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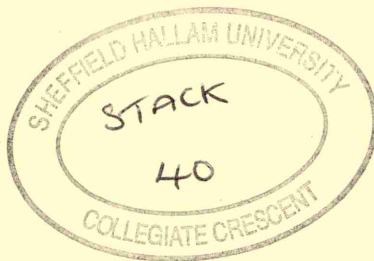
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THE BILINGUAL CHILD

IN THE MAINSTREAM

CLASSROOM

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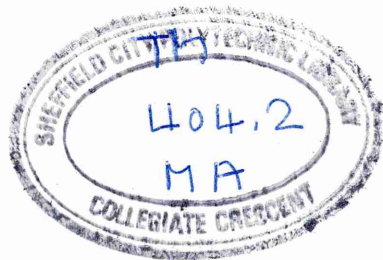
ABSTRACT

The Bilingual Child in the Mainstream Classroom

James McDonagh

The purpose of the study was to gain a greater understanding of the theoretical and pedagogical issues involved in learning a second language that would be of practical use to the researcher as a teacher at a time of transition in provision for children for whom English was a second language. Through an examination of specific features in the children's spoken English - past tense forms and interrogatives - information was gained about the developmental route children take to the target language. The study focused on a group of 8-9 year old Punjabi-speaking children who had spent some time in a language centre and who were now in a mainstream classroom. The study was conducted over one year in a Sheffield school and data were collected on five occasions. For the purposes of comparison, additional data were gathered on the first and fifth occasions from a group of Punjabi-speaking children born in Britain and educated in mainstream classrooms and from a group of monolingual English-speaking children. It is argued that, although the pedagogical implications are not clear-cut, there may be merits in specific instruction in the features studied in order to accelerate development and to prevent 'fossilization'.

<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u>

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INTRODUCTION

The following study was made at a time of transition in provision for bilingual children, nationally and locally. Language centres, employing specialist teachers, which had been established to provide language courses for newly arrived immigrant children and where bilingual children were taught apart from their English-speaking peers, have now given way to 'main-streaming': bilingual children are now in mainstream classes with English as a second language teachers 'supporting' the mainstream teacher.

Working as a teacher of English as a second language at this time of change from language provision for bilingual children in language centres to provision within mainstream classrooms, the author was interested in carrying out a small-scale study of 'mainstreamed' children which would help him as a teacher. The aim of the study was to shed light on existing practice rather than propose prescriptive solutions, and make the author more aware of the theoretical and pedagogical issues involved in acquiring a second language.

The study involved a core group of seven bilingual children who had all spent time in a language centre, a control group of six bilingual children born and wholly educated in Britain, and a smaller control group of four monolingual English-speaking children. All the children were 8-9 years old and were in the same class at school. It was decided to focus on the children's spoken production of past tense forms and interrogatives - features that would have been explicitly taught in the school's Language Centre but

which in the mainstream might be expected to be 'acquired' rather than 'learned'. Data were gathered from the core group on five occasions over the course of the school year and from the other groups on two occasions, at the beginning and end of the year.

Chapter 1 below discusses the shifts in educational provision for bilingual children, both nationally and locally, and focuses on the recent move to 'mainstreaming'. Chapter 2 discusses developments in Second Language Acquisition research through an examination of Contrastive Analysis, Error Analysis, Interlanguage, Performance Analysis and the conflicting views on linguistic competence and performance. Chapter 3 provides a discussion of interlanguage variability, the role of input, Discourse Analysis, and classroom research.

Chapter 4 deals with the study, outlining details of the school, the children, phases of the study and the methodology adopted.

Chapter 5 sets out the results.

Chapter 6 involves analysis and discussion of the results obtained.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter which discusses the merits and the limitations of the study and the possibilities for further research in the field.

CHAPTER 1

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE PROVISION

If we examine current educational practice and provision for bilingual children from a historical perspective we can see that English as a Second Language (E.S.L.) provision has been an important part of an overall response by the British education system to the presence of significant numbers of bilingual children in schools.

Prior to the arrival of significant numbers of immigrant children in the late 1950's and 1960's, what language policy there was:

> "focused on the unacceptability of Celtic languages and non-standard dialects of English and the importance of teaching the standard. British schools were monolingual, monocultural institutions one of whose functions was to enlighten those who departed from received linguistic and cultural norms."
> (Edwards, 1983:20)

This 'monolingual ideology' (Khan, 1985) is still apparent in the response of the education system to the needs of bilingual children despite the changes that have occurred in provision and practice over time.

In the report of the Swann Committee 'Education for All' (DES, 1985), responses to the educational needs of black children were seen as developing chronologically through distinct phases: assimilation, integration and multicultural education. The 'assimilationist' phase was characterised by

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an emphasis on the rapid absorption of new arrivals into mainstream schools, and the key to social and cultural assimilation was a mastery of English:

> "From the beginning the major educational task is the teaching of English."
> (D.E.S., 1965)

Special Language Centres were set up in order that the language 'problems' of these children could be dealt with without serious disruption to the mainstream school. Funding was made available under Section 11 of the Local Government Act (1966) to provide English as a Second Language teachers. This arrangement was assimilationist in concept in that the bilingual child's first language was not, and is still not, provided for. At the same time attempts were made to disperse children between different schools (similar to 'bussing' in the United States) to avoid concentrations of black children in any one school.

Government policy towards black pupils was based on the premise that they were a 'problem' to be absorbed into the system as rapidly as possible without disruption to the mainstream. In the eyes of the majority community this only helped to

> "reinforce the belief... that immigrant pupils merely caused problems and posed a threat to the well-being of indigenous children and to traditional educational standards. The "problem-centred" approach to the education of ethnic minority pupils... has continued to underlie thinking and policy making in this field ever since."
> (D.E.S., 1985: 194)

The assimilationist phase gave way to what has been termed an 'integrationist' approach to the education of black children, although it might be seen as a refinement of assimilationist thinking, rather than a radical departure. This phase dates from the time of Roy Jenkins' speech on the Race Relations Act (1968) when he said that integration should be seen

"not as a flattening process of assimilation but equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance."
(Cited in Carter, 1987: 78)

Whereas assimilationist thinking failed to take account of the changing nature of post-war British society, the integrationist approach involved a recognition of the differences in lifestyles, culture and religion of ethnic minority groups. However, racism was not considered a problem or an issue in the education of black children. The Race Relations Act pointed out that there was widespread racial discrimination in Britain. At the same time the under-achievement of black, and particularly Afro-Caribbean, children in British schools (Coard, 1971) highlighted the inadequacies of a system premised on the successful assimilation of black children.

The Swann Report argued that, increasingly, members of black communities had begun to make their voices heard, and the education system had responded in a number of ways. These might be subsumed under the general heading of 'multicultural education' - an umbrella term covering initiatives ranging from a superficial treatment of minority cultures to an anti-

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racist stance where action against racism is seen as the central concern of educational policy and practice. That racism is of central concern is recognised in the Swann Report, but the Committee stops short of advocating an anti-racist position, professing a belief in what it terms 'cultural pluralism'.

In the Report definitions are provided of the all-embracing term 'racism' and a distinction is made between 'individual' racism and the 'institutional' variety. Institutional racism is defined as a practice which

> "whilst clearly well-intentioned and in no way racist in intent, can now be seen as racist in effect, in depriving members of ethnic minority groups access to the full range of opportunities which the majority community can take for granted, or denying their right to have a say in the future of the society of which they are an integral part."
> (D.E.S., 1985)

Language centres can now be seen as examples of institutional racism in that they deny "an individual child access to the full range of educational opportunities available" (D.E.S., 1985: 389) by isolating them from the mainstream. As mentioned above, language centres were set up to deal with the perceived language needs, or language 'problems', of bilingual children. In some L.E.A.s central language centres were established, to which children were bussed. In others, language centres were located in schools, but often in outlying buildings effectively cut off from the mainstream. Other forms of provision existed and varied from this pattern depending on the L.E.A. (D.E.S. 1988, Lillis, 1986), but overall, the pattern of E.S.L. provision has been that children with perceived language needs (i.e. English Language

needs) are dealt with by specialist teachers of English as a Second Language and are not the concern of mainstream teachers. These specialist teachers are largely funded by a separate allocation from other teachers in the same schools (Section 11), are often peripatetic, and as they perform a servicing role, are marginal to mainstream school life. The Swann Report argues that mainstream teachers still hold a 'deficit' view of E.S.L. teaching: English as a second language provision is often seen as remedial work and children with limited English regarded as having limited ability. They are therefore stigmatised as "failures" (D.E.S., 1985; 391).

Riley and Bleach maintain that because E.S.L. provision has been separated from the mainstream there has been

"a deskilling of mainstream teachers who, generally speaking, have till now received the notion that E.S.L. cannot be practised except by specialists away from the main site of learning."
(1985: 88-89)

The Swann Report recommends that E.S.L. work be the responsibility of all teachers, who should be guided by a school language policy - as advocated in the Bullock Report (D.E.S. 1975). It provides arguments against separate provision on the grounds that:

- children are denied access to the mainstream curriculum;

- language needs may be perceived differently by mainstream and by ESL teachers;

- non-native speakers of English have little opportunity to mix with native speakers;

- it is socially divisive;

- the transition to the mainstream class can be traumatic for the child;

- the mainstream teachers do not feel responsible for E.S.L.

The Report has highlighted the question of institutional racism, and LEAs throughout the country have responded, partly to criticism and partly to changing needs, by making changes in their policy and provision. Recently, Calderdale L.E.A. was criticised for still maintaining language centres, after many L.E.A.s had moved away from this provision (C.R.E., 1986).

Sheffield L.E.A. has, like other L.E.A.s now moved away from E.S.L. provision in language centres to full integration of bilingual children in mainstream classes, with support teachers funded under Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act) working in collaboration with mainstream teachers. This has been an ad hoc transition, with no coherent LEA policy formulated on the issue and little preparation of mainstream or ESL teachers (Lillis, 1986). Many of the support teachers had worked formerly either in language centres or with groups of 'second stage' bilingual children withdrawn from mainstream classes, but rarely in collaboration with mainstream teachers. The problem of mainstream teachers' expectations and the mismatch between the teaching in the language centre and what the child received in the mainstream is highlighted in a discussion paper aimed at monolingual teachers

of bilingual children. In this paper the authors state that whereas language centre staff had judged children moving into the mainstream able to cope, the mainstream staff did not.

> "Obviously, different criteria were being used, and the functional uses of language needed to survive in the organisation, and cope with the varied academic curriculum of mainstream schools were not always the same as those used to assess progress in language centres"
> (Desforges and Kerr, 1984: 4)

It is, perhaps, not surprising that there was a mismatch, given the separation of roles, the isolation of the E.S.L. specialist from mainstream concerns, and the prevailing language teaching methodology employed in Sheffield's language centres. Recent developments in communicative language teaching and course design were largely unknown, and there was no specific in-service provision for E.S.L. or mainstream teachers on bilingualism or second language acquisition that would have been of use to them in their work. It seems that specific in-service training in these areas was not a priority. After all, the purpose of intensive language instruction was to aid the assimilation of bilingual children into mainstream life:

> "The English-as-a-second-language teachers would give them sufficient mastery of English to equip them to enter the English-as-a-mother-tongue classroom. Once there, they would be essentially no different from other pupils in the classroom. Business as usual."
> (Rosen and Burgess, 1980:7)

As a teacher in a language centre, the author wished to extend his limited knowledge of bilingualism and second language acquisition research,

and undertake a study that would throw light on some of the issues that would not only be of use to the author but that may be of interest to other E.S.L. teachers and to mainstream teachers of bilingual children.

Before going on to discuss the research carried out in a Sheffield school the following three chapters provide an overview of the pertinent literature on second language acquisition.

CHAPTER 2

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

- Contrastive analysis, interlanguage, error analysis,

performance analysis, competence and performance.

Compared with first language acquisition (F.L.A.), research into second language acquisition (S.L.A.) is relatively new). Patsy Lightbown (1985) suggests that two seminal papers - Corder's "The Significance of Learners' Errors" (1967) and Selinker's "Interlanguage" (1972) - mark the beginnings of significant S.L.A. research.

In the short time since the publication of these papers a number of theories have been expounded and various research methods have been adopted to explain second language acquisition (Ellis 1986; McLaughlin, 1987), but S.L.A. research has charted a different course from first language acquisition research. Hakuta writes that S.L.A. and F.L.A. share common goals and views the purpose of S.L.A. and F.L.A. research as follows:

> "The game of language acquisition research can be described
> as the search for an appropriate level of description for the
> learner's system of rules". (Hakuta, 1981:1).

According to Rutherford (1986), however, the relatively short history of S.L.A. research has been characterised by too exclusive a focus on description, the purpose of much research being to chart the route the second language learner follows towards target language goals, and to

compare this route with the acquisition route taken by the child learning a first language. Rutherford argues that this history of research needs a theory of second language acquisition to account for the data which is being described.

Felix (1980) writes that S.L.A. lacks a theory comparable to those proposed for F.L.A. and language use, primarily because of the lack of agreement on systematicity and variation in second language learning, and how the two are related.

This is an issue that will be returned to below when discussing variability in interlanguage in the next chapter.

It can be argued that a significant difference between the two research traditions stems from the more 'applied' nature of S.L.A. research. Whereas work on first language acquisition, particularly by those working in the Chomskyan paradigm, has tended to be more theoretical, S.L.A. research has been influenced by teaching methodology and has, therefore, been more "applied" in perspective. Writing in 1974, Susan Ervin-Tripp complained that it had taken a long time for theories of first language acquisition to be considered as important to second language learning by those working in the field.

Ervin-Tripp went on to argue that there were significant differences between the two research traditions: First language research had focused on

the case study and the learner's stages of development in acquiring a first language, whereas S.L.A. research had relied on studies of large groups.

Until recently, F.L.A. research tended to ignore input in its emphasis on learner strategies, and S.L.A. research had focused on manipulation of input; F.L.A. research had generally been carried out in natural settings whereas S.L.A. research had generally taken place in classrooms where language was taught formally.

At the time Ervin-Tripp was writing, Contrastive Analysis, although under attack, was still influential, and provides a further reason for separate treatment of first and second language acquisition:

> "...there has been a theoretical rationale offered for treating first and second language learning as irreconcilably different; second language learning is, it is argued, built completely upon transfer from the first language, and therefore can tell us nothing more general about language learning."
> (in Hatch, 1978a: 191-92)

Since Ervin-Tripp wrote this article, however, there have been a number of important developments in S.L.A. research which have brought it closer to F.L.A. research. Hakuta and Cancino (1977) suggest that there have been four main approaches in the development of S.L.A. research and provide a useful framework for discussing developments in the field. They see these four approaches as: contrastive analysis, error analysis, performance analysis and discourse analysis. Van Els et al (1984) use the same framework in their recent survey of second language acquisition research, and for the

purposes of the two chapters on S.L.A., these approaches will be discussed

although sections on competence and performance, interlanguage variability,

input and classroom research are also highlighted for discussion. However,

whereas Hakuta and Cancino argue that second language acquisition research

has moved through these four approaches in stages and discuss reasons for the

transition from one stage to another, more recent research suggests that all

four approaches are still valid, and each approach may be seen as

complementing rather than replacing others (Lightbown, 1985).

The following discussion of these developments, begins with an

examination of Contrastive Analysis.

Contrastive Analysis

For a quarter of a century, beginning with the boom in foreign

language teaching prompted by the Second World War, until the late 1960s,

research into second language acquisition was linked very closely to language

teaching methodology. Using methods based on structural linguistics

(Bloomfield, 1933), it was felt that language learning could be approached in a

'scientific' way. A linguistic approach which owed a lot to structural linguistics

was coupled with behaviourist notions of learning which suggested that 'errors'

in second language learning were the result of the negative transfer of habits

from the mother tongue. Fries typifies this approach to language learning

when he writes:

"The most effective materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner."
(Fries, 1945:9)

By providing a contrastive analysis (C.A.) of the language to be learned with the mother tongue it was assumed that 'negative transfer' from the first language could be predicted and appropriate learning materials devised to counter potential errors. Robert Lado expounds the C.A. hypothesis in his 'Linguistics Across Cultures' (1957) when he writes:

"Individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings, and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native languages and culture to the foreign language and culture, both productively when attempting to speak the language... and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language...in the comparison between native and foreign language lies the key to ease or difficulty in foreign language learning."
(Lado 1957:2)

Lado goes on to claim that:

"Those elements that are similar to (the learner's native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult."
(Lado, 1957:2)

This notion of a hierarchy of difficulty in the surface features of different languages was for long not subjected to empirical verification. Its validity was assumed by those teachers who adopted an 'audiolingual' approach, an approach in which 'errors' are seen as undesirable, to be kept

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to a minimum through carefully controlled input, and to be eradicated through drills and exercises. The errors made by language learners were judged to be different from those made by children acquiring their first language and not to be tolerated. Wilga Rivers writes:

> "..the student must not, as the infant does, experiment with new combinations and analogies, some accurate and some inaccurate. Instead he must be induced to produce the right response by the teacher's careful arrangement of the circumstances of response. His mistakes are not 'cute' but dangerous in that they represent decremental, not incremental learning."
> (Rivers, 1964)

Wardhaugh (1970) talks of a 'strong' (or 'a priori') version of C.A. by which areas of difficulty between languages can be predicted, so allowing teachers to devise appropriate courses that would avoid the likelihood of learners' errors. However, attempts, such as those of Stockwell et al (1965), to establish a hierarchy of difficulty that could be applied universally were unsuccessful, largely because many errors occurred in learners' performance that a C.A. failed to predict, and errors that were predicted failed to occur. In addition, there were the practical problems for the teacher of making a time-consuming contrastive analysis of different languages.

In contrast to the 'strong' claim of contrastive analysis, Wardhaugh (1970) proposes a 'weak' (or 'a posteriori') version, one that "attempts to explain already discovered deviations".

It is this weak claim that links this version of the C.A. hypothesis to the 'a posteriori' analysis of errors in Error Analysis.

Contrastive analysis developed in a period when linguistics was primarily structuralist and psychology was dominated by behaviourism. The publication of two works by Noam Chomsky in the late 1950s: Syntactic Structures (1957), in which his theory of transformational-generative grammar is first expounded; and the 1959 review of B.F.Skinner's (1957) Verbal Behaviour, in which Chomsky effectively attacks the prevailing behaviourist views on language, mark a turning point in theories about the nature of language and the nature of language learning. The behaviourists' claim that language is learned through the acquisition of linguistic habits and that imitation plays an important role in learning is strongly countered by Chomsky's assertion that language is 'creative', i.e. human beings produce novel utterances when they speak, rather than imitations of what they have heard before:

"The normal use of language is innovative in the sense that much of what we say in the course of normal language use is entirely new, not a repetition of anything that we have heard before, and not even similar in pattern - in any useful sense of the terms 'similar' and 'pattern' - to sentences or discourse that we have heard in the past."
(Chomsky, 1972:12)

To account for this ability to produce/understand novel utterances Chomsky claims that human beings possess an innate capacity to acquire language through the language acquisition device (LAD), a mental mechanism

specifically concerned with language. A child learning his/her first language will abstract <u>rules</u> from the impoverished data he/she encounters and incorporate these into his/her production/understanding of language, and will do so in a relatively short space of time.

It appears that we recognise a new item as a sentence not because it matches some familiar pattern in any simple way, but because it is generated by the grammar that each individual has somehow and in some form internalized (Chomsky, 1959). Chomsky asserts that natural languages are governed by complex rules that are not apparent in 'surface structure', the actual utterances of a language. If a child acquiring a language had to reply solely on the 'degenerate' data in his/her environment he/she would not be able to abstract, and so acquire, the rules.

Evidence that language is rule-governed is provided by Berko's (1958) experiment to discover children's awareness of English morphology. For instance, to test their knowledge of plural allomorphs, children were presented with pictures accompanied by invented words, e.g. "This is a wug", and invited to supply the plural forms. Berko found that children obeyed morphological rules when forming plurals. Further evidence to suggest that children abstract rules from the data they encounter in their environment can be found in other studies that have been made of 'overgeneralizations' in children's language, whereby words or structures are 'regularized' inappropriately. Examples of over-generalization include 'mens' for 'men'; 'goed' for 'went'; 'ball' for ball-shaped objects (Bowerman, 1978).

Chomsky's ideas on language led to important studies of children's acquisition of language in the 1960s, but it was not until the 1970s that 'mentalist' ideas were to have an effect on second language acquisition research. We can see that first language studies provide evidence that a child's language develops through hypothesis-testing, i.e. that the child is actively involved in acquiring the mother tongue, and not just a passive recipient, as behaviourists would claim. Through testing out hypotheses the child's language develops "by successive approximations passing through several steps that are not yet English" (McNeill, 1966: 61). The aim of first language acquisition studies was to describe these successive approximations or interim grammars.

Interlanguage

The interim grammars created by second language learners on their journey to the target language is termed 'interlanguage' (I.L.) by Selinker (1972). 'Interlanguage' is similar to the notions of 'approximative system' (Nemser, 1971) and 'transitional competence' or 'idiosyncratic dialects' (Corder, 1971), and has two inter-related meanings. It can be seen as the system created by the learner at any point in the transition from the native language (N.L.) to target language (T.L.), but can also refer to the continuum of systems over time (Corder's 'inbuilt-syllabus'; 1972:24).

The interlanguage can be seen as distinct from the L1 and the L2:

"The contact situation should therefore be described not only
by reference to the native and target languages of the learner
... but by reference to the learner system as well."
(Nemser, 1972)

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Like the L1 learner the L2 learner tests hypotheses about the target language, errors arising from this process.

This mentalist concept of 'hypothesis-testing' clearly goes against prevailing behaviourist learning theories and undermines the C.A. hypothesis. However, the influence of the L1 is given some recognition in Selinker's account of the five central psycholinguistic processes involved in second language acquisition:

1.   Language transfer from the first language;

2.   Transfer of training, where errors may arise as a result of the teaching process;

3.   Strategies of second language learning, where the learner adopts a particular approach to the material to be learned;

4.   Strategies of second language communication, where the learner adopts a particular approach to communication with speakers of the target language;

5.   Overgeneralization of target language rules.

These five processes are the means by which the second language learner makes sense of the second language, and are to be found in the genetically-determined 'latent psychological structure'. Selinker argues that this latent psychological structure is similar to Lenneberg's (1967) concept of 'latent language structure', and exists in addition to it. Unlike the latter,

however, the latent psychological structure has no 'genetic timetable' and may not be activated at all.

Selinker introduces the notion of 'fossilization' which also exists in the latent psychological structure:

> "Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules
> and subsystems which speakers of a particular N.L. will tend to
> keep in their I.L. relative to a particular T.L., no matter what
> the age of the learner or the amount of explanation and
> instruction he receives in the T.L."

Examples of fossilizable phenomena include:

French uvular /r/ in their English I.L.

American English retroflex /r/ in their French I.L.

English rhythm in the I.L. relative to Spanish, and so on.

Selinker's seminal paper provided the theoretical framework for an examination of 'errors' from a mentalist perspective, and studies of the errors learners make when learning a second language would provide insights into the SLA process.

Error Analysis

Corder makes a distinction between 'errors' which are systematic, the result of a lack of knowledge of the T.L., and performance errors or

mistakes, which are often due to "memory lapses, physical states such as tiredness and psychological conditions such as strong emotion" (Corder, 1974:24). Adopting a "non-contrastive approach to error analysis", Richards attempts a classification of 'intralingual errors' -

> "which reflect the general characteristics of rule learning, such as faulty generalization, incomplete application of rules, and failure to learn conditions under which rules apply." (1974:174)
> -

and 'developmental errors', which

> "illustrate the learner attempting to build up hypotheses about the English language from his limited experience of it in the classroom or textbook."
> (Richards 1974:174)

'Strategies' the learner employs to acquire a L2 include:

<u>Overgeneralization</u>. This is associated with redundancy reduction. For instance the '-ed' past tense marker is often redundant, as pastness can be indicated lexically, e.g. 'Yesterday, I go to the shops'. Richards argues that certain teaching techniques may produce overgeneralized structures, that structures can be 'overlearned', e.g. 'He can sings'.

<u>Ignorance of rule restrictions</u>. This occurs where rules are applied, often through analogy, to contexts where they are not applicable, e.g. "The man who I saw him".

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Incomplete application of rules. This occurs when the learner can achieve efficient communication without needing to master more than elementary rules. "Motivation to achieve communication may exceed motivation to produce grammatically correct sentences."
(Richards, 1974:177).

False concepts hypothesized arise from inadequate comprehension of distinctions in the target language e.g. 'was' may be used as a past tense marker so errors such as 'One day it was happened' may occur.

The shift in emphasis from empiricist views of language learning to a mentalist perspective in first language acquisition research did not initially have much effect on developments in second language teaching or learning, and it is questionable just how much influence psycholinguistics has had on second language teaching (Rogers, 1988). Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt, working as teachers of E.S.L., expressed concern that as late as 1973 S.L.A. research was still dominated by an empiricist perspective. They wrote that those studying second language acquisition had to take into account the discovery in first language research of the process of 'creative construction' (Dulay and Burt, 1973).

In their study of the errors in the English of Spanish-speaking children they conclude that 87.1% of the errors are developmental (i.e. similar to L1 learning errors), 4.7% interlingual (i.e. interference from the

L1) and the rest unique (i.e. neither developmental nor interlingual (Dulay and Burt, 1973). They therefore reject the notion that errors are primarily the result of transfer from the L1 and they argue that S.L.A. is similar to F.L.A. in that the second language learner, like the child acquiring its first language, hypothesizes, i.e. mentally 'constructs' the grammar of the target language. The second language learner is, therefore, involved in a process of 'creative construction' (L1 = L2 hypothesis), and errors are an inevitable and necessary part of that process.

In another study by Dulay and Burt (1974a; 1974b) Spanish- and Chinese-speaking children's errors in their production of English grammatical morphemes were compared. A C.A. hypothesis would predict different acquisition orders for the two groups, given the structural differences between the two L1s. Dulay and Burt found, however, that the two groups' rank order scores were almost the same, and they claimed that this result confirmed the creative construction hypothesis. Any differences between the L1 and L2 were put down to different cognitive strategies.

These studies were cross-sectional and both employed the 'Bilingual Syntax Measure' (B.S.M.) (Burt et al., 1973) to elicit utterances from the children. The methodology adopted in these studies has since been questioned, as has the dismissal of significant interlingual influences in the children's English, and these criticisms will be discussed more fully below.

A number of other 'morpheme studies', similar to Dulay and Burt's, purport to show that second language acquisition is similar to first language acquisition and that second language learners follow a similar route to acquisition as first language learners. The research is based on the work of Brown (1973) and deVilliers and deVilliers (1973), who discovered that children learning English as a first language followed an invariant sequence in their acquisition of 'functors' - noun and verb inflections, articles, copula, prepositions and auxilliaries. Further studies by Bailey et al., (1974); Larsen-Freeman, (1976); Krashen et al., (1976), replicating Dulay and Burt's research with adult informants, suggest that adults, like children, follow a natural sequence of development in their acquisition of the L2.

There are a number of criticisms of the morpheme studies and error analysis which need to be mentioned. Firstly, the elicitation instruments used in most studies (Bilingual Syntax Measure) may have an effect on findings. Porter (1977) applied the Bilingual Syntax Measure to English-speaking children and found that acquisition orders were more akin to L2 learners than to the L1 learners of Brown's (1973) study. Secondly, an underlying assumption of the morpheme studies is that 'accuracy of use' reflects the order of acquisition. The cross-sectional methodology employed in the studies, where a large group of informants at different stages of proficiency are tested at one stage in their development, can be criticised for not taking account of the process of acquisition.

Longitudinal studies have shown orders of acquisition that are at odds with the findings of cross-sectional research (Hakuta, 1976; Huebner, 1979; Rosansky, 1976). They conclude that 'accuracy of use' does not signify 'order of acquisition'. Synchronic data should therefore not be interpreted diachronically (Fathman, 1977).

Error Analysis may also be criticised on a number of grounds. Firstly, the notion of 'error' is problematical. E.A. supposes a 'norm' against which deviant structures are measured, but norms in language depend on the medium - spoken/written, formal/ informal, asymmetrical/symmetrical relationships. Errors considered in terms of idealized norms fail to take account of context, and measuring L2 performance against target language norms fails to take account of the learner's perspectives. If we consider bilingual children in British mainstream classrooms, there is the added danger that a partial focus on 'idiosyncratic forms' in children's second language production encourages a 'deficit' view of their ability.

Secondly, there is the problem of unambiguously identifying the sources of a given error in a learner's I.L. Schachter and Celce-Murcia (1977) write that large numbers of learner errors are ambiguous as to whether they are interlingual or developmental. For instance, in the case of the obligatory copula in English, for native speakers of Chinese, Arabic and other languages, deletion of the copula might be explained as 'interference' (interlingual errors) resulting from differences between the N.L. and T.L. On the other hand, the same error might be judged to be 'developmental', as

children learning English as their first language, and Spanish speakers learning English as a second language also make this error. A further example of how deletions might be interpreted comes from a comparison of Dulay and Burt's (1974a) and Duskova's (1969) studies. In the former, article deletion in the English of Spanish speaking children is judged to be intralingual, similar to errors made by children for whom English is the L1. On the other hand, Duskova argues that article deletion in the English of Czech adults is evidence of interference, since Czech does not have the same structure.

Dommergues and Lane (1976) suggest that errors are the result of the interaction of different sources, that interference and overgeneralization work together, and that much of the literature on S.L.A. is wrong in implying that errors are of one kind or another.

As well as the dilemma of assigning errors to categories, error analysis has not been able to come to terms with the phenomenon of 'avoidance'. Schachter (1974) argues that L2 learners adopt an 'avoidance strategy' when faced with L2 structures that differ greatly from their L1. If learners avoid structures they avoid errors.

Error analysis relies on a synchronic description of types of errors at a single point in time, and so cannot account for second language development:

"E.A. has too often remained a static, product-oriented type of
research, whereas L2 learning processes require a dynamic
approach focusing on the actual course of the process."
(Van Els et al., 1984;66)

It is because of these limitations that research has increasingly focused

on the process of S.L.A., or performance analysis.

Performance Analysis

Whereas cross-sectional studies and E.A. provide a snapshot of a

second language learner's language at a specific point in time, longitudinal

studies reveal development over time. The limitations of longitudinal studies

are, however, that few grammatical areas have been studied, and the results

from a specific study using a small number of informants are not

generalizable. Of course, replication of studies can provide evidence for or

against the findings of a particular study.

One study which shows the merits of analyzing learners' language at

various stages of their interlanguage is that of Taylor (1975), who concluded

from his research into beginning and intermediate Spanish-speaking students

learning English, that there was a shift from a reliance on L1 transfer to an

increased reliance on overgeneralization as the student became more

proficient in the L2. Wode (1981) provides further evidence that in the early

stages of acquiring a L2 the learner tends to make more interlingual errors.

Studies such as these are important in highlighting the role of the L1, largely

discounted in early morpheme studies.

Several studies have provided evidence that there is a natural development in S.L.A., akin to F.L.A. but differing from it in certain respects. Many of the studies have been of grammatical sub-systems (mostly of English as a second language), and have focused on negation (Ravem, 1968; Milon, 1974; Cazden et al., 1975; Wode, 1976, 1980; Adams, 1978; Butterworth and Hatch, 1978), or interrogatives (Ravem, 1974; Cazden, et al., 1975; Gillis and Weber, 1976; Wode, 1978; Shapira, 1978; Adams, 1978; Butterworth and Hatch, 1978).

From this research it can be seen that there are similarities in the acquisition of negation and interrogatives by learners with different L1s. However, there are differences in that not all learners acquire items in the same order: differences do exist depending on the learner's L1, and different learners approach the learning of the L2 in different ways. How can these differences, then, be reconciled with the notion of the I.L. continuum as a universal phenomenon? Ellis (1986) provides a possible answer when he argues that:

> "...learners take the same road but they do not necessarily
> drive along it the same way. They follow a standard sequence
> but vary in the order in which specific features are acquired."
> (p. 64)

We will return to a discussion of this in Chapter 3 when considering the role of instruction.

We have already discussed how the adoption of a mentalist framework has led to a marked focus on grammar in S.L.A. research. It is appropriate at this point to examine the shift from a concern with linguistic competence to an awareness of the importance of studying communicative competence, taking as our starting point the notions of 'competence' and 'performance' as defined by Chomsky.

Competence and Performance

In his writings Chomsky is concerned with discovering the mental reality behind actual behaviour, at arriving at an understanding of a native speaker's competence. In Chomsky's view a grammar of a language is a model of the linguistic abilities of a native speaker of that language, which allow him/her to speak/understand that particular language. This is the speaker-hearer's competence: "the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language" (Chomsky, 1965:4), which is distinguished from Chomsky's notion of performance; "the actual use of language in concrete situations" (Chomsky, 1965:4). The actual use of language in concrete situations is not deemed worth of serious study:

> "Observed use of language or hypothesized dispositions to
> respond, habits, and so on, may provide evidence as to the
> nature of this mental reality, but surely cannot constitute the
> actual subject matter of linguistics, if this is to be a serious
> discipline."
> (Chomsky, 1965:3)

For Chomsky, linguistics is concerned:

"primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely
homogeneous speech community, who knows its language
perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically, irrelevant
conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of
attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in
applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance."
(Chomsky 1965:3)

Chomsky's work places him in the tradition of linguists whose primary

interest is the linguistic code and not its use (de Saussure, 1916, Bloomfield,

1933). Chomsky's distinction between linguistic competence and linguistic

performance can be likened to de Saussure's langue and parole. However,

whereas for Chomsky 'competence' is the property of the 'ideal speaker-

hearer', de Saussure's definition of 'langue' stresses the shared social nature

of language: 'langue'

"is the social side of speech, outside the individual who can never
create nor modify it by himself; it exists only by virtue of a sort of
contract signed by members of a community".
(de Saussure, 1916: 14)

'Langue' is the underlying system shared by all members of a speech

community, to be contrasted with 'parole', the actual use of language in

speech and writing. Although de Saussure, in making this distinction,

recognises the existence of the context of language use, 'parole' is considered

too unruly to be adequately studied and is therefore not judged to be the

main concern of the linguist. Since de Saussure's time those, like Chomsky,

who have worked in the Saussurean tradition, have focused their attention on

the closed, rule-governed system (on de Saussure's 'langue' or Chomsky's 'competence').

