially on the lexical level and on issues of lexical acquisition, is required in all of them.

(3) In the practical part of this study we investigated the strategies adopted by intermediate-advanced Arab learners of English for expressing meaning in spontaneous written discourse. Our means of investigating the learners' strategies were the learners' own lexical errors and utterances which, though not necessarily formally erroneous, indicated resort to particular strategies under communicative need.

This study has found evidence that the learner at this stage employs his total cognitive knowledge to express his intentions and ideas. Given the need to express meaning, the learner is ready to exploit his partial knowledge of the L2 to the full through generalizing, in fact overgeneralizing, previously acquired LIs by relying on semantic and formal criteria. Moreover, the learner's linguistic knowledge at this stage seems to enable him to make use of paraphrase and circumlocution as useful devices for encoding meanings.

As has been shown, in relying on semantically motivated overgeneralization and the linguistic operations of paraphrase and circumlocution, the learner is in fact making use of strategies that are used by native speakers of a language in communicative situations, especially those which require lexical simplification. The same processes are exploited by translators, writers of simplified texts and language teachers. This led us to conclude that the

adult learner is actually employing strategies which he is familiar with in using his Ll and in his learning career.

The examination of the utterances which showed features of the learners' L1 has shown that impelled by the need to encode messages in the L2, some learners are prepared to generalize L2 LIs on the model of L1 LIs and translate literally to the L2, habitual collocations, idioms and clichés. However, as hypothesized for learners whose L1 is unrelated to the L2, formal similarity and language switch do not seem to constitute important strategies for expressing meaning.

Some remarks need to be made about the classification of the strategies and the findings of the analysis:

- (a) The taxonomy of the learners' strategies, though it is detailed, is not considered as <u>all-inclusive</u>. The data we have used did not allow for the occurrence and the investigation of some strategies for expressing meaning reported by some researchers in the field, for example, 'paralinguistic strategies' and 'appeal to authority' which are more characteristic of face-to-face interaction. A more refined classification, therefore, would have been achieved if the written data had been supplemented by oral production data from the same learners. This would have also made available information about variation in strategy use as the medium of discourse changes. For purely practical reasons this has not been possible.
- (b) In common with other studies in the field, this study had as its objective the investigation of L2 learners' strategies on the level of production. The strategies L2 learners employ for interpreting and understanding messages in the L2, i.e. on the reception level, to the best of our belief have not been tackled as yet. It will be useful to find out what strategies learners use in the latter situation and what the relationship is, if any, between learners' production and reception strategies.

- (c) It must be emphasized here again that attributing a particular lexical error to a given strategy is not always clearcut. demonstrated that, in many cases, more than one explanation is possible. This implies that the strategies learners use overlap occasionally and, therefore, the boundaries between them in the taxonomy should not be considered as rigid. Moreover, although we have taken into consideration many criteria as the basis for interpretation of the learners' utterances, the assignment of a particular error to a given strategy or one of its subcategories and the statements made about the process by which the learner had arrived at a particular ULI remain only plausible hypotheses until tested in some way - for instance, by asking the learner on the spot about the difficulties he had experienced during the production phase of the utterance and how he set about solving his communicative problems. One is not sure if this would provide an objective way of discovering what actually goes on in the learner's mind during an act of communication. While the learner may be able to give useful information about the lexical gaps in his competence and any inherent difficulty which could have forced him to adopt a strategy of avoidance, he probably cannot be assumed to describe accurately how he set about searching for escape routes for encoding his message. research is needed on this important issue.
- (d) It has been observed that individual differences play an important role in the learners' use of strategies. As Corder (1978b) says, different learners typically resort to favourite strategies. The personality factor seems to be one of the most important in this respect (see 5.1.1). As shown in our data, the 'overconfident' or the 'risk taker' type of learner tends to resort more to strategies of communication, particularly those of formal replacement through sense relations and paraphrase. It remains for future research to investigate individual differences between learners in this

- respect. Such investigations should take into account the learner's communicative abilities in his Ll as well.
- (e) With specific reference to the L1-based strategies, one of the findings of this study was the tendency of learners who have a diglossic background to transfer from both varieties in their L1. Contrary to the belief that in written production, lexical transfer takes place only from the H variety, the present study has found evidence to show that both the H and the L varieties act as the L1 (see 7.1.2). It is the register in which the learner happens to be performing which seems to determine where the transfer will originate from. As observed in our data, in the registers pertinent to everyday life situations, transfer took place from the L variety but in learned topics which are often discussed in the H variety, transfer originated from this variety. More importantly, however, learners in this situation tend to transfer to the L2 the effects of the distinctions between the H and L varieties. This was shown in the use of the high-flown type of style and overelaborated forms in the L2. It will be interesting to find out to what extent learners in this situation transfer from each variety as the medium of discourse changes from spoken to written.
- (4) In the analysis of samples from the learners' performance we have pointed out the communicative effects of the strategies the learners employed for encoding messages. A summary of these effects was given in Chapter Seven. It must be emphasized, however, that it is not always possible to account for all the effects of the learner's attempts to turn his linguistic competence into a communicative tool. While it may be straightforward to pinpoint the learner's violation of a particular rule, it is often difficult to account for effects on style or evaluate the degree of success the learner had in expressing the intended meaning by resorting to a given strategy. Clearly, not all the strategies will have the same effect on the

comprehensibility of the message. Some studies in the field of error gravity have attempted to evaluate learners' errors from this point of view by asking native-speaker informants to rate the learners' utterances on a scale of gravity but, as has been seen, the relative gravity of the types of lexical error have not been investigated as yet. The validity of the techniques used in such tests is also questionable (see 4.2.2.6).

(5) In the light of our findings about the learners' strategies and their communicative effects we have attempted in Chapter Seven to consider their pedagogical implications for teaching and learning L2 vocabulary. As has been explained, there are some useful insights and valuable applications of findings from interlanguage studies, especially in remedial teachings and in the design of the lexical content of syllabuses. However, within the limits of our present knowledge of the relevant linguistic, psycholinguistic and extralinguistic phenomena we should not be over-enthusiastic for the application of findings from such studies. Further research is required in order that we have a better understanding of the complicated cognitive processes involved in learning a L2 and using it to achieve communicative effectiveness.

Implications for the English teaching-learning situation in Libya

Specific remarks have been made in 7.3 about the required remedial procedures for the deficiencies which seem to characterize the productive lexical competence of the Libyan learner of English at an intermediate-advanced stage. In this concluding part, it seems useful to consider what general suggestions can be made to improve the English teaching-learning situation in Libya in the light of the findings of this study.

The examination of the learners' performance who are doing English as their subject of specialization and who are trainee-teachers and, therefore,

for whom acquiring a near-native competence in English on both the reception and production levels is essential, has shown that even at an intermediate-advanced stage some learners have considerable difficulties in communicating their desired messages spontaneously and clearly. The utterances which indicated lexical transfer provided evidence that even at this stage, communicative demands far exceed the learner's linguistic competence and, therefore, in order to cope with the communicative situations in which he happens to be performing, he has to borrow from his Ll. Moreover, some learners, as their utterances showed, seemed to have lacked awareness of the connotations LIs carry for the native speakers of the language.

One of the causes, in our view, for the learners' lack of productive competence on the lexical level can be referred to the teaching of English in the preparatory and the secondary stages, in isolation from the culture of its speakers.

Although it is accepted by educationalists that a L2 is better taught and learned within the framework of the culture of its speakers, educational authorities in most developing and also developed countries take cautious positions against what they consider as cultural penetration which in their view, interferes with the creation of loyal and patriotic citizens. Libya is no exception. On the above basis, the textbooks used in the preparatory and secondary schools mostly draw upon the Libyan cultural background (see 1.5.1). In addition to this cultural orientation, the teachers in the above two stages during which learners acquire their basic vocabulary, have no exposure to 'genuine' or 'real' English since English does not play any role in communication among Libyans (Suaieh 1974). Even at the university level where the learners are taught by competent teachers who are either native speakers of English, or others who have an almost native-like competence in English, this emphasis on cultural orientation is manifest in the choice

of topics for compositions, for instance, 'a day in the life of a Libyan farmer', 'a Libyan wedding', 'what one does during Ramadan', etc.

If, throughout the learning stage, an attempt is made to teach English in isolation from its cultural background, it does not seem realistic to expect the learners to acquire a near-native competence in the language, especially as regards its lexical structure. Obviously without a good grasp of the cultural background of a L2, it is very difficult to master its lexical structure either for receptive or productive purposes. It is, therefore, recommended that as far as is practically possible and so far as the nationalistic feelings of the Libyan people may permit, English as the first foreign language in Libya should be taught with more explicit reference to its culture. However, there are certain aspects of the Anglo-American culture which may contradict the Arabic-Islamic culture and which should be avoided. On the other hand, there are many aspects of life that are not culture-specific and therefore can be exploited in the initial stages of the L2 instruction during which the learners' knowledge of the L2 may not enable them to acquire culturally determined meanings. Once a reasonable command of the L2 has been achieved, L2-specific meanings can be introduced gradually in more comprehensive assignments (Lado 1964: 131).

In order to improve the teachers' own linguistic competence in the abovementioned preparatory and secondary stages, remedial programmes should be undertaken. These can be carried out through the provision of in-service training courses organized locally or abroad in some English-speaking countries. The aim should be to give the teachers adequate exposure to <u>real</u> English. In such courses teachers should also be introduced to general and applied linguistics including language pedagogy to improve their awareness of language and bring them up to date with modern methods and techniques of L2 instruction. The fact that there are no Libyan linguists at the present time should not

hinder such programmes. Foreign experts and linguists should be encouraged to visit the country during summer vacations to help with the training and offer their suggestions. The establishment of links for educational cooperation with specialist institutions in Britain or any other English-speaking country can serve the objectives of teacher training and still more importantly, help speed up the development of Libyan expertise.

In a country like Libya, where the opportunities for hearing genuine English are almost non-existent, the provision of audio-visual materials is necessary to help the pupils and also their teachers gain adequate practice in English. Devices such as language laboratories, video cassettes and films can play an important role as aids to the acquisition of an effective receptive and productive competence in the L2. Used efficiently, audio-visual aids in particular can help elucidate L2-specific meanings and concepts lexicalized differently in the L1 and the L2. Language laboratory materials, on the other hand, can aid the aural-oral skills.

In the preceding discussion and recommendations we have been concerned with learners doing English as their main subject of specialization for whom acquiring an adequate knowledge of the general vocabulary on both the receptive and productive levels is important. Clearly, acquiring such a competence, even if it were attainable, may not be required for all Libyan learners of English. Obviously, the topics that are likely to be important in the language use of a particular group of learners need to be taken into consideration in the selection of the lexical content of the texts they are In the case of language learners doing other subjects in going to learn. English, the lexical content of the syllabus will derive from the field of specialization. For instance, the lexical content of a course prepared for students doing geography as their subject of specialization will be lexically different from one prepared for students doing chemistry. Moreover, although the study and discussion of most subjects involves both reception and production, not all Libyan learners need English for both receptive and productive purposes. For example, for the science students, reception is more important than production. On the other hand, for students in the political sciences, journalism and similar cases both reception and production are important.

