

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES

IN THE SPEECH OF YOUNG SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS

WITHIN A CONVERSATIONAL CONTEXT.

BY

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ABSTRACT

This is a longitudinal study of the development of grammatical morphemes in the speech of young children using English as a second language in a classroom context. The theoretical standpoint adopted is that first and second language development in 'natural' contexts is facilitated by the same underlying processes, and that central to this development is the notion of meaningful interaction, through which conversational partners negotiate shared understanding. It is argued that if the interactional features identified as facilitative in first language development are reproduced within the classroom context, the sequence of development identified in this study will reflect the sequence identified in first language learning.

The data was collected over a period of six terms and initial analysis reveals similarities between the process of morphemic development in first and classroom second language learning. As a result of these findings, the analysis is then extended to take account of the conversational context in which development occurs. Particular reference is made to repetition and formulaic speech which the learners appear to use as a means of producing verb morphemes within the context of interrogatives and negation. The methodological significance of the identification and interpretation of strategies within an interactional framework is discussed.

Analysis reveals that in addition to the general processes identified, which account for a shared sequence of development in first and second language development, there are individual differences. These differences are related to the learners' mother tongue, the classroom context and the use of particular strategies. Each one is explored in relation to the management of conversational interaction and underlying grammatical development. The incomplete acquisition of grammatical morphemes by the end of the study is seen as significant and the study concludes by suggesting that this has important implications for the nature of interaction in a classroom context.

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THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO

MY MOTHER

WITH LOVE.

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CHAPTER ONE

RECENT RESEARCH INTO LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT.

1.1. INTRODUCTION.

This study is an investigation into the development of English as a second language by young children in a classroom context. The literature review explores the way in which understanding of first language development has influenced the direction of second language research and pedagogy. This enabled the researcher to identify major gaps within current research and devise an appropriate methodology for the exploration of second language development.

Research into first and second language development has undergone major shifts in emphasis during the last two decades. Initially, research focussed on the development of syntax, which led to an attempt to write an adequate description of emerging grammar, which could be applied at any stage of development. This research emphasised the universal properties of all languages. The recognition of the importance of the child's underlying communicative intention, led towards an analysis of the development of semantics. In particular, such analysis centred on the relationship between communicative intentions, and general cognitive development. More recently an interactional perspective has emerged from a growing interest in the pragmatics of language development. This interactional perspective emphasised the way in which language is facilitated through the joint negotiation of meaning within conversational contexts.

Second language research has built on studies of first language learning and developed a number of theories which account for the different aspects of second language development. In turn these theories have influenced methods of facilitating second language learning in classroom contexts. Current research emphasises the importance of meaningful interaction and way in which the nature of interaction potentially influences both the rate and route of

development. This has led to the need to differentiate between studies of 'natural' second language learning and those that are classroom based.

Although learners are involved in a variety of interactional exchanges within 'educational' contexts, two extreme methodological positions can be identified. One which emphasises 'instruction' as a means of facilitating grammatical competence, and one which emphasises 'conversational interaction' as a means of developing communicative competence. Analysis of the effectiveness of these approaches suggests that both may contribute to development in different ways. However in relation to younger children, it is argued that for both first and second language learners, in the early stages of development language and learning are interdependent. Thus development is most likely to be facilitated through interaction in meaningful contexts.

Although there is not a great deal of research into the nature and effect of interaction in classroom contexts, such studies have tended to concentrate on the pragmatic and semantic aspects of discourse. Clearly analysis of these two aspects is central to our understanding of the relationship between interaction and development, but it can only reveal part of the underlying process. There is a pressing need to examine the relationship between interaction and the development of the underlying grammatical system. This is particularly important in relation to second language learners, if as research suggests, the acquisition of particular grammatical forms may not only be very slow but often incomplete. This lack of complete mastery may have important consequences for future educational achievements, and therefore the life choices of the second language learner. Thus, this study will attempt to analyse the way in which particular aspects of grammatical development are facilitated through meaningful interaction in a classroom context.

1.2.CONTRASTIVE MODELS OF SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT.

Up until the late 1970's knowledge and understanding of the development of a second language was based on studies of foreign language learning, which were mainly concerned with older learners acquiring a foreign language in their native country. For example in this country French and German have for long been part of the Secondary school curriculum. They were originally taught through highly structured and grammatically based instruction and practice, which assumed that learning a first and a second (or foreign language) were quite different processes.

It was not until the early 1960's when many children from the Asian sub-continent came to Britain and were placed in 'language centres', in order to learn English before entering the 'mainstream' school system, that researchers began to question this assumption. The second language curriculum in the language centres was frequently based on a contrastive model of second language learning, in which the central task was to overcome the 'habits' formed in the first language which interfered with, and caused errors in, the second language. By comparing the structure of two languages, contrastive analysis could predict where errors caused by negative transfer were likely to occur. Perceived areas of syntactical difficulty were then emphasised in drill patterns, in the hope of eradicating them before incorrect forms were established. Fries summarized this position in his introduction to 'Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language' (1945):

"Learning a second language therefore constitutes a very different task to learning a first language. The basic problems arise not out of any essential difficulty in the features of the new language themselves, but by the special 'set' created by the first language habits." (p. 42)

However, transfer into 'mainstream' schools soon revealed that although the learners appeared to have mastered a number of basic grammatical forms they were very limited in their ability to use these forms in meaningful contexts. Thus both teachers and researchers began to look for alternative ways of developing English as a second language within a classroom context (Edwards, 1983).

During the 1970's as a result of a number of studies of bilingual children from Canada, America, and Europe in conjunction with the need for better provision and practice researchers began to consider theories of first language development, as a basis for exploration into second language learning. This process led to a major shift in perspectives on second language development and raised a fundamental question, which continues to be of central concern to researchers today:

Do children learning a second language utilize the same processes and strategies that have been identified in first language learning?

The following pages are an attempt to identify particular theories of first language learning and evaluate their contribution to our understanding of second language development in natural and classroom contexts.

1.3. PROCESSING MODELS OF LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Ellis (1982) has identified three 'process theories' from first language development research. He shows how each one relates to a different aspect of universality in first language development and how each has been used as a basis from which to explore second language development. They are as follows:

- 1) Innate linguistic capacity model (Chomsky 1965). This model suggests that all children have an innate capacity to acquire language. It seeks to explain how children construct a grammar of language and internalize the rules of that language, through the analysis of grammatical development.
- 2) Cognitive model (Sinclair-de-Zwart 1973). In its strongest form this theory argues that language depends on prior cognitive development. It seeks to explain how children relate meanings to forms through the analysis of the emergence of semantics and word order.

3) Interaction model (Bruner 1975). The interaction model suggests that language develops through the negotiation of meaning, through reciprocal interaction. Analysis of discourse allows exploration of the way in which syntactic forms and functions develop through interaction.

1.3.1. INNATE LINGUISTIC CAPACITY MODELS.

a) Innate Linguistic Capacity Models In First Language Development.

In a critical review of Skinner's 'Verbal Behaviour' (1957), Chomsky rejected the behaviourists' view of language learning on several grounds. Although Chomsky (1986) has since modified some of his earlier claims, essentially, he argued that human beings are highly complex organisms, and that in order to predict or understand any type of behaviour, internal factors, as well as external factors must be taken into account. Acknowledging that casual observation, imitation, and reinforcement may play a minor part in language learning, Chomsky argued that the input the child received is so degenerate, that it is impossible to formulate rules about how language works, on the basis of this alone.

He suggested that it is an innate linguistic capacity, rather than experience, which determines the specific character of language learning and proposed a hypothetical construct, the 'language acquisition device' (LAD) to account for this innate capacity. The LAD enables the child to formulate certain hypotheses about the language system by reconstructing rules for the speech they hear, moving through a series of intermediate grammars, until adult like competence is achieved. Chomsky acknowledged the difficulty of providing a precise account of the essence of innate mechanisms, and suggested that by studying the formal properties of language it would be possible to determine how utterances are generated.

Chomsky hypothesised that all languages obey universal constraints, which can be categorized into two major types - formal and substantive. However, Chomsky also stated that it is not the universal features of language that determine acquisition, but the universal organising principles which are facilitated through the LAD. Evidence to support

the theory of an innate linguistic capacity comes from features that were said to be universally observable, which are the:

- a) remarkable rapidity of the acquisition of highly complex grammars;
- b) similarity of developmental stages of acquisition of a given language;
- c) evidence of a critical period of acquisition;
- d) lack of systematic input.

Further research has investigated each of the above areas of apparent universality, and brought into question many of the basic formulations from which Chomsky's model is derived. The first universal, that all 'normal' children acquire a first language relatively quickly, is undeniable, but the assumption that this is the result of an innate linguistic capacity is not testable and therefore this claim cannot be substantiated. It could be argued that language is not a separate 'innate' capacity, but a product of a general human predisposition to structure and to organise in order to make sense of world, which is in fact only represented through language.

The second universally observable feature (the similarity of developmental stages of acquisition of a given language), was given much support throughout the late 1960's and early 1970's from a wealth of both observational and experimental studies on the development of English. These studies examined the development of a number of grammatical features and demonstrated that children learning the same first language, progressed through the same developmental sequence (Klima and Bellugi, 1966; Cazden, 1968; Brown, 1973; de Villiers and de Villiers, 1973).

These findings were highly significant. They raised the possibility of the concept of universals within the first language learning process. That is, children learning the same mother tongue seemed to progress through the same developmental stages, regardless of the environment in which they were living. Thus endorsing the notion of an innate linguistic capacity. However, the notion of an invariant sequence was later modified, as researchers found evidence of individual variation. Subsequent studies therefore emphasised the need to consider the role of context and input in determining the order of development (Bloom, et al, 1976; Fletcher, 1979) .

Evidence relating to the third assumption, (the notion of a critical period which suggests that language can only be 'fully' acquired between the ages of two and puberty), has been widely challenged by both first and second language researchers. Neurological theories suggest that when a particular hemisphere becomes lateralized for language acquisition this also entails loss of plasticity, which renders the brain less able to learn a delayed first language or a new second language. Originally it was thought that lateralization was completed with the onset of puberty (Lenneberg 1967). However later studies suggest that lateralization takes place as early as five years (Krashen 1973), or even before birth (Molfese et al 1975). Whenever lateralization is completed, (by birth, five years or puberty), the exact nature and role of the critical period has still to be explained, and the ability of adults to learn a second language to a high degree of fluency, clearly raises fundamental questions about the critical period hypothesis.

Lastly, evidence has shown that the notion of degenerate input is false and that input is highly tuned and sensitive to the child's utterances (Cross, 1977; Clark 1983). It was found that caregivers develop special features of linguistic interaction when talking to young children. Thus, far from being 'degenerate', several studies of what has been termed 'motherese' have concluded that, not only is input carefully 'tuned' to the child's level of understanding, but have shown just how these adjustments play an important part in facilitating first language development (Snow, 1972; 1977a; Wells 1985).

These findings are significant in that they challenge certain aspects of the concept of LAD. It is undeniable that all 'normal' human beings in a social context have a predisposition to learn language. However the question that remains is; what is the nature of this predisposition? McShane (1975), has suggested that these predispositions are few, and dependent on general cognitive development rather than specific linguistic capacities. An innate predisposition may exist, but it may not be a specifically linguistic predisposition, but rather a more general cognitive ability to symbolise and deal with complex concepts.

However, the discovery of systematic developmental patterns in studies of English as a first language was very significant and second language researchers began to search for similar patterns in the development of English as a second language. The application of Chomsky's notion of a 'language acquisition device' to second language learning raised several issues concerning the innate ability to acquire language and for the first time links between the process of first and second language development began to be explored.

b) Innate Linguistic Capacity Models in Second Language Development.

Taking the lead from research into first language development, throughout the 1970's researchers began to analyse the development of particular grammatical features of English as a second language, in an attempt to understand how second language learners came to internalise the rules of a second language. Using the methodology developed in first language learning, researchers examined the acquisition of English grammatical morphemes in the speech of second language learners from a variety of native backgrounds and age groups.

Some of the studies were longitudinal (Hakuta, 1974; Rosansky, 1976; Ravem, 1974; Ellis, 1982), and some were cross-sectional (Dulay and Burt, 1974; Fathman, 1975; Bailey et al., 1974). Longitudinal studies used the notion of 'obligatory context', devised by Brown (1973), to determine the acquisition point of any given morpheme. In cross-sectional studies the order of difficulty of morpheme acquisition was calculated by obtaining an average score taken from the total percentage of correct use for each morpheme, across all subjects (Fathman, 1975).

In a cross-sectional study of fifty five Chinese speaking children and sixty Spanish speaking children learning English as a second language, Dulay and Burt (1974) found a common sequence of acquisition through eleven morphemes. This was a striking finding because the grammar of the eleven morphemes is very different in Chinese and Spanish, and both differ in certain ways from English. But the data did not reveal any obvious effect of these differences upon the acquisition sequence. There was little evidence of first language transfer, and errors appeared to be developmental in nature. Subsequent studies, of

both adults and children, found that although there was a difference in rate of acquisition which was associated with age, the order of acquisition in all studies, appeared to be similar to that identified by Dulay and Burt (1974), (Bailey et al, 1974; Fathman, 1975; Rosansky, 1976).

Within the developmental sequence identified, researchers found evidence of systematic variation. Analysis of this variation revealed three general categories of error - interference, overgeneralization and simplification. Dulay and Burt (1976), using evidence from a number of morpheme studies, argued that errors caused by negative transfer of structures from the learner's mother tongue only accounted for a very small proportion of the overall number of errors, and therefore were of no major significance. The systematic appearance of errors of overgeneralization and simplification were thought to reflect a different kind of transfer defined in terms of the learning process; they revealed a systematic attempt by the learner to deal with incoming data, as had been found in first language research.

In order to further verify these findings, Hatch (1974) examined data from fifteen studies for evidence of shared sequences of grammatical development in the speech of children learning English as a second language. Although a universal order was not found, a general developmental sequence was evident. Similarly, Krashen (1977) analysed several studies of second language development and found an average order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes for children and adults learning English as a second language. On the basis of these studies Krashen (1977) produced an average order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes for children and adults learning English as a second language, which is reproduced in Table 1.3.1.

Table 1.3.1. Average Order of Acquisition of Grammatical Morphemes for English as a Second Language (Children and Adults).

ING (progressive)
PLURAL
COPULA (to be)

AUXILIARY (progressive)
ARTICLE (a, the.)

IRREGULAR PAST

REGULAR PAST
III SINGULAR (-s)
POSSESSIVE (-s)

Thus, the majority of research during the 1970's into the development of morphemes by children and adults learning English as a second language suggested that, regardless of the learner's age, mother tongue, type of learning environment, or method of analysis, an order of development common to all English second language learners could be identified. Dulay and Burt (1976) claimed that these studies demonstrate a universal creative construction process, through which a second language develops. The second language learner formulates certain types of hypothesis about the target language through the reconstruction of rules, until production matches output, utilising those strategies and processes that are found in the acquisition of a first language. This suggests that first and second language development are essentially the same. Dulay and Burt (1976) were quite clear about the implications of these findings and stated that:

'.....we have now arrived at a point in child L2 acquisition research where we can place L1 acquisition in proper perspective - where we can now say with confidence that child L2 acquisition is a creative construction process as in L1 acquisition, but that the creative construction process in L2 acquisition has unique characteristics'.
(p.73-74).(L2 = second language, L1 = first language).

These findings gave support to the notion of a LAD, suggesting that language development is facilitated by innate linguistic processing mechanisms which determine the route (but not rate) of language development. External factors were thought to have very little influence on the development of language, and second language development came to be seen as a uniform phenomenon determined by the LAD (Ellis 1982). For several years, the majority of studies were carried out in 'natural contexts', the dominance of the innatist view of language development resulted in the neglect of the study of second language development in classroom contexts.

However, later studies began to challenge this general view of development, on the basis that comparison between cross-sectional and longitudinal studies had been shown to be misleading (Rosansky 1976). Although the order of morpheme development in a longitudinal study undertaken by Rosansky (1976) was similar to that found by Dulay and Burt (1974), in a comparison between cross-sectional and longitudinal data, she found that the order of acquisition differed according to the method of analysis being used. She argued that the findings produced by the two methods are not comparable because they identified quite different aspects of morphemic acquisition. Longitudinal studies supply information about the development of particular morphemes over a period of time, whereas cross-sectional studies measure the accuracy of use of a particular morpheme. Thus it cannot be said that cross-sectional studies necessarily represent the acquisition orders as shown in longitudinal studies of individual second language learners.

In addition to this, sequences identified in the speech of children learning the same second language were not necessarily identical to those found in native speakers. There was some evidence of variation across speakers of the same second language. For example, Hakuta (1974) studied the developmental order of fourteen morphemes in a Japanese

girl learning English as second language over a period of twelve months. He identified an order which varied from the order found by Dulay and Burt (1974) in their cross-sectional study of English as a second language, and the order found by Brown (1973) in his longitudinal study of English as a first language. Cancino et al (1974), studied the development of English auxiliaries, negatives and interrogatives in six Spanish speakers. They found similarities in the ordering for negatives and interrogatives, but variation among individuals in the order of appearance of some auxiliaries, and differences between this ordering and the orders previously identified in first language development.

Differences between findings of an invariant order and a variant order in the development of certain grammatical features, resulted in a strong and a weak version of the LAD hypothesis. The strong version of the LAD hypothesis in second language learning is propounded by Dulay and Burt (1976). It is based on evidence of an invariant order of grammatical development and evidence of errors of oversimplification and generalization which are argued to be a result of the creative construction process as found in first language development. The weak version of the innate language hypothesis, is based on evidence of a variant order of grammatical development and propounded by Hatch (1979). This hypothesis defines the LAD as central to the language learning process but raises the possibility that both the learner's mother tongue and outside factors may have some, if only a very limited influence, on that process. The crucial differences between the strong version and the weak version of the LAD hypothesis seems to be the role of the mother tongue, and the influence of factors such as the learner's personality and the actual learning situation.

As researchers recognised the need to examine the effect of context and mother tongue within the innate linguistic ability hypothesis, grammatical analysis was extended to take into account both internal and external factors. This body of research became known as 'interlanguage', and as pointed out by Ellis (1982) can to some extent account for the difference between the strong and weak version of the LAD hypothesis (Selinker, 1972; Nemser, 1971).

The Development of Interlanguage.

Selinker (1972), argued that the processes involved in language development were essentially the same for first and for second language learners. Like children learning their first language, second language learners can be characterized as proceeding through a series of intermediate grammars. These intermediate grammars are referred to as 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1972), or 'approximate systems' (Nemser 1971), and are defined as a separate linguistic system which underlies the learner's attempt to produce the target language norm. This system is thought to be independent of both the learner's mother tongue and the target language.

In an attempt to characterise the nature of interlanguage, Selinker (1972) identified a number of common errors in the speech of second language learners and categorised these into three observables which underly the interlanguage hypothesis;

- a) some errors remain stable over time and become fossilized, resisting correction;
- b) speakers of the same interlanguage share mutual intelligibility;
- c) eradicated errors may reappear and learners seem to regress.

Selinker argued that these three common errors could be accounted for by the underlying processes common to all second language learners. These are; the overgeneralization of the target language, in which the learner does not learn the constraints of the new rule; language transfer, in which mother tongue structures become part of the target language; and finally by 'transfer of training', which is the result of either incomplete language data during the learning period, or the transfer of specific features of the training process used to teach the second language (McLaughlin 1978). Although Selinker argued that first and second language development utilised the same processes, he recognised the influence of the learner's mother tongue and context, and saw them as having a minor role in the developmental process. He therefore gave support to the weak version of the LAD hypothesis, while accounting for the difference between the strong and weak version of the LAD hypothesis.

As the potential importance of external variables was recognised, a small number of studies began to examine the development of particular grammatical forms in formal language classrooms, to assess the effect of specific input, over a sustained period of time, on grammatical development, (these will be examined in more detail in Chapter Two), (Felix 1981; Lightbown 1983; Pica 1983). However, despite these developments very few studies have examined the nature of grammatical development in 'natural' classroom contexts, where the emphasis is on learning through interaction, in meaningful contexts. Clearly there is a need to identify factors which contribute to the second language learner's growing competence in encoding particular meanings within an interactive classroom context. Until more is known about the way in which classroom interaction affects grammatical development, an uncertainty must remain about the most productive way of supporting second language development.

In conclusion, it would appear from the above discussion, that the LAD hypothesis made an important contribution to our understanding of second language development. Examining the hypothesis prompted researchers to look for similarities between first and second language development by exploring the development of particular grammatical forms. Morpheme order studies made a distinct contribution to our understanding of second language development, and continue to be an important area of current investigation (Cook, 1985). Investigation of morpheme development within a 'natural' classroom context would therefore serve as an important additional source of evidence of the similarities between first and second language development, because of the possibilities of comparison. In addition such investigation would contribute to our understanding of this particular aspect of language development, within a specific context, and enable the researcher to look for alternative explanations for the 'predicted' order of development. Clearly this is an area of investigation which could be very profitable, but is yet unexplored.

1.3.2. COGNITIVE MODELS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING.

While researchers in second language development were examining grammatical development, research in the field of first language development had moved away from a purely structural analysis of language development, towards an examination of the relationship between language and cognition, focused primarily on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of language. Once again, findings from this body of research had a significant effect on the future direction of second language development exploration.

Research into semantic development raised the possibility of a relationship between early language development and general cognitive development. Several theorists saw a relationship between the emergence of certain semantic concepts in child language, and particular cognitive attainments (Slobin, 1971; Sinclair-de-Zwart, 1973; McShane, 1975). The exact nature of the relationship between cognition and language development is still widely debated. The strong version of the cognitive hypothesis is derived from the Piagetian school of thought, and states that language is a manifestation of developing general cognitive abilities, constrained by the limitations of cognition (Sinclair-de-Zwart 1973).

Piaget (1969), has developed a comprehensive theory of cognitive development and although he did not make an experimental study of the development of language, he drew on data from learning experiments by Sinclair de-Zwarts in the 1960s and early 1970s, as well as close observation of children using language. It is possible to identify major components of the strong cognitive hypothesis as defined by Piaget and Inhelder (1969). They argue in the following way:-

a) The initial stages of language development occur approximately at the end of the sensori-motor period along with deferred imitation, symbolic play, drawing, mental imagery, and gestures and are just another manifestation of the beginning of symbolic representation.

b) The formal structures of language may be ultimately derived from basic cognitive structures and processes. Although little is known

about the nature of these hypothesised basic cognitive structures, research has identified parallels between emerging cognitive abilities and linguistic developments in lexical items and syntactic structures. (See Sinclair-de-Zwart, 1969; Greenfield et al, 1972 for discussion of experimental studies.)

c) In constructing linguistic rule systems, relating meaning to structure, children employ strategies derived from their general cognitive experiences, built up from their interaction with, and understanding of, the world. Several theories have been put forward as to how children relate meaning to structure. In 1973 Slobin produced evidence to support Piaget's hypothesis. In an examination of the development of forty different languages, Slobin found certain similarities in the way in which children approached language learning. From this finding he proposed a set of universal operating principles which he argued are dependent upon cognitive development, which enable the child to relate meaning to structure.

d) Finally, cognitive psychologists from the Piagetian school of thought argue that the development of language after the two-word stage takes place through the processes of accommodation and assimilation (McShane 1975), a mechanism which is central to Piaget's theory of general cognitive development. They argue that new linguistic forms express old functions, representing accommodation to conventional linguistic structures, and new functions are first expressed by old forms, thus new structures are assimilated onto new forms. McShane (1975) suggests that new grammatical structures represent developmental changes in the child's ordering of his environment and suggests that once progress has been made in language development it is probable that language and cognition mutually interact as components in a developmental network, thus giving a greater role to language in the child's developing understanding of the world. Sinclair-de-Zwart (1973) has summarized the basic divergence between the LAD models and cognitive models of language development;

'our interpretation supposes this universal base to be constructed and not innate, in the second place it supposes this construction to be based on the way the child acts on reality, and changes it by his action, instead of basing it on a perceptive constant, which implies a more passive, copylike apprehension of reality.' (p.24.)

In total opposition to the theory put forward by Piaget, Felix (1981) argues that cognition in the sense used by Piaget (1966), and Sinclair-de-Zwart (1969), has very little to contribute to explaining the formal regularities that language development studies have researched and described. She suggests that linguistic regularities observable in language development cannot be explained purely in terms of the manifestation of general cognitive mechanisms (that govern all types of problem solving and learning tasks), but that man must be endowed with specific linguistic acquisition capacities.

Felix claims that the processing of linguistic data involves and requires the performance of formal operations of a highly abstract nature, even at the most elementary level. She concludes therefore, that the cognitive capacities described by Piaget cannot be responsible for language development because, at a crucial period, they do not include formal operations. Felix further argues that the notion of cognitive prerequisites, which suggests that certain cognitive abilities have to be available before linguistic structures can develop, can only be a genuine explanation of the onset of language, if the emergence of a given concept simultaneously triggered the acquisition of all linguistic categories which encode that concept. She agrees that the existence of the relevant cognitive concept is necessary, but it is by no means a sufficient condition for the emergence of a linguistic category.

In support of these claims, using evidence of similar developmental sequences from studies of first language development in the early 1960's, and morpheme and auxiliary studies of second language development in the 1970's, Felix (op cit) argues that as second language learners are more cognitively advanced, observable regularities in first and second language learning should be essentially different, if cognitive development were a determining factor.

Cromer (1974), argued that the strong cognitive hypothesis is an oversimplification of the relationship between cognitive development and language learning, and proposed a compromise between the positions as stated by Piaget (1969) and Felix (1981). He proposed a weak form of the cognitive hypothesis, in which he argues that although general cognitive development is very important in understanding language development, it does not account for the total process of development;

'cognitive abilities enable the development of concepts, but certain specifically linguistic capabilities must be available in order to express these meanings in language.'
(Cromer 1974 p.327).

In other words language development is a consequence of specific linguistic abilities, as well as more general cognitive abilities. In order to further this debate researchers have attempted to identify universal information processing strategies, as the means through which language development takes place.

McLaughlin (1978), suggested that incoming information is organised or categorised into the cognitive structures of an already existing network, through the process of hypothesis testing. For example overgeneralization, language transfer, and simplification are thought to be a result of general cognitive strategies of matching and comparing, which lead to a hypothesis being formed, tested then confirmed or rejected, thus maintaining that the apparent universals of language, are simply products of universal cognitive strategies. Therefore the strategies that are utilised in the acquisition of language, are intrinsically related to the general cognitive strategies which learners apply when developing any new skill, (and specifically those utilised for the acquisition of language). Thus it can be proposed that both strategies are applied to language acquisition, one as a result of the other, and likewise both are utilized by children and as adults, in first and second language development (Rubin, 1981; McLaughlin, 1983).

However, Seliger (1984) argues that information processing theory is limited in its application to second language learning, in that it is purely cognitive and does not address specific linguistic

considerations or attempt to consider a broader range of issues which influence second language development. The recognition of the need to account for all aspects of language development and the potential importance of other factors (pragmatic and functional), signals a significant development within this debate. The move away from a purely cognitive approach to language learning, highlights the importance of the nature of interaction in the exploration of the language learning process.

1.3.3. INTERACTIONAL MODELS OF FIRST LANGUAGE LEARNING.

In the studies so far considered researchers have used the production of the syntactic and semantic aspects of language to support respectively the LAD and cognitive hypothesis of language learning, in both first and second language studies. But in several studies the research was decontextualised, - in that it examined the emergence of grammatical and semantic forms without regard to context or role of the interlocutor. Bloom (1975), in a study of early language development found that 'different words express the same semantic relation and semantic relations occur with the same words' p274. This emphasised the need to take account of the context, in order to ensure accurate interpretation of meaning. Thus during the 1970s researchers began to consider the role of input, and context, in the development of a first language.

a) The Nature of Input in First Language Learning.

Several studies have examined the nature and effect of caregivers' speech in first language development, and found that both caregivers and children modify their speech when talking to young children (Newport et al, 1977; Cross, 1977; Snow, 1977) This has been termed 'motherese', and is characterised by language that is well formed, clearly articulated, and half as slow in rate as speech directed to adults (Newport et al, 1977). Evidence suggests that the language used by caregivers tends to be short, simple, and redundant, consisting of interrogatives and directives. It is generally pitched higher, with exaggerated intonation patterns.

These findings were highly significant, and as a result researchers turned their attention to the relationship between modified input and the language learning process. Several studies concentrated upon the way in which input facilitates the development of syntax (Newport, 1976; Newport, Gleitman and Gleitman, 1977). Nelson (1973) and Phillips (1973) suggested that because the caregiver's speech tends to be based on the young child's immediate environment - the 'here and now', it provides a model for learning about the relationship between the content and form of language. Cross (1977), using evidence from a number of studies as well as her own, concluded that input from the caregiver facilitated the child's language development, but added that there was no clear evidence that the caregiver's syntactic adjustments influenced the actual course of development.

Several studies have described particular characteristics of input as teaching devices. Snow (1972), described caregivers' speech as 'a set of language lessons' (p. 561). For example, certain strategies such as repetition, rephrasing, and expansion, are thought to be effective teaching aids. Roger Brown (1977) suggested that modifications, such as those found in 'motherese', serve two functions, both to promote communication and to express affective characteristics, thereby giving a special boost to language development. Hatch (1983) makes a third claim, - that the simplification of input may be either an explicit or implicit teaching mode.

However we must be cautious in claiming that the simplified syntax of motherese is meant to teach. DePaulo and Bonvillian (1978) stated that there was no strong evidence to suggest that particular features of motherese were necessary for language development, but that some features might be more important than others. They suggest that data on motherese contains a variety of possible teaching devices beyond those of presenting simple syntactic structures with high frequency, and give the example of 'occasional questions', which consist of:

- a) say constituent again;
- b) constituent prompts;
- c) fill in the blanks;

They suggest that these devices may draw the child's attention to the missing constituent, and in effect aid the child's understanding of the syntactic structure. In interactions adults recast, repeat, and expand the child's utterances, in ways that may teach syntax and add content information as well.

Clearly adult input is an important aspect of the process of language development, but this view is somewhat limited, in that it does not consider why caregivers modify their speech. It was not until the late 1970s that researchers began to consider the role of the child in determining input, and an interactional perspective was established (Dore, 1979; Snow, 1977; Wells, 1981). Findings from these studies suggested that input alone was not sufficient to account for the process of language development, but it was the relationship between the two interlocutors which holds the clue to the processes that enable learning to take place.

The analysis of interaction between caregiver and child begins even before 'formal' units of conversation can be identified. For example, several researchers have stressed the importance of caregivers treating children's gestures and vocalisations as meaningful, even from the very early pre-linguistic stage. Emphasising the importance of social interaction as well as physical interaction at the pre-linguistic stage as the basis of first language learning (Snow, 1977; Cross, 1978). Bruner (1977), reinforced this notion, suggesting that the prerequisites of language lie in the pre-speech communication acts of infants. Even at this early stage of pre-speech communication the adult is obeying the 'rules' of conversation and in doing so helping the child to become familiar with the structure of a conversation.

In the early stages of language development it would seem that the adult takes the major responsibility for managing the interaction, but as the child's linguistic competency increases, the caregiver begins to treat the child as an 'equal partner', encouraging the child to initiate and develop the conversation (Bruner, 1981). In his discussion of the language assistance system, Bruner (op.cit) sees this move by the adult to be of central importance to the child's developing communicative competence;

"the first thing to note about the adult's role in this system is the adult's willingness to share or even hand over control to the child once he has learned to fulfil the conditions of speech." (pg.45)

In doing so the child becomes an active partner in the conversation, ensuring intersubjectivity through the joint construction of the conversation.

The notion of intersubjectivity, achieved through the negotiation of meaning between the child and interlocutor, has been identified as central to the development of language. Researchers suggest that as the child's linguistic abilities evolve, through the process of negotiation, the caregiver adjusts her input, increasing its complexity until the child is linguistically competent. The caregiver's repetition of the child's utterances serve to both confirm the child's communicative attempt and to facilitate the child's comprehension. By modifying and expanding the child's utterance, the caregiver is providing additional linguistic information in the form of feedback to the child (Tough, 1977; Wells 1981). In order to understand the way in which this process facilitates development, it is important to examine the nature of this adjustment and modification within interaction.

DePaulo and Bonvillian (1978) among others have suggested that the caregiver's speech is not a perfect match with the language of the child, but that it stays 'a step or so ahead', and that it is this that facilitates learning. This 'fine tuning' hypothesis has received considerable support from Cross (1977), Newport et al (1977) and Snow (1977). More recent research has again emphasized the importance of 'fine tuning', by the adult. Evidence from the Bristol Language Development study (Wells, 1985), suggests that rapid progress is not connected with the frequency of forms in input per se, but with the frequency with which adults pick up and extend the meaning expressed in the child's previous utterance. Wells (1985), summarized the implications of their findings in the following way:

"What is important in the caregivers' behaviour is their sensitivity to the child's current state - his level of communicative ability and his immediate interest - and to the meaning intentions he is endeavouring to communicate; also a desire to help and encourage him to participate in the interaction." (p.32- 33)

Given the potential variation in caregiver responses, it would seem that rather than actually determining the sequence of development, caregiver input plays an enabling role, influencing the rate of development rather than the route (Wells, 1985; Shorrocks, 1989).

Thus it appears that the process of negotiation takes place through the structure of conversational exchanges. As adults adjust their speech to both the linguistic and cognitive level of the child, this enables the child to make sense of the language they hear, and respond appropriately. From the early stages of development learners are involved in exchanges which familiarise them with the structure of conversation, and the way in which conversational 'rules' work. The conversations, in turn, provide a source for the development of lexical and syntactic structures.

Scollon (1979) has attempted to illustrate the way in which syntax develops through conversational exchanges and argues that the structure of discourse is central to the development of sentence structure from the beginning of development. He described the interactional aspect of first language development in terms of horizontal and vertical constructions. Development is facilitated through the production of several single word turns by the child (vertical constructions), which are then expanded by the adult, and subsequently incorporated into the child's response, thus forming the basis of more complex meanings (horizontal constructions).

Thus as competence develops and conversational conventions are established, the child increases his access to both the form and content of language. At the same time greater demands for more explicit and differentiated meanings are placed upon the child by the conversational partner. However it must be noted that research into exactly how interaction facilitates syntactic development (in particular) is still in its infancy. Until more is known about the relationship between these two aspects of communication, researchers must be cautious in claiming a causal relationship.

In conclusion, studies of input made to learners and later studies of interaction between conversation partners gave yet another important perspective to our understanding of language development. However it is recognised that the development of conversational analysis brought with

it, its own set of methodological problems. These are related to the definition of a conversation; the analysis of conversational structure; and the interpretation of meaning within a conversation (McTear, 1981). These difficulties have yet to be resolved and comparisons between studies must therefore take account of the different methodological approaches that have been taken when analysing conversational interaction, before generalising the findings to the wider community.

b) The Nature of Input In Second Language Learning.

Taking the lead from studies of first language development, researchers therefore began to investigate the nature of input in second language learning. This move towards an interactional perspective highlighted the need to differentiate between 'natural' and classroom language learning, in order to examine the effects of different types of input upon development.

As in first language learning research, studies examined how interlocutors modify their utterances in order to make them more comprehensible to non-native speakers. Several studies have shown that 'foreigner talk' is characterised by a number of modifications such as syntactic simplicity, a high frequency of questions, and a variety of interactional devices, in order to maintain the conversation (Hatch 1978, 1983; Long 1981; Scarcella and Higa 1981). Teacher talk in the foreign or second language classroom was found to be characterized by modifications in lexicon, syntax, phonology and accompanying non-verbal behaviour (Kleifgen, 1985; Richard-Amato, 1987).

Peck (1978), found that not only adults but also native speaking children modify their input to second language learners, but in quite different ways. She identified two distinct types of input from native speaking children, language during play, and 'language play'. Peck found that language during play appeared to be highly meaningful in the context of a game, containing many utterances which were semantically and structurally similar, with a large number of repetitions. For example, 'it's my turn', 'it's your turn'. Language 'play' could be defined as virtually meaningless, but it served several conversational functions, such as keeping the conversation going, as well as giving learners opportunities for phonological and pattern practice.

In contrast Peck (op.cit) found that the child received input from an adult which was mainly concerned with questions of identification and elaboration. The learner obtained notions of how to order language from extremely controlled sets of question-answer routines, made up of a continuous and sequenced presentation of structures. The adult used a restricted number of speech acts, and the learner received vocabulary that was visually well represented, based on objects in the present environment and upon ongoing actions.

Language produced by both native and non-native speaking peers is a further source of input to learners. It occurs both inside and outside the classroom, but has not been extensively researched. This type of input may have important implications for the organisation of interaction in the classroom. Such peer-peer interaction may have a different but equally important role to play in supporting second language development (and is discussed further in Chapter Two).

Building on studies which gave rise to the 'fine-tuning' hypothesis in first language learning, Krashen (1981), added a new dimension to the debate about the importance of input in second language learning. Using evidence from morphemic studies, Krashen claimed that learners progress by receiving 'comprehensible input'. Comprehensible input is defined as language that is a little beyond the learner's current competence, but still accessible to the learner, because of the meaningful context in which it occurs. In a later paper, Krashen modified this hypothesis, and suggested that comprehensible input is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for successful second language learning. External and internal variables were seen as having an affect on the learner's ability to obtain optimal input, which gave rise to the 'affective filter' hypothesis.

Several researchers have criticized the 'input hypothesis' on the basis of the evidence which is used to support this notion. (Faerch and Kasper, 1986; McLaughlin, 1987). McLaughlin (op.cit) has critically examined the ten lines of evidence upon which Krashen has based his input hypothesis, and concluded that the notion of comprehensible input was too vague and imprecise an account of the process of acquisition in second language learners, giving far too much importance to input at the expense of all other factors. In addition to this it would seem

that the concept of 'fine-tuning' in first language development, related to the joint construction of meaning, whereas 'comprehensible input' was based on the adult's perception of what the learners needed to hear. Once again the role of the child is minimised.

However the question remains; how does input become comprehensible? As a result of some of the criticisms of studies of input, and some of the developments in first language research, Hatch (1978), argued that it was necessary to examine the discourse between the interlocutor and the learner as a whole, rather than look at each individual contribution out of the context in which it occurred. The emergence of syntactic forms and functions would best be shown within an interactional perspective. Thus researchers have begun to examine the interactional features of learner conversations and how the variety and frequency of these features seem to facilitate second language development.

c) Interactional Models of Second Language Learning

As in first language learning central to the concept of an interactional model is the idea that communicative competence, (which includes syntactic knowledge and meaning potential of language), develops through meaningful conversational interaction between the child and his caretakers. Joint negotiation of meaning, through which participants achieve intersubjectivity is seen as central to development (Wells, 1981). The discourse features that have been identified in the process of negotiation, in both non-educational settings and in educational contexts, include various types of 'uptake and repair', 'focused topic' nomination, and 'scaffolding'. Hatch (1978), suggests that the same process as described by Scollon (1979) might be operating in second language development. That is the development of the underlying grammatical system results from the learner's interaction in meaningful conversation, and not as previously thought, through the gradual acquisition of grammatical structures which were then used in discourse.

In support of this theory Hatch (op.cit) suggests that although the second language learner has already learned how to make syntactic structures in their first language, the learner does not immediately make horizontal constructions in their second language because they are attending to the rules of conversational discourse from which syntax develops. Although careful not to claim a causal relationship, the argument is made that conversation precedes syntax. Specifically, while jointly building a conversation with a partner ('vertical constructions'), the child establishes the prototypes for later syntactic development ('horizontal constructions').

Negotiation in the initial stages of second language development shares many aspects with that of child first language learning. Several studies have shown how the learner in both first and second language learning must first secure the attention of their partner, and then get the partner to attend to the topic of discourse. Hatch found evidence of similar strategies in the speech of second language learners, and suggests that these two moves, plus the need to 'say something relevant', account for most of the early utterances found in second language data. Initially the learner's utterances are shaped by adult input and the rules of discourse, and the whole conversation may be developed through a process of imitation and appropriate intonation. The adult is equally constrained by the limitations of the topic attributes that can be discussed, and by the limitations of the amount of information that can be shared with the child.

Thus initially the conversation is restricted to talk about concrete objects and the here and now, as found in first language learning. By questioning and responding in this way, the adult is promoting the use by the child of specific syntactic constructions - precisely those that are found in early development. It is not the adult input per se that enables learning to take place, but the fact that the learner has gained understanding through the negotiation of meaning. Scarcella and Higa (1981) concluded that 'optimal' input is the result of the joint negotiation of meaning, rather than simplified input.

Given the importance of conversational interaction, and the role of negotiation within a conversation, several researchers began to look at how learners in 'natural' contexts actually 'manage' a conversation - that is initiate, sustain, develop, repair, and end a conversation. In order to do this, especially in the early stages of development when the learners have limited resources, they use a number of communication strategies which help to maximise communicative potential (Ellis, 1984). A number of communication strategies have been identified, which appear to be used by learners to enable them to 'manage the conversation', and to bridge the gap between the native speaker competence and their own linguistic resources, so that they can maintain the conversation through shared understanding (Tarone 1981).

In particular, studies of natural second language learning have found extensive use of repetition, incorporation, and formulaic speech in the early stages of development (Huang and Hatch, 1978). The role of these strategies in relation to the learners' underlying grammatical system is controversial. However some agreement can be found on the potential importance of these strategies in enabling the learners to manage conversational exchanges and convey a number of meanings (Wong-Fillmore, 1976; Hatch, 1983). In relation to this study, it would seem that the ability to manage the conversation is a major facilitating factor in first and second language development. Thus the examination of the way in which learners, especially in the early stages of development, are able to do this, is an important yet neglected area of study, particularly in relation to classroom contexts.

However, while acknowledging the potential importance of the joint construction of meanings, it must be recorded that several researchers are critical of the importance which is placed upon the role of 'negotiation' in the language learning process. Faerch and Kasper (1987), argue that since the most elaborate negotiation takes place as compensatory activity, in the face of communication breakdowns, one would have to conclude that communicative failure (due either to the learner's limited production or to comprehension problems) should therefore be a prerequisite for learning intake to be processed.

But surely negotiation is much more than responding to breakdown, it is the joint construction of meaning which takes place for a number of reasons, from simple lack of vocabulary, to the need for the development of more complex understanding. If, as in first language learning, the rate of development seems to be facilitated by reciprocal interaction, - that is the adult responding to and extending the child's utterance -, this will ensure that the language the learner hears is relevant and meaningful and not purely a response to a communicative problem.

In conclusion, Long (1981), argued that it is important to differentiate between the two types of studies and suggested that a distinction should be made between studies that focus on the modification of linguistic features in input to learners, without considering the learner's role in eliciting such modification (modified input), and studies focussing on modification of interactional structure. Faerch and Kasper (1986), argued that both modified input studies and modified interaction studies are useful, because of the information they provide about linguistic and discorsal aspects of non-native communication, and also in pointing out areas which may have learning potential. Thus perhaps both areas have different but equally important contributions to our understanding of second language development.

This section has attempted to critically review studies of input and interaction in relation to their role of developing communicative competence. As in first language development, it is clear that both adult and child input and interaction are significant. Modifications and interactional strategies which help establish shared meaning are

thought to be central to communicative development. However, exactly how, and to what extent, such modifications facilitate the acquisition process is still largely undocumented, (especially in relation to classroom second language development). For example, although conversational analysis has sought to show how grammatical competence emerges through conversational interaction, there has been very little systematic research into the emergence of specific grammatical forms within an interactional framework. Given the vast amount of research into the emergence of grammatical forms, and the conclusions reached from these studies (which give support to the notion of shared underlying processes in the development of first and second languages), it would seem important to re-visit this area of research with an interactive framework of analysis.

However, discussion so far has not considered the complex nature of conversational interaction. Clearly if conversation is seen as the means through which communicative competence develops then it must be analysed in more detail. Thus the following section seeks to examine the nature of conversational interaction in order to identify the variety of skills that the learner needs, in order to successfully take part in conversational exchanges. In doing so the similarities and differences between first and second language learners, in relation to the way in which they 'manage' conversational exchanges, will be explored. This will add an additional perspective to the arguments already advanced about the relationship between first and second language learning. In addition to this by looking more closely at the way in which learners develop and use these skills it will be possible to compare these with the way in which the second language learner is (or is not) able to use and build on these skills through classroom interaction.

1.4. THE NATURE OF CONVERSATIONAL INTERACTION.

Analysis of conversation shows it to be a very complex process. Goffman (1976) outlined eight prerequisites for a conversation to take place:

- a) two way acoustically adequate and interpretable messages
- participants must be able to hear the message clearly;
- b) back-channel feedback - participants must have some form of verbal or non-verbal feedback to signal the message has been received;
- c) contact signals - participants must be able to indicate that they want to open, continue and close the conversation;
- d) turnover signals - participants need to be able to signal the end of their message, and find ways of signalling who the next speaker is to be;
- e) preempt signals - participants need ways of indicating the need for clarification;
- f) framing capabilities - participants need to be able to indicate specific types of communication, jokes, quotes;
- g) there have to be norms - so that the conversation is coherent;
- h) nonparticipant constraints - distractions must be blocked off or ways of including them must be used. (Hatch, 1983., 129-130).

This description of the nature of a conversation demonstrates the enormity of the task facing the language learner. The skills needed to hold a conversation are varied and complex, the most fundamental skill being that of collaboration. Research suggests that successful conversation is a result of the construction of joint meaning. Wells (1981) in his discussion of language as interaction identified three aspects of the collaborative nature of conversation, suggesting that successful conversation is based upon the willingness of both participants to collaborate. The participants collaborate first by correctly interpreting signals which ensure the implicit rules of conversation are met, (this is done through the sequencing of turn-taking). Secondly partners must collaborate by ensuring that each subsequent turn relates to the previous utterance so that the conversation is semantically linked, ensuring coherence. And finally participants need a shared frame of reference in order to ensure mutual

understanding of the meanings attached to particular objects and actions.

From the above description it seems that skill in turn-taking is the key to conversational coherence and development. Sacks et al (1974) using data from conversations between adults, described the openings, the closings, and the turn taking systems within conversations. Their model of conversational procedures included the identification of a number of turn-taking allocation techniques and mechanisms through which repairs are made, when errors or violations of sequencing occur. Their work showed how the management of the temporal sequencing of turns is achieved through joint action, between the speaker and listener. Both speaker and listener must use, and interpret correctly, different forms of behaviour and individual strategies, which indicate the transition from one turn to the next.

Wells (1981) suggests that the notion of turn taking is only one aspect of the organisation of discourse, and that there are other constraints operating upon the sequence of conversational interaction. He argues that it is the negotiation of the interactional purpose in the pursuit of inter-subjectivity which creates the structure of particular conversations, within the 'turn taking' framework. For example certain conversational functions carry with them fairly well defined expected structural responses (for instance, by asking a question the speaker expects to get an answer). Thus the respondent having understood the question is constrained in terms of the form, if not the content of her reply. The routine sequence expected in a question and answer interchange provides a structural link between turns.

Having briefly considered some aspects of the structural management of conversations, it is necessary to consider the skills involved in the construction of the actual message to be delivered through conversational interaction. The first step towards successful communication is the setting up of the communication purpose or 'goal'. These 'goals', for example, request, question, advice, greetings etc, are referred to as 'illocutionary acts' (Searle 1969), and must be structured in such a way that the message will be understood by the listener. In order to ensure mutual understanding the speaker uses

particular communication strategies appropriate to the communication 'goal'. He must select and organise appropriate vocabulary, grammar, and intonation which are related to the context (external and internal) and structure. The message must be delivered in a way that is appropriate to his perception of the social and psychological relationship between himself and the listener, (for example talking to the headteacher as opposed to talking to a peer).

The task of decoding the message is equally complex. The listener must decode the utterance and make a response in the light of his understanding of the message. The response is then evaluated by the original speaker, who in turn responds, and so the conversation is developed. Clark.R (1977) described this process of coherent construction and exchange of meaning between two or more participants, in terms of a problem solving activity. Interpretation of meaning is based on the the explicit content of the message, the circumstances in which the exchange occurs, and the expectation that the conversation is being conducted within the constraints of conversational conventions.

On the basis of this view of conversational interaction, it can be seen that young children, and children in the early stages of learning a second language, may be greatly helped by the verbal emphasis on the 'here and now', using clues to 'meaning' from the concrete nature of the object of the interaction. However, as already suggested, children are not passive recipients dependent upon the adult to give them clues. They use a number of strategies to enable them to become active participants in conversational interaction. As suggested in the previous section communication strategies play an important role in ensuring conversational continuity and coherence (Tarone, 1983).

Thus far it has been suggested that the meaningful interaction is a highly complex process, which is created and sustained by joint collaboration between the conversational partners. Given the complexity of conversational interaction, the following section examines the way in which first and second language learners do in fact 'manage' these complex conversational interchanges, in 'natural' and classroom contexts. The section will attempt to identify those strategies which appear to be facilitative and common to both groups of learners.

1.5. THE MANAGEMENT OF CONVERSATIONAL INTERACTION

As suggested above, in order to take part in a conversation the learner must be able to manage the structural constraints of a conversation and adhere to the rules of conversational interaction. It is likely that second language learners already have interactional skills, knowledge of conversational conventions, and ways of expressing a number of meanings in their first language. Thus it can be argued that the second language learner merely needs to acquire new forms, to fulfil old functions, in a variety of new contexts. But research suggests that second language learners do not merely graft on new forms to serve old functions. In fact they use the same communication strategies that have been identified in first language development to participate in interactional contexts (Hatch 1978).

Using evidence from both first and second language studies Hatch (op.cit) has documented the way in which conversational exchanges are managed by children. She found that there were a number of common features both within and between first and second language learners, which enable them jointly to build a conversation with an adult. From this evidence she identified a general pattern of conversational interaction, which can be characterised in the following way.

Firstly, in order to initiate a conversation, the child must get the attention of the person with whom they wish to speak. This can be achieved in both verbal and non-verbal ways. In a classroom situation there are many formal and informal ways of attracting the teacher's attention by both first and second language learners. Simply by joining a queue at the teacher's table, or activity she is involved in. By virtue of reaching the front of the queue the child has secured the eventual attention of the teacher. Raising the hand is another non-verbal method of seeking the teacher's attention often accompanied by 'Miss, Miss'. It is interesting that these two methods in particular are often used as part of a ritualised sequence which embodies shared understanding between the teacher and child about the rules of interaction in the classroom context. Of course these two strategies are also used informally along with other strategies, for example younger children will quite naturally touch or 'pat' the teacher in order to gain attention.

Verbal 'attention getters' cover a whole range of utterances from simple one word utterances, to quite complex sentences. Evidence suggests that even in the early stages of second language development, when the learners have limited understanding of the second language, they soon find ways of securing attention. The use of self repetition and formulaic speech has been identified as a means of getting attention in the early stages of second language development, alongside more common attention markers such as 'Oy,Oy', 'Ay,Ay', 'Miss, Miss!'. (As seen from transcripts in first and second language, often both getting attention and the next step of nominating the topic are encompassed in one and the same utterance).

Having got the attention of the adult the next move is to nominate the topic, if this has not been already achieved. Studies have shown that particularly in the early stages of development there are a number of strategies the learner may employ to help identify the area under consideration (Hatch 1978). Simply naming an object or person, or pointing to a particular person or object, can be very effective as the teacher has to give full attention to the learner in order to correctly interpret what it is that the learner wants to talk about. Again, 'formulaic' speech, that is phrases learned as wholes, has been identified as another strategy that learners use to identify the topic, using phrases such as 'that one' / 'this one' accompanied by a physical gesture (Wong-Fillmore 1976).

Having made the first move, by attempting to initiate a topic, the learner relies on the interlocutor to make a reply. In the early stages of second language development choices open to the respondent are constrained by the learners level of understanding (Hatch 1978). The teacher in using the 'here and now' context found in the classroom plus her knowledge of the learner, helps to make the meaning clear, clarifying the topic by naming the object or person. Once the topic has been established either party can choose to close or develop the conversation. Initially the direction of the interaction may be determined by the teacher, but as the learner becomes more fluent, greater responsibility is possible, although not always available, for the context and power relationship will determine the extent of control the learner is given. As suggested earlier, the most effective type of

interaction, in terms of the child's structural and semantic development, is thought to be where the meaning is jointly constructed between the interlocutor and the learner (Wells 1985).

It is interesting to note that in relation to discourse analysis, researchers have found, that although second language learners can already produce meaning through relatively complex syntactic constructions in their first language, they still go through a process of one word utterances, followed by the two word utterances, in the same way that first language learners do. Except that in the majority of cases the transition from simple to complex utterances is much quicker. Hatch (1978) concluded that this apparent regression back to one and two word utterances by second language learners is because, as with first language learners, syntax grows out of conversational interaction.

Having got attention and nominated the topic the next step is to sustain the interaction. When learners are in the early stages of development, and their linguistic resources are limited, or when there is a communication problem, (where learners linguistic resources do not match their communicative intent), the learners may utilise a number of communication strategies. Communication strategies have been described as a set of behaviours which enable the learner to take part in, and develop the conversation, and in doing so 'crack the code'. Researchers have identified several strategies which enable learners to sustain and repair the conversation. (Tarone, 1977; Faerch and Kasper, 1983; Rubin, 1987).

These strategies have been identified as potentially conscious, and oriented towards problem solving (Faerch and Kaspar, 1983). However, a wider view of communication strategies in which they are seen as one of the means through which learners consciously and sub-consciously (given that it is difficult to distinguish between these two in young language learners anyway) join-in, sustain and develop a conversation, rather than simply being a resource which is used in the face of communication breakdown, enables the discussion to be extended. If this view is accepted, then analysis may then take account of strategies which are common to both first and second language learners in the early stages of development (e.g. repetition). Although these are

not necessarily manifestations of a communicative breakdown or consciously utilised, they are nevertheless an important aspect of the way in which learners manage a conversation in the early stages of development, when they have very little formal knowledge through which to establish conversational exchanges.

In addition to this, it is clear that even with the use of the particular communication strategies, not all conversational interactions run smoothly. When communication appears to be breaking down, because the speaker cannot encode the message he wants to communicate, in a way the listener can correctly interpret, and attempts to repair the communication have already failed, the learner is faced with two choices. He can either abandon the message, or try another means to communicate it, for example by paraphrase or verbal and physical demonstration (Tarone 1977).

However, as already suggested, the development of a conversation is a collaborative venture and the use of strategies to help manage the conversation is by no means restricted to the child. The adult uses a number of strategies to ease conversational coherence, at the same time helping to develop the child's grammatical competence. As discussed earlier in this Chapter, first language research has shown how parents provide 'models' of grammatically correct speech based on the child's utterance. Evidence suggests that in natural contexts adults often spontaneously use the same strategies to facilitate second language development. These strategies are used to help the two interlocutors establish joint understanding, building the conversation together through meaningful interaction, and may therefore be different from the strategies used by teachers in classroom contexts.

In both first and second language development researchers have identified repetition, incorporation and formulaic speech as communication strategies which children and adults use in order to sustain and develop a conversation, particularly in the early stages of development (Peters, 1977; Clark, 1978; Hatch 1983). Although the role of these strategies is complex and much disputed, their potential importance in both first and second language development, warrants further discussion.

1.6. THE ROLE OF REPETITION IN FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT.

During the late fifties and early sixties, researchers from the behaviourist tradition regarded repetition as one of the most significant factors in language development. But with the introduction of the theory which hypothesised that language development was a direct result of innate mechanisms, repetition was relegated to a very minor role (Chomsky, 1957). For many years repetition was not seen as a significant part of language development. All types of repetition were simply regarded as 'model utterances', with no underlying communicative intent or productive basis. Then during the late seventies researchers began to consider the role of external factors and the interactional nature of language development. This shift in emphasis led researchers to look again at the role of repetition in both first and second language development (Clark, 1978; Ochs-Keenan, 1977; Peck, 1978; Wagner-Gough, 1978; Chesterfield and Barrows-Chesterfield, 1985).

Early studies of repetition tended to emphasise the grammatical accuracy of repetition, suggesting that repetition was merely an attempt to copy a prior utterance rather than an attempt at some form of meaningful communication. Thus repetition tended to be defined in terms of accurate or inaccurate imitation. However, in a review of several studies of repetition in first language development, Keenan (1977), demonstrated how, through the use of complete repetition and selective repetition, the learner is in fact attempting to respond appropriately to his communicative partner.

Keenan (1977), using repetition in its widest sense (including omissions and additions), argued that by selectively repeating or completely repeating what has been said the learner is able to construct a number of specific communicative intentions on the basis of the previous utterance. Keenan (op.cit) identified the use of repetition as a means of answering questions, commenting, affirming, self informing, querying and counter-claiming. She concluded by suggesting that repetition seemed to serve two main purposes, - it enabled learners to express a number of language functions and it contributed to conversational coherence by enabling the learners to take a turn. She concluded by saying that through repetition the child is in fact learning to communicate:

'he is learning not to construct sentences at random, but to construct them to meet specific communication needs. He is learning the human uses of language he is learning 'communicative competence'. (p.27)

In studies of first language learning, repetition has also been identified as contributing to grammatical development. Several studies have suggested that repetition is used progressively by some children during certain stages of first language development to help generate creative constructions. For example, some researchers have found that the first creative utterances to contain specific forms such as 'can' and 'will' were precisely those the learners had been able to imitate or reformulate correctly at an earlier stage (Kuczaj and Maratsos 1975). Others have claimed that specific constructions such as temporal sequence are first learned by repetition, then produced both spontaneously and through repetition and finally when mastered, repetition of these forms disappears (Moerk 1977). Thus concluding that for some children, repetition is not simply the mechanical reproduction of particular phrases but active processing of input whereby repeated forms become part of their creative constructions.

Evidence from studies of second language learners, suggests that (as found in first language learning), for some children repetition plays a significant role in helping them to take part in conversational exchanges, in the early stages of development, by enabling them to express a limited number of meanings and join-in the conversation. In addition to this Hatch (1983), has shown that as the learner becomes more fluent and repetition becomes less echolaic, repetition is used to encompass a number of new meanings long before the learner has mastered the appropriate form. Hatch (op.cit.) suggests that by gaining access to and involvement in interactional sequences the learner begins to get appropriate conversational feedback and in doing so develops creative constructions. However, the role of repetition in relation to the development of the rule governed system is greatly disputed, until recently repetition was seen as quite separate from the process of rule formation and for several years, its role in relation to the development of the underlying grammatical system was largely overlooked or seen as insignificant (Hakuta et al, 1977).

Perhaps the most obvious area of the contribution of repetition to the development of 'rule formed' utterances can be seen through the use of an extended version of repetition, referred to as extended repetition (Snow 1981) or incorporation (Hatch 1983).

1.7. THE ROLE OF INCORPORATION IN FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT.

Incorporation may be classed as an extension of repetition in that some learners begin to use repetition more creatively; incorporating all or part of the previous utterance into their own response to produce new meaning, thereby extending the conversation. Evidence from both first and second language studies has shown that learners are able to use incorporation to express new meanings in a number of ways, - by simple repetition with a change in intonation (prosodic shift), by selective repetition where by one constituent is replaced by another (rather like substitute tables), by combining repeated words or phrases with creatively constructed phrases, or by incorporating repeated words or phrases into an apparently creatively constructed utterance. Using Young's (1974) data, Hatch (1978) has documented the way in which peers used incorporation to boast about a particular possession, for verbal duelling and arguments, to shift blame, and to transfer an order, - all of which are important aspects of children's communication.

Thus, it is argued that incorporation may enable some learners to convey a number of semantic functions as well as managing the conversation in terms of extending the topic, re-directing the topic and nominating a new topic. By moving from exact repetition to selective repetition, building on the previous utterance the learner is trying out new forms and creating new meanings, extending the conversation and potentially gaining access to confirmation and extension of meaning. This process is clearly illustrated in a study by Scollon (1979).

Although Scollon (1979) was not only referring to repeated speech as part of this process, it is possible to identify a similar process in second language learning, but one which involves incorporation as the means through which some learners 'fill out the construction'. Although the learner may not have initiated the topic, evidence suggests that second language learners do use this method of

incorporation to maintain and extend the conversation, in the same way as Scollon hypothesised for first language learners. It would seem that second language learners also build up their syntactic knowledge (horizontal structures) through the development of vertical structures, but often use repeated speech to enable them to create the new structures. The spontaneous repetition and incorporation of particular structures or parts of structures gives the learner an opportunity to use new linguistic data, which in turn may be incorporated into their developing rule governed system (Hatch, 1983).

However the contribution of repetition and incorporated repetition to the second language learner's underlying grammatical system is highly speculative. Investigation of the effect of these two strategies is in its infancy, therefore there is very little evidence on which to base such claims. At this point perhaps the most that can be hypothesised is that for some children these strategies seem to be an important means through which they are able to manage conversational interaction. This involvement potentially gives the learner access to feedback on which to build their underlying grammatical system.

1.8. THE ROLE OF FORMULAIC SPEECH IN FIRST & SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

From the few studies that have examined the nature of formulaic speech, it is possible to identify consensus on some aspects. Researchers have found that on the whole formulaic utterances are associated with and used in particular contexts enabling the learner to 'join in' and 'take a turn'. Some researchers suggest that as a result formulaic speech contributes to conversational fluency in the early stages of second language development, giving children access to new learning material (Wong-Fillmore; Hatch, 1978; Wagner-Gough, 1979). It would appear that formulaic speech seems to be most prevalent in the early stages of development, and often the grammatical complexity of a formulaic phrase is at that time far in advance of similar creatively constructed utterances (Wong-Fillmore, 1976; Ellis, 1984).

There has been very little research into why certain phrases become formulaic rather than others. It would seem that this depends on the context in which the second language is being learned, the immediate needs of the learner, and the frequency of particular forms

within that context. In classroom situations there are a number of predictable routines and activities which are accompanied by particular language forms and conversational sequences which remain constant within that context. It seems that in the early stages learners latch onto phrases which are most useful to them in terms of their communicative needs. It would seem that not all formulaic utterances are context bound but may frequently be used, and be useful, in a variety of situations - for example 'I don't know'. Others may be context bound but infrequent - for example 'Happy Birthday'.

Wong-Fillmore (1976), in a study of five children learning to speak English as a second language in a classroom situation found striking similarities in the types of formulaic speech they were using. She identified several categories of use common to all five children and argued that they enabled the learners to participate in activities that provided interactional contexts on which to build their developing creative constructions. Thus suggesting that formulaic speech was highly significant to the learners developing competence.

It is not possible to suggest a similar categorisation of formulas which are a consequence of the actual curriculum area being studied because this will vary according to the activity, the teaching method used and the individual child (Ellis, 1984). In relation to young second language learners, where language and learning is facilitated through practical cross-curricular activities which on the whole do not involve specialised language; subject specific formulas would not appear to be either very useful or accessible in the early stages of development. There may be more subject specific language later on in development but by this time the learners will have developed rule based constructions and presumably have little use for formulas. Clearly this view depends upon whether formulaic speech is thought to arise only in the early stages of development - as a means of overcoming lack of creative knowledge or whether it is seen as an ongoing strategy used as a way of producing new meanings.

Although the presence of formulaic speech is now acknowledged within studies of discourse, it is on the issue of the contribution of formulaic speech to the learner's creative construction system that researchers part company. Two opposing positions can be identified;

those researchers who claim there is a strong relationship between formulaic speech and developing grammatical competence and those who claim that formulaic speech is independent of and unrelated to creative constructions. On the basis of her study Wong-Fillmore (op.cit.), argued that formulaic speech is central to the development of rule governed language, suggesting that 'formulas constitute the linguistic material on which a large part of the child's analytical activities are carried out' (McLaughlin 1987 p.41). It is argued that as the learner becomes more competent the formulas are gradually unpacked, releasing information into the learners developing grammatical system which forms the basis of productive speech. Ellis (1986) attempts to explain the process through which this happens:

'The basis for this analysis must lie in the learner comparing utterances in order to identify which parts recur and which parts remain the same. The learner gradually notices variation in the formulaic structures according to the situation and also detects similarities in the parts of different formulas.' (p.169).

Fillmore, concluded by saying that as the productive capacity of the learner is increased through the expansion of his creative rule system he is freed from his early dependence on formulaic speech.