There is, however, another tradition, one which considers language and the context in which it is used. The anthropologist, Malinowski, in analysing the language spoken by natives of the Trobriand Islands, found that the meaning of words depended greatly on the context in which the words were uttered, and he argues that there is a need to take into account the 'context of situation' when studying language. In addition to the concept of 'context of situation', which runs counter to de Saussure's exclusive concern with 'langue', Malinowski provides another concept which predates current interest in sociolinguistics and language learning theory, when he sees language as a "mode of action, not an instrument of reflection" (in Ogden and Richards, 1946: 312).

The influence of Malinowski on British linguistics is acknowledged by J.B. Firth (1968) when he praises Malinowski's approach to the study of speech functions in contexts of situation. For Firth, language is dependent on social context.

These ideas were to have an influence on the work of Michael Halliday, who, like Firth, acknowledges the contribution of Malinowski in his discussion of <u>functions</u> in a child's language development:

"Learning language is learning the uses of language and the
meaning potential associated with them; the structures, the
words and the sounds are the realization of this meaning
potential. Learning language is learning to mean."
(in Kress, 1976:8)

Halliday defines 'meaning potential' in the following way:

"Language is being regarded as the encoding of a 'behavioural
potential' into a 'meaning potential'; that is, as a means of
expressing what the human organism 'can do', in interaction
with other human organisms, by turning it into what he 'can
mean'. What he can mean (the semantic system) is, in turn,
encoded into what he 'can say' (the lexico-grammatical system,
or grammar and vocabulary).
(Halliday, 1978:21)

Halliday's 'meaning potential' is akin to Hymes' notion of

'communicative competence', but differs from Hymes' in that Halliday is not

interested in "the artificial concept" of competence, i.e. what the speaker-

hearer knows. His concern is with what the speaker-hearer does in

sociolinguistic or functional terms.

Campbell and Wales (1970) and Hymes (1972) both recognise the

limitations of Chomsky's definition of 'competence', and propose the notion

of communicative competence as encompassing a range of ability broader

than just grammatical knowledge. Campbell and Wales (1970), in a discussion

of developments in language acquisition theory, define competence as:

"the ability to produce or understand utterances which are not
so much grammatical but, more important, appropriate to the
context in which they are made.
(Their emphasis.   Campbell and Wales, 1970:247)

'Competence' then is extended beyond exclusive grammatical

knowledge to include contextual or sociolingual competence, i.e. knowledge of

the rules of language use.

Dell Hymes, opposing Chomsky's narrow definition of competence,

puts the case for a theory of language that:

"can deal with a heterogeneous speech community, differential
competence, the constitutive role of socio-cultural factors."
(Hymes, 1972:275)

and he widens the notion of 'competence' to include 'communicative

competence':

"If an adequate theory of language users and language use is
to be developed, it seems that judgements must be recognised
to be in fact not of two kinds (i.e. grammaticality and
acceptability) but of four. And if linguistic theory is to be
integrated with theory of communication and culture, this four-
told distinction must be stated in a sufficiently generalized
way...

1. Whether (and to what degree) something is formally
POSSIBLE;
2. Whether (and to what degree) something is FEASIBLE in virtue
of the means of implementation available;
3. Whether (and to what degree) something is APPROPRIATE in
relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated;
4. Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually
PERFORMED, and what its doing entails."
(Hymes, 1972:281)

Hymes argues that the notion of 'competence' not only implies 'tacit knowledge' but also ability for use, which allows for non-cognitive factors, e.g. motivation. He says:

"Certainly it may be the case that individuals differ with regard to ability to use knowledge...to interpret, differentiate, etc. In speaking of competence, it is especially important to separate cognitive from affective and volitive factors, so far as the impact of theory on educational practice is concerned."
(Hymes, 1972: 283)

However, Canale and Swain (1980) contend that there has been no research rigorous enough to support the notion that 'ability for use' should form part of a definition of 'communicative competence', and that if it were to be regarded as an essential component of communicative competence

"one allows the logical possibility of language users having 'linguistic deficits' (or 'communication deficits')"
(Canale and Swain, 1980:7)

Criticising those linguists working within the Chomskyan paradigm who identify communicative competence with 'performance' and who contend that a description of grammatical competence must precede one of sociolinguistic competence, Canale and Swain write:

"It seems entirely reasonable to assume...that there are rule-governed, universal and creative aspects of sociolinguistic competence just as there are of grammatical competence."
(1980:6)

They go on to define the term 'communicative competence':

"to refer to the relationship and interaction between
grammatical competence or knowledge of the rules of grammar
and sociolinguistic competence, or knowledge of the rules of
language use." (1980: 6)

Canale and Swain argue that this basic definition is important for
second language teaching and testing, and that if teachers adopt a
communicative approach they need to consider both grammatical competence
and sociolinguistic competence in the design of syllabuses; and in teaching
methodology and assessment there needs to be a consideration of
communicative performance as well as communicative competence.

The development of the notion of communicative competence has
implied a different methodological approach to that of Chomsky. Whereas
for Chomsky data is obtained from the intuitions of native speakers of a
particular language (often from the linguists themselves) and matched for
acceptability to the competence of an idealised native speaker-hearer,
sociolinguists gather their data from informants' actual utterances and then
analyse them, taking into consideration the context of situation. This leads us
to a consideration of recent developments in interlanguage theory, in
particular the phenomenon of variability.

CHAPTER 3

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

- interlanguage variability, input, discourse analysis,

classroom research.

Interlanguage variability

Claims that second language acquisition follows a natural order of development (Dulay and Burt, 1974; Krashen, 1981) are based on the assumption that the learner has a homogeneous, rather than variable, competence. Evidence of the existence of variability in language has led to a re-examination of Selinker's original notion of interlanguage as deriving from central cognitive processes. The original I.L. hypothesis was conceived in relation to adult S.L.A., the latent psychological structure thought to be activated only after puberty, but in a later paper Selinker et al., (1975) refute this earlier claim and extend the I.L. hypothesis to children's second language acquisition when acquisition is non-simultaneous and when it is acquired in the absence of native-speakers of the target language. From their study of a group of 7-year-old children in a French immersion programme in a Canadian English-medium school, Selinker et al., (1975) conclude that the children's L2 demonstrated systematicity as revealed in the strategies adopted. By 'strategy' the authors mean a cognitive activity relating to the processing of L2 data in order to express meaning. The strategies may be at a conscious or subconscious level. In the paper three strategies are emphasized: language transfer, overgeneralization of T.L. rules, and simplification. Language

transfer and overgeneralization have already been mentioned above. Selinker et al provide an example of simplification in the use of the base form for all tenses. There is overlap between the different strategies and the authors suggest that perhaps simplification should be seen as the 'superordinate strategy' with overgeneralization and language transfer as types of simplification. The authors conclude that it is in the consistent use of the strategies that a learner's interlanguage can be seen as systematic.

Whereas Selinker has argued that the systematicity evident in interlanguage is the result of cognitive processes, Adjemian (1976) contends that the systematicity of I.L. can be analysed linguistically. This argument is based on the assumption that I.L.s are linguistic systems and just as natural languages can be idealized as system of rules, ILs may also be idealized and subjected to linguistic analysis. Adjemian emphasises the instability of learners' I.L., that it is in a constant state of flux and that it is permeable, i.e. likely to be invaded in certain circumstances by N.L. or T.L. rules. This view of I.L. as a dynamic system runs counter to the conceptualization of interlanguage as a series of static but overlapping approximative systems, and requires a different approach when describing it to that offered by those working in the Chomskyan paradigm. As Corder (1978) remarks, language behaviour is far from homogeneous and linguistic systems cannot be adequately described by the categorical rules favoured by linguists,

"who have been forced as a consequence to invent such
fictional beings as ideal speaker-hearers in a homogeneous
society."
(in Richards 1978:73)

Corder goes on to argue that the inconsistency in learners' behaviour

has been used as the main argument against the validity of I.L. as a coherent

language system, but it is an argument that overlooks:

"the well-established fact that we are all variable in our use of
the mother tongue. This variability is not random, but
patterned and related to the social context of speech activity. It
is principled variation."
(Corder, in Richards 1978: 87-88).

It is necessary, therefore, to gather data from a range of different types

of discourse.

Like Adjemian, Tarone (1979, 1982, 1983) accepts that interlanguage is

a natural language and should obey the constraints of language universals, but

she argues that it is not enough to gather data solely from intuitional

judgements or from elicitation tasks, valuable though these may be. She

therefore takes issue with Adjemian, in whose work the Chomskyan theoretical

framework (or Homogeneous Competence paradigm) is applied to S.L.A. She

writes that:

"With S.L.A., the task is to describe and explain a grammar
which is not native; which results from contact between a native
language and another language, with possible constraints from
universals; and which is in formation, and therefore seems to
have heterogeneity built into it."
(Tarone, 1983: 150-151)

Whereas those working within a homogeneous competence paradigm would judge variability to be non-systematic, Tarone approaches the issue of variability in interlanguage from a sociolinguistic perspective. Language in use in human interaction is 'chameleon-like' (Tarone, 1979) and the variability that arises from a learner's knowledge of how to use language appropriately is systematic, part of the learner's communicative competence.

Following Labov (1970, 1972a), Tarone argues that within interlanguage, just as in any linguistic system, there exists a continuum of styles ranging from casual to formal, or from the <u>vernacular</u> style to the <u>superordinate</u>. Speech is judged to be most systematic when speakers are paying the least attention to form, i.e. when they are speaking in the vernacular style.

When a speaker is paying more attention to speech he/she shifts along the casual-formal dimension, towards the superordinate style. A speaker's competence includes knowledge of both superordinate and vernacular norms and the ability to style shift. A problem arises, however, for the linguist who wishes to study the speaker's vernacular style. To obtain good data the linguist needs to make a systematic observation of the informant's speech. This raises the problem of what Labov calls the 'Observer's Paradox':

> "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to
> find out how people talk when they are not being
> systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by
> systematic observation"
> (in Fishman, 1971:171)

Samples of 'vernacular' speech obtained in formal situations (e.g. interviews) are influenced by the Principle of Subordinate Shift (Labov, 1970). Where there are asymmetrical relationships of age, class, etc., the speakers of a subordinate group will shift towards the speech norms of the superordinate group, even at times exceeding those norms through 'hypercorrection' (Labov, 1966).

One method devised by Labov to overcome the Observer's Paradox and gather unmonitored speech was the use of the 'rapid anonymous interview', as exemplified in his ingenious study of New Yorkers' variable use of the post-vocalic (r) in the expression 'Fourth Floor'. This method, though, yields limited data, and despite Labov's reservations about formal situations, the interview is seen as the most effective technique.

Labov devised procedures for eliciting speech styles along the casual-formal axis, which he defined in terms of the amount of attention paid to speech. So, at the most formal end of the continuum, i.e. where the informants are most conscious of their speech, are the reading tasks ranging in degree of formality from minimal pairs of words to word lists to reading a text. The presence of an interviewer and the interview situation produce 'careful' speech, which is considered less monitored than the reading styles. Casual speech is obtained through eliciting narratives based on personal experiences - e.g. danger of death - where the informant becomes so engaged in relating the experience that he/she pays less attention to speech.

Additional data on the casual style is obtained during interruptions, digressions, speech to a third person, etc.

According to Tarone (1983), interlanguage, like any linguistic system, consists of a continuum of styles.

Table 1

Interlanguage continuum

Vernacular style (more pidgin-like)	Style 2	Style 3 Style 4	Style n	Careful style (more TL/NL like)
unattended speech data	attended speech data	various elicitation tasks: elicited imitation, sentence-combining, etc.		grammatical intuition data

(Tarone, 1983)

As language in use is 'chameleon-like' (Tarone, 1979), the learner's overall I.L. competence (or 'capability') needs to be understood in terms of this continuum. The 'careful' style is judged to be the one produced when the speaker is paying most attention to speech. When paying the least attention to speech the speaker produces the 'vernacular' form. These two styles form the two poles of the continuum, the interlanguage system being made up of other styles, as illustrated in Table 1. Tarone (1983) argues that the regularities in each style can be described and that interlanguage is systematic in two ways: it can be described and predicted in terms of variable and categorical rules; and it is internally consistent. She goes on to say that only regularities are to be accounted for by the continuum - "irregular occurrences" and slips of the tongue being excluded from consideration.

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Whereas in the 'homogeneous competence paradigm' the careful style would be seen as the primary source of data, Tarone, following Labov, sees the I.L. vernacular as primary in that it is less prone to invasion by native language and target language structures and it therefore shows greater internal consistency. Structures emerge in the vernacular style which are spontaneous and have features in common with pidgins and other simplified languages. The careful style, on the other hand, is seen as more permeable to T.L. and N.L. structures.

Tarone takes pains to distance her model from the 'dual knowledge paradigm' associated with Krashen and others (Krashen, 1985; Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982) who see the interlanguage system as comprising a spontaneous mode and a non-spontaneous mode, or a dual system. Krashen (1985) distinguishes between 'acquiring' and 'learning' a second language.

Acquisition is seen as a

> "subconscious process identical in all important ways to the
> process children utilize in acquiring their first language"
> (1985:1); and learning is "a conscious process that results in
> 'knowing about' language".
> (1985:1)

Krashen hypothesizes that conscious learning is available only as a 'Monitor' to alter or correct 'acquired' language. As utterances are only initiated through 'acquisition', Krashen argues that language teaching should

focus on communicative activities rather than on the learning of rules (Krashen and Terrell, 1983).

Krashen's hypothesis has been sharply criticised, not least because he fails to provide sufficient empirical verification of the existence of a dual system (Gregg, 1984; McLaughlin, 1987). Tarone contends that Krashen's two systems - the implicit knowledge system and the metalinguistic system - appear to be homogeneous, each system made up of a single set of invariant rules. Data gathered to establish the dichotomy between the two systems does not, therefore take account of variability within any one system.

Krashen sees the second language learner acquiring the L2 in much the same way as children acquire their L1 and he presents evidence from morpheme studies to support this view. He argues that these stages of acquisition follow the same pattern regardless of the order in which the teacher presents structures. No such stable acquisition order is suggested, however, for the 'learned' system. For Tarone,

> "It is unclear...how structures which have been learned, and are
> therefore part of the metalinguistic knowledge system, become
> part of the implicit knowledge system, since these two systems
> are viewed as being completely independent."
> (1983:158)

According to Tarone's model, on the other hand, structures are seen as first being acquired in the careful style, and, over time, moving along the continuum into the vernacular style. There is insufficient evidence, as yet, to

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validate this claim, and Tarone suggests that longitudinal studies using a variety of elicitation tasks are the most effective means of determining which paradigm is most appropriate for the study of interlanguage.

In addition to the stylistic variability identified by Tarone, there is another kind of variability in interlanguage that needs to be considered - variability determined by linguistic context. This occurs when linguistic forms vary as a result of the linguistic environment. Again, this type of variability has been studied from a sociolinguistic perspective, even though it may be argued that such a study of language structure need not refer to social factors. Labov (1972b) provides a detailed investigation of such variability in his study of the deletion or contraction of the copula in Black English Vernacular. He found that the form of the copula was influenced by the grammatical class of the subject (N.P. or pronoun), by the complement (adjective, N.P., locative or verb) and by the next sound (vowel/consonant). So, the copula is omitted in certain environments and realized (either in contracted or full form) in others. Labov concludes that the copula is present in the deep structure of the Black English Vernacular grammar but its realization is constrained by the grammatical and phonological environment. The processes of contraction and deletion in Black English Vernacular can be represented by variable rules.

One attempt to examine this type of variability in interlanguage is that of L. Dickerson (1975). She examined the production of [S] and [Z] by Japanese students of English as a Second Language and came to the

conclusion that certain phonological environments were more favourable than others to the production of English [S] and [Z]. W. Dickerson (1977), in a longitudinal study of Japanese learning English, not only found that the phonological environment was influential but that over time there was an approximation to the T.L. variants in each linguistic environment. In addition, he found there were systematic style shifts according to the elicitation task (free speaking, reading, word lists).

Ellis (1985) argues that there is a need to consider both situational variability (i.e. factors relating to the scene and participants) and contextual variability (i.e. the influence of the linguistic environment on I.L. rules at different stages) in any description of interlanguage, but at the present time the models of interlanguage that have considered systematic variability have been of a limited nature and none have investigated the interaction of situational and contextual variability.

In addition to systematic variability Ellis (1985) argues that a second language learner's language demonstrates non-systematic variability. This is of two kinds. The first results from memory lapses, false starts, etc., i.e. performance errors. The second kind is the product of competing rules in the learner's competence, rules that are arbitrary. He goes on to suggest that in this type of variability linguistic forms exist in free variation, and variants exist in a speaker's competence that have no situational or contextual function. He therefore adds to Tarone's (1983) three paradigms for the study of interlanguage (the homogeneous competence paradigm, the heterogeneous

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competence paradigm and the capability paradigm) a fourth - the 'multiple' competence paradigm' - which posits that the learner does not have a single interlanguage system but a number of overlapping systems.

In the early stages of interlanguage a learner may employ two or more forms to realize the same functions. Ellis provides an example of a learner using two different negative rules (no + verb and don't + verb) in free variation in his interlanguage, and he comes to the conclusion that non-systematic variability can be seen to exist when:

"1. the two forms occur in the same situational context,
2. the two forms help perform the same illocutionary meaning,
3. the two forms occur in the same linguistic context,
4. they occur in the same discourse context, and
5. there is, in the manner of their production, no evidence of any difference in the amount of attention paid to the form of the utterances."

(1985: 124)

Ellis contends that the study of S.L.A. from a sociolinguistic perspective which emphasizes the regularity and predictability of language variation does not provide an adequate explanation for the way in which new language forms are internalized into a learner's I.L. An examination of situational and contextual factors alone does not allow for non-systematic variability. He writes that at any stage a learner's I.L. consists of competing rules which are, in some cases, related to situational or contextual factors. In other cases, however, the use of the competing rules is arbitrary.

Bickerton (1975), in his study of variation in a creole-speaking community, provides examples of speech that support this notion of arbitrariness. He writes,

> "Choice of style is governed, not by any inter-subjective and objectively perceptible features in the situational context, but by the autonomous and fluctuating feelings of the speaker himself or herself. Obviously, situations affect people's feelings, but they do so in puzzlingly different ways for different individuals, and in any case it is not the situation as objectively perceived by the observer, but the situation as subjectively perceived by the actor, which constitutes the operant factor - and only one among several at that (1975: 184).

Ellis suggests that I.L. is highly unstable and so is prone to invasion by new linguistic forms. These new forms exist initially in free variation with existing forms and two or more forms may be used to communicate the same meaning. New forms are seen as realizing existing functions and not the exact functions in the T.L. The process by which a learner successfully correlates form and function may, according to Ellis, be psycholinguistic rather than social, and depend on universal 'operating principles' (Slobin, 1973).

Huebner (1979, 1983) shares Ellis' view that learners acquire forms to serve existing functions. These forms are later matched to the exact T.L. functions. In his study of the I.L. of an adult acquiring English without formal instruction he employed a "dynamic paradigm" to analyze the learner's language data in answer to the questions: What are the form-function

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relationships of the I.L.? How do these form-function relationships change as the acquirer revises the I.L.?

Variability in the I.L. can be seen as resulting from the learner's changing hypotheses about the I.L. over time and Huebner identifies two strategies for changing hypotheses: 'flooding' and 'trickling'.

> "Trickling refers to the gradual elimination of a given form from one environment after another until the use of that form has ceased almost completely. Flooding refers to a process in which a form which had been used in a limited environment is suddenly used in a more general environment."
> (1983:50)

In an earlier study (Wagner-Gough, 1975) of a Persian child, Homer, learning English as a second language, the researcher emphasizes the importance of studying both form and function before asserting a child has "acquired" a structure, and that it cannot be assumed that acquisition of form entails acquisition of function. Wagner-Gough (1975) found that Homer used the progressive verb form to refer to present, past and future time periods. She concludes that syntactically Homer's progressive followed a similar development to other children in first and second language studies, but that semantically it was not a predictable marker of tense or aspect and there was no reason to think that Homer had analysed its function in the target language.

In another study, of progressive and simple verb forms, Eisenstein et al (1982) found that learners of English confused the two forms, possibly as a result of cross-association between closely related semantic notions.

"It may be because the simple present and the present progressive are...semantically close that their forms, as well as their functions, are difficult for language learners to distinguish."
(1982: 390)

They go on to hypothesize that "Perhaps both functions (simple and progressive) are first accommodated as one form/function, and ultimately they are differentiated into two." (p.390). A study of function as well as form, over time, is therefore important if we wish to understand the process of acquisition.

Whereas second language researchers like Tarone have approached I.L. variability from a sociolinguistic perspective, others have stressed the importance of psychological explanations for variation (Bialystok, 1979, 1981, 1983; Bialystok and Sharwood Smith, 1985). Bialystok, for instance, argues that Tarone's approach to the phenomenon of variability in learners' speech, which relies on a system of variable and categorical rules based on particular contexts of use, is explained wholly in terms of externally-given situational constraints. Bialystok contends that there are also internally-given cognitive constraints and that

"variability appears not only across styles, as it does for native speakers, but also within styles."
(Bialystok, 1983, 56)

She posits that there are two underlying psycholinguistic dimensions which describe aspects of a learner's knowledge of language: the 'explicit-implicit' dimension, which reflects the learner's ability to see the language information in abstraction' and the 'automatic-analysed' dimension, which reflects the learner's ability to use the language information automatically and fluently. She argues that variability in a learner's speech

"arises from the dual influence of the two underlying
dimensions on the process of formulating linguistic utterances
under specific sociolinguistic conditions."
(1983:65)

Another perspective on variation comes from those who have investigated social-psychological factors in S.L.A. - personality, motivation, attitudes, social and psychological distance from the target group, etc. Giles and Smith (1979), for instance, write that the normal speaker is not a "sociolinguistic automation" (p.46) and argue that sociolinguistics needs to take account of the speaker's moods, feelings, motives and loyalties:

"Just as the field of developmental psychology has moved away
from considering children as mere victims of their
environments to thinking of them as reactive beings often
capable of selecting their own input and negotiating their
status with other children and adults, so too should socio-
linguistics reconsider its view of speech behaviour as if it were
a blob of clay moulded by situational constraints."
(1977: 64-65)

Consideration of people's motives, feelings and so on, has led to the development of 'accommodation theory' to explain the interactive aspects of interpersonal communication from a social-psychological perspective. Within 'accommodation theory' the notions of 'convergence', whereby speakers modify their speech to make it sound like the speech of their interlocutors (Giles and Smith, 1979) and 'divergence', whereby speakers accentuate differences in speech to distance themselves from their interlocutors (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens and Tajfel, 1979), have had a bearing on work in S.L.A. (Zuengler, 1982; Beebe and Zuengler, 1983).

Gardner and Lambert (1972) argue that a learner's motivation to be successful in learning a second language depends to a great extent on attitudes to the host community and on their orientation towards the learning task. They distinguish between instrumental and integrative motivation. The former reflects utilitarian reasons for learning a language, e.g. for career purposes; the latter reflects a desire on the part of the learner to be accepted as a member of the host community.

Schumann (1978) includes Gardner and Lambert's notion of integrative and instrumental motivation in his typology of psychological and social factors that influence second language acquisition. According to Schumann acquisition of a second language depends on the extent to which a learner has acculturated to, the target language group. Learners can be located on a continuum ranging from social and psychological distance from,

to social and psychological proximity to the target group. Schumann argues that where there is social and psychological distance pidginization will be evident in the speech of second language learners. He bases his 'pidginization hypothesis' on a longitudinal study of a Costa-Rican adult, Alberto, learning English in a naturalistic environment. In the ten months period of study Schumann could detect little progress in Alberto's L2, the subject habitually employing a reduced and simplified form of English, with features characteristic of pidgin languages. Schumann concludes that Alberto's speech is restricted in function for social and/or psychological reasons.

Although useful as a conceptual framework Schumann's notion of social and psychological distance poses problems of empirical verification. Not only is there the problem of measuring all the social/psychological variables he mentions, there is also the problem of an individual's social and psychological distance varying over time.

The validity of the distinction between an integrative and an instrumental orientation to learning or L2 has been called into question. Although there is general agreement on what constitutes 'instrumental' reasons for learning a L2, there exist differences of opinion over definitions of an 'integrative' orientation (Genesse et al., 1983; Clement and Cruidenier, 1983).

Meisel et al (1981) contend that, in addition to what they term the 'vagueness' surrounding social-psychological factors in S.L.A., there is the limitation inherent in viewing S.L.A. as a linear process. In place of this 'uniformity hypothesis' they propose a 'multi-dimensional' process which:

> "does not conflict with the view of L2 acquisition as a
> sequence of ordered developmental stages. But within each
> stage one will have to allow for considerable variation. We
> suggest that this variation be explained by the existence of
> different learner groups which result from socio-psychological
> differences. Attitudes and motivation...will probably play the
> most important role...they do not merely determine the degree
> to which a second language is acquired but also the KIND of
> transitional system the learner acquires."
> (1981: 119)

In their study of immigrant workers acquiring German in a natural setting, the researchers gathered information that might provide evidence of the formation of attitudes and motivation: origin, education, contact with Germans, neighbourhood, use of the mass media, etc. They see social-psychological factors as forming a continuum with a 'segregative orientation' at the other. An integrative orientation is similar to Gardner and Lambert's notion of instrumental and integrative orientations. A segregative orientation may be the result of a lack of interest in contact with Germans, although more often it occurs because of discrimination on the part of the host community.

Meisel et al share Schumann's (1978) view that formal instruction will have little effect on the learner's linguistic behaviour outside the classroom, given that a learner belongs to a particular group as a result of social-

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psychological factors which determine his/her orientation, attitudes and motivation. They argue that language programmes, therefore, need to be accompanied by greater 'social integration.'

Strong (1983, 1984) has applied the concept of integrative motivation to young children, in a study of Spanish-speaking kindergartners acquiring English as a second language, and the findings of his research do not support the notion that an integrative motivation towards target language group members enhances acquisition of the target language.

Strong points out that the research literature on the influence of social-psychological factors is not helpful and suggests that the act of learning the L2 may have an effect on a learner's attitudes, rather than the other way round. He discovered that children who were more talkative and interacted most, made most progress in learning English. Strong argues that most of the research on input in S.L.A. has been in terms of the modifications native speakers make in their speech (Foreigner Talk), but that this is just one side of the coin. Consideration should be given to the role played by the learners' personal qualities in facilitating access to comprehensible L2 input. Strong writes:

> "The indication is that contact with English speakers alone does not enhance language learning, but that the active use that is made of the extra input is what counts. Thus, the impetus should be not simply to "throw" the children together, but to create situations where they will want and need to communicate with one another to achieve a common goal." (1983: 256)

Strong's view is an interesting one, given the manner in which

bilingual children have been 'mainstreamed' in recent years. Before

examining the research carried out in a classroom where children have been,

to use Strong's term, 'thrown' together, it is useful to consider some of the

research on 'input' and the studies that have been made of classroom

processes.

Input

Chomsky's claim that the linguistic input children received from adults

was 'degenerate' and that the only interface between input and output was

located in the child's mind, has been challenged by those researchers who

have examined the interactions children have with their 'caretakers'. Those

who have studied first language acquisition from an 'interactionist'

perspective, like Jean Berko Gleason, emphasize the contribution of external

as well as internal factors to language acquisition. She argues that children

do not acquire language all by themselves:

> "They are not simply miniature grammarians working on a
> corpus composed of snatches and fragments of adult
> discourse."
> (1977: 199)

By examining interactions between children and their mothers (or

other 'caretakers') researchers have established the existence of 'motherese',

speech that is produced by an adult (or older child) in interaction with a

child whose linguistic competence and cognitive development are perceived as

limited. Mother's speech to children is: simple and redundant; contains: many questions, many imperatives, few past tenses, few co- or sub-ordinations, few disfluencies; and is pitched higher with an exaggerated intonation. (Snow and Ferguson, 1977).

'Motherese' varies according to the communicative demands of the situation, and even experienced mothers cannot produce adequate 'motherese' if the child is not present to cue her. Landes (1975) points out that parents and other caretakers modify their speech in various ways until the child is at least ten years old.

From the research into 'motherese' we find claims that the best input for a child is one step beyond the stage the child is at. (Shipley, Smith and Gleitman, 1966; Gleitman, Newport and Gleitman, 1984).

The notion of input one step beyond the learner's developing grammar has been discussed in second language acquisition research in terms of the 'input hypothesis' (Krashen, 1979, 1982). Krashen hypothesizes that those forms that become 'intake' are the ones occurring in the input that match the learner's current interlanguage grammar or are one stage ahead (i + 1 input). Krashen supports his argument with evidence from first language acquisition research but limits his hypothesis to the acquisition of morphosyntax. As with much of Krashen's work, the hypothesis is intuitively appealing but empirically not proven (McLaughlin, 1987).

The notion of 'foreigner talk' in (Ferguson, 1971; Schinke, 1981) in second language acquisition research is similar to 'motherese' in that 'foreigner talk' is used by native speakers of a language to those who have little or no command of the language. Hatch (1983a) argues that 'foreigner talk' is similar to 'motherese' in that it possesses the same functions:

- it promotes communication;

- it establishes an affective bond;

- it is an implicit teaching mode.

Hatch regards the promotion of communication as primary, and she goes on to say that 'foreigner talk' is the result of <u>negotiation</u> between a native speaker and a learner, simplification of input resulting from the need to 'repair' speech to make it comprehensible. It is, therefore, important to look at, not just the learner's production of speech, but also the speech of those with whom he/she interacts.

Discourse analysis

Hatch (1978a) argues against the premise in first language acquisition research that the child learns a basic set of syntactic structures before eventually beginning to converse with others. She posits that language learning emerges from learning to carry on conversations. Hatch goes on to argue the case for discourse analysis, particularly in second language acquisition research, where it has been assumed that it is necessary to

gradually develop a repertoire of structures before putting them to use in discourse. Hatch contends that the reverse occurs:

> "One learns how to do conversation, one learns how to act verbally, and out of this interaction syntactic structures are developed."
> (1978a: 404)

There are a number of stages in this process, beginning with attention-getting, either verbally or non-verbally. Once attention has been gained, the next task is to nominate a topic. Hatch provides an example of the two stages from the conversation of a 5 year old Taiwanese boy, Paul, with an adult:

Paul: Oh-oh!   Paul: This

A: What?   A: A pencil

Paul: This (points to ant)   Paul: Pencil

A: It's an ant

Paul: Ant

(Hatch, 1978b)

Once a topic has been nominated the conversational partner is constrained by the rules of conversation to make an appropriate response. Conversations are then built up ('vertical structures') which serve as the prototypes for the syntactic structures ('horizontal structures') which develop from them (Scollon, 1976).

The above example is of an exchange between an adult native speaker of English and a child learning English as a second language. In a study which compares child L2-child L1 discourse with child L2-adult discourse, Peck (1978) finds that there are differences in the way Angel, a child learning English as a second language, interacts with a native English speaking class-mate and with a native English speaking adult. With the adult Angel often instigates the conversation and finds it easier to nominate topics, and the adult works at trying to understand Angel's language. With the child, on the other hand, Angel has to work at understanding the child's language and needs to challenge him or ask more questions. Peck hypothesizes, on the basis of what she admits is an incomplete analysis, that Angel may be learning more about the forms of words (phonology and syntax) with the child, and more about the meanings of words with the adult. One notable difference between the child-child discourse and the adult-child discourse that Peck uncovers, is in the use of 'functions' (Ochs Keenan, 1983). According to Ochs Keenan, 'functions' are ways of making a relevant response in conversation through repeating, modifying or recombining elements of what the other child has said. Peck finds few instances of 'functions' in the adult-child discourse, whereas the two children together use discourse patterns very similar to those used by the 2-3 year old children acquiring their first language in Ochs Keenan's study. Sound play and the use of songs and nursery rhymes are found in Ochs Keenan's study, and these are also evident in Peck's. Although Peck admits that not all child-child discourse is like that observed in her study, she raises some interesting questions about the differences in the input to children learning a second

language and the possible implications for second language acquisition research and for the classroom.

Long and Sato (1984) advise caution in ascribing a causal role to conversation. They take issue with the claims of Hatch and others that language acquisition evolves out of conversation. It may be, they suggest, that conversation aids communication, not acquisition, and that markedness is probably more influential than input frequency in second language acquisition.

The above studies of child-child discourse and adult-child discourse were carried out in 'natural' settings. We now turn to a different setting, that of the classroom, to consider the research that has been undertaken there.

Classroom research

Ellis (1986), in his discussion of the second language acquisition research literature which, as he puts it, "abounds in approaches, theories, models, laws and principles" (p.248), highlights seven of the most influential theories for closer scrutiny (The Acculturation Model, Accommodation Theory, Discourse Theory, The Universal Hypothesis, A Neurofunctional Theory, The Monitor Model, and the Variable Competence Model). Apart from the last two models these theories do not specifically mention classroom learning, which seems surprising given the amount of time many second language learners spend in classrooms. Van Lier (1988) comments that most second language theorizing "ignores the L2 classroom as a relevant source of

data AND as a relevant place to apply findings" (p.23). Perhaps the lack of research into what happens in classrooms stems partly from the assumption that second language acquisition is a uniform process, and partly from the long-held view of the classroom as a "black box" (Long, 1980), ignored because of the complexity of the processes at work. Recently, however, there has been increased interest in classroom-centred research (Allwright 1983, 1984, 1988; Gaies, 1983; Van Lier, 1984, 1988, Chaudron, 1988). Gaies (1983), in an overview of 'classroom process research', suggests that despite the apparent diversity of studies under this heading, there are certain shared premises:

- a rejection of the notion that there is a univariate classification of the second language classroom;
- an emphasis on description rather than prescription;
- the priority of direct observation.