Therefore, it is only when the question of what Libyan learners of English are expected to do with their English has been resolved that we can sensibly ask whether they are being taught in the right way and, in terms of Lexis, whether they are being exposed to the right part of the lexicon or not.

This study is based on spontaneous production in the written mode. It has investigated the strategies adopted by intermediate-advanced learners to make up for lexical gaps and deficiencies in their productive competence. Although the analysis has covered a wide range of topics, it is certainly the case that the subject matter of the exercises on which this study is based will have very little relevance to the way they would ultimately use their knowledge of English. It is for this reason that the findings of this study can be only regarded as rough guides to the learners' capacity to cope with the communicative demands of the various situations. However, whatever the topics to which the learner applies his interlanguage, we can assume that he will employ the same set of strategies for learning and for encoding messages. The communicative effects of these strategies will also be similar. Their investigation can yield useful insights into the processes of language learning and language use.

We hope that this study has contributed to the understanding of L2 lexical acquisition and helped to point out its important aspects.

APPENDIX

This appendix consists of the corpus used in the study, i.e. 422 utterances taken from the data described in Chapter Five. The utterances were classified on the basis of the strategies employed by the learners in the production of the ULIs and for identification purposes were also given serial numbers.

The symbols to the right of the serial number were used to identify the paper from which each utterance was taken. In <u>E.2.41</u>, for instance, 'E' refers to <u>Faculty of Education</u>, '2' to <u>second year</u>, and '41' to the number given to the paper. In <u>A.10</u>, 'A' refers to <u>Faculty of Arts</u> and '10' to the number given to the paper. (In the latter no figure was given to the year of study because all the papers were from the second year.) 'C' was introduced to identify the <u>comprehension papers</u> for the third and fourth year students.

The underlined element in each utterance is the ULI. The TLI(s) is enclosed between two square brackets [].

The parentheses () at the end of an utterance enclose the gloss, introduced, where necessary, to elucidate the intended meaning in terms of our understanding of the total discourse. As each lexical error or instance of strategy use was counted once, utterances containing more than one lexical error or instance of strategy use were listed as many times as necessary and cross references were provided to help the reader find the sub-categories under which they were treated.

APPENDIX

L2-based strategies:

Overgeneralization

Sense Relations

Hyponymy and general verbs

Hyponymy proper

- (1) E.2.41: He receives his people in smile face and sold the things [goods] in simple (Topic: A description of a day in the life of a Libyan shopkeeper. Intended meaning: He receives his customers with a smile and sells the goods to them see also 2.)
- (2) E.2.41: He receives his people [customers] in smile face and sold the things in simple (same context as 1).
- (3) E.3.18c: He chose to wait...after breakfast thinking that his father will be in a good state [mood] (The subject was a son who had been convicted of theft and wanted to tell his father, asking for help. He decided to tell him when he was in a good mood.)
- (4) E.3.30c: He hoped to find his father in a good state [mood] but his hope was worthless (The subject was a son who had been convicted of theft and wanted to tell his father, asking for help. He hoped to catch him in a good mood but his hope was in vain.)
- (5) E.3.37c: He hoped to catch his father in a good state [mood] (same context as 4).
- (6) E.4.14: Our Libyan tea contains of three cups... The third usually with <u>nuts</u> [almonds] or peanuts (A description of a tea drinking session in Libya. Intended meaning: The third cup of tea is often offered with almonds or peanuts.)
- (7) E.3.23: I was ashamed to request more sugar. I forced myself and my neighbour to drink it without sugar as a kind of <u>fine</u> [punishment] (The subject was having tea on a plane. By mistake he has emptied the sugar he was given into the soup thinking it was alt. He was too shy to ask for more sugar. He and his friend had to drink their tea without sugar as a kind of punishment— see also 130.)
- (8) E.1.62: Because at the time we visit our <u>nephews</u> [relatives] (a description of what to do on a feast day. The writer is referring to the custom of visiting relatives but not specifically nephews on this occasion).
- (9) E.1.33: After we finish all our doing we starting the <u>voyage</u> [journey] we take the car and we watching the road. (The subjects were going on a picnic by car.)

General verbs

- (10) E.1.62: In the day we wake up in the morning and <u>do</u> [say, offer up] our first prayer. (The writer was describing religious practices in Ramadan, i.e. saying or offering up one's prayers.)
- (11) E.2.17: He takes his breakfast with his children and his wife then he <u>does</u> [says, offers up] his prayer. (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer.)
- (12) E.1.36: In this day my father goes to the mosque because he wants to do [say, offer up] his prayers. (The writer was describing his family's life and activities on a Friday: Intended meaning; My father goes to the mosque to say the Friday prayers.)
- (13) E.1.33: My father goes to the mosque to do [say, offer up] his prayers.
- (14) E.1.28: By twelve o'clock my father goes to the mosque to do [say, offer up] his Friday prayers.
- (15) E.1.26: At the first day I woke up at seven o'clock and <u>did</u> [said, offered up] my first day prayer. (The subject was describing what she did on the first day of Ramadan.)
- (16) A.21: These are some of my hopes, I don't know if I'll do [realize] them or no. (The subject was writing about his hopes for the future. He was not sure whether his hopes would be realized or not.)
- (17) A.10: I haven't thought any other hopes to do [wish for, hope for] during the new year. (The subject was writing about his hopes for the new year. Intended meaning: I do not have any other hopes to wish for.)
- (18) E.3.16c: He feels that Freddy has <u>done</u> [committed] his crime and he must be responsible on it. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son had been convicted of theft.)
- (19) E.3.19c: He was caught and suspected that he may have <u>done</u> [committed] a bad work (i.e. action) or a theft. (Reference was to a person who has stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: He was arrested by the police for interrogation. Then he was convicted: see also 328.)
- (20) E.1.5: In this month Muslims always go to the mosque to <u>make</u> [say, offer up] a special kind of prayers. (The writer was describing what Muslims do during the month of Ramadan.)
- (21) E.1.59: On Friday my father goes to the mosque to make [say, offer up] prayers. (The writer was describing family's life and activities on a Friday. Intended meaning: My father goes to the mosque to say/offer up the Friday prayers.)
- (22) E.4.27: The film show the people in all the world the crimes that the whites <u>made</u> [committed] to (against) the blacks. (Topic: a summary of 'Roots', a film about racial discrimination in the U.S.A.)

- (23) E.1.52: I want all the people to come to the beach ... to enjoy themselves with this mercy of God to the people that he make [created] the sea. (The subject was on a picnic at the seaside. Intended meaning: I want all people to enjoy themselves at the sea which had been created by God, see also 166.)
- (24) E.2.10: Her family <u>made</u> [arranged, made a decision on] her marriage. (Reference is to a girl, whose marriage has been arranged to a man of her family's choice.)
- (25) E.3.5c: ...but his father <u>make</u> [paid] no attention about what Freddy is talking about. (Freddy (the son) has stolen a gold ring from a shop. He turned to his father for help but the father paid no attention to Freddy's demands.)
- (26) E.1.55: We <u>made</u> [took] a lot of photos. (The subject was on a picnic in the countryside and took a lot of photos.)
- (27) E.3.19c: ...by his crime he has <u>made</u> [put] his family in a hard situation. (The subject has committed a crime, an action which has its effects on his family's reputation.)
- (28) E.3.17c: He took [chose, found] a good way of punishing his son. He did not help him by paying the fine ... for the police. (Reference was to a boy who has stolen a gold ring. His father decided not to pay the fine to keep his son out of prison.)
- (29) E.2.29: They went and took [bought, rented] a house and lived in it together. (The subjects have moved to a new house.)
- (30) E.1.67: The car goes [runs] so smoothly and comfortably. (A family going on a trip in a car.)
- (31) E.1.28: My small brother asks my father to go [drive] faster than his speed at the country roads. (A family going on a picnic in a car. The father was asked to drive faster.)
- (32) A.16: I must work hard, study hard to get [realize] these hopes. (The subject was writing about his own hopes for the future.)
- (33) E.1.32: We watch television. It often <u>uses</u> [shows] the best programmes in that month. (The writer was describing T.V. programmes during the month of Ramadan.)

Oppositeness and Incompatibility

- (34) E.1.92: The revolution built a number of factories and it made the <u>wet</u> [dry] desert green farms. (Topic: The Green revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: The revolution has turned the dry desert into green farms.)
- (35) E.1.20: We <u>sell</u> [buy] beautiful flowers and some sweets. After a hour we enter the hospital. (The subjects were visiting a friend in hospital. They bought a bunch of flowers before the visit.)

- (36) E.2.30: He is cheerful everyday because he is <u>buying</u> [selling] the good (i.e. goods) to people and he took the money from them. (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan shopkeeper. Intended meaning: He sells goods to people and earns more for that. He is very pleased.)
- (37) E.2.6: At the evening they carried the fruits, vegetables, milk, eggs...etc. to the car to take them home to <u>buy</u> [sell] them the next morning in the market. (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He gathers the farm products to take them to the market and sell them.)
- (38) E.1.64: At 8 o'clock in <u>afternoon</u> [evening] my father told me to find my brother and the children because he wanted to return to house. (The subjects were a family going home after they had spent a day on the beach, see also 124.)
- (39) E.1.56: We cannot eat anything or drink the whole day until 7 o'clock at noon [evening]. (Writing about fasting in Ramadan. Intended meaning: We fast until 7 o'clock in the evening, see also 268.)
- (40) E.1.52: At 4 o'clock evening [afternoon] we played football ... I like this game too much.
- (41) E.1.50: I go to the kitchen to helping (i.e. help) mother for cooking the <u>lunch</u> [dinner]. (The subject was describing what she does at home on a day of Ramadan, in which no midday meal is served. Intended meaning: I go to the kitchen to help my mother cook the dinner.)
- (42) E.1.43: I start with my mother to prepare the <u>supper</u> [dinner]. (The subject was describing how she helps her mother at home in cooking dinner during Ramadan.)
- (43) E.1.43: When the time of <u>supper</u> [dinner] nears the streets be empty. (The subject was describing life in her town during the month of Ramadan. Intended meaning: The streets become empty of people and cars as the time for dinner (i.e. time for breaking the fast) approaches.)
- (44) E.1.70: But more than 80% of this area is completely desert. Because of this most of the land is <u>useful</u> [useless]. (Topic: The Green Revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: Most of the area is desert and therefore is useless.)
- (45) E.2.24: We see him every day wake up earlier than the others and come [go] to the farm fastly. (A description of a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He gets up earlier than other people and goes to his farm quickly, see also 340.)
- (46) E.1.33: We wake up at six o'clock, we <u>put off</u> [put on] our clothes washing our faces and taking our breakfast. (The writer was describing what she and her family do on Fridays. Intended meaning: We get up at 6 a.m., put on our clothes, wash up and have our breakfast.)
- (47) E.4.11: She has another responsibility to think about which is how to bring up her children and how to choose the best time for having them, but this point <u>detatches</u> [involves, concerns, matters for] the father as well as the mother. (Topic: A woman's place is at home.)
- (48) E.2.39: After he had 23 years on struggling <u>against</u> [for] his beliefs he died leaving his friends holding the motto. (The writer was describing the life of the prophet Muhammed. Intended meaning: He spent 23 years struggling for his beliefs, then he died and left his friends to continue the task.)