Krashen and Scarcella (1978) are the main opponents of this theory, strongly contesting the role of formulaic speech in developing grammatical competence. Using evidence from the study by Wong-Fillmore (op.cit.), they argued that the use of formulaic speech was a consequence of a particular classroom situation in which the learners found themselves. They described this situation as one in which learners are forced to speak before they have achieved competence in the second language. In order to meet this demand learners begin to rely on the memorization of a number of routinised phrases which are found in the classroom and can be used in specific situations to facilitate interaction. They conclude by arguing that as the second language learner becomes more fluent, using creatively constructed utterances as the basis of their communication, formulaic speech becomes redundant and disappears from their repertoire. Although formulaic speech may have been used alongside productive speech the two are fundamentally independent of each other, formulaic speech contributing nothing to creative speech.

Thus, in conclusion it would seem that (although limited), research acknowledges that for some learners repetition, incorporation, and formulaic speech may play an important role in enabling them to participate in conversations and convey a number of communicative meanings. It is argued that these strategies potentially give the learner an opportunity to practice particular structures, hear more target language and produce new utterances and thereby test new hypothesis through feedback from the interlocutor. (Wong-Fillmore, 1976; Wagner-Gough, 1978; Ellis, 1982; Hatch, 1983).

However there is little research to support the claim that as a result, these communication strategies lead to growing competence in operating the underlying grammatical system. In addition to this, the majority of studies have explored these forms in natural contexts. Very little is known about their use and role in classroom second language learning (with the notable exception of Wong-Fillmore, 1976), thus the identification and analysis of these particular communication strategies has an important contribution to make to our developing understanding of the nature of second language development.

This section has attempted to outline some of the characteristics of conversational interaction, revealing the complexity of this process and the variety of skills needed for successful participation. Particular attention has been given to the importance of communication strategies in enabling both first and second language to manage and extend conversational exchanges. Given the importance of conversational interaction as a means of facilitating second language development the need to further examine the use of these strategies within classroom contexts has become evident.

1.9. SUMMARY.

This chapter has examined a number of theories of first language development and attempted to show how these have influenced the development of second language research. Each of the theories discussed, relates to a different aspect of language development, thus rather than seeing each one as progressive, it is perhaps more useful to see them as explorations of different dimensions of language, each one contributing to our understanding of language development as a whole. However, there was one common element within each theory; each one began to reveal a number of similarities between first and second language development, suggesting that first and second language development may utilise the same underlying processes.

Initially these similarities were most clearly identified through research into the development of the underlying grammatical system, which gave support to the LAD hypothesis of language development. Studies of the development of the English morphemic system in naturalistic learning contexts revealed a broadly similar pattern of development, regardless of the learner's mother tongue or age. However, as researchers began to recognise the importance of meaning and context, the LAD hypothesis was seen to be inadequate as it did not take account of the effect of external variables.

As a consequence of this, there was a move away from an exploration of grammatical development towards an analysis of how the semantics of language emerged within a cognitive framework. It was argued that general principles of cognitive development; that is the way in which learning takes place through information processing, can also account for first, and to some extent second language development. Two positions were identified within this framework. It would seem that the 'weak' position, as stated by Cromer (1974) is more plausible as it recognises the need to consider the relationship between cognitive development and linguistic input, thus restoring the balance between internal elements and external factors. Given the growth in the importance with which external factors were being viewed there was a move towards an analysis of the role of input and interaction in the facilitation of language development.

The investigation of the nature and role of conversational interaction, through the use of discourse analysis, revealed that the interactional features of conversational exchanges seem to play a significant role in facilitating first and second language development. Researchers have suggested that grammatical forms cannot be separated from the communicative purpose which they serve, arguing that the underlying grammatical system develops from involvement in meaningful communicative exchanges, brought about through the joint construction of meaning.

If this perspective of language development is accepted, it is clear that the identification of interaction as a key facilitating factor in language development, has important pedagogical implications for the development of a second language in an 'informal' classroom context. Yet until recently little was known about the nature of second language interaction in the classroom. Researchers have tended to concentrate on conversations in 'natural' contexts, but clearly it is important to distinguish between different types of interaction and identify the way in which these may effect language development. In addition to this many children in England are learning English as a second language in a classroom context. Thus this would seem to be a potentially rich and important source of evidence, on which to develop understanding and in doing so improve practice.

General studies of input and interaction in the classroom context serve as an important starting point for an examination of the nature and effect of teacher - child interaction, and provide a base from which to explore second language interaction. Thus Chapter Two is an attempt to examine current knowledge about the nature of interaction in classroom contexts.

CHAPTER TWO.

CLASSROOM SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT.

2.1. INTRODUCTION.

During the past two decades, methods of teaching a second language in a classroom context have to some extent mirrored the developments of second language theory. However, despite extensive documentation of the way in which second language is learned in 'natural' contexts, evidence suggests that many learners do not become competent second language users. Even in a classroom situation where the focus is on the development of a second language, success is not guaranteed. However, findings from research over the last ten years have prompted a fundamental shift from mechanical teacher-centred practice to interactive meaningful exchanges. Although as Hatch (1979) suggests it is wise to apply new findings with caution, the 'communicative approach' is derived from evidence of similarities between first and second language development. This chapter seeks to give a brief overview of developments in the teaching of English as a second language, in order to identify those features which seem to be most facilitative.

2.2. EMPHASIS ON GRAMMATICAL COMPETENCE.

During the 1960's, in England, partly as a result of morpheme and grammatical studies, as well as the influence of methodology used to teach foreign languages, and the politics of the day, a number of special 'language centres' were created for 'immigrant' children who could not speak English. The pamphlet, 'English For Immigrants' (1963), stated that the most satisfactory arrangement for the teaching of English involved bringing children together in one school. Second language programmes in England were mainly concerned with the development of grammatical competence, teachers were encouraged to use specially prepared language schemes, such as 'Keystone' (Bradford Met. 1977), and Scope (1969), which suggested an order of structures to be taught in a fairly formal and rigid way. The emphasis was on language as 'code' to be learned, rather than as a means of communication.

Although these types of schemes emphasised the need to use 'real situations and objects', the end goal was one of producing correct grammatical utterances. Many language games and language situations were set up, whereby children would join in by repeating given sentences in a drill like manner, until both pronunciation and word order were correct. Resources used did not reflect the cultural background of the children, and tended to show a white ethnocentric view of the world, in a context that was often unfamiliar to many of the children. There was very little opportunity for spontaneous use of English in natural situations.

However it soon became apparent that the children's spontaneous use of certain structures and phrases in English within the 'mainstream classroom' did not always represent the 'correct' taught and assumed 'learned' forms used in the 'language centres.' Certain structures were more like those identified in the speech of children learning English as a first language. This raised a number of questions about the success of the methods being used in the language centres. During the late 1960's the whole basis of the language centres came into question as concern about the methodology and context was expressed.

As a result of a Schools Council feasibility study (1966-1969), which was commissioned to examine the education of 'immigrant children' in England, a number of recommendations were made. These recommendations contrasted significantly with those informing earlier policy. The teaching of English was identified as a priority, and it was suggested that nursery schools should be set up in immigrant communities. Initial and in-service training should include the teaching of English as a second language and materials and books should be developed to supplement classroom resources (Derrick, 1967).

However there was little consensus between education authorities and each one dealt with the perceived 'problem' of immigrant children in different ways. The recommendations were not fully implemented. Several approaches can be identified, children remained in special centres until 'basic English' had been mastered; on entry to school children joined groups of children with learning difficulties and were given remedial instruction; peripatetic teachers would withdraw 'non English speaking children' from the classroom adopting similar methods

to those used in centres; or children were left, in the hope that they would 'pick up' English in the playground (Townsend and Brittan, 1972; Rex 1986). Rex (1986) argued that although these techniques seemed to work to some extent, they were unsophisticated, cruel and callous. He concluded by suggesting that although through time the child learns to cope, his capacity for future learning may have been permanently damaged.

Thus during the late 1960s and early 1970s many teachers were in a situation for which they had little knowledge or practical experience. The teaching of English was seen as a priority, but there was little guidance or support on the most successful way of facilitating development. As a result of the lack of preparation for this new situation, the policies and practices that schools adopted were largely made on an ad hoc basis (Edwards, 1983). The traditional methods of teaching a foreign language, which emphasised grammatical competence, did not seem to be so effective for children learning English as second language, especially those in nursery and infant schools.

2.3. EMPHASIS ON COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE.

As a result of a number of studies, which found evidence of similarities in the development of first and second language, there was a move away from 'formal teaching', to what became known as 'functional' teaching. The functional approach emphasised the need for 'real' communication in meaningful contexts.

As early as 1969, Cook (1969) stressed the need for second language learning to resemble first language learning as much as possible. Cook (op. cit) suggested that the emphasis in teaching should be on communicative competence rather than grammatical correctness. He suggested that teaching techniques should stress partial repetition of sentences and situationally appropriate expansions of the learner's utterances. He argued that teachers should maximise opportunities to expand sentences and give the learner more freedom to experiment with language. These recommendations were within a framework of teacher directed activities, which saw the role of input from the teacher at the appropriate level as a key determinant in second language learning.

However, as discussed in Chapter One subsequent research suggested that it is not input alone that facilitates language development, but the interaction between the native speaker and learner as they attempt to reach mutual understanding (Pica 1987). Macnamara (1973) suggested that whether children were learning a second language in the nursery or the street, the key to success was involvement in real communication with native speakers, with the emphasis on 'negotiation of meaning' between the speakers.

There now seems to be considerable agreement, based on a number of studies, that social interaction most helpful to development is that in which learners and their interlocutors share a need and a desire to understand each other (Long, 1981, 1983; Pica 1987). It is suggested that the learner must have opportunities to interact with native speakers in meaningful social situations if they are to discover the linguistic and socio-linguistic rules necessary for second language comprehension and production (Hatch, 1978; Long, 1981, 1983; Clark et al, 1984; Tough, 1985; Pica 1987).

If this type of interaction helps to facilitate communicative competence in a second language within a natural situation, can the necessary conditions for meaningful interaction be reproduced in the classroom context? Communicative competence is a complex concept which has been defined in a number of different ways. It is often used in contrast with the notion of grammatical competence. In this study communicative competence is defined as the way in which children are able to produce meaningful utterances in the context of conversational interaction. In order to explore the question of facilitative conditions further, it is useful to look at the types of interaction that are found in classroom contexts and compare these with interaction patterns identified in 'natural' situations, to examine any differences and the potential effect of these differences.

2.4.DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATURAL AND CLASSROOM INTERACTION.

Ellis (1984) points out that the limited number of studies of classroom second language learning in conjunction with the tremendous differences in provision and practice make it very difficult to be sure that features identified as facilitative are a result of one particular

situation. However, just as a number of common characteristics have been identified in the mother tongue speech of caregivers, a number of studies have also identified certain characteristics which are common to 'foreigner' talk in naturalistic situations (as discussed in Chapter One). The characteristics identified in natural settings appear to be more or less common to different types of simple codes, such as caretaker speech, foreigner talk, and teacher talk (Gaies, 1977; Henzl, 1979).

On the basis of these findings, Ellis (1984), concludes that given the similarity identified between foreigner talk and teacher talk the input the learner receives in the classroom may not be so different from the input in naturalistic environments. However, he goes on to say that it is when classroom discourse rather than input alone is examined, that key differences between classroom and naturalistic interaction become apparent. This leads to an examination of what is known about linguistic interaction generally in the classroom situation and then to a discussion of specific research on second language interaction.

With the publication of the Bullock Report (1975), talk as a means of learning had finally achieved educational respectability and during the last fifteen years several projects have focused their attention on ways of facilitating meaningful 'talk' in the classroom (Tough, 1977; Galton et al, 1980; Clark (ed), 1985).

Although there are few studies of classroom interaction, general research suggests that in many classrooms children still have little opportunity to use language in a creative way, teachers tend to monopolise the talk and interaction can be characterised by teacher initiation - pupil response - teacher feedback (Stubbs, 1976; Barnes, 1976; Galton et al, 1980). Research suggests that this pattern may begin at nursery school and continue through a child's school life. Several studies of the nature of interaction in nursery and reception classes have found that adults tend to dominate the conversation asking questions of a demanding nature, giving children little time to either think or answer. The adult constantly acknowledges or repeats what the child had said, maintaining a 'rapport' with the child, but there was little evidence of expansion and exploration of ideas, which might give

rise to sustained conversation (Wood et al. 1980; Clark, et al, 1984; Coates, 1985). Clearly, those features which are thought to be facilitative in early language development are not manifest in many studies of classroom interaction.

In relation to interaction patterns and classroom second language learning, studies can be most usefully divided into two types, those which have been carried out in 'language learning classrooms', where the emphasis is on the development of grammatical forms, and those which have been carried out in 'mainstream' classrooms, where the emphasis is on the development of communicative competence. The findings from both types of study have an important contribution to make to current understanding of the processes involved in second language learning.

2.5. SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IN 'LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS'.

It was only when the notion of the universality of language development was brought into question, and interaction was seen as a major facilitating factor, that researchers began to distinguish between 'natural' and 'classroom' second language learning. Studies of language classrooms examined the general nature of interaction and more specifically the effect of teacher input on the order of the development of particular grammatical forms. These studies served as an important source of comparison with development in 'natural' contexts, bringing new evidence to the debate about similarities between first and second language learning.

On the whole research suggests that patterns of interaction identified in language classrooms are quite unlike those identified within first language learning and second language learning in natural situations, where the emphasis is on achieving intersubjectivity through the negotiation of meaning (Long and Sato, 1983; Pica and Long, 1986). Research suggests that because of the nature of the pupil - teacher relationship and emphasis on grammatical development the teacher tends to control all the moves, and a pattern similar to that identified by Barnes (1976) in classrooms generally, is generally established (Ireland, 1987).

It would seem that classroom discourse is not orientated towards a two way flow of information, aimed at mutual comprehension, but rather a one way display from the learner to teacher, through a series of question and answer routines, and repetitions of particular structures (Long and Sato 1983). The structure of many activities does not give learners the opportunity to put forward a point of view or express their opinions at any great length, thus the learners contribution to the discourse is limited (Sinclair and Brazil, 1982). There is little opportunity for genuine interaction, in which the learner has to negotiate with the teacher in order to ensure mutual understanding.

Pica (1987) concludes by suggesting that, this type of interaction is simply language instruction and is merely a way of providing practice in producing a second language, checking on the learner's ability to function in the classroom and to fulfil the objectives of the curriculum. She concludes by suggesting that this sort of input actually inhibits 'successful second language comprehension, production and ultimately acquisition.' (p.4).

However, not all studies of second language 'instruction' have come to the same conclusion, some researchers have suggested that certain forms of classroom instruction (particularly to older learners), accelerate the rate of development (Brown, 1980; Gass, 1982) and possibly enable the learner to reach a higher level of proficiency (Ellis, 1984; Swain, 1985). Although little is known about the effect of 'instruction' on communicative competence, several studies have examined the way in which teacher input affects the 'predicted' natural order of morpheme development. Evidence suggests that on the whole the sequence identified was similar to the order of development in 'natural' contexts, despite frequent drills and repetition exercises (Felix, 1981; Ellis, 1982). However there were some exceptions to this finding.

Lightbown (1983) found that although the production of the progressive -ING was low in relation to other morphemes, it correlated to the low frequency in teacher input. She suggests that this was not due to any fundamental difference between first and second language processes, but rather the result of 'formal grammar lessons'. This distorts the data learners receive, and requires the learner to produce

grammatical complexities, beyond those they would have been producing in natural contexts, resulting in overlearned, and often incorrect use of forms in communicative situations. These studies suggest that in 'second language' classrooms, where 'genuine' interaction appears to be limited, a 'natural' order of development still emerges.

However, studies of the development of morphemes in language classrooms are not an indication of the learners' level of communicative competence. In general it would seem that if, as has been suggested, negotiation through the constant restructuring of interaction is a key facilitating factor in first language development, then an 'instructive' type of classroom interaction may restrict the learners access to those very features which seem to facilitate development (Ellis, 1984).

2.6. SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IN 'MAINSTREAM' CLASSROOMS.

However, not all second language learners are placed in 'language classrooms'. Many young second language learners find themselves in classrooms which are not specifically organised for the development of a second language. In such contexts second language development may take place through 'normal' curriculum activities (Tough, 1985). Clearly there are tremendous differences within and between first schools, but it is possible to identify some characteristics which are (to a greater or lesser extent) seen as central to development in the early years. These can be identified within a 'child-centred' approach which stresses the importance of self-directed learning through problem solving activities and structured play, and builds on and extends the child's previous experiences, giving children more opportunity for negotiation through meaningful interaction in a number of activities.

Clark et al (1984), in an extensive study of the early educational experiences of children from a number of different ethnic backgrounds, found that learners had a varying number of opportunities to participate actively and spontaneously. Although a facilitative environment may have been created, not all teachers were aware of the potential of small group activities or peer interaction for supporting language development. Several researchers have examined the interaction potential of different types of activity. It seems that the activities

that generate active participation, 'investment', and initiative, are those in which the learner had a genuine need to communicate (Leo van Lier, 1984; Dewhurst, 1985; Payne, 1985).

It has also been suggested that interaction between peers who speak the second language can influence both the kind of language that is acquired and the speed with which it is acquired (Peck, 1978; Clark, 1984; Coates, 1985). Wong-Fillmore (1976), in a year long study of five children learning English as a second language in a classroom situation, identified patterns of interaction between native and non-native speaking peers which were very similar to those identified in first language and natural second language environments.

Wong-Fillmore (1976), found that the children who were fluent English speakers modified their speech when talking to less fluent peers. They seemed to be well aware of the levels of understanding of their peers and thus modified their speech accordingly, using a simplified code, similar to the one identified in first and natural second language speech. The children were involved in a number of practical activities and talk tended to be repetitive and contextualised. She concluded by suggesting that the most successful learners were those who were able to establish social relationships with their peers, often through the use of 'formulaic' utterances which enabled the learners to join a group and become involved in conversational exchanges in the early stages of development.

However, in a study of older students, Pica and Doughty (1985) found that peer - peer interaction did not necessarily give rise to joint negotiation of meaning. They examined interaction patterns in two types of activity - a decision making activity and an information exchange task, each with and without the teacher. They found that activities in which the learners were exchanging information, with no teacher present, tended to contain the most interactional modifications. But there was little modification in the group making decisions even without the teacher, as the more proficient learner took on the teacher's role and the less fluent said little. In addition to this Pica (1985) found that in both activities when the teacher was present there was very little modified social interaction. This finding is corroborated by Coates (1985), in a study of young children

involved in group interaction within a reception class, she found that again, the teacher tended to dominate the direction and content of the discourse.

In addition to this Clark et al (1984), in a timely reminder suggested that adults as well as children have difficulty in maintaining interaction, regardless of the activity. In conclusion Pica (1985), argued that although there has been a move away from emphasis on the development of grammatical competence through the use of drills, pattern practice, and corrective feedback, towards the development of activities and materials that facilitate communicative competence, these kind of activities, which stress meaningful interaction, do not necessarily give rise to the conditions which are thought to be conducive to successful second language learning. The classroom is still less than an optimal environment. So what would an optimal environment created in the classroom look like? What are the best conditions to facilitate second language development within the constraints of the classroom?

2.7.FACILITATIVE CLASSROOM CONDITIONS FOR SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT.

Several researchers advocate a communication model, which suggests that if the goal of language instruction is communication, as in first language learning, and there are similarities between the processes involved, then second language learning can profitably draw on our knowledge of first language learning, in designing and implementing effective programmes (McLaughlin, 1980; Tough, 1985). On the basis of this hypothesis, it is suggested that in the early stages of second language learning teachers need to structure the linguistic input to second language learners in a way similar to that identified in parental interactions. The learner should be encouraged to imitate utterances within a particular context, giving them the opportunity to practice and become familiar with certain phrases which they are then able to use in different contexts. The teacher should frequently reform and expand the child's utterance as a means of extending their understanding. Offering a complete phrase to fill out a telegraphic phrase, giving the learner opportunity to hear well formed phrases that express their meaning.

Tough (1985), emphasised the need for teachers to be systematic and consistent yet flexible in their use of English. Interaction should take place on the basis of regular observations of the child through a range of concrete experiences and practical activities at an appropriate intellectual level, through which the learner has access to a number of clues to aid meaning.

However given the findings of some studies in relation to the potential positive effect of more formal input, and the lack of clear understanding of how meaningful interaction actually facilitates the underlying grammatical system, this approach has yet to be fully endorsed. Both McLaughlin (1980), and Tough (1985) argue for a balance between these two approaches. They suggest that the communication model should not deny the importance of structural information, but point to the similarities between first and second language development, and direct attention to the nature of linguistic input the learner receives, to conversational strategies, and to language use. Clearly factors that have been identified as facilitative in first language development are no less critical in second language development. But these need to be considered in relation to other factors.

Katz (1985), extended the notion of a 'communicative' approach and outlined four principles which form the basis of underlying practice in relation to the development of communicative competence. In addition to the need for meaningful interaction through problem solving activities, Katz emphasised the importance of content, which is not only context dependent, but builds on and extends the learner's experience. Thus highlighting the importance of affective factors, particularly in relation to the learner's self-concept.

Evidence suggests that language plays an important part in the children's sense of identity and it is well documented that a positive self-concept is a pre-requisite for successful learning (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Milner, 1983; Davey, 1983). It is suggested that many black bilingual children suffer from a poor self image as a result of several factors, including negative teacher attitude, ethnocentric curriculum content and resources, and the undervaluing of the children's mother tongue (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Rex et al, 1986; Swann Report 1985).

Rex (1986), suggests that one way of developing a positive self concept would be that the child should receive his education in his mother tongue with English as second language introduced in stages, thus ensuring that language development would take place within the learning process and not in opposition to it. (In Scandinavian countries children are by right entitled to a certain percentage of mother tongue teaching). However within this perhaps desirable, yet at present unattainable framework, Rex acknowledges that emphasis on learning through the mother-tongue does not imply that children will automatically become competent in their use of English. There would still be a need for carefully thought-out strategies for facilitating second language development.

Clark (1984), in relation to children with special needs, has also emphasised the potential importance of assessing the learners' competence in their mother tongue as a means of evaluating the assistance that the learner may need in developing both their first and second language. In addition to this staff who share the same mother tongue as the children are an essential basis for the development of positive parental partnerships.

However during the last five years a number of changes have taken place. In many schools there has been a growing recognition of the skills that bilingual children bring to school and the need to build on these skills has been emphasised in many language policies (Houlton, 1986). Along with the need to value what the child brings to school, and build on this a basis for learning, (as has always been the case in child centred learning) the changes advocated in the way in which second language learning is facilitated in the classroom, seem to reflect many of the most recent recommendations for developing language skills of native speakers (National Curriculum, 1989).

2.8.SUMMARY.

The above section has attempted to show how educational pedagogy had to some extent mirrored theoretical developments in second language learning. Evidence suggests that there has been a move away from the implementation of highly structured formal programmes which emphasised grammatical competence and rote learning to the development of communicative models. Communicative models emphasised the need to utilise knowledge of conversational interaction within first language learning as a basis for developing appropriate methodology that would facilitate a second language in the classroom environment (McLaughlin, 1980; Tough, 1985). Thus the analysis of conversational interaction became of central importance to the development of both theory and practice in second language learning.

In support of a communicative approach, it has been argued that highly structured 'formal' classroom interaction may be less facilitative than interaction in which children are engaged in 'meaningful conversation' as found in 'natural situations'. Obviously this distinction is very crude as in many cases of childhood second language development, learning does not occur through one particular type of situation, but through access to a number of different contexts. Any one context may employ a number of different types of interaction. In addition to this it is recognised that teacher autonomy and individual differences are central factors in determining the type of approach that will best meet the needs of learners. Thus although it may be possible to establish general principles, the implementation of these will depend on individual preferences and contextual features (Clark, 1984).

Finally although a number of researchers have suggested particular methods of promoting second language learning through meaningful interaction in classroom situations, this is still to a large extent based on theoretical assumptions rather than empirical research. The emphasis of studies in 'language' classrooms has been to a large extent on the development of grammatical forms, whereas the emphasis in

'mainstream' classrooms has been on patterns of interaction. Clearly, both aspects are equally important. What is needed now is an examination of the effect of instruction on communicative competence and an examination of the way in which grammatical development is facilitated through interaction in the mainstream classroom context.

2.9. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: SOME CONCLUSIONS.

The literature review has aimed to locate this study in the wider context of research into first and second language development. Various models of first language development have been discussed in relation to the way in which they have both influenced theories of second language development, and have served as a basis for classroom pedagogy. It is argued that, as a result of growing evidence of similarities between first and second language development, emphasis has been placed on the importance of promoting and analysing second language development within a conversational context. Although recognising the potential importance of features that have been identified as facilitative in first language development, it is argued that little is known about the way in which this interaction facilitates grammatical development. This has important implications for classroom second language development and clearly there is a need to further examine this relationship. Part Two will begin by recapping on the major points which have emerged from the literature review with the aim of developing a framework for the analysis of second language development in a classroom context.

PART TWO - DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT.

CHAPTER THREE.

THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY.

3.1. INTRODUCTION.

The following is a summary of the key points which have emerged from a discussion of findings in the literature review.

- 1) Evidence of similarities in the sequence of development of particular grammatical forms, led researchers to suggest that first and second language development utilise the same underlying processes. In second language learning, differences in the sequence of development of particular grammatical forms have been accounted for by the transfer of the learner's mother tongue, and specific features within the context in which learning took place.
- 2) The processes of language development are subject to ongoing debate, and have been related to the identification of a specific internal language acquisition device (LAD), general cognitive development, and interaction between the learner and their environment.
- 3) Similarities between first and second language development directed researchers towards conversational analysis. Research revealed that the interactional features of conversational exchanges play a significant role in facilitating communicative competence. Successful interaction has been shown to be a highly skilled process which makes many demands upon the learner.
- 4) Interaction which appears to be most facilitative, is that in which the learner and interlocutor are jointly constructing meaning, through a process of negotiation. Several strategies have been identified in both first and second language learning that children and adults appear to use, to ensure conversational coherence.

5) Researchers into 'language' classrooms, have generally found that interaction does not reflect those features identified as facilitative in conversational analysis. Studies have mainly been concerned with the way in which formal teacher 'input' influences grammatical development. Emphasis on formal rather than communicative aspects of language development, does not seem to affect the overall 'route' of the development of grammatical forms.

6) Researchers into 'mainstream' classrooms have examined the nature of teacher-learner and peer-peer interaction, in a variety of different activities, in relation to the learner's communicative competence. Several studies have concluded by emphasising the need to recreate those conditions which seem most facilitative in early first language development, and second language development in 'natural' contexts.

7) Although there is a growing body of research examining the relationship between conversational interaction and the development of the learner's grammatical system, very little is known about this aspect of development in classroom contexts. However on the basis of the above findings the following hypothesis can be postulated:

Given the similarities identified between first and second language development, communicative competence can be facilitated through involvement in meaningful conversational interaction, in a classroom context, which reflects some of the features identified as facilitative in first language development. Although the exact nature of this relationship is yet to be made explicit.

3.2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.

The purpose of the study presented here is to further the debate centred around the relationship between conversational interaction and grammatical development, in particular;

To examine the development of fourteen grammatical morphemes in the speech of children learning English as a second language, who are Asian mother tongue speakers, in an infant classroom context, in which the emphasis is on communicative competence.

The collection and analysis of data in relation to morphemic development in a classroom context was chosen as the basis of this study on the following grounds:

1) Given the growing recognition of the importance of conversational interaction, the classroom has been a relatively neglected area of research. Yet nursery and infant classrooms in particular, would seem to provide a rich source of data, because the emphasis is often on learning through play and active involvement in a range of activities. Thus, young second language learners in their early years at school were chosen as the subjects in this study.

2) Studies of morpheme development in second language learning classrooms have tended to be based in 'language learning' centres or 'immersion programmes'. Very little is known about morpheme development in more 'natural' classroom contexts. Thus this study was based in a 'mainstream' school, in which language and learning were seen as part of the same process.

3) Given the potential importance of the learners' mother tongue, the fact that many children in Britain are Asian mother tongue speakers and the fact that very few studies have examined the development of morphemes by young Asian mother tongue speakers during their first few years at school, a sample of Asian mother tongue speakers was chosen for the basis of this research.

4) The acquisition of morphemes would appear to be essential to the learners developing competence in English. Morphemes enable the learners to encode progressively more complex meanings and as such are indispensable to the functioning of English. Brown (1973), has identified the way in which morphemes modulate meaning, arguing that they carry semantic information as well as marking tense, number, aspect and mood. Thus the analysis of morphemic development serves as an essential focus for the study of English. In addition to this the relative frequency of obligatory contexts for morphemes ensures wealth of data.

5) Given the vast number of studies that have examined morpheme development the results can be compared and contrasted with other studies. This will allow for the identification of differences and similarities in reported sequences of development and underlying processes which are said to account for both first and second language development. Factors which may account for any variation may be identified, particularly in relation to method of analysis, learning context and the children's mother tongue.

6) The analysis of morpheme development within a conversational context should enable some of the methodological and analytical criticisms outlined in the literature review to be overcome; potentially adding to current understanding of some of the underlying processes of second language development.

The following section discusses the issues that arose in the design stage of the study. These were identified as key methodological criteria for the most effective way of exploring this aspect of second language development.

3.3. THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY.

Traditionally there have been two main methods of identifying the development of morphemes over a sustained period of time, cross-sectional and longitudinal studies. The earliest studies of morpheme development used a cross-sectional design. This enabled the researcher to identify the accuracy of use of particular morphemes over time, yielding information about age differences but not age related changes. They were subsequently criticised for their limitations and over-ambitious claims (Andersen, 1977; Rosansky, 1976). Longitudinal designs were able to take account of criticisms and overcome some of the limitations of cross-sectional studies. They examined the development of morphemes over an extended period of time, with reference to the context in which the subjects were learning a second language. Thus it was possible to identify and account for individual variation within the general developmental sequence.

The data collected for this study are intended to reflect the development of morphemes within a conversational context. This framework of analysis has both a time element and a contextual element. An analysis of the development of morphemes which takes into account variation in individual development and the difference between individuals within a conversational context, can only be undertaken if the data are collected over a substantial period of time and include reference to the context in which the conversation occurred. A longitudinal design would accommodate these two elements and allow for comparison with other studies. The advantages of such a longitudinal study are three fold:

- a) it will enable the identification of true systematic development rather than chance occurrence and the recognition of any idiosyncrasies that may have developed, thus allowing for individual variation and variation within a general pattern (Andersen 1977).
- b) it will ensure that the data are contextualised and therefore enable the identification of the way in which the structure of the conversation has, or has not, influenced that development.
- c) it will enable comparison to be made between the results of this analysis and other longitudinal and cross-sectional studies of morphemic development, building on and extending current knowledge.

In support of a case study approach it can be said that this particular method has been used extensively in both first and second language research and found to be both helpful and productive (Brown, 1988), although this approach is not without its critics (Yin, 1984). Clark (1989), emphasises the need for all research to be explicit and focussed. Yin (op.cit), suggests that the case study approach is a most effective research tool when the question being answered is explanatory in nature, examining the 'why' and 'how' of a particular event or phenomenon. When the focus is on contemporary events in which behaviour of the subjects' is seen as integral to the study, and the deliberate manipulation of the subjects' behaviour is not desired, the effect of 'context' is seen as significant part of the study.

Although other research methods were considered, a case study approach seemed to have distinct advantages over a cross-sectional or experimental study design. Neither alternative types of study would allow for the depth of exploration necessary to examine the particular aspects of language development outlined above. Clearly an exploration of the way in which the learner's morphemic system develops which takes into account conversational context and individual differences adheres to both criteria outlined by Yin (op. cit), indicating the need for some form of in-depth analysis of ongoing development in a conversational context. A case study approach allows for detailed observation and recording of the subjects production of English over a substantial period of time, enabling the researcher to both describe and attempt to explain the emerging pattern of development within a particular context.

Traditionally case study methods of research have been criticised on three counts, first in that they may lack investigative rigour, second in that they do not provide a basis for generalisation, and third that often the length of time taken taken and resulting documentation is long and unreadable (Yin, 1984). The first criticism relates to the method of data collection, which may take many forms, each one bringing with it particular problems of collection and interpretation. In this study investigative rigour will be ensured by careful selection of the method of data collection and analysis, in relation to the aim and context of the study.

In relation to the second criticism, this study is based on a group of children in a particular context. The goal of the research is not to generalise findings to other contexts but to build on and expand understanding of a particular aspect of development, which may or may not have implications for other contexts. In this study the third criticism can be overcome by ensuring that the number of children chosen, allow for evidence of individual variation, and the time period taken allows for evidence of development, without resulting in a massive amount of unwieldy data. In addition clearly focussing on central issues, while acknowledging the complexity of the process of language development, will allow documentation to be concise yet coherent. Having made a decision about the method of data collection, the next step was to identify a suitable school and target group.

3.4. CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF THE SCHOOL AND THE CHILDREN.

In order to address the above questions an infant school had to be identified which subscribed to a 'naturalistic' approach to second language development. The term 'natural' does not imply that children will 'pick up' English simply by virtue of being in an English speaking context. Naturalistic is defined as an approach to second language learning which builds on what is known about first and second language learning in natural contexts, and has as its central components the following principles.

- 1) Language is learned through meaningful interaction, - that is language is seen as the means through which children learn and is therefore developed in contexts which are relevant and appropriate to the learner's interests and intellectual level.
- 2) The child is viewed as an active participant and not a passive observer: learning is facilitated through first hand experiences and practical problem solving activities, through which the child is developing independence and ownership of learning.
- 3) In the early stages of development language is facilitated through practical activities in which learners are able to gain clues to meaning, by relating what they hear to objects and action.

4) The relationship between the home and school is seen as central to development. Learning is facilitated by building on previous experiences and recognition of the child's contribution as valid. This includes the valuing of the child's mother tongue, culture and religion and recognition of the structures of inequality that exist within the education system and affect learning.

5) Teachers are seen as key facilitators and should be aware of the language potential of activities and consciously structure their input within a framework of meaningful interaction. Their active inputs should be based on the recognition of the relationship between first and second language development and should use strategies that have been identified in first language development.

6) Peer interaction is also regarded as a significant part of the learning process. Learners must be given the opportunity to play and work with peers in collaborative group situations, using both mother tongue and English.

7) Appraisal of learning outcomes is seen as the basis upon which to plan further developments.

The replication of all aspects of a 'total natural environment' was not being sought, as there are fundamental differences between a 'natural' context, and a 'school' context. Both operate under different constraints, but in the school context the teacher plays a central role in the organisation and management of talking and learning. The teacher is deliberately planning and assessing the sort of language and learning that will take place. The children's tendency to initiate conversation in 'natural' contexts and the teachers tendency to 'initiate' conversation in classroom contexts presents a major discrepancy between the two situations. However, the researcher deliberately tried to adhere to the principles of 'natural conversation' as far as possible within a classroom environment and these are discussed in the section on the teacher / researcher role. The similarity with 'natural' contexts is developed by the style and

method of teaching, and the attitude of the teacher towards the relationship between language and learning.

In addition to this, research has shown that under certain conditions, peer-peer interaction reflects many of the characteristics of interaction in 'natural' contexts. Thus in both the classroom and the playground it is likely that the learners will be involved in meaningful exchanges that enhance the classroom context.

3.4.1 The Criteria Used as a Basis for Selecting a School.

- 1) The school should endorse the learning of English as a second language through meaningful interaction (as stated above). If possible the school should have a policy, developed by members of the teaching staff (with some input by the Advisory Service), which sets out guidelines for the teaching of English as a second language within the school.
- 2) Adults working in the school should have a commitment to this policy in practical terms, organising and managing language development as part of an overall policy on learning through peer and adult interaction, through a range of meaningful activities. There must be no formal teaching of grammar.
- 3) This policy should emanate from a commitment to equality of opportunity, which recognises and actively values the children's mother tongue, culture and religion and at the same time seeks to eradicate structures of inequality.
- 4) New arrivals should be placed in appropriate age related classes and not in a single 'beginners' class'.
- 5) The school should have a large proportion of English speaking children, preferably English mother tongue speakers, in order to ensure that a large proportion of communication with peers is in English.
- 6) It is desirable but not essential (provided that in service training has taken place in the school) that some teachers in the school have been on an In Service training course to develop their understanding of a communicative approach to second language learning.

3.4.2. The Criteria Used as a Basis for Selecting the Children.

In order to document the process of learning English from the early stages of development the study was based on children who had no prior knowledge of English. (A profile of each child is presented in Ch. 9).

- 1) They should be from the Asian sub-continent.
- 2) They should have arrived in England no earlier than August and start school in September.
- 3) This should be their first experience of an English speaking country
- 4) This should be their first experience of using English.
- 5) This should be their first experience of an English speaking school.
- 6) The sample should include two mother tongues and an equal number (if possible) of boys and girls in that order of priority.
- 7) No more than twelve children and no less than eight children should be chosen to participate in the study.

3.4.3. Issues Related to the Number of Children Chosen.

The need for frequent sampling over a substantial period of time and consideration of the time required for transcribing and analysing the data led towards the case study using a relatively small sample of children. This would both enable transcriptions to build up individual development patterns, while providing a width of learner ability to draw conclusions about the development on a group basis. It would also reduce errors through mis-attribution during transcription.

3.4.4. Issues Related to the Choice of Mother Tongue.

As discussed in the literature review, a general pattern of morphemic development has been identified in the speech of both first and second language learners. However there is some evidence that within this general sequence of development individual variation may occur and the learner's mother tongue has been identified as one of the factors that may contribute to this variation. There have been very few longitudinal studies of speakers of Asian languages learning English as a second language with particular reference to morphemic development. Having identified this gap in research it was decided to base the research on mother tongue speakers of Punjabi, Bengali or Gujarati, depending on the sample available.

3.4.5. Issues Related to Gender.

Although time does not allow for the analysis in detail, of the effect of gender differences, it is recognised that gender is an important variable and one which has been neglected in the field of second language learning. Bennett-Kastor (1988) points out that 'there are significant differences between boys and girls in socialisation and the form and content of language directed at them' (p47). This has important implications for studies examining the level of linguistic competence achieved. In this study the number of subjects chosen limits the extent to which gender could be investigated as an independent variable (any significant differences could be due to a number of other factors). However, if any major differences between the genders are revealed in the analysis then examination of frequency and type of language in which the girls and boys were involved might be revealing.

3.4.6. Issues Related to Age.

The majority of longitudinal studies have involved older children, pre-school children or adults; there are very few longitudinal studies which have investigated second language development of children in a first school. Yet for many children this may be their first and most significant opportunity to learn a second language. Their subsequent school career may depend on the progress they make in those first three years at school, thus there is an urgent need to examine second language development in the early years of education.

3.4.7. The School and Research Population.

On the basis of the above criteria a school was identified and ten children were chosen. The school's policy showed a clear commitment to a communicative approach to both first and second language development. All the staff had contributed to the development of the policy document and some members of staff had been on an in-service course, 'The Development of English as a Second Language in the Classroom', directed by Joan Tough (1982-1985), which clearly advocates a communicative approach to language learning. All the teachers were monolingual English speakers and there was no extra support from bilingual teachers.

The children who attended the school could be divided into three categories:

- a) Monolingual English speaking children from the local community (about 50%).
- b) Children who were born or had arrived in Britain as young children, and were of Asian parentage, living in the local community and becoming bilingual (about 25%).
- c) Children who came from Pakistan and Bangladesh after the age of four to live in the local community. Children from the Mirpuri region of Pakistan spoke the Mirpuri dialect of Punjabi, and the children from Bangladesh spoke Bengali (about 25%)

In order to meet the criteria for selection of subjects, the sample chosen for this study is from the third category of children. Children from Pakistan and Bangladesh were admitted to the school when they arrived in the local community throughout the year (provided there were enough places). Many of children who came from Pakistan and Bangladesh arrived in the summer months and were placed in the appropriate age related class at the beginning of the school year. Clearly other ratios of monolingual English speakers to English second language speakers may have significant implications in terms of the results of this study and this is discussed in Chapter Ten.

The classes were divided into level one (five and six year olds), level two (six and seven year olds), level three (seven and eight year olds), and level four (eight and nine year olds). As the children from the Asian continent arrived at different ages the classes tended to have one third of children who were becoming bilingual and two thirds of children who were native English speakers, in each class of twenty five to thirty children.

During August 1982 ten children who had arrived from Pakistan and six children who had arrived from Bangladesh, applied to come to the school which had been identified as the context for this study. On the basis of age, gender, and mother tongue, ten children were chosen for this study. The following table gives details of the ten children.

Table 3.4.1 Details of the Children Selected For the Study.

<u>Name.</u>	<u>Age Sept 82.</u>	<u>Mother Tongue.</u>	<u>Gender.</u>
<u>Group One.</u>			
Amran	5.4	Punjabi	Male
Abdul Rob	6.1	Bengali	Male
Razwana	5.11	Punjabi	Female
Tera	5.2	Bengali	Male
Tasleem	6.4	Bengali	Female (left Dec.82)
Majid	6.2	Punjabi	Male
<u>Group Two.</u>			
Asif	8.0	Punjabi	Male
Quayum	8.1	Bengali	Male
Abdul Quayum	7.8	Bengali	Male
Lipi	8.2	Bengali	Female
Nasreen	7.10	Punjabi	Female.

Having identified a suitable school and targeted ten children within that school, the next stage was to decide exactly how to collect the data that would enable the aim of the study to be met. Data needed to be collected that would enable analysis of specific features of linguistic development to be made. In order to explore the role of conversational interaction on the morphemic development, the data would have to originate from a 'natural' interactive context, - as far as possible within a classroom context. The following section outlines the method of data collection and discusses the issues which are related to the method chosen.

3.5. THE COLLECTION OF DATA.

3.5.1. The Recording of Sessions.

The school chosen for the study was designated an Educational Priority Area and as a result had a full time support teacher working within the school to provide extra help for particular children. The support teacher worked with a number of different groups of children, including children who were becoming bilingual, withdrawing them from the classroom but consolidating or extending work being covered in the classroom. The teacher often worked on shared themes, so it was possible to work with children from different classes on the same topic.

On the basis of several research projects and reports examining the development of self esteem (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Swann Report, 1985), it is widely accepted that withdrawing children from their classroom situation for 'extra help' may not be the most appropriate way of enhancing learning, because of the stigma that may be attached to them by other children, resulting in a sense of 'failure' and low self esteem. However, in order to minimise the possibility of creating a self-fulfilling prophecy, (but at the same time maximising the time given by the support teacher), children were withdrawn as a small group from different classrooms for a wide range of reasons. This gave the class teacher the opportunity to work with those children perceived as needing extra help in their own classroom.

The school was operating a policy of withdrawal of small groups, which included children who had recently arrived in England and were perceived as needing extra help with the development of English. It was decided that the group of children identified for this study would be withdrawn from their classrooms once a fortnight, for small group work.

As the study involved a small number of children, it was felt that it would have been inappropriate for the researcher to join the support teacher to either video, orally record, or take notes on significant contextual events, as the researcher's presence would have been false and possibly intimidating. Perhaps more importantly the researcher would have been drawn into the activities, thus affecting the development of the sessions.

On the other hand it did not seem reasonable to ask the support teacher to plan in the depth required, or use the researcher's plans. Neither was it reasonable to ask the support teacher to record and make notes on each session. Even more significantly, the researcher had a clear idea of the sort of interaction that each session would involve, to ensure that it reflected some of the elements of interaction identified in 'natural' contexts.

Thus it was decided that the most practical solution was for the researcher to act as the support teacher for the ten children identified. The decision to have the researcher as the teacher brought its own problems and these are discussed further in section 3.7.2. However, after careful reflection it was decided that the advantages out-weighed the disadvantages and that as long as problems presented by being a participant observer were recognised, this method seemed to ensure a rich collection of data.

This enabled the researcher to work with the children from different classrooms in a small classroom area on group activities. In order to gain the maximum amount of interaction with all the children contributing, and ensure that the activities provided would be appropriate to the intellectual level of each child, the children were divided into two groups according to age (five and six year olds together and seven and eight year olds together). This also assisted the practical consideration of being able to distinguish between the children easily when transcribing the recordings.

It was felt that recording on a video tape, although capturing many contextual clues, could be too distracting and affect the children's perception of the sessions and also their behaviour within the group. In addition to this, analysis of video recording brings with it a different set of problems. The use of a video camera could not be guaranteed for the period of time involved and the equipment that was available at the time of the study was far more complex in operation than the subsequent generation of camcorders. In addition there would have been a considerable resource outlay to collect data in this medium over the anticipated length of the study.

Oral tape recordings can also be problematic, in that a tape recorder may distract the learners, affecting what they say and the way they say it. Clearly there may be times when the recorder does not 'pick up' all conversational contributions. However, it was felt that the children would soon become familiar with the tape recorder, as it would be used every other week and the children would be encouraged to become involved with the whole process of recording, listening to themselves, switching it on, and turning the tape (under the teacher's guidance). In addition to this, tape recordings were a regular aspect of classroom practice, thus any reticence would hopefully soon be overcome.

The collection of data would not be complete. It would seem that what ever method of recording was chosen, the capturing of every utterance could not be guaranteed. However, given that the learners would be working on one table as a small group within a small classroom, careful placing of a tape recorder would maximise the number of utterances recorded. In addition to this contextual notes, would help to ensure accuracy of transcription and interpretation of conversational interaction. Thus the oral tape recordings of each session would be supplemented by written notes of significant contextual events at the end of each session. This seemed to be the most preferable solution for the collection of the data.

The two groups of five children were tape recorded in two hour fortnightly sessions in school for three terms, and one group of five children were recorded for two hours fortnightly during the following three terms as well. The tapes were transcribed as soon as possible after the session. The first part of this study relates to the data collected in the first three terms from all ten children. The data are divided into four periods, consisting of one term per period.

The Number of Sessions, Hours of Recording and Amount of Utterances.

		GROUP ONE	GROUP TWO	UTTERANCES
TERM ONE	- Oct to Dec - 6 sessions	12 hours	12 hours	1,337
TERM TWO	- Jan to Apr - 8 sessions	16 hours	6 hours	4,155
TERM THREE	- May to Jul - 6 sessions	12 hours	12 hours	13,592
TERM FOUR	- Oct to Dec - 6 sessions	3 hours	12 hours	3,326
TERM FIVE	- Jan to Apr - 8 sessions		16 hours	1,966
TERM SIX	- May to Jul - 6 sessions		12 hours	2,048
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		43 hours	70 hours	26,424

Total - 113 hours of recording

Total - 26,424 utterances.

(Only one session from each month in Terms Five and Six was transcribed, this accounts for the low number of utterances)

It was recognised that a 'settling in' period is an important aspect of second language development. Children need time to get used to the school context and make new friends as well as tune in to the sound patterns and intonation of English. This period will vary according to a number of factors (personality, brothers and sisters in the school, attitudes and experience of parents, home situation). During this period some children may rarely speak in their mother tongue or English. Some children may only begin to use English in 'safe' situations e.g. whole group activities (story, singing) while others may begin to repeat what they hear almost immediately. In order to take account of the settling-in period needed, and also ensure the early stages of the children's use of English were recorded, a compromise was reached, and the first group session was held at the beginning of October when the children had been in school for four weeks. This decision was made on the premise that the class teachers who were involved, indicated that it was appropriate to withdraw the children chosen from their class, for the small group work, at this point.

3.5.2. The Planning and Implementation of Sessions.

- 1) Activities were designed so that the children were able to actively participate and use English as the medium for learning;
 - through the use problem solving activities.
 - through first hand experiences.
 - through the use of practical resources.
- 2) Activities were designed to be coherent, in that they related to the children's ongoing experiences;
 - related to classroom themes.
 - related to children's interests.
 - allowed children to develop tasks in the direction of their choice
- 3) Activities were designed to be comprehensive in that they covered a number of curriculum areas and facilitated a range of language uses;
 - through cross curricular activities.
 - through variation in the nature and purpose of the activities.
- 4) Activities were designed to be appropriate in that they took account of individual stages of development and needs;
 - further planning was based on assessment of learning outcomes at the end of each session.

On the basis of the above criteria it was decided to record the children's conversational interaction in three types of situation, in an attempt to capture a wider range of English than would have been present in only one situation. This included half hour recordings that were made with individual children talking about a picture or sequence of pictures.

Characteristics of situation 1 - Small classroom activities.

- a) Practical activities related to classroom topic.
- b) Activities designed for individual 'table top' work.
- c) Paired or whole group co-operation activities.
- d) Activities designed to meet intellectual needs and interest level of group.
- e) Activities were not designed as a language teaching point.
- f) Children were encouraged to use the classroom as their own and make decisions about organisation and use of resources.

Characteristics of situation 2 - Outings to the locality.

- a) Related to a classroom theme e.g. food = market / supermarket
- b) Usually within walking distance.
- c) Children encouraged to observe and comment during journey and at destination.
- d) Tape recorder carried by the teacher researcher.

Characteristics of situation 3 - One to one interaction.

- a) Sharing a picture with the researcher.

(Examples of these three types of activity are in Appendix One.)

3.6. THE ROLE AND EXPERIENCE OF THE TEACHER / RESEARCHER.

The teacher / researcher had some knowledge and understanding of second language development through experience of working with children for whom English was a second language, - attendance at an R.S.A. course 'Children Learning English as a Second Language' and working as a project assistant to the Schools Council Project 'Children Using English as a Second Language', (directed by Joan Tough (1982 - 1985)). At the beginning of this study the researcher was a support teacher on a part time secondment to Leeds University as a project assistant to the Schools Council Project. This involved two and a half days working as a support teacher in two schools and two and a half days working with members of the project.

Although it is not possible, within the scope of this study systematically to analyse the teacher / researcher's use of English, certain characteristics were readily identifiable and mirrored as far as possible characteristics identified in parental interaction with young children, with some modifications to this approach, based on work from the Schools Council Project (op.cit). These modifications related primarily to the early stages of development, - the first two sessions, in which the learners were frequently encouraged to repeat utterances and the teacher tended to concentrate on a small range of phrases, within a particular activity (See Transcript One October Year 1 - Appendix Two). Subsequent sessions adhered to the following principles:

1) Confirm and build on children's contributions -

- by listening carefully to responses.
- by acknowledging learner's response and trying to develop this by making a related comment.
- by asking open ended questions.
- by praise and encouragement.

2) Correct syntax in the context of the conversation -

- by doing this as part of the ongoing conversation as parents do in first language learning, not making explicit reference to the correction.
- by occasionally making explicit reference to the correction and asking the child to repeat when appropriate.

3) Be consistent in the early stages of development -

- by gradually introducing more forms and vocabulary
- by providing clear models
- by being aware of the sort of language that may come from the activity being implemented

4) Encourage peer-peer interaction -

- by being the facilitator, not 'teacher'.
- by asking other children for their contribution.
- by working in pairs or whole group co-operatively.
- by encouraging children to help each other.

5) Be aware of the potential of strategies to facilitate development -

- by prompting
- by imitating
- by modelling
- by encouraging complete phrases
- by giving alternatives to questions
- by giving feedback / reformulating
- by extending by replacement
- by extending by elaboration and alternative phrases.

(Taken from Tough, 1985 p.38-41)

This section has attempted to set out and justify the design of the study in relation to the aim of the investigation. The following section discusses the implementation of the study design with reference to a number of methodological issues that this raises.

3.7. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STUDY DESIGN.

3.7.1. Issues Related to the Amount of Data Collected.

Clearly the children in this study were learning to speak English as a second language in both their school and community, from their peers and a number of different adults. They might also be learning other languages (for example Arabic) as part of their religious instruction. As far as it is possible to ascertain from asking the children (part way through the study), the children on the whole spoke their mother tongue at home and in their immediate community, because it was a common shared language. Clearly as the children became more fluent it was likely that they would increase the number of contexts in which they used English. However, it would seem that on the whole, in the context of the home and wider community, the learners' use of English would be for communicative purposes rather than grammatical 'practice', thus negating the danger of distortion from the possible effect of formal input.

At the same time it is recognised that because the children had access to a wide range of interactional situations in their school and home life, only a small part of their use of English could be recorded. Clark (1983) emphasised the need to recognise that linguistic performance in a classroom context does not necessarily reflect either the child's performance in other situations, or their potential for development. However the three situations in which the data would be collected, had been deliberately structured to ensure that as wide a range of language use as possible was recorded within the constraints of the study.

It was also recognised that the examination of the development of morphemes may not be indicative of the level of language being used by the learners at the end of the study. It is important to point out that the level of morphemic acquisition, does not necessarily reflect the learner's level of language competence, in terms of their ability to communicate a number of different meanings. Clearly morphemes are central to intelligibility and developing complexity in communication, but evidence suggests that learners found other ways of expressing certain forms, that although less accurate and precise, enabled them to convey certain meanings.

3.7.2. Issues Related to Participant Observation.

A brief review of the literature (Cohen and Manion, 1980) revealed three major methodological difficulties inherent in the role of participant observer, which Labov (1971) referred to as the 'observer's paradox' (p 461). The first refers to the danger of affecting the context to such an extent that the data collected will no longer be representative of the very aspects of language development being investigated. The second refers to the judgements the participant observer makes about the data. Such close involvement with the group being studied may lead to bias in the collection and interpretation of the data. The third refers to the danger of subjective and impressionistic accounts of events which lack quantifiable measures and therefore, investigative rigor.

Awareness of these methodological difficulties enabled the researcher to modify the effects of such variables as much as possible without counteracting the advantages of participant observation. The very nature of the situation (a small group, children's perception of the role of the teacher, the activities themselves) might indeed have led to a change in the nature of the interaction being studied. The teacher / researcher might have consciously or sub-consciously reverted to a more formal approach to 'learning' (especially in the early stages of development). Conversely in an attempt to ensure maximum interaction between the children the researcher might become too 'informal' giving very little initiation or feedback, thus distorting the data collected.

In addition to this, knowing exactly what form the first part of the analysis would take might have led to undue emphasis on particular morphemes. However the teacher / researcher had explicitly identified the nature of the interaction to be promoted and tried to be constantly aware of this. As it was part of the 'teaching style' adopted as a support teacher, it was well established before the research commenced. Also each session was transcribed as soon as possible after the session, thus the researcher was able to monitor the language used to some extent and ensure consistency in terms of her own use of language through out the sessions.

The second major difficulty relates to bias in the collection of data. The very nature of collecting data that represents 'naturalistic' interaction is in itself problematic because of the nature of the context. It is not the actual activities that are problematic (as young children are engaged in a number of different experiences), but the attitude and expectation of the teacher/researcher and the children when engaged in those activities. Even though the teacher/researcher had a clearly identified role, it is difficult to replicate those relationships children that are involved in within natural interactional contexts, where children are able to negotiate with caregivers (to a lesser or greater extent), the nature of the activity and conversational interaction. In play with peers, children are of equal status and therefore initiate and direct conversation, more so than may be possible in a classroom context.

The children's expectations may also lead to difficulties if they perceive school as a place to be 'taught' English. However the success of the facilitative approach depended initially on the teacher's relationship with the children and management of sessions. By promoting independence through problem solving activities the children would be using English within a meaningful interactional context which would replicate some of the features of 'natural interaction'. Continual tape recordings and contextual notes would ensure that a range of language was recorded and that the researcher was not being selective in what was being collected for analysis within the three given situations.

Thirdly, knowing the children so well might have led to shared understandings which actually mediate against the production of certain forms. For example the use of 'that one + noun', was always understood as a descriptive sentence with 'that one' replacing the demonstrative and copula (singular and plural), Thus it could be argued that once this meaning was established, the children never had to produce the copula to convey this particular meaning. However the use of formulaic speech, colloquialisms and idiosyncrasies are recognised as part of the process of developing language and as such must be included and accounted for in the analysis of data.

Bias towards interpretation of the children's responses in particular ways, while engaged in conversation with them, could also have been problematic and led to distortion in the data. Thus the researcher was particularly aware of the danger of asking a child to repeat something for grammatical clarification rather than semantic clarification; asking children to repeat something which was not recorded for technical reasons; or appearing to understand something in order to maintain the conversation rather than trying to establish joint understanding.

Having identified and discussed the ways in which the weaknesses of participant observation can be at least monitored and at best overcome, it is equally important to identify the strengths which led to this particular form of data collection being selected:

1) The researcher was able to build up an informal relationship with the children, coming into the situation as a 'teacher', but creating a relaxed atmosphere conducive to meaningful interaction and independent learning. This enabled the researcher to gain in-depth knowledge of individual children and note any significant changes in their social and psychological being, that might affect their behaviour and development.

2) It also enabled the researcher to tune into particular idiosyncrasies in relation to intonation patterns or particular grammatical structures. As well being aware of colloquialisms that the children might use as part of their developing competence.

3) In-depth knowledge of individual children's interests, experience and needs enabled the researcher to take these into account when modifying planning to maintain stimulating and challenging activities.

4) Being part of the conversational context enhanced the possibility of accurate interpretation of meaning as the teacher / researcher was part of the negotiation process, creating shared meaning in order for the conversation to continue (as identified in first language learning).

5) Being part of the situation enabled the researcher to discern ongoing behaviour as it occurred and to make appropriate notes about its salient features.

In conclusion the collection of data through participant observation within a longitudinal framework met both the requirements of time and context which were identified as the means through which morpheme development within a conversational context could be explored.

3.7.3. Issues Related to the Interpretation of Utterances.

The detailed method of analysis for the recognition and scoring of morphemes and the analysis of the effect of conversation on the developing morphemic system and verb sub-system is discussed in 3.7.4. (Issues Related to the Method of Analysis of Morphemic Development). However there are some general issues which must be addressed before the actual analysis of the data collected could take place.

The interpretation of 'meaning intention' particularly in the early stages of first and second language development is extremely problematic, as surface forms do not necessarily correspond directly to units of meaning. The whole notion of communicative intent is highly ambiguous and any attempt to decipher meanings must take into account both contextual features, which include extralinguistic, background features and conversational context, in relationship to the physical setting in which the conversation takes place (Bloom, 1970; Snow, 1977).

In addition to this French and Woll (1981), argue that, when attempting to interpret meaning, it must be recognised that social settings and relationships are not independent of, or external to language, but in fact are partly established and maintained through linguistic interaction. In other words, not only do participants interpret language on the basis of conversational context, but the context is, in part, brought into being through the use of language. They see the relationship of language to context as reciprocal.

However, even having taken into account the context in which the utterance took place - the physical setting and the nature of the conversational interaction - some degree of ambiguity will always

remain. Shorrocks (1981, 1989), argues that the recognition of ambiguity is crucial to the interpretation of meaning, suggesting that:

'the way in which children's utterances are interpreted has implications for any attempt at structural description or semantic categorisation of that speech' (1982 p.50)

Thus unless there are agreed procedures of interpretation, in which assumptions are made explicit and systematic, the viability of research findings are brought into question.

The problematic nature of the interpretation of meaning has not been explicitly referred to in studies of second language development. Clearly the general issues as identified above are equally pertinent. However, in subsequent second language learning, the learner is, to a greater or lesser extent, already operating one language system, and has therefore developed a whole range of meanings, which are made explicit through a particular set of linguistic structures. Thus, when the researcher is interpreting utterances produced by the learner in the second language, the possible effect of the underlying semantic system of the first language needs to be taken into account. For example, given that Eskimos have several words to express the different types of snow, if the word 'snow' is used by the same speaker in English, the ambiguity of meaning increases substantially. Clearly certain concepts are culturally bound, for example English does not encode 'succa' (Punjabi - meaning a close relation) or 'guthli' (Punjabi - meaning a money bag made out of material). There is a great deal of research into the effect of grammatical, semantic and phonetic transfer, but the ambiguity of interpretation is seldom mentioned.

The problem of interpretation is heightened even further by the presence of code switching and/or code mixing in the data. Clearly, the recognition of the possible influence of the learner's mother tongue, necessitates some knowledge of that language system, and although the learners in this study did not combine English with Punjabi or Bengali, the researcher's limited knowledge of Punjabi and Bengali, is acknowledged as a weakness in interpretive accuracy.

However, the longitudinal design of the study, the collection of data in 'interactional contexts', and the role of the researcher as participant observer enabled the researcher to employ a method of 'rich

interpretation', whereby the researcher has access to a number of 'clues' or information on which to base interpretation of meaning. They are as follows:

1) The context in which the conversation took place. Although clearly not all conversations are necessarily related to the present context, in the early stages of development, much of the conversational interaction related to the actual activity in which the children were involved. As the children became more fluent conversations about school and home events outside the immediate situation may become more frequent and less context dependent.

2) The topic of conversation. Recognition of the area being discussed is crucial to the interpretation of meaning, as conversation is made up of shared understandings. Once the topic has been established it may not be explicitly referred to again. Thus analysis must take account of conversational 'units' rather than isolated utterances as a way of identifying intended meaning.

3) Non-verbal clues. These include the children's actions or gestures which accompany their verbalisations and are assumed to indicate important aspects of the situation, thereby helping to clarify meaning.

4) The phonological form and intonational pitch. These are important sources of information about how the child intends the message to be interpreted e.g. rising intonation may signal an interrogative. In utterances where the phonological form is not clear, the child's intonation may help to convey meaning.

However despite both contextual and verbal clues there were two types of utterance which proved too problematic in terms of both surface structure and semantic interpretation .

a) Utterances that were unintelligible because of technical (sound recording not clear), interactional (two or more children speaking at once), or phonetic reasons. These were noted as they form an important part of the conversational episode but were not included in the morpheme analysis.

b) Single isolated utterances which did not seem to relate to the context or conversational framework. Again these were included but not used in analysis as their meaning was not discernible.

Instances of the above types of 'problematic' utterances were very infrequent and did not make a significant difference to the corpus of data. In order to verify the accuracy of both transcription and interpretation, a member of staff and the support teacher transcribed one tape each, during each term, and the researcher compared it with the original transcript. There were very few transcription discrepancies, and differences in interpretation were greatest in the early stages of development when the children were only using one or two word utterances (usually nouns) and meaning was open to a number of interpretations. However in the majority of cases it was agreed that the child was simply using single nouns as a means of labelling unless contextual clues or intonation indicated otherwise. The overall level of agreement on the six transcripts was over 90%, with the exception of the first transcript when agreement on interpretation dropped to 85%, this was resolved through further 'hearings' and discussion.

The only exception to this level of agreement was the utterances produced by Tera, his pronunciation and sentence construction made it virtually impossible to interpret the meaning he was trying to convey during the first two terms. Thus it was decided to note his utterances in the transcript but not attempt to interpret them unless the meaning was quite clear.

Finally it is interesting to note that the children rarely mixed their mother tongue with English, so this did not present any problems in transcribing or interpreting utterances. Although the learners were encouraged to use their mother tongue to speak to each other throughout the school, there was a strong pressure from individual members of the group to speak English. This is discussed in the section on Child Studies (Chapter Nine). Thus on the whole every session reflected a bias towards English. The children rarely used their mother tongue, and then it was usually when they acted as translators for each other.

3.7.4. Method of Morpheme Analysis.

The selection of morphemes and the method of analysis is based on Brown's (1973) original study of the development of fourteen morphemes in the speech of three pre-school children learning English as a first language. Brown chose to examine the development of grammatical morphemes because, unlike many other grammatical constructions, their use is not dependent on the topic of conversation or the character of interaction, but is obligatory in certain contexts. Thus, a criterion for acquisition could be established, based on whether the child does or does not supply the correct morpheme in each obligatory context.

In his research, Brown deemed a given morpheme to be acquired when it was being produced correctly in 90% of the obligatory contexts of three successive recordings, each recording having at least five obligatory contexts. Brown defined the notion of obligatory in four different contexts:

a) linguistic context, when the child's own utterance requires a morpheme, e.g. 'I go to shop today.' - this requires a progressive auxiliary, the present progressive and an article;

b) non-linguistic context, when the child's non-verbal communication in conjunction with his speech indicates the need for a morpheme, e.g. in the context of labelling pictures, the child points to an apple while uttering, 'that apple', this requires the third person copula and an article;

c) linguistic prior context, when a new topic is introduced and the discussion focuses on general rather than specific items, the indefinite article should be present. For example, if this is the first time anyone has mentioned a book then the article should be the indefinite 'a';

e) linguistic subsequent context, when the caregiver confirms or expands the child's utterance, indicating the need for a morpheme, e.g.
Child: 'that apple'

Adult: 'yes, that's an apple.' (Based on Brown 1973 p.296)

The criterion for acquisition was based on constant 90% correct use over a period of three successive sessions, two weeks apart with at least five obligatory contexts in each session. The criteria for establishing acquisition in this study is based on Brown's criteria,

but because of the low frequency of some forms, acquisition was based on correct use within each term (each term containing at the least six sessions and at the most eight sessions), thus ensuring at least fifteen obligatory contexts for each calculation, (with the exception of the past regular and the past irregular).