Gaies emphasizes the non-prescriptive nature of classroom process research when he states that its immediate aim is to identify second language teaching variables and generate, rather than test, hypotheses. The development of a descriptive approach has led to two main perspectives in classroom process research: one focusing on the nature of the linguistic input to learners, already touched on above; the other focusing on the nature of the interaction between learners and native speakers.

Attempts have been made to show that classroom interaction differs from 'natural' conversation in terms of its structure and its participatory rules (Bellack et al., 1966; Heath, 1978; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975).

An early approach to the study of interaction in the classroom was through the use of systematic observation instruments, such as Flanders' ten-category coding schedule (Flanders 1970). Instruments such as Flanders' have attempted to measure the behaviour of teachers and pupils in classrooms, often for the purposes of teacher training. Such methods have been criticised because of their one-sided focus on surface behaviour (Long, 1980) and their failure to take into account the participants' perspectives. As van Lier puts it:

> "...the classroom study cannot easily be conducted on the basis of one-shot, quick entry and exit observation, but requires considerable familiarity with the setting and intensive immersion in the data."
> (1988: 41)

The imbalance evident in Flanders' categories (seven are for teacher talk, two for pupil talk) is reflected in other studies of classroom discourse (Barnes et al, 1969; Barnes, 1976; Bellack et al, 1966; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981; Sinclair and Brazil, 1982; Wells, 1981), and in most cases the picture of the classroom that is painted is one with a "teacher-as-supreme ruler" (van Lier, 1984: 163).

One attempt to develop a hierarchical system of analysis based on Hallidayan systematic linguistics is that of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). Most of the classroom discourse they investigated was analyzable into three-move 'exchanges' of initiation (by the teacher), response (by the pupil) and feedback, or follow-up (by the teacher), a situation where

> "one participant has acknowledged responsibility for the direction of the discourses for deciding who shall speak when, and for introducing and ending topics."
> (p.6)

The teacher-centred classroom was, then, seen as the most fitting situation in which to research the model. However, the appropriateness of Sinclair and Coulthard's descriptive apparatus to non-formal, non-authoritarian contexts has been found wanting (Burton, 1981).

A further line of research into second language classrooms has focused on the role of formal instruction and the extent to which meaning-oriented or form-oriented instruction or the order in which grammatical structures are presented, make a difference in promoting second language acquisition (Long, 1983; Ellis, 1984, 1989).

Ellis (1989), in a study of the classroom acquisition of German word order rules, takes the view that their acquisition is largely determined by internal psycholinguistic mechanisms rather than by input, and that instruction does not appear to have an effect on the sequence of word order acquisition.

In this respect, Ellis' views seem to concur with those of Felix (1981), that the second language teacher needs to be aware of the universal processes involved in acquiring a second language. Felix writes that input is processed in much the same way by classroom learners and by untutored learners, and that the possibility of influencing the learner's verbal behaviour in the classroom is quite restricted. This view appears to suggest that instruction does not make a difference to second language acquisition, but Ellis (1989) claims that input interacts with learner's current knowledge and the task for the teacher is one of determining the most appropriate input for the learner. Whereas classroom instruction based on a communicative or meaning-focused approach attempts to provide an acquisition route similar to that of naturalistic learners, it could be that formal instruction has a beneficial effect on the acquisition of certain features of the target language. Ellis argues that formal instruction may help to prevent 'fossilization' and that 'form-focused' instruction may be necessary in those features that have little communicative importance.

Long (1983) asks the question 'Does second language instruction make a difference?', and in a review of the literature on the role of instruction in second language acquisition, concludes that it does make a difference, particularly in the early stages of acquisition. He adds a caveat, though, that the research data is not as clear-cut as the teachers might want, and that there are some important questions on the role of instruction that need answering:

Does instruction make a difference?

Does the type of learner make a difference?

Does the type of instruction interact with the type of learner?

Long stresses that these are important questions for the credibility of second language teaching and for the effect on the lives of those learners for whom failure in the second language is a barrier to educational, social and economic survival.

There are few longitudinal studies of classroom second language acquisition that have addressed Long's questions. Two longitudinal studies that involved children are those of Felix (1981) and Ellis (1984).

Felix's subjects were 10-11 year old German children studying English at school. They were taught English for 45 minutes every day during the school week, and Felix followed their development over eight months. He examined negation, interrogatives, sentence types and pronouns, and discovered that there were structural similarities between the utterances of naturalistic learners and those produced by the foreign language learners in class who had no exposure to English outside the classroom. He found, for instance, that the German children, like naturalistic learners in the early stages of acquisition, marked yes/no questions by intonation alone, although they were not exposed to such structures in the classroom lessons. Similarly, in the early stages the classroom learners produced uninverted WH-questions (e.g. 'What you are doing?'), again similar to those produced by naturalistic learners of English. Felix concludes from this study that, although foreign

language programmes, as in this case, may be based on "a behaviouristic habit formation concept" (p. 109), the language learning that occurs is the result of a creative construction process (Dulay and Burt, 1974c). Felix argues that it is important, therefore, that beginning students are not confronted with structures which in naturalistic second language acquisition are acquired late. For language teaching to be a success, then, 'natural processes' of language acquisition need to be taken into consideration:

> ". . . it is necessary to determine the relationship between those principles which appear to be inherent in man's ability to acquire language and the external factors which shape a particular learning situation." (p.110)

Ellis (1984), wary of the difficulties in controlling for the learner and situational variables that have an influence on acquisition, conducted what he termed an 'exploratory' study into the effects of instruction on the acquisition of WH-questions. His subjects were 13 children aged between 11 and 15 years-old, who were all attending a language centre in London. For the purposes of the study the children were taught WH interrogatives using an audiolingual approach for no more than 3 hours in all. Ellis found that, for the 13 children as a whole, there was no significant increase in their ability to use semantically appropriate, grammatically well-formed WH-questions, although there was a marked improvement by individual children. He tentatively concludes that formal instruction does not affect the developmental route taken by a learner but it may affect the rate of development. Because some children appeared to show a marked improvement in their ability to use semantically appropriate and grammatically

well-formed WH-questions following formal instruction, Ellis measured the amount of interaction each child engaged in. He discovered that it was the low interactors rather than the high interactors who made most progress. This would contradict the findings of Seliger (1977), who argued that 'high-input generators' acquire a second language more successfully than 'low-input generators', and would suggest that exposure (in a listening role) may aid language acquisition. Ellis goes on to tentatively propose that language teaching should involve both 'formal instruction' and 'exposure'. Implicit in Ellis' argument is that the acquisition of English as a second language follows a uniform developmental route and that instruction may only influence the rate of development. Like Felix, Ellis holds the view that second language acquisition is largely determined by learner-internal rather than environmental factors. Environmental factors have an effect on the rate a language is acquired and the extent to which it is acquired, but the question that has not been resolved by the limited classroom research is <u>how</u> instruction affects the rate and extent of acquisition.

At this stage in our understanding of second language acquisition there is much speculation about the role of input in second language acquisition and a great deal of disagreement. Perhaps the greatest difficulty in determining its role is the multiplicity of variables that affect acquisition. As Scarcella and Perkins (1987) put it, there exists a 'conspiracy of factors' such as mental processes, cognition, prior linguistic knowledge, output and culture, which interact with each other and which affect second language acquisition. Second language acquisition research has, in the past, largely

focused on internal factors in explaining acquisition, and it is only recently that the role of the environment has been investigated. Scarcella and Perkins add that the recent emergence of a Chomskyan perspective in the form of Universal Grammar may mean that input is again ignored in research.

The above review of the conflicting claims of the research on input and the role of classroom instruction may be disconcerting to the second language teacher looking for support in the ample second language research and prescriptive remedies to improve his/her practice. There are difficulties in extracting from the research results that are directly applicable to classroom practice. At this stage, perhaps all that a teacher can expect is that through an examination of the research he/she may gain an increased understanding of the complexity of the process of second language acquisition.

CHAPTER 4

THE STUDY

The School

The researcher was working as an English as a Second Language support teacher in a Language Centre and wished to carry out a study in a school which had made the change from Language Centre provision to mainstreaming. An approach was therefore made to the headteacher of a suitable school and the purpose of the study was explained. The headteacher was willing to allow such a study and asked mainstream teachers and support teachers for their cooperation.

The school selected for the study was a Nursery, First, Middle School of 318 pupils of whom 74% were bilingual pupils of Pakistani origin. In the year group studied (M1 - 8-9 year olds) the percentage of bilingual pupils was 70%. The school had recently moved away from E.S.L. provision in an attached Language Centre, to the integration of bilingual children into mainstream classes with E.S.L. support teachers working alongside mainstream teachers. At the time of the study all these E.S.L. support teachers had formerly worked in the Language Centre. The headteacher was enthusiastic about the switch from separate provision in the Language Centre to 'mainstreaming', arguing that it meant an end to the social isolation of children and gave them access to a full curriculum and appropriate models of language use. As she put it, Language Centres were responsible for "curriculum denial".

The class teacher, Mrs. J., was less enthusiastic about the changes, saying that neither her training or previous experience had prepared her to teach children with little English. None of the in-service courses she had attended had dealt with the E.S.L. needs of bilingual pupils, and she had not read any books or articles on the matter. At times, she felt "totally inadequate".

She felt that the shift from Language Centre provision to mainstreaming was motivated more by economic considerations than by the putative educational benefits such a move would have for bilingual children. There were fewer children than before entering the country, and the Language Centre numbers had dropped markedly immediately prior to its abolition. Mrs. J. was glad that the support teacher was available to deal with some of the children on two mornings a week, but felt that certain children needed more support than was available.

This was the first year Mrs. J. had worked with this age group, her previous teaching having been with children in the First School. She was the only teacher in the Middle School to work an "integrated day", the children individually pursuing a number of given tasks in the course of the school day.

Children were usually organised in friendship groups, Mrs. J. allowing the children a great deal of flexibility and choice.

Mrs. P. was a part-time (.5) E.S.L. support teacher who had previously worked in the Language Centre. She was ambivalent about the move to mainstream: on the one hand, she welcomed the social integration of bilingual children into the mainstream; on the other hand, she felt that in the mainstream some children were not provided with the intensive support they needed. She regretted having to work in three different classrooms with three different teachers. She, like other support teachers in the school, felt that mainstreaming had not been thought out fully and that the E.S.L. support teacher was increasingly "marginalised" as a result. She did not work in collaboration with the classroom teachers on joint activities, largely because the classroom teachers, she felt, "don't want to know". She, therefore, worked independently of them, devising language activities that were not directly related to the current topic the classroom teachers had planned and she worked with small groups of bilingual children, either within the classroom or outside in the craft room when it was available. She believed that her new role had meant a change in status, the children increasingly regarding her, and other E.S.L. support teachers, as 'helpers', rather like Child Care Assistants. On balance, she felt that mainstreaming had not been beneficial from the more intensive provision they would have received in a Language Centre. In her new role she felt she was "just scratching the surface", and questioned whether she was "supporting" the children - or the classroom teachers. She argued that such a significant change in practice should have involved substantial in-service provision for mainstream teachers. As it was, mainstream teachers in the school were carrying on as if nothing had changed.

The Informants

All the children were aged 8-9 years old at the time of the study and were in the same first-year class in the middle school. Of 24 children in the class, 17 were of Pakistani origin. Three groups of children were chosen from the 24:

Core group

Name	Sex
Kauser	F
Rafeez	F
Jameela	F
Sarwat	F
Aris	M
Qaser	M
Irfan	M

The core group consisted of three boys and four girls who were born in Pakistan and who spoke Punjabi as their mother tongue. They differed in the amount of time they had been in Britain but all of them had entered the country after the age of five and all had spent time in the Language Centre before its abolition. Of the seven, the three boys and Kauser, in particular, were considered by Mrs. J. to have difficulties with reading and writing. All seven children received E.S.L. support from Mrs. P. two mornings a week.

A group

Name	Sex
Zaid	M
Shazia	F
Gohar	M
Yasmin	F
Safina	F

These children were all born in the U.K. of Pakistani parents. They had all been in the First School from the age of 5 and none had spent any time in the Language Centre. They all spoke Punjabi as their first language.

B group

Name	Sex
Zoe	F
Amanda	F
Michelle	F
Andrew	M

These children all had English as their mother tongue and spoke no other language.

It was decided to use a control group of native English-speaking children and a group of Punjabi speaking children born and brought up in the U.K. so that errors made by the core group were not judged solely in

terms of Standard English norms as decided by the native speaker intuitions of the researcher.

Purposes of the Study

For bilingual children the move to mainstream involved a change from being taught English as a second language to being taught English in much the same way as their peers for whom English was a first language. The mainstream teacher's responsibility was not to instruct them in specific structures of the target language. Bilingual children would acquire English naturalistically.

It was decided to look at mainstreamed children's spoken production of the past tense of English verbs and WH- and Yes/No questions in English over the course of a school year, features which would normally have been specifically taught in the school's Language Centre. In the case of WH- and Yes/No questions, E.S.L. teachers recognise that they involve a complex set of transformations and that children learning English as a second language will have difficulty in their formation. Because question-formation is an important element of a learner's repertoire (e.g. its information-seeking function), practice in situations which encourage children to ask questions is necessary. That guided practice is not necessarily available to the bilingual child in the mainstream classroom. Mrs. P., the E.S.L. support teacher, had not, for instance, planned any activities centred on the formation of questions, and Mrs. J. had never in her teaching career taught question-

formation. Similarly, the formation of the past tense is not usually explicitly taught in the mainstream. For native speakers, of course, it is 'acquired' rather than 'learned'.

The acquisition of past tense forms and questions has attracted a great deal of attention in the L2 research literature, many of the studies being concerned with establishing invariant orders for their acquisition. As has been discussed above, claims have been made that learners of English acquire the target language in much the same order, regardless of whether they acquire the language naturalistically or through instruction.

Given that the children in this study were not instructed formally in the formation of the past tense and WH- and Yes/No questions, it was interesting to see how the children produced these forms in their spoken language over the school year. The following questions guided the study:

1. To what extent have the children learned native-like rules for forming the structures? Can the sources of any errors be identified and explained?

2. What is the children's development over time? Are any patterns of development discernible?

3. In the case of the past tense what differences (if any) are there in the children's production of past tense forms according to the task? Is Tarone's vision of an 'interlanguage continuum' applicable?

Phases of the study

The data were collected at two-monthly intervals over the course of the school year 1984-1985. This entailed visits to the school of up to three days at a time, in November, January, March, May and July. It was decided not to collect data at the beginning of the school year, in September, as the children had only just come up from the infant school into the middle school and needed time to become used to their new teacher and her system of classroom organisation.

The children's classroom was adjacent to the Craft/Home Economics base. Mrs. J. frequently used the base as an annex to their classroom and allowed individuals and small groups to work there. This was advantageous for the study since the data could be collected in the base while the children were working normally. Collecting the data in the classroom would have meant more noise on the tapes and probably more interruptions.

Methodology

Elicitation procedures

Corder (1973) argues that a fundamental problem with an 'inductive' approach to collecting naturalistic data is that the researcher is restricted to the features found in the data. If informants choose not to use particular features or if they avoid features in their speech, then it is not possible for the researcher to say how or whether the informants use such features. This may even occur with the most common features in the target language, such

as tense inflections (Richards, 1980). The researcher may have to wait a long time for less frequent features to arise spontaneously. A 'deductive' approach is therefore called for, one that involves *a priori* identification of relevant features and the devising of procedures to elicit such features. However, there are problems inherent in too narrow a focus in elicitation procedures. According to Krashen (1977) if a learner is asked to focus attention on formal accuracy the 'learned' system monitors the learner's language production, whereas what we need to know is what the learner produces when not monitoring speech.

Krashen's 'monitor' is a hypothetical psychological phenomenon. From a sociolinguistic perspective, all speech is 'monitored' to some extent (Labov (1970), Tarone 1979, 1982, 1983). Labov (1970) argues that the social situation is the main determinant of verbal behaviour. Labov's notion of the 'observer's paradox', and the need to collect data of an informant's vernacular has been discussed above. The researcher needs to be aware of social factors in elicitation procedures even though it is questionable just how far a second language learner is capable of monitoring his/her speech in terms of target language norms if he/she does not recognise the norms. There is the issue, though, of the extent to which the asymmetrical relationship between the teacher/researcher and children might restrict more casual speech. Wolfson (1976, 1986) suggests that there is no independent entity such as 'natural' or 'casual' speech. She prefers to use the term 'appropriate' speech. She argues that the sociolinguistic interview to collect everyday speech needs to be seen as a 'speech event' in the sense employed

by Hymes (1974) and therefore governed by particular rules or norms for the use of speech. Although Wolfson is concerned here with the interview as an elicitation procedure, her remarks are applicable to other types of elicitation procedure.

A potential problem with elicitation procedures, particularly with children, is that if the procedures are not presented or administered adequately, misunderstandings may arise and the desired speech data is not investigated properly, or the informant may provide responses that are not consistent with the procedure instructions.

This problem is discussed by Greenbaum and Quirk (1970), who describe different types of elicitation procedures. They mention two main aims of elicitation procedures:

- to assess the performance of informants by obtaining language from them (performance tests);

- to obtain judgements (attitudes and opinions) from informants about language (judgement tests).

Corder (1974) writes that elicitation 'tests' should be different from other types of language test. Multiple-choice questions are not considered suitable because the choice of distractors will cause bias, and a learner may want to reject all the possible answers but feel an obligation to respond because an answer is required.

Corder lists the problems inherent in the design of elicitation procedures within the category of performance tests:

1. Elicitation procedures are artificial and unreal if the goal is an informant's 'natural' language.

2. Since specific features of the informant's language are required, his/her choices need to be narrowed down.

3. Only a very small sample of the informant's language is obtained.

4. The informant's attitude to the elicitation procedure has an effect that is difficult to gauge.

5. To reduce bias, standard conditions for elicitations are required.

The Elicitation Procedures

Two tasks were devised to elicit past tense forms, and one to elicit questions.

Past tense

1. <u>Story</u>

On each of the five occasions a complete story was read to all the children and they were asked to remember as much of the story as possible. They were then asked to recount the story two days later beginning with the words "Once upon a time . . .". The stories were taped and transcribed into conventional orthography (Appendix A).

By disguising the task as a memory test, it was hoped that the children would concentrate more on communicating the main events of the story and pay little attention to form. With the 'story' task the children had the option of using the present historic. They could also avoid certain verbs.

The following stories were used for this elicitation task:

November   -   Zeralda's Ogre (Tomi Ungerer)

January   -   The Wizard of Oz (Frank Baum)

March   -   Willy the Wisp (Stories for Young Children - Usborne)

May   -   Kassim's Shoes (Trad., adapted by Harold Berson)

July   -   Tortoise's Dream (Joanna Troughton)

2. Word List

This elicitation task obliged the children to provide 90 "yesterday" words for the "today" words read to them, i.e. they were required to convert a sentence in the present tense to the past. On each occasion the children were given three examples of what was required (Appendix B). The elicited data was written down by the researcher.

Questions

3. Elicited questions (speech balloons)

In November all the children were told what the exercise was to involve - making questions from answers. The children were read the answers given in speech bubbles by cartoon characters and were asked to find

an appropriate question to fit the blank speech balloons of these characters'
interlocutors (Appendix C(a)). The elicited questions were taped and
transcribed into conventional orthography (Appendix C(b)).

The past tense in English

First language research such as that of Brown (1973) and De Villiers
and De Villiers (1973) have had an influence on morphological studies in
second language research. Brown's study of the development of 14
'grammatical morphemes' in three children has been a model for second
language researchers interested in investigating the existence of invariant
orders in the acquisition of a second language similar to those found in L1.
Many L2 order studies have therefore focused on the development of
'grammatical morphemes' such as noun and verb inflections. Although
semantically such morphemes do not play a major role in communication,
they are very frequent, easily obtained and can be easily described as correct
or erroneous.

Ellis (1987) in a study of second language learners' use of past tense
forms in narrative discourse, points out the potential problems of investigating
such forms. On the one hand native speakers will use the historic present to
relate events in narrative discourse (Frawley and Lantolf (1985)); on the
other hand, second language learners may avoid past tense forms by using
other devices to realize temporal relationships between events. However,
Ellis, following Godfrey (1980), argues that there are discourse constraints on

tense conformity and that once a particular tense is chosen it must be maintained. If the subject is encouraged to begin a narrative using the past tense by starting "One day . . .", then there is an obligation to continue in that tense. Wolfson (1982), however, takes issue with Godfrey's assumption that a speaker is obliged to use the same tense throughout a narrative as long as the temporal reference remains the same. In the narratives she investigated, Wolfson claims that the historic present alternates with past tense forms. She points out that there is a need to establish what "genre" under the broad label 'narrative' is being studied, as in certain genres the discourse rules do not always allow for much tense switching. She also argues that if native speaker speech is to be the model for second language learners, then we need to know how native speakers use the features we investigate.

The <u>historic present</u> in narrative is used to refer to events which began and ended at some time previous to the moment at which the narrative itself is told. It includes the use not just of the simple present but also the present progressive and present perfect as substitutes for the corresponding past tense forms. There are two distinguishing characteristics of the historic present:

- the historic present alternates with the past tense in such a way that the two are always substitutable without any change in referential meaning;

- The alternation between the past tense and the historic present is organized that the historic present is never found in all the verbs

where it could have been used (Wolfson, 1976, 1982). Leech (1971) writes that the historic present can be regarded as a "story-teller's licence", and is most evident when accompanied by an adverbial expression referring to past time.

The morphology of regular verbs

The past (V-ed$_1$) and the past participle (V-ed$_2$) of regular verbs have three spoken realizations:

/Id/ after bases ending in alveolar stops e.g. waited /weItId/;

/d/ after bases ending in voiced sounds other than /d/, e.g. called /kɔːld/;

/t/ after bases ending in voiceless sounds other than /t/, e.g. passed /paɪst/.

The morphology of irregular verbs

A closed class of verbs does not follow these rules and they are therefore considered irregular. In their description of irregular verbs Quirk et al (1985) and Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) divide them into seven classes according to the following criteria:

- Verbs in which all three parts - the base, the past and the past participle - are the same

    e.g.   cut   cut   cut

            v   ved$_1$ v-ed$_2$

-    Verbs in which the past and the past participle are the same

    e.g.   spend   spent   spent

            v   v-ed$_1$ v-ed$_2$

-    Verbs in which the base and the past participle are the same

    e.g.   come   came   come

            v   v-ed$_1$ v-ed$_2$

-    Verbs in which all parts are different

    e.g.   speak   spoke   spoken

            v   v-ed$_1$ v-ed$_2$

For the purposes of this study Quirk et al's (1985) classification has been adapted to give six classes of irregular verbs and one of regular verbs (table 2).

Table 2   Classification of past tense forms

CLASS 1
Suffix used but voicing variable. V-ed₁ = V-ed₂. Vowel identity in all parts.

- send (1B)
- spend (1B)
- have (1C)
- make (1C)

CLASS 2
Suffix used, but voicing variable. Ved₁+Ved₂ identical. Change of base vowel.

2A: /iː/~/e/

keep	kept
leave	left
sleep	slept
weep	wept

2B: ~/ɔː/
- bring
- buy
- catch
- teach
- think

2D: /e/~/əʊ/
- sell
- tell

2F: /eɪ/~/e/
- say

CLASS 3
V-ed₁ + V-ed₂ differ + in majority of cases latter has/nasal suffix. No base vowel identity. Range of base vowel changes.

3Aa: V-ed=/əʊ/

break (/)	broke
choose (/u /)	chose
freeze (/i /)	froze
speak	spoke
steal	stole
wake	woke

3Ab: /eə/~/ɔː/

tear	tore
wear	wore

3Ac:/əɪ/~/ɪ/

bite	bit
hide	hid

3Ad:/e/~/ɒ/

forget	forgot

3B: V+V-ed₂ (but not V-ed₁) have same vowel.

3Ba:V/V-ed₂=/əʊ/

blow	blew	blown
grow	grew	grown
throw	threw	thrown

3Bb:V/V-ed₂=/eɪ/

shake	shook	shaken
take	took	taken

3Bc:V/V-ed₂=/ɪ/

give	gave	given

3Bd: V/V-ed₂=/ɔː/

draw	drew	drawn

3Be:V/V-ed₂=/ɔː/

fall	fell	fallen

CLASS 4
All 3 parts V-Ved₁ + Ved₂ identical. No suffix. No change of base vowel.

4A

cost	cost
cut	cut
hit	hit
hurt	hurt
put	put
shut	shut

V-Ved₁ identical. No suffix. No change of base vowel.

4B   beat   beat (beaten)

CLASS 5
No suffix. V-ed₁ + V-ed₂ identical. Change of base vowel.

5A:/iː/~/e/

meet	met

5B:/ɪ/~/ʌ/

dig	dug
stick	stuck
sting	stung
swing	swung
win	won

5C:/aɪ/~/aʊ/

wind	wound

5D:/aɪ/~/ɪ/

light	lit

5E:/ɪ/~/æ/

sit	sat
spit	spat

5F: ~/ɒ/

shine	shone
shoot	shot

5G:/aɪ/~/ɔː/

fight	fought

ring

CLASS 6
No suffix. V-ed₁ + V-ed₂ different. Change of base vowel.

6A:/ɪ/~/æ/~/ʌ/

drink	drank	drunk
rang	rung	rest
sing	sang	sung
swim	swam	swum

6B

become	became	become
come	came	come
run	ran	run

6C (suppletion)

go	went	gone

CLASS 7
Regular Verbs

7A:/ɪd/:
- decide
- shout
- faint

7B:/d/
- start
- call
- change
- disappear
- marry
- carry
- climb
- kill
- belong

7C:/t/
- fetch
- walk
- stop
- look
- vanish
- kick
- pick

Table 2

Classification of past tense forms continued

CLASS 1	CLASS 2	CLASS 3	CLASS 4	CLASS 5	CLASS 6	CLASS 7
		3Bf:V/Ved$_2$=/iː/				
		eat — ate — eaten				
		3Bg:V/V-ed$_2$=/iː/				
		see — saw — seen				
		3Ca:aɪ/~əʊ/~ɪ/				
		drive — drove — driven				
		ride — rode — ridden				
		write — wrote — written				
		3Cb:aɪ/~uː/~əʊ/				
		fly — flew — flown				
		3Cc:/uː/~ɪ/~ʌ/				
		do — did — did				

Table 3 - Classification of Past Tense Errors

Errors were classified into ten types:

1.　Present tense or base form for past tense.

e.g.	Base	Form required	Error
	ride	rode	ride

2.　Be + verb + ing/ϕ + verb + ing for past tense.

e.g.	Base	Form required	Error
	eat	ate	eating

3.　Past participle form for past tense

e.g.	Base	Form required	Error
	go	went	gone

4.　Copula/BE auxiliary

e.g.	Base	Form required	Error
	be	was/were	bes

5.　Base + ed for irregular past

e.g.	Base	Form required	Error
	blow	blew	blowed

6.　Analogical errors - incorrect past tense based on knowledge of other verbs.

e.g.	Base	Form required	Error
	tread	trod	trood
			/trud/

7. Past tense form + ed for past tense form

    e.g. <u>Base</u> <u>Form required</u>   <u>Error</u>

          see   saw   sawed

8. Had + past participle for past tense.

    e.g. <u>Base</u> <u>Form required</u>   <u>Error</u>

          die   died   had died

9. Erroneous negative forms

    e.g. <u>Base</u> <u>Form required</u>   <u>Error</u>

          go   didn't go   didn't went

10. Miscellaneous - Unclassifiable items

    e.g. <u>Base</u> <u>Form required</u>   <u>Error</u>

          blow   blew   got blow

Questions in English

There have been a number of studies into the development of questions in first and second language acquisition research. First language studies such as those of Klima and Bellugi (1966), Brown (1968), and McNeill (1970) have had an influence on the methods adopted by second language researchers in their investigation of the acquisition of interrogatives in English (e.g. Huang, 1971; Ravem, 1970; Butterworth, 1972; Felix, 1976; Cancino et al., 1978). From these second language acquisition studies it can be seen that learners with diverse first language backgrounds acquire English interrogatives in broadly the same way with a developmental pattern similar to children acquiring English as their first language.

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Two stages can be seen in the development of Yes/No questions: Questions are first uninverted and marked by a rising intonation; this is followed by increasing, though variable, inversion as the auxiliaries are acquired. WH questions develop later than Yes/No questions in both English as a first language (Klima and Bellugi, 1966) and English as a second language (Hatch, 1974). Cancino et al (1978) suggest that WH-questions follow stages of increasing differentiation as follows:

- Simple and embedded WH-questions are not inverted;

- Inversion is variable: simple WH-questions are sometimes inverted but embedded, WH-questions remain uninverted;

- There is an increase in inversion and inversion is now found in embedded questions;

- Finally, simple and embedded questions are fully differentiated.

Although questions have been classified according to answer type (Broughton et al., 1980) the following classification is more formal, sources including Quirk et al (1985), Strang (1968) and Berry (1975). Five groups of questions can be defined:

1.   Wh-questions

2.   Yes/No questions

3.   Tag questions

4.   Alternative questions

5.   Intonation questions

For the purposes of this study only Wh-questions and Yes/No questions are dealt with here.

1.   Wh-questions

These must include an interrogative word or phrase: what? why? who? whose? when? where? whom? how? and how? - compounds such as how much? how many? how few? how long? how old? and so on. Prepositional phrases, e.g. in which? at what?, etc. are also included.

a)   Syntax

In the unmarked (unemphatic, unfocussed) form the Wh- word or phrase begins the question whether it functions as subject (S), complement (C) or adjunct (A) in the clause (Strang, 1968). Unless the Wh-word or phrase is S in the clause (e.g. Who did it?), there is inversion of the S and the auxiliary or the S and first auxiliary if more than one. If there is no auxiliary present then DO is used as the auxiliary. BE (and HAVE when DO is not used with it) used as full verbs (Palmer, 1965) also invert with the S.

In the marked (emphatic, attitudinal) form, the Wh-word is located nearer the end of the question and there is no inversion, e.g. "She did what?", "It cost how much?".

b.   Classification

Table 4

WH1 Wh-word as S; no inversion

      Example: "Who is your teacher?"

WH2 Wh-questions with DO auxiliary

      Example: "Where do you live?"

WH3 Wh-questions with DID auxiliary

      Example: "When did you have your breakfast?"

WH4 Wh-word with BE

      Example: "What time is it?"

WH5 Wh-word with HAVE

      Example: "How many brothers and sisters have you got?"

c.   Function

Wh-questions have the function of seeking information. However, they may also be used for other functions, e.g. making a suggestion: e.g. "Why don't we go to the park?"

2.   Yes/No questions

There is no wh-word or tag present, but inversion of S and auxiliary is used.

a.   Syntax

Although these questions are distinguished from statements by

inversion of the S and auxiliary, this feature is not exclusive to questions.

Where no auxiliary is present DO is used to make a statement into a

Yes/No question.

b.   Classification

Table 5

YN1   Yes/No questions with DO auxiliary.

Example: "Do you speak Punjabi?"

YN2   Yes/No questions with DID auxiliary.

Example: "Did you watch the A team?"

YN3   Yes/No questions with full verb BE

Example: "Are you hungry?"

YN4   Yes/No questions with full verb HAVE

Example: "Have you taken my biscuits?"

Table 6 - Classification of question errors

Substitution

S1   V-ed for V   Example: "When did you had your breakfast?"

S2   DO for DID Example: "Who do you kick?"

S3   DID for DO Example: "Where did you live?"

S4   Statement for question Example: "You have taken my biscuits".

Word order

WO1 No inversion of S and aux. (BE + HAVE)

       Example: "What day is like?"

WO2 Word order - Example: "How much have you got money?"

Omission

01   HAVE   Example: "How many brothers and sisters you got?"

02   DID   Example: "Why you get up late?"

03   incomplete Example: "What is the weather?"

04   DO   Example: "Which coca cola you like?"

05   BE   Example: "Why you not hungry?"

06   V-ed for V Example: "When you had your breakfast?"
       + absence of
       DID

Past participle incorrect

PP   Example: "Have you tooken my biscuits?"

<u>Functionally incorrect</u> (though syntactically well formed)

F1   Example: "How do you drive your lorry?"

<u>Incorrect question-word</u>

QW   Example: "Who books are they?"

<u>Miscellaneous</u>

M   Example: "Do you talk Punjabi?"