Part-whole relations

- (49) E.1.43: We sit around the table and eat the different <u>meals</u> [dishes, types of food]. (The writer was describing the occasion of having dinner with his family. Reference is made to one meal only.)
- (50) E.1.46: On Ramadan we cook many different <u>meals</u> [dishes, types of food]. (The writer was describing the different types of food they cook for a dinner in Ramadan.)
- (51) E.1.43: We prepare cakes, sweets and many different meals [dishes, types of food]. (The writer was describing the types of food they had at home at a single meal.)
- (52) E.1.62: All the family sit by the table ... there is a cooking called sharba (i.e. soup), it is the best thing to eat before the dinner [main course]. (A description of a Libyan dinner. Intended meaning: we sit at the table and have soup first, it is the best thing to eat before the main course; see also 305 and 418.)
- (53) E.3.25: He spoke something in his <u>accent</u> [language] we couldn't understand him except a word visa. (The writer was on a visit to a foreign country. He was addressed in a foreign language 'Polish'.)
- (54) E.3.19w: Ali has recently built a house and furnished it with all sorts of accommodation [furniture]. (Ali was the writer's friend.)

Cause-effect relations

- (55) E.2.29: The husband of his mother followed him there again to make troubles in his way to <u>die</u> [dash, kill, smash, put an end to, destroy...] his hopes. (A summary of a story about a boy who was maltreated by his stepfather, see also 259.)
- (56) E.2.20: He works hard, he didn't <u>lost</u> [waste] his time in anything except his duty. (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: The farmer does not waste his time. He devotes all his time to his work, see also 103.)
- (57) E.2.42: When their death was <u>heard</u> [announced, declared] to their state it was a great mourn to their family and the state. (A summary of a book about two youths who committed suicide to show their opposition to the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.)
- (58) A.3: Uganda migrated [expelled] all the citizens of Israel after a visit paid by the president of Uganda to Libya. (The writer was referring to the expulsion of the Israelis from Uganda when Amin was in power.)

Quasi-Synonymy

Quasi-synonymous verbs

- (59) E.3.9: This is how his story started as it was said [told, reported] by him. (The writer was reporting what a friend had said.)
- (60) E.1.85: The first thing I realized that most of the students go to the cafeteria and they stay most of the time there <u>saying</u> [telling] jokes and gossiping. (The writer was describing her own experience on the first day in University.)
- (61) E.3.30: My brother <u>said</u> [told] some jokes which he couldn't forget at all.
- (62) E.1.25: He was lying on his bed and tried to get up when he saw me. I greated him and <u>said to</u> [told, asked] him to stay in his bed. (The writer was visiting a friend in hospital. The friend tried to get out of bed but he told him to stay in.)
- (63) E.3.35: Before I say [describe] his feelings and thoughts I want to say that his feelings and thoughts before and after the interview was very different. (The writer was attempting to describe the feelings of a boy who had been convicted of theft.)
- (64) E.3.25: My friend told [suggested, proposed] to return back to Libya but I decided to return to Czechoslovakia. (The subjects were two friends on a trip abroad. One of the friends suggested that they go back home.)
- (65) E.1.32: In the end I wanted to tell [ask, invite] you to come and spend the holy month with me. (The subject was writing a letter to an English friend. He wanted to invite him to visit him in Libya and spend Ramadan with him.)
- (66) E.2.38: It was film retells [describes] how the workmen were working hardly in one of the factories in Libya (a summary of an educational film about industry in Libya: the film describes work in one of the factories.)
- (67) E.1.27: My wife asked me what happened? I couldn't answer my wife's question. I couldn't spoke [say, utter] any words. (The writer was stunned on knowing that a friend had had an accident.)
- (68) E.3.16: I left the hospital and I was <u>announced</u> [told] that my sister had put a baby but it died. (Intended meaning: I was told that my sister had had a baby but it had died.)
- (69) E.1.17: My brother at 10 o'clock have <u>carried</u> [took, gave me a lift] me to her house and passed a nice night with her. (The subject's brother took her in his car to one of her friends.)
- (70) E.1.49: On Friday I always <u>lift</u> [take] my brother with me in my car. (The subject was writing about what she does on Fridays.)

- (71) E.3.39: He <u>lifted</u> [raised] his head, turned towards me and repeated the question in short. (The writer met an old friend whom he did not recognize. Intended meaning: He raised his head (i.e. to face him) and repeated the question to me....)
- (72) E.1.10: After that I smoke and took a rest about one hour and <u>saw</u> [watched] the television. (The subject was writing about what he did on evenings. Intended meaning: I have a cigarette, take a rest and watch T.V.)
- (73) E.1.52: I went to make a douche (i.e. have a shower). I saw [looked at, had a look at] my lessons then I went to sleep. (see also 357 and 422)
- (74) E.1.12: I stood on the beach and <u>fixed</u> [watched]them how they were playing in the water. (The subject was at the beach with her family. Intended meaning: I stood up and watched them (i.e. children) playing in the water.)
- (75) E.3.31: I <u>seized</u> [fixed] my eyes on a small photograph beside me. (Intended meaning: I fixed my eyes on a small picture beside me <u>or</u> The picture caught my eye.)
- (76) E.3.28c: The reaction of Freddy's father. He shocked and suprised when he heard the news. He refused to take care of the excuse and gazed [stared at] to him. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: When he heard the news he was shocked and surprised. He did not accept his son's justification. He stared at him for a while see also 275.)
- (77) E.2.41: He meets many people from many countries and he <u>recognizes</u> [gets to know] them. (Topic: A day in the life of a shopkeeper. Intended meaning: He meets people from different places and gets to know them.)
- (78) E.1.90: I <u>recognized</u> [knew] from her that she works in the house very hard beside the work in the store. (The writer met one of her friends who told her that she had been busy because she took up a job in a store.)
- (79) E.1.48: Really we spent a nice day and we didn't know [realize, notice] how the time passed quickly. (The subjects were on a picnic, they had a good time that they did not realize how the time passed so quickly.)
- (80) E.3.30: It was the last night for it. Even a person couldn't run [escape] of death. (Intended meaning: It was the last night of its life (i.e. their cow). Even a human being cannot escape from death.)
- (81) E.4.16c: His mother died when he was young, thus she did not share [take part in, participate in, contribute to] the education that he got. (The subject was a child who had lost his mother when he was young and she did not take part in his education.)

- (82) E.3.14c: He enforced [carried out, executed] his plan but he soon found himself between the police's hands. (The subject had carried out his plans to steal but was immediately arrested by the police.)
- (83) E.1.32: I promised to write to you but I didn't work out [keep, fulfil] my promise. (The writer was apologizing to a friend because he did not keep his promise to write to him.)
- (84) A.8: The soil of the ground is soft in Tripoli and if it raining the soil is <u>drink</u> [absorbs, takes in] the water. (The writer was making a comparison between Tripoli and Benghazi. Intended meaning: The surface of the ground in Tripoli is sandy and therefore when it rains it absorbs the rain water.)
- (85) E.1.75: We made (i.e. went for) a picnic in good places to please [enjoy] ourselves and see other places. (see also 364)
- (86) E.3.29: I go to hospital to <u>fix</u> [have treated] my leg and take the injection against the rusted nail which wounded me. (The subject was injured by a rusty nail. She went to hospital to have her leg treated.)
- (87) E.3.1c: The family will be <u>counted</u> [considered, regarded, looked upon] as dishonest and not honourable family. (The family's son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. This action had its effects on the family's reputation, i.e. The family will be regarded as disreputable.)
- (88) E.2.22: The government establishes ... farms and <u>divides</u> [distributes] them to the farms. (Topic: The Green revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: The government establishes new farms and distributes them to farmers.)
- (89) E.3.5c: The police <u>caught</u> [took] him to prison about his badly manners. (Reference was to a boy who had committed a crime, he was taken for interrogation and kept in detention.)
- (90) E.3.19c: He should apply [ask (for) beg (for)] forgiveness from his family which he destroyed by his useless and shameful doings. (The subject had committed a crime, an action which affected his family's reputation. Therefore he should apologize and ask for forgiveness from his family.)
- (91) E.1.25: When I was hearing [listening] to him I was very sorry about what was happened to my friend. (The writer was on a visit to a friend in hospital. He was listening to his friend telling him about the accident he had had.)
- (92) E.3.32: They took tea and after that Hatem <u>showed</u> [expressed] his big desire to see the nice old pictures. (Intended meaning: They had tea. Then Hatem expressed a strong desire to see the old pictures.)
- (93) E.3.39: I had thought before that the problem <u>belonged</u> [concerned] to one of my friends not to me. (The subject was spoken to by a person about an issue that he initially thought did not concern him.)

- (94) E.3.6: He left the country after he had given me a present that <u>contains</u> [preserves] all the years that we have spent together. (The subject left abroad. But before doing so he had given his friend a present to make her remember him for ever.)
- (95) E.1.30: After we prepare everything and <u>get</u> [make] sure that everything is already completed we load our car with the things which we need. (A family going for a picnic.)
- (96) E.1.42: They went to clubs or shops to <u>pass</u> [have] a good time talking and joking themselves. (The writer was describing how people spend the nights of Ramadam in Libya. Intended meaning: They go to clubs and shops to have a good time amongst themselves.)
- (97) E.3.39c: Making the theft so small and appearing the excuse so reasonable to him he felt his father would mend [rectify, make restitution] it. (The subject had stolen a gold ring from a shop. He turned to his father for help. Intended meaning: On explaining the situation to his father he tried to make his crime appear as a minor offence in the hope that his father would rectify it or make restitution.)

Quasi-synonymous nouns

- (98) E.3.3lc: He thought about his social <u>position</u> [standing] and the great consideration he had among his social members. (The subject was a father whose son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. The father was worried about his family's standing in society.)
- (99) E.2.7: The women able to reach the same <u>ranks</u> [positions] as the men reach. (Intended meaning: Women are able to obtain the same positions in society as men.)
- (100) E.2.16: Though many Arab countries are trying to alter the <u>level</u> [status, condition] of the women, but still the advantages have been very little. (The writer was discussing the status of women in the Arab countries. Intended meaning: Although many Arab countries have been trying to improve the status of women little progress has been made.)
- (101) E.4.1: I have had to continue my struggling in this life because God mentioned the <u>movement</u> [work] but not mentioned the rest. (The subject was writing about his own life. Intended meaning: I have had to continue my struggle in life because God urged people to work and to avoid laziness see also 102).
- (102) E.4.1: I have had to continue my struggling in this life because God mentioned the movement but not the <u>rest</u> [laziness, idleness]. (Same context as 101.)
- (103) E.2.20: He works hard he didn't lost his time in anything except his <u>duty</u> [work, job]. (A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He works hard. He does not waste his time. He devotes his time to his work see also 56.)