Brown calculated an order of development for those morphemes not fully acquired, on the basis of the percentage of the morphemes most accurately produced, to those least accurately produced. On the basis of her own study of a bilingual child Chimombo (1979), found that the ultimate order of acquisition was different from the order calculated for those morphemes partially acquired part way through her study, using Brown's method of analysis. Thus she found this method of calculation to be unreliable. Given that the transition from partially learned forms to complete mastery is a process of constantly fluctuating accuracy, it would seem that the rank order of partially acquired morphemes cannot be seen as a clear indication of ultimate sequence. Given the possibility of a discrepancy, no claims about the final order will be made on the basis of partially acquired morphemes.

The scoring procedure was based on the rules identified by Brown, Cazden and deVilliers, reproduced in Hakuta (1974) (in Appendix Three). In order to take into account some of the limitations of this scoring method, it was necessary to extend the scoring procedure as suggested by Hakuta (1974) and Andersen (1977). To establish a more accurate picture of the development of morphemic structures the scoring used includes the overgeneralization of a morpheme to a context where it is not required, (as in 'he's won't go'), and the incorrect form of a morpheme in a context where it is required, (as in 'his is blue shoes')

The various forms of the copula and auxiliary, were identified and marked individually. This was an important distinction to make because one particular form might account for the total number of obligatory contexts of a particular morpheme (e.g. third person singular 'is'). If the learner was producing that form correctly in 90% of obligatory contexts and if the absence of other forms was not taken into account, it would be possible to suggest that the learner had in fact acquired that particular morpheme, when clearly it was only being produced in one particular form.

However, in the early stages of development and to a lesser extent later on when the child's meaning was not immediately obvious it was difficult to infer meaning from the surface structure of one or two word utterances. Where meaning was unclear one of two options were employed, to assume meaning from other clues (verbal and non-verbal), or to exclude the utterance from the morpheme count.

In order to ensure the above information about morphemes was recorded accurately, a coding system was designed for each morpheme and applied to each learner using all transcripts. In addition to this the utterance in which each morpheme occurred for each learner was also recorded on a separate sheet, to enable the identification of particular patterns emerging within the conversational context. It also enabled the researcher to identify the way in which particular morphemes were being produced and overgeneralised to particular utterances. For example this was particularly useful in relation to the development of articles, as it soon became apparent that learners were using 'one' as a substitute for the indefinite article.

Finally, initial analysis revealed a high frequency of formulaic and repeated speech. Clearly these forms of production played an important role in the learners' development of communicative competence. These strategies have been identified in first language learning and to a lesser extent in second language learning, but very little is known about the contribution of these strategies to the development of the underlying grammatical system. Given that the initial analysis of morpheme development revealed extensive use of these strategies, morphemes produced through repetition and formulaic speech were included in the count, as these were legitimate means of producing particular forms. However, it is recognised that the production of particular morphemes through such strategies could in fact distort the order of development. Therefore each occurrence was noted separately, in order to identify the effect of such production on the development of particular forms.

Having discussed the design and implementation of the study, Part Three will now present an analysis and a discussion based upon the data that was collected.

PART THREE

THE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

CHAPTER FOUR

AN ANALYSIS OF THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF MORPHEMES

4.1. INTRODUCTION.

This general analysis will address the following three questions:

- 1) Is there a general sequence of morpheme development?
- 2) Is that sequence common to all ten second language learners?
- 3) Is the sequence identified in this study similar to the sequence identified in, a) first language development?
b) in other studies of second language development?

Initially morpheme counts were done for the first four terms for ten learners. Three of the children were omitted from the final calculation, Nasreen and Lipi because of the very low frequency of occurrence of all morphemes and Tera because it was very difficult to understand what he was trying to communicate and therefore often impossible to identify individual constituents within his speech. Majid joined the group at the beginning of the second term to replace Tasleem, who left at the end of the first term, and was included in the count.

Initially eleven morphemes were identified in the speech of the nine learners. However on examining the morpheme counts it soon became apparent that there were very few obligatory contexts for the 3rd person regular, 3rd person irregular, and the possessive. As the analysis was not undertaken until the completion of the recording of data it was not possible to 'introduce' these forms into sessions. The low frequency of these forms made it impossible to plot their development and calculate their eventual acquisition point. Consequently they were omitted from the analysis. The following eight morphemes were identified and then an order of development was calculated on the basis of Brown's (1973) criteria for acquisition:

<u>MORPHEME</u>	<u>FORM</u>	<u>EXAMPLES</u>
Present progressive	-ing	I am <u>running</u>
Copula	be, am, is, are	Amran is tall
Auxiliary (Prog.)	be, am, is, are	Amran is singing
Preposition	in, on	I am on the table It's in the box
Plural	-s	Six samosas
Articles	a, the	Give me a book Give me the glue
Past regular	-ed	She closed the door
Past irregular	went, came	She went home She came to school.

The relatively low frequency of the irregular past and regular past tense in the speech of the learners meant that their position in the order of development was calculated on the basis of a limited number of obligatory contexts. This brings into question the accuracy of their position in relation to other morphemes. This will be taken into account during the discussion of the order of development. They have been included in the analysis, as regardless of their position, they do give some insight into the development of these two forms.

4.2. RESULTS OF ANALYSIS.

The analysis of the first four terms for all seven learners revealed that only the present progressive ING had been acquired to the 90% criterion, with the exception of Razwana who was also producing the copula to the 90% criterion for acquisition by the end of Term Four. This is represented in Table 4.2.1. The order of the remaining morphemes was calculated on the basis of percentage of most accurately produced to least, and is represented in Table 4.2.2.

Table 4.2.1.

The Order of Acquisition of Nine Morphemes for the Seven Second Language Learners By the End of Term Four Using Brown's Criteria for Acquisition.

AMRAN	ABDUL R	RAZWANA	MAJID	ASIF	QUAYUM	ABDUL Q
Pre.Pro	Pre.Pro	Pre.Pro	Pre.Pro	Pre.Pro	Pre.Pro	Pre.Pro
		Copula				

Table 4.2.2.

The Order of the Remaining Morphemes Calculated on the Basis of Percentage of Most Accurately Produced to Least Accurately Produced.

AMRAN	ABDUL R	RAZWANA	MAJID	ASIF	QUAYUM	ABDUL Q
Copula	Plural		Preps	Copula	Plural	P.Irr
Arts	Aux	Plural	Copula	Plural	Aux	Copula
P.Irr	P.Irr	Aux	Plural	Preps.	P.Irr	Plural
Aux.	Copula	Preps	Aux.	Arts	Preps	Aux
Plural	Arts	Arts.	Arts.	P.Irr	Copula	Preps
Preps	Preps	P.Irr	P.Irr.	Aux	Arts	P.Reg
P.Reg.	P.Reg	P.Reg.	P.Reg.	P.Reg	P.Reg.	Arts.

However at this point, with the exception of Razwana and Majid, the learners were hardly reaching 50% correct production on any of the remaining seven morphemes. Thus it seemed that the gap between current production and 90% correct production in obligatory contexts was too large to allow any accurate or meaningful calculation to determine the eventual order of development. Analysis suggests that the learners were still in the early stages of correct production in obligatory contexts and as such no claims about the order of development will be made at this stage, with the exception of the present progressive. The Tables showing the results of analysis for each learner are in Appendix Four.

It is however worth mentioning that at this point (Term Four), two of the Bengali mother tongue speakers - Abdul Rob and Quayum appeared to have reached a similar level of acquisition and apparent order of acquisition for the plural (64% / 61% respectively) and the auxiliary (55% / 44%). However this does not seem to be related to differences between Bengali and Punjabi as both languages encode the auxiliary and plural in a similar way. It is interesting to note that Abdul Quayum who also speaks Bengali did not appear to have developed these two forms in the same order as the other two learners, but had reached a similar level of acquisition for the auxiliary (46%). However with the exception of Asif all the learners appeared to have acquired the auxiliary up to and over 50% correct production in obligatory contexts by Term Four.

It is also interesting to note that Majid and Razwana were producing certain morphemes with between 60% and 89% accuracy in Term Four. However, if the order of acquisition of those particular morphemes is calculated on a percentage basis for the most accurately produced to least accurately produced; there is a high correlation between the predicted order of development in Term Four and the actual order of development in Term Six for Razwana; but a low correlation for Majid, in relation to the present progressive, copula and plural. This data is reproduced in Table 4.2.3.

Table 4.2.3.

Results of Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes for Majid and Razwana
On Which They Reached Over 50% Correct Production by Term Four in
Comparison with the Actual Order of Acquisition in Term Six.

RAZWANA		TERM FOUR	TERM SIX
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	N	65	126
	%	98	97
COPULA	N	41	61
	%	93	94
PLURAL	N	28	33
	%	75	90
AUXILIARY	N	40	57
	%	60	56
PREPOSITIONS	N	31	18
	%	58	51

MAJID		TERM FOUR	TERM SIX
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	N	97	164
	%	98	96
PREPOSITIONS	N	46	35
	%	89	89
ARTICLES	N	109	94
	%	52	62
COPULA	N	62	91
	%	74	91
AUXILIARY	N	28	73
	%	64	50
PLURAL	N	55	61
	%	64	90

N = number of obligatory contexts

% = percentage of each morpheme correctly supplied

Table 4.2.4.

Results of Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes for Majid and Razwana On Which They Reached Over 50% Correct Production By Term Four in Comparison with the Actual Order of Acquisition in Term Six.

RAZWANA		MAJID	
Term Four	Term Six	Term Four	Term Six.
Present Prog	Present Pro	Present Pro	Present Pro
Copula	Copula	Preps	Copula
Plural	Plural	Copula	Plural
Aux	Arts	Plural / Aux	Preps
Preps	Aux	Articles	Articles.

 = acquired to 90% criteria.

This finding adds support to the claim made by Chimombo (1979) that this method of calculation is questionable, as in some cases, it does not represent the final order. Although this is only a tentative conclusion given that it is based on a limited amount of evidence, it may have implications for studies which have based their conclusions on an order of acquisition that was calculated on partially acquired morphemes. This is an important methodological issue which future studies may usefully address.

As it was not possible to identify an order of development by the end of the fourth term, the count was extended into Terms Five and Six. However as four of the older learners had left to go to a middle school the calculation is based on the transcripts from the remaining four children Amran, Abdul Rob, Razwana and Majid. Tera's speech although improved was still very confused and difficult to transcribe accurately and so once again, he was excluded from the count. Table 4.2.5. represents the order of development of the nine morphemes for four learners at the end of Term Six based on Brown's (1973) criteria of acquisition.

The final morpheme count revealed that even by the end of Term Six only three of the four learners, Abdul Rob, Razwana and Majid, had reached the acquisition criteria of 90% correct use and then only in relation to three morphemes. The remaining morphemes had not been fully acquired but this calculation is included as it brings to light other aspects of morpheme production (rather than development) that are of interest and will be discussed in the following section.

Table 4.2.5.

The Order of Development of Nine Morphemes For Four
Second Language Learners by the end of Term Six.

AMRAN	ABDUL R	RAZWANA	MAJID
Pre.Pro	Pre.Pro	Pre.Pro	Pre.Pro
Copula	Copula	Copula	Copula
Plural	P.Irr	Plural	Plural
Preps	Plural	Arts	Preps
P.Irr	Aux	Aux	Arts
Arts	Preps	Preps	Aux
Aux	Arts	P.Irr	P.Irr
P.Reg.	P.Reg.	P.Reg.	P.Reg.

 = acquired to the 90% criteria.

All four children maintained their high accuracy level of production for the present progressive; three of the learners reached the 90% criteria for the copula, two of the learners reached the acquisition point for the plural; and Abdul Rob was producing the past irregular up to 92% accurately by term six. The development of the present progressive, auxiliary and the copula are discussed at length in the following section and Chapter Seven. However it is interesting to note that although the number of obligatory contexts during the last three terms for the auxiliary and copula were fairly equal (with the exception of Majid, who consistently produced more utterances requiring the copula than the auxiliary), three of the learners appear to have acquired the copula while only reaching up to 50% correct production of the auxiliary.

4.2.1. Definite and Indefinite Articles.

Initially both article forms were coded together and although there is a high frequency of obligatory contexts for articles during all six terms correct production appears to be very gradual, the four learners barely reaching 60% correct production by term six. Abdul Rob in particular seemed to struggle with the production of articles, only apparently reaching 30% correct production by Term Six. This appeared to be due to omission rather than incorrect use or overgeneralisation of a particular form. However the examination of each form separately revealed another dimension to the development of articles. Evidence suggested that Amran in particular, and other learners to a lesser extent were using 'one' as a substitute for the indefinite article. Thus it seemed that learners recognised the need for the indefinite article but were using another form to represent it, thus possibly accounting for the slow development of the indefinite article. The use of 'one' to replace the indefinite article may reflect the learners transfer of mother tongue. Punjabi does not have definite or indefinite articles. The word "yk", which translated is 'one', is used instead of 'a'.

4.2.2.Plurals.

Closer examination of the production of the plural revealed a steady increase in correct production punctuated by erratic and fluctuating usage by all four learners, over a period of six terms. Production was marked by the presence and absence of regular plural markers; overgeneralisation of the plural marker to irregular plurals and fluctuation in correct production of frequent irregular plurals - e.g. Term 2 - June: Mj: *look at all the childrens / can have scissor?* In addition to this there was little number or demonstrative pronoun agreement - e.g. Term 2: July: Mj: *can I have two paper please?*. And vice versa when the correct plural was produced it was not necessarily accompanied by the correct number or demonstrative pronoun - e.g. Term 2: Nov. Nov 187 Rz: *I know, she gonna wear that shoes.*

Fluctuation of the plural was also evident in utterances that Amran appeared to have produced through repeated and incorporated speech. Correct production gradually increased in repeated speech as the plural began to appear in other constructions during the third term. Amran often indicated a plural form by self repetition of the noun with or without the plural marker - e.g. Term 4 - April : Am: *Stripes, stripes, stripes, stripes* (pointing to each stripe on the tiger he has made).

It is interesting to note that in Punjabi and Bengali first and third declension nouns have plural forms, but the second declension nouns do not. Nouns other than those referring to human beings add a collective word to the singular form (Gill, et al, 1976; CILT, 1985). However there is no evidence that the learners were making this distinction in English, the plural marker was attached to both forms of noun from the early stages of development.

4.2.3.Prepositions

Although obligatory contexts for all prepositions were noted, IN and ON were required and produced most frequently throughout the six terms. Given the low frequency of other forms the percentage of correct production represented in Appendix Four related only to IN and ON. Initially location was frequently indicated by physical gestures accompanied by the use of 'there'. But there was evidence of variation

of subsequent development within the group. Majid appeared to be producing certain forms up to 89% correctly in Term Six, whereas Abdul Rob was still struggling, generally omitting these two prepositions altogether. However on the whole when Abdul Rob did produce IN or ON they were correct, whereas Razwana and Majid seemed to overgeneralise IN to denote ON; then begin to produce both correctly. Once again there was evidence of fluctuation and overgeneralisation in the production of these forms.

During the second term the learners began to produce UP and DOWN. Evidence suggests that Razwana produced '*pick it up*' and '*put it down*', as formulaic utterances. 'Up' and 'down' later become freed and 'up' was overgeneralised to encode other prepositions - e.g. *Term 3 - July: Rz: she's jump up the gate* (she jumps over the gate). Abdul Rob also appeared to produce 'down' as a means of indicating 'in to' on several occasions during Term Two. In addition to this 'sit down' and 'stand up' were produced frequently by Razwana, Amran and Abdul Rob, long before these two prepositions were produced in other constructions, suggesting that they were initially formulaic in origin. Although both Punjabi and Bengali have postpositions as opposed to prepositions (as in English), which not only follow the noun but also affect its case, there is little evidence of transfer to English. Even in the early stages of development, on the whole prepositions were correctly placed within an utterance.

4.2.4. Past Regular and Irregular.

Even by the end of Term Six there were very few obligatory contexts for the past regular and irregular, although it is interesting to note that past irregular appeared to be the first correctly produced form. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight. Abdul Rob's apparent acquisition of the past irregular relates mainly to the correct production of 'said' and is discussed further in the following section.

4.3.GENERAL DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.

The order of development in this study, in relation to studies of first and second language learning, is represented in Table 4.3.1. The acquisition of the present progressive, the copula, and the plural by two of the children before all other morphemes resembles the order found in naturalistic second language development (Dulay and Burt, 1974) and is the same as the average order calculated by Krashen (1977), and the order found in Ellis's (1982) study of children learning English in a classroom context. However the order found does not correspond to Lightbown's (1983) study of second language development in a 'formal' language classroom. This is interesting as this finding adds support to Long's (1983) claim that instruction may make a difference to the route of development. Lightbown argued that the relatively slow development of the progressive -ING was in fact the result of overlearning and that the natural order would eventually emerge.

In relation to the order of morphemic development identified by Brown (1973) in first language learning, the order identified in second language learning is not exactly the same but there are some similarities. Several studies have found that bound morphemes seem to have the same relative order of development for both first and second language learners (-ING, plural, irregular past, regular past, 3rd person singular and the possessive). Second language learners appear to develop the auxiliary and copula relatively earlier than first language learners (Krashen 1982). On the basis of those morphemes that were acquired in this study, it would appear that as in first language learning, the two bound morphemes - the present progressive and the plural - were acquired in the same relative order as by first language learners. In contrast to this the copula was acquired by the children in this study relatively earlier than has been found in studies of first language development.

Table 4.3.1.

The Order of Morpheme Development in First and Second Language Studies

Brown (1973)	Dulay Burt (1974)	Krashen (1977)	Lightbown (1983)	Ellis (1982)	Barratt-Pugh (1990)
ING	ING	ING	COPULA		ING
PREPS	AUX	PLURAL	AUX	COPULA	COPULA
PLURAL	COPULA	COPULA	ING	-	PLURAL
PAST IRR	PLURAL		3rd P.SIN	AUX.	
POSS	PAST IRR	AUX.			
UNC. COP	POSS	ARTICLES			
ARTICLES	3rd. P.SIN	PAST IRR.		PAST REG.	
PAST REG		PAST REG		PAST IRR.	
3rd P. REG		3rd P.SIN.			
3rd P. IRR		POSS.			
UNCON AUX					
CON COPULA					
CON AUX					

Krashen's order was calculated from formal and informal studies, and the learners featured in classroom studies were taught English either through various degrees of formal instruction, or through a mixture of communicative and formal instruction. It would seem that apart from the possible temporary effect of instruction, regardless of the different methods of learning and method of data collection, there was a high correlation between the morphemes that were acquired first, by two of the children in this study, and the morphemes acquired first in naturalistic studies and 'naturalistic' classroom studies. The apparent acquisition of the past irregular by Abdul Rob is a clear indication of individual variation, and is discussed in the following section.

In order to substantiate evidence of a high correlation between studies of morpheme development in second language learning, it is important to briefly examine the nature of these studies, while recognising that not all morpheme order studies have in fact found a similar order of development (Rosansky, 1976). In order to substantiate his original claim, Krashen (1981) reviewed numerous longitudinal and cross-sectional studies, including studies of first and second language development and group and individual studies. Using the same criteria for each study, (only morphemes deemed to have at least 10 obligatory occasions were counted), Krashen found a very high correlation between the order of morphemic development in studies in which learners were using language for communication and the 'natural order' identified in 1977. It is interesting to note that when this criteria was applied to Rosansky's (1976) data the predicted order was evident. Krashen (1981) argued that the discrepancy between the predicted order and the order found by Rosansky was due to methodological differences, in that Rosansky had included in her analysis items that occurred in less than ten obligatory occasions.

Ellis (1982), was chosen as a basis for comparison with this study, because his study was relatively new, it was longitudinal, based on classroom second language learners in the early stages of development and he used Brown's (1973) method of analysis for determining acquisition point. Ellis examined the development of English verb morphemes (copula, auxiliary - be and the past tense) in the speech of three learners aged between ten and thirteen. Although English was the general medium of communication within the school, the children were taught primarily through audio lingual instruction in a language unit, with the emphasis on meaning. Detailed analysis of verb morphemes by Ellis, showed an almost identical order to that identified in natural contexts. However Ellis does point out that in fact only one morpheme, the copula, was acquired to the 90% criterion and then only by one learner. Thus although Ellis examined the emergence of individual morphemes in great detail, it must be made clear that the general order of development which he reported is based on partially acquired morphemes.

In addition to the above findings, Ellis (1986) reviewed a number of longitudinal and cross-sectional classroom studies, in which children were learning English as a second language through either formal instruction or communicative activities or a mixture of both, and concluded that instruction only effects the predicted 'route' of development in relatively minor ways. This once again gives support to the 'natural order' hypothesis.

In conclusion, these studies appear to confirm a 'natural order' of development. The discovery of similarities in the order of development is clearly significant as it adds support to the theory that first and second language development may share underlying processes. Several researchers have used these studies as a basis for supporting the LAD hypothesis of language acquisition (as discussed in the literature review). However, as suggested in the literature review examination of the final form of morphemes reveals very little about the underlying processes of second language development. It is only when a more detailed examination of the production of particular morphemes is undertaken that a picture of the complexity of development emerges and that several issues in relation to the developing grammatical system can be addressed. Clearly identification of the processes which appear to facilitate development have important educational implications.

Thus in relation to this study, examining the data in terms of the percentage of correct production of particular forms is only the first stage of analysis. What is perhaps more important is the nature of the underlying processes. Even the initial analysis in this study began to reveal some individual differences and evidence of the transfer of the learners' mother tongue, both of which appeared to affect development albeit in a limited way. Clearly these two findings could bring into dispute the whole notion of a uniform process, unaffected by external variables, individual learning styles, or the learner's mother tongue and as such warrant further investigation. Thus the following section examines particular aspects of general morpheme development that have arisen from a closer analysis of the data.

4.4. DETAILED DISCUSSION OF DEVELOPMENT IN THIS STUDY

4.4.1. The Gradual Development of the Morphemic System

It appears that morphological development is a very slow and gradual process. The data collected shows that even by the end of the fifth term in school, although the correct use of several morphemes was increasing, none of the learners had acquired more than the present progressive -ING under Brown's criterion (with the exception of Razwana and Majid). Even by the end of the sixth term, still only three morphemes were deemed to be acquired. Thus it would seem that morphemes did not play a major part in the early stages of children's developing competence in communicating particular meanings in English.

Hatch (1983) suggests 'low semantic power' as one explanation of late development. That is, the majority of morphemes are not essential to make meaning clear in the earliest stages of development. Van Patten (1984), extends this notion to suggest that the need for morphemes decreases if the same information is carried within lexical items that co-occur in the sentence. He concludes that;

'Only as the learners become more proficient at meaning processing and the strain is taken off the working properties of memory and the processing system do they begin to attend to and acquire these less communicatively important morphemes.' (p.97).

Implicit in this notion, is the assumption that all morphemes are 'communicatively unimportant'. Yet this was not substantiated by the relatively early acquisition of the present progressive. However the late acquisition of the remaining morphemes (relative to other forms) might indicate that language developed through a process of progressive refinement, of which morphemic development was one aspect, through which production became more complex and precise.

In addition to this, the nature of the context in which the children were learning English might have also influenced the development of particular morphemes. For example, there were very few obligatory contexts for the past regular and past irregular in relation to the frequency of occurrences of the present progressive, from the early stages of development. Participation in interactive contexts which required the production of some forms more than others might have influenced the rate of development, if not the route. Alternatively

this could have simply been a reflection of the nature of the recording process, in which the learners' wider performance was being 'tapped' but in a limited way.

4.4.2. The Apparent Erratic Nature of Morpheme Development.

It appears from the data that development of the morphological system was very erratic. The percentage of correct use of particular morphemes varied from month to month showing a pattern of peaks followed by troughs, rather than a steady increase in correct use. Evidence suggests that there was fluctuation in the correct production of the both the irregular past and articles. It is possible to identify two tentative explanations for this fluctuation. One relates to the actual type of morpheme e.g. the irregular past, and one relates to the development of different forms within a particular morpheme e.g. articles. In this study significant fluctuation was regarded as a 10% or more decrease in the correct use of a particular morpheme in relation to the previous term.

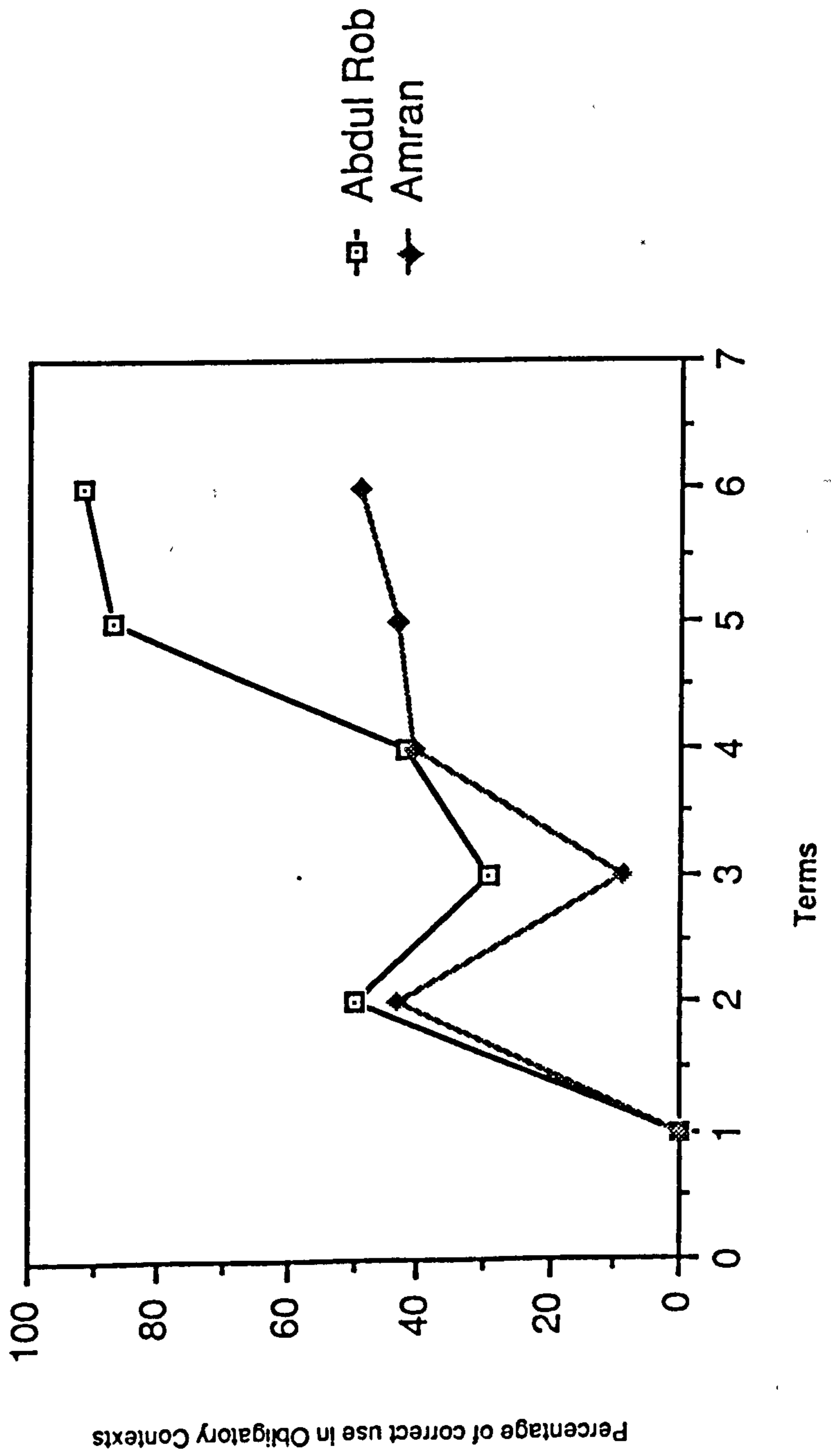
1) Fluctuation in the Correct Production of the Irregular Past.

The sudden drop in correct use of the irregular past for two learners in term three could be traced to the fact that up to this point the main irregular past verb that was being used was 'said'. From its very first use it was produced as 'said' by all learners giving the impression that the learners were producing the past irregular correctly, whereas in fact, this finding was based mainly on the production of one particular verb. In Term Three, a number of new irregular past forms were being produced by Amran and Abdul Rob, but not in their correct form, thus the new forms caused the drop in correct use. This was followed by a slow climb up to over 50% correct use, mainly due again to the correct form of the past tense of the verb 'say'.

Thus although graph A shows that Amran was producing the irregular past correctly 50% of the time in Term Six, and that Abdul Rob had reached the 90% criteria for acquisition, this was again because in Term Six the verb 'said' accounted for the majority of correct uses of the irregular past tense. For example, in term six, for Amran, out of 39 occurrences of the past irregular 25 were 'said' of which 18 were correct. The remaining 14 were accounted for by the verbs 'go' and 'tell' only one of which was correctly produced. For Abdul Rob, out of 27 irregular past 23 were 'said', of which 22 were correct and the remaining 4 were accounted for by the verbs 'tell, give and go', three of which were correctly produced. Thus if this particular verb (said) was removed from the calculation, correct use of the past irregular falls to less than 10% for Amran, and 75% for Abdul. This illustrates the need to note all forms of morphemes being produced.

Graph A

Graph A The Fluctuation of the correct Production of the past irregular over a period of six terms for two learners



2) Fluctuation in the Correct Production of Articles.

There was a decrease in correct use of articles by Amran in Term Three (Graph B). This can be explained by examining the definite and indefinite article separately ((Table 4.4.2a., Graph C). The indefinite article (a) was very slow to develop and does not reach 50% correct use until Term Six. Whereas the definite article (the) was produced 50% correctly from Term Two, at which level it more or less remains. The sudden fall in the correct use during Term Three was due to the high proportion of obligatory contexts for the indefinite article in comparison to the definite article. This distorts the picture as the definite article was still being produced 50% correctly but the indefinite article was only being produced 4% correctly. The high frequency of obligatory contexts for the indefinite article 'a' had led to a seemingly dramatic fall in correct production, whereas in fact when examined separately, both the definite and indefinite article were gradually increasing in correct production.

Table 4.4.2a.

The Production of the Definite and Indefinite Article

Over a Period of Six Terms by Amran.

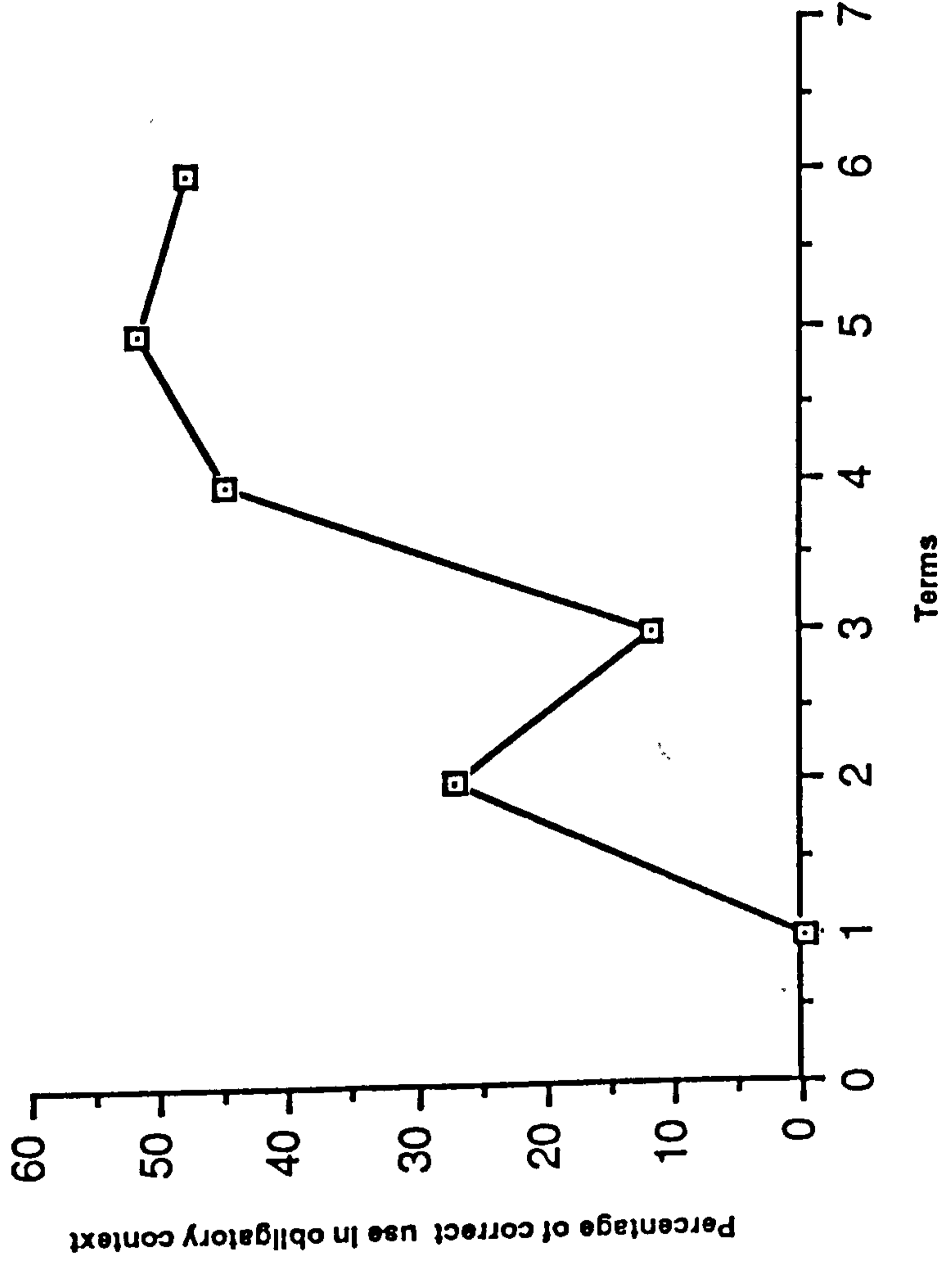
		Term One	Term Two	Term Three	Term Four	Term Five	Term Six
'A' IND. ART.	N	27	56	116	36	98	67
	%	0	3	4	14	48	43
'THE' DEF. ART.	N	3	52	20	69	57	59
	%	0	52	53	61	58	52

N = number of obligatory contexts

% = percentage of each morpheme correctly supplied

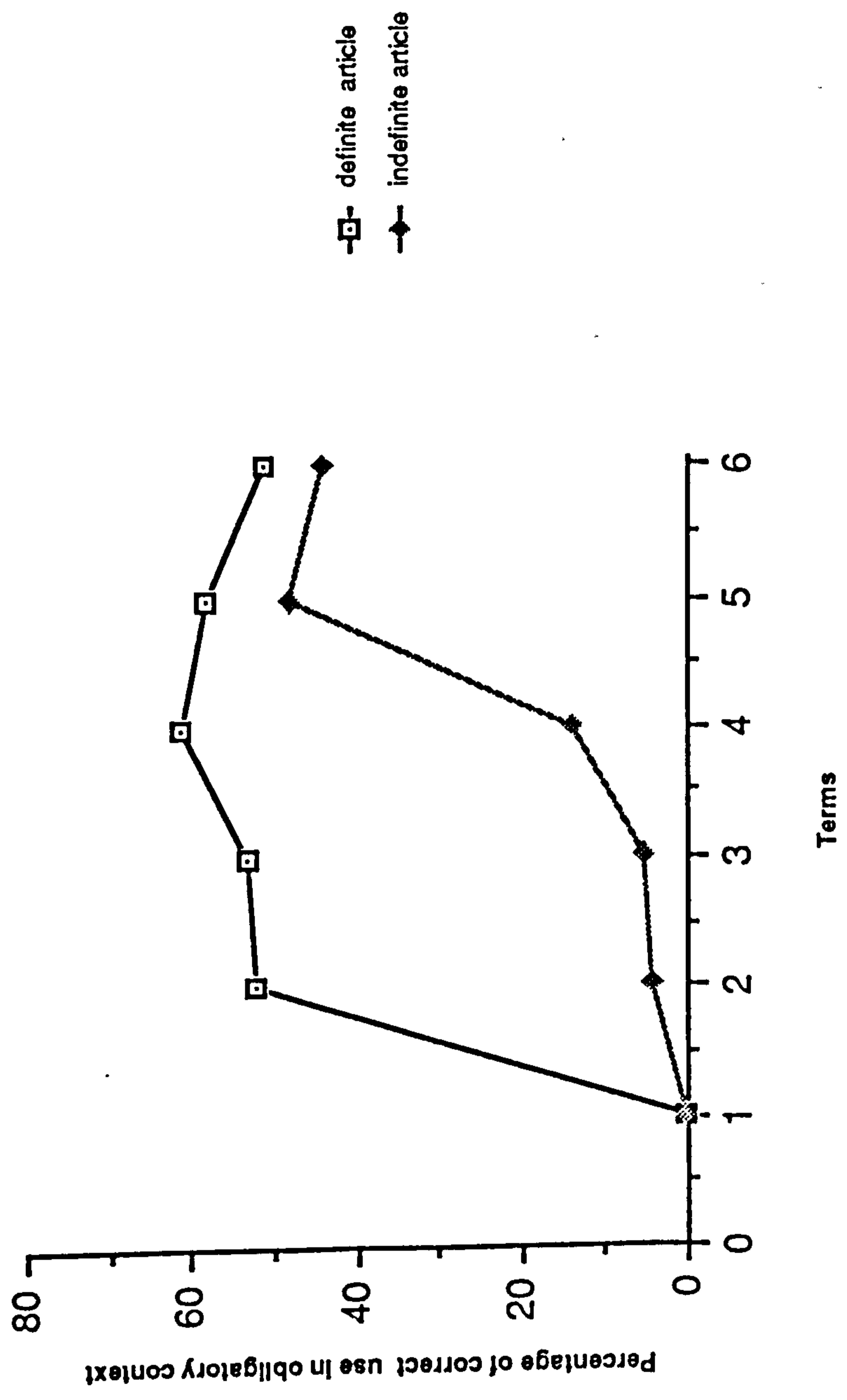
Graph B

The fluctuation of the correct production of articles over a period of six terms by Amran (Definite and Indefinite)



Graph C

Graph C A Comparison between the correct use of the definite and indefinite article over a period of six terms by Amran



When a similar analysis was undertaken for all six learners, they also appeared to be producing 'the' more accurately than 'a' (Table 4.4.2b. - This information is also represented in Line Graphs - Appendix Five). However as suggested in the initial analysis all the learners (to a greater or lesser extent) appeared to be using 'one' as a substitute for the indefinite article, possibly reflecting the learner's transfer of mother tongue. In relation to the indefinite article it could be argued that some of the learners recognised the need for the indefinite article and were using the nearest equivalent from their mother tongue to produce the same function. Is this a case of function without form? Once again the need to examine the range of forms of any given morpheme is heightened especially as learners begin to increase the range of contexts in which English is being used.

Table 4.4.2b.

Development of Indefinite / Definite Article Over a Period of Six Terms

		Term One	Term Two	Term Three	Term Four	Term Five	Term Six
Abdul Rob ARTICLES a	N %	17 0	51 0	90 2	89 7	69 23	74 15
ARTICLES the	N %	7 28	19 5	59 12	46 54	35 44	28 57
Razwana ARTICLES a	N %	46 4	55 0	34 6	27 55	39 57	45 75
ARTICLES the	N %	4 0	19 5	43 35	81 45	63 40	51 43
Majid ARTICLES a	N %	(Absent)	28 0	43 2	21 24	72 40	24 62
ARTICLES the	N %	(Absent)	8 25	62 47	88 59	58 73	70 63
Asif ARTICLES a	N %	67 0	129 0	205 4	37 13		
ARTICLES the	N %	9 0	47 4	114 24	44 43		
Quayum ARTICLES a	N %	96 0	89 0	127 2	51 4		
ARTICLES the	N %	8 0	19 5	112 30	33 21		
Abdul QU ARTICLES a	N %	0 0	25 0	63 9	57 3		
ARTICLES the	N %	4 0	10 10	53 21	23 26		

N = Number of obligatory contexts.

% = Percentage of each morpheme correctly supplied.

4.4.3. The Apparent Early Acquisition of the Present Progressive - ING.

The present progressive - ING inflection was acquired two terms before any other morpheme, and it was the only morpheme to be acquired by all the learners in this study. The early acquisition of the present progressive morpheme -ING, has been identified in several studies of morpheme development (Hakuta, 1974; Wagner-Gough, 1978). Examination of this form in the learners' mother tongue may offer one explanation for early development.

Bengali makes a distinction between the continuous present and simple present, e.g. '*Ami kaj kor-i*' (*I do work = I work*) and '*Ami kaj kor-ch-i*' (*I am working*), in which *ch* intervenes between the root and the ending, to indicate present progressive. In Punjabi the root plus the word '*rya*' plus the auxiliary verb is used to encode the present progressive e.g. '*Mayg ja rya han*' (*I going am*). Although clearly there is a difference between the grammatical representation of this form, there is no conflict between the two mother tongues and English in terms of the underlying semantic notion of the present progressive. This supports Hakuta's (1974) suggestion that morphemes containing an already existing semantic notion will be acquired earlier than those which are new. However, it should be noted that the present progressive was not a fully marked form as the required auxiliary was not produced in conjunction with the present progressive in obligatory contexts.

4.4.4. Transfer of the Learners' Mother Tongue.

As suggested earlier there was evidence that some of the learners were transferring grammatical information from their mother tongue. It appears that '*one*' was being used as a substitute for the indefinite article. Although the learners appeared to be very slow to develop their use of articles, (possibly due to fact that this was a new semantic notion (Hakuta 1974)), they had also found an alternative way to represent the indefinite article. Although there are other differences between the grammatical structure of the learners' mother tongue and English (as mentioned in section 4.2.), this was the only '*overt*' evidence of the underlying grammatical system of the learners' mother tongue affecting the production of particular morphemes.

4.4.5. Overgeneralisation of Particular Forms.

There is evidence that all forms were overgeneralised to represent a number of meanings to a greater or lesser extent. The most extensive overgeneralization was that of the present progressive which is discussed more fully in the following section. However as already suggested the preposition 'in' was frequently used to represent 'on' by Majid and Razwana and that although Razwana and Majid appear to have acquired the plural by Term Six, they were in fact overgeneralising this form to singular nouns and producing some irregular nouns incorrectly. As Andersen (1977) argued, full acquisition must include understanding of the limits of use, as well as the range of use of particular forms.

4.4.6. The Identification of Particular Communication Strategies.

Finally, the apparent slow and erratic development of morphemes although clearly reflecting some of the processes found in first language and natural second language development, could also be related to the nature of interaction in the classroom context. If the sort of interaction that the learners were involved in did influence development, then clearly this adds another dimension to the debate about the notion of a purely 'internal' explanation of development. It seemed that to a greater or lesser extent the children were under a certain amount of pressure;

a) They were involved in several new situations embedded within a different culture. In addition to this they were continually involved in new experiences, constantly trying to make sense of a 'new' world and trying to form relationships with the other children in their class.

b) They soon discovered that the use of their mother tongue was limited and even to some extent resisted using it within the classroom context. As a consequence of this it is reasonable to suggest that in the early stages of development the children had to communicate in English or remain silent.

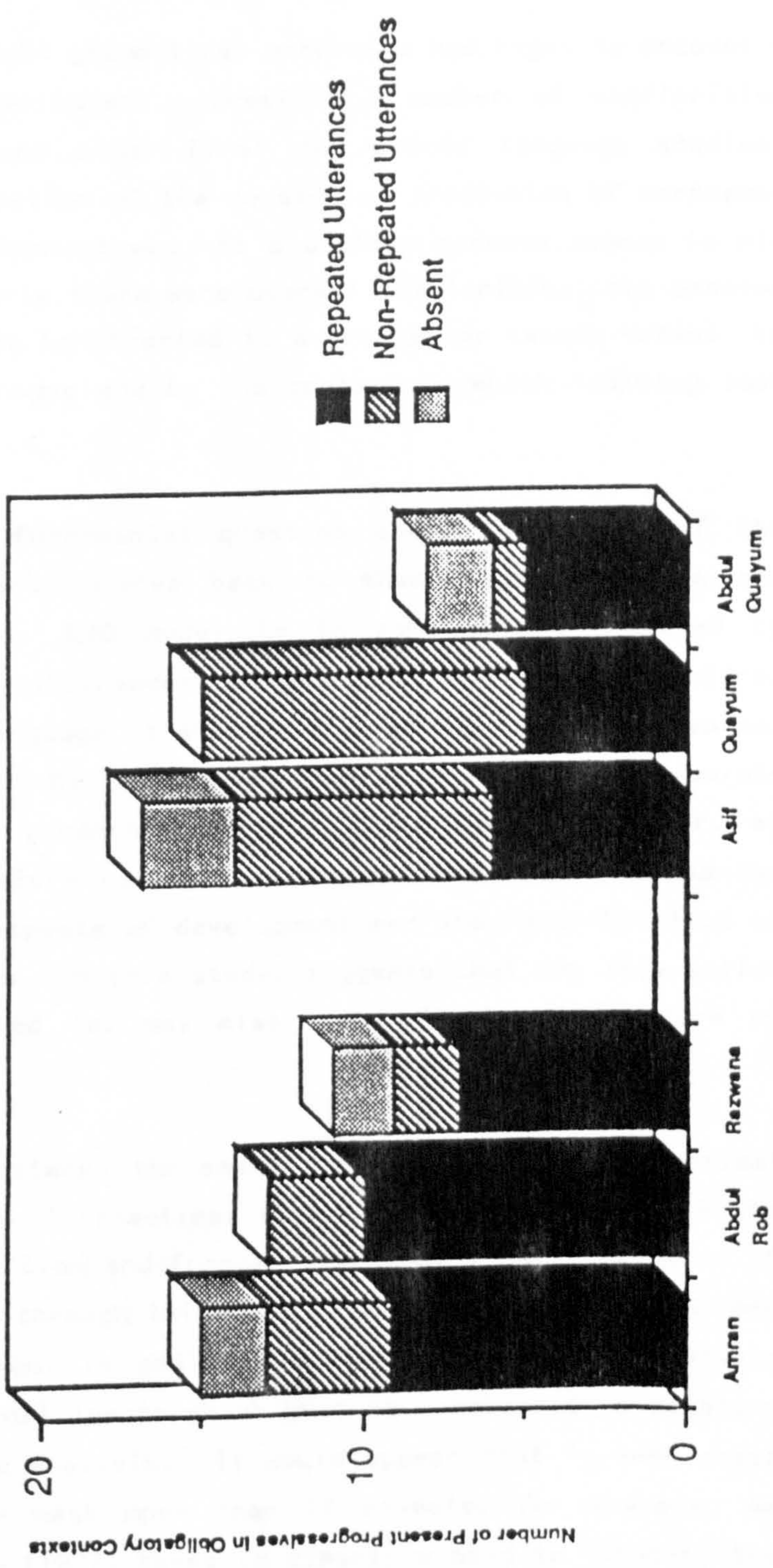
c) From the early stages of development they were trying to make themselves understood, as well as trying to decode the new language in order to access incoming messages. Clearly individual children tackled this in different ways, taking more or less time to tune-in and settle down (this is discussed in Chapter Nine - Child Profiles).

The above three points suggest that in the early stages of development the demands upon the learners' processing system may have been so great that the learners initially produced and internalised forms that were most useful to them in making themselves understood. Function words appeared to be almost redundant in the early stages of development. This is common to both first and second language learners. However the subsequent lack of acquisition of morphemes could be due to the continued attempt to constantly create new meanings, causing processing overload and fluctuation in production. In support of this claim, the analysis revealed evidence of two 'communication strategies'; repetition and formulaic speech which the learners appeared to use as one of the means of overcoming the limits of their productive capacity.

It is interesting to note that these two communication strategies were evident throughout the period of study and contained morphological markers that were not evident in other constructions. For example in Term One, for some learners, up to 50% of utterances which contained the present progressive -ING were a result of repetition. (Graph D). It is interesting to note that this was the first form to reach the 90% acquisition criterion. In contrast, the auxiliary was rarely included in a repeated utterance during the first term. On the other hand it is clear that some of the earliest productions of the copula were a result of formulaic speech.

GRAPH D

Graph D
 A Comparison between the number of Present Progressive -ING Produced in Repeated and Non-Repeated Speech in Term One



4.5. SUMMARY

The analysis of eight grammatical morphemes has begun to uncover a general picture of development, revealing a number of similarities between this study and other first and second language studies. However a closer examination of the developing production of morphemes has revealed that development was not a uniform process common to all learners. Although clearly there were overall similarities, the process of development seemed to be affected to a greater or lesser extent by the learner's mother tongue and by the context in which learning took place.

This raises a fundamental question about the nature of the underlying processes and relates back to theories outlined in the literature review. The LAD model is to some extent weakened by evidence of individual differences brought about by external factors. Evidence of first language transfer and individual differences, possibly brought about by individual learning strategies, points towards an information processing model of development. However, as suggested in the literature review, neither of these explanations can fully account for all aspects of development and the identification of communication strategies in this study, suggests that the interaction the learner was involved in, may also have affected the nature of development.

The relationship between the emergence of particular grammatical forms and conversational interaction, only became evident through the identification of repetition and formulaic speech. Clearly several of the features identified through this general analysis indicate the need for further investigation. In addition to this, the initial analysis raised some methodological issues which must be considered in relation to the next part of the analysis. It would appear that in some cases the morpheme count may mask more than it reveals, for example, as pointed out by Andersen (1977) there is clearly a need to identify the development of different forms of particular morphemes. The following chapter outlines the framework for the next stage of analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE

FRAMEWORK FOR FURTHER ANALYSIS

5.1. INTRODUCTION.

Evidence from the initial analysis began to reveal some of the complexities involved in the learners' production of eight grammatical morphemes, and suggests that in general, some the processes identified seemed to be similar to those identified in first language development. This led to the identification of a number of additional issues, which are summarised as follows:

1) The analysis showed that within a general sequence of development, there were individual differences. These were accounted for by either the transfer of the learner's mother tongue, or potentially by the use of particular interaction strategies. Until recently studies of morpheme development gave support to the theory that language development was facilitated by an innate linguistic capacity, largely unaffected by external factors. There is therefore, a need for a more detailed analysis of individual morphemes, in order to examine further the nature of the underlying processes and take account of individual differences.

2) The analysis showed that both the present progressive and the copula appeared to be fully acquired by three of the learners at the end of term six, using Brown's method of calculation. However, as suggested by analysis of the past irregular, it is possible to suggest that a morpheme has been acquired, when in fact only one form of that particular morpheme is being produced and accounts for all instances of the production of that morpheme. Thus there is a need to differentiate between the production of various forms of particular morphemes.

3) The analysis showed that the development of all eight morphemes appeared to be a slow gradual process. However given the significance and centrality of some morphemes in enabling learners to express particular semantic functions, it is important to consider whether the learners had found alternative ways of expressing particular meanings.

This is of particular interest in the early stages of development when grammatical competence is limited, and some learners appeared to use repetition and formulaic speech as a way of producing various meanings.

4) The identification of repetition and formulaic speech as a potential means of producing particular morphemes and therefore contributing to the development of the underlying grammatical system was seen as significant. The literature review revealed that although there is not a great deal of research in relation to second language learning, this is a controversial area and one which has not been investigated within a classroom context (with the notable exception of Wong-Fillmore, 1976). Further evidence of the use of these strategies in the classroom context is needed in order to further the debate on the relationship between first and second language development in relation to the way in which children 'manage' interaction and this in turn contributes to underlying grammatical development.

5) Finally, the analysis has so far examined the emergence of eight particular morphemes in isolation. In order to investigate both the relationship between morphemic development within conversational interaction, and the way in which repetition and formulaic speech has influenced the production of particular morphemes, further analysis must take into account the conversational context in which they occurred.

Given the need to locate subsequent analysis within a conversational context, and the importance of developing those issues already identified, a decision had to be made about the extent of the analysis to be undertaken. The analysis of repetition, incorporation and formulaic speech in relation to the development of all morphemes would ensure width, but would be in danger of superficiality given the limited number of occurrences of some morphemes. Also the analysis of the vast number of conversational 'episodes' in which these these forms occurred for each learner could be prohibitive in that over 26,000 utterances were transcribed. The analysis of repetition and formulaic speech in relation to the development of particular forms, which were

interrelated and occurred frequently, would ensure a depth of analysis but cover just a limited number of morphemes. A compromise between these two positions was found.

The sub-set of verb morphemes was chosen for further analysis. This group of morphemes enables analysis of individual differences, particularly in relation to the potential effect of the learner's mother tongue and individual learning styles. It also enables the range of forms within each morpheme to be differentiated and analysed separately, while at the same time identifying overgeneralisations. In relation to the need to examine the nature and effect of conversational interaction, this group of morphemes allows examination of the emerging auxiliary within particular communicative functions. Both negation and interrogatives require the auxiliary to enable the learner to ask questions, and develop negative constructions.

An examination of the emergence of negation and interrogatives would also enable the researcher to identify if and how these two important meanings are communicated before the learners are able to fully encode them grammatically. An examination of the use of repetition and formulaic speech within the development of verb morphemes not only enables an analysis to take place on the effect these potentially have upon the learner's underlying grammatical system but also allows investigation of how these strategies potentially help the learners to 'manage' the conversation and produce particular meanings.

5.2. VERB MORPHEMES

The morphemic development of verb forms involves the internalization of a complex set of rules whereby the verb is marked for tense, aspect, mood, person and number by morphological markers. It also involves the mastery of the functions which these forms serve. Three distinct areas of meaning are grammatically represented by verb related morphological markers:

a) Time, as in present and present perfect, past and past perfect and future and future perfect.

b) Aspect, which marks the duration of a particular activity, for example the progressive (-ING) and the non-progressive (simple).

c) Mood, which refers to the attitude of the speaker towards the content of her utterance, for example vagueness, uncertainty, and definiteness, and is syntactically realised by inflectional forms of the verb or modal auxiliaries (may, can, shall, must). Three types of mood have been identified and classified as the indicative mood, the subjunctive mood and the imperative mood (Fletcher, 1979).

The following verb related morphemes are examined in this section;

1) The Progressive

It is grammatically encoded by the attachment of the suffix -ING to the present verb form, and it is marked for present, past and future tenses by the auxiliary verb. In addition to this there are a number of substantive verbs which in general do not take the progressive, for example 'like', 'want', 'need' and 'know'. Semantically the progressive verb expresses limited duration of an action, as in 'I am sewing' or limited duration of a state, as in 'He is sleeping'.

2) The Auxiliary

These are a set of verbs which help the main verb to indicate time, person or number, helping to make distinctions in mood and aspect. There is a set of main auxiliary verbs, - 'do', 'be' and 'have' and a set of modal auxiliary verbs, - 'can', 'may', 'shall' and 'will'. In general auxiliaries are not used in the simple present or simple past, but can be used as question tags, for example 'that's my book, isn't it?'; and as short answers, for example 'It isn't'. The auxiliary -BE always occurs in conjunction with a main verb and acts as a helping verb in continuous tenses. It marks the tense of the sentence and agreement between the person and number of the subject and also links the subject of a sentence with the subjective predicate. It has three present tense forms: am (first person singular), is (third person singular) and are (second person singular and all plurals). It is also used in both contractible (she's racing), and uncontractible form (the girls are racing).

3) The Copula

This is often referred to as the linking verb, as its main function is to relate other elements of the clause structure. It is used to link the subject with its predicate complement - for example, it links the subject with the predicate noun, the predicate pronoun, or the predicate adjective, and also differentiates number, person, and tense. The main copulative verb is BE, and as with the auxiliary it has three present tense forms: 'am' (first person singular), 'is' (third person singular), and 'are' (second person singular and all plurals). It is used in both contractible and uncontractible forms. The copula serves a number of semantic functions: identity (I am Amran), membership of a set (Abdul is Bengali), possession of an attribute (Razwana is clever), and a state of location (Majid is in the hall) (Brown, 1973).

4) The Regular and Irregular Past

The regular past tense is marked by the presence of the suffix -ED. The irregular past tense is marked in a variety of ways, by vowel change (drink / drank), by vowel change and suffix (sleep / slept), by suppletion (go / went), and in some cases with no marking at all (cut / cut). Thus by definition the past irregular is not rule governed and each irregular verb has to be learned individually. Generally speaking the past tense is used to locate an action or state in the past with respect to the moment of speaking, although it can also be used to 'posit a substitute for reality' for example 'Lipi might come if you asked her' Brown (1973.p.380), but the use of the past morphological marker in the second sense does not indicate a time shift but rather a statement of possibility.

5) Interrogatives.

Generally speaking there are two broad grammatical categories of interrogatives which are identified as 'yes / no' questions, and WH-question words. Yes / No questions are grammatically realised through verb - subject inversion, as in for example 'can I...', 'have you....', 'will she...'. They are also realised through statements plus a tag question, such as 'today's Thursday isn't it?'. Finally, 'yes / no' questions can be expressed through the use of rising intonation. The latter form is not syntactically marked and is not therefore, grammatically identifiable.

Wh- questions are grammatically encoded by placing the question word in the clause initial position followed by the inversion of the auxiliary / copula verb and subject, as in 'What is she doing?', 'What colour is it?'. The interrogative form serves a number of functions which Dore et al (1979) classified as:

- Choice questions - these seek either/or judgements in relative to propositions.
- Product questions - these seek information relative to most Wh- interrogative pronouns.
- Process questions - these seek extended descriptions or explanations.
- Permission requests - these seek permission to perform an action.
- Rhetorical questions- these are a way of seeking acknowledgement to continue (know what?)
- Clarification questions - these seek clarification of a prior remark.

6) Negation.

Syntactically, negation is expressed by negative particles 'no' and 'not', and as a general rule 'not' precedes the auxiliary in an uncontracted 'he is not', or contracted form 'he isn't' and 'no' is placed in a clause initial position. Bloom (1970), in an extensive study of the use of negatives, identified three semantic functions of negatives, - the indication of nonexistence, rejection, and denial. Bloom (1970) characterised each of these functions in the following way:

- Non-existence, the disappearance of an object or action in situations where existence was somehow expected e.g. 'no more', 'all gone'.
- Rejection, the object or action is present in the situation, or expected, but is rejected or opposed by the child e.g. 'no go out'
- Denial, the denial of an actual or supposed assertion - e.g.
Adult : 'Here's your coat' - followed by - Child : 'No, coat'.

The above brief and somewhat oversimplified description shows that the development of verb morphology and related subsystems, (negation and question formation), involves the internalization of a number of formal aspects, through which particular semantic functions are realised. Some of the morphological markers which signal particular semantic relationships are different to those in the learner's mother tongue. Some of the semantic distinctions made in English in relation to verb morphology are also different to those made in the learner's mother tongue. In addition to grammatical and semantic differences between the learners' mother tongue and English the word order of various sentence structures is also different;

English → Subject - Verb - Object as in 'I am a girl',

Punjabi and Bengali → Subject - Object - Verb as in 'I girl am'.

A question form is realised through rising intonation;

English → Aux - Subject - Object as in 'Are you a girl?'

Punjabi and Bengali → Subject - Object - Verb as in 'I girl am †'.

Thus the learners have to work out the appropriate word order and internalise a whole range of morphological markers, (some of which are rule governed, some of which are not), for signalling semantic relationships, recognising and internalising new semantic distinctions within the second language in order to fully master verb morphology, negation and question formation.

Further exploration of the development of verb morphemes will build on and extend the previous methodology, by taking into account the functional development of the progressive, various forms within each verb morpheme and the emergence of negation and interrogatives. But clearly in order to examine the role of the repetition and formulaic speech it is necessary to develop a criterion for the identification of these particular strategies. In order to do this it is first necessary to consider the definitions used in other studies with a view to uncovering any discrepancies and identifying aspects of these forms that appear to be central to identification.

5.3. DEFINITIONS OF REPETITION IN STUDIES OF FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT.

An examination of studies in first and second language development reveals that there is very little consensus between researchers about what constitutes repetition (as illustrated in Table 5.3.1). In addition to this it would appear that what some researchers refer to as the memorization of repeated phrases or sentences would today in fact be regarded as formulaic speech, giving a misleading impression about the role of repetition. For example, Ruth Clark (1978) argued that imitation, (defined as the memorization of whole chunks of language), is of central importance to first language learning. She suggested that imitated phrases are stored as wholes and gradually unpacked or analysed, releasing information about the syntactic structure into the child's developing rule formed system. The utterances Clark identified as imitation are now widely referred to as formulaic speech. This is not just a matter of semantic interpretation but an underlying difference between the very nature of the emergence of these two forms, because although the speech Clark referred to may have originated from the repetition of a particular phrase or sentence this is not necessarily the case, because formulaic speech has been shown to be more than stored imitation.

Table 5.3.1. summarises a number of first and second language studies which have examined the nature of repetition. It identifies the definition of repetition used in each study in relation to the degree of approximation to the adult form and the timing of the response. This brief summary points to the lack of agreement between researchers on the criteria used for the identification of these two central elements. Until criteria is agreed upon there will be variations in research findings, making comparisons between studies problematic.

Table 5.3.1. Definitions of Repetition in Studies of L1/L2 Development

Definition of Repetition in L1	Timing
<p><u>Moerk (1977) Imitation L1</u></p> <p>Words and grammatical constructions produced by the child must be wholly contained in the formulation of the model. Except for partial simplification through omission or substitution of elements within the utterance.</p>	<p>Utterance must be the first one produced by the child after the model, - either immediately after an utterance by another speaker, or after a short interval of silence.</p>
<p><u>Folger & Chapman (1978)</u></p> <p>Utterance which repeated at least one word of content model.</p>	<p>Utterance must occur within the child's next turn and within five previous utterances.</p>
<p><u>Snow (1981)</u></p> <p>Exact imitation : Reproduction of all the words and morphemes of the adult utterance, with stress and intonation the same; only phonological additions allowed.</p> <p>Reduced imitation: Reproduction of at least one content word, including no words or morphemes not present in the modelled utterance. Deviations from the modelled order were included.</p> <p>Expanded imitation: Utterance including at least one stressed content word and at least one word or morpheme not in the modelled utterance.</p>	<p>Utterances were classed as falling into one of the categories if they immediately preceded a child's utterance or two adult utterances.</p>
Definition of Repetition in L2	Timing
<p><u>Barrows and Chesterfield (1985)</u></p> <p>Echo/imitation of a word modelled by another or incorporation of a word or structure used previously into an utterance.</p>	<p>Not stated.</p>
<p><u>O'Malley et al (1985).</u></p> <p>Imitating a language model, including overt practice and silent rehearsal.</p>	<p>Not stated.</p>

From the above table it is clear that without access to the source material the definition of what counts as repetition in studies of second language learning is neither easily identifiable nor comparative. Two types of study which have explored the role of repetition in second language learning can be identified;

- those in which repetition forms a small part of a general category of several communication strategies, where repetition is given a very broad definition, and no clear definition is given in the report of findings (Chesterfield, et al, 1985; O'Malley et al, 1985);

- those in which the analysis of repetition has been of central importance, but in which analysis is based on data from a variety of sources. Once again there is no precise definition of what counts as repetition, other than examples of repetition within conversational contexts (Hatch et al 1979; Wagner-Gough, 1978).

This lack of rigorous definition in the first type of study may be a reflection of the lack of importance that is attributed to the use of repetition by second language learners, or alternatively a reflection of the need for expediency when examining a whole range of communication strategies or finally lack of access to the source material. In the second case it seems that the use of repetition was identified as a result of the general analysis conversational interaction, indicating that particular aspects, including repetition, warrant further investigation.

Having established the need for a clear definition of what might constitute repetition, what must this definition include? On the basis of the above research, it would seem that three elements must be taken into account in order to ensure a comprehensive definition of repetition, namely;

- the communicative intent of the speaker;
- the degree of approximation to the adult utterance;
- the timing of the response.