Table 7   **STORY**   <u>Acceptable and erroneous past tense forms and</u>

<u>percentages</u>

The stories collected from the children (<u>Appendix A)</u> were analysed for acceptable and erroneous past tense forms. The number of acceptable and erroneous forms, the total number of past tense forms (acceptable and erroneous) and the percentage of erroneous forms are listed in the table below:

In the table: a   =   acceptable

                    e   =   erroneous

                    t   =   total

CORE GROUP	NOVEMBER				JANUARY				MARCH				MAY				JULY				TOTAL			
	a	e	t	%E*	a	e	t	% E*	a	e	t	% E*	a	e	t	% E*	a	e	t	% E*	a	e	t	% E*
KAUSER	21	18	39	46	39	15	54	27.7	16	8	24	33	25	6	31	19	38	0	38	0	160	47	207	22.7
RAFEEZ	27	4	31	12.9	52	2	54	3.7	31	5	36	13.8	49	13	62	20.9	38	2	40	5	197	26	223	11.6
JAMEELA	22	15	37	40.5	88	18	106	16.9	30	15	45	33.3	28	9	37	24	absent				166	67	233	28.7
SARWAT	30	1	31	3.2	60	5	65	7.7	33	3	36	8.3	22	8	30	26.6	72	8	80	10	217	25	242	10.3
ARIS	10	12	22	54.5	15	4	19	21	11	13	24	54.2	14	7	21	33.3	20	7	27	25.9	70	43	113	38
QASER	4	20	24	83.3	13	9	22	40.9	17	4	21	19	11	12	23	52	16	13	29	44.8	61	58	119	48.7
IRFAN	14	29	33	87.8	43	18	61	29.5	13	5	18	27.7	13	12	25	48	24	13	37	35.1	107	87	194	44.8
A GROUP																								
ZAID	32	2	34	5.8													15	0	15	0	47	2	49	4.0
SHAZIA	43	6	49	12.2													79	7	86	8.1	122	13	135	9.6
GOHAR	19	0	19	0													48	0	48	0	67	0	67	0
YASMIN	25	7	32	21.8													57	1	58	1.7	82	8	90	8.8
SAFINA	27	2	29	6.8													27	6	33	18.1	54	8	62	12.9
B GROUP																								
ZOE	23	0	23	0													70	1	71	1.4	93	1	94	1.0
AMANDA	35	0	35	0													75	1	76	1.3	110	1	111	0.9
MICHELLE	22	3	25	12													68	0	68	0	90	3	93	3.2
ANDREW	21	0	21	0													46	0	46	0	67	0	67	0

NOTE   %E*   =   % Error

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Table 8 **STORY** <u>Errors according to error type; percentage totals</u>
<u>(Core Group)</u>

The errors made by the Core Group and the A/B Groups in the story-telling task were categorised according to the classification of past tense errors in <u>Table 3</u>. There were 10 classes of error in all. From the overall total of 341 errors made by the children in the Core Group, percentage scores were calculated for the errors in each class.

For the A and B Groups the combined total of errors is given.

		Present tense/base form for past tense	Be + verb + ing/0 + verb + ing for past tense	Past participle form for past tense	Copula/BE auxiliary	Base + ed for irregular past	Analogical errors	Past tense form + ed for past tense form	Had + past participle for past tense	Erroneous Negative forms	Miscellaneous	
CORE GROUP												
	NOVEMBER	56	13		13	7		2			9	
	JANUARY	33		3	14	14		2	1	1	3	
	MARCH	25			12	10		3			5	
	MAY	41			6	16		2			5	
	JULY	32			2	3	1	6			1	
TOTAL NO. OF ERRORS		187	13	3	47	50	1	15	1	1	23	Overall total = 341
% TOTAL		54.8	3.8	0.8	13.7	14.6	0.2	4.3	0.2	0.2	6.7	
A + B GROUPS												
	NOVEMBER	4			8	6					2	
	JULY	1		3	1	4			1	1	1	
TOTAL NO. OF ERRORS		5		3	9	10			1	1	3	Overall total = 32

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On each of the occasions data were collected, the acceptable and erroneous past tense forms produced in the story task were grouped according to 4 categories:

regular past;

irregular past;

copula/auxiliary;

historic present.

An overall score and the overall total of acceptable and erroneous forms from each category was then calculated for each child.

a   =   acceptable

e   =   erroneous

t   =   total

Table 9   **STORY**   101

KAUSER STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	3	14	4	0	21
	e	3	13	2	0	18
	t	6	27	6	0	39
January	a	3	33	1	2	39
	e	3	11	1	0	15
	t	6	44	2	2	54
March	a	0	10	3	3	16
	e	0	5	3	0	8
	t	0	15	6	3	24
May	a	5	16	1	3	25
	e	0	5	1	0	6
	t	5	21	2	3	31
July	a	3	13	5	17	38
	e	0	0	0	0	0
	t	3	13	5	17	38
OVERALL SCORE	a	14	86	14	25	139
	e	6	34	7	0	47
	t	20	120	21	25	186

RAFEEZ STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	6	18	3		27
	e	0	3	1		4
	t	6	21	4		31
January	a	8	37	4	3	52
	e	1	0	1	0	2
	t	9	37	5	3	54
March	a	3	24	4		31
	e	2	2	1		5
	t	5	26	5		36
May	a	13	29	7		49
	e	8	3	2		13
	t	21	32	9		62
July	a	2	29	7		38
	e	2	0	0		2
	t	4	29	7		40
OVERALL SCORE	a	32	137	25	3	197
	e	13	8	5	0	26
	t	45	145	30	3	223

JAMEELA STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	1	7	4	10	22
	e	4	4	7	0	15
	t	5	11	11	10	37
January	a	9	74	5		88
	e	1	10	7		18
	t	10	84	12		106
March	a	4	38	4		46
	e	0	10	5		15
	t	4	48	9		61
May	a	4	23	0	1	28
	e	1	7	1	0	9
	t	5	30	1	1	37
July	a	ABSENT				
	e					
	t					
OVERALL SCORE	a	18	142	13	11	184
	e	6	31	20	0	57
	t	24	173	33	11	241

SARWAT STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	5	19	2	4	30
	e	0	1	0	0	1
	t	5	20	2	4	31
January	a	7	53	0		60
	e	1	2	2		5
	t	8	55	2		65
March	a	7	24	2		33
	e	0	2	1		3
	t	7	26	3		36
May	a	6	15	1		22
	e	1	6	1		8
	t	7	21	2		30
July	a	9	61	2		72
	e	2	5	1		8
	t	11	66	3		80
OVERALL SCORE	a	34	172	7	4	217
	e	4	16	5	0	25
	t	38	188	12	4	242

ARIS   STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	2	8			10
	e	5	7			12
	t	7	15			22
January	a	2	13			15
	e	2	2			4
	t	4	15			19
March	a	0	11	0		11
	e	4	6	3		13
	t	4	17	3		24
May	a	5	9			14
	e	1	5			6
	t	6	14			20
July	a	6	13	1		20
	e	3	4	0		7
	t	9	17	1		27
OVERALL SCORE	a	15	54	1		70
	e	15	24	3		42
	t	30	78	4		112

QASER   STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	1	2	1		4
	e	5	8	7		20
	t	6	10	8		24
January	a	2	9	1	1	13
	e	2	6	1	0	9
	t	4	15	2	1	22
March	a	1	12	4		17
	e	0	4	0		4
	t	1	16	4		21
May	a	3	5	3		11
	e	2	10	0		12
	t	5	15	3		23
July	a	2	12	2		16
	e	2	11	0		13
	t	4	23	2		29
OVERALL SCORE	a	9	40	11	1	61
	e	11	39	8	0	58
	t	20	79	19	1	119

IRFAN STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/ auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	1	10	3		14
	e	9	15	5		29
	t	10	25	8		43
January	a	8	26	9		43
	e	5	11	2		18
	t	13	37	11		61
March	a	3	10	0		13
	e	1	3	1		5
	t	4	13	1		18
May	a	4	7	2		13
	e	5	7	0		12
	t	9	14	2		25
July	a	7	17	0		24
	e	1	11	1		13
	t	8	28	1		37
OVERALL SCORE	a	23	70	14		107
	e	21	47	9		77
	t	44	117	23		184

ZAID STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/ auxiliary	Present Historic	TOTAL
November	a	2	23	4	3	32
	e	0	1	1	0	2
	t	2	24	5	3	34
July	a	1	0	0	14	15
	e	0	0	0	0	0
	t	1	0	0	14	15
OVERALL SCORE	a	3	23	4	17	47
	e	0	1	1	0	2
	t	3	24	5	17	49

SHAZIA   **STORY**

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	9	29	5	0	43
	e	0	4	2	0	6
	t	9	33	7	0	49
July	a	4	31	7	37	79
	e	0	2	1	4	7
	t	4	33	8	41	86
OVERALL SCORE	a	13	60	12	37	122
	e	0	6	3	4	13
	t	13	66	15	41	135

GOHAR   **STORY**

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	7	11	1		19
	e	0	0	0		0
	t	7	11	1		19
July	a	8	33	6	1	48
	e	0	0	0	0	0
	t	8	33	6	1	48
OVERALL SCORE	a	15	44	7	1	67
	e	0	0	0	0	0
	t	15	44	7	1	67

YASMIN **STORY**

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/ auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a e	3 0	17 3	5 4		25 7
	t	3	20	9		32
July	a e	13 0	43 1	1 0		57 1
	t	13	44	1		58
OVERALL SCORE	a e	16 0	60 4	6 4		82 8
	t	16	64	10		90

SAFINA **STORY**

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/ auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a e	3 0	15 1	8 1	1 0	27 2
	t	3	16	9	1	29
July	a e	5 0	18 6	3 0	1 0	27 6
	t	5	24	3	1	33
OVERALL SCORE	a e	8 0	33 7	11 1	2 0	54 8
	t	8	40	12	2	62

ZOE   **STORY**

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/ auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	7	12	4		23
	e	0	0	0		0
	t	7	12	4		23
July	a	12	48	3	7	70
	e	0	1	0	0	1
	t	12	49	3	7	71
OVERALL SCORE	a	19	60	7	7	93
	e	0	1	0	0	1
	t	19	61	7	7	94

AMANDA   **STORY**

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/ auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a	7	18	10		35
	e	0	0	0		0
	t	7	18	10		35
July	a	11	26	3	35	75
	e	0	1	0	0	1
	t	11	27	3	35	76
OVERALL SCORE	a	18	44	13	35	110
	e	0	1	0	0	1
	t	18	45	13	35	111

MICHELLE   STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/ auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a e	2 0	14 3	5 0	1 0	22 3
	t	2	17	5	1	25
July	a e	13 0	42 0	6 0	7 0	68 0
	t	13	42	6	7	68
OVERALL SCORE	a e	15 0	56 3	11 0	8 0	90 3
	t	15	59	11	8	93

ANDREW   STORY

		Past-regular	Past-irregular	Past-copula/ auxiliary	Present historic	TOTAL
November	a e	3 0	10 0	3 0	5 0	21 0
	t	3	10	3	5	21
July	a e	7 0	14 0	1 0	24 0	46 0
	t	7	14	1	24	46
OVERALL SCORE	a e	10 0	24 0	4 0	29 0	67 0
	t	10	24	4	29	67

TABLE 10   WORD LIST   Percentage of Errors

This table shows the percentage of errors made by the children on each of the occasions past tense forms were elicited through the word list task (Appendix B)

		NOV.	JAN.	MAR.	MAY	JULY
Core Group	KAUSER	66.6	65.6	61.1	56.6	57.7
	RAFEEZ	47.7	38.8	32.2	30	28.8
	JAMEELA	70	61.1	56.6	55.5	56.6
	SARWAT	64.4	57.7	53.3	46.6	45.5
	ARIS	75.5	71.1	68.8	67.7	65.5
	QASER	77.7	73.3	72.2	65.5	63.3
	IRFAN	68.8	62.2	56.6	52.2	53.3
A Group	ZAID	18.8				7.7
	SHAZIA	41.1				26.6
	GOHAR	10				2.2
	YASMIN	30				18.8
	SAFINA	34.4				23.3
B Group	ZOE	10				4.4
	AMANDA	10				3.3
	MICHELLE	22.2				11.1
	ANDREW	2.2				0

TABLE 11   WORD LIST   <u>Percentage of Errors According to Error Type</u>
<u>(Core Group)</u>

The errors made by the children in the Core Group were categorised according to the classification of past tense errors given in Table 3. Errors fall into 6 of the 10 classes defined in the table. The figures are the percentage of errors made.

	present tense/ base form for past tense	past participle for past tense	base +ed for irregular past	analog- ical errors	past tense +ed for past tense form	phono- logical errors
Kauser	1.3	0.7	86.5	1.0	9.4	1.0
Rafeez		3.1	78	5	13.8	
Jameela	1.0	2.9	85	2.6	8	
Sarwat	0.8	1.6	87.1	1.2	9.1	
Aris	5.0	5.0	83.2		6.6	
Qaser	7.0	4.4	74.8	0.6	11.8	1.3
Irfan	4.5	3.4	84.5		7.6	

TABLE 12   WORD LIST   Percentage of errors according to verb class

The total number of errors made by the children over the year were grouped according to the classification of past tense forms into 7 classes given in Table 2.

The figures given represent the **percentage** of errors made in each class.

		Class						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Core Group	Kauser	75	4.3	87.7	100	86.1	70	3
	Rafeez	0	33.3	49.2	68.6	66.1	22.5	0
	Jameela	50	80	82.3	74.3	89.2	52.5	1
	Sarwat	55	56.6	78.5	77.1	84.6	30	0
	Aris	45	91.6	94.6	100	90.8	85	2
	Qaser	65	83.3	92.3	97.1	90.8	80	9
	Irfan	50	71.6	83.8	77.1	78.5	60	0
A Group	Zaid	0	4.2	13.5	42.8	30.8	12.5	0
	Shazia	0	16.6	57.7	71.4	65.4	25	0
	Gohar	0	4.2	3.8	28.6	11.5	6.2	0
	Yasmin	12.5	4.2	28.8	64.3	65.4	6.2	0
	Safina	0	8.3	44.2	64.3	61.5	12.5	0
B Group	Zoe	0	0	0	14.3	42.3	0	0
	Amanda	0	0	1.9	21.4	26.9	6.2	0
	Michelle	0	16.6	11.5	57.1	46.1	0	0
	Andrew	0	0	0	0	7.7	0	0

TABLE 13   QUESTIONS <u>Errors According to Error Type</u>

The errors made by the children in the question task were categorised according to the classification of question errors outlined in <u>Table 6</u>, i.e.

S1 – S4	=	substitution errors
01 – 06	=	omission errors
WO1 – WO2	=	word order errors
PP	=	past participle errors
F1	=	functionally incorrect (though syntactically well-formed)
QW	=	incorrect question word
M	=	miscellaneous errors.

The total number of errors for each child is given in the right hand column. For the Core Group as a whole the total number of errors according to the classification of error types is also given.

CORE GROUP		S1	S2	S3	S4	01	02	03	04	05	06	WO1	WO2	PP	F1	QW	M	(TOTAL PER MONTH)
KAUSER	NOVEMBER				1				2		2	3			1	1		(10)
	JANUARY				1		1		3	1		1	1		1		1	(10)
	MARCH								1	1			3		1	1	2	(9)
	MAY								2				2		1		3	(8)
	JULY				1		1	1		1			2				1	(7)
TOTAL					3		2	1	8	3	2	4	8		4	2	7	44
RAFEEZ	NOVEMBER							1										(1)
	JANUARY	1						1							1		1	(4)
	MARCH							1										(1)
	MAY							1						1				(2)
	JULY							1										(1)
TOTAL		1						5						1	1		1	9
JAMEELA	NOVEMBER	1						1					1	1	1		1	(6)
	JANUARY				1	1		2								1	1	(6)
	MARCH	1				1								1	2			(5)
	MAY	1												1	1			(3)
	JULY	ABSENT																-
TOTAL		3			1	2		3					1	3	4	1	2	20

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CORE GROUP Continued Page 2		S1	S2	S3	S4	01	02	03	04	05	06	WO1	WO2	PP	F1	QW	M	(TOTAL PER MONTH)
SARWAT	NOVEMBER	1	1	1				1				1		1	1	1		(8)
	JANUARY							1						1				(2)
	MARCH							1						1				(2)
	MAY											1		1				(2)
	JULY							1										(1)
TOTAL		1	1	1				4				2		4	1	1		15
ARIS	NOVEMBER		3			2	1		1		1	1			2			(11)
	JANUARY	1				3	1		1			2				1		(9)
	MARCH	1	1			3	1	1	1	1		2			1	1		(13)
	MAY	1	1			1						1			3			(7)
	JULY			1		2	1				1						1	(6)
TOTAL		3	5	1		11	4	1	3	1	2	6			6	2	1	46
QASER	NOVEMBER		1		1	3			2	1	1	1						(10)
	JANUARY						1			1	1	1	1				2	(7)
	MARCH							1	1		1	1			2	1	1	(8)
	MAY	1						1				2	1		1			(6)
	JULY	1			1			1				2				1		(6)
TOTAL		2	1		2	3	1	3	3	2	3	7	2		3	2	3	37

CORE GROUP Continued Page 3		S1	S2	S3	S4	01	02	03	04	05	06	W01	W02	PP	F1	QW	M	(TOTAL PER MONTH)
IRFAN	NOVEMBER		1		2	1		1	1						1			(7)
	JANUARY							2									2	(4)
	MARCH					1									1	2	3	(7)
	MAY							1									1	(2)
	JULY		1					1										(2)
TOTAL			2		2	2		5	1						2	2	6	22
CORE GROUP	Total No. of errors according to error type	10	9	2	8	18	7	22	15	6	7	19	11	8	21	10	20	

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TABLE 13 CONTINUED GROUP A		S1	S2	S3	S4	01	02	03	04	05	06	WO1	WO2	PP	F1	QW	M	(TOTAL PER MONTH)
ZAID	NOVEMBER							1										(1)
	JULY							1						1				(2)
SHAZIA	NOVEMBER															1		(1)
	JULY							1										(1)
GOHAR	NOVEMBER																	(0)
	JULY																	(0)
YASMIN	NOVEMBER							1										(1)
	JULY							1										(1)
SAFINA	NOVEMBER	1						1					1	1			1	(5)
	JULY							1						1			1	(3)
B GROUP ZOE	NOVEMBER																	(0)
	JULY																	(0)
AMANDA	NOVEMBER							1										(1)
	JULY							1										(1)
MICHELLE	NOVEMBER																	(0)
	JULY							1										(1)
ANDREW	NOVEMBER																	(0)
	JULY																	(0)
TOTAL		1						10					1	3		1	2	(18)

The total number of acceptable and erroneous forms provided by each child on each occasion questions were elicited were categorised into the 9 classes of WH- and Y/N questions outlined in <u>Tables 4 and 5</u>.

a   =   acceptable

e   =   erroneous

t   =   total

CORE GROUP		WH1	WH2	WH3	WH4	WH5	YN1	YN2	YN3	YN4	TOTAL
KAUSER NOV.	a	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	6
	e	0	2	3	2	2	0	0	0	1	10
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JAN.	a	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	6
	e	1	3	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	10
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MAR.	a	1	2	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	7
	e	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	1	9
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MAY	a	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	8
	e	0	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	8
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	2	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	9
	e	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	7
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	4	6	8	8	0	1	5	4	0	36
	e	1	9	7	7	10	4	0	1	5	44
RAFEEZ NOV.	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JAN.	a	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	12
	e	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MAR.	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MAY	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	0	14
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	5	14	14	9	10	5	5	5	4	71
	e	0	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	9
JAMEELA NOV.	a	1	2	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	10
	e	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	6
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JAN.	a	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	10
	e	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	6
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MARCH	a	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	11
	e	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	5
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MAY	a	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	0	13
	e	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY		ABSENT									
OVERALL TOTAL	a	4	9	8	7	5	3	4	4	0	44
	e	0	3	4	5	3	1	0	0	4	20

CORE GROUP		WH1	WH2	WH3	WH4	WH5	YN1	YN2	YN3	YN4	TOTAL
SARWAT NOV.	a	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	8
	e	0	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	8
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JAN.	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	0	14
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MARCH	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	0	14
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MAY	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	0	14
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	5	13	13	9	9	5	5	5	1	65
	e	0	2	2	6	1	0	0	0	4	15
ARIS NOV.	a	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5
	e	0	2	3	2	2	0	1	0	1	11
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JAN.	a	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	7
	e	0	1	2	2	2	1	0	0	1	9
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MARCH	a	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
	e	0	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	13
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MAY	a	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	9
	e	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	7
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	·16
JULY	a	1	3	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	10
	e	0	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	6
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	5	8	4	7	1	2	3	4	1	34
	e	0	7	12	8	9	3	2	1	4	46

CORE GROUP		WH1	WH2	WH3	WH4	WH5	YN1	YN2	YN3	YN4	TOTAL
QASER NOV.	a	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	6
	e	0	2	3	0	2	1	0	0	1	10
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JAN.	a	1	3	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	9
	e	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	1	7
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MARCH	a	1	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	8
	e	0	2	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	8
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MAY	a	1	2	2	2	0	1	1	1	0	10
	e	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	6
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	10
	e	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	1	6
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	4	10	5	10	0	4	5	4	1	43
	e	1	5	10	5	10	1	0	1	4	37
IRFAN NOV.	a	0	3	1	3	1	0	0	1	0	9
	e	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	7
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JAN.	a	0	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	12
	e	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MARCH	a	1	3	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	9
	e	0	0	3	1	1	1	0	0	1	7
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
MAY	a	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	14
	e	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	14
	e	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1.	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	3	14	7	11	8	3	4	5	3	58
	e	2	1	8	4	2	2	1	0	2	22

A GROUP		WH1	WH2	WH3	WH4	WH5	YN1	YN2	YN3	YN4	TOTAL
ZAID NOV.	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	2	3	2	1	1	1	0	14
	e	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL SCORE	a	2	6	5	5	4	2	2	2	1	29
	e	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
SHAZIA NOV.	a	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	2	6	6	5	3	2	2	2	2	30
	e	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
GOHAR NOV.	a	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	2	6	6	6	4	2	2	2	2	32
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YASMIN NOV.	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	2	6	6	4	4	2	2	2	2	30
	e	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
SAFINA NOV.	a	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	11
	e	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	5
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	0	13
	e	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	2	5	5	3	3	2	2	2	0	24
	e	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	2	8

B GROUP		WH1	WH2	WH3	WH4	WH5	YN1	YN2	YN3	YN4	TOTAL
ZOE NOV.	a	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	2	6	6	6	4	2	2	2	2	32
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AMANDA NOV.	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	2	6	6	4	4	2	2	2	2	30
	e	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
MICHELLE NOV.	a	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	15
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	2	6	6	5	4	2	2	2	2	31
	e	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
ANDREW NOV.	a	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
JULY	a	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	t	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	16
OVERALL TOTAL	a	2	6	6	6	4	2	2	2	2	32
	e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 15   QUESTIONS <u>Group Scores According to Question</u>
<u>Class</u>

Whereas Table 14 lists the individual scores according to the classification of WH- and Y/N questions outlined in <u>Tables 4 and 5</u>, this Table presents the group total of acceptable and erroneous question forms for the <u>Core Group</u>, and for the <u>A and B Groups</u> combined.

In addition, the percentage of errors made by the Core Group in each question class is given.

a	=	acceptable
e	=	erroneous
t	=	total

		WH1	WH2	WH3	WH4	WH5	YN1	YN2	YN3	YN4
CORE	e	4	28	44	41	35	11	3	3	25
GROUP	a	30	74	58	61	33	23	31	31	9
	t	34	102	102	102	68	34	34	34	34
% ERRORS		13.3	37.8	75.8	67.2	106	47.8	9.6	9.6	227
A + B	e	0	1	2	10	2	0	0	0	3
	a	18	53	52	44	34	18	18	18	15
	t	18	54	54	54	36	18	18	18	18
% ERRORS		0	1.8	3.7	18.5	5.5	0	0	0	16.6

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS

Explaining Errors

A strong contrastive analysis, through a comparative description of the learner's first and second languages, may claim to predict, or at least explain, errors made in the second language. Jackson (1981, 1982) provides a comparison of the grammatical structures of Punjabi and English and notes the differences between them. He then discusses possible errors that may occur as a result of these differences.

Past Tense

According to Jackson, it is perhaps in the verb phrase that the greatest number of errors are made by Punjabi speakers of English and where the greatest contrasts between the languages are found. In tenses there are a number of contrasts in the form of the verbs and in the number of tenses.

English and Punjabi both have progressive and non-progressive tenses but differ in that the form of the present progressive in English is the same as the form of the simple present in Punjabi - although the word order is different (English present progressive: Aux. + present participle; Punjabi simple present: Present participle + Aux.)

The present progressive in Punjabi is formed with verb root and progressive particle 'rya' '+ auxiliary'. Jackson argues that these contrasts can lead to interference, and the following errors may occur:

1.	"He is eat the dinner"	for	"He is eating the dinner"
2.	"She ringing the bell"	for	"She is ringing the bell"
3.	"He eat the dinner"	for	"He is eating the dinner"
4.	"At school I am playing with my friends"	for	"At school I play with my my friends"
5.	"On Saturday I was going to the park"	for	"On Saturday I went to the park"

(Jackson, 1982)

In the past tense in Punjabi the past participle is usually used with no auxiliary present. The following errors, according to Jackson, may be the result:

6.	"She pushing her"	for	"She pushed her"
7.	"I dog come out with me"	for	"My dog came out with me"

Further errors, Jackson claims, may occur because the past perfect in Punjabi (i.e. Lexical Verb past participle + aux. past) is employed as a simple past tense:

8.	"As I was walked"	for	"As I was walking"
9.	"He didn't came"	for	"He didn't come"
10.	"I didn't saw"	for	"I didn't see"

Jackson goes on to point out errors that may occur in the past tense in the formation of questions because of the contrast between Punjabi and English. In English, when there is no auxiliary verb in the VP, the auxiliary 'DO' is used with the lexical verb in the infinitive form to form interrogative and negative clauses. The following errors are possible:

11.   "What he done?"   for   "What did he do?"

12.   "Did you had a good sleep?" for   "Did you have a good sleep?"

Jackson argues that this can lead to overgeneralization into declarative clauses:

13.   "He did came"   for   "He came"

14.   "We do watch"   for   "We watch"

In Punjabi the perfect tense is used for completed actions in the past that have some connection to the present. This may explain the following errors:

15.   "On Saturday I have been to my Aunty house", for

       "On Saturday I went to my Aunty's house".

A further contrast pertinent to this study is the omission in Punjabi of the copula in Equative and Intensive Clauses, particularly in negative clauses. According to Jackson, the following errors may result:

16.   "This chalkboard"   for   "This is the chalkboard".

17.   "She quiet"   for   "She is quiet"

Questions

Whereas in English polar questions employ inversion - either of the first auxiliary of the V.P. or, in the absence of an auxiliary in the V.P. by the insertion of the auxiliary 'DO' - in Punjabi there is no inversion or change in word order. Jackson suggests that this contrast is the source of the following errors:

18. "You can run?"   for   "Can you run?"

19. "You know where they finding?   for   "Do you know where to find them?"

In Punjabi there is again no inversion in information questions. The Wh-word comes immediately before the verb, which is at the end of the clause. Although this contrast would predict errors in terms of the position of the Wh-word, Jackson argues that this does not in fact occur. What does occur, as in the case of polar questions, is no inversion in the English:

20. "What this is?"   for   "What is this?"

21. "What he done?"   for   "What did he do?"

22. "How I do this?"   for   "How do I do this?"

23. "How big he was?"   for   "How big was he?"

Jackson writes that in Punjabi there are no modal auxiliary verbs and claims that Punjabi speakers will avoid using modal verbs in English for this reason.

He provides one example where a modal is avoided:

24.   "What do you like?"   for   "What would you like?"

One limitation of Jackson's approach is that he bases his description of Punjabi on reference grammar books (one dated 1912) rather than on the Punjabi spoken by people of Pakistani origin in Britain. Another problem is that in his approach alternative interpretations of errors are not mentioned. For instance Jackson (1982: 84) claims that the error:

24.   "It were too dark"   for   "It was too dark"

is probably the result of interference from the Doabi dialect which has the same verb form for all persons in the past tense. There are, of course, other possible explanations that do not involve interference. The error could occur because of the influence of local dialect, or it may be the result of overgeneralization, i.e. all other verbs in English have the same form for all persons in the past tense. If we turn to the study we can examine if the errors that occur can be ascribed to interference from the first language.

The analysis

Past tense

Jackson's contrastive analysis of Punjabi and English would predict a large number of errors in class 2 of error types, i.e.

ϕ + V + ing/present participle FOR past.

However, the core group only made 13 errors (3.8%) out of a total of 341 (Table 8). All of these errors were produced in November, and many of

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them were made by Qaser (Appendix A6(i)). Three of his errors involve deletion of the auxiliary:

"<u>Eating</u> his dinner. They're on farm the girl <u>getting</u> water.

Giant <u>coming</u>."

These errors are similar to the examples shown by Jackson (Exs: 2,6). But Qaser also uses the present participle with the auxiliary in place of a past tense: e.g. "Giant fall down. Then he <u>is eating</u> his dinner. Then his friends came" (November) (Appendix A6(i).

Again, these errors could be interpreted as intralingual. Richards' (1974) notion of 'False Concepts Hypothesized' offers an alternative explanation - i.e. the informant employs the present continuous as a narrative tense. It may simply be the case that Qaser is using the tense he knows best for the demands of the situation. Duskova (1969) has written that the present tense, which is learned first, may substitute for forms not yet fully learned.

Irfan also makes errors involving deletion: e.g. "Giant <u>catching</u> all people . . . The giant come and <u>catching</u> them . . . They didn't catch them. All <u>hiding</u>". (November: (Appendix A7(i)). Overall, though there are few errors in this category (3.8%).

Aris makes the following errors in his retelling of the stories:

was sleep   (March)   (Appendix A5 (iii))

was start   (May)   (Appendix A5 (iv))

Jameela, in November, makes these errors:

been

been giving

been grown (Appendix A3(i)

These errors may be ascribed to the learner's L1 (Jackson's examples 5, 8 +

15), but they may also be seen as intralingual errors. Richards (1974) suggests

that 'was' might be seen by the learner as a past tense marker in the same

way that 'is' is interpreted as a present tense marker. These few examples of

errors demonstrate a fundamental dilemma in Error Analysis - that of locating

the source of errors. Abbott (1980: 121) has warned us that

> ". . . researchers will tend to find in their corpuses ample
> evidence of what they EXPECT to find"

and it has been the case in the past that researchers have been all too ready

to ascribe errors in production to underlying psycholinguistic strategies.

Selinker (1984) is now more cautious than hitherto, and admits the difficulties

of using a priori 'structured lists' to investigate a learner's interlanguage. He

argues that the issue of language transfer is more complex than his earlier

writing suggested. He says that the "jury is still out" on the question of how

a researcher unambiguously demonstrates transfer, and that language transfer

interacts with other processes throughout a learner's interlanguage

development. In chapter 2, reference was made to studies by Dulay and Burt

(1973) which claimed that most errors made by second language learners

could be ascribed to intralingual sources, and only a very small percentage of

errors were interlingual. Although language transfer was only given a small

role Dulay and Burt did allow for some L1 influence in second language acquisition. One problem, however, is that language transfer may not work in the straightforward way Jackson and Dulay and Burt, in their different ways, claim.

It may be that interlingual and intralingual factors work together, and that error sources are not discrete (Dommergues and Lane, 1976; Andersen, 1978). As mentioned above, Taylor (1975) argues that as a learner becomes more proficient in the target language he/she relies less on language transfer and increasingly on overgeneralization of target language rules. This may well be the case, particularly, as in Taylor's research, the learners were adults at early and intermediate stages in learning English as a foreign language. There is nothing to suggest in this study - either in the story-telling or the word list that there is a change of strategy with increasing proficiency. It would be necessary to conduct a more extensive study over a longer period, taking children at earlier stages. It may well be that, as in Taylor's study, language transfer is more likely to be a strategy used by adult learners in foreign language classroom settings rather than by those learning a second language naturalistically.

Returning to the issue of determining sources of error, Dulay and Burt (1973) have claimed that most errors are caused by learners simplifying the learning of the second language by generalising rules previously acquired, or by processing L2 data in a similar way to children learning their L1.

The strategies employed include overgeneralization of target language rules, simplification by redundancy reduction, and transfer of training. If we look at errors in the story-telling task we find that it is category 5 (table 8) (Base + 'ed' for irregular past) that the second highest number of errors are found (Core group: 50 errors out of 341 [14.6%]; A + B groups: 10 errors out of 32).

Examples of errors in this category include:

blowed - Qaser (May); Jameela (January, March, May); Irfan (January, May); Rafeez (March); Sarwat (March).

taked - Jameela (January); Irfan (January); Kauser (January).

gived - Jameela (January, May); Kauser (January); Michelle (November).

falled - Sarwat (March); Kauser (November); Shazia (July).

hided - Michelle (November); Kauser (November).

These morphological overgeneralizations are similar to those made by children acquiring their first language (Berko, 1958). Indeed, Michelle, whose L1 is English, makes errors in this category.

It is in the word list that we see more evidence of morphological overgeneralizations by both children whose first language is not English and by those whose mother tongue is English. Table 11 shows that for all the core group the overwhelming number of errors was in category 5 (Base + 'ed' for irregular past). One explanation for this difference in results between the two elicitation tasks may be that the children are overgeneralizing less familiar verbs. Andrew, for instance, who makes no errors in the story-telling

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task, produces 'winded' (for 'wound') in the word-list task (November). All the children in the sample produce this error at some point. Again, we need to examine the errors made by those whose second language is English from those whose mother tongue is English. All the children in the sample made some errors. What is surprising about the word-list task, however, is the high number of errors that were elicited. This begs the question: Do the children produce overgeneralized forms because of the elicitation task? Table 12 shows that it is in class 4 that many word list errors occur. In the story-telling task there is no evidence of such errors.

In the story-telling task the core group produce the greatest number of errors (187 [54.8%]) in category 1 of error types (table 8), i.e. 'Base for past tense form'. Qaser and Irfan, in particular, produce a lot of errors that fall into this category (Appendix A). If we look at the boys' acceptable forms we find Qaser produces 'put' in May and in July and Irfan produces 'put' in November. These forms are, of course, correct in terms of target language, although they may be 'covert errors' (Corder, 1971). In the word list, however, Qaser produces 'putted' for January, March, May and July and 'put' for November. Irfan produces 'putted' in March but 'put' elsewhere. Meisel et al (1981) question the assumption that what a learner produces necessarily reflects the best of his/her linguistic abilities. If a person needs to communicate in a second language it is not always possible to reveal one's best as 'shortcuts' need to be taken. It may be that because in the story-telling task the emphasis is on communicating the events, several children take a shortcut by adopting a strategy of 'simplification'. Simplification is the

same kind of strategy used by children acquiring their mother tongue, whereby the syntax of the target language is simplified by deleting redundant morphology, such as 3rd person singular or past tense morphemes (Duskova, 1969). The learner, therefore, focuses on producing semantically significant forms. It could be that Qaser is deleting 3rd person singular 's' as well as past tense morphemes when he uses base forms, i.e. he might be using the historic present. Richards (1973) writes that the '-ed' marker in narratives is redundant since the past can be indicated lexically with 'Once upon a time' or 'One day', etc. Whereas the story-telling task produces examples of functional redundancy, the word list may encourage 'hypercorrection', mainly because of the emphasis on form. This may explain why many errors fall into Class 4 (table 3). Children may be replacing the 'deleted suffix' (Palmer, 1965). Hypercorrection may also be brought about as a result of the asymmetrical relationship between teacher/researcher and child/informant. (Labov's Principle of Subordinate Shift (1970)).