- (104) E.4.10c: He thought that his father had made his job [duty] towards him. (The subject was a boy who had been convicted of theft. He turned to his father for help. Intended meaning: He realized that his father has always done his duty towards him see also 313.)
- (105) E.2.39: A little <u>amount</u> [number] of people believed him and the most of them said that he had become mad. (A summary of a film about the history of Islam. Intended meaning: A small number of people believed him (i.e. prophet Muhammed) while most people considered him mad, see also 132.)
- (106) E.4.11: She has to think about her income to find out the best way to divide it a <u>share</u> [part, portion] for food another for clothing. (The subject is a housewife. Intended meaning: She has to make out a budget for the household affairs and find out a way how to divide the family income, a part for food...etc.)
- (107) E.1.70: Before the revolution the oil was not used to improve the economic <u>parts</u> [sectors]. (Topic: The Green revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: Before the revolution the oil revenues were not used to improve the economic sectors.)
- (108) E.1.47: I think that the <u>chief</u> [head, administrator] of the hospital is pleased from them and their help to the sick children. (The writer was referring to two doctors working in a children's hospital. Intended meaning: The head of the hospital is pleased with them.)
- (109) E.1.56: I don't have a lot of time to write about the feast. I can give you a general knowledge [idea] about it. (The subject was writing a letter to an English friend describing to him what Muslims do during the month of Ramadan and the Breakfast Feast.)
- (110) E.3.11c: But after <u>interview</u> [meeting] with his father he shocked and went back ... (The subject was a boy who was convicted of theft. He turned to his father for help, had a meeting with him to explain what happened. After the meeting he was shocked because the father failed to help.)
- (111) E.2.24: Then he takes the <u>instruments</u> [tools, implements] of the farm and go to it. (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer.)
- (112) E.4.25: There no difference between black and white people and we support the <u>problem</u> [cause] of the black in America and South Africa. (Topic: Racial discrimination in the U.S.A. and South Africa.)
- (113) E.1.17: I hope that your family in good way [health, spirits] ... (The subject was writing a letter to an English friend expressing his best wishes.)
- (114) E.1.82: Universities are good place because of their own works [services] to the people. (Intended meaning: Universities are good because they provide services to the community.)

- (115) E.3.2c: The father was angry didn't agree with his son system [way] of life. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: The father was angry and he did not like his son's way of life.)
- (116) E.1.25: Everyone must pay attention when he is driving because a small <u>fault</u> [mistake] may be lead to the death. (The writer was offering advice to drivers.)
- (117) E.3.22c: He thought that was only a small <u>fault</u> [mistake, error, minor offence]. (The subject had stolen a gold ring from a shop which he regarded as a minor offence.)
- (118) E.3.36c: When he saw his father the <u>case</u> [situation, state of affairs] had changed. He began feel uneasy. (The subject was a boy who has stolen a gold ring from a shop. He turned to his father for help. When he met his father the situation changed and got to worse because the father failed to help.)
- (119) A.7: This <u>case</u> [situation, state of affairs] went on until the end of 1939 when the Second World War had broken out. (Topic: History of the Benghazi Zoo.)
- (120) E.1.82: I did with my new friends and old friends many picnics to the <u>seashore</u> [seaside, beach]. (The subject was writing about the picnics he had had with friends at the seaside.)
- (121) E.4.12: After they had taken their lunch all the family went to the seashore [sea, beach] for swimming (a family having a picnic at the seaside)
- (122) E.1.53: On summer holidays my family usually goes out for holidays to open lands or the <u>seashore</u> [seaside, beach]. (see also 283)
- (123) E.1.52: We got up to the car and my father drove to the <u>seashore</u> [seaside, beach]. (The subjects were a family going for a picnic at the seaside see also 219.)
- (124) E.1.64: At 8 o'clock in Afternoon my father told me to find my brother and the children because he wanted to return to house [home]. (The subjects were a family going home after they had spent a day on the beach see also 38.)
- (125) E.3.27: I went house [home] and I told my wife, of course my wife agreed...
- (126) E.1.59: We rided the car and went to the <u>house</u> [home], my father drove the car. (The subjects were a family returning home from a picnic. Intended meaning: We got in the car and started our journey home. My father was driving see also 297.)
- (127) E.1.36: When the sun begins to go all the people begin to go to their <u>houses</u> [homes] and also we. (The subjects were out for a day at the seaside. Intended meaning: when the sun starts to disappear all people go home including us.)

Quasi-synonymous adjectives and adverbs

- (128) E.4.1: Those who don't attend most of the lectures they do not allow to attend the exam. So in my point of view the attending of the lectures should be <u>free</u> [optional]. (Intended meaning: The students who do not attend most of the lectures are not allowed to sit for the examination. In my view attendance at lectures should be optional.)
- (129) E.1.80: At first days I felt <u>ashamed</u> [shy, embarrassed] because it was the first time I read with boys. (The subject was a female student describing her first day at University. Intended meaning: I felt shy because it was the first time I had studied with male students see also 303.)
- (130) E.3.23: I was ashamed [shy] to request more sugar... (The subject was travelling by plane and needed more sugar for his tea but he was too shy to ask for more from the hostess.)
- (131) E.3.27: I told my wife, of course my wife agreed and advised me to go before the <u>certain</u> [exact, fixed, specified] time came. (The subject had had an important appointment. He told his wife about this and she advised him to go at the exact time.)
- (132) E.2.39: A <u>little</u> [small] amount of people believed him and the most of them said that he had become mad. (A summary of a film about the history of Islam. Intended meaning: A small number of people believed him (i.e. Prophet Muhammed) while most people considered him mad see also 105).
- (133) E.3.27c: Strong [violent, conflicting] thoughts came to his mind and he decided to wait until after breakfast in order to catch his father in good behaviour. (The subject had been convicted of theft. He decided to turn to his father for help. Intended meaning: Conflicting thoughts crosses his mind and he decided to wait until after breakfast in order to catch his father in a good mood see also 161.)
- (134) E.3.9: After a heavy [difficult, embarrassing] time had passed I knew that he was quite sure indeed. (The subject met an old friend that he no longer recognized. He was describing this situation. Intended meaning: After some embarrassing moments at the beginning I realized that he was sure that he knew me.)
- (135) E.3.lc: His father started blaming him with <u>rough</u> [harsh] word and became very angry. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father towards a son who had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: His father blamed him using harsh words.)
- (136) E.4.25: How the negroes worked in the <u>ugliest</u> [unpleasant] and lowest work. (Topic: Racial discrimination in the U.S.A. Intended meaning: The blacks do the most unpleasant and low-paid jobs.)
- (137) E.1.64: My father was walking swiftly [fast, at a high speed] to arrive us early. (The subject was going for a picnic with his family in a motor car. Intended meaning: My father was driving fast in order that we get home early see also 309.)

(138) E.1.9: We reach the place, we eat our dinner very <u>fast</u> [quickly] and go to walk in the nice farm. (The subjects were having a picnic on a farm.)

Others

- (139) E.1.52: <u>During</u> [while] we were eating she joked about eating and <u>during</u> [while] we were playing she was swim and joking. (A family on a picnic at the seaside; reference is made to a particular person in the family.)
- (140) E.1.22: The family cooks food and women begin to sing <u>during</u> [while] they were cooking. (The writer was describing a marriage ceremony in Libya. Intended meaning: The women sing while they cook the food for the party.)
- (141) E.2.17: <u>During</u> [while] she was swimming she had felt that a strange thing below the water. (A summary of the film "Jaws". Intended meaning: While the girl was swimming she felt something strange under water.)
- (142) E.1.60: I went to a flowers shop, I bought some flowers so that offer to him while [during] the visit. (The subject was going to visit a friend in hospital. Intended meaning: I went to a flower shop and bought some flowers to give to him during my visit.)

Weak Sense Relations

- (143) E.3.20: The owner of the factory refused to give him a month rest, he told him if he didn't come he would <u>reduce</u> [sack, dismiss] him from the factory. (Intended meaning: The owner or manager of the factory refused to give him a month off and told him that if he did not come to work he would be dismissed from his job.)
- (144) E.3.16: I slept while I was repeating [revising] what I had studied. Suddenly I heard a voice calling. (The subject was a student. Intended meaning: I felt asleep while I was revising my lessons. Then I heard someone calling me.)
- (145) A.28: I'll get a chance to go to England where I can <u>deal</u> [mix, mingle] with the native speakers. (The subject was a student looking forward to visiting England where he can mix with the native speakers and improve his English.)
- (146) E.1.31: While we were crossing the road the car came faster and pushed [hit, struck, knocked down, ran over] my friend. (The writer's friend was hit by a car while they were crossing the road.)
- (147) E.3.37c: He felt ashamed, he felt very sorry for his family because he <u>drowned</u> [brought low, smirched, tarnished] his family's name. (The subject was a boy who had stolen a gold ring from a shop. He felt ashamed and was worried about his family's reputation in society. By this action he brought low his family's name.)
- (148) E.2.45: Now Libya give [exports, sells] the plants and vegetables... to another country. (Topic: The Green revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: Now Libya exports the crops and vegetables to other countries.)

- (149) E.2.22: The government <u>shares</u> [helps, assists] the farmer with a great contribution. (Agriculture in Libya.)
- (150) E.2.28: He joined [counted, gathered] his money which he gets in that day and closes his shop. (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan shopkeeper. Intended meaning: He gathered and counted the money he received at the end of the day.)
- (151) E.3.36: We are in a very large unknown world. We do not know anything about that world. Because our <u>culture</u> [knowledge] about those things is very limited. (Intended meaning: Our knowledge about many things in the world is very limited.)
- (152) A.24: and I study more and more until I got a high study [degree] and teach in the university. (The subject was writing about his hopes for the future. Intended meaning: I will work hard until I get a high degree which enables me to teach in the university.)
- (153) E.1.80: Then everyone began reading in his class and started his <u>lessons</u> [lectures]. (The writer was describing her first day at university. Intended meaning: All students began studying in their class and started their lectures see also 301.)
- (154) E.1.71: There are many important buildings in it. It is a gold [jewel, pearl] of the desert. (The writer was describing Ghadames, an oasis situated in the Western part of Libya. It is often referred to as "the jewel of the desert" for its beauty.)
- (155) E.3.25: The way [journey] took eight hours to reach the board. (The subject was travelling by train. Intended meaning: The journey took eight hours before we reached the station see also 168.)
- (156) E.1.4: There a lot of important <u>incidents</u> [arrangements, preparations] made before proceeding any marriage. One of them of course preparing a new house. (The writer was describing a Libyan wedding.)
- (157) E.3.33c: So he ... must tell his father when he is in a good <u>case</u> [mood] "after breakfast". (The subject had stolen a gold ring from a shop. He decided to turn to his father for help and wanted to approach him when he was in a good mood.)
- (158) A.7: The Zoo is one of the city's important <u>signs</u> [features] which attract the tourists. (Topic: Benghazi Zoo. Intended meaning: The Zoo is one of the most important features which attracts tourists.)
- (159) E.2.43: He always brings the chemical medicine [fertilizer] to improve the growth of the plants. (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer.)
- (160) E.2.36: In the field he sees the grasses and all the trees... sometimes need water, sometimes need medicine [fertilizer]. (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. He adds the chemical fertilizer to the crops and plants to make them grow better.)