In a review of several studies Keenan (1977), suggests that studies that attempt to define repetition purely on the basis of surface form, have been unsuccessful and inconsistent. Arguing that any definition of repetition must take into account the communicative intent of the learner, (enabling the researcher to make a distinction

between imitation and repetition). Keenan (1977), defines imitation as the repetition of an utterance for the purpose of 'copying' a particular phrase or structure. Whereas repetition is defined as the repetition of a particular phrase or utterance through which the learner can perform a number of communicative tasks, one of which may be imitation. The learner's communicative intent is therefore central to the identification of imitation. McTear (1978) has made a similar distinction between imitation and repetition, arguing that 'imitation' is an attempt to 'copy' the preceding utterance which is perceived as a 'model'. Whereas 'repetition' is an attempt to join in the conversation, perform different speech acts and establish a topic of discourse, thus making a functional distinction between imitation and repetition.

Central to this distinction between imitation and repetition is the notion of the learner's communicative intent. This notion is in itself highly problematic, as the distinction between producing language simply as a means of practising or copying certain forms and using language to convey particular communicative functions is not easily distinguished. Utterances produced as a result of elicited repetition in second language learning, where the emphasis is on the conscious 'correct' production of grammatical structures, without reference to context or meaning; in spontaneous speech in a natural context; in a communicative classroom context; or in a more formal classroom context, may all be classed as imitation, because the child has been asked to copy the adult's utterance.

However it is clear that 'imitation' as defined above, may not always be the result of a request for repetition from an adult or peer, self repetition or 'language play', in which the learner repeats one phrase over and over again or uses the same phrase in a sort of verbal duelling with a peer, as illustrated by Peck (1978). These forms could be said to be the child's way of 'practising' particular structures, with no underlying communicative intent, but may not be classed as conscious in the sense that the child is aware of deliberately practising a particular grammatical phrase. At the same time researchers have shown how learners do in fact use 'language play' as a means of serving a number of communicative functions (Peck 1978).

The second aspect of the identification of repetition relates to the notion of the actual number of constituents that must be reproduced from the original utterance, in order for the learner's utterance to be counted as imitation or repetition. In her summary, Keenan (1977) found;

'that many researchers included as repetition those utterances which omitted but did not substitute items from the previous utterance. Further, the repeated utterance had to be a more or less telegraphic version of the adult string, omitting the function words but retaining some or all of the content words.' (p.131).

Keenan (op.cit), argued that if repetition is seen as having a communicative function, through which the learner is trying to respond appropriately to the previous utterance, then it is appropriate for them to omit certain elements of the previous utterance. Even in elicited imitation the learner may be selective in their response. Snow (1981) suggested that;

'willingness to accept expanded imitations in the category of imitations may strongly influence the researcher's willingness to ascribe an important role in grammatical gains to imitations' (p.206).

She found that researchers who included expanded utterances in their definition of repetition, concluded that repetition makes an important contribution to grammatical development (for example Moerk, 1979). In contrast to this Snow (op. cit) found that researchers who used a more restricted definition of repetition, concluded that repetition had little to contribute to the development of the grammatical system (for example Ramer, 1976).

Repetition which goes beyond an exact copy or partially copied previous utterance, (by including new elements or re-arranging the surface structure) has been defined as incorporation or expansion and is seen as a continuum of repetition rather than a discrete category, suggesting that repetition is developmentally progressive (McTear, 1978; Hatch, 1983; Moerk, 1977; Wagner-Gough, 1978). As discussed in

the literature review, using data from a number of second language studies Hatch (1983), has suggested that initially repetitions may be echolaic, essentially repeating the initial structure but with raised or lowered intonation, to ask for clarification or to sustain the conversation and confirm the topic nomination. Incorporation begins to emerge as repetitions become less echolaic and the learner substitutes key words to develop or create new meaning (example a), recombines parts of the conversation to create new meaning (example b) and incorporates part of the previous utterance into their apparent creative construction (example c).

Example a. - Substitution

Joe : You know what?
Angel : You know why?
Keenan (1974) in Hatch, 1978 (p.388)

Example b - Recombination

Takahiro : This broken
Harumi : Broken
Takahiro : Broken. This is broken. broken.
Harumi : Upside down
Takahiro : Upside down this broken upside down broken.
(Hatch, 1983 p.171)

Example c - Incorporation

Zoila : Do you think is ready?
Rina : I think is ready.
(Hatch, 1983 p. 180)

Thus, it might appear that the difference between repetition and incorporation is not the communicative intent, (as this is present in both types), but the surface structure. However there are problems in distinguishing between these two forms purely on the grounds of structural differences. If incorporation is seen as a more sophisticated use of repetition in that it changes the meaning or develops new meaning (as a result of the combination of the learners creative construction system and repeated elements), then in some cases complete or partial repetition may be seen as developmentally progressive. That is, it is not necessarily just 'faulty' repetition but may indicate that the learner is using their underlying creative construction system to create new meaning. For example:

Example.

T : It's a blue pencil.

L : It's a blue pencil? (changes meaning by rising intonation)

T : I don't want it.

L : I want it. (changes meaning by omitting negative)

As with the notion of communicative intent it is not easy to identify which utterances are a result of the learner's underlying creative construction system, and which utterances are deliberate attempts to copy, or simply a result of faulty imitation. Clearly it is not possible to define them as conceptually distinct. Thus these two forms may be seen as the development of a continuum. Perhaps what is most important in regard to repetition and incorporation is not the difference between them but the effect they have on the learner's developing communicative competence and underlying grammatical structure.

Finally there is the whole notion of 'timing' to be considered. As Table 5.3.1. shows there is a great deal of variation across studies. Clearly at what point an utterance within a conversational context counts as repetition depends upon the initial definition. Keenan (1977), found that some researchers consider only immediate responses to an utterance to be possible imitations (Rodd and Braine 1970), where as others do not set a limit but identify repetitions in any of the following five or ten utterances (Bloom et al, 1974), while others fall between the two extremes (Moerk 1977).

On the basis of the above discussion, taking into account the three elements (timing, degree of approximation to the adult's utterance and underlying intent) the following section outlines the criteria for identification of repetition used in this study.

5.4. DISCUSSION OF THE CRITERIA FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF REPETITION.

As suggested earlier the distinction between imitation and repetition as given above is extremely problematic. First because identifying the learner's motive for producing a particular utterance in terms of whether there is underlying communicative intent or simply the desire to practise a particular structure is fraught with interpretative difficulty. Second the notion of conscious and unconscious production of a particular form is highly speculative especially with young children where it is not possible to ask them to reflect upon conscious or sub-conscious production. Finally, and perhaps the most significant methodological difficulty, is the possibility that the two underlying motivations for reproducing an utterance are not necessarily mutually exclusive. That is, repeating a phrase to communicate a particular meaning may also be a way of 'practising' that structure, (particularly if the learners repeat it several times) and vice versa, by ostensibly 'practising' a phrase, the learner could also be communicating a particular meaning.

In the context of conversational interaction on which this study is based the distinction is even more problematic, because it is undeniable that at times the learners may well be consciously practising particular structures. But this may occur within the context of a conversation and without being elicited by the teacher. Secondly in the early stages of development it might be expected that as with parents of young children, the teacher / researcher may constantly ask the children to repeat phrases as part of the ongoing conversation. But this request for repetition has many functions, it may help the learner get into the conversation and begin to attach meaning to words and phrases as well as practising the grammar, sounds, and intonation of the new language, all while taking part in the conversation. So although there may be an element of grammatical 'practise' evident in the teacher's request, it may still be part of the ongoing conversation, serving a communicative function as well as giving the learner opportunity to practise the grammatical structure. Added to which an initial analysis of the data, to see if a distinction was possible produced so many grey areas that it did not

seem viable to differentiate between imitation and repetition, for the purposes of this study.

In addition to this, (as suggested in the general discussion), within the context of communicative interaction, it is also extremely difficult to differentiate between repetition and incorporation, on the grounds of either structural differences or communicative intent. However, the very term incorporation suggests something more than repetition, and it is seen as an extension of repetition. Research suggests that as the learners become more fluent, they are able to combine, re-arrange and extend repeated utterances, thereby developing the conversation and in doing so gaining access to progressively complex feedback. Therefore this apparent difference must somehow be recognised, but within a broad definition of repetition.

On the basis of the above discussion, it seems that to define repetition and extended forms of repetition purely on the grounds of surface features would be limiting and misleading. This would not take into account the underlying communicative intent. Yet to define repetition on the basis of underlying communicative intent raises the problem of interpretation. Given that both features are crucial aspects of understanding the nature and role of repetition in the development of first and second language, (particularly within a conversational context), one solution might be to take both these aspects into account, using contextual clues to help accurate identification of various forms of repetition. This broad definition would allow for wider interpretation, thus on the basis of the above discussion and the initial analysis of data the following categories of repetition were identified:

Table 5.4.1. CATEGORIES OF REPETITION USED IN THIS STUDY

Form A. - Modelled Repetition (MR)

Elicited accurate repetition of all of the previous utterance, maintaining word order and intonation, with omissions of function words but not key content words, with no structural additions or changes in intonation.

FORM B. - Sustained Repetition (SR)

The spontaneous, self initiated reproduction of all or part of the preceding utterance, maintaining word order and intonation. At least one content word from the adult's utterance had to be present, no additions could be produced.

Form C. - Incorporated Repetition (IR)

There are two strategies which learners seem to use to incorporate elements of another structure into an apparently creatively constructed utterance, the first relates to repeated speech and the second relates to formulaic speech. Three types of repeated speech can be identified (a-c), and one type of formulaic speech (d).

a) Incorporated Repetition 1 (IR 1)

The learner combines a number of elements from two or more previous utterances. Although it appears to be used as a means of sustaining the conversation, the production of this form appears to be more than sustained repetition because it involves the combining of two repeated utterance to create a new meaning.

b) Incorporated Repetition 2 (IR 2)

Learners incorporate part or all of an utterance into a partly creatively constructed utterance in order to extend the meaning or create a new meaning. There are some variations of this, but two fairly distinct ways can be identified:

IR 2a - a single key word is replaced by another;

IR 2b - more than one word is taken from a previous utterance and combined with an apparently creatively constructed utterance.

c) Incorporated Repetition 3 (IR 3).

Learners repeat an utterance but omit a major constituent and/or change the intonation thereby changing the meaning.

d) Incorporated Formulaic Speech.

This involves the incorporation or combination of a formulaic utterance or partially analysed formulaic utterance into a creatively constructed utterance.

5.5. DISCUSSION OF THE CATEGORIES OF REPETITION

Form A. - Modelled Repetition (MR)

Structure - Elicited accurate repetition of all of the previous utterance, maintaining word order and intonation, with omissions of function words but not key content words, with no structural additions or changes in intonation.

Timing - Immediately after the modelled utterance. The very nature of elicited repetition demands an immediate reply. Any repetition of the elicited form at a later stage in the conversation could not necessarily be attributed to the initial request. For example:

T : It's a bag. You say itIt's a bag.
Ch: It's a bag.

Discussion of Form A.

The key to the identification of this type of repetition is that it is elicited repetition and not spontaneous repetition. This would be determined on the basis of the teacher's request; motivated by the need to get the child to practise a particular utterance; signalled directly by a specific request ('Say it like this', 'Listen to me, now you say it'); with emphasis on the actual sentence, by slowing it down or emphasising particular words; and with the child's attempt to reproduce it correctly signalled by compliance with the adult's request. Secondly it would appear to digress from, rather than add to, the development of the conversation, which may or may not be resumed after the 'practise' is complete. Although the teacher's intent may be clear, to get the learner to 'practise' a particular form, it is recognised that it may serve a dual purpose for the learner, - that is, by repeating the form they are conveying a particular meaning and practising the structure.

There may be occasions when the learner does not respond to the request for repetition. Although it is not within the scope of this study to explore this aspect further (and therefore non-repetition will not be examined), it is interesting to note that in first language learning Folger and Chapman (1978) found when the adult utterance was itself an expansion of the child's original utterance, then the child was more likely to repeat the adult's contribution to the conversation. In the case of second language learning it is perhaps worth speculating that non-compliance to a request for repetition, could be due to the inappropriateness of the request in terms of conversational coherence; over extension of the learner's productive capacity; lack of understanding of the request or simply an underestimation of the learner's level of competence - the learner perceives the request to be unnecessary as meaning appears to have been established. These are in addition to the perhaps more obvious factors, such as not hearing the request, not recognising that the request is directed to them, or simply a lack of desire to repeat an utterance.

FORM B. - Sustained Repetition (SR)

Structure - The spontaneous, self initiated reproduction of all or part of the preceding utterance, maintaining word order and intonation. At least one content word from the adult's utterance had to be present, no additions could be added

Timing. - Repetition of the utterance must occur within the following five turns and be the learner's first utterance after the form which is repeated. Clearly, to some extent any cut off point is arbitrary as there is no absolute certainty that an utterance is the result of repetition rather than the learner's creative construction system. However, because this is spontaneous repetition, it will not necessarily occur immediately after the original utterance, but if it does not occur within the following five utterances it is perhaps less likely to be a result of repetition, given the limitations of the short term memory. For example:

94 T : *Rice, now put everything in the middle of the table.*

95 M : *Um rice, you know that brown rice...*

96 Am: *We eat*

97 Rz: *Middle, middle, middle, middle of the table.*

Discussion of Form B.

The key to this type of repetition is the way in which the learner is using it spontaneously as a way of maintaining the conversation. Given the difficulty of interpretation of intent as discussed above, both contextual clues and structural clues will be taken into account when making this judgement. 'Maintain' is used in the sense that in the early stages of development children as in first language learning may for example repeat a particular form as a means of labelling an object and in doing so manage to 'stay in' and therefore maintain the conversation, simply reinforcing what the teacher or peer has said. Lack of linguistic resources may prevent the learner from actually developing the conversation at this stage through extending the meaning or adding new meaning. Although clearly by simply responding

the learner is extending the conversational structure but adding nothing in terms of developing the semantic structure. The conversational partner may also develop the learner's response by confirming and further extending the utterance.

Form C. Incorporated Repetition (IR)

Structure - There are two strategies which learners seem to use to incorporate elements of another structure into an apparently creatively constructed utterance, the first relates to repeated speech (a-c) and the second relates to formulaic speech (d). Three types of repetition can be identified.

a) Incorporated Repetition 1 (IR 1)

IR 1 - The learner combines a number of elements from two or more previous utterances. Although it appears to be used as a means of sustaining the conversation, the production of this form appears to be more than sustained repetition because it involves the combining of two repeated utterance to create a new meaning. For example:

T : A little girl.

Qu: Little girl.

T : What's she doing?.....she's taking...

Qu: Taking little girl

b) Incorporated Repetition 2 (IR 2)

IR 2 - Learners incorporate part or all of an utterance into a partly creatively constructed utterance in order to extend the meaning or create a new meaning. There are some variations of this, but two fairly distinct ways can be identified:

IR 2a - a single key word is replaced by another. For example:

T : It's my pen.

As: It's my pencil.

IR 2b - More than one word is taken from a previous utterance and combined with an apparently creatively constructed utterance. For example:

T : Put all the pencils in the box please, Amran
Am: My pencil in the box.

c) Incorporated Repetition 3 (IR 3).

IR 3 - Learners repeat an utterance but omit a major constituent and / or change the intonation thereby changing the meaning. For example:

T : I don't want it.
Qu: I want it. (omission of negative form).

T : He's a boy.
Rz: He boy? (rising intonation)

d) Incorporated Formulaic Speech.

This involves the incorporation or combination of a formulaic utterance or partially analysed formulaic utterance into a creatively constructed utterance. The definition and identification of a formulaic utterance is discussed in the next section.

Mj: I don't know what your name (I don't know what your name is)

Timing - Incorporation of the previous utterance must occur within the following five turns of the original utterance and be the learners first utterance after the form which is recreated. As with form B, any notion of incorporation of particular elements from a previous utterance must involve the use of memory, therefore the same cut off point is applied. Clearly the incorporation of formulaic 'chunks' may occur at any time within a conversational episode as they are not dependent on a previous utterance.

However incorporated repetition is more complex because it is defined as a progressively developing strategy. This strategy could be a reflection of the underlying process through which the whole of a

conversational sequence is developed, with the learner extending the conversation through constant incorporation of previous utterances into new ones. Thus the actual incorporation strategy may continue over several turns.

Although these three types of repetition are not mutually exclusive, the distinction is important as each one may have a different contribution to make to the learner's communicative performance and the underlying rule governed system. In addition to this it is also possible that repetition may only be used in the very early stages of development whereas incorporated repetition may be a major strategy throughout the development of English as a second language.

5.6. AMBIGUITIES AND CLARIFICATION.

The distinction between sustained repetition and incorporated repetition is perhaps the most problematic as in both cases the surface structure may be accurately or partially reproduced. However in the first case repetition is seen as incomplete, whereas in the second case repetition is seen as selective. Incomplete repetition is seen as a productive error where part of the phrase is omitted but the meaning does not change. For example :

T : He's a boy.
Am: He boy.

Selective repetition may still be the result of faulty production but the meaning is changed through intonation. For example

T : He's a boy.
Ch: He boy ↑ (is he a boy?) <rising intonation>

Thus the actual structure of the utterance has not changed but the learner has extended the conversation by asking a question, thus selective repetition is one form of incorporation. Incorporated repetition is defined as the development of repetition in that learners are selectively repeating and combining elements of previous utterances to create new meaning. Through incorporation the learner actually extends the meaning or produces new meaning, developing or

changing the direction of the conversation. Again the identification of intent will be based on contextual clues and surface changes or additions.

In addition to this language 'play' is another form of production which is highly ambiguous and may be defined as sustained repetition or incorporated repetition depending on the nature of the 'play'. Language play may take several forms, ranging from the modification and the continual restructuring of the intonation and/or structure of a whole sentence to the continuous simple repetition of one word or sound. As language 'play' has been identified as a means of keeping the conversation going and as a way of practising phonology and syntax, and therefore contributing to some aspects of development, it will be included in the analysis. Categorisation will be based on interpretation of both structural and functional aspects of the utterance.

5.7.DISCUSSION OF THE DEFINITION OF FORMULAIC SPEECH IN STUDIES OF FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

It seems that formulaic speech has in some studies been confused with, or closely associated with, repeated speech, and although in the first instance formulaic speech may be a result of the memorization of a repeated form (as was found by Huang and Hatch, 1978), this is not necessarily the case. Not all formulaic speech can be traced to the memorization of repeated utterances. There may be utterances which have a high frequency of use within particular contexts, giving plenty of opportunity for repetition, but repetition is not a prerequisite for certain utterances to become formulaic. Fillmore (1976) suggested that formulaic utterances could be the result of inventiveness, mis-hearing or mis-learning. Thus the sort of speech which is referred to as formulaic in current studies may include, but goes beyond that described as simply the memorization of repeated phrases or sentences.

As with repetition there are a number of definitions of formulaic speech. Using data from the development of English as a second language by a Chinese child, Huang and Hatch (1978) defined formulaic speech on the basis of its formal characteristics. They defined it as reproduced 'chunks' of language which were grammatically correct and

complete, in which the learner seemed to be unaware of smaller units within the utterance and made no attempt to create new sentences from recombined words or morphemes. They found that this type of utterance was produced in the early stages of development and used in specific contexts.

Krashen and Scarcella (1978) identified two types of formulaic speech on the basis of formal characteristics. In addition to the memorization of complete phrases or 'unanalysed wholes' referred to as 'routines', (as identified by Huang and Hatch, 1978), they also found evidence of partially analysed wholes, which they referred to as 'patterns'. These were characterised as the memorization of single words with some form of marker attached, for example 'that's', or sections of phrases or sentences that are kept together and always produced as a whole, but used in conjunction with creative constructions - for example 'that one + noun/verb'

Ellis (1984), points out that other definitions have emphasised the functional aspect of formulaic speech. For example, Garvey (1977) defined formulaic speech in the following way:

'Routines are predictable utterance sequences that serve a single or limited role, and are restricted to particular positions or specialised functions in respect to a conversation or interaction. A routine is highly conventionalised and is probably learned as a package.' (p. 43) (taken from Ellis, 1984, p.66).

Lilly Wong Fillmore (1976) defined formulaic speech on the basis of both function and form, involving a variety of factors, which included:

'the way in which a particular utterance is used, its form, its relationship to similar constructions produced by the same speaker, and its relationship to the child's overall speech performance.' (p.310)

Although there is some variation in the precise detail of these definitions, there emerges a general consensus about what constitutes formulaic speech. This can be summarised in the following way: formulaic speech is defined as the memorization of complete or partial phrases or sentences, which are learned as unanalysed wholes, produced in and associated with particular contexts. They appear to be most common in the early stages of both first and second language

development, thus tending to be grammatically advanced in comparison to creative speech. The very nature of formulaic utterances seems to enable learners to express a variety of functions, without having mastered their underlying grammatical form, giving learners access to new learning material.

As suggested by Wong-Fillmore (1976) it is not possible to determine with absolute certainty which utterances are formulaic and which are a result of the learners underlying creative construction system. However, Fillmore's (op.cit) criteria for the identification of formulaic speech appeared to be the most comprehensive and when used for the initial analysis of data, was found to be most applicable. It is therefore used as the basis for the identification of formulaic speech in this study, with minor modifications. An utterance is classed as formulaic if it appears to:

1) HAVE A SINGLE INVARIANT FORM.

Discussion - This suggests that the form is stable and whenever it is produced will occur in exactly the same form although it may be used to serve a variety of semantic functions. For example, the utterance 'I don't know' was produced in this form by several learners over a period of time but used to express a number of different meanings, e.g. 'I don't want' and 'I don't like'.

For the purpose of this study, a single invariant form also includes the production of what appeared to be partially analysed formulas for example 'that one + noun', as well as complete formulas, for example 'I don't know'. This is because some of the learners, Məjid in particular, clearly produced what appeared to be invariant but partially analysed forms from their very first appearance and combined them with other constructions.

Stability is used in the sense that a formulaic utterance will occur in the same form more than once, although clearly if learners begin to analyse forms and incorporate them into their creative construction system, then a major form of evidence of this will be found in the instability of such forms.

2) BE REPEATEDLY USED BY THE SPEAKER.

Discussion - As a rule when an invariant form was identified it did seem to form part of the learner's general repertoire and as such occurred fairly frequently. However there were exceptions. Some forms were highly context dependent, and only occurred at particular times or on particular days. For example on someone's birthday the children would say 'It's Amran's Happy Birthday' suggesting that 'happy birthday' was being produced as an unanalysed whole. In addition to this some learners, Majid in particular, very quickly appeared to analyse 'whole chunks', perhaps only using a 'complete' formula for a limited number of times before he began to produce part of a formula in conjunction with other forms.

3) BE GRAMMATICALLY ADVANCED COMPARED WITH SIMILAR CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE LEARNER'S SPEECH

Discussion - Initially formulaic utterances may be more advanced grammatically but even as the learners became more fluent, some still produced new formulas or continued to produce some of those established in the early stages of development. In such cases identification would be based on identification of such forms in the early stages of development or on frequency of use and stability of the form if produced at a later stage.

- However it is interesting to note that even in the later stages of development some of the learners were producing formulaic utterances which contained morphemes that were still not present in apparently creatively constructed utterances.

4) BE SITUATIONALLY DEPENDENT OR A REFLECTION OF COMMUNITY FORMULAS.

Discussion - There are a number of linguistic forms that occur frequently in particular situations in school. For example greetings, rituals in assembly, at home time or the end of a lesson, or are curriculum specific. There are also phrases that are a common part of every day social interaction in the classroom, - for example, excuse me, thank-you, please, good boy / girl. Thus certain phrases that the learners use may be identified within these particular contexts.

- However not all formulaic speech is a reflection of these particular types of utterances, or necessarily a reflection of the frequency of a particular utterance. Research suggests that learners also appear to produce formulas which are not context specific, for example, interrogatives and negated utterances were produced as formulaic utterances.

Central to the analysis of formulaic speech is the contribution that these forms make to the underlying grammatical system. The identification of partially analysed forms as evidence of formulas being unpacked and constituent parts being freed and incorporated into other utterances, is crucial to further discussion. Two types of partially analysed forms are identified, the first type is defined as the reproduction of part of an already identified formulaic utterance -e.g. 'I don't know' having been identified as formulaic on the basis of the above criteria becomes 'I don't + verb', the 'I don't....' part of the utterance must adhere to the original criteria. The second type are those phrases that occur in partially analysed formulas from their first production. Once again they must adhere to the above criteria. In both cases the key to analysed forms lies in what Wong Fillmore (1976) referred to as:

'substitutability of forms': that is, the appearance of a variety of forms in the grammatical slot within the formulaic construction' (p.312).

5.8. SUMMARY

This chapter began by identifying particular issues which emerged from the initial morphemes analysis and indicated the need for further research. The emergence of verb morphemes and the sub-systems of negation and interrogatives, in relation to the use of repetition, incorporation, and formulaic speech were chosen as the basis for this development. It was argued that the identification of these particular morphemes, would build on and extend the original analysis, but that the identification of repetition and formulaic speech required an additional methodological framework, consisting of a rigorously constructed criteria for identification. Thus an attempt was made to establish a criteria for the identification of repetition, incorporated repetition and formulaic speech.

In highlighting some of the problems inherent in attempting to create a definition that is both broad enough to encompass all possibilities and yet tight enough to allow for differentiation between forms, there is bound to be some overlap and some degree of ambiguity. Forms which clearly contained elements of repetition and / or formulaic speech but did not seem to 'fit' any of the categories, were placed in the category which seemed to contain most of the features of the utterance, or placed under a miscellaneous category and omitted from the analysis. The following chapters are a report on this analysis of the development of verb morphemes, and their relationship to the use of repetition, incorporated repetition and formulaic speech.

CHAPTER SIX.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRESSIVE INFLECTION - ING AND AUXILIARY.

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The following chapters are a report on the analysis of the development of the surface structure of verb morphemes and the sub-systems of interrogatives and negation within a conversational context. As outlined in Chapter Five in order to examine the underlying processes rather than simply the product, a more detailed analysis of individual but related morphemes had to be undertaken. The analysis of negation and interrogatives allows examination of the emergence of two communicative functions within meaningful interaction. The analysis of the children's use of repetition, incorporated repetition and formulaic speech enables the influence of conversational interaction on the development of these particular morphemes and related sub-systems to be explored in detail.

6.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT PROGRESSIVE.

The present progressive -ING was present in the speech of the seven learners from the early stages of their use of English. As illustrated in Table 6.2.1 for nearly all learners it was present in over 50% of obligatory contexts from the early stages of development. However its correct use was very erratic, fluctuating between 70% and 90% accurate use during the first three terms. By Term Four all of the learners had acquired this morpheme in terms of Brown's 90% criterion, as reported in Chapter Four. In order to take account of the complexities involved in the development a more detailed analysis was undertaken. The data were analysed over four consecutive terms, within which some significant changes were recorded. As the auxiliary is an integral part of verb development, the progressive inflection -ING and the auxiliary were analysed together.

The analysis is divided into two sections;

- First the data were examined in relation to formal development of the progressive. That is the actual production (plus non-production initially) of morphological markers which grammatically encoded the progressive (VERB +ING and BE Auxiliary). This entailed the identification of all utterances that were clearly conveying the progressive, but were not formally marked, as well as all utterances which contained the -ING inflection, with or without the BE -auxiliary, thus revealing the emerging surface form of the progressive;
- Second the use of repetition, incorporated repetition and formulaic speech was identified and examined in relation to their possible contribution to the development of both the form and function of the progressive.

Before moving into the analysis it is important to briefly mention the use of examples of children's speech. Examples of utterances used in the text were chosen as a means of illustrating a particular point or argument. As the discussion highlights general findings common to the majority of children (as well as some significant individual developments), examples were plentiful and for this reason, unless the example related to a point about a particular child, choice of examples was somewhat random. For example (as shown in Graph D) the teacher / researcher had over fifty examples to choose from, in order to illustrate the use of sustained repetition as a potential means of producing the present progressive -ING in Term One. Although the context in which the utterance occurred was significant in transcription of the tapes, it is only referred to in the text where it contributes to the point being made and is enclosed in brackets < >. Where a glossary based on the teacher / researcher's interpretation is necessary this is also enclosed in brackets (). The full coding system is reported in Appendix Seven.

Table 6.2.1. Level of Acquisition for the Present Progressive-ING
During the First Four Terms.

		TERM ONE O/N/Dec.	TERM TWO J/F/Mar.	TERM THREE A/M/J/July	TERM FOUR S/O/N/Dec.
AMRAN	N %	15 87	30 70	84 92	96 90
ABDUL ROB	N %	13 100	15 86	52 75	64 93
RAZWANA	N %	11 81	31 100	64 86	65 98
MAJID	N %	ABSENT -	12 75	71 79	97 98
ASIF	N %	17 82	53 98	131 97	94 98
QUAYUM	N %	15 100	25 84	121 92	103 97
ABDUL QU.	N %	8 75	10 80	121 92	98 93

N = Number of obligatory contexts for the present progressive
 % = Percentage of present progressives which were correctly supplied.

TERM ONE - OCTOBER TO DECEMBER.

1) The Development of the Surface Form of the Present Progressive

All the learners had arrived in England during the previous month, and joined communities which shared their linguistic and cultural background. Their exposure to English before coming to school had been fairly limited, and this was evidenced by their silence and bewilderment when spoken to in English, (it is acknowledged that other factors may have accounted for their apparent lack of English, but given their background, it seemed likely that they had virtually no understanding of English at this point). The first term seemed to be a period of settling in to the new situation and tuning in to the sounds and rhythm of English. The learners tended to listen to, and use English in secure contexts such as story sessions, singing, and general play activities, where there was no apparent pressure on them to produce English. In order to give the learners time to settle in, recording sessions began in October, four weeks after the children had started school.

During this term the present progressive -ING occurred without the auxiliary often as a response to a Wh question with the answer modelled by the teacher. The subjects repeated the verb + ING, but omitted the auxiliary. Repetition was the first form of correct use and at this stage appeared to be produced as a means of labelling or reinforcing a particular structure. By doing so the learner took a turn and maintained the conversation (ex.1a). Some of the learners began to use the present progressive -ING spontaneously, but again without the auxiliary (ex.1b).

Example 1a - T1 / 8.10.

84 T : Right, what are you doing?.....Mixing, mixing the glue.

85 Ab: Mixing.

Example 1b - T1 / 30.11.

11 T : What else can you see?

12 As: Car, boy, boy playing car.

13 T : Yes.

14 As: That boy playing cycle.

2) Individual Variation.

Apart from Asif none of the children had begun to use the auxiliary verb spontaneously, Amran produced ''s' in a repeated form on one occasion (ex.2a). Asif had begun to use ''s' (3rd person singular) and there was one example of 'am' (1st person singular), each one showing correct agreement between the pronoun and auxiliary (ex.2b). It is interesting that when Asif started to use the ''s' auxiliary form with a few verb phrases, his use of the -ING inflection began to vary. Sometimes he used it with the auxiliary, sometimes it was omitted (ex. 2c). At the same time Asif had begun to use the future 'going to' with the auxiliary (ex.2d).

Example 2a - T1 / 9.12.

213 T : *Very good, he's brushing.*

214 Am: *He's brushing.*

Example 2b - T1 / 30.11.

79 As: *He said my chair, he's fighting.*

201 As: *I'm making building.*

Example 2c - T1 / 9.12.

136 As: *He's look for..... (he's looking for)*

Example 2d - T1 / 2.12.

37 T : *A boy yes, what is the boy doing?*

38 As: *He's going tree.*

TERM TWO - JANUARY TO MARCH.

1) Although in Term Two the present progressive -ING was correctly produced in the majority of utterances requiring the -ING form, this form was still unstable in some contexts. In example '1a', even when repeating the form, Amran who used repetition frequently, had dropped the -ING inflection, and in utterance 21 he appeared to combine two forms 'for mixing' and 'to mix'.

Example 1a - T2 / 3.3.

- 13 T : *Mixing.*
14 Ab: *Mixing.*
15 Am: *Mixing.*
16 T : *What are you doing Amran?*
17 Am: *Mix.*
18 T : *I'm mixing the glue.*
19 Am: *Yeah, mix.*
20 T : *What are you doing?*
21 Am: *For to mix.*

2) As with Asif in Term One, several of the learners had begun to put the noun before the verb both with and without the progressive inflection -ING, (as would be correct in the simple present, where the verb follows the noun). However in the majority of cases the learners were not conveying habitual action, but were conveying present action (ex.2a). It is interesting to note that, in a session in which each learner was asked to talk individually about a particular picture, in every case (when describing a person crossing the road), the progressive -ING was dropped and the verb followed the noun (ex.2b).

Example 2a

T2 / 3.2. - Reverse word order with present progressive -ING.

- 19 T : *What's he doing?*
20 Q : *He's letter putting.*

T2 / 2.83 - Reverse word order with present progressive -ING omitted.

- 15 T : *Yes, he's playing with the wheels, that's a wheel.*
16 As: *Yeah, cycle wheel, there he's picture draw.*

Example 2b

T2 / 3.2. - Reverse word order with present progressive -ING omitted by all learners.

- 39 T : *What are they doing?*
40 Q : *He's road cross baby.*

Perhaps this illustrates the confusion between forms that are still being internalised. In an attempt to be consistent learners seemed to incorporate new elements into old forms. Thus having produced noun + verb constructions from the early stages of development, as the

learners began to develop the verb phrase to include the auxiliary and noun, they reverted to noun + verb word order. However, it was difficult to determine why this should suddenly have occurred in the second term, unless it is related to transfer of the learners' mother tongue, in which the object comes before the verb. The following two examples, perhaps illustrate the way in which development was characterised by constant 'hypotheses testing', manifested in the way in which the learners produced the same surface form twice, but with different word orders.

T2 / 17.3.

576 T : *Drinking some water.*

577 Am: *Drinking water.... water drinking.*

T2 / 10.3.

55 T : *Oh dear, what are these girls doing?*

56 As: *She's baby play, playing babies.*

3) In Term One many utterances that contained the present progressive were responses to WH- questions and as such consisted simply of VERB +ING and therefore did not, strictly speaking, require the auxiliary. Although, many of the learners in Term Two still only produced two or three word utterances in response to a WH- question which required the present progressive -ING, as the learners became more fluent the present progressive was used with a variety of noun and pronoun subjects, but still without the auxiliary.

4) However towards the end of Term Two there was evidence of increased use of the auxiliary in conjunction with the present progressive by four of the learners. Four of the learners (two Punjabi speakers and two Bengali speakers including Asif), began to produce the first (am/'m) and the third person singular (is/'s) (ex.4a). At this point pronouns in the clause initial position always seemed to be followed by the correct contracted auxiliary 's' or 'm', whereas singular nouns in the clause initial position always seemed to be followed by the uncontracted auxiliary 'is' (ex.4b).

Example 4a - Clause initial pronoun + contracted auxiliary.

T2 / 24.2.

130 Q : *Looking, looking he's looking.*

Example 4b - Clause initial singular noun + uncontracted auxiliary.

T2 / 3.3.

50 As: *Man is painting door.*

In addition to this, Asif was the first learner to produce the 1st person singular past auxiliary in conjunction with the progressive

marker -ING. Other learners were referring to the past but were using the present auxiliary, either contracted or uncontracted, depending on whether it was serving a noun or pronoun.

5) As some of the learners began to produce constructions that contained the auxiliary verb, they dropped the progressive inflection -ING (ex.5a). In the first two examples the learners conveyed continuous action. In the third example Majid was conveying immediate intention.

Example 5a.

T2 / 4.3.

13 Q : I'm draw Motior (I'm drawing Motior).

T2 / 24.2.

223 As: No, he's copy mine (He's copying mine).

T2 / 13.1.

222 Mj: Miss, I'm sit there (I'm going to sit there).

6) At the same time, those learners that have begun to use the auxiliary have also begun to develop the form 'going to', to convey future intention. This form was produced with or without the -ING inflection, but usually with the contracted auxiliary (ex.6a). However it was not necessarily produced with the uncontracted auxiliary + noun (as present in other constructions) (ex.6b).

Example 6a - T2 / 6.1.

With contracted auxiliary and present progressive -ING.

59 T : Where's the mouse going to go, Q?

60 Q : He's going house this way.

61 As: He's not going house.

With contracted auxiliary, present progressive -ING omitted.

38 As: Pussy cat coming, he's go run, he's go pop that pipe (going to)

39 T : He's going to what?

40 As: He's going, pussy cat coming he's go that pipe (he's going, the pussy cat is coming and he's going (up) that pipe).

Example 6b - T2 / 3.2.

With present progressive, uncontracted auxiliary omitted.

30 Q : This mummy going..... (His mummy has gone.....)

As with other forms of the -ING inflection, 'going' was overgeneralised to indicate the past tense (ex.6c). At the same time the past tense 'gone' was beginning to develop with the auxiliary. Although the uncontracted 3rd person singular auxiliary was in agreement with 'gone' (i.e. it's gone), and indicated the production of 'has', this might not be a valid assumption. At this point 's' may be being used as part of the pronoun for all verb phrases, and might not represent the past form 'has' (ex. 6d). Clearly Abdul had not yet mastered past tense agreement when he used the uncontracted auxiliary with gone, and this was manifested by his use of the present tense form 'is' (ex.6e).

Example 6c - T2 / 10.3.

18 As: *Yesterday I'm going big library (yesterday I went to the library).*

Example 6d - T2 / 6.1.

50 As: *He's gone pipe, he's coming other way, he's pipe gone, that, he's gone other way.*

Example 6e - T2 / 3.2.

331 Ab: *All coming, police, policeman, doctor is gone (the doctor has gone).*

In early examples of negation the learners (with the exception of Asif), dropped the auxiliary. As seen in other studies when new forms begin to emerge, partially acquired forms often disappear, so even though in the same session both Abdul and Amran were using the uncontracted 'is' with clause initial nouns, they had dropped this form when the new negative particle was introduced.

TERM THREE - APRIL TO JULY.

1) There was still much variation in the learners' use of the progressive inflection -ING and the auxiliary, as is evident from Table 6.2.1. at the beginning of this section. Even by the end of Term Three, none of the learners in group one (with the exception of Amran) had reached the 90% criterion for the acquisition of the present progressive. It was still omitted in obligatory contexts (as defined in discussion on methodology) and in certain phrases the word order was still reversed.

2) All the learners gradually increased the number of utterances which contained obligatory contexts for the auxiliary -BE in the present progressive, but with the exception of Razwana, Abdul Quayum and Quayumn none of the children reached even 50% correct use in obligatory contexts. As in Term Two, the majority of forms with correct use were contracted third person singular 's' pronouns in clause initial positions. Again as found in Term Two, when clause initial singular nouns occurred with the auxiliary, in the majority of cases the auxiliary 'is' was uncontracted. In addition to this, production of the present progressive and the auxiliary was still fluctuating. In some cases when the auxiliary was present the progressive -ING was missing and vice versa.

The first person singular was correctly produced in the majority of occasions, but was reduced to 'am' by the majority of learners (ex. 2a). Amran used 'me', instead of 'I'm / I am', on two occasions in July (ex.2b) and in fact when looking at previous structures used to encode 'self', it appeared that throughout the four terms Amran used 'I', 'am', 'me' and 'my' in free variation to indicate 'self'.

Example 2a - T3 / 20.7.

683 As: 'Am painting string.

Example 2b - T3 / 20.7.

231 Am: He said said me working.

480 Am: Me looking, 'am that picture draw (I'm looking, I'm drawing that picture).

On no occasions were clause initial plural nouns followed by the appropriate auxiliary. In the majority of cases the auxiliary was omitted. There were only fourteen obligatory contexts for the auxiliary 'are' in conjunction with a pronoun, for all learners in July 1983. Only four of these utterances included the correct auxiliary, each uncontracted, - three following a pronoun, and one inverted to produce a question form (ex.2c). The only contracted 'are', was produced as the result of repetition of the previous utterance.

Example 2c. - T3 / 15.7.

5 As: *We are baking.*

7 Qu: *Monday we are Eid party. (going to have.)*

114 Rz: *You are running.*

731 Qu: *Are you copying him?*

3) In Term Three there was no evidence of agreement errors occurring with the present progressive. There were no occasions in which the incorrect form of the auxiliary was produced in conjunction with the progressive inflection -ING. This was because, apart from the production of 'am' and 'is', the auxiliary was generally omitted altogether in utterances containing clause initial singular and plural nouns. However, in terms of past tense and auxiliary verb agreement (other than BE) there was little agreement. The contracted 's' and 'm' attached to personal pronouns seemed to be overgeneralised to all verb phrases, regardless of the appropriate auxiliary or tense, both sometimes with the -ING inflection and sometimes without. This could be accounted for by the notion of simplification - i.e. the learners were using the rule they knew and applying it to all forms (ex.3a).

Example 3a - T3 / 18.7.

Past tense

94 Rz: *He's hold and he's fall.....falled it (he was holding it and he fell).*

697 Qu: *Did you watch 'Return of the Jedi', 'am watch (Did you watch 'Return of the Jedi', I watched it.)*

Simple present

53 Mj: *He's cry everyday (he cries).*

4) As the learners increased their use of the verbs 'go', 'do' and 'come', there was evidence of confusion, as the progressive was increasingly used to convey present simple, and past tense. In addition to this 'go', 'do' and 'come' are produced in their uninflected form but used in sentences conveying a past event (ex 4a). Finally some of the learners, Abdul and Amran in particular, started to use 'do' without the progressive inflection -ING in sentences which convey the future 'I'm going to do' (ex.4b).

Example 4a.- T3 / 10.6.

Present Progressive used to convey Simple Present.

399 Rz: *Going there every day ((my dad) goes there everyday).*

Present Progressive used to convey Past Tense.

232 Mj: *Miss, I'm going to library book, my brother come to there
(I went to the library.....).*

30 Ab: *And me doing, my brother and sister my dad and me.
(we did)*

Using present form of GO / COME / DO to convey Past Tense.

337 Ab: *Oh miss, my brother go London (has gone).*

332 Am: *Mrs B-P my big sister go Pakistan (has gone).*

Example 4b.

34 Ab: *'am do box (going to).*

159 Am: *'am do that car very nice (going to do).*

TERM FOUR - OCTOBER TO DECEMBER.

1) All the learners seemed to have acquired the present progressive - ING in 90% of obligatory contexts, however it was still unstable in at least 5% of utterances requiring the present progressive. The contracted and uncontracted auxiliary verb (singular), was being produced in less than 50% of obligatory contexts and the allomorpheme 'are', was still being omitted in the majority of obligatory contexts. However, despite the very slow development of the auxiliary some learners were beginning to use pronouns with an uncontracted auxiliary (3rd person singular - he is), and the contracted auxiliary with the singular noun (boy's). They were producing 'are' in both contracted and uncontracted form, perhaps indicating that the learners were beginning to internalise new rules.

2) There was also evidence that some of the learners were beginning to use the past tense form of the auxiliary 'was'. This was used to signal the majority of past tense forms (ex.2a). Only Razwana appeared to be using 'were', and evidence suggested that she was using 'was', and 'were', interchangeably, ('were' only being used very occasionally (ex.2b). It is interesting to note that in relation to the present progressive auxiliary, the children did not appear to have any problems with agreement from the early stages of production. But in terms of the past progressive, they produced 'was' to denote all past tense forms, and produced 'was' and 'were' interchangeably to denote a plural or the past tense, with number agreement only slowly developing. NB. 'Was' may be a colloquialism used instead of 'were' in particular regions of Yorkshire.

Example 2a - T4 / 3.11.

307 Mj: *His mum was baking.*

279 Rz: *I was singing.*

305 Mj: *And they was talking about something.*

Example 2b - T4 / 11.11.

40 Rz: *We got photograph, we were laughing and stand and sitting there*

41 T: *Were you?*

42 Rz: *First me and second my sister, no first my sister and second me, we were two laughing.*

3) There was evidence of individual variation. Having begun to use 'going to', but omitting the 'to', in Term Three, Razwana then began to use both 'going to', and 'gonna'. Production of the auxiliary fluctuated in future tense utterances (ex.3a). The inverted auxiliary 'are', in clause initial position was omitted altogether in interrogative utterances containing 'gonna'. The semantic notion of a request for information seemed to be realised through rising intonation (ex.3b). The fluctuation in the auxiliary could again be seen as evidence of one of Slobin's universal operating principles. It appeared that as new forms appeared, morphemes that were not fully acquired disappeared temporarily. Conversely the learners tried to encode new meanings, through the use of old forms. In Razwana's case

the inverted 'are' was dropped and she reverted to rising intonation in order to produce an interrogative. Alternatively this might have been a reflection of local speech patterns in which 'are' was not necessarily required in the clause initial position to signal an interrogative, as it would be signalled through rising intonation. This is examined in more detail in the section on interrogatives.

Example 3a

146 Rz: *She gonna draw the picture, der's the pencil.*

415 Rz: *She's gonna go home.*

337 Rz: *She's going to borrow a car.*

443 Rz: *We're gonna go home and put in there.*

Example 3b.

57 Rz: *You gonna take home t.*

6.3.SUMMARY.

This section has attempted to identify significant changes in the learner's production of the present progressive -ING and the auxiliary verb, in order to illustrate the way in which these forms appeared to develop. In taking such a broad view it is clear that not all of the detail is captured in this presentation of analysis, however the analysis revealed that differences that occurred in individual development were mainly to do with rate of production rather than the actual sequence of development. Idiosyncrasies, (such as time taken to 'settle down') which may have had some effect on the rate of development but were not subject to rigorous analysis are reported in the section on child portraits (Chapter Nine). Significant individual differences have been identified along with general patterns of development and the next section is a discussion of the above findings.

6.4.DISCUSSION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SURFACE STRUCTURE
OF THE PRESENT PROGRESSIVE -ING.

From the description of the development of the progressive inflection -ING and the auxiliary, it seems to be possible to identify four stages of development. These stages refer to general development rather than distinct cut-off points. Often the next stage overlaps the last stage, and in the speech of the majority of the learners there were regressions into earlier stages. In addition to this, learners progressed through each stage at different rates.

STAGE 1 - Unstable use of the Verb, Verb + -ING. This form is the first marker of aspect to be learned. It occurs without the auxiliary and does not become stable in 90% of obligatory contexts until the third and fourth term.

STAGE 2 - Auxiliary -BE begins to develop. Initially learners only use 1st and 3rd person in the present tense. As this develops the learners use the auxiliary and the progressive inflection -ING in free variation with each other. At the same time, some learners begin to overgeneralise the progressive -ING, producing it to convey past and future events.

STAGE 3 - Production of the 1st and 3rd person auxiliary, with the present progressive inflection -ING becoming more common. The auxiliary is still unstable and several learners overgeneralise the auxiliary 1st and 3rd person to the present simple. The 2nd person 'are' begins to be produced by some learners but is unstable.

STAGE 4 - Past auxiliary 'was' and 'were' begin to develop, but both forms are unstable and used in free variation with each other. Present progressive -ING becomes stable in 90% of contexts requiring this form, for all seven learners. Use of 1st, 3rd and 'are' becomes more common but is not present in more than 50% of utterances for any learner.

The progressive inflection -ING was being produced by all the learners from the early stages of development. The early production and 'apparent' acquisition of this form has been substantiated by several first and second language studies. Brown (1973) found that the progressive inflection -ING was the first morpheme to reach the 90% criterion for acquisition. It was acquired long before the auxiliary and it was never overgeneralized. It was not used with stative verbs, it was seldom omitted once the criterion had been attained, and it was only used to express state-process. Studies of natural and classroom second language learning have also found the progressive inflection to be used from early production and acquired before other morphemes (Hakuta, 1974; Rosansky, 1976; Ellis, 1982; Lightbown 1983).

There are a number of explanations for the early production of the progressive inflection -ING. Wagner-Gough and Hatch (1975) identified five possible determinants of such early production in the speech of English second language learners, (non of which are mutually exclusive).

- a) The -ING morpheme is easily recognisable, it is perceptually salient.
- b) There are no irregular forms or conditional variants of the regular form.
- c) It does not affect the base form of the verb.
- d) It occurs frequently in the input data.
- e) It is phonologically stable, as it only has one form.

Given the permanent status of most of the above factors, their role in determining early production is hard to assess, except in comparison with other morphemes which do, or do not have, the same features. However frequency of the progressive marker -ING within the input is a variable factor and as such can be empirically tested.

1) Frequency of the Present Progressive within the Input Data.

Although, it is not within the scope of this study to analyse the frequency of the present progressive in the teacher / researcher's speech, it is interesting to note that during the first term, discussion included a great deal of description of events, through the use of the present progressive, usually initiated by the teacher. The teacher frequently used the progressive to serve a number of functions, directly or indirectly indicating the need for a response using the present progressive, thus creating opportunity for the progressive to be produced. The data shows that the learners' early production of the progressive was through the repetition of the teacher's utterance which contained the progressive, and through the spontaneous response to an interrogative, which required the present progressive (ex 1).

Example 1 Teacher / Researcher's Production of the Present Progressive.

a) Question and answer sequence,

T : What's he doing?.....He's running.

T : What have you been doing?.....Singing?

T : Razwana's painting, Amran's cutting, what are you doing Abdul?

b) Confirmation of an answer through repetition,

Ch: Jumping

T : Yes, he's jumping.

c) Request for repetition.

T : She's dancing, can you say that?

d) Asking for confirmation.

T : She's drawing a picture, isn't she?

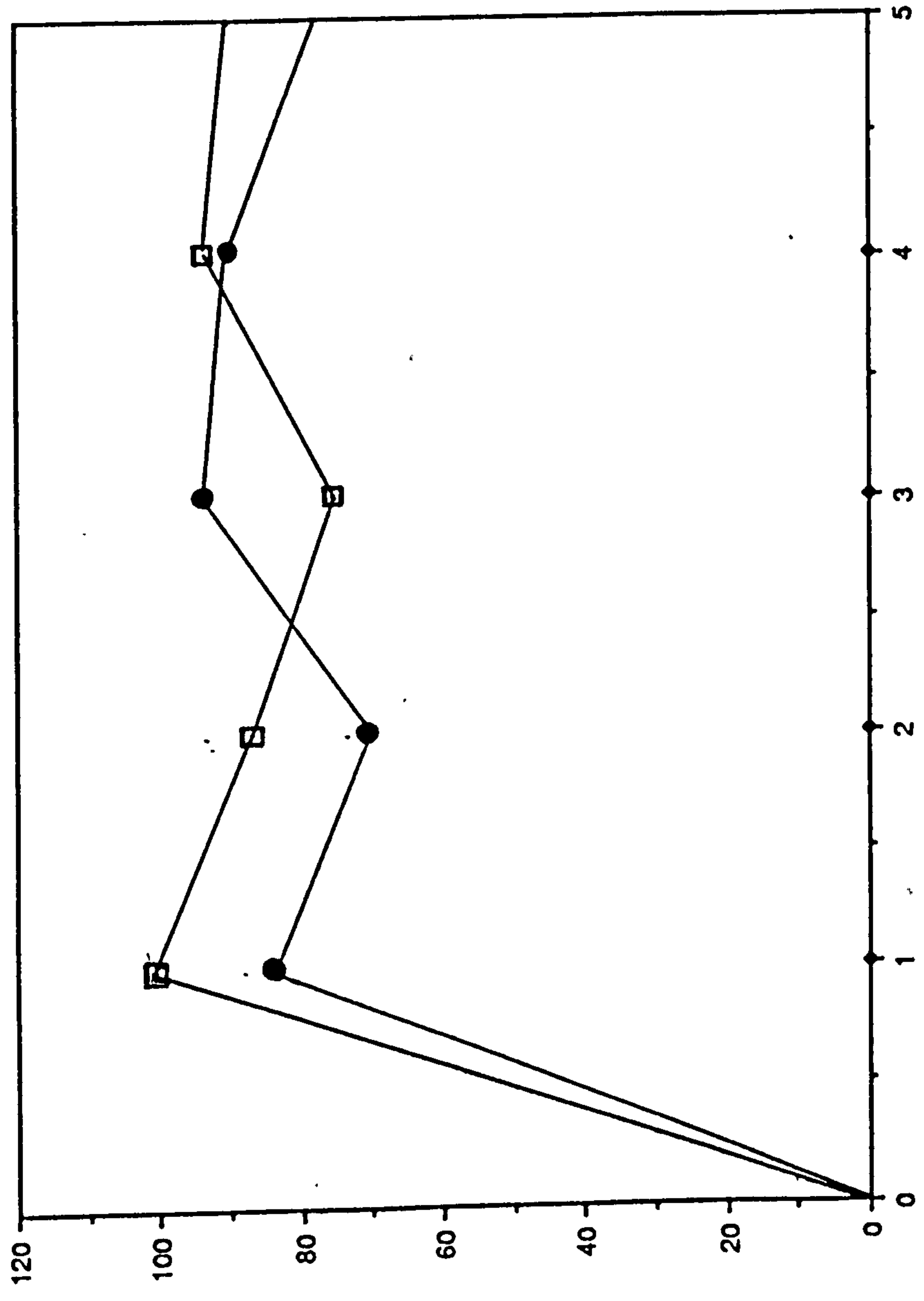
2) Fluctuation in the correct use of the present progressive.

Although there is evidence that the present progressive was a frequent part of input, (thus the children were hearing and producing this form from the early stages of development), the learners production of the surface form fluctuated considerably (see Graph E). The development of the correct use of the present progressive was not a smooth transition from less correct to more correct utterances containing the present progressive. Even though it was produced from the initial stages, there were peaks and troughs during the development of the form. There are a number of explanations which may account for this variation.

GRAPH E

GRAPH E. The Fluctuation Of The Correct Production Of The Present Progressive -ING Inflection Over A Period Of Four Terms For Amran and Abdul Rob.

Percentage Of Correct Production In Obligatory Contexts.



□ ABDUL ROB.
◆ AMRAN.

TERMS.

In the early stages of development many learners appeared to have a relatively high percentage of correct production, on closer inspection this could be explained in terms of repetition. In the first term many of the correct uses of the progressive -ING were a result of some form of repetition, although the auxiliary was omitted, in the majority of repeated utterances the -ING inflection was present (see Graph D, Chapter Four). However, as the number of repetitions in Term Two began to decline, the correct production of the progressive inflection -ING began to fluctuate. There was a decline in the correct production during Term Two by Amran and during Term Two and Three by Abdul Rob (see Graph E). This suggests that the present progressive was beginning to be produced through the learners' creative construction system, rather than through repetition. However there may be a number of additional explanations for this lapse in correct production. They are as follows.

1) Evidence from both first and second language studies suggest that as the learners sort out grammatical rules there is fluctuation between production and omission, and correct and incorrect use of surface forms (Karmiloff-Smith, 1984). As some of the learners began to produce constructions that contained the auxiliary verb, they dropped the progressive inflection -ING. This may be evidence of 'processing overload'. As the learners begin to establish new forms, there is variation in the correct use of old forms. Olstain (1978) suggests that it is possible that the learners' more intense concern with a new structure or form, causes a setback in a previous structure that has not yet been fully acquired.

2) Increased production may also lead to fluctuation. Evidence shows that there was a steady increase in production of forms requiring the present progressive and the auxiliary (see Table 6.4.1). As the learners developed more complex phrases involving the present progressive -ING, it begins to serve a number of functions. This potentially increases the feedback learners receive, giving them access to a number of new forms, but adding to processing demands. At the same time as learners were increasing their production of obligatory

contexts for the present progressive, they were also developing new forms to serve old functions. For example, in Term Four, the learners increased their use of the simple present and used this in free variation with the progressive to serve present, past and future functions.

Hatch (1974), in her examination of data from fifteen observation studies of forty second language learners, found fluctuation in the production of the progressive inflection -ING. She found that -ING was the first appearance of aspect, usually beginning as -ING alone, and then as the learner develops -BE, the auxiliary begins to appear with -ING. She noted many lapses with either BE or ING being dropped as the form is developed. She found that some learners acquired the 'going to' future at the same time as the -ING form. For those who acquired -BE and -ING first and then the 'going-to' future, the addition of the 'going to' form usually required them to sort through all the forms once again. There was further evidence of confusion. Sometimes the auxiliary was deleted and only the -ING attached to the verb. Sometimes a pronoun with a contracted -BE was produced followed by V and -ING.

Table 6.4.1. Number of Obligatory Occasions for the Present Progressive
During the First Four Terms.

	TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR
ASIF	17	53	131	94
MAJID	ABSENT	12	71	97
ABDUL ROB	13	15	52	64
AMRAN	15	30	84	96
RAZWANA	11	31	64	65
QUAYUM	15	25	121	103
ABDUL QUAYUM	8	10	121	98

3) In addition to a general fluctuation in the accuracy of production, many of the learners frequently included the auxiliary but omitted the present progressive -ING inflection in constructions which were produced to convey immediate intention. Both Cazden (1968) and Brown (1973) identified similar forms being produced by first language learners. In their studies the learners occasionally produced the auxiliary -BE, without the progressive inflection -ING, as a means of conveying intention. Cazden referred to these forms as 'reduced catenatives'. In a study of young second language learners, Adams (1973) found that when the progressive had been mastered by the children, there was evidence of 'reduced catenatives', with and without the auxiliary -BE to express future or immediate intentions.

4) However reduced catenatives cannot explain all the lapses in the use of the progressive -ING. Whole formulaic utterances, and the incorporation of partly analysed formulaic 'chunks', into apparently creatively constructed utterances, may account for fluctuation occurring in particular forms. Using the criteria established for identifying formulaic speech, the following utterances, in which the progressive inflection -ING has been omitted, could be a result of this particular strategy in both Term One and Two.

T1 / 9.12.

272 T : *What's the monkey doing?.....What's he doing?*

273 Rz: *Sit down.*

T2 / 17.3.

596 T : *A cow in the field, he's standing up and eating grass.*

597 Am: *Stand up, that one eating grass.*

598 T : *Yes, its standing up and eating the grass.*

T2 / 3.2.

366 T : *Everybody's being very quiet, now we can go for dinner*

367 Mj: *Yeah, everybody be quiet.*

The above phrases are common classroom phrases which are heard and used in everyday classroom routines. It is interesting to note that even when given the opportunity to repeat the present progressive, Amran who frequently used repetition, omitted the -ING inflection (T2/7.3.). If these utterances are manifestations of formulaic speech, it is interesting that formulaic speech seems to be used in this instance in preference to creative use of the present progressive. Perhaps this demonstrates the instability of the progressive and the 'power' of formulaic speech. In that even when the progressive was being correctly produced in the majority of process state utterances, formulaic speech was being used to produce particular forms of the present progressive without the inflection -ING.

6.5. DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUXILIARY IN RELATION TO THE PRESENT PROGRESSIVE

Even by the end of the fourth term the development of the auxiliary -BE was still in the early stages, and in fact only the contracted 1st and 3rd person singular was used with any frequency and accuracy. As with the progressive inflection -ING, the slow development of the auxiliary has been well documented in studies of both first and second language development.

Brown (1973) found that at first his three subjects expressed the present progressive by -ING alone, and that this form reached a criterion of 90% production in obligatory contexts before a single auxiliary BE was spoken. The contractible auxiliary was the last of the 14 morphemes to be acquired, and the uncontractible, the 12th morpheme to be acquired. Brown suggested that this apparent slow development is related to the function of the auxiliary. He argued that initially, the BE auxiliary is completely redundant, as the meaning intention is perfectly predictable from the -ING inflection. It is not until it is used to indicate past tense, that it adds to the intended meaning.

In studies of second language learning the development and eventual acquisition of the auxiliary BE has varied considerably. Butterworth and Hatch (1978) found that Ricardo, a Spanish speaking adolescent made no use of the auxiliary system, except in repetitions. Shapira (1978) found that Zoila, an adult acquiring English as a second language, consistently deleted the auxiliary -BE, and used the progressive in free variation with the simple present. In both cases it is argued that the learner's predominant strategy was one of simplification or reduction, making very little surface structure cover a lot of contextual ground.

Ellis (1982) found that the acquisition of the auxiliary emerged very slowly and was frequently omitted by his three subjects. Even in the final period of study they had not reached the criterion level for acquisition. However, when the auxiliary was produced, it did not appear to pose any major agreement difficulties. He found that as subjects expanded their auxiliary system towards the end of the period of study, then the production of the auxiliary -BE decreased as new forms appeared to take on functions previously covered by auxiliary BE.

In contrast to the above findings, Hakuta (1974) found that both contracted and uncontracted auxiliaries were abundantly present from the first sample and were tied for first rank with the progressive -ING and the copula. He found that Uguisu has acquired full control of the auxiliary, but without number agreement. Although 'are' always followed 'these', it was rarely used after a plural noun, and that 'these are' was used on 25 occasions to indicate singular reference. He concluded that Uguisu was using a simplicity strategy where general rules are learned before rules of restriction.

Lightbown (1983), in a cross-sectional study of second language learners, found that accuracy on the progressive - auxiliary was high, and was used with a variety of noun and pronoun subjects. They found that a large majority of clause - initial noun phrases were followed by 's or is'. Singular nouns in clause-initial position were far more likely to be followed by uncontracted auxiliaries, 'is' rather than 's', while the opposite was true for pronouns. The striking decrease in accuracy and frequency of -ING, as the subjects progressed through school, was thought to be caused by confusion brought about by both the rote method of learning, leading to the 'over learning' of the present progressive and interference from the learner's mother tongue.

The above studies reveal some major differences in the rate of acquisition of the auxiliary, and factors affecting both the route and rate of development. As the auxiliary is an integral part of the progressive, (and therefore frequently occurs in conjunction with the progressive), if frequency of input does influence development, then the auxiliary might be expected to develop alongside the progressive. This does not seem to be the case in this study. As already suggested, the auxiliary is slow to develop, fluctuating between presence and absence during all four terms. The third and first person auxiliary are the only forms produced with any frequency, mainly in their present tense form, and frequently overgeneralised to encode a number of other forms. A number of factors which may influence the process of development can be identified.

1) The Apparent Slow Development of the Auxiliary.

The slow development of the auxiliary may be a reflection of the complex nature of this particular morpheme, in conjunction with its apparent semantic redundancy (Brown 1973). When the full form of the present progressive is considered, (BE + Verb-ING), then the task of the learner seems very difficult, given the number of rules that apply to the auxiliary:

- a) The subject - verb agreement is one of the most complex agreement forms in English. The form of the auxiliary changes in accordance with the subject and time period being referred to by the speaker.
- b) The word order in the present progressive (BE + Verb-ING), changes when an interrogative or negative form is used. In the interrogative the auxiliary BE is moved out of its normal place and placed in front of the sentence. In the production of negatives the auxiliary and verb is separated by the negative particle. Clearly complicating development, by providing an erroneous model.
- c) There are some sentence structures containing the Verb -ING that do not strictly speaking require the auxiliary BE. For example;
 - i) In answer to choice questions - 'Are you crying or laughing? Laughing'.
 - ii) In simple interrogatives - 'Are you dancing? Yes dancing.'
 - iii) In directives - Stop shouting!.
 - iv) In conjoined sentences - 'they are singing and dancing.'
- d) Finally as suggested by Brown (1973), in present progressive constructions the auxiliary adds little to intended meaning and is therefore semantically redundant.

2) Variation in the Production of the Auxiliary.

Although the auxiliary was only being produced in a limited number of obligatory contexts, even in the early stages of development some patterns of development were emerging. As with the progressive inflection -ING the development of the auxiliary was not smooth, but it is possible to identify consistencies in the learners' variation in production.

It is in Term Three where an interesting development occurred. The learners began to overgeneralise the 1st and 3rd person + auxiliary to the past and simple present tense. It is interesting to note that initially the auxiliary occurred in a contracted form, attached to the 1st or 3rd person singular (I'm, she's). This particular form then became overgeneralised to the simple present and past tense, which began to be appropriately marked.

T3 / 27.5. - Contracted auxiliary + present simple verb

16 Qu : *I'm come with Abdul everyday.*

T3 / 22.4. - Contracted auxiliary + past tense of the verb

206 Ab : *She's played.*

This may be another example of a partially analysed whole (she's, he's), as the learners frequently overgeneralised this form of the auxiliary. However some learners were also producing this form without the auxiliary, and therefore according to the criteria for the identification of formulaic speech, the forms 'he's / she's / I'm' could not be classed as formulaic for those learners producing both types of utterance. However, if the learners began to analyse formulaic speech and incorporate it into creative constructions, then there may be some overlap between the two forms. Alternatively, this could be more evidence of 'simplification', as the learners began to use more forms, they apply the rules they have already learned for the subject of the verb. In this case the learners appeared to be sorting out the rules for the past and present simple verb form, and while doing so, using rules already internalised.

3) The Late Development of 'ARE'.