Focusing solely on errors made by the children fails to show the way they use the same forms variably in the same text. If we look at the past tense forms produced by members of the core group we find the following (Figures in brackets denote no. of times form is produced).

Qaser:	stopped/stop(3)	(November)
	wanted/wants	(January)
	saw(2)/sawed/see	(March)

Kauser	took/tooked(2); made/maked(2)	(November)
	gived/give	(January)
	throwed/throw	(May)
Irfan	made/make(2); came/come	(November)
	gave(3)/give	(January)
	climbed/climb	(March)
	found/finded(2)/founded; forgot/forget	(July)
Jameela	made(2)/make/maked	(November)
	gave/give/gived	(January)
Aris	took(2)/take	(January)
Rafeez	kept/keep	(May)
Sarwat	saw(8)/sawed(5)	(July)

Members of the A group produced the following:

Yasmin	made/maked	(November)
Safina	ate(2)/eat	(November)
Shazia	fell(3)/falled	(July)

Of the B group only Michelle produces

variable forms: hided/hide   (November)

Similarly, over the course of the year children produced past tense forms variably in the word list task. There are several examples of children producing a target language form on one occasion only to produce an

erroneous form at a later date. Aris, for example, produced a sequence of:

maked/made/made/made/maked;

Irfan produced:

send/send/sent/send/sent;

sticked/stuck/stuck/stucked/stucked;

Jameela produced:

stinged/stinged/stung/stanged/stinged;

meeted/met/meeted/meeted/meeted;

breaked/broke/broked/broked/broke;

sunged/sang/sung/sung/sung.

Rafeez produced:

gave/gaved/gave/gave/gave;

stealed/stealed/stole/stoled/stoled;

catched/caught/catched/caught/caught.

Again, errors may occur as a result of the demands of the elicitation task. The need to produce a 'yesterday' word may have encouraged Rafeez to regularize verbs so that she produces, for example, 'catched' instead of 'caught'.

A few errors were made in category 6, where a learner overgeneralises rules for the formation of the past tense of irregular verbs by applying them to verbs with the same base form. In the word list we find, therefore, the following errors, probably overgeneralised from 'sing':

'brang' for 'brought'   (Jameela, Kauser, Rafeez, Sarwat,

Shazia, Gohar and Michelle);

'swang' for 'swung'   (Jameela, Rafeez, Shazia, Gohar,

Yasmin, Safina, Zoe, Amanda and

Michelle).

What is interesting here is that these errors were made by members of all three groups, including those whose mother tongue was English. This raises the question of the appropriateness of using adult native speaker's language as the target language norm. The use of a control group of native English-speaking children demonstrates that some errors are shared by children learning English as a second language and children acquiring English as their mother tongue.

Another kind of overgeneralization can be seen in the errors in category 7 (table 3) where an '-ed' suffix is added to a regular or irregular past tense form. The following errors occurred:

Story

| | tooked | - | Kauser (Nov.) |
| | sawed | - | Kauser (Jan.), Qaser (Jan.), Sarwat |

(July)

	gaved	-	Qaser (Nov., May)
	carried	-	Qaser (May)
	founded	-	Irfan (March)
	ranned	-	Jameela (March)

<u>Word list</u>

tored	-	Qaser, Aris, irfan, Kauser, Rafeez, Shazia, Sarwat, Safina, Jameela
wored	-	Qaser, Irfan, Rafeez, Sarwat
chosed	-	Qaser, Aris, Irfan, Rafeez, Yasmin
stucked	-	Qaser, Irfan, Rafeez, Safina
spoked	-	Qaser, Aris, Kauser, Jameela
fetched	-	Aris, Kauser

The last category of error to be discussed is that of pronunciation errors (table 11). These errors were of two kinds and all occurred in the word-list task:

1.   '-ed' ending substituted by geminate ending

   e.g. /staːtt/   for   /staːtId/;

2.   Erroneous morpheme suffix:

   e.g. /fetʃId/   for   /fetʃt/

All the examples of (1) involved base verbs ending in an alveolar stop, i.e.

   shout   -   Qaser (Nov.); Kauser (Nov.)

   start   -   Qaser (Nov., March); Kauser (Nov.)

Qaser was the only person to produce errors of type (2),

   i.e.   /fetʃId/   for   /fetʃt/ (November)

   /pikId/   for   /pikt/ (November).

We now turn to a brief discussion of the historic present in the story-telling task. Of the core group it is Kauser who uses the historic present

most - in January, March, May and July. Jameela uses it in her November story but then there is only one other occurrence, in July. Sarwat uses it four times in November but no more after that. Qaser produces one example in January but does not use it otherwise. Rafeez provides three examples in her January story. Aris and Irfan do not use the tense at all.

Like the core group the use of the present historic varies among the A group members. Yasmin does not use it at all, Gohar only once and Safina twice. Zaid re-tells nearly all the July story in the present historic (14 out of 15) and Shazia also uses it a lot in her July story (41 out of 86 forms).

The B group again shows varied use of the tense. All the children use it. Amanda does not employ it in her November story at all but then just under half of her July story is told in the present historic (35 out of 76 forms). Andrew uses it most (15 out of 21 forms in November; 24 out of 46 in July) Zoe does not use it at all in November but uses it 7 times in July. Michelle uses it once in November and 7 times in July.

There is too little evidence to come to any conclusions about the failure to use the present historic by Aris, Irfan and Yasmin (and possibly by Qaser).

Questions

Jackson (1981, 1982) predicts that, because there is no inversion or word order change in Punjabi questions, Punjabi speakers may not employ inversion or use an auxiliary in their English, and errors such as "What this is?" and "How I do this?" are the result.

This might, for instance, explain the omission of the DO auxiliary in the following examples:

Kauser: "Where you live?" (November, January);

Qaser: "Where you live?" (November, March);

Kauser: "Which coca cola you like?" (November, January);

Aris: "Which coca cola you like?" (Nov., Jan., March)

Kauser: "How you spell LORRY?" (Jan., Mar., May, July)

(Appendix C)

However, as with the past tense errors discussed above, there is an alternative explanation, one based on the view that L1 learners, and L2 learners with different first languages, acquire interrogatives in English in the same way. The following errors from L1 and L2 studies of children, where auxiliaries are not inserted, are similar to the errors cited above:

"Where milk go?" (L1 = English) Klima and Bellugi, 1966

"What you eating?" (L1 - Norwegian) Ravem, 1974

"What you study?" (L1 = Spanish) Cancino et al., 1978

In Cancino et al's study of simple and embedded Wh-questions and yes/no questions, the researchers discovered a developmental sequence for their acquisition. They found that learners move through two stages in their acquisition of Wh-questions: a stage of 'undifferentiation' in which:

a)   both simple and embedded wh-questions are uninverted;

b)   inversion is variable in simple wh-questions;

c)   there is increasing inversion in wh-questions with inversion extended to embedded questions;

and a stage of 'differentiation' in which the learner makes a distinction between simple and embedded questions.

In yes/no questions, the researchers also found two developmental stages:

In the first stage there is no inversion and questions are intonation marked; in the second stage there is increasing but variable inversion. The researchers excluded early DO-inversion, arguing that in the early stages of acquisition it may be employed as a question marker. In comparing inversions made by the Spanish-speaking subjects in their study with the inversions made by L1 learners in Klima and Bellugi's (1966), they found that whereas the L1 subjects used inversions with a number of auxiliaries, the Spanish-speakers' inversions were largely accounted for by DO.

If we turn to the errors made by the core group members (tables 13, 14, 15) we find that 37.8 of the questions in question class WH2 ('DO' - auxiliary) are errors. Errors in forming two of the questions (cited above)

tend to involve omission of the DO auxiliary, but the children make fewer errors with a third question "How do you spell . . .?". This, with other examples discussed below, may be because of its frequency in the classroom. It may be acquired early as an unanalyzed 'chunk' or 'prefabricated routine' (Hakuta, 1974). In comparison, there were few errors in question class WH1 (table 16). Where they do occur they involve omission, e.g.

Qaser: "Who teacher?" (November)

Kauser: "Which one teacher?" (January)

Irfan: "Who's teacher?" (November)

Of course, the task for the children in producing this question is easier than in the other WH categories since there is no inversion or insertion of auxiliary involved.

Question class WH3 (DID auxiliary) is where members of the core group make a number of errors (75.8%) (tables 14, 15). Several involve omission of the DID auxiliary:

Examples:

Kauser: "Who you kicked?" (November)

                "When you had it?" (November)

                "Why you got up late?" (January)

Qaser: "When you had your breakfast?" (November, Jan., March)

Aris: "Who you kick?" (January, July)

                "When I had my breakfast?" (November)

Other errors include substitution (table 13) and this is of two types:

1.   Substitution of DO for DID.

Examples:

Qaser: "What time do you had?" (May)

Irfan: "Who do you kicked?" (July)

Aris: "Who do you kick?" (November, March, May).

2.   Substitution of past tense form of verb for base form:

Examples:

Qaser: "When did you had your breakfast?" (July)

Aris: "When did you had your breakfast?" (Jan., March, July)

Sarwat: "When did you had your breakfast?" (November)

Jameela: "When did you had it?" (November)

                "When did you had your breakfast?" (March, May)

Rafeez: "Why did you came late?" (January)

Safina: "Why did you got up late?" (November)

Other errors of word order or incompletion are made by Kauser:

Examples:

                "Why did you get late up?" (March)

                "Why did you get late?" (May)

It is in question Class WH4 (WH-word with BE (+inversion) that the A + B groups make a large number of errors, largely because in one question: "What is the weather like?" the 'like' is omitted. Many of the children in the core group and the A + B groups produce the questions:

"What is the weather?" or

"What weather is it?" (Appendix C).

Sarwat provides a variation on this by not inverting the copula:

"What weather it is?" (May), but this is the only example.

Aris makes two errors which show no inversion:

"What day is like?" (May)

"Why it's raining?" (March, January).

He also produces the idiosyncratic error:

"What is sunshine?" (November)

Qaser omits the copula in:

"What the weather like?" (January), and elsewhere says:

"What day does like?" (March).

Irfan makes an unusual error:

"How like is the weather?" (January),

and Kauser produces:

"What is it raining?" (March)

and   "Why the raining for?" (May)

There are fewer errors with other questions in this class. Two
children in the core group both use the wrong WH-word:

Kauser: "Who books are they?" (November, March)

Qaser: "Who are they books?" (July)

Sarwat produces the uninverted question:

"What time it is?" (November), but the low incidence of errors
with this question could be because of its frequency (a routine).

The core group produced more erroneous than acceptable forms in the WH5 (WH-word with HAVE) class, and these mainly involved word order errors, omission of auxiliary, and wrong question-word, or a combination of these. Examples of errors which include omission are:

Kauser: "How much you got money?" (Nov., Jan., March, May, July)

Qaser: "How much you got?" (November)

Aris: "How much money you got?" (November, Jan., March, July)

Kauser: "How many you got sisters and brother?" (November)

"How many you got brothers and sisters?" (March, July)

Qaser: "How many you got sisters and brothers?" (November)

Aris: "How many sisters you got and brothers?" (November)

"How many brothers and sisters you got?" (Jan., May, July)

Jameela: "How many brothers you got and how many sisters you got?" (Jan.).

"How many brothers and sisters you got?" (March).

Core group members produce other variations of these two questions:

Kauser: "How many brothers and sisters you've got?" (January)

"How many have you got sisters and brothers?" (May)

Qaser: "How much you've got money?" (January, March)

"How much have you got money?" (May)

"How much money you've got?" (July)

Qaser: "How many you've got sisters and brothers?" (January)

                "How much brother and sisters have you got?" (March)

                "How many brothers and sisters you've got?" (May)

                "How much sisters and brothers you've got?" (July)

There were several errors involving the wrong question word, despite
the correct word being used as a prompt in the elicitation task. Apart from
those mentioned above examples include:

Sarwat: "How much brothers and sisters have you got?" (November)

Aris: "How much brother and sister you got?" (March)

Irfan: "How much brothers and sisters?" (November)

                "How much brothers have you got and sisters?" (March)

Shazia: "How much brothers and sisters have you got?" (November).

Turning to yes/no questions we find a large number of errors made by
the core group in the YN4 Class (Y/N question with HAVE), most of which
involve inaccurate use of the past participle:

Kauser: "You have took my biscuits" (January)

Sarwat: "Have you tooken my biscuits?" (November, January, March,

                May)

Rafeez: "Have you tooken my biscuits" (May)

Jameela: "Have you took my biscuits?" (November, March, May)

Safina: "You have took my biscuits?" (November, July)

Zaid: "Have you tooken my biscuits?" (July)

It seems surprising that there should be so many errors with the past
participle, as the correct form was given when eliciting the questions (i.e.
"No, I haven't taken your biscuits").

Two of only three errors in class YN3 (Y/N question with BE) are
worth mentioning:

Kauser: "Why not you hungry?" (March)

Aris: "Why you not hungry?" (March)

Although negative questions were not specifically elicited the children
produced these two questions, both involving omission of the copula.

Development over the year

With regard to the children's development over the year there is a
diminution of errors overall but there is no clear linear pattern. Looking in
turn at the data from the different elicitation tasks we find in the story-telling
task that the core group children produced the following sequence of errors
on the five occasions (see table 7):

	Nov.	Jan.	Mar.	May	July
Kauser	46%	27.7%	33%	19%	0%
Rafeez	12.9%	3.7%	13.8%	20.9%	5%
Jameela	40.5%	16.9%	33.3%	24%	Absent
Sarwat	3.2%	7.7%	8.3%	26.6%	10%
Aris	54.5%	21%	54.2%	33.3%	25.9%
Qaser	83.3%	40.9%	19%	52%	44.8%
Irfan	87.8%	29.5%	27.7%	48%	35.1%

Although six of the seven children produced the highest percentage of errors in the re-telling of the story in November, there is no perceptible developmental pattern over the year. The variable scores may be the result of the differences in the stories employed. They were chosen at random and were not controlled for past tense forms. They differed in length - the March story 'Willy the Wisp' was the shortest - and two of the stories, the 'Wizard of Oz' (January) and 'Tortoise's Dream' (July) involved a great deal of repetition of the same verbs.

If we turn to the Word List we see a clearer pattern in the diminution of errors over the five occasions (Table 10; Appendix B)

	Nov.	Jan.	Mar.	May	July
Kauser	66.6%	65.5%	61.1%	56.5%	57.7%
Rafeez	47.7%	38.8%	32.2%	30%	28.8%
Jameela	70%	61.1%	56.6%	55.5%	56.6%
Sarwat	64.4%	57.7%	53.3%	46.6%	45.5%
Aris	75.5%	71.1%	68.8%	67.7%	65.5%
Qaser	77.7%	73.3%	72.2%	65.5%	63.3%
Irfan	68.8%	62.2%	56.6%	52.2%	53.3%

Only Jameela and Kauser do not follow the pattern neatly: in July they both make one error more than on the previous occasion.

If we look at the A + B groups (Table 10; Appendix B), all the children make fewer errors in July.

With question forms (table 14) there are fewer errors at the end of the year but 4 children in the core group follow a variable path:

	Nov.	Jan.	Mar.	May	July
Kauser	10	10	9	8	7
Rafeez	1	4	1	2	1
Sarwat	8	2	2	2	1
Jameela	6	6	5	3	Absent
Aris	11	9	13	7	6
Qaser	10	7	8	6	6
Irfan	7	4	7	2	2

Among the children in the A and B groups we find the following:

(No. of errors out of 16)

A Group	November	July
Zaid	1	2
Shazid	1	1
Gohar	0	0
Yasmin	1	1
Safina	5	3

B Group	November	July
Zoe	0	0
Amanda	1	1
Michelle	0	1
Andrew	0	0

The variability in question formation demonstrated by core group children is particularly evident in the examples of question-words with HAVE, cited above. The study suggests that the children in the core group know the rules for the formation of questions but use them variably.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The purposes of this thesis were: through reading the pertinent literature on second language acquisition, to acquire a greater understanding of the theoretical and pedagogical issues that might be of use to the researcher/teacher at a time of change in language provision for bilingual children; through an examination of specific features of children's spoken English (question forms and past tense forms) over one school year, to learn something about the developmental route children take towards the target language when not given instruction in those forms.

Andersen (1981) has commented on the frustration felt by second language researchers at the multiplicity of variables involved. It might be argued that the teacher looking to the research literature for support also feels frustrated, not only at the number of variables to be considered in the second language acquisition process, but also at the array of theories and models on offer. Not all of these are readily accessible, which perhaps explains the appeal of Krashen's (1981, 1985) ideas, which are explicitly linked to a teaching method (Krashen and Terrell, 1983) and appear to offer a theoretical justification for meaning-based communicative approaches to language teaching. As mentioned above, Krashen's notion of 'learning' versus 'acquisition' which underpins the 'Natural Approach' teaching method, has been criticised (Gregg, 1984; McLaughlin, 1987), among other reasons because his model has not been empirically verified and is constructed in such

a way that it is impossible to verify. Krashen is not alone in presenting a rather deterministic model of the acquisition process. Tarone (1979, 1983) suggests that sociolinguistic factors bring about variable performance, and claims that second language learners acquire the L2 in the 'careful' style and then shift along a continuum towards the vernacular depending on the setting, interlocutors, etc. This is open to question. The results from the study suggest that the variability shown either within the same task (i.e. the story) or over time, is not as tidy. It could be that the children use forms in free variation, as Ellis (1985) suggests, and that arbitrariness is characteristic of their interlanguage. This notion of arbitrariness, in what is an unstable system, may explain why, at this stage in the core group children's interlanguage, no neat linear pattern is discernible in their route to the target language.

What we find is that, on the whole, the children make fewer errors at the end of the year than at the beginning, despite having had no explicit instruction in the features studied. Felix (1981), in a study of the acquisition of interrogatives, claims that tutored and naturalistic learners follow the same developmental route and that instruction makes no difference to that development. However, whereas the learners in Felix's study were receiving English in classroom settings only, the children in this study were learning English naturalistically, immersed in the language inside and outside the school. When we consider that these children, although not specifically taught past tense and question forms in school, will have received substantial

'input' of these forms both in school and through T.V., etc., two questions are raised:

Is incidental input enough?

What effect would instruction have?

The study has raised rather than answered these questions, but they are questions that not only may form the focus of future research but need to be answered for the sake of bilingual children's progress. Integration of children into the mainstream inevitably involves more interaction with English-speaking peers than when the children were separated in the Language Centre, but there is a danger in assuming that this is sufficient. Bilingual children may, after all, be segregated within the mainstream classroom and so not receive the level of interaction and the comprehensible input that are of use.

Although the study focused on children's production of past tense forms and interrogatives, there is concern that, even with such a small amount of data, some of the children, particularly Aris and Qaser, employ 'fossilized' forms which may serve their need to communicate but which fall short of native-speaker norms. Selinker (1984) argues that 'fossilization', or non-development in interlanguage is an area that has not been given much attention in the second language acquisition research, despite the fact that most learners do not fully attain target language norms as in their acquisition of a second language. Despite occasionally producing correct target language forms there is a tendency to 'backslide' to the learner's interlanguage norm in particular features when the learner's attention is focused on meaning. Ellis (1988) argues that once learners achieve communicative adequacy they may

fail to acquire the more difficult target language rules - such as inversion in interrogatives or verb endings. In these cases, he contends, formal instruction may help to prevent fossilization. The evidence from the data gathered in the study suggests that acquisition of the particular forms is a slow process. Instruction, in addition to countering fossilization, may accelerate acquisition, although the developmental route may be invariant. In speaking of instruction, of course, it is important to consider the most appropriate means of teaching particular features, that they be incorporated into normal classroom teaching in a meaningful way and not be taught in isolation.

Schumann (1978) provides another perspective on the phenomenon of fossilization when he argues that language that is restricted in function is the result of a learner's social and psychological distance from the target language and from native speakers of that language. According to Schumann 'pidginization', as demonstrated by e.g. uninverted interrogatives, restricted verb morphology, absence of plural and possessive inflections, may be characteristic of all second language acquisition in the early stages, but may persist as a result of social and psychological distance. A future study might look at the social and psychological factors outlined by Schumann when examining learners' output.

Meisel et al (1981) argue that there are limitations in viewing second language acquisition simply as a linear process, and that what is needed is a multi-dimensional approach which takes into account social, educational, affective and cognitive factors in language acquisition. They argue against a

narrow focus on language instruction and for programmes that lead to greater social integration. If second language acquisition involves language 'socialization' (Watson-Gegeo, 1988), a further study might consider the wider social and institutional forces at play which will affect a child's attitude to his/her mother tongue and to the learning of a second language.

One limitation of this study, realised in retrospect, is its one-dimensional view of the bilingual child. Grosjean (1985) has argued that the bilingual individual needs to be regarded 'holistically' rather than as the sum of two independent monolinguals. There is a danger that the bilingual child may be viewed as 'semilingual' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981) rather than as a person with a broad linguistic repertoire, if we only focus on errors in their second language. A further, more learner-centred study might consider the development of a bilingual child's mother tongue, in addition to English, and the relationship between the two. There has been a tendency in second language research to look only at the influence of the first language on the second, as can be seen in the literature on Contrastive Analysis. It may be the case that the second language has an influence on the first language for those bilingual children acquiring two languages simultaneously.

The study was carried out at a time of change in provision for bilingual children. Since that time further changes in the education system have raised the question of how the children in the study would fare in the light of the National Curriculum and the assessment of their spoken English. In 'English for ages 5 to 11', normally referred to as the Cox Report (DES,

1988), mention was made of the needs of bilingual children. The report endorsed the view of the Swann Report (DES, 1985) that bilingual children should not be taught on a withdrawal basis and that where extra help were needed it should be provided in normal lessons (para. 12.8). The report also argued that bilingual children should have access to the same attainment targets and programmes of study in English as other pupils (para. 12.4), but went on to say that assessment, particularly at the age of 7, may result in low achievement for bilingual children. However, the report saw this as beneficial because:

> "there problems with the English language will have been identified and appropriate action can be taken to help at an early stage" (para. 12.6)

Traditionally, assessment has been by means of written tests. The National Curriculum now requires teachers to place an increased emphasis on speaking and listening and to keep records and devise procedures to assess children's spoken language development. If we turn to some of the statements of attainment for English (DES, 1990) which have some relevance to the areas investigated in the study (i.e. question-formation and past tense forms) we find that children are expected:

at level 2 -   "to listen attentively to stories and poems and talk about them" (p.3).

"to talk with the teacher, listen, and ask and answer questions". (p.3).

at level 3   "to relate real or imaginary events in a connected narrative which conveys meaning to a group of pupils, the teacher or another known adult" (p.4).

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"to listen with an increased span of concentration to other
children and adults, asking and responding to questions and
commenting on what has been said" (p.4).

at level 4   "a)   give a detailed oral account of an event . . .
              b)   ask and respond to questions in a range of situations
                    with increased confidence." (p.4).

These statements have implications for class teachers like Mrs. J., who until

now have been content to leave English as a second language needs to the

support teachers. If, as the Cox Report suggested, bilingual children's needs

are identified through assessment so that appropriate action can then be

taken, the class teacher, who will have responsibility for monitoring children's

progress, will need to be aware of second language acquisition processes and

what can be reasonably expected of children at different stages in their

development. In the case of speaking and listening a teacher needs to

consider what emphasis to place on formal accuracy, whether instruction in

particular features is beneficial, and so on. There are implications here for

in-service training which, as mentioned above, to date has not been provided

for mainstream teachers in the L.E.A. where the study was carried out. How

far would an awareness of the second language acquisition research be of

benefit?

Through reading the relevant literature on second language acquisition

and conducting the study, the researcher has been made aware of the

complexity of the second language acquisition process and the range of

factors in a bilingual child's language development that need to be taken into

consideration. As Lightbown (1985) and Gass (1988) point out, second language acquisition studies do not provide recipes for classroom practice and it is difficult to directly apply results from the research to teaching. The pedagogical implications of the results of the study may not be clear-cut but there are indications that instruction in certain areas may be necessary to prevent fossilization and to accelerate development.

Through reading the literature the researcher has been encouraged to have more realistic 'expectations', to use Lightbown's phrase, about the second language acquisition process and the bilingual child's development in a second language.

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APPENDIX A

There was a man. He want to eat children, little 'uns. When they went to school their mothers didn't let them they go to school. They hided them in a.. where's that, like a something.. thing.. and they hided it. Then he didn't let them go to school and they took... any children to wear... and he had a bag and when.. somebody in the bag and he tied it up the big giant and he tooked it for his supper. Then he said the lady said the girl that girl she was a little girl and she is cooking cooking and she cooks and she is cooking then she went to get a some dinner for them.. and the giant the giant was hiding there when the... stones and then when he saw the... he... ready to jump and he jumped and he falled down and the girl start then... poor giant. Then she tooked him home and then she made supper and he get to eat children and the people let them don't go to school now and then.. the girl she said the giant say 'I'll take you home in my house will you make me some dinner?' She say "yes" and then she went and dad went as well. She make dinner and he loved the dinner and then they she was making it then she maked it then she took it to give it to... to eat.

Then they eat and then he get to not eat the little children. Then they girls and boys. Finished.

She wanted to go... that wicked witch she was gonna.. she killed the wicked witch and the nice witch gived her the shoes the magic shoes and she said this.. "you go" she told "you take me out" she said "you go to.." what do you call that thing? Something.. and with that green.. and she... scarecrow he said "Where are you going?" and she said... Oz and then he went with her. Then he sawed Tin Man. He said "Where are you going? May I come with you?" He said "yes". And then he sawed the Lion. The Lion said "Where are you going? I want to come." Then they all went... and the dog. The Tin Man say he needs a heart and the scarecrow say he needs a brains and the Lion said he needs a ... (courage).

Yeh, courage. They all went to that man in green and the people give them green glasses to wear. It's all green and... all green and the soldiers green as well and then he said "I want to go home but I will. Will you help me?"

"Yes, kill the witch". "I can't". Then he went away. Then, what's that called? Tin Man came. No, the scarecrow came. He said, "I'll be brave." He say "First, you kill the witch". He say "I can't do that". Then the Tin Man came. The Tin Man said "I need heart". "But you kill the witch." "I can't do that". They all went away. They say they have to kill the witch. And the monkeys the witch sent the monkeys. She is in the castle. They got the girl and took her there and then the... "give me the gold shoes... give 'em to me, the magic shoes."

"No." Then the witch taked her in and then she said "Work. You have to work and then the witch got her washing up and then she got water hot water and she throwed it on her and then she melted and she got her shoes then. She went she went to a nice witch again and then she said "Will you take me home?" And she says "Say to them shoes 'Take me home'" and she says to the shoes "Take me home" and the shoes took her home and the girl said "Down there" and then the shoes took her down there.

They was having breakfast and then he was coming along.... school and then he sees a light and he comes home and asks his mum 'Mother, what's that light?'... he went at night time. He got up then he went and the.... "Don't go". Then he runned and runned and then the owl said. "Don't go", and then... he came. Then he came and he was stuck in the water and he keep on following the candle and he was stuck. And then he got blow the candle and he runned out of the.. splash. And then he said to the owl, "I'm sorry, you was right." And then he said to the fox, "I'm sorry, you was right." After that he went to bed quickly he could and he went to sleep.

Kassim had stinky shoes and... old shoes... and they was... They took fun of

him and he do liked it. They said "Throw this away". He didn't want to, and

they bought him a... and he started to cry and he lost his shoes and he throw

them out in the water and the fisherman got it... and he tried to burn 'em

and he can't burn it... put it out. The dog got it... on Fatima's head... came

and knocked on the door. Fatima then... and throwed them back to him.

And she got angry and... Fatima went home and then after that he tried to

hid 'em and he put 'em in that tree in this market... And this market, and all

the wind and the shoes came down fall on the donkey. Donkey was angry

and he do this.. And they got the shoes and they went to Kassim's house

and they knocked on the door. They said "you can have these shoes back."

And he puts the new ones, he puts it in the drawer and he wears them old

shoes.

There was a.. all that animals. There was elephant, tortoise, giraffe, giraffe..lion... what else?... hyena..., ostrich... ostrich.., what else? ... monkey... Don't tell me....

They went to that that... grandma, the grandma's house. They asked her what that... The first one was was Elephant... The lion said "I will go, you forgot." The lion goes, the lion goes. He says "Where is that fruit tree and what do you call it?" What was it (0---------) O------- What was it again? (0---------) 0-------- I can't say it.

And after he went she said "Don't look back, you'll forget it from your head. It'll come out." And he goes fast, fast and... she said "Don't look, you'll forget it. It'll come out from your head"... And the lion goes fast... O------- I can't say it, the tree, the tree 0------------ He looked back and he came out from his head. He said, "Oh..." and after that... The elephant goes... He gets to Grandma's... He says "Grandma, Where's that tree? What do you call that tree?" "O------------ that tree's called". And he goes. She says "Don't look back. It'll go out from your head." He goes and he says "I promise I'll not look back and he goes fast and he sees a snake, whatever and he forgot about it what was it. And then he goes "Oh no, O------, O-----And that giraffe went and giraffe said O------- and then he goes. She said "Don't look back or you'll forget it." He said "I'll not. Promise." So he goes and...... (incomplete).

First the ogre had a little girl or boy in this thing and he bes uh has a knife in his hand. That's the first part (yeah and why did he do that?).

Because he likes childrens to eat.

(Did he?)

Yes.

(OK. Right. Yes. And then what happened?)

Then he went to streets to kill some.. get some children and he had one in his bag. And uh... uh... some people hided their childrens in these boxes a kind of... that lot..

Then one day he he couldn't cautch anyone and then they were all were disappeared and he couldnt catch any and he went and ate cabbage and sommat like that... (Why?). Because he couldn't find any and... there lived a farmer and his girl and she used to make.. stuff chappatis and that lot and one day she went for a walk and the giant had a knife in his hand and he was standing on the rocks hiding to catch the little girl and he jumped. He was so excited that the fell on his back and he hurt <u>hisself</u>. A girl made dinner and that lot for him and then he never used to... he forgot all the

eating childrens and then by such a wonderful supper he had and then he used to be so kind they had all the ogres and them them lot.. had dinner with them. And then it happened the ogre got some lollies and gave it gave some to the children. At last that little girl grow up and they got married.

I can remember when Red Riding Hood was going and she met the scarecrow and the scarecrow said "Hello". She said "Hello" and he said "Where are you going?" She goes to see the Oz and then she she was going to go to the Wizard tonight and she said "yeah" and she said "Why do you want to come?" He said "I need some brains". And then they were going past this road and they saw a Tin Man and he said "Hello". They said "Hello" and it happened he wanted a heart and they went to to Oz.. and..

(They met somebody else, didn't they?)

At last they saw this green kind of... They saw this green kind of.. like green kind of house and they went to see the Oz. They saw the Wizard and she asked "Can I go home?" and the wizard said "Only if you do something for me" and he said that if she killed the witch and then he and let you go home. She was sad and she went out and then scarecrow came in. The same happened all over. And then they had to find the witch and kill her. And she had those shoes on and the witch wanted 'em. She gave her hard work to do and she got one of... while she were working a shoe came off and the witch got it... and she threw water on it and she didn't like water and so she melt. And then they went to the Wizard and told him that we killed it and he says "I'm sorry I can't give you anything because I'm not a real wizard. And they went to this witch and he said "There's a good witch and go to her and she'll take you home." And then they went and the witch said

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"What can I do for you?" And they said they said "I'd like that little girl that I want to go home and then the witch goes that "You've got those magic shoes on. Just." What did she say. I think she said "Tap them both and three times and you go home straight away. So she waved goodbye to the scarecrow and the Tin Man and the Lion and she went home with those shoes.

Jack was going home from school and he went inside and he said to his mum that "What's Willy the Wisp?" and she told him and then then when they went to bed and the moon came out and he crept out of his bed and climbed down the window and he went went running on. A frog jumped out and said "Go back, you'll get caught by the Willy the Wisp." Then he came to an old tree. An owl sitting down and he said "Go back and if you want to see Willy the Wisp and if he grabs you just blow the candle out and run." He didn't listen to it, right, and he just ran off and he went to this big pool and he got stuck in it and the Willy the Wisp start laughing and he start watching him and then... then he grabbed the candle like the owl told him and he blowed it out and then the Willy the Wisp fall in the water and then he was freed and he came out and he ran off and then he said to the owl "Thankyou, you saved my life and then he went home and he crept back in bed and he was fast asleep and then he.. what happened.. he thought he was a dream and then he came back and then he saw the candle and he said "It's wasn't true."

Kassim he had old shoes on and when he walked past people they said that

"Get yourselves new shoes and they're worn out" and that lot, and he liked

his shoes very much, and the people said that "Get yourselves new shoes".

And they and children make funny things about him and walk like a donkey..

that lot. And then one day some people came and gave him some new shoes

and he start crying and they thought that he were crying for joyedness but he

wasn't because he liked the old shoes best and when the floor was wet it

won't go and he keep kept his feets dry and the sun when the sun shined he

kept his feet cool and because the holes in it. And then he tried to chuck

his shoes his old shoes and wear 'em but the other shoes new one was hard

and the leather was too hard too and when he chuck 'em he chuck 'em in

the river and when the fishermen saw it they said that "Whose shoes are

these?" And they said "That's it, it's his" and they took it and gave him it

and they told him that "Don't chuck it in the river. Should chuck it

somewhere, if you're chucking it somewhere, if you're chucking your shoes

somewhere just chuck it somewhere else." And then he got his shoes and...

tried to burn 'em and they were so wet they couldn't burn and he left 'em on

nearest window to dry. And that dog start playing with 'em and then Fatima

came and the shoes dropped and banged on her head and all the vegetables

fell on the floor and then Fatima chuck 'em through his window. And then

he tried to take 'em. He tried to take 'em to this countryside, didn't he?