- (161) E.3.27c: He decided to wait until after breakfast in order to catch his father in good <u>behaviour</u> [mood]. (The subject was a boy who had been convicted of theft. He turned to his father for help and waited to speak to him when he was in a good mood.)
- (162) E.4.llc: His father's atmosphere [mood] did not help making him good friendly. (The writer was describing the feelings of a father whose son had been convicted of theft. The son turned to his father for help. But the father's mood did not make him very helpful.)
- (163) E.2.45: Then he take all animals to their <u>rooms</u> [stables, sheep folds, cowsheds] to sleep. (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: At the end of the day the farmer takes the animals to their stables, cowsheds or sheepfolds to sleep. The context does not indicate what animals were kept on the farm.)
- (164) E.1.14: While he was driving and listening to his <u>record player</u> [radio cassette] with pleasure a very fast car crashed him from the back. (The subject was driving a car and listening to music from a radio cassette in his car.)
- (165) E.3.29c: Freddy was disappointed because he found himself in a big <u>fight</u> [conflict, argument] with his father. (The subject (i.e. Freddy) had stolen a gold ring. He turned to his father for help but the father refused to help. They had an argument.)
- (166) E.1.52: I want them enjoy theirselves with this mercy [favour, gift] of God to the people that he make the sea. (The subject was on a picnic at the seaside. Intended meaning: I want all people to enjoy themselves at the sea which had been created by God see also 23.)
- (167) E.3.25: It was snowing when we reached the board [railway station]. (The subjects were travelling by train.)
- (168) E.3.25: The way took eight hours to reach the <u>board</u> [railway station]. (The subjects were travelling by train. Intended meaning: The journey took eight hours before we reached the station see also 155.)
- (169) E.1.15: At eight o'clock we left the house to the beach. All my family were funny [happy, pleased, glad] when we started to go. (The subjects were a family going for a picnic at the seaside.)
- (170) E.2.38: I shall here retall the summerise of this story which was as <u>learning</u> [educational, teaching] film for the students. (The subject was going to give a summary of an educational film.)
- (171) E.3.24: Many of them follow the <u>rude</u> [severe, stern] and stiff behaviour with their children hoping for the best results. (The writer was discussing the various methods followed by some parents with their children. Intended meaning: Many parents follow severe ways of treatment with their children hoping for good results.)

- (172) E.1.31: I said to them that they not be sad because the accident not <u>difficult</u> [serious] and she will be well at few days. (The subject's friend had had an accident. Intended meaning: I told her family not to be worried because the accident was not serious and she will be better in a few days time.)
- (173) E.2.4: ...may be there is a <u>stanger</u> [stray] animal in it. (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He looks out for any stray animals that may enter the farm.)
- (174) E.3.19: He sat down for a while, thought deeply ... to see if his crime is indeed very effective [serious, grave]. (The subject was a boy who had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: He sat down for a while to think whether it was a serious crime or not.)
- (175) E.1.25: The traffic was very <u>crowdy</u> (i.e. crowded) [heavy] that afternoon and it was difficult to find a parking. (Intended meaning: The traffic was very heavy that afternoon. It was difficult to find a parking place.)
- (176) E.2.23: She went <u>according</u> [towards, in the direction of] that sound, entered a farm and suddenly found herself face to face with a young man. (A summary of a short story.)

Semantic - formal relatedness

- (177) E.4.11: There is no difference between man and woman each one <u>completes</u> [complements] the next. (Topic:Emancipation: Intended meaning: There is no difference between men and women. They complement each other.)
- (178) E.2.25: Man and woman complete [complement] each other to make the life and society in good place. (Intended meaning: Men and women complement each other. Together they can make life pleasant.)
- (179) E.1.62: We get in a mosque ... and we <u>still</u> [stay] there until the fourth prayer. (The writer was describing a day in the life of a Muslim during Ramadan. Intended meaning: We go in a mosque and stay there until the time of prayer.)
- (180) E.3.39: I didn't <u>realize</u> [recognize] him and in that difficult situation I had nothing to say but I knew him we shook hands. (The subject met someone who reminded him that they had been together years ago but he no longer recognized him.)
- (181) E.3.31: I <u>discovered</u> [uncovered] his face, I kissed his forehead, my tears wetted his face. (The subject's grandfather died. He was describing the situation.)
- (182) E.1.46: Every father take his children to the market to choose a clothes and many joys [toys] to play with in the feast. (The writer was describing what people do on the Feast of Breaking the Ramadan Fast. Intended meaning: Every father takes his children to the market to choose clothes and toys to play with on the feast day.)

- (183) E.3.13c: His reactions towards this was paying his <u>fees</u> [fine] to keep him from prison. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father towards his son who had stolen a gold ring. Intended meaning: His father decided to pay the fine to stop his son being sent to prison.)
- (184) E.3.24c: Freddy found the father in a terrible anger and the voice looked like a <u>row</u> [roar] of a lion. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father towards a son who had stolen a gold ring form a shop. Intended meaning: Freddy found his father very angry and his voice sounded like the roar of a lion.)
- (185) E.3.32c: He lost his temper and couldn't stop the stream of his hard [harsh] word. (Same context as 184. Intended meaning: He lost his temper and could not stop the outpouring of his harsh words.)

Formal relatedness

Phonological relatedness

- (186) E.3.23: His instructions began: the fork in the left, the knife in the <u>write</u> [right]. (The subject was being given instructions on how to use a fork and a knife.)
- (187) E.4.39: I have the <u>write</u> [right] to reject the idea of racial discrimination. (The writer was expressing his views about racial discrimination in the U.S.A.)
- (188) E.4.43: The black people have their <u>wrights</u> [rights] and freedom. (The writer was expressing his views about racial discrimination in the U.S.A.)
- (189) E.2.6: He went to the boxes of bees to see <u>weather</u> [whether] there was enough honey to be taken. (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He checked the bee-hives to see whether there was any honey to be taken see also 261.)
- (190) E.4.13c: He decided to <u>brake</u> [break] the law. (The subject was a boy who had stolen a gold ring from a shop.)

Phonological, orthographic and morphological relatedness

- (191) E.4.43: All the messages assert the quality [equality] between the human being without colour consideration. (Topic: Racial discrimination in the U.S.A. Intended meaning: All religious teachings assert equality between human beings regardless of their colour.)
- (192) E.1.54: I didn't listen to your <u>advance</u> [advice] about the fast. (The subject was speaking to a friend after having had an accident. Intended meaning: I did not take your advice about high speed see also 338.)
- (193) E.3.24c: But his <u>destiny</u> [destination] was discovered by the police. (The subject had committed a crime. The Police discovered his destination and arrested him.)

- (194) E.2.43: The Libyan farm has been left careless because no intention [attention] to agriculture. (Topic: The Green revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: Farms in Libya have been left neglected because there was little attention to agriculture see also 340.)
- (195) E.3.27: While I was standing something strange felt [fell] on my face, it was looks like a piece of cloth. (Intended meaning: While I was standing something strange fell on to my face. It felt like a piece of cloth.)
- (196) E.3.13: I got out of the car but she <u>felt</u> [fell] down. (The subject's friend fainted while they were driving around.)
- (197) E.2.37: He <u>felt</u> [fell] down dead. (A summary of the film King Kong. Intended meaning: At the end of the film the gorilla fell down dead.)
- (198) E.3.13: Because when she was going downstairs, she <u>felt</u> [fell] down and her leg have been injured. (The subject had had a minor accident at home.)
- (199) E.3.30: Some friends laughed, some other <u>fell</u> [felt] sorry about that bad news. (The writer was describing the reactions of a group of friends on a particular occasion.)
- (200) E.2.26: After five minutes the American <u>failed</u> [fell] down crying. (A summary of a film about the game of Karate between an American and a Japanese.)
- (201) E.2.4: This farmer get up at six o'clock to pray and ... see his children walking up [waking up] from their sleeping. (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He gets up at 6 o'clock to pray and his children wake up later.)
- (202) E.l.1: I <u>walked</u> [woke] up after my brothers and sisters went to the school. (Intended meaning: I woke up after my brothers and sisters have gone to the school.)
- (203) E.1.52: We walk [woke] up at 8 o'clock so I walked [woke] my young sister.
- (204) E.1.66: On Friday all the family $\underline{\text{walked}}$ [woke] up in the morning and then they went to the beach.
- (205) E.1.64: I walked [woke] up we play football. (The subject was at the seaside, had a nap then got up and played football.)
- (206) E.2.5: The crew were <u>talking</u> [taking] their places in the cockpit. (A summary of the film 'Airport'.)
- (207) E.1.19: I shocked [shook] the hand of my friend and I offered him the flowers. (The subject was visiting a friend in hospital.)
- (208) E.3.25: The policeman got on the train, my heart started biting [beating] and I was very exciting to see the man. (Intended meaning: The policeman got on the train, my heart started to beat rapidly...)

- (209) E.3.5: When I was young and my age was about twenty I enjoyed [joined] to Libyan Airforce as a soldier. (Intended meaning: At the age of twenty I joined the Libyan Air Force...)
- (210) E.3.37c: After he told his father, his father <u>respected</u> [reacted, received] the news angrily. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son had been convicted of theft.)
- (211) E.2.25: Also when they <u>forced</u> [faced] any problem in their society they try to solve the problem. (Topic: should men and women receive identical education. Intended meaning: Education will help women to solve any problems they face in their lives.)
- (212) E.3.22: When Freddy came back to his home his sister <u>insulted</u> [consulted, asked, questioned] him about his late and then he went to bed. (The subject came late one night. His sister questioned him about the cause of his lateness.)
- (213) E.4.27: The writer shouldn't have generated [generalized] and condemned all countries but should be more specific. (A criticism of a text about racial discrimination.)
- (214) E.1.7: She told me about the nice nurse she <u>looked for</u> [looked after] her and how she advises her. (The subject told a friend about the care she had received from a nurse during her stay in hospital.)
- (215) E.3.31: My grandfather who I lived with was very kind to me. He spent his life looking for [looking after] me.
- (216) E.1.83: She stayed with her family and <u>look for</u> [looked after] two children and her father. (A summary of a short story about a girl who had lost her mother and had to look after her brother, sister and father.)
- (217) E.2.37: The girl's companies started to <u>look after</u> [look for] her and they knew that the gorilla was carrying her with him. (A summary of the film King Kong.)
- (218) E.1.57: My father <u>put on</u> [put up] the tent by our helping. (The subjects were a family on a picnic.)
- (219) E.1.52: We got up to [got in] the car and my father drove to the seashore. (The subjects were a family going for a picnic at the seaside see also 123.)
- (220) E.1.11: My father goes to mosque to pray the Friday prayers. When he comes he found us <u>already</u> [ready] to go. (The subjects were a family preparing for a picnic.)
- (221) E.4.21c: I have broken the laws and became <u>out of order</u> [an outlaw] when I take up the life of crime. (The subject had been convicted of theft. He was blaming himself for what he had done.)
- (222) E.3.13: Because the friend <u>indeed</u> [in need] is a friend <u>in need</u> [indeed] and she really was. (The subject was writing about one of his friends.)