Evidence from the data collected also shows that the auxiliary for the first and third person singular appeared to develop more rapidly than the second person 'are'. It has been suggested that these two forms have a high production frequency relative to the low production frequency of all other present progressive forms (Ellis, 1982). This is reflected in the number of obligatory contexts for each present progressive form at the end of Term Four. Table 6.5.1 shows that the third person singular (noun and pronoun) was the most frequently produced form, followed by the first person singular and finally the second person singular. This suggests that those forms most frequently produced are the first to be acquired.

Table 6.5.1. Total of Correct Use of Different Forms of the Auxiliary
- BE in Utterances Containing The Present Progressive in
Term Four - July.

		AM	IS	ARE	NOUN(sing)	NOUN(plural)
ASIF	N	4	20	3	11	1
	%	100	100	0	9	0
MAJID	N	0	18	0	7	2
	%	0	66	0	0	0
AMRAN	N	0	18	2	4	0
	%	0	50	0	25	0
RAZWANA	N	0	33	1	4	0
	%	0	93	100	25	0
ABDUL ROB	N	0	9	0	1	0
	%	0	77	0	100	0
QUAYUM	N	10	18	6	12	0
	%	10	18	12	6	0
ABDUL QUA	N	4	5	1	14	0
	%	100	80	0	7	0

N = number of obligatory contexts for each form of the auxiliary.
 % = percentage of correct production of each form of the auxiliary.

Alternative explanations for the late development of 'are', are offered by Olshtain (1979) and Hakuta (1976). Olshtain (1979), suggests that the sequence of the forms may be related to the extent to which they are stable within native speech. Thus first person singular is never deleted in rapid speech, whereas in some constructions the second person can be deleted, - for example, 'You leaving now?'. However it would appear that this is more common in American - English than in British - English. Hakuta (op.cit), examined the frequency of auxiliaries in the input data, and found that the majority of present progressive utterances were 1st and 3rd person. There were far fewer

examples of 'are' in the input to the learner. He found that it was mainly interrogative utterances that contained 'are', where the auxiliary is moved out of its normal environment and placed in front of the sentence. This results in the common sequence of constituents, (in which the auxiliary is between the subject and the verb), being altered, and therefore learners are hearing an 'erroneous pattern', resulting in slow development of 'are'.

6.6.SUMMARY.

This section has attempted to outline general stages of development and explore the processes which may account for some aspects of the development of the present progressive -ING and the auxiliary. A number of explanations for the learners' production of the present progressive -ING and auxiliary have been considered. These relate to;

- the nature of the context and frequency of input;
- the transfer of the learners' mother tongue;
- the actual formal structure of the progressive inflection -ING;
- the complexity of rules that apply to the auxiliary;
- the possibility of processing overload, which may have led to fluctuation in production;
- the possibility of universal processing strategies which may account for the early production of the progressive;
- the use of particular communication strategies which seemed to enable some learners to produce both the progressive and the auxiliary.

Before commenting further on these tentative explanations for development, further analysis of the role of repetition, incorporation and formulaic speech in relation to the learners' production and internalisation of the above forms is undertaken in the following section.

6.7. STRATEGIES LEARNERS USED IN DEVELOPING THE PRESENT PROGRESSIVE.

Initial analysis of morpheme development revealed that there was evidence of a number of 'communication strategies'. The most abundant and continuous appeared to be those which have been defined as repetition, incorporated repetition and formulaic speech. The use of repetition was particularly evident in relation to the apparent production of the progressive -ING. The identification of these strategies raised two questions.

- 1) What is the function of these two strategies in relation to communicative competence?
- 2) In what way (if any) do they help the learner's development of the underlying grammatical system?

This section is an attempt to examine the contribution of these two strategies in relation to the development of the progressive -ING and the auxiliary, within a conversational context.

TERM ONE - OCTOBER TO DECEMBER.

In the first term many of the utterances containing the present progressive-ING appeared to be the result of the repetition of part of the previous utterance. Often only the verb + ING was repeated, the noun or pronoun + auxiliary was omitted. Using the criteria set out in Chapter Five, two types of repetition were identifiable. There was evidence of modelled repetition (MR), in which the learner appeared to be repeating an utterance at the request of the teacher, and sustained repetition (SR), in which the learner appeared to spontaneously repeat part, or all, of the previous utterance, appearing to maintain the original meaning. In both cases the learners seemed to be using repetition to enable them to join in the conversation either spontaneously or by prompting from the teacher (ex 1a).

Example 1a.

Modelled Repetition

31 T : *What's he doing?....He's riding, you say it....he's riding....*

32 Am: *Riding.*

Sustained Repetition.

39 T : *She's bathing her isn't she?*

40 As: *Bathing.*

In Term One there were many examples of sustained repetition, in example 1a the learners seem to be using repetition as a means of acknowledging what the teacher / researcher has said and/or labelling an action. At this stage it was generally the teacher / researcher who initiated a new conversation. In example 1b Razwana acknowledged the teacher's correction and then used this opportunity to extend the conversation by introducing a new element, in doing so she received feedback from the teacher / researcher.

Example 1b.

2 Rz: *Dinner time.*

3 T : *No its not dinner time, they're baking.*

4 Rz: *Baking....chair.*

5 T : *Yes, she's sitting on the chair.*

(N.B. although Razwana did in fact extend the conversation, this form of repetition has been classed as an example of sustained repetition. The two words are not semantically related, and she appeared to use the word 'chair' to nominate another topic. Therefore Razwana was not actually using the repeated form to create new or extended meaning.)

Example 1c illustrates the way in which the learner was using sustained repetition, through a series of exchanges, to maintain the conversation. Perhaps at this stage Amran did not have the confidence to attempt the complete sentence, but is content to repeat key words.

Example 1c.

T : *What's he doing?.....he's on a horse.*

Am: *Horse.*

T : *He's riding...*

Am: *Riding...*

T : *Riding a horse.*

Am: *Horse.*

In example 1d the learners seemed to be repeating the verb +ING as a form of language play, as if they were enjoying playing with the sound. This gave each learner an opportunity to take a turn and practise this particular form, at the same time sustaining the conversation.

Example 1d.

- 17 T : *Right now what's on this table?*
18 As: *Painting.....painting!*
19 TR: *Painting...painting.*
20 Am: *Painting.....paint.....painting <laughs>.*

Incorporated Repetition.

Finally, in accordance with the criteria stated, there are several examples of incorporated repetition. In example 2a, Asif did seem to be 'playing' with the word order and surface structure of this particular utterance, repeating key words and adding the -ING inflection and plural, almost as a form of self correction. In example 1d (above) the learners merely appeared to be 'playing' with the same word, making no alterations. Whereas in this example Asif appeared to be creatively reconstructing his utterance, through the use of repetition, in doing so responding to an interrogative and extending the conversation.

Example 2a.

- 55 T : *.....what are these girls doing?*
56 As: *She's baby play, playing babies, playing baby.*

In example 2b Razwana extended the conversation by responding to the interrogative through repetition of the key word then adding a semantically linked noun. The teacher / researcher filled out the utterance, which Razwana partially repeated, and again extended the conversation by adding another semantically linked utterance.

Example 2b.

- 45 T : *Is he writing?*
46 Rz: *Writingpaper.*
47 T : *Yes, he's writing on the paper.*
48 Rz: *Writing paper, pen this one.*

In example 2c, Quayum repeated and extended the conversation by using a noun as a semantic link. The teacher / researcher filled out his utterance and repeated the question. There followed a number of exchanges. Although Quayum did not repeat the utterance in full, he heard the extended version of his original statement. It almost seems that having made the link between 'sleeping' and 'bed', and extended the utterance in line 22, Abdul was reluctant to repeat this again. Perhaps this is a case of processing overload. In spontaneous speech Abdul was only producing one or two word utterances. Perhaps he was not ready to produce the minor function words yet, even through repetition.

Example 2c.

21 T : Yes, she's sleeping.

22 Qu: Sleeping, bed.

23 T : Yes, she's sleeping in the bed, what's she doing?

24 Qu: Sleeping.

25 T : Yes she's sleeping in the bed .

26 Qu: Bed.

TERM TWO - JANUARY TO MARCH.

In Term two there is evidence that the present progressive may have been produced in the context of modelled repetition, sustained repetition, incorporated repetition and formulaic speech. Elicited repetition by the teacher / researcher appeared to be much less frequent in the second term. This may be because the learners were beginning to produce longer utterances and increase their use of spontaneous repetition, in terms of both the number of spontaneous repetitions within one session and the number of elements within an utterance they are repeating.

Initially, sustained repetition was limited to repetition of the present progressive. In the majority of utterances the -ING inflection was usually present. As the learners became more communicatively competent, increasing the length of utterance and encoding a number of new meanings, they began to repeat more than one element of the previous utterance. As in term one, learners appeared to use sustained repetition as a means of maintaining the conversation by taking a turn. It seemed to enable some learners to acknowledge the teacher's or peer's utterance and serve as a means of labelling an action (ex 1a)

Example 1a - Sustained repetition (more than one word)

16 T : She's.....washing the baby.

17 Te: Washing baby.

As suggested earlier in both Term One and Two in the majority of repetitions the progressive inflection-ING was present, but even when a whole verb phrase was repeated, the auxiliary was mostly omitted (ex 1b). Evidence from the section on structural analysis suggested that the auxiliary 'am' and 'is' was only just beginning to appear in apparently creatively constructed utterances. Even so it was restricted to the speech of four learners. This emphasises Hatch's (1978) point about the lack of significance of morphemes to the learner in the early stages of second language development. It is interesting to note that the data showed that Amran (Am) had not begun to produce the auxiliary in non repeated utterances, and he did not produce it in repeated utterances either, whereas the opposite was true for Quayum (Q) (ex 1b).

Example 1b.

31 Am: Red, orange, black mixing <they are mixing paint>.

32 T : I'm mixing the orange.

33 Am: I mixing orange.

514 T : He's playing with a car, no.

515 Qu: He's playinghis dinner.

Self repetition was also evident in Term Two and seemed to be used as a means of:

Establishing a Topic.

100 Am: Babru coming, coming, Babru coming, ay Miss Babru coming.

Self Correction.

215 T : Yes and there's Spot, what's Spot doing?

216 As: Eat, eating, eating dinner.

Practicing a Form by 'Playing' With It.

37 T : He's running, isn't he? He's running.

38 Ns: Running, running.

39 Am: Running....rrrrrun....running <laughs>.

Incorporated Repetition.

Incorporated repetition was also evident in Term Two. There was evidence of a number of different types of incorporation involving the production of the present progressive. The following utterances have been identified on the basis of the criteria outlined in Chapter Five.

IR 1. - Combination of part of more than one utterance with nothing added.

35 T : *A little girl.*

36 Qu: *Little girl.*

37 T : *What's she doing?.....she's taking...*

38 Qu: *Taking little girl.*

IR 2a. - One constituent has been replaced.

43 T : *Um, they've been shopping.*

44 Mj: *Him shopping, him shopping, him shopping.*

IR 2b. - One or more words from the previous utterance is incorporated into an apparently creatively constructed utterance.

136 T : *Quayum what am I doing?...I'm cutting the paper.*

137 Qu: *Cutting paper scissor.*

138 T : *Yes, cutting with the scissors.*

19 T : *Where's he going?*

20 Mj: *He's going Birmingham.*

IR 3. - Omit a constituent and change the meaning or add rising intonation to produce an interrogative or a combination of the two.

280 T : *Who's sitting on there?*

281 Am: *Sitting there †*

12 T : *Razwana's not running!*

13 Ab: *Me running!*

Each of these examples provide evidence of the way in which the learners were using incorporated repetition to manage the conversation and communicate a number of different meanings, all involving the present progressive -ING. By using incorporated repetition, the learners were able to take a turn to both initiate, and extend, the conversation. This gave them potential access to feedback, through involvement in an increasing number of conversational exchanges. In the majority of utterances involving incorporated repetition the present progressive inflection -ING was present, whereas the auxiliary was still being omitted.

Formulaic Speech.

As suggested in the previous section in Term Two, both 'sit down' and 'stand up' seem to be evidence of formulaic speech. They appear to have been produced in preference to the present progressive, which was now quite stable in the majority of utterances requiring the -ING form.

TERMS THREE AND FOUR - APRIL TO DECEMBER.

Sustained Repetition.

On the whole the use of sustained repetition was decreasing, but at the same time, it became more accurate for the majority of learners. As learners began to produce the auxiliary in non-repeated utterances, it was also produced in repeated utterances. However this did not include the repetition or production of 'are'. The majority of learners were only producing first and third person auxiliary in non-repeated utterances and omitting the second person 'are' in repeated utterances, as illustrated in example 1a. Structural analysis showed that there were fewer obligatory contexts for the auxiliary 'are', thus the learners had fewer opportunities to produce this form in both repeated speech and creative speech.

Example 1a

76 T : *Oh dear, they're falling down.*

77 Am: *Yeah, they falling down.*

Incorporated Repetition.

The learners seemed to be increasing their use of incorporated repetition. Evidence suggested that each learner was using all three forms of incorporated repetition involving the present progressive.

IR 1. - Combination of part of more than one utterance with nothing added.

Ex a.

10 T : *What 's that called?*

11 Qu: *That 'mendi'.*

12 As: *Mendi, mendi.*

13 T : *Mendi, where d'you put it?*

14 Qu: *On the hands.*

15 As: *Mendi on hands.*

Ex b.

334 T : *Um if this one bursts, he very quickly has to put a new tyre on*
335 Qu: *That one burst new ones putting.*

(Ex b falls between IR 1 and IR 2b, because Quayum did not appear to change the meaning. He was merely restating the teacher's meaning, therefore adding nothing semantically, but in doing so he changed some elements of the surface structure. As he had clearly incorporated some of the previous utterance into an apparently creatively constructed utterance, but maintained the original meaning, thus placing it in this category)

IR 2a. - One constituent has been replaced.

25 T : *She's eating.*
26 Li: *Eating.*
27 T : *Her dinner.*
28 Li: *Dinner.*
29 T : *Yes, she's eating.....*
30 Li: *She's eating dinner.*
31 T : *Good girl, what's he doing?*
32 Li: *He's eating dinner.*

IR 2b. - One or more word from the previous utterance is incorporated into an apparently creatively constructed utterance.

129 Rz: *Is a raining.*
130 T : *Yes good girl, if it rains.*
131
132
133
134
135 Rz: *If it raining, then put coat on.*
136 T : *That 's right if it rains.*

IR 3. - Omit a constituent and change the meaning or add rising intonation to produce an interrogative or a combination of the two.

465 T : *Did you have something to drink?*
466 As : *Drink t.*
467 Qu : *Drinking water.*

Finally whole conversational episodes involving the production of the present progressive seem to be built up using a combination of different forms of sustained, and incorporated, repetition (ex c).

Example c

39 T : *What's that man doing?*

140 Rz: *Washing the car.*

141

142

143 T : *Nasreen what's that man doing?*

144 Rz: *Wash the car.*

145

146 Ns: *Wash the car.*

147 T : *No, he's not going in it, he's mending it.*

148 Am: *He's mending.*

149 Ns: *Mending.*

On several occasions during the third and fourth term, some of the children substituted the main verb in the present progressive for the auxiliary 'do' in the present progressive, with an uninflected verb. This only occurred as a response to an interrogative 'WH' utterance in the present progressive, using 'do' as the main verb. Clearly the learners appeared to be incorporating part of the interrogative into their response (ex d). This development is analysed in the section on interrogatives.

Example d

10 T : *What is he doing?*

11 Rz: *He doing, open the door.*

Finally in the data collected in Term Three and Four there is no evidence of formulaic speech involving the production of the present progressive and auxiliary.

6.8.DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.

The above examples of both repetition and incorporated speech illustrate the way in which the learners appeared to be using repetition and incorporation to 'manage' the conversation and produce a number of meanings. In addition to this, self repetition was also evident. Learners seemed to use self repetition as a means of establishing a topic, 'self correction', or simply as a way of 'playing' with particular phrases or sounds. Thus it would appear that both repetition and incorporation are two of the means through which the learners were able to take a turn, initiate, sustain, and extend the conversation. Incorporation enabled the learners to negotiate meaning with the interlocutor and in doing so ensure intersubjectivity. This enabled both speakers to develop conversational exchanges.

At the same time evidence suggests that, the learners were able to move from simple labelling through repetition, in the early stages of development, to the production of more complex meaning, building up whole conversational episodes through incorporated repetition. On the basis of the above examples, using Dore's (1979) categorisation of conversational acts, the following semantic propositions have been identified:

- a) Assertives - Identification of an action through a label.
 - Description of an action.
 - Justification of an action.
- b) Regulative - Clarification of a prior utterance.
- c) Responsive - Answering a 'Wh' question.

Evidence of the possible contribution of these strategies to the learner's underlying grammatical system is less clear. There is no way of knowing if the surface structure of the present progressive or the auxiliary, produced in a creative construction, was a result of having been previously produced through repetition or incorporated repetition. Data which highlighted the emergence of the present progressive and auxiliary, rended conflicting evidence about the role of these two strategies.

It appeared that in Term One Amran, Abdul Rob and Razwana, produced the majority of utterances containing the progressive inflection -ING, through modelled and sustained repetition (see Graph E, Chapter Four). As suggested in the section on structural development, although the word order of the learners' mother tongue for the present progressive differs to the English order, the construction of the progressive is similar in all three languages, perhaps helping learners to accurately repeat this particular form from the early stages of development. Only in the second term did the progressive begin to appear in other constructions, this suggests that the progressive had become internalised through a process of being constantly repeated.

Whereas, towards the end of Term Two and more frequently in Term Three and Four, some learners began for the first time to produce the auxiliary in both repeated and non-repeated utterances. This suggests that these learners were using both their underlying knowledge of the grammatical system and their use of sustained repetition, simultaneously, as a means of producing the present progressive. Therefore, either each method of production is quite separate, or conversely, each method of production influences the other. That is, as the learners were able to creatively construct the auxiliary, strain was potentially removed from the processing mechanisms, which in turn enabled the learners to repeat the auxiliary accurately. Alternatively as the learners incorporated the auxiliary into their creative speech, it eventually became internalised. Clearly these two hypothesis are not mutually exclusive and it is likely that both are operating at different times. Further evidence of these two strategies is needed before any firm conclusion can be reached.

6.9. SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to analyse the development of the present progressive -ING and the auxiliary in relation to the production of the surface structure of these forms within a conversational context. Although the rate of development varied, several features of development which were common to the majority of learners were identified. The apparent uniformity of these elements (early acquisition of the present progressive, fluctuation, reversed word order, overgeneralisation, use of particular communication strategies etc.), enable speculation about the nature of the processes which may have influenced development. Development seems to reflect a process of hypothesis testing - evidenced by ongoing refinement, and marked by individual differences and the use of particular communication strategies. The following Chapter examines the development of the copula and doing so presents further evidence on which to extend the debate about the nature of underlying processes.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COPULA

7.1. INTRODUCTION

General analysis of the development of seven morphemes during the first four terms, revealed that out of the seven learners, only Razwana appeared to have reached the 90% criteria for acquisition of the copula (Chapter Four, Table 4.2.1.). Therefore the analysis was extended to the following two terms for four of the learners (the second group having left to go to the Middle School). Analysis showed that Abdul Rob, Razwana and Majid had reached the 90% criteria for acquisition by the end of Term Six (Chapter Four, Table 4.2.5.). However for the purpose of detailed analysis of the development of the copula, data collected from all seven learners, during the first four terms, was used as the basis for examination. The results are reported in the following section.

As can be seen in Table 7.1.1., the number of obligatory contexts for the copula gradually increased, over four terms for group one, and three terms for group two. Reflecting the findings on the development of the auxiliary, the copula was also slow to develop, and only Razwana reached the 90% criteria outlined by Brown (1973), by Term Four. Abdul Rob seemed to be particularly slow in his development of the copula, reaching only 26% percent correct use in Term Four. The table below displays the analysis with the cumulative totals based upon both the contractible and uncontractible forms of the copula.

Table 7.1.1 The Development of the Copula over a Period of Four Terms
(for Group One) and Three Terms (for Group Two)

		TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR
AMRAN	N %	4 50	88 7	130 22	50 52
RAZWANA	N %	2 0	17 18	29 55	41 93
ABDUL ROB	N %	4 0	59 13	65 15	34 26
MAJID	N %	- -	16 12	75 49	62 74
ASIF	N %	25 16	51 21	122 53	- -
QUAYUM	N %	13 0	55 12	95 33	- -
ABDUL QUAYUM	N %	4 0	23 13	154 61	- -

N - Number of utterances containing a copula.

% - Percentage of correct use of the copula in obligatory contexts.

7.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SURFACE STRUCTURE OF THE COPULA.

TERM ONE - OCTOBER TO DECEMBER.

There appeared to be very few obligatory contexts for the copula in Term One. In the majority of spontaneous utterances requiring the copula, it was absent. At this point only Asif and Amran produced the 'is' copula in obligatory contexts, and Amran reproduced the copula in utterances which were defined as repetition.

The type of activities the children were involved in the first term involved a great deal of labelling and requesting. It appeared that the learners were going through a brief one word stage, in which they appeared simply to label objects, in response to a constant input of questions and elicited repetitions from the teacher / researcher. As a result of this, although the children did not produce the copula, they were all involved in a number of simple labelling sequences, where they heard the copula being used in a meaningful context, and generally choose to respond to a request for a label with the noun. For example; out of 94 teacher's utterances in the very first session, twenty contained 'It's a + noun'; and out of 27 of Amran's utterances in the same session, nine were simple labels (nouns) in response to the interrogative 'what is it?'.

The absence of the copula in the first term, could have been a result of the constraints imposed upon the learners by the teacher's form of questioning. As the production of a noun is a perfectly adequate response to the interrogative 'what is it?' / 'who is it?', the learners did not need to produce the copula. However towards the end of Term One, there were some examples of the third person singular produced by Amran, through modelled repetition, and Asif, in non-repeated constructions.

TERM TWO - JANUARY TO MARCH.

Although there were an increasing number of obligatory contexts for the copula in Term Two, in the majority of utterances, the copula was still absent and very unstable. It fluctuates between absence and presence, even within the same utterance.

Although very infrequent the third person singular 'is', in both contracted and uncontracted form, was the first aspect of the copula to appear. The contracted copula began to appear with 'that's' and 'he's', and the uncontracted copula began to appear with clause initial nouns and interrogative WH questions, as found with the auxiliary. All the learners with the exception of Majid and Razwana produced sentences which required the plural ARE. In every obligatory context this form was omitted. However closer examination revealed that there was no agreement between the subject demonstrative and the plural noun complement. The plural noun phrase or number was always preceded by THIS with no copula attached (ex.2a).

Example 2a - T2 / 17.3.

663 AR: *Miss, this my pictures, my pictures (these are my pictures).*

In addition to this there was some overgeneralisation of both the contracted 's' and 'am' form during this term (ex.2b). Although there were very few obligatory contexts for the first person singular 'am' in this term, it is interesting to note that three of the learners were overgeneralising 'am', using it as a substitute for the main auxiliary 'have' (ex.2c).

Example 2b - T2 / 6.1.

40 As: *He's said 'no'.*

41 T : *He said 'no' <He is stressed>.*

Example 2c - T2 /

304 Qu: *I am got the lamp (I have got the lamp).*

Clearly, in this case there was not enough evidence to suggest that this was systematic overgeneralisation, which would have indicated that the learners possessed the copula, but had not internalised the limits of its function (Brown 1973). However, it could be evidence that the learners were beginning to sort out the rules that apply to the copula, by trying them out in different constructions, and potentially receiving feedback, which might have taken the form of a correction, (as in example 2b 40 - 41). Alternatively some of these overgeneralisations could have been evidence of formulaic speech which had been partially analysed. There is more evidence of overgeneralisations in Term Three, through which this phenomenon will be investigated further.

TERM THREE - APRIL TO JULY.

Gradually the production of the copula in obligatory contexts increased (as would have been expected), but it barely reached 50% correct use for most of the learners (Table 7.2.1). Even in the third Term the copula was still very unstable. As in Term Two, the learner's use of the copula still fluctuated between presence and absence, correct and incorrect use, both within the same utterance, as well as in a conversational sequence.

Table 7.2.1. The Number of Obligatory Contexts and Correct Productions of the Copula in Term Three.

		<u>Obligatory contexts</u>			<u>Present</u>					
		IS	ARE	AM	AM	'M	'S	IS	'RE	ARE
Amran	N	117	13	0	5og	0	16 6r	4 2r	0	0
Razwana	N	27	2	0	0	0	3 1r	6 +4 1r 1og	IS? 1	1
Abdul Rob	N	58	6	1	1 1og	0	4 1r	3 1r	0	0
Majid	N	73	1	1	0	1 2og	14	20 +2	IS? 0	0
Asif	N	117	2	3	2	0	31 5r	19 +5 3r	IS? 0	0
Quayum	N	89	4	2	2	0	19 3r	4 +3 1r	IS? 0	0
Abdul Quayum	N	149	4	1	1	0	70 9r	11 3r	0	0

N = Actual number of obligatory contexts for three forms of the copula.
 r = Repeated utterance.
 og = Overgeneralisation.
 IS? = Inverted form.

However, as illustrated in Table 7.2.1. there was a definite increase in the correct use of the copula. Thus although it fluctuated in use, it would appear that certain forms of the copula were becoming part of the learner's creative constructions. In the majority of cases it was the third person singular 'is', that was present rather than 'am', or 'are'. It occurred in both its contracted and uncontracted form. The majority seemed to be contracted, attached to demonstrative pronouns 'that's', and prolocatives 'there's', followed closely by the increased use of the contracted 's', with WH- interrogatives. Four of the learners were also beginning to produce the inverted form of the third person singular in interrogative constructions.

As suggested for Term One, it would seem that these developments could have been related to the context in which the children were learning English. The learners were working in a number of activities which involved describing, sequencing and predicting. Within these contexts there was frequent use of 'that's' and 'there's' (describing pictures and sequences of events, as well as activities such as baking, and trips to the Railway Station, or the Post Office). The activities involved interactive sequences which followed a pattern, with the teacher repeatedly using a question and answer routine. As the learners became more fluent, the production of WH- interrogatives enabled them to initiate a conversation and therefore gain access to a wider variety of syntactic forms. This helped the learners to refine their understanding of the English rule system. There was some evidence that conversational interaction facilitated syntactic development of the interrogative, and this is examined in detail in Chapter Nine.

There were an increasing number of obligatory contexts for 'are' which occurred in the children's speech during Term Three, but still there was no evidence of plural or number agreement. The only significant difference between the two terms was that in Term Two the children were using nominative and possessive markers with a plural noun (ex.3a), while in Term Three they increased their range of functions to include a plural demonstrative marker 'these', with a plural noun (ex 3b). The only production of 'are', in an obligatory

context during the third term, was produced in the contracted form, in conjunction with the second person singular 'you', and therefore had agreement (ex3c).

Example 3a - 27.1.83.

122 Am: *This football two (these are two footballs).*

Example 3b - 14.4.83.

130 Am: *These two, these two elephant.*

Example 3c - 23.5.83.

124 Rz: *You're alright now.*

Hakuta (1974) found that in the speech of the second language learner he studied Uguisi, there was a lack of agreement between the plural phrase noun subject and the BE verb. However he also found that when she used the plural demonstrative pronoun 'these', in the majority of cases, it was always followed by 'are'. Even when 'these' occurred as a singular referent, it was followed by 'are'. He suggested that these two words have a high probability of occurring together. However the learners in this study appeared to be producing 'that' as a substitute for the plural demonstrative pronoun 'these' or 'those', in the majority of obligatory contexts.

During this term there were some interesting individual developments. Many of the learners continued to use 'this one / that one' as a substitute for, 'that is'. But Amran, who had used this form extensively from the early stages of development, had begun to add the second person singular, 'is', to 'this one', increasing this particular phrase to, 'this one is + noun', omitting the article and using this phrase for both singular and plural nouns (see section on Strategies for further discussion of this). Majid, who was correctly supplying the copula in about 50% of obligatory contexts, had suddenly towards the end of the third term begun to use the indefinite article, 'a', to replace the 3rd person singular 'is', in two particular sentence types, WH- interrogatives, and nominatives.

The tapes were checked to ensure accurate transcription and rule out the possibility of mis-hearing these utterances. It could be that, in the case of nominative utterances, as Majid was beginning to use articles, he has dropped the copula while articles became stable. In

the case of interrogative, it could be that he is beginning to use or hear sentences that contain descriptive adjectives in them for example 'what a silly girl', and he has transferred that to 'what a this?'. Alternatively it could be a phonological error, if Majid is trying out new sounds, 'what -a-this' and 'this-a- +noun' seem to flow more smoothly than 'what is this' and 'this is +noun'. During the same session he did appear to be 'practising' certain forms, for example he spent some time looking at numbered sequencing pictures using the same surface form for each one, 'one number is + noun, two number is + noun.....' up to fifteen, ignoring any plural nouns treating them as singular. Although this did not seem to be significant in his overall development, as it was only temporary, it did provide evidence of the way in which Majid appeared to be mastering the second language and highlighted the need to monitor individual development.

TERM FOUR - SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER.

Unfortunately there was very little data available from Term Four for group Two, (due to circumstances in the middle school), so the development in this term was based on the data from group One. Apart from Abdul Rob who was still struggling with the copula, the other three learners had all increased their use of the copula, and Razwana had reached the 90% criteria for acquisition. However the use of the copula was still very unstable. It would appear that the fluctuation of its presence in obligatory contexts was not, as might be expected, due to increased production of new forms, such as the second and third person singular / plural, 'am' and 'are', because the use of these particular forms in spontaneous speech had not significantly increased.

It is interesting to note that while the third person singular was being overgeneralised, by being used as a substitute for the plural copula 'are', and past first person singular (ex.4a), both Majid and Razwana were producing the inverted form of 'are', in conjunction with 'you', to produce an interrogative (ex.4b). At the same time Majid was producing the uninverted form of 'you are' to encode an imperative, and

the contracted form in conjunction with 'we' to produce an assertive (Ex.4c).

Example 4a - T4 19.9.

52 Mj: My shoes is big.

Example 4b

T4 /25.11.

88 Rz: He said 'are you alright now?', and I go home.

T4/16.12.

266 Mj: Are you going in the school, are you in the school?

Example 4c

T4 / 3.11.

98 Mj: Yeah you are!

T4 / 16.12.

255 Mj:we're three great kings.

As new forms were beginning to appear,(as with the auxiliary), it seems that the children used the contracted ''s', with he / she / that / there / where, and the uncontracted 'is' copula, with nouns and -Is interrogatives. As with the auxiliary Razwana and Majid were also beginning to use the past tense 'was', and overgeneralise it to the second person plural 'were'. Razwana was still producing the present form interchangeably with the past form of 'is'.

7.3. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.

From the detailed analysis of the data it was possible to identify a sequence of development for the copula. Although the sequence did not represent discrete stages of development, (as there was a great deal of overlapping between stages and also some regression during development), the broad sequence was similar for all learners. The sequence consisted of the following stages.

- 1) Closer examination of the data suggested that for some children the contracted copula 's', was the first copula to appear. Initially it occurred in repeated utterances. In the early stages of development the third person singular also manifested itself in utterances which may have be formulaic in nature.
- 2) Then the contracted third person singular began to appear with 'that's' and 'he's / she's' in spontaneous, non-repeated speech. At the same time the uncontracted form 'is' appeared in constructions with a noun in the clause initial position. Both the contracted and uncontracted form appeared in 'what' interrogatives.
- 3) The contracted and uncontracted copula 'is', was followed by the production of the first person 'am'. But even in the third Term, the first person 'am' was not very frequent in obligatory contexts. It appears that the learners were sorting out the appropriate contexts for 'I am', 'me' and 'mine' as these were used interchangeably to denote the nominative case (I), the objective case (me) and the possessive case (mine).
- 4) The contracted and uncontracted first and third person copula were followed by the contracted and uncontracted production of 'are'. This form appeared to either occur correctly with 'you' and 'we', or be omitted altogether. However the learners seemed to have little agreement between the plural subject, and the clause initial demonstrative, or clause initial pronoun. So although 'are' was being used correctly, it only occurred in conjunction with 'you' and 'we', which was not a frequent occurrence.

5) Lastly, the past form of the third person singular 'was', began to emerge in the speech of two of the learners, and was overgeneralised as a substitute for the second person past 'were'.

The identification of this sequence raised three questions, each of which were addressed separately.

1. Given the low frequency of the second and first person in obligatory contexts, to what extent could this sequence have been a reflection of the learner's frequency of production of particular forms?

In other words, is the above sequence a true reflection of 'natural' development that was identified in the literature review, given that certain forms were required in obligatory contexts, much more frequently than others. Table One (a-d) (Appendix Six) shows quite clearly that in each term the majority of obligatory contexts for the copula, required the third person singular 'is', rather than the first person singular 'am' or the second person plural 'are'. Together 'am' and 'are' represented a very small percentage of obligatory contexts for the copula, with 'are' being required slightly more frequently than 'am'. Thus the obligatory contexts for the third person singular were far greater throughout all four terms than the obligatory contexts for the first, or third person, singular. This illustrates the way in which the context of interaction may have influenced the sequence of development. Would the sequence of development have differed if the number of obligatory contexts for each aspect of the copula been equal? Having established that the third person singular 'is' copula accounted for over 80% of all copula forms during each term, it appeared that the first aspect of this form to develop in spontaneous speech for some learners was the contracted copula. This lead to the second question;

2. Did the contracted and uncontracted third person singular occur within particular structures?

Further analysis of the data revealed that the contracted copula occurred mainly with pronouns (he's / she's), demonstrative pronouns (that's, it's), pro-locatives (there's / here's) and interrogative WH-forms, hardly ever with clause initial nouns. Whereas the uncontracted copula occurred with clause initial nouns and occasionally with those forms usually appearing with a contracted copula.

It appeared that the uncontracted third person singular developed slightly later than the contracted form for some learners. A number of first and second language studies have found that the contracted copula appeared to be acquired earlier than the uncontracted form (DeVilliers et al, 1973; Chimombo, 1979; Ellis, 1982; Lightbown, 1983). It would seem that perceptual salience was not a key influencing factor in the later acquisition of the uncontracted copula, as this form was presumably more perceptually salient than the contracted form, being a free, rather than bound, morpheme.

The later acquisition of the uncontracted copula has been explained in terms of the frequency of obligatory contexts. It seemed that there were very few contexts requiring the use of the uncontracted copula. In declarative sentences, 'this', 'these', and 'those', required the uncontracted copula, as did 'you', 'we', 'they', 'these', 'those' and 'it', in -Wh questions. In all other constructions which required the copula, with the exception of 'here it is', and 'there it is', the copula could be contracted. This suggested that learners might have heard and produced the contracted copula more frequently than the uncontracted form.

Although in this study, the contracted copula initially occurred in repeated utterances during the early stages of development, this cannot explain the apparent earlier production of the contracted form, because the same forms were occasionally uncontracted. It is perhaps more likely that the majority of early utterances, in which the copula was uncontracted, were the result of either modelled repetition, or formulaic constructions. Alternatively, as Chimombo (1979) suggests, it could be that as there were simply less obligatory contexts for the uncontracted copula, and that most obligatory contexts could be covered

by the contracted copula.

It is interesting to note that when the copula was uncontracted, it was often part of a declarative utterance 'it is minel', or a formulaic utterance 'what this is it?'. Majid's increased use of the uncontracted copula in interrogatives during Term Three and Four, could be explained by the fact that he appeared to be using, 'is it', as an unanalysed whole, attaching it to a number of forms. Amran also began to use, 'this one is + noun', as an extension of, 'this one + noun', in Term Three. Thus the learners appeared to be incorporating the uncontracted copula into their rule system along side the contracted copula. As they became more fluent in their use of the copula they began to try out, and incorporate, new forms into their developing grammatical system.

Finally, within this sequence of development, during the Second, Third, and Fourth Term, there was evidence that all the learners, to a greater or lesser extent, overgeneralised the forms they were beginning to use most frequently in obligatory contexts, (1st and 3rd person singular). This led to the third question;

3. Did the overgeneralisation of particular forms invalidate the sequence identified?

Evidence suggested that learners were beginning to produce the first and third person singular forms in a number of inappropriate contexts. The following overgeneralisations were identified.

1) T3 / 22.7. - As a substitute for the possessive case

92 Rz: *She's mummy there (her mummy is there).*

2) T4 / 3.11. - As a substitute for past tense of 3rd person singular.

684 Rz: *Yeah, and we stand back and er..then it is hot (....it was hot).*

3) T3 / 8.7. - As a substitute for the modal auxiliary.

17 As: *....then is fire, then is come (then there will be a fire, then they (firemen) will come).*

4) T3 / 22.4. - As a substitute for the main auxiliary.

124 Qu: *'Am finish (I have finished).*

5) T2 / 24.2. - In utterances referring to the present simple.

229 Mj: *I'm like this one (I like this one).*

Some of the learners were still using, 'me' and 'mine', interchangeably, and instead of, 'I'm' or 'I am'. Amran and Abdul Rob continued to use 'me' interchangeably with 'am', and Amran seemed to be overgeneralising 'am', using it instead of mine. Even in Term Four Amran seemed to have a preference for the pronoun 'me', (as with the auxiliary and present progressive), using it as a substitute for the first person singular 'I am'. This perhaps explained the late development of this particular form in Amran's speech.

This is particularly interesting because, although very infrequent, 'am' did appear before 'are', and was overgeneralised. It would appear that some of the learners were sorting out various forms which represent personal pronouns (me, mine, I), and seemed to use these interchangeably. The Fourth Term was particularly productive. The learners appeared to be combining, experimenting, and playing with different forms of the copula. Sometimes utterances were grammatically correct. Others were a combination of various partially learned rules, where learners appeared to be overgeneralising old forms (is, am), and occasionally trying out new forms (are).

Overgeneralisation of morphemes seemed to be a common feature of the learners' production. As already suggested overgeneralisation has been identified as a universal processing strategy, common to both first and second language learners. Thus, overgeneralisation does not invalidate the sequence of development that had been identified, but could be seen as further evidence of developmental errors, which were a reflection of the underlying processes. In relation to the copula, as the learners reconstructed the rules governing its use, they overgeneralised particular forms, substituting them for other parts of their underlying grammatical system, (in this case 'is', 'I'm' and 'am'). Thus, it would appear that the surface structure of these forms had been internalised, long before the learners realised the limits of their function (Ritchie, 1978; Hatch 1983).

Finally, although Table 7.1.1. shows the copula being used extensively in Term Four, the majority of utterances in which the copula occurred required singular and not plural agreement. Thus it can only be said that Razwana had acquired the copula without number agreement. Closer examination of her overgeneralisation of the copula suggested that she had not in fact acquired the copula, in the strict sense of applying it correctly to every obligatory context, as she was overgeneralising it to other inappropriate contexts. This is an important point, (suggested in the literature review), as having total control over the use of a morpheme means knowing the restrictions that operate upon a particular morpheme, as well as its associated obligatory contexts.

7.4. SUMMARY

This section has identified a broad sequence of development for the copula, which further reflects some of the processes identified in the previous chapter and studies of first and second language development. However this particular section of analysis has also identified individual differences and begun to call into question the notion of frequency of input and perceptual salience of the copula as factors which affect development. The next section examines the role of repetition and formulaic speech in the production of this form.

7.5. STRATEGIES LEARNERS USED IN DEVELOPING THE COPULA..

TERM ONE - OCTOBER TO DECEMBER.

1) Modelled and Sustained Repetition.

In the early stages of development, the copula was omitted in the few contexts where it was obligatory. The only constructions in which the copula was present were those utterances which appeared to be produced through repetition, with the exception of Asif. Even so, in the majority of utterances that were classed as sustained repetition the copula was omitted (ex.1b), even though the actual sequence, (a question and answer routine), had a high frequency of occurrence.

Example 1b - T1 / 9.12.

261 T : *Good boy, who is this?*
262 Ab: *Postman.*
262 T : *Right, this is the postman.*
263 Ab: *Postmanthis postman.*

2) Incorporated Repetition.

The copula was not produced in utterances which appeared to be a result of incorporated repetition in the early stages of development (ex.2a).

Example 2a - T1 / 9.12.

315 T : *Boots, that's right and this is the fire engine.*
316 As: *This fire engine, this fire house.*

3) Formulaic Speech.

In Term One there was no evidence of formulaic speech containing any aspect of the copula. However in Term One, 'this one', was being produced by a number of learners in nominative utterances (ex.3a).

Example 3a - T1 / 12.82
254 T : Yes, what's this?
256 Am: er....that one...
257 T : His whistle.
258 Am: Whistle, that one.

TERM TWO - JANUARY TO MARCH.

1) Modelled and Sustained Repetition.

In Term Two there was evidence that the learners produced the copula in modelled repetition (ex.1a). In Term Two it was the third person singular, in both contracted and uncontracted form, that occurred in teacher elicited repetition. In addition to this, some of the learners appeared to be beginning to produce the contracted third person singular in sustained repetition. This particular aspect of the copula, although very infrequent, began to emerge in other non-repeated constructions.

Example 1a - T2 / 24.2.

106 T : This is Sally, can you say it, this is Sally.
107 Qu: This is Sally.

2) Incorporated Repetition.

As in Term Two the copula was still not being reproduced in any form of incorporated repetition. In both Terms One and Two, it was the third person singular, contracted and uncontracted copula that was omitted within incorporated speech. Although again, both these forms were beginning to appear in other constructions, the uncontracted copula generally only occurred with clause initial nouns.

3) Formulaic Speech.

The phrase, 'what time is it?', was produced by Majid and Asif in Term Two. In the early stages of development Majid generally used rising intonation to signal an interrogative. This particular phrase appeared to be grammatically advanced in relation to other grammatical forms of the interrogative. It was never produced in any other form, - for example, 'what's the time?', 'do you know what the time is?' etc. Although infrequent within the total utterances for this term, these phrases continued to be produced by Majid and Asif, in small group activities and on outings.

In Term Two the phrase, 'that one / this one', was still being produced, but has been extended to a number of different utterances types (ex 3a)

Example 3a - T2 / 3.2. - Performative, declaring right of possession.

224 AR: *Me, that one me (that is mine).*

T2 / 24.2. - Assertive, identifying an object.

191 Am: *Television, this one television.*

T2/10.3. - Requestive, seeking a judgement about an action.

253 Mj: *Miss, him this one? (shall I give this one to him?)*

There is also evidence of a number of other formulaic utterances involving the production of -WH interrogatives, these are discussed in the section on interrogatives.

TERMS THREE AND FOUR - APRIL TO DECEMBER.

1) Modelled and Sustained Repetition

During Term Three and Four there was evidence of both modelled repetition (ex.1a), and sustained repetition (ex.1b), both involving the reproduction of the contracted and uncontracted third person singular. There was also an example of the reproduction of the inverted form, through the use of modelled repetition (ex.1c).

Example 1a - Modelled Repetition

138 T : *The grey car is first, you say it, the grey car is first.*

139 Mj: *The grey car is first.*

Example 1b - Sustained Repetition

48 T : *Yes, sit down so that everyone can see, that's right.*

49 Am: *That's right.*

Example 1c - Modelled Repetition

70 T : *.....can you say 'why is she sad?'... 'why is she sad?'*

71 AR: *Why is she sad.*

2) Incorporation.

By the end of Term Three the third person singular was beginning to emerge in both the contracted and uncontracted form, in utterances which appear to be the result of incorporated repetition (ex.2a). Whereas, on the whole, other aspects of the copula were not being reproduced in these kinds of utterances.

Example 2a - T3 / 8.7.

317 As: *Can have ruler please, make straight?*

318 T : *I really don't think it is straight, you know.*

319 As: *No, telephone box is straight!*

3) Formulaic Speech.

Majid seemed to be producing 'is it' as an unanalysed whole. This could have been the result of the 'breaking down' of the phrase, 'what time is it?', into constituent parts, and its incorporation into other constructions. In addition to this, in Term Three and Four, evidence suggested that interrogatives which contained the copula may have been formulaic. This is discussed in Chapter Eight, which examines the development of the interrogative.

7.6.DISCUSSION OF THE ROLE OF REPETITION AND FORMULAIC SPEECH

IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COPULA.

Evidence from the four terms, suggested that the third person singular, both the contracted and uncontracted aspect of the copula, were occasionally produced through modelled, sustained, and incorporated repetition. The learners' use of sustained and incorporated repetition, which included the production of the third person singular, increased slightly throughout the four terms. There were very few obligatory occasions for other aspects of the copula and the learners rarely attempted to repeat utterances that contained the other forms.

The apparent lack of attention to the copula in sustained repetition during the early stages of development, suggested that repetition may have been used as a means of maintaining the conversation, rather than as a means of reproducing the surface structure of a particular utterance, and practising this structure. It would appear that the morphological markers were not highly

significant at this stage, thus only the most salient aspects of the previous utterance were tuned into and repeated. It is interesting to note, that in modelled repetition, in which the teacher elicited a repeated response, the copula was present. However the production of the copula disappeared when the learners were using a form of sustained or incorporated repetition, even within the same utterance.

Those forms that occurred in repeated utterances were also present in non-repeated constructions. As the learners increased the number of correct productions of the 's' in non-repeated speech, they also appeared to increase the number of correct repetitions of this form. It is difficult to know whether the learners were only repeating structures that they had at least partially internalised, (and were therefore part of their underlying grammatical system), or if they were relying purely on memory to repeat this particular form within certain utterances.

Clearly, (as found with the present progressive and auxiliary), from the evidence presented above it is not possible to ascertain the precise effect of repetition upon the development of the copula. In the early stages of development, accurate repetition with emphasis on the surface structure was imposed by the teacher (e.g. Can you say that?), rather than chosen by the learner. However it is undeniable that as the learners became more competent, some of them occasionally appeared to use self repetition as a means of practising a particular structure, some of which included the copula. There is no evidence that latterly these particular forms were produced spontaneously, in utterances that appeared to be creatively constructed.

As Brown (1973) suggested, the copula encodes identity, membership of a set, possession of an attribute, and the state of a location, but to a large extent is redundant. Therefore even though the copula was missing in the majority of repeated utterances the learners were able to express a number of communicative functions which involved the copula (ex.1a).

Example 1a -

Responsive - providing information about a location.

T : Are there any more chapati's?

As: There chapati's.....look that plate, Quayum.

Assertive - describing a location

T : Quietly, Ms E class are in the hall.

AR: Yeah, Ms E class in hall, my class in hall after playtime.

Assertive - identifying an attribute.

T : Majids eyes are brown, Razwana's eyes are brown.

Am: Yeah, Majid brown eyes, my Brown eyes.

Requestive - seeking identity.

T : What's his name?

Am: What his name?.

The analysis showed that within incorporated repetition, throughout all the four terms, only significant grammatical features of previous utterances appeared to be incorporated into the new structure. Even as the learners became more competent and appeared to incorporate more grammatical features from the previous utterance into their own construction, in the majority of instances the copula was still omitted. This suggests that through the use of incorporated repetition the learners were able to communicate a number of meanings, but in the early stages of development the copula was not essential to their communicative needs.

As already suggested, Majid and Asif began to produce the phrase, 'what time is it?', in the second term, and in both cases it appeared to be formulaic. Although this phrase is not context specific, and neither learner appeared to have had an understanding of the reply in terms of number, (only in terms of specific event markers for example, 'it's dinner time'), it seemed to enable them to initiate a conversation and make judgements about the organisation of the time available during an activity. Majid appeared to be very conscious of the time, anxious not to miss anything or be late for playtime, home time, or whole school events etc. Clearly in this instance formulaic speech had an important communicative function. There was also evidence that eventually, this form was 'broken down' into its constituent

parts, and produced in a number of constructions. A number of other Wh- interrogatives were identified as formulaic. A more detailed examination of the role of formulaic speech is undertaken in the section on interrogatives.

As suggested in section 7.2. the use of 'this one', and 'that one', emerged in the first term and continued to be used extensively into the fourth term. In Term One and Two, 'this one / that one', was produced in utterances that required the third person singular, mainly in nominative utterances (ex.2a). In Term Three Amran appeared to develop the phrase 'that one' by adding the uncontracted third person singular to this form to produce, 'that one is + noun'.

Example 4a - T1 / 9.12.

255 Am: Er...that one

256 T : His whistle.

257 Am: Whistle, that one whistle.

Although these two words had a high frequency of appearing together, they did not seem to be a formulaic phrase or part of a partially analysed whole, because the demonstrative pronoun was produced with other forms, and the phrase in itself had no independent meaning. However there were occasions when the phrase was used as an interrogative with rising intonation.. 'This' and 'that' were produced by the learners without 'one', and with the contracted third person singular 's', in the same type of constructions from the early stages of development. However in Term Three, when the learners started to produce this structure more frequently, their production of the copula was very limited. It would appear that they had found a very simple way to overcome the problem of ensuring the correct use of various forms of the copula, by replacing the copula with 'this one', or 'that one'. They had therefore negated the need for agreement between the subject and the complement.

In conclusion, from the evidence presented above repetition and incorporated repetition appeared to enable the learners to communicate a number of meanings, giving them access to contexts in which the copula occurred, and potentially gaining more exposure to the target language. However the effect of repetition and incorporated repetition is less clear in relation to the development of the surface features of

the copula. It would seem that in the early stages of development, when the goal is communication, the learners produced key surface constituents in which certain grammatical features, (such as morphemes), were not necessarily essential to convey a particular meaning. It was only as the demands upon the learner's internal processing system were lessened, that they were able to internalise the copula ,and increase production of this form. Van Patten (1984) summarises this view in his conclusion about the development of morphemes:

'Only as learners become more proficient at meaning processing (i.e. grasping the meaning of an utterance becomes automatic) and the strain is taken off the working properties and the processing system(s), do they begin to attend to and acquire these less communicatively important morphemes' (p 97)

Finally, several learners appeared to be producing Wh-interrogatives through formulaic speech, all of which involved the production of the copula. Evidence suggests that not only did these formulaic utterances serve an important communicative function, but they also became incorporated into the learner's underlying grammatical system. This is discussed in Chapter Nine.

7.7. SUMMARY

The analysis of these three morphological markers (progressive -ING, auxiliary and copula) in Chapter Six and Chapter Seven has revealed a number of similarities between learners in the way in which they appeared to progressively master the rules that govern these particular forms. Within this broad pattern of similarities some individual differences were identified, these were related to the rate of development and seemed to reflect individual preferences for particular problem solving strategies. There follows a brief summary of possible explanations for the apparent shared sequence of development which in turn adds to the debate on the nature of underlying processes.

1) The Formal Properties of Particular Morphemes.

The five possible determinants outlined by Wagner-Gough et al (1975), for the the apparent early acquisition of the -ING inflection, can be related to Slobin's universal operating principles. In particular the notion of perceptual salience relates to principle A - 'pay attention to the ends of words'. Slobin stated that 'for any given semantic notion, grammatical realizations in the form of suffixes or postpositions will be acquired earlier than realizations in the form of prefixes or prepositions.' p192. Slobin locates this process in general cognitive theory, within which he states, that language development is dependant on a number of cognitive prerequisites. Although not disputing the general principle, the later acquisition of the uncontracted copula (in relation to the contracted copula) does bring into question the notion of perceptual salience as a key determining factor.

2) General Cognitive Strategies.

The continual fluctuation of correct and incorrect production, non-production, overgeneralisation and language transfer, may be seen as manifestations of attempts to process second language data through a number of problem solving strategies that learners use to develop new skills. It is argued that the learner continually restructures incoming data, gradually gaining more control over their internal representations, until automatic processing is established (Karmiloff-Smith, 1986). In order to achieve automaticity the learner utilises a number of strategies (conscious and sub-conscious) which may include

the transfer of knowledge from the learner's mother tongue. This view is located within an information processing model of language development.

3) Frequency of Particular Morphemes in the Input Data,

Although this aspect was not explicitly examined, it is important to note that in the early stages of development the children were involved in a large number of conversational exchanges which involved the reception and production of a number of utterances that contained the present progressive. However, the slow development of the auxiliary which occurs in conjunction with the progressive, provides counter evidence to this argument. It may be that the early production of the progressive -ING was partly related to the nature of conversational exchanges and the need to produce specific meanings rather than the nature of input alone. This points towards the importance of discourse in facilitating development.

4) The Use of Particular Communication Strategies.

Evidence suggests that some learners were using modelled, sustained and incorporated repetition, as a means of initiating, maintaining and extending the conversation. They were able to use these strategies as a means of potentially producing the present progressive, in particular, to encode a variety of meanings. The extent to which the use of these strategies contributed to the learner's underlying rule system is unclear. However it seems reasonable to suggest that if as has been discussed in the literature review, grammatical development grows from conversational interaction, then these particular strategies would seem to have an important role in enabling the learners to take part in conversational exchanges. Once again highlighting the importance of conversational interaction.

This brief summary offers a number of explanations for aspects of development identified within the analysis. Given the complexity of the nature of development, it is clear that these potential explanations are not mutually exclusive. The following Chapters add to this debate by looking beyond the surface structure and examining the emergence of particular communicative functions. Specific consideration is given to the development of the past tense, the interrogative and negation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAST AND FUTURE TENSE.

8.1. INTRODUCTION

The past tense is one of the most difficult forms to identify in the learner's speech. Although the past tense can be identified through the production of morphological markers, (outlined in Chapter Five), often the context is the only clue to the intended tense. Clearly the interpretation of meaning must be based on a number of factors, and even then accurate interpretation cannot be guaranteed. In addition to this, given the low frequency of the past form of the auxiliary and copula during the first four terms, only the past tense of main verbs could be considered for analysis.

8.2. DISCUSSION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAST TENSE.

As table 8.2.1. (see Graphs in Appendix Eight) illustrates, there were not enough examples of the past tense in the data collected to enable any firm claims to be made about the order of development. Also, given Brown's criteria of acquisition, although some of the learners appeared to be producing the irregular past relatively accurately, (up to 50% correct use), this did not indicate near acquisition of the irregular past. The analysis showed that there were very few obligatory occasions for the past tense and that the correct use of the irregular past only represented one or two particular forms. However despite limited data, closer examination of past tense production revealed some interesting developments.

**Table 8.2.1 Obligatory Contexts for the Irregular and Regular Past
During the First Four Terms**

		TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR
Amran	PAST				
	IRREGULAR	N X	0 7	33 9	41 41
PAST	REGULAR	N X	1 0	26 4	34 15
Abdul Rob	PAST				
	IRREGULAR	N X	0 4	52 29	21 42
PAST	REGULAR	N X	2 0	21 0	17 11
Razwana	PAST				
	IRREGULAR	N X	0 0	17 18	9 33
PAST	REGULAR	N X	2 0	6 0	9 0
Majid	PAST				
	IRREGULAR	N X	2 0	35 20	42 50
PAST	REGULAR	N X	3 0	18 17	7 14
Asif	PAST				
	IRREGULAR	N X	1 100	29 69	27 29
PAST	REGULAR	N X	7 0	12 0	0 0
Quayum	PAST				
	IRREGULAR	N X	2 50	5 20	27 40
PAST	REGULAR	N X	5 0	7 0	13 11
Abdul Quayum	PAST				
	IRREGULAR	N X	0 0	0 0	41 66
PAST	REGULAR	N X	5 0	7 28	13 23

1) Initially there were very few contexts in which the past tense was required. Activities promoted talk which focussed on the present and occasionally the immediate future. However there were some exceptions. In the early stages of development all the children very quickly learned to produce the word 'finish', to express the completion of a particular task, but without the past tense marker. Given that the school day was punctuated by constantly changing activities and events, the learners were frequently reminded to 'finish' what they were doing. They were exposed to a number of constructions containing 'finish', in both the classroom context and small group situations. It is perhaps not surprising that this particular word was learned so quickly, as it had a very important function. It enabled the children to signal the completion of an activity, or task. In doing so, get the attention of the teacher, in order to negotiate the need to do further work on that particular activity or move on to something else.

Use of the present simple, 'finish', adequately conveyed the learner's intended meaning, 'I have finished'. Although a few of the learners produced the occasional past form, 'finished' (ex 1a), in the majority of utterances it was produced as 'finish'. Having stated that the majority of children produced this form without past marking, the phonological difference between the two forms is not clearly marked and was therefore difficult to detect with complete certainty. Even so other regular verbs were rarely marked for the past tense. This suggests that the learners had hardly begun to use the ED suffix to mark the past tense in regular verbs, by the end of the fourth term.

Example 1a - T2 / 24.2.

243 Am: *This one finished.*

244 T : *He's finished his*

245 Am: *Yeah...*

246 T : *Dinner .*

247 Am: *Him no finish.*

2) However long before the learners were able to produce grammatical markers of the past, they were clearly making reference to the past. Initially this was initiated by the teacher/researcher, who often asked about events that had occurred during the week or during a holiday. The children responded by using the present progressive or the simple present. Often the verb would be omitted altogether and was

replaced with demonstrative actions and/or demonstrative phrases (Ex. 2a). By using the context of the question, and assuming that the children understood the question, the teacher/researcher would infer past reference from their response and often respond with the correct form of the past tense (ex 2b).

Example 2a - T1 / 30.11.

68 T : *Oh dear, what did you do?*

69 As: *That boy smack me.*

74 T : *What did the hospital do?*

75 As: *Doctor that (indicated stitching on his knee).*

Example 2b - T3 / 6.83

10 T : *What did you play?*

11 Am: *Play chess.*

12 T : *You played chess, who with?*

3) Although irregular past forms were infrequent, they were the first forms to be produced correctly. It would seem that the irregular past tense has to be learned as a series of individual forms, as by definition, each form is different and not subject to a particular rule. This would explain the slow development of irregular forms, as new verbs were acquired, each past tense form of the irregular verb has to be learned separately.

'Said' was the most frequently produced irregular past tense verb. Initially it seemed to be correctly and appropriately produced by all learners, in order to explain what someone had said or to describe a conversation between two or more people. However although Asif and Quayum used this form in the very first term, the other learners did not produce this form until the end of Term Three. This again emphasised the lack of need or opportunity to use this particular form of the past tense.

In Term Two Asif began to produce 'say' and 'said' interchangeably. It would seem that Asif had learned 'said' as a whole, and produced it in all utterances, in which he referred to what someone had said. Then he began to develop the form 'say' and used both forms to convey past and simple present, without differentiating between the two forms (ex.3a). Later on in his development the inappropriate production of

'say' to indicate 'said' disappeared, and 'said' became the dominant form. This suggests that after an initial period of overlap between the two forms, he sorted out the rules governing the production of 'said', and produced this in appropriate contexts. However it was recognised that examples from the transcripts were somewhat ambiguous. Asif may not have been producing, 'say', as a substitute for, 'said', he could have been referring to the present continuous 'says', but in each case the context indicates that the event referred to was not continuous.

Example 3a - T2 / 10.3.

14 As: *He say, he say Kamal and Mahmood fighting.*

(He said, he said Kamal and Mahmood were fighting).

In addition to this, as the learners became more fluent 'said' began to be overgeneralised by some of the learners, to denote present continuous and simple present. This again suggested that it might have been learned as a whole and initially used to indicate all tenses, until the new forms were developed to take on old functions.

'Gone' was the next most frequent irregular verb to be produced as a past participle. When this was produced in conjunction with the auxiliary, the auxiliary was usually in the present tense form (ex. 3b). This reflected the findings in the section on auxiliaries, in which the learners rarely produced the past tense form of the auxiliary. Some of the learners began to overgeneralise this form, 'gone', as a means of conveying, 'went'. Because the production of the surface structure of the irregular past tense was so rare, it is possible to list all other productions in example 3c.

Example 3b.

T2 / 10.3.

90 As: *Shahid is gone Grange school. (Shahid has gone to Grange School)*

T3 / 13.6.

342 Rz: *Miss my Daddy's gone to London.*

343 Mj: *Where is gone? (Where has he gone?)*

Example 3c.

T2 / 6.1.

95 Qu: *He broke it.*

T3 / 14.4.

367 As: *He put it there.*

T3 / 24.4.

44b Qu: *Abdul lost it, Abdul lost it!*

T3 / 27.5.

09 Mj: *I been there, I been there.*

T3 / 6.6.

164 Am: *I did it that.*

T3 / 10.6.

465 As: *Miss, we've been there, been there.*

T3 / 8.7.

184 Qu: *Yeah you did!*

T3 / 19.7.

107 Mj: *Broke his bag 'es got lot of things and 'e can broke.
(his bag has broken, he's got a lot of things and his bag
might break)*

4) There was evidence that learners overgeneralised particular forms. As suggested in the above section, 'said', was overgeneralised to convey all forms of the verb, 'to say', and 'gone' has also been produced as a means of conveying, 'went'. In addition to this, as found in first language development, some learners overgeneralized the '-ED' rule to irregular verbs, producing, 'comed', and 'goed' most frequently. This is very interesting as there were hardly any examples of the appropriate use of the regular past, but there were some overgeneralisations suggesting that the learners had begun to apply this rule even though it did not appear in the data with regular forms. Finally some of the learners began to signal the past by using specific time markers, but in general, continued to omit past tense markers on verbs and modals in the same sentence (Ex. 4a).

Example 4a.

T2 / 10.3.

18 As: *Yesterday I'm going big library, me, (Yesterday, I went....)
Quayum and Mrs B.*

T3 / 10.6.

87 As: *Last Wednesday...this Grange*

(We went to Grange last Wednesday.)

T3 / 21.6.

182 AQ: *Yesterday 'am going middle school.*

(Yesterday I went to middle school).

5) Even though the learners did not attempt to refer to events in the past very often and when they did, this was indicated through the context rather than the surface structure of the utterance, there was evidence that the learners used particular communication strategies to help them produce the past tense.

8.3. THE ROLE OF REPETITION, INCORPORATION AND FORMULAIC SPEECH IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE PAST TENSE.

The learners used sustained repetition as a means of reporting on past events and in the majority of cases they reproduced the surface structure accurately (Ex. 1a).

Example 1a - T3 / 15.7.

108 T : *What's the dog done?*

109 As: *Take this...*

110 T : *Taken the sausages.*

111 As: *Taken the sausages.*

420 T : *Yes Quayum, it melted, what did it do Lipi?*

421 As: *Melted.....melted.*

422 Li: *Melted.*

423 Mj: *Melted.*

Evidence suggested that the learners used incorporated repetition quite frequently as a means of producing the past tense. In the following examples all the learners appeared to be incorporating some aspect of the previous utterances into their own construction in order to refer to a past event. In each case the past tense was encoded correctly (ex.2a). It is interesting to note that Amran had inappropriately incorporated part of the previous utterance into his new construction (T3 / 18.7., lines 109 - 110). In addition to this both Majid and Amran immediately reverted back to the present tense, even within the same conversational episode (T3 / 18.7., lines 134 - 141, and T3 / 20.5.). However in Asif's case he did in fact produce, 'been', once again, later on in the session.

Example 2a.

T3 / 18.7.

109 T : Oh dear what's happened?

110 Am: Happened all he get down, do like that ones.

134 T : Good, what would you say if somebody pushed you over?

135 Am: Me playing and I can sweet or apple, banana and somebody pushed me, it get down (It fell down).

136

137

138

139

140

141 Am: I tell mum, he push me like that (I told my mum, he pushed me.) <demonstrates>.

T3 / 20.5.

67 Mj: Like this <demonstrating that he took his shoes off>

68 T : Took them....

69 As: Shoes off.

70 T : Off...I took...can you say that?

71 Mj: I took the shoes off.

72 T : Good boy, what about your socks.....I took....

73 Mj: Take off socks.

T3 / 27.5.

127 T : Have you been in a taxi?

128 As: I been, I been.

T3 / 8.7.

174 T : Yes a cafe, have you been in a cafe?

175 Qu: Yeah, I've been, I've been, my dad been.

'Do' was the only auxiliary that was consistently marked for past tense, and some of the learners also correctly produced the negated form 'didn't', from its first appearance. However low frequency in production, lack of overgeneralisation, and the fact that it occurred in several different constructions, makes it difficult to ascertain whether this form was formulaic in origin. However at the end of each session, while giving out the children's work, Amran consistently produced 'I did it', in response to 'Who's is this / Who did this?'. In addition to this although 'said' was not produced a part of a formulaic 'chunk', it may have been formulaic, in that it was frequently produced and overgeneralised to convey; what had been said, what was going to be said, and what was being said. Only Asif began to use 'said', and 'say', interchangeably.