Where people sell things... and he climbed up a tree and he put the shoes

there. And the market thing opened and people start putting vegetables and

that lot all ready. And then the wind blew and all things got messy and the shoes fell on the donkey's back and the donkey was sleeping and he kicked up in the air. And then the shoes fell on them. When they start tidying up and they saw the shoes and they said that "If you don't want your shoes, don't throw them anywhere like that". And then this boy who was watching said that... "It's best thing if he kept it on his shoes on his feet". And then it's alright and this lady said that "That's a good idea." And then they gave it him and he was happy about his shoes and when he walked in the streets and he was nobody said anything and they didn't even children didn't even make fun about him.

It's about a tortoise and he has a dream about a... I forgot that tree's name..

O---- That tree is about that and he had pears and all them and all sorts of

fruit, strawberries and everything on it. And in morning when he woke up

he told all the animals and and and some of them said that "No, it's not true"

and Tiger said that no, it was only a dream. And then the tortoise said,

"Why don't we ask that lady?" And then the first person was the Tiger and

then when the Tiger went in, that lady said that "Don't look back or you'll

forget the name and he as he was going he looked back and he trip over

this thingybob thingy and then he forgot the name. And then he went back

and told 'em "I forgot the name". And then next it was.. I don't.. I think it

was the Ostrich or whatever. I don't know. But. However they went and

one of them fell in the water and they forgot the name. And then at last

the Tortoise went and he he was a slow, he was slow, and he knew he

wouldn't look back and when he he got there he said. I forgot the name

again. He said O----, and the tree came out and then he said O--- again and

then the fruit fell off. And they start eating it and then the fruit seeds, they..

the.. Tortoise said "Right, take the fruit seeds and plant 'em around and

take your own ones from the fruit. And they took one seed from everything

and they planted it and then it came out, lots of trees with fruit.

He just was the big giant and he were hungry and he likes children and he goes to talk to a..gets children. He got one in his bag and he finds more and then....

The...try to hide 'em in their.... He was....when he were hiding behind this... whatsit and this other girl came.... They can do lots of things, make a lot of things.

The giant hide behind this big stone and this girl comes in her horse and giant tries to get her with a knife and he falls down and the girl.. The girl is help him. And he wanna eat the girl because he help.. And the girl gives... a lot of dinner. She bes in a castle and make a lot of dinner for him.. and they.. then her... I don't remember. (What kind of things did she make him?) She maked cakes and.. that.. you know..

And.. uh.. can't remember some more. At last he he.. then all the children goes to school.. everywhere. They they go shop, school all that lot. And then at last he gives to the children lollipops to eat everybody. Then his horse he climbed up.. (Why did he do that?) Because you know the girl.. she been.. he was hungry.. she been giving a lot of dinner to him and he wasn't hungry anymore. That's why.

(Do you know the end of the story?)

Yeh, there were a lot of giants. And.. the other giant they gave a lot of food for them. She made in the castle and made a lot of food for them. And last they did they give them the lollipops?

Oh, she had a baby... She been grown bigger. Had a baby.

There girl called - What's her name? (Dorothy), Dorothy, yeah.

She went inside her house and there was wind inside and she went outside

with a dog, I think, and her house.. wind. She took her dog inside, she

closed the door and the wind came and blowed the house and she landed on

the ugly witch and her shoes came off. And the ugly witch she can't believe.

She went inside and the good witch said 'you have killed the witch, the ugly

witch'. 'I never killed her.'

And so the shoes are there, gold shoes, so the good witch gave the Dorothy,

to the Dorothy the golden shoes. Then she went, she went in the ..., I think,

and she met a scarecrow. He said I wanted a brain and said 'Where are you

going?' She said 'I'm going to the Wizard.' And said 'Can I come with you.

I want some brains." She said 'Alright then.'

Then they went. They met a... woodcutter (A tin man). Yeh, tin man. And

he said, they said 'Where are you going?' And he said that 'Where are you

going?' He said 'We're going to the Wizard.'

He said 'Can I come with you. I need a heart. He said 'Alright then.'

Then they met a lion and he said 'I need a chest.' Were it chest?

(Courage). Oh yeah, courage. And he said 'Alright'. And they went and

there were a big green castle and there were a man standing and he were

green and he had glasses. They were green ones and he give them glasses. They were they went inside and there were a wizard inside there and he said 'What did you come for?' I mean 'What do you want?' He said 'Could you help me? I wanted a heart'. I mean the scarecrow said... the scarecrow said 'I need a brain' and said 'if you do something for me, kill that witch'. 'I don't kill anyone.' Then he were sad and went. And then the tin man came and he said 'What do you. I needed a chest (Courage) heart' and he said 'if you do something for me, kill the bad witch.' 'I don't want to kill the bad witch.' And he went away. Then the lion came. He said 'I needed a courage' and he said 'if you do something, kill the bad witch.' And he went. So Dorothy said 'I wanted, I want to go home.' He said 'if you do something for me.. to kill the bad witch.' And they went out all outside and they went and they sit in big hill grass and they sit there. They got to kill the witch, and Dorothy... the witch was standing in the castle and saw Dorothy with golden shoes, magic shoes on. And she sended her flying monkeys out and they went, they got Dorothy and taked her with... The witch said to her 'Take the shoes off, the golden shoes' and she said 'No'. She said 'Take them off now'. She said 'No'. Then she taked her to the kitchen and she said 'you rascal' and one shoe came off and the witch got it. 'Please give my shoe back'. She said 'No, it's mine now.' And then Dorothy got water. She had water in a pan. She splash it on the witch and the witch never liked the water. Only her hat were left and her shoes, they were left. And Dorothy went outside. They said 'I killed the witch.' And they went back to the wizard and they said 'We killed the witch.' And they are happy and then they went to wizard and they said, Dorothy said that 'I've killed the witch'

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and 'could you give me the heart?' The tin man said 'Could you give me a heart?' and he said 'yes' and he gived a heart. He made a heart and he put.. and then the scarecrow came. He said 'could you give me brain?' And he made brains and put it inside. And the Dorothy said 'I want to go home'. He said 'I'm sorry, you can't go home. You've got to stay and then then she and the lion and the tin man and the scarecrow went home.

There were Jacko and he saw this light and he's don't know what was it and he climbed out of window and he were trying, he was trying to see. He couldn't see, he were far far away the fields, And one day he went in home and he had dinner and he told, after his dinner he told his mum what's that thing and he said it's like his... only that light it'll take you far away, and 'cos he...

One night Jacko waked up out of bed and he creeped out of window and there were a little tree. And he climbed on there and he went down and he went away and he creeped out and there were a frog in the water said 'Don't go there because the light will get you.' Then he just ranned away. Then there was a dead tree and there was a owl sit there. 'Please don't go because if he say if... and I will say to him that... When he's going to have a candle, quickly get his candle and blow it out and then his magic all will go away.' And he said then he said then he went. Water all the field. Then the light went away and he follow the light and then he was stuck in the mud and his light came near and near and near. And then he came near and then he said. Then the light say 'You can't move cos you're stuck in the mud. You never can't move'. And the man, and the light said that, he laughed at... and then.. Jacko got the candle and he blowed it out and his magic went away and he fell in the water. Then he went back home. And he said to owl, 'Thank you very much'. And he say 'bye-bye' to him. Then he went home and he went to bed, and that's it.

Kassim loves his shoes very much and always...

His neighbours said to him 'They're very ugly' and every time he chucked 'em

out of the window. And the neighbours came and said 'Why did you chuck

'em?' He chucked 'em in the river. First chucked out of the window and

they said that 'Don't chuck 'em?' He chucked 'em somewhere else. And

then they chucked 'em in the river and said. And the old man went to fish..

fishing, right, and they got his pair of shoes said 'Kassim's shoes'. And they

went to his house and said 'Keep your shoes. Don't chuck 'em river again.

Chuck 'em somewhere else. Then he went again and he then. They gived

him a new pair of shoes and then he.. didn't know what to do. And then...

Where they give him some more shoes.. know what to do and then he went

to this market and... he climb up the palm tree and put the shoes there and...

very well back home. And when the wind blow so hard this man and the

donkey they had, they went under the palm tree and they got the thing down

and when the wind blowed and the shoe came off and fell on the donkey.

And the donkey jumped up and then this man said this... They got the ...

Kassim's shoes and they all went to his house and they sayed to him 'Keep

these shoes'. They say to him 'Why don't you to wear these shoes? Why

don't you wear these shoes?' Then he weared them shoes and put his new

ones away. Then no-one said nothing to him and so he were very happy

again.

The girl and she went and the man. And the man, she jumped and hurt himself.

Once he had no dinner and no children for his dinner and then the children's mum and dad don't take them to school. Don't let them go to school cos the ogre eats them.

Then there lived in the farmyard, lived a farmer and he had a girl and he had a wife. The farmer didn't know about the ogre and.. was right poorly and the girl, the man said that to the girl to go to the shops to buy some food. And so the girl went in her.. on a horse.. She didn't know about the ogre hiding. The ogre was ready with his knife and he jumped down and he hurt hisself. And the girl looked at him and she said 'Oh, you poor man'. And she and she got him on his cart and gave him all the food she was going to take home. Then she got some more, the one she was going to take them sell them. She gave it to that man and then she went home. And she took the man with him and she gave him some food..

The big.. the girl grow big and she got married... and they lived happily after.

Her house flied and her house fell down on the witch.. Then the good witch

of the North came and she told Dorothy to get the shoes.. from the witch..

and she told her that you kill the witch.

The good witch of the North said to Dorothy that you kill the other witch..

And Dorothy said she [aent] to kill the witch, she [aent] to kill anybody. But

the witch said 'you have to kill the witch'..

She met tin man on the way and he wanted a heart. And he walked around

again and they found a scarecrow and he needed a brain.. And they met a

lion and the munchkins. (You saw the film!)

And he wanted a... to be strong. They got to Oz. Dorothy went to him and

she said...

The wizard said he don't know anything about it.. and he said to 'em 'You

have to kill the witch.' 'No, I can't do that'. And then the tin woodman

came and he said he wanted a heart. And the wizard said 'If you do

something for me.' 'Alright then' and he said 'What?' and he said 'kill the

witch'. And he said 'Oh no. I can't do that'. Then he went. And then the

scarecrow came and he said 'Brains'. He said 'If you do something for me'.

He said 'Alright, then.' And he told him to kill the witch. He said 'Oh, no.

I couldn't do that.'

Then he went. Then the munchkin came and he said 'kill the witch' and he said 'If you do something for me.' He said 'Alright'. He were too scared to kill the witch. 'Oh no, I couldn't do that.' Then they all went. They killed the witch. (How?)

Munchkin and the scarecrow and the tin man stayed outside.. The witch told the magic monkeys to go and they got Dorothy and the witch start shouting 'Give me those shoes'. She said 'Oh no, I'm not'. 'Give me those shoes'. She said 'Oh no, I'm not'. And then they took her to the castle and she made Dorothy work all the time. And Dorothy were washing something with the hot water and the witch came near her and she threw the hot water and melted her. And then she went outside screaming and saying 'I've killed the witch, I've killed the witch, the old witch that...'

He told Dorothy to go to the witch, the good witch... and then she was... and he gave him a heart and he went outside. And then scarecrow came and gave him brains. And then munchkin came and gave him courage.

(And Dorothy?)

She went to the witch and the witch said... and she told Dorothy to say something to her shoes and she said it and she went home.

Once upon a time there lived a boy.. small boy called Jacko... and he was in bed and he saw a star up in the sky and he told his mother and mother said 'Don't follow the star... If you follow the star there's this witch called Wizard the Witch'... And then his mother went to sleep and Jacko climbed up, climbed out of his window and climbed up the tree and went down and he got his cat as well and he put the cat on the stone in the water and he went to follow the star. And the frog he said 'Don't follow the star, please don't follow the star...'

(Did he?)

Yes, and on the way he met a owl. Said 'Don't the star, please don't follow the star. If you blow the candle he.. you could blow some magic away. And he still followed the star and he went to deep water.. and the star came awards him and awards him and he stopped there and he got stuck the boy into the mud in the water. And the boy snatched the candle off the wizard and blowed the candle out. The wizard falled back. Then he went. He saw the owl again. He said 'Thank you to help me. You told me right'. Then he went to the frog. He said 'Thankyou to told me right'. Then he got his cat and he went to bed... sleep first. That's quite a sleepy cat.

(Is it? Was it a dream?)

No, I think he was a dream but he saw the candle on the table and looked,

saw that weren't a dream.

He liked his shoes his old shoes. Whenever he used to wear 'em people

used to laugh at him. One day people gave him some new pair of shoes..

and he throw the old ones up in the water near his house.. Somebody were

fishing there, caught the shoes in this net and gave the water back.. They

got the shoes out of the water and they gave it to him. The man can't get

rid of the old shoes and he put 'em in a.. pineapple tree.. So -- came down

shops there .. so-- buy something and the shoes fell on top of him. Then the

man... then someone gave the shoes back to him again. Then he got the

shoes and throw... put 'em to dry.... He can't get rid of them and he want to

burn 'em. And he burned 'em but they can't get burned cos they were too

wet.. Then he hanged them outside his window to dry and a fox came on

top, got 'em in his mouth and let go of 'em... So .....   And he gave the

shoes back to wear for him and no-one laughed at him.

Once upon a time there was a tortoise. It went and it sawed a tree and it was... There was some bananas, different kinds of fruits.. different kind of fruit. He wanted to eat the fruit and he went back to the animals and said 'There's a -- tree with different fruits'. But the animals didn't believe him so they told him 'I'm going to tell the ... Grandmother Koko'. So tortoise .. 'I'm going to tell Grandmother Koko' and the Lion said 'I'll go and tell Grandmother Koko'. So the lion went and asked Grandmother Koko about what is the tree's name, how could he get the food off the tree... and she said 'Don't look back or you'll forgot it? And then he went and he sawed.. he sawed, what do you call it?

(Anthill?)

Anthill, and he tripped over the anthill and looked back and he forgot the name, then went to the animals and said 'I forgot the name'. Then the other ones... The elephant went and he went to Grandmother Koko and said 'What's the tree's name?' And she said 'Omumborombonga' and the elephant went, and the lion said 'Watch the anthill there. You might trip over.' Then the elephant went and he said to the Grandmother Koko that 'What's the tree's name which has got different kind of food on' and she said 'Omumborombonga' and she said 'Don't look back or you'll forget it.' Then he went and he sawed all the other animals and said that mind about the anthill. Then the elephant went. He looked for it. He saw the anthill, then

he went and tripped over a.. I forgot.. tripped over a.. Then looked back and forgot the name. Then he went back and then... What do you call that green thing?

(Creeper?)

Yeah, the creeper, went and he went to Grandmother Koko and said 'What's the tree's name?' And said 'I know the name' and she said 'Omumborombonga'. And then he said 'I won't forgot it' and he went. And she said 'Don't look back or you'll forget it.' Then it went. The animals said 'Mind, there's an anthill.' The other one said 'Mind, there's a thing, it might trip over.' Then he went. He saw the anthill, he saw the thing what the elephant trood [trud] over. Then he went. He saw the water, a pond. He fell in the pond, looked back and forgot the name. Then the green thing went back and told the tortoise that no-one can remember it. Then the tortoise went and he said to the Grandmother Koko that 'What do you call the tree which has got different kind of food on it? Then I sawed it'. Then Grandmother Koko said 'Omumborombonga'. Then the tortoise said 'I'm lucky. I'll remember it'. And she said 'Don't look back or you'll forget it. And the tortoise went and he saw the anthill. He saw the little thing. He saw the pond and he went down past the... and he didn't look back. And he saw the tree and he said 'Omumborombonga' and all the food fell down and... called all the animals and all the animals came and start eating the food. And that's the end.

Ogre took up boy and he kill a boy.

(Yeah, then what happened?)

He went in town.

(Yeah, and?..)

Got people.

(Yes, then what happened?)

Then he got people.

He went in .. lady.

He get hurt.

Then he went to town to get...

(?)

Lollies.

(Yeah)

And he went to giant... food.

(Alright, then what happened?)

The giant fall... Then the lady come down. Then cook for him... the pig.
Then he eat it... Then he do.. anybody.

Then the giant he only eat dinner.

(Yeah)

Then he cook.

(What?)

Then he go for her.

(Who?)

That lady.

(Alright)

He cook for him

(Yeah?)

He cook for giant.

(Then what?)

Then the men come, I think...

(What kind of men? Like you?)

People...

Then he brought lump of... Then he married.

(Who?)

The giant married.

(Who did he marry?)

With that girl.

(What happened when they went to see the Wizard?)

He said "You do to me one thing. Kill the miserable witch...

Dorothy said 'No.' Then Dorothy came in and said. Then the man said..
'You kill the miserable witch'. He said 'No'. The lion came. He said, that
man said 'You do to me one thing'. He said 'Alright'. Then the man said
'Kill the miserable witch.' He said 'No'. Then they went and then the
miserable ... magic monkey came. Then the monkey took Dorothy. Then
the witch... 'Give my those magic shoe.' He said 'No'. Then he ... the
kitchen, wash... Then he throw the hot water. Then the witch died. Then
the witch had died. And then the girl took in... kind witch. Then he said 'I
want to go home'. He said 'Ask your magic shoes'. Then he asked the
magic shoes. The magic shoes take him home.

One day he went home with his mummy. Then he get up in the morning to look the light. He had his breakfast then he it was nighttime. He went to sleep. His mum was sleep. Then he came and open the window. He climb up the tree. Then he went down. Then he went running away. Then the frog said 'Don't go there'. He says 'I won't scared?' Then owl said 'Don't go there, there the Willy the Witch (Wisp). Wisp. Then he went in the water. Then he saw Willy the Wisp. Then, and then he stuck in the mud. Then he can't get it. Then he blowed the candle. Then he run away. Then... he... Willy the Wisp splash in the water. Then he get the candle and run away back home. Then he went to sleep in his bed.

First time the one man got old new old shoes teared, teared. Then he went... to walk with his teared shoes. Then people laughed. Then they buyed him new shoes. Next day he throwed the shoes away in the water. Then the man came. They was two fishing. They caught two fish and... his smelly shoes. Then he hung his shoes in the tree. Then he was market day. Then they went to market. Then he was start to wind. Then the wind came blew the shoes bang into donkey's back. The donkey kicked, he spoiled everything. Then that man went to town... No-one laughed at him with all his old shoes...

He tried to get rid of the shoes. Didn't.

(What different way did he try to get rid of the shoes?)

Throw in the water. Hang up the tree.

(What else?)

To burn.

Lion came to that girl to ask for that tree... There were all sorts of things.
Then, then, then... elephant came. Then elephant look around and he
forgot. Omumborombonga. Then... hyena came and she asked.
Omumborombonga... She looked round. She forgot it. Then it's that big
thing, what you call it. It's like this... Great big fat neck (Giraffe?) Giraffe.
Then giraffe came... He look round. He fall down. He banged and he
forgot it. Then tortoise came and tortoise asked and he go walking.
Omumborombonga. Rocky. He never looked round. He went straight.
Then he found that tree. Then he called all the animals and they came and
eat 'em. And they... tortoise came and say 'Let's take bean, one bean each
and put it in and grow all the nice trees.' They put it in, the seed, and then
it will grow. That's the story of end.

The giant was eating boy... and then he stop eating boys and girls.

(Do you remember what happened?)

Catch the boy.

Eating his dinner.

They're on farm. The girl getting water. Giant fall down. Then he is eating

his dinner. Then his friends came and...

(He used to eat little boys and girls. Then what?)

Then he stop eating girls and boys..

(Why?)

Because a girl gaved him lots of things to eat...

He's cooking.. He's poorly...

(Poorly? What? Who?)

That man.

(Yeah, that man).

Yeah. He had poorly in his tummy.

(So what happened then?)

The girl's riding donkey.

Stopped the donkey. Giant coming. Giant fall down. He said 'I'm hungry'.

Then they cook dinner for him... and he stop eating his dinner, fish and

bread, chicken. Then he's cooking her...

..going home....

Girl..... eat the dinner.

Then giant ride in his horse

(What did he give them?)

Lollies.

(You what?)

Lollies. That girl had married with him.

(And?)

Children.

The wind blow the house. Then the house came and the witch was then she dead....

(What did Dorothy do?)

Then she take her shoes off... The lady say you kill the witch... She said 'I don't .... I want to go home.'

(Could she go home?)

No.

(Why not?)

She didn't know how to go....

(Then what happened?)

She went to the house... The man said 'Can I go with you?'

Then....

(Which man?)

Scarecrow. Then other man came. Then lion. The man said 'First you kill the witch...'

(Why did they want to go with her? Why did the scarecrow, the tin man and the lion want to go with Dorothy? They wanted to go and find something, didn't they?)

That scarecrow haven't got the brain... One man haven't got the... thingy.

(Heart)

Heart.

(And the lion?)

Lion wants... brave.

(He wanted to be brave... courage)

(Did they get it?)

Yeah.

(How?)

They killed the witch... The monkey came to fly and get the girl.

She wanted a shoes.

She pour water on the witch.

Then she melt....

'You got magic shoes. They take you home.'

She flied.. She said 'Fly, magic shoes, fly'.

He sawed the light....

(Then what? What about his mum?)

He said 'Don't go near the light. If you go you'll get lost. We never see you again'...

(So, he didn't go near the light, did he?)

Yes, he did go near the light. The frog said 'Don't go... but he did. He was running. He came near the tree. The owl, owl was sitting on the tree. Owl said 'Don't, don't go near the light.' Then he run and run. He was stuck in water. Then he blow the candle... Then he went.

(What happened before he did that? Something came, didn't he? What did he see?)

He was scared... He went back home, climbed up the tree and went in. That's it.

(That's it. Didn't he say anything to the owl and the frog when he saw them?)

Thank you. He said 'I never go again.'

(Was it a dream?)

Yeah.

(Was it a dream?)

No.

(Why not? How do you know it wasn't a dream? What happened when he woke up in the morning?)

He saw the light.. He saw the candle.

Kassim had old shoes... Nobody likes his shoes.... The boys make fun. He throwed the shoes in river. The man was can catching fishes and then the shoe was in the...

(Net?)

Net. Then he climb up the tree and put the shoes on tree. Then the shoes fall... the wind camed and blowed the tree down. The shoes fall down on the donkey. The donkey kicked the things... Then he burned the shoes. Then he burned the shoes. There were.. there was... there was... they didn't burn. Then he hanged them on the window to get dry. Then the lady came. The dog was playing with the shoes. The shoes fall down and the lady had... Then he had new shoes. Then the man came, gaved his old shoes. That's it.

The tortoise had a dream about tree.. Then he told the animals. I don't know what to say now...

(Who went first?)

The lion went first and then tripped down.

(Who did he go to see?)

To Grandmother Koko. Next, who was it?

Elephant.

(What happened on the way back?)

He tripped down.

(And what happened to the word Omumborombonga?)

It went off...

He forget.

Then the elephant went. There was a nail. He put his feet on nail and then he forget it. Who was next?

(Hyena, I think).

(What did Grandmother Koko say?)

She say 'Don't look around. Don't talk to somebody' and said that 'Omumborombonga'. Then he fall down in water. Don't know which one is now.

(Ostrich, I think, now)

Ostria... (Ostrich)

Ostrich.

(Do you know what an ostrich is? Don't you know what an ostrich is?)

It's a big thing, innit? Got a big head....

(One of them saw a snake. Which one saw a snake.)

It was giraffe. He saw the snake. Then the snake bite him. Then he forget the word.

Then the tortoise went. Then he know the word. He never look round or anywhere. He whisper all the things. Then he went to that tree and say Omumborombonga.

Then they eat the fruit. The fruit fall down. Then they left the some fruit to grow. That's it.
(What happened to the tree?)

Growed up.

Giant catching all the people. They don't like him. They like the food.

(Yeah? What people did he catch?)

Babies.

Then he said to lady 'I take you to cafe. You make me nice food....'

(Do you remember the first part? What was that about?)

A girl. And he said 'I'm gonna eat you and I....

Then he catch the girl, put in the bag. Then they all hide, boys and the
girls.... The giant come and catching them....
They didn't catch them all, hiding, and he eat 'tatoes.. don't like 'tato.

A woman are happy in the field. He was happy. His giant wasn't coming.

Then he were making food. He want to make nice food. He look at the
book and make the food. Then he was poorly. Then the woman said...
make the beans for the man..... hiding. Catch the woman and get knife out
to lady to take and put in the bag... Then he fall down and the woman
helped. No, the woman get water from the... in the bath, in the bucket to

give the water to man... Then he made the food for the man... pig, chicken, fish.. and a sheep. He like. He said 'Take you to castle. You make for me nice food'. He take her castle. She make cake, then eggs, then cat.

(Cat?)

No... she eat... all friend came and eat with him... He don't like any more children. He don't like the dinner. Then he came... and gave lolly...

Then the man the wife have babies and they be.....

The girl gone to her home and everybody gone to home. Girl gone to own

home where she used to live cos they killed the witch... The girl said 'I want

to go home'... Green man said 'You kill that witch, ugly witch. Then I will

let you'. And he give the tin man a heart and he gave the straw man a....

(A brain)

A brain, and he gave the lion courage. And he showed the way to the little

girl. Then she went to home. She lived with her dog and herself.

(You missed out a little bit about the beginning. How did she get those

magic shoes. Do you remember?)

Yeah, 'cos the house went on the witch and she got... The good witch take

the shoes out and gave it to the girl. Then the ugly witch, the other witch

came. She said 'Give me the shoes. But she's got one shoe and she

dropped the water on her and she melt. It came on telly.

(Was it different on telly?)

Yeah. It was different. The lion was different. He was straight. The lion

was straight. The lion was bend and in the story he was straight. On the

telly. There were three. The girl put apple from the tree. The tree tried to

talk.. And she saw the tin man. Then she .. No, first she saw the... straw man. Then she saw tin man, then the old lion. Then they all friend, big friend. Then she went to old lady cos she was her friend. A nice lady she went to. The lady said 'Close your eyes. I'm clever'. Then she close her eyes. Then she went to home. On the telly.

She said 'I wanna go home' and the nice lady said to her 'Close your eyes' and she did a magic, then she went to home.

(How did the house move at the beginning?)

The bridge blowed up... It wasn't like the story... I didn't went like that... It just blowed wind...

(How did the witch get Dorothy?)

On telly the ugly witch didn't get the shoes off of the Dorothy. She got Dorothy and she taked to jail. All friend killed... the ugly witch... Try to burn the straw man and she burn... and the tin man throw water on the witch and the all to other people try to kill Dorothy. They didn't kill because they killed the witch. Then all other people be their friend.

The Willy the Wisp climbed got out of his window and his mum said 'Don't

go near the moon' and he did go near the moon and he stucked in the... The

ugly man said to him....

(What happened on the way though before he got there?)

The owl and the.... he said 'Don't go near the.... so he ran into the water in

there. So Hansel blow the candles out, did blow the candle so then he came

home and he say the owl 'I'm sorry, you was right.' So he got the candle

and came home and climb up the tree, got into his window and got into bed.

The King had the ugly shoes, smelly shoes on. Everybody in the castle

laughed, people, every people live in the everywhere they laughed at him.

The boys. Daft shoes. He throwed in the pond. The fisher caught 'em.

Then he throwed fire. They were all wet. Then he burn them. They were

too wet and they couldn't fire. Then he hide them in tree. They blowed

and blowed and drop on the horse. Horse jumped. Everything... knock it

and everything was mess up and they gave it to him. The boy told 'em the

secret. He said 'Put 'em on shoes'. The other man said 'That's a good

secret'... And then they did wear them on everyday. And then he went town

and no-one laughed at him.

The tortoise went to.... The tortoise found a fruit tree and he told all the animals and they each time one of them went to the .... and they keep looking back. Each keep looking back and they keep going.... The other one and then the other one went to look for them. He look back. Then the last one never looked back. Then they finded it. Then the tortoise, the tortoise went. She finded it. She never looked back.

(Found what?)

The apple fruit tree.

(Who did they go and see and talk to?)

To the... Grandmother Koko. She said 'Omumborombonga'. First one the lion. And the lion went to the lady and he said 'Omumborombonga'. Then he looked round. Then he forgot. Then the other one went. Then he looked back, then forget it. So.... Then the giraffe went. Then he went to the.... She said 'Omumborombonga'. He looked back. Then last all the last, tortoise went and she founded it. 'Omumborombonga'. They pushed.... 'Omumborombonga'. Then all fruit fell down. They keep eating and eating and having fun. They got the seeds and grow them. They all grow them. They was happy again. They planted 'em and they grow.

In the beginning he said 'I want to eat children to eat' and... and he went to the town and the the children, the mother of the children, they sometimes digged a hole, put the children, put them through the hole under the ground and then they used to put their children into the barrel. I don't know the... and then he got so hungry he.. he stayed in his castle. He had to eat only vegetables. And then, after... he got so hungry and then he went to the rocks. And then there was this girl who... just... her father. They didn't know nothing about this ogre and they thought the land was safe. And then one day the father, her father he felt sick as last night he tells his daughter make too many apples.. tarts... He said 'You'll have to go to the town tomorrow'... Then next day, next day that girl went off to... Then she went near the rocks where the ogre was sat. And then the ogre saw the little small girl. Then he fell down and then she felt sorry for him. And then she went back home to get a few things... and then.. butter and things. She knew how to cook when she was six... And then... she made him some lot of food, all sorts of food. And the ogre forgot about the children. And then, then the ogre came friendly to the town. Then all the people could go to school. Then the children's mother didn't be scared of the ogre... Then the new... the ogre... carried. Then the ogre and that girl they get married in the end and they live happily ever after.

There is this tortoise. He says about Omumborombonga. It's a big tree with all the fruits in the world, all sorts. And he says to all his friends in the jungle, says there's this tree. Now, they won't believe him. Then they say the this woman, she she knows everything, you see. Then they, I think the lion goes because he's fastest. He's the King of the jungle. He goes, he goes to that woman. And she says 'There is a tree.. and she says 'Do not back or you'll forget it'. Then he goes, he goes, he goes. Then he meets up with, I think it's a snake. It's a snake. And he looks round and he forgets it. And then he has to go back. Then next one is elephant. Then, he's very big and strong and he goes down to that woman. She says 'Don't look round'. Then he goes and he meets a mouse. And he sees the mouse and elephants are scared of mice and he turns around, so in shock he turns around. Then he forgets it so he has to go back. Then there's giraffe. Giraffe's got a big neck. He says 'No, I won't forget it. I'm too long'. Then he goes to that woman. Then she says 'Don't look round'. Then he goes. He meets up with this, the branch. It sticks out, it's sharp and... nettles.

(A thorn)

A thorn, and he treads on it and he goes 'Ow'. Then he goes and forgets in shock. He has to go back. Then it's the tortoise. He goes. No it's the Kangaroo, it's the Kangaroo. He says 'I won't forget'. Then he goes to the woman. He sets off. He meets water, water and falls into water. And then

he comes back. He forgets it in the shock. He comes back. Then....

tortoise. He goes. He says, he says the name over and over again, then

says, he says 'I can't look around' and says the word and he goes up to

snake. They all tell him what happened. Then he looks the snake. He sees

snake. Then he goes. He sees the thorn, so he goes. He sees the water

and then he goes. Then he says 'I've made it, I've looked for the tree,

I've...? Then he says the word. Then all those fruits come.... down. They

come all down from the tree. That's it. End of the story.

First there was this ogre who liked eating children and... people were in the village. They, they kept their children under the ground, make some little... for them to stay in that the ogre can't eat them. And the ogre one day thought there were no children so he wept and he... and he said. He ate something and he were horrible and he wanted some children to eat. And then... one day he had an idea so he said 'Everybody is lying to me 'cos they kept their children inside'. So he standed on this kind of rock, right, and there were this farmyard and this farmer was... They didn't know about this ogre and... The daughter had to feed the animals every day and go to market. One day the farmer got ill and he said to his daughter that "you go to the market and... sell these things, and sell these things". And then she went and the ogre standed there and he was such... he couldn't wait to get his lunch. So when she came past he jumped and he fell and the girl didn't know and she said 'Oh, poor old man..." She.. he said 'I'm hungry'. And then she got him something to eat and he ate everything what her father... her father gave all the things to her to sell to market, but she gave it to the ogre... to eat and he... did... any lovely food in his whole life and he liked it. And he wanted more and then he said 'If you, if you make food like this for me everyday I'll pay you lot of money.' And she told, she told her father about this and then her father said, and they always used to go there and then they, she always used to thingy.. you know, all the ogres from all the world, they came. They had a feast, a big feast and then and that, and that man that

man that ogre shaved his beard off and he married her and they... little children.

(To eat?)...

No, 'cos they were their children and he lost his taste of the children.

Once there was a tortoise and he was, he had a dream about this tree. And

there was lots of fruit on this tree. And in the morning when he woke up

he told all the others that this tree in the dream. 'In my dream I saw this

tree and it was all fruits... and like, pears, apples, oranges, mangos and that'.

And the lion said 'That was only just a dream'. And then the tortoise says

'Let me go to'... I forgot the lady's name... 'but go to this lady. She's right

clever'. And all the animals says that, all the animals says that 'you're too

slow'... and the lion says that this tortoise had a dream about this tree and he

wakes up and he tells the others and the lion says 'That was only just a

dream'. And the tortoise says 'I'm going to ask a lady'. I forgot the lady's

name. But he's going to ask this lady, and if there's really a tree.... like that.

So he was about to go and the animals says 'you're too slow so we'll go'.