Word class

- (223) E.4.9: I don't think she will <u>success</u> [succeed] in her job outside and inside the home in the same time. (The subject was expressing his views about the status of women in society.)
- (224) E.1.19: He was very <u>pleasure</u> [pleased] and happy with my visit. (The writer was visiting a friend in hospital.)
- (225) E.4.3c: Freddy undoubtedly was affected of his mother's lost [loss].
- (226) E.4.13: I think she is the best <u>cooker</u> [cook] at least, in my country. (Reference was to the writer's wife.)
- (227) E.4.13: She is an excellent cooker [cook], she cooks delicious food.
- (228) E.4.9: I was really <u>interesting</u> [interested] to read this subject. (The writer was referring to an article about emancipation.)
- (229) E.1.23: Every summer we always went to the sea because we didn't bear the hot [heat or hot weather].
- (230) E.4.5c: He could not forget that heart which was full of warm [warmth] and love. (The subject had lost his mother.)
- (231) E.4.5: The <u>social</u> [society] is compound or formed of two main aspects, the man and the woman. (Intended meaning: The society is formed of men and women.)
- (232) E.1.6: Because it is very <u>danger</u> [dangerous] to let them swimming by themselves. (The subjects were a family at the seaside. Intended meaning: It is dangerous to let them (i.e. children) swim on their own.)
- (233) E.1.16: I and my mother are preparing <u>especially</u> [special] food. (The subject was a girl writing about what she did at home to help her mother.)
- (234) E.3.29c: He explained honestly that he had theft [stolen] a ring and did it because at that time he was completely down. (The subject was a boy who had been convicted of theft. He turned to his father for help and explained that it all took place at a time when he was low-spirited.)

Derivation of non-existent LIs

- (235) A.21: Some old friends were at the funeral, but Poala was not, she has gone ... the stopless [ceaseless] rain quickly covered her grave. (A summary of a short story.)
- (236) E.3.31: I was very sad, I was disoptimistic [pessimistic]. (The subject was describing his own feelings on a particular occasion.)
- (237) E.3.2: Then you find a girl ... walking in the street in very unashamed [revealing, indecent] clothes. (The writer was discussing the deterioration in the standards of morality.)

- (238) E.3.3lc: And his family's name will be again in the white list [regain its honour or reputation] within the social framework. (The family's son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: If he is not convicted of theft his family would regain its good reputation in society.)
- (239) E.4.40: We do not find a class <u>distingation</u> [distinction] in Libya as in the U.S.A.
- (240) E.1.55: The other students also walked and played football and other <u>playings</u> [games]. (The subjects were on a picnic in the countryside.)
- (241) E.2.37: They built a fortress with a very big door, the highest of walls. All these <u>prevents</u> [obstacles, obstructions] were against the power of the gorilla. (A summary of the film King Kong see also 322.)
- (242) E.1.25: I succeeded to make him <u>enjoyed</u> [pleased, happy, joyful]. After the visiting had finished I ... (the subject was visiting a friend in hospital.)

Paraphrase and Circumlocution

- (243) E.2.47: He gathered the fruit and the vegetable which were completely grown [ripe] to take them to the market. (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He gathers the ripe fruit and vegetables to take them to the market.)
- (244) E.2.45: He cut the plants and vegetables which were grown up [ripe] and put them in the boxes to sell them... (A day in the life of a Libyan farmer.)
- (245) E.1.30: She prepares our <u>sea clothes</u> [swimming costumes, beach wear]. (A family going to the seaside. Intended meaning: My mother makes ready the beach wear.)
- (246) E.1.36: My sister is gathering the <u>playing things</u> [toys] now. (The family had a picnic at the seaside and were getting ready to go home. Intended meaning: My sister was gathering her toys.)
- (247) E.3.1: He was very pleased to announce my engaging to my <u>uncle's</u> <u>daughter</u> [cousin]. (The writer was describing his father's feeling on announcing his son's engagement to his cousin.)
- (248) E.3.4: She attended to a work in a social organization and she could solve all the <u>problems of money</u> [financial problems]. (A summary of a story; reference was to a woman who had taken a job in a public institution to solve her financial problems.)
- (249) E.3.10: Tom is a man of a middle age [middle aged man].
- (250) E.3.30: How can I get it out of the stable to <u>put it under sand</u> in a grave [bury it]. (The writer was referring to a cow that had died.)

- (251) E.3.39c: The father had set in his mind [decided, determined] and felt that he won't pay for his son's theft. (The writer was describing the position of a father whose son had been convicted of theft. Intended meaning: The father decided not to help his son to pay the fine.)
- (252) E.2.3: He gives the water and the grass for his animals and he cleans the <u>place of animals</u> [stable, sheep-fold or cowshed]. (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. The context does not reveal what animals were kept on the farm.)
- (253) E.4.5: This kinds of hard work is on the <u>opposite of</u> [against] the woman's nature. (Topic: Emancipation. Intended meaning: There are some jobs which a woman cannot do because her physique rules them out.)
- (254) E.2.4: May be there is a stranger animal in it eat his oil trees [olive trees]. (A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He looks after his farm and watches for any stray animals which may destroy the olive trees see also 173.)
- (255) E.4.44: While the soldiers fighting with each other [together] for the safety of their country but later on they did not get the same respect. (Intended meaning: The blacks and whites fought together in the war for their country (U.S.A.) but after the war the blacks did not receive equal rights.)
- (256) E.1.60: They (i.e. nurses) with their white clothes [uniforms] like the angels. (The writer was describing what he had seen on a visit to a hospital.)
- (257) E.3.2c: Many thoughts <u>came in front of [crossed]</u> his mind, he had no money and his father won't give him so he is going to the jail. (The writer was describing the feeling of a boy who had been convicted of theft. He had no money to pay the fine and his father would not help.)
- (258) E.2.43: He call the <u>doctor of animals</u> [vet] if any of animals is a patient. (A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He calls the vet if any of the animals on the farm falls sick see also 335.)
- (259) E.2.29: The <u>husband of his mother</u> [his stepfather] followed him again to make troubles in his way to die his hopes. (A summary of a story about a boy who was maltreated by his stepfather. Intended meaning: His stepfather followed him again to put an end to his hopes see also 55.)
- (260) E.2.29: The <u>husband of his mother</u> [his stepfather] became treated him badly. (Same context as 259)
- (261) E.2.6: He went to the boxes of bees [bee-hives] to see weather there was enough honey to be taken. (A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He checks the bee-hives to see whether there is any honey see also 189.)
- (262) E.2.22: Now Libya produces wheat... and the desolate ground removes to green ground and becomes heavy with population [heavily populated]. (Topic: The Green Revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: The desolate land turns to green land and becomes heavily-populated see also 317 and 330.)

- (263) E.2.18: They got the milk from the cows, they eat cheese with a house [home-made] bread. (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan farmer.)
- (264) E.1.89: Her father was a bad man unkind, he had a narrow mind [was narrowminded] he always shouted at her. (The writer was describing the personal characteristics of a particular man.)
- (265) E.1.8: In this month all the Muslim people must not eat or drink [fast] until the sunset. (Topic:write a letter to an English friend about Ramadan. Intended meaning: In this month Muslims fast from dawn to dusk.)
- (266) E.1.18: Our God ordered the Islamic people to prevent about the eating and drinking [fast] in this month (same context as 265).
- (267) E.1.46: If we see the moon we decided to <u>leave the eat and drink</u> [fast] (same context as 265).
- (268) E.1.56: We cannot eat anything or drink [fast] until 7 o'clock at noon (same context as 265). (Intended meaning: We fast from dawn until dusk, or seven o'clock in the evening see also 39.)
- (269) E.3.4c: He put them in lesser smaller position [humiliated, dishonoured, shamed them, brought them low] among the others. (The subject was a boy who had been convicted of theft, an action which had its effects on his family's reputation.)
- (270) E.3.10c: He disgrace the family and put them in a low position in front of people [humiliated, shamed, dishonoured them, brought them low]. (Same context as 269)
- (271) E.3.6c: He didn't care about the name of his family whom he made feel with shame [humiliated, dishonoured, ashamed, brought low] that they couldn't faced the society (same context as 269).
- (272) E.3.3c: He felt that his family's name <u>fall down with shame</u> [was shamed, dishounoured, brought low] (same context as 269).
- (273) E.3.22c: He knew that he was selfish and knew that he must sorry for his family who he made down in the society [humiliated, dishonoured, shamed, brought low] (same context as 269).
- (274) E.3.2c: He explained to his father his condition that the nice ring made him in a bad case and forced [tempted] him to steel it. (The subject had stolen a gold ring from a shop. He turned to his father for help. He explained to his father that the ring had tempted him.)
- (275) E.3.28c: The reactions of Freddy's father he shocked and surprised when he heard the news. He refused to <u>take care</u> [accept] the excuse and gazed to him. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son was convicted of theft. Intended meaning: When he heard the news he was shocked and surprised. He did not accept his son's justification. He stared at him for a while see also 76.)

- (276) E.3.32c: He said many angry words as if he took all the anger in his chest out [released his anger]. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son was convicted of theft. Intended meaning: He spoke for a long time to release his anger.)
- (277) E.3.4c: He goes too far in <u>believing</u> in his father's helping [his dependence on his father]. (The subject was a boy convicted of theft. He turned to his father for help.)
- (278) E.3.8c: Freddy's father was not able to lend his son the money to be not condemned with the police [released, freed, not imprisoned]. (Freddy (the son) was convicted of theft. He turned to his father for help in paying the fine in order not to be imprisoned.)
- (279) E.3.13: I hope I'll pass, even will have a rought pass [scrape through, just pass]. (The subject was a student expressing his wish to pass his final examination. He was satisfied to just scrape through.)
- (280) E.3.13: I arrived home and my girl friend was <u>out of her sense</u> [unconscious, senseless]. (The subject's friend fainted while they were driving around.)
- (281) E.1.1: In the afternoon my mother slept for a <u>little time</u> [short while] because she was tired.
- (282) A.17: As we know the weather is rather approaching together [similar] in the two cities. (The writer was comparing Tripoli and Benghazi.)
- (283) E.1.53: On summer holidays my family usually goes out for holidays to open lands [countryside] or the seashore. (See also 122)
- (284) E.3.35c: His reaction made the son felt that he had <u>done a big</u> <u>fault</u> [committed a serious crime]. (The writer was describing the reaction of a father whose son had stolen a gold ring from a shop. Intended meaning: The violent reaction of the father made the son feel that he had committed a serious crime.)
- (285) E.1.42: When the loud-speaker announcing that it is the first day the people are very happy and they gave salute together [congratulated each other]. (The writer was describing the first day of Ramadan to an English friend. Intended meaning: When it is announced on the loud speaker that it is the first day of Ramadan people rejoice and congratulate each other.)
- (286) E.4.16c: The oldest sister was a little bit strict with him, she did not allow him to treat with her [participate, take part, help] in looking after the house. (Reference was to a boy whose mother died. He lived with his sister and father. The sister was too strict with him. She did not give him a say in the household affairs.)
- (287) E.2.10: When the girl nearly finishes her study a man came to take her hand [ask for her hand in marriage]. (A summary of a story about a girl.)

- (288) E.2.3: We find him gives a water to the trees and he carrying the lines of the water [water pipes] from this place to the other.