8.4. DISCUSSION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUTURE TENSE.

Analysis of the future tense is somewhat problematic. If different forms of the verb are defined as tenses, then it is arguable that English does not have a future tense, but is represented through modal auxiliary verbs displaying a different grammatical function as in 'I will / shall go' and the present progressive -ING attached to verbs in conjunction with specific future markers such as 'tomorrow, next week, in the future'. In Punjabi and Bengali the future is marked by the addition of a suffix to the verb, as in;

Punjabi - Mayn javanga = I shall go.
I go + future marker.

Bengali - Ami jabe = I shall go.
I go + future marker.

However, reference to the future was rare, therefore transfer from the learner's mother tongue is difficult to ascertain. Clearly it is possible to suggest that the need to master the formulation of the modal + infinitive for the English future tense, may have affected the rate of development. However the learners appeared to be able to convey the future by using the form 'going to' plus the occasional adverb. 'Will' and 'shall' appeared to be redundant and request for future action was often produced by a verb phrase plus 'please' (ex. 1a). As the production of 'going' relates to the development of the auxiliary and verb +ING inflection and was further discussed in Chapter Six. Majid began to produce '*Will you*' and both Majid and Asif began to produce '*Shall I*' during the Term Three to make reference to the future, this is further discussed in the section on interrogatives (Chapter Nine).

Example 1a - T4 / 16.12.

405 T : *Time to tidy up now, then I'm going home for dinner.*

405 Rz: *You come my house dinner,please t*

8.5. SUMMARY.

Evidence suggested that the past and irregular past was very slow to develop in the speech of all seven learners. There were very few obligatory contexts for the past, giving the learners little opportunity to produce past tense forms and receive feedback within a meaningful context. In addition to this, the rules for irregular past verbs have to be learned individually. The only consistently correctly produced irregular past was 'said', which the learners produced frequently to convey a number of functions. However there was some evidence that the learners were beginning to internalise rules for the regular past tense, and applying these rules to both regular and irregular forms as a means of conveying the past. However, even in the fourth term learners were still signalling the past tense through the context of the utterance, rather than through the surface form.

Several studies of first and second language development have identified a similar pattern of development. It seems that some forms of the irregular past are produced first, followed by the appearance of the regular past marked by the '-ed' morpheme. The regular form then becomes overgeneralised to irregular forms that have often been correctly produced in earlier utterances (Cazden, 1968; Gerhardt, 1988; Hakuta, 1974). Researchers suggest that overgeneralisation of the past suffix -ED to irregular verbs, is evidence of the application of a 'simplicity' principle, in which learners apply the general rule before learning its associated restrictions (Slobin, 1973).

There is little research into the development of 'going to' as a means of encoding the future tense or into the production of the appropriate modal. In terms of the order of development relative to references to other time periods, Wells (1985) found that there was a tendency for the children in his study to refer to events in the present, followed by reference to events in the past and finally events in the future. This corresponds to the findings in this study, clearly it is easier for children to talk initially about the here and now than the past or future. Early reference to the past (relative to

the future), could be a reflection of the learners apparent memorization of particular forms e.g. 'said' and 'finish / ed' which appeared to be produced by some learners as formulaic wholes. As suggested above these two forms served a very important communicative function in the early stages of development.

However, as well as identifying a general sequence of development, which reflected some of the processes identified in first language learning, analysis revealed another interesting aspect of development. It appeared that the learners used both sustained and incorporated repetition and formulaic speech as one of the means through which to produce the past and future tense. Once again this seemed to enable them to join-in, maintain, and in some cases extend the conversation. At the same time it enabled them to encode more precise meanings through the accurate incorporation of past and future tense forms. However as seen in section 8.3. example 2a, within a few utterances of the original incorporation of the correct production of a past tense form, that same form was reproduced without the past tense marker. In this case the incorporation of the correct form of the past tense, was only temporary, and the learners then reverted back to their original construction. However, recognition of the use and effect of these strategies is once again highlighted and the following chapter examines the use of these strategies in relation to the emergence of interrogatives and negation.

CHAPTER NINE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VERB RELATED SUB SYSTEMS.

9.1. INTRODUCTION

Both negation and interrogatives serve important communicative functions. They are syntactically realised through the production of the auxiliary in conjunction with the negative particle (for negation), and the inverted auxiliary / WH form (for interrogatives). The examination of the emergence of these two forms, allowed for a detailed analysis of both form and function within a conversational context. This therefore added to the debate on the way in which the learners' apparent use of repetition and formulaic speech to convey particular meanings, would affect the grammatical encoding of these two forms. The following pages are a description of the sequence of development of both interrogatives and negation, which were identified in the speech of seven of the learners, over a period of four terms. Each stage of development was identified by the production of either a new question form, or a new negated form. These were seen as a manifestation of the development of the underlying grammatical system, and were marked by significant changes in production.

9.2. THE SEQUENCE OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERROGATIVE.

Utterances were classed as interrogative on the basis of rising intonation (indicated by the symbol †), inverted word order, and where the underlying meaning was conveyed by the structure or intonation of a request for either information or action. Each example of every interrogative for all learners was identified and noted separately for each term, although this removed the utterance from the conversational context in which it occurred, it enabled any patterns to be identified fairly easily. Detailed examination of the four terms revealed the following sequence of development.

1) Initially some of the learners repeated the adult's question as a means of maintaining the conversation, or occasionally the adult's question was incorporated into the learner's reply.

2) From the early stages of development all the learners used rising intonation at the end of a statement to indicate a question form. This was followed by the use of incorporated repetition and formulaic speech as a means of producing both 'yes/no' and -WH interrogatives.

3) Some of the learners began to supplement statements with rising intonation by the addition of tag questions.

4) 'WH' question words began to appear, firstly in isolation and then in clause initial positions, secondly in noun phrases and then occasionally in verb phrases. 'Where' and 'what' appeared first, followed by the production of various other forms by individual children.

5) 'CAN' emerged alongside, or slightly after, the initial production of Wh-fronted questions, and was inverted from its very first production. 'Can' was the most frequently produced modal, but 'have' and 'shall' were occasionally produced by Razwana, Majid and Asif at this point.

6) 'BE'- inversion was the next form to appear, but this was quite rare, and on the whole, statements with rising intonation were still the most frequent way of producing 'yes / no' questions.

7) Some of the learners began to use a variety of inverted modals, which included 'shall' and 'do'.

8) Finally, Majid began to produce 'how' and 'have'.

As with all sequences of development, the production and correct use of the interrogative fluctuated. Learners did not seem to progress from unstable to stable production in a linear way, and development was marked by regression and variance of the production of all forms. Consequently it was not possible to say with certainty when a particular feature of the interrogative system had been internalised. Examination of the various stages within the sequence did give some insight into the underlying processes of development.

9.3.DISCUSSION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF YES / NO INTERROGATIVES.

1) The Use of Rising Intonation.

All the learners used rising intonation as a means of producing an interrogative from the early stages of development through to the end of the Term Four. Thus the production of 'yes / no' questions was the earliest form of interrogatives to be produced. It was possible to identify three methods which were used extensively, and to good effect by the learners, to produce 'yes / no' questions through rising intonation:

- the use of single nouns and verbs + rising intonation (↑) (ex.1a).
- the use of demonstrative pronoun + noun + rising intonation (↑)(ex.1b)
- the use of incorporated repetition + rising intonation (↑)(ex.1c).

Example 1a - T1 / 2.12.

264 AR: *Painting ↑ (Can I paint?).*

Example 1b - T1 / 9.12.

147 Am: *That orange ↑ (Shall I colour it orange?).*

Example 1c - T1 / 30.11.

35 T : *She's in the bath.*

36 Rz: *Bath ↑.*

37 T : *Yes, she's in the bath.*

38 Rz: *Bath.*

Statements accompanied by rising intonation accounted for at least half of all interrogative utterances in each period for every learner, (with the exception of Majid), and continued through to the end of Term Four. However, it would be misleading to suggest that the above three forms were the extent of the learners' production of 'yes / no' questions. In the early stages of development the propositional content was reduced and usually verbless, but as Ellis (1982) found, there was considerable development in the type of structure used to convey a question through rising intonation. As the learners became more fluent and were able to produce more structurally complex sentences, so their interrogative forms were more propositionally complex, enabling the learners to be more precise in their intended meanings (ex.1d).

Example 1d - T3 / 27.5.

1 AQ: *Playtime coming that school, to watch that puppets ↑
(at playtime are we going to school to watch the puppets?)*

However, as learners became more competent and were able to encode more complex propositions, not all learners chose to do this in their production of 'yes / no' questions through rising intonation. For example, in the majority of cases, Amran was still using two word utterances in Term Four to convey simple 'yes / no' questions. It is not that Amran was unable to encode more propositionally complex sentences, as evidence from the transcripts suggested that he could, and indeed did, use more complex and complete sentences with rising intonation on some occasions. It would seem that this way of producing 'yes / no' interrogatives, was perfectly adequate in meeting Amran's communicative needs in relation to eliciting a reply to his request.

2)The Production of 'Yes/No' Questions Through Incorporated Repetition.

As suggested above the learners seemed to be able to produce 'yes/no' questions through the use of incorporated repetition. In the majority of interrogative utterances, this involved the repetition of the noun with rising intonation. However in addition to this, there was also evidence that the learners were producing interrogatives through the use of rising intonation, which were grammatically and propositionally more complex than other forms being produced at this stage through incorporated repetition (ex.2a).

Example 2a - T1 / 30.11.

81 T : *Right, can you ask Tera to come here and you can sing.*

82 Rz: *Tera come here, me sing... yes t.*

83 T : *Yes, Tera come here and you can sing.*

84 Rz: *Tera come here, me sing.*

By incorporating part of the previous utterance into their utterance with rising intonation, the learners managed to construct a new sentence, usually as a means of clarifying meaning and therefore extended the conversation, potentially ensuring further input.

3) The Use of Tag Supplements.

The production of 'yes / no' questions, through rising intonation was supplemented by invariant tag questions in Term Two (ex.3a).

Example 3a - T2 / 3.1.

85 As: *We must speak English, right ↑.*

T2 / 3.2.

264 Am: *Me there, you there, alright.....this bus.*

265 AQ: *Bus alright ↑.*

T2 / 24.2.

7 Am: *Sit down carpet, sit here, ay ↑.*

T3 / 14.4.

401 T : *It's not a zebra, what is it?*

402 Am: *That one, yeah ↑ (do you mean that one?)*

T3 / 13.6.

393 Mj: *Shall I go that back playground, shall I↑ (shall I put it back into the playground?)*

As the learners became more fluent it could be argued that the tags became more grammatically advanced. For example, Majid began to use 'shall I?' as an invariant form in Term Three. Some tag questions eventually came to serve other purposes as the learners realise they could be used to convey a number of meanings, through the use of different intonation patterns (ex.3b).

Example 3b - T2 / 3.2.

2 T : *No not yet.*

3 Am: *Alright (I understand).*

4 AR: *Right (I understand)*

204 Am: *'scuse me please, alright ↑ (do you understand?)*

205 AR: *Alright, alright, alright! (don't be impatient!)*

239 T : *Can you make some dinner for me?*

340 Am: *Alright.....make dinner ↑ (yes, shall I make your dinner?)*

T2 / 24.2.

369 T : *.....Yes your's is alright.*

370 Am: *Yes, alright (it's alright)*

T3 / 16.5.

76 Am: *Alright here ↑ (Shall I stick it here?)*

T3 / 20.5.

91 Qu: *Alright, sorry. (I agree, you are right, sorry)*

9.4.DISCUSSION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF WH- INTERROGATIVES.

Although it was possible to identify certain changes in the development of the production of WH- forms, it was not possible to identify definite patterns of emergence, as all the learners were still at a number of stages in producing complete WH-forms. For example, some times the auxiliary was present, then in an identical sentence it was absent. Sometimes the form was inverted and sometimes it remains un-inverted. So during the period of data collection it could only be said that, although the learners did use inversion rules and auxiliaries in some structures, the production of these forms fluctuated from utterance to utterance. This suggested that even at the end of the fourth term, although the learners could encode a number of different interrogatives, they were still very much involved in sorting out the rules governing interrogatives.

However it was possible from the data to identify a sequence of development for some of the WH- word forms. 'Where' and 'what' were the first WH- forms to appear followed by 'who'. Although 'why', 'when', and 'which' were present in the data, there is not enough evidence of these forms to determine a clear order of development, (if indeed there was an order of development). Evidence suggests that Wh- words 'what' and 'where', first appeared in isolation and then in clause initial positions. The pattern of development is as follows:

a) Where and What were produced independently of any other structure, usually as a means of asking for repetition, clarification or the location of an object.

b) WH- word + verb or noun phrase occurred next, but did not contain the auxiliary or copula. 'What' was used on the whole to seek advise about either what to do, or to ask for information about an action or object (ex.1a). 'Where' was used to determine the location of a particular object (ex.1b). As the learners became more fluent, 'what' was produced by some of the learners to ask for a particular item of vocabulary, in order to nominate a topic, or negotiate meaning. This suggested that some of the learners had developed meta-linguistic awareness and were using this as a means of increasing their communicative potential (ex.1c).

Example 1a

T3 / 13.6. - Product question, seeking instructions.

516 Am: What draw?

T3 / 6.83 - Product question, seeking information.

567 Am: What colour that?

Example 1b

T2 / 24.2. - Product question, seeking information about location

273 Rz: Where scissor?

Example 1c

T3 / 8.7. - Product question, seeking linguistic information

818 Mj: what that called?

819 T: a caterpillar, it's called a caterpillar.

820 Mj: yeah caterpillar goes into butterfly.....

c) The next stage of development was related to the production of auxiliaries. For some learners this appeared to be sequential. At first auxiliaries were not present (ex.2a). Then new forms began to appear, but initially they were not systematically inverted (ex.2), and finally new forms became inverted (ex.3c). Some of the learners only reached the first stage, others seem to miss the second stage out altogether. Two of the learners did not appear to produce the auxiliary systematically, but were producing interrogatives which manifested simultaneously across all each stages.

Example 2a - T3 / June

Mj: Where my partner?

Example 2b - T3 / July

Mj: Mum say, 'why you did this?'

Example 3c - T4 / Nov.

Mj: I can't find it, what can I do now?

Mj: Why did you braked it?

Mj: What do you do bonfire night?

Finally, although it was possible to identify a broad sequence of development it would be incorrect to suggest this was a linear progression, as there was a great struggle before all the rules appeared to be sorted out. In fact the learners did not reach total acquisition, as they used incorrect forms and inappropriate tense markers well into the fourth term. In addition to this, evidence suggested, that the auxiliaries which were present in the learners non-interrogative production, (the third person singular contracted and uncontracted 'is / 's'), were the first inverted forms to be produced. However, several forms of the WH- interrogatives that were produced with the appropriate auxiliary from the early stages of development, were not consistent with the production of other interrogatives and were in fact identified as formulaic. These utterances are discussed in the section on formulaic speech.

9.4.1. The Role of Repetition and Formulaic Speech

In the Production of -Wh Interrogatives.

1) Repetition as a Means of Producing the Earliest Interrogatives.

Repetition was a strategy the learners used particularly in the early stages of development and the interrogative was no exception. Initially some learners appeared to repeat the question as part of the answer. Clearly the learners were responding to the teacher's utterances as a question, in that they responded with an appropriate answer (ex.1a). In this instance incorporated repetition may have served as a means of practising the question and simply restating the request, or it may have been a reflection of a strategy some of the learners used in the early stages of development quite frequently. The strategy of incorporating key elements of the previous utterance into their response. In addition to this, as suggested above, the learners were using incorporated repetition in the early stages of development in order to produce 'yes/no' interrogatives by the use of rising intonation. As Wells (1986) suggested, the learners seemed to find ways of producing important communicative functions, before they were able to encode them grammatically.

Example 1a - T1 / 8.10.

206 Am: Telephone.

207 T : Yes, how many?

208 Qu: How many telephone.....telephone, one.....telephone,
two....telephone <pointing at each telephone>.

After the first term the learners rarely incorporated a question form into their response. The question form repeated by Quayum ('how many') did not occur in any of the subsequent data recorded. Although, there were many opportunities for using this form of interrogative throughout the four terms, as counting sequences involving the exchange of the question and answer 'How many..... There are...' were a frequent feature of group sessions. This may suggest that in the earliest stages of development Quayum was not using repetition as a means of practising this particular structure but as a communication strategy for maintaining and extending the conversation.

2) Repetition as a Means of Producing WH- Interrogatives..

Within the examples of the repetition it was possible to identify both modelled and incorporated repetition, which could be said to serve different purposes in terms of the children's developing competence. Example (2a) illustrates modelled repetition which was elicited by the teacher, emphasising the grammatical structure of the interrogative form. It appears that in the first example, Amran was either unable or unwilling to repeat the complete sentence, suggesting that either his processing capacities were overloaded, or that this request was inappropriate to his communicative needs.

Example 2a - Modelled Repetition.

T2 / 4.2.

304 T :Who's behind the door? Can you say thatWho's.....

305 Am: Who'sdoor †

T2 / 4.3..

15 T :She says 'where is Tim?', what does she say?

16 AR: Where is Tim †

Example (2b) illustrated a form of incorporated repetition, in which the emphasis appeared to be on the communication of particular meanings. Razwana appeared to have taken the teacher's role and was holding the card up directing the question and answer sequence to the group that she was working with. Thus she was using repetition as a communicative device, for posing a question and involving other learners in this conversational sequence.

Example 2b - Incorporated Repetition

T2 / 24.2.

319 T : ...Who is it?.....Who is it?.....It's a bear.

320 Am: Bear.

321 Rz: Who is it?.....bear. Who is it?.....crocodile.

322 Am: Crocodile

323 Rz: Who is it?.....elephant!

3) Formulaic Speech as a Means of Producing WH- Interrogatives.

Evidence suggested that six of the learners were using formulaic WH- interrogatives during Term Two and Three. There were no common formulas: each learner seemed to have memorised a different form of interrogative. Perhaps this was the result of the different interaction contexts that the learners had been involved in, within their classrooms, placing varying communicative demands upon each child. Some formulas appear to be complete (ex.3a), and others appear to be partially analysed wholes (ex.3b). Each of these formulas seemed to enable the learner to initiate the topic, by making a request for information, and in doing so potentially gaining feedback.

Example 3a - Complete formulas

Request for information about:

T2/ Feb. Am: What's that?

- the name of a particular object

Mj: what time is it?

- the time of day.

Mj: what can I do?

- about choices that are available.

Qu: which one?

- about choices that are available.

As: What time is it?

- the time of day.

AR: What's this?

- the name of a particular object

Request for permission to:.

AR: Can I do it?

- perform an action.

Example 3b - Partially analysed formulas

Request for information about:

T4 / Oct Rz: Where's the + noun - the location of a particular object
or person

Rz: Where's the paper?

Rz: Where's the glue?

Am: Where's + noun / verb

Researchers suggested that learners produced formulaic speech when their communicative needs outweighed their communicative competence. Thus formulaic speech was most likely to occur in the early stages of development, and indeed these formulaic utterances occurred during the second term. There is evidence that some of the learners were producing new formulaic utterances in the fourth term. For example, Amran produced a partial formulaic interrogative in the fourth term (ex.3c).

Example 3c

T4 / Oct Am: he say, what you wanting?

Am: he said what you done, fall like this.

T4 / Nov Am: he asking one boy, hello what you doing?

Am: he asking, what you say?

Am: that two girls said, what you make.

T4 / Dec Am: What you number?

In all formulaic utterances, the appropriate copula or auxiliary was present. In other types of constructions during Term Two, the copula is mostly omitted. For example, from the beginning of Term Two 'what's that?', was always produced with the contracted third person singular by Amran. But during this term, Amran did not produce any other form of the WH- interrogative with the copula or auxiliary. Although these two forms did not occur frequently in Term Two, this was their first appearance in this term and they continued to be produced in this form throughout Term Three and Four. As the learners become more fluent some formulaic utterances seemed to remain as part of learners' production strategies throughout the following terms, but some learners quickly began to analyse and incorporate WH- question forms into other constructions. The first stage of incorporation seemed to be leaving the formula in tact (in clause initial position), but adding a verb or noun to the original chunk (ex 4a).

Example 4a.

T3/June Qu: Which one? <original formula>
T3/July Qu: Which one losing? (which one has lost?)

T3/Apr AR: What's this <original formula>
T3/May AR: What's this finished (is this finished?)

T4/Oct. Rz: Who's is that? <original formula>
T4/Dec. Rz: Who's is that first? (who's is first?)

T3/June Am: what's that? <original formula>
T4/Nov. Am: What's that say?

T3/May As: What time is it? <original formula>
T3/June As: What time is coming? (When is it coming)
T3/July As: What time is it now?

Next the formula seemed to be incorporated into more complex structures but still in its original form (ex.4b). Then the formula appeared to be partly analysed and attached to different verb or noun phrases. For example Razwana originally used 'where's the + noun' as a complete formula, then she produced 'where' with the personal pronoun 'my', and on every occasion the auxiliary was present (ex.4c). Finally Majid appeared to have found another way of producing interrogatives through the use of formulaic speech, where he attached a -WH word to a formulaic utterance (ex.4d).

Example 4b.

T4 / Oct Am: He said 'what's that?'
T4 / Nov. Am: What's that mean, I don't know what's that mean?

Example 4c.

T4 / 6c Rz: Where's my bus gone?

Example 4d.

T4 / Mj: What do you want it?

As suggested earlier, the sequence of development was complex and variable, however there was evidence of progression in the data available. Out of all the learners, Majid seemed to most clearly illustrate the above stages of development. The following examples show the development of the WH- interrogative progressing through each stage in the production of the interrogative by Majid. Other learners did progress through similar stages, but not as clearly and not through all the stages.

MAJID.

The Production of WH- Interrogatives Through Repetition and Formulaic Speech

1) Repetition

a) Modelled repetition.

T : Where is Spot?....you say that....where is Spot?
Mj: Where is Spot?

b) Sustained repetition - none

c) Incorporated repetition

61 Qu: This radio.
62 Mj: This ↑ <points to the radio>
63 T : Yes, its the radio.

228 Ab: No, that Quayum pencil, I'm like this one.
229 Mj: I'm like this one, you like this one ↑

2) Formulaic Interrogatives.

a) Complete formulaic utterance.

- 'What is this?'
- 'What can I do?'
- 'What time is it?'

b) Extended formulaic.

- 'What is thispetrol?'
- 'What is this man there?'

c. Incorporated formulaic.

- 'I can't find it, what can I do now?
- 'What can't find it, what can I do now?'

d) Partly analysed formulaic.

- I know where is it.
- Where is it fire?
- What is it got it?

- Mj: What this is it?
- Mj: What this called is it?

- Mj: What is it?

3) Other constructions of interrogatives.

a) Single WH- words

- 'What?'
- 'Where?'

b) Copula / Auxiliary absent

- 'What matter?.'
- 'What called?'

c) COP / AUX present but not inverted

- 'What boy is called?' (very infrequent).

d. COP / AUX present and inverted with subject.

- 'Where's yours?'
- 'What are these?'
- 'What's the matter with you?'

e) New forms of the AUX / COPULA begin to appear but not inverted.

- Said 'why you did this?'
- 'Why you did pick this eggs?'

f) New forms of the AUX / Copula become inverted.

- 'Why did you braked it?'
- 'What will happen?'

As with all sequences identified so far, development was not invariant. Although Majid appeared to follow a sequence, Majid was continually producing a number of forms during all four terms, which clearly gave him access to further input through his use of, and experimentation with, a number of forms. He seemed to progress through the stages identified, and find new ways of encoding the interrogative more rapidly than the other learners. It is also interesting to note that Majid very rarely produced an interrogative through sustained repetition, and that formulaic utterances seemed to be incorporated into other constructions very soon after initial production. In fact Majid's use of formulaic speech complicates the sequence further; what was going on in terms of production, when an apparently formulaic utterance was produced alongside utterances that involve the production of the same WH- form, and contain the same propositional meaning but

were structurally different, in that an integral part of the formula is omitted? For example, Majid's production of 'what is this?' suggests that it is formulaic, but it must be noted that from the third term, the use of the copula is variable in the production of 'what' in clause initial positions', when used as a means of asking for information (ex.1a).

Example 1a.

Term Two.

36 Mj: *What is this? <asking for vocabulary>.*

Term three.

17 Mj: *What this? <Teacher / researcher's pay slip arrives>.*

46 Mj: *What's this ? <asking for vocabulary>.*

This particular anomaly was also identified in Amran's apparently formulaic productions of the interrogative. For example, evidence suggested that Amran was producing 'what's that?' as a formulaic utterance, initially in isolation, and as a means of identifying an object. Then it was argued that Amran incorporated this form into other constructions, producing more structurally complex and propositionally complex utterances (ex.1b). But during Term Four he also produced a number of constructions involving the production of 'what', but these did not include the contracted copula or the auxiliary (ex.1c)

Example 1b.

Nov. 83 Am: What's that mean, I don't know what's that mean?

Am: what's that say?

Dec 83 Am: what's that man doing?

Example 1c.

Nov 83 Am: *what doing... that lady ↑*

Dec 83 Am: *what Abdul got ?*

In Amran's case it would appear that either, 'what's' was not in fact part of an analysed whole, or that it only occurred with 'that's' and had not been analysed into separate forms. Clearly, Majid's internalisation of the rules which govern the first person singular were still developing. Thus his correct production of 'what is this?' fluctuated. There were three possible explanations for such variation

in the production of this particular form ('what is this?'), which was originally thought to be formulaic. Firstly this utterance might never have been formulaic, and therefore all productions of 'what + this' are manifestations of the underlying creative construction system. This seems unlikely as 'what is it?', was being produced consistently and long before other variations of this form.

Secondly, the production of both formulaic and creative constructions side by side, might have been evidence that formulaic speech does not become incorporated into the learners' underlying grammatical system. Again this seems unlikely, as evidence suggests that other formulaic utterances did in fact become part of Majid's creative constructions. Thirdly, there may have been a period of overlap. It may be that as Majid increased his communicative competence and tried new forms out, formulas gradually became analysed and during the process became destabilised. This suggests that the process of development was very fluid, sometimes learners produced a given phrase as a formulaic whole, sometimes it was produced through creative constructions. In reality there was a dual and adjacent development process taking place and the merger of the two forms took place over a long period of time.

Another factor which contributed to the complication of such a sequence, is the fact that two of the learners, Quayum and Abdul Quayum, started to use 'who's', instead of 'where's', during Term Three. This developed subsequently to the correct use of 'where', so it is possible that this is a pronunciation problem rather than a mixing of forms. Alternatively as both learners participated in the creation of a story written by their class (which involved the constant production of the phrase 'Who's been'), they might have simply been generalising a new form, which had been learned in a particular context. Quayum does, in support of this, appear to have used 'who' to represent 'where' during two sessions. However this lapse was only temporary and by the end of Term Three they both seem to have sorted these forms out and are using them appropriately.

9.5. DISCUSSION OF THE INVERSION OF MODALS.

Having developed a number of WH- interrogatives, some of the learners then began to use the modal 'can' to form yes / no questions. 'Can' was inverted from its first appearance, which occurred alongside, or slightly after, the emergence of WH- fronted questions. Modal inversion seemed to be the first inversion to take place, occurring long before BE- inversion. However closer examination does in fact suggest that initially 'can' inversion might have been formulaic, rather than a true inversion. 'Can I + noun / verb', seemed to be produced as a formulaic whole, which was invariable, and used in a number of contexts to ask for permission to do something, or have something (Dore, 1979) (ex.1a).

Example 1a Seeking either or judgements relative to propositions.

To ask permission to carry out an action.

T3 / June.

AR: *Can I make that one, Mosque?*

To ask for an object

T2 / Feb.

AB: *Can I rubber?*

To ask permission to go and get an object

T3 / June.

AR: *Can I get green material?*

'Can I' was the dominant form of modal 'Yes / No' questions throughout the four terms. Although as the learners became more fluent, evidence suggested that formulaic patterns might have become analysed and then incorporated into creative constructions, there was evidence to suggest that even later on in development, learners were still using formulaic patterns to enable them to produce new meanings. For example in Term Four Abdul Rob and Majid appeared to be producing 'can I do', as a formulaic pattern, and attaching this phrase to a number of phrases as a means of asking for permission (ex.1b).

Example 1b.

T4 / Nov. AR: Can I do it? (can I talk about the card?)

AR: Can I do, me and Amran 'nother card? (can we have another card?)

T3 / May. Mj: Can I do number? (Can I do some number work).

Mj: Can I do it?

T4 / Nov Mj: Can I do the starting? Can I draw? (can I start the picture first?)

Evidence suggested that later on these formulaic patterns involving 'can I', were analysed or broken down, and used as part of productive speech combined initially with auxiliary verbs (ex.2a). In the first instance, the personal pronoun was dropped when the learners began to produce CAN + AUX verb HAVE. Later on in development the personal pronoun re-appeared (ex.2b). This suggested, that as the learners sorted new forms out, old forms disappeared temporarily or perhaps (and more likely in this case), that 'can I' was in fact formulaic and as it became analysed the 'modal' was separated from the personal pronoun and 'I' became temporarily redundant. This added support to an earlier claim that both the analysis and the incorporation of formulaic utterances into creative constructions is essentially a 'fluid' process.

Example 2a.

T3 / Apr. Qu: Can have that change please? (can I change my pencil?)

T3 / May AR: Can have yellow?

AQ: Can have ruler?

T3 / June Mj: Can have rubber please?

Qu: Can have rubber?

AQ: Can have ruler?

Example 2b

T3 / July Mj: Can I have turn?

T4 / Oct. Mj: Can I have pencil please?

Some of the learners began to combine 'can' and 'I' to produce 'canna', and used this in conjunction with the phrase 'this one' (ex.3a), as well as with a noun or verb phrase (ex.3b), in order to ask for permission to have something, or do something. 'Canna' was used along side 'can I' and may have been a colloquialism which some of the learners picked up with other colloquialisms such as 'I dunno'. Perhaps the learners were using this form simply as another way of expressing the same meaning, but with far more ease.

Example 3a.

T3 / May Mj: *Canna this one? (Can I have this one?)*

Example 3b.

T3 / June AQ: *Canna that book? (can I have that book).*

T3 / July Mj: *Canna play game?*

The Production of Other Inverted Modals.

A number of learners began to produce a variety of modals, encoding the present, past, and future tense (ex,4a). Again on closer inspection it could be argued that Majid produced the form 'shall I + verb phrase' as a formulaic utterance (ex.4b). 'Shall' is in fact not produced in any other form, and on several occasions the form remained inverted when the propositional meaning demanded the un-inverted form (ex.4c).

Example 4a.

Present

T4 / Nov. Mj: *Have you rubber some?*

Mj: *Has he fire, has he got a fire.....hasn't gorra fire?*

T3 / June AQ: *How many you got, huh?*

Past

T4/ Oct. Mj: *Did you fall down?*

Mj: *Did he?*

Future

T4 / Nov Mj: *Will you watch today, please?*

Mj: *Will you watch in there hall, please?*

T3 / Apr. As: *Shall I tell him?*

Example 4a.

T3 / June Mj: Shall I sit there.
Mj: Shall I go with him?
T4 / Nov. Mj: Shall I take him home?

Example 4b

T4 / Dec. Mj: I know what shall I do (non-inversion).

The Development of the Modal Auxiliary DO.

There is a wealth of evidence which suggested that the earliest appearance of the modal 'DO', towards the end of the third term and throughout the fourth term, was formulaic. Some of the learners seemed to have dropped the 'tag question' and begun to produce 'd'you know....'?, or 'you know....?.', at the beginning of a sentence with rising intonation. This form was used as a means of either clarifying the topic (ex.5a), or gaining access to particular vocabulary (ex.5b).

Example 5a.

T3 / May.

As: *D'you know, you know Victoria park? - clarifying the topic .*

Majid appeared to develop the use of this particular formula and in the fourth term dropped the modal 'do' and added the demonstrative, producing 'you know that + noun ↑', with rising intonation. Alternatively the phrase, 'You know that + noun ↑' could possibly have been another formula. This appeared to be a very creative strategy for Majid as he used it to request for help, usually to request new vocabulary (ex 5b). As with other formulaic forms, he appeared then to dismantle the combination 'you know', and replace the personal pronoun 'you' with the personal pronoun 'I'. In this example he might have been combining it with yet another formula 'shall I' (ex.5c).

Example 5b.

T4 / Nov.

Mj: You know that man, who was this....have hair full of grass?
<Majid is referring to a scarecrow>.

T4 / Dec.

Mj: You know that thing you have to wear on your head?
<Majid is referring to a 'topi'>.

Example c.

T4 / Dec. Mj: I know what shall I do....

At the same time that some of the learners appeared to be using the formula 'I don't know', they did not simply insert 'don't' between the 'I' and 'know', but again appeared to produce this utterance as a 'whole' (this is discussed further on the section on negation). It is interesting to note that with the exception of Majid, 'do you' did not occur with any other verb with in this collection of data. It was exclusively produced in the form of 'do you know'.

The Development of the BE- Inversion.

When BE- inversions did appear they were very infrequent but usually correct in terms of propositional content. Majid produced the inverted BE- form most frequently, and as suggested earlier, Majid appeared initially to produce 'is it' as a formula. Razwana appeared to use a combination of 'is', 'it', and 'that', to produce both requests for information and also requests for identification (ex.6a). Asif and Quayum began to produce 'is' in clause initial position during the third term, while during the fourth term both Razwana and Majid began to produce the inverted 'are' form with the second person singular (ex.6b).

Example 6a.

T3 / July Rz: *Is it that doggy?*

Rz: *Is it small bag?*

Rz: *Is that your?*

Rz: *Is it flower?*

T4 / Oct. Rz: *Is it toilet?*

Rz: *Is that right?*

Rz: *Is it red and yellow colour?*

Example 6b.

T4 / Nov. Rz: *Are you alright now?*

Mj: *Are you telling it?*

T4 / Dec. Mj: *Are you S.S. school?*

Mj: *Are you going in the school?*

The discussion and implications of these findings which concern the emergence of the interrogative will be discussed in conjunction with the following section, which examines the emergence of negation in the learners' speech patterns. The analysis of the emergence of negation produced a number of parallel similarities between the development of both negation and the interrogative.

9.6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGATION IN THIS STUDY.

As with the interrogative each form of negation produced by each learner was identified and noted separately to enable the identification of any patterns that seemed to be emerging. Although it was possible to identify a sequence of development for negation, it was evident that as the learners sorted out the rules that govern production, there was a considerable overlap between the production of new and old forms. Even by the end of the fourth term the mis-match between form and function was not resolved. This suggested that, as with all other forms identified in this study, the internalisation of the rule system was still in progress. Table 9.6.1. illustrates during which Terms the production of new forms were first recorded.

- 1) In the very early stages of the development of English all learners produced negated utterances by simply placing 'no' at the beginning or the end of a statement. During this early period some learners appeared to use both modelled and sustained repetition as a means of producing such a negated form.
- 2) The initial productions of negation were closely followed by the use of what appeared to be negated formulas. The most frequent of these formulas to be produced were 'I don't know' and 'I dunno'.
- 3) Then the learners began to incorporate the negative particle 'no' into the utterance, placing 'no' between the subject and verb. Initially both the auxiliary and copula was either absent or infrequent in these forms.
- 4) Next the negated formula 'I don't know', appeared to become partially analysed for some learners and wholly analysed for others. Enabling parts or all of the formula to be used in a variety of negated constructions. At the same time some of the learners began to produce the negated model 'can't'.
- 5) Finally during the third and fourth term some learners increased their range of negated utterances by producing negated modals other than 'can't and 'don't', such as 'won't', the past tense of 'don't' ('didn't'), and other main auxiliaries such as 'haven't'.

TABLE 9.6.1. The Terms in Which Different Forms of Negation
Were First Produced by Each Learner.

	Post/Pre	Inc	Form	Can	Form +	Others
AMRAN	1	2	2	3		4 didn't
RAZWANA	1	2	2	4	3 + don't	3 didn't
ABDUL ROB	1	2	2	4	3	
MAJID	2 ¹ 2	2 ¹ 2	2 ¹ 2	3 ² 3	3 ² + don't	3 ² haven't 4 didn't
ASIF	1	2	2	3	3 + don't	3 won't
QUAYUM	1	2		3	3 + don't	
ABDUL Q.	1	1	1		3 + don't	

1 to 4 = Term in which a particular form was first produced.
 Post / Pre = Negation word (usually no) appeared preposed or post-posed
 Inc = Negation word was incorporated into the utterance
 Form = Negation appeared as a formula.
 Can = Negated modal CAN appeared
 Form + = Formulaic 'I don't know' became partly analysed.
 Others = Any new negated forms that began to appear.

The numbers above Majid's name indicate the actual term in which he progressed to producing these forms, as he did not start school until the second term, (so the second term was in fact his first term). It is interesting to note that he began to use the first three forms, post negation, incorporated negation and formulaic negation in what was in fact his first term, although the second term for the other learners. There are a number of possible explanations for this. It could have been related to individual innate ability. His rate of

development might have been quicker than the other children in this study, and he was therefore able to internalise new forms more easily than the other children. To some extent this might have been true as Majid from an early stage appeared to be able to construct a wider range of interrogative and negative utterances than the other learners after a similar learning period.

Alternatively, although Majid was new and in a similar situation to the other children when he came to school, there is one important difference. He joined a group of children who were already using a limited number of forms of negation and interrogatives in a small group situation and he was therefore exposed to these forms at a very early stage of his development. The crucial factor here is not simply that he was exposed to these limited forms, but that he was in a group situation where the children were involved in conversations which required both interrogatives and negatives. Majid seemed to find a number of strategies for producing these two forms very quickly. This potentially gave him access to more grammatical data, which he in turn could incorporate into his developing grammatical system, through a process of hypothesis testing. In general Majid appeared to use communication strategies that enabled him to develop, rather than simply sustain conversation. The strategies he used showed awareness and monitoring of grammatical structures.

9.7.DISCUSSION OF THE SEQUENCE OF DEVELOPMENT.

1a) The Placement of NO at the Beginning or End of a Sentence.

The earliest form of negation was produced by placing 'no' at the beginning of a sentence and occasionally by some learners at the end of a sentence. Both post and pre negation continued to be used throughout the four terms, with the negative particle 'no' as the main form of negation in the early stages of development. As with interrogative forms, initially negated forms were greatly propositionally reduced, consisting of a noun + NO. However even as the learners became more fluent and produced more complex sentences 'no' was still used in a clause initial position, or a clause end position, by some learners.

1b) The Role of Repetition in the Production of Negated Forms.

There is evidence that the learners used repetition as a means of producing negated utterances. For example, in Term One Session 24.2., some of the learners began to repeat the structure 'I don't know', through both modelled repetition and sustained repetition. It would seem that when the teacher/researcher requested repetition, the learners focussed their attention on the structure of the form, reproducing the previous utterance accurately. However when the learners used sustained repetition, reproduction was not so accurate. In fact the learners appeared to produce a colloquial form 'dunno', suggesting that in this particular instance the emphasis was on communicating meaning, rather than producing grammatical accuracy (ex.1a).

Example 1a - T2 / 24.2.

152 T : *I wonder where Spot is?.....I don't know.*

*Where's Spot Abdul?.....I don't know, can
you say it?.....I don't know.*

153 AQ: *I don't know.*

- modelled repetition.

154 T : *Where's Spot Asif? I...*

155 AR: *Dunno*

Example 1b illustrates the way in which the learners produced both the full form 'I don't know', and the colloquial form 'I dunno'. The full form was more likely to appear in modelled repetition, when the learners had been asked to repeat this form and the emphasis was on the reproduction of the surface structure. In contrast to this the colloquial form 'I dunno' seemed to be produced through sustained repetition. It is not entirely clear whether all the learners had made a connection between the two forms. For example Amran used the full form 'I don't know' in modelled and sustained repetition, but in all other productions he used 'I dunno'. This is perhaps typical of Amran's language development, who throughout the period of study seemed to take great delight in frequently repeating utterances that appeared to be 'self contained' and easily reproduced, almost mimicking the teacher / researcher (e.g. good boy, hurry up, not now, later, tidy-up time etc.). However these utterances would rarely occur in other constructions.

There was one session in particular (T2 / 24.2.), that illustrates several of the points being made in this section and therefore the transcript from this session is reproduced in Appendix Two.

Example 1b. T2 / 24.2. - Sustained Repetition

195 As: I don't know.
196 Mj: I dunno.
197 AR: I don't know.
198 Am: I don't know.

Finally as example 1b illustrated, some of the learners appeared to use sustained repetition as a means of 'playing' with the new language. On several occasions in which this particular question and answer routine occurred, all of the learners joined in; this gave them practice in producing this particular structure within a meaningful context.

2) The Role of Formulaic Speech in the Production of Negated Forms.

The use of repetition as a means of producing 'I don't know', cannot explain all instances of the production of this form. Some of the learners produced 'I don't know' and / or 'I dunno' from the very early stages of development in non-repeated utterances. In fact apart from reproduction through repetition, these two forms were the first correct complete forms of negation to be produced in spontaneous speech, and occurred towards the end of the second term. Quayum was the only exception to this, and there is no record of the use of either form in Quayum's non-repeated speech during either of the first two terms. For all other learners (with the exception of Majid), this form appeared to be formulaic. (Majid seemed to produce this as a partial formula 'I don't + verb', from its earliest appearance).

It seemed that initially, the majority of children preferred to use the colloquial 'I dunno' as a means of encoding negation, with the exception of Asif and Majid. Majid produced both forms interchangeably and Asif produced the full grammatical form 'I don't know', from the early stages of development. Looking only at spontaneous speech and discounting repeated forms, it is difficult to determine why Asif had a preference for the more formal 'I don't know'. It could be argued that

Asif's first recorded production of this form ('I don't know'), was reinforced by frequent modelled and sustained repetition in the following session, and as a result was subsequently produced as a formulaic utterance. As Asif became more fluent he began to produce 'I dunno' in the third term, and 'I don't know' was dropped.

Later on during the second term the learners began to produce 'I dunno', and 'I don't know' interchangeably, with the exception of Amran, who seemed to have a preference for 'I dunno' in non-repeated constructions. These two forms were invariant and frequently produced through out Term Two. They were rarely overgeneralised to convey other forms of negation, and 'don't' was not produced in any other construction. Constructions involving negation of the verb 'do' + verb, were produced by post, or preposed, negative particles 'no' during the first two terms (ex.2a). Thus it would appear that in the majority of cases, the first appearance of a negated verb, in the form of 'I don't know' (for Asif), and 'I dunno' (for the rest of the learners), was formulaic. In addition to this the later production of 'I don't know', also appeared to be formulaic.

Example 2a - T2 / 27.1. - 'no' replacing 'don't'.

1 Am: I no like that one <pointing to fruit on the table>.

21 Ab: I go that table, I no want that <he doesn't want to paint>

510 Rz: I no liking <referring to the mango>

3) The Development of 'I don't know' / 'I dunno'.

It is possible to identify three ways in which this formula was analysed by the learners. There is no particular order of development and indeed for some learners the three types of analysis occurred within the same session, for others one stage might have been missed, while certain stages were never manifested at all by some learners during the whole period of the study.

i) The whole formula plus demonstrative pronoun / noun

T3 / June.

18 Rz: This side, I don't know that <referring to the police station>

125 Am: No bag, no get it, I dunno bag (I don't know where the bag is)

ii) Substitution of the pronoun.

T3 / May.

As: He don't know.

T3 / June.

Mj: We don't know it. (we can't see it)

iii) Don't is freed and incorporated into a number of constructions.

During the third term as 'don't' was extrapolated from the formula it was moved to the clause initial position + verb to produce imperative utterances (ex.3a). Amran, who tended to use 'dunno', is now using 'don't' as a means of producing an imperative. Some of the learners occasionally dropped the clause initial pronoun and started a statement with 'don't', but they were not using it as an imperative (ex.3b). Clearly, learners were beginning to produce 'don't' in conjunction with different verbs. With the exception of Majid, 'want,' and 'like', seem to account for the majority of negated utterances involving 'don't + verb'.

Example 3a.

T3 / May.

Mj: Don't tell him!

As: Don't push!

T3 / June.

Qu: Don't do that!

T3 / July.

Rz: Don't put there!

T4 / Oct.

Am: Don't go home.

Ab: Don't touch!

Example 3b.

T3 / July.

Am: Don't go no (it won't go)

On the whole the freed 'don't' was produced throughout the four terms without any modification, it seems to be produced more as a negative marker than a tense indicator (ex.3c), or subject marker (ex.3d). In addition to this both 'don't' and 'dunno', were occasionally overgeneralised to convey other meanings. Towards the end of the third term 'don't', appears to be produced to represent the semantic function 'won't' and occasionally 'can't' (ex.3e). This suggests that 'don't' and 'dunno', although the result of a partially analysed formula, have stayed intact and are still being produced as a formulaic whole.

Example 3c.

T3 / May.

Am: He don't say clock (he didn't say clock).

T3 / June.

AR: You don't go flat (you didn't go to the flat.)

T4 / Nov.

Mj: 'e don't run (he didn't run).

Example 3d.

T3 / July.

Am: 'e dunno where.... (he doesn't know where...).

T4 / Sep.

Mj: She don't have to smack me (she doesn't have to smack me).

T3 / May.

Mj: Lippi don't wanna go (Lipi doesn't want to go).

As: No, he don't have to go (he doesn't have to go).

Example 3e.

T3 / June.

Mj: We don't know it (we can't see it).

T3 / July.

Am: don't go no. (it won't go.)

T4 / Sep.

Mj: My mum don't do anything (my mum won't do anything).

The learners tended to use 'don't' as the main negator in the majority of utterances (apart from those with BE), right through to the fourth term. However, towards the end of Term Three Majid, Razwana, and Amran began to use 'didn't', as an exclamation denying responsibility (ex.3f), and as part of longer more complex utterances (ex.3g). 'Didn't' was the first modification to appear, but there was no evidence of the emergence of 3rd person singular modification. However all three learners produced 'don't', and 'didn't', as past tense markers interchangeably, right to the end of the period of study. This suggested that they had not fully differentiated between these two forms.

Example 3f.

T3 / July.

Rz: I didn't!

T4 / Nov.

Mj: No he didn't!

Example 3g.

T3 / July.

Rz: She's didn't give to me.

T4 / Nov.

Am: He didn't smack, he didn't kick, he didn't smack.

T4 / Sep.

Mj: Just play cricket and he didn't hit.

In conclusion it would seem that some of the children continued to use negated formulas (albeit partially analysed) right until the end of Term Four. However, the majority of learners appeared to break down the formula into its component parts, the initial and final slots being substituted, and DON'T becoming well established in their speech as a negator. The component parts were freed to become part of the learners' creative constructions and add to their increasing repertory of productive forms.

3) Discussion of Individual Differences.

Amran and Quayum

'I dunno' accounted for virtually all of Amran's production of this form throughout the four terms. The only production of 'I don't know', was through modelled repetition in Term Two session 24.2. Evidence suggests that the production of the 'I dunno' form in the early stages of development was formulaic. It was frequently produced in a number of different contexts, and although it was not overgeneralised, initially it was invariant. Amran produced 'I dunno' to convey lack of knowledge about a particular situation, event, or object, throughout Term Two. In the third term, 'dunno' appeared to be freed, and was produced in conjunction with a number of pronouns and post phrase -WH words (ex.1a).

Example 1a

T3 / July.

Am: he dunno what his name (he doesn't know what his name is)

Am: He dunno where going (he doesn't know where we're going)

As suggested above, in Term Three all learners produced 'don't' with a variety of pronouns and verbs. With the exception of Amran and Quayum, this appeared to be the result of the partial analysis of the formula 'I don't know'. Although there is no evidence in the data that either Amran or Quayum produced 'I don't know', both learners began to produce 'don't + verb' in the third term. At the same time as 'I dunno' became partially analysed, Amran began to produce 'don't + verb' in both clause initial positions (ex.1b), and incorporated into other constructions (ex.1c), thus overgeneralising this form to convey other forms. In Term Three Quayum also began to produce 'don't', in conjunction with a variety of pronouns and verbs, in the same way as it was being produced by other learners, as a partly analysed formula.

Example 1b.

T3 / July.

44 *Am: Don't go, no. (the car won't go)*

T4 / Nov.

Am: Don't cry he be alright.

Am: Oh don't purrit there!

Am: Don't see (don't look at my card)

Example 1c.

T3 / July.

123 Am:that one his, don't tell.....

143 Am: 'e said it ' don't smack him'.

There was not enough evidence to determine whether Quayum's production of 'don't' was formulaic, although it was invariant, it did not occur very frequently, it was not overgeneralised, and it did not occur in advance of other constructions he was producing. However Amran's production of 'don't' appeared to be formulaic, although it was not grammatically more advanced than other constructions, it did fulfil the other criteria. It did occur frequently, it was invariant, and perhaps more importantly, it was overgeneralised to convey a number of functions (ex.1d).

Example 1d.

T3 / July.

Am: you don't have that (you can't have that)

Am: I don't give you, mine (I won't give you, its mine)

Am: Miss, Abdul don't go Swire Smith (miss, Abdul is not going to Swire Smith)

Majid.

Majid appeared to be producing 'I don't know', and 'I dunno' interchangeably. However closer examination of these two forms revealed that he produced 'I dunno' as a complete unit, to express lack of knowledge about an event or object, identified as 'denial' by Bloom (1970). For all other constructions involving the negated form of 'do', he produced 'don't'. As with other learners this appeared to be formulaic. From the earliest production Majid produced 'don't' with a variety of verbs and pronouns. He then placed 'don't' at the beginning of the utterance to produce imperatives. In addition to this, initially 'don't' was overgeneralised to convey 'can't', and 'won't'. Clearly

Majid's use of 'don't' was similar to that of the other learners, but the significance of his production of this particular form was that he appeared to extend its use far earlier than the other learners, and developed a variety of negated utterances. Thus he was able to gain feedback, which once again gave him access to new grammatical data with which to explore the rules of English negation.

In addition to this there was evidence that Majid was beginning to produce 'haven't' in the third term. This is interesting because there is no exact equivalent for 'have' in Punjabi, so it might have been expected that this form would be late to develop, as indeed it was with the other learners, or that it might at least cause particular problems for the learner. Clearly this was not so in Majid's case.

Example 2a.

T3 / June.

149 Mj: *We haven't no. (we haven't any centipedes.)*

150 T : *It'll be there, we'll look through the magnifying glass.*

151 Mj: *No, it that haven't (we haven't got centipedes)*

4a) Incorporation of the Negative Particles NO and NOT.

Although producing many sentences with 'don't' as the negator, the learners were still relying heavily on 'no' and 'not' as the main negative markers. With the exception of Asif, the learners did not begin to use 'not' until the end of the second term, indeed Amran very rarely produced 'not', preferring 'no' as the main negative marker. In fact 'no' remained the dominant form of negation throughout the four terms. For the majority of learners the transition from placing the negative marker 'no' at the beginning or end of a sentence, to incorporating it into a sentence, occurred at the same time that they began to use formulaic speech to produce 'I dunno' and 'I don't know' during the second term. As the learners produced the negative particle 'no' in alternative positions within a sentence, it was found mainly placed before a noun, an adjective, or a verb.

Even when 'don't' appeared to be well established and frequently produced by the learners, they still used 'no' and 'not' to convey don't. Differentiation between the functions each form serves was both

a slow and an erratic process. Conversely, just as 'no' and 'not' were being used to represent 'don't', the above analysis suggested that 'don't' itself was being overgeneralised to convey yet other functions.

It appeared that throughout the period of study, these three forms, 'no', 'not' and 'don't' were used interchangeably in negated constructions. The only exception to this was in the production of negated imperatives. Here the learners seemed to have a preference for 'don't + verb!' in clause initial positions, as a means of expressing an objection or protesting about particular behaviour. Only Abdul Rob used 'not' instead of 'don't' to mark an imperative construction ('not cry!'). In fact, he used 'don't' very infrequently and even in the fourth term was still relying on 'no' as a major negating word.

4b) NO and NOT in Conjunction with the Auxiliary BE.

The production of the auxiliary BE in negated utterances was very erratic and varied from learner to learner. Towards the end of the second term, when the auxiliary was emerging in non-negated utterances, some learners frequently produced 'no' or 'not' in conjunction with the auxiliary. Other learners generally omitted the auxiliary in negated constructions, while most of the learners seem to produce the auxiliary at random, sometimes it was present, sometimes absent. There was no evidence of formulaic utterances which contained the negative particles 'no' or 'not'.

Majid produced 'isn't really' on a number of occasions to convey disbelief, and did not produce the form 'isn't' in any other constructions, preferring 'is no' or 'is not'. However there is not enough evidence to be sure this was formulaic, as the production of this form only meets two of the criteria for identification; it was invariant and perhaps in advance of other negated constructions (it was the first form to be contracted), but it was not overgeneralised to serve other functions, and it did not occur very often. Thus there is not enough data to confirm or reject the identification of 'isn't really' as a formulaic utterance.

Variation in the production of 'no' and 'not', and the production of the copula and auxiliary verb, indicates that to a large extent the learners are still sorting out the rules of negation. Even at the end of the fourth term none of the children were consistently able to produce 'not' in conjunction with the appropriate auxiliary.

5) The Production of Modals.

Towards the end of Term Three, five of the learners began to produce the negated form of 'can'. Only Abdul Rob produced 'no can' (on one occasion), all the other learners produced 'can't' from its very first appearance. Evidence suggests that this was a formulaic whole. Although only Majid overgeneralised this form to convey other functions (ex.6a), it was invariant and usually produced in conjunction with a pronoun. It was also produced frequently, enabling the learners to express frustration and secure help and / or reassurance for themselves or their peers. Finally, from the beginning of Term Two, Asif appropriately produced 'nobody' and 'nothing'.

Example 5a

T3 / June.

Mj: Can't go now, broken (it won't go now) <referring to the tape recorder>.

T3 / July.

Mj: He can't stop it then, he can't do stop that (he couldn't stop that).

T4 / Sep.

Mj: Can't be all wet (it mustn't get wet).

9.8.SUMMARY OF FINDINGS IN RELATION TO INTERROGATIVES AND NEGATION

1)Interrogatives.

As with all other areas of grammatical development it is not possible to suggest and indeed it would be wrong to suggest, that the production of interrogatives and negation is a linear process. Development was a slow continuous process, within which it was possible to identify a broad sequence of development. From the early stages of development the learners appeared to be able to produce 'yes / no' questions through the use of repetition, and incorporated repetition, with rising intonation at the end of a sentence. From the beginning of Term Three all the learners produced 'where' and 'what' interrogatives, through creatively constructed utterances, and though the use of formulaic speech, only formulaic WH- interrogatives contained the copula or auxiliary. Some modal verbs appeared alongside the production of Wh- interrogatives, and 'can' was inverted from its first appearance. Although the Be- inversion was the next form to appear, it was quite rare, and rising intonation continued to be the most popular way of producing 'yes / no' questions. Evidence suggests that the development of the creative production of the interrogative was partly a result of the analysis, and subsequent incorporation of forms which were produced initially, through the use of incorporated repetition and formulaic speech.

Clearly the ability to ask questions was a significant aspect of conversational interaction, not only did it allow the learners to nominate the topic, but it also allowed them to negotiate meaning and repair conversational breakdowns, thereby enabling them to build on their underlying grammatical system. 'Can I have a turn? / It's my turn' and 'I know, can I say?', were frequently produced by several learners. The first utterance reflects Peck's (1978) finding that certain types of play promote particular utterances which are an integral part of the game. This particular utterance enabled the learners not only to join the game, which in turn may have involved them in further conversational exchanges, but also enabled them to

regulate and ensure self participation. In addition to this, Majid used questions as a means of increasing his vocabulary, and monitoring his production of various grammatical forms therefore developing his knowledge of the underlying grammatical system.

2) Negation.

The accurate production of negated forms took a long time. Even by the end of the fourth term it is clear that the majority of learners had not fully internalised the underlying grammatical rules of negation. The negative particles 'no' and 'not', in conjunction with 'don't' seem to be the most dominant means of producing negation. Even as new forms began to emerge and serve old functions, there was a long period of overlap between the old and new forms. On the whole evidence suggested, that the learners produced 'no', 'not', and 'don't' interchangeably, and showed little understanding of the underlying semantic function of each form. The only exception to this was the production of 'don't' in clause initial positions to encode the imperative which suggested that some learners had made a distinction between negated imperatives and all other negated forms.

As might have been expected from earlier analysis, the auxiliary and copula began to appear towards the end of the second term and fluctuated between presence and absence through to Term Four. At the same time other forms of negated modals began to appear, and some of the learners began to modify aspects of 'don't' to encode the past tense. Finally Asif began to use nobody and nothing as negative markers.

Although there was little evidence of the production of negated forms through the use of repetition, it appears that the production of particular modal verbs was formulaic. 'I don't know', and 'I dunno' were the first negated modals to be recorded, and evidence suggested that these forms were formulaic. Clearly the phrase 'I don't know', was an important aspect of the learner's communicative competence, especially in the early stages of development. It was frequently used to express either a lack of knowledge about an event or object, or a lack of understanding about an instruction or process. It seemed to

enable the learners to take a turn by responding to a question, and to develop the conversation through the negotiation of meaning, by eliciting clarification. Once again this enabled the learners to convey a number of functions with little apparent understanding of the grammatical system.

In addition to this, evidence suggested that 'I don't know' and 'I dunno', were broken down into constituent parts, enabling the learners to produce a variety of negated utterances. 'Don't' was incorporated into to a number of verb phrases enabling the learners to produce all three functions identified by Bloom (1970) (ex.1a). This suggested that through the process of analysis of the original formula, 'don't' was internalised and incorporated into the learner's creative constructions, therefore contributing to the development of the learner's underlying grammatical system.

Example 1a.

1) Denial

T4 / Oct. - Responsive, qualifying unsolicited response.

T : Is Quayum going to Swire Smith?

Mj: He don't have to go.

2) Rejection.

T4 / Oct. - A performative, expressing an objection to an action.

Mj: Don't touch!

T3 / June - An assertive, expressing an emotion.

Mj: Me don't like this.

3) Non-Exsistence.

T2 / Feb. - An assertive, claiming lack of knowledge.

Mj: I don't know pencil (I don't know where the pencil is).

T2 / Feb. - Asking for information.

Mj: Why don't come Friday? (why don't you come on Friday?)

9.9.DISCUSSION OF THE SEQUENCE OF DEVELOPMENT OF INTERROGATIVES AND NEGATION IN RELATION TO FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE STUDIES.

Several of the developments identified in this study were similar to those identified in other studies of second language learning. Ellis (1986), using evidence from a number of studies summarized the stages of interrogative development in the following way;

1. 'Non- communicative' stage, in which the learner repeats the question.
2. Rising intonation at the end of a statement.
3. The production of Wh- questions, without subject-verb inversion.
4. Inversion occurs in both 'yes / no' questions, and in Wh- questions
5. Finally, embedded questions begin to be produced (p.60-61)

This is a striking finding, not only because there appeared to be consistencies across children learning English as a second language, but because a similar developmental pattern has been identified in first language learning (Klima et al, 1966; Bloom, 1970).

However, closer examination of the data in relation to both interrogatives and negation within this study, revealed that there were differences in the order of development, in that each learner did not progress through every stage, or necessarily go through the same stage, in the same order. There was variation within production by individual learners as well as variation across learners. In some cases it was not possible to identify a sequence of development because of the overlapping between forms, and regression within forms. Despite common areas of development, does this variation negate the notion of a shared underlying process? Before examining this question, it is important to consider some aspects of the process in more detail.

Evidence suggested that the learners appeared to be using incorporated repetition as a means of producing negated utterances and yes / no questions, (they used incorporated repetition to answer WH- questions rather than produce them). Additionally they used formulaic utterances to help them produce WH- interrogatives and negated utterances. It is argued that both strategies contributed to the learner's communicative competence. However, if formulaic utterances are seen as separate to the learner's creative construction system; then to what extent can they be said to be part of the learning process

and therefore included in the developmental sequence? In this study they were seen as an important part of the learners' developing competence, as they appeared to enable the learners to convey particular meanings, long before they had fully mastered the appropriate grammatical structure.

It is therefore argued, that they contributed to the learners' underlying grammatical system in two ways. Firstly by giving the learners quick access to a number of meanings, thus enabling them to potentially receive feedback, upon which to test their developing hypothesis about the underlying system. Secondly learners appeared to eventually analyse and incorporate elements of formulaic speech into their underlying creative construction system. However, although incorporated repetition and formulaic utterances are seen as making an important contribution to development, the same question arises; to what extent do these processes reflect processes in first language development? Although not extensively researched, studies have found that children use both repetition and formulaic speech as a means of conveying interrogatives and negation (Peters, 1983). Wells (1985) found that children appear to use a variety of strategies to produce important communicative functions, long before they have internalised the appropriate grammatical form.

9.10. SOME INITIAL REFLECTIONS.

In relation to the general process of development of morphemes and verb morphemes in particular, it would seem that discrepancies in the actual sequence of development relate to the rate, rather than route, of development. However, there were both individual differences and some 'whole group' differences, which may be accounted for by the nature of the classroom context; the fact that the learners already had some intuitive understanding of how language works (to a greater or lesser extent); apparent individual preferences for different processing strategies; and the transfer of certain aspects of the learner's mother tongue.

Firstly, evidence suggests that to some extent the learners from the early stages of development had actively to involve themselves in the process of initiating and maintaining interaction, even in the small group situation. Clearly the ability to do this is dependent upon a number of factors (personality, confidence, motivation), each of which may be affected by the learning situation. In the early stages of development it is clear that the demands both from the learners themselves (i.e. their need to interact), and those placed upon them by the situational context, outweighed their communicative competence. Individual learners dealt with these pressures in different ways, from Nasreen, who said very little (despite encouragement), to Amran, who frequently used repetition as a means of joining in the conversation.

Other learners, to a greater or lesser extent, appeared to use repetition and formulaic speech as one of the means of overcoming their lack of grammatical resources. The use of these two strategies to produce interrogatives and negation in particular, may to some extent have distorted the sequence of development. However it is argued that although some of these forms, (produced through modelled repetition and formulaic speech), did not appear to make up part of the learner's creative capacity at first, they were however significant. They seemed to enable learners to manage conversational exchanges, and later on in development, some forms appeared to be incorporated into the learners' creative system. In addition to this some learners continued to use repetition and formulaic speech as a means of producing interrogatives and negation right into the fourth term. Thus the context may have

placed certain demands upon the learners leading to the use of particular strategies, through which certain forms were produced. But this is seen as evidence of the underlying processes which determine the sequence of development, rather than being viewed as an additional factor which is peculiar to this particular context and has only produced anomalies within the sequence.

In addition to this it was clear that some learners, having already developed knowledge of how conversational interaction 'works', appeared to transfer these skills to interaction using their second language. Manifestations of this were apparent from the early stages when the majority of learners appeared to be adhering to the rules of conversation from the first session; initiating, sustaining and developing conversational exchanges through a series of turns, which were semantically linked. Thus some of the learners were very quickly able to produce relatively complex utterances through the use of incorporated repetition. It is interesting to note that Nasreen's apparent difficulty in joining-in and responding to her conversational partner, was also found in conversations with the liaison teacher in her mother tongue. This may suggest that Nasreen was only beginning to develop competence in managing conversational exchanges, and that the introduction of a second language was initially very problematic.

Secondly, if language development is viewed in relation to general cognitive development, it is clear that although patterns of development have been found to be universal in first language learning, the effect of the second language learner's divergent experiences may lead to differences in the way in which learners solve the problem of internalising their new language. Thus although this may not lead to major discrepancies in the sequence of development, (given that learners employ general cognitive problem solving strategies), it may account for some aspects of individual variation. In relation to apparent preferences for particular processing strategies, there was evidence of both 'data gatherers' and 'rule formers' as defined by Hatch (1974).

For example in relation to interrogatives, Majid appeared to move from stage to stage with only minimum overlap. In contrast to this Amran appeared to be constantly fluctuating between correct production, incorrect production, and omission, as well as overgeneralisation and the production of new forms to serve old functions. Thus, although he was still able to produce a range of interrogatives, there was little evidence that he had internalised appropriate rules. In addition to this he seemed to have a preference for using rising intonation as a means of asking questions.