And the first person to go was the lion. The lion went and went to the lady

and he said 'The tortoise had a dream about this big tree and what's the

name of the...? Is there such a thing as a tree like that?' And she says 'Yes,

the name of the tree is Omumborombonga, whatever. And don't look round

or you'll forget the name? So he goes and he's really strong so he don't turn

round and when he goes, goes, he starts walking. Then he looks round and

the name... and he falls and it and it falls. And then he, the name goes out

of his mind and says, says 'Omumba...' and he says 'Oh no, I forgot it'. And

then next goes the ostrich. And then the ostrich, the ostrich goes and the

lion said 'Mind that rock, yeah, rock. Mind that rock'. So the and the

ostrich says 'I am tall and I can see everything down below? And so she

goes and she asks the name what of the tree and she says

'Omumborombonga and don't look round'. So she looked round when she

came back. She came to, she then suddenly she looked round and then she

fell on this thimble. She fell on it and then she says 'O..........' and she forgot

the name. And then she... and the hyena said, the ostrich and the lion said

'Mind that thimble or whatever'. And the lion said 'Mind that stone, rock'.

And so he goes on and he asks the name. 'Omumborombonga'. And he

comes back and then he looks round and then he falls over summat. I can't

remember what he falled off. And he falls... water, yeah. He fell in some

water and the name went out of his head. And then he says to the tortoise

goes, I think. Does the tortoise go?

(yeah)

And the tortoise says, says 'Mind that, mind that tree. No, mind that rock

and mind that... puddle, and mind that thimble.' So he goes on and he asks

the name 'Omumborombonga'. And he went on and on and on and on and

he didn't look back and there was a crab there and he did look round and he

went on and on. And then he came near his house and then he says to

them. They were all looking and they said 'Have you got the name?' He

said 'Look round'. They looked round and there was the Omumborombonga

tree and he shaked the tree and all the fruit came down. And they got the

seeds out of the things and they planted it in their gardens.

There was a mean ogre who lived in a castle and he liked eating children.

Every day he used to go to the town to get some children, and the mothers

and fathers of the children used to hide the children in the cellars... He

didn't like eating children.

(Didn't he?)

He got tired of eating children.

(He got tired of eating children, did he?)

Yes, and a girl. He fell down from a rock and a girl saw him and then she

gave him some food. And then the giant, the ogre took the girl to a castle

and he said to her cook. She used to cook him some meals. She did and....

And he forgot of eating children. Then every day for his supper he had all

the cakes and things. And.... one day he invited all the ogres round. They

had lots of fun. And then he shaved off his beard, beard and moustache.

And then he got married.

Once upon a time there was a monkey. One night he had a dream about
this tree with all kinds of fruit.. Then in the morning when he woke up, told
all his friends about this tree. And then the lion said 'Do you... I'll go to tell
Mother Koko'. And then the lion went off. When he reached Mother Koko
he said 'A monkey had a dream about this tree'.. And then Mother Koko
says 'The tree's name is Omumborombonga'. Then the lion went off. The
lion went off. Then he went off to find this tree... And Mother Koko said to
him 'Don't look back or you'll forget its name'. So the lion, so the lion went
off. He was going off when he looked back and then he forgot the name.
He said Bongorongo Rabongrongo. He forgot it. Then he went back to his
friends. And the elephant said 'We'll go'. Then the elephant went off.
Then the elephant went off. Then they came to Mother Koko. Then they
reached Mother Koko and Mother Koko said 'The tree's name is
Omumborombonga'. Then the elephant went off to find this tree. They said
O--------. Then accidentally the elephants looked back and they forgot the
name. And they said Ongobongo Romboongo. Then he, then when he was
walking back he trod on a thorn. He trod on a thorn. Then he went. He
went to his friends and the... hyena said 'I'll go' and the lion said 'Mind that
anthill' and the elephant said 'Mind that thorn'. And then the hyena trotted
off 'Dum didee dum didee'. And then he reached Mother Koko and Mother
Koko said 'The tree's name is Omumborombonga'. Then the hyena trotted
off. Then he looked back and he was walking. When he was looking back
he was walking and then he splashed into some water. Then he came off,

came out of the water. And then... he went to his friends. 'Dum didee dum didee'. And then the monkey said 'it's no use, we can't find this tree.' And then. I can't remember any more.

.... an ogre and... and he were hungry. He didn't like to eat food but he liked to eat.... he liked to just eat children... and... he were hiding... he went... children's play.... He went to a school in the playground and he, he ate children. And the children which were left their mothers and fathers didn't let 'em go out then... Afterwards there was this girl, there was this girl called... There was this girl and she were on a donkey kind of horse... She was riding on a mule and she... He were hiding, the giant... He was too excited and then he fell down. The little girl she got, got up the... and then she just... The girl got up the... with the mule and she got some water and she helped him to wake up. And then she took him to her house, I think, and she maked him food. And she... Then he felt more hungry and then she made him some more food up. And then he ate some more food and then he got... then he forgot about children, eating children. And he keep eating food, didn't eat children and in the end the girl grew up and become married and got babies.

Tortoise had a dream about this tree which had all fruit and vegetables on...

And when tortoise woke up he went to his friends and told every animal in

the jungle that he seen this tree called...

(Omumborombonga)

And he said 'It's only a dream' And they said 'It's true'. And then the

tortoise went to this old woman and said 'I've heard of that tree before'

and... Then she told him 'Say Omumborombonga'. And then afterwards,

after she told him the word and she told him that 'Don't look back because

there be, then you forget your word'. Then he said 'OK. I won't forget my

words'. Then he was walking. Then he looked back and then he forgot his

words. Then, then he tripped over summat and he went back and he told

the elephant. Then the elephant went and the tortoise said to him 'Don't

look back. You might trip over' and the tortoise went to the woman and the

woman told the word to the elephant. The elephant tripped over and looked

back and then he forgot his words. And then he told the... What was it?

(Hyena)

Told the hyena. Then the hyena. The elephant told the hyena 'Don't look

back, you'll forget your words and you might trip over summat.' And he said

'I won't trip over anything'. Then he went to the... and then he looked back, then fell into water, forgot his words and then he told....

(Ostrich)

Then he told the ostrich and then he told the ostrich 'Don't look back or you'll forget your words'. And the ostrich went and she said to her 'Don't look back or you'll forget your words...'

Ostrich looked back and it tripped over summat and then it forgot its words. Then it told....

(baboon)

... the baboon, and then the baboon looked back and tripped over summat. And then she told, it forgot its words, giraffe. And told the giraffe to... and the giraffe looked back and tripped over and forgot its words...

The tortoise tried again and then he.... and the tortoise didn't look back or anything. And tortoise remembered this word and when he came to this tree he remembered the word. And then he said the word and then he... then all the fruit came to him, all the fruit fell down... After it heard his words... Tortoise said 'Omumborombonga'. And then the fruit fell off the tree.

The first... it was a child... I forgot, sir again... a ogre.. and he caught a boy

and he put him in a cage. And then he, he cooked him. And then he was

eating some dinner and he said he was still hungry and hungry and said he

eat some more dinner. Then he went... he got the boy and put him in the

sack and walked away. And the people didn't know he was doing it... and...

he ate right lot of food and he said 'Still I'm hungry and I want to eat some

more dinner'. Then he told the girl. The girl was eating the dinner as well.

And the girl made some more dinner.. and the giant ....

(Why did the giant stop eating children?)

Because he liked to eat them.

(Why did he stop?)

'Cos he was full up.

(He was full up?)

I mean, he was... he'd had to eat, then full up.

(Alright. What happened before he got married and where were all the

other giants?)

There were a right lot of giants and the big ogre was eating dinner all together. They made a right lot of puddings and they ate till full. And the giant says 'I'm still hungry'.

And at last he got, got married with the lady.

Once upon a time there was some animals and tortoise. They, they used to love all the things in these trees. They used to have strawberries and mango and all the fruit and vegetable. They used to have.... And then they said O------. They went to this lady to ask 'What's the tree name?' Then they say O---------.

And then there was ... What do you call that thing again? That sharp thing?

(A thorn)

A thorn was in the way so the first animal who went, he tripped over and fell down. Then afterwards he said a different word 'O-------'. He said a different word. Then a different animal went and then he came, he saw a, he some some... a thorn and some other things and he tripped over. Then afterwards, he forgotten again. This other animal... a giraffe, went and then he saw the thorn. Then, then he forgotten the name of the tree. Then the monkeys went and they forgotten. Then the tortoise went. He was too slow and then he went, he went slowly, slowly. And then he went to the lady. The lady told him 'Omumborombonga'. And then he knowed the name. And after, he didn't tripped over, he didn't fall. He knowed the name. He told the... All the other elephant and the cheetahs came and that. The end of the story.

There was this giant that liked eating children and... the people in the village were frightened of the ogre getting their children so they made hiding places for them, put them in wheelbarrels (sic) and things like that. And then... there was this tiny farm in this wood.. and they didn't know about this giant. And one day this man, the farmer fell ill and he couldn't take his crops to the farm... the village.. and he asked his little girl to take them. And on the way this.. giant tried to catch her but he jumped off.. off this hill at the wrong time and he fell on this road and hurt himself.. And then the little girl helped him and cooked a lot of food for him. And then he said 'Do you want to come to my castle with me and make food for me? I'll pay you a lot of money'. And so she did. And then his father her father came to see them. ...Then they were very good friends and they got married and had loads of children and lived happily every after.

Once upon a time there was a tortoise who had a dream. He dreamed that

there was a tree that was called...

(Omumborombonga). He told all the animals in the village about his dream.

And he says 'I'm going to find out if there's such a tree... But the lion says

'You're too slow. I'll go instead'. So the lion went... and the lady says 'The

tree... is called.. What's it called again?... and she says 'If you turn round on

the way home you'll forget the name. So the lion went home again but on

the way home he turned round and he forgot because he disturbed a nettle.

And he tried to remember the name. So he went home and he says 'I've

forgotten the name of the tree'. So then the cheetah said he'd go not the

cheetah.. the elephant said he'd go. The elephant went to Mother Koko and

said 'What is the name of the tree?' And if the lady says 'If you turn round

on the way home you'll forget the name... Off he went home, but on the

way home he went past the nettles and then he stood on an anthill and he

forgot the name. So he went home and told the animals that he'd forgot the

name. So the cheetah went next to Mother Koko. And Mother Koko said

'The name of the tree is the Omumborombonga tree. And if you turn

around on the way home you'll forget the name of the tree. So off he went.

He went past the nettle, past the anthill. But suddenly he turned round and

fell in a pool of water.   And then he forgot the name. So off he went

home. Then the tortoise said he would go. 'No' the giraffe said he would

go. So he went to Mother Koko and Mother Koko said 'The name of the

tree is Omumborombonga'. And she said, 'If you turn round on the way home you'll forget the name of the tree'. So off he went. He went past the nettles. He went past the anthill. He went past the pool of water, and suddenly he turned round and slipped in the mud and he forgot the name. And he went home and told the animals he forgot the name of the tree. So then the tortoise said he would go, so the tortoise went to Mother Koko and Mother Koko said 'The name of the tree is the Omumborombonga ' and she said 'If you turn round on the way home you'll forget the name'. So he went home. He passed the nettle. He passed the anthill. He passed the pool of water. He passed the mud. And he said 'I've done it'. He's come home and he said the name of the tree and it appeared the tree. And then he said the name of the tree again and all the fruit fell off the tree and they ate as much as they could eat of the fruit. And the tortoise said 'Take a seed. Take a few seeds out of each of them, each fruit and plant them. And suddenly and the trees started to grow. And that's why we have different sorts of trees.

There was a ogre and he ate children.. and he used to go to town and collect

children.. And the mums and dads wouldn't let them go to school 'cos there

was a giant.. And... they used.. they used to put the children under the... in

the cellars... in barrels and hiding behind them.. And then and he brought

out big sack all the time. But when he went to the school to fetch, find the

children. They were at home.. and there was a little girl and a farmer... and

one day the farmer was ill... And it was market day and the next day the

little girl... no, the father, the farmer said 'Daughter, will you go to the

market tomorrow and... with the animals.' So the next day she went to the

market with a mule and a cart on the back with all.. things on. And then

she was coming on the cart and then the giant was waiting for her at the top

of the cliff... and... she... and the giant he was so anxious that he jumped and

the girl hadn't even got to spot where he should have jumped and he fell on

his nose and instead of getting the girl to eat he just landed on his nose.

And the little girl felt sorry for him and she went... with him and cooked all

these meals because she was a good cook. Then afterwards the giant had

eaten so much that he thought 'Right' and he never ate children because of

all these meals. And he went with the little girl at her home and asked her

father saying 'Could your little girl come and... cook for me, and you can...

you can live here too.'

And one day he had a party and all of the little... and the little girl cooked the meals... and every ogre went off all the children and they never ate children.

One day there was this tortoise and he had a dream about this tree with all the fruits he could think of, like pineapples, apples, strawberries, grapes, melons and all them. And then when he woke up in the morning he told all the other animals about this tree. And then he goes and the lion says, the lion goes to Grandmother Koko and she says 'I have heard of this tree. It is called Omumborombonga tree...   And you must.. when you go and find it. If you find it, if you find it you will, you will have to say the words and all the fruit will come down.' And then she said that 'If you turn round, if you keep, if you turn round you will lose the word and you won't be able to find the tree again. You'll forget the name.' So the lion goes and as if he were coming back he turned, he turned back, he looked, turned round and looked behind him and all of a sudden he tripped over this anthill and he forgot the name. And so he went back. Then the elephant went and the lion says 'Be careful of that anthill'. So he goes to Grandma Koko and he tells her about this tree and she tells him about... and she tells him where it is. And then the elephant goes... No... Grandma Koko tells him about the tree and if he turns back, if he puts his head back and looks behind him he'll forget the name. So he went off. As he were coming back he turned back. He turned round and looked behind him... And he tripped over and he forgot the name... So he went back... what's next?...

Next the baboon went to Grandma Koko and she told him and told about Tortoise's dream. And then... she told him all the tree and she said if he

the things and he never looks round and he gets near the tree. In the end

he shows all the other animals and then... he shouts out 'Omumborombonga'

and all the things come down and they plant all the seeds to make all

different ones, trees.

WORD LIST

	Verb Class (see Table 2)
1 bite	3Ac
2 fall	3Be
3 blow	3Ba
4 sting	5B
5 shake	3Bb
6 ring	6A
7 come	6B
8 put	4
9 walk	REG
10 freeze	3Aa
11 change	REG
12 fight	5G
13 swim	6A
14 tear	3Ab
15 drive	3Ca
16 give	3Bc
17 decide	REG
18 shout	REG
19 dig	5B
20 cut	4
21 steal	3Aa
22 choose	3Aa
23 draw	3Bd
24 beat	4
25 swing	5B
26 stop	REG
27 fetch	REG
28 sleep	2A
29 hide	3Ac

	Verb Class (see Table 2)
30 write	3Ca
31 marry	REG
32 look	REG
33 meet	5A
34 send	1B
35 faint	REG
36 shine	5F
37 forget	3Ad
38 grow	3Ba
39 climb	REG
40 sit	5E
41 wear	3Ab
42 see	3Bg
43 call	REG
44 start	REG
45 stick	5B
46 fly	3Cb
47 spend	1B
48 cost	4
49 wind	5C
50 marry	REG
51 vanish	REG
52 light	5D
53 spit	5E
54 speak	3Aa
55 throw	3Ba
56 kill	REG
57 keep	2A
58 buy	2B
59 shut	4
60 kick	REG
61 weep	2A

	Verb Class (see Table 2)
62 drink	6A
63 say	2F
64 wake	3Aa
65 sell	2D
66 hit	4
67 become	6B
68 win	5B
69 take	3Bb
70 shoot	5F
71 ride	3Ca
72 break	3Aa
73 hurt	4
74 belong	REG
75 pick	REG
76 run	6B
77 sing	6A
78 tell	2D
79 rest	REG
80 disappear	REG
81 make	1C
82 think	2B
83 teach	2B
84 do	3Cc
85 leave	2A
86 bring	2B
87 have	1C
88 go	6C
89 catch	2B
90 eat	3Bf

KAUSER

B(b)1 KAUSER	November	January	March	May	July
bite	bited	bited	bited	bited	bited
fall	falled	falled	falled	falled	falled
blow	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed
sting	stinged	stinged	stinged	stinged	stinged
shake	shaked	shooked	shooked	shooked	shooked
ring	ringed	ringed	ringed	ringed	ringed
come	√	comed	√	√	√
put	putted	putted	putted	putted	putted
walk	√	√	√	√	√
freeze	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed
change	√	√	√	√	√
fight	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted
swim	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed
tear	teared	teared	tored	tored	tored
drive	drived	drived	drived	drived	drived
give	gived	gaved	gived	gived	gived
decide	√	√	√	√	√
shout	√	shoutt	√	√	√
dig	digged	digged	digged	digged	digged
cut	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted
steal	stealed	stealed	stealed	stealed	stoled
choose	choosed	choosed	choosed	choosed	choosed
draw	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed
beat	beated	beated	beated	beated	beated
swing	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged
stop	√	√	√	√	√
fetch	fetcheded	√	√	√	√
sleep	√	√	√	√	√

B(b)1 KAUSER	November	January	March	May	July
hide	hided	hided	hided	hided	hided
write	writed	writ	writed	√	√
marry	√	√	√	√	√
look	√	√	√	√	√
meet	meeted	meeted	meet	√	√
send	sended	sended	sended	sended	sended
faint	√	√	√	√	√
shine	shined	shined	shined	shined	shined
forget	forgetted	forgotted	√	√	√
grow	growed	growed	growed	growed	growed
climb	√	√	√	√	√
sit	√	√	√	√	√
wear	weared	weared	weared	weared	weared
see	seen	seen	sawed	sawed	sawed
call	√	√	√	√	√
start	startt	√	√	√	√
stick	sticked	sticked	sticked	sticked	sticked
fly	flied	flied	flied	flied	flied
spend	spended	spended	spended	spended	spended
cost	costed	costed	costed	costed	costed
wind	winded	winded	winded	winded	winded
carry	√	√	√	√	√
vanish	√	√	√	√	√
light	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted
speak	speaked	spoked	spoked	spoked	spoked
throw	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed
kill	√	√	√	√	√
keep	keeped	keeped	keeped	keeped	keeped
buy	buyed	buyed	buyed	buyed	buyed
shut	shutted	shutted	shutted	shutted	shutted

B(b)1 KAUSER	November	January	March	May	July
kick	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
weep	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped
drink	drinked	drinked	drinked	drinked	dranked
say	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
wake	waked	waked	waked	waked	waked
sell	selled	selled	selled	selled	selled
hit	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted
become	becomed	becomed	becomed	becomed	becomed
win	winned	wonned	winned	✓	✓
take	tooked	taked	tooked	✓	tooked
shoot	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted
ride	rided	rided	rided	rided	rided
break	broked	broked	broked	broked	broked
hurt	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted
belong	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
pick	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
run	runned	run	run	runned	runned
sing	singed	singed	✓	✓	✓
tell	telled	✓	✓	✓	✓
rest	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
disappear	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
make	maked	maked	maked	maked	maked
think	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked
teach	teached	teached	teached	teached	teached
do	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
leave	leaved	✓	✓	✓	✓
bring	bringed	bringed	brang	brung	✓
have	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
go	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
catch	catched	catched	catched	catched	catched
eat	eated	eated	ated	eated	eat

RAFEEZ

B(b)2 RAFEEZ	November	January	March	May	July
bite	bited	bited	bited	bited	bited
fall	falled	✓	felled	felled	felled
blow	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed
sting	stinged	stinged	✓	✓	✓
shake	shaked	shaked	shaked	shaked	shooked
ring	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
come	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
put	putted	✓	✓	✓	✓
walk	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
freeze	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed
change	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
fight	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted
swim	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swum	swum
tear	teared	teared	tored	tored	tored
drive	drived	drived	drived	drived	drived
give	✓	gaved	✓	✓	✓
decide	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
shout	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
dig	digged	digged	digged	digged	digged
cut	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted
steal	stealed	stealed	✓	stoled	stoled
choose	choosed	chosed	✓	✓	✓
draw	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed
beat	beated	beated	beated	beated	beated
swing	swinged	swang	swang	swang	swang
stop	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
fetch	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
sleep	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

B(b)2 RAFEEZ	November	January	March	May	July
hide	hided	hided	hided	hided	hided
write	writed	√	√	√	√
marry	√	√	√	√	√
look	√	√	√	√	√
meet	√	√	√	√	√
send	√	√	√	√	√
faint	√	√	√	√	√
shine	shined	shined	shined	shined	shined
forget	forgetted	√	√	√	√
grow	growed	growed	√	√	√
climb	√	√	√	√	√
sit	√	√	√	√	√
wear	weared	wored	wored	√	√
see	√	√	√	√	√
call	√	√	√	√	√
start	√	√	√	√	√
stick	sticked	stucked	stucked	stucked	stucked
fly	flied	√	√	√	√
spend	√	√	√	√	√
cost	costed	costed	√	costed	√
wind	winded	winded	winded	winded	winded
carry	√	√	√	√	√
vanish	√	√	√	√	√
light	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted
speak	√	√	√	√	√
throw	throwed	throwed	√	√	√
kill	√	√	√	√	√
keep	√	√	√	√	√
buy	√	√	√	√	√
shut	shutted	shutted	shutted	√	√

B(b)2 RAFEEZ	November	January	March	May	July
kick	√	√	√	√	√
weep	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped
drink	drunk	√	√	drunk	drunk
say	√	√	√	√	√
wake	waked	woked	woked	√	√
sell	√	√	√	√	√
hit	√	√	hitted	√	hitted
become	becomed	√	√	√	√
win	√	√	√	√	√
take	√	√	√	√	√
shoot	shooted	√	√	√	√
ride	√	√	√	√	√
break	√	√	√	√	√
hurt	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted
belong	√	√	√	√	√
pick	√	√	√	√	√
run	√	√	√	√	√
sing	√	√	√	√	√
tell	√	√	√	√	√
rest	√	√	√	√	√
disappear	√	√	√	√	√
make	√	√	√	√	√
think	thinked	thinked	√	√	√
teach	teached	teached	teached	teached	teached
do	√	√	√	√	√
leave	leaved	leaved	√	√	√
bring	brang	brang	brang	brang	√
have	√	√	√	√	√
go	√	√	√	√	√
catch	catched	√	catched	√	√
eat	√	√	√	√	√

JAMEELA

B(b)3 JAMEELA	November	January	March	May	July
bite	bited	bited	bitted	bited	bited
fall	felled	falled	felled	✓	✓
blow	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed
sting	stinged	stinged	✓	stanged	stinged
shake	shaked	shaked	shooked	shooked	shaked
ring	ringed	ringed	✓	ringed	ringed
come	come	✓	✓	✓	✓
put	putted	✓	✓	✓	✓
walk	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
freeze	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed
change	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
fight	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted
swim	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed
tear	teared	teared	teared	teared	tored
drive	drived	drived	drived	drived	drived
give	gived	gaved	gived	gived	gived
decide	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
shout	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
dig	digged	digged	digged	digged	digged
cut	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted
steal	stealed	stoled	stoled	✓	stoled
choose	choosed	choosed	choosed	choosed	choosed
draw	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed
beat	beated	beated	beated	beated	beated
swing	swinged	swinged	swang	swang	swang
stop	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
fetch	fetch(Id)	✓	✓	✓	✓
sleep	sleeped	✓	✓	✓	✓

B(b)3 JAMEELA	November	January	March	May	July
hide	hided	hidded	hided	hided	hided
write	writed	wroted	√	√	√
marry	√	√	√	√	√
look	√	√	√	√	√
meet	meeted	√	meeted	meeted	meeted
send	sended	sended	sended	sended	sended
faint	√	√	√	√	√
shine	shined	shined	shined	shined	shined
forget	forgetted	forgetted	forgetted	√	forgetted
grow	growed	growed	growed	growed	growed
climb	√	√	√	√	√
sit	√	√	√	√	√
wear	weared	weared	weared	weared	weared
see	sawed	seen	√	√	√
call	√	√	√	√	√
start	√	√	√	√	√
stick	sticked	sticked	sticked	sticked	sticked
fly	flied	flied	flied	flied	flied
spend	spend	√	√	√	√
cost	costed	costed	costed	costed	costed
wind	winded	winded	winded	winded	winded
marry	√	√	√	√	√
vanish	√	√	√	√	√
light	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted
speak	√	spoked	√	√	√
throw	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed
kill	√	√	√	√	√
keep	keeped	keeped	keeped	keeped	keeped
buy	buyed	√	buyed	buyed	buyed
shut	√	shutted	√	√	√

B(b)3 JAMEELA	November	January	March	May	July
kick	√	√	√	√	√
weep	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped
drink	drinked	√	drunk	drunk	√
say	√	sayed	√	√	√
wake	waked	waked	waked	waked	waked
sell	selled	selled	selled	selled	selled
hit	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted
become	becomed	√	√	√	√
win	wonned	winned	winned	winned	winned
take	taked	taked	taked	tooked	taked
shoot	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted
ridge	rided	rided	rided	rided	rided
break	breaked	√	broked	broked	√
hurt	hurted	hurted	√	hurted	hurted
belong	√	√	√	√	√
kick	√	√	√	√	√
run	ranned	run	ranned	√	√
sing	singed	√	sung	sung	sung
tell	telled	telled	telled	telled	telled
rest	√	√	√	√	√
disappear	√	√	√	√	√
make	maked	maked	maked	maked	maked
think	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked
teach	teached	teached	teached	teached	teached
do	doed	done	√	√	done
leave	leaved	leaved	√	√	√
bring	brang	bringed	brang	brang	brang
have	√	√	√	√	√
go	√	√	√	√	√
catch	catched	catched	catched	catched	catched
eat	ated	√	√	√	√

SARWAT

B(b)4 SARWAT	November	January	March	May	July
bite	bited	bited	bited	bited	bited
fall	felled	falled	falled	falled	felled
blow	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed
sting	stinged	stinged	stinged	stinged	stinged
shake	shaked	shaked	shaked	shaked	shaked
ring	ringed	√	√	√	√
come	√	√	√	√	√
put	√	putted	putted	√	√
walk	√	√	√	√	√
freeze	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed
change	√	√	√	√	√
fight	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted
swim	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed
tear	teared	teared	tored	tored	tored
drive	drived	drived	drived	drived	drived
give	gived	gived	√	√	√
decide	√	√	√	√	√
shout	√	√	√	√	√
dig	digged	digged	digged	digged	digged
cut	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted
steal	stealed	stealed	stealed	stealed	stealed
choose	choosed	choosed	choosed	choosed	choosed
draw	drawed	drawed	√	√	√
beat	beated	beated	beated	beated	beated
swing	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged
stop	√	√	√	√	√
fetch	√	√	√	√	√
sleep	sleep	√	√	√	√

B(b)4 SARWAT	November	January	March	May	July
hide	hided	hided	hided	hided	hided
write	writed	writed	writ	√	√
marry	√	√	√	√	√
look	√	√	√	√	√
meet	√	√	√	√	√
send	sended	sended	sended	√	√
faint	√	√	√	√	√
shine	shined	shined	shined	shined	shined
forget	forgetted	√	√	√	√
grow	growed	growed	growed	growed	growed
climb	√	√	√	√	√
sit	√	√	√	√	√
wear	weared	weared	weared	weared	wored
see	seed	sawed	sawed	sawed	sawed
call	√	√	√	√	√
start	√	√	√	√	√
stick	sticked	sticked	sticked	sticked	sticked
fly	flied	flied	flied	flied	flied
spend	spended	spended	spended	√	√
cost	costed	costed	costed	costed	costed
wind	winded	winded	winded	winded	winded
marry	√	√	√	√	√
vanish	√	√	√	√	√
light	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted
speak	speaked	√	√	√	√
throw	throwed	throwed	√	√	√
kill	√	√	√	√	√
keep	√	√	√	√	√
buy	buyed	√	√	√	√
shut	√	√	√	√	√

B(b)4 SARWAT	November	January	March	May	July
kick	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
weep	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped
drink	drinked	drunk	drunk	drunk	drunk
say	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
wake	waked	woked	woked	woked	woked
sell	selled	selled	solded	✓	✓
hit	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted
become	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
win	winned	winned	winned	winned	winned
take	taked	taked	tooked	tooked	✓
shoot	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted
ride	rided	rided	rided	rided	rided
break	breaked	broked	broked	broked	broked
hurt	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted
belong	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
pick	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
run	runned	✓	✓	✓	✓
sing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
tell	telled	✓	✓	✓	✓
rest	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
disappear	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
make	maked	maked	maked	maked	maked
think	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked
teach	teached	teached	teached	teached	teached
do	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
leave	leaved	leaved	leaved	leaved	leaved
bring	bringed	brang	brang	✓	✓
have	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
go	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
catch	catched	catched	catched	catched	catched
eat	eat	ated	✓	✓	✓

ARIS

B(b)5 ARIS	November	January	March	May	July
bite	bited	bited	bited	bited	bited
fall	falled	falled	falled	falled	falled
blow	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed
sting	stinged	stinged	stinged	stinged	stinged
shake	shaked	shaked	shaked	shaked	shaked
ring	ringed	rung	rung	rung	rung
come	comed	camed	camed	camed	camed
put	putted	putted	putted	putted	putted
walk	√	√	√	√·	√
freeze	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed
change	√	√	√	√	√
fight	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted
swim	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed
tear	teared	tored	tored	teared	tored
drive	drived	drived	drived	drived	drived
give	gived	gived	gived	gived	gived
decide	√	√	√	√	√
shout	√	√	√	√	√
dig	digged	digged	digged	digged	digged
cut	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted
steal	stealed	√	stoled	stealed	stealed
choosed	choosed	choosed	choosed	chosed	choosed
draw	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed
beat	beated	beated	beated	beated	beated
swing	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged
stop	√	√	√	√	√
fetch	√	fetcheded	fetcheded	√	√
sleep	sleeped	sleeped	sleeped	sleeped	sleeped

c

B(b)5 ARIS	November	January	March	May	July
hide	hided	hided	hided	hided	hided
write	write	√	√	√	√
marry	√	√	√	√	√
look	√	√	√	√	√
meet	meet	meet	meeted	meet	√
send	sended	sended	sended	sended	sended
faint	√	√	√	√	√
shine	shined	shined	shined	shined	shined
forget	forget	forget	forgetted	forgetted	forgetted
grow	growed	growed	growed	growed	growed
climb	√	√	√	√	√
sit	√	√	√	√	√
wear	weared	weared	weared '	weared	weared
see	seen	sawed	sawed	sawed	√
call	√	√	√	√	√
start	√	√	√	√	√
stick	sticked	sticked	sticked	sticked	sticked
fly	flied	flied	flied	flied	flied
spend	spended	spended	√	√	√
cost	costed	costed	costed	costed	costed
wind	winded	winded	winded	winded	winded
carry	√	√	√	√	√
vanish	√	√	√	√	√
light	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted
speak	speaked	speaked	spoked	spoked	spoked
throw	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed
kill	√	√	√	√	√
keep	keeped	keeped	keeped	keeped	keeped
buy	buyed	buyed	buyed	buyed	buyed
shut	shutted	shutted	√	shutted	shutted

B(b)5 ARIS	November	January	March	May	July
kick	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
weep	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped
drink	drinked	drinked	drinked	drunk	drinked
say	sayed	✓	✓	✓	✓
wake	waked	waked	waked	waked	waked
sell	selled	selled	selled	selled	selled
hit	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted
become	become	becomed	becomed	becomed	becomed
win	winned	winned	winned	winned	winned
take	taked	taked	tooked	taked	taked
shoot	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted
ride	rided	rided	rided	rided	rided
break	breaked	broken	broked	broked	broked
hurt	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted
belong	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
pick	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
run	run	run	run	✓	✓
sing	singed	sung	sung	sung	sung
tell	telled	telled	telled	telled	telled
rest	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
disappear	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
make	maked	✓	✓	✓	maked
think	thinked	thinked	thinked	think	thinked
teach	teached	teached	teached	teached	teached
do	done	done	done	done	done
leave	leaved	leaved	leaved	leaved	✓
bring	bringed	bringed	bringed	bring	bringed
have	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
go	goed	✓	✓	✓	✓
catch	catched	catched	catched	catched	catched
eat	eat	eat	eat	eat	✓

QASER

B(b)6 QASER	November	January	March	May	July
bite	bited	bited	bited	bited	bited
fall	falled	falled	falled	falled	falled
blow	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed
sting	sting	stinged	stinged	stinged	stinged
shake	shaked	shaked	shaked	shaked	shaked
ring	rung	rung	rung	ringed	rung
come	come	camed	camed	camed	✓
put	✓	putted	putted	putted	putted
walk	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
freeze	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed
change	✓	✓	✓	✓·	✓
fight	fight	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted
swim	swimmed	swum	swum	swimmed	✓
tear	teared	teared	tored	tored	teared
drive	drived	drived	drived	drived	drived
give	gived	gived	gived	gaved	gaved
decide	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
shout	shoutt	✓	✓	✓	✓
dig	digged	digged	digged	digged	digged
cut	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted
steal	stealed	stoled	stoled	stoled	✓
choose	choosed	choosed	chosed	chosed	chosed
draw	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed
beat	beated	beated	beated	beated	beated
swing	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged
stop	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
fetch	fetch /+Id/	fetch	✓	✓	✓
sleep	sleep	sleep	sleeped	sleeped	sleeped

B(b)6 QASER	November	January	March	May	July
hide	hided	hided	hided	hided	hided
write	writed	writed	writed	writed	writed
marry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
look	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
meet	meet	meet	meeted	meeted	
send	sended	sended	send	sended	send
faint	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
shine	shined	shined	shined	shined	shined
forget	forgotten	forgotten	forget	✓	forgotten
grow	growed	growed	growed	growed	growed
climb	climb	✓	✓	✓	✓
sit	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
wear	weared	weared	weared	weared	wored
see	seed	sawed	sawed	sawed	seen
call	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
start	startt	✓	startt	✓	✓
stick	sticked	sticked	stucked	stucked	stucked
fly	flied	flied	flied	flied	flied
spend	spended	spended	spended	✓	spend
cost	costed	costed	costed	costed	costed
wind	winded	winded	winded	winded	winded
carry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
vanish	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
light	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	spitted	spit	spitted	spitted
speak	speak	speaked	spoked	spoked	spoked
throw	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed
kill	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
keep	keep	keeped	keeped	keeped	keeped
buy	buyed	buyed	buyed	buyed	buyed
shut	shutted	shutted	shutted	shutted	shutted