 (A day in the life of a farmer. Intended meaning: The farmer waters the trees and moves the water pipes from one place to another.)
- (289) E.4.14c: He failed to control and develop his son. He had not got the socialist devices [social ability] to fulfil his duty as a father. (The writer was discussing the personal characteristics of a father whose son had been convicted of theft. Intended meaning: The father lacked the social ability which could have enabled him to bring up his son in the right way.)
- (290) E.3.36c: He began to describe his crime quickly without following an indirect way [clearly, directly]. (The subject was a boy who had stolen a gold ring from a shop. He was interrogated by the police. On interrogation he pleaded guilty and explained clearly how it all happened.)
- (291) E.3.5c: The police caught him to prison about his badly manners [theft, crime]. (Reference was to a boy who had stolen a gold ring from a shop and was arrested by the police.)

Ll-based strategies (Lexical Language Transfer)

Ll-Motivated Overgeneralization

Overgeneralization of Ll LIs' Semantic Range onto L2 LIs

- (292) E.1.54: My friend ... told me that she did not <u>run</u> [drive] fast once again. (The writer's friend had had an accident and resolved not to drive fast again.)
- (293) E.1.54: I asked them to make a good party to show other people that everyone <u>run</u> [drive] fast like my friend ... may be saw like this accident. (Intended meaning: I proposed to them that we should have a party during which we would explain to the others that anyone who drives fast like my friend may have a serious accident too see also 354.)
- (294) E.2.24: He spend [says, offers up..] his prayers and eating his breakfast ... (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He offers up his prayers and takes his breakfast...)
- (295) E.2.43: The Libyan farmer always pay [says, offers up] his prayers, thankful to God. (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He always offers up his prayers. He is thankful to God.)
- (296) E.1.40: We do some cakes and take them to the <u>oven</u> [bakery]. (Intended meaning: We make some cakes and take them to the bakery see also 314.)
- (297) E.1.59: We <u>rided</u> (i.e. rode) [got in, got inside] the car and went to the house, my father drove the car. (The subjects were going home after having had a picnic see also 126.)
- (298) E.1.9: We sometimes open [switch on, turn on] the radio and listening sweet music. (Intended meaning: We sometimes switch on the radio and listen to the music.)

- (299) E.1.17: At that day I mean the first day I have stood up [woke up, got up] at 10 o'clock because I slept late. (The writer was describing what she did on the first day of Ramadan.)
- (300) E.1.11: We sit to play with the papers [cards] or anything else.
- (301) E.1.80: Then everyone began <u>reading</u> [studying, attending] in his classes and started taking his lessons. (The writer was describing her first day at university. Intended meaning: All students began studying in their class and started their lectures see also 153.)
- (302) E.1.75: I knew many friends ... some of them were from the department I read [study] in and some students from other departments. (The subject was writing about his own experience on the first year at university. Intended meaning: I knew many students from my department and from other departments.)
- (303) E.1.80: At first days I felt ashamed because it was the first time I <u>read</u> [had studied] with boys. (The subject was a female student describing her first day at university. Intended meaning: I felt shy because it was the first time I had studied with male students see also 129.)
- (304) E.1.9: She is a good housewife and can cook a several good really cook [dishes, types of food] as 'Kuskus'. (Intended meaning: She is a good housewife. She can cook several good dishes like 'Kuskus'.)
- (305) E.1.62: All the family sit by the table ... there is a cooking [dish] called sharba, it is the best thing to eat before the dinner. (The writer was describing a Libyan dinner. Intended meaning: We sit at the table and have soup first. It is the best thing to eat before the main course see also 52 and 418.)
- (306) E.1.40: I take my brothers to the <u>country</u> [town or city centre] and buy them some new clothes. (The subject was describing what he does on the days preceding the 'Feast'.)
- (307) E.2.12: So at the end she killed herself and wrote a paper [note, message] and left it beside. (A summary of a short story. Intended meaning: At the end she left a note before committing suidice.)

L1-Motivated Overgeneralization Resulting in Lexical Underdifferentiation

- (308) E.1.36: While we are <u>walking</u> [going, travelling, driving] we see the building and trees. The road is long and straight. (The subjects were a family going for a picnic in a motorcar.)
- (309) E.1.64: My father was walking [driving] swiftly to arrive us early as the policeman stopped us. (The subject was going for a picnic with his family in a motorcar. Intended meaning: My father was driving fast in order that we get home early see also 137.)
- (310) E.2.16: If a man is able to <u>drive</u> [fly, pilot] an aeroplane why shouldn't the other sex do the same. (Topic: Should men and women receive identical education. Intended meaning: If a man is able to fly an aeroplane there is no reason why a woman cannot do so.)

- (311) E.4.25: We stop [take a stand] against the discrimination everywhere in the world. (Topic: Racial discrimination in the U.S.A.)
- (312) E.1.85: The students who were to play kept making [doing] exercises everyday.
- (313) E.4.10: His father had <u>made</u> [done] his job towards him. (The subject was a boy who had been convicted of tehft. He turned to his father for help. Intended meaning: He thought that his father had always done his duty towards him see also 104.)
- (314) E.1.40: We do [make, prepare] some cakes and take them to the oven. (Intended meaning: We make some cakes and take them to the bakery see also 296.)
- (315) E.1.12: Of course he was good swimmer so he didn't <u>sink</u> [drown]. (Reference was to a particular boy.)
- (316) E.3.23c: He <u>spotted</u> [stained, smirched] his family's name. (The subject was convicted of theft, an action which had had effects on the family's reputation.)
- (317) E.2.22: Now Libya produces wheat... and the desolate ground removes [turns] to green ground and becomes heavy with population. (Topic: The Green Revolution in Libya. Intended meaning: Now Libya produces wheat and the desolate land turns to green land and becomes heavily-populated see also 262 and 330.)
- (318) E.2.9: I saw a very sad film on the T.V. its <u>address</u> [title, name] was 'The Sadness Woman'.
- (319) E.4.13c: Freddy's sister was older than he was. She took her turn [role] in her family. But Freddy had never much chance to confide in her. (Intended meaning: She took her ordinary role in her family's affairs.)
- (320) E.3.14: This shows us that old people as well gave the games a great importance because they believed that sporting games build body's and mind <u>forces</u> [strength]. (Topic: The Olympic Games. Intended meaning: Ancient people gave the sports a great importance because they believed that they help build up the body's and mind's strength see also 322.)
- (321) E.2.37: They built a fortress with a very strong door, the highest of the walls. All these prevents (i.e. obstacles) were against the <u>power</u> [strength] of the Gorilla. (A summary of the film King Kong see also 241.)
- (322) E.3.14: This shows us that <u>old</u> [ancient] people as well gave the games a great importance because they believed that sporting games build body's and mind forces. (Topic: The Olympic Games. Intended meaning: Ancient people gave sports a great importance because they believed that they help build up body's and mind's strength see also 320.)
- (323) A.6: The <u>demands</u> [applications] for loans had not been accepted (i.e. by the Bank.)

- (324) A.6: It (i.e. the Bank) received 10,000 new <u>demands</u> [applications] asking for loans.
- (325) E.1.19: It was the first once [time] which I saw in it all the people. (The subject was in a hospital visiting a friend. Intended meaning: It was the first time I saw this large number of people in a hospital.)
- (326) E.1.50: I hope to come to Libya another <u>once</u> [time] to spend a very nice and interesting holiday.
- (327) A.6: But I must mention the negative traces [effects] of changing of housing type. (Topic: Housing in Libya.)
- (328) E.3.19c: He was caught and suspected that he may have done (i.e. committed) a bad work [action] or theft. (Reference was to a person who has stolen a gold ring from a shop. He was arrested by the police for interrogation. Then he was convicted see also 19.)
- (329) E.1.91: Since the revolution ... everything began to change. One of this things the <u>earth</u> [land] has become green. (Topic: The Green Revolution in Libya.)
- (330) E.2.22: Now Libya produces wheat ... and the desolate ground [land] removes to green ground [land] and becomes heavy with population. (Agriculture in Libya. Intended meaning: Now Libya produces wheat and the desolate land turns to green land and becomes heavily-populated see also 262 and 317.)
- (331) E.1.92: It (i.e. the Government) gave all the ground [land] which were in Italian hands to Libyan people. (Topic: The Green Revolution in Libya.)
- (332) E.3.33: I found myself already lost it ... I didn't find it. I was in a terrible <u>case</u> [state, condition, position] and looked very upset. (The subject has lost the key of his room.)
- (333) E.1.39: We enjoy with the beautiful colour of the sea, we make a different toys [games] in it. (The subjects were at the seaside. Intended meaning: We enjoy ourselves at the sea, we play many games.)
- (334) E.1.2: The nurses and doctors worked very hard to make the <u>illness</u> [patients, the sick] comfortable. (The writer was on a visit to a hospital.)
- (335) E.2.43: He call the doctor of animals if any animal is a <u>patient</u> [sick]. (A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He calls the vet if any of the animals on the farm gets sick see also 258.)
- (336) A.6: After 1957, the year of petroleum actual production, the living level [standard] rised (i.e. rose).
- (337) A.6: All these changes had led to the rising of living <u>level</u> [standard] and culture <u>level</u> [standard]. (Reference was to the changes that took place in Libya after the discovery of oil.)
- (338) E.1.54: I didn't listen to your advance about <u>fast</u> [high speed, driving fast]. (The subject was speaking to a friend after having had an accident. Intended meaning: I did not take your advice about high speed see also 192.)

- (339) E.2.42: We see him every day wake up earlier than the others and come to the farm <u>fastly</u> [quickly]. (A description of a day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He gets up earlier than other people and goes to his farm quickly see also 45.)
- (340) E.2.43: The Libyan farm has been left <u>careless</u> [neglected] because there was no intention to agriculture. (Topic: Agriculture in Libya. Intended meaning: Farms in Libya have been left neglected because there was little attention to agriculture see also 194.)

Transfer of Ll LIs' Syntactic Range onto L2 LIs

- (341) E.1.50: After that I dressed [put on] my clothes.
- (342) E.2.27: The third (i.e. film) study [teaches] the boys some sport play. (The writer was reviewing a film about athletics.)
- (343) E.2.19: He get in with his girl friend and <u>reached</u> [took, drove] her to her home. (A summary of a short story. Intended meaning: He got in the car with his girl friend and took her home.)
- (344) E.1.19: I bought these flowers and then I took a taxi to <u>arrive</u> [take] me to him. (The subject was visiting a friend in hospital.)
- (345) E.1.23: Then we were <u>descending</u> [unloading] all the things and made the umbrella ... (The <u>subjects</u> were having a picnic at the seaside. Intended meaning: Then we unloaded all the things and put up the umbrella.)
- (346) E.3.16: The doctor relaxed [comforted] us when he said you can go there is nothing danger. (The subjects' friend had had an accident. Intended meaning: We were relaxed when the doctor said 'you can go there is nothing dangerous'.)
- (347) E.1.24: I feeling him [made him feel] that I was very sad about what happened for him. (The subject was visiting a friend in hospital. Intended meaning: I made him feel that I was very sad for what had happened to him.)
- (348) E.3.20: Here is a short story which will tell us how the industrial material life destroys rather than enjoys [leads to enjoyment, changes for the better]. (The writer was criticising some aspects of modern life.)