Finally, at some points within development, evidence suggests that there was some (albeit limited) transfer from the learner's mother tongue. In some cases this seemed to have a positive effect, enabling learners to overcome particular grammatical problems (e.g. in the production of 'one'), in other cases the effect seemed to cause particular difficulties (e.g. the word order of verb phrases in Term Two). However what is significant, is that in nearly all cases, and for all children, the errors were very quickly overcome. Thus it would appear that where the underlying grammatical structure of the learner's mother tongue differed from English, this did not cause insurmountable problems.

Initial reflections have identified some of the factors which may account for individual and group differences within the sequence of development. In the next chapter there follows a summary and discussion of the major findings, in relation to both the sequence of development identified in morpheme development and the relationship between the development of these particular forms and the use of repetition and formulaic speech. Chapter Ten concludes by considering the educational implications of these findings and potential directions for future research.

However, before moving on to specific points that the analysis seeks to establish, it would be useful to view the individual development that occurred within the overall framework of the research. Thus this chapter concludes with a brief profile of the progress made by each child during the period of the study.

9.11.CHILD PORTRAITS.

AMRAN - Punjabi Mother Tongue Speaker.

Amran was very lively and responsive, he formed good relationships with the children in the group and with his teacher. He appeared to enjoy the group sessions and was often first to arrive and always keen to know when the next one would be. He was very inquisitive, showing interest in the teacher / researcher, the other group members and his classroom teacher. He was always willing to share his experiences with the other children and often brought 'things' in to show the teacher / researcher. He was very keen to help and be involved in organising and managing activities and enjoyed trying new experiences. He appeared to try hard and was proud of his achievements. He had a strong sense of fairness and often tried to mediate in disputes. He had a special relationship with Abdul Rob who was in the same class.

From the early stages of development Amran was very keen to initiate and join in the conversation. Initially he did this through repetition and incorporated repetition and continued to use these strategies throughout the period of study. He also appeared to enjoy 'playing' with the new language, frequently making up rhymes and strings of 'non-sense' utterances, repeating them to himself or involving other children in a 'verbal duet'. It is interesting to note that the strategies Amran used on the whole were passive rather than active, in that they did not necessarily generate feedback, although Amran appeared to say a lot. For example he frequently repeated the teacher / researcher's popular phrases almost as a means of reinforcing what she had said, although this still gave valuable practice and contextualised meaning not production.

By the end of the sixth term Amran was able to convey a variety of meanings, although his structural accuracy was clearly still developing. While there was a steady increase in correct production of morphemes, Amran had difficulty in encoding precise or complex meanings. However he would endeavour to make himself understood by using a variety of verbal and non-verbal strategies, negotiating the meaning with his conversational partner until agreement was reached.

MAJID - Punjabi Mother Tongue Speaker.

Tasleem left in December 1982, and given the possibility of other children in the study leaving and thus reducing the amount of data collected, Majid joined the group in January 1983 to replace Tasleem. Although he had only arrived in England in December and spoke no English he appeared to be very confident and at ease within the group from the very beginning. In fact he very soon became the strongest personality within the group. He appeared very keen to 'learn' and often insisted that the other children in the group only spoke English. He was very responsive but thoughtful, often using his initiative to direct activities and decide what could be done and how to do it, soon becoming identified as group 'leader'. On the whole he preferred to work alone, setting himself high standards. He was meticulous in his involvement in the activity process and presentation of the end product. He enjoyed seeing his work and group work on the wall and often showed this to his class teacher. He seemed to be very 'involved' in his family and community and appeared to become politically aware at election time, giving a number of reasons for voting for a particular party.

From the time Majid joined the group he was anxious to initiate and join in conversations, and he appeared to progress very quickly, being able to convey a variety of meanings from the early stages of development, even though he joined the group in the second term having only recently arrived in England. This was particularly evident in relation to the production of a variety of negated utterances and interrogatives (see Chapter Nine). In addition to this Majid used a number of communication strategies which seemed to enable him to produce a variety of meanings, from the beginning of his second language development. It is interesting to note that Majid hardly ever used sustained repetition, his strategies tended to be productive. Although detailed analysis was not undertaken, it is possible to identify those which seemed most common; paraphrasing, asking for particular vocabulary, seeking clarification, restructuring, all of which seemed to enable Majid to negotiate meaning with his conversational partner, until agreement had been reached.

RAZWANA - Punjabi Mother Tongue Speaker.

Razwana was quietly confident when she joined the group, establishing herself as an important group member within the relationships that developed. She responded well to adults and often directed her thoughts to the teacher / researcher rather than the other children. She enjoyed talking and always had lots of 'news' to share. However, she tended to be 'a loner' preferring to work alone, although keen to come to the sessions and join in activities. On outings she liked to walk with the Teacher / Researcher and talk about her family and community. She was resourceful and thoughtful, working carefully and helping other children if necessary.

Razwana progressed quickly in her use of English she was able to structurally encode a variety of meanings by the end of the first three terms. She was developing a 'Yorkshire' accent and used a number of colloquialisms and idioms. Along with Majid she appeared to be constantly producing and trying new constructions progressively encoding more complex meanings. She appeared to use incorporated repetition and formulaic speech as a means of joining in and clarifying meaning. She often repeated key words from the previous utterance and 'played' with them, using a 'sing-song' voice to make up rhymes in solitary play. Her apparent preference for adults perhaps gave her the opportunity for more individual feedback, often asking to say in at play-time and dinner-time to 'help'.

However, at times Razwana appeared to be tired and anxious, she seemed to have a lot of responsibility at home which she took very seriously. In one or two of the sessions she was particularly quiet only responding with one or two words, almost reluctant to speak. Although rarely absent on recording days, Razwana did have almost a day a week away from school. During May (1983) Razwana actually left the school for three weeks to join her cousin in a near-by school. This did not cause any difficulty in terms of recording of data as she only missed one session, but there was a noticeable change in her attitude on her return. She was quiet and clearly reluctant to participate, often seeming upset. In both her classroom and group sessions, her production of English seemed to have regressed, she reverted to one word answers and rarely initiated conversations. However with a lot of

support and encouragement she eventually seemed to settle down and regained her confidence, appearing to enjoy school once again. Although time and space prevents an in-depth report on the effect of this particular event, it did serve as a timely reminder of the powerful effect that external variables may have on development.

ABDUL ROB - Bengali Mother Tongue Speaker.

Abdul was lively and full of fun, always keen to come to the session and try new activities. Although enthusiastic he was rather tentative, preferring to follow Amran for guidance. He liked to work on joint projects with Amran and concentrated for long periods of time on intricate designs and detail. He began to initiate conversation in the second term but on the whole was rather quiet when involved in particularly demanding activities. By the third term it seemed that Abdul was beginning to feel in competition with Amran, always under pressure to do 'better'. This often made him dissatisfied with his own work and very frustrated, he began to insist that only English was spoken in the group. During the third term he began to develop a slight stutter. This did not seem to inhibit him from speaking, but made him angry and frustrated. During the fourth term this gradually disappeared as he appeared to gain more confidence in himself and make new friends in his new class.

In the early stages of development Abdul seemed to use repetition and incorporated repetition as a means of conveying particular meanings. However as his competence grew he often responded to the teacher / researcher's 'corrections' or expansions by nodding or saying yes, he rarely developed these, preferring to develop the conversation in his own way. By the end of the sixth term, although Abdul could convey a number of meanings, these were not always precise or accurate leading to frustration and confusion.

During Term Two Abdul and Majid began to insist that everybody spoke English. This seemed to be the result of peer group pressure and self imposed pressure. For example in the former case Abdul did not like being excluded from conversations between Amran and Razwana because he could not understand Punjabi and he therefore (understandably) insisted upon English being spoken. In the latter

case, from the moment Majid arrived in school he seemed to be under tremendous self imposed pressure to learn English; he often asked the other members of the group to speak English and rarely used Punjabi spontaneously.

In relation to morpheme development, by the sixth term, although steadily increasing competence, he appeared to be having particular difficulty with articles and prepositions. On the whole both the definite and indefinite were omitted and although the production of 'one' became less frequent as a substitute, when it was produced it was in conjunction with 'that', suggesting that it may have been an unanalysed whole. Although he began to produce several prepositions as his competence increased, some of these could have been formulaic e.g. 'move up' 'sit down' 'stand up', as they were produced in this form long before they were introduced into other constructions. Although increasing his correct production of 'in' and 'on', on the whole the two forms were used interchangeably and on the whole omitted, if location could be signalled by gestures or context.

Clearly there may be a number of factors which contributed to Abdul's apparent slow development of the morphemic system and consequently his lack of ability to make himself clearly understood. This highlights the potential importance of external factors and the need constantly to monitor the learners progress, in order to ensure that the all the learners' needs are being met. Abdul's progression raises some crucial questions which may have wider implications. These relate to the onset of his stutter, his apparent rivalry with Amran, his demand that only English should be spoken and the whole question of withdrawing children in small groups.

TERA - Bengali Mother Tongue Speaker.

Tera was very lively and enthusiastic, he would join in and participate in all the activities. Initially he appeared to be physically and developmentally immature, in the early stages of motor control and hand-eye co-ordination. He enjoyed activities which did not require long concentration and could be tackled at several levels e.g. finger painting, junk modelling, plasticine, printing etc. In addition to this, when Tera first joined the group he often spoke to the teacher

/ researcher in Bengali, although her lack of an understandable reply did not seem to deter his attempts at communication. When he did begin to use English it was very difficult to understand what he was trying to say. His articulation was poor and he seemed to string words together without any apparent meaning. When he spoke to Abdul Rob in Bengali, Abdul often responded by shrugging his shoulders as if he did not understand. However this apparent lack of communication did not seem to affect Tera's confidence, he continued to talk to the teacher / researcher and other children quite happily, during the first term.

In the first term he appeared to be very protective towards Tasleem, who was in the same class. But it is interesting to note that although Tasleem's mother tongue was Bengali, Tera tended to speak to her in English. Clearly Tasleem may have spoken a different dialect and therefore English was the common language, or Tera may not have made a clear distinction between the two languages using them initially interchangeably. When Tasleem left Tera did not seem to be unduly upset as he seemed quite self-contained.

There was a definite improvement in his use of English during the following terms, Tera was able to make himself understood initially through using two of three key words with gestures, then producing several words in an attempt to encode more complex meanings. But these were often very mixed up in terms of tense and word order and articulation was very poor. Assessment by the home-school liaison teacher revealed that Tera's command of Bengali was also very poor, but at that time there was no support for Bengali speaking children. This raises several issues which relate to the potential effect of introducing a second language before the first has become established; the need to support the learner's mother tongue; and the best way give support to a child who is clearly having difficulty in communicating in the second language. It would seem that Tera may have benefited tremendously from involvement in the type of experiences that can be provided in nursery education.

ASIF - Punjabi Mother Tongue Speaker.

Asif was mature and responsible, he enjoyed coming to the group sessions and took the activities very seriously, always trying hard and setting himself high standards. He used his initiative and had a vivid imagination he enjoyed creative arts and showed great talent in his ability to draw. His observations were detailed and precise. He liked to talk about Pakistan and was very knowledgeable about the Koran and Islam in general. He was happy to work with Quayum on a joint project and always willing to help the other group members. He occasionally became frustrated with Quayum, when he occasionally wanted Asif to do a drawing or painting for him and constantly interrupted Asif's concentration. He acted as the spokesperson for the group if anything needed explaining in Punjabi for the class or group.

Although by the fourth term Asif had not mastered the morphemic system and had not in fact reached 50% correct production all morphemes examined in the study (with the exception of the present progressive), he did attempt to encode a number of complex meanings, from the early stages of development. Moving from simple sentences to compound sentences by the second term and then onto complex sentences in Term Three. It is interesting to note that although Asif used repetition as a means of joining in the conversation in the early stages of development, this was soon dropped. He began to use incorporated repetition as a key means of developing the conversation frequently building on the previous utterance and extending the whole conversational episode, e.g..

Term 3 - July Talking about a Language for Learning Picture The Street.

36 T :if he's hurt, what will he do?

37 As: if he hurt, there's doctor.

38 T : Oh yes, what's the doctor doing?

39 As: Doctor doing something, he's hurt there on his head, he need bandage.

40 T : How did he hurt his head?

41 As: He fall down from there, doctor come... go to hospital get bandage up.

42 T : He jumped down and hurt his head?

43 As: No jump down, falled like this.... you know that boy Tariq, when he fell down.... um down the wall..... he go hospital with his mum.

44 T : Oh dear, was he alright?

45 As: Yeah alright, think so..... he didn't come school, I don't know

This suggests that to some extent Asif was developing communicative competence through constructing meanings using major grammatical elements. It seems that from the early stages he wanted to convey fairly complex meanings and to some extent the function words (although clearly important) seem to be redundant, even in the third term he is not consistently producing those morphemes examined in the study. Unfortunately Asif left to go to middle school at the end of the third term and it was not possible to make any more recordings after the fourth term or to chart the further development of his morphemic system.

QUAYUM - Bengali Mother Tongue Speaker.

Quayum seemed very unsettled at school he lacked confidence in himself and often appeared to be rather solemn and down cast. He appeared to 'look up' to Asif and constantly tried to copy him. Although they seemed to enjoy working together much of the time, Quayum would sometimes become frustrated and angry destroying his own efforts, making the activity competitive rather than shared. He appeared to find school very hard. He was often in trouble for fighting and preferred to be with older boys. When Asif spoke about Pakistan, Quayum would become very defensive and argue that Bangladesh was much better.

Clearly putting Quayum in a group with Asif may have exacerbated the situation, although none of the activities were competitive. However, in order to build Quayum's self-esteem and give him a sense of success, he was encouraged to do activities that did not involve Asif for a while. He was praised for effort and given responsibility for making decisions about how he would tackle an activity, exploring and exploiting his abilities. Quayum seemed to become more relaxed and began to put more effort into his work and play during the second term.

He spoke very little in the sessions during the first term, preferring just to nod, or respond with single words. In contrast to the other learners he did not appear to utilise sustained repetition or incorporated repetition to the same extent as the other children in the study. Unlike the majority of other learners he did not use repetition as a means of producing English very frequently in the early stages of development. But what is interesting, is although Quayum did not appear

to speak as much as the other children in his group, evidence suggests that his production of morphemes was neither more or less accurate than the other learners, by the end of term four.

As might be expected, during the first recording at Quayum's middle school in term four, he seemed to have regressed somewhat using one word answers and short sentences. He appeared to be quite subdued and rather 'lost', he was unable to tell the teacher / researchers his form teacher's name and showed no enthusiasm for the areas of the school that he reflected upon during the first session. In contrast to this he seemed to enjoy going out, this was evidenced by his constant chatter and enthusiasm during the outing.

Although not substantiated by empirical research it seems clear that almost from his first day at school Quayum felt estranged from his peers and unhappy in the school context. He seemed most happy when the group worked on areas associated with Bangladesh and Islam, not surprisingly he felt he had something important to contribute. He seemed to struggle with many of the activities he attempted and he constantly tried to copy Asif. He seemed to lack confidence and as he became progressively further behind the others in his class he became more disruptive. Once again this points towards the powerful effect of self esteem and the need to recognise the cultural and linguistic experiences that children bring to school as a basis for learning.

ABDUL QUAYUM - Bengali Mother Tongue Speaker.

Abdul Quayum was gentle and enthusiastic, he was keen to learn and tried hard. He liked to contribute to sessions, offering ideas and suggestions. He got on well with the other children, praising Asif and 'looking after' Lipi, occasionally speaking to Lipi in Bengali as a means of explaining something to her. He liked to try each activity and would sometimes rather 'rush' in order to move and try something new. He seemed to enjoy the small group situation he was always keen to come and often brought 'work' from his classroom to share with the group.

Initially he did not contribute a great deal to the group sessions preferring to 'get on' with the activity. He tended to produce one word answers and did not use repetition as a means of joining in or sustaining the conversation very frequently during the first term. It seemed as if initially he was to some extent 'tuning-in' to the rhythms, patterns and intonation of English. In the second term he seemed to have gained confidence and constantly asked questions through rising intonation, this enabled him to nominate the topic and sustain the conversation. In addition to this he would often attempt to tell the group long stories about particular events, in which he had been involved. In such cases it was not easy to give Abdul help as these reports often referred to the past, thus it was difficult to understand what he was trying to say. Although this did involve much negotiation of meaning, between the group, the teacher / researcher and Abdul, understanding was not always achieved.

By the fourth term Abdul had reached 50% (or more) correct production on all of the morphemes with the exception of articles. Although it appears that on the whole he did not produce articles, evidence suggests that in fact throughout the four terms he produced 'one' as a substitute. Unlike the other learners, Abdul produced this far more frequently (rather than less), as his competence developed. This raises the issue of the prevention of the establishment of incorrect forms, whether this may be a problem, when it actually becomes a problem and the way in which it can be corrected.

LIPI - Bengali Mother Tongue Speaker.

Lipi was shy and reserved throughout the period of study, she was very reluctant to talk and whispered when she spoke, consequently there was very little data available for analysis. However she seemed happy to join in the activities often smiling and laughing when working with Abdul Quayum, although she did not speak to Abdul in Bengali or English. It is interesting to note that in the classroom context although quiet in a large group situation, her teacher reported that in working with a small group of Bengali speaking girls she seemed to be articulate and confident in using her mother tongue. Her teacher reported that she tended to mix with Bengali speaking girls and make very little attempt to use English in the classroom. Even in a small group situation with her friends and the teacher she seemed reluctant to speak.

It would seem that in this case, reluctance to speak in the small group situation with an adult present could be related partly to gender and partly to personality. It would seem that on the whole Lipi was rather shy and found the presence of an adult difficult to cope with, (perhaps especially a white English speaking adult), possibly feeling under pressure to respond to something she found difficult to understand. In the small group situation with the teacher / researcher, her difficulty may have been compounded by not only the adult but the presence of three boys. Although she seemed to feel secure working along side Abdul Quayum (they were in the same class), she clearly was not prepared to say very much to him. It would seem that both these factors are very significant in planning and organising learning in the classroom.

NASREEN - Punjabi Mother Tongue Speaker.

Nasreen was also very quiet and reserved but in quite a different way to Lipi. She seemed very immature for her age, she did not attempt to do any of the activities without considerable help from the teacher / researcher. Her concentration was very short (relative to the other children) and she did not appear to understand Asif when he spoke to her or tried to help her. Her classroom teacher reported that she did not relate to the other children; she did not appear to make any friends. She seemed confused and unable to use her initiative or join in with classroom activities, even when paired with other Punjabi speaking girls she seemed lost.

However during the second term she seemed to have gained some confidence, she would try activities and take her work back to her class teacher. However on the whole she was still very reluctant to speak, responses tended to be single words or gestures, clearly she made very little progress in her use of English. She did not relate to the other children and was on the whole very solemn. She showed no emotional response to praise or special events (outings / celebration of Eid etc). On the whole Nasreen made very little progress during her first three terms at school and after extensive consultation with the liaison teacher she was referred to an Education Psychologist.

This profile raises issues that are related to children with special needs and in particular non-English speaking children. The need for communication in the child's mother tongue and parental involvement would seem to be paramount to the evaluation of Nasreen's problems and implementation of provision and practice to support development.

These child portraits have aimed to give the reader a broader view of each learner through which to consider the general findings. In addition to this these portraits serve as an important reminder of not only the complexity of development but the variety of factors that contribute to language and learning. The final chapter is a summary and discussion of findings which leads to some tentative conclusions and potential educational implications.

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS.

10.1. MORPHEME DEVELOPMENT.

Evidence from this analysis of morphemes, suggested that the development of the morphological system of four learners was similar to the order identified in naturalistic studies (Krashen, 1977) and classroom studies (Ellis, 1982). There was a particular correlation between morphological development in previous studies and the development within this study of; the present progressive, copula and plural for two learners, the present progressive and copula for one learner, and the present progressive for the fourth learner. However, while this analysis could give validity to the concept of a general sequence, the data did show individual differences within the sequence. These were accounted for by external factors, transfer of the learners' mother tongue and the possibility of individual learning styles. As shown in studies of first language learning, differences in development seemed to relate to the 'rate' of development, rather than the 'route' (Wells, 1985).

The only major deviation from the predicted 'natural' order in this study was brought about by the relatively high ranking order and apparent acquisition of the irregular past in the speech of Abdul Rob, (a Bengali mother tongue speaker). However, this discrepancy was explained in terms of the frequency of one particular form, which accounted for the majority of occurrences of the past irregular. Other forms of the past irregular were infrequent and on the whole incorrectly produced. Thus the level of acquisition of the past irregular can only be said to relate to Abdul's production of the irregular verb 'say'. Although not required to repeat or 'practice' this form ('said'), it appeared to be frequently produced in the classroom context (e.g. in stories, and in the maintenance of 'control' by the teacher 'I said ...' etc). It also serves a number of important communicative functions, such as reporting on past statements and restating particular meanings. Comparison between the formal structure

of the past irregular in English and Bengali did not suggest that the early production of this form was related to transfer of the learner's mother tongue. This is discussed further under point four of this chapter.

Evidence from the corpus of data suggested that the development of the morphological system shares some of the characteristics of the processes identified in first language development. The findings reported in the following pages have important pedagogical implications for classroom second language learning, and are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Firstly, development of the morphological system was very slow. By the end of Term Six, only three morphemes had been acquired by two of the learners. This is common to both first and second language learners and has been related to the low level of communicative importance of morphemes in the early stages of development (Van Patten, 1984; Hatch, 1978). Morphemes take on greater significance and become central to communication as the learners begin to encode more complex meanings.

The exception to this finding was the relatively early acquisition of the surface structure of the present progressive -ING, which has been explained by a number of possible factors which included its high perceptual salience, apparent frequency in speech, phonological stability, and the stability of the verb form to which it is attached (Wagner-Gough, 1978). The data showed that in the early stages of development the learners were involved in labelling objects and actions, frequently hearing the present progressive, and being asked to respond to requests for information about state process (e.g. what's he doing / he's verb + -ING).

Secondly, although certain 'stages' of development have been identified, this term is used in a very general sense, since evidence suggests that there are no fully discrete stages. Development does not seem to be a linear process, but is marked by fluctuations in production and correct use. The erratic nature of the development of morphemes has been explained by a number of external and internal factors. Evidence suggests that in both first and second language learning, as new forms emerge both within and across morphemes, the processing demands upon the learner are increased to such an extent as

to cause a fall in the correct production of partially learned forms (Hakuta, 1974). In relation to second language learners, the over emphasis on a particular form in a 'teaching' context, can lead to overgeneralisation of that form to a variety of contexts, causing a sudden rise in production and a misleading picture of development (Lightbown 1983). It is interesting to note that evidence from several studies suggests that the production of the 'overlearned' forms is often only temporary (Lightbown, 1983; Pica, 1983).

Given that the learners in this study were not involved in 'formal' input, (as far as it is possible to ascertain), it would seem that during this period of rapid learning, when the children were involved in so many new experiences, fluctuation in correct production may have been produced by processing overload. Information processing models suggest that as particular aspects of language become automatised, learners are able to 'see and hear' more, as their attention becomes progressively freed (McLaughlin et al, 1983).

Thirdly, in relation to the above finding, there is evidence that regardless of the learning context, learners overgeneralise both form and function of particular morphemes. Within a classroom context, as with formulaic speech, this enables the learners to 'use a little' to 'say a lot' (Fillmore 1976). This particular phenomena also occurs in first language development and has been identified by Slobin (1973) as a universal operating principle common to all language development.

Overgeneralisation is also seen as fundamental to second language development, and is one of the five principle processes identified by Selinker (1972), which he uses to account for second language development. Selinker suggests that learners can only 'test' a limited number of 'hypotheses' at any one time. In order to reduce the processing load, learners extend existing knowledge to new forms as a means of 'testing' their hypothesis through the feedback they receive. It is argued that particular forms are used to convey a variety of meanings when the learners' communicative needs do not match their underlying syntactical knowledge, and the nearest equivalents are used.

Fourthly, there is some evidence that the learners were transferring information from their mother tongue to enable them to produce certain forms. This has also been found in other second language studies, although the particular morpheme(s) affected seems to depend upon the learner's first language. Many forms of language transfer have been investigated and can be seen to influence second language development both positively and negatively (McLaughlin 1984). In relation to the development of morphemes Hakuta (1974) suggests that a morpheme is likely to be acquired later than predicted, if the semantic notion encoded by the form is not encoded in the learner's mother tongue.

Although there are a number of contrasts between Punjabi and Bengali in relation to English, there was evidence of only two types of error which could be attributed to the transfer of formal aspects of the learner's mother tongue. These relate to word order and the production of the indefinite article. The production of the noun before the verb in Term Two was only temporary and did not occur in Term Three. For the majority of learners 'one' did not become established and was eventually replaced by the indefinite marker. However for one of the learners, 'one' continued to be produced as a substitute for the indefinite marker through out the period of study. This raises an important question in relation to the identification of potential 'fossilisation' and the way in which this can be overcome.

As discussed in the literature review, traditionally, 'transfer' from the learner's mother tongue was seen as evidence of the fundamental differences between the processes of first and second language development. Then as evidence revealed that very few errors identified in the learner's speech could be traced to 'transfer', Dulay et al (1982) on the basis of several studies concluded that learners' first languages do not in fact influence the process of second language development. However more recently this finding has been disputed, Faerch and Kasper (1987), argue that;

'transfer is used in the learner's attempt to establish hypotheses about L2 rules and items. These may be formed on the basis of the learner's L1 knowledge alone, or as a result of an interaction between such knowledge and the L2 input the learner receives' p.114.

Although one might argue with the word input (which may suggest a passive recipient rather than an active partner in the process), this suggests that the learner's previous knowledge has an important contribution to make to second language learning. This particular view places the concept of 'transfer' within an information processing model of second language development.

Fifthly, some of the learners appeared to be using repetition and formulaic speech as a means of taking part in the conversation. The use of these strategies included the production of some morphemes that were not necessarily being produced in non-repeated or non-formulaic speech. These particular strategies appear to fulfil a very important role. They seemed to enable the learners to take part in conversational interaction, from the early stages of development. This finding led to the second aspect of analysis, in which the role of repetition and formulaic speech in relation to the development of verb morphemes was explored.

Evidence from the analysis of verb morphemes and the development of interrogatives and negation, showed that all of the learners, to a greater or lesser extent, used one or more forms of repetition and particular formulaic expressions which involved the production of particular verb forms, during the period of study. These strategies seemed to enable the learners to 'manage' the interactional structure of the conversation, and to convey a number of new meanings. Thus it is possible that by helping the learners to become involved in conversational exchanges that they also contributed to the development of the underlying grammatical system.

Finally, although the sequence identified in relation to the development of interrogatives and negation was not complete, (as learners fluctuated in their correct production of all forms), it was possible to identify some significant changes in production during the period of study. These broad stages of development are comparable to stages identified in studies of first and second language development. However it is important to note that not all learners went through each stage of development: some learners produced two new forms simultaneously, and the rate of development differed from learner to learner.

In addition to this some forms of both negation and interrogatives appeared to be produced through the use of incorporated repetition and formulaic chunks. The production of interrogatives and negation through formulaic speech may have distorted the apparent pattern of development, and it is difficult to determine when certain forms became fully internalised and produced in creative constructions. However, the use of these two particular strategies was significant, in that they seemed to enable the learners to produce two communicatively important meanings in a number of different contexts. In addition to this there is evidence that these formulaic utterances became analysed and incorporated into other constructions. This is discussed more fully in the section on repetition and formulaic speech.

10.2 MODELLED, SUSTAINED AND INCORPORATED REPETITION.

As found in studies of first and second language development, the use of repetition potentially enables the learners to join in the conversation and take a turn in the very early stages of development (Keenan, 1977; Hatch, 1978). In this study, modelled repetition was used in the early stages of development and was perhaps the least 'interactive' strategy. It was produced at the teacher's request, to enable the learners to 'practise' a particular 'phrase' or 'sentence' within a meaningful context. Thus it enabled the learner to take a turn, but was rarely extended. However, at the request of the teacher/researcher, a particular utterance could be accurately reproduced, and later on during the same session, elements produced through modelled repetition (usually key words) were reproduced in other constructions.

Sustained repetition was used spontaneously by the learners. This seemed to enable learners to join in and maintain the conversation by repeating particularly salient words, often as a means of labelling an action or object, which corroborates findings reported in Hatch (1983). In this type of repetition, the learners rarely reproduced any morpheme which was part of the surface structure, with the exception of the -ING inflection. In the first term, three of the learners produced the present progressive -ING through sustained repetition in over 50% of all their correct productions of this form. At the same time they were

also beginning to produce the -ING inflection correctly in other constructions.

It is interesting that some learners initially tended to reproduce morphemes in modelled repetitions but not in sustained repetition. This suggests, that in elicited repetitions, the learners may focus on the surface structure of the utterance. Conversely if the learners are using sustained repetition as a way of conveying a particular meaning, then as in other constructions, it would appear that the 'function' words are omitted as they are not crucial to the learners' underlying semantic intention, at that point. This supports findings from several studies that morphemes produced in elicited production tests, or rote learning situations, do not necessarily occur in the learner's spontaneous speech (Felix, 1981; Schumann, 1978). However, as some learners began to reproduce the auxiliary in sustained repetition, at the same time this form appeared in other apparently creatively constructed utterances. This substantiates findings reported by Bloom et al (1974), on the basis of several studies of repetition in first language development.

Elicited repetition was a strategy used by the teacher/researcher in the early stages of the study, but as the learners became more competent, the request to repeat an utterance became less frequent. On the other hand sustained repetition was used throughout all four terms by some of the learners. Amran in particular used this strategy extensively, whereas sustained repetition was used very infrequently by Majid during the recorded sessions.

Incorporated repetition began to appear at the end of the first term, and as with repetition, the use of incorporation varied from learner to learner. It appeared to be a very 'productive' strategy in that it enabled learners to gain access to a wide variety of meaningful interactions through the negotiation and extension of meanings. Some learners began to use this strategy in the later stages of the recordings. Other learners used incorporation from the first term, progressively incorporating more elements as their competence grew, as found in several studies of first and young second language learners (Scollon, 1979; Wong-Fillmore, 1976; Wagner-Gough, 1978).

This type of repetition ranged from: the incorporation of just one word that was produced in conjunction with another word, to the production of a series of linked phrases, each one building on and extending the previous utterance, enabling the learner to produce new and complex meanings. In some recordings, there is evidence that whole conversational sequences appeared to be developed through the use of incorporation, showing evidence of the learners negotiating meaning through the use of 'scaffolding', as illustrated by Scollon (op.cit) in first language learning. However as some learners became more competent, their use of incorporated repetition seemed to become less frequent.

Thus, incorporated repetition, appeared to enable the learners not only to join in and sustain the conversation by taking a turn, but to extend the conversation. By incorporating elements of the previous structure into a their own construction, learners seemed to be able to encode new meanings, and either develop or change the topic of conversation, with limited resources. In addition to this, repetition of the previous utterance plus the use of tag questions or rising intonation, enabled the learners to signal the need for clarification. This was particularly useful when a learner was having difficulty in either conveying a particular meaning or understanding a message.

In relation to the production of particular meanings, evidence suggests that the learners were able to produce interrogatives through the use of incorporated repetition. The repetition of the previous phrase with rising intonation was one of the earliest and most consistent ways of producing an interrogative throughout the four terms. As suggested above, by repeating the previous phrase and adding rising intonation, the learners were able to clarify meaning. In addition to this they were able to extend the conversation by constructing a number of different questions on the basis of the previous utterance. It is also interesting to note that incorporated repetition seemed to help learners to respond to interrogatives.

Learners frequently incorporated part of the question into their answer, and in the early stages of development some learners incorporated the actual question word into their response. Clearly, the ability to produce and respond to questions is a very

important aspect of conversational interaction. Through this the learners are able to clarify meaning and make requests as well as being able to respond to them, thereby extending the conversation and gaining access to feedback. Incorporation seemed to help the learners to produce a particular function before they had mastered the appropriate form.

Evidence also suggests that some of the learners produced negated forms through the use of incorporated repetition. Learners repeated or partially repeated the previous utterance, with the addition of the clause initial negative particle, 'no' or 'not'. As the learners became more fluent, negation was achieved by repetition of the previous utterance plus the incorporation of a negative marker into the body of the sentence. As with interrogatives, the ability to convey negation is very important, especially in a classroom context where the learners need to assert their rights and express choices and opinions.

As with repeated utterances, the learners rarely incorporated verb morphemes into their new constructions (again with the exception of the -ING inflection). However, there are some exceptions to this. Occasionally learners appeared to be 'imitating' the teacher/researcher and reproduce whole utterances, which included the 'function' words. They appeared to 'take on' the role of the teacher, by asking the other children a particular question, or giving a particular command. In imitating the perceived 'role' of the teacher/researcher they appeared carefully to reproduce the accent, intonation and the form as accurately as possible. However those forms that were produced through apparent careful 'role play', do not appear in the learner's other constructions involving the production of similar forms.

It seems that as particular verb morphemes began to be appear in other constructions, the same forms were produced in sustained and incorporated repetition. This suggests that as a particular form began to emerge, the learners were able to produce it in a number of different constructions, which included apparently creatively constructed utterances and repeated utterances. However, it was not possible to determine if, as the learners began to produce certain forms through incorporated repetition, they were internalised and became part of their underlying creative construction system, or vice

versa, as certain forms appeared in both types of production simultaneously. It would seem that eventual acquisition is helped by both forms of production, neither one pre-empting the other. As the learner produces a particular form through either repetition, or within creatively constructed utterances, the learner is actually producing more constructions on which to test out the rules for correct production. Thus both types of production seem to have an important contribution to make in the development of the underlying grammatical system.

10.3. FORMULAIC SPEECH.

Evidence suggests that formulaic utterances were used by some of the learners throughout the four terms. Although researchers suggest that formulaic utterances tend to occur in the early stages of development, (when learners are pressurised into producing particular meanings before they are able to communicate these through creative constructions (Krashen, 1978)), some of the learners were producing 'new' formulas in the third term. Also, all the learners (with the exception of Quayum and Asif) appeared to produce one common formulaic utterance 'I dunno'. All the other formulas that were identified, appeared to be specific to each learner, with the exception of Majid and Asif who both produced, 'what time is it?', during the same term. This would seem to be a reflection of the learners' different communicative needs, in addition to the different classroom contexts in which they all worked.

In relation to the data collected in this study, the majority of formulaic utterances were either interrogatives, (the means through which the learners asked a particular question), or negatives, (the means through which the learners denied knowledge of a particular event or object). The copula and auxiliary verb appeared to be produced in the contexts of both types of formulaic utterances. It is interesting to note that although the present progressive inflection -ING was being produced in creative and repeated speech from the early stages of development, it was omitted in utterances that appeared to be formulaic in origin *i.e. stand up (I'm standing up), sit down (I'm sitting down).*

As with repetition and incorporated repetition, formulaic speech seemed to play an important role in enabling learners to join in conversations by taking a turn, to initiate conversations, and to extend the conversation. For example, the production of formulaic questions enabled the learners to initiate the conversation and elicit a response. Clearly each complete formula encoded a particular semantic function and enabled the children to communicate a specific meaning. However there is some evidence that on occasions the learners overgeneralised a formula to convey other semantic functions. This further supports evidence that the learners 'use a little to go a long way' (Wong-Fillmore, 1976).

Finally there is some evidence to support findings, in both first and second language research, that formulaic speech became partially and wholly analysed and that 'freed' constituents were incorporated into the learners' creative constructions (Wong-Fillmore, 1976; Peters, 1983). Although it is not suggested that the formulas identified in this study constituted a large part of grammatical material (through which the learners developed their creative construction system), it appears that some formulas were analysed, and certain elements began to appear in other constructions. Evidence of this comes from detailed analysis of the production of negation and interrogatives.

During the period of study several learners appeared to be producing the phrase 'I don't know' and a number of particular Wh-interrogatives through the use of complete formulas or partial formulas. After the initial production of these forms, particular constituents of the formula seemed to be replaced with alternative nouns or verbs and then other parts of the original formula began to appear in other constructions, often inappropriately (see the section on Majid in Chapter Nine). Eventually, some of the learners would appropriately produce all parts of the original formula in other constructions, suggesting that the formula had been fully 'broken down'. Other learners continued to produce whole formulas and partially analysed formulas as a means of producing particular forms throughout the study.

However, as findings in Chapter Nine show, the gradual analysis of formulaic speech and its apparent incorporation into other constructions, is a complex process. There appeared to be some overlap between the production of partially analysed formulaic utterances and the production of the same forms in other constructions. Clearly there is difficulty in inferring a direct connection between the production of particular forms in formulaic speech and the subsequent production of the same forms in other constructions. However, evidence suggests that some learners were able to use formulaic speech as more linguistic evidence on which to test their developing hypothesis about the underlying grammatical system. Either through the use of partial formulas or as constituents from whole formulas became freed, they seemed to be able to combine parts of the original formula with other constructions and test them out in various contexts, thus adding new forms to their evolving grammatical system.

As with repetition and incorporation, formulaic speech appeared to be a very important communication strategy, in that it enabled learners to take part in conversations and produce two communicatively important functions in their early stages of development. In addition to this it appears that formulaic utterances may have contributed to the learners' creative construction system, through the gradual unpacking and incorporation of particular aspects of the formulaic structure into other constructions.

10.4. TEACHER / RESEARCHER'S USE OF STRATEGIES.

Although the analysis of the teacher/researcher's use of strategies did not form part of the study, (and this is recognised as a weakness), evidence from the examples used suggests that the teacher/researcher used strategies that were similar to those identified in first language learning to encourage repetition and incorporation. The adult often repeated the learner's utterance, correcting any grammatical errors and filling out any partial utterances, encouraging the learner to repeat the full form. At the same time the learners were encouraged to 'fill out' a sentence by building on previous utterance and in doing so develop the conversational sequence.

Even in the early stages there is evidence that the conversation was being jointly constructed, although initially the teacher / researcher was taking the main responsibility for initiating the conversation. In the early stages of first language development the caregiver has to a large extent to infer meaning from the child's response (Shorrocks, 1989), whereas evidence suggests that although there was some ambiguity of meaning, it was possible to understand the meanings the learners were trying to convey from the early stages of development. It would appear that the learners were to a greater or lesser extent already quite skilled in using a number of strategies to make themselves understood.

In addition to this it seems possible that the teacher / researcher's use of English may have influenced the learners' use of particular strategies. Evidence of this comes from the teacher / researcher's use of questions. In the early stages of development many of the teacher / researcher's questions tended to elicit labelling responses. This sort of question seemed to provide the opportunity for sustained repetition rather than incorporated repetition. As the questions became more open ended and to some extent more cognitively demanding, learners seemed to begin to use incorporation as a means of responding. Thus the type of question asked may have influenced the type of strategy the learner used to help them make a response.

Finally, transcription and analysis of the tapes has shown that some sessions were far more successful than others in facilitating meaningful interaction. This seemed to relate to the activity itself, the topic of conversation and the way in which the teacher / researcher encouraged participation through the use of open ended questions and a genuine desire to exchange information based on shared experiences and knowledge of each child. Although it was not within the scope of this study to examine these aspects in detail, they have important implications for not only the quantity but also the quality of 'talk' in a small group situation.

10.5.GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

1) The analysis of morpheme development showed that, in general this process shared some of the characteristics identified in first language learning. Individual differences related to the context of learning, the transfer of the learner's mother tongue, and individual learning styles, point towards an information processing model of development influenced by the learner's previous experience and knowledge (conscious and sub-conscious) of their mother tongue.

2) The learners seemed to revert back to communication strategies that have been identified in the early stages of first language development. These appeared to enable the learners to initiate, sustain and develop the conversation, by producing a number of meanings, giving the learner access to syntactic information through potential feedback from the conversational partner.

3) The learners appeared to produce partial and complete formulaic utterances as a means of 'managing' the conversation and conveying a number of important communication functions. In addition to this it appeared that elements of formulaic utterances were incorporated into other constructions and eventually internalised as they became part of the learner's creative construction system.

4) Although not substantiated it would seem that the adult potentially played an important role in enabling the learner to use interaction strategies effectively. By the very nature of the interaction the adult was overtly and covertly (subconsciously) often encouraging and enabling the learners to use strategies to help conversational interaction.

Although these findings suggest that both the first and second language learners utilise the same processes, it would be an oversimplification to suggest that second language learning is simply a reflection of the same processes identified in first language learning. First language learning is dependent on maturational readiness and the development of muscular control. The child is learning to process the verbal signals that surround him, in order to gain understanding of the

way in which the world is organised and perceived. Thus in first language learning children are learning about the world through language. At the same time they are learning about the way in which language works in order to express meanings that enable them to operate in that world (Bruner, 1981; Wells, 1985; Shorrocks 1989).

Children learning their second language subsequent to their first, have already formed basic concepts about the world and the way in which these concepts can be expressed through language. They have (to a greater or lesser extent) an implicit understanding of what is involved in effective communication. That is, they know that sounds are combined to convey particular meanings, that words can be grouped in particular orders to create sentences, and that in order to convey meaning in a number of different contexts, certain conversational rules must be adhered to by both participants (Wong-Fillmore, 1976; Hatch, 1978).

Thus, although knowledge and understanding of the pragmatics of effective communication continues to develop throughout childhood and even into adulthood, the learner's major task was to master the formal linguistic properties of the new language. It would seem that prior knowledge of the pragmatics of communication give second language learners an advantage, in that they enable some learners effectively to take part in conversations in a second language from the early stages of development. Thus some second language learners are learning about their new language through the use of already well established conversational conventions, and basic conceptual understanding.

However, although the second language learner may have developed some competence in his first language and is cognitively advanced in relation to first language learners, there are other constraints that affect second language development. This was perhaps most clearly illustrated by the children in this study who appeared to have made very little progress and were excluded from the analysis. Although it was not within the scope of this study to explore factors that affected general development, their 'lack' of second language development is clearly significant. It cannot be assumed that all second language learners have competency in their first language, as illustrated by Nasreen.

As briefly identified in the child profiles, factors which are thought to affect both the route and rate of second language development, include personality, intellect, motivation and the context in which the second language is being learned (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Schumann, 1978; Naiman et al, 1978; Skehan 1989). In relation to the actual pragmatics of conversational interaction, the cultural context in which the first language was learned may also affect development. As traditional conversational conventions may differ from culture to culture, this may affect the way in which the learner interacts with another speaker in the second language (Edwards, 1980). However, any differences are perhaps more evident in older learners, when culturally based conventions have been well established, as perhaps illustrated by Lipi.

Before discussing classroom implications of the above findings three caveats must be added. Firstly, the data collected did not include extracts of the teacher's interaction, or peer peer interaction in the classroom context. This is recognised as a weakness in the study as clearly the learner's were involved in both types of interaction, but it is not possible to ascertain to what extent this interaction conformed to the 'natural' approach taken by the teacher/researcher. However, both classroom and support teachers had been on in-service courses which advocated a 'natural' approach to language development, and the school policy outlined a natural approach to language development. As this policy also emphasised the importance of group learning through problem solving activities, it seems likely that peer-peer interaction would have centred on meaningful communication.

Secondly, it is recognised that although the study included the analysis of over 26,000 utterances collected over a period of two years, in different contexts, the data only captures a small part of the learners' productive capacity, and as such cannot be said to represent a picture of the learners total competence or potential. In relation to this Clark M.(1983), in a review of several studies of language development has illustrated how each one emphasises the importance of the context in 'influencing the quantity and quality of the oral language likely to be elicited from children' p.75-76. Thus as

already suggested it is recognised that some activities used in this study were less productive than others. In addition to the above two points, given the complexity of language, it is clear that the analysis of morpheme development does not give a fully accurate reflection of the learner's communicative competence.

Thirdly, it is recognised that there is a danger in generalising findings to wider contexts, two points need emphasising in relation to the generalisability of findings. First, given the importance of all the features that interact to make each infant classroom unique, although findings derived from research may to some extent add to general principles, ultimately the teacher must reject, modify or develop these findings in accordance with her underlying philosophy of learning and her understanding of the individual needs of the children in her class. Second, although it is acknowledged that quantity of 'talk' does not necessarily correspond to quality of 'talk' or eventual attainment; if one subscribes to the view that second language learning is facilitated through meaningful interaction with peers and adults, then the opportunity to use the second language must be seen as central to development. In classrooms where the majority of pupils share the same mother tongue it is possible that particularly in the early stages of development, a great deal of oral interaction will be conducted in the shared language. Thus the implementation of a second language policy which adheres to a 'communicative' approach, may vary considerably depending on the percentage of children that are becoming bilingual in any given school. The fact that the children in this study were interacting with English speaking children from the beginning of development, may have made a significant difference to the communication strategies they used and the rate (if not route) of development. Thus with these reservations in mind, on the basis of findings discussed, the implications are offered as a basis for further discussion and research.

10.6. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS.

- 1) Given some of the similarities identified in this study between first and second language development, it is important that adults working with young second language learners consider what has been learned from first language studies. This includes knowledge about the aspects of interaction that seem to facilitate language learning as well as an understanding of the processes involved in the sequence of development. This suggests that classroom workers may find that by supporting the sort of interaction strategies identified, they enable learners more successfully to sustain and develop conversational interaction. Adults may need to make a conscious effort to use particular strategies that will engage the learner in a meaningful exchange of ideas. It would seem that the role of repetition, incorporated repetition and formulaic speech has long been underestimated in second language learning contexts, and yet may have a significant contribution to make in developing competence.

- 2) Although the slow development of morphological markers and the overgeneralisation of particular forms is recognised as part of the ongoing process of development, the time factor may be of critical importance to young second language learners. For example after two years, although the learners were able to produce a number of complex meanings, the lack of morphological markers meant that, to some extent, some learners were unable to 'precisely' encode certain meanings, resulting in errors that produced minor misunderstandings through to unintelligibility. In addition, research suggests that once 'overgeneralised' forms become established, they are difficult to correct. This suggests that continuous assessment of the learners' use of oral language is central to the support of grammatical development within an interactive context. The adult's own use of language is clearly significant, and it is important that classroom workers are aware of the way in which they are using language to promote learning through language. There may be a need to be more 'directive' in encouraging and correcting some learners, Tough (1985) has outlined strategies that may help the teacher achieve this balance.

3) Knowledge of the processes involved in development include the recognition of the potential effect of the learner's mother tongue. This suggests that it may be useful to have some knowledge of the basic grammatical relations within the learner's mother tongue, not as a basis of extensive contrastive analysis, but simply as a means of identifying areas of the underlying grammatical system which may be problematic for some learners.

4) Although the data collected was used to examine general patterns of development across learners, recordings generated enough data for individual profiles. There were individual differences in both use of strategies and rate of development, although space does not allow for detailed discussion, this is recognised as an important issue. Having worked closely with the children on a regular basis for two years (1982 - 1984), evidence suggests that both personality and attitude had an effect on the learners' developing competence. This suggests that classroom workers need to take account of individual differences and experiences, in order to develop teaching strategies according to individual needs as well as general educational goals. By doing this the adult can build on individual learning styles and knowledge of learner, encouraging the development of interaction strategies which the learner appears to be using most successfully.

5) Finally, during the period of study, two of the children, one in each group, frequently asked the other children in the group to speak English, suggesting that they had come to school to learn English and that the use of mother tongue was not appropriate within the school context. Clearly there are a number of explanations for this, which cannot be explored within the context of this study. However, given the importance of self-esteem in the learning process (Davey, 1983; Milner, 1983), the importance of continuing development of the learner's mother tongue especially in the early stages of development (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981) and the use of mother tongue as a basic human right (Singh, 1988), this perception of the use of mother tongue by some of the learners is disturbing and potentially affected the rate if not route of development in English. Although not substantiated, this points

towards the importance of the ethos of the school and attitude of the adults, in promoting the child's self-esteem and enhancing the quality of the learning experience provided for all children.

6) Finally, even given the limitations of this study it is clear that second language development is a highly complex process subject to both internal and external factors. Thus an information processing model of second language development must be modified to take account of the variables that affect second language learning and the differences identified between first and second development, particularly in relation to the nature of interaction. The recognition of these differences, through contextual analysis, should give rise to slightly different emphasis within an interactional context, ensuring that individual needs are being met within an environment most conducive to second language development.

10.7. POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.

In order further to explore the nature of second language development in a classroom context, future research may usefully examine the way in which interactional strategies, used by both the children and teacher help to foster joint understanding, while at the same time promoting the development of the underlying grammatical system. In order to do this there is a need to develop more accurate methods of identifying and analysing communication strategies. Additionally, it is clearly important to take account of individual differences and the effect of affective factors, in order to produce a more complete picture of the processes involved in learning a second language. Specifically there is clearly a need to examine further;

- 1) The nature and effect of communication strategies on language development in classroom contexts.
- 2) The identification of individual differences in the use of communication strategies.
- 3) The role of the teacher in the development and use of communication strategies
- 4) The nature of different types of activities in promoting communication strategies.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX ONE.

Activities the Children were Involved in During
the Period of Study.

APPENDIX ONE.

ACTIVITIES THE CHILDREN WERE INVOLVED IN DURING THE PERIOD OF STUDY.

TERM ONE - October to December 1982

Ourselves and the Community

- Looking at photographs of the area, in order to making a collage of their houses, with a variety of materials, this included cutting, sticking and painting.
- Painting pictures of each other.
- Looking at photographs of people who help us in the community and school, drawing and painting these to go on the collage.
- Lotto game 'People Who Help Us'
- Making a relief of the street and people with plasticine
- Looking at Pictures of the Nativity, decorating Christmas trees
- Individual ½ hour sessions talking about a picture.

TERM TWO - January to March 1983

Fruit and Vegetables.

- Visit to the Supermarket to buy fruit and vegetables.
- Mixing own paint and printing with vegetables
- Making 'Fruit Chaat'.
- Making Ginger Bread

Story - The Ginger Bread Boy

The Community

- Individual ½ hour sessions talking about 'In The Street' LDA picture
- Magnetic Board, creating 'A Street Picture' and telling a story
- Individual picture of 'The Street' with tissue paper and material.
- Painting and Plasticine, pictures of each other.

Animals

Story - Where's Spot

- Making own books with hiding places.
- Junk modelling, making animal habitats.
- Sequencing pictures using LDA cards about animals.

TERM THREE - April to July 1983

Animals

- Talking about the children's visit to a farm, with pictures.
- Playing with farm and farm animals.
- Making chart of products from farm animals.
- Going on a nature trail into the woods behind the school
- Collecting 'Mini-Beasts'
- Talking about a large picture of 'The Zoo' (re class visit to a Zoo)
- Making large pictures of wild animals with coloured sticky paper.
- Visit to the market to buy Animal Products.
- Making Egg Sandwiches

Celebrating Eid

- Visiting the railway station
- Talking about celebrating Eid, drawing pictures of Eid festival
- Making Mendi patterns
- Making clothes 'Shalwah - Kameez' and 'Pajamas' for dolls
- Making Coco-nut Burfi
- Slide show 'Visiting Grandma'

TERM FOUR - September to December 1983

Science

- Wet and dry sand, with a range of containers.
- Sand pictures.
- Visit to building site

Celebrations

- Story 'Topsy and Tims Bonfire'
- Bonfire pictures with pastels and coloured cellophane.
- Going to the market to buy material for puppets.
- Making puppets after seeing the Magician
- Decorating the Christmas Tree, making cards copy writing in Urdu and Bengali

TERM FIVE - January to March 1983

Only one tape from each month transcribed.

Science activities in relation to sand and water

- Washing the dolls.
- Testing materials for waterproof
- Tie dying
- Marbling
- Making chapaties / bread / pitta.
- Water tray with a variety of containers

TERM SIX - April to July 1983

Only one tape from each month was transcribed.

- Going on holiday, packing a suitcase, discussion of what you need and why.
- Sharing Majids book about Pakistan.
- Going to Cliff Castle to look at exhibition of Asian Artifacts.

Individual Discussion of Pictures During Each Term

L.A.D. 'The High Street'

Talk Two - 'Teacher and Children'

- 'In the Classroom'
- 'Dinner Time'
- 'In the Playground'
- 'Older Children in the Classroom'
- 'P.E. Activities'
- 'Older Children In the Playground'

N.F.E.R. 'The Bus' C. Renfew (this was inappropriate and unproductive)

Plus any work that an individual learners brought to the session.

Plus general talk about relevant 'events' or 'news'.

Games in Each Session.

- L.A.D. - Sequencing cards
- L.A.D. - 'What's wrong' cards
- L.A.D. - 'Concept Snap'

In addition to this often a session would finish with a story or a song.

APPENDIX TWO.

Transcript One - Term One October.

Transcript Two - Term Two February.

APPENDIX TWO - TRANSCRIPT ONE.

Making a Collage of Houses - Mixed Group.

Asif / Amran / Razwana / Quayum / Tera.

Extracts from this transcript illustrate the way in which some of the children appeared to use modelled, sustained and incorporated repetition as a means of joining in, sustaining and extending the conversation in the very early stages of development. It also illustrates some of the strategies the teacher / researcher used to encourage interaction.

1. T. What did we make last week? ... Whats this?
2. As. Vindow.
3. T. Yes, this is a house.
4. As. House.
5. T. What did you make Quayum?
6. As. 'ouse
7. Qu. 'ouse
8. T. A house.
9. Te. House.
10. T. Razwana, what did you make?
11. Rz. House ... vindow.
12. T. Good girl, Amran what did you make? ... What is it?
13. Am. House
14. T. Now, we're going to look inside the house. Tera, you choose something and put it on the board good. Now what is it?
15. Te. Tera Miah Tera Miah.
16. T. It's a toilet.
17. As. Toilet.
18. T. Razwana, you choose something, what is it? ... What is she doing she's sewing, she's sewing - .
19. As. Si' down, si' down.
20. Ch. Sewing.
21. T. Asif, you come and choose, what d'you want? ... What is it?
22. As. Gas ... gas.
23. T. Yes, its the gas cooker, what is it?
24. As. Gas cooker.
25. T. Good boy.. what is mummy doing? She's cooking.
26. Ch. Cookin'
27. T. She's cooking the dinner. Quayum you choose, what d'you want?
28. As. Sink.
29. T. Good boy. That's the sink, its a sink. What is it?
30. Ch. Sink

103. T. Good, now stick it on, stick it on, with the glue
whats this?
104. Am. Paper.
105. T. No.
106. As. Glue.
107. Ch. Glue.
108. T. You need a little glue, just a little glue.
109. As. Little glue.
110. T. Just a little glue on here.

146. T. What are you doing Razwana? I'm sticking.
147. As. Stickin'
148. T. I'm sticking with the glue.
149. Rz. 'ickin'
Qu. Fire, fire.
150. As. Tha' fire
151. T. Yes, that's a radiator. Amran what d'you say
"I want the glue please".
152. Am. Please.

202. Q. Teapot, chair, table, chair,
203. T. Right, if everyones finished, we'll tidy up.
204. Q. Leyphone, radio.
205. T. It's a telephone.
206. Am. Telephone
207. T. Yes, how many?
208. Q. How many telephone? telephone, one.... telephone,
two..... telephone <pointing at each telephone.>
209. Am. Television television.
210. T. One.
211. Am. One, two, three.
212. Q. Radio, radio.
213. T. No, its a light.
214. Am. Light.
215. Qu. Light.
216. T. How many lights?
217. Qu. How many two, three light, three four light.
218. T. Yes, four lights. Now whats this?
219. Qu. Radio radio radio.
220. Am. Radio radio radio.

221. T. Yes, right lets put your names on your pictures. What's your name?
222. As. My name Asif.
223. Rz. Finish.
224. T. Amran will you go and wash the glue?
225. Am. Wash †
226. As. Si' down.
227. Qu. Two, three, four, five.
228. Rz. Two, three, four, five, six.
229. T. Yes, what are they?
230. Rz. Five.
231. Qu. Penshils.
232. T. Pencils, thats right.
233. Qu. Penshel, penshel.
234. T. Here you are Q, here you are Tera.
235. Rz. Mine, Razwana.
236. T. Yes, here you are.
237. Rz. Miss photo †.
238. T. A photo, no we're going to draw.
239. Rz. Miss this one †
240. T. Yes, with the crayons.
-

APPENDIX TWO - TRANSCRIPT TWO.

Story 'Where's Spot?' / Making Opening Pictures.

Asif / Quayum / Abdul Quayum / Lipi.

Amran / Abdul Rob / Razwana / Majid.

Extracts from this transcript illustrate the way in which some of the children continued to use repetition in the second term as a means of joining in and developing the conversation. The children also appeared to be using formulaic speech to enable them to build on and extend the conversation.

1. As. Miss what this?
2. T. Its a wall stapler to put your work on the wall.
3. As. Wall stapler, you my number work, I got number work.
4. As. Quayum an' Amran said he skin 'ead, skin 'ead.
5. T. Oh, you've had your hair cut Abdul, it looks very smart.
6. As. Si' down carpet.
7. Am. Si' down carpet, sit down ay -
8. T. Get a chair and sit down, so you can see me, we're going to look at a book Majid you sit on that one.
9. Mj. Alright.
10. T. Your not squashed?
11. Mj. No.
12. T. Amran you sit there.
13. Am. No me dere.

-
19. AR. Whats on the wall? your
 20. As. Picatures.
 21. Am. Picture.
 22. T. Your pictures are on the wall.
 23. Am. Wall.
 24. T. What does it say? ... "Where can you hide".
 25. As. Where you can hide.
 26. T. Abdul Rob, look at the first picture where is the little boy hiding?
 27. Qu. Hiding.
 28. T. He's hiding in the look what's this?
 29. AR. Tree.
 30. Am. Tree.
 31. T. Yes, he's hiding in the tree. Asif where is your little boy hiding? In the.....
 32. A. Floor bed.
 33. T. Under the bed, he's hiding under the bed.
 34. Am. Under bed.

-
81. T. Yes, its a library book. Abdul please go and close the hall door,Asif you show him
Who's got something black on, I've got a black jumper.
82. Mj. I go'
83. T. What have you got?
84. Mj. Black pant.
85. T. Black pants.
86. Mj. You got black pant.
87. T. Yes, I've got black pants as well.
88. As. I go' black.
89. Mj. Him go' black.
90. T. Yes, what is it Razwana?
91. Rz. Black.
92. T. A black cardigan.
93. Qu. My blue.
94. T. Yes, a blue jumper.
95. Qu. Blue jumper.
96. As. Black, this black.
97. T. Yes, a black vest.
98. AR. My brown no my brown
99. T. Yours are rust, rust colour.
100. Qu. Black colour trouser.
101. Am. Look mine white ... there brown
102. T. Yes, brown and white.
103. Mj. Miss I go white, I go brown and white.

-
152. T. I wonder where Spot is? I don't know. Where's Spot
153 Abdul? I don't know, can you say it
I don't know.
154. As. I don't know.
155. T. Where's Spot Asif? I
156. AR. Dunno.
157. As. I don't know.
158. Mj. I dunno.
159. T. Quayum where's Spot?
160. Q. No.
161. T. I don't know. Where's Spot I don't know.
-

188. As. I open, I open it crocodile.
189. T. A crocodile with a big mouth and sharp teeth
190. As. Sharp tee, sharp teeth.
191. Am. Television, this one television <picture of a television>.
192. As. 'e Tarzan filum dis.
193. Am. Yeah, Tarzan filum.
194. T. Oh yes, in the Tarzan film. Oh dear, where's Spot?
195. As. I don't know.
196. Mj. I dunno.
197. AR. I don't know.
198. Am. I don't know.
199. T. Where's Spot, Razwana?
200. Rz. I don't know.
201. T. I don't know. What is it?
202. Rz. Box †.

219. Am Me pencil.
220. T. Quayum, those are for everybody.
221. Am. Everybody.
222. Mj. Miss I'm sit there.
223. As. No, he's copy mine. (He's copying mine)
224. Am. Ay move up.
225. AR. Miss pencil †
226. Qu. Can I go' pencil †
227. T. Here you are. Right Abdul (Rob) what are you going to draw. You've got a pencil.
228. AR. No that Quayum pencil.
229. Mj. I'm like dis one.
230. As. Miss B-P. look e's go' my pencil.
231. Qu. This mine.
232. T. Look there are plenty of pencils for everyone.
233. As. Mrs, I said giv' me book copy 'e said to me.
234. T. We'll put the book up here, so everyone can see it, alright, then its fair.

277. As. Where book? where book? Oh, look a Lipi.
278. T. Yes, she's making a garden I think.
279. Rz. Miss door - that door.
280. T. You want a door? What's this?
281. Qu. Clock, clock.
282. T. This is the clock. Good boy Quayum.
283. Rz. I want door.
284. T. You want the door, sorry. Take one for Amran as well.
285. Mj. Look this one clock.
286. T. D'you want a clock?
287. AR. Miss me one clock, miss clock please?
288. Rz. Mrs. B-P. clock.
289. T. Abdul d'you a door?
290. Am. Look me door.
291. T. D'you want a clock Lipi? to put there?
292. Li. Clock.

405. AR. Mohammed ... Mohammed skin 'ead dat ... my finish
'nother one please my finish.
406. T. Right when you've finished give your papers to me then
tidy up for play. Tidy your table up.
407. Mj. Tidy up table.
408. As Miss B-P. say you go _____ an' dis an' dis, an' dis
409. T. Majid you'r not ready for playtime, your crayons and
your paper -
410. As. An' Quayum not goin' playtime
(into tape) My name Mr. Asif Khan, I play dogs,
I play w dogs happy birthday my name Asif
Khan, I come Jamal, Mehamid, Mehammed tiny up, is
makin' tiny up. Mohammed come 'ere Mohammed
411. Mj. What!
412. T. Asif your table isn't tidy at all.
413. Mj. My table tidy up.
414. T. Look, this isn't tidy, goodness me. Now look, this is
for pencils, this is for sissors and this is for
crayons.
415. Am. Colour, colour, colour.
416. T. Right, now sort them all out please.
417. As. This very nice.
418. Am. Dis one me, dere pickture.. dis one.
419. T. Right. Lipi and Abdul, you can go, walk nicely
Oh, just a minute, d'you want your pictures? Oh, sorry.
420. Am. Sorry, sorry.
421. T. Right, that's Lipi's, that's -
422. As Where mine where mine? This mine.
423. Am. Him
424. AR. No
425. T. Here you are, Asif, take those to Mrs. B.
426. As. Miss Jamal here.
427. T. Where's Jamal?
428. As 'ere.
429. Am. I go play.
430. AR. Go play.
430. T. Right, who's is this?
431. AR. Mine.
432. Am. Abdul dere mine.
433. T. No.
434. AR. Dat Asif.
435. Am. Mine.
436. T. Yes, right.
437. Rz. Miss B-P. there name †
438. T. There's your name Razwana. Right walk nicely out to
play
Oh Quayum look what's this?
439. Qu. Asif.
440. T. Yes, its Asif's number book. Are you helping me to
tidy up?
441. Qu. Yes, tidy up.
-

APPENDIX THREE.

Directions for Scoring Fourteen English Morphemes
Obligatory in Some Contexts.

APPENDIX THREE

Directions for Scoring Fourteen English Morphemes
Obligatory in Some Contexts

H
A
R
V
A
R
D
U
N
I
V
E
R
S
I
T
Y

Roger Brown
Courtney Cazden
Jill de Villiers

Scoring of Morphemes.

General Rule: Scores.

1. Code through for just one morpheme at a time. Not possible to pay attention to more than one.

2. Write down doubtful cases or especially interesting cases due to overgeneralisation or whatever.

I. Progressive -ing only.

1. Present - ing only scored on main finite verb. Not as gerunds or as verb complements. Not as catenatives gonna, tryna, but note separately.

2. Clearly obligatory contexts include marginal notes on situation; questions like "What are you doing?"; expansions by parent using - ing; child's intent to imitate an utterance with - ing.

3. Hardest cases where nothing in context excludes likelihood that action is in progress and of brief duration. If -ing present score as P; if absent as A. If very doubtful, omit from scoring, but note.

4. Score familiar progressive routines like "What are you doing?" or "Making pennies." Check as Formulaic.

5. Do not score morphemes marked for dubious transcription unless strongly supported by other evidence.

II, III. in, on. Scoring pretty simple. Can tell head noun of prep. phrase ordinarily. Do not score particles belonging to separate verb as take it off or particles that do not take head noun even when not part of separable verb "What's going on there."

IV. Plurals. Count just regular inflections on the noun. Note irregular separately. All regular allomorphs counted together. Other aspects of plurality (e.g. pronouns) not counted. Plural determiners like some, many treated as obligatory contexts. Singular determiners like a, one, another require singular. Normally plural forms like downstairs and socks included as obligatory plurals. Also any obvious nursery routines.