B(b)6 QASER	November	January	March	May	July
kick	√	√	√	√	√
weep	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped
drink	drinked	drinked	drunk	drunk	drunk
say	sayed	√	√	√	√
wake	waked	waked	woked	woked	waked
sell	selled	selled	solded	selled	selled
hit	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted
become	becomed	becamed	becamed	becomed	becamed
win	winned	winned	winned	winned	winned
take	taked	tooked	tooked	tooked	tooked
shoot	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted
ride	rided	rided	rided	rided	rided
break	breaked	broked	broked	broked	broked
hurt	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted
belong	belong	belong	√	√	√
pick	pick(+Id)	√	√	√	√
run	run	runned	runned	√	run
sing	singed	singed	singed	singed	singed
tell	√	√	√	√	√
rest	√	√	√	√	√
disappear	√	√	√	√	√
make	maked	maked	maked	√	√
think	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked
teach	teached	teached	teached	teached	teached
do	√	√	√	√.	√
leave	leaved	leaved	leaved	leaved	leaved
bring	bringed	bringed	bring	bringed	brung
have	have	√	√	√	√
go	√	√	√	√	√
catch	catched	catched	catched	catched	catched
eat	eat	eaten	√	√	√

IRFAN

B(b)7 IRFAN	November	January	March	May	July
bite	bited	bited	bited	bited	bited
fall	falled	falled	falled	falled	falled
blow	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed	blowed
sting	stinged	stinged	stinged	stinged	stinged
shake	shaked	shaked	shaked	shaked	shaked
ring	ringed	ringed	ringed	ringed	ringed
come	√	√	√	√	√
put	√	√	putted	√	√
walk	√	√	√	√	√
freeze	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed	freezed
change	√	√	√	√	√
fight	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted	fighted
swim	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed	swimmed
tear	teared	tored	teared	teared	teared
drive	drived	drived	drived	drived	drived
give	gived	gaved	gived	gived	gaved
decide	√	√	√	√	√
shout	√	√	√	√	√
dig	digged	digged	digged	digged	digged
cut	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted	cutted
steal	stoled	stealed	stoled	stoled	stoled
choose	choosed	choosed	choosed	choosed	chosed
draw	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed	drawed
beat	beated	beated	beated	beated	beated
sing	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged	swinged
stop	√	√	√	√	√
fetch	√	√	√	√	√
sleep	sleeped	sleeped	√	√	√

B(b)7 IRFAN	November	January	March	May	July
hide	hided	hide	hided	hided	hided
write	writed	writed	writed	writed	writed
marry	√	√	√	√	√
look	√	√	√	√	√
meet	√	√	√	√	√
send	send	send	√	send	√
faint	√	√	√	√	√
shine	shined	shined	shined	shined	shined
forget	forget	√	√	√.	√
grow	growed	growed	growed	growed	growed
climb	√	√	√	√	√
sit	√	√	√	√	√
wear	weared	wored	weared	weared	wored
see	seed	√	√	√	√
call	√	√	√	√	√
start	√	√	√	√	√
stick	sticked	√	√	stucked	stucked
fly	flied	flied	flied	flied	flied
spend	spend	spended	spended	√	√
cost	costed	costed	costed	costed	costed
wind	winded	winded	winded	winded	winded
carry	√	√	√	√	√
vanish	√	√	√	√	√
light	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted	spitted
speak	speaked	spoked	√	√	√
throw	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed	throwed
kill	√	√	√	√	√
keep	keeped	keeped	keeped	keeped	keeped
buy	buyed	buyed	buyed	buyed	buyed
shut	shutted	√	√	√	√

B(b)7 IRFAN	November	January	March	May	July
kick	√	√	√	√	√
weep	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped	weeped
drink	drinked	drunked	drunk	drunk	drunk
say	√	√	√	√	√
wake	waked	waked	waked	woked	woked
sell	selled	selled	√	√	√
hit	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted	hitted
become	become	becomed	become	√	√
win	winned	wonned	winned	√	√
take	taked	taked	taked	√	tooked
shoot	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted	shooted
ride	rided	rided	rided	rided	rided
break	broked	broked	√	√	√
hurt	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted	hurted
belong	√	√	√	√	√
pick	√	√	√	√	√
run	run	√	run	√	√
sing	sung	sung	sung	sung	sung
tell	√	√	√	√	√
rest	√	√	√	√	√
disappear	√	√	√	√	√
make	maked	maked	maked	√	maked
think	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked	thinked
teach	teached	teached	teached	teached	teached
do	done	√	√	√	√
leave	leaved	leaved	√	leaved	leaved
bring	bringed	bringed	bringed	bringed	bringed
have	√	√	√	√	√
go	√	√	√	√	√
catch	catched	catched	catched	catched	catched
eat	eat	eat	√	√	√

B(b)8 ZAID	November	July
bite	bitted	✓
fall	✓	✓
blow	blowed	✓
sting	✓	✓
shake	✓	✓
ring	✓	✓
come	✓	✓
put	✓	✓
walk	✓	✓
freeze	freezed	freezed
change	✓	✓
fight	✓	✓
swim	swum	swum
tear	✓	✓
drive	✓	✓
give	✓	✓
decide	✓	✓
shout	✓	✓
dig	digged	digged
cut	cutted	✓
steal	✓	✓
choose	✓	✓
draw	drawed	✓
beat	beated	beated
swing	✓	✓
stop	✓	✓
fetch	✓	✓
sleep	✓	✓
hide	✓	✓

B(b)8 ZAID	November	July
write	√	√
marry	√	√
look	√	√
meet	√	√
send	√	√
faint	√	√
shine	shined	√
forget	√	√
grow	√	√
climb	√	√
sit	√	√
wear	√	√
see	√	√
call	√	√
start	√	√
stick	√	√
fly	flied	√
spend	√	√
cost	costed	√
wind	winded	winded
carry	√	√
vanish	√	√
light	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	√
speak	√	√
throw	√	√
kill	√	√
keep	√	√
buy	√	√
shut	√	√
kick	√	√
weep	√	√

B(b)8 ZAID	November	July
drink	√	√
say	√	√
wake	waked	√
sell	√	√
hit	hitted	hitted
become	√	√
win	√	√
take	√	√
shoot	√	√
ride	√	√
break	√	√
hurt	hurted	√
belong	√	√
pick	√	√
run	√	√
sing	√	√
tell	√	√
rest	√	√
disappear	√	√
make	√	√
think	√	√
teach	teached	√
do	√	√
leave	√	√
bring	√	√
have	√	√
go	√	√
catch	√	√
eat	√	√

SHAZIA

B(b)9 SHAZIA	November	July
bite	bited	bited
fall	falled	falled
blow	blowed	blowed
sting	stinged	√
shake	shaked	shaked
ring	ringed	√
come	√	√
put	putted	√
walk	√	√
freeze	freezed	freezed
change	√	√
fight	fighted	fighted
swim	swimmed	swum
tear	teared	tored
drive	drived	√
give	√	√
decide	√	√
shout	√	√
dig	digged	digged
cut	cutted	cutted
steal	stoled	√
choose	choosed	√
draw	drawed	drawed
beat	beated	beated
swing	swang	swang
stop	√	√
fetch	√	√
sleep	√	√

B(b)9 SHAZIA	November	July
hide	hided	hided
write	√	√
marry	√	√
look	√	√
meet	√	√
send	√	√
faint	√	√
shine	shined	shined
forget	√	√
grow	growed	grewed
climb	√	√
sit	√	√
wear	weared	√
see	√	√
call	√	√
start	√	√
stick	sticked	sticked
fly	flied	flied
spend	√	√
cost	costed	√
wind	winded	winded
carry	√	√
vanish	√	√
light	lighted	lighted
spit	√	√
speak	√	√
throw	throwed	√
kill	√	√
keep	√	√
buy	√	√
shut	√	√

B(b)9 SHAZIA	November	July
kick	✓	✓
weep	weeped	weeped
drink	✓	drunk
say	✓	✓
wake	waked	woked
sell	✓	✓
hit	hitted	hitted
become	✓	✓
win	✓	✓
take	✓	tooked
shoot	shooted	shooted
ride	rided	rid
break	✓	✓
hurt	hurted	hurted
belong	✓	✓
pick	✓	✓
run	✓	✓
sing	✓	✓
tell	✓	✓
rest	✓	✓
disappear	✓	✓
make	✓	✓
think	✓	✓
teach	✓	✓
do	✓	✓
leave	✓	✓
bring	brang	✓
have	✓	✓
go	✓	✓
catch	catched	✓
eat	✓	✓

GOHAR

B(b)10 GOHAR	November	July
bite	✓	✓
fall	✓	✓
blow	✓	✓
sting	✓	✓
shake	✓	✓
ring	✓	✓
come	✓	✓
put	✓	✓
walk	✓	✓
freeze	frozed	✓
change	✓	✓
fight	✓	✓
swim	swum	✓
tear	✓	✓
drive	✓	✓
give	✓	✓
decide	✓	✓
shout	✓	✓
dig	✓	✓
cut	cutted	✓
steal	✓	✓
choose	chosed	✓
draw	✓	✓
beat	✓	✓
swing	swang	swang
stop	✓	✓
fetch	✓	✓
sleep	✓	✓

B(b)10 GOHAR	November	July
hide	√	√
write	√	√
marry	√	√
look	√	√
meet	√	√
send	√	√
faint	√	√
shine	√	√
forget	√	√
grow	√	√
climb	√	√
sit	√	√
wear	√	√
see	√	√
call	√	√
start	√	√
stick	√	√
fly	√	√
spend	√	√
cost	√	√
wind	winded	√
carry	√	√
vanish	√	√
light	√	√
spit	√	√
speak	√	√
throw	√	√
kill	√	√
keep	√	√
buy	√	√
shut	√	√

B(b)10 GOHAR	November	July
kick	✓	✓
weep	✓	✓
drink	✓	✓
say	✓	✓
wake	✓	✓
sell	✓	✓.
hit	hitted	✓
become	✓	✓
win	✓	✓
take	✓	✓
shoot	✓	✓
ride	✓	✓
break	✓	✓
hurt	hurted	hurted
belong	✓	✓
pick	✓	✓
run	✓	✓
sing	✓	✓
tell	✓	✓
rest	✓	✓
disappear	✓	✓
make	✓	✓
think	✓	✓
teach	✓	✓
do	✓	✓
leave	✓	✓
bring	brang	✓
have	✓	✓
go	✓	✓
catch	✓	✓
eat	✓	✓

YASMIN

B(b)11 YASMIN	November	July
bite	bitted	✓
fall	✓	✓
blow	blowed	blowed
sting	stinged	✓
shake	shaked	shooked
ring	✓	✓
come	✓	✓
put	✓	✓
walk	✓	✓
freeze	frozed	✓
change	✓	✓
fight	fighted	fighted
swim	✓	✓
tear	✓	✓
drive	✓	✓
give	✓	✓
decide	✓	✓
shout	✓	✓
dig	digged	digged
cut	cutted	cutted
steal	✓	✓
choose	chosed	✓
draw	drawed	drawed
beat	beated	beated
swing	swang	swang
stop	✓	✓
fetch	✓	✓
sleep	✓	✓

B(b)11 YASMIN	November	July
hide	hidded	√
write	√	√
marry	√	√
look	√	√
meet	√	√
send	√	√
faint	√	√
shine	shined	shined
forget	√	√
grow	grewed	√
climb	√	√
sit	√	√
wear	√	√
see	√	√
call	√	√
start	√	√
stick	sticked	sticked
fly	flied	flied
spend	√	√
cost	costed	√
wind	winded	wounded
carry	√	√
vanish	√	√
light	lighted	lighted
spit	√	√
speak	√	√
throw	√	√
kill	√	√
keep	√	√
buy	√	√
shut	√	√

B(b)11 YASMIN	November	July
kick	√	√
weep	weeped	√
drink	√	drunk
say	√	√
wake	waked	√
sell	√	√
hit	hitted	hitted
become	√	√
win	√	√
take	√	√
shoot	shooted	shooted
ride	rided	√
break	√	√
hurt	hurted	hurted
belong	√	√
pick	√	√
run	√	√
sing	√	√
tell	√	√
rest	√	√
disappear	√	√
make	maked	√
think	√	√
teach	√	√
do	√	√
leave	√	√
bring	√	√
have	√	√
go	√	√
catch	√	√
eat	√	√

SAFINA

B(b)12 SAFINA	November	July
bite	bited	✓
fall	felled	✓
blow	blowed	blewed
sting	✓	✓
shake	shaked	shooked
ring	✓	✓
come	✓	✓
put	✓	✓
walk	✓	✓
freeze	freezed	freezed
change	✓	✓.
fight	fighted	fighted
swim	swum	swum
tear	tored	✓
drive	drived	drived
give	✓	✓
decide	✓	✓
shout	✓	✓
dig	digged	digged
cut	cutted	✓
steal	✓	✓
choose	choosed	✓
draw	drawed	drewed
beat	beated	beated
swing	swang	swang
stop	✓	✓
fetch	✓	✓
sleep	✓	✓

B(b)12 SAFINA	November	July
hide	hided	√
write	√	√
marry	√	√
look	√	√
meet	√	√
send	√	√·
faint	√	√
shine	shined	√
forget	√	√
grow	growed	growed
climb	√	√
sit	√	√
wear	weared	worn
see	√	√
call	√	√
start	√	√
stick	stucked	stucked
fly	flied	flied
spend	√	√.
cost	costed	costed
wind	winded	winded
carry	√	√
vanish	√	√
light	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	spitted
speak	√	√
throw	throwed	√
kill	√	√
keep	√	√
buy	√	√
shut	√	√

B(b)12 SAFINA	November	July
kick	√	√
weep	weeped	weeped
drink	√	√
say	√	√
wake	√	√
sell	√	√
hit	hitted	hitted
become	√	√
win	√	√
take	√	√
shoot	shooted	√.
ride	rid	√
break	√	√
hurt	hurted	hurted
belong	√	√
pick	√	√
run	√	√
sing	√	√
tell	√	√
rest	√	√
disappear	√	√
make	√	√
think	√	√
teach	√	√
do	√	√
leave	√	√
bring	bringed	√
have	√	√
go	√	√
catch	√	√
eat	√	√

B(b)13 ZOE	November	July
bite	✓	✓
fall	✓	✓
blow	✓	✓
sting	✓	✓
shake	✓	✓
ring	✓	✓
come	✓	✓
put	✓	✓
walk	✓	✓
freeze	✓	✓
change	✓	✓
fight	fighted	✓
swim	✓	✓
tear	✓	✓
drive	✓	✓
give	✓	✓
decide	✓	✓
shout	✓	✓
dig	digged	digged
cut	✓	✓
steal	✓	✓
choose	✓	✓
draw	✓	✓
beat	beated	✓
swing	swang	swang
stop	✓	✓
fetch	✓	✓
sleep	✓	✓

B(b)13 ZOE	November	July
hide	✓	✓
write	✓	✓
marry	✓	✓
look	✓	✓
meet	✓	✓
send	✓	✓
faint	✓	✓
shine	✓	✓
forget	✓	✓
grow	✓	✓
climb	✓	✓
sit	✓	✓
wear	✓	✓
see	✓	✓
call	✓	✓
start	✓	✓
stick	sticked	✓
fly	✓	✓
spend	✓	✓
cost	✓	✓
wind	winded	winded
carry	✓	✓
vanish	✓	✓
light	lighted	lighted
spit	spitted	✓
speak	✓	✓
throw	✓	✓
kill	✓	✓
keep	✓	✓
buy	✓	✓
shut	✓	✓

B(b)13 ZOE	November	July
kick	√	√
weep	√	√
drink	√	√
say	√	√
wake	√	√
sell	√	√
hit	hitted	√
become	√	√
win	√	√
take	√	√
shoot	√	√
ride	√	√
break	√	√
hurt	√	√
belong	√	√
pick	√	√
run	√	√
sing	√	√
tell	√	√
rest	√	√
disappear	√	√
make	√	√
think	√	√
teach	√	√
do	√	√
leave	√	√
bring	√	√
have	√	√
go	√	√
catch	√	√
eat	√	√

B(b)14 AMANDA	November	July
bite	✓	✓
fall	✓	✓
blow	✓	✓
sting	✓	✓
shake	✓	✓
ring	✓	✓
come	✓	✓
put	✓	✓
walk	✓	✓
freeze	✓	✓
change	✓	✓
fight	fighted	fighted
swim	✓	✓
tear	✓	✓
drive	✓	✓
give	✓	✓
decide	✓	✓
shout	✓	✓
dig	✓	✓
cut	✓	✓
steal	✓	✓
choose	✓	✓
draw	drawed	✓
beat	beated	✓
swing	swang	swang
stop	✓	✓
fetch	✓	✓
sleep	✓	✓

B(b)14 AMANDA	November	July
hide	✓	✓
write	✓	✓
marry	✓	✓
look	✓	✓
meet	✓	✓
send	✓	✓
faint	✓	✓
shine	shined	✓
forget	✓	✓
grow	✓	✓
climb	✓	✓.
sit	✓	✓
wear	✓	✓
see	✓	✓
call	✓	✓
start	✓	✓
stick	✓	✓
fly	✓	✓
spend	✓	✓
cost	costed	✓
wind	winded	winded
carry	✓	✓
vanish	✓	✓
light	✓	✓
spit	✓	✓
speak	✓	✓
throw	✓	✓
kill	✓	✓
keep	✓	✓
buy	✓	✓
shut	✓	✓

B(b)14 AMANDA	November	July
kick	√	√
weep	√	√
drink	drunk	√
say	√	√
wake	√	√
sell	√	√
hit	√	√
become	√	√
win	√	√
take	√	√
shoot	√	√
ride	√	√
break	√	√
hurt	hurted	√
belong	√	√
pick	√	√
run	√	√
sing	√	√
tell	√	√
rest	√	√
disappear	√	√
make	√	√
think	√	√
teach	√	√
do	√	√
leave	√	√
bring	√	√
have	√	√
go	√	√
catch	√	√
eat	√	√

MICHELLE

B(b)15 MICHELLE	November	July
bite	bitted	✓
fall	✓	✓
blow	✓	✓
sting	✓	✓
shake	✓	✓
ring	✓	✓
come	✓	✓
put	✓	✓
walk	✓	✓
freeze	freezed	✓
change	✓	✓
fight	fighted	fighted
swim	✓	✓
tear	teared	✓
drive	✓	✓
give	✓	✓
decide	✓	✓
shout	✓	✓
dig	digged	digged
cut	cutted	✓
steal	✓	✓
choose	✓	✓
draw	drawed	drawed
beat	beated	beated
swing	swang	swang
stop	✓	✓
fetch	✓	✓
sleep	sleeped	✓

B(b)15 MICHELLE	November	July
hide	√	√
write	√	√
marry	√	√
look	√	√
meet	√	√
send	√	√
faint	√	√
shine	√	√
forget	√	√
grow	growed	√
climb	√	√
sit	√	√
wear	√	√
see	√	√
call	√	√
start	√	√
stick	sticked	√
fly	√	√
spend	√	√
cost	√	√
wind	winded	winded
carry	√	√
vanish	√	√
light	lighted	√
spit	spitted	spitted
speak	√	√
throw	√	√
kill	√	√
keep	keeped	√
buy	buyed	√
shut	√	shutted

B(b)15 MICHELLE	November	July
kick	√	√
weep	√	√
drink	√	√
say	√	√
wake	√	√
sell	√	√
hit	hitted	hitted
become	√	√
win	√	√
take	√	√
shoot	√	√
ride	√	√
break	√	√
hurt	hurted	hurted
belong	√	√
pick	√	√
run	√	√
sing	√	√
tell	√	√
rest	√	√
disappear	√	√
make	√	√
think	√	√
teach	√	√
do	√	√
leave	√	√
bring	brang	√
have	√	√
go	√	√
catch	√	√
eat	√	√

ANDREW

B(b)16 ANDREW	November	July
bite	√	√
fall	√	√
blow	√	√
sting	√	√
shake	√	√
ring	√	√
come	√	√
put	√	√·
walk	√	√
freeze	√	√
change	√	√
fight	√	√
swim	√	√
tear	√	√
drive	√	√
give	√	√
decide	√	√
shout	√	√
dig	√	√
cut	√	√
steal	√	√.
choose	√	√
draw	√	√
beat	√	√
swing	swang	√
stop	√	√
fetch	√	√
sleep	√	√

B(b)16 ANDREW	November	July
hide	√	√
write	√	√
marry	√	√
look	√	√
meet	√	√
send	√	√
faint	√	√
shine	√	√
forget	√	√
grow	√	√
climb	√	√
sit	√	√
wear	√	√
see	√	√
call	√	√
start	√	√
stick	√	√
fly	√	√
spend	√	√
cost	√	√
wind	winded	√
carry	√	√
vanish	√	√
light	√	√
spit	√	√
speak	√	√
throw	√	√
kill	√	√
keep	√	√
buy	√	√
shut	√	√

B(b)16 ANDREW	November	July
kick	✓	✓
weep	✓	✓
drink	✓	✓
say	✓	✓
wake	✓	✓
sell	✓	✓
hit	✓	✓
become	✓	✓
win	✓	✓
take	✓	✓
shoot	✓	✓
ride	✓	✓
break	✓	✓
hurt	✓	✓
belong	✓	✓
pick	✓	✓
run	✓	✓
sing	✓	✓
tell	✓	✓
rest	✓	✓
disappear	✓	✓
make	✓	✓
think	✓	✓
teach	✓	✓
do	✓	✓
leave	✓	✓
bring	✓	✓
have	✓	✓
go	✓	✓
catch	✓	✓
eat	✓	✓

C(a)   WH- and YES/NO questions - speech balloons
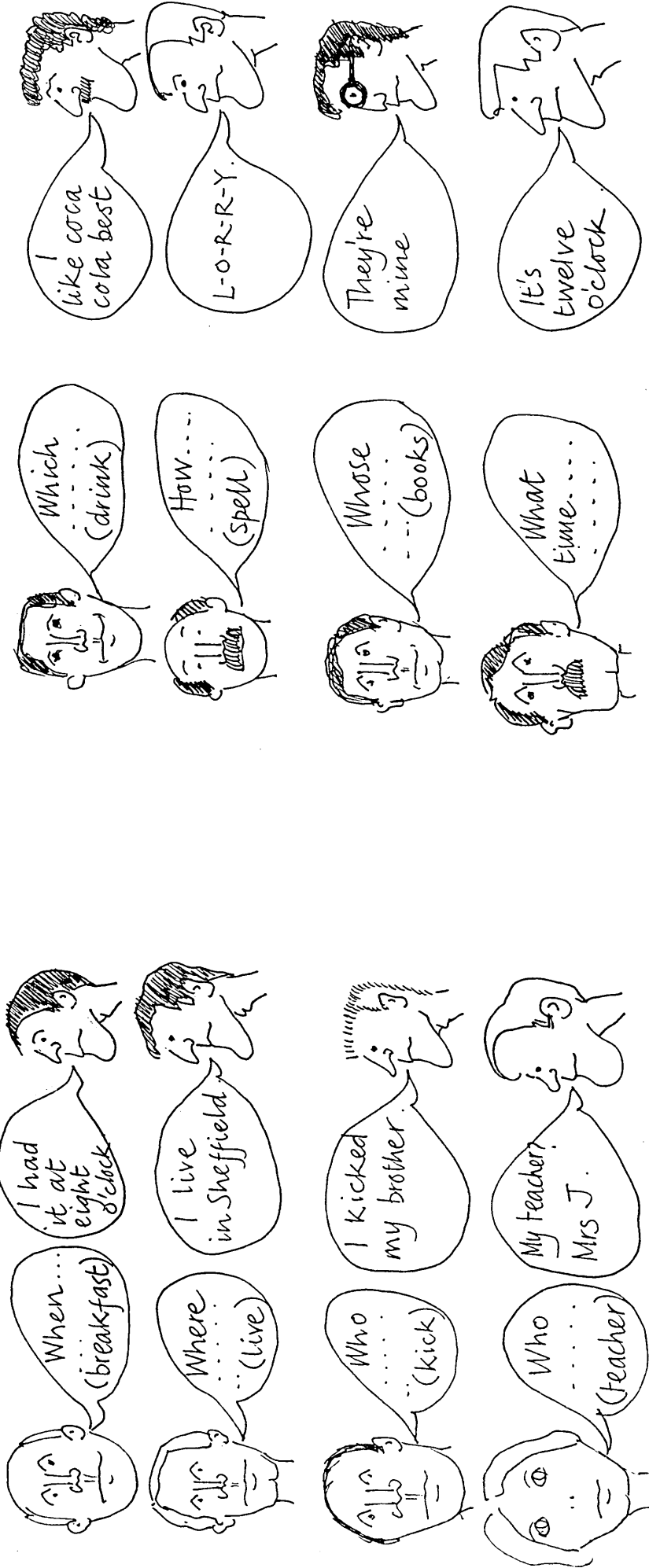
Which ...... (drink)
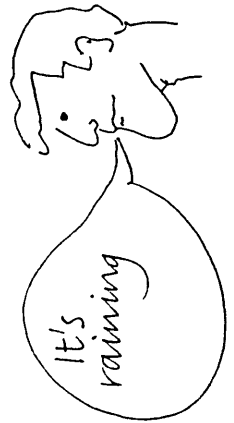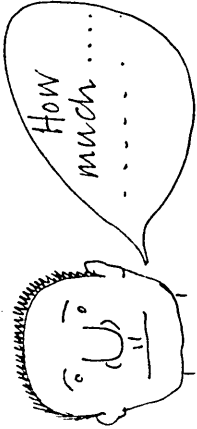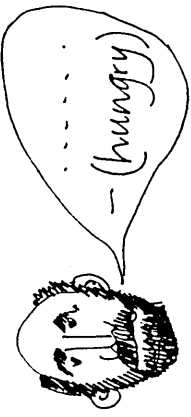
I like coca cola best

How...... (spell)

L-O-R-R-Y.

Whose ...... (books)

They're mine

What time......

It's twelve o'clock

When...... (breakfast)

I had it at eight o'clock

Where ...... (live)

I live in Sheffield

Who ...... (kick)

I kicked my brother

Who ...... (teacher)

My teacher? Mrs J.
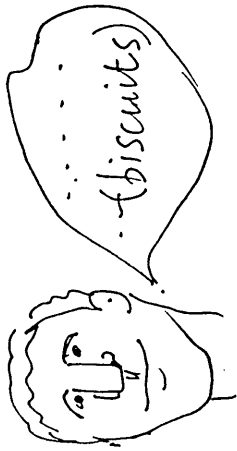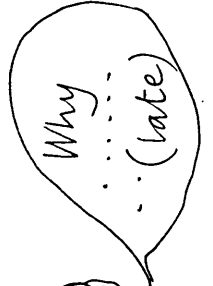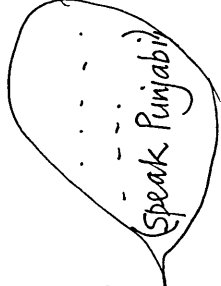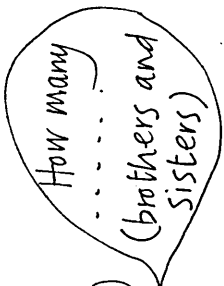
C(b)1   KAUSER   QUESTIONS - Errors

November	January	March	May	July
When you had it?				
Where you live?	Where you live?			
Who you kicked?				
Which coca cola you like?	Which coca cola you like?		Which you like?	
Who books are they?	You have took my books	Who books are they?		
What is today?	Why is it raining?	What is it raining?	Why the raining for?	What is the weather?
Why you have got late up?	Why you got up late?	Why did you get late up?	Why did you get late?	Why you got up late?
How much you got money?	How much you got money?	How much you got money?	How much you got money?	How much you got money?
How many you got sisters and brothers?	How many brothers and sisters you've got?	How many you got brothers and sisters?	How many have you got sisters and brothers?	How many you got brothers and sisters?

November	January	March	May	July
You haven't taken my biscuits.		Who took my biscuits?	I haven't taken your biscuits.	You have taken my biscuits.
	Which one teacher?			
	How you spell LORRY?	How you spell LORRY?	How you spell LORRY?	How you spell LORRY?
	Do you talk Punjabi?	Do you talk Punjabi?	Do you talk Punjabi?	Do you talk Punjabi?
		Why not you hungry?		

cxl

C(b)2　　RAFEEZ　　　QUESTIONS – Errors

November	January	March	May	July
What's the weather?	What is the weather?	What is the weather?	What is the weather?	What is the weather?
	Whose are they books?		Have you tooken my biscuits?	
	Why did you came late?			
	Which coke do you like?			

November	January	March	May	July
When did you had it?		When did you had your breakfast?	When did you had your breakfast?	ABSENT
Which coca cola do you like best?	Which favourite do you like?	Which coca cola do you like?		
What's the weather?	What is the weather?	What weather is it?		
Speak Chinese				
How many have you got sisters and brothers?	How many brothers you got and how many sisters you got?	How many brothers and sisters you got?		
Have you took my biscuits?	You have taken my biscuits.	Have you took my biscuits?	Have you took my biscuits?	
	Who books are they?			
	Why did you get late?			

cxlii

C(b)4　　SARWAT　　QUESTIONS - Errors

November	January	March	May	July
When did you had your breakfast?				
Where did you live?				
How did you spell LORRY?				
What time it is?				
What is the weather?	What's the weather?	What's the weather?	What weather it is?	What's the weather?
Why did you go to school late?				
How much brothers and sisters have you got?				
Have you tooken my biscuits?	Have you tooken my books?	Have you tooken my biscuits?	Have you tooken my biscuits?	

C(b)5   ARIS   QUESTIONS - Errors

November	January	March	May	July
When I had my breakfast?	When did you had your breakfast?	When did you had your breakfast?		When did you had your breakfast?
Who do you kick?	Who you kick?	Who do you kick?	Who do you kick?	Who you kick?
Which coca cola you like?	Which coca cola you like?	Which coca cola you like?	Which coca cola do you like?	
How do you drive your lorry?				
Whose book they are?	Who books are they?	Who books are those?		
What is sunshine?	Why it's raining?	Why it's raining?	What day is like?	What day is it?
Why do you get late?		Why you get up late?		Why you got up late?
How much money you got?	How much money you got?	How much money you got?		How much money you got?

cxliv

November	January	March	May	July
How many sisters you got and brothers?	How many brothers and sisters you got?	How much brother and sister you got?	How many brothers and sisters you got?	How many brothers and sisters you got?
You take biscuits?	You taken my biscuits?	You taken my biscuits?	Why did you take my biscuits?	
Do you watch the 'A' team?		Why did you not watch it?		
	Why you speak Punjabi?	Why you can't speak Punjabi?	How do you speak Punjabi?	
		What time do you to bed?		
		Why you not hungry?		
			Where did you live?	

cxlv

QASER   QUESTIONS - Errors

November	January	March	May	July
When you had your breakfast?	When you had your breakfast?	When you had your breakfast?	What time do you had your breakfast?	When did you had your breakfast?
Where you live?		Where you live?		
Who teacher?				
Which coca cola?		Which coca cola do you like?	Which coca cola?	
What time do you wake up?	Why you wake up late?			
Why you are late?		Why you get up late?		
How much you got?	How much you've got money?	How much you've got money?	How much have you got money?	How much money you've got?
I don't speak Chinese.				
How many you got sisters and brothers?	How many you've got brothers and sisters?	How much brother and sisters have you got?	How many brothers and sisters you've got?	How much sisters and brothers you've got?

cxlvi

November	January	March	May	July
You take my biscuits?	I haven't		You have taken my biscuits.	You have taken my biscuits.
	Yes, I am hungry.			
	What the weather like?	What day does like?	What weather is it?	What is the weather?
		Who kicked you?		Who are they books?

cxlvii

November	January	March	May	July
When do you have your breakfast?		When do you have it eight o'clock late time?	When did you have it eight o'clock?	
Who's teacher?	Who?			
Speak Chinese?		Why don't you learn Punjabi?		
How much brothers and sisters?		How much brothers have you got and sisters?		
Eat much dinner?				
You have taken my biscuits.		You have taken my biscuits?		
What did you watch it for?				
	How like is the weather?	Which weather is it?	What's the weather?	What's the weather?
	Which drink flavour?			

November	January	March	May	July
		Why did you kick him for?		Who do you kicked?
	Did you have a lot of dinner afternoon?	Did you have lot dinner or little bit dinner?		

cxlix

C(b)8   **ZAID**   Questions - Errors

November	July
What weather is it?	What weather is it?
	Have you tooken my biscuits?

C(b)9   **SHAZIA**   Questions - Errors

November	July
How much brothers and sisters have you got?	What weather is it?

C(b)10   **GOHAR**   Questions - Errors

November	July
0 errors	0 errors

C(b)11   **YASMIN**   Questions - Errors

November	July
What is the weather?	What weather is it?

C(b)12   **SAFINA**   Questions - Errors

November	July
What's time is it?	
What's the weather?	What's the weather today?
Why did you got up late?	
How many have you got brothers and sisters?	
You have took my biscuits.	You have took my biscuits.
	Which coca cola do you like?

C(b)13   **ZOE**   **QUESTIONS - Errors**

November	July
0 errors	0 errors

C(b)14   **AMANDA**   **Questions - Errors**

November	July
What is the weather?	What weather is it?

C(b)15   **MICHELLE**   **Questions - Errors**

November	July
0 errors	What's the weather?

C(b)16   **ANDREW**   **Questions - Errors**

November	July
0 errors	0 errors