Literal Translation

Literal Translation of Ll Habitual Collocations

Collocations with make and do

- (349) E.1.65: We swam and played football again. Then we and other people make [have] a very small party. (The subjects were at the seaside.)
- (350) E.3.30: At nine o'clock during that night we made [had] a small party.
- (351) E.3.26: We <u>made</u> [had] a party that night inviting all the family's friends.

- (352) E.1.81: We played together, sang ... we $\underline{\text{made}}$ [had] a party at the night.
- (353) E.1.46: If we see the new moon we will <u>make</u> [have] a party. (Reference was to the new moon marking the beginning of Ramadan.)
- (354) E.1.54: I asked them to <u>make</u> [have] a good party to show other people that everyone run fast like my friend ... may be saw like this accident. (Intended meaning: I proposed to them that we should have a party during which we would explain to the others that anyone who drives fast like my friend may have such a serious accident too see also 293.)
- (355) E.1.85: In the first day of the sport week all the faculties made [had] a big party. (Intended meaning: On the first day of the sport's week all the University Faculties had a big party.)
- (356) E.1.52: When we went home I felt that I was very tired, I went to make [have, take] a dush, (i.e. douche, shower) after that. (The subject has come home from a picnic see also 421.)
- (357) E.1.47: On Friday afternoon there are many people who <u>make</u> [take, have] sunbaths and there are many children play on the sand. (The subjects were at the seaside.)
- (358) E.1.30: We always come home tired but happy. We make [have, take] a bath to clean the salt of the sea. (Intended meaning: We always come home tired but happy. We take a bath to clean off the salt.)
- (359) E.1.30: When we feel warm we enjoy a swim and <u>make</u> [take, have] a sunbath. (The subjects were at the seaside. Intended meaning: When it gets warm we enjoy a swim and take a sunbath.)
- (360) E.1.54: At last she <u>made</u> [had] an accident. (Reference was to the writer's friend who had had an accident because of driving fast.)
- (361) E.1.27: I saw the car beside the road it made [had had] accident.
- (362) E.1.47: ... My mother is always afraid and says: "Drive slowly to do not make [cause, have] a crash.
- (363) E.1.75: The Faculty every year <u>made</u> [had] a picnic and a sport's week.
- (364) E.1.75: We <u>made</u> [went for] a picnic in good place to please (i.e. enjoy) ourselves (see also 85).
- (365) E.3.25: In the morning we went to <u>make</u> [get] the visa. We <u>made</u> [got] it very quickly. (The subjects were on a holiday abroad. They needed a visa to enter a foreign country.)
- (366) E.3.25: We forgot to <u>make</u> [get] the visa that made us to enter that country. (Intended meaning: We forgot to get the visa which enabled us to enter that country.)
- (367) E.1.75: In addition the Faculty <u>made</u> [had, organized] every year a sports' week.

- (368) E.3.1: I was waiting for the manager of the department to decide if he was going to do an operation to me [operate on me] or not. (The subject was in hospital. Intended meaning: I was waiting for the surgeon's decision on whether to operate on me or not.)
- (369) E.1.2.7: The accident <u>done</u> it [I had] difficult and now I am better than yesterday. (The subject was speaking to a friend about an accident he had had. Intended meaning: The accident I had had was serious but now I feel better than yesterday.)
- (370) E.2.14: After doing [having, taking] his shower he take his breakfast with his children and his wife. (A day in the life of a Libyan shopkeeper. Intended meaning: After having a shower he takes breakfast with his family.)
- (371) E.1.25: I reminded him about the parties which we were doing [having] every Friday. (The subject was visiting a friend in hospital.)
- (372) E.2.12: They visit their friends and do [have] parties.

Other Collocations

- (373) E.3.31: Then the speaker closed the telephone [hung up, put the receiver down] and held mine in my hand without moving. (The subjects were speaking to each other on the telephone when one of them put the receiver down and stopped the call.)
- (374) E.1.14: I <u>closed the telephone</u> [hung up, put down the receiver] quickly, bought a bunch of flowers and went directly to the hospital. (The subject had been told on the telephone that one of his friends had had an accident.)
- (375) E.3.24: Many parents fall in many mistakes [commit many errors or make many mistakes] of that (i.e. type) but all this refers (i.e. is referred to the ignorance. (The writer was discussing the methods followed by parents in the upbringing of their children.)
- (376) E.3.39: He recognised me and waved his hands [waved].
- (377) E.1.9: I sometimes go the cinema with my family and enter a useful film [go to see a film] about the society (i.e. social) life and problems.
- (378) E.3.16: Blood was bleeding [he was bleeding] from his hands and legs.
- (379) E.3.28c: He thought of what was going to happen to the family's reputation and people take a bad idea [get a bad idea, form a bad opinion] about them. (The writer was describing the feelings of a father whose son had been convicted of theft. The father was worried that people would form a bad opinion of the family.)
- (380) E.1.41: I prepare the <u>lunch table</u> [dining table]. It is a round table with short legs.

- (381) E.1.43: I and my mother prepare the eating table [dining table].
- (382) E.1.25: I entered in and went to the part of the accidents [casualty department]. (The subject was visiting a friend in hospital.)
- (383) E.3.31: I switched the radio on to hear the <u>noon news</u> [twelve o'clock news].
- (384) E.3.28: He succeeded in the <u>interview examination</u> [interview] and felt very happy.
- (385) E.2.29: After this suffering he became old man [a man, an adult] he finished his studies and got a job. (A summary of a short story about a boy who had had a bad time during his childhood.)
- (386) E.3.19: We have <u>built a pure friendship</u> [established a firm friendship] and sincere relations since we were in the Secondary School. (The subjects were two male students.)
- (387) E.1.65: My father said "Oh it is $12\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock [half past twelve].
- (388) E.3.13: It was about eight and a half [half past eight] I was in a hurry.
- (389) E.3.35: My father drove about three hours and a half [three and a half hours].

Literal Translation of Ll Idioms, Cliches and Proverbs

- (390) E.3.22: He didn't know how to enter to [to win] Stella's heart. (A summary of a short story.)
- (391) E.4.41: In spite of the black soldier gave his soul [gave his life] to (i.e. for) his country ... but he is still called a 'nigger'. (Racial discrimination in the U.S.A. Intended meaning: Although the blacks gave their lives for their country, they were still being maltreated and called 'niggers'.)
- (392) E.3.6: But today, this morning the <u>luck laughed at me</u> [fortune smiled on me] and God answered to my prayers. (The subject had received good news in a letter from a friend.)
- (393) E.1.52: I like my aunt very much. She take the world easy [takes life easily, takes life as it comes, is easy going] and I like such person.
- (394) E.4.7c: I must be punished as a man. I must receive my account [take the punishment I deserve, take my punishment like a man]. (The subject was a boy convicted of theft.)
- (395) E.3.2: We shouldn't give our hands and legs to our bad desires to lead us [give in to the desires of our bodies]. (The writer was discussing morality.)
- (396) E.3.12: I'm quite sure that she is walking on the straight line [well-behaved, good girl]. (Reference was to a particular girl.)

- (397) E.3.38c: After that long time his face came again to him ... I mean blood and colour [he felt normal again, he saved face]. (The writer was describing the feelings of a father whose son had been convicted of theft. Intended meaning: At the beginning he was worried about his family's reputation. After a long time had passed he felt normal again.)
- (398) E.1.46: Now goodbye and I hope to meet you in a new letter [hear from you soon]. (The subject was writing a letter to an English friend.)
- (399) E.1.62: In the end I tell you that we are very well and I hope to meet you in another letter [hear from you soon]. (The subject was writing a letter to an English friend.)
- (400) E.1.79: Don't prevent us the honour of your coming and staying with us [deprive us the honour of having you]. (The subject was writing a letter to a friend inviting him to visit him.)
- (401) E.3.13: I'll have the honour [be honoured, be pleased] if she does not refuse my request. (The subject was going to propose to a girl.)
- (402) E.3.4: If his father died his uncle would remove his tears from his cheek [wipe away the tears, be sympathetic towards him, console him].

 (A summary of a short story about an orphan boy.)
- (403) E.3.31: I was swimming in an empty circle of thoughts [my thoughts were going round in a cirle, my head/mind was in a whirl]. (The subject was in a difficult situation. He did not know what to do.
- (404) E.4.7: The train of civilization [march of civilization] is running very fast and we won't be able to catch it unless the efforts of both the man and woman are combined together.
- (405) E.3.13c: He was in a <u>limited situation</u>, two ways the easiest was very sour [a dilemma, between the devil and the deep blue sea]. (The subject was a boy convicted of theft and did not know where to go for help.)
- (406) E.3.13: I was between two things the sweetest was sour [in a dilemma, between the devil and the deep blue sea]. (The subject was in a difficult situation.)
- (407) E.3.8: We have a proverb which say: "On the face a mirror but in the other side a blade" [two-faced, a wolf in sheeps clothing].
- (408) E.4.17: Some educated people say "Every great man is followed by a woman [behind every successful man there is a woman].
- (409) E.4.6: I short behind each a great man woman [behind every successful man there is a woman].

Formal Similarity between Ll and L2 LIs

- (410) E.3.1: I saw my very close friend Sami who was coming to see me either [also, as well, too].
- (411) E.3.33: I fix [search] my pocket, but I didn't find my keys I said to my friends in whisper 'I have lost my key'.

- (412) E.3.33: I <u>fixed</u> [searched] my pocket, my shoes, my match box but I didn't find it. (The subject has lost his key and was looking for it.)
- (413) E.1.63: I <u>saluted</u> [greeted and said to] him good night my friend. (The subject was visiting a friend in hospital.)

Language Switch

- (414) E.2.45: He cut the plants and vegetables which were grown up. He put them in the boxes to sell it in the <u>souk</u> [market]. (A day in the life of a Libyan farmer see also 242.)
- (415) E.2.45: He went to the <u>souk</u> [market] and sell the produced of the farm in it. (A day in the life of a Libyan farmer. Intended meaning: He went to the market and sold the farm produce.)
- (416) E.2.36: He goes to the farm to collect the vegetables and all the things which are ready to take to the <u>souk</u> [market]. (Topic: A day in the life of a Libyan farmer.)
- (417) E.2.36: In the general souk [public market] he (i.e. the farmer) will meet many people.
- (418) E.1.62: All the family sit by the table ... there is a cooking called <u>sharba</u> [soup] it is the best thing to have before the dinner. (A description of a Libyan dinner. Intended meaning: We sit at the table and have soup first, it is the best thing to eat before the main course see also 52 and 305.)
- (419) E.3.11: His father bought it (i.e. the safe) and save all the expensive things as money, gold <u>mass</u> [diamonds]. (Intended meaning: His father bought the safe to protect the valuable things such as money, gold and diamonds.)
- (420) E.3.11: My friend decided to buy a new car. He has enough money in his iron cassa [metal safe] in his house.
- (421) E.1.52: When we went home I felt I was very tired, I went to make (i.e. have, take) a <u>dush</u> [shower] after that. (See also 356)
- (422) E.1.17: And after going to her (i.e. her friend) I went to coiffeur [hairdresser] to wash my hair.

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