V. Uncontracted Copula. Enclosed scoring sheet lists contractible environments. All allomorphs of be together. Be sure not to confuse with be auxiliaries. Past tense forms and be infinitive included. Note, may leave uncontracted where possible to contract (What is this?). Does not count here but among contractible copulas. Do not score as omitted initial copulas in Yes-No questions where acceptable in colloquial English (e.g. This one?).

VI. Past irregulars. Of course all regular - ed pasts not counted here. Obligatory contexts include adverbs like yesterday, marginal notations, expansions, continuity of tense, etc. Omit verbs like put and cut where present and past same. Would, could, should counted as irregular past as in some grammatical treatments.

VII. Articles. Score only for a and the. Distinguish. Do not score another at all. Include any occurrences of an with others. Do not attempt to distinguish the many types of semantic obligation; it cannot consistently be done.

VIII. 3rd Person Irregular. Mostly does and has. Score a context as obligatory only if third person subject plus some other indication that present called for. Third person subject alone not enough as could be omitted modal, etc. Regular inflection -s separately scored.

IX. Possessive -s. Score all morphemes together. Mark "D" possessors without possession as in That Mommy in context calling for That Mommy's. Only N + N possessives, not pronouns.

X. 3rd Person Regular. Like VIII, except count -s all allomorphs.

XI. Past regular. All allomorphs of -d counted together. Otherwise nothing special except omit predicate adjectives.

XII. See data sheet for uncontractible contexts. Include past tenses.

XIII. Contracted Copula. See data sheet for contexts. Count even if uncontracted.

XIV. See data sheet for contexts. Only count main verb, not complements. Omitted initial auxiliaries on Yes-No questions not obligatory.

Additional notes on morpheme scoring

1. **Progressive:** Don't score past progressives e.g. "he was going". These are rare in child speech and the context are ambiguous.
- 2,3 **in, on:** Also occur in regular routines concerning time e.g. "in a minute". Score if present, though hard to tell absence. Probably routines learned as whole. Don't score if in optional context e.g. "We're going (on) Saturday". Fortunately again rare.
4. **Plurals:** Sometimes clearly obligatory from non-linguistic context e.g. "Look! Horses!" as herd of horses in sight. Only count if clear notes on context in such cases. Don't score, but note, overgeneralisations such as "foots" - these are strictly not obligatory contexts for the regular plural inflection. And irregulars are omitted.
5. **Uncontracted copula:** Don't score futures e.g. will be, as these are rare and it is also difficult to define or identify contexts which are not supplied. Note 3 main stumbling blocks mentioned in notes:
 1. DON'T confuse with auxiliary verb be
 2. Morpheme considered optional in initial position of yes/no question e.g. "That your pen?" - DON'T score as missing uncontractible copula. Also score as present in an elliptical construction such as "here it is" the UNCONTRACTIBLE copula. (Couldn't be "Here it's")
6. **Articles:** Remember often optional in single naming by child, e.g. "What's that?" "Teddy".
7. **3rd Person irregular:** probably most difficult, but also very rare. Child tends to use alternate form for habitual action e.g. "the doll can do.." instead of does... Don't get trapped by auxiliaries: count only main verbs does and has.
8. **Possessives:** word order plus context best clues.
9. **3rd regular:** same comments as for 8. There are bound to be situations in which the options are:
 - present progressive and auxiliary missing
 - 3rd regular ending missing
 - past regular missing.If context doesn't help, abandon it! Some linguistic clues to distinguish the first and second alternatives are e.g. "Always" or "every day".

10. Past regular: see 6. above. Don't count overgeneralisations e.g. "he falled" - not obligatory for past regular. Since child is marking past, don't count for "irregular absent" either. Note separately as overgeneralisations.

APPENDIX FOUR.

TABLES.

Results of the Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes For
Each Learner Over the Period of Four and Six Terms.

APPENDIX FOUR.

TABLES SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF EACH MORPHEME FOR EACH LEARNER.

Table One (a).

Results of Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes.

AMRAN		TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR	TERM FIVE	TERM SIX
		O/N/Dec	J/F/Mar	A/M/J/July	S/O/N/Dec	J/F/Mar	A/M/J/July
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	N	15	30	84	96	87	176
	%	87	70	92	90	81	96
PLURAL	N	8	18	62	103	91	118
	%	0	39	24	35	42	64
COPULA	N	4	88	130	50	97	53
	%	50	7	22	52	69	70
AUXILIARY	N	2	15	55	69	84	69
	%	0	0	24	40	39	35
PREPOSITIONS	N	0	18	24	88	74	82
	%	0	11	29	32	49	51
ARTICLES	N	30	108	136	105	155	126
	%	0	27	12	45	52	48
PAST IRREGULAR	N	0	7	33	41	22	39
	%	0	43	9	41	43	49
PAST REGULAR	N	1	16	26	34	16	44
	%	0	6	4	15	9	11

APPENDIX FOUR.

Table One (b).

Results of Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes.

ABDUL ROB		TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR	TERM FIVE	TERM SIX
		O/N/Dec	J/F/Mar	A/M/J/July	S/O/N/Dec	J/F/Mar	A/M/J/July
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	N	13	15	52	64	98	143
	%	100	86	75	93	92	95
PLURAL	N	8	24	63	50	76	55
	%	25	42	36	64	60	69
COPULA	N	4	59	65	34	51	48
	%	0	13	15	26	69	95
AUXILIARY	N	0	9	39	34	57	51
	%	0	33	53	55	47	50
PREPOSITIONS	N	4	10	36	41	32	54
	%	25	20	8	15	30	37
ARTICLES	N	24	70	149	135	104	102
	%	8	1	6	23	30	27
PAST IRREGULAR	N	0	4	52	21	17	27
	%	0	50	29	42	87	92
PAST REGULAR	N	2	4	21	17	4	25
	%	0	0	0	11	0	0

APPENDIX FOUR.

Table One (c).

Results of Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes.

RAZWANA		TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR	TERM FIVE	TERM SIX
		O/N/Dec	J/F/Mar	A/M/J/July	S/O/N/Dec	J/F/Mar	A/M/J/July
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	N	11	31	64	65	98	126
	%	81	100	86	98	92	97
PLURAL	N	2	15	39	28	65	33
	%	0	53	41	75	82	90
COPULA	N	2	17	29	41	52	61
	%	0	18	55	93	88	94
AUXILIARY	N	2	6	51	40	53	57
	%	0	0	61	60	62	56
PREPOSITIONS	N	0	7	39	31	28	18
	%	0	28	56	58	49	51
ARTICLES	N	50	74	77	108	102	96
	%	4	1	22	48	46	58
PAST IRREGULAR	N	0	0	17	9	11	7
	%	0	0	18	33	27	40
PAST REGULAR	N	2	3	6	9	15	8
	%	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX FOUR.

Table One (d).

Results of Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes.

MAJID		TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR	TERM FIVE	TERM SIX
		O/N/Dec	J/F/Mar	A/M/J/July	S/O/N/Dec	J/F/Mar	A/M/J/July
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	N %		12 75	71 79	97 98	113 96	164 96
PLURAL	N %		15 67	72 75	55 64	64 82	61 90
COPULA	N %		16 12	75 49	62 74	113 86	91 91
AUXILIARY	N %		11 9	61 46	28 64	72 57	73 50
PREPOSITIONS	N %		3 66	37 57	46 89	74 92	35 89
ARTICLES	N %		36 5	105 28	109 52	130 54	94 62
PAST IRREGULAR	N %		2 0	35 20	42 50	24 42	27 41
PAST REGULAR	N %		3 0	18 17	7 14	12 25	20 15

APPENDIX FOUR.

Table One (e).

Results of Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes.

ASIF		TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR
		Oct/Nov/Dec	Jan/Feb/March	April/May/June/July	Sept/Oct/Nov
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	N	17	53	131	94
	%	82	98	97	98
PLURAL	N	6	32	98	45
	%	50	37	54	44
COPULA	N	25	52	122	53
	%	16	21	53	49
AUXILIARY	N	10	36	94	71
	%	30	25	28	21
PREPOSITIONS	N	1	17	56	31
	%	0	47	37	35
ARTICLES	N	76	176	319	81
	%	0	1	10	30
PAST IRREGULAR	N	1	29	46	27
	%	100	69	43	29
PAST REGULAR	N	7	12	14	0
	%	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX FOUR.

Table One (f).

Results of Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes.

QUAYUM		TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR
		Oct/Nov/Dec	Jan/Feb/March	April/May/June/July	Sept/Oct/Nov
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	N %	15 100	25 84	121 92	103 97
PLURAL	N %	18 28	44 32	102 53	64 61
COPULA	N %	13 0	55 12	95 33	71 29
AUXILIARY	N %	2 0	16 50	112 52	98 44
PREPOSITIONS	N %	1 0	11 9	37 38	36 35
ARTICLES	N %	104 0	108 1	239 15	84 11
PAST IRREGULAR	N %	2 50	5 20	39 46	27 40
PAST REGULAR	N %	5 0	7 0	18 13	13 11

APPENDIX FOUR.

Table One(g).

Results of Scoring of Grammatical Morphemes.

ABDUL QUAYUM		TERM ONE	TERM TWO	TERM THREE	TERM FOUR
		Oct/Nov/Dec	Jan/Feb/March	April/May/June/July	Sept/Oct/Nov
PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	N %	8 75	10 80	121 92	98 93
PLURAL	N %	0 0	24 29	98 51	29 48
COPULA	N % %	4 0	23 13	154 61	85 52
AUXILIARY	N %	0 0	4 50	104 40	61 46
PREPOSITIONS	N %	1 0	6 0	45 33	23 43
ARTICLES	N %	4 0	35 3	116 15	80 10
PAST IRREGULAR	N %	0 0	0 0	41 66	26 57
PAST REGULAR	N %	5 0	7 28	18 5	13 23

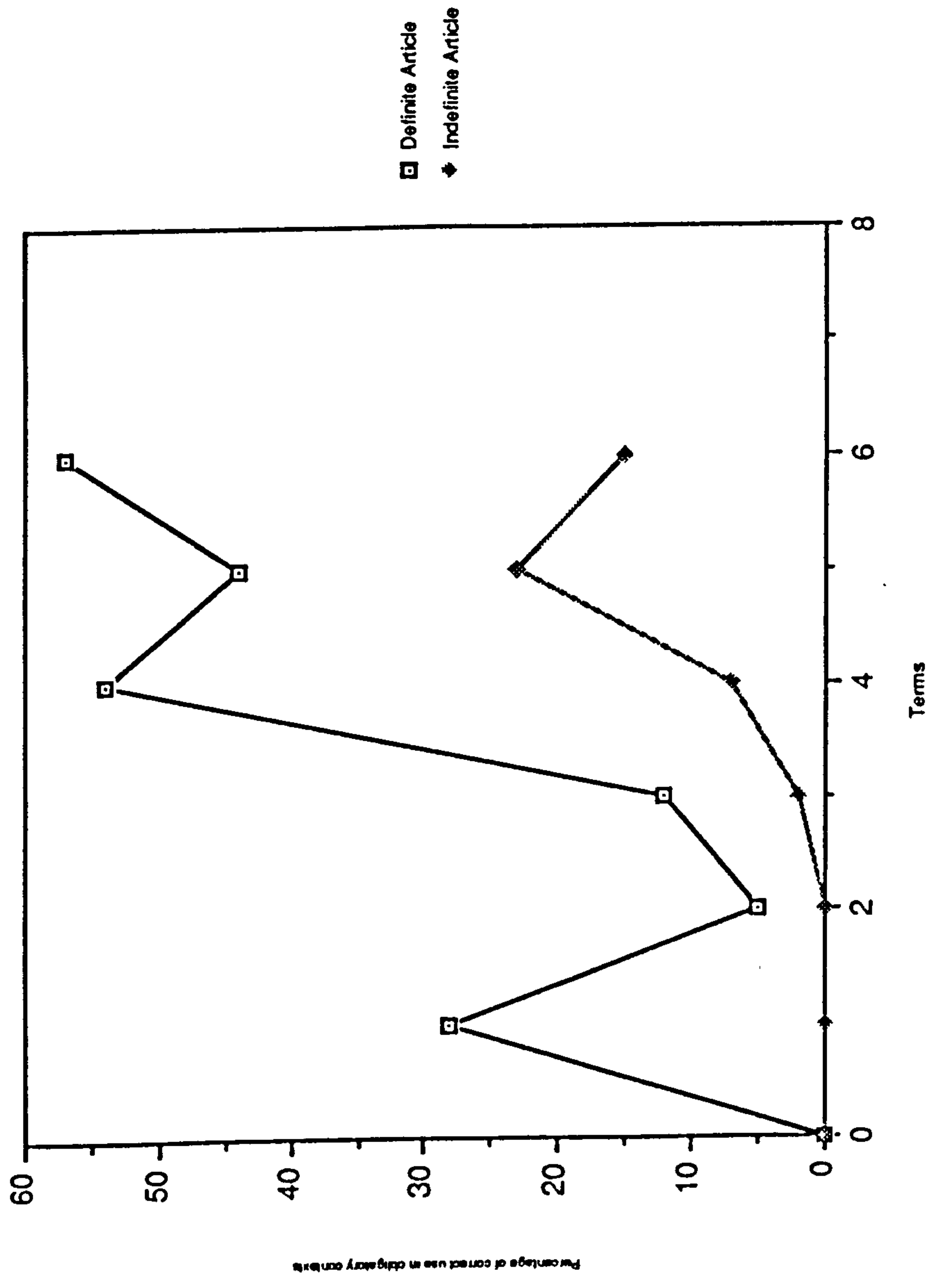
APPENDIX FIVE.

LINE GRAPHS - C (i-vi).

A Comparison Between the Development of the Definite
and Indefinite Article for Each Learner
Over the Period Of Four and Six Terms.

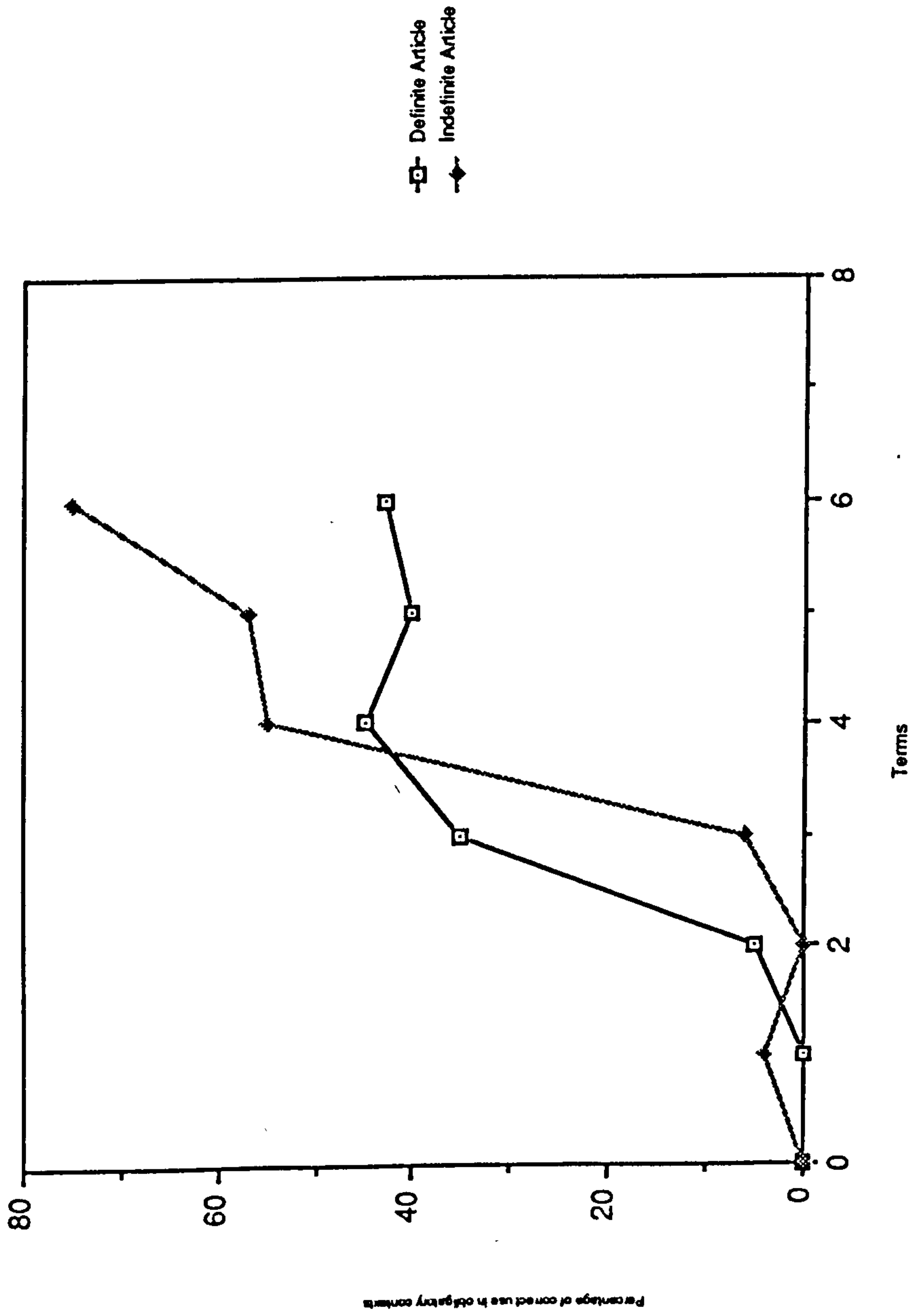
Graph C (i)

A Comparison between the correct use of the definite and indefinite articles over a period of six terms by Abdul Rob



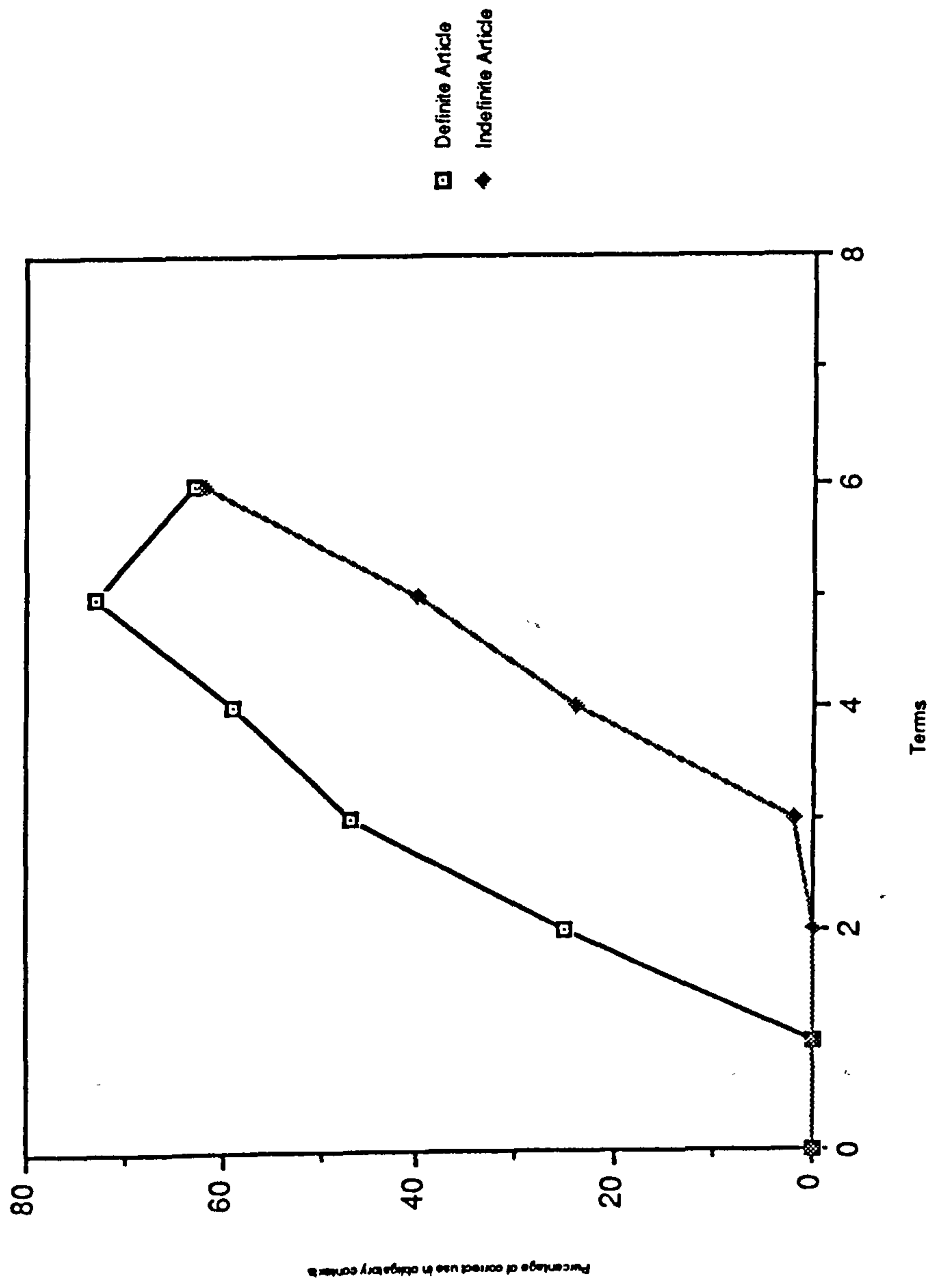
Graph C (ii)

A Comparison between the correct use of the definite and indefinite article over a period of six terms by Razwana



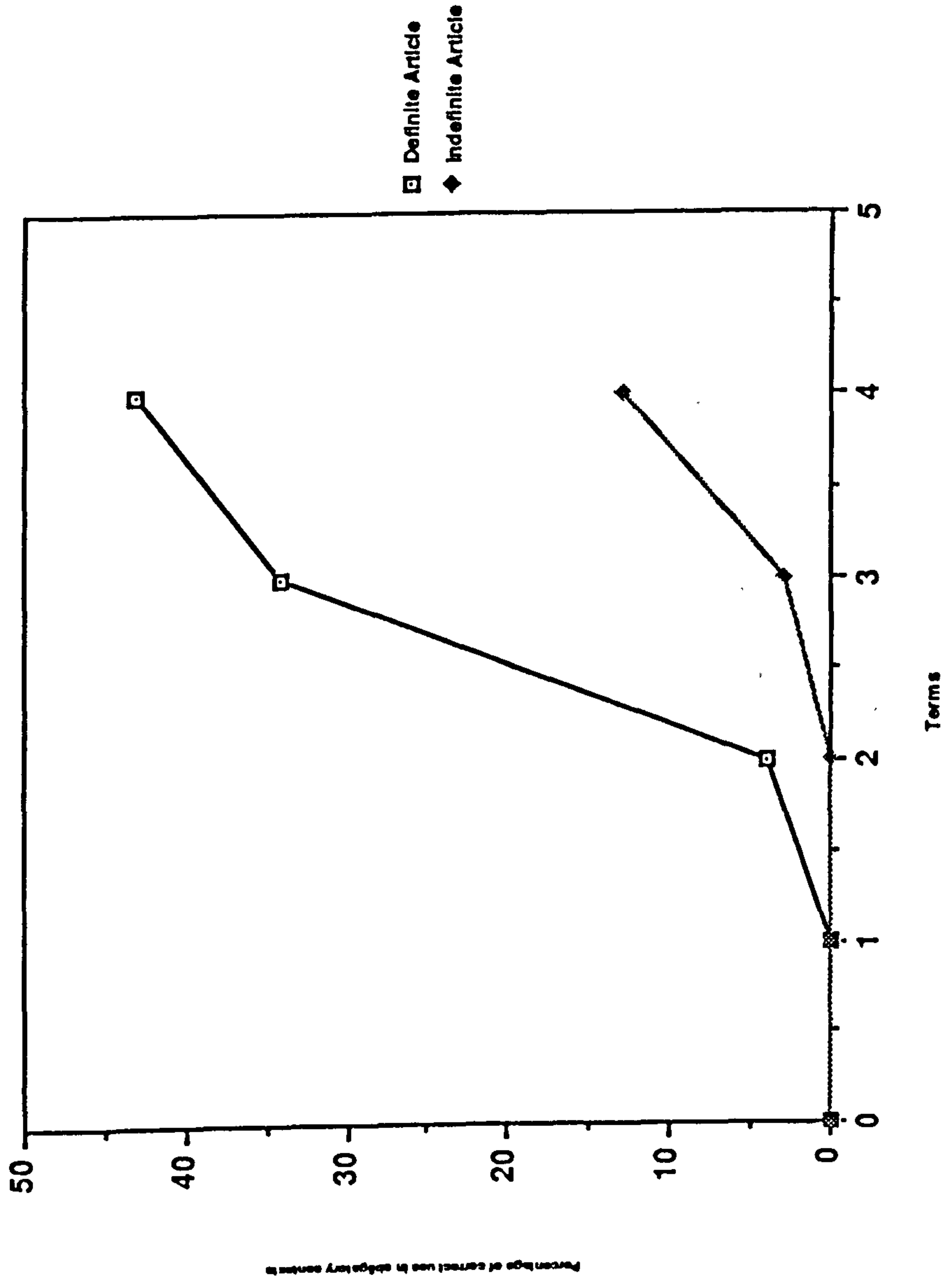
Graph C (iii)

A Comparison between the correct use of the definite and indefinite article over a period of six terms by Majid



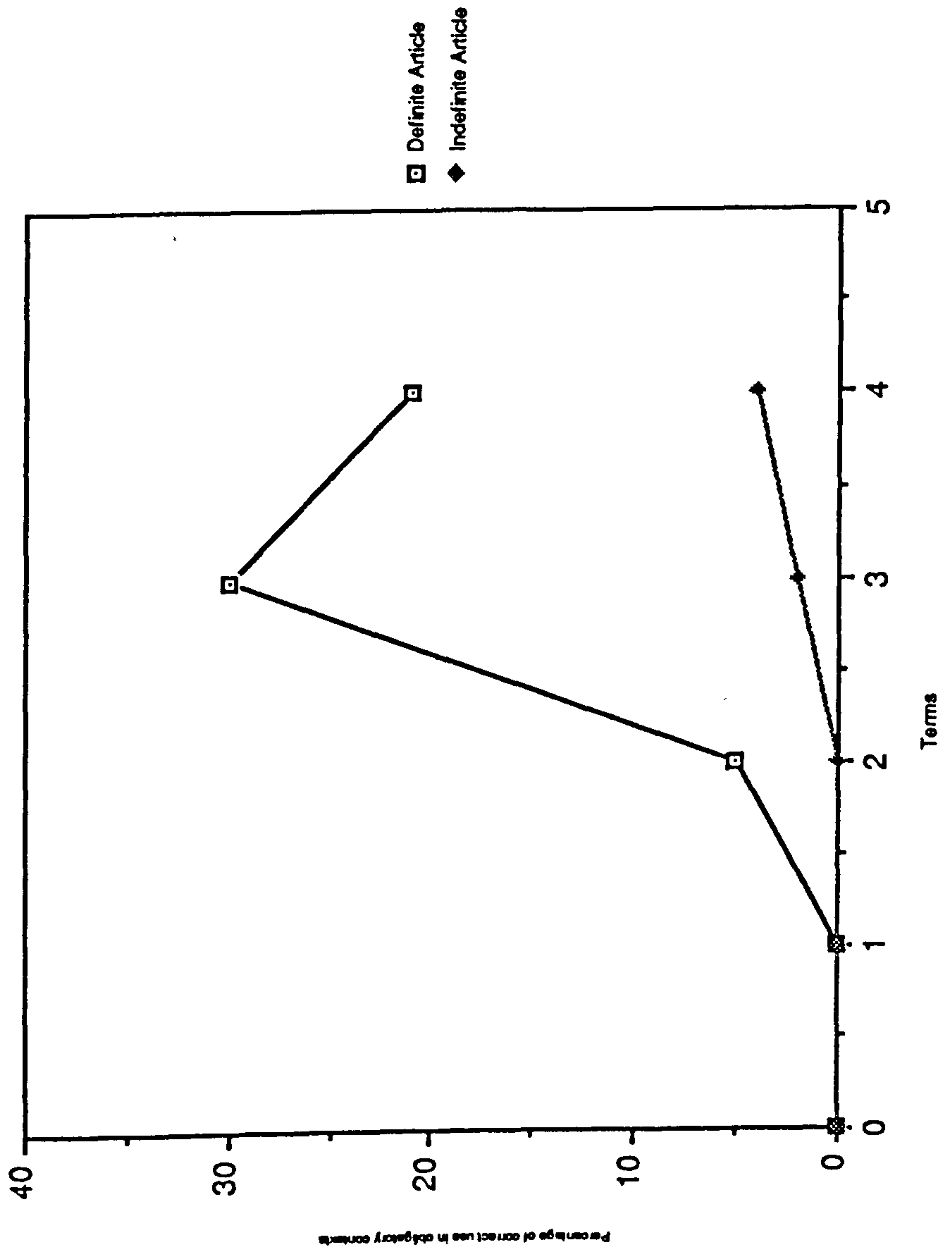
Graph C (iv)

A Comparison between the correct use of the definite and indefinite articles over a period of six terms by Asif



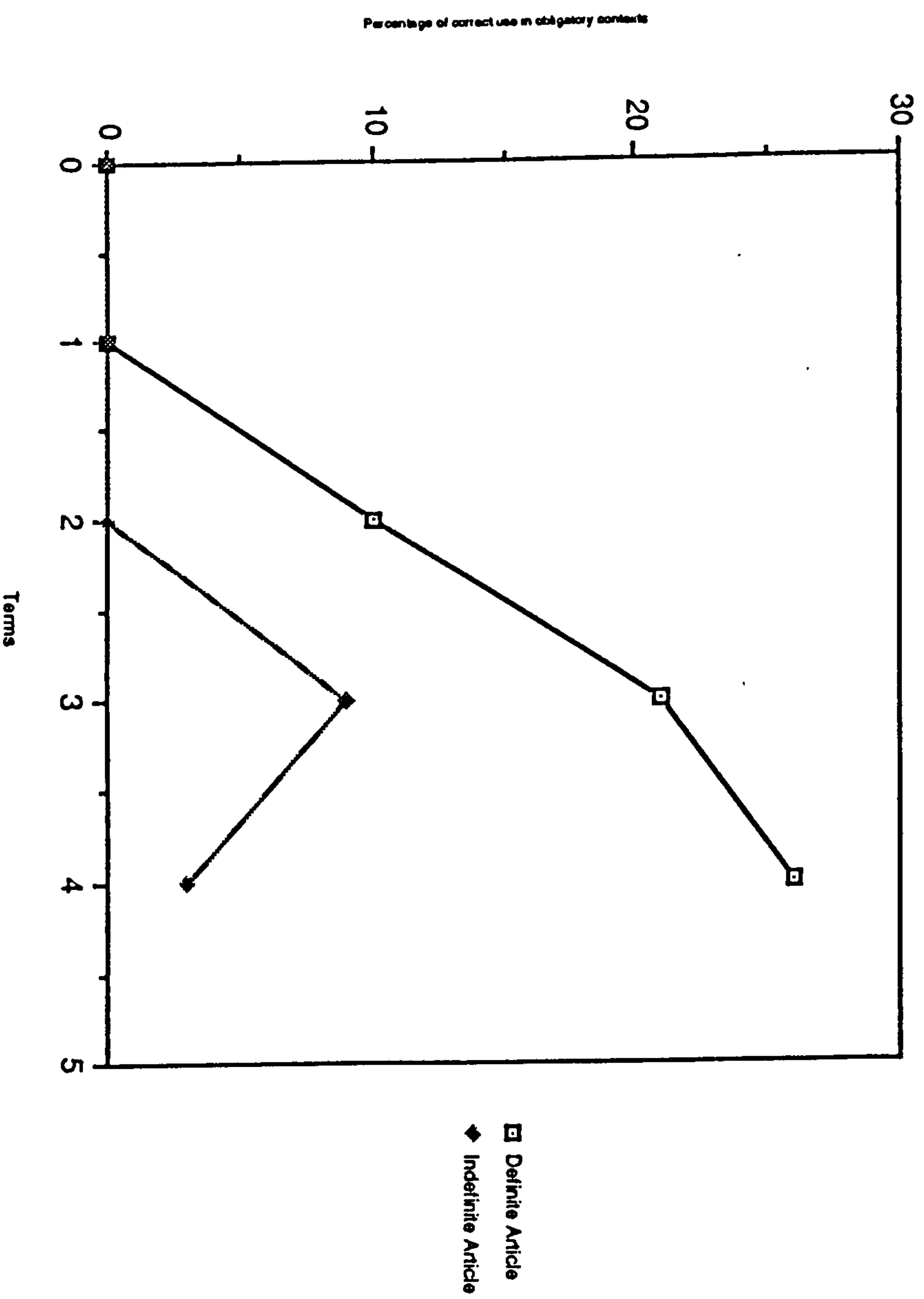
Graph C (v)

A Comparison between the correct use of the definite and indefinite article over a period of six terms by Quayum



Graph C (vi)

A Comparison between the correct use of the definite and indefinite articles over a period of six terms by Abdul Quayum



APPENDIX SIX.

TABLES.

Percentage of the Obligatory Contexts for 'is' and
'am/are' Copula in Terms One to Four for all Learners.

APPENDIX SIX.

Table One (a) - PERCENTAGE OF OBLIGATORY CONTEXTS FOR 'IS' and 'ARE / AM'

COPULA IN TERM ONE.

Obligatory contexts

	IS	ARE	AM	IS	ARE / AM
Amran	4	0	0	- 100%	0%
Razwana	2	0	0	- 100%	0%
Abdul Rob	4	0	0	- 100%	0%
Majid (absent)					
Asif	23	2	0	- 90%	10%
Quayum	12	1	0	- 92%	8%
Abdul Quayum	4	0	0	- 100%	0%

Table One (b) - PERCENTAGE OF OBLIGATORY CONTEXTS FOR 'IS' and 'ARE / AM'

COPULA IN TERM TWO.

Obligatory contexts

	IS	ARE	AM	IS	ARE / AM
Amran	73	10	5	- 83%	17%
Razwana	17	0	0	- 100%	0%
Abdul Rob	55	2	2	- 93%	6%
Majid	16	0	0	- 100%	0
Asif	49	2	0	- 96%	4%
Quayum	52	3	0	- 94%	6%
Abdul Quayum	22	1	0	- 96%	4%

APPENDIX SIX.

Table One (c) - PERCENTAGE OF OBLIGATORY CONTEXTS FOR 'IS' and 'ARE / AM'

COPULA IN TERM THREE.

Obligatory contexts

	IS	ARE	AM	IS	ARE / AM
Amran	117	13	0 -	90%	10%
Razwana	27	2	0 -	93%	6%
Abdul Rob	58	6	1 -	89%	11%
Magid	73	1	1 -	97%	3%
Asif	117	2	3 -	96%	4%
Quayum	89	4	2 -	93%	6%
Abdul Quayum	149	4	1 -	97%	3%

Table One (d) - PERCENTAGE OF OBLIGATORY CONTEXTS FOR 'IS' and 'ARE / AM'

COPULA IN TERM FOUR.

Obligatory contexts

	IS	ARE	AM	IS	ARE / AM
Abdul Rob	32	2	0 -	95%	5%
Razwana	38	1	2 -	93%	7%
Amran	47	3	0 -	94%	6%
Majid	56	5	1 -	91%	9%

APPENDIX SEVEN.

Method of Transcribing and Coding Data.

TRANSCRIBING TAPE-RECORDED CONVERSATIONS - KEY.

1. Each tape was listened to at least once with contextual notes. Transcription commenced at the beginning of each tape.
2. The method used is as follows:
 - a) play a few utterances so that interaction 'makes sense'.
 - b) re-wind
 - c) play two or three utterances within that sequence and 'pause'
 - d) write these down
 - e) repeat (c) and (d)
 - f) at an appropriate point re-wind, re-play and check.
 - g) repeat the (a) to (d) sequenceAt the end of each conversational episode, the transcript was checked against the tape.

Transcriber was aware of importance of listening to what was actually said, as in normal conversation we may be selective in what we 'hear', often filling in missing constituents or missing redundancies.

Presentation of the Transcript.

1. The speaker was indicated by initials after the number of the utterances.
2. Each utterance was numbered consecutively.
Each sessions was dated and numbered one at the beginning.
3. Utterances were written syntactically exactly as spoken.
Pronunciation was not corrected and where possible spelt as sounded e.g. 'I dunno' 'e said'.
4. Brackets () following the utterance indicated the researchers gloss where necessary.

Brackets < > following the utterances indicated any contextual information that was important to interpretation and analysis.

5. Overlapping was indicated by bracketing the two or more utterances together.
6. Hesitations were marked if expressed overtly by the speaker in the form of 'er', 'um'
Pauses were marked with each one representing approximately one second.
7. Utterances or words which were unintelligible, were not omitted but bracketed and marked with a question mark at the beginning and end of the questionable utterance or word
e.g. My friend {?Mosin?} come.
Utterances that were in the children's mother tongue were not transcribed but indicated by [PUNJABI] or [BENGALI].

SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIPTIONS

- | | | | | |
|----|----------|--------|--|--|
| 1. | . | as in: | T Yes. | Completed utterance. |
| 3. | _____ | as in: | <u>don't</u> do that | Emphasis. |
| 4. | Capitals | as in: | SHUT UP | Loud volume, shouting. |
| 5. | - | as in: | you now t- | Word not completed. |
| 6. | - | as in: | T draw a -

Am I don't know

T - bonfire | Talk cut short, usually interrupted, then continued .. |
| 7. | - | as in: | I -- say -- that | Untimed pause, duration shown by number of ---. |

				Used for within utterance pauses.
8.	()	as in:	(She went)	Gloss of meaning
9.	< >	as in:	<cuttin out>	Contextual information
10.		as in:	T Majid red P Red	Talk overlapping at this point.
11.	↑	as in:	Am: your houset	Rising intonation, indicating a question. intonation.
12.	CH	as in:	Ch I know, I know	Several children speak simultaneously.

This is an extended and modified version of the method of transcription used at Manchester Polytechnic with kind permission from the Department of Arts and Humanities.

Symbols in Analysis - In Relation to Morphemes Analysis.

- P - Present.
- A - Absent.
- OG - Overgeneralisation.
- MD - Meaning doubtful.
- PT - Present but wrong tense.
- OI - Use of 'one' instead of 'a'.
- OD - Use of 'one' instead of 'the'.
- In* - Use of 'in' to replace 'on'.
- On* - Use of 'on' to replace 'in'.

In addition to marking each morphemes in the transcript they were individually recorded under each morpheme category in the utterance in which they occurred.

Symbols in Analysis - In Relation to Communication Strategies.

- MR - Modelled repetition.
- SR - Sustained repetition.
- IR - Incorporated repetition.
- IR 1 - Incorporated repetition type one.
- IR 2 - Incorporated repetition type two.
- IR 3 - Incorporated repetition type three.
- IFR - Incorporated formulaic repetition.

In all examples of the above strategies utterances were bracketed together e.g.

T : Where are we going today?

As: Today we going park, yes. †

- F - A complete formulaic utterance.
- FP - Partial Formulaic speech.
- FA - Formulaic speech that had been partially analysed.

The actual formulaic utterance was underlined in colour to indicate type

I dunno - red, indicating a complete formula

I don't like that - Blue, indicating a partial formula.

He don't want that - Green, indicating a partially analysed formula.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- L1 - First Language.
- L2 - Second Language.
- LAD - Language Acquisition Device.

Abbreviations Used in Transcripts.

- T1 - Term One.
- T2 - Term Two.
- T3 - Term Three.
- T4 - Term Four.
- T5 - Term Five.
- T6 - Term Six.

T1 / 2.6. - Term One / Day . Month.

- T - Teacher.
- Am - Amran.
- AR - Abdul Rob.
- Rz - Razwana.
- Te - Tera.
- Ts - Tasleem.
- Mj - Majid.
- As - Asif.
- Qu - Quayum.
- AQ - Abdul Quayum.
- Li - Lipi.
- Ns - Nasreen.

APPENDIX EIGHT.

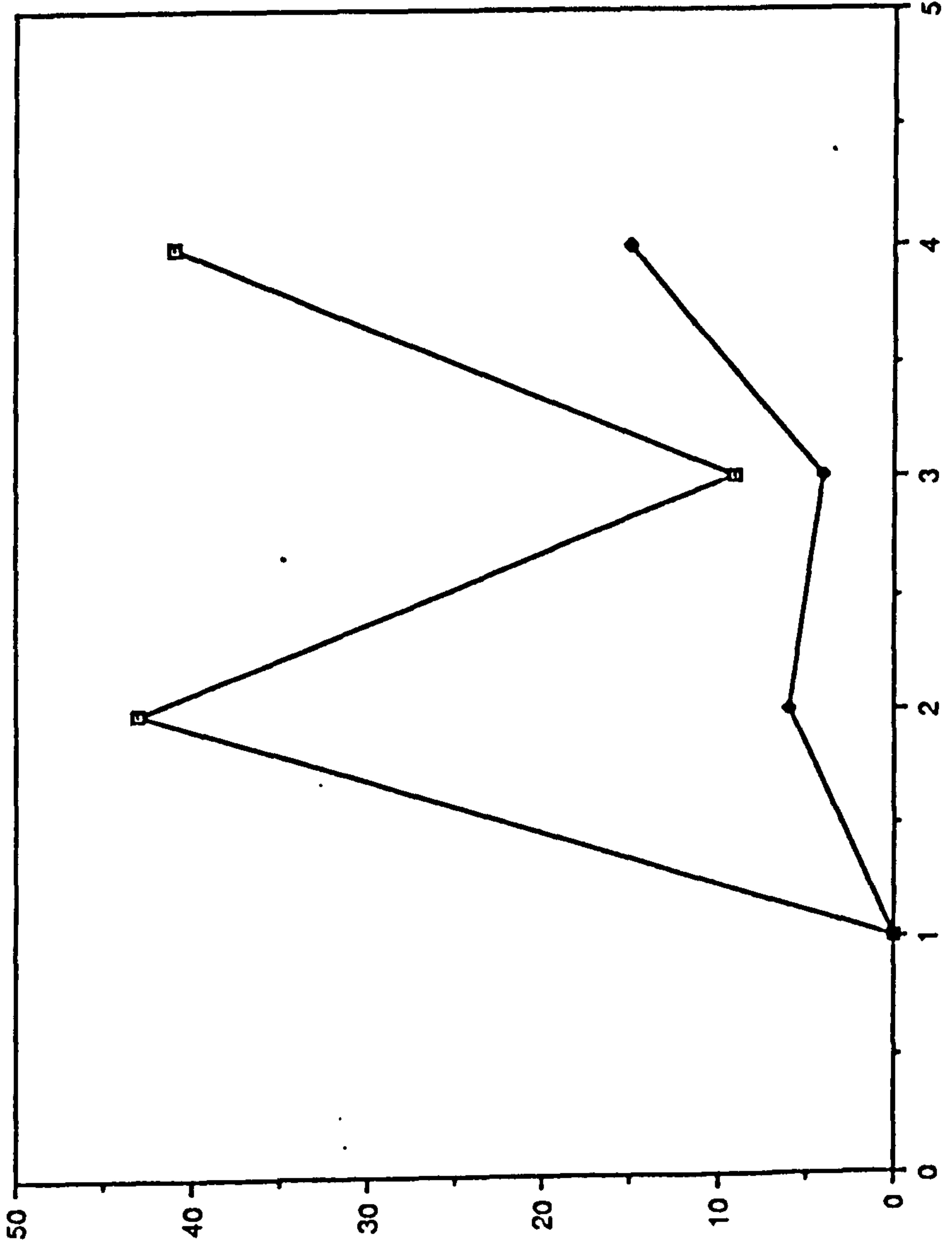
LINE GRAPHS - F (i-vii).

Obligatory Contexts for the Irregular and Regular Past
For all Learners During the First Four Terms.

GRAPH F.(i) Obligatory Contexts For The Irregular And Regular Past During

The First Four Terms For AMRAN.

Percentage Of Correct Production In Obligatory Contexts.



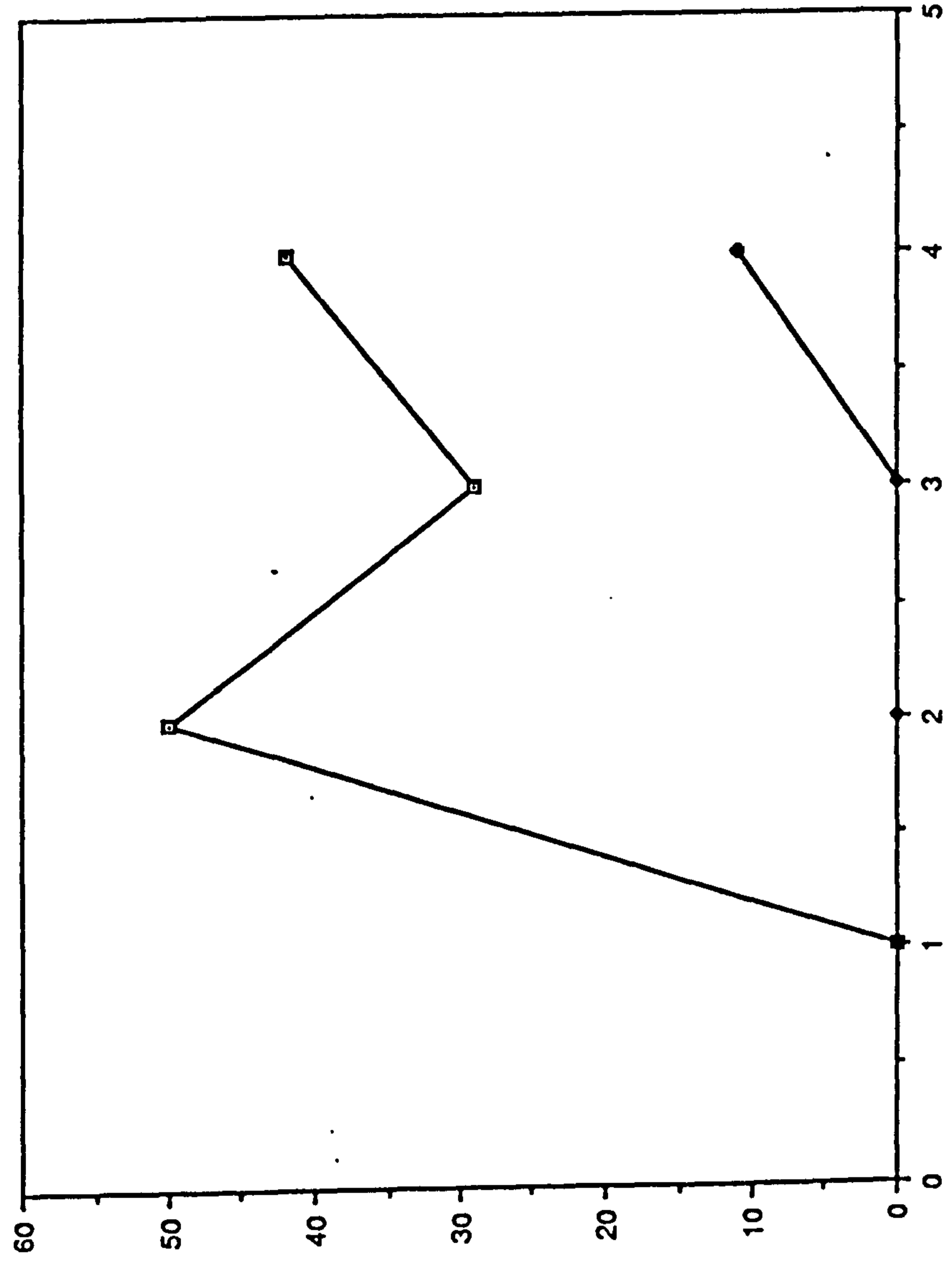
□ PAST IRREGULAR.
◆ PAST REGULAR.

TERMS.

GRAPH F.(ii) Obligatory Contexts For The Irregular And Regular Past During

The First Four Terms For ABDUL ROB.

Percentage Of Correct Production In Obligatory Contexts.



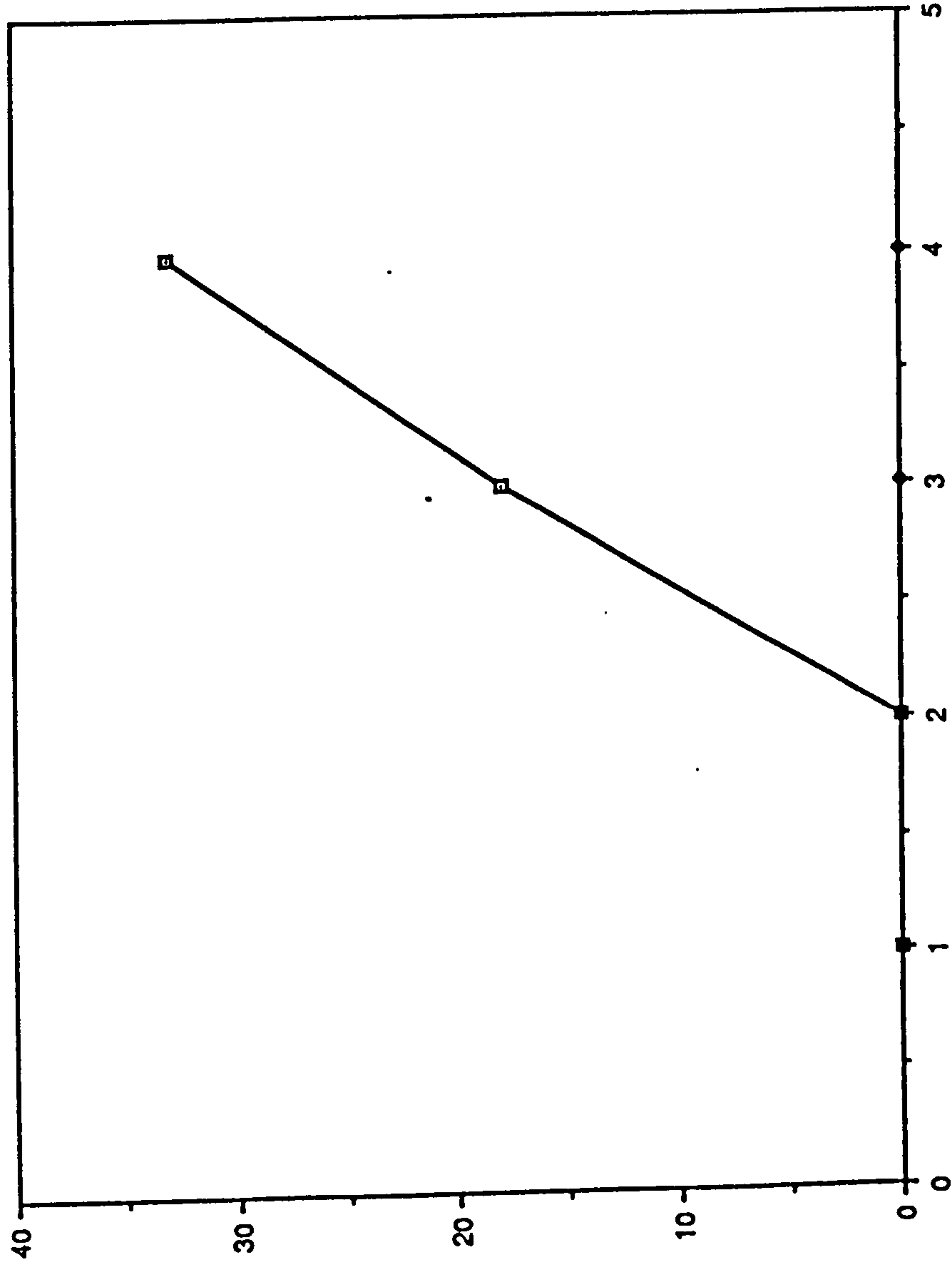
□ PAST IRREGULAR.
◆ PAST REGULAR.

TERMS.

GRAPH F.(iii) Obligatory Contexts For The Irregular And Regular Past During

The First Four Terms For RAZWANA.

Percentage Of Correct Production In Obligatory Contexts.



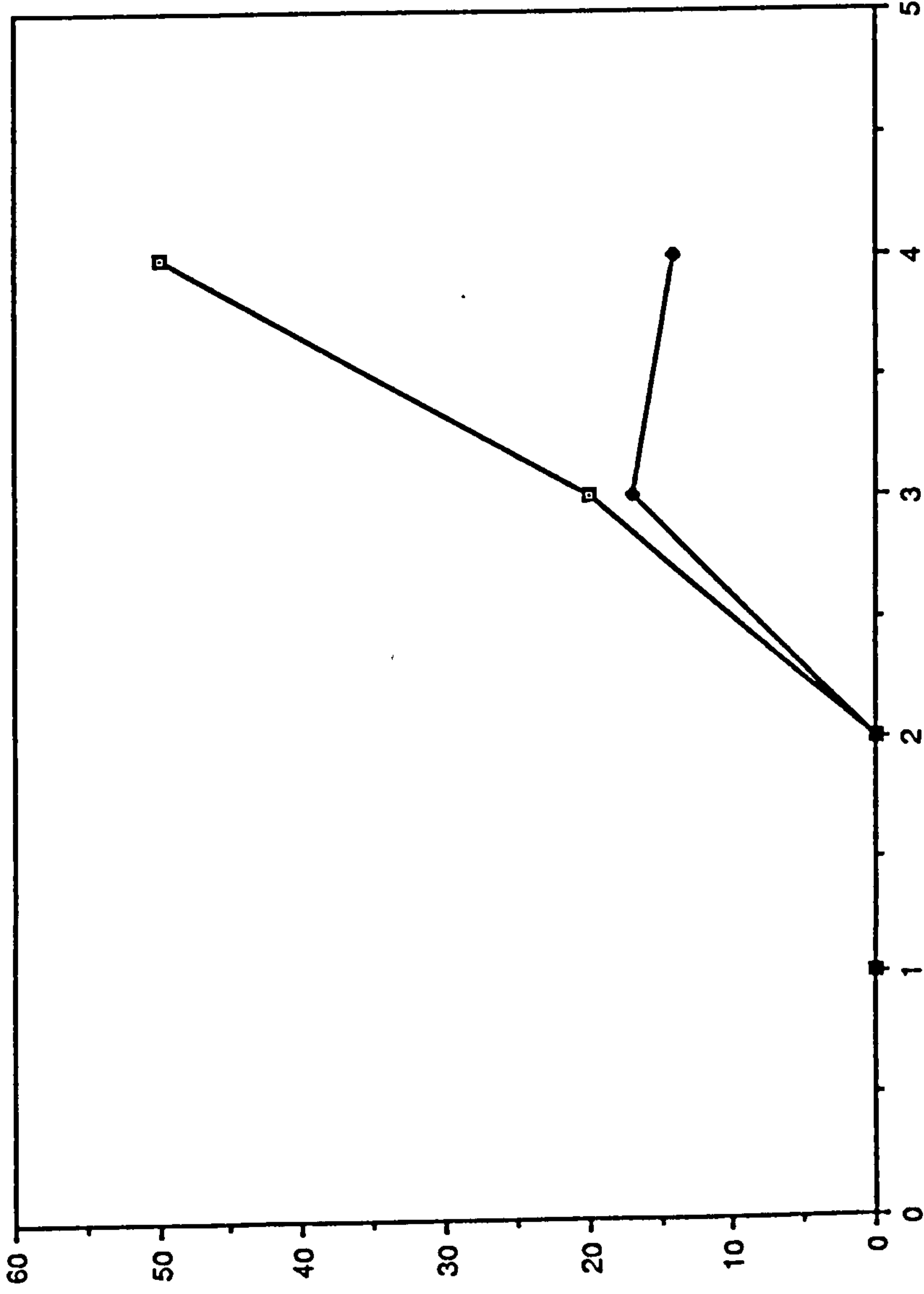
□ PAST IRREGULAR.
◆ PAST REGULAR.

TERMS.

GRAPH F.(iv) Obligatory Contexts For The Irregular And Regular Past During

The First Four Terms For MAJID.

Percentage Of Correct Production In Obligatory Contexts.



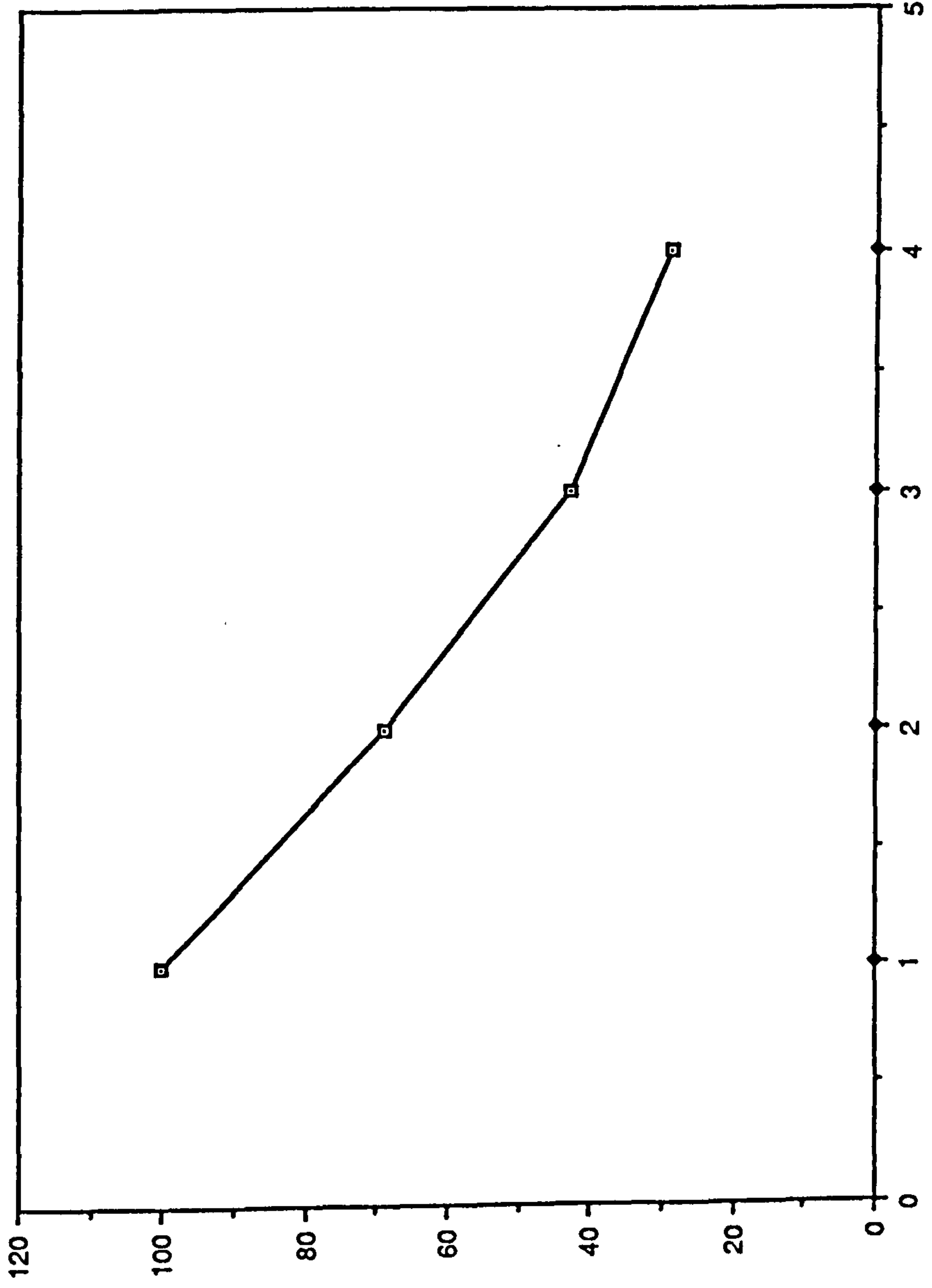
□ PAST IRREGULAR.
● PAST REGULAR.

TERMS.

GRAPH F.(v) Obligatory Contexts For The Irregular And Regular Past During

The First Four Terms For ASIF.

Percentage Of Correct Production In Obligatory Contexts.



□

PAST IRREGULAR.

◆

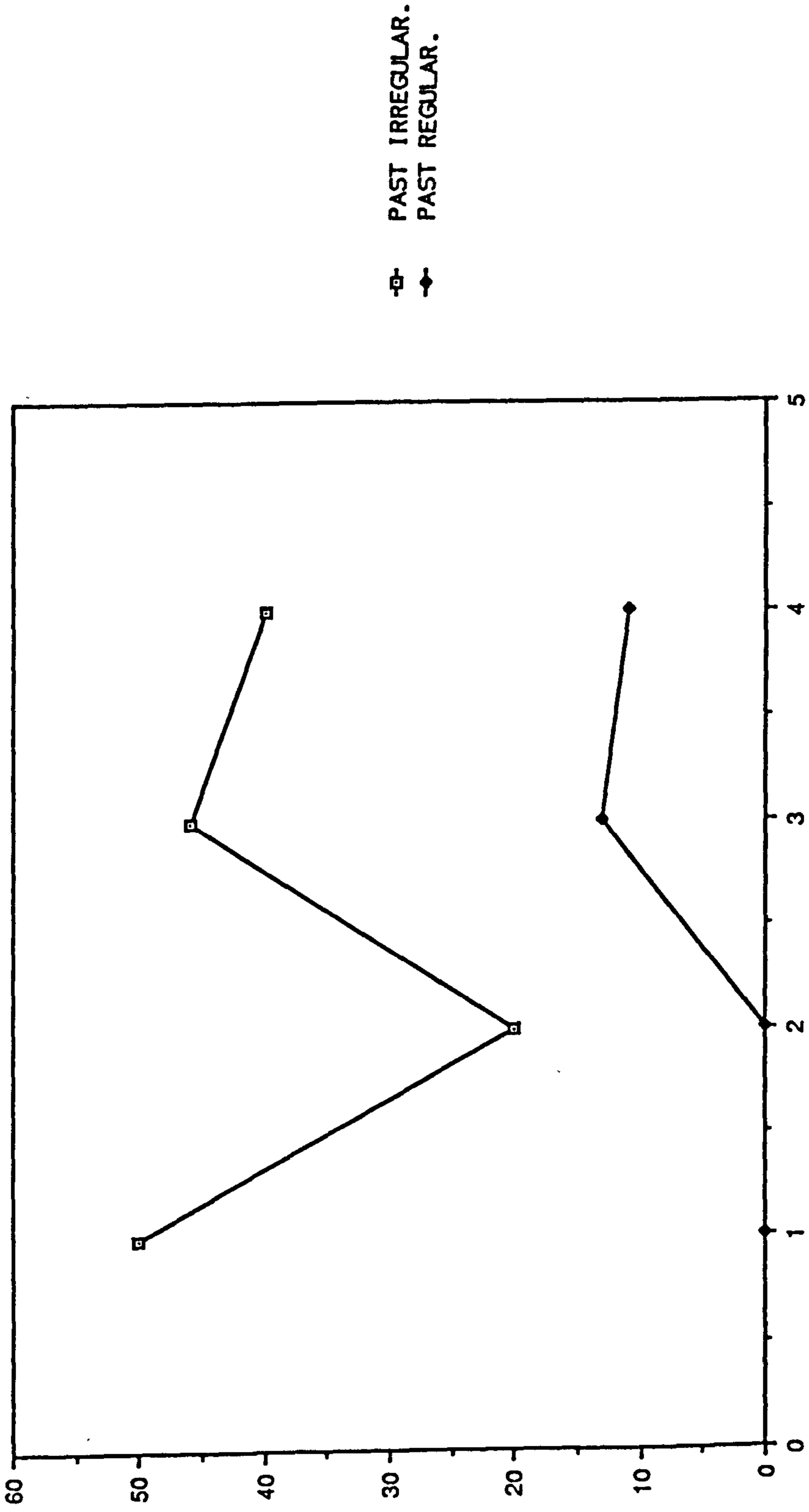
PAST REGULAR.

TERMS.

GRAPH F.(vi) Obligatory Contexts For The Irregular And Regular Past During

The First Four Terms For QUAYUM.

Percentage Of Correct Production In Obligatory Contexts.



GRAPH F.(vii) Obligatory Contexts For The Irregular And Regular Past During

The First Four Terms For ABDUL QUAYUM